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INTRODUCTION

Reconstructing ancient history in Babylonia before B.C. 2000 up to 4000, and even to the kings after the flood, has become possible, thanks to the material provided by the Nippur excavations. A summary classification of unpublished tablets in the Museum collections has led to the discovery of fragments of historical import. They have been collected in the present volume. Prominent among them are: the chronological fragments, the portrait of King Ibi-Sin, and his official despatches at the time of the revolt of Isbi-irra, the founder of the Isin dynasty. They will be studied in turn along with less important, or comparatively more recent, fragments of the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian period. Due allowance should be made for further corrections to difficult Sumerian texts of damaged fragments.

The main enlightening fact is that we gain a sure footing for more than two thousand years of history before the foundation of the first Babylonian empire—the empire of Hammurabi, when Abraham was a citizen of Ur in Chaldæa—a fact that brings the early Babylonian to the level of, if not before, the Egyptian chronology. Indeed it was not a Babylonian, but a Sumero-Akkadian chronology. And the problem of origins is furthermore complicated with a racial problem. Among the 11 royal cities that had in turn the honor of governing the land between the actual region of Bagdad and the sea, some like Kiš, Upi, Akkad (Maer, Isin), belong to Akkadians a Semitic race; some like Uruk, Ur, Adab (Ĥamazi, Larsa), to a non-Semitic race: the Sumerians. The first known kingdom was the Semitic kingdom of Kiš. But all civilization, art, religion looked toward the Sumerian south as its cradle. The Sumerian land that extended for about 150 miles from Nippur to Eridu on the sea was the land of origins. The creation of the world was

the work of Ea the god of Eridu. At the same place the Sumerians were taught the art of writing by the fish-god—the Oannes of the Greek tradition. The hero of the flood lived in Šuruppak, and Gilgameš was king of Uruk. The great god of heaven, Anu, was worshiped in the same city. Enlil, the lord of all countries, was enthroned in his temple-mountain at Nippur. The religious tradition of the land hung between those two poles, Eridu and Nippur. The moon god of Ur, the regulator of times, was only the son of Enlil, and the sun god of Larsa was in turn the son of the moon god of Ur. Most remarkably Eridu and Nippur were only shrines and never capital of the kingdom. We may complete the picture of Sumer by noting that the kings of Ur were Sumerians—Ibi-Sin reproaching Isbi-irra for not being of Sumerian race—and that toward the same time¹ at Nippur three-fifths of the inhabitants were Sumerian, and two-fifths Semite.

When the whole land of Sumer and Akkad was united, and Babylon was a new capital for a new race, the religious significance of Sumer survived, and dead Sumerian language was used exclusively for all sort of religious compositions and records. Previous to the “usurpations” of Marduk of Babylon, and his satellite Nabu, the Semite Akkadians could boast only a great sanctuary of the sun god of Sippar. Sippar seems to have been the early center of Akkadian influence. The city gave its proper name to the Euphrates, which was known as the river of Sippar to the Sumerians. All the cities of Kiš, Upi, Babylon are located in the same region. South of Nippur began Sumer, or later on the kingdom of the sea.

Among so many questions connected with the early settlement and religious influence of the Sumerians we will single out only two, and give them only a provisional answer. How are we to understand the high number of years of the first kings recorded by chronology? Was Nippur on the Euphrates or on the *Tiger*?

¹ See proper names in Drehem tablets.

The moon was the first regulator of time. Twelve lunar months formed a cycle or short year. And only the necessity to keep in touch with a regular course of seasons, forced to double one month, and add an extra 13th month every second or third year.¹ This confirms the priority of the moon god Sin, on the sun god Babbar. To the last time of the Sumerian kingdoms we know that religious ceremonies used to attend the rising of the new moon, the time of the full moon, the time of its disappearance. There were shrines—like the temple of Tiraš in Lagaš—specially consecrated to that purpose. Other chapels were called: house of the new moon and of the 15th of the moon. No computation could ever supersede that reappearance of the moon at intervals of 29 or 30 days. It was the only fixed rule. The names of the months in keeping with the seasons, the place of the 13th month was a matter of free speculation and varied from one city to another. As far back as 2300 B.C., we know at the same time 4 different calendars in the cities of Lagaš, Umma, Nippur and Drehem. The Sumerian name of the monthly period of time is: *bal*.² Later on we find that *palû* is a fixed period, the length of a reign, used also for one (solar) year of the reign. But the length of a *palû* is a secondary idea. The first meaning is: a fixed period of time. In Sumerian times the *palû* was a lunar month. Archeology can help us a little farther on. The sign *bal*, *palû*, is the picture and has the meaning of a weapon, a long lance driven into the ground.³ The shaft is ornamented with cross lines representing a hilt or side buckle. The same lance in the same position is a well-known symbol on early seal cylinders. It may figure in the hands of Gilgameš and Eabani, in connection with the sun god, and often surmounted by a star or a crescent. Now the very ideogram of the new moon: the brilliant Nannar, is no other than the same

¹ Cf. *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 14-15: six extra months in 16 years. Space of time: *bal*, *ibid.*, p. 7-9.

² Cf. *bal-gub-ba* in lists of accounts.

³ Cf. the *palus* of the Latins.

lance driven into the ground (*šes-ki*).¹ Had the Sumerian the habit of driving a lance into the ground for each new moon?² In fact the dating of the oldest tablets—from Šuruppak—is not by solar year (*mu-an-na*), but by periods: *bal*, that may very well be lunar months. A more recent expression is still vague: *ud-ba*: “in the days of . . .” Why should we not consider the figures of the first kings as so many periods of lunar months of 29½ days? The second dynasty of Kiš, reduced that way, gives instead of 3792 (*bal*), a theoretical number of 278 sun-years.

Was Nippur on the bank of the Euphrates or the Tiger? The question has been considered as settled. Was not Šurippak a city south of Nippur on the Euphrates? Do not the texts of the “Murashu sons”³ at the time of the Persian kings mention the river of Sippar to Nippur? That is true, but they mention also the old Tiger (*Diglat labiri*). The texts of the Cassite⁴ period know the Tiger of the god Enlil (^{nar} *Diglat* ^d *En-lil* ^{ki}), the Tiger of Nippur. King Rim-Sin digs down to the sea, the Tiger, the river of the gods, meaning probably the great sanctuaries. King Sin-idinnam,⁵ of Larsa, states expressly that he dug the Tiger to water his land and city. The earliest testimony is supplied by Gudea⁶ of Lagaš: “in Nippur the water of the Tiger did not rise any more.” Whether the Tiger itself or a large canal derived from it passed across Nippur, it seems, anyhow, that in Sumerian time the larger connection and the main stream were derived from the Tiger, without excluding connection with the Euphrates along the river of Sippar. That is why we attempted on the reconstruction map in this volume to identify the old Tigris with possibly the *Habl-es-Sachr*. The bearing of this old line of communication on the first Sumerian

¹ Cf. *Urigallu*.

² Their word for year: *mu-an-na* “the celestial name” is the picture of an arrow, sharp point down.

³ BE. IX, X.

⁴ BE. XVII.

⁵ SAK. p. 208, 210.

⁶ Cyl. A. I, 9; XXVIII, 13.

settlement may be considerable. Despite all the reed shrines (*é-gi-par*; *gi-gunu*) they would build in the "eden" the new conquered lowland, the Sumerians would still remember the early shrine of Enlil dwelling on the top of the mountain. And their land, religion, civilization expanded between those two landmarks: the *ziggurra*t of Nippur, and the *absu* (temple-abyss) of Eridu.

Two tables, one of the Nippur chronology, the other a geographical list, are here appended, as a short way of summing up the new data.

L. L.

May, 1921

Nippur Chronology *

BC.	Kings		Years.
[5000]		Kiś. I	
		[I-um-e.	
		[I-an-I I	
		[I-bu-um.	
		[Uš-]ba(?)	
		[I-tabba.	900
		Galumu-um	900
		Zu-ga-gi-ib	840
		Ar-pi	720
		Etana (sib)	635
		Wa-li-x	410
		En-me-nun-na	611
		Me-lam-kiš-(i)-ki	900
		Bar-sal-nun-na	1200
		Mes-za-mug	
		En-giš-gu	
		En-me-dur-mes-e(?)	
		[I-za	
		En-me-bara-gi-šu(?)	
		[]	900
		Ag	625
	23	Uruk. I	18000...
		Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir	325
		En-me-ir-kar	420
		Lugal-banda	1200
		Dumu-zi (šu-ḥa+g)	100
		Giš-bil-ga-mes	126
		[I-lugal	
	6	Ur. I	2171...
4340		Mes-an-ḡ-pad-da	80
		Mes-ki-ag-nun-na	30
		E-lu-lu.	25
		Ba-lu-lu.	36
	4	Awan	171
4169			
	3	[Ur. II.]	356
3813			
	4	Kiś. II.	108
3705			
	4	Ḥama-zi	3792 (?)
3427		[I-ni-iš	7
	1	[Kiś. III.]	7
3420			

(CBS. 14223)
Te[]
Ba-la-gi-na-nu-Lum]75
Na-an-giš-li-iš-ma

Total of:		
Dynasties.	Kings	Years.
4 Kiś	51 (?)	18000...
5 Uruk	22	2610...
3 Ur	13	396
1 Awan	3	356
1 Ḥamazi	1	7
1 Adab	1	90
1 Mari	[2..]	[30..]
1 Upi	6	99 (125?)
1 Agade	12	197
1 Guli	21	124 (125?)
1 Isin	11	159
[or]	[16]	[225 1/2]
Royal cities. II	[1	[]
To Enlil-bani	134	28876 ..
To Damiq-ilišu	139	32243]

Šuruppak
Dada
Ḥaladda
Ūrinpa
Kaniži
Maš-šuruppak
Ūrin-kurra.

Kiś	Lagaš	Umma.
Utug p. son of Ba-zu-zu	Lugal-šag-engur p.	Suru-uš-gi. p.
Mesim k.	Baḏu k.	
Ur-zag-e k.	En-hegal k.	
Lugal []	Gursar	
Lugal-tar-si k.	Gunidu	E-abzu. k.
Al-zu (?)	Ūrinna	Uš .p.
	Akurgal	
E-an-na-tum (PBS. IV p. 129)	E-an-natum	E-n-akalli. p.
	Ert-an-na-tum	Ūr-lumma. k.
	En-temena	p. Ili .p.
	En-an-na-tum	p. UKUŠ .p.

* NB. Outside the main list, kings (k), patesis (p), have been classed only approximately, or not at all. — Years BC. are reconstructed on a theoretical estimate of Kiś II: 279 (600 y.), Kiś III: 70, Uruk II: 110, Mari: 59, Kiś IV: 166, Guli: 124, Uruk V: 50

BC.	[Uruk. II]				Lagaš	Umma
3350					En-e-tar-zi p. En-li-tar-zi p. Lugal-an-da † p. En-gil-sa † p. Urukagina † p. Ur babbar p. Lugal-usumgal p. Ur-e p.	En-nalum Lugal-zaggi-si Kur-šeš p. Amil [] Mesiggan. Lugal-annatum.
3240	Adab Lugal-an-ni-mu-un-dū 90	90			Adab Esar-lugal-da-lu Esar-me-igi-[]	Lugal-bur p. Galū-babbar p.
3150	Mari An-sir I-gi † 30	30			Mari []-šamaš (BM. 90828.) Ug-me	Lū ^d Šara p. Mes-e p.
3091	Upi Un-zi. 30 Un-da-lu-lu 12 Ur-sag 6 Ba-ša ^d Saḥan 20 I-šu-il 24 Su ^d En-zu † 7		[I]	Upi Zu-zū	Nippur Ur ^d Enlil Lugal-sur-zu	Magan Mannu-dannu Baraḥšu Aba-al-gamaš
2992	Kiš, IV Azag ^d Ba-ū † 14] Ba-ša ^d En-zu † 6 or [20.. Ur ^d Za-ma-ma † 30 Zi-mu-dar † 6 U-zi-wa-dar † 6 El-mu-ti 11 I-gul ^{il} Šamaš 11 Na-ni-ia-ah 3		99		Kazalla/u Kaštubilaš A-bi-la-ša Gimil-mama Baša-mama Iaḥ-zar-ili Baša ^d Nu-muš-da Apirak Riš-Hadad	Basime Išurabi, p. Ibalum p. Marad Libetili p. Lišalum p. Tu-lu ^{ki} Na-bi ^{maš} p.
2726	7(8?) Uruk. III. Lugal-zag-gi-si 25	25	166 (192?)		Uruk-Ur-Sumer Lugal-zaggi-si, k. Lugal-ki-gub-ni-du-du, k. Puš Lugal-ki-sal-si k. Aḥuma En-šag-kuš-anna	
2701	Agade Šar-ru-ki-in † 55	55	25	Agade Bin-ga-ni-šarri. Da-ti-En-lil		Sabum Ka-azag, k. of Ur. Abummisar Abumilu Gimil-sin-bani
2646	Ri-mu-uš † 15	15				
2631	Ma-ni-iš-te-šu † 7	7				
2624	Na-ra-am ^{il} Sin † 56	56				
2568	Šar-ga-ni-šar-ri † 25 Manu-um šarru Manu-um la šarru	25		(Scheil) (CBS. 14220) A-ba-am [] Ma-nu-um [] I-gi-gi [] Ma-nu-um la [] I-mi-ilu Ir-di- [] Na-nu-um-šarru Na-nu- [] I-lu-lu šarru I- []	En-bi-ištar Šar-ru-ki-in † Ri-mu-uš † Ma-ni-iš-te-su † Me-sa-lim	Arad ^{il} Nannar Simanu Abušam
2543	I-gi-gi šarru } I-mi šarru } 3 Na-ni šarru } E-lu-lu šarru }					
2540	Du-du 21	21				Marḥaš Libanuk-šabaš
2519	Su-qar-kib 15	15	197	Huršitu (Asiru) puhia Ašnunak Kallamu Ituria Malōū Ibiq-ištar Kutha Gudea Dungi-babbar Namzitarra Ur-pa-sag	Ursag-pakabdu Ur-mes	
2504	12 Uruk. IV Ur-nigin 3 Ur-giš-ginar † 6 Kud-da 6 Ba-ša-ili 5 Ur ^d Utu 6					Ganḥar Kisari Dungi-zi-mu Kimaš-Madqa Hunnini Tupa Amur-sin
	5		26			Dēr Anu-mutabbil
					Kisurra Ba-a Ur-sin Idin-ilu, p. Nagidda Urgišginar Hamasi Anu-banini Itur-šamaš, p. Qalbaa Ur-adad Satuni U-ba-a Arad ^{il} Nannar	
					Adab Habalute Ur ^d [] Galū ^d Utu †	Iškun-Sin Hašhammer
					Daburum Lū-bal-sa(gi)ga [] []-wa-qar	

Cities of Sumer and Akkad.

𒀭𒂗𒂗	KIŠ	Kiš ^{ki}	(El-Oheimir.)	^d Za-mà-mà. ^E me-te-ur-sag,
𒀭𒂗𒂗	URUK	Unu(g) ^{ki} -ga	(Uruk.)	Anu. ^d Nana. ^d Ninni. ^d Innina. ^E -an-na
𒀭𒂗𒂗	UR	Uri ^{ki} -ma	(Muqajjar.)	^d En-zu. ^d Nanna(r). ⁱⁱ Sin. ^d Nin-gal. ^E 'kiš-sin-gal. ^E -temenniif. ^E -kar-zi-da.
𒀭𒂗𒂗	AWAN	Api-an ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Ha-ma-zi ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Adab ^{ki}	(Bismaja)	^d Nin-sun(?). ^E -mah.
𒀭𒂗𒂗	MAER	Ma-ri ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	UPI	Uhu ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	AKKADU	Agade ^{ki}	()	ⁱⁱ Ištar. ^E -ul-maš.
𒀭𒂗𒂗	GUTIUM		()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Isin ^{ki} -na	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	ERIDU	Erida ^{ki}	(Abushahrain.)	^d En-ki. ^d Nun. ⁱⁱ Ea. ^d Dampalnunna. ^E -abzu
𒀭𒂗𒂗	LARSA	Arar ^{ki} -ma	(Senkereh.)	^d Utu. ^d Babbar. ^E -babbar
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Umma ^{ki}	(Djochä.)	^d Šara. ^d Nidaba
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Lagaš ^{ki}	(Tello.)	^d Ningirsu. ^E -ninnū. ^d Bau. ^E -sil-sir-sir
𒀭𒂗𒂗	NIPPUR	Nibru ^{ki}	(Niffer.)	^d Girsu ^{ki} . ^d Ninā. ^E -sal-giisa. ^E -šeš-šeš-epāra
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Keš ^{ki}	()	^d En-lil. ^d Nin-lil. ^E -kur.
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Aratta ^{ki}	()	^d Nin-mah. ^d Nin-lu(d). ^d Nin-harsag. ^E -mah
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Suruppak ^{ki}	(Fāru.)	
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Kisurra ^{ki}	(Abuhatab.)	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	HALLAB	Zababu ^{ki}	()	ⁱⁱ Ištar. ^E -zi-kalamma
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Kullab ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Marad ^{ki} -da	(Wannet-es-Sa'dün.)	ⁱⁱ Šar-maradda
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Ereš ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	KUTHA	Kutu ^{ki}	(Tell-Ibrahim.)	^d Nergal. ^d Ereški gal. ⁱⁱ Laaz. ^E -meslam.
𒀭𒂗𒂗	SİPPAR	Zimbir ^{ki}	(Abu-Habba.)	ⁱⁱ Šamaš. ⁱⁱ Aa. ⁱⁱ Anunit. ^E -babbar
𒀭𒂗𒂗	BABILU	Kā-dingir ^{ki} -ra	(Babil.)	ⁱⁱ Marduk. ⁱⁱ Zarpanitu. ⁱⁱ Amal. ⁱⁱ Annunitu. ^E sagil
𒀭𒂗𒂗	DILBAT		(Dēlam.)	^d Uraš. ^E -ide anim[kalama]
𒀭𒂗𒂗	ELAMTU	Nim ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	ŠUŠAN	Susa ^{ki}	(Shush.)	ⁱⁱ Šušinak. ^d Nin-šušimki. (^E)a-arge-sú.
𒀭𒂗𒂗	DUPLIAŠ	Aš-nun-na ^{ki}	()	ⁱⁱ Tišpak.
𒀭𒂗𒂗		id	^E š-nun-na ^{ki}	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	DER	Bād-dingir ^{ki}	()	ⁱⁱ Kadi
𒀭𒂗𒂗	DUR-MATI	Béd-ma-da ^{ki}	()	
𒀭𒂗𒂗	DUR-GURGURI	Bād-urudu-nagar ^{hi}	(Tell-Sifr.)	
𒀭𒂗𒂗		Kazallu ^{ki}	()	^d Nu-(tūg)-muš-da
𒀭𒂗𒂗	BIT-KARKAR	Im ^{ki}	()	^d Immer. ⁱⁱ Ramman. ^E -udgalgal.
𒀭𒂗𒂗	BARSİPPA	Barsip ^{ki}	(El-Birs.)	ⁱⁱ Nabū. ⁱⁱ Tašmetu. ⁱⁱ Tutu. ^E -zidi

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

Nos. 1, 2

LISTS OF KINGS

Two new fragments of the list of kings have been recovered among the few uncatalogued tablets in the Museum collections. They are of unusual importance in reconstructing the history of Sumer and Akkad before B.C. 3000. Their great interest lies in the fact that they restore the main lines of the Babylonian chronology as set down among Nippur scholars at the end of the Isin dynasty about B.C. 2000. The Greek tradition of Abydenos and Berosos must be traced back to it. They moreover give us new kings and dynasties, they fix for the first time the length of reign and succession of the kings of Akkad, and complete our information about the Gutti and the Kings of Kiš.

Nippur standard work on chronology seems to have been a twelve column tablet: six on the obverse from left to right and six on the reverse from right to left. Column 12 is accordingly the reverse of Column 1, and Column 11 is opposed to Column 2. The 10 first columns are a detailed catalogue of the kings, dynasty by dynasty. Columns 11 and 12 sum up the total of kings and years for each royal city among the 11 which had in turn, *once or more, the honor of being capital of the kingdom.* The lower part of Column 12 is a last total of the kings and years of all the 11 cities together.

The royal canon when complete would be a most precious document and would help us to fix the lines of Babylonian history from the legendary time of the kings after the flood, down to the end of the Isin dynasty. We would learn the names of the kings, the length of their reigns, their relation of father and son, the dynasty to which they belong, the name of their capital, the

peculiarities of its foundation; the total of kings and years for each dynasty; how many dynasties successively or at intervals reigned in the same capital; the order of the dynasties. Unfortunately our evidence is very fragmentary. Not one tablet has been preserved in relative completeness. The biggest fragment is scarcely a half of it. Top and bottom of all columns are broken off, and the mangled text calls for necessary reservations. Before the new fragments had been recovered, even the names of the 11 royal cities were uncertain. We knew at the best that from the flood to Enlil-bani of Isin 134 kings, or 139 to Damiqilišu of the same dynasty, had governed the land. The number of years which had elapsed during the same period of time was figured as 28,875 or 32,243, according to the list of 134 or 139 kings. And all attempts to supply by indirect computation the missing portions of the text seemed fruitless and misleading, as will be proved by a study of the new fragments.

Even the new and welcome information supplied by them does not blind us to the fact that absolutely reliable chronology is actually out of question, not only because a legendary number of years is attributed to the kings of the first dynasty of Kiš (some 6, 7, 8 or 9 hundred years each), but because the texts so far published do not agree in all details. Whether the various readings have to be traced back to the old scribe or to the modern copyist has to be further established. One tablet published by A. POEBEL attributes 125 years to the Gutu dynasty, where we have only 124. The total number of the kings of Kiš is read 51 by POEBEL and 38 by HOMMEL. And should all modern copies of the damaged fragments be correct, a fact has become more and more forcible: there was not one, but many royal lists, kept up to date in Nippur with each new reign, as is proved by the various computations of 134 and 139 kings. Various readings might be incorporated in the new copy, *e. g.*, the names of the successors of Šargani-šarri in POEBEL No. 3 and in the new fragment. The common use of two languages, Sumerian and Akkadian, might lead to a translation of the proper names

and be a source of confusion. The most striking discrepancies are manifested by a comparison of the Nippur tradition with a text originating from Kiš (Oheimir) and published by SCHEIL. Here Queen Azag-Bau is the supposed founder of the (4th?) dynasty of Kiš, where she reigned 100 (or 14) years. Nippur text ignores Azag-Bau except as the mother of the first king Baša-Enzu. Rival cities of Sumer and Akkad had more than one local tradition. The problem of parallel dynasties is one of the most troublesome for Babylonian chronologists. We should wisely refrain from forcing any new name of a king into a gap of the Nippur list, until it is well established that it did really belong to it.

Our material for reconstructing early chronology between B.C. 4000 and 2000 includes the following tablets or fragments:

Already published:

1. CBS. 13981. Nippur fragment.¹ It gives the beginning and the end of the list of kings. Its text extends across Cols. 1, 2, 3 and 10, 11, 12. It has a total of 134 kings.

2. CBS. 13994. Nippur fragment.² Its text corresponds to portions of Cols. 1, 2 and 7, 8 (Dynasty of Akkad).

3. CBS. 13293. Nippur fragment.³ Its text covers portions of Cols. 1 and 12, and gives a total of 139 kings.

4. CBS. 19797. Nippur fragment. The reverse is a catalogue of the dynasties of Ur and Nisin early published by H. V. HILPRECHT.⁴ The obverse has been identified by A. POEBEL⁵ with Cols. 1 and 2 of the list of kings. It is probably a late copy made at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.

5. CBS. 15365. Nippur fragment. No facsimile, but only a translation of the reverse has been given by POEBEL.⁶ FR. HOMMEL⁷ claims to have been the first to identify the fragment

¹ A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 2; Vol. IV, 1, p. 73.

² A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 3; Vol. IV, 1, p. 78.

³ A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 4; Vol. IV, 1, p. 80.

⁴ BE. Vol. XX, 1, pl. 30, No. 47 and pl. XV.

⁵ PBS. V. No. 5; Vol. IV, 1, p. 82.

⁶ PBS. Vol. IV, 1, p. 81.

⁷ In J. B. NIES, *Ur Dynasty Tablets* (1920), p. 205 and note 4.

and to give a correct interpretation of the text. The original is missing, a fact much to be regretted, as the text is obviously a portion of Col. 11, and, if correctly copied, supplies unique information. A city, the name of which is lost, but is supposed by HOMMEL to have been Upi, was 6 times a capital, with [11 ?] kings who reigned 125 years. We know only 1 kingdom of Upi with 6 kings who reigned 99 years. And no known city has been a capital so many times (Uruk 5, Kiš 4, Ur 3 times). It is not easy to reconcile this evidence with the other chronological data.¹

6. V. SCHEIL: "Les plus anciennes dynasties de Sumer et d'Akkad."² A large single column tablet, originating from Kiš (Oheimir). Its text, parallel to Nippur list Cols. 6, 7 and 8, was, to the present day, the only catalogue of the dynasties of Upi, Kiš, Uruk, Akkad, Uruk, to the Guti invasion between B.C. 2250 and 3000. Unfortunately the lower part of the obverse is broken off, depriving us of reliable information on the kings of Akkad from Sargon to Šargani-šarri. This gap is now bridged over by the new fragments.

The new fragments:

7. CBS. 14220. Nippur fragments. The main portion has been published in the *Museum Journal*, December, 1920. It is the first publication of the Nippur list, Cols. 4 to 9, with a few signs of Cols. 3 and 10 very useful to link it up with the text of the fragment CBS. 13981. It does not belong to the same identical tablet. Their thicknesses are different. It is still more damaged. Top and bottom of all columns are missing. Its importance lies in the fact that it allows a complete survey of the list. The four new dynasties of Kiš, Hamazi, Adad, Mari, complete the number of the 11 royal cities, which should read as follows:

¹ It has been omitted by POEBEL, and simply mentioned as possible 24th to 29th dynasties. PBS. Vol. IV, 1, p. 95.

² *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, Oct., 1911, p. 606.

Kiš	4 times capital of the kingdom, 51 (?) kings,	18000 . . . years.
Uruk	5 times capital of the kingdom, 22 kings,	2610 . . . years.
Ur	3 times capital of the kingdom, 13 kings,	396 years.
Awan	1 time capital of the kingdom, 3 kings,	356 years.
Ĥamazi	1 time capital of the kingdom, 1 king,	7 years.
Adab	1 time capital of the kingdom, 1 king,	90 years.
Mari	1 time capital of the kingdom, 2 . . . kings,	30 . . . years.
Upi	1 time capital of the kingdom, 6 kings,	99 years.
Akkad	1 time capital of the kingdom, 12 kings,	197 years.
Gutium	1 time capital of the kingdom, 21 kings,	124 years + 40 d
Nisin	1 time capital of the kingdom, 11 kings,	159 years.
	(or 16 kings,	225½ years).
<hr/>		
11 cities, down to Enlil bani of Isin:	134 kings,	28876 years
(or down to Damiq ilišu of Isin:	139 kings,	32243 years).

It is evident that the number of kings of Kiš is too high by perhaps 10 units, but as we do not know the exact number of kings of Mari, it is better not to attempt to correct it, till another text has been found. The number of years calls for a higher criticism. We are faced with a well-known problem. How could the early kings live such a fabulous number of years? Or what was the length of their years? The moon god, the lord of knowledge, is the first regulator of times. The reappearance of the new moon, its wanderings or stations across the sky marked the first known periods of weeks and months. We do not know when the solar year was first in use. A second Adar, or extra thirteenth month every four years, simply establishes the fact of a primitive cycle of 12 lunar months. The solar system is secondary. Babbar of Larsa was considered as the son of the moon god of Ur. Perhaps the first kings after the flood had no command of well-developed writing. A greater part of tradition was trusted to memory. That tradition as expressed in our list of kings attributes a high number of years to the earliest kings. We are to respect those figures, even when we are presently unable to account for them. Besides, the fragmentary condition of our documents prevents any checking of them.

The four new dynasties of Kiš, Ḥamazi, Adab and Mari take place in the list after Kiš, Uruk, Ur, Awan, and before Upi, Kiš, Uruk, Agade, Gutī, Ur, Isin. The new Kiš dynasty may be the second. Such kings of Kiš as Mesilim, Urzage, Lugalarsi, Alzu(?) may belong to its 4 (or 6) kings. They were contemporary with King Urnina of Lagaš. The 3d dynasty of Kiš is still conjectural. It must perhaps be placed before Mari and Upi. King Eannadu of Lagaš was also king of Kiš.¹

The name of the king of Ḥamazi, is only partly preserved: []-ni-iš. The length of his reign is derived from CBS. 13981, Col. 11, toward the end. In the sum of kings and years for each royal city, it seems natural that Ḥamazi should take rank after Ur and Awan. The last sign of Col. 11 as preserved in the fragment seems likely the beginning of ḤA. The city is mentioned on a fragment of stone vase,² one of the earliest inscriptions of Nippur. It is a votive offering to the god Zamama, by Utug patesi of Kiš, son of Bazuzu, who defeated Ḥamazi. Centuries later on, at the time of Gimil-Sin of Ur, Arad-Nannar³ the powerful high minister boasted, among many titles, to be patesi of Ḥamasi and Ganḥar. Perhaps the city has to be located across the Tiger toward the north-east.

The king of Adab, Lugalanni-mu-un-du, reigned 90 years. His name has been preserved in an official document,⁴ a transfer of land of which we possess a copy of the time of Ammizaduga. His authority was acknowledged in Nippur, and he bore the title of king of the four regions of the world. A full list of the patesis who were dependent from him is given, including the patesis of Al-Halim, Sis, Kiel, Kagalla, Amdama, and some more places. His goddess was probably Nin-maḥ. The city of Adab (Bismaja) had a temple E-maḥ. A patesi of

¹ A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. IV, p. 129.

² H. V. HILPRECHT, OBI., Nos. 108, 109.

³ FR. THUREAU DANGIN, RA. V, p. 99; VI, p. 67, 68. In the 43rd year of Dungi lived a patesi of Ḥamasi named Ur-Adad: LANGDON, Drehem No. 52; GENOUILLAC, Trouvaille, No. 69.

⁴ A. POEBEL, BE. VI, 2, No. 130; p. 123, and pl. 57.

Adab,¹ Lù ^dUtu son of Ur^d . . . , is known by his seal on a business document of the 8th year of Gimil Sin of Ur.

Mari was a kingdom of the north-west along the Euphrates. An-sis² belonged probably to a Semitic race. His reign lasted 30 years. He was succeeded by []-gi his son.

According to SCHEIL's tablet, the 4th (?) dynasty of Kiš, with its 8 kings and a total of 586 years, was founded by a woman Azag-Bau, who being queen reigned 100 years. The total was inconsistent with the detail of years of each king, and had been reduced by SCHEIL to 192 to match it. A new lecture³ of the figures of years of queen Azag-Bau, 14 instead of 100, has further reduced the total to 106. The new fragment introduces into the question an entirely new element. Azag-Bau is no more considered as a queen reigning a certain number of years, but only as the mother of the first king Baša-Enzu. His son and successor Ur-Zamama reigned 6 years according to SCHEIL's tablet, and at least 20 according to the new fragment. Some more wedges might precede the two visible signs. Unfortunately the fragment just breaks off at that point. And the most interesting total of 7 or 8 kings is lost.

The old Sargon, the founder of Agade, is a great figure of the past. His empire extended probably to the Mediterranean Sea. For the first time we can establish the order of his descendants and the length of their reigns. A small fragment of Cols. 7 and 8 of CBS. 14220, recovered some months after the main portion, just supplies the missing link and the number of years of King Maništešu. It becomes evident that King Naram-Sin, commonly called son of Sargon, was his son in the broad sense of descendant, being in reality his great-grandson.

¹ D. W. MYHRMAN, BE. Vol. III, No. 13: seal. Another patesi of Adab, Ḥabalulē, (AO. 5485, 5494; GENOUILLAC, Trouville, No. 25, 71), lived probably at the same time. The: en-en Adab^{kl} me of: Amherst tablets No. 10 belong to an earlier period of the kings of Agade. The patesis of Adab paid tribute to the kings of Ur: EAH. 134; EBH., p. 299, l. 16.

² Or ^dMuš, or ^{kl}Širu?

³ PEIZER, OLZ. 1912, col. 108, 154. A. POEBEL, *ibid.*, 289-291.

The dynasty of Agade reads as follows:

Sargon reigned	55 years
Rimuš son of Sargon reigned	15 years
Maništešu son of Rimuš reigned	7 years
Naram-Sin son of Maništešu reigned	56 years
Šargani-šarri son of Naram-Sin reigned	25 years

Sargon was king of Kiš before he founded Agade. He calls himself a devotee (*ur*) of the god Zamama,¹ the patron god of Kiš, perhaps his personal god. In the same way Lugalzaggisi, born in Umma, calls on his patron goddess Nidaba, even when he is the all-powerful king of Uruk. The title of libator (*qa-šu-dā*) may be an actual expression of the rank and function of Sargon in the temple of Zamama. It has a strange savour of the old legend of the boy brought up by Aggi the libator, the adopted child, growing up in the precincts of the temple and rising to the dignity of founder of a great empire. To the last days of Nineveh and Babylon, people never tired of reciting that wonderful legend.

Soon after Šargani-šarri the fragment CBS. 13994 has a computation of its own, a total of 157 years for the 5 kings, which is correct within one year compared with the detail of the new fragment. It is remarkable that it attributes only 24 years to Šargani-šarri, instead of 25 of the new fragment. The only doubtful point, in the poor condition of our damaged fragment, is the number of years, 5 or 7 of king Maništešu. But the number 7 seems to be required by the total given in CBS. 13994. Moreover we have the means of controlling the correctness of the figures in the new fragment by the total as given in SCHEIL'S tablet. We read that 12 kings of Agade reigned 197 years. The last kings of Agade after Šargani-šarri reigned together 39 years, which added to our 158 years amounts exactly to 197 of the total.

Šargani-šarri, according to the famous inscription² on the door socket of the temple of Nippur, was the son not of Naram-

¹ Or a libator of the deified king Ur-Zamama, according to Prof. Langdon.

² Published by H. V. HILPRECHT, OBI. No. 2.

Sin but of Da-ti-^dEn-lil. How this is to be reconciled with the statement of the new fragment is not clear.

More trouble awaits us with the immediate successors of Šargani-šarri. They read as follows in the three documents:

SCHEIL'S TABLET	CBS. 13994	CBS. 14220
A-ba-am[]	Ma-nu-um šarru	Ma-nu-um [šarru]
[]	Ma-nu-um la šarru	Ma-nu-um [la šarru]
l-gí-gí []	l-gí-gí šarru	Ir-di []
l-mi-ilu	l-mi šarru	Na-nu [um]
Na-nu-um šarru	Na-ni-[] šarru	I-[]
l-lu-lu. šarru	E-lu-lu šarru	[]
4 bi 3 mu in-ag	4 bi 3 mu in-ag	[]

Two documents make good that 4 kings reigned together 3 years. They agree more or less about their names and order: Igigi, Imi-ilu, Na-ni-um or Na-nu-um, and Ilulu or Elulu. CBS. 13994 insists that they were kings (*šarru*), CBS. 14220 has more variants: Ir-di [] instead of Igígí and Imi-ilu. Was the scribe uncertain about the lecture of the names, or did he feel authorized to translate them? But what are we going to do with the two first lines which read Sumerian in SCHEIL'S tablet and good Semitic in the other fragments? Are they a short sentence expressing that in the general confusion nobody knew who was the legitimate king, or are they proper names? Manum was king, but not counted as king, or did not reign at all. In fact between Šargani-šarri and Dudu and Šu-gar-kib the last 2 kings of Agade, we want 5 kings to make good the total of 12. It is too early to give a definite answer to that question which, after all, is only a secondary one.

The last contribution of the new fragments concerns the domination of the Guti. They ruled the land 124 years and 40 days, or 125 years and 40 days according to CBS. 13981. Not in vain are they called the people (*ugnim, ummanu*) of the Guti. They were tribes from the East, precursors of the Cassites and the Medes. They were indeed hordes without a king. Out

of a total of 21 rulers we recover in full the names of the first four, and partly the names of 8 to 11.

1	Imbia ruled	5 years
2	Ingišu ruled	7 years
3	Warlagaba ruled	6 years
4	Iarlagarum ruled	3.. years
...	
8	[]-gub	....
9	[]-ti	....
10	[]-an-gab	....
11	[]-bi	.....

Some more Guti kings are known like Sar-a-ti-gu-bi-ši-in, Šarлак, Lasirab, Enrida-pizir, Sium, Arlagan.¹ Their place is not fixed in the list. The last king was Ti-rí-ga-an.

8. CBS. 14223. A small fragment, part of Col. 1. The reverse presents that smooth surface characteristic of a blank before or after a final summing of Col. 12. The fragment is much damaged, its reading is uncertain. The names otherwise unknown may belong to the first dynasty of Kiš. In that case it is remarkable that the length of their reigns is unusually near human estimate.

No. 2. CBS. 14223

COLUMN I

.....
<i>Te</i> []	Te []
[...] 70 <i>mu</i> [<i>ni-ag</i>]	reigned [...] 70 years.
<i>Ba-la-gi-na nu</i> [].	Balaginanu[. .]
75 <i>mu</i> <i>ni-ag</i>	reigned 75 years.
<i>Na-an giš-li-is(?) -ku?</i>	Nangišli išku
[] <i>mu</i> <i>ni-ag</i> .	reigned [] years
.....

¹ A. T. CLAY, YOS. Vol. I, No. 13: When Arlagan was king of Guti, to Nin-gurra, mother of Umma, Nam-mah-ni patesi of Umma, built and restored her old temple.

No. 1. CBS. 14220

COLUMN III

.....
[30 <i>mu ni-ag</i>].	reigned 30 years.
[<i>E-lu</i>]- <i>lu</i>	Elulu
[25]- <i>mu ni-ag</i> .	reigned 25 years.
] <i>Ba-lu</i>]- <i>lu</i>	Balulu
[36] <i>mu ni-ag</i> .	reigned 36 years.
[4] <i>lugal</i>	4 kings
[<i>mu-bi</i> 120+] 51 <i>ib-ag</i> .	reigned 171 years.
[<i>Ur^{ki}</i>] <i>giš tukul ba-sīg</i>	Ur was defeated by arms
.....

COLUMN IV

.....
[. . <i>mu</i>] <i>ni-ag</i> .	reigned [] years.
4(?) <i>lugal</i>	4(?) kings
<i>mu-bi</i> 3600+192 <i>ib-ag</i>	reigned 3792 years.
<i>Kiš^{ki} giš tukul ba-sīg</i>	Kiš was defeated by arms.
<i>nam-lugal-bi</i>	The kingdom
<i>Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki} šú ba-túm</i>	passed to Ḫamazi
<i>Ha[-ma]-zi^{ki} a</i>	In Ḫamazi
[] <i>-ni-iš</i>	[] niš
[<i>lugal</i>] <i>ám</i>	being king
[. . <i>mu</i>] <i>ni-ag</i>	reigned [] years
.....

COLUMN V

.....
<i>Adab^{ki} šú ba-túm</i>	passed to Adab.
<i>Adab^{ki} a</i>	In Adab.
<i>Lugal-an-ni mu-un-dū</i>	Lugal anni mundu.
<i>lugal ám</i>	being king
90 <i>mu ni-ag</i>	reigned 90 years.
1 <i>lugal</i>	1 king
<i>mu-bi</i> 90 <i>ib [ag]</i>	reigned 90 years.
<i>Adab^{ki} giš tukul ba-sīg</i>	Adab was defeated by arms.
<i>nam-lugal-bi</i>	The kingdom
<i>Ma-rí^{ki} šú ba-túm</i>	passed to Mari.

<i>Ma-ri^{ki} a</i>	In Mari.
<i>An-sir lugal-ám</i>	Ansir being king
<i>30 mu ni-ag</i>	reigned 30 years.
[]-gi dumu[]	[]-gi son of []
.....

COLUMN VI

.....
<i>mu-bi 99 ib-ag.</i>	reigned 99 years.
<i>Upi^{ki} giš tukul ba-sīg</i>	Upi was defeated by arms
<i>Nam-lugal-bi</i>	The kingdom
<i>Kiš^{ki} šú ba-túm</i>	passed to Kiš.
<i>Kiš^{ki} a</i>	In Kiš
<i>Bá-ša^d En-zu</i>	Baša-Enzu
<i>dumu Azag^d Ba-ú ge</i>	son of Azag-Bau
<i>lugal-ám</i>	being king
<i>25 mu ni-ag</i>	reigned 25 years
<i>Ur^d Za-mà-mà</i>	Ur-zamama
<i>dumu Bá-ša^d En-zu ge</i>	son of Baša-Enzu
[...+] 20 mu ni-ag	reigned 20 [+...] years
.....

COLUMN VII

.....
<i>[ga-šu]-dū ur^d za-mà-mà</i>	libator, devotee of Zamama,
<i>lugal A-ga-dé^{ki}</i>	king of Akkad,
<i>galu A-ga-dé^{ki}</i>	who founded
<i>mu-un-da-dū-a</i>	Akkad,
<i>lugal-ám</i>	being king,
<i>55 mu ni-ag</i>	reigned 55 years.
<i>Ri-mu-uš dumu Šár-ru-ki-in</i>	Rimuš son of Sargon
<i>15 mu ni-ag</i>	reigned 15 years.
<i>Ma-ni-iš-te-šu</i>	Maništešu
<i>[dumu Ri-] mu-uš</i>	[son of Ri-]muš
<i>7 [mu ni-ag]</i>	[reigned] 7 [years]
<i>Na-ra-am [i^{it}. Sin]</i>	Naram-[Sin]
<i>dumu Ma-ni-[iš-te-šu]</i>	son of Mani[štešu]
<i>56 mu ni-[ag]</i>	reigned 56 years
<i>Šár-ga-ni šár-ri</i>	Šargani-šarri

<i>dumu Na-ra-am</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Sin</i>	son of Naram-Sin
25 <i>mu ni-ag</i>	reigned 25 years
<i>Ma-nu-um</i> šar[rum]	Manum [- šarrum]
<i>Ma-nu-um la</i> [šarrum]	Manum la [šarrum]
<i>Ir-di</i> []	Irdi []
<i>Na-nu</i> [um]	Na-nu [um]
<i>I-</i> []	I-[]
.....

COLUMN VIII

.....
<i>ugnim Gu</i> [-ti-um ^{ki}]	The people of Gutium .
<i>lugal nu-ub-tug</i>	had no king
<i>Im-bi-a</i> 5 <i>mu ni-ag</i>	Imbia ruled 5 years.
<i>In-gí-šù</i>	Ingišu
7 <i>mu in-ag</i>	ruled 7 years.
<i>Wa-ar-la-ga-ba</i>	Warlagaba
6 <i>mu in ag</i>	ruled 6 years
<i>Ia-ar-la-ga-rum</i>	Iarlagarum
3 [+...] <i>mu ni-ag</i>	ruled 3 [...] years.
[.....]
[... <i>mu ni-ag</i>]	ruled ... years
[.....]
[... <i>mu ni-ag</i>]	ruled ... years
[.....]
[... <i>mu ni-ag</i>]	ruled years
[.....]-gub	..... gub
[... <i>mu ni-ag</i>]	ruled ... years.
[.....]-ti	..... ti
[... <i>mu ni-ag</i>]	ruled ... years.
[.....]-an-gab	..... an-gab
[... <i>mu in-ag</i>]	ruled ... years
[.....] <i>bi</i>	..... bi
[... <i>mu in-ag</i>]	ruled years
.....

COLUMN IX

.....
[2..] <i>mu ni-ag</i>	ruled [2..] years
21 <i>lugal</i>	21 kings

<i>mu-bi 124 ud 40</i>	124 years 40 days.
<i>ugnim Gutium^{ki}</i>	The people of Gutium
<i>giš tukul ba-sīg</i>	was defeated by arms
[<i>nam-]lugal-bi</i>	The kingdom
[<i>šú</i>] <i>ba-túm</i>	passed to
.....

COLUMN X

.....
[<i>dumu Gimil-ì-lì-]šú</i>	[son of Gimilili]šú
[21 <i>mu in-]ag</i>	reigned [21 years]
[<i>Iš-me^d da-]gán</i>	[Išme-da]-gan
[<i>dumu I-din^d] da-gán</i>	[son of Idin]-dagan
.....

Nos. 3, 6, 9

THE END OF THE 3RD UR DYNASTY: IBI-SIN AND IŠBI-IRRA

The following documents throw a new light on the events which marked the end of the 3rd Ur dynasty. We knew that Ibi-Sin, the last king of Ur, was taken prisoner to Elam, and the royal power passed from Ur to Isin. But we now hear that Išbi-irra, before being king of Isin and founder of the new dynasty, was a rebel supported by Elam in his fight against the legitimate king of Ur. Himself was not a Sumerian. And, worst of all, he seems to have very early extended his control over Nippur, where he was proclaimed true ruler, all of which could not be done, unless he was the effective protector of the famous shrine of Enlil. Ibi-Sin complains bitterly that Enlil has returned evil unto Sumer, given the pastorate of the land to an unclean dealer, and the royalty to a man who was not of Sumerian race. This is a new proof of the Semitic origin of the kings of Isin, as opposed to the Sumerian kings of Ur.

The site of the city of Isin is not yet known. But the official despatch of Ibi-Sin makes clear that the Semite Išbi-irra and Elam his ally, in their drive south past Nippur, will find in arms against them the patesi of Kazallu and the patesi of Girsu.

The probable location of Isin should be looked for in the region north of Nippur toward Babylon. Perhaps Kazallu was a fortress east of Girsu, guarding the passage of the Tiger in the region of Kut-el-Amara. Bašanumušda would be at the head of the Sumerian army covering the kingdom of Ur, and cutting Išbi-irra from Elam. A body of auxiliary troops is sent to him under the command of Nabbia for the protection of Kazallu. The king in person will shortly join the main forces.

Later on we hear that a welcome help has been sent by Enlil to Ibi-Sin from the mounts of Martu, to counteract the efforts of Elam. Troops of Amurru are spreading in the land. Thanks to them he will hit Elam in the face and beat Išbi-irra. It is not certain whether the new ally or Išbi-irra himself is described as: "the man of Maer, the foreign delegate (*sukkallu*), acting as priest of Šamaš." Anyhow these are stormy days and Ibi-Sin prays that they may pass over.

The last document seems to explain to a certain extent the conditions of Išbi-irra's revolt, and why he is called an unclean dealer. As an official of the king of Ur, he was probably sent to the city of Isin on business (*kaskal*). His special errand was to buy large quantities of barley, perhaps rations (*še-ba*) for the troops. Documents from the time of the old Sargon mention exportations of grain from Agade and the region of Babylon to the south. Nippur standard weight was to be used, and the expense amounted to some 20 silver talents. At that moment, North Babylonia was fairly overrun with foreign bands of Amurru or Martu people. With their complicity or acting by order, Išbi-irra forced his way into the city of Isin. Armed with his measure or bushel (*gurru*), he entered all the granaries and probably seized all the stored supplies. It was his first act of rebellion and of government. The invasion of the Martu, that severed regular connections with the capital, gave him a welcomed opportunity.

No. 3. CBS. 14224. Letter of Ibi-Sin to Baša-numušda patesi of Kazallu. Išbi-irra has revolted, and been proclaimed

king in Nippur. Anyhow the king of Ur will make a stand. Troops are despatched to the patesi. The king himself will join the army. The patesi of Girsu Lugal . . . sir has received the same orders. Together with the patesi of Kazallu they shall watch Išbi-irra. Hard times are coming on Sumer. Let the will of the gods be accomplished.

The two half erased signs at the end of the letter are perhaps an indication of a series.

No. 6. CBS. 14230. The tablet is broken. But it certainly was a copy of the previous letter, followed by 17 lines of the text of a new letter, addressed accordingly to the same Baša-numušda patesi of Kazallu. We trace here the official practice of sending important documents in duplicate. Events were developing. A new ally, Arad-gina, perhaps a brother of the king, is mentioned. The text is too broken, to make clear whether he had a special mission near Išbi-irra. A graceful command was repelled. But the hopes of Ibi-Sin do not abate. From the mounts of Martu help is coming. He will beat Elam and Išbi-irra. The land will be restored to peace and order. So runs the letter at a time when the issue of the fight was still uncertain.

No. 9. CBS. 2272. Fragment of letter of Ibi-Sin? Išbi-irra is sent to Isin on business, to buy barley. Grains were preserved in shafts or silos (*dunnu*), measured by *gurru*, paid on Nippur standard silver weight and shipped by special *má-gúr* boats. Great troops of Martu people had gathered in the land. Perhaps barley was stored as rations for them.

No. 3. CBS. 14224

OBVERSE

āš *Bá-ša*^d *nu-muš-da*
pa-te-si *Ka-za-lu-lu*^{ki}
ù-na-a-dú(g)
^d *I-bi*ⁱⁱ *Sin lugal-ru*
Na-ab-bi-a

Unto Baša-Numušda
 patesi of Kazallu
 thus speaks
 Ibi-Sin thy king:
 Nabbia

[nam-]erín tab-ba(?) mu-ra-ri ¹ -a-na	with his auxiliary troops which he brings
nam- <i>pa-te-si</i>	along, for the patesiate of Kazallu
<i>Ka-<i>zal-lu</i>^{ki} šú mu-ra-gál</i>	I have appointed unto thee;
mà-e tab-ba(?) nam-erín- <i>zu dugud-da-<i>zu</i></i>	myself as support . . . thy heavy troops
<i>in-nu-ù . . .</i>	. . . . .
a-na aš-ám [] <i>dím? galu-mu-e</i>	All together my men,
<i>ši-in-gál(?)</i>	shall be there.
<i>aš Iš-bi^u ir-ra</i>	As for Išbi-irra,
<i>ugu-mu-šú igi-ni im-ma-ši-in-si(g)</i>	against me, he has raised his face,
<i>ù mà-e ù-mu-un-šub</i>	and I am to submit.
<i>ga-ám-gub</i>	Well, I will make a stand.
<i>en-na Iš-bi^u ir-ra</i>	So long Išbi-irra,
<i>kur[-šú(?) ne-in-gi-a a-rá nu . . .</i>	is . . . back into the mounts, so long no . . .
<i>za-e Lugal []-sir pa-te-si Gir-su^{ki} ge</i>	Thyself and Lugal . . . sir patesi of Girsu
<i>a-na aš-ám [] gál-la</i>	all together being . . .
<i>ud-bi šú la-ba-an-lāḫ-gi-ám</i>	unto that day not coming back.

REVERSE

[] <i>ib(?) -gi-gi-da</i>	. . . . . in order to return
<i>a-rá mi-ni-ib-si(g)-ám(?)</i>	then, overpowering him.
<i>i-ne-šú^d En-lil-li Sumer</i>	Now Enlil has returned
<i>ḫúl mu-un-a-gi</i>	evil unto Sumer.
<i>a-ka kur . . []-ta-è-ne</i>	At the order . . . issuing from the
	mounts . . .
<i>nam-sib kalam-ma šú []</i>	for the pastorate of the land
<i>i-ne-šú^d En-lil-li</i>	Now Enlil,
<i>galu im šam-šam nu-luḫ-ḫa . . .</i>	unto an unclean clay dealer . . .
<i>aš Iš-bi^u ir-ra numun Sumer-ra</i>	unto Išbi-irra who is not of
<i>mu-me-a</i>	Sumerian race
<i>nam-lugal-la mu-na-an-sum</i>	has given the royalty.
<i>ga-nam sir na dingir-ri-e-ne</i>	Well may the . . . of the gods
<i>Sumer-ge ḫe-ba-ab-dú(g)</i>	of Sumer be proclaimed,
<i>a-a^d En-lil dú(g)-ga dú(g)-ga-ni</i>	May the commands of the father Enlil
<i>ḫe-bi-da-aš</i>	be accomplished.

No. 6. CBS. 14230

OBVERSE

[Su]mer ḫúl mu[- ]	. . . . has returned evil unto Sumer . . .
[]-ta-è-ne nam-sib-kalam[- ]	. . . . issuing from . . . for the pastorate
	of the land

¹ *Alik tappūt.*

No. 9. CBS. 2272

<i>Aš</i> ^d <i>I-bi</i> ⁱ <i>Sin</i> [	] As for Ibi-Sin
<i>àš Iš-bi-ir-ra</i> [	] concerning Išbi-irra
<i>kaskal I-si-in^{ki} na</i> [	] the road of Isin
<i>še šam-šam-ne (?) im. . .</i> [	] in order to buy barley
<i>ki-lam Nibru^{ki} ta-ám še di-di</i>	on the base of Nippur weight, barley was obtained
<i>20 gú kù-babbar . . . ri-ne ba-gar</i>	. . . . amounted to 20 silver talents.
<i>Ka mar-tu galu kúr-ra ša(g) ma-da</i>	By order of the Martu enemies, now in
<i>uru tû(r)-ra gur-ni tuk-ám</i>	the land, who had entered the city, seizing his measure,
<i>dun-nu dū-a-bi ša(g) I-si-in^{ki} na</i>	all the shafts in Isin
<i>ba-an-tu-ur</i>	were visited.
<i>a-da-al-la-bi Mar-tu . . in. . .</i> [	] And at present, the Martu
<i>ša(g) kalam-ma-šú ba-an. .</i> [	] into the land are
<i>ukkin-gal-gal aš-aš-bi im-š[i</i>	] Great multitude together . . .
<i>mu mar-tu še-ba sīg-gi nu-mu</i> [	] The year when the Martu did not
<i>ugu-mu mu-la-ni-ib-</i>[	] against me, . . . out of . . .
<i>Lugal-zi 70 gur má-gúr a(?) . .</i> [	] Lugal-zi 70 measures by boats
[]
<i>má-gúr</i> [	] boats

No. 4. CBS. 14225

This half tablet is one of the few documents of the Isin dynasty. It is dated in the month of Simanu (June) of King Iterpiša, the eighth ruler since Išbi-irra, probably on the first year of his reign. It is an account of flour in various quantities distributed to officials or servants as rations or monthly salaries. All sorts of grains, chiefly barley (*še*), were ground in the mills (*é-ará*), and the flour portioned out as food for various classes of workmen (*šà-gal erín*). There were many qualities of flour. The best (*zid kal*) lost half of the weight of the original grain,¹ or two measures of grain gave only one measure of *zid-kal*. Less refined qualities of flour were called *zid-gu*, *zid-gu-šig*, *zid-gu-uš*. The name of the common flour not sifted at all, is *zid-še*.

¹ G. REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 102: VATh. 2268.

All proper names seem to be of Semitic derivation.

OBVERSE

180 q. <i>zid-še Maš-gur-ilu-iddin</i> , ¹ <i>Itti</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Nannar-zu</i>	180 qa of še flour to Masgur-iluiddin and(?) Itti-Nannarzu,
60 q. <i>zid-gu Šar-apal</i>	60 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
55 qa ⁱⁱ <i>Nannar-ašarid</i>	55 qa to Nannar-ašarid,
30 q. <i>zid-gu E-ri-ib</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Sin</i>	30 qa of gu flour to Erib-Sin,
10 q. <i>zid-gu</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Nannar-iddin</i>	10 qa of gu flour to Nannar-iddin
10 q. <i>zid-gu Gimil</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Ištar(?) -te-ra-ag</i>	10 qa of gu flour to Gimil-Ištar-terag
10 q. <i>zid-gu</i> 10 q. <i>zid še Ištar-um-mi</i>	10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of še flour to Ištar-ummi,
[<i>zid-gu A-ki-te-ilu-itti-zu</i> <i>]-bi</i> ^d <i>En-lil-lá</i>	....qa of gu flour to Akite-iluittizu, to ... bi-Enlilla,
.....

REVERSE

ⁱⁱ <i>Ištar-te-ra-ag</i>	..... to Gimil-]Ištar-terag,
10 q. <i>zid-gu</i> 10 q. <i>zid</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Nannar ašarid</i>	10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of flour to Nannar ašarid,
15 qa <i>zid-gu A-bi-ia-tùm</i>	15 qa of gu flour to Abijatam,
20 q. <i>zid-gu Šar-apal</i>	20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 q. <i>zid-gu Šar-apal</i>	20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 q. <i>zid-gu Pu-maš-lu</i>	20 qa of gu flour to Pu-mašlu
<i>itu sig-a-ka</i> 27 <i>kam</i>	month of Simanu, the 27th,
<i>mu I-te-ir-pi-ša lugal</i>	year when Iterpiša was king.

No. 5. CBS. 12570

Frontispiece

A SEAL GIVEN BY IBI-SIN TO THE HIGH-PRIEST OF ENLIL.²

The lump of clay in which this seal has been stamped, seems to have preserved for us a real portrait of King Ibi-Sin.

Other portraits have been recovered during the last twenty years: the portrait of Hammurabi of the code-stela found at

¹ A proper name or a measure: ½ gur ... ?

² *Museum Journal*, December, 1920 (Vol. XI, No. 4).

Susa, the statue of Gudea patesi of Lagaš, the relief of Naram-Sin on his stela of victory. The newly found portrait of Ibi-Sin in the Nippur collections is unique in several respects. The lump of clay on which it appears was evidently used to seal a package or receptacle of some kind. The clay is black in color; on the underside are seen the imbedded marks made by the knotted strings by which the sealed packet was bound; on the upper surface, on each side, is the impression, very sharp and distinct, of the seal cylinder. Between these two seal impressions are two lines of cuneiform writing. On the seal itself is an inscription from which we learn that the seal used was that of the high-priest of Enlil named Sag-Nannar-zu. We learn further that this seal was a present to the high-priest from Ibi-Sin king of Ur.

The inscription on the seal reads as follows:

<i>^dI-bí ^uiSin</i>	Ibi-Sin
<i>lugal kal-ga</i>	the mighty king
<i>lugal urⁱkiⁱ ma</i>	the king of Ur,
<i>lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba ge</i>	the king of the four regions of the world
<i>Sag ^dNannar-zu</i>	to Sag-Nannar-zu
<i>sangu ^dEn-lil-lá</i>	priest of Enlil,
<i>arad-da-ni-ir</i>	his servant
<i>in-na-ba.</i>	has given in present.

The cuneiform inscription on the clay reads:

Ur ^dŠul-pa-è damgar son of Erin-da-an.

This last inscription may have been the address of the parcel or perhaps it was the *damgaru*, the banker himself who sealed the package to prevent its unauthorized opening. We possess some other records of this same banker. As we shall see, his quality of agent or banker is of special interest.

The fact that the seal used in closing the package was a gift from the king is an unusual and important feature, which together with the scene engraved makes of it a unique document in which we may look confidently for a portrait of Ibi-Sin,

the deified king of Ur, the last of his dynasty. On the seal cylinders of the Ur school, the special feature is a seated personage wearing a turban. The identity and quality of this personage has remained a matter of doubt. Whether it was Sin the moon god or the deified king was not clear. In the new example the question appears to solve itself.

A seal cylinder cut by order of the king as a gift for his servant (*arad-da-ni-ir, in-na-ba*), is a favor unheard of before the days of Ibi-Sin. All other royal cylinders bear witness to the loyalty of the high officers, servants of the king, with the simple words: *arad-zu* "thy servant." Whether this special record of the royal gift means a strengthening of the king's authority is doubtful. Ibi-Sin's name portended evil. Under his reign the scepter passed from Ur to Isin. Was this a last attempt to remind independent patesis, of their submission to the central power? Thanks to another seal impression from Tello, preserved in the collections at Constantinople,¹ we know that the high intendant in Lagaš, Arad-Nannar, received from Ibi-Sin a seal with the same inscription: *arad-da-ni-ir, in-na-ba*. This Arad-Nannar had been long an important personage at the court of Ur. Under the precedent king, Gimil-Sin, he already occupied the same high position in Lagaš. The name of his father was Ur-Šulpaè, a name identical with that of our actual *damgaru*. Could it be the same man? The name indeed is the same but the title is different, for in this instance he is not described as a *damgaru*, banker, but as a high officer or delegate, *sukkal-mah* like his son Arad-Nannar. Whether he could be acting at times in this capacity and at other times as a banker (*damgaru*) remains to be proved. In any case we find that in the sixth year of Gimil-Sin, Ur-Šulpaè the *damgaru* was acting trustee for the farmers attached to the temple of the deified king of Ur.² Temples of the kings of Ur, Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin, were discovered both at Lagaš and at Nippur.

¹ MIO. Tello, No. 937.

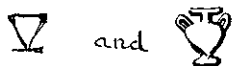
² *Engar è^t Gimil^u Sin šú*, G. REISNER, *Tempelurkund. aus Telloh*, No. 62.

The close relationship between the central power of the king and his representatives in neighboring towns was exemplified by the use of seals with the name and full title of the king, together with the name and rank of his local official. A close examination of the present seal impression will show that the scene represented conveys the same idea as the inscription recording the gift. King Ibi-Sin is undoubtedly figured as making a gift to the priest of Enlil or receiving an offering from his hands. Among the productions of the Ur school of engravers this seal is one of the simplest of its kind. It represents the introduction of a person to a seated king or deity, or more generally a scene of adoration. Some of the details, however, set it apart from all other known examples, among which is the absence of the usual beard from the seated figure of the king. The seal is a masterpiece of engraving. Only the best lapidary in the royal city could cut a seal of such refinement and perfection. The whole design including the minute inscription has been cut in hard material like onyx, agate or lapis lazuli, used for making seals in ancient Babylonia. The illustration in the frontispiece showing one side of the lump of clay, is two and a quarter times larger than the original, so that the seal is magnified to that extent.

The engraving shows a scene in the classical style of Ur. It is limited to two personages; the servant or official standing in front of the seated master and looking him straight in the eyes. The king or god, for such he is in fact, holds up gracefully a small two handled cup or vase. There is a smile lurking on both faces. The meaning is clear, for up to the present day in the East, to look at somebody is a favor, to avert the face is a mark of disgrace. In the picture the servant stands with clasped hands before his seated master. The little vase filled with precious ointment may be symbolic of the offering received or of the favor granted by the god.

We can go one step farther and identify the little vase with a sign of the old writing, the pronunciation of which is uncertain,

but which has a clear meaning, and is a picture of such a vase. It is the sign for "prayer,"¹ REC. 316, which in its natural position looks exactly like the small "alabastron" which the seated god is holding in his fingers.



Such an identification would explain satisfactorily a very common scene on the seal engraving, and throw a new light on the old Sumerian mind and manner. A truly oriental vision of the book of Revelation² pictures the twenty-four elders having "golden vials full of odors which are the prayers of the saints," which they use together with harps in their worshipping. This is not without parallel in the Sumerian texts. In Gudea cylinder B, we find near the god Ningirsu, among many high officials, his counselor (*ad-gi-gi*): Lugal-sisá, his high advocate, who takes in hand (*šu-dū*), as one would take stylus and tablet, the "prayers" (*nam* —, REC. 316) of Lagaš, and intercedes³ for the life of Gudea. Next, the seven priestesses (*sal-me*), daughters of Bau, attached to the same shrine of Ningirsu, are charged with a special service of vocal prayers (*gū-de*) and graceful intercession (*nam* —, REC. 316, *šá(g)-ga*). Priests of intercessions are elected by sort, attached to various sanctuaries, and the process was important enough to fix the name of the year.

Year⁴ in which was appointed the priest of the intercessions (*en nam* —, REC. 316) of ^dDungi.

On many other seal impressions, where similar scenes are represented, there is an intermediary protecting deity who leads

¹ Cf. SAK. p. 154, note g, where the meaning of "prayer" is established. *Nam* —, is often synonym of *a-ra-ru*.

² V, 8.

³ *Ka-šu-gál*: to adore, to worship.

⁴ SAK. p. 235, h.

the worshiper by the hand, each of them lifting his free hand to his mouth in sign of adoration. Sometimes vacant spaces are filled with other figures: a nude attendant or two, and stars, crescent moon, or various symbols. In contrast to these more elaborate scenes, the present engraving attains nearly a Greek simplicity.

Such scenes of adoration existed before the time of the kings of Ur and survived them. The simple fringed garment of the servant, the high flounced mantle of the god belong to a long Sumerian tradition. The last rich frilled mantle, woven to imitate the locks of a sheep's fleece and identified with the Greek mantle *καυνάκης* by L. HEUSEY, was reserved to gods, and also to deified kings.

But the low seat covered with three rows of the same fringed woolen cloth is a characteristic feature of all cylinders cut in Ur and of those that followed the Ur school. In connection with the turban, the new headdress of the gods, it forms a landmark¹ in the field of Babylonian art and history. From the earliest down to the last Chaldæan empire, a high conical headdress, adorned with several pairs of horns, was the proper dress and crown of the gods. Very archaic seal impressions represent gods and goddesses bareheaded or with long, hanging hair. The turban is a human headdress from Gudea down to Hammurabi. Could it be at the same time the headdress of the gods? How could history account for such a change in religious tradition? We know that King Hammurabi belonged to the new race from the West, the Amurru, and that, long before him, many strangers from the same western region, the Martu, were established in Babylonia. At the time of the first dynasty of Babylon new figures of gods appear on the seal cylinders by the side of the old ones. They are standing up, armed with mace, dressed in a short garment reaching to the knees and wearing the turban. We have to look upon them as so many figures of the god Martu,

¹ L. LEGRAIN, *Cat. des cyl. ori. de la collection Louis Cugnin*, p. 16-17, p. 26-27.

so long as they were not identified with Adad, Ramman, Ninib¹ or Nergal.

The city of Ur lies on the western limits of the Babylonian plain. But did the kings of Ur belong to the Sumerian or Martu-Amurru race? They were most probably Sumerian. Išbi-irra who rebelled against the king of Ur, and founded the kingdom of Isin, is reproached by Ibi-Sin for not being of Sumerian race. But from Ur-Engur, who founded the dynasty, down to Ibi-Sin, who ruined it, what was the position of the rulers as deified kings, beside the old moon god Sin worshiped in Ur? Can we imagine the old moon god wearing the turban, the Sumerian human headdress? Gudea wore a turban, and Ningirsu his god had a high horned mitra. Was the turban style forced upon the moon god at the time when the kings of Ur were worshiped as gods and probably identified with him?

It is too early to give a positive answer to all these questions. Whatever was the racial origin of the turban, once a human headdress, it became also a divine headdress. The custom prevailed at the time of the kings of Ur and in their own capital. The seated gods wearing turbans may represent the deified kings and also Sin the patron god. Soon after the dynasty of Ur they certainly represent Sin as well as some more western gods imported at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.

Strong literary tradition speaks of the horns of Sin, which may be simply the symbol of the crescent moon and of his long, dark, lapis-lazuli beard. All seal cylinders and impressions of seals of the school of Ur represent the seated god wearing the turban and with a long beard hanging on his breast. Our clay relief is nearly the only known example where the seated god is beardless. It cannot be a goddess. We have no examples of female figures wearing the turban. The complete statue of Gudea is the standard evidence of an entirely shaven man wearing the turban. The worshiper of our relief has the same shaven head, the same gesture of clasped hands, the same fringed

¹ Nin-urta. *Yale Syllab.*, No. 288 (YOS. 1).

mantle as Gudea in front of his god. It will be an easy step to identify him with the priest of Enlil in Nippur. Last of all, the beardless king-god, so near to humanity, is not entirely shaven as would befit liturgical cleanliness. Just a lock of hair is playing on the forehead and on the neck. The large, set eyes, the high cheek bones, the curved nose, the thin lips, the firm and round chin complete an interesting attempt to portray King Ibi-Sin, the last king of Ur, with a necklace and arm-band as becomes his majesty.

No. 7. CBS. 14231

No. 16. CBS. 14229

Lists of temples, names of several gods of Ur, Nippur, and perhaps Babylon. The two fragments are duplicates of an original two column tablet. Among the total preserved are: 12 temples of Nindar; 15 temples of Ninib at Nippur; 9 temples of Šuzianna; and 14 "additions" (supplementary names?) to the temple mountain of Dungi at Ur. The list when complete would be a welcome historical and theological document expounding the various aspects of one god. Šuzi-anna: "the brilliant one" or the "living one" of heaven, is certainly the companion (*dam-banda*) of Enlil,¹ the mother of the moon god Sin, the goddess Nin-lil. Among the names of her temples is mentioned twice the Dusagas, the famous brick tower or zigurat² of Nippur. Nin-dar is a priest god (*lugal-en*); he was perhaps the husband of Nina, a priestess goddess, whose activity in the interpretation of dreams and oracles is well known.³ He had a temple in Girsu. Another priest god, Nin-dub, had equally a temple in Girsu, was called high priest of oracles of Eridu, had charge of the censers,⁴ and was holding the tablet of destiny

¹ *Dam banda* ^a*Enlil-lil ge, um-me-da* ^d*Sin-na-ge*, III R. 67, 25 a; 68, 12-13 c.

² Cf. *É-sagaš : ziggurat Nipuri*, II R. 50, 6 a.

³ Cyl. A of Gudea.

⁴ Gud. Cyl. B. IV 4: *išib-mah Erida^{ki} ka ge, na-iqi ba-ni-si(g)*.

in Gudea's dream. The names of Nindar's temples are not preserved in the fragments.

A name of Marduk of Babylon: Silig-mulu-šar, "ruler of all mankind," in the last lines of Rev. II would suggest that the list included several Akkadian gods.

More fragments of the list are known, and will supply in the future a correct reading of some difficult names:

OBVERSE I

.....
12 é ^d [Nin-dar-]a	12 temples of Nindar.
.....

OBVERSE II

[.....] sag-ug ¹ bu [.....]	lion head
sag-é-ib kur-gal e [.....]	chief temple ... great mountain ...
en ^d Nin-urta ² gâ-gâ [.....]	the lord Ninib ...
šuba ³ é ne-in-gub bâr za-gìn ⁴ [ne-in-gar]	splendor arising in the temple, shrine established as a jewel.
15 é ^d Nin-urta Nibru [ki]	15 temples of Ninib in Nippur.
é-gâ-dûl-da dub-sag ^d ... [.....]	temple depot and store, front of ...
... id ^d edin ki-azag(?) ki-lam(?)	... of Edin, pure place ...
[-] temen-zi dū-gal-nun(?) -na	... thy foundation, great princely construction,
[.....] gâ šú-gí .....	... old depot
.....

REVERSE I

dū-sag-aš [.....]	the dusagaš
tūr ša(g) .. [.....]	the yard inside
dumu-nun kur-gal-la gú-me-ir-me-ri ⁵	noble son of the great mount gorgeous
^d šu-zi-an-na dam ban-da [.....]	Šuzianna, the companion of [Enlil],
dū-sag-aš šuba-é ne-in-gub bâr za-gìn [ne-in-gar]	Dusagaš, splendor arising in the temple, the shrine established as a jewel.

¹ Gud. Cyl. B. XIII, 23.

² Yale Syll., No. 288 (YOS. I).

³ Zimur, ná-šuba : abam nisigti.

⁴ hulalu, Br. 11804.

⁵ hunnubu, V R. 19, 8 a.

10 <i>lal</i> 1 é ^d Šu-zi-an-na-ge	9 temples of Šuzianna.
<i>Kēš^{ki} en sig-alam³</i> {	2] Keš lord of figures ¹
<i>muš ša(g)-túr³ gal-dím im-ri⁴</i> [	] Serpent great builder of embryos, moist clay. . . .
é ^d <i>Nin-ḥar-sag-ka ki-súr-ra</i> [	] temple of Nin-ḥarsag, inclosure
<i>Kēš^{ki} Aratta^{ki} ša(g)-zu ša(g)-sig</i>	Keš, Aratta, increasing, decreasing, raising ⁵
<i>túr⁵ šab-il</i> [	] the yard like a vase . . .
<i>ug-gal^dEdin-na ḥe-gal da-dū⁶</i> [	] great lion of Edin, overgrown abun- dance. . .
<i>ḥar-sag-gal ka+x⁷+ka+x-ta</i> [	] great mount, from the
<i>ša(g)^dmes(?) šu(?) -an-</i>[	] inside Marduk (?)
.....

REVERSE II

<i>é-sag-ni-ri(?) -zu á-dam-ma⁸ mulu? šar</i>	thy chief . . . temple, troops of animals
<i>gà-nun temen^dDun-gi mi-ni-ib-gal</i>	great store foundation of Dungi, great
<i>gà-nun-na</i>	. . . of the great store,
[<i>]-šu-ul maḥ-di⁹ im-gâl šub kalam</i>	. . . . . perfect, exalted (hero), south
<i>gal-la</i>	wind, ruining the great land,
<i>gi-ni dú(g)-an-zu nam-tar-ri-ne</i>	steady is thy divine command fixing destinies.
<i>é-ḥar-sag^dDun-gi-an-na-ge</i>	temple mount of the divine Dungi
<i>šuba-é ne-in-gub bár za-gìn ne-in-gar</i>	splendor arising in the temple, shrine established as a jewel.
14 <i>daḥ-ḥu é-ḥar-sag^dDun-gi ur^{ki}ma</i>	14 additions to the temple mount of Dungi in Ur.
<i>uru-ki . . . ab-ta še-dím má-ra</i>	city . . . out of which, like grain poured in boat
. . . . <i>dugud ša(g)-ta me šu-ti</i>	heavy out of which commands are received

¹ *Bunnānu, nabnitu*, Br. 7020, 7021: production of statues or of living beings.

² Perhaps: *si-sá : mušeširat nabnitu*.

³ *Šassuru, šaturru*, Br. 8010, 8011: foetus.

⁴ *Im-ri-a : rušumtu*.

⁵ *Našú* : filling.

⁶ *Ḥarāšu*, V R. 18 c-d 9-18: *ša alpi, ša imēri, ša šaḥú, ša amēli, ša ganú*.

⁷ *Ka+še (tukur)* or *ka+sar* or *ka+tu?*

⁸ *Namaššu bulu*, V R. 30, 24 g.

⁹ *Tiḫqaru*, Br. 1056, or *torrent : naḫallu*, Br. 1057.

<i>ba</i>	<i>temen unù¹-gì -zu</i>	. . . . .	foundation, thy firm sanctuary,
.	<i>šu-gì ū-e ám ma-da</i>	. . . . .	ancient, being the wonder of the land,
[	gal 7 si ² sig-nim-ta šu-mu-	. . . . .	great 7 horns, from top to bottom
	<i>ni-in-sar³-rà</i>		spending blessings
[	^d <i>Silig-mulu-sar</i> ^d <i>kal</i>	. . . . .	Marduk
.	

Rev., Col. 1, was a list of the temples, or names of temples of Nin-ḫarsag or Nin-tud, the mother of the people, the goddess of all fecundity who moulded and created the living creature (*bunnânu nabintu*), as a sculptor would mould and shape a statue (*alam*). She was called the great lady (*Nin-mah*), and her temple in Keš, was called after her the great temple (*é-mah*). From Eannatum¹ down to Hammurabi,⁵ her temple was famous. Her shrine⁶ name (*dù-sag-ba*) resembles very closely the name of Nippur ziggurat (*dù-sag-aš*). Hammurabi restored her enclosures, and provided a rich food endowment. She had a temple in Girsu⁷ and in Umma,⁸ and was worshiped in Susa.⁹ Rim-Sin the Elamite king reigning in Uruk and Larsa was proclaimed legitimate ruler of Sumer in the temple of Keš, the temple of the great lady (*Nin-mah*), the foundation raised to heaven (*temen-an-ki-bi-da*). That great event was recorded in the list of years¹⁰ of the reign.

Keš and Aratta are mentioned in connection with the cult of Nin-ḫarsag as being true symbols of purity. In the temple of Ningirsu, the veil hanging (? *sa-lal*)¹¹ was pure like Keš and

¹ *Maškanu*, SAK, p. 214 d.

² Cf. *é-ḫa é-ub-imin-na-mi*, Gud. St. D. II, 11-12.

³ *šu-sar : karābu*.

⁴ Stela of Vultures: IV, 12; XVIII, 5.

⁵ Code, III, 30-35.

⁶ Stela of Vultures, XVIII, 4.

⁷ Gud. St. A.

⁸ *Galū-babbar*, SAK, p. 150.

⁹ *Baša-Šušinak*, Stela IV, 19.

¹⁰ SAK, p. 237, e).

¹¹ Gud. Cyl. A, XXVII, 2.

Aratta. Gudea had a statue of himself carved and placed in the temple of Nin-ḫarsag. His offerings mentioned in the inscription¹ consisted in a pure basin (*dub-pisán-aṣag-ga*) and a throne (*giš dúr-gar maḫ nam-nin-ka-ni*) of majesty. In later stone reliefs, specially on the kudurrus or boundary stones of the Cassite period, her emblem is a lock of hair or wig.² But this identification is not quite certain. In several instances that W-shaped symbol is upside down,³ and in one case is resting on a knife.⁴

Nin-ḫarsag is mother of gods⁵ and men. One name of her temple is: lion of the goddess Edin. This is another name of the goddess Eru'a, Er-ia; or Šeru'a, the companion of Marduk, goddess of fecundity (*bēlit nabnāti, muballidat*),⁶ under the name of Zarpanitum.

No. 8. CBS. 14232

Fragment of legend or history, which seems to refer to the priest (*en*) of Aratta. His words or orders are reported. Aratta is mentioned in Gudea texts along with Keš. The writing of the name comes very close to that of Suruppak the legendary city of Gilgameš and of the flood. Is kin-gi-a the name of the priest of Aratta or a common name for order (*takaltu, taklimum, urtum*)? The text numbered 57 lines, was written on a two-columns tablet, and must have been copied several times:

OBVERSE II

<i>ḫar-sag gal-gal im-ma-dib-a</i>	the great mountain, which he reaches,
<i>saḫar-ra ḫu-mu-na-da-nigin-e</i>	may be all surrounded with dust.
<i>kin-gi-a en Aratta^{ki} ge</i>	Kin-gia, the priest of Aratta,
<i>ù-na-a-dú(g) ù-ne-ne-daḫ</i>	commanded (and) added,

¹ Gud. St. A, II, 1-5.

² W. J. HINKE, *Boundary Stone*, fig. 87, 121⁶, 31⁸, 14⁵, 48. A symbol of virginity according to DR. J. B. NIES.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 30¹, 47¹⁰, 49⁹, 44².

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 117.

⁵ Ur-bau, St. III, 8.

⁶ Chron. P. I, 5; LEHMANN, *Šamaš-š-ukin*, II, p. 36-37; W. J. HINKE, *Boundary Stone*, p. 222. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Lettres et Contrats*, p. 60.

<i>uru-ni kaskal-mušen¹-dún é-bi-ta</i>	his city, like the wandering bird, out
<i>na-an-na-ra-ab-ri(?) -en</i>	of its nest, may he not attain
<i>mušen-dim ú-ki-sí(g)-ga² uš-sa-ta... [</i>	like the bird out of its nest ...
<i>malba³-gál-la-dim nam-[</i>	as one become adversary ...
<i>uru gul-gul-la-dim [</i>	as a ruined city ...
<i>Aratta^{ki} ... [</i>	Aratta ...

No. 10. CBS. 1526

Neo-Babylonian building inscription. Fragment of an octagonal prism.

No. 11. CBS. 14235

Letter or historical record at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. The fragment belongs to a large three column tablet. Only part of Obv. II is preserved.

OBVERSE II

<i>un-ne [. .</i>	...
<i>i-li-ik gi a-ṣi . . [</i>	he went
<i>a-šar si-bu-(?) tim ub-ba-tum . .</i>	in the place of desire, a fence . . ?
<i>mer(?) -si-a⁴ i-ša-bat i-na pa-ni šar-ri-im</i>	... he holds in front of the king
<i>ú-sik-ma a-na me-sig-im⁵ ú-la-ba-ak⁶ ša . . . mi-ma</i>	he pressed and forced into a ring
<i>ù a-wi-lum a-di la i-na-ḫu</i>	and so long the man does not cease,
<i>u-šur i-ra-aš-ši mi-im-ma</i>	be watchful, he has everything,
<i>ma-an-nu-um mi-nam a-na-ti ša-nim i-na-an-di-iš-šu</i>	nobody should give him any of those things again.
<i>ša ša-di-i i-te-ni-ti-ku(?) im(?) -ma-ni-iš</i>	Now the mountains which happen to be desert(?)
<i>ša la i-šu-ú šar-ra-am ù šar-ra-tam be-ru-šu ma-an-nu-um</i>	which have no king or queen whatever among them,
<i>šu-u-ma šu-u-ma mu-su(?) -ra . . .</i>	this and the next portion(?) . . .

¹ LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 21, n. 3.

² Ginnu, Br. 6077.

³ Mâḫiru, Br. 9803.

⁴ Or *dú-si-a?*

⁵ Mesukku, *meṣugga?*

⁶ Labâku, read: *dur = rahâsu?*

No. 12. CBS. 7095

Clay tag attached probably to a basket of official records or legal documents brought from Šuruppak (Fâra) some 33 miles south from Nippur. The writing belongs to an early Sargon period. Šuruppak the native city of Gilgameš is seldom mentioned in later texts. The expression: “*im-sar*” written tablet, is found only in a few legal deeds¹ of the same time and character. *Gà-dub-ba*, keeper of the tablet basket, is the proper name of the archivist, who was commonly a scribe.

<i>gà-dub</i>	tablet basket
<i>im-sar</i>	of clay records
<i>dar-bu-bu</i>	which Darbubu
<i>lù ur-šá(g)-ga ge</i>	the man of Uršagga
<i>šuruppak^{ki} ta</i>	has brought
<i>mu-gub (?)</i>	from Šuruppak.

The name of the messenger Darbubu, may be read Dar-sir-sir, just as the temple of the goddess Bau: É sil-sir-sir,² might be read Dar-sir-sir. This ought to help toward a better understanding of the name. The only patesi of Šuruppak so far known is Urninkurra.

No. 13. CBS. 6141

Business document of the time of the Ur dynasty, in the 1st year of King Gimil-Sin. A great interest is attached to the seal impression. It is another rare figure of a seated god without a beard. By what we know of Ibi-Sin (No. 5, CBS. 12570), this must be intended as a portrait of the deified king of Ur. Gimil-Sin was the father of Ibi-Sin, and reigned only seven years. The name of the owner of the seal seems to confirm the

¹ *Im-sar-a-bi, ki En^dNinâ-ka-ta im-ma-gub (Di-til-la)*, MIO. Tello, No. 4191; *Gà im-sar gál-la*, RTC. No. 304, f. III, 11. *Im-sar-ra-e*, AO. 5477, r. 5 (RA. VIII, p. 139, 140, n. 4.) CT. XVII, 18, l. 21.

² At the time of Gudea. Called the place of oracles, Gud. Cyl. A, XXVI, 9.

theory. It reads as a prayer or invocation to the deified king, a new moon god, the light of his land:

*“Gimil “Sin nu-ùr ma-ti-iš-žu
arad Gu-za-na.*

He is led by his own personal goddess in front of the enthroned king god, who receives his prayers. The small cup or ampulla seems to materialize the offering. The standing goddess leading the worshiper wears a long plaited robe and the proper headgear of Sumerian gods, a high mitre adorned with several pairs of horns. It is remarkable that seated god and worshiper have the same simple fringed garment or shawl. The only difference between them is the turban of the seated king god and the shaven and nude head of his standing servant.

The note reads as follows:

<i>1 1/3 ma-na kù-babbar</i>	<i>1 1/3 maneh of silver</i>
<i>šig-bi 20 gun</i>	<i>its wool (worth) is 20 talents</i>
<i>ki Ur dda-mu ta</i>	<i>from Ur-damu,</i>
<i>“Gimil “Sin nu-ùr ma-ti-iš</i>	<i>Gimil-Sin nur matišu</i>
<i>šu-ba-ti</i>	<i>has received.</i>
<i>igi Lù-šà(g)-ga lù-šu[-i]</i>	<i>witness: Lu šagga the barber,</i>
<i>igi Lugal dNin-gir-su.</i>	<i>witness: Lugal-ningirsu,</i>
<i>itu maš-dū kù</i>	<i>month of Maš-du ku,</i>
<i>mu “I-bi “Sin lugal</i>	<i>year when Ibi-Sin was king.</i>

$1\frac{1}{3}$ silver maneh is equal to 80 shekels, which gives us a price of 4 shekels the talent of wool. A talent weighs: 24 k. 240 gr., and a shekel: 6 gr. 733 mgr. The proportion of silver to wool was almost exactly $1/900$ at the time of Gimil-Sin.

No. 14. CBS. 14225

This broken unbaked clay tablet is a rough copy of the inscription of Šargani-šarri on the diorite door socket from Nippur preserved in the Museum.¹ Unfortunately the top is

¹ OBI., No. 2. CBS. 8751.

missing, where we could expect to find Da-ti Enlil mentioned as the father of Šargani-šarri. The new list of kings makes of him a son of Naram-Sin.

.....	
šar akkadim ^{ki}	king of Akkad
ù	and of
bà-ù-la-ti	the kingdom
[^{ilu} en]-lil	of Enlil;
[ba]-dim	builder of
[é]-kur	ekur,
[é] ^{ilu} en-lil	the temple of Enlil
in Nippurim ^{ki}	at Nippur
[ša] duppam	Whoever shall
[sù]-a	change this
[u]-sa-za-ku-ni	tablet,
^{ilu} En-lil	may Enlil
ù	and
^{ilu} Šamaš	Šamaš
[išdê]-su	[destroy]
.....	his foundation
.....	and ruin
li-íl-gu-da.	[his posterity].

The end of the tablet shows clearly that the length of the broken portion must not exceed 2 or 3 lines. The actual mention of Dati Enlil would require more room and seems doubtful.

No. 15. CBS. 14227

Historical fragment. King Sargon (*Šar-ru-gi*), founder of the dynasty and city of Agade, is quoted as having received the kingdom from Enlil. A short note concerning the temple of Nippur confirms the result of the excavations, viz., that it was adjoining the quay, or more properly the great boats of the quay.

OBVERSE I

*Sag-ki-gid-da*¹ *En-lil-lá ge* The splendor of Enlil,

¹ *na'ru, nikilmû*, Br. 3650, 3651: Aspect showing at a long distance.

<i>Kiš^{ki} gu(d)-an-na-dím i im-ú(g)-ga-ta</i>	is like Kiš the heavenly bull towering above the dust of the dead;
<i>é ki unú^{ki} gu(d)-maḥ-dím saḥar-ra</i> <i>mi-ni-ib-gaṣ-ne(?)</i>	the temple is like Uruk the great bull treading down the earth,
[]-bi Šār-ru-gi lugal a-ga-dé ^{ki} ra	..... unto Sargon, king of Akkad
[]-elam šú ^a En-lil-li	..... towards Elam, Enlil,
[] nam-lugal mu-na-an-sum-ma-ta	..... the kingdom, since he has given unto him,
[a]-ga-dé ^{ki} e(?) dingir-ri	..... Akkad, ... of the gods ...
.....

REVERSE II

[] kar-ra.. [	.....
[]-bi e dím [	.....
[]-bi-ṣa dím e [	.....
<i>dub-bi de tuk [</i>	.....
<i>nig-ga uru ḥul-a [dím</i>	like the goods of a ruined city
<i>é-e má-gal-gal kar-ri [</i>	the temple to the great boats of the quay
<i>é^a En-lil-lá ge má-gal-gal kar-ri</i> <i>ba-an-uš</i>	the temple of Enlil, to the great boats of the quay is adjoining.

The tablet had two columns on the obv. and two on the rev.

No. 17. CBS. 14228

Fragment of a religious historical hymn(?). Sippar, Sumer and Akkad are mentioned on the obverse.

REVERSE

<i>uru im-gul-la-aš bád [</i>	in the city, the devastating wind, the wall
<i>uru-ki ni-si [</i>	the city
<i>numun ṣi(d) sag-lul-la dú(g) [</i>	pure seed, head of destruction
<i>šū-bal mi-ni-ib-ag(?) [</i>	achieving a complete inimity ...
<i>lù šu-bi-tak-ki¹ ni-ag [</i>	who a perfect adorning ...
<i>sag ni-sal-sal²-e [</i>	anointing the head ...

¹ *lapātu, ṣu'unu.*

² *sal ... dú(g), Gud. Cyl. A, VI; sal ba-ni-ib-e-ne, Gud. Cyl. A, XXII. Perhaps: kunná, taknitu.*

<i>á-gi(g)-ba¹ im-a igi-mu-ni-ib-bir²(?)</i> [	At evening he clouds the eyes in darkness
<i>igi-lul³ ni-ag-</i>[	a ruin of the eyes, he causes . . . ;
<i>ki-na(d) dúr-gar kalag-ga ù hi-li ne-in-</i>[	the bed, the resting place of virility and vigor is
<i>uru-ki im-nigí(n) ne-</i>[	the city, the winds all together are
<i>]-ne šu-ne-ne ba-dū-ni ša(g)-mé</i>	. . . . their hands, his founding, in the
<i>ni-ag-</i>[	battle . . .
[<i>]-mu-túm mé-ki me-šú-tag-ga</i>	. . . . brought, in the battle, may the
<i>ha-ba-ab-</i>[	leader . . .
[<i>]-en-lil-lá-ge he-ne-ib-</i>[	. . . . of Enlil, may he . . .
[<i>]-lum-bi-šú ha-</i>[	. . . . .
.....

No. 18. CBS. 14181

VOTIVE CONE OF ARAD-SIN

The present cone is a duplicate of the cone published by A. T. CLAY in YOS. I, No. 31. It was acquired from dealers in New York, and originates from Uruk (Warka). It has several variants, which prove that the scribes were dealing freely with the text.

I

1 ^d Ninni	To Innina,
<i>nin ní-gal gúr-ru</i>	the great awe inspiring lady,
<i>išib šar-ra tab-ba</i>	interpreter of the twin universe, ⁴
<i>dumu-gal ^dEn-ru-na</i>	eldest daughter of Sin,
5 <i>nin-a-ni-ir</i>	his lady,
<i>warad ⁱSin</i>	Arad-Sin
<i>nun še-ga Nibru^{ki}</i>	the favorite prince of Nippur,
<i>ú-a urí^{ki} ma</i>	providing to the wants of Ur,
<i>sag-li-tar gir-su^{ki}</i>	care taking of Girsu

¹ LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 42. Cf. *tambá, tambatá*, and stela of Bašašušinak, AK. p. 178 d, II, 19.

² *adáru*, Br. 9371. *Palásu*, Br. 8490.

³ *Sarru, šagaštu*.

⁴ *Etillit šamē u iršilim*. Cf. *Lugalzaggisi*, OBI. 87, I, 6: *išib-an-na*— and ^d*Nin-šubur, išib-g-ga an-ki* (or *an-na?*), Coll. de Clercq, No. 255.

- 10 *ki lagaš^{ki} a*
é-babbar-da ní-te(g)-gà
lugal arar^{ki} ma
lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri
dun à-àg-gà úr-úr¹
- 15 *giš-ḥar šu-dú-dú²*
é-dingir-ri-e-ne
šu-gibil ne-in-ag
urudu-alam-gal-gal
mu-ḫa(d)-da nam-lugal-la-ka-na
- 20 *gal-bi ne-in-lab-ga*
uru šub-šub-ba-bi
bád-bi mu-dū-a
ma-da damal-la-na
uku-ne ḫa-ne-in-dúr-a
- 25 *ní-tuk ša(g)-ka-gál*

in the city of Lagaš,
 worshipping in the temple of Babbar,
 king of Larsa,
 king of Sumer and Akkad,
 the noble collector of oracles
 who achieved the inclosure;
 restored the
 temple of the gods;
 let enormous copper statues
 named after his majesty
 be brought along in great style;
 restoring the wall
 of the ruined city;
 in her large land
 in order that people might settle down,
 the terrible overthrewer

II

- 1 *erín šu-a-gí-gí-a me-en.*
giš-túg-ḫi damal
kin-da-ri dí-m-me-ne
^dEn-ki-ge ma-an-sum-ma
- 5 *nam-bi-šú ^dNinni nin-má*

ka ša(g)-šá(g)³-gi-da-má
é ní-tug-na
ki-dúr im-dúb-bu⁴
ša(g)-ḫul-la-ka-ni
- 10 *igi-dū-ù-ne*
ša(g)-bi keš(da)-si(g)
diri(g) ud-bi-da-ka
é šu-sí(g)-ga-bi⁵
ù-mu-damal
- 15 *ud-ul-šú*
nam-mu-šú ḫu-mu-dū

who repels the enemy, am I.
 Having received from Ea,
 a wide understanding
 to accomplish lasting works,
 in accord with the order of Innina my
 lady,
 and my own prayers,
 her awe inspiring shrine,
 dwelling of peaceful rest,
 where her heart rejoices,
 a wonder for the eyes,
 inside I fully adjusted,
 (and) more than in former days,
 the surrounding temple
 I enlarged.
 For future days,
 to my fame I did build.

¹ *Ištar . . . bēltū šurbutu, ḫanemat paras^d Anumtu, and: Ninni, nin an-ki ge, . . . é me-úr-úr, ki-dúr ki-àg-gà-ni. Á-àg-gà: taklimtu, tértu. Rim-Sin (SAK. p. 218, d) é á-àg-gà-kili(b) úr-úr.*

² *Mušaklil usurāti. Cf. Cyl. of Sargon, YOS. I, No. 38, Col. II, 6: uštešira ušurāti.*

³ *Suppu, tēmēqu, Br. 719, 720.*

⁴ *Pašāḫu, niḫtu, Br. 8457, 8458.*

⁵ *Rim-Sin (SAK. p. 218, d): é šu-sí(g)-ga-bi.*

	<i>sag-bi mu-ni-il</i>	Its head I reared high,
	<i>ḥar-sag-dím ḥu-mu-sar</i>	like a mountain I did raise.
	<i>nig-ag-ag-da-ne-e-šú</i>	Upon all these doings
20	^d <i>Ninni nin-mu</i>	may Innana, my lady
	<i>ḥa-mu-ši-ḥul</i>	rejoice.
	<i>ud-gid-du mu-ḥe-gál-la</i>	Length of days, abundance of years,
	<i>aš-te subuš-gi-na</i>	a throne firmly established,
	<i>pa uku gam-gam</i>	a scepter subduing the people
25	<i>sag-e ḥa-ma-ni-in-pa-tug-du</i>	may she as a gift bestow upon me.

The power of Arad-Sin did not extend beyond Nippur, Ur, Lagaš and Larsa. The still-existing kingdom of Isin must be located north of Nippur, next to the more recent kingdom of Babylon.

Innina, the lady of Uruk, the eldest daughter of Sin, had a shrine of her own¹ within the great temple complex of Uruk é-an-na. She is distinct from Na-na-a, another personification of the brilliant starry heaven, queen of Uruk, whose shrine was named:² é ḥi-li-an-na. Innina and Babbar are daughter and son of the moon god Sin, whereas Nanâ is only daughter of Anu.³ Another daughter of Anu:⁴ ^dNin-in-si-na emphasizes the character of creatrix of life and mother of the land. She may be identical to Nanâ, but her temple bore the significant name of "temple of the plant of life."⁵ ^dNin-an-sí-an-na⁶ is another name of Innina, who was worshiped outside of Uruk, in Hallab⁷ under the name of Ninni Zababu^{ki}, eldest daughter of the moon god.

Whatever may have been the position and importance of Anu, the father of the gods,⁸ as founder of the main temple of Uruk: é-an-na, the leading rôle very soon was claimed by Innina

¹ *é-nir-gál-an-na*, Esarhaddon, YOS. I, No. 41.

² YOS. I, No. 40: *ḥit paḥab* ^dNanâ.

³ *Nin ḥi-li še-ir-ka an-di*; *dumu ḥi-li an-gal-la*. Inscriptions of Rim-Sin.

⁴ *Nin-gal, ama kalama, ḥi-gál kalam dím-dím-me*; Arad-Sin, stone tablet.

⁵ *É-ú-nam-ti(l)-la*. *Ibid.*

⁶ Bur-Sin, stone tablet.

⁷ Inscription of Arad-Sin.

⁸ Brick of Ur-Engur. While Enlil is always: *lugal kur-kur-ra: bēl matāti*.

or Nana the Ištar of Uruk. From Ur-Engur down to Esarhaddon of Assyria all building inscriptions are concerned with repairs or enlargements of the temple é-anna, of the beloved shrine of Innina. Anu is mentioned in a casual way, as the consort of Nanâ: bit¹ Anum û Antum.¹

No. 19. CBS. 8255

Provision of barley brought down as salary and transferred to Šamaš "to rejoice his heart." Two men witnessed the transaction that took place on the 11th of Simanu, the 28th year of Samsuiluna, son and successor of Hammurabi.

1 še gur igi 10 gál

ugu Šu-ra?-du-tu

^aBabbar in-tuk

mu-túm á-ka

ša(g) ^aBabbar

ne-íb-du(g)-gi

igi ¹¹Da-mu-e-ri-ba-am

igi ¹¹En-lil-mu-ba-lí-it-ta-ki

itu síg-a ud 11 kam

mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal

á-ág-gà ^aEn-lil-lá-ta

1 gur of barley + $\frac{1}{10}$ of gur

property of Šuradulu(?)

to Šamaš is transferred,

a deposit from salary

in which the heart of Šamaš rejoices.

witness Damu-eribam

witness Enlil-muballitaki

month of Simanu, the 11th,

year when King Samsuiluna,

by the oracle of Enlil.

No. 20. CBS. 14234

Liturgy of the moon god, Sin-Nannar of Ur. Fragment of a large two column tablet. Only part of Rev., Col. 1, is preserved to some extent.

é kiš-šir-gál nam-lugal-la-mu

é ʔi(d) é-ir-e-mu di-ni-tum gar-ra-mu

E-kišširgal, temple of my royalty,

my temple of life, and lamentation,

my place of judgment.

No. 21. CBS. 12700

Historical religious fragment mentioning Libit-ištar, 5th king of Isin.

¹ Inscription of Seleucides, 244 B.C. YOS. I, No. 52.

.....
[]-ni sag-[	.....
[] é(?) -ga(?) la-nu [	.....
[] unú ^{ki} šú šuku dingir-ri [	to Uruk(?) food offerings of the gods...
é-kur-ta nam-ti(l) [	from Ekur, for the life
zi-ša(g)-gâl uru-ni [	the existence, his city
^a Li-bi-it-ištar [	Libit-ištar
lugal-mé-šú dūr-kur-[	for the king of the battle ...
da-da-ra ¹ nam-ḫul-[	splendor, joy
gir-úr-ra igi-[	sheathed sword ...
mé a-nim-dim ^a-[	like the battle of Anu(?)....
il-gi-na pi-ki [	the firm,
dag sag-kal ² dag-[	the chief (mace?) stone, the stone ...
su-e-ib-úr ³ igi-[	the shield ...
[]sag-si ^g -ga sag [	.... graceful head ...
.....

No. 22. CBS. 14233

Fragment of school tablet. Obverse had only one column "to be copied" on the adjoining blank. It is a literary text. The reverse had a list of square roots preserved at least up to 37 under the common formula:

1 e 1 ib-di; 4 e 2 ib-di; 9 e 3 ib-di, etc.

OBVERSE

dug á-sag-ga ⁴ mu-il [	the vessel on his head he carried [
^a Šuruppak ⁵ ud ... ta ... [	the god of Šuruppak ...
é ^a Šuruppak dū(g)-ne ba-ra-il [	the temple of the god of Šuruppak, its commands do not stand ...
ab-ku-tu el-i-um	to be copied above.

No. 23. CBS. 12735 + 12736

Historical and religious document. Just the names of ^dNin-Sun and of Ur ^dEngur are clear enough in the much-

¹ *Ninbutu*, Br. 6677.

² *Ašaridu, kattillu*, Br. 3619, 3620.

³ *Kabābu*, Br. 210.

⁴ *Dug sag-gā*, SAI. 2288; MIO. Tello, No. 892, VII. 25. *Dug á-ne-tūm, ibid.*

⁵ A title of Marduk, Br. 223, 224.

damaged text. The two fragments belong to a four sided prism, which had two columns on each face (A, B, C . . .). The prism was bored from top to bottom and was probably kept revolving round a horizontal stick or rod, like a seal cylinder. Apparently the document had to be read frequently, and perhaps was a record of a rich endowment.

One year of the reign of King Ur-Engur is dated from the foundation of the temple of Nin-Sun.¹ The goddess is called the mother of Gudea of Lagaš² and later on, of Sin-gašid king of Uruk.³ She is closely associated with ^dLugal-banda.⁴ Both of them were certainly worshiped in Uruk,⁵ where they probably had their proper shrine in the large temple Ē-an-na. Priests⁶ were attached to the cult of Nin-sun. Fields insured⁷ her revenues. A fragment of limestone object⁸ with a square hole cut in the center, has preserved the name of one of her temples: é uru-azag-ga, perhaps in Lagaš.

It is interesting to note that in the present fragment, as in the now complete text⁹ of Libit-ištar, Nin-sun is called the pure lady: *nin-zi(d)* and *nin-sun-zi(d)*.

Attention has been called by FR. THUREAU-DANGIN¹⁰ to the fact that both are synonyms of Ninsun: "the wild cow" (*rimtum*). A priest was attached to her in that quality: *en-nin-sun-zi(d)*. His functions were those of the "*ašippu*" reading the signs and interpreting the omnia, the will of the gods. The shrine itself where the various scenes of the cult were enacted, was called: *é-gi(g)-par*.

¹ SAK. p. 228, c).

² SAK. p. 140, XXIII, 19.

³ SAK. p. 220, a); 222, c).

⁴ SAK. p. 222, c); DE CLERCQ, Cat., No. 151, 252: *arad* ^dLugal-banda *ù* ^dNin-sun.

⁵ LANGDON, SBP. 154, No. 1; *Drohem*, p. 23, No. 2. Offerings of Ur-Engur to ^dNin-[sun?] CBS. 4560 (PBS. X²). CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14. And SAK. p. 222, c) *é kankal é ki-dár ša(g)-šul-la-ka-ne-ne*.

⁶ *Ur-bau, sangu* ^dNinsun, on a seal, MIO. Tello, 2730. *Pa sangu* ^dNinsun, RTC. 264, f. II, 1.

⁷ *Še a-sa(g)* ^dNinsun *é igi-il ta*, CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14-17. G. REISNER, Tello, 95, Col. VII, 19.

⁸ A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 29.

⁹ Clay cone of Libit-ištar, SAK. p. 205, and A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 27.

¹⁰ SAK. p. 204, k) quoting SBH. No. 56, Rev. 13-18.

Whatever may have been the origin and importance of the *ziggurat*, the stage tower, of the great temple complex, the *gi(g)-par*, or *é gi(g)-par*,¹ was the shrine, the house of the god (*é; ki-dúr; kummi elli*). It had cedar door (*giš-gál, erin, elammaqu*), and a statue of the god (*alam*) in cedar wood and bronze, fixed on the precious pavement (*kisal; uššum lalu*), in the heart of the temple, the place of oracles (*me-la é-e-ge: ina terêti bîti*). In the ground underneath was buried the foundation document (*temenu*). The shrine itself (*parakku*) was surrounded by several courts and store places (*ušurâte*). Priest or priestess had a dormitory adjoining to it (*majalum*). Food offerings formed a regular income (*sattukku*). A large endowment included fields, orchards, servants and cattle (*eqlê, kirêti, aštapiři, alpê û šeni*).

The proper function of the priest or priestess (*en, nîn-dingir-ra; paraš enâti*) called for registration and interpretation of all signs and oracles (*ina šibir ašipulim*). The daughter of Nabonidus was priestess for her lifetime. All titulars of such functions were elected by sort (*maš-e pa(d)-da*). The kings² dated many years of their reign by such solemn investitures.

Location and name of the proper shrine of the gods is very important, and will throw a welcome light on the origin of Babylonian or Sumero-Akkadian religion. The stage towers and their ponderous mass have too long drawn the main attention. All their names agree on one point; they were: "mountain towers" (*é-kur; é ħarsag*), and like mountains, playing their part of support and foundation of heavens (*temen-nî-il*). But the shrine, where the statue was enthroned,³ and oracles delivered,

¹ A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 27: text of Libit-ištar; No. 36: text of Anam, king of Uruk; No. 45: text of Nabonidus. On the *giparu*, cf. CLAY, YOS. I, p. 66.

² Perhaps YOS. I, No. 27 should read: Libit-ištar, king of Isin, desire of the heart of Innina, a *giparu*, for the priest (*en*) of nin-sun-zi(d), the priest of Nin-ezen in Ur, the pure seer of ^dNin-é-ni-ga, the orderer of purification, in the house of vessels, for Arazunišú-gubba (a proper name? "Standing up for his prayer"), his beloved son, the day when justice was established in Sumer and Akkad, in the city of Ur, he built it.

³ *Ilâni mašal mâtišu, ina parakkišunu idki ma ... (Mardukapaliddin)*. Cf. Statue of Marduk, KB. III, p. 140.

was built on the court level next to the tower. Now, which of the two, tower or shrine, was the earliest foundation and place of cult? Which are their racial origin and meaning? This is actually beyond the question. The great towers reached only by degree that enormous mass. We have no evidence that they were at first the tombs of the god. The gods were worshiped as living kings, not as dead beings. Sacrifices were offerings of food and drinks. Sacrifices once over, prayers were addressed to them. On New Year's eve the ruling king held the hand of the god in token of special investiture.

Assuredly the Greek tradition knows the *ταφος*, or tomb of Bêl. But nothing proves that the word means the stage tower. Most likely it is a translation of another word for shrine: *gigunu*, which next to *giparu* calls for some remarks. Both of them are composed with the word *gi*: reed, and mean a reed construction, a hut, a shrine, perhaps a tomb. Reeds are the natural outgrowth of a marsh land, where they would be used for mats and partitions. The creation story pictures at the beginning of things a time when no reed-mat (*giparu*)¹ had been woven or twisted. *Gigunû* has been identified with cemetery, tomb, grave, but in the days of Gudea,² or Rim-Sin,³ *gigunû* is a shrine, a beloved dwelling of the god, built in cedar wood, inside *ša(g)* the great temple.

Gigunû means just the great reed house. *Unu*, or *gunu* the latter part of the word, is the picture of an older sort of house, *AB* or *ÊŠ*, with slanting sides and conic top, half way between

¹ IV R. 35/36. *Giparu* between *bitâte* and *agurri* in *Rec. de Trav.* XIX, p. 46, l. 17. Why FR. MARTIN T.R., p. 6, n. 10, makes of it a "temple à étages" is not clear. It is a house, within the great temple complex, where the priest would perform his functions in front of his god: *é-an-na, éš gig-par aza-ga; nam-en-na-ba*, CBS. 4577 (LANGDON, PBS. X, 2). Gudea (Cyl. A) in temple Baga, or the temple of his mother Gatumdug, first enters the place (*ki-na(d) . . . bagin*), offers sacrifice and libation (*nig giš-ne-šum; a-šé ni-de*), then goes to the statue (*. . . ra mu-na-gin*), prays (*sub mu-na-túm*) and his prayer is granted. All statues of gods are "introduced" into the house.

² Statue B, V, 18-20; D. II, 9-10.

³ Arad-Sin, VAB. p. 214, e); Rim-Sin, CT. XXI, 32: 91144, Col. II. Cf. RA. VII, 109, 3. POGNON, *Bav.* p. 56.

SU the leather tent and *URU* the city. *Ē* and *Ē-GAL* temple and palace are more comprehensive words. *ĒŠ* is properly the shrine, the covered house, the beloved dwelling place, where the heart of the god rejoices. There he has his bed (*ki-nad*)¹ and his throne. His major-domo *lù é-du(g)* is waiting upon him. His chief adviser (*ad-gi-gi*) brings in all requests; his high minister (*sukkallu*) transmits outside his orders. The oldest inscriptions know many of those shrines: *éš Girsu*;² *éš Dug-ru*;³ *éš gú-túr*;⁴ *éš é-ninnu*.⁵ Proper names recall the function of the priestess: *nin-isib éš-ta*; *nin éš-aṣag-ga*.⁶ Mention of a reed shrine is found in the old inscription of Entemena⁷ *éš-gi* ^d*Ningirsu* and *éš-gi gi-ka-na* ^d*Ningirsu*, which seems much like the *gi-paru* shrine, *éš gi-gar*⁸ of a more recent text.

Gi-ka-na, which may be read: *gi-gù-na*, is another puzzling term for shrine. In the inscription of Entemena, it is clearly in connection with the reed shrine of Ningirsu. There were others, *gi-ka-na*, of Nina,⁹ Nin-maḥ,¹⁰ Enki,¹¹ Nin-ḥarsag.¹² They probably stood up in the midst of a sacred grove.

Assuredly the *gigunû* was a sacred place, pure like the *abzu*,¹³ the shrine(?) of Enki. To what extent this points toward the grave and the nether world is uncertain. Urukagina inscriptions make clear that there were two ways of burying people: in regular tombs (*ki-maḥ*), or to place him (? *ù-gub*) on the reeds of Enki, which perhaps means burning him at the stake. In

¹ Gudea, Cyl. B.

² Ur-ninā, c), II (SAK. p. 4).

³ Entemena, a) II, 7. (SAK. p. 30.)

⁴ Ur-Bau, V, 11.

⁵ Gudea, Cyl. A, VIII, 1; XXII, 8.

⁶ G. REISNER, *Telloh*, 150, 158 pass.

⁷ SAK. p. 32, 36, b) and l).

⁸ CBS. 4577, LANGDON, PBS. X, 2.

⁹ Entemena, a) r, II, 5.

¹⁰ TSA. LXI; Ruine de Lagaš in Nouv. Fouilles de Tello, p. 47: *gi-ka-na* ^d*Nin-maḥ tir-aṣag-ga-ka-ka*. THUREAU-DANGIN, RA. VI, p. 26, 30, n. 11.

¹¹ HUSSEY, ST. 41, obv. III; RTC. 47, f. IV, 5.

¹² Entemena, a) V, 3-4: *gi-ka-na tir-aṣag-ga* : the shrine of the sacred grove.

¹³ Gud. Cyl. A, XXIV, 20.

this latter case provisions are made for three sorts of people interested in the funerals. The priestess¹ is one of them (*nin-dingir-ri*). But we cannot infer that the shrine was the proper burying ground, or owed its origin to such a practice.

No. 24. CBS. 14123

Pre-Sargonic document of comptability. It is dated on the “*bal*”—year of reign or of some minor charge—of Ka-ni-zi(d).² At the time of Dungi, of Ur, “*bal*” seems to cover the space of a month.³

<i>galu</i>	which the
<i>gan-šam</i>	field surveyor
<i>si(g)-si(g)-ga⁴(?)</i>	has determined.
<i>bal</i>	At the time
<i>Ka-ni-zi(d)</i>	of Kanizi.

No. 25. CBS. 14014

Fragment of historical inscription. Franchise granted to the city of Ur.

..... ^d <i>nusku-ra(?)</i>	... for Nusku,
<i>urⁱki šú in-da-túm</i>	was brought along to Ur;
<i>urⁱki ma</i>	In Ur
<i>duššu-ne</i>	the badges of slavery ⁵
<i>in-gí</i>	he abolished;
<i>[d]un(?) - a-dúr⁶ - ne</i>	the digging

¹ In Gilgameš poem we find Rimat-Bêlit, the mother of Gilgameš acting as a priestess of Nin-sun at Uruk, and interpreting signs and dreams (*mudât kalama idi*). At sunrise she will pile up incense on charcoal (*qutrima iškun*), place offerings on the altar (*šurqa iškun*), and lift her hands in prayer toward the east (*ina maḥar Šamaš ideša išši*). Tablet III, Col. I a, 14-16; II a, 8-10. Cf. *I.e. šit šamši de Šilbak-in-šušinak*, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXI, p. 41. Gilgameš presents the god Lugal-banda, with the big horn of the heavenly bull (*ana piššati ilišu*), Tablet VI, 192.

² SAK. p. 224, tablets from Šuruppak, b).

³ LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 7.

⁴ *Še-si(g)-ga*, *Urukagina*, h), XII.

⁵ The reed corb carried on the head, the sign of compulsory work.

⁶ *Hirú ša irsiti*. *Nam-umun dun-a*, CT. X, 31, Col. VI, 25. *Nam-buru dun-a* and *nam-buru nu-dun-a*, REISNER, *Telloh*, 129, Col. II, 8-26. *Buru*, Br. 8632: measure bushels of *še* in the granary (*kalakku*). *Dun^a Ba-ú-ka-me*, HUSSEY, ST. No. 26, r. II. The chief: *a-dun-a*, *ibid.* No. 21, r. V. *A-dúr-mu*, Gudea, Cyl. A. X, 1, 11.

No. 26. CBS. 8358

Historical building inscription. Nin-din-ú(g)-ga the Sumerian Ištar, in whom both characters of Bau, and Innana¹ are combined, is here called the great diviner (*ašipu*)² of Enlil. But the Sumerian name is more exact and means the one who plants, grows, prepares any magical herbs and knows the crafty receipts of oils, pastes and balsams. She is physician just as much as diviner. She is the lady who revives all dead (*muballit mitâti*).

Her proper temple, her great temple in Nippur,³ near Enlil, is called *é a-mer-aṣag*; the temple of the shining crown. The temple of Ningirsu at Lagaš had a construction of the same name: *é-a-mer-bâr-bâr*,⁴ which stood up like a mountain of lapis lazuli between heaven and earth. This description would be very fitting for a stage tower. *Ē-banda-ka*, which means the house of the young ones, is very likely the name of the temple builder. It can hardly be considered as expressing that the great temple, *é-a-mer-aṣag*, was towering over the smaller temple of Enlil.

The tablet may have been a record of several votive inscriptions.

OBVERSE

^a*Nin-din-ú(g)-ga*
nin-šim-šâr-gal

^a*En-lil-là ra*

é-a-mer-aṣag

é-ni gu-la

^a*En-lil-là-ka*

é-dumu-ka

mu-na-ni-dū

šim-erin gal-gal

[] *e nin-ki-ib.*

To Nin-dinugga,

the great enchantress

of Enlil,

the temple of the brilliant crown,

her great temple

of Enlil (=Nippur?)

Edumu-ka

has built for her.

Cedar oil in abundance,

.....

¹ THUREAU-DANGIN, *Fragt. d'hymne, Nouv. Fouilles de Tello*, p. 200. Cf. *ir-sem-ma*, VR. 52, No. 1, IV, 15. OBL. No. 95, 106, 111.

² Br. 5174.

³ *Ē* ^a*Nin-din-ú(g)-ga ša(g) é* ^a*Nin-lil-lá*, LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, No. 293, 339, 371.

⁴ Gud. Cyl. A. XXV, 12-13.

REVERSE I

.....
<i>Ur</i> ^d [	<i>Ur</i> ^d ...
<i>lugal</i>	king
^d <i>En-lil-li</i>	of Enlil,
<i>ki-ág</i> [	beloved place
.....

REVERSE II

[.....] .. <i>a-kam</i>	of such a ...
<i>sagšû</i>	helmet
<i>an-gub-ba</i> 7	brought up 7.

No. 27. CBS. 8424

This must be one of the earliest dated pre-Sargonic documents. The ruin of Maer must be contemporary of the foundation of Upi by Unzi. (Cf. No. 1.)

OBVERSE I

[... <i>amar-sal-]peš</i>	..... heifers
[.....]- <i>bal-a</i>	....
!]- <i>ni</i>	....
... <i>amar-sal-peš ad-lal</i>	.. mature heifers
.... ^d <i>En-lil</i>	... ^d Enlil;
.. 4 <i>amar-sal-peš ad-lal</i>	.. 4 mature heifers
.. <i>Bil-sag</i>	... Bilsag;
... 3 <i>amar-sal-peš ad-lal</i>	.. 3 mature heifers

OBVERSE II

<i>Ur-pa</i>	Urpa
é ^d <i>lugal-mes-lam</i> ^{ki}	of the temple of ^d Lugal meslam ^{ki} ;
.... <i>amar-sal-peš ad-lal</i>	... mature heifers
<i>Adab</i> ^{ki} <i>ki-du</i> (g)	Adab-kidug;

OBVERSE II

[.....] <i>amar-sal-peš ad-lal</i>	mature heifers.
<i>nam</i> [	Nam ... ;
.....

¹ Temple of Nergal in Kutha, CT. IX, 3, f. 5, r. 1-4. Cf. É ^dLugal-úru^{ki} at Lagaš.

REVERSE I

<i>amar-sal-</i>[	heifers
<i>pa-utul</i> [	the chief herdsmen,
<i>na-ne-sum</i>	have given;
6 <i>amar-sal-peš-si</i>	6 red heifers
^d <i>id-ne-ne</i> ¹	Idnene
<i>he-KU-šú</i> ²	for the hireling
<i>an-na-sum</i>	has given,
<i>nam-da-urù</i>	Namdauru ³
<i>ab šuš</i> [	butcher . . .

REVERSE II

[. . .] <i>amar-sal dū⁴-a</i>	. . . fat heifers
<i>gà + nun-mah-ta</i>	from the great store,
<i>é(?) - ab-šú(?) or ra</i>	for the butcher shop,
<i>ni-ne-sum</i>	they have given
<i>še-gùr-kud</i>	month of Šegurkud,
<i>mu Ma-ri^{ki}</i>	year when Maer,
<i>bul-a</i>	was destroyed.

No. 28. CBS. 14193

Fragment of envelope of a case tablet with a seal impression of a patesi of Marad. The city has been identified with Wannet es Sa'dun, west of Nippur on the Euphrates. Its relative importance seems to date back from Narâm-Sin. The temple of its god ^dŠar-Marad-da had been founded by him. It was restored⁵ by King Nebuchadnezzar II, who searched for and found the *temenu*, the foundation stone of Narâm-Sin. The

¹ ^dNarâti. Cf. Code and Rit-Taf. 27, K. 4245, 11, 11.

² *He-KU*, a class of enlisted or hired troops or servants. *Erin-im-nu-il* and *erin-he-KU*, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 3; receive a monthly salary. A scribe keeps a list of their names, CT. X. 45, obv. 5. They live in their own quarters: *é-he-ku*. REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 160, VIII, 24. They have a daily grain allowance, MIO. *Tello*, No. 745, r. 3; or are paid in silver: *á he-KU azağ-babbar*, MIO. *Tello*, No. 3757. They were attached to many temples and palaces: ^d*Nin-mar^{ki}*; *é^d giš-bar-è*; *é^d Ninâ*; *é Nam-ḥa-ni*; *Gir-su^{ki}*; *he-KU kalama-il*, *gir-si(g)-ga é-gal*; *he-KU mar-sa-me*, etc.

³ *Uru: nasâru*, Br. 6443: they shall be kept?

⁴ *Duḥḥudu*, or *iṭteru*?

⁵ A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 44.

name of the temple was: *é-igi-kalama*. A son of Narâm-Sin: Libet-ili was patesi of Marad. Some more patesis and priests of Marad are quoted in business documents of the Ur dynasty.¹ The new patesi lived under the rule of Dungi, who is called the divine Dungi. The exact date is probably posterior to the year 35 + x of the same king.

^a <i>Dun-gi</i>	<i>Li-ša-lum</i>
<i>nita kalag-ga</i>	<i>mar Šu-ni-li</i>
<i>lugal ur^{ki} ma</i>	<i>patesi</i>
	<i>Marad-da^{ki}</i>
	<i>warad-ru</i>

No. 29. CBS. 8370

Fragment of historical and religious inscription: praise of Dungi.

OBVERSE

<i>Búr^a</i> {	.....
<i>me</i> [] <i>nita(?) šú</i> ...	.....
..... <i>il(?) -bi-da-ta</i>	.....
<i>dingir ub-da-tab-tab kalama sag</i>	god of the four regions, his decision is
<i>aš sí(g)-ga-bi</i>	reaching all over the country;
^a <i>Dun-gi-ra</i>	to the divine Dungi
<i>giš-pi-túg gú-mu-na-gar-ra-a</i>	intelligence was given in a full measure;
^a <i>Dun-gi</i>	the divine Dungi.
<i>dumu An-na</i>	son of Anu
^a <i>kalam-ma-ge</i>	god of the country
<i>é-il</i>	has exalted the temple;

REVERSE

<i>šukum-dingir-ri-ne</i>	the food offerings of the gods
[] <i>-gub-ba</i>	..... brought up
[] <i>-šig-ag</i>	..... were gracefully made
.....

¹ Leg. No. 357, 294.

No. 30. CBS. 15066

Fragment of business document. Grain salaries for people concerned with the house of tablets or archives: *é-dub-ba*. The document is dated on the 18th Simanu, the 2nd year of Gimil-Sin: *mu má sîg-abzu*. . . .

The variant *sîg* (cf. *dar*) for *dara*, shows that the two expressions concern the same animal: the wild mountain goat, later a symbol of the god Ea, on the *kudurrus* of the Cassite period.¹

No. 31. CBS. 14177

Seal impression of a scribe servant of Kallamu patesi of Asnunna, on a receipt for grain:

Kal-la-mu
pa-te-si
Aš-nun-na^{ki} ka
Lu ^dEn-zu dub-sar
Arad-zu.

Several patesis of Ašnunna² are known: like Ituria. Mekubi,³ daughter of Gibillama, patesi of Ašnuna (k), was the wife of Dan-ruḫuratir, patesi of Susa.

No. 32. CBS. 8234

Legal document. Nonsuit ordered by the judge. Seven witnesses took the oath in the name of the king.

Ur-dingir-ra šim(?)gal(?)
Lù ^dEnlil-lá ra
sá in-da-tuk ám
sa-bi nu-da-bi-a
mu-lugal ni-pa(d)

Ur-dingir-ra the great confectioner(?)
against Lu Enlil-la:
an action was introduced.
The action being ordered nonsuit
in the name of the king they were
sworn

¹ *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 17.

² Cf. *š-nun-na*, *ibid.*, p. 112 and p. 45, n. 3.

³ SAK. p. 180.

No. 34. CBS. 8381

Pre-Sargonic Sumerian letter. Directions for the management of fields and orchards, probably palm-groves.

<i>ki giš-sar</i> ^d <i>Nin-urta ta</i>	from the plantation of Ninib
<i>ki giš-sar Nig-ga-ra-ni šú</i>	to the plantation of Niggarani
<i>ba-ra-bal al-ni-na-ba</i>	do not go across, its digging
<i>al-ag¹-a-ba</i>	has been done
<i>ki giš-sar</i> ^d <i>Nin-urta ta</i>	In the plantation of Ninib,
2 . . <i>giš-ma + gunu²-har³</i>	2 . . date palm ⁴ tree enclosed(?)
<i>ba-ra-sir⁵</i>	do not trim
<i>ki giš-sar Na-ba-ni-túm</i>	At the plantation of Nabanitum
6 <i>sġ-a⁶</i>	6 gardeners
<i>giš-gab-tab⁷ ib-gid</i>	shall form a squad
1 <i>bùr gan ib-urū</i>	and cultivate 1 burgan (acre)
<i>a-ni tar a-ša(g) erin-na-a e-ne-gub</i>	the ditchers ⁸ engaged in digging the soldier's field(?)
<i>a-ša(g)-bi 2 bùr-gan</i>	their field is of 2 burgan
<i>še ħab-gi-e pa-te-si ge ba-dib</i>	the grain shall be provided for, on the reserves of the patesi;
<i>a-ša(g)-bi-ta sġ-a-ne</i>	In this field, the gardeners,
<i>a-ni-ta keš(da)-šú</i>	by the ditchers, shall form a separate unit.

No. 35. CBS. 8241

Incantation by the broken reed, the reed of Apsu. ^dEngur, the divine abyss, is called the mother of Ea, the pure diviner of Ekur.⁹ The text seems to be a part of the liturgy of Ea. The

¹ *Rapáku*.

² Varieties of *giš-ma + gunu*: *nag-ti, ùr, zi-na(d)*, MIO. *Tello*, No. 4644, 4646, 889. REISNER, *Tello*, No. 121.

³ $\frac{3}{4}$ *gan ħar giš-ma + gunu-gid*, CT. X, 49, Obv. 3.

⁴ Fruits in bunches or cakes of 5 to 3 *ga* each, MIO. *Tello*, No. 889 (*gir-lam*). ZA. XV, p. 38-40. Identified with the *ħašuhū* tree, or the pomegranate (SAI. 2772). TSA. XLVIII, n. 9.

⁵ *Sanāgu*, or *šadādu*.

⁶ *Amel urgi*. Br. 7010. *Nu-giš-sar: ikkaru*.

⁷ *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 38, n. 4.

⁸ Cf. *dū-a-tar*, TSA. XXXIV, gardeners (*nu-sar-me*), HUSSEY, ST. No. 6. *Giš-sar a-dū-a*, BE. III, No. 84, f. 57.

⁹ Br. 10223.

No. 36. CBS. 7874

School text on a lump of clay. Two lines of model text copied by the pupil, read as follows:

^d*Li-bi-it-ištar* Libit ištar.
à-nun ḥu-mu-ta-gál may he possess a great strength

A good instance of loyal school work at the time of the Isin dynasty.

No. 37. CBS. 14189

School text of the same period.

Nir-gal¹ aṣag-ṣu-a² é(?) -šū-dim³-ma. The noble wise one of Ešudimma,
Šu-nig-gál-la⁴ Aratta⁵ ki ka The figure of Aratta.

No. 38. CBS. 18188

School text. Fragment of historical legend?

<i>69 (?) sag-ki-ta</i>	69 from the beginning
<i>... im-diri(g) urudu ḥa-ṣi-in al-su-su</i>	... heavy clouds, copper axe, does increase,
<i>... lal pú-bi ne-ib-si-si</i>	... gear of the well they piled up
<i>sag(?) -ki tum-da ág-gà še-ba e-da e . . .</i>	the total of gathered products, the gain food . . .
<i>sag-dùl-é id-da bal . . .</i>	the head dam, the river across . . .
<i>si-si-ik⁶ A-ga-de^{ki} šú ni-gí . . .</i>	Sisik has returned to Agade . . .
<i>a-ga-de^{ki} a a-na-ám mu-e ni-ag</i>	in Agade Anam(?) spent the year,
<i>gi-gi(g) lul-la⁷ im-ma-an-na-gar</i>	a he has established.
<i>lù búr-ru-bi ne-in-tuk</i>	people take their lances(?)
<i>a-ga-de^{ki} a a-bi [] a-dím</i>	in Agade . . . like a . . .
.....

¹ *Etellu.*

² *Enqu.*

³ *Sanāqu ša qati, umašu*, Br. 7092: Enclosure. *É-šū-kár(?) -ma, é uš-bar^d lama^e Gimil^u Sin*, MIO. *Tello*, No. 909, IV, 16-19 (at Girsu). *É-šū-kár-dú-dú*, Br. 7138 (*ṣigurrat* of Ur).

⁴ *Mēšrū*, Br. 7252.

⁵ *Keš* and *Aratta*, *Gud. Cyl. A.*, XXVII, 2.

⁶ *Mār Šamaš*, Br. 3434.

⁷ Cf. *di lul-la: dēn qarti; ki lul-la: šaggaštu.*

No. 39. CBS. 14055

Fragment of the code. Wages of the slave with or without lodgings.

OBVERSE I

[	]	šú	.....
...	ša	la ištar sag-sal	..... no prostitute ¹ (?) a servant, ²
gim	dumu	ga-gál ištar(?)	the servant the suckling baby(?)....
aṣag-ta	gub-ba-aš		for the (price) brought in silver
ib-ta-túm			shall take along.
tukundi			Supposing that
gim	gà	la-ba-an-dág ³	a servant is not locked in
[ud]	1 šú	à-ni [šú]	each day for her salary
[	]	še ta [ám]	[10 qa] of barley..
.....		

OBVERSE II

1 an [	]		1..
gà	la-ba-an-[dág]		is not locked in,
ud	1 šú	à-ni-šú	each day for his salary,
10 (qa)	še-ta-ám		10 qa of barley
al-ág-e			shall be measured,
kù-babbar	gur-á-bi		Silver in return ⁴ (?) for salary
arad	à-ni	ba-an-tu(r) (?)	the servant will enter on his salary

No. 40. CBS. 14081

Liturgy of Dungi, with reference to some historical year or event.

OBVERSE I

<i>Sir-ru</i>	Hymn
<i>pi-lul-da⁵ gal-gal</i>	for the great liberation
<i>sib-zi(d)</i>	of the pious shepherd,
<i>Dun-gi-ri</i>	Dungi,

¹ *Ištaritu, qadištu, nu-gig?*

² *Eru, abdu.*

³ *Naparkû*, Br. 5441. No lodging provided for.

⁴ Exchange? *duppuru, kanâku, târu*, Br. 3361, 3362, 3367.

⁵ *Urukagina, b* VII, 26 (SAK. p. 50, c.). Opposed to *ama-gi*.

[	-ga-šú	the [valiant . . .]
mu	gá-(?) ar-gà-ar	the year when the establishment ¹
Nibru ^{ki}	a	in Nippur
^d gal-gal-e-ne		the great gods
a-ru		were(?) granted;
mu	a-tú-a-tú-ù-ge(?)	the year when the purification ²
uru-ki	a	in the city,
nam-šu(?)	gú(?) šu(?) mu . . . e.	.....

OBVERSE II

gur(?)	. . . [	.....
giš-bu ³-[		offspring . . .
šu-nir ⁴	a-[tú	emblem, purified(?) . . .
ù-im-gà?	[	.....
ur-sag	^d En-lil [	the hero of Enlil,
^d nin-[urta(?)		Nin-ib(?) . . .
dú(g)-ga-a	mu [	to the order . . .
Pa-giš-gibil-sag [		Pasag, . . .
da-rí	[ù(?)	for ever(?)
giš-ù ⁵	ga-la-ga [	cedar . . .
si-im [		.....

REVERSE II

.....	
[	-gar-ra-ám	..... being made.

No. 41. CBS. 14214

Hymn to ^dNin-a-zu, the father of ^dNin-giš-zi(d)-da,⁶ the grand-father of Dumuzi-Tammuz. Like them probably a god of vegetation, reigning in Hades. Two months in the Drehem calendar borrowed their names from his legend: the 4th and 5th: "the couch (*ki-sìg*),⁷ and feast (*ezen*)" of Nin-a-zu. They pre-

¹ Purification? *Tèbibtu*, *Šukunnu*, Br. 12185, 12186.

² *Risnu*, Br. 11571.

³ *Pirbu*, Br. 7531.

⁴ *Šurinnu*, Br. 7198.

⁵ *Ašúbu*.

⁶ Gudea, St. I. (Cf. B. VI, p. 258, l. 29.).

⁷ *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 14, n. 4.

cede the month of Akiti, which marked the return of spring. Nippur calendar does not record the name of Nin-azu, but names the 6th month: "the return of Ištar (*kin* ^d *Innanna*)," instead of which people in Lagaš had a: "feast of Tammuz¹ [*ezen* (*aṣag*) ^d *Dumuṣi*]." This name only prevailed in Babylonian and Assyrian time. The month of Tammuz was the month of seed sowing (*šu-numun-a*). Harvest came (*še-gur-kud*) 7 months later.

At the time of Urukagina, Nin-a-zu had his share among other gods, in the rich offerings (*ḫa-la*)² at Lagaš. His cult declined by degrees, and made room for the cult of his son ^dNin-giš-zi(d)-da at the time of Gudea, and chiefly his famous grand-son Tammuz. Ninazu is figured here as begotten from Nannar in Ekišširgal at Ur.

OBVERSE

<i>Lugal gal</i> ³ - <i>utul</i> [	| <i>me-en</i>	King protector of herds . . .	thou art,
^d <i>Nin-a-ṣu gal-utul</i> [	| <i>me-en</i>	Ninazu protector of herds . . .	thou art,
<i>en</i> ^d <i>Nin-a-ṣu-mu ul</i> [<i>ul</i>	| <i>me-en</i>	My lord Ninazu, herds . . .	thou art,
<i>gi-iš</i> (?) ⁴ <i>ṣa-gin-na ma</i> [. . . <i>šu si</i> . . .]		Reed . . . of lapis lazuli . . .	thou art,
	<i>me-en</i>		
<i>lu</i> (?) . . . [. . . <i>n</i>] <i>un-na-ma-na</i> . . .		. . . . .	thou art,
	<i>bia</i> . . . <i>me-en</i>		
<i>ki-sag-bi du-ul</i> . . . <i>šub en</i> ^d <i>Nin-a-ṣu</i>		the place where . . .	lord Ninazu,
	<i>me-en</i>		thou art,
[^d <i>Nin-a-ṣu ki-in-gub</i> ⁵ <i>ḫa-ma</i> . . .		may Ninazu	the grave(?)
^d <i>Nanna</i> (<i>r</i>) . . . <i>e</i> . . . <i>ri</i> (?)- <i>gub</i>		Nannar . . .	
<i>gal šu-gal</i> ⁶ - <i>la</i> (?) ^d <i>Nanna</i> (<i>r</i>) [<i>tu</i> (<i>d</i>)		Protector of	begotten(?) from
. . .] <i>me-en</i>		Nannar . . .	thou art,

¹ In Umma, the 12th month was dedicated to ^dDumu-zi.

² HUSSEY, S.T. No. 41. This curious list includes: ^d*Ninni ib-gal*, *ki-a-nag*, ^d*Ninā*, ^d*En-ki gi-ka-na*, ^d*Nin-gir-su nin-ni-gar-ra*, ^d*Nin-dar*, ^d*Dumu-zi-abṣu*, ^d*Pa-sag*, ^d*Ab-ir-nun*, ^d*He-lur*, ^d*Nin-ur*, ^d*Nin-dub*, ^d*Eṣin-nu*, ^d*Dun*-(REC. 230)-*ab*, ^d*Nin-šubur*, ^d*Nin-a-ṣu*, ^d*Mes-an-du*, *Ib-ḫa-mu-kú*, ^d*Gà-tum-du*(*g*), ^d*Innana*, ^d*Lugal-uru*⁴¹, *Ki-a-nag*.

Nin-a-zu is called: "the Sumerian" DP. No. 49, 51 (TSA. LV).

³ Cf. *dakan*, sug. 11: *takkannu*, *sukku*, Del. Glossar.

⁴ *Gi-unú*; *gi-šid*(?).

⁵ *Ki-gub*: *qibiru*, Br. 9723; *ki-in-gi*: *mātu*, Br. 9678; *ki-in-dar*: *nigissu*, Br. 9682.

⁶ *Pabāru*, Br. 7203.

<i>pa an ma . . . arad babbar-ri-id</i>	Scepter
. . . . in	
<i>giš-gu-za an-ni ba(?) -ra</i>	Heavenly throne . . .
<i>zag-an-ki-šú-gir si-še-da-ab-di ud-ba-</i>	Sanctuary, place of . . . , may stand
<i>si(g) . . .</i>	firm, the storm . . .
. <i>mu ud-ba si-ša-ra(?) ab-di</i>	. . . . . the storm, may stand firm,
<i>ud-ba si(g) . . .</i>	the storm . . .
. . . . <i>nam zu šu im-mi-dú</i>	. . . . . thy is achieved,
[] <i>kur-kur-ra pa-è ùg-gà im-</i>	. . . . shine on the countries, stand on
<i>mi-gub</i>	the people
^d <i>Kal-zu(?) é-kiš-sir-gál-la á-gal ša-ra</i>	God warrior thou, in Egišširgal ¹ a
<i>me-en</i>	great force for destruction, thou
	art
^d <i>Nin-a-zu ur^{ki}-ma tu(d)-da ^dNanna(r)</i>	Nina-zu in Ur begotten from Nannar,
<i>še-e-da-šuš</i>	may he be spread out
<i>en ^dNin-a-zu-mu ur^{ki} ma tu(d)-da</i>	My lord Ninazu, in Ur begotten from
^d <i>Nanna(r) še-e-šuš</i>	Nanna(r) mayest thou spread
	out.
<i>a-a mi gam(?) gal ^dEn-lil-li mu-zu</i>	father . . . great of Enlil, thy name is
<i>pa-ne-in-má(?)²</i>	glorified,
<i>ama? ugu-zu ù ra nam</i>	mother on thee
<i>mu-ra . . .</i>	
<i>é-zu uru(?) -zu kur(?) ta-ki</i>	thy temple, thy city
<i>hu(?) -mu un</i>	mayest thou be . . .

REVERSE

<i>Im ki-uru³ ki sud-al [. . .</i>	Wind of the city
<i>hu-mu-un [. . .</i>	mayest thou be . . .
<i>En ^dNin-a-zu-mu ud-ba bi-hu-[</i>	My lord Ninazu, the storm, mayest
	thou . . .
<i>ki-gal(?) bi hu-mu-un-gà-ri(?)</i>	the grave mayest thou
<i>mer-azag-gi sag-za ba-ra-ni-in-gi</i>	may the gold crown on thy head, never
	change place.
<i>šu-ni dìm⁴ ba-ra-ni-in</i>	may thy hand the scepter(?) never
	let . . .
. . . . <i>giš(?) gál a-a ugu-na . . . ša(g)</i>	. . . . the father on clear inside . . .
<i>azag mu-un . . .</i>	

¹ Ziggurat of Nannar, at Ur.² *Dú(g)*, *Al??* Cf. *pa-è*.³ *Dakkannu*, Br. 9657.⁴ *Tarbú*, *šurbú*, *šanágu*, Br. 1166-1188. The rod, emblem of power. Cf. *pa: battu*.

<i>udu munšub-ba(? or pi?) im-bi-a</i>	a hairy sheep . . .
<i>ur-mah(?)</i>	a lion
<i>ud-bi</i> <i>e zi-ir gù-mu-na-de-e</i>	the day when for the fence, was claimed,
. <i>zi lù na-ba-hu(?) nu-a</i>	. . . . . the fence, the
. <i>pa</i>	
. <i>ba-bád-da</i>	had been raised,
. <i>bar-si(g)-aš-ta-è-a ba-ta-ne-in-</i>	. . . . . issuing from the covert, reaching
. <i>uš-sa</i>	outside
<i>gi</i> <i>rim gi-urû-da nu-gub-bu</i>	the fence(?) . . . reed of protection not standing up,
<i>gi</i> <i>gi-šu-ha-ne ha-e pad¹-pad-du</i>	the fence(?) . . . reeds the fishers, offer
. <i>mu 1 e igi-šú</i>	the fishes on, . . . for 1 year before,
<i>gi</i> <i>gub-ba ga-mu-ra-ab-dú(g)</i>	the fence(?) . . . standing, I will order for thee,
<i>urudu nig-kalag-ga²</i> <i>sag-gà mu-um-</i>	hard bronze at the head shall
. <i>ma-da-ab-ri(g)</i>	be placed,
<i>giš-erin giš za-ba-lum,³</i> [<i>giš-šur-</i>	cedar-wood, zabalum . . . cypress-
. <i>man, giš-ku⁴</i>	wood, box-wood
<i>giš-dan giš-dup-ti-a</i> <i>šu(?) ha⁷-</i>	<i>ušu⁶-wood, pine⁶(?)-wood, . . .</i>
. <i>ba lum</i>	
<i>giš-a-am, giš òim-du(g)-ta he-im-ma-</i>	<i>ildaggu⁸-wood, from good plant,⁹ shall</i>
. <i>da-ab-túm</i>	be brought
. <i>sag-gà-ka he-ne-suh-suh¹⁰</i>	. . . . . of its head, shall be made splendid
. <i>ud-dé he-ne-ba-dim (?)</i>	. . . . . shall be made like day.
. <i>sig-gi gab nig-tuk¹¹-ki-na-ta</i>	. . . . . underneath in front of his form,
<i>giš-eme sar-šú-in-gub-ta he-im-ta-gub</i>	on pegs put for fastening, he shall stand,

¹ *Kusapî.*² *Èrû dannu*, Br. 12088, 12089.³ Gudea, St. B, V, 55; Cyl. A, XV, 30. Mounts of Zabalum. Together with *giš-ù-ku, giš tu-lu-bu-um. Za-ba-lam: supalu*, Cf. XVII, 38, l. 39. MEISSNER, MVAG. 1904, No. 3, p. 34, anm. 2. (SAK. p. 70, a); along with: *ašuhu* and plane-tree.⁴ *Urkarînu.*⁵ Ebony-wood, terebinthe?⁶ Cf. *Duprânu, burâšnu, buñnu. Ina eli tuṣat burâši.*⁷ *Hašuru?*⁸ Or *Adâru*, Br. 11486, 11487.⁹ Of good growth.¹⁰ *Zîmu*, or *nasâhu?*¹¹ *Mêšrû*, Br. 12177.

<i>úh (?) pu-ub¹ sùh-a zikum-ma dú(g)-</i>	the beast disturbing the deep well,
<i>dú(g) am-dím he-im-mi-šù</i>	muttering in the abyss, like a bull
	he shall cover,
<i>urū-bi buṣru + sar(?) -ba he-im-ta-</i>	its foundation, out of the secret abyss
<i>gu(d)-ud</i>	shall be reared.

REVERSE

<i>giš-al-e sa-he-ne-sí(g) giš dusu ṣag he-</i>	Spade shall spread net-like, corb shall
<i>mi-lal-lal</i>	reach the limit.
<i>Dun-gi-ri gá-šú(?) hu-mu-na-dū</i>	For Dungi the abode . . . I will build,
<i>gà-nun hu-mu-na-gub</i>	the great store I will rear,
<i>giš-gu-ṣa edin(?) -te(g) -é-a dú(g) -ga-e</i>	the throne foundation of the plain,
<i>hu-mu-na-ni-gub.</i>	placed in the temple, I will rear
	there to him
<i>gú-ne-sag-gá² hul é-a</i>	the protection(?) against evil in the
	temple
<i>din-lál gú-e he-im-ma-gub</i>	pot of date wine and honey, I will set
	up.
<i>ma(?) -ṣa-lum³ e suhur⁴ he-im-ma-</i>	the . . . , shall have the covering
<i>šù-šù</i>	spread upon
<i>bád-ne ha-ba-giš-giš⁵ -šú lagab(?) hu-</i>	the walls(?) shall face(?) one another,
<i>mu-un-na-si(g) -si(g)</i>	the enclosure I will complete ⁶
<i>giš-ṣú⁷ har-ra(?) . . . na hu-mu-un-</i>	the well, dug-out . . . I will rear up
<i>na-mă-mă</i>	for him,
<i>giš-má . . . ka-ni šu(?) dím(?) suhur</i>	the boat I will build him a
<i>hu-mu-na-dū-dū</i>	cover,
<i>šú-dím šá(g) ga mu-nigin</i>	the . . . with date-palm(?) I
	shall surround,
<i>sal-sil tur . . . šig-am he-im-mi-ib-è</i>	Young ewes, young . . . I will let go
	out,
<i>Dun-gi hu-mu-un-sí(g) -sí(g)</i>	Dungi shall have them plentiful
<i>giš-gi bar-rim⁸ -ma si(g) -ga-ṣa</i>	a wall full of . . . art thou,

¹ *Temen(?)*.² *Kadādu, kanāšū?*³ Cf. *ma-ša-lum*, RTC. 304: a bronze object.⁴ *Kimmatu*.⁵ Or *nigin?* Cf. *giš-giš: šapiltu ša qibili:* answer, reply.⁶ *Malū, lamū, šapāku*.⁷ *Giš-ṣu*, RA. IV, 24, text III; RTC. 197, f. 8; Gud. Cyl. B, XVI, 9.⁸ Or *maškim?*

<i>giš-dim-gal-gal¹</i>	<i>dū-a-bi he-me-en</i>	a great pillar(?) its construction shall be,
.....	<i>kalag . . . bi he-me-en</i>	a . . . its strong . . . shall be,
<i>di-ba(?) -an-ze-ir²</i>	<i>lù-kal-la-nu-zi³</i>	a strong foundation, a vigorous youth,
<i>ki-gir-du⁴</i>	<i>na-gú-rú-rú-a⁵</i>	a foot resting place, a raised up stela
<i>gi giš-gu-za subuš giš-zi(d)-da Má-ri⁶</i>	<i>he-ba-e-dū-dū</i>	the whole throne, a foundation of straight wood from Maer, shall be built,
<i>giš-me-en igi-tab-ba he-me-ni-tù(r)-ri</i>	<i>me-en</i>	wood(?) ⁶ art thou, fixing thy looks in front of thee art thou,
<i>sag-zi sag-mu-ta he-im-ta-gar</i>		Thy face, from my face, shall thou not turn away.

No. 43. CBS. 9239

Sumerian building inscription, with records of a gold statue, of Enlil (?), of Naram-Sin and perhaps the city of Hamazi.

OBVERSE

.....
11: <i>alan sag-azag-gi</i>	..... the statue with the golden head,
<i>^dEn(?) -lil-li [é]-kurta nam(?) - ta-an-è</i>	Enlil from ékur shall not go out . .
.....
24: <i>ká-gal^dEn-lil-lá ka ga-im-ma-ba-è</i>	By the gate of Enlil I will get out . .

REVERSE

.....
9: <i>uru Ha-ma-[zi] . . .</i>	the city of Hamazi(?)
<i>lù^dNun-[</i>	Lu-Ea . . .
<i>^uNa-ra-am ^uSin šag</i>	Naram-Sin
<i>giš-erin giš šu-ùr-man giš za-ba-lum giš-ku</i>	cedar-wood, cypress-wood, zabalum, box-wood,

¹ *Markasu, dimgallu.*

² *Halašu, Br. 4205.*

³ Not knowing this strength; *badûlu, Br. 6215.*

⁴ *Huṣappu, Br. 9208.*

⁵ Cf. *na-rú-a* and *šêru, Br. 3273.*

⁶ *Zikaru, idlu?*

<i>giš-gi giš-dan-na</i> ... <i>zi(?) -gum</i>	cane, ušu wood, ...	were cut to
<i>ba-an-sur-sur</i>	pieces ..	
<i>guškin-bi mi-ni</i> <i>ne-in-ag</i>	its gold ...	.... were made
<i>guškin-bi su-ú-ba¹ ne-in-ag</i>	its gold was melted,	
<i>urudu[-bi .. maḥ ... kár-ra</i>	its copper ...	
<i>ne-in</i> ...		
<i>aḡag-bi</i> <i>dím-e</i>	its silver ...	
<i>an(?) -bi. ḡa-ma</i> .. <i>dím-e</i>	.....
.....	

No. 44. CBS. 15207

Liturgy of the god Pa-gibilsag, with reference to Enlil, Ninlil(?), Nippur and Isin. Pagibil-sag was later identified with Išum a god of fire and pestilence, an intendant of Nergal, the great leader and high commissary of the gods. In the days of old he was called the leader of the land (nimgir kalam-ma).² Eannatum was a diviner³ of the same god. Priests (*sangu*)⁴ of Pasag are named along with priests of Ninsun and Nindar. His temple in Lagaš⁵ was ranking next to the temple of Ningirsu, *é šabru, é bagá and é bārbar*. Fields and flocks were attached to it, and were attended to by a regular board⁶ or staff. His present temple is in Larak.⁷

COLUMN I

<i>am ùr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-ni ka-ni</i>	like the crouching bull the chequered one of his temple,
<i>lugal-mu am-ùr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-[</i>	my king is like the crouching bull the chequered one of his temple ..
^a <i>Pa-gibil-sag am-ùr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-ni [</i>	Pa-gibil-sag is like, etc.

¹ *Su-ub: mašāšu*, Br. 203. Cf. *kemaššu*.

² Gud. St. B, VIII, 63-64.

³ *Iskim*, SAK. p. 22, stone B, II, 13.

⁴ RTC. 264.

⁵ *É^a pa-giš-bi(l)-sag*, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 26, XI, 9, XIV, 20.

⁶ *É^a pa-sag* had 1 *ukuuš sangu*, 2 *nuban(da)-gu(d)*, 1 *šes tabba*, 4 *engar*, 12 *gu(d)-da-ri-a*, 1 *pa erin-na maškim*, 4 *erin*, 4 *ù-il*, MIO. *Tello*, No. 865.

⁷ *a*[]-*ne-sag*, *umun Larak*, ST. LANGDON, 5th tab., r. 12 in SBP. p. 160, n. 4, 7. *E aš-te, é-aš-tu*, temple of Larak, *ibid.*, p. 133, n. 4; p. 265. *Bīt-sāla-laraki*, Sanh. V, 35 (Del. Paradise, p. 202, 5; p. 224). According to Berossos, Xisuthros was born in Λαπαρχα.

é-damal-la é-ni-si-in^{ki} na-ka...ni her large temple of Nisin, she ...
mi-ni-ib ...
sìg-lum-ma¹-bi nam-ma-an ... the wool ... she does not ...
dar-bi-ám šu-gà-ri šu-gà-ri ... being variegated, the perfect work...

No. 45. CBS. 2268 + 2277

Sumerian historical records. Enlil, É-an-na, the land of Sumer and Akkad, the river of Kutha and Sippar, the Gutium enemies, the valiant hero of Sumer; perhaps the mention of a king may still be read in the much-damaged text.

No. 46. CBS. 7848

Fragment of a historical prism. Seems to refer to letter or order (*ù-na-dú(g)*) of King Libit-ištar of Isin, and some expedition (*kas-ligir ta im-gi*). The 1st and 2nd *li-mu-um* are hardly identical with Assyrian eponymates, but they seem to have some connection with periods of time (*bal*).

No. 47. CBS. 7820 + 7830

Fragment of a historical prism. Perhaps a record of the building activity of King Naram-Sin, *ša(g)-ga Nibru ki . . . , lù da . . . , mu é-kur-ra*

No. 48. CBS. 7849

Fragment of an octagonal prism. The text, among several historical records preserved a version of the building and rebuilding of the Tummal of Ninlil.² The shrine of the goddess at Nippur was founded in the early days of ^dGiš-bil-ga-mes. The Drehem³ tablets give details of food, scented or precious woods, sacrifice animals sent as offerings to Tummal. Ubâ patesi of Adamdun had a bow placed in it as a votive offering.

¹ Cf. *tùg-lum-za*.

² A. POEBEL, PBS. V, No. 6, 7; IV, 1 p. 143-147.

³ *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, No. 4, 303, 306, 384.

Among interesting items in lists of account of Aḫuni in Tummal, we note a bronze bed with a mattress of good wool for Allašarrum the nurse of Me-kadi the king's daughter. The shrine was the proper asylum of young princesses.

COLUMN II

¹ <i>Dub¹-ki-ág^d nanna(r)</i> <i>dumu Na-an-ni ge</i> <i>Tùm-má-al^{ki} si pa-ne-da-è</i>	Dubkiag-Nannar son of Nanni, let shine the horn ² (exalted) of Tummal
<i>^dNin-lil Tùm-má-al^{ki} šú in-túm³</i> <i>a-du 4 kam Tùm-má-al^{ki} ba-šub</i>	Ninlil into Tummal was brought up, A fourth time Tummal was ruined.
¹ <i>Ur [^dEngur-ge é-kur] in-dū</i> <i>Dun-[gi dumu Ur^d Engur]-ge</i> <i>Tùm-má-al^{ki} si pa-ne-da-è</i> <i>^dNin-lil [Tùm-má-al^{ki} šú in-túm</i> <i>[a-du 5]kam Tùm-má-al^{ki} ba-šub.</i> <i>[. . .^dI-bi] ^dSin ka-ta</i> <i>{en-na^dI-}bi^d Sin lugal-e</i> <i>{en-am}-gal-an-na en-^dNinni</i> <i>{unú^{ki} ga máš-e in-pa(d)-dè</i>	Ur-Engur built the temple ékur, Dungi son of Ur-Engur, let shine the horn of Tummal, Nin-lil into Tummal was brought up. A fifth time Tummal was ruined. By . . . of Ibi-Sin, when King Ibi-Sin, was elected by oracles as priest ⁴ of the temple: "the great heavenly bull," priest of Innana at Uruk
<i>[^dNin-]lil Tùm-má-al^{ki} šú</i> <i>[]-gin-ne-en</i> <i>[^dIš-bi]-ir-ra é-kur-igi-gál</i> <i>[é-gi-na-]ab-dú⁵</i> <i>[^dEn-lil-lá] in-[dū]</i>	Ninlil into Tummal, they brought up. Išbi-irra built: Ekur-igi-gal the šutummu of Enlil

COLUMN III

<i>pa-te-si sag-il [. . .</i> <i>é(?)^dEn-lil-lá . . .</i> <i>pà a-dan(?) ḫa . . . ib-tum</i>	the patesi raising the head . . . the temple of Enlil . . . the canal, the flood . . . has carried(?)
--	---

¹ Or *šid?*² *Si-ba-mul-mul*, Gud. Cyl. A, XXIV, 22.³ Or *gin*: entered. Cf. I. 16: *gin-ne-en*.⁴ The 2nd year of Ibi-Sin.⁵ Same "granary" built in Ur by Enannatum son of Išme-Dagan, SAK. p. 206, b). Great store for furniture: 37 *giš gu-za* . . . *ša(g) É-gi-na-tum*, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 83, Vs. 9, 11.

1 ^d En-lil-dingir-mu ù Ha-an-za-mu	Enlil-dingirmu and Hanzamu,
mu-sīg-gi-eš mu-da-kar-ri-eš	have stamped, have banked up,
1 Lugal-an-ni(?) na-ab-bi-a	Lugal . . . ordering
mà-e pà 1 ám	1 canal for me
za-e pà 1 ám	1 canal for thee
pa-te-si pà 1 ám	1 canal for the patesi
a be-mu-e ka-ne-in-dú(g)-ta	on the word they have said: the water
	be mine
nu-mu-un-dim ¹ -gi-es	there shall be no restriction
erín id-za-nu-ma pà-gub [	the workmen of their (?) river, the
	canal . . .
mà-e ha-a-bi-a-ma [	as for me, I will order . .
á ma-tur 5 -ú [	a strength of 5 small . . .
hu-mu-ši-in [	may I . . .
a-ma-ru [	the storm
Lugal-išib ù-na []	Lugal išib (?) has . . .
pa-te-si [ra (?)	to (?) the patesi . . .

No. 49. CBS. 13967

Praise of King Libit-ištar. Fragment of a three(?) column tablet.

COLUMN I

^d Li-bi-it-ištar lugal	King Libit-ištar
sag-il nun bara-ga	the exalted prince of all shrines,
be-dú giš-isimu ²	ornament of the stem
nam-lugal-la	of royalty,
^d Utu-dim-gin	like Šamaš thou goest
še-ir-zi ³ kalam-ma	splendor of the land,
nam-nun dúr-mab ⁴	nobility of great houses
[]-gal-la . . .	. . .
[] da [	. . .
[] ki gar-ra [	. . .

COLUMN II

en-dun [	noble lord . . .
an ni-ki [	. . . . .

¹ Or du(g)? Dim: sanāgu.

² Zigpu, Br. 8968.

³ Šarāru.

⁴ Šarru, durmaḫu, Br. 10576-7.

<i>iti</i> ¹ - <i>ti</i> [	help . . .
<i>ama-an</i> [	mother . .
^d <i>Li</i> [	Li[bit-ištar.
.....

COLUMN III

<i>ne</i>-[	.....
<i>diri</i> (<i>g</i>) [	more
^d <i>Li</i> -[<i>bi-it ištar</i>	Libit ištar . .
<i>dumu</i> ^d <i>En</i>-[	son of En. . .
<i>nig-gi-na</i> [	justice . . .
<i>inim-inim-mi-ni</i>	his words . . .

No. 50. CBS. 14176

Fragment of Sumerian literary text of dubious meaning. The superintendent (*maškim*) and the priest of lamentations (*gala*), are mentioned together with statues (*alan*), temple (*é*), walls (*bád*), boats for grain (*má-še*). The whole seems to be a record of rules and regulations.

No. 51. CBS. 8242

Fragment of historical inscription(?). List of gods, part of an official litany:

[	]	^d <i>Nusku</i> [	<i>me-en</i> ]	....	Nusku art thou,
[	]	^d <i>nu-túg-nir-ra</i>	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	Nutugnirra art thou,
[	]	<i>nibru</i> ^{kⁱ}	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	of Nippur art thou,
[	]	<i>síg é-kur-ka</i>	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	bricks of Ekur art thou,
[	]	<i>ur</i> ^{kⁱ} <i>ma</i>	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	in Ur art thou,
[	]	^d <i>En-lil-li</i>	[ ]	....	Enlil,
[	]	<i>e šú mu-su</i> (<i>d</i>)	[ ]	....	for. . has removed afar,
[	]	<i>kalam</i> (?) <i>sá-a</i>	<i>me[en</i> ]	....	ruling the land art thou,
[	]	^d <i>En-lil-da</i>	[ ]	....	along with Enlil,
[	]	<i>En-lil-lá</i>	<i>me[en</i> ]	....	of Enlil art thou.

Nu-túg-nirra: "the prince invested with splendor" or "the prince of the shining weapon" is probably an epithet of Nin-uraš.

¹ *Gibtu, tukultu*, Br. 9433-4.

CBC. 4563¹ has a ^dNu-nam-nir. *Nam-nir-ra* means: nobility (*etellutu*), *giš-túg-nir*: the great weapon (*kakku*). The god simply called ^dNu-nir, is no other than Ninuraš ša miḫri,² the god of fight and storm. The element *túg* may be dispensed with as we learn from the name of ^dNu-muš-da³ or ^dNu-túg-muš-da,⁴ the god of Kazallu,⁵ a serpent god⁶(?).

No. 52. CBS. 14190

A contract for partnership (*tab-ba*), dated on the month of Tašritu, on the 18th year that followed the capture of Isin by Rim-Sin:

<i>il</i> [	]	II ...
<i>ki U-bar</i> ¹	[Šamaš]	with Ubar-Šamaš,
<i>nig-ga</i>		the property
<i>a-na-me-a</i> [ri (?)	]	all he has ...
<i>tab-ba</i>		shall be in partnership.

The round circle or mark on the tablet may be a substitute of the seal.⁷

No. 53. CBS. 14184

A lease for land on the 5th year after the capture of Isin.

<i>Gan</i> ¹ ⁱⁱ <i>Sin-ta-a-a-ar</i>	The field of Sin-tajar,
¹ <i>I-lí-a-pi-li-im</i>	Iliawilim,
<i>nam-bi-an-ma</i> ⁸ <i>šú-ub-ta-an-è</i>	under year term, holds it by lease.
<i>Ka-šer mu 1 kam</i>	The rent for 1 year
<i>igi 4 gál 5 še kù babbar</i>	shall be $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel + 5 grains of silver,
<i>ša(g)-ga ne-íb-du(g)-ga</i>	being satisfied at heart.
<i>en-na-an-šú</i>	Up to that day,
<i>gan-bi ni-gà</i>	he shall cultivate the field
<i>a-pin-bi ni-gà</i>	and irrigate it.

¹ PBS. X, 2, No. 9.

² Br. 1997.

³ CBS. 4577 (LANGDON, PBS. X, 2.).

⁴ OBI. 125, obv. 8.

⁵ Cf. No. 3: Baša-^dNu-muš-da, patesi of Kazallu.

⁶ ^d*Siru*. Serpent god on seal cylinders: DE CLERCQ, Cat. No. 141.

⁷ Cf. A. T. CLAY: *Seals and Their Substitutes*, BE. XIV. pp. 12-13: *sisiktu*.

⁸ *Šattu*, Br. 2186. Cf. *Mu-an-na*.

No. 54. CBS. 14178

Receipt for 4 shekels of silver borrowed for six months at a rate of 20 per 100 interest. The document is dated on October, and the money shall be repaid on May of the following year. Four witnesses and two seal impressions. The seals may have belonged to Sinnutum and Burmama, the two parties to the contract. One is drawn in full and shows the fight of Gilgames with bulls, lions and a devouring dragon. Small figures of a crouching lion, turtle, fly, human head, etc., fill the vacant space. A short inscription devotes it to Šamaš. The next seal pressed on the edge of the tablet shows a figure of the god Martu, with short garment, turban and mace.

The date formula commemorates the occupation of Dur Damiq-ilišu by Rim-Sin. The overthrow of Isin is a much controverted question.¹ The longer formula as published by Thureau-Dangin² says that Rim-Sin captured: "the city of Damiq-ilišu and the people of Isin." More than 30 years of Rim-Sin's reign were dated from that event.

<i>4 gîn kù-babbar</i>	4 shekels of silver.
<i>máš 10 gîn 2 gîn ta-ám</i>	Interest for every 10 shekels, 2 shekels shall be added.
<i>daḥ-bi-dam</i>	
<i>ki ¹Sin-nu-tum ta</i>	From Sinnutum,
<i>¹ Bûr¹ Ma-ma</i>	Bur-Mama,
<i>šu-ba-an-ti</i>	has received it.
<i>Iti siḡ-a ka</i>	On the month of Simanu
<i>sum-mu-dam</i>	It shall be paid.
<i>igi ¹Šamaš ¹En-lil-lá</i>	Witness: Šamaš-Enlilla,
<i>igi Im-gu-tum</i>	Imgutum,
<i>igi ¹Sin-ma-gir</i>	Sinmagir,
<i>igi Ilu-ma-an-sum</i>	Ilumsum,
<i>Iti giš-aḫin-gab-e</i>	Month of Waraḫ-samna,
<i>mu ¹Ri-im ¹Sin lugal-e</i>	Year in which King Rim-Sin
<i>Bád ¹Da-mi-iq-i-lî-[šu]</i>	occupied the city of
<i>mu-un-da-dúr</i>	Damiq-ilišu.

¹ Full study by A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, pp. 35-40.

² RA. VIII, 81.

No. 55. CBS. 7196

Semitic letter, or record of accounts at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. Delivery of goods: garment, silver, wool, sheep, grain from and to Larsa, Nippur, Al-Ili-idinam as salary to an employee, by the hands of responsible agents (*gìr*). A receipt was required.

1 [] <i>šiq̄lu kas̄pi</i>	1 silver shekel
<i>I-nu[-um-ma iš-tu] Larsam^{ki} ma il-li-ku</i>	when he left Larsa
<i>gìr¹ [] -bu-nim</i>	agent: . . . bunim
1 <i>šubatu</i> [] <i>Nin^d</i> []	1 garment <i>Nin^d</i> . . .
1 <i>šubatu ḡir</i> [<i>U-bar</i>] ^d <i>Lu-lu²</i>	1 garment, agent: Ubar-Lulu.
1 <i>šubatu Šarru</i> [] <i>bi-ni i-na</i> <i>Larsam^{ki} ma</i>	1 garment, Šarru . . . bi-ni, in Larsam,
<i>id-di-nu [-šum]</i>	have given him
1 <i>šubatu</i> 1 <i>šabutu lum-za</i> , ³ 10 <i>šiq̄lu</i> [<i>kas̄pi</i>]	1 garment 1 better sort garment, 10 silver shekels
10 <i>immerê</i> 1 <i>gur z̄id</i> [<i>še</i>]	10 sheep, 1 gur of barley flour,
<i>ḡir U-bar^d Lu-lu ù</i> [] ^d <i>Šamaš</i>	agent: Ubar Lulu and . . . Šamaš
1 <i>šubatu</i> []	1 garment
<i>naḫḫar</i> 9 [<i>šiq̄lu kas̄pi</i>] 6 <i>šubatê</i>	total 9 silver shekels, 6 garments
11 <i>immerê</i> 1 <i>gur z̄id še</i>	11 sheep, 1 gur of barley flour.
<i>an-nu-um ša a-na Lar[sam^{ki}] ub-lu-šum</i>	when I brought him into Larsa.
1 <i>šubatu</i> 150 <i>še ta-ám</i> [] <i>itu</i>] 8 <i>kam</i>	1 garment 150 ga of barley each one of 8 months
<i>i-nu-um-ma iš-tu Larsam^{ki} ma</i>	when I brought him from Larsa
<i>a-na ál Ī-lì-i-din-nam^{ki} ub-lu-šum</i>	to Al Ili-idinam
<i>ḡir U-bar^d Lu-lu</i>	agent: Ubar Lulu.
1 <i>šubatu ḡir</i> ^d <i>Sin-id-lam-ḡi-iš lù-túg</i>	1 garment, agent: Sinidlangiš, the clothier
10 <i>ma-na šipâte iš-tu Nibru^{ki}</i>	10 manehs of wool from Nippur,
<i>ú-ša-bi-iš-šu⁴</i>	I let send to him
<i>ša e-ri-iš-tum i-pu-šu</i>	when doing the plantation;
<i>naḫḫar</i> 2 <i>šubate</i> 10 <i>mana šipâte</i>	total: 2 garments, 10 manehs of wool,

¹ *Allaku, šipru.*

² ^d*Šar-Marad-da.*

³ Several qualities: *lum-za*: *du, šig, 3* and *4 kam uš*; and several forms: *bar-túg lum-za*, *lum-za ša(g)-ḫa*, *lum-za nig-ib*, *lum-za su(d)-a lugal*, *lum-za-gi*, *túg-a-su-lum-za*.

⁴ *Bā'u.*

<i>150 še ta-ám itu 8 kam</i>	150 (qa) of barley each one of the 8 months
<i>ša iš-tu Larsam^{ki} il-li-kam</i>	when he left Larsam,
<i>ad-di-nu-šum</i>	I gave unto him.
<i>šu-ti-a Nu-úr^a da.. ta(?)</i>	Receipts from Nûr
<i>1 šubatu 5 šiqlu kaspi nu-ka-aṣ-di . . .</i>	1 garment, 6 silver shekels of Nukazdi . .
<i>½ šiqlu kaspi E-ḫi giš-ma-nu-uk . .</i>	½ silver shekel of Eḫigišmanuk . .
<i>ša be-li-su-nu i-na pu-su . .</i>	which their masters as guaranty
<i>id-di-nu-šum.</i>	have given him.

No. 56. CBS. 34

Fragment of a list of accounts. Mercenaries sent (?) to Sippar to work on granaries and lodging there. The date is the 5th year of Ammiditana.

OBVERSE

[<i>A(?)</i>]- <i>bi-ti agruti ka-ri(?)</i> -um	List(?) ¹ of mercenaries for granaries
[] <i>ša i-na Sippar^{ki} wa-aš-bu</i>	who are lodged in Sippar.
[1] ⁱⁱ <i>Adad-šar-rum mar Na-ab-lu-nim-ilu</i>	Adadšarrum son of Nablunim-ilu
[1] <i>I-biⁱⁱ Šamaš mar Ia-aḫ-ri-ḫu</i>	Ibi-Šamaš son of Iaḫriḫu
[1] <i>2 gîn pa Ni-id-nu-um(?)</i>	2 shekels(?), clerk Nidnum,
[1] <i>Ka-bi-e-ra-aḫ</i>	Kabierah,
[] <i>2 gîn pa Ka-bi-e-ra-aḫ</i>	2 shekels(?) clerk Kabierah
[] <i>-ti Ka-ši-e mar I-ba-[]</i>	. . ti-Kaši son of Iba . . .
[] <i>pa Mu-ti a-ra-mu</i>	. . . clerk Muti-aramu
[] <i>šab-ta kaspa im-ḫu-ru</i>	. . . of the workmen(?) have received the money.
[] <i>-ši-dam la il-li-[ ]</i>	. . . . . have not gone(?) . .
.....

REVERSE

[] <i>šab-ta e-ne(?) ud il-li []</i>	. . . of the workmen when
[] <i>a-na agruti []</i>	. . . to the mercenaries
[] <i>-la-ba šu-ba-ti(?) [ ]</i>	. . . . . received.
<i>40 agruti</i>	40 mercenaries

¹ *Abitu*: decision. *Ebitu*: dwelling.

No. 57. CBS. 469

Fragment of a clay cone in shape of a nail. Restoration of the temple E-babbar of Sippar, at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, probably the 18th year of Samsu-iluna.

COLUMN I

.....
<i>En</i> [	the lord ...
^a[	the divine ...
<i>mu-un-na</i>-[	had ...
<i>bar-ra</i> [	away ...
<i>Zimbir</i> [^{ki}]	in Sippar ...
<i>uru-bi-ta ki-šu-gí</i> []	in the city, he restored,
<i>bád-bi ni-libir</i> []	its wall had decayed,
<i>é babbar-ra</i>	the temple Ebabbar,
<i>ki-bi šú-gí-gí-de</i>	in order to restore;
<i>ú-nir gi-unú-na</i>	his august ziggurat
<i>maḥ-a-ni</i>	where he has his shrine,
<i>sag-bi an-dím</i>	in order to raise
<i>il-i-de</i>	its head unto heaven;
^a <i>Babbar</i> ^a <i>Šú-nir-da-ir</i>	for Šamaš and Aa,
<i>ki-dúr aṣag-ne-ne-a</i>	in their magnificent abode,
<i>bád nig-ḫul-ḫul-la-bi-šú</i>	in order to lead them within the walls
<i>tu(r)-tu(r)-de</i>	where they rejoice,
<i>ka-gar</i> ^a <i>Babbar</i> (?) <i>ma-da-na</i>	where the message of Šamaš are
<i>ne-in-dú(g)-ga-a</i>	conveyed to his land;
<i>ud-bi-a</i>	in that day, when
<i>ur-sag dun</i> ^a <i>Babbar</i>	the valiant hero Šamaš
<i>nam-gal</i> ^a <i>En-ṣu-ge</i>	the great dignity of Sin(? or Enlil)
<i>Zimbir</i> ^{ki} <i>é babbar-ra</i>	at Sippar in Ebabbar,
<i>mu-ni-in-tar-ra</i> []	partook,
<i>ḫul-la-dim</i>	in sign of rejoicing
<i>gìr</i> (?) <i>ma-na-ni</i> []	were sent(?) ...
<i>é-ne-in</i> []	the temple
.....

COLUMN II

dumu(?) *lugal*? []
kur gú []

sag-il [

nig-ud-dú [

lum-e [

ba-dim [

lugal [

.....

No. 58. CBS. 8288

Semitic letter. Time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

<i>A-na Lù-ga-a</i>	To Lugâ
<i>ki-bi-ma</i>	speak:
<i>um-ma Šumi-i-lì-šu . .</i>	So says Šumi-ilišu
<i>²En-lil ù ²Nin-lil</i>	May Enlil and Ninlil
<i>li-ba-al-li-tu-ka</i>	grant thee life.
<i>60 karpat šamni¹ a-ša-ri-da</i>	60 pots of first quality oil(?)
<i>a-na Babilì^{ki} i-sakipir . . . (?)</i>	to Babylon have been . . .
<i>šì-pu² iṣ-šu [ri?] i-na Nibru^{kⁱ}</i>	nets(?) or birds(?) in Nippur,
<i>šu-bi-i-ma [] i-ka-al</i>	send and . . . he shall be able(?)
<i>i-bi ṣa-at [] it-ta-ad(?) [</i>	command . . . he shall give(?)

No. 59. CBS. 14212

A date formula perhaps of 26th year of Hammurabi or 26th of Samsuiluna:

<i>mu dag gir-ka-gal-la ba-túm.</i>	Year when the stone: "sword of great command" was brought up.
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No. 60. CBS. 8359

List of gods and their votive offerings or personal emblems?.

[]	ⁱ¹ <i>Nusku</i>	..... to Nusku
[]	ⁱ¹ <i>Ea</i>	..... to Ea
[]	^d <i>Nin-uraš</i>	..... to Ninib
<i>gu(d) udu</i>	^d <i>Pa-gibil-sag</i>	bull, sheep to Pagibilsag .
<i>gu(d) ṣìg-šu(?)³</i>	^d <i>Eṣinu.</i>	bull, twisted wool(?) to Ašnan.

¹ Or *karānu*: wine; *kurunnu*: sesame-wine.

² *Šipu*: matting (or squeeze, mould?). *Šibu*: to catch. *Šipā ša iṣṣuri*, SAI. 7685.

³ Or *sal-dš-qar?*

<i>udu-gal</i>	^a <i>Dun-ša(g)-ga</i>	ram	to Dun šagga
<i>sigbabbar kíd babbar</i>	^a <i>Nin-me-tag</i> ¹	white wool, white linen	to Nin-metag
<i>gu(d)-úr² gu(d)</i>	^a <i>Babbar</i>	bull from park(?), bull,	to Babbar,
<i>amar amar-ur</i>	^a <i>Nanna(r)</i>	young dogs	to Nanna(r)
<i>gi(?)³</i>	^a <i>Innina</i>	cane reed(?)	to Innina
<i>dub azag</i>	^a <i>Nidaba</i>	metal tablet	to Nidaba
<i>dalla(?) kú(?)gà⁴</i>	^a <i>Šù-par-gam-si(?)</i>	a ...	to Šupargam si ⁵
[]	^a <i>Nin-bar-azag-ga,</i>	.....	to Ninbarazag
[]	^a <i>Nin-ka-si</i>	.....	to Ninkasi ⁶
[]	^a <i>Immer.</i>	.....	to Immer.

No. 61. CBS. 14217

Ruling of the yearly supply of food and drink offering in the temple of Nusku (?) at Nippur (?) by order of King Hammurabi in the 35th year of his reign. Regular morning and evening sacrifices seem to be provided for, as well as some special circumstances and feasts. In the 31st year of his reign Hammurabi most probably conquered South Babylonia down to Larsa and Ur, and drove Rim-Sin away. Restoration and endowment of temples was part of the traditional politics. By so doing, the legitimate king secured the protection of the god and confirmed his power. The last column gave a list of priests and officials of the temple, with an account of their daily allowance.

COLUMN I

<i>Dub šuku(m) šu-gi-[na⁷</i>	]	Tablet of the regular meat (offerings)
<i>ša é^a[Nusku(?)</i>	]	of the temple of Nusku(?)
<i>ša(g) mu 1 kam⁸</i>		within 1 year,
<i>ša šarru ú-ki-in-nu</i>		which the king has established,
<i>araḥ Simanu um 20 kam</i>		the 20th of Simanu,

¹ *Nun-me-tag*: gašam, abkallu.² *Me-ninná?*³ Or *Sal-sil*: she-lamb.⁴ Or: *gun-nag-gà*, libation vase.⁵ Cf. ^a*Umun-sa-par*, Br. 8805.⁶ Cf. LANGDON, PBS. X, 2, No. 9, p. 143.⁷ Cf. *Udu Šu-gi-na*, AO. 5478 (RA. VIII, p. 82); CT. IV, 31^b. Offering for the time of the new-moon, the full-moon, the end of the month.⁸ Cf. *ana šattuk umim 1, ana paššur* ^a*Šamaš*, Urumuš, d), SAK. p. 162.

COLUMN III

1 bur [-gi . .	1 pot of . .
1 ha sig [. .	1 fine fish . .
12 bur-gi . . [	12 pots of . .
2½ qa kaš [	2½ qa of drink . . .
šuku(m) ud te-na [	food for the twilight . .
2 munšub udu [	2 sheep skins
1 qa gar rid g-[um	1 qa of food, pounded flour,
1 gam gar-iá[-de-a	1 gam of food besmeared with oil . . .
2 [	2 [
.....
.....

COLUMN V

88½ qa [	88½ qa . .
118 qa [	118 qa . .
2 (gur) 218 ga ga	2 gur 218 qa of fat (cheese?)
šuku(m) šu-gi-na mu 2 kam	regular food for 2 months
iš-tu 6 udu	moreover 6 sheep:
3 (gur) 84⅓ ga 4 gìn	3 gur 84⅓ qa 4 gìn,
1½ qa ka-lum 3 qa ka-lum ni(?) -tuk	1½ qa of dates, 3 qa of dates
5 qa 9 gìn iá-nun	5 qa 9 gìn of butter,
5½ qa iá-giš	5½ qa of sesame oil
⅝ qa 4 gìn ga-ḥar	59 gìn of pressed(?) cheese.
⅝ qa 4 gìn lugal-è-a	59 gìn, when the king goes out
½ qa ma + gunu []	½ qa of ma + gunu . . .
.....

COLUMN VI

]-nar-sa	..... the singers . .
[3 qa ?]-3 bur-gi	3 qa 3 pots . .
6 nin-dingir	6 priestesses.
1 qa 1 bur-gi	1 qa 1 pot
1 qa kaš dumu-sal	1 qa of drink to the daughter
lù-dingir-ra	of the priest.

The sheep skin (*šartu: munšub*) as part of the regular offerings helps toward a better understanding of two difficult terms

in the Drehem texts: *mu-du-lum* and *taḫ+subur-tu*.¹ The Yale syllabary² knows several signs composed with: wool, *sig*.

1. *sìg+lām*, No. 182–185: *bakû* (*še*); *pašâšu* (*šeš*); *šikinnu* (*šikin*); *mudulu*, *kirêtu* (*adkin*).

2. *sìg+lām+subur*, No. 186–187: *ittutti* (*aš*); *šartu* (*mim-šub*).

The second sign is identical to *taḫ+subur* of the Drehem tablet. *Tu* is a phonetic complement, inviting to a reading *šartu* or *ittutu*: skin, and presage. It is interesting to find fleece and omina so closely connected. We had already noted how the sign resembles the sign for presage (*uru*: *purussu*) in the code (XXVII, 27). The skin could be used as a leather bottle for libation (*taḫ+subur a-bal*).

The term *mu-du-lum* is no other than the 1st sign (No. 185) of the Yale Syllabary. It is explained by the word *kirêtu*; a feast, a banquet, which gives a very good sense in all the texts where we find it.

No. 62. CBS. 14236

Enigmatic little fragment. List of names of the Cassite period, which look like a list of years.

mu 1 *Immeru be-li-ta-din*
mu *Lul-lu-ba-a-i dub-sar*
mu *Apil ' Zêr-ub-la*
mu *Ma-la-ḫi-e*
mu ' *Î-li-kil-la-an-ni*
[*mu*] *Nu-bu-bi-i-a ša-a ..*

No. 63. CBS. 14124

Business document: A retiring man (*nig-šid til-la*) is handing over 1 gur 30 qa of grain (*še-gab*) to Damu-eribam (*in-tuk*), in presence of 2 witnesses. The date may be the 7th or 27th of King Samsu-iluma:

mu nig bâr-bâr-ra gur-gur³-ra

¹ *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 42.

² A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, p. 89.

³ *Kamâru*, Br. 6111.

No. 64. CBS. 14198

Legal document. Selling members of the family and the slaves of Šamaš-daian, to cover his debts(?). The scene is at Nippur. The archivist Kidinnum Enlil takes an active part in it. We gain a fair estimate of the value of the human person, based on a gold standard.

[	]	šes-a-ni 10 gìn [guškin	..... his brother for 10 gold gìn
		dím	
[	]	bi šes-a-ni 10 gìn [guš-	..... bi his brother for 10 gold gìn
		kin-dím	
[	]	bi dumu-a-ni 5 gìn guš-	..... bi his son for 5 gold gìn
		kin-dím	
[	]	gil-sa dam-a-ni 5 gìn guškin-	... gilsa his wife for 5 gold gìn
		dím	
[	]	ab-ki-ra-be dumu-sal-a-ni 5	... abkirabe his daughter for 5 gold
		gìn guškin-dím	gìn
[	]	¹ Sin-lu-ud-lul dumu-sal-a-ni	.. Sin-ludlul his daughter for 5 gold
		5 gìn guškin-dím	gìn
[	]	Rag-gab ¹ Sin-bal-ti dumu-sal-a-ni	Raggab Sinbalti his daughter for 5
		5 gìn guškin-dím	gold gìn
7	ki-in-nu	ša ¹ Šamaš-da-a-a-an	7 kinsfolk of Šamaš-daian
12	sag-geme-uru	2 ma-na 19 gìn	12 female and male slaves for 2 manehs
		guškin-dím	19 gìn gold
		Pu-ut-ili dumu Sag ^a En-lil-li lugal-ne-ne	Put-ili son of Sag Enlil their creditor,
[	]	Ki-di-ni-nu-um ^a En-lil-li pišân-	.... Kidinnum-Enlil archivist at
		dub-ba-a Nibrû ^{ki} -a	Nippur
[	]	dumu ^a Nin-uráš-nâdin-	.... son of Ninib-nadin-aḫe
		aḫê	
[	]	šam-til-la-bi-šú-ne-ne	..... for their full price.

No. 65. CBS. 15120

Fragment of historical inscription(?).

OBVERSE

[	]	bi-lal-a ki-aḫag-ga dū-a	..... built in a splendid place
[	]	ki-su-su-gar ù tu-rí gar-gar-a	..... place of increase and sick-
			ness(?)....
[	]	túr nig-nu-silig-gi	..... court for all that is weak
[	]	^a Nin-gà-gí-a ¹ iskim-maḫ	..... Nin-gagia great divineress
[	]	^a En-lil-la	..... of Enlil.

¹ Gagûm, cloister. Cf. *Atû (ni-gab) bâb ga-gi-im*, CT. II, 41, l. 9; IV, 49 b; VI, 44a, l. 10. H. RANKE, BE. VI, 1, p. 22. The gagûm of the priestess at Sippar discovered by SCHEIL.

REVERSE

.....		
[	]-nam-gú ¹ <i>dImmer a-ma-ru uru</i>	... the destruction of Adad, the storm,
	.. ra	the tornado ...
[	]-úr-ta rim-ma	.... removed from the foundation,
[	]-ki(?) <i>ḥar-sag dag esig dag</i> [ ]	..... the mountain of diorite stone
		of ... stone
[	]-na-ri ba-dar-dar-e	.... purification, being destroyed.

No. 66. CBS. 15121

Fragment of business document. There are 6 offices vacant in the temple of Enki and Damgalnunna: the anointer (*pâšišu*), the seer (*bârû*), the confectioner (*riqqu*), the inspector (*atu*),² the "washer of the pavement" (*kisallubu*), the "vessel keeper" (*sabḥaru*). Two dignitaries are invested with the charge. They contract in presence of witnesses for a period of a year (*bal-gub-ba*). The tablet is dated³ on the 5th Šegurkud, of the 24th year of Samsuiluna.

OBVERSE

<i>Nam-šutug⁴ nam-šab⁵ nam-lù-šim</i>	The offices of anointer, seer, confec-
	tioner,
<i>nam-ni-gab nam-kisal-luḥ nam-bur-sar⁶</i>	inspector, pavement-washer, vessel
	keeper,
<i>é^dEn-ki^d Dam-gal-nun-na mu-a ud⁷-12</i>	in the temple of Enki Damgalnunna,
	for the year ...
<i>bal-gub-ba⁸ A-at-ta-a^d Nin-uraš ni-[]</i>	taken in charge by Áttâ-Ninib the ..
<i>ù^d Nin-uraš e []</i>	and Ninib-e
.....

¹ *Ḥabâlu*.² Who opens the door(?).³ Date alone published in, PBS. V, No. 99.⁴ Sign REC. 230. Cf. *Ur^dŠu* —, *Ur^dŠul* —, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 125, 141; MIO. *Tello*, No. 830.⁵ *Bârû ša širi*, Br. 5668.⁶ *Sabḥaru*, Br. 4339-4341, 6979.⁷ The year and 12 days, a solar year, or *itu 12*, for 12 months(?).⁸ *Bal-gub-ba* is a fixed period of time (a month), opposed to *bal ku-a*, which may be only a few days. This term applies to mercenaries hired for a limited time, and not to regular servants and officers on yearly wages.

REVERSE

<i>igi</i> ^d <i>En-lil</i> ma- [	Witness Enlil ma
<i>igi</i> <i>A-at-ta-a</i> [	Āttâ-Ninib
<i>igi</i> <i>A-pi-li-a</i> bur-gul <i>igi</i> ^d <i>En-lil-li</i> [	Aplia seal-cutter, Enlilli ...

No. 67. CBS. 14179

Legal document. Exchange (*bal*) of property, 3 acres against 4 and 3 silver shekels indemnity (*šu-ri-a: ramû*). The old field is acquired by the king, probably Hammurabi, in order to make a cemetery. The tablet is dated on Šabat of his 33rd year.

<i>Mu</i> 3 gan <i>a-ša(g)</i> <i>zag-ga</i> <i>ba-an-gub</i>	Concerning 3 acres of field "standing in front"
<i>sib-ta</i> <i>mu</i> <i>nam-uru-gal-šû</i>	a pasture, to use as burying ground
<i>nig</i> <i>Ilu-iddinam</i>	property of Ilu-iddinam,
<i>lugal-e</i> <i>šu</i> <i>Ilu-iddinam</i>	the king, from the hands of Ilu-iddinam,
<i>ab-ta-è</i>	has acquired.
<i>ana</i> ¹ <i>Sin-iš-me-ni</i>	To Sin-išmeni,
<i>ù</i> ¹ <i>Sin-e-ri-ba-am</i>	and Sin-eribam,
<i>dumu-me</i> <i>Ib-ku-ištar</i> <i>šes-a-ni</i>	sons of Ibku-ištar, his brother,
4 gan <i>a-ša(g)</i> <i>gibil-là</i>	4 acres of new field,
<i>uš-a-du</i> ¹ <i>Nanna(r)-a-a</i>	one side along Nannaraja
<i>ù</i> 3 gîn <i>kù-babbar</i>	and 3 silver shekels
<i>šu-ri-a-bi</i>	as cession price
<i>ana</i> <i>Ilu-iddinam-ra</i>	to Ilu-iddinam
<i>in-na-an-bal</i>	were given in exchange.
<i>igi</i> <i>Aplum</i> <i>dumu</i> ¹ <i>Sin-ligiš</i>	Witness Aplum son of Sin-ligiš,
<i>igi</i> ¹ <i>Nin-uraš</i> <i>mu-ša-lim</i>	Ninib-mušalim
<i>dumu</i> <i>Lù</i> ^d <i>Ba-û</i>	son of Lu-Bau,
<i>igi</i> ¹ <i>Sin-ib-du-um</i>	Sin-ibdum,
<i>dumu</i> <i>Na-bi</i> ¹ <i>Sin</i>	son of Nabi-Sin
<i>igi</i> <i>I-bi</i> ¹ <i>Šamaš</i> <i>uku-uš</i> <i>pa-te-si</i>	Ibi-Šamaš head messenger of
<i>dumu</i> <i>Im-gu-ru-um</i>	the patesi
<i>igi</i> <i>Î-lî-ip-pa-al-za</i>	son of Imgurum
<i>dumu</i> <i>Ib-da-tum</i>	Ili-ippalza
<i>igi</i> <i>A-pi-il-ia</i> bur-gul	son of Ibdatum.
<i>dumu</i> <i>Ur</i> ^d <i>Ba-û</i>	Aplia the seal cutter
	son of Ur-Bau.

No. 68. CBS. 14199

Cassite letter.

OBVERSE

[	]	<i>mâr šarri(?)</i>	..... son of the king,
<i>ù šum-ma li-sa-ak-ka ta-ak-na . .</i>			and when he will have pressed thee well,
<i>ša ti-du-u-ki-ma aš-šu-um-ma</i>			it shall mean battle,
<i>salmi-(?)ia^a Enlil^a Nin-lil</i>			my protection (?) Enlil, Ninlil,
<i>^aNin-uraš^a . . . En-lil(?)^a Nusku . .</i>			Nin-ib . . . , Nusku,
<i>du-ub-ma šum-ma li-sa-aḫ-pi</i>			be good, and when he prays
<i>um-ma a-na ka-dan Sumeri</i>			it is to conquer Sumer;
<i>šu-zi-im-ma</i>			come out and
<i>sa-li-im-ka li-ib-ba-ša-šu-um-ma</i>			he shall be thy ally,
<i>i-na dan-na-ti šu-ḫu ṣa-bat-ma</i>			come out in force and hold on and
<i>i-na ša-li-im-ti li- il-li-ka-am-ma</i>			he shall go in peace.
[	]	<i>-ka a-na da-mi-ig-ti</i>	and he shall . . . for grace,

REVERSE

<i>li- [</i>	<i>]</i>		he shall . . .
<i>ù umma a-[na</i>	<i>]</i>		and so for . . .
<i>ša ra-[bi . . .</i>			that is great . . .
<i>ù pa[</i>	<i>]</i>	<i>šu-u ḫu il(?) ḫu</i>	and in face of . . . , come out they claim.
<i>i-na-an-na a-na pa-ni be-lí-ia-ma</i>			Now it is all under the eyes of my master.
<i>tab-ba ' Uḫ-ḫa An-ri-ši ù [</i>	<i>]</i>		The associates Uzza, Anriši and . . .
<i>ni-ki-im-ma An-ri-ši</i>			We have taken Anriši
<i>i-na-an-na i-na dan-na-am(?) be-lí il-[</i>			Now in the fortress the master shall . .
<i>li-is-lam(?) da(?)-ik(?) li . . . am-ma</i>			and shall make alliance . . . and
<i>pa-ni be-lí-ia lu . . . mir(?)</i>			in front of my master may I . . .
<i>ù am-ma ana be-lí-ma.</i>			and . . . is to my master.

No. 69. CBS. 11014

Historical letter recording the campaign of Nazimaruttaš against Mat Namri, how he conquered 12 cities and added them to the dominion of Enlil.

OBVERSE

[	]	<i>' Na-zi-marad-daš šar šarrê(?)</i>	. . . Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)
[	]	<i>' Na-zi-marad-daš šar šarrê(?)</i>	. . . Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)

še-i ma-la ba-šu-u
Pi duppi ! ¹ *En-lil-ia-ḫa(?) -nu*

grain, all that was there.
According to the tablet of Enlil-ia-
ḫanu(?)

¹ *Ba-ṣu-ṣu bal-tu* ¹ *Enlil*
u ¹ *Nin-lil* ¹ *Ninib* *u* ¹ *Nusku*
... *i-ta-bal-šu ina-arḫi-šu*
[*a-na(?)*] *bêli-šu i-sa-ṭir-šu*

Bazuzu, alive (by?) Enlil
and Ninlil, Ninib and Nusku,
.. has brought it, in the same month
when it was written to his lord.

No. 70. CBS. 13880

Business document. The date, "the 16th year," is somewhat uncertain.

3 (gur) 90 (ṣa) še ḫar-ra giš-bar dingir
še-ba

3 gur 90 qa of ground barley, measure
of the god, as rations

ki ! ¹ *Marduk-ni-ṣu*
! ¹ *Nabû-na-din-aḫê* ^{mes}
šu-ba-an-ti

from Marduk-nizu
Nabû-nadin-aḫê
has received.

a-na um eburi šú
ni-šam-e

On the day of harvesting
he shall pay.

Araḫ Tašriti

Month of Tašrit

um 21 kam

the 21st day,

mu 16 kam.

the 16th year.

! ¹ *Nabû-nadin-aḫê* ^{mes}
i-nu-ma

Nabu-nadin-aḫê
when

i-na duppi ! *Kur-a-ṣu-ṣu*

on the tablet of Kurazuzu

[]-*a-ni ka-ni-ik*

his seal(?) was impressed.

No. 71. CBS. 7188

Food receipt, dated the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil, under the seal of Ninib-nadin

4 (gur) 10 (qa) geme giš-bar 300 qa(?).

4 gur 10 qa of flour, measure of 300 qa

ak-lum ḫarra-nu Larsam ki

food for the expedition of Larsa,

gati ! *Aši* ¹ *Šamaš* ¹ *Adad*

into the hands of Aši-Šamaš-Adad

ina libbi ! *Ta-ṣi-ik(?)*

On Tazik

na-as-ḫa-am-ma,

it was drawn and

ka-an-ka-sa(?) -šu

marked with his seal.

No. 72. CBS. 14203

Donation.

Na-din-tu ša ! *Ti-ṣu* ¹ *Marduk*
a-na Ši-lu-u-ti i-din-nu.

Donation that Tizu-Marduk
bestowed on Šiluti.

<i>1 sikkatu . . . na i-si-ḫi ti-ra</i>	1 peg to close a cover
<i>i-na ṣalti 5 ma-lul^aEn-lil</i>	during 5 years to Malul-Enlil
<i>1 ma-na ṣipati 10 (qa) iá-giš ina ali</i>	1 pound of wool, 10 qa of sesame oil at
<i>Larsam^{ki}</i>	Larsa
<i>1 ma-na ṣipati 150 (qa) ina ali Nibru^{ki}</i>	1 pound of wool, 150 qa at Nippur
<i>1 lubuštu kab-ru ! Nig-ba-ia dumu-a-</i>	1 heavy garment for Nigbaia his son
<i>ni šu</i>	
<i>Napḫar 4, ½, ⅓ nig ḫuraši ša ina qati</i>	Total 4 + ½ + ⅓ nig of gold belonging
<i>! Ti-ṣuⁱⁱMarduk ! Ši-lu-tu maḫ-ru</i>	to Tiz-Marduk, Šilutu has received.

No. 73. CBS. 13878

Business document dated the 8th year of Kudur-Enlil.

No. 74. CBS. 14197

Food expense (*ak-lum*) by the hands (*qat*) of Uzipu, on the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil.

No. 75. CBS. 15062

Business document, dated the 1st year of Sagarakti-šuriaš.

<i>2 eru ki-tu-u ša ma-la(?)</i>	2 copper covers, that . . .
<i>2 ⅔ ma-na ki-lal-bi</i>	2 ⅔ pounds their weight,
<i>ša ištu ali Ardi-bēlit</i>	which from the city of Ardi bēlit
<i>iš-šu-nim</i>	they removed
<i>qati ! AmelⁱⁱMarduk</i>	by the hands of Amel Marduk.
<i>1 eru ku-tu-u</i>	1 copper vase
.....	

No. 76. CBS. 15220

Cassite letter.

OBVERSE

<i>A-na be-lí-ia qi-bi-ma</i>	To my master say:
<i>um-ma !ⁱⁱMarduk-ri-še-šu na-ka . . .</i>	thus (speaks) Marduk-rišešu . .
<i>a-na di-na-an be-lí-ia lu-ul-lik</i>	To the justice of my master may I
	find access
<i>ana ali šulmu ù é-dingir-ra šu-ul-mu</i>	Peace to the city and peace to the
	temple.
<i>72 ša-ki-lum ša-ḫar-[</i>	72 keeper of . . .

[	]	é ^a nir-gal nibru ^{ki}	.. temple of the hero of Nippur
[	]	im-lu ba [] ir ga-a-ti	... have filled ... of the hand
[	]	ta-ka-an [] še ša-ki-li	..... grain of the keepers
[	]	ba-du ši [] su-iš-pi-in-ni	.... rejoice ... of the cover.
[	]	]-ta []-an	.....
[	]	ri []-di ma-a-li	..... of the country,
a-na	abulli	^a En-lil al-ta-ni	to the great gate of Enlil, I come again.
2	ši-pi []	ša kirê ^{moš}	2 fences(?) ... of orchards
ar-ta-pi-ik			I have worked up.
20	še-zer ša ú-il []		20 measures of seeds of
.....		

REVERSE

[	]	ba-ar [ ]	.... afterward(?)...
[	]	pa-te-si [] ša be-lá-a	... of the patesi, ... that my master.
[a]-na	ali	dím-tuk-šes ^{ki} (?)	to the city of Dim-tuk šes (?)
9	(gur) še-žêr	3 (gur) ta-ám	9 gur of seeds 3 gur at a time
it-ta-as-su			have been taken.

No. 77. CBS. 15151

Cassite letter. Culture of land. The sesame of the king is being ground (*ba-ma-šum*). The fields have been sowed (*še-um id-dí-nu-šum*). By the sun god they shall thrive: (*i-na di-i-in* ⁱŠamaš, la i-ba-ab-ba-lu-šu).

No. 78. CBS. 14135

Survey of land. Plan for field irrigation about B.C. 1250. A total of 138 canals are cut across Eden, probably the land around Nippur, covering it with a regular net-work for water-supply. Three or four larger districts are mentioned in connection with the main canal from which the water was led to smaller places or villages. The district of Kar-Ninlil has a total of 76 new branches off the main river. The district of Nâr eššuti has only 12 cuts around Bit-Ellil. The name of the third district with its 30 branches is lost. Dated the 12th year of Šagarakti-šuriaš.

OBVERSE

.....		
<i>naph̄ar</i> 30 <i>me-e nâr</i> [		] <i>ki</i>	total 30 canals of the river . .
26 <i>ali Dûl-bu</i> [		] <i>ki</i>	26 of the village(?) Dulbu,
4 <i>ali Kislaḫ-bi</i>		<i>ki</i>	4 of Kislaḫbi,
10 <i>ali Dûr</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Nin-maḫ</i>		<i>ki</i>	10 of Dûr-Ninmaḫ,
11 <i>ali Kar</i> ⁱⁱ <i>Ba-ú</i>		<i>ki</i>	11 of Kar-Bau,
10 <i>ali pa-te-si</i> ^{mes}		<i>ki</i>	10 of "The patesis,"
7 <i>ali Ur-pi</i> ⁱⁱ <i>En-lil</i>		<i>ki</i>	7 of Urpi-Enlil,
8 <i>ali Karri</i> ⁱ <i>Kar-zi-tim</i>		<i>ki</i>	8 of Karri-Karzitim
<i>naph̄ar</i> 76 <i>me-e nâr piḫati ali Kar</i>			Total 76 canals from the river in the
		ⁱⁱ <i>Nin-lil</i>	district of Kar-Ninlil.
12 <i>ali Bît</i> ⁱⁱ <i>En-lil</i>		<i>ki</i>	12 of Bit-Enlil,
<i>me-e nâr eššu-ti</i>			canals of the Nâr-eššuti.
<i>Šu-nigin</i> 138 <i>ḫar git-ma-lu-u-tum,</i>			Total 138 canals completely cut cover-
<i>wa-pa-lim edin-na</i>			ing the plain.

No. 79. CBS. 14219

Business document dated the 1st year of Nabu šum(?)
ukin-nu(?).

No. 80. CBS. 14180

A Nippur gold treasure in the 5th year of Nazi-maruttaš. The tablet is not complete. There must be an interval of four or five lines between the two portions preserved. The left corner is broken off. The tablet is a catalogue of over 125 jewels in gold and precious stones, chalcedony, lapis-lazuli, agate, etc. They rank from caskets all gold, or with stones inlaid, down to necklaces, bracelets, anklets, seal-cylinders in gold mounting, eyes of stone in gold mounting, breastplates, earrings, tablet mould and tongue of gold. They were brought from Nippur and Dur-Kurigalzu into Ardi-Bêlit. The two last named places seem to have been parts of the same city of Nippur. The tablet does not state under what circumstances the removal was made.

The royal treasure was likely preserved in the temple. The king was the šakkanakku of the god, entrusted with his seal, and disposing of his property. The same jewels are frequently

mentioned in royal despatches. They agree in form and material with what we know of the Cassite period. Some of them have been excavated¹ near the temple of Enlil at Nippur, covered with inscriptions that make certain the name and piety of the kings. They were all votive objects in form of discs, scepter knobs, tablets, axes, rings, seal cylinders and eyes. They were presented to Enlil, Ninlil, Ninib, Nusku, by Kurigalzu and his successors. The collection included all sorts of precious material: agate, lapis-lazuli, magnesite, feldspar, ivory, turquoise, malachite, amethyst, gold and porphyry.

Should we try to realize the historical background of the present tablet, we may bear in mind the following facts. Nippur was ruined by an Elamite invasion at the time of Kaštiliašu, about B.C. 1250. This king is the last mentioned in the collection of votive objects preserved in the temple. No Cassite² tablets have been found in Nippur that antedate Burnaburiaš, about B.C. 1380. He is the best known correspondent of the Egyptian kings, anxious to secure gold for the temple work and exchange gifts and jewels. Now, we must not forget that the Cassite kings brought a foreign rule into Babylonia, but got only by degrees the control of the whole land. We know for example, that: "King Kurigalzu, having conquered the country of the sea, added Babylon and Borsippa unto his country"—a sure proof that he did not rule them before. This same king did build in Nippur, probably, his residence at the time, a palace or fortress named after him: Dur-Kurigalzu. It was connected with old Nippur by a stone dam or canal, that passed likewise by Ardi-Bêlit. Kurigalzu was succeeded by his son Burnaburiaš. Both of them were strong kings, allies and relatives of the kings of Egypt. But soon after them, the growing power of Assyria brought trouble into the land. The Assyrian king, Assur-uballit, following up the usual matrimonial policy, gave

¹ The largest collection was discovered by DR. PETERS in 1890. The store room for keeping treasures and gifts was discovered by HAYNES in the S. E. wall of the fortified enclosure. It was a cellar 36 × 11½ feet and 8½ feet deep, dating from Ur-Engur, and covering an older one 2 feet below.

² A. T. CLAY, BE. XIV, XV; H. RADAU, BE. XVII, 1.

his daughter as a wife to the son and heir of Burnaburiaš. The Cassites resented the intrusion, revolted and killed the prince, which fact brought the Assyrian armies down into Babylonia with the object of extending the Assyrian protectorate over the country.

The correctness of this view is confirmed by an Assyrian document of Adad-nirari great-grandson of Assur-uballit, and likely contemporary of Nazi-maruttaš under whose reign our tablet was compiled. Adad-nirari claims for himself and his father the title of priest of Enlil. That means that the Assyrian rule was to a certain extent acknowledged in Nippur. But the great-father not having extended his dominion so far south is simply priest of Ašur, fighting the rebellious Cassite, and the great-grand-father, Assur-uballit, has only a vague title of priest of the gods.. The extreme southern limit of that fight for greater Assyria is given by Adad-nirari himself as "from Lubdi and Rapiqu." And the Assyrian king claims that he did restore the ruined Cassite cities. We know in fact that under the successor of Nazi-maruttaš: Kadašman-Turgu, the tower of Nippur temple underwent a thorough repairing. Curiously enough that very name—or city—Lubdi, is mentioned in the tablet along with jewels removed from or out of it. It looks as if storing them in safe Ardi-Bêlit was a good precaution in the troubled days of Nazi-maruttaš.

OBVERSE

<p><i>Du-ul-li ħuraši ša Nippuri û Dûr- Ku-ri-gal-[ġu ša a-na ^{a1}Ardi-Bêlit ina ^{arab}Šabâti</i></p> <p><i>ša šanat 5^{kom} Na-ġi-[ma-ru-ut-ta-aš šarri</i></p> <p><i>1 kutallu ħurâši ga-na-ad-du¹ ^{aban}uknî tam-lu-û ^{aban}[</i></p> <p><i>2 kutallê ħurâši ġu-up-ġa-tum²</i></p>	<p>Gold work from Nippur and Dûr- Kurigalzu, brought into Ardi-Bêlit, in the month of Šabat, the 5th year of King Nazi-maruttaš</p> <p>1 casket of gold with a cover of lapis- lazuli and a bottom of . . . stone, 2 caskets of gold coating,</p>
---	---

¹ Ganânu.

² Šabatu.

1 e-rum ḫurâši ša ḫar-ba-ga-ni ù a-a-ra-ni ^{aban} ka-ni-[	1 box of gold with vultures(?) and eagles in . . . stone (inlaid).
1 e-rum ḫurâši ša ga-na-an-di 5 inê mušgarri ¹ ra-ki-[	1 box of gold the cover of which has 5 eyes of agate stone inlaid,
5 e-rum ḫurâši zu-up-pu-tum 14½[šiglu šugulti	5 boxes of gold coating, 14½ shekels in weight
7 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti ² ḫurâši 11 šiglu [	7 necklaces in form of chain of gold, 11 shekels . . .
2 KI-SUHUR ³ pu-gut-ti ḫurâši 14 šiglu [	2 necklaces in form of thorns of gold, 14 shekels . .
1 KI-SUHUR pu-gut-ti ga-ba-al-šu [] zi-na-ti []	1 necklace in form of thorns, with a pendant . . .
2 HAR-ŠU ⁴ ḫurâši ša ip-pi-[] [] ḫurâši zu-up-pu-[tum]	2 bracelets of gold with fruits(?) . . . , of gold coating . . . , 3 shekels . . .
	3 šiglu [
.....
2 HAR-[GIR]	2 anklets [of gold . . . ,
2 ^{aban} kunukkê parrî [	2 seal cylinders of chalcedony (?) ,
2 ^{aban} kunukkê uknî ih-zu ḫurâši [	2 seal cylinders of lapis lazuli with gold mounting,
1 ^{aban} kunukku mušgarri ih-zu ḫurâši [	1 seal cylinder of agate with gold mounting,
5 NUNUZ-IN ^{aban} parrê rabâti [	5 necklaces of large chalcedony stones,
7 inê ^{aban} parrî a-di 1 lu-li da-ni-tum ⁷ ih-zu [ḫurâši	7 eyes of chalcedony stone together with a dainty coat of mail in a gold mounting,
6 inê ^{aban} parrî sibrâti la ih-zu [	6 eyes of small chalcedony stone, no mounting,
4 inê ^{aban} mušgarri ih-zu ḫurâši [	4 eyes of agate with gold mounting
11 ḫi-ir-su ^{aban} mušgarri adi 6 ka-ak-ki ni-du [	11 cut (hilt or ring?) agate stones together with 6 arms . . .
2 tu-di-it-ti ^{aban} uknî [	2 breastplates of lapis lazuli . . .

¹ Br. 7642.² *Erimtu, arimtu.*³ *Kimmalu, ḫinazu, šamatu.* Dog collar, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 229-230. *Maninnu*, KB. VI, p. 176, l. 169.⁴ *Šemir qatêša u šepêša.*⁵ *Šusû*, Br. 8183. *Nakamtu šuši.* Cf. JENSEN, KB. VI, p. 82, Z. 48.⁶ BE. XVII, 1, No. 26 and HILPRECHT note, *ibid.*, p. 118, n. 11. *Zadim dag-ḫar-gul-gul*, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 140, 149, 154, 156. *Gud. Cyl. A*, XVI, 27.⁷ *Lu-lu-um-tum* and *da-ni-tum*: *nablaptu taḫaḫi.*⁸ *Ḫarâšu.*⁹ *Dudînâte ša irtiša.*

2 <i>tu-di-it-ti</i> ^{aban} <i>mušgarri</i>	[	2 breastplates of agate
8 <i>in-za-ap-ti ha-še-e¹ hurâši</i>		8 earrings of compact gold,
8 <i>in-za-ap-ti</i> ^{aban} <i>uknî</i>		8 earrings of lapis lazuli,
1 <i>ša-an² dup-pi</i> ^{aban} <i>parrî la iḫ-zu</i>		1 tablet mould of chalcedony, no mounting,
1 <i>li-ša-nu³ ša hurâši rušši</i>		1 tongue of russet gold,
<i>napharu ša Nippuri ki</i>		total from Nippur;

REVERSE

1 <i>kutallu hurâši rušši</i> $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>ma-na šuqulti</i>		1 casket of russet gold $\frac{1}{3}$ maneh in weight,
2 <i>e-ru hurâši rušši a-di ša iḫ-tu</i> <i>Lu-ub-di⁴ ra 15 šî-lu šuqulti</i>		2 boxes of russet gold together with one from Lubdi, 15 shekels in weight,
3 <i>e-ru hurâši piši</i> 11 <i>šîqlu šuqulti</i>		3 boxes of pale gold 11 shekels in weight,
3 <i>KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti ḫ urâši rušši</i> 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>šîqlu šuqulti</i>		3 necklaces in form of chain of russet gold, 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ shekels in weight,
2 <i>KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti ḫ urâši rušši</i> 10 <i>šîqlu šuqulti</i>		2 necklaces, idem, 10 shekels in weight,
2 <i>ḪAR-ŠU hurâši rušši ab-bi ša lu-û</i> 17 $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>šîqlu šuqulti</i>		2 bracelets of russet gold, with a facing in shape of a bull, 17 $\frac{1}{3}$ shekels in weight,
1 <i>ḪAR-GIR hurâši rušši</i> 2 <i>šîqlu</i> [<i>naphar ša Dûr-Ku-ri-gal-zu qât</i> ! <i>Sa-bar</i> {		1 anklet of russet gold, 2 shekels . . . , total from Dûr-Kurigalzu, from the hand of Sabar . . . ,
5 <i>e-ru hurâši rušši zu-up-pu-tum</i> {		5 boxes of russet gold coating . . .
1 <i>ḪAR-ŠU hurâši rušši zu-up-pu-tum</i> {		1 bracelet of russet gold coating . . .
1 <i>ḪAR-GIR hurâši rušši zu-up-pu-tum</i> {		1 anklet of russet gold coating . . .
11 <i>NUNUZ-IN</i> ^{aban} <i>parrî</i> ^{aban} <i>mušgarri</i> 5 ^{aban} [<i>še</i> . . .		11 necklaces of chalcedony, agate, 5 stones,
[<i>naphar</i>] 1 ⁱⁱ <i>Nin-uraš-ri-zu</i> {		total from Ninib-rizu.
[] <i>hurâši zu-up-pu-tum</i> {		. . . . . of gold coating . .
10 []		10
^{arah} <i>Šabâti ûm</i> 25 ^{kam}		Month of Šabat, the 25th
<i>šatti</i> 5 ^{kam}		of the 5th year
<i>Na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš šarri</i>		of King Nazimaruttaš

¹ *Hašû*: entrails.² *Sânu*.³ Nabd. 33, 1.⁴ BE. XVII, 1, No. 99, 6.

No. 81. CBS. 2350

Fragment of a barrel-shaped cylinder of Sargon(?) II of Assyria, that seems to establish his activity in Babylonian, and specially in Nippur reconstruction.

[		]-nim-ma(?)	.... he captured(?) and	
[		]-zêr-matâti mat i-bi-lu-ma [.	.... the land he governed and	
[		]	še-pu-uš-šu	.... under his feet.
[		é-sag]-il u Babi'u ^{ki}	.. Esagil and Babylon,	
[		]	mu-kin sat-tuk-ku	... fixing the offering
[		Babi]li ^{ki} sa-li-ih-šu-u	... of Babylon, its outer wall	
[		]-ú	šu-bat-su	... , its dwelling
[		ušum]-gal kalam-ma ú-tir-ú-ma	... the great .. of the land, he re-	
			stored and	
[		]	da-ra-a-ti	..... eternal,
[		]	ul-tu ki-rib mat Aššur ^{ki}	..... out of Assur,
[		]	šu-nu is-gu-ri-šu-un	.... there he proclaimed them
[		]	ma-ḥa-si rabuti ^{me}	... great ...
[		uš-te]-ši-ru	šu-luḥ-ḥu	... her ordered purifications
[		]	mar(?) ' Šarukin šar mat Aššur ^{ki}	... Sargon king of Assur
[		]	ù Akkad ^{ki}	[of Sumer] and Akkad
[		]	ni mar ' A-da-ad šar	..... son of Adad(?) king of Assur
			mat Aššur ^{ki}	
[		]	tu-ki šap-ti-a-a	..... of my lips
[		]	lil?] bêl matâti bêl-ia ša šar	Enlil(?) lord of the countries, my lord
			ma-ki-i ..	who a king of destruction(?)
		]	igarâti	..... the walls

Nos. 82, 83. CBS. 13707, 13708

Two copies of a legal document: adjustment between brothers, sons of Nabu-zêr-ukin. It is dated the first year of Aššur-e-til-lum-ilâni the son of Ašurbanipal.

No. 84. CBS. 11074

Fragment of omina(?), mixing up observations on stars and constellations with geographical names and historical events:

Umma, Uruk and Larsa (Obv. 15); ^{mat}Akkadi, ^{mat}Ki-su... (Obv. 25, 26); *lugal Elamti* (Rev. 14, 15).

Mul-gal nig-da-gi-gibil-lá (Rev. 3); *mul la-mi-na-ti(l)la* (Rev. 5); *mul . . . ħar-gal, mul-dil-bat . . .* (Rev. 10, 11); *mul ħa . . .* (Rev. 18); [*mul*]-*ur-bar-ra*, *mul ki-il . . .* (Rev. 26); [*mul ? ku ?*]-*še-ri Nibru^{ki} . . .* (Rev. 27.)

No. 85. CBS. 14204

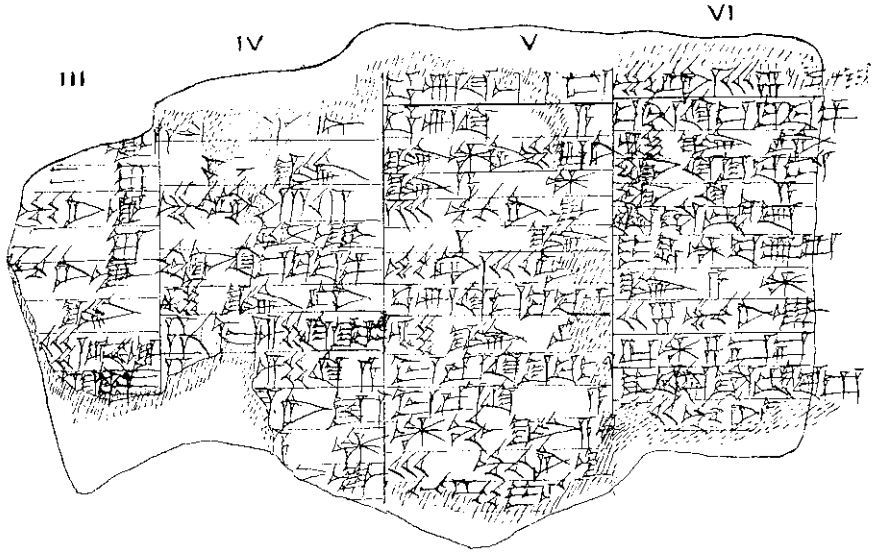
Business document dated the 42nd year of Ar-taḫ-kur-su(?), and bearing the seal of Gi-zu-Marduk.

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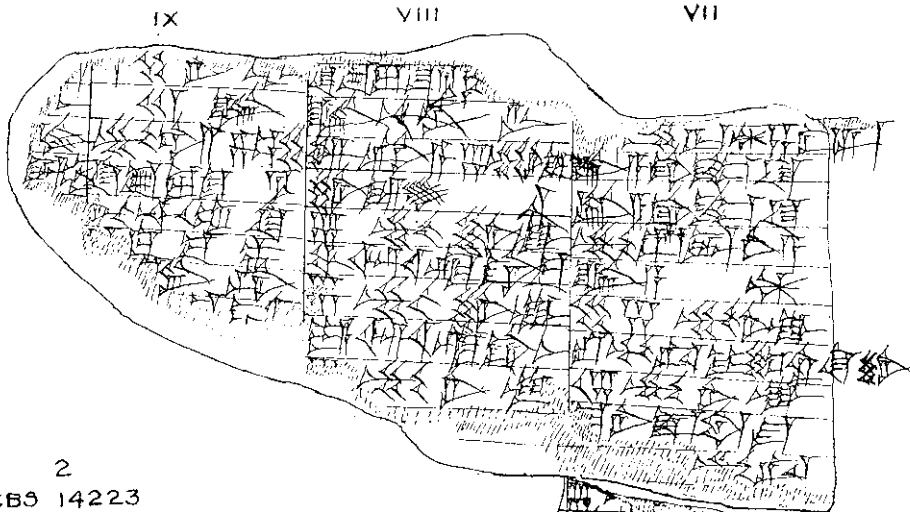
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2268	45	12735	23	14217	61
2272	9	12736	23	14219	79
2277	45	13707	83	14220	1
2350	81	13708	82	14223	2
6142	13	13878	73	14224	3
7095	12	13880	70	14225	4
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7196	55	14014	25	14227	15
7820	47	14055	39	14228	17
7830	47	14081	40	14229	16
7848	46	14123	24	14230	6
7849	48	14124	63	14231	7
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AUTOGRAPH TEXTS

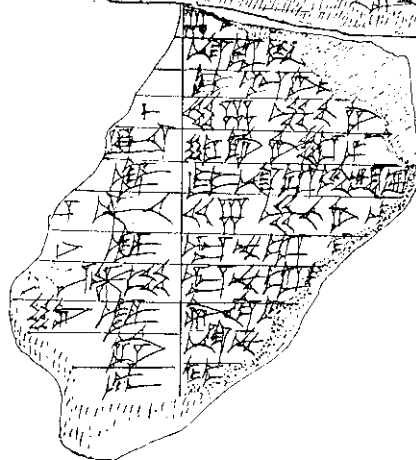
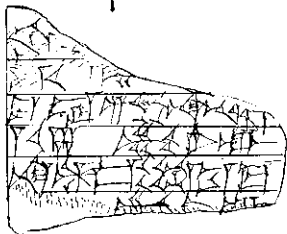
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OBV



REV.
VIII

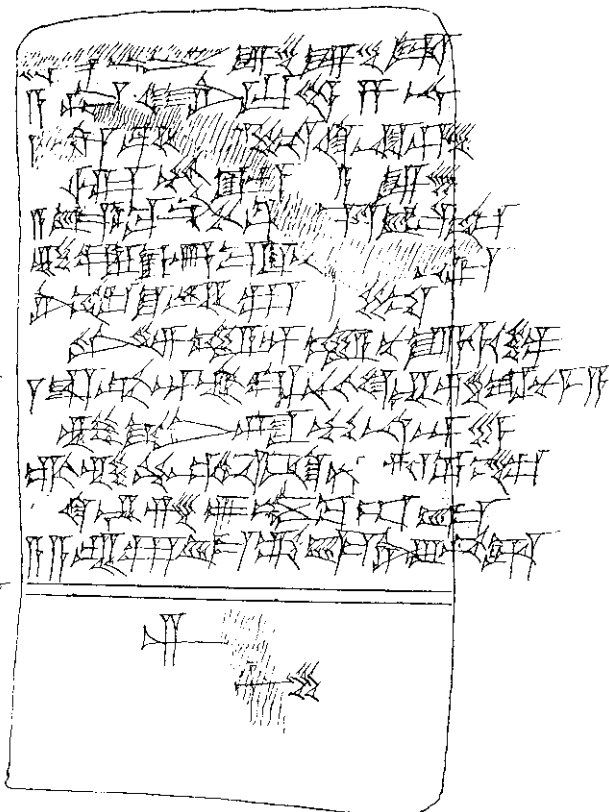
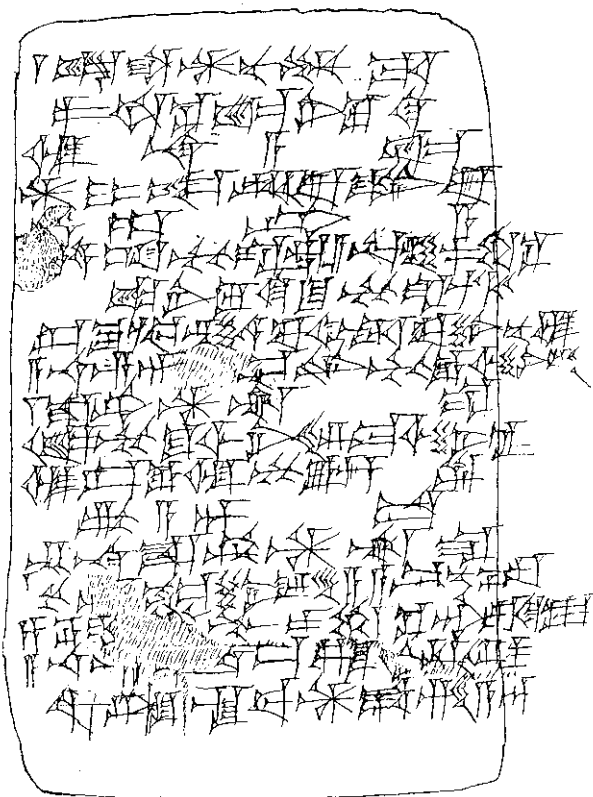


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OBV.
I



OBV.

REV.



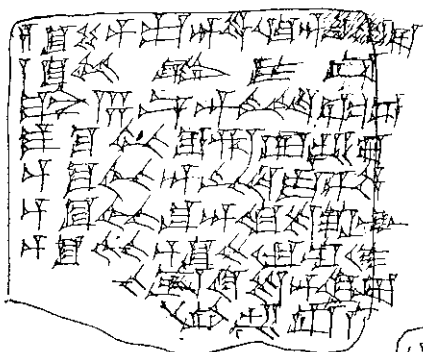
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CBS. 14225

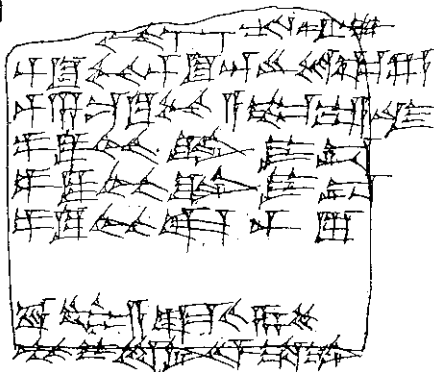
OBV.

5

CBS 12570



REV.

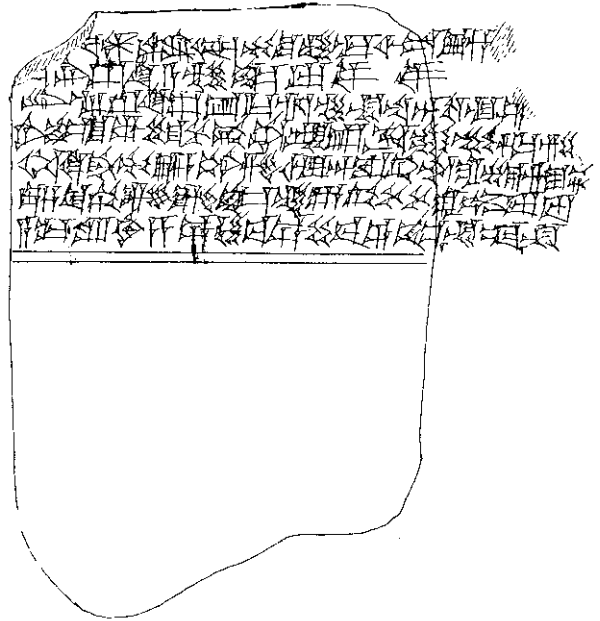
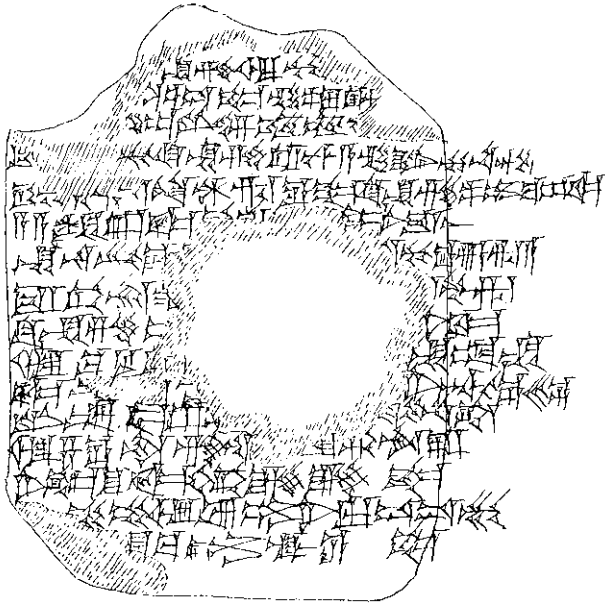


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CBS 14230

OBV

REV

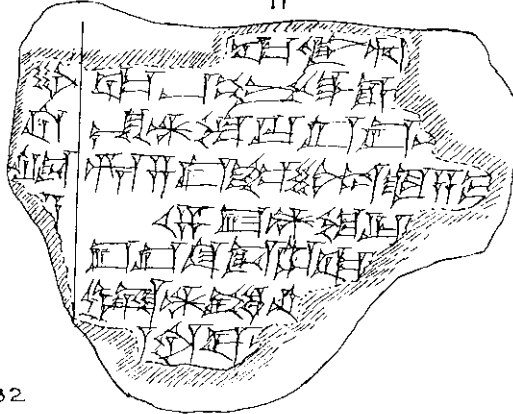
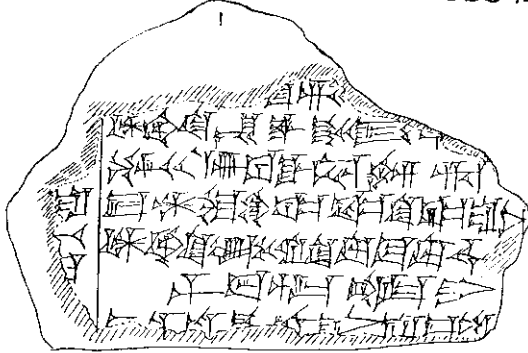


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CBS 14231

REV

OBV

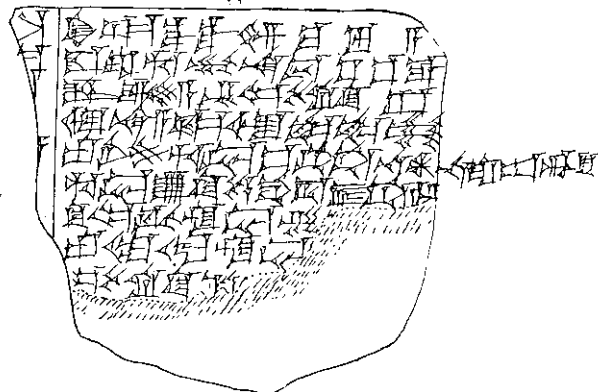
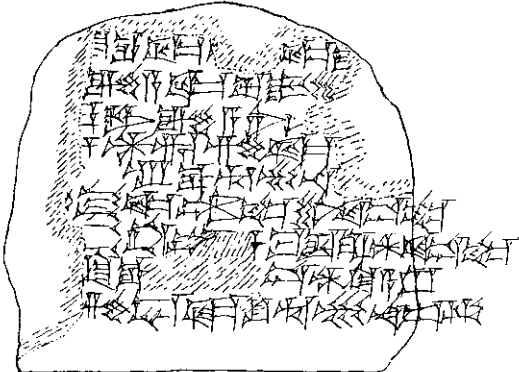


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CBS 14232

REV

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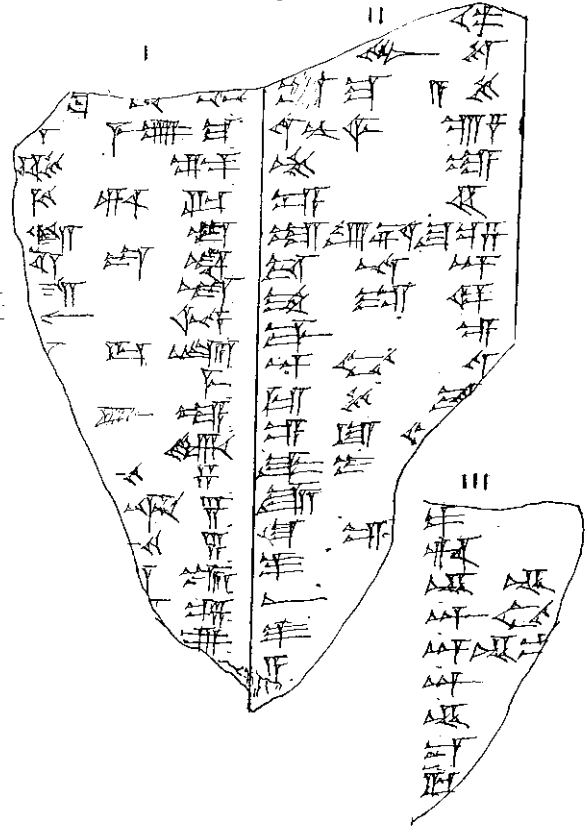


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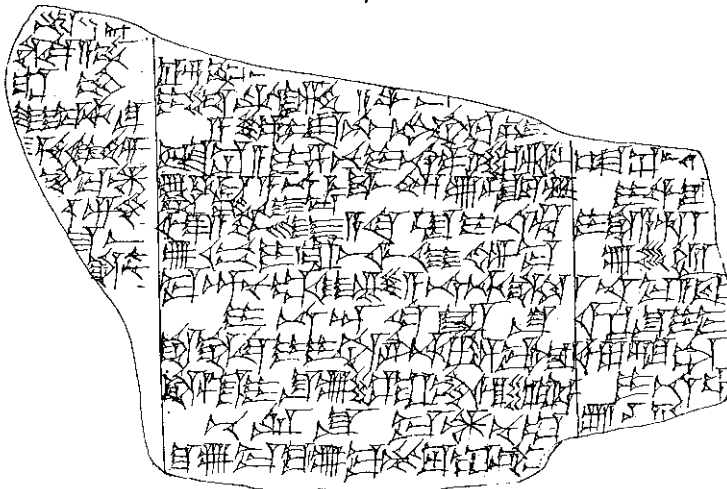
9
CBS 2272



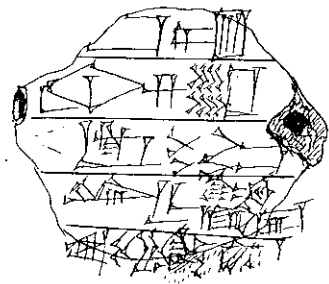
10
CBS 1526



11
CBS 14235

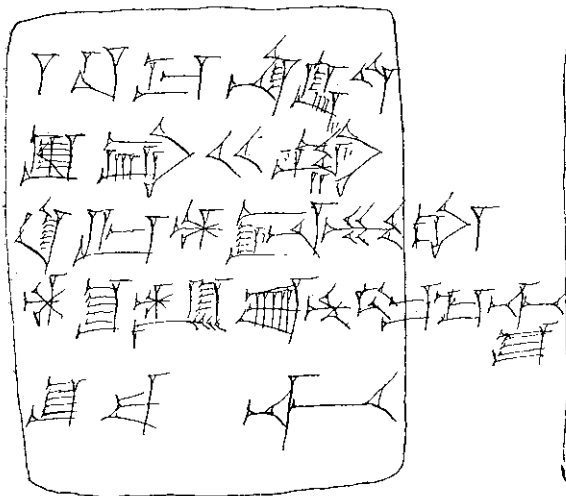


12
CBS 7095

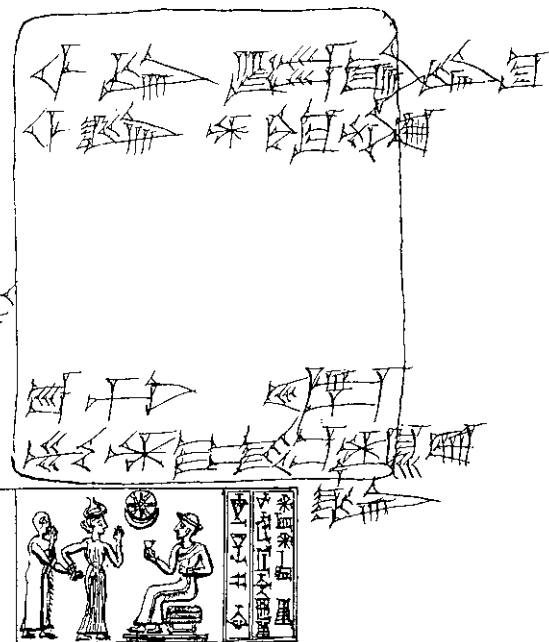


13
CBS 6141

OBV

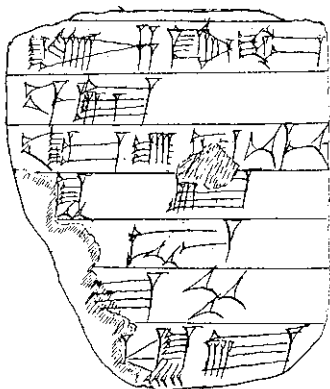


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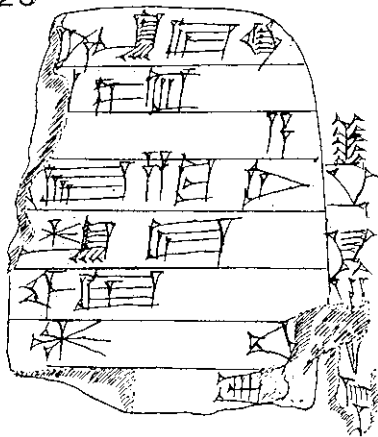


14
CBS 14226

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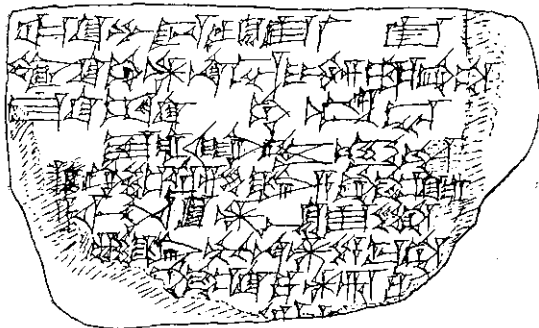


REV



15
CBS 14227

OBV

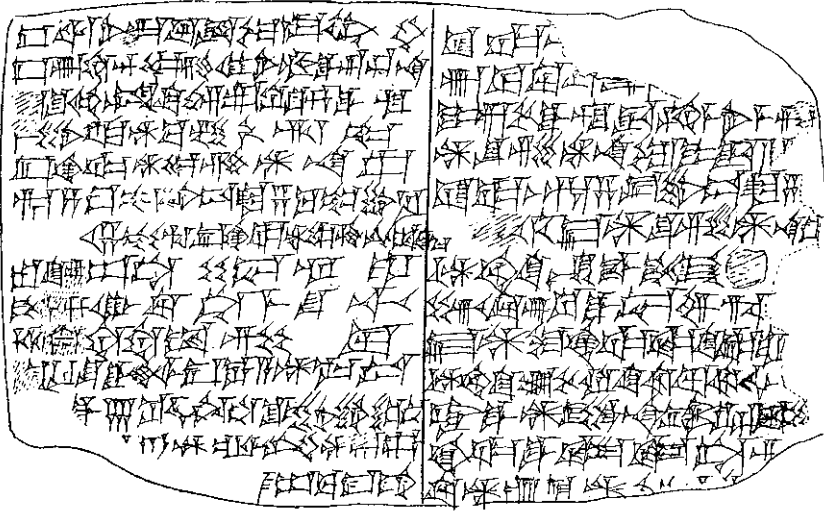


REV



16
CBS 14229
REV

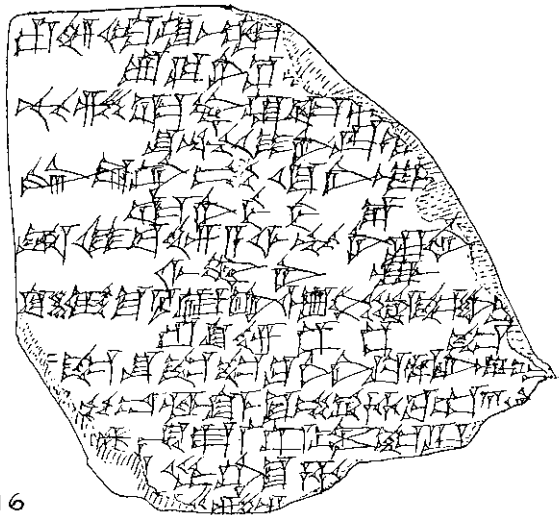
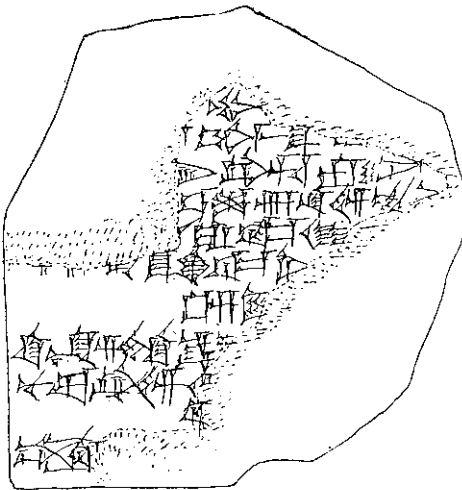
11



17
CBS 14228

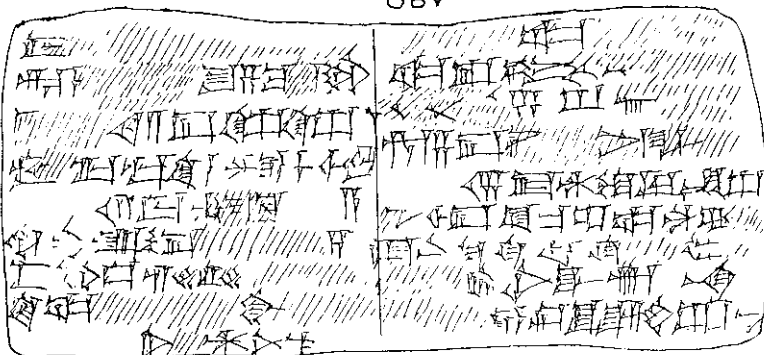
OBV

REV

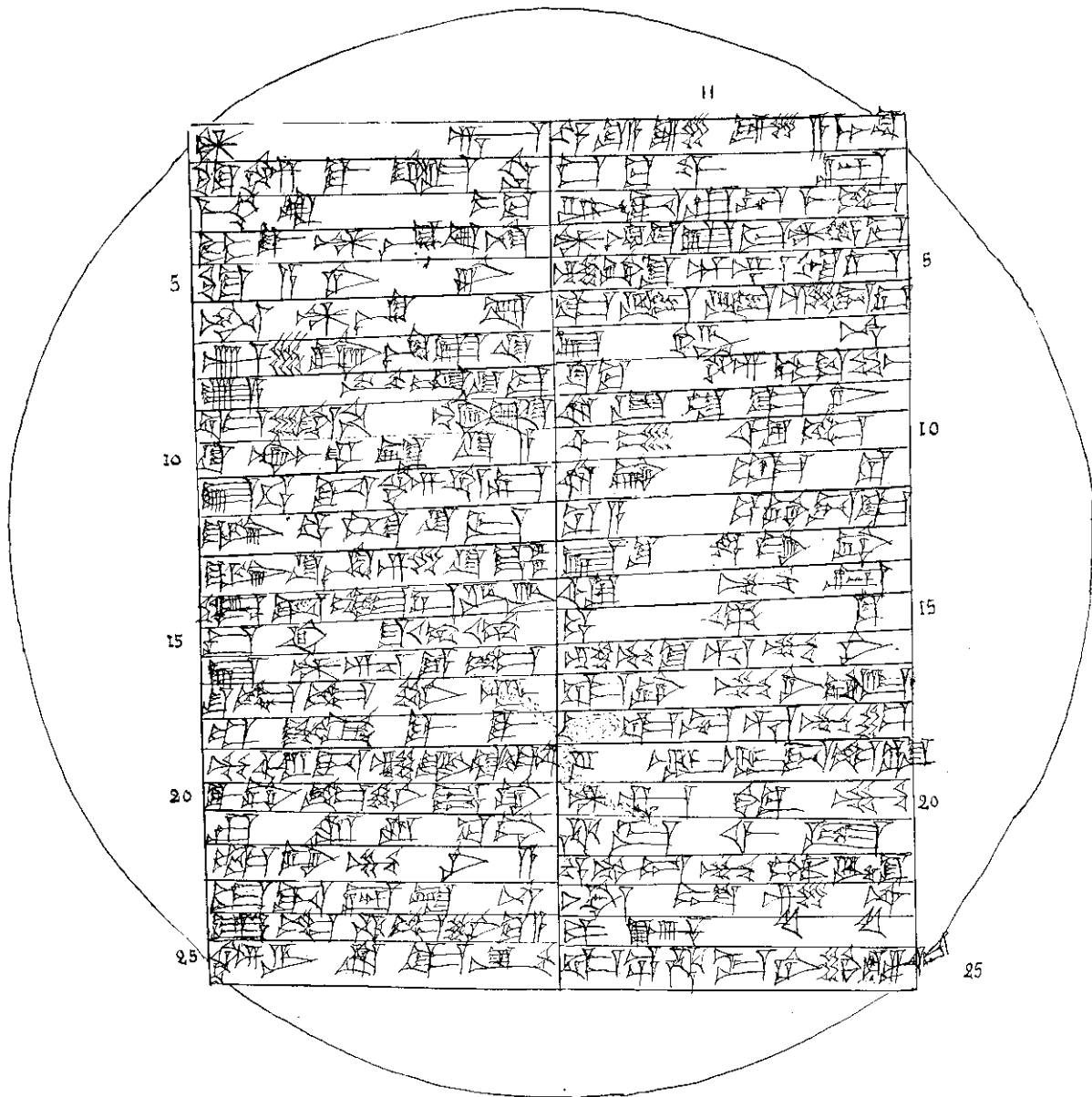


16
CBS 14229
OBV

11



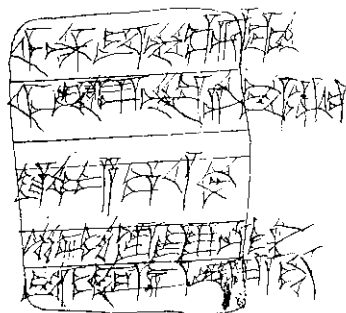
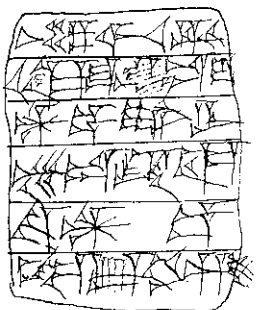
18
CBS 14181



OBV

19
CBS 8255

REV

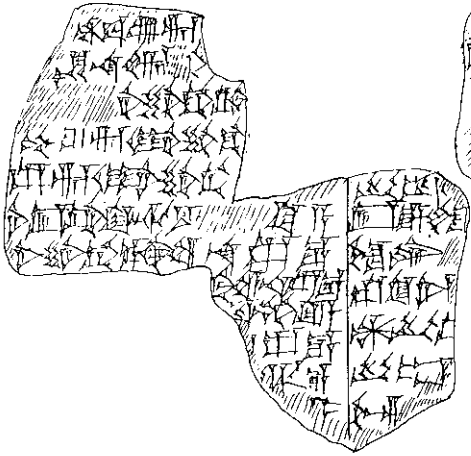


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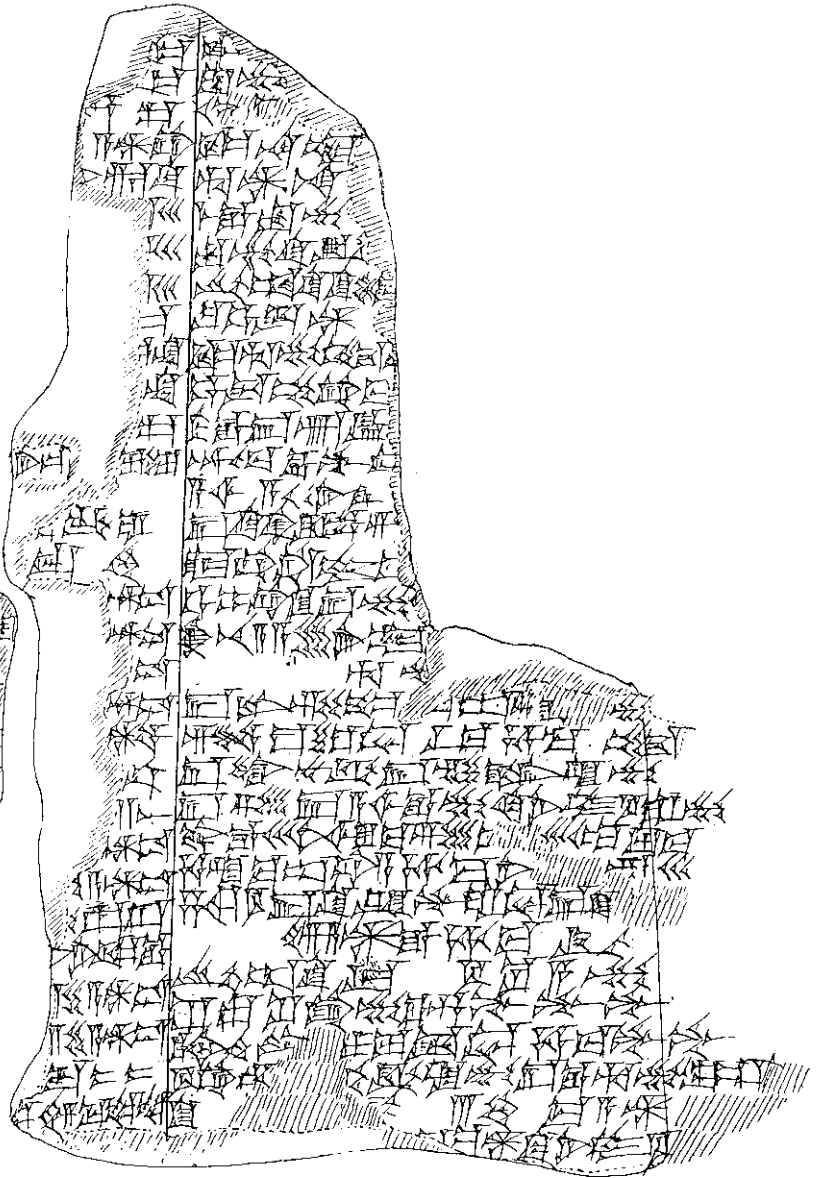
CBS 14234

REV

OBV



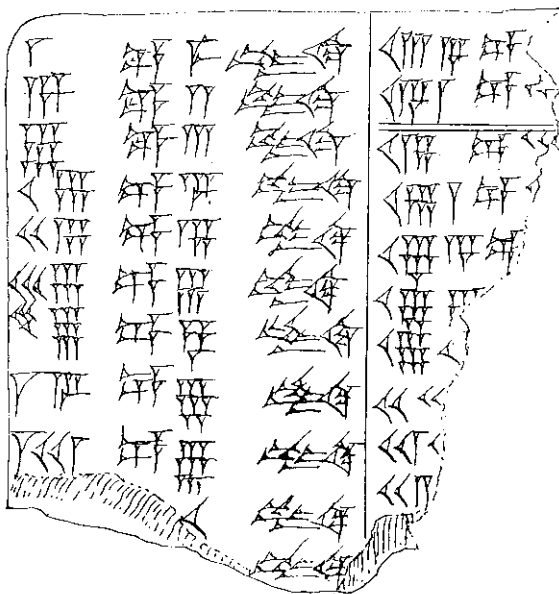
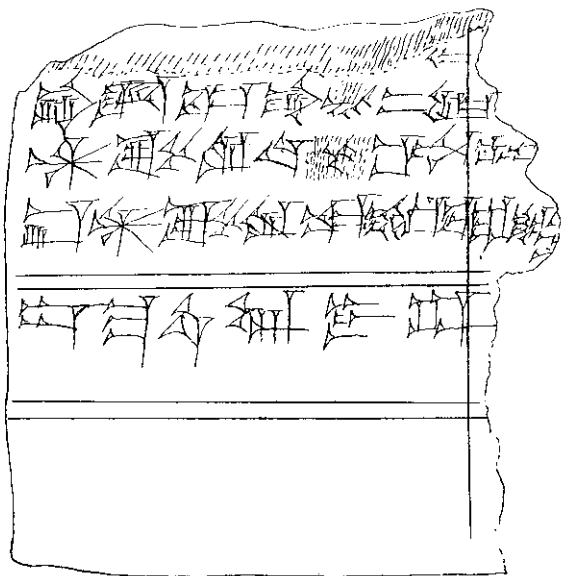
21
CBS 12700



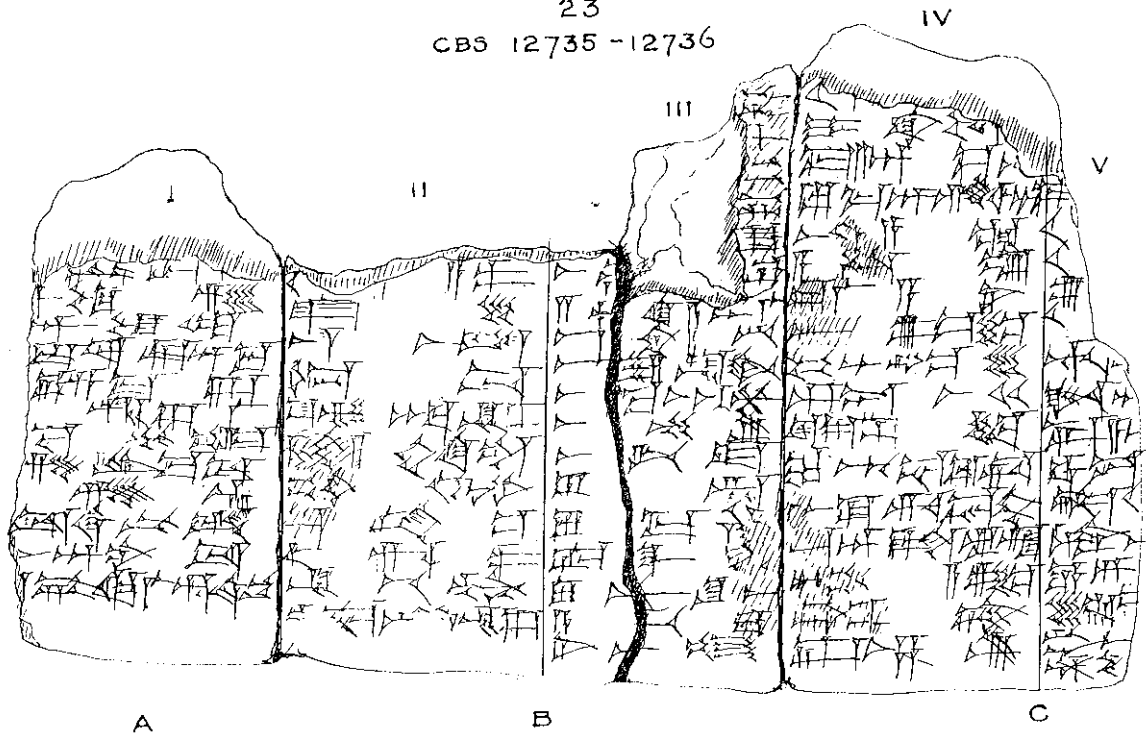
22
CBS 14233

OBV

REV



23
CBS 12735-12736

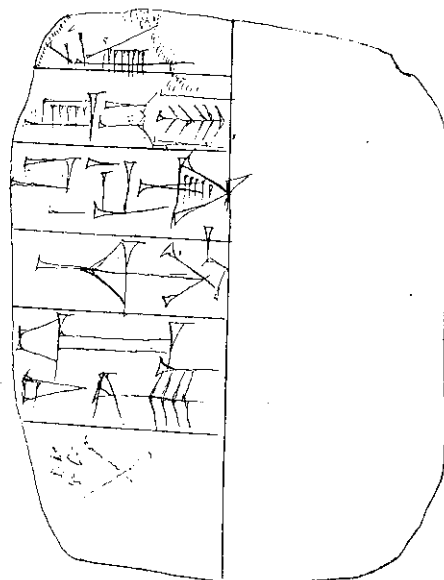
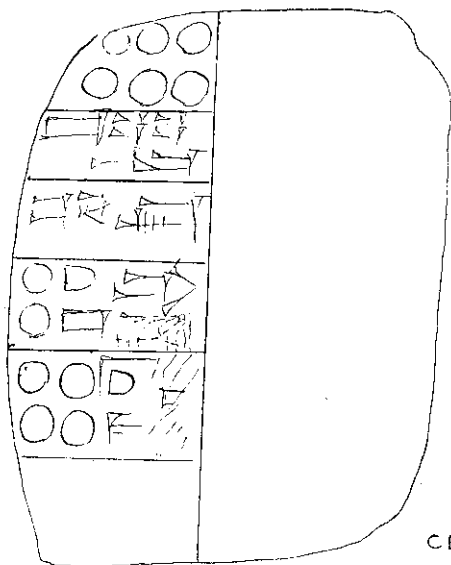


24

OBV

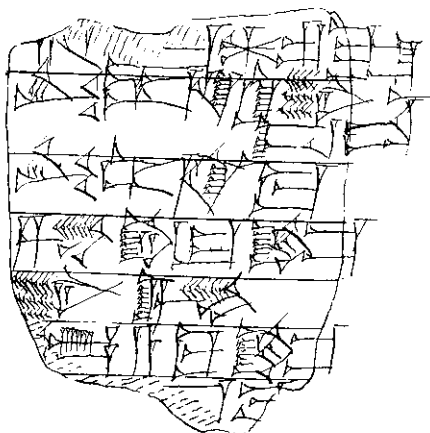
CBS 14123

REV



25

CBS 14014

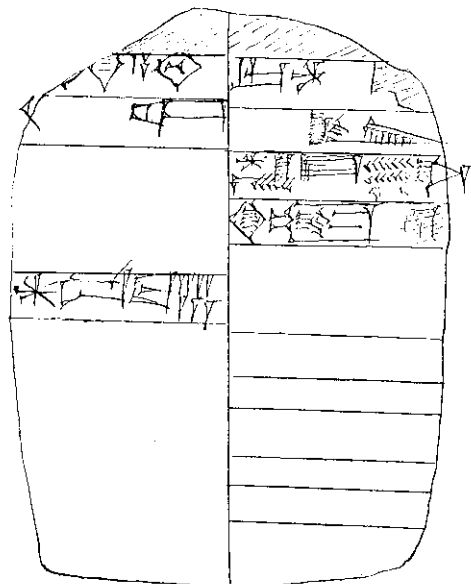
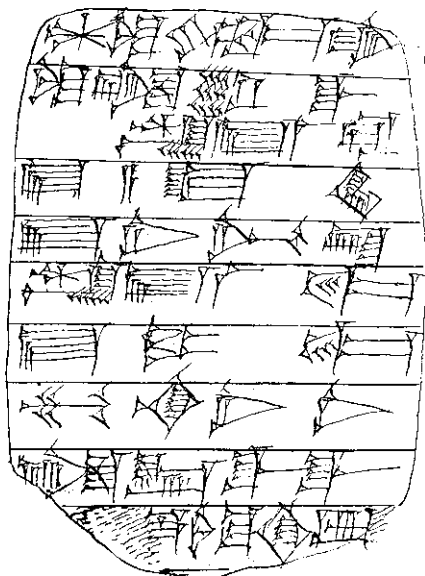


OBV

26

CBS 8358

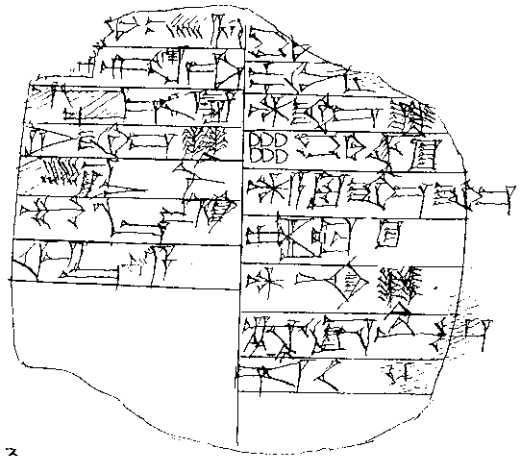
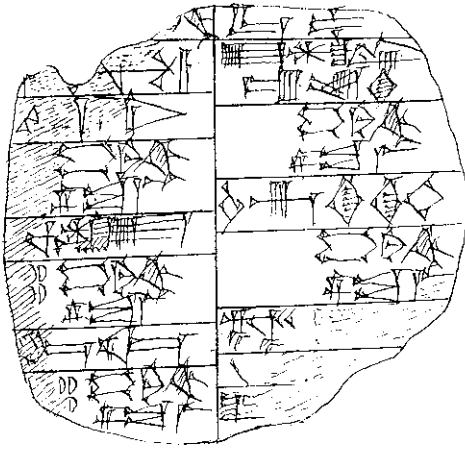
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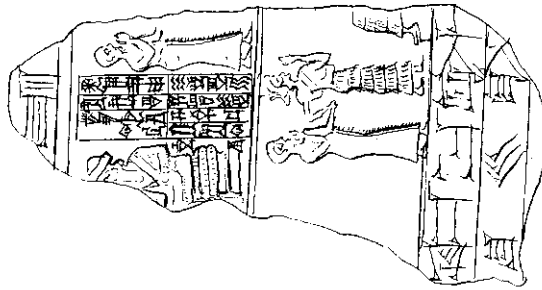
OBV

27
CBS 8424

REV



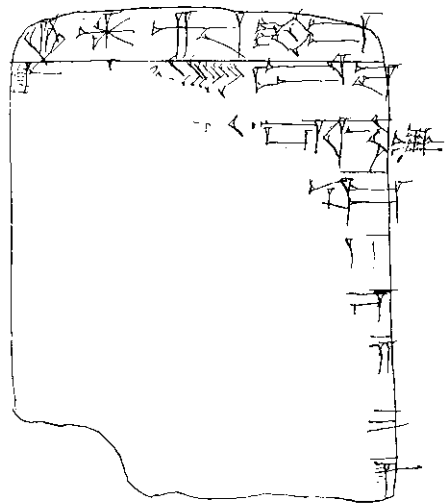
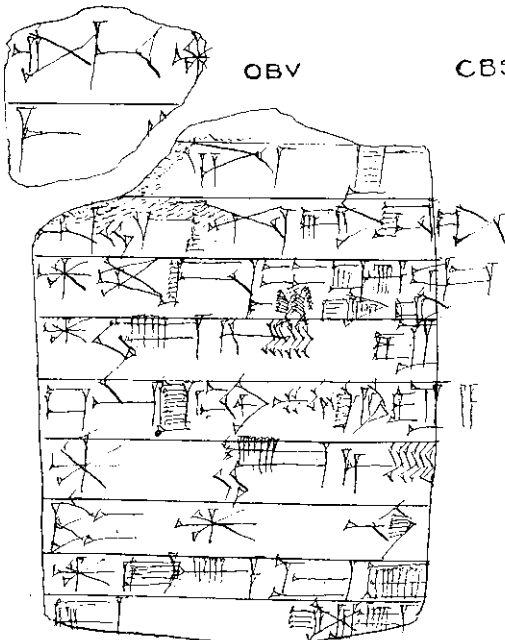
28
CBS 14193



OBV

29
CBS 8370

REV

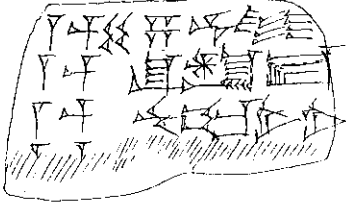


OBV

30

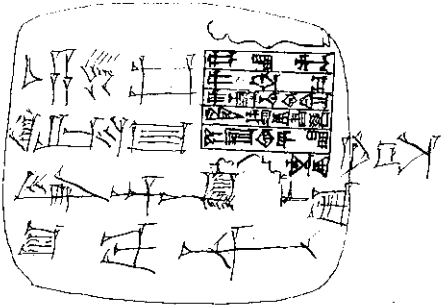
CBS 15066

REV



31

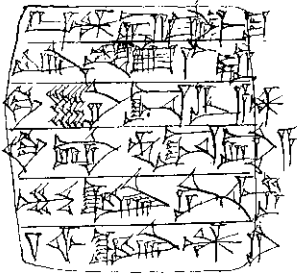
CBS 14177



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CBS 8234

OBV



33

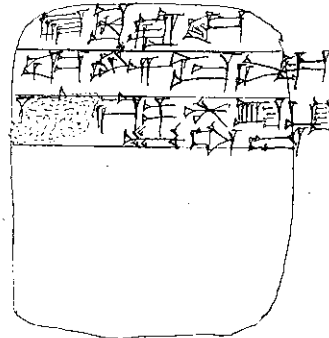
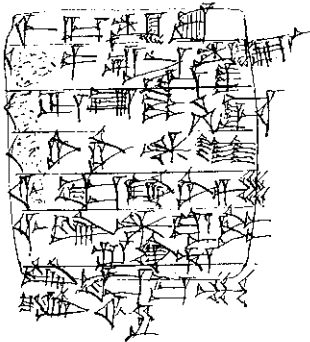
CBS 8235

OBV



REV

REV



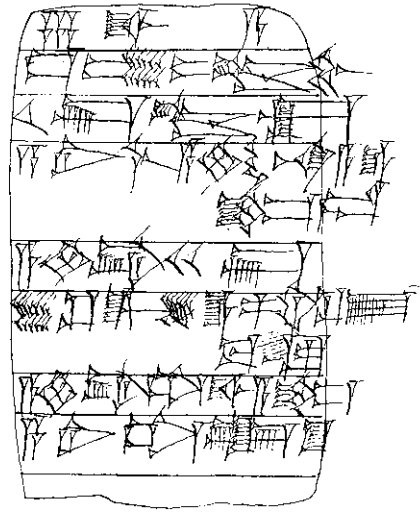
34

CBS 8381

OBV



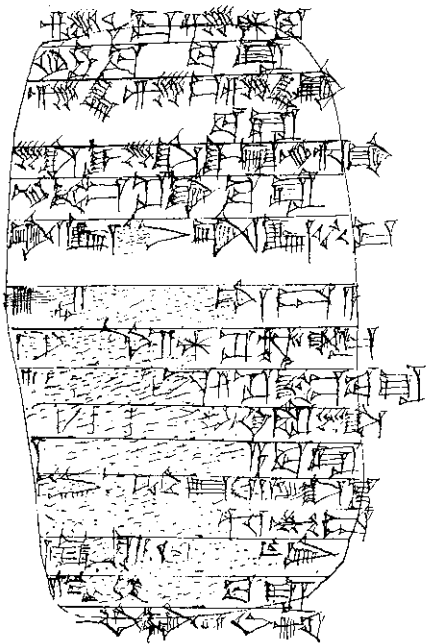
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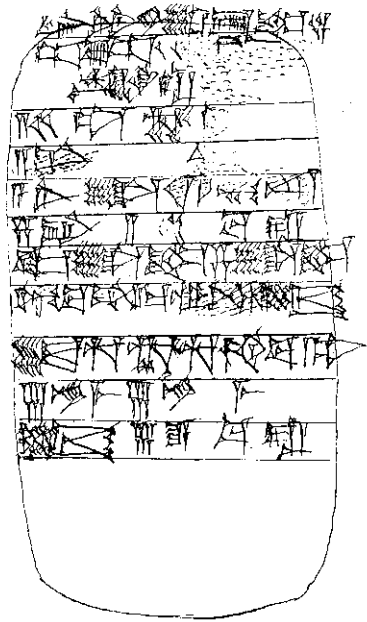
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CBS 8241

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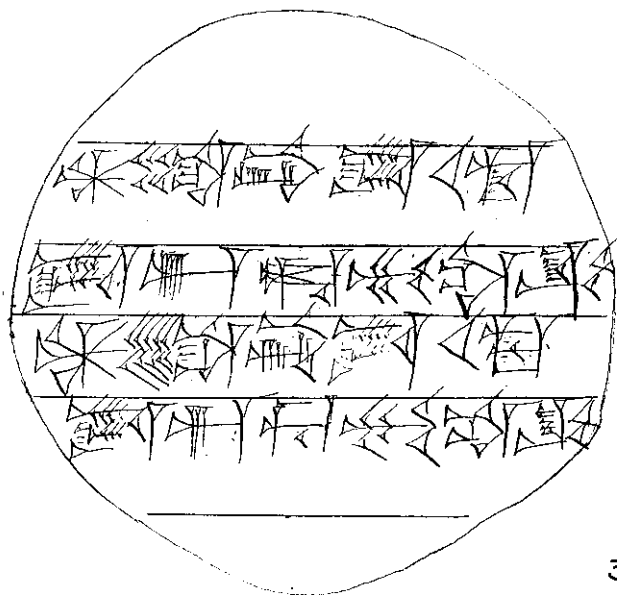


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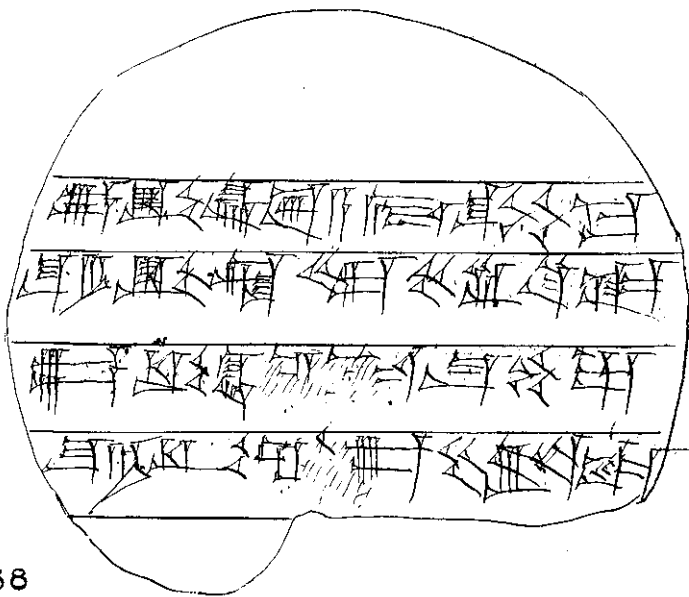
36

CBS 7874



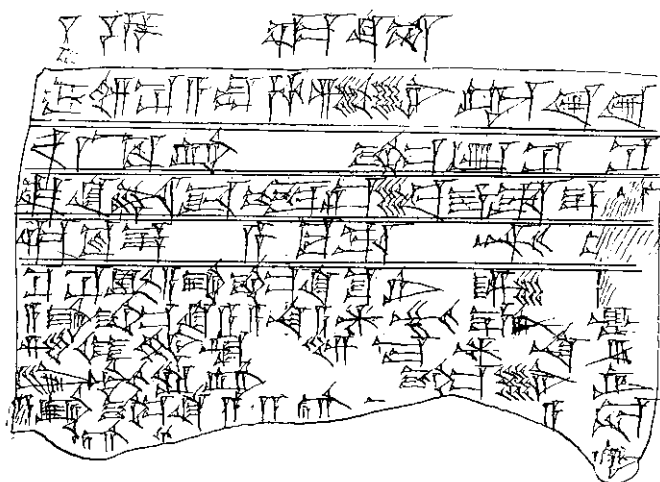
37

CBS 14189



38

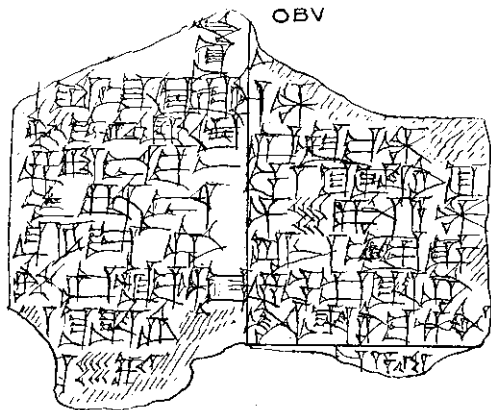
CBS 18188



REV

39

CBS 14055

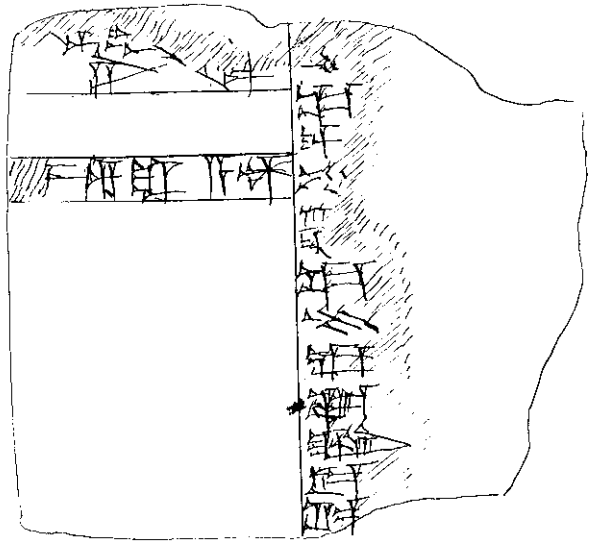
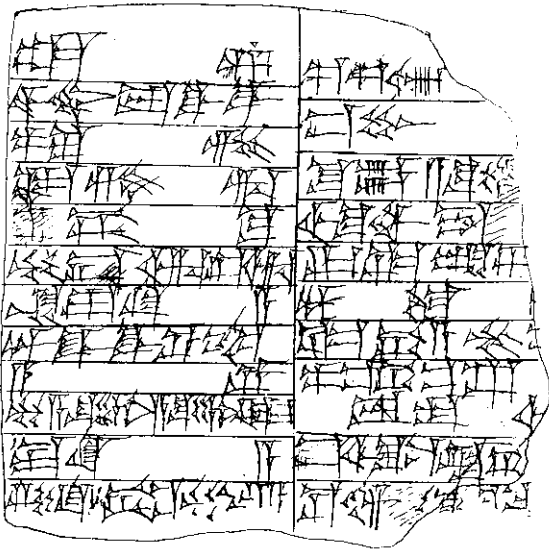


40

OBV

CBS 14081

REV

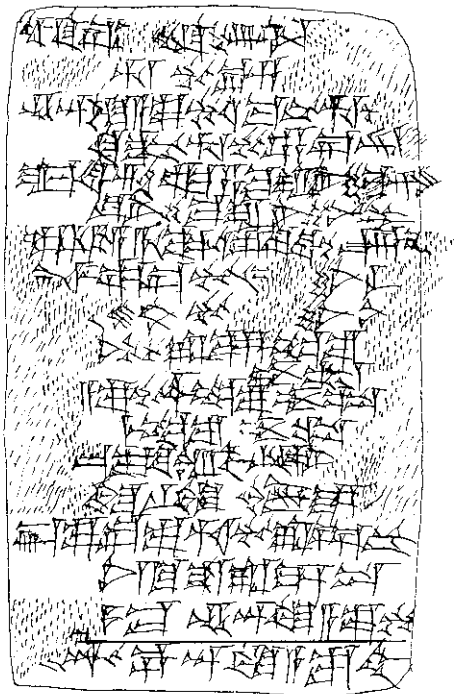
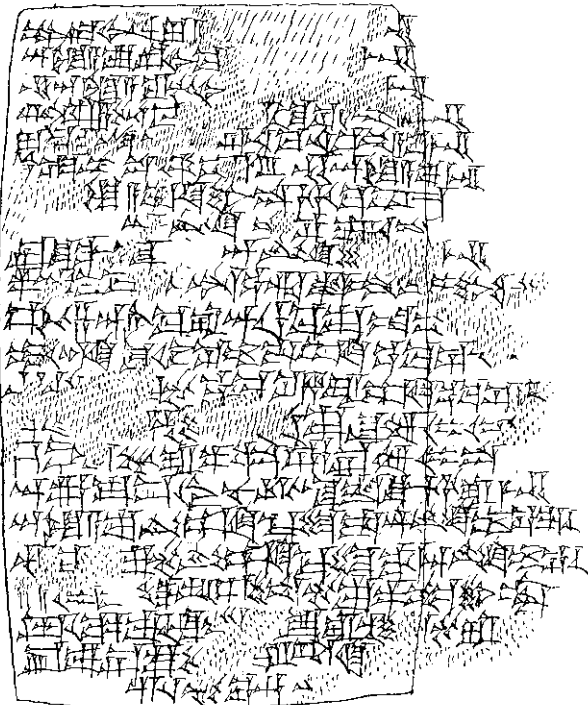


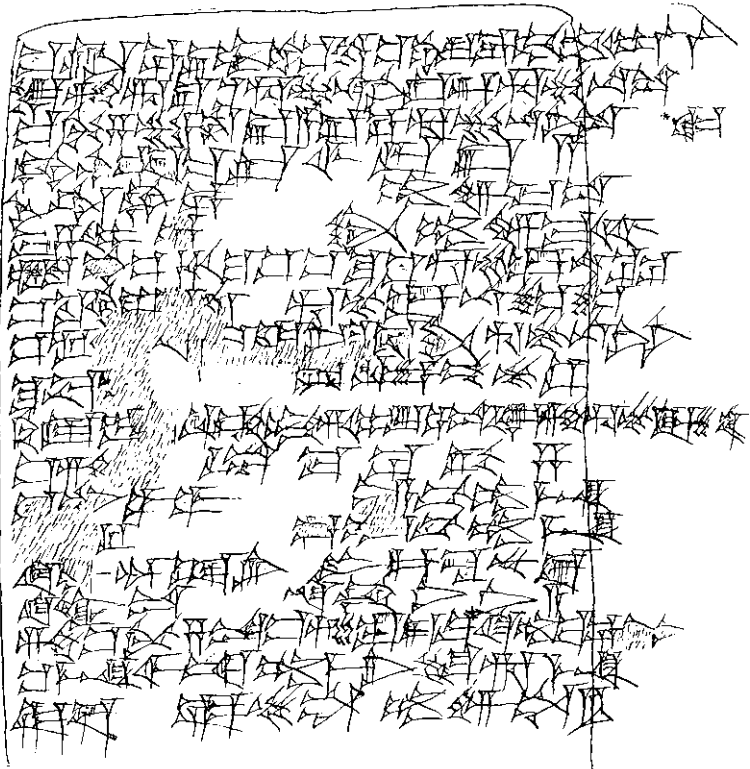
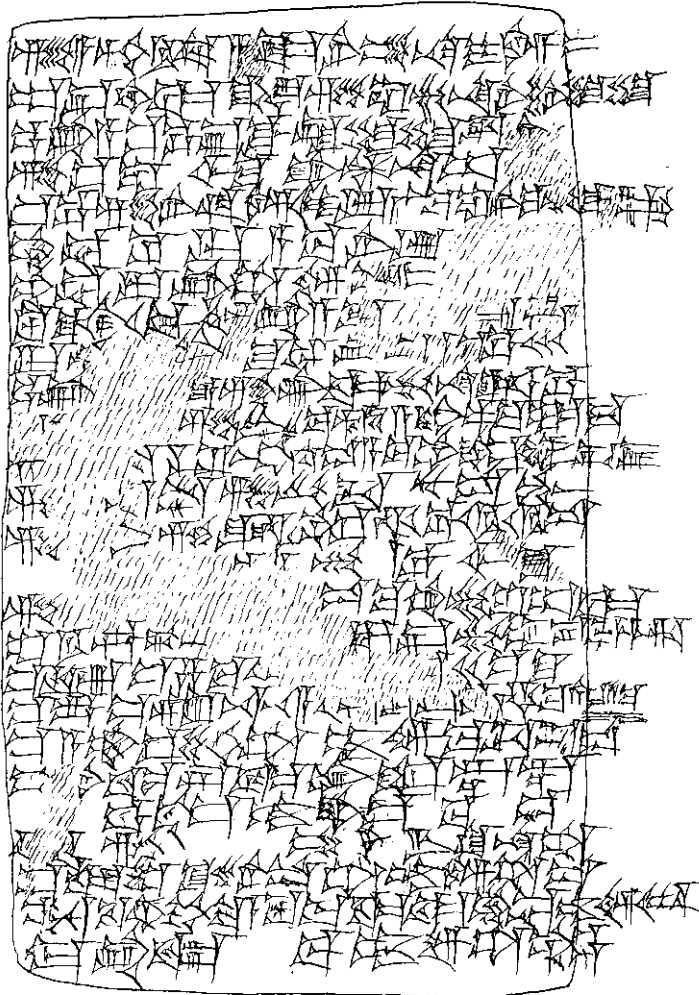
41

OBV

CBS 14214

REV



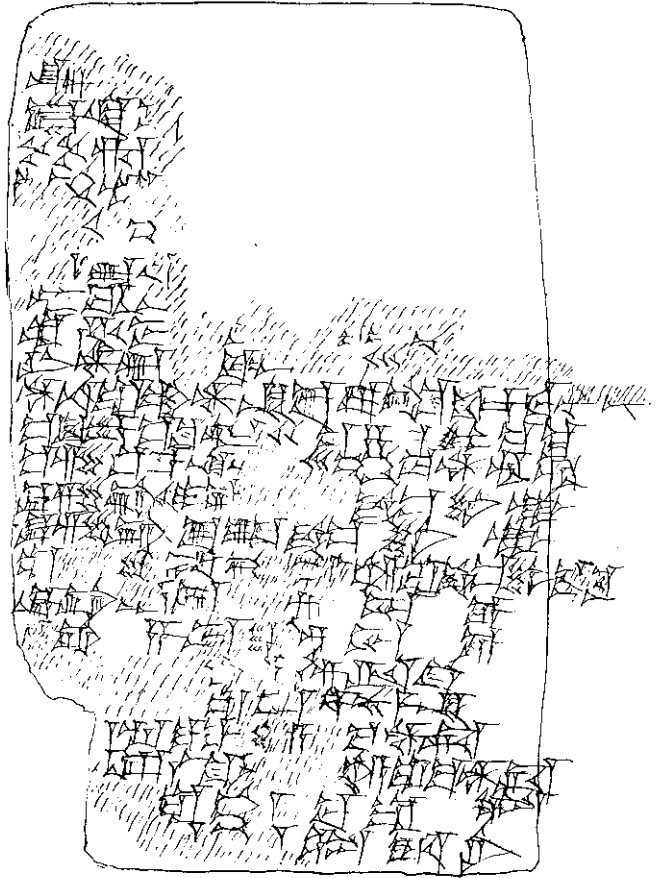


43

OBV

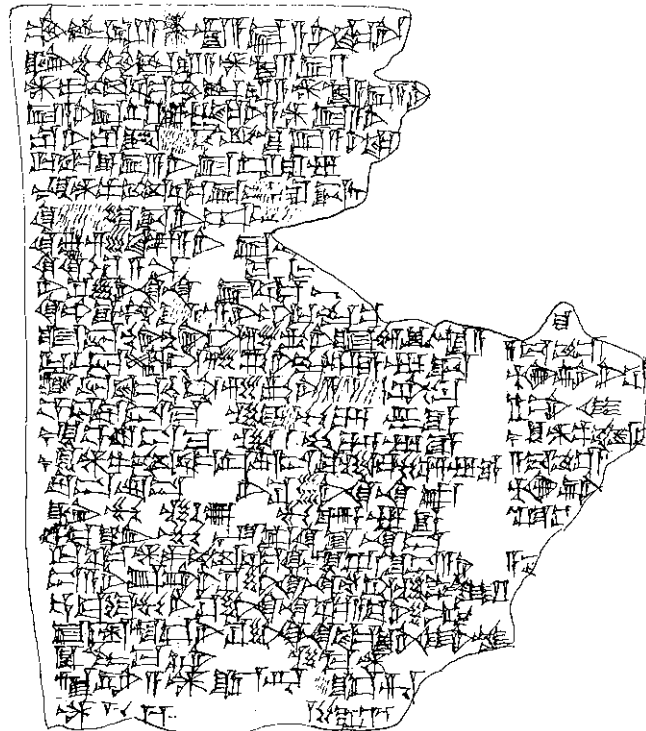
CBS 9233

REV



44

CBS 15207

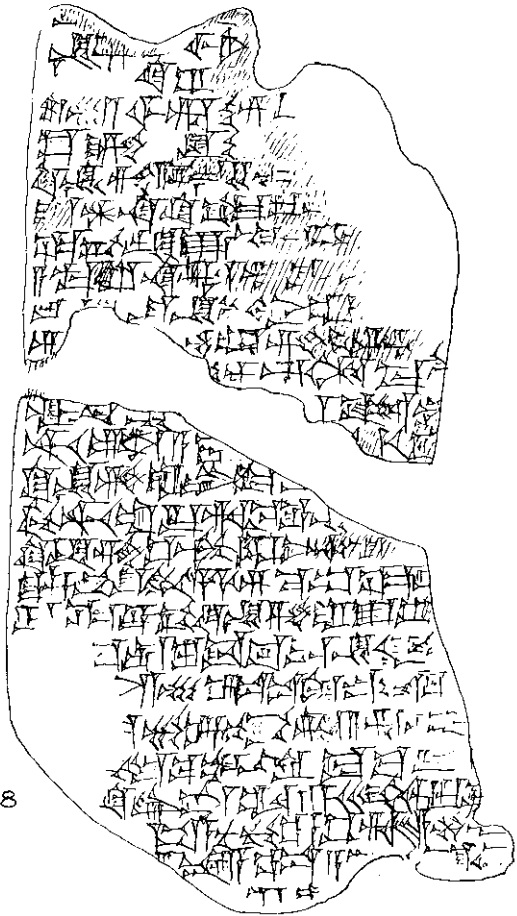
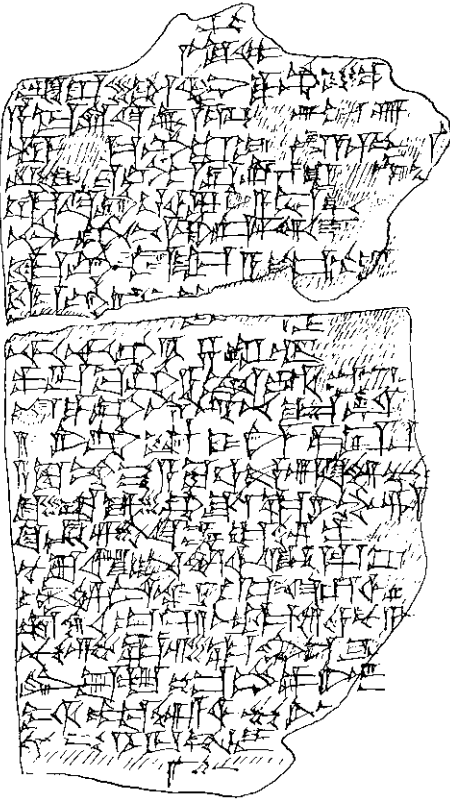


45

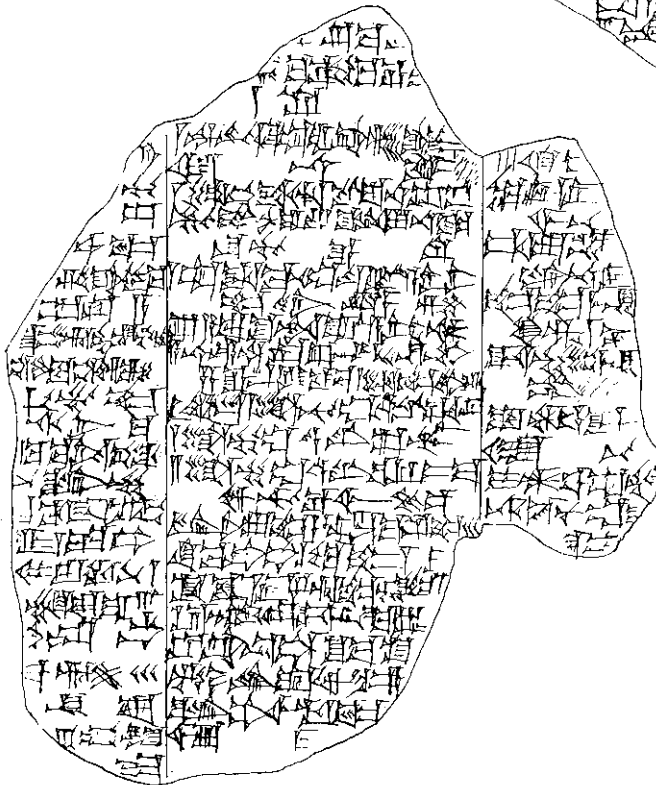
CBS 2277 - 2268

OBV

REV

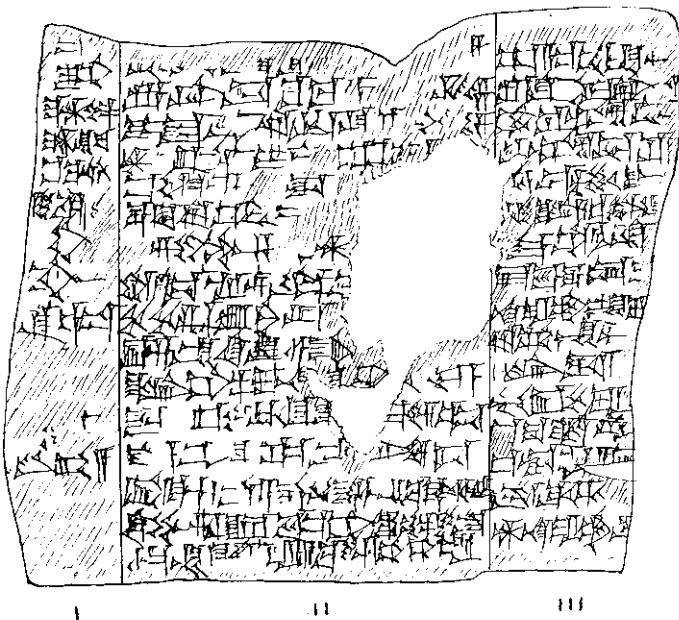


46
CBS 7848



47

CBS 7820 - 7830

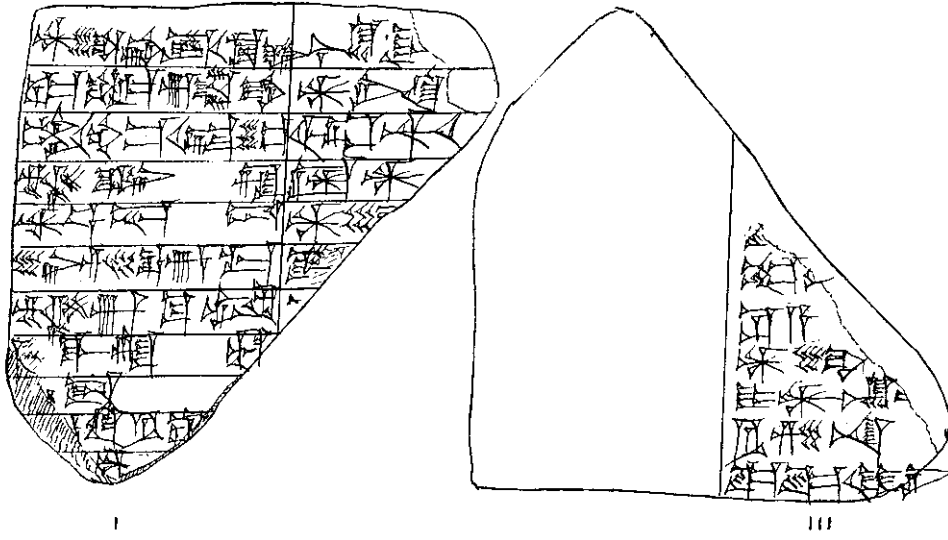


48

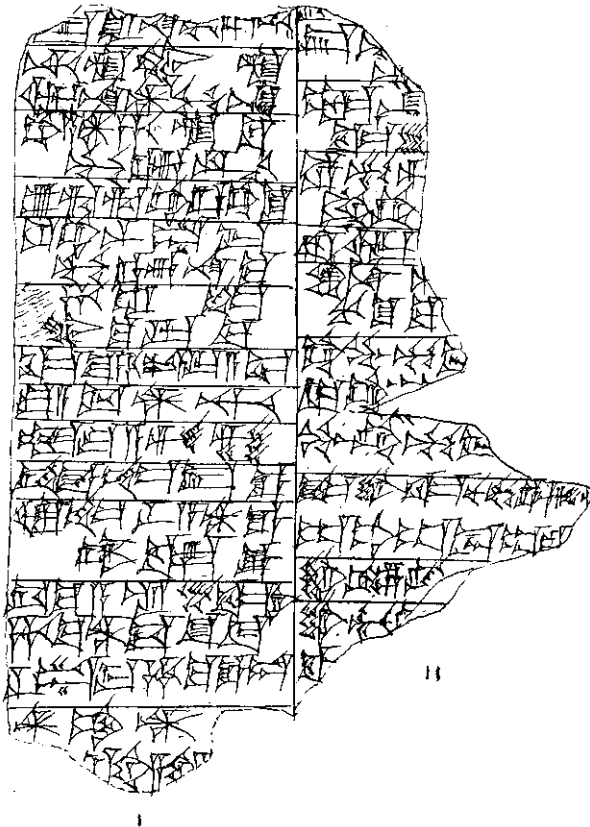
CBS 7849



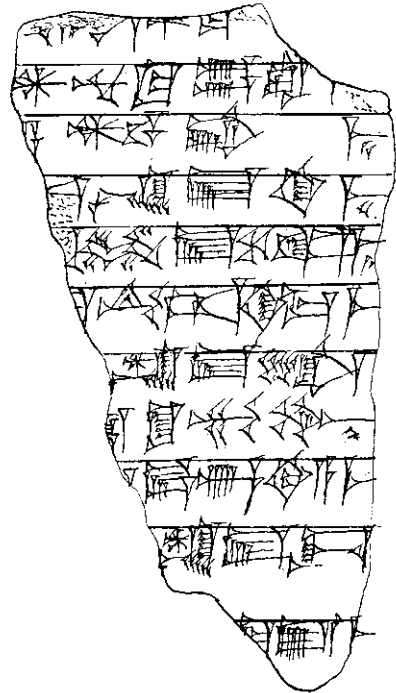
49
CBS 13967



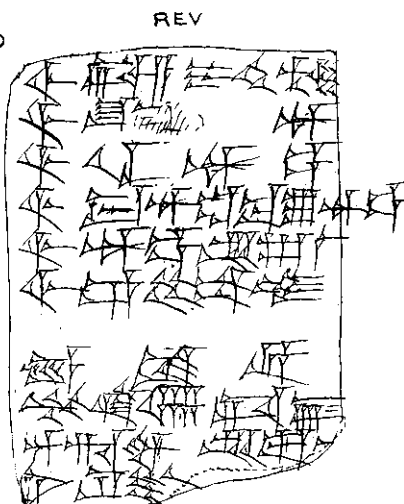
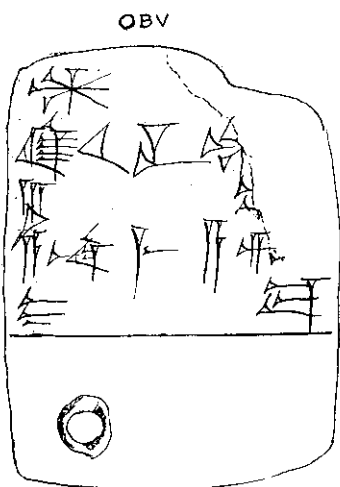
50
CBS 14176



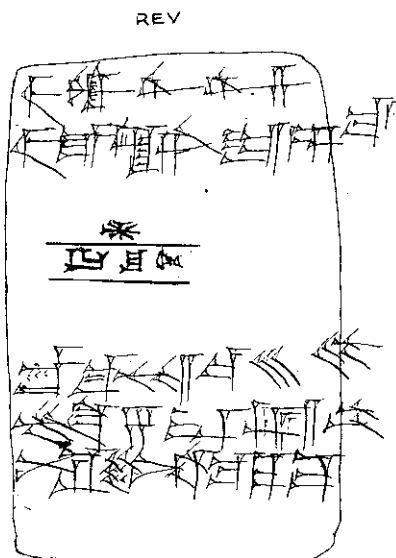
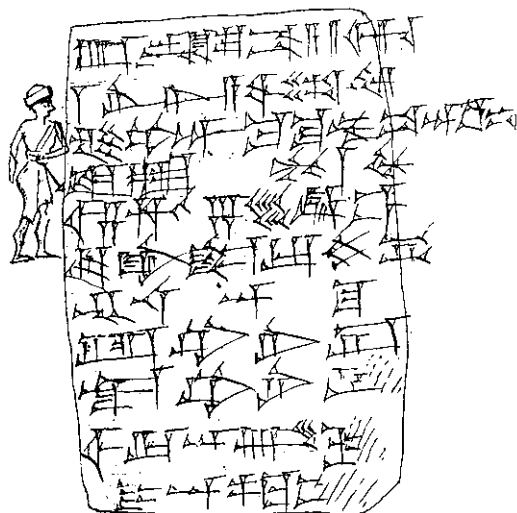
51
CBS 8242



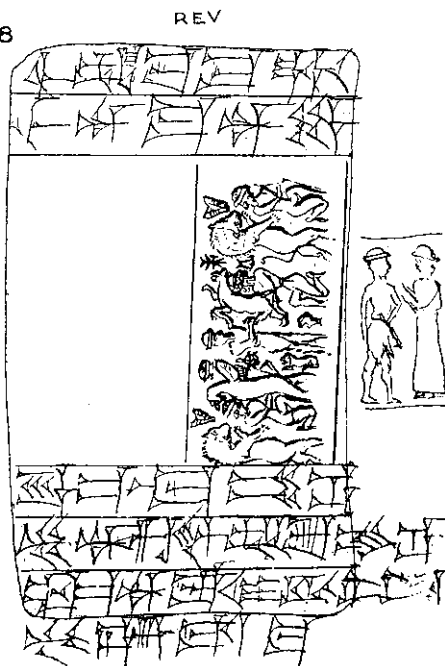
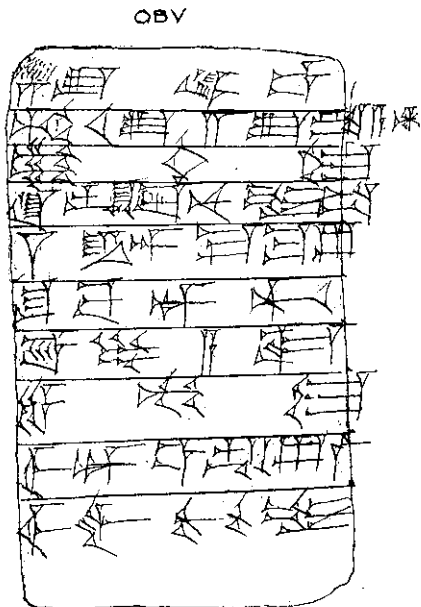
52
CBS 14190



53
CBS 14184



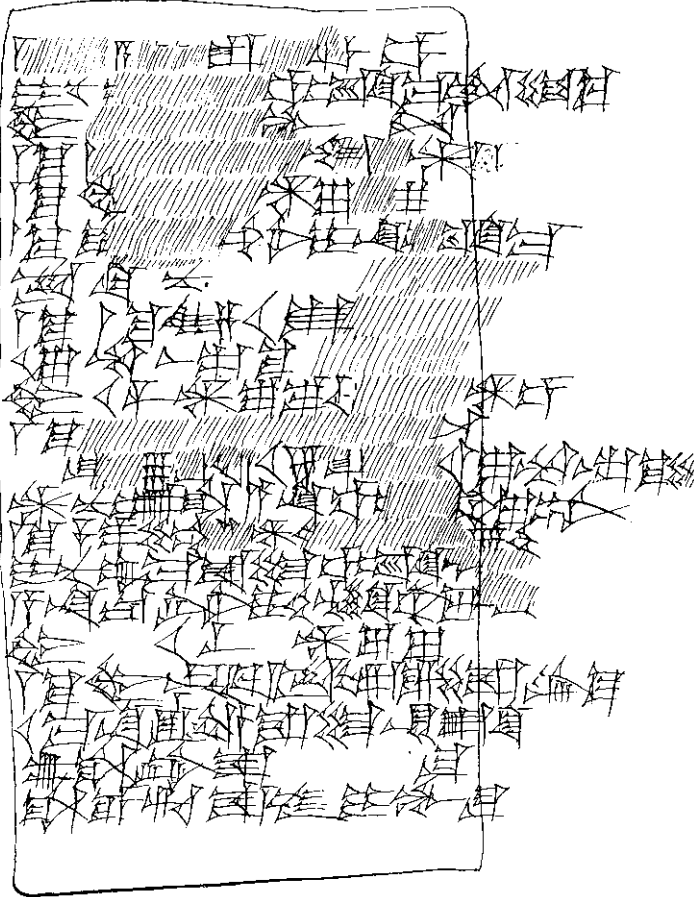
54
CBS 14178



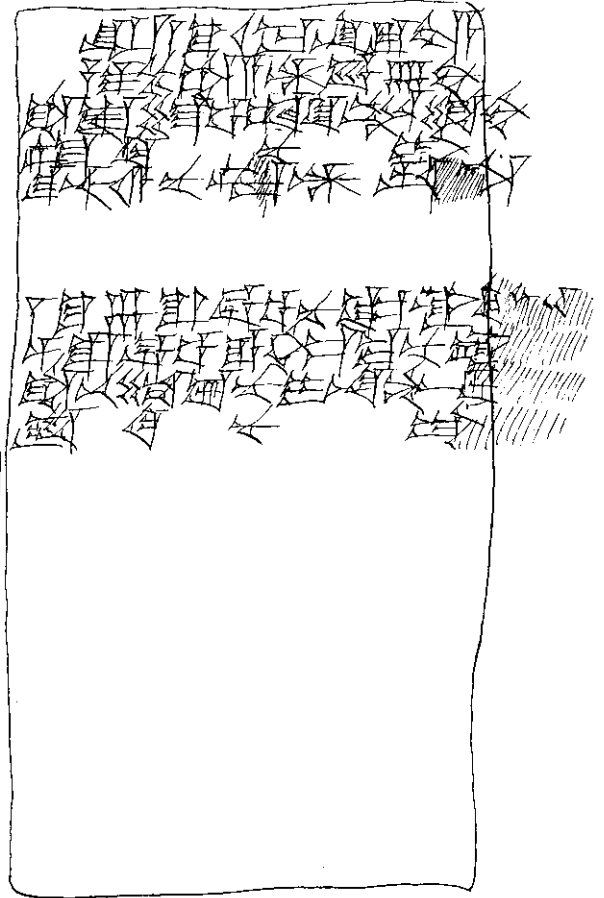
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CBS 7196

OBV



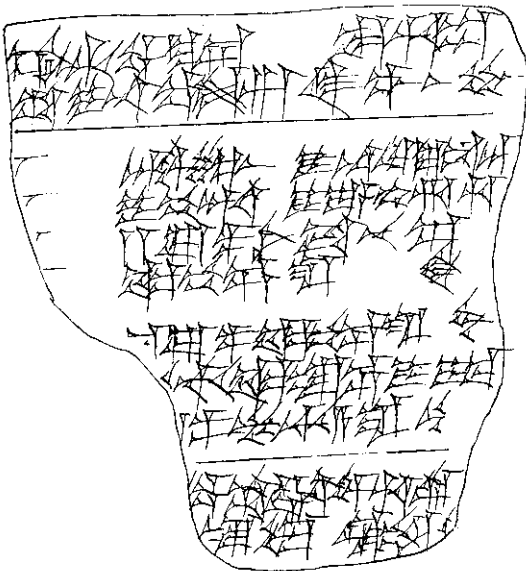
REV



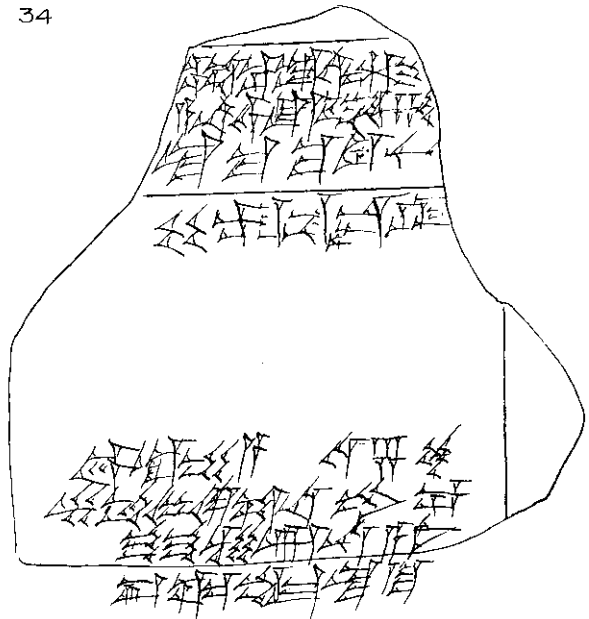
56

CBS 34

CBV

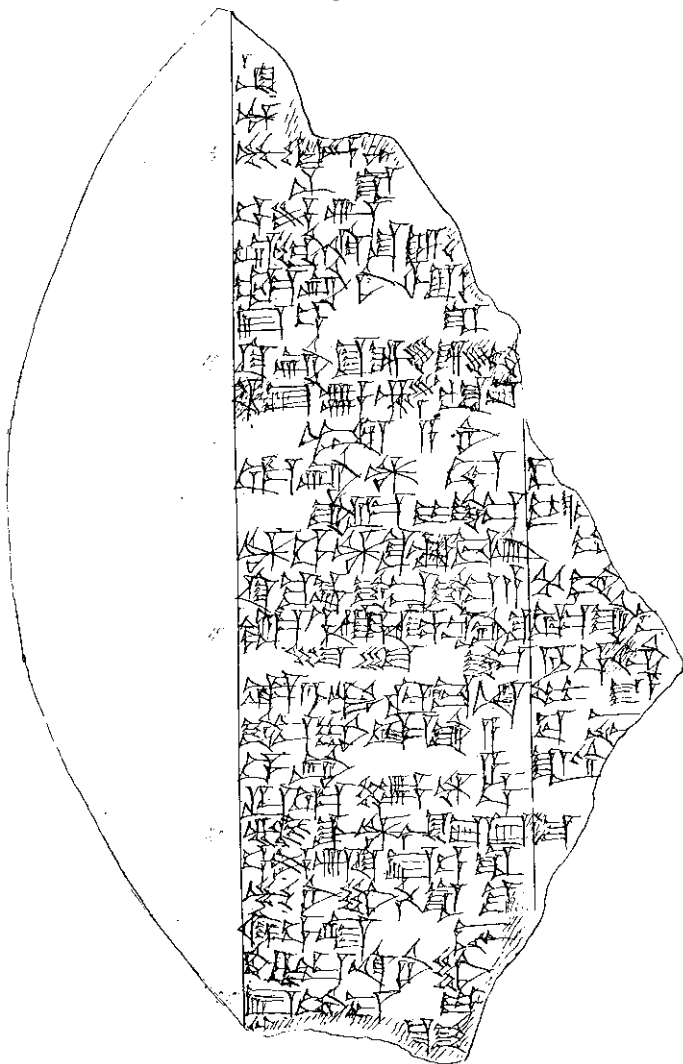


REV



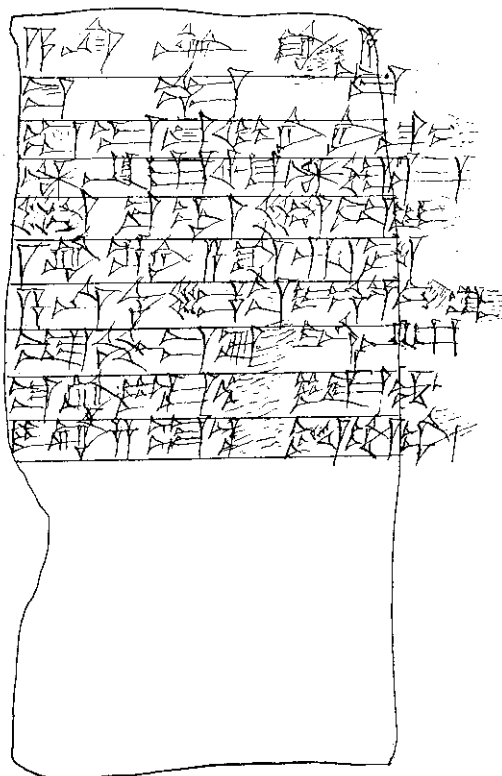
57

CBS 469



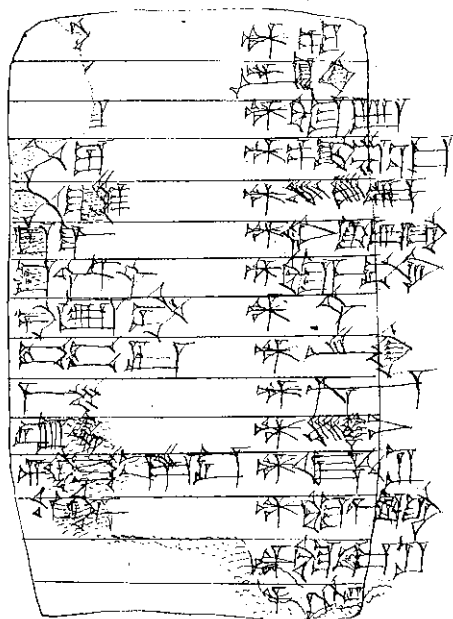
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CBS 8288



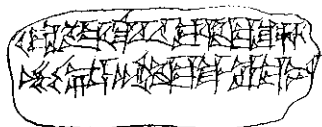
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CBS 8359

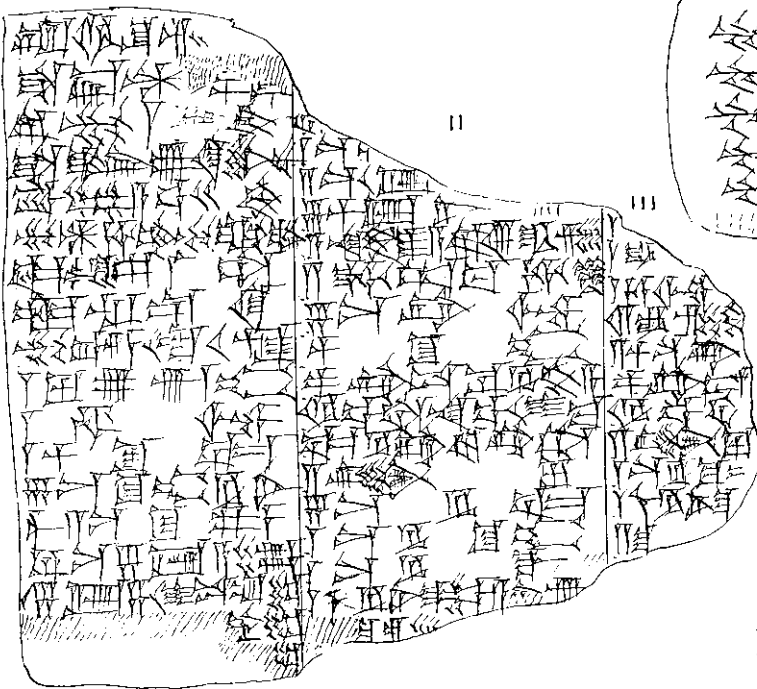


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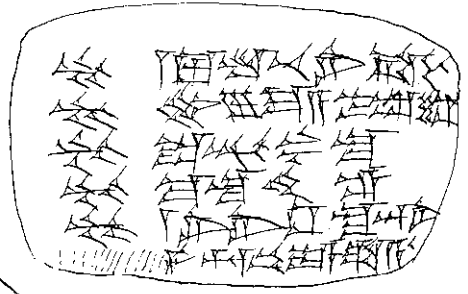
CBS 14212



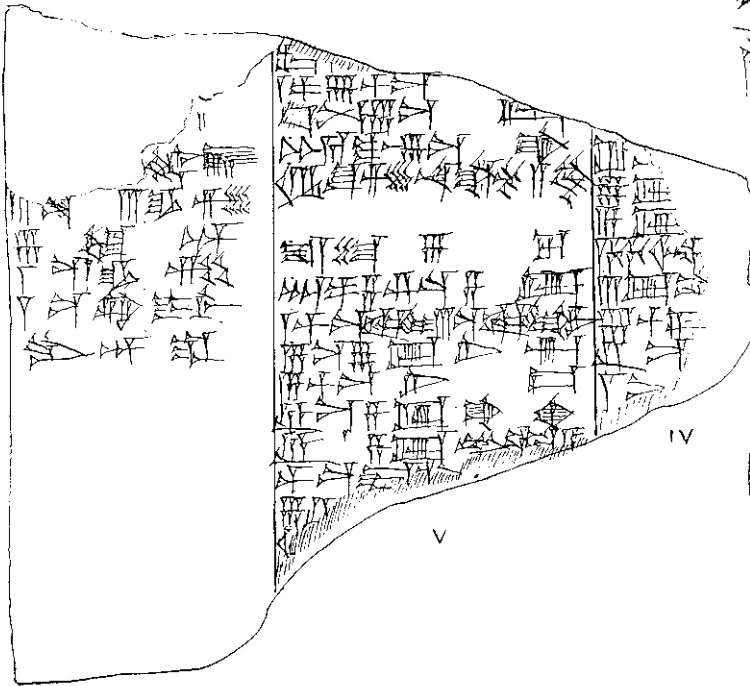
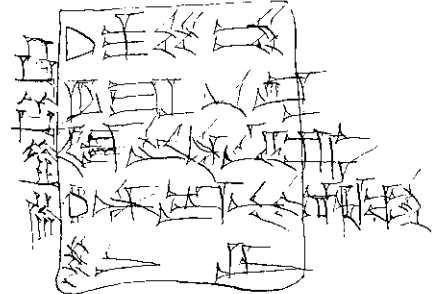
61
CBS 14217



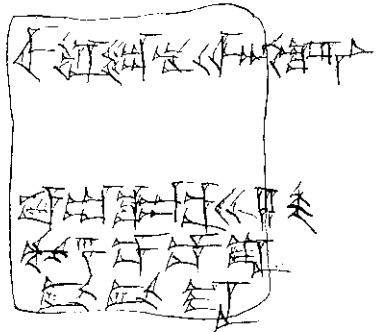
62
CBS 14236



63
CBS 14124



REV

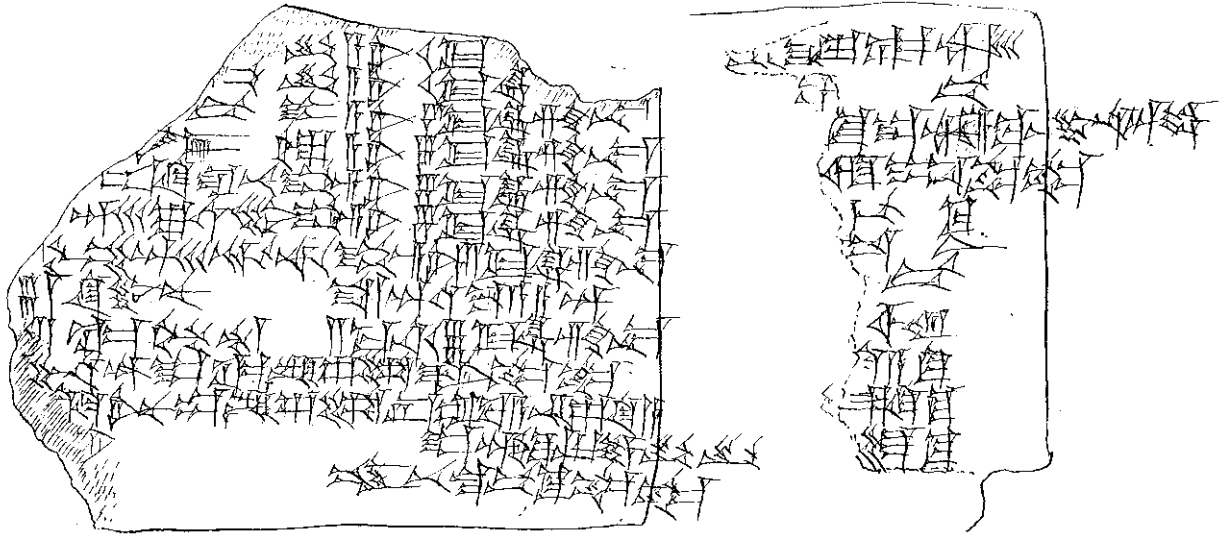


64

OBV

CBS 14198

REV

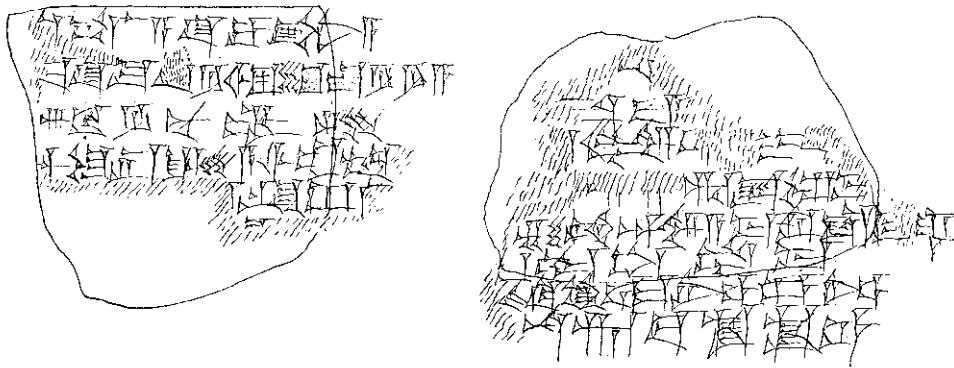


65

OBV

CBS 15120

REV

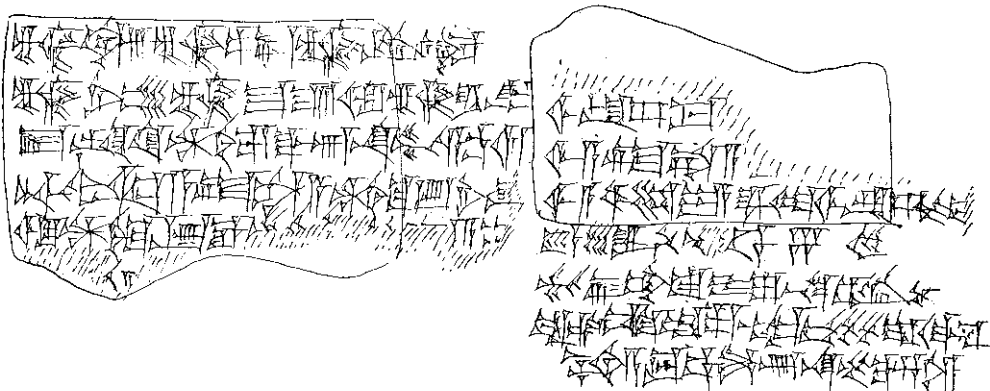


66

OBV

CBS 15121

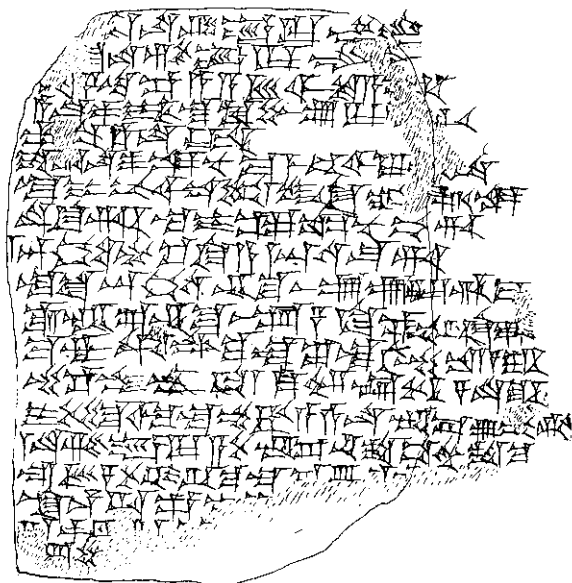
REV



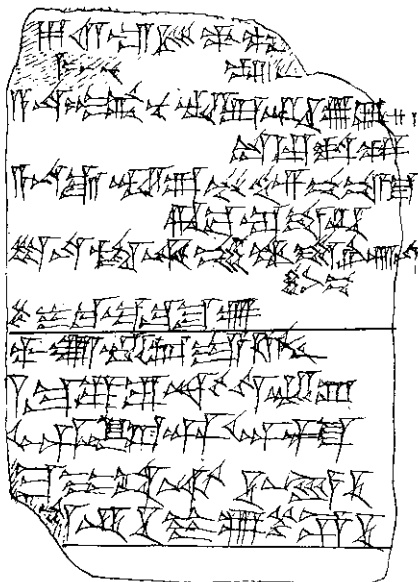
69

CBS 11014

OBV



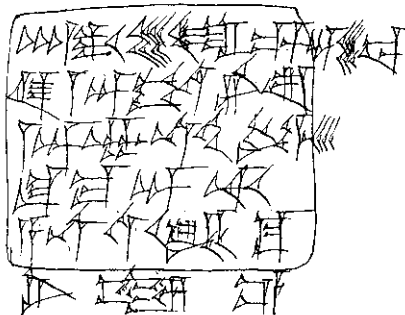
REV



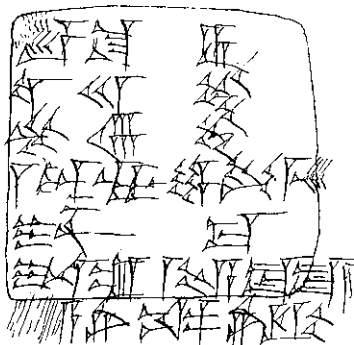
70

CBS 13880

OBV



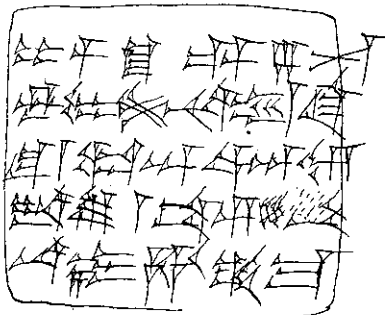
REV



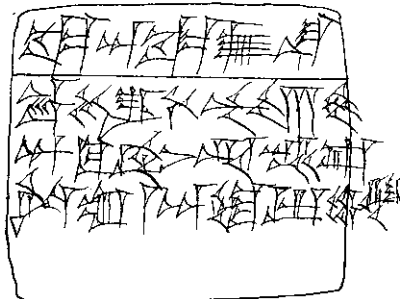
71

CBS 7188

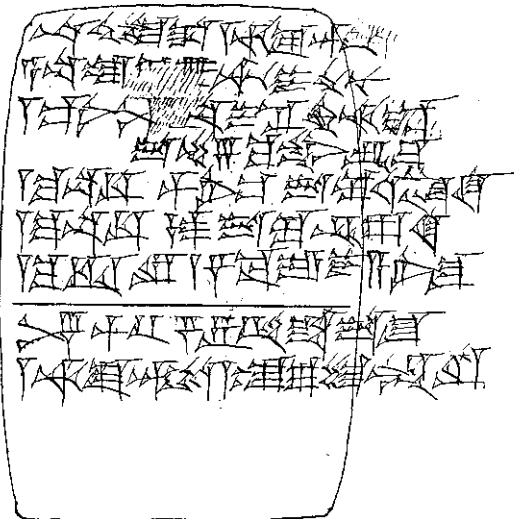
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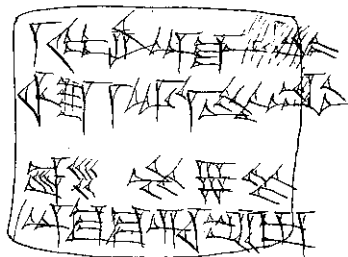
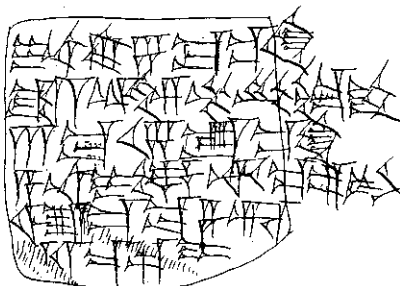
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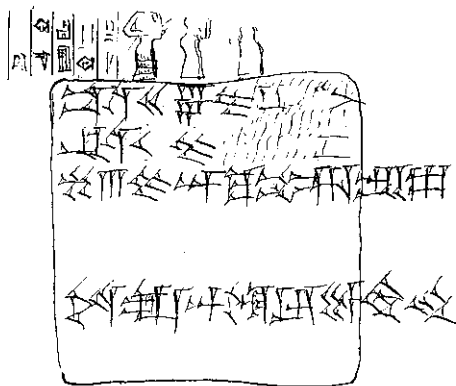
72
CBS 14203



73
CBS 13878



74
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75
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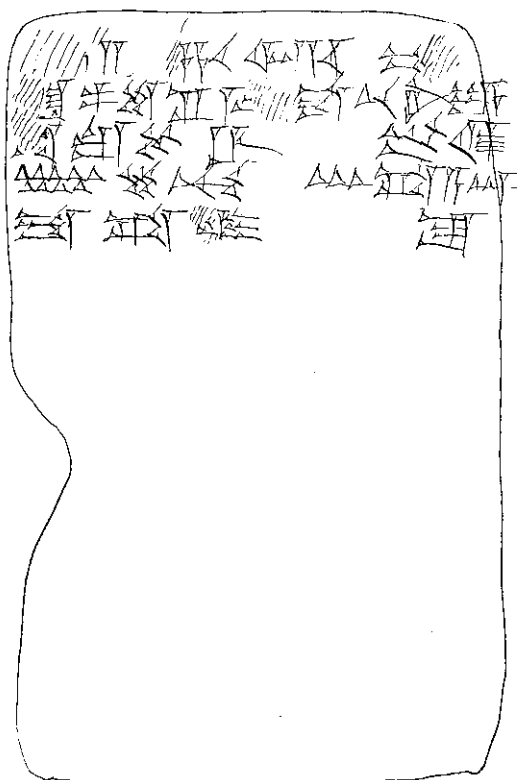
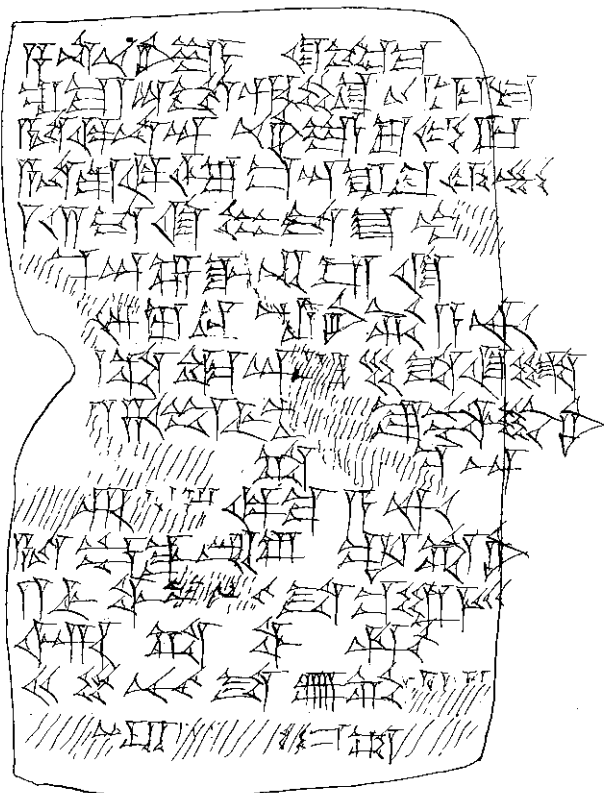


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CBS 15220

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REV

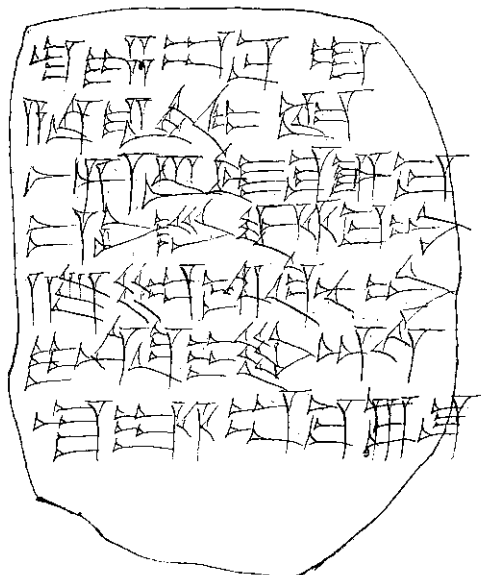
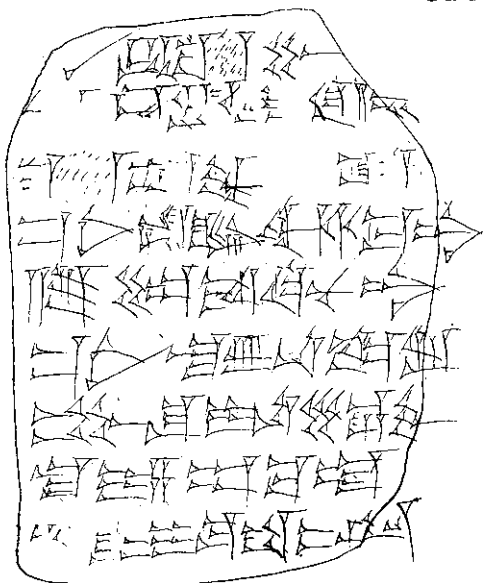


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CBS 15151

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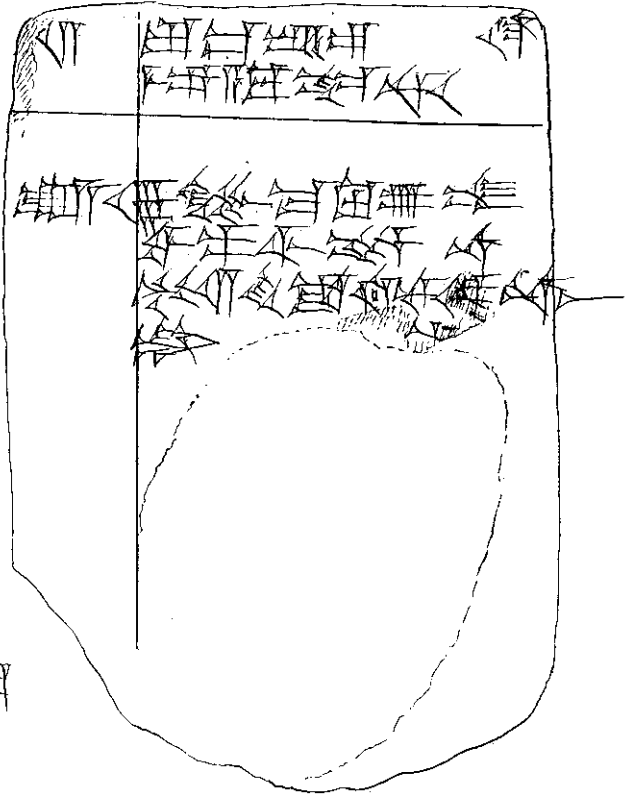
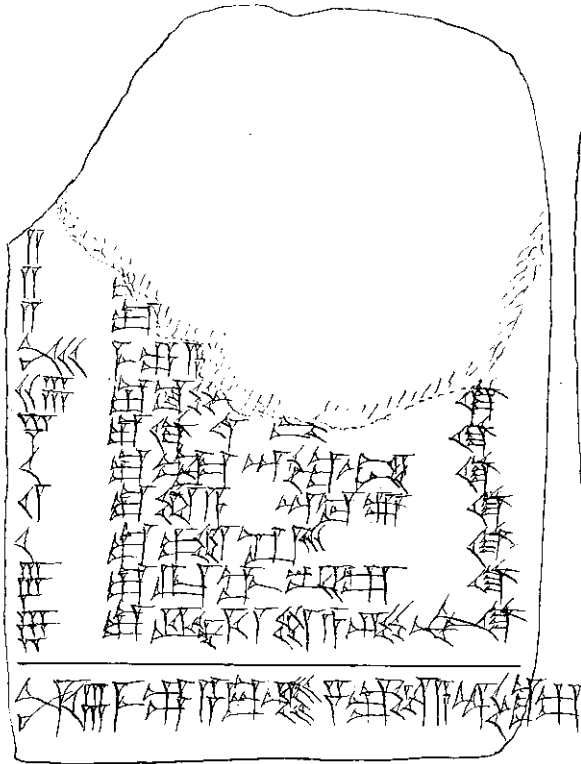


78

CB5 14135

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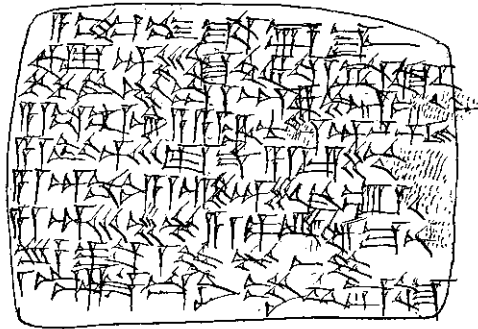
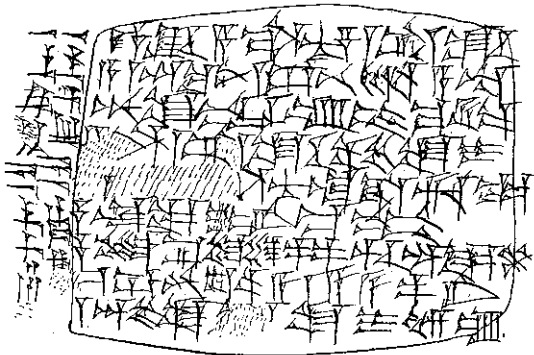


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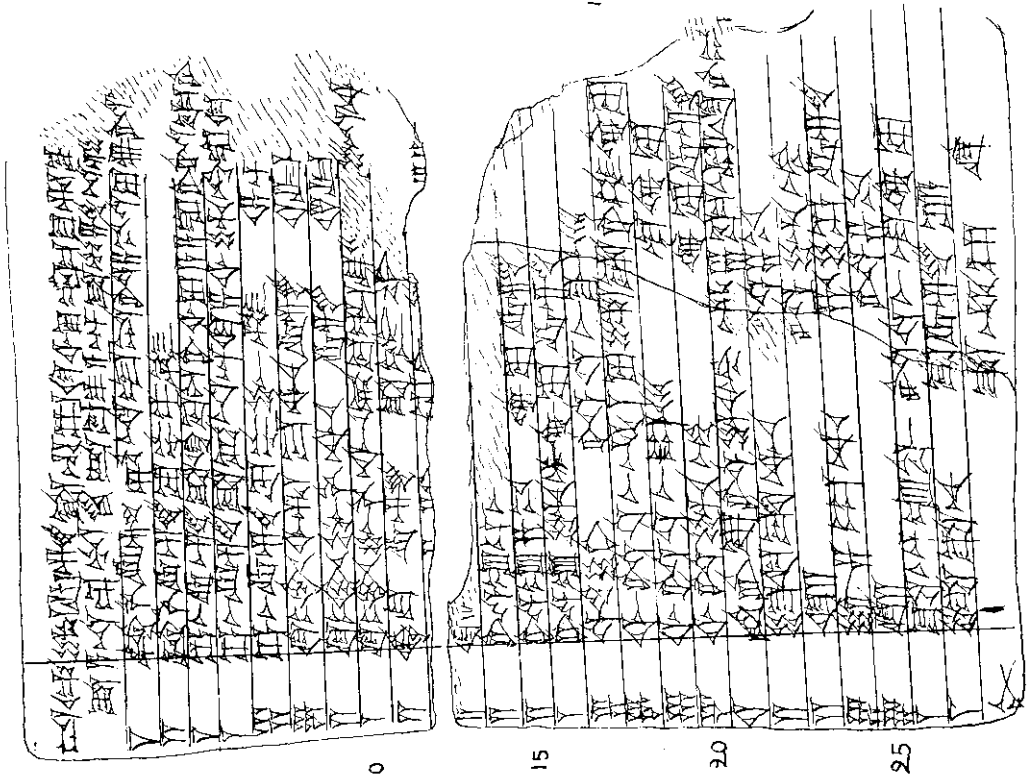
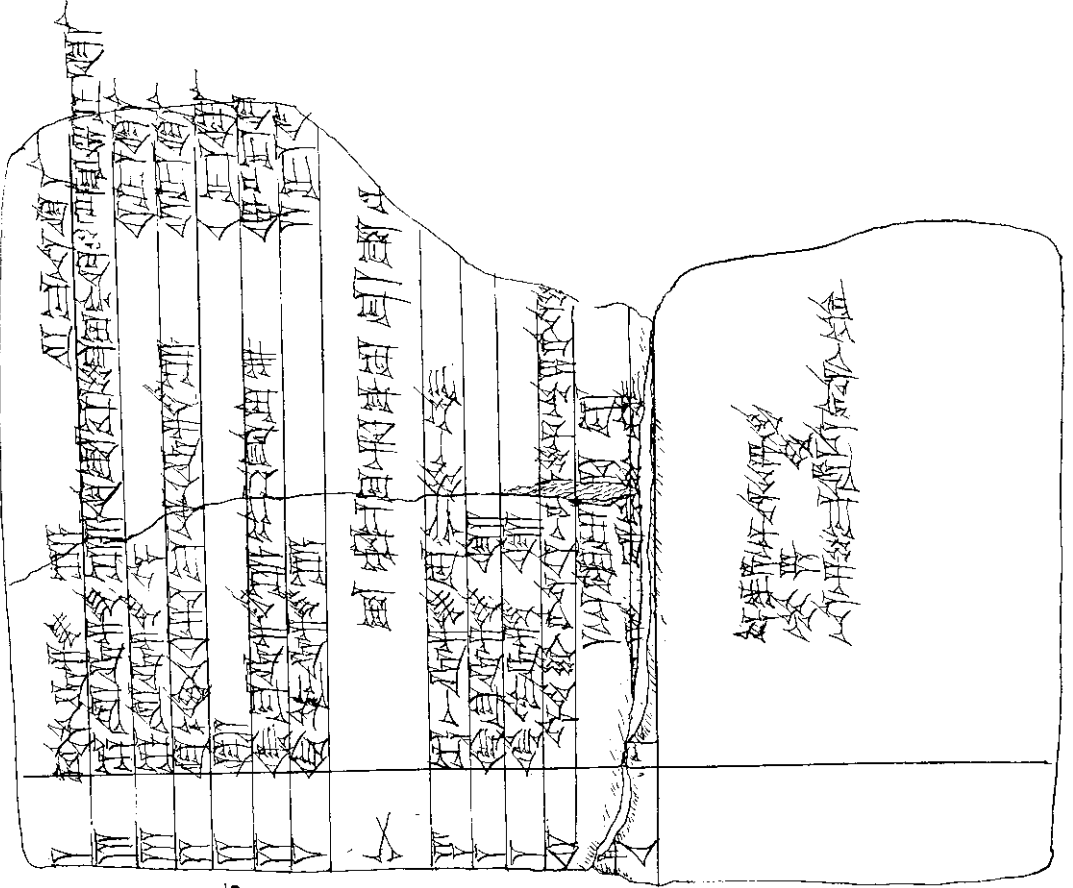


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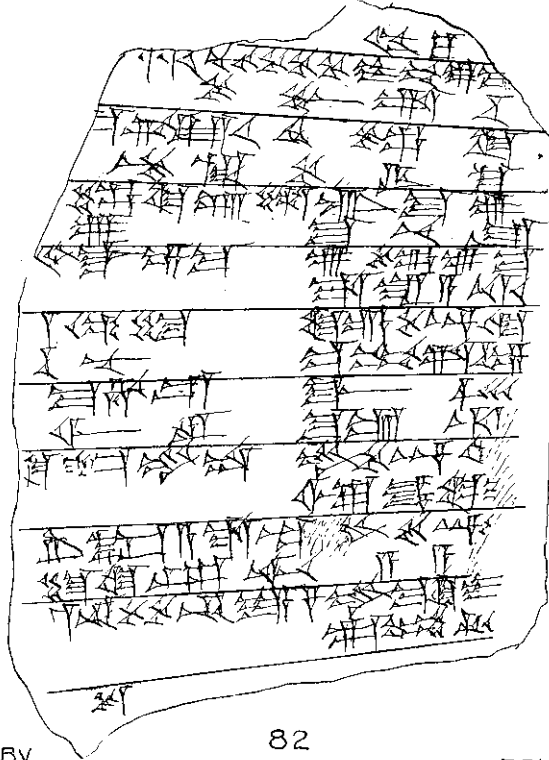
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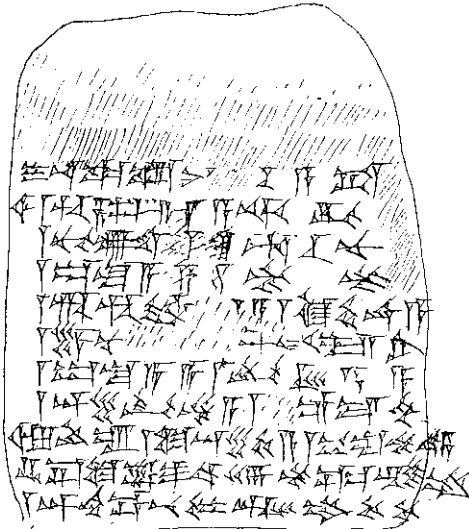
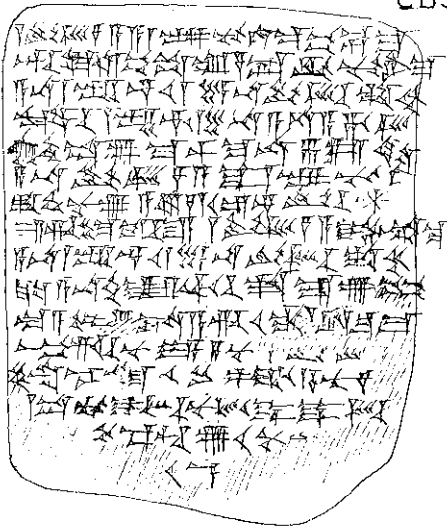
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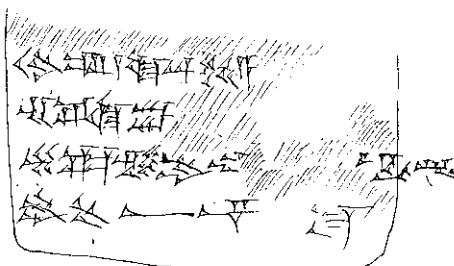
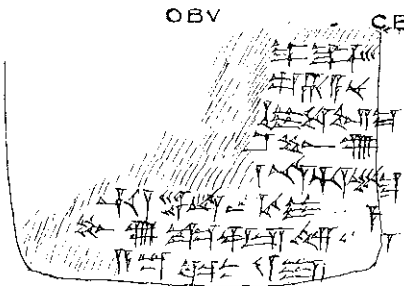
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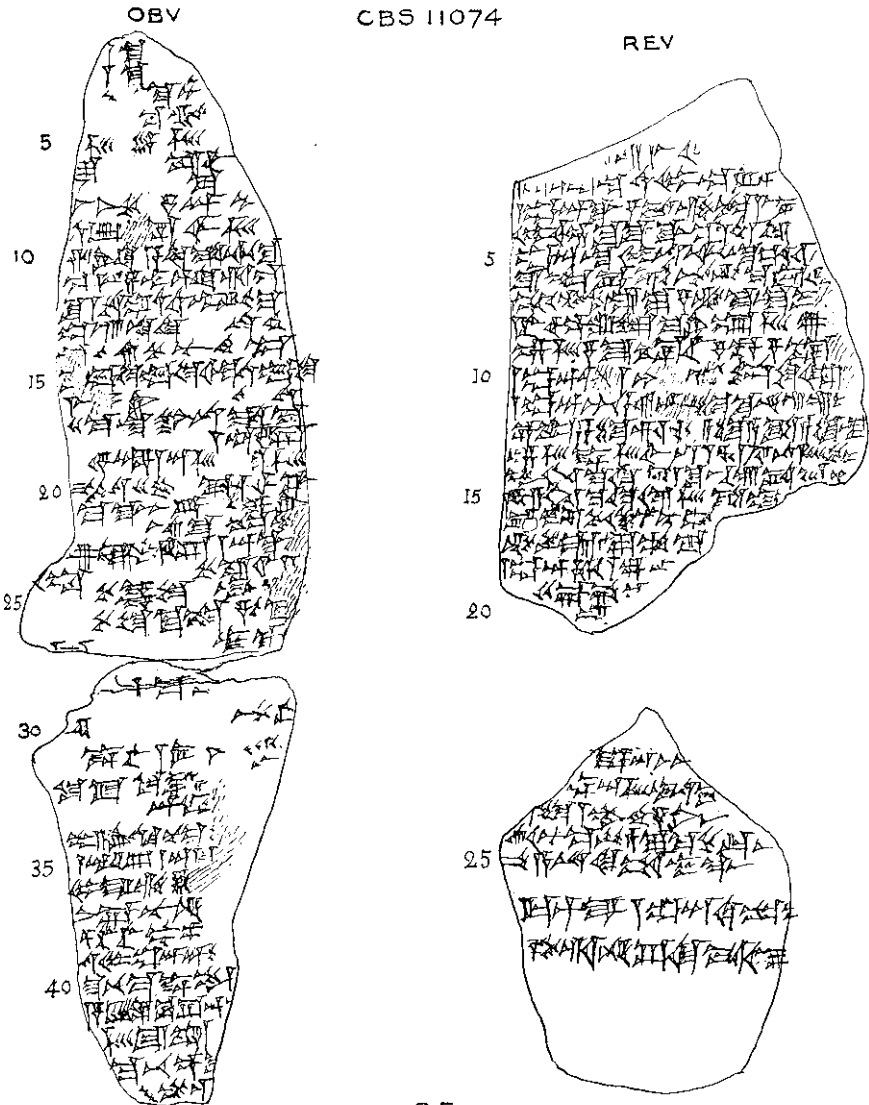
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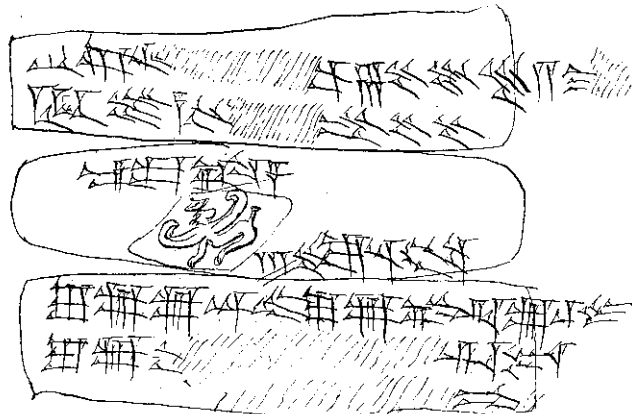
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CBS 14204

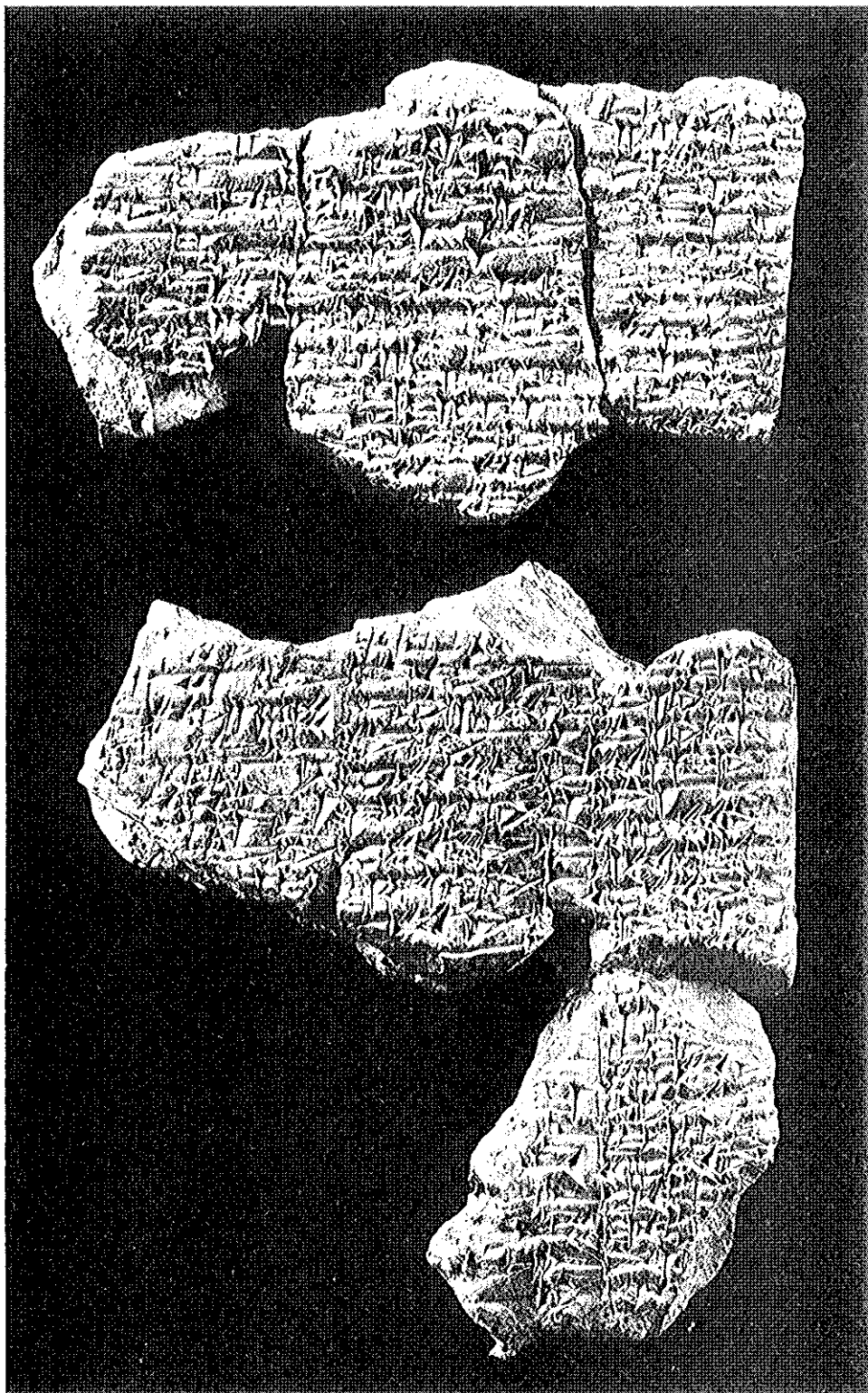




A SEAL GIVEN BY KING IBI-SIN TO THE
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ENLARGED 6 TIMES.

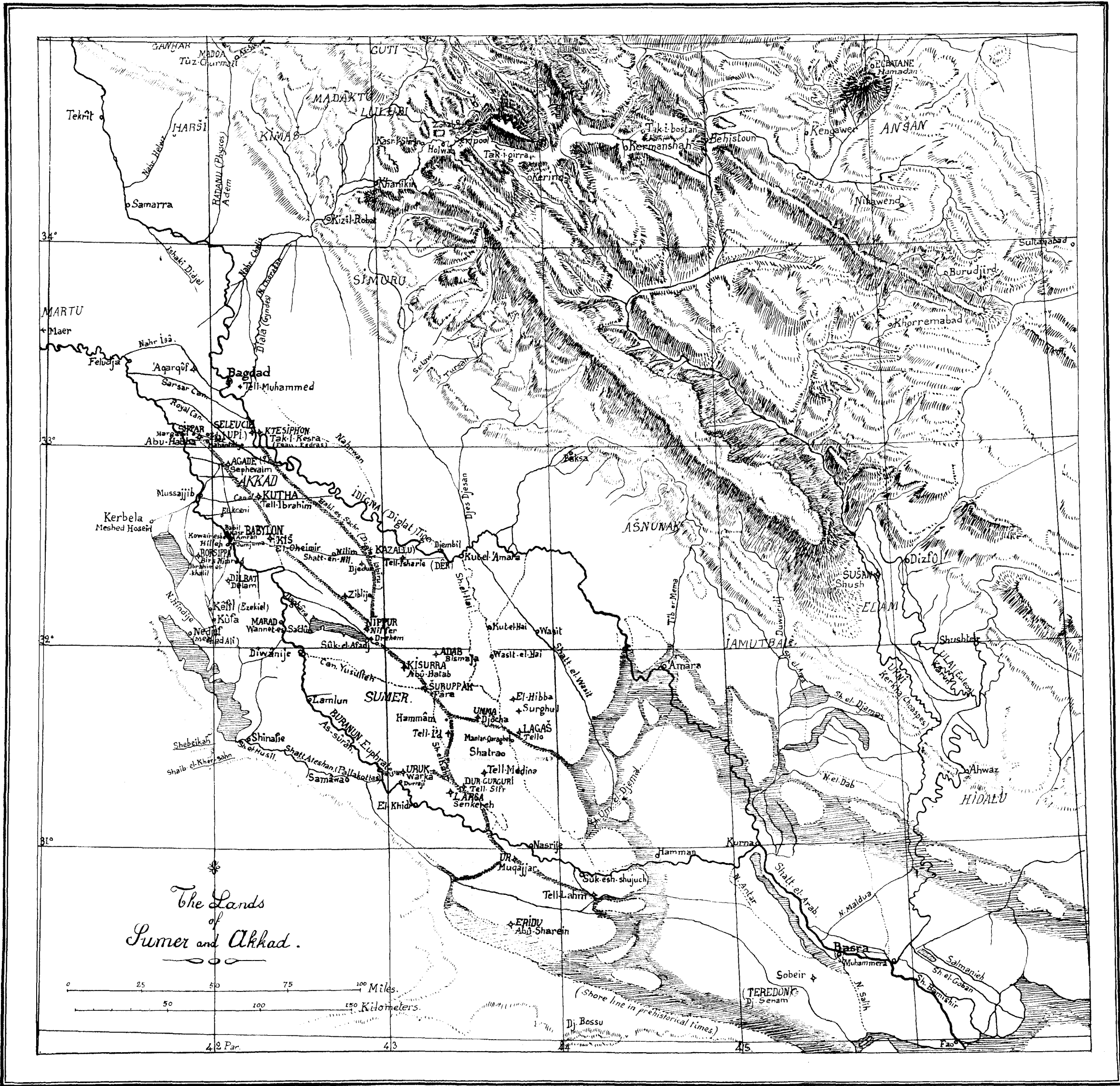
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