HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

BY

LEON LEGRAIN

PHILADELPHIA
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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 A summary classification of unpublished tablets in the Museum collections has led to the discovery of fragments of historical import.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 (Hamazi, 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 Suruppak, 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 time\(^1\) 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?\(^2\)

\(^1\) See proper names in Drehem tablets. \(^2\)
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. 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: \textit{bal}.

Later on we find that \textit{palù} is a fixed period, the length of a reign, used also for one (solar) year of the reign. But the length of a \textit{palù} is a secondary idea. The first meaning is: a fixed period of time. In Sumerian times the \textit{palù} was a lunar month. Archeology can help us a little farther on. The sign \textit{bal}, \textit{palù}, is the picture and has the meaning of a weapon, a long lance driven into the ground. 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

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[1]{Cf. \textit{Le temps des rois d'Ur}, p. 14-15: six extra months in 16 years. Space of time: \textit{bal}, \textit{ibid.}, p. 7-9.}
\footnotetext[2]{Cf. \textit{bal-gub-ba} in lists of accounts.}
\footnotetext[3]{Cf. the \textit{palus} of the Latins.}
\end{footnotes}
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 Sippar— 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 Sippar
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 (rār Diglat ¹ En-lil ²i),
the Tiger of Nippur. King Rim-Sin digs down to the sea, the
Tiger, the river of the gods, meaning probably the great sanctu-
aries. 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, any-
how, that in Sumerian time the larger connection and the main
stream were derived from the Tiger, without excluding con-
nection 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. Urtigallu.
² Their word for year: ina-an-na “the celestial name” is the picture of an arrow, sharp point
down.
³ BE. IX, X.
⁴ BE. XVII.
⁶ Cyl. A. 1, 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 ziggurat 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.

May, 1921

L. L.
### Nippur Chronology

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<tr>
<th>Kings</th>
<th>Kiš I</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Te[ ]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ba-la-gi-na-šu-šum</td>
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<td>Na-an-giš-li-šu-ša</td>
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<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>4 Kiš</td>
<td>51 (?)</td>
<td>18000...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Uruk</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2610...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ur</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Awan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ḥamazi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ádab</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mari</td>
<td>[23]</td>
<td>[30]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Upi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>99 (125 ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Agade</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Guti</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>124 (125 ?)</td>
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<td>1 Isin</td>
<td>11</td>
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<th>22876...</th>
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<td>Te Enlil-bani</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>22876...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Baniqikku</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>32243...</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Šuruppak**

- Dada
- Haladda
- Urinnipa
- Kaniżi
- Maš-Šuruppak
- Urinn-kurra.

*NB. Outside the main list, kings (k.), patres (p.), have been placed only approximately or not at all. — Years BC are reconstructed on a theoretical estimate of Kiš II: 219 (UNy), Kiš III: 70, Uruk II: 110, Mari: 59, Kiš IV: 168, Guti: 124, Uruk V: 50.*
<table>
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<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Modern Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>KIŠ</td>
<td>Kiš (El. Kish)</td>
<td>(El. Okehiria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URUK</td>
<td>Ur (El. Warka)</td>
<td>(Warka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UR</td>
<td>Ur (El. Mugheir)</td>
<td>(Muqaijar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWAN</td>
<td>Apian (El. Bismaja)</td>
<td>(Bismaja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAER</td>
<td>Mari (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPI</td>
<td>Ubu (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKKADU</td>
<td>Agade (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUTIUM</td>
<td>Isin (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERIDU</td>
<td>Erida (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LARSA</td>
<td>Arak (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIPPUR</td>
<td>Nibrum (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NINGIRI</td>
<td>Niu (El. Isin)</td>
<td>(Isin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALLAB</td>
<td>Zababu (El. Yamad-e Sardun)</td>
<td>(Yamad-e Sardun)</td>
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<tr>
<td>KUTHA</td>
<td>Kuthum (Tell Ibrahim)</td>
<td>(Tell Ibrahim)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIPPAR</td>
<td>Zimbir (El. Abu Baba)</td>
<td>(Abu Baba)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BABILU</td>
<td>Kadmihu (El. Bablu)</td>
<td>(Bablu)</td>
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<td>DILBAT</td>
<td>Maradhu (El. Dilmun)</td>
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<td>ELAMTU</td>
<td>Ninhu (El. Nín)</td>
<td>(Nín)</td>
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<td>ŠUŠAN</td>
<td>Susa (El. Susa)</td>
<td>(Susa)</td>
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<td>DUPLIAŠ</td>
<td>As-nunna (El. Eš-nunna)</td>
<td>(Eš-nunna)</td>
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<td>DER</td>
<td>Bád-dingir (El. Bad-ma-da)</td>
<td>(Bad-ma-da)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DUR-MATI</td>
<td>Bád-urudu-nagar (Tell Jez)</td>
<td>(Tell Jez)</td>
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<td>DUR-GURGI</td>
<td>Bád-urudu-nagar (Tell Jez)</td>
<td>(Tell Jez)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIT-KARKAR</td>
<td>Irn (El. Kur)</td>
<td>(Kur)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BARSIPPA</td>
<td>Barsip (El. Kur)</td>
<td>(Kur)</td>
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**Cities of Sumer and Akkad.**

- *Zamāna*: Eme-ur-sag
- *Arum*: Nana, Ninna, Innina, Eanna
- *Enzu*: Nannar, Sin, Nin-gal, Ekiš singal, E-sennigul, E-karzida
- *Nin-sun*: E-mah
- *Ištart*: Eul-šar
- *Ištart*: E-zikalamama
- *Šar-mardada*: E-niššāri, E-sargal, E-las, E-meslam
- *Šama*: Aa, Amun, Ebabbar
- *Marduk*: Šarpaniu, Amal, Amun, Ešgal
- *Uraš*: E-ide-animu-kalamma
- *Šušinak*: Ninšum, E-zangasā, Tišpak
- *Kadi*: Nuni (El. Muš-dā)
- *Immer*: E-ranman, E-udgalgal, Nabu, Tašmetu, Tutu, Ezida
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 Gutium and the Kings of Kish.

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 royal cities were uncertain. We knew at the best that from the flood to Enlil-bani of Isin 134 kings, or 139 to Damiqilisu 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. Pöebel attributes 125 years to the Gutí dynasty, where we have only 124. The total number of the kings of Kiš is read 51 by Pöebel 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 Sargani-Sarri in Pöebel 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. 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. Its text corresponds to portions of Cols. 1, 2 and 7, 8 (Dynasty of Akkad).

3. CBS. 13293. Nippur fragment. 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. The obverse has been identified by A. Poebel 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. Fr. Hommel claims to have been the first to identify the fragment.

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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 Sarganišarrī. 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, Šamazi, Adad, Mari, complete the number of the 11 royal cities, which should read as follows:

¹ It has been omitted by Poeschel, and simply mentioned as possible 24th to 29th dynasties. PBS. Vol. IV, 1, p. 95.
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.
Ḫamazi 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.
(16 kings, 225½ years).

11 cities, down to Enlil bani of Išin: 134 kings, 28876 years
(or down to Damiq ilišu of Išin: 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, Guti, Ur, Isin. The new Kiš dynasty may be the second. Such kings of Kiš as Mesilim, Urzage, Lugaltarsi, Alzu(?) may belong to its 4 (or 6) kings. They were contemporaneous with King Urnina of Lagaš. The 3rd dynasty of Kiš is still conjectural. It must perhaps be placed before Mari and Upi. King Eannadu of Lagaš was also king of Kiš.

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 HA. The city is mentioned on a fragment of stone vase, a 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-Nannar the powerful high minister boasted, among many titles, to be patesi of Ḥamasi and Ganḫar. 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, 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-maḫ. The city of Adab (Bismaja) had a temple E-maḫ. A patesi of

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1 A. Poebel, PBS. Vol. IV, p. 129.
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, Trouvaillie, No. 69.
4 A. Poebel, BE. VI, 2, No. 130; p. 123, and pl. 57.
Adab, Lù dUtu son of Ur, 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-sis 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 lecture 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.

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1 D. W. Myhrman, BE. Vol. III, No. 13: seal. Another patesi of Adab, Ḥabaluš, (AO. 5485, 5494; Genouillac, Trouvaille, No. 23, 71), lived probably at the same time. The: en-en Adab 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 Ṿuš, or Širu?
The dynasty of Agade reads as follows:

- Sargon reigned ........................................... 55 years
- Rimuš son of Sargon reigned .................... 15 years
- Maništēšu son of Rimuš reigned ............... 7 years
- Naram-Sin son of Maništēšu 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, 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-dū) 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 Maništēšu. 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 inscription on the door socket of the temple of Nippur, was the son not of Naram-

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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-En-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheil's Tablet</th>
<th>CBS. 13994</th>
<th>CBS. 14220</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-ba-am[ ]</td>
<td>Ma-nu-um šarru</td>
<td>Ma-nu-um [šarru]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Ma-nu-um la šarru</td>
<td>Ma-nu-um [la šarru]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-gi-gi [ ]</td>
<td>l-gi-gi šarru</td>
<td>Ir-di [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-mi-ilu</td>
<td>I-mi šarru</td>
<td>Na-nu [um ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na-nu-um šarru</td>
<td>Na-ni-[ ] šarru</td>
<td>I-[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-lu-lu šarru</td>
<td>E-lu-lu šarru</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bi 3 mu in-ag</td>
<td>4 bi 3 mu in-ag</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Igigi 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 (uqrim, 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 Larlagarum 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, Šarlak, Lasirab, Enrida-pizir, Sium, Arlagan. 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 1

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

No. 1. CBS. 14220

Column III

[30 mu ni-ag].
[E-lu]-lu
[25]-mu ni-ag.
[Ba-lu]-lu
[36] mu ni-ag.
[4] lugal
[mu-bi 120+]51 ib-ag.
[Uri²] giš tukul ba-sig

reigned 30 years.
Elulu
reigned 25 years.
Balulu
reigned 36 years.
4 kings
Ur was defeated by arms

Column IV

[ ... mu] ni-ag.
4 (?) lugal
mu-bi 3600+192 ib-ag
Kiš² giš tukul ba-sig
nam-lugal-bi
Ha-ma-t报告显示 shu ba-tūm
Ha-[ma]-t报告显示 a
[ ... ]-ni-iš
[lugal] âm
[ ... mu] ni-ag

reigned [ ... ] years.
4 (?) kings
reigned 3792 years.
Kiš was defeated by arms.
The kingdom
passed to Hamazi
In Hamazi
[ ... ]niš
being king
reigned [ ... ] years

Column V

Adab² shu ba-tūm
Adab² a
Lugal-anni mu-un-du
lugal âm
90 mu ni-ag
1 lugal
mu-bi 90 ib [ag]
Adab² giš tukul ba-sig
nam-lugal-bi
Ma-rí² shu ba-tūm

passed to Adab.
In Adab.
Lugal anni mundu.
being king
reigned 90 years.
1 king
reigned 90 years.
Adab was defeated by arms.
The kingdom
passed to Mari.
In Mari.
Ansir being king
reigned 30 years.
[...]-gi son of [...]

Column VI

reigned 99 years.
Upi was defeated by arms
The kingdom
passed to Kiš.
In Kiš
Baša-Enzu
son of Azag-Bau
being king
reigned 25 years
Ur-zamama
son of Baša-Enzu
reigned 20 [+] years

Column VII

libator, devotee of Zamama,
king of Akkad,
who founded
Akkad,
being king,
reigned 55 years.
Rimuš son of Sargon
reigned 15 years.
Maništešu
[son of Ri]-muš
[reigned] 7 [years]
Naram-[Sin]
son of Maništešu
reigned 56 years
Šargani-šarrī
son of Naram-Sin
reigned 25 years
Manum [- šarrum]
Manum la [šarrum]
Irdi [ ]
Na-nu [um ]
l-

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The people of Gutium
had no king
Imbia ruled 5 years.
Ingišu
ruled 7 years.
Warlagaba
ruled 6 years
laragarum
ruled 3 [ . . . ] years.
ruled ... years
ruled ... years
ruled ... years
ruled ... years.
ruled ... years.
ruled ... years.
ruled ... years.
ruled ... years.
rul...
The people of Gutium was defeated by arms. The kingdom passed to... [umlaut]

Column X

[son of Gimililišu
reigned [21 years]
[son of Idin-Idagan

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 spreding 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 gurrū, paid on Nippur standard silver weight and shipped by special má-gūr boats. Great troops of Martu people had gathered in the land. Perhaps barley was stored as rations for them.

No. 3. CBS. 14224

Obverse

åš Báša 4 nu-muš-da
pa-le-si Ka-qal-liki
å-na-a-du(g)
4 Ibi 5 lī Sin lugal-ču
Na-ab-bi-a

Unto Baša-Numušda
patesi of Kazallu
thus speaks
Ibi-Sin thy king:
Nabbia
with his auxiliary troops which he brings along, for the patesiate of Kazallu
myself as support... thy heavy troops
......
All together ... my men,
shall be there.

As for Išbi-irra,
against me, he has raised his face,
and I am to submit.
Well, I will make a stand.
So long Išbi-irra,
is... back into the mounts, so long no...
Thyself and Lugal... sir patesi of Girsu
all together being....
unto that day not coming back.

No. 6. CBS. 14230

Obverse

[ Súmer húl mu[- ] ] ....... has returned evil unto Sumer...
[ |ta-ê-ne nam-sib-kalam[- ] ] ....... issuing from ... for the pastorate of the land.....
"En-lil-[i] galu-im-šam-šam
nu[ ]
10-[bi-ir-ra] numum Sumer-ra nu-me-a
nam-lugal mu-na-an-sum.
[ ]-na dingir-ri-e-ne Sumer-ge he-ba-ab-dû(g)
a-a d En-lil dû(g)-ga dû(g)-[ga-ni]
he-bi-da-aš
en-na šes [ ] mu-un-ri-a
Iš-bi-ir-ra [ ] sir-ri Išbi-irra………., has removed
Sumer [ ]-ka Sumer……
ù-ba-gar [ ] en ge-en be placed ………., you are,
ka [ ] ni-bal-e-š-e order ………., they transgressed,
galu tab-ba(?) dim uru[ ]-gi-na-la Like the companion, the city ……… from……
ù qa-e Arad-gi-na [ ] Iš-bi-ir-ra and thyself Aradgina……… Išbi-irra.
1-ne-šu inim-du(g)-ga gi-ši-dé Now, to repel a graceful command,
[ ]-dû-dû-û-šu he-ni-ši-li-ba-mu ……… thou hadst manifested, that it should be brought
[ ] ba he-ag-e-ne ………, they may have done.

Reverse
[ ]-an-na(?)-šub ugu-mu-šu ……… overthrow, against me,
nam-ma-ši-du-un [……(?)] may he(?) not proceed.
galu Ma-riki ge sukhal ur-ri nam-en-na d Ulu age the man of Maer, the hostile delegate,
executing the function of priest of Šamaš
1-ne-šu Mar-tu kur-bi-ta "En-lil now, from the mounts of Martu En-lil
d-dû-ba-mu al-gi has sent as my help,
Nimki ziq mu-un-tag-gi û 11-bi-ir-ra I shall strike Elam in front, and beat
mu-un-sig-ga Išbi-irra
kalama ki-bi gi-ši-dé nam-kalag-ga In order to restore the land to its place,
kur-kur-ra he-šu-šu may the strength of the countries increase
a-ma-ru-kam qa-e nam-ba-e-šu(r)-e-ne As for thee, may you not enter
en-šé-en. the storm.
No. 9. CBS. 2272

As’ “I-bi Sin [ ]
åš 1š-bi-ir-ra [ ]
kaskal 1-si-in ki na [ ]
še šam-šam-ne (?) im ... [ ]
ki-lam Nibir ki ta-ām še di-di

20 gù kù-babbar .... ri-ne ba-gar
Kas mar-tu galu kür-ra ša(g) ma-da
uru ti(r)-ra gur-ni tuk-ām

dun-mu diš-a-bi I-si-in ki na[ ]
ba-an-tu-ur[ ] a-da-al-la-bi Mar-lu...in...[ ]
ša(g) kalam-ma-šu ba-an...[ ]
ukkin-gal-gal aš-aš-bi im-ši[ ]
mu mar-tu še-ba sig-gi mu-mu [ ]

ugu-mu mu-ta-ni-šb-[ ]
Lugal-zi 70 gur má-gūr a(?)...[ ]

má-gūr [ ]

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 (ē-arā), and the flour portioned out as food for various classes of workmen (ša-gal erin). There were many qualities of flour. The best (šid kal) lost half of the weight of the original grain,\(^1\) or two measures of grain gave only one measure of šid-kal. Less refined qualities of flour were called šid-gu, šid-guš-sig, šid-gu-nš. The name of the common flour not sifted at all, is šid-še.

\(^1\) G. Reisner, Telloh, No. 102: VA\(\)Th. 2268.
All proper names seem to be of Semitic derivation.

Obverse

180 qa ẓid-še Maš-gur-ilu-iddin; Itti
60 qa Šar-apal
55 qa Nannar-ašarid
30 qa Erišb iSin
10 qa Nannar-iddin
10 qa Gimil iStar(?)-te-ra-ag
10 qa ẓid gu Eri-ib iSin
10 qa gu iStar-immi
10 qa gu iStar-te-ra-ag
10 qa gu iStar-ummi

180 qa of še flour to Masgur-iluiddin
60 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
55 qa to Nannar-ašarid,
30 qa of gu flour to Erišb iSin,
10 qa of gu flour to Nannar-iddin
10 qa of gu flour to Gimil iStar-terag
10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of še flour to
iStar-ummi,

Reverse

iStar-te-ra-ag
10 q. ẓid gu 10 q. ẓid Nannar ašarid
10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of flour to
Nannar ašarid,

15 qa ẓid gu A-bi-ia-tûm
20 qa ẓid gu Šar-apal
20 qa ẓid gu Šar-apal
20 qa ẓid gu Pu-maš-Lâ
itu sig-a-ka 27 kam
mu I-le-Iša lugal

15 qa of gu flour to Abijatum,
20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 qa of gu flour to Pu-maš-Lâ
month of Simanu, the 27th,
year when Iterpiša was king.

No. 5. CBS. 12570

Frontispiece

A Seal Given by Ibi-Sin to the High-Priest of Enlil.

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...
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-uzu. 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
& I-bi \text{ Sting} \\
& lugal kal-ga \\
& lugal uruk: ma \\
& lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba ge \\
& Sag \text{ Nannar-uzu} \\
& sangu \text{ En-lil-là} \\
& arad-da-ni-ir \\
& in-na-ba.
\end{align*}
\]

The cuneiform inscription on the clay reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ur } & \text{Sul-pa-à damgar son of Erin-da-an.}
\end{align*}
\]

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-\(\text{u}\) “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-Sulpa\(\text{e}\), 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-Sulpa\(\text{e}\) 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.
\(^2\) Fingar \(^4\) Gimil \(^4\) Sin 56, 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.

\[ \text{Diagram of prayer sign} \]

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 worshiping. 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 (\textit{ad-gi-gi}): Lugal-sisá, his high advocate, who takes in hand (\textit{šu-dū}), as one would take stylus and tablet, the "prayers" (\textit{nam} ——, REC. 316) of Lagaš, and intercedes³ for the life of Gudea. Next, the seven priestesses (\textit{sal-me}), daughters of Bau, attached to the same shrine of Ningirsu, are charged with a special service of vocal prayers (\textit{gū-de}) and graceful intercession (\textit{nam} ——, REC. 316, ṣā(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 (\textit{en nam} ——, REC. 316) of dDungi.

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

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¹ Cf. SAK. p. 154, note g, where the meaning of "prayer" is established. \textit{Nam} ——, is often synonym of \textit{a-ra-ru}.
² V, 8.
³ \textit{Ka-ša-gal}: 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 landmark in the field of Babylonian art and history. From the earliest down to the last Chaldaean 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 Cagnin, p. 16-17, p. 26-27.
so long as they were not identified with Adad, Ramman, Ninib\(^1\) 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-Amurrú race? They were most probably Sumerian. Isbi-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 Sylab.*, No. 388 (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 Suzianna; 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. Suzi-anna: “the brilliant one” or the “living one” of heaven, is certainly the companion (dam-banda) of Enlil, 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 zig-gurat 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. 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 censors, and was holding the tablet of destiny.

1 Dam banda 4Enlil-li ge, um-uda 6Sis-na-ge, 111 R. 67, 25 a; 68, 12–13 c.
3 Cyl. A of Gudea.
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 ë [Nin-dar]-a

12 temples of Nindar.

Obverse II

[ ] sag-ug1 hu [ ]

sag-ê-ib kur-gal e [ ]

en d Nin-urta2 gà-gà [ ]

šubâ-e ne-in-gub bår za-gin4 [ne-in-gar] splendor arising in the temple, shrine established as a jewel.

15 ë [Nin-urta] Nibru5

e-šu-un-da dub-sag d . . . [ ]

. . . . id 4 d edin ki-ašt (? ) ki-šam (?) . .

[ ] temen-šu dû-gal-nun (?)-na . . . . thy foundation, great princely construction,

[ ] . . . . gâ šú-gî . . . .

. . . . old depot . . . .

Reverse I

dû-sag-aš [ ]

tûr ša(g) . . [ ]

dumu-nun kur-gal-la gu-me-ir-me-ri3

dšu-zi-an-na dam ban-da [ ]

Dusagaš, splendor arising in the temple, the shrine established as a jewel.

2 Yale Syll, No. 288 (YOS. I).
3 Zimu, nā-luba : abam nisigti.
4 hulatu, Br. 11804.
5 hunubu, V R. 19, 8 a.
LEON LEGRAN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

10 lal 1 é "Šu-zi-an-na-ge 9 temples of Suzianna.
Kēški en sig-alamī 3] Keš lord of figures...
muš ša(g)-tur3 gal-dim im-ri4 ] Serpent great builder of embryos,
] moist clay.
é "Nin-ḫar-sag-ka ki-sur-ra 3] temple of Nin-ḫarsag, inclosure ....
Kēški Aratta4 ša(g)-zu ša(g)-sig ] Keš, Aratta, increasing, decreasing,
] raising6
] the yard like a vase ...
tur5 šab-il [ ] great lion of Edin, overgrown abun-
gal-gal Edin-na he-gal da-dūl8 ] dance ...
ḫar-sag-gal ka+x7+ka+x-ka [ ] great mount, from the ..... 
ša(g) 4mes(?) šu(?)-an-[ ] inside Marduk (?)...}

Revers 11
é-sag-ni-ri(?)-zu d-dam-ma8 muluš sar thy chief... temple, troops of animals
] .........
gā-nun temen 4Dun-ji mi-ni-ib-gal great store foundation of Dungi, great
] ... of the great store,
gā-nun-na ] ....... perfect, exalted (hero), south
] wind, ruining the great land,
] steady is thy divine command fixing
gi-ni dū(g)-an-źu nam-lar-ri-ne destinies.
] temple mount of the divine Dungi
é-ḫar-sag 4Dun-ji-an-na-ge splendor arising in the temple, shrine
šub-ē ne-in-gub bār za-gin ne-in-gar established as a jewel.
] 14 additions to the temple mount of
14 dab-šu é-ḫar-sag 4Dun-ji urīkīma Dungi in Ur.
uru-ki ... ab-la še-dim má-ra city... out of which, like grain poured
] in boat
dugud ša(g)-la me šu-ti heavy ..... out of which commands
] are received

1 Brunna, nabnītu, Br. 7020, 7021: production of statues or of living beings.
2 Perhaps: si-šu : mušširat nabnītu.
3 Šassurru, šaturnu, Br. 8010, 8011: foetus.
4 Im-ri-a : riušunu.
5 Naša : filling.
6 Ḫaršum, V R. 18 c-d 9-18: ša alpi, ša imēri, ša šabā, ša anēli, ša gani.
7 Ka+šē (tukur) or ka+šar or ka+tu?
8 Namāšu bulu, V R. 30, 24 g.
9 Tiqqaru, Br. 1056, or torrent : naballu, Br. 1057.
Rev., Col. 1, was a list of the temples, or names of temples of Nin-ḥarsag or Nin-tud, the mother of the people, the goddess of all fecundity who moulded and created the living creature (bunnānu nabinu), as a sculptor would mould and shape a statue (alam). She was called the great lady (Nin-maḫ), and her temple in Keš, was called after her the great temple (ē-maḫ). From Eannatum¹ down to Hammurabi,⁵ her temple was famous. Her shrine⁶ name (dū-sag-ba) resembles very closely the name of Nippur ziggurat (dū-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-maḫ), 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-ḥarsag 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.
³ ṣu-sar : karābu.
⁴ Stela of Vultures: IV, 12; XVIII, 5.
⁵ Code, III, 30-33.
⁶ Stela of Vultures, XVIII, 4.
⁷ Gud. St. A.
⁸ Galu-lukbar, SAK, p. 150.
⁹ Bāla-Sulûnab, Stela IV, 19.
¹⁰ SAK, p. 237, e).
Aratta. Gudea had a statue of himself carved and placed in the temple of Nin-ḫarsag. His offerings mentioned in the inscription\(^1\) consisted in a pure basin (\(dub-\text{-}pis\text{-}an\text{-}a\text{-}zag\text{-}ga\)) and a throne (\(gi\text{š} \ d\text{úr}\text{-}gar \ m\text{āh} \ nam\text{-}nin\text{-}ka\text{-}ni\)) 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 gods\(^5\) 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 Seru'a, the companion of Marduk, goddess of fecundity (\(b\text{ēlīt} \ n\text{āb\text{āt\text{-}}}t\text{ī}, \ m\text{ub\text{ā\text{\text{\text{-}}}l\text{\text{\text{\text{-}}}id\text{\text{\text{\text{-}}}at\text{\text{\text{\text{-}}}})\}}\))\(^6\), under the name of Zarpanitum.

No. 8. CBS. 14232

Fragment of legend or history, which seems to refer to the priest (\(\text{en}\)) 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 (\(t\text{ak\text{ā\text{\text{-}}}l\text{t}\text{\text{\text{-}}}tu, \ t\text{ak\text{ā\text{\text{-}}}l\text{\text{\text{-}}}t\text{um\text{-}}}tu, \ u\text{r\text{-}tum}\))? The text numbered 57 lines, was written on a two-columns tablet, and must have been copied several times:

**Orverse II**

\(\text{ḥar\text{-}sag \ gal\text{-}gal \ im\text{-}ma\text{-}dīb\text{-}a} \) the great mountain, which he reaches,
\(\text{sahar\text{-}ra \ ṣhu\text{-}mu\text{-}na\text{-}da\text{-}nīgī\text{-}nī} \) may be all surrounded with dust.
\(\text{kin\text{-}gī\text{-}a \ en \ Aralla^k} \) Kin-gia, the priest of Aratta,
\(\text{ù\text{-}na\text{-}a\text{-}dū\text{(g)} \ ù\text{-}ne\text{-}ne\text{-}daḥ} \) commanded (and) added,

---

2. W. J. Hinke, *Boundary Stone*, fig. 8\(^7\), 12\(^8\), 31\(^4\), 44\(^2\). A symbol of virginity according to Dr. J. B. Nies.
3. *Ibid.*, fig. 30\(^1\), 47\(^9\), 49\(^9\), 44\(^4\).
4. *Ibid.*, fig. 11\(^7\).
5. Uri-bau, St. III, 8.
uru-ni kaskal-mušen1-dún ē-bi-ka
na-an-na-ra-ab-ri(?)-en
mušen-dím ū-ki-si(g)-ga2 uš-sa-ta...[malba2-gál-la-dím nam-
uru gul-gul-la-dím [Aratta1[... [like the bird out of its nest...
as one become adversary...
as a ruined city...
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. 11 is preserved.

Obverse 11

un-ne [...
ī-lī-ik ĝi a-pi [...
a-šar si-bu-(?)+im ub-ba-tum [...
mer(?)-si-a3 i-ša-bat i-na pa-ni šar-ri-im
ū-sik-ma a-na me-sig-im5 ū-la-ba-ak6 ūša... mi-ma
ū a-wi-lum a-di la i-na-łu
u-sur i-ra-aš-ši mi-im-ma
ma-an-nu-um mi-nam a-na-li ša-nim
i-na-an-di-iṣ-šu
ša ša-di-i i-le-ni-tu-kū(?) im(?)-ma ni-iš
ša la i-šu-ú šar-ra-am ū šar-ra-lam
be-ru-šu ma-an-nu-um
šu-u-ma šu-u-ma mu-su(?)-ra...

he pressed and forced into a ring
......
and so long the man does not cease,
beware, he has everything,
nobody should give him any of those things again.
Now the mountains which happen to be desert(?)
which have no king or queen whatever among them,
this and the next portion(?)...

1 Legrain, Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 21, n. 3.
2 Gimmu, Br. 6077.
3 Mâhiru, Br. 9803.
4 Or dû-si-a?
5 Mesukku, metegea?
6 Labáku, read: dur=rahášu?
No. 12. CBS. 7095

Clay tag attached probably to a basket of official records or legal documents brought from Šuruppak (Fāra) 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 deeds\(^1\) of the same time and character. Gā-dub-ba, keeper of the tablet basket, is the proper name of the archivist, who was commonly a scribe.

\[
\begin{align*}
gā-dub & \quad \text{tablet basket} \\
im-sar & \quad \text{of clay records} \\
dar-bu-bu & \quad \text{which Darbubu} \\
lū ur-šā(g)-ga ge & \quad \text{the man of Uršagga} \\
šuruppak\(^4\) ta & \quad \text{has brought} \\
mu-gub (?) & \quad \text{from Šuruppak.}
\end{align*}
\]

The name of the messenger Darbubu, may be read Dar-sir-sir, just as the temple of the goddess Bau: Ėsil-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\(^4\)Ninš-k-[a-ta im-ma-gub (Di-ti-šu), MIO. Tello, No. 4191; Gā im-sar gā-ša, RTC. No. 304, f. 111, 11. Im-sar-ra-e, AO. 5477, r. 5 (RA. VII, p. 139, 140, n. 4.) CT. XVII, i. 1. 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:

\[ ^{11} \text{Gimil} ^{11} \text{Sin nu-ur ma-ti-iš-ču} \]
\[ \text{arad Gu-ča-na.} \]

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:

1½ ma-na kù-babbar
sîg-bí 20 gun
ki Ur 5-da-mu ta
\[ ^{11} \text{Gimil} ^{11} \text{Sin nu-ur ma-ti-iš} \]
šu-ba-li
igi Lu-šà(g)-ga lù-šu[-i]
igi Lugal \[ ^{4} \text{Nin-gir-su.} \]
itu maš-dù kù
mu \[ ^{11} \text{I-bi} ^{11} \text{Sin lugal} \]

1½ 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 Sargani-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.

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-daš En-lîl-lá ge The splendor of Enlil,

1 na-'ru, niklima, Br. 3650, 3651: Aspect showing at a long distance.
Kiš is like Kiš the heavenly bull towering above the dust of the dead;

the temple is like Uruk the great bull treading down the earth,

unto Sargon, king of Akkad

towards Elam, Enlil,

unto him,

unto Sargon, king of Akkad

unto him,

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unto him,

unto him,
At evening he clouds the eyes in darkness

... a ruin of the eyes, he causes...

... the bed, the resting place of virility and vigor is....

... the city, the winds all together are....

... their hands, his founding, in the battle....

... brought, in the battle, may the leader....

... of Enlil, may he...

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.

1

To Innina,

the great awe inspiring lady,

interpreter of the twin universe,

eldest daughter of Sin,

his lady,

Arad-Sin

the favorite prince of Nippur,

providing to the wants of Ur,

care taking of Girsu

---

1 Legrain, Le temps des rois d’Ur, p. 42. Cf. tambû, tamhâti, and stela of Bašaššinak.
2 AK, p. 178 d, II, 19.
3 addûnu, Br. 9371. Palûsu, Br. 8490.
4 Sarru, tagâšûnu.
5 Etitili šumâ u irstîtim. Cf. Luqlaggissi, OBI. 87, 1, 6: išib-an-na— and 4 Nin-subur, išib 7z-ga as-ki (or an-na?), Coll. de Clercq, No. 255.
in the city of Lagaš, worshiping 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 overthrower 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.
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 own 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: é ḳi-li-an-na. Innina and Babbar are daughter and son of the moon god Sin, whereas Nanâ is only daughter of Anu. Another daughter of Anu: d Nin-in-sî-na emphasizes the character of creatrice 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.” d Nin-an-sî-an-na is another name of Innina, who was worshiped outside of Uruk, in Hallab under the name of Nimni Zababût, eldest daughter of the moon god.

Whatever may have been the position and importance of Anu, the father of the gods, as founder of the main temple of Uruk: é-an-na, the leading rôle very soon was claimed by Innina.
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 6-anna, of the beloved shrine of Innina. Anu is mentioned in a casual way, as the consort of Nana: bit il Anum ă 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 șe gur igi 10 gāl 1 gur of barley 1-\frac{1}{5} of gur
ugu Šu-ra?-du-lu property of Šuradulu(?)
dBabbar in-tuk to Šamaš is transferred,
mu-tām ā-ka a deposit from salary
ša(g) dBabbar in which the heart of Šamaš
ne-il-du(g)-gi rejoices.
digul-gī igi iDa-mu-e-ri-ba-am witness Damu-eribam
igi iEn-lil-mu-ba-li-it-la-ki witness Enlil-muballitaki
itu sig-a ud 11 kam month of Simanu, the 11th,
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal year when King Samsuiluna,
d-ag-gā dEn-lil-lā-īa 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.

ê kiš-sīr-gāl nam-lugal-la-mu E-kišširgal, temple of my royalty,
ê ẓi(d) ê-ir-e-mu di-ni-tum gar-ra-mu 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.
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \equiv 1 \text{ ib-di;} & 4 & \equiv 2 \text{ ib-di;} & 9 & \equiv 3 \text{ ib-di}, \text{ etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

Obverse

dug &-sag-ga\textsuperscript{4} mu-il [ \]
\textsuperscript{4}Šuruppak\textsuperscript{\text{ud ... ta ... [}}
\textsuperscript{4}Šuruppak\textsuperscript{dú(g)-ne ba-ra-il [}
\text{ab-ku-tu el-i-um

Historical and religious document. Just the names of \textsuperscript{d}Nin-Sun and of Ur \textsuperscript{d}Engur are clear enough in the much-

---

\textsuperscript{1} Ninbua, Br. 6677.
\textsuperscript{2} Ašaridu, Kattilla, Br. 3619, 3620.
\textsuperscript{3} Kabâbu, Br. 210.
\textsuperscript{4} Dug sag-gâ, SAI. 2288; MIO. Tello, No. 892, VII. 25. Dug d-ne-tûm, \textit{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{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. The goddess is called the mother of Gudea of Lagaš and later on, of Sin-gašid king of Uruk. She is closely associated with Lugal-banda. Both of them were certainly worshiped in Uruk, where they probably had their proper shrine in the large temple E-an-na. Priests were attached to the cult of Nin-sun. Fields insured her revenues. A fragment of limestone object with a square hole cut in the center, has preserved the name of one of her temples: ūru-azag-ga, perhaps in Lagaš.

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

Attention has been called by Fr. Thureau-Dangin 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-qi(d). His functions were those of the “ašippu” reading the signs and interpreting the omina, 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).  
5 De Clercq, Cat., No. 151, 252: arad Lugal-banda à NIn-sun.  
6 LANGDON, SBP. 154, No. 1: Drehem, p. 23, No. 2. Offerings of Ur-Engur to NIn-[sun?] CBS. 4560 (PBS. X). CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14. And SAK. p. 222, c) é kankal é ki-dûr 3a(g)-bul-la-ha-no-ne.  
7 Ur-bau, sange NIn-sun, on a seal, MIO. Tello, 2730. Pa sangu NIn-sun, RTC. 264, f. II, 1.  
8 Se a-sa(g) NIn-sun é iqi-il 3a, CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14–17. G. Reisner, Tello, 95, Col. VII, 19.  
9 A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 29.  
11 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 (ê; ki-dûr; kummi elli). It had cedar door (giš-gâl, erin, elammaqu), and a statue of the god (alam) in cedar wood and bronze, fixed on the precious pavement (kisal; ưššum lalu), in the heart of the temple, the place of oracles (me-la ê-e-ge: ina terêti biti). In the ground underneath was buried the foundation document (temenu). The shrine itself (parakku) was surrounded by several courts and store places (uşurâte). 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 (eqê, kirêti, aštapiri, alpê ṳ şeni).

The proper function of the priest or priestess (en, nin-dingir-ra; paraš enûli) called for registration and interpretation of all signs and oracles (ina šibir ašipulîm). 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” (ê-kur; ê barsag), and like mountains, playing their part of support and foundation of heavens (temen-ni-il). But the shrine, where the statue was enthroned,3 and oracles delivered,

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2 Perhaps YOS. I, No. 27 should read: Libit-îštar, king of Isin, desire of the heart of Innina, a gišaru, for the priest (en) of nin-sun-zi(d), the priest of Nin-ezen in Ur, the pure seer of Nin-ê-ni-ga, the orderer of purification, in the house of vessels, for Arazunišē-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 Ilani mašal mâtšu, ina parakkišunu ikki ma ... (Marduḫkapaliddin). 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 τάφος, or tomb of Bēl. 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 ĒS, with slanting sides and conic top, half way between

¹ IV R. 35/36. Giparu between bitāde and agurri in Rec. de Trav. XIX, p. 46, 1. 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: š-an-na, ši gig-par aš-ag-ša; nam-ša-na-ba, CBS. 4577 (Langdon, PBS. X, 2). Gudea (Cyl. A) in temple Baga, or the temple of his mother Gatundug, first enters the place (ki-na(d) . . bagin), offers sacrifice and libation (nig giš-na-šum; aš-e ni-de), then goes to the statue ( . . ra mu-na-gin), prays (sub mu-na-tam) and his prayer is granted. All statues of gods are "introduced" into the house.

² Statue B, V, 18-20; D. II, c-10.
³ Arad-Sin, VAB. p. 214, e); Rim-Sin, CT. XXI, 32: 91144, Col. II. Cf. RA. VII, 109, 3.
⁴ Pognon, Bau. p. 56.
SU the leather tent and URU the city. E and E-GAL temple and palace are more comprehensive words. EŠ 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 ù-du(g) is waiting upon him. His chief adviser (ad-gi-gi) brings in all requests; his high minister (sukkalu) transmits outside his orders. The oldest inscriptions know many of those shrines: ėŠ Girsu;2 ėŠ Dug-ru;3 ėŠ gū-tūr;4 ėŠ ė-ninnu.5 Proper names recall the function of the priestess: nin-isib ėš-la; nin ėš-aṭag-ga.6 Mention of a reed shrine is found in the old inscription of Entemena7 ėŠ-gi dNingirsu and ėš-gi gi-ka-na dNingirsu, which seems much like the giparu shrine, ėš gig-paše8 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-mah,10 Enki,11 Nin-ḫarsag.12 They probably stood up in the midst of a sacred grove.

Assuredly the gigunû was a sacred place, pure like the abḫu,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-mah), or to place him (?) ṻu-gub) on the reeds of Enki, which perhaps means burning him at the stake. In

---

1 Gudea, Cyl. B.
2 Ur-ninâ, c), 11 (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, Tellob, 150, 158 pass.
7 SAK. p. 32, 36, b) and l).
8 CBS. 4577, Langdon, PBS. X, 2.
9 Entemena, a) II, 5.
11 Hussey, ST. 41, obv. III; RTC. 47, f. IV, 5.
12 Entemena, a) V, 3-4: gi-ka-na tirs-ṭag-ga: the shrine of the sacred grove.
this latter case provisions are made for three sorts of people interested in the funerals. The priestess\(^1\) 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.\(^3\)

\[
\begin{align*}
galu & \quad \text{which the} \\
gan-šam & \quad \text{field surveyor} \\
si(g)-si(g)-ga^4(?) & \quad \text{has determined.} \\
bal & \quad \text{At the time} \\
Ka-ni-zi(d) & \quad \text{of Ka-ni-zi.}
\end{align*}
\]

No. 25. CBS. 14014

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots \ldots \quad ^4\text{nusku-ra(?)} & \quad \ldots \text{for Nusku,} \\
\text{ur}^5 \text{i} \text{šú} \text{in-dā-lām} & \quad \text{was brought along to Ur;} \\
\text{ur}^5 \text{ma} & \quad \text{In Ur} \\
\text{duššu-ne} & \quad \text{the badges of slavery}^6 \\
\text{in-gi} & \quad \text{he abolished;} \\
[d]un(?)-a-diur^6-ne & \quad \text{the digging . . . . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) In Gilgameš poem we find Rimáti-Béli, the mother of Gilgameš acting as a priestess of Nin-sum at Uruk, and interpreting signs and dreams (muššit kalâma šili). At sunrise she will pile up incense on charcoal (qutrinna šiškun), place offerings on the altar (šurqa šiškun), and lift her hands in prayer toward the east (inu maḫar Šamiš ideša šini). Tablet III, Col. I a, 14-16; II a, 8-10. Cf. I e ši šamiš de Šilbâk-in-šušinak, Rec. de Trav. XXXI, p. 41. Gilgameš presents the god Lugal-banda, with the big horn of the heavenly bull (ana šušati šilišu), Tablet VI, 192.

\(^2\) SAK. p. 224, tablets from Suruppak, b).

\(^3\) LEGRAGN, 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.

No. 26. CBS. 8358

Historical building inscription. Nin-din-ú(g)-ga the Sumerian Istar, 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 mitūti).

Her proper temple, her great temple in Nippur,³ near Enlil, is called é a-mer-ažag; the temple of the shining crown. The temple of Ningirsu at Lagas 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. É-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-ažag, was towering over the smaller temple of Enlil.

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

Obverse

⁴Nin-din-ú(g)-ga
nin-sîm-târ-gal
⁴En-lil-lâ ra
é-a-mer-ažag
é-ni gu-la
⁴En-lil-lâ-ka
é-dumu-ka
mu-na-ni-dû
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,

²Br. §174.
³É ⁴Nin-din-ú(g)-ga 3a(g) é ⁴Nin-lil-lâ, LEGRAIN, Le temps des rois d'Ur, No. 293, 339, 371.
Revers 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ur d[</th>
<th>Ur d...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lugal</td>
<td>king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dEn-lil-li</td>
<td>of Enlil,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ág</td>
<td>beloved place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Revers 11

[... ].. a-kam of such a...
sagšù helmet
an-gub-ba 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 1

[... amar-sal-]peš ...... heifers
[ ]-bal-a ......
[ ]-ni ......
... amar-sal-peš ad-lal .. mature heifers
... dEn-lil .. Enlil;
... 4 amar-sal-peš ad-lal .. 4 mature heifers
... Bil-sag .. Bilsag;
... 3 amar-sal-peš ad-lal .. 3 mature heifers

Obverse 2

Ur-pa Urpa
ē dLugal-mes-lam-ku of the temple of dLugal meslamki;
... amar-sal-peš ad-lal .. mature heifers
Adabki ki-du(g) Adab-kidug;

Obverse 2

[... ] amar-sal-peš ad-lal mature heifers.
nam[ Nam ... ;
... ... ]
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS 63

Reverse I

amar-sal- [ heifers
‘pa-ul [ the chief herdsman,
na-ne-sum have given;
6 amar-sal-peš-si 6 red heifers
4id-ne-ne’ ldnene
he-KU-šu2 for the hireling
an-na-sum has given,
nam-da-uru [. . . 
N'amdauru4 butcher . . .
ab šuš [ .

Reverse II

[ ] amar-sal dā4-a [. . . fat heifers
gá+nun-maḫ-ta from the great store,
ét(?)-ab-šu(? or ra) for the butcher shop,
ni-ne-sum they have given
še-gūr-kud month of Šegurkud,
mu Ma-rī2 [. . .
year when Maer,
ḥul-a 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 ears Sa’dun, west of Nippur on the Euphrates. Its relative importance seems to date back from Narâm-Sin. The temple of its god 4Šar-Marad-da had been founded by him. It was restored6 by King Nebuchadnezzar II, who searched for and found the temenu, the foundation stone of Narâm-Sin. The

---

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.
They have a daily grain allowance, MIO. Tello, No. 745, r. 3; or are paid in silver: ṣ he-KU
arag-bahhar, MIO. Tello, No. 3757. They were attached to many temples and palaces: ṣNin-
mar2; ṣgū har-ā; ṣNinā; ṣ Nam-ḫa-ṣi; Gir-su4; he-KU kalama-il, gir-si(?)-ga ṣ-gal; he-KU
mar-sa-me, etc.
3 Uru: nasāru, Br. 6443: they shall be kept?
4 Dūhēnu, or ṣibēnu?
5 A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 44.
name of the temple was: e-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. 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.

\[^4\text{Dun-gi}\]
\[nita kalag-ga\]
\[lugal urî ña\]

\[Li-ša-lum\]
\[mar Šu-ni-li\]
\[patesi\]
\[Marad-da\]
\[warad-ču\]

No. 29. CBS. 8370

Fragment of historical and religious inscription: praise of Dungi.

**Obverse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bûr</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me [</td>
<td>nita(?) šú ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>il(?)-bi-da-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dingir ub-da-tab-tab kalama sag aš sî(g)-ga-bi</td>
<td>god of the four regions, his decision is reaching all over the country; to the divine Dungi intelligence was given in a full measure; the divine Dungi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^4Dun-gi-ra</td>
<td>giš-pi-tûg gâ-mu-na-gar-ra-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^4Dun-gi</td>
<td>dumu An-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^4kalam-ma-ge</td>
<td>AÇÃO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reverse**

\[šukum-dingir-ri-ne\]
\[] -gub-ba
\[] -sîg-ag

the food offerings of the gods brought up were gracefully made

\[^1\text{Leg. No. 357, 294.}\]
No. 30. CBS. 15066

Fragment of business document. Grain salaries for people concerned with the house of tablets or archives: 6-dub-ba. The document is dated on the 18th Simanu, the 2nd year of Gimil-Sin: mu ma sig-abzu. . . .

The variant sig (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-na₂ 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(?)
Lû dEnlil-ša ra
sâ in-da-tuk ám
sa-bi nu-da-bi-a
mu-lugal ni-ša(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. dEš-nun-na, ibid., p. 112 and p. 45, n. 3.
Ritual of incantation, probably when they buried the urn full of ashes after they had burnt the body on the reeds of Ea. At the time of Urukagina several provisions were made for the people who took part in the funerals. Three persons were entitled to receive food and drink: the priestess (nin-dingir-ri), the man of the dead (lü-di(m)-ma-ge) and some official concerned with the burning (ğu-ninni-e). The priestess received only a small ration of food and drink. The lü-dimma had a very moderate part of grain. The big share fell to the gu-ninni-e who took 4 gallons of sesame beer, 240 sesame cakes, and some grain. To which, before the reform, they added 1 piece of cloth, 1 bed and 1 chair. The meaning of those titles or names is not clear. In the present text the priest invokes the 7 utukki, Enlil (?) En-ki, Babbar (?). The funeral urn, the dead, the corpse, the dwelling of the deep abyss are mentioned, and might be a short memorial for the priestess attending the function.

God, god, god, god, god, god, god, god, god,
Spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit;
Divine lord, divine Enlil,
Lord, divine Ea, brother(?)
divine Utu, house .... evil
the urn .... he has obtained;
dead spirit of the dead, hearken,
the corpse, the water of Ea
in the abysmal abode
have covered it high.
...... out of the bounds(?)
shall not go(?)

1 Sabbaru, Br. 6797. Barû, nakpartu.
2 RA. VII, 146, n. 1; VIII, 73, n. 1.
3 Lû+šé=dim for dig, the corpse, RA. XIII, 44. The skinned body of animals, Le temps des rois d'Ur, No. 277.
4 Nukâpu, banû.
5 Or, billûdu, parakku: jug, tub, shrine. Br. 5649, 5650.
6 Negation. Cf. Ištar descent into hell: ana bûti, ete-e . . . , etc.
No. 34. CBS. 8381

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

\[\text{ki giš-sar }^4\text{Nin-urta ta}\]
\[\text{ki giš-sar }^4\text{Nig-ga-ra-ni šū}\]
\[\text{ba-ra-bal al-ni-na-ba}\]
\[\text{al-ag}^1\text{-a-ba}\]
\[\text{ki giš-sar }^4\text{Nin-urta ta}\]
\[2 \ldots\text{giš-ma+gunu}^2\text{-har}^3\]
\[\text{ba-ra-sir}^6\]
\[\text{ki giš-sar }^4\text{Na-ba-ni-tūm}\]
\[6\text{ sig-a}^6\]
\[\text{giš-gab-tab}^3\text{ ib-gid}\]
\[\text{1 bûr gan }\text{ ib-urū}\]
\[\text{a-ni} \text{ tar a-sa(g) eri-na-a e-ne-gub}\]

\[\text{a-ša(g)-bi} \text{ 2 bûr-gan}\]
\[\text{še ḫaḫ-gi-e pa-te-si ge ba-dib}\]

\[\text{a-ša(g)-bi-la siq-a-ne}\]
\[\text{a-ni-ta keš}(da)-šū\]

from the plantation of Ninib
to the plantation of Niggarani
do not go across, its digging
has been done
In the plantation of Ninib,
do not trim
At the plantation of Nabanitum
6 gardeners
shall form a squad
and cultivate 1 burgan (acre)
the ditchers engaged in digging the soldier’s field (?)
their field is of 2 burgan
the grain shall be provided for, on the reserves of the patesi;
In this field, the gardeners,
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 Rapâku.
2 dš gan šar giš-ma+gunu-gid, CT. X, 49, Obv. 3.
3 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 ḫašḫu tree, or the pomegranate (SAI. 2772). TSA. XLVIII, n. 9.
4 Sandâgu, or šaddâdu.
6 Le temps des rois d’Ur, p. 38, n. 4.
7 Cf. dâ-a-tar, TSA. XXXIV, gardeners (nu-sar-me), Hussey, ST. No. 6. Giš-sar a-da-a,
BE. III, No. 84, f. 57.
8 Br. 10223.
god is mentioned here like in the flood story,¹ and the same strong alliteration is marked in both texts. Together with 7 stones, 7 statues, the precatory formula bara, they are characteristic of magic incantations.

**Obverse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gi-gum-ma gi ⁴Engur</td>
<td>Bent reed, reed of Engur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuku šub-ba ba-ra</td>
<td>Spread offerings, away;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-aţag-gi giš-gi aţag-ga ba-ra</td>
<td>Pure reed, clear cane away;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li-gal li-gal-la na-ri(g)-ga</td>
<td>great cypress,² great cypress of purification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-išt³ si(g)-ga ba-ra</td>
<td>piled up as smoke offering, away;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šim-erin [ ] , šim-erin gam-gam-ma</td>
<td>Balmy cedar, balmy cedar bent,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ú [ ]-la rá-a</td>
<td>... brought out;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]-an si(g) nam-il</td>
<td>... full, shall not rise,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] a-si(g)-ne ba-ra</td>
<td>... filled, away;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] ki el-li</td>
<td>... pure place,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] a ba-ra</td>
<td>... away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lugal ] [é ki-el-li šú ]</td>
<td>... for the pure place,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] -šu mu-šúm</td>
<td>... has brought;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[é ⁴En .. ]-ir(?)</td>
<td>the temple of En .......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] ba-ra</td>
<td>... , away;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ amaš .. ] ąb tūr</td>
<td>... the park .... the yard.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reverse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lüt .. ud(?)-sar úr ne-si(g)</td>
<td>the ..... enclosure they spread,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēš tu-ab</td>
<td>the abode of Apsu ....... for Ea .......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⁴En-ki-ra [ ]-la nam-[ ]-lu</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ni-li ki-mu .. [ ]</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ızab 2 še(?)-ba-ra</td>
<td>the stone ..... , away,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-li-ne ıza-li-ne</td>
<td>the .....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-ba il-ag dag .. alan</td>
<td>the statues,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-ḫu nam-ḫu gu-ka-ra(?)</td>
<td>Doves, birds of destiny all away;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 na-me 7 na-me</td>
<td>7 stones they were, 7 stones they were,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alan 7 e ba-ra.</td>
<td>7 statues indeed, away.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Kikkiš, kikkii, igger, igger, Gilgameš, Tablet XI, 21.
² Burašu.
³ Quirimmu.
No. 36. CBS. 7874

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

\[ ^{a} \text{Li-bi-il-štar} \] Libi štar.
\[ ^{a} \text{â-nun hu-mu-la-gâl} \] 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.

\[ ^{b} \text{Nir-gâl} \] The noble wise one of Ešudimma,
\[ ^{b} \text{šu-nig-gâl-la} \] The figure of Aratta.
\[ ^{k} \text{šu-nig-gâl-la} \text{k} \]

No. 38. CBS. 18188

School text. Fragment of historical legend?

\[ ^{69} \text{(?)} \] \[ ^{69} \text{sag-ki-ta} \] from the beginning
... \[ ^{69} \text{im-di-re(g)} \] heavy clouds, copper axe, does increase,
... \[ ^{69} \text{uduru to-zi-in al-su-su} \] gear of the well they piled up
... \[ ^{69} \text{lal-pâ-bi} \] the total of gathered products, the gain food ...
... \[ ^{69} \text{ne-ib-si-si} \]... the head dam, the river across...
\[ ^{69} \text{sag(?)-ki} \] Sisik has returned to Agade...
\[ ^{69} \text{tum-da} \] in Agade Anam(?), spent the year,
\[ ^{69} \text{kg-gâ} \] a ... he has established.
\[ ^{69} \text{e-da} \] people take their lances(?)
\[ ^{69} \text{e} \] in Agade ... like a ...

\[ ^{1} \text{Etelin.} \]
\[ ^{2} \text{En̄a.} \]
\[ ^{3} \text{Sanâqu ša gati, nmaša, Br. 7092: Enclosure. Ā-su-kâr(?)-ma, ë uš-bar āšama āši-lum āšim. Sin, MIO. Tello, No. 909, IV, 16-18 (at Girsu). Ā-su-kâr-dû-dû, Br. 7138 (figurrat of Ur).} \]
\[ ^{4} \text{Mêrrda, Br. 7252.} \]
\[ ^{5} \text{Kêt and Aratta, Gud. Cyl. A., XXVII, 2.} \]
\[ ^{6} \text{Mûr Šamâl, Br. 3434.} \]
\[ ^{7} \text{Cf. di tul-la: dên ūrit; ki tul-la: ṣagdaštu.} \]
No. 39. CBS. 14055

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

Obverse 1

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

Obverse 11

| 1 an [ ] | . . |
| gà la-ba-an-[dág] | is not locked in, |
| ud 1 šú a-ni-šú | each day for his salary, |
| 10 (qa) še-la-ám | 10 qa of barley |
| al-ág-e | shall be measured, |
| kù-babbar gur-á-bi | Silver in return(?) for salary |
| arad a-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 1

| Sir-ru | Hymn |
| pi-lul-da² gal-gal | for the great liberation |
| sib-ти(?) | of the pious shepherd, |
| Dungi | |

1 Ištaršu, qadiššu, nu-gig?
2 Eru, abdu.
3 Naṣirku, Br. 5441. No lodging provided for.
4 Exchange? dugguru, kanakku, tāru, Br. 3361, 3362, 3367.
5 Urukagina, b) VII, 26 (SAK. p. 50, e.). Opposed to ama-ğí.
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

the [valiant . . ]

the year when the establishment

in Nippur

the great gods

were(?) granted;

the year when the purification

in the city,

...........

Obverse II

......

offspring . . .

emblem, purified(?) . . .

...........

the hero of Enlil,

Nin-ib(?) . . .

to the order . . .

Pasag, . . .

for ever(?)

cedar . . .

...........

Reyere II

......

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-sig)," and feast (ezon)" of Nin-a-zu. They pre-

1 Purification? Tebü, Sukunu, Br. 12185, 12186.

2 Rius, Br. 11571.

3 Pirišu, Br. 7531.

4 Suinunu, Br. 7198.

5 Aššu.

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

4 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 Tammuz [ezēn (aṣag d) Dumuzi].” 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 (ba-la) 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.

\[Over\]

Lugal gaš-utul [ ] me-en King protector of herds... thou art,
4 Nin-a-zu gal-utul [ ] me-en Ninazu protector of herds... thou art,
en dNin-a-zu-mu utul [ ] me-en My lord Ninazu, herds... thou art,
giš(?)[ za-gin-na ma [... šu si... ] Reed... of lapis lazuli... thou art,
lu(?)...[. ] n]un-na-ma-na... . . . . . . . . . . thou art,
bia... me-en
ki-sag-bi du-ul... šub en dNin-a-zu me-en the place where..... lord Ninazu,
[ d] Nin-a-zu ki-in-gubba ma... may Ninazu..... the grave(?)
d Nanna(r)... e... ri(?)-gub Nannar...
gal šu-gal-ba(la(?)) dNanna(r)[tu(d)] Protector of...... begotten(?) from
. . . ] me-en Nannar... thou art,

\[In\]

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

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

pa an . . . ma . . . arad babbar-ri-id

... in ...

giš-gu-za an-ni ba(?)-ra . . .
zag-an-ki-šu-gir si-he-da-ab-di ud-ba-
si(g) . . .

. . . . . mu ud-ba si-ba-ra(?) ab-di
ud-ba si(g) . . .

. . . nam . . . . . . . zu šu im-mi-diš
[ ]
kur-kur-ra pa-è ugi-ga im-
mi-gub

"Kal-ţu(?) é-kiš-sir-gál-la ă-gal ă-ra-
me-en

God warrior thou, in Egišširgal1 a
great force for destruction, thou
art

"Nin-a-ţu uríš-ma tu(d)-da "Nanna(r)
he-e-da-šuš
en "Nin-a-ţu-mu uríš ma tu(d)-da "Nanna(r) he-e-šuš

Nina-ţu in Ur begotten from Nannar,
may he be spread out
My lord Ninazu, in Ur begotten from
Nanna(r) mayest thou spread out.
father . . . great of Enlil, thy name is
glorified,
mother on thee . . .

ama? ugu-ţu _UTILS . . . ra nam . . .
mu-ra . . .

'é-ţu  urz(?)-ţi kur(?) . . . ta-ki
ţu(?)-mu ūn

thy temple, thy city . . .
mayest thou be . . .

REVERSE

Im ki-uru3 . . . . ki sud-al [. . .
ţu-mu-ţu [. . .

Wind of the city . . .
mayest thou be . . .

En "Nin-a-ţu-mu ud-ba bi-ţu-
ki-gal(?)bi ūn-mu-ţu-ga-ri(?)
mer-ţaţ-ag-gi sag-şu ba-ra-ni-in-gi

My lord Ninazu, the storm, mayest
thou . . .
the grave mayest thou . . .
may the gold crown on thy head, never
change place.
may thy hand the scepter(?) never
let . . .

giš(?) gāl a-a ugu-na . . . ša(g) . . . . . . .
\[aţag mu-ţu . . .

1 Ziggurat of Nannar, at Ur.
2 Dāk(g), All? Cf. pa-\[.
3 Dakkannu, Br. 9657.
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM—BABYLONIAN SECTION

.... igi sag-ga mu ... in-bar .......  on his head ...
[ ] ... du(g) mu[ni]-in-kur .......  good, shall change ...
[ ] kur-kur-ra ug-ga(?)-ne-zi [ be-Il(?) ] .......  of the countries, thy people ...

[en d'nin]-a-zi-mu pi-ne-zi be-ê ... My lord Ninazu, may thy ears ex-

me-ne-zi be-ê ...... may thy orders, come out ...
[ ] -zi ki-el sal-ša(g)-ni Thy ....... , the servant his grace ...
[ ] nin-bar-nin-anšu(?)-gal [ ............. Thy temple, thy city, mayest thou

é-zi uru-zi hu-mu-ra-ab-bi command unto them

x'-ša ga(?)-ra-da-lâm May I bring thee my prayer.
[ ] -zi en d'Nin-a-zi-mu Thy ...... my lord Ninazu.
[mu?] bal-c'z'Nin-a-zi-kam Litany(?) of Ninazu
No. 42. CBS. 9857

Sumerian building (votive) inscription, with several records of Dungi. The tablet was written at the time of the Isin dynasty.

Obverse

zîa a-mâš1 gar ša(g) a-ka2 ni-dû3 na-i im-lab Fence(?) forming enclosure round

eš e-bar-sag-ša Dun-gi-ra mu-na-ni-in- demolitions(?) the keeper(?) of

tu(r)-tû(r) raised stones, has added.

ud-bi-a giš-e é-gal-la tu(d)-tu(d)-da- In the house of Ebarsag, for Dungi, he

ni ... has introduced.

zi giš-ra ū-ga-an-na-ab ....... The day when, the wood, in the palace

where he was born,

giš-e zi-ir ki-im-mi-lib-lal ba-ra ni-ku? the fence to throw down, indeed I

mu ... ša(g)-ga? ordered to ...

am-dom si ur-a ba-ni-ib ... the wood for the fence was exactly

gu(d)-dim ur-bi-ta im ....... weighed, without any ...

like a wild bull, horns together .......

like a bull, together ........

1 REC. 316, sign of prayer. Cf. No. 5.
5 Šaqâšu, Br. 8080.
6 Mušêlû, pitô.
udu munšub-ba(? or pi?) im-bi-a.....
ur-mah(?).......
ud-bi......e zi-ir gi₇-mu-na-de-e
.....zi lù na-ba-hu(?), nu-a.....pa
ba-bád-da
.....bar-(s)(g)-as-ta-è-a ba-la-ne-in-
.....uš-sa
gi.....rim gi-urú-da nu-gub-bu

urudu nig-kalag-ga².....saq-gà-mu-um-
ma-da-ab-rì(g)
giš-erin giš ça-ba-lum,³.....[giš-šur-
man, giš-ku⁴
giš-dan giš-dup-tì-a.....šu(?), ba²-
ba.....um
giš-a-am, giš dim-du(g)-ta be-im-ma-
da-ab-tùm
.....sag-gà-ka be-ne-sub-subš²⁰

ud-dé be-ne-ba-dım (?)
.....sig-gi gab nig-luk³¹-ki-na-la
giš-emè sar-šu-in-gub-la be-im-la-gub

.....a hairy sheep...
.....a lion...
.....the day when.....for the fence, was
.....claimed,
.....the fence, the.....had been raised,
.....issued from the covert, reaching
.....outside
.....the fence(?)......reed of protection
.....not standing up,
.....the fence(?)......reeds the fishers, offer
.....the fishes on....for 1 year before,
.....the fence(?)......standing, I will order
.....for thee,
.....hard bronze.....at the head shall
.....be placed,
.....cedar-wood, zabalum.....cypress-
.....wood, box-wood
.....ušu²-wood, pine⁶(?)-wood,.....

ildaggu²-wood, from good plant,⁹ shall
.....be brought
.....of its head, shall be made
.....splendid
.....shall be made like day.
.....underneath in front of his form,
.....on pegs put for fastening, he shall

stand,

¹ Kusasp.
² Ėru'dunn, Br. 12088, 12089.
³ Gudea, St. B, V, 55; Cyl. A, XV, 30. Mounts of Zabalum. Together with giš-ša-ku,
giš tu-la-ba-um. Za-ba-lum: supalu, CT. XVII, 38, l. 39. Meissner, MVAG. 1904, No. 3,
p. 34, ann. 2. (SAK. p. 70, 8): along with: aššu and plane-tree.
⁴ Urkarinu.
⁵ Ebony-wood, terebinth.
⁶ Cf. Duprànu, bardùs, bašnu. Ina eli tuµat bardàiši.
⁷ Hašur?
⁸ Or Addaru, Br. 11486, 11487.
⁹ Of good growth.
¹⁰ Zimu, or nasâbu?
¹¹ Mešrû, Br. 12177.
the beast disturbing the deep well, muttering in the abyss, like a bull he shall cover, its foundation, out of the secret abyss shall be reared.

Reverse

Spade shall spread net-like, corb shall reach the limit.

For Dungi the abode ... I will build, the great store I will rear, the throne foundation of the plain, placed in the temple, I will rear there to him the protection(? ) against evil in the temple

pot of date wine and honey, I will set up.

the . . . . , shall have the covering spread upon the walls(? ) shall face(?) one another, the enclosure I will complete6 the well, dug-out . . . . I will rear up for him, the boat . . . . . . . I will build him a cover, the . . . with date-palm (?) I shall surround,

Young ewes, young . . . . I will let go out,

Dungi shall have them plentiful

a wall full of . . . . art thou,
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

No. 43. CBS. 9239

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

Obverse

11: alan sag-aṣag-gi  the statue with the golden head,
    Enlil from ēkur shall not go out...

24: By the gate of Enlil I will get out...

Reverse

9: the city of Ḥamazi(?)
    Lu-Ea ... Naram-Sin ...

1 Markasu, dimgallu.
2 Ḫalu, Br. 4205.
3 Not knowing this strength; badlu, Br. 6215.
4 Ḥuzuppū, Br. 9208.
5 Cf. na-ta-a and štru, Br. 3273.
6 Zikaru, idlu?
gišt-gi giš-dan-na ... zi(?)-gum cane, ušu wood, ... were cut to ba-an-sur-sur pieces ... guškin-bi mi-ni ... ne-in-ag its gold ... ... were made guškin-bi su-ú-ba1 ne-in-ag its gold was melted, urudu[bi ... maḫ ... ká-r-ra ne-in ... aqqag-bi ... dim-e its silver ... an(?)-bi. za-ma ... dim-e ... ... ... ... 

No. 44. CBS. 15207

Liturgy of the god Pa-gibil-sag, 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 (ningir kalam-ma). Eannatum was a diviner of the same god. Priests (sangu) of Pasag are named along with priests of Ninsun and Nindar. His temple in Lagaš was ranking next to the temple of Ningirsu, ê šabru, ê bagá and ê bārbār. Fields and flocks were attached to it, and were attended to by a regular board or staff. His present temple is in Larak.

Column 1

am úr-ra-ám dar-a ê-a-ni ka-ni like the crouching bull the chequered one of his temple,
lugal-mu am-úr-ra-ám dar-a ê-a-[ my king is like the crouching bull the chequered one of his temple ...

Pa-gibil-sag am-úr-ra-ám dar-a ê-a-ni [ Pa-gibil-sag is like, etc.

---

1 Suḫu; maššu, Br. 209. Cf. kemaššu.
4 RTC. 264.
6 E ā-pa-sag had 1 ukuri sangu, 2 nuban(da)-gu(b), 1 šaš tappa, 4 sengar, 12 gu(d)-da-ri-a, 1 pa erin-na maššin, 1 erin, 4 iš-ši, MIO. Tello, No. 865.
b-a-ni b-a-r-a-ag-ka-ni-ámm b-a-ni [ ]

His temple, his temple of Larak is it
his temple . . .

uru-ni eru Á . . . gàl-la b-a-ni-ka [ ]

His city, the city Á . . . gala of his
temple

ur-sag b-a-ni b-a-r-a-ag [ ]

the valiant, his temple, his temple of
Larak . . .

en 'Pa-gibil-sag b-a-r-a-ag [ . . . ]

the lord Pagibilsag, his temple of
Larak . . .

kí [ ] -tu(d)-da-ni ē [ ]

the place . . . of his birth, the house
.

kí [ ] -pi(d) kú-a-ni ē [ ]

the place of his . . . pure food, the
temple . . .

ki ki-el a-ga(?) ma-ma-[ ]

Nisins the temple . . .

ni-si-in-na é-sag. . . [ ]

the place where the bull . . .

d-en [ ] -pi(d) kú-a-ni ē [ ]

like a leader, his getting along the
roads, a leader of the winds(?)

nimgir-dim gir-gir-ta zi(g)-ga-ri
nimgir-im-gàl-la-a

like a leopard, his going on expedition,
acting along the foundation,

úg-dîm1 ka-sig-ta zi(g)-ga-ri a . . .

like a wild beast with hanging head,
his driving

sar(?)

like the sun at midday, he exercises
sovereignty

ud-dîm ša(g)-túm-ma2 nam-dun mu-
un-ag-e

lord sun of midday, he exercises
sovereignty

en ud-ša(g)-túm-ma nam-dun mu-un-
ag-e

lord Pagibilsag, in the temple of mid-
day, he exercises sovereignty,

ša(g)-túm ša(g)-túm ni-si-inbi na-ge
lugal-mu nam-dun mu-un-ag-e

midday, midday of Nisins,

ud-ba lugal-mu nibriki šu na-gin

my king, ruling supreme,

ur-sag 'Pa-gibil-sag ki 'En-lil-lá šu

when my king goes to Nippur,
gin-a-ni b-i ni-si-inbi na an-la

the valiant Pagibilsag, in his going to
nam . . .

the abode of Enlil

ud-ba nin-mu ni-si-inbi na sa-ga

in his going, the temple of Nisins, in
ba-ni-in . . .

heaven and earth, he . . .

when my lady in Nisins, on high . . .

---

1 Úg-dîm, like the day, Gud. Cyl. B, IX, 21.
2 Qirbitu, Br. 8032.
Sumerian historical records. Enlil, E-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. 45. CBS. 2268 + 2277

Fragment of a historical prism. Seems to refer to letter or order (ù-na-dá(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. 46. CBS. 7848

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

No. 47. CBS. 7820 + 7830

Fragment of an octagonal prism. The text, among several historical records preserved a version of the building and rebuilding of the Tummal of Ninlil. The shrine of the goddess at Nippur was founded in the early days of Gill-bil-ga-mes. The Drehem 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. tâg-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 Allāšarrum the nurse of Me-kadi the king’s daughter. The shrine was the proper asylum of young princesses.

**Column II**

1. Dubkiag-Nannar
   son of Nanni,
   let shine the horn (exalted) of Tummal
   Ninlil into Tummal was brought up,
   A fourth time Tummal was ruined.
   Ur-Engur built the temple ēkur,
   Dungi son of Ur-Engur,
   let shine the horn of Tummal,
   Nin-lil into Tummal was brought up.
   By... of Ibi-Sin,
   when King Ibi-Sin,
   was elected by oracles as priest of the temple: “the great heavenly bull,”
   priest of Innana at Uruk
   Ninlil into Tummal,
   they brought up.
   lšbi-irra built: Ekur-igi-gal
   the šutummu of Enlil

2. Tummala-alši šu
   [gin-]ne-en
   [Iš-bi]-ir-rā ē-kur-igi-gal
   [ē-]gi-na-]ab-dū
   [‘En-lil-lā] in-[dū]

3. Dinkuškiša
   pa-te-si sag-il
   the patesi raising the head
   ē(?) En-lil-lā
   the temple of Enlil
   pa a-dan(?) ha... ib-tum
   the canal, the flood has carried(?)

---

1 Or šid?
3 Or gin: entered. Cf. l. 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 en-za... ša(g) Ė-ša-ri-lūm, REISNER, Teiloh, No. 83, Vs, 9, 11.
No. 49. CBS. 13967

Praise of King Libitištar. Fragment of a three (?) column tablet.

**COLUMN I**

*a* Li-bi-it-ištar lugal
sag-il nun bara-ga
he-du giš-issimu
nam-lugal-la
*a* Utú-dim-gin
še-ir-zi kalam-ma
nam-mun dūr-maḫ
[ ]-gal-la . . .
[ ] da [ ]
[ ] ki gar-ra [ ]

**COLUMN II**

en-dun [ ]
an ni-ki [ ]

---

1 Or du(y)u? Dim: sandag.  
2 Zigpu, Br. 8968.  
3 Šarur.  
4 Šarru, durmašu, Br. 10576-7.
**LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 111</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iti$^1$-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$^4$Li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 50. CBS. 14176</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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-šé). The whole seems to be a record of rules and regulations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 51. CBS. 8242</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fragment of historical inscription(?). List of gods, part of an official litany:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```
[ ] $^4$Nusku [ me-en ] .... Nusku art thou,  
[ ] $^4$nu-tug-nir-ra [ me-en ] .... Nutugnirra art thou,  
[ ] nibruk$^2$ [ me-en ] .... of Nippur art thou,  
[ ] sig è-kur-ka [ me-en ] .... bricks of Ekur art thou,  
[ ] uruk$^2$ ma [ me-en ] .... in Ur art thou,  
[ ] $^4$En-lil-li [ me-en ] .... Enlil,  
[ ] $^4$En-mu-su(d) [ me-en ] .... for... has removed afar,  
[ ] kalam(? sá-a [ me-en ] .... ruling the land art thou,  
[ ] $^4$En-lil-da [ me-en ] .... along with Enlil,  
[ ] En-lil-lá [ me-en ] .... of Enlil art thou.  
```

**Nu-tug-nirra:** “the prince invested with splendor” or “the prince of the shining weapon” is probably an epithet of Nin-uraš.

---

1 Gibb, tutulti, Br. 9433–4.
CBC. 4563 has a \textsuperscript{1}dNu-nam-nir. \textit{Nam-nir-ra} means: nobility (\textit{etellutu}), \textit{giš-tūg-nir}: the great weapon (\textit{kakku}). The god simply called \textit{dNu-nir}, is no other than Ninuruš ša miḫri,\textsuperscript{2} the god of fight and storm. The element \textit{tūg} may be dispensed with as we learn from the name of \textit{dNu-muš-da}\textsuperscript{3} or \textit{dNu-tūg-muš-da},\textsuperscript{4} the god of Kazallu,\textsuperscript{5} a serpent god\textsuperscript{6}(?).

\section*{No. 52. CBS. 14190}

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

\begin{center}
\texttt{il [ ] } \quad \texttt{ll ...} \\
\texttt{ki U-bar\textsuperscript{1} [Šamaš]} \quad \texttt{with Ubar-Šamaš,} \\
\texttt{nig-ga} \quad \texttt{the property} \\
\texttt{a-na-me-a[ri (?) ]} \quad \texttt{all he has ...} \\
\texttt{tab-ba} \quad \texttt{shall be in partnership.}
\end{center}

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

\section*{No. 53. CBS. 14184}

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

\begin{center}
\texttt{Gan 1 \textit{d}Sin-la-a-a-ar} \quad \texttt{The field of Sin-tajar,} \\
\texttt{I-Iš-a-pī-li-im} \quad \texttt{Iliawilim,} \\
\texttt{nam-bi-an-ma\textsuperscript{8} šu-ib-ta-an-ē} \quad \texttt{under year term, holds it by lease.} \\
\texttt{Ka-šer mu i kām} \quad \texttt{The rent for 1 year} \\
\texttt{igi 4 gäl 5 še kù babbar} \quad \texttt{shall be \(\frac{1}{4}\) shekel + 5 grains of silver,} \\
\texttt{ša(g)-ga ne-ib-du(g)-ga} \quad \texttt{being satisfied at heart.} \\
\texttt{en-na-an-šū} \quad \texttt{Up to that day,} \\
\texttt{gan-bi ni-gā} \quad \texttt{he shall cultivate the field} \\
\texttt{apin-bi ni-gā} \quad \texttt{and irrigate it.}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1} PBS. X, 2, No. 9.
\textsuperscript{2} Br. 1997.
\textsuperscript{3} CBS. 4577 (LANGDON, PBS. X, 2.).
\textsuperscript{4} OBI. 125, obv. 8.
\textsuperscript{5} Cf. No. 3: Bašša-dNu-muš-da, patesi of Kazallu.
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Šīru}. Serpent god on seal cylinders: DE CLERCQ, Cat. No. 141.
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Šatat}, Br. 2186. Cf. \textit{Mu-an-na}.
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. The longer formula as published by Thureau-Dangin 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.

4 gin kū-babbar
māš 10 gin 2 gin ta-ām
dah-ṭi-dam
ki 1Sin-nu-tūm ta
1 Bār Ma-ma
šu-ba-an-ṭi
Iti ši-ga ka
sum-mu-dam
igi 1Šamaš 4En-lil-lá
igi Im-gu-tūm
igi 1Sin-ma-gir
igi Ilu-ma-an-sum
Iti giš-apin-gab-e
mu 1Rī-im 1Sin lugal-e
Bad 1Da-mi-qa-t-li-šu
mu-un-dā-dār

4 shekels of silver.
Interest for every 10 shekels, 2 shekels shall be added.
From Sinnutum, Bur-Mama, has received it.
On the month of Simanu It shall be paid.
Witness: Šamaš-Enlilla, Imgutum, Simmagir, Ilumansum,
Month of Warah-samna, Year in which King Rim-Sin
occupied the city of Damiq-ilišu.

1 Full study by A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, pp. 35-40.
2 RA. VIII, 81.
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 Illi-Idinnam as salary to an employee, by the hands of responsible agents (gîr). A receipt was required.

... silver shekel
when he left Larsa
agent: ... bunim

... Nin d...

1 garment, agent: Ubar-Lulu.

1 garment, Šarru ... bi- ni, in Larsam, have given him

1 garment 1 better sort garment, 10 silver shekels
10 sheep, 1 gur of barley flour,
agent: Ubar Lulu and ... Šamaš

1 garment ...
total 9 silver shekels, 6 garments
11 sheep, 1 gur of barley flour.
when I brought him into Larsa.

1 garment 150 ga of barley each one of 8 months
when I brought him from Larsa
to Al Illi-Idinnam
agent: Ubar Lulu.

1 garment, agent: Sinidlangiš, the clothier
when doing the plantation;
total: 2 garments, 10 manehs of wool,
150 še ta-ām itu 8 kam  
ša iš-tu Larsamki il-li-kam  
ad-di-nu-šum  
šu-tu-a Nu-ur 4da... ta(?)
1 šubatu 5 šiglu kaspi nu-ka-až-di ...  
½ šiglu kaspi E-ḫi giš-ma-nu-uk ...  
ša be-li-su-nu i-na ṭu-su ...  
id-di-nu-šum.

150 (qa) of barley each one of the 8 months  
when he left Larsam,  
I gave unto him.  
Receipts from Nûr .....  
1 garment, 6 silver shekels of Nukazdi .....  
½ silver shekel of Eḫigišmanuk .....  
which their masters as guaranty 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

[ A(?) ]-bi-ši agruti ka-ri(?)-um  
List(?) of mercenaries for granaries  
[ ] ša i-na Sipparki wa-aš-bu  
who are lodged in Sippar.  
Adadšarrum son of Nablunim-ilu  
[ 1 ] I-bi šamaš mar I-a-h-ri-bu  
Ibi-Šamaš son of Iaḫriḫu  
[ 1 ] 2 gin pa Ni-id-nu-um(?)  
2 shekels(?), clerk Nidnum,  
Kabierah,  
[ ] 2 gin pa Ka-bi-e-ra-aḫ ...  
2 shekels(?), clerk Kabieraḫ  
[ ]-li Ka-ši-e mar I-ba-[ ]  
.. ti-Kaši son of Iba...  
[ ] pa Mu-ti a-ra-mu  
... clerk Muti-aramu  
[ ] šab-la kaspa im-ḫu-ru  
... of the workmen(?) have received the money.  
[ ]-ši-dam la i-li-[ ]  
... have not gone(?)...  

Re reverse

[ ] šab-la e-ne(?) ud iš-šu  
... of the workmen when .....  
[ ] a-na agruti ... [ ]  
... to the mercenaries  
[ ]-la-ba šu-ba-ti(?) [ ]  
... received.  
40 agruti ...  
40 mercenaries ...

1  Abîtu: decision.  Ebiitu: dwelling.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>En</th>
<th>the lord</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d[</td>
<td>the divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-un-na-</td>
<td>had</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar-ra</td>
<td>away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbir [k]</td>
<td>in Sippar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uru-bi-la ki-šu-gi [ ]</td>
<td>in the city, he restored,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bād-bi ni-libir [ ]</td>
<td>its wall had decayed,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē babbar-ra</td>
<td>the temple Eabbar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-šu-gi-gi-de</td>
<td>in order to restore;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū-nir gi-unú-na</td>
<td>his august ziggurat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mah-a-ni</td>
<td>where he has his shrine,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sag-bi an-dim</td>
<td>in order to raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-i-de</td>
<td>its head unto heaven;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Babbar &quot;Šú-nir-da-ir</td>
<td>for Šamaš and Aa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-dūr aṣag-ne-ne-a</td>
<td>in their magnificent abode,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bād nig-hul-hul-la-bi-šú</td>
<td>in order to lead them within the walls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu(r)-tu(r)-de</td>
<td>where they rejoice,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-gar &quot;Babbar (?) ma-da-na</td>
<td>where the message of Šamaš are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-in-di(g)-ga-a</td>
<td>conveyed to his land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ud-bi-a</td>
<td>in that day, when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur-sag dun &quot;Babbar</td>
<td>the valiant hero Šamaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam-gal &quot;En-tu-ge</td>
<td>the great dignity of Sin (?) or Enlil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbir ē babbar-ra</td>
<td>at Sippar in Eabbar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-ni-in-lar-ra [ ]</td>
<td>partook,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hul-la-dim</td>
<td>in sign of rejoicing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gir (?) ma-na-ni [ ]</td>
<td>were sent (?) . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-ne-in [ ]</td>
<td>the temple . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column II

dumu (?) lugal? [ |
kur gu [ |
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

No. 58. CBS. 8288

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

A-na Lu-غا-a
ki-bi-ma
um-ma Šumi-i-bu-šu...
4En-lil 4Nin-lil
li-ba-al-li-tu-ka
60 karpat šammī a-ša-ri-da
a-na Babiliṭi i-sakiṭir...
šu-bi-i-ma [ ] i-ka-al
i-bî qa-al [ ] il-ta-ad (?) [To Lugā
speak:
So says Šumi-ilishu
May Enlil and Ninlil
grant thee life.
60 pots of first quality oil (?) to Babylon have been...
nets (?) or birds (?) in Nippur,
send and...
he shall be able (?) command...
he shall give (?)

No. 59. CBS. 14212

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

mu dag gir-ka-gal-la ba-tum.

Year when the stone: "sword of great command" was brought up.

No. 60. CBS. 8359

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

[ ] 4Nusku to Nusku
[ ] 4Ea to Ea
[ ] 4Nin-uriš to Ninib
gu(d) udu 4Pa-gibil-sag bull, sheep to Pagibilsag.
gu(d) sig-šu (?) 4Ezinu. bull, twisted wool (?) to Ašnan.

1 Or karânu: wine; karunnu: sesame-wine.
2 Shību: matting (or squeeze, mould?). Shību: to catch. Sibû ša isṣuri, SAI. 7685.
3 Or sal-ši-qar?
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tablet of the regular meat (offerings)</td>
<td>Tablet of the regular meat (offerings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablet of the temple of Nusku (?)</td>
<td>Tablet of the temple of Nusku (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within 1 year,</td>
<td>within 1 year,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which the king has established,</td>
<td>which the king has established,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the 20th of Simanu,</td>
<td>the 20th of Simanu,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Num-me-tag: gašam, abkallu.
2 Num-ninnu?
3 Or Sàl-sîl: she-lamb.
4 Or: gwn-nag-ğà, libation vase.
5 Cf. dUmun-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, 31b. Offering for the time of the new-moon, the full-moon, the end of the month.
8 Cf. ana šattuš umûm s, ana pašur dŠamaš, Ururuš, d), SAK. p. 162.
mu "Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal
the year when King Hammurabi
ka "En-lil-lā ta
by order of Enlil
bād Ma-ri
destroyed the
mu-un-gul-u-la
walls of Maer.
1 udu-ú-num-gum
1 slaughtered large grazed sheep.
1 ha sig
1 fine fish
70 (qa) ziq-sag
6 qa tíd gum gar-sal
6 qa of choice flour,
12 qa tíd hál
12 qa of pounded flour, women food
3/4 qa 5 gin a-tir
12 qa of coarse flour,
15 gin ta-mi-du-um sar
55 gin of a-tir
[ ]-ug sar.
15 gin of šamiru plante

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 qa [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 qa 10 gin [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6½ gin ía [-nun ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-na kam-a 3 eglí 13 bur-gi 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2 peš ab-ba ha-sti(g) 5 | 2 big sea fishes, dried up fishes,
| 5 qa kaš sig | 5 qa of choice drink |
| 10 (qa) tíd gum | 10 qa of pounded flour,
| 20 (qa) kaš du si-gar hál | 20 qa of common drink, for the locks,
| šuku(m) ud te-na ud gi(g) ba 6 | food for the twilight, for the verging night |
| 2 munšub 7 udu | 2 sheep skins |
| 2 qa gar sag | 2 qa of fine food, |
| 1 qa gar tíd-gum | 1 qa of pounded flour |
| 1 qa gar gal | 1 qa of grand food |
| 1 gam gar iá-de-a iá-nun | 1 gam of food besmeared with oil, and butter |

---
1 Saqgu flour, SAL. 11325, 11445.
2 Cf. gi ša-mi-ri-tum, MYHRMAN, BE. III, No. 76, l. 22. And samru: ṣa.de.
3 Kam: ṭarin. Cf. ṣar, and kamašu.
5 Halatu, malatu, dried up, split open.
6 Cf. Le temps des rois d’Ur, pp. 42-43.
7 Ibid., p. 42: tab+subur-lu, Sarlu.
Column III

1 bur [-gi . . .
1 ḫa sig [ . . .
12 bur-ḫi . . [
2½ qa kaš [ .
šuku(m) ud te-na [ .
2 munšub udni [ .
1 qa gar gīg-[um
1 gam gar-iḏ]-de-a
2 [ . . . .
[ . . . .

Column V

88½ qa [ .
118 qa [ .
2 (gur) 218 ga ṣa
šuku(m) šu-gi-na mu 2 kam
iš-šu 6 udu
3 (gur) 84½ ga 4 gin
1½ qa ka-lum 3 qa ka-lum ni(?)-tuk
5 qa 9 gin ūkun
5½ qa ǘd-giš
½ qa 4 gin ga-baḫer
½ qa 4 gin lugal-ê-a
½ qa ma+gunu [ . . .
[ . . . .

Column VI

] nar-sa
[ 3 qa ? ]-3 bur-ḫi
6 nin-dingir
1 qa 1 bur-ḫi
1 qa kaš dumu-sal
lā-tingir-ra

. . . . . . . . . . . .the singers . . . . .
3 qa 3 pots . .
6 priestesses.
1 qa 1 pot
1 qa of drink to the daughter
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+suḫur-tu*. The Yale syllabary\(^2\) knows several signs composed with: wool, sig.  
1. sig+lam, No. 182-185: bakû (še); pašâšu (šeš); šikinnu (šikin); mudulu, kirētu (adkin).  
2. sig+lam+suḫur, No. 186-187: ittutti (aš); šartu (mim-šub).

The second sign is identical to *taḫ+suḫur* 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 omen so closely connected. We had already noted how the sign resembles the sign for presage (*užu*: purussu) in the code (XXVII, 27). The skin could be used as a leather bottle for libation (*taḫ+suḫur 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 kirētu; 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.

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mu} & \text{I} \text{mmeru be-li-\text{ta-din}} \\
\text{mu} & \text{Lul-lu-ba-a-i} \text{ dub-sar} \\
\text{mu} & \text{Apil} \text{ } \text{Zêr-ub-la} \\
\text{mu} & \text{Ma-la-ḫi-e} \\
\text{mu} & \text{I-li-ki-l-la-an-ni} \\
\text{[mu]} & \text{Nu-bu-bi-i-a} \text{ ša-a} \\
\end{array}\]

No. 63. CBS. 14124

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

\[\text{mu nig bâr-bâr-ra gur-gur^4-ra}\]

\(^1\) *Le temps des rois d’Ur*, p. 42.  
\(^3\) Kamānu, 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.

\[ \text{[ } \text{šes-a-ni 10 gin [guškin dim} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{bi šes-a-ni 10 gin [guš-}
\[ \text{[ } \text{kin-dim} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{bi dumu-a-ni 5 gin guš-}
\[ \text{[ } \text{kin-dim} \]
\[ \text{gilsa dam-a-ni 5 gin guškin-}
\[ \text{[ } \text{dim} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{šes-a-ni 5 gin guškin-dim} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{bi his brother for 10 gold gin} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{bi his brother for 10 gold gin} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{bi his son for 5 gold gin} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{gilsa his wife for 5 gold gin} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{abkirabe his daughter for 5 gold} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Sin-ludlul his daughter for 5 gold} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Raggab Sinbalti his daughter for 5} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{7 ki-in-nu ša Šamaš-da-a-an} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{7 kinsfolk of Šamaš-daian} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{sag-geme-uru 2 ma-na 10 gin} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{12 female and male slaves for 2 manehs} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{guškin-dim 19 gin gold} \]
\[ \text{Pu-ut-ilidumuSag\textsuperscript{d} En-lil-lilugal-ne-ne} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Pu-ut-ili son of Sag Enlil their creditor,} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Ki-di-ni-nu-am\textsuperscript{d} En-lil-li pisàn-} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Kidininum-Enlil archivist at} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{dub-ba-a Nibirú\textsuperscript{d}-a} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Nippur} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{dumu\textsuperscript{d} Nin-uraš-nādin-} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{ab} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{son of Ninib-nadin-âhe} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{šam-lil-la bi-šû-ne-ne} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{for their full price.} \]

No. 65. CBS. 15120

Fragment of historical inscription(?).

Obverse

\[ \text{[ } \text{bi-lal-a ki-azag-ga dû-a} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{built in a splendid place} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{ki-su-su-gar ú tu-ri gar-gar-a} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{place of increase and sickness(?)...} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{tûr nig-nu-silig-gi} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{court for all that is weak} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Nin-gâ-gi-a\textsuperscript{1} iskim-maḫ} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{Nin-gagia great divineress} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{En-lil-la} \]
\[ \text{[ } \text{of Enlil.} \]

\textsuperscript{1}Gapam, cloister. Cf. Atâ (ni-gab) bâb ga-gi-im, CT. II, 41, I, 9; IV, 49 b; VI, 44a, l. 10. H. Ranke, BE. VI, 1, p. 22. The gapam of the priestess at Sippar discovered by Scheil.
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

Reverse

[ ] -nam-gú dImmer a-ma-ru uru ... the destruction of Adad, the storm, 
  ur ... ra the tornado ...
[ ] īr-la rim-ma .... removed from the foundation.
[ ] -ki(? ) ḫar-sag dag esig dag [ ] .... 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 (riggu), the inspector (atu),
the “washer of the pavement” (kisalluḫu), the “vessel keeper”
(sahbaru). 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 Segurkud, of the 24th
year of Samsuiluna.

Obverse

Nam-šutug nam-šab nam-lù-šim
  The offices of anointer, seer, confectioner,
nam-ni-gab nam-kisal-luḫ nam-bur-sar
  inspector, pavement-washer, vessel
  keeper,
ē 4 En-ki 4Dam-gal-nun-na mu-a ud? -12
  in the temple of Enki Damgalnunna,
bal-gub-ba 4A-al-ta-a 4Nin-uraš ni-
  taken in charge by Ąttā-N nib the ...
ù 4Nin-uraš e [   
  and Ninib-e ....
          
1 ḫabâlu.
2 Who opens the door(?).
3 Date alone published in, PBS. V, No. 69.
4 Sign REC. 230. Cf. Ur dŠu — — —, Ur dŠal — — —, REISNER, Telloh, No. 125, 141: MIO.
      Tello, No. 830.
5 Bârû ta širi, Br. 5668.
6 Sahbara, 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

igi dEn-lil ma-[ ]  Witness Enlil ma
igi A-at-ta-[ ]  Attâ-Ninib
igi A-pi-li-a bur-gul igi dEn-lil-li [ ]  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: ramā). The old field is acquired by the king, probably Hammurabi, in order to make a cemetery. The tablet is dated on Sabat of his 33rd year.

Mu 3 gan a-ša(g) ṣag-ga ba-an-gub

sib-la mu nam-uru-gal-ša
nig Ilu-iddinam
lugal-e šu Ilu-iddinam

ab-ta-ē
ana "Sin-is-me-ni
ù "Sin-e-ri-ba-am
dumu-me Ibu-kī-štar šes-a-ni
4 gan a-ša(g) gibīl-lā
uš-a-du "Nanna(r)-a-a
ù 3 gīn kū-abbābar
šu-ri-a-bi
ana Ilu-iddinam-ra
in-na-an-bal
igi Ap-lūm dumu "Sin-līgiš
igi dNin-waš mu-ša-līm
dumu Lū dBu-ū
igi dSin-ib-du-um
dumu Na-bi dSin
igi I-bi dŠamaš uku-uš pa-te-si

dumu Im-gu-ru-um
igi I-bi-ep-pa-al-za
dumu Ibu-da-lum
igi A-pi-il-ia bur-gul
dumu Ur dBa-ū

Concerning 3 acres of field "standing in front"
a pasture, to use as burying ground
property of Ilu-iddinam,
the king, from the hands of Ilu-iddinam,
has acquired.
To Sin-ismeni,
and Sin-eribam,
sons of Ibu-štar, his brother,
4 acres of new field,
one side along Nannaraja
and 3 silver shekels
as cession price
to Ilu-iddinam
were given in exchange.
Witness Aplum son of Sin-līgiš,
Ninib-mušālim
son of Lu-Bau,
Sin-ibdūm,
son of Nabi-Sin
Ibi-Šamaš head messenger of
the patesi
son of Imgurum
Ili-ippalza
son of Ibdatum.
Aplia the seal cutter
son of Ur-Bau.
No. 68. CBS. 14199

Cassite letter.

**Obverse**

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

**Reverse**

li-[ ] he shall ...
ù umma a-[na ] and so for ...
ša ra-[bi ... that is great ...
ù pa[ ] šu-šu il (?)-tu and in face of ... come out they claim.
i-na-an-na a-na pa-ni be-li-ia-ma Now it is all under the eyes of my master.

The associates Uzza, Anriši and ... We have taken Anriši
ni-ki-im-ma An-riši ... Now in the fortress the master shall ...
i-na-an-na i-na dan-na-am (?) be-li il-[ and shall make alliance ... and
li-is-lam (?) da (?)-ik (?) li ... am-ma in front of my master may ... and ...
i-pi be-li-ia lu ... mir (?) and ... is to my master.
ù ... am-ma anu be-li-ma.

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**

[ ] ' Na-zi-marad-daš šar šarrê (?) ... Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)
[ ] ' Na-zi-marad-daš šar šarrê (?) ... Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM—BABYLONIAN SECTION

[ ] ša-te kal a-a³-meš ši-kar [ ]-ri ... drink of all fathers, was(?) dattelwine

a-na haṭṭi(-i)-šal-la dar-bu-u ur [ ]
to Haṭṭī-šalla(?) offspring of (?).
al(?)-lu(?) a-na karani
.. drink(?) in grape-wine.
il-la-na-aš-kə-nu-ma sip-ši ši lu [ ]
they have been brought down and its covering ...

la i-kaš-ši-du li-tum u ki-ši-[tum.]
they have not been taken, victory and
qatē ut šepā(?)
conquest of hands and ...

na-ki-ri-šu la i-šak-ka-nu gaš-ri
his enemies shall not lay on in force.
Marduk-murimki son of Šamaš-Suri,
1'Marduk-mu-rim-ki apil 1 Šamaš-
šu-ri
ina šu-tum(?) 1Marduk beli-šu ina biti
they in dream saw Marduk his lord in the
u-šab-ri-ma
temple, and
qatē 1Enlil beli-šu ina biti ša ki-rib
the hands of Enlil his lord in the
Ni-brū a(?)(?) aš(?) [ ]
temple that ... inside of Nippur ..
ma-ag-ga(?)-du(?) karani ba-at-šu
a vase (offering) of wine that had
la šal-mu iš-ša-lu-šu
ceased no more intact was dedi-
cated to him,

i-na ter-tum patri šu ša-qu šari Ḗ-kur šu
with the sign of his lofty spear, the
ni-šu-na-ku-šu
wind of his temple Ékur, of his

censer,
i-nat-tu-ši ma-la ūb-a-a a-na 1En-lil
they crushed it, all whatever ap-
u [ ]-ri(?)
proached Enlil. they ....
o Na-zi-marad-daš a-mat 1En-lil beli
Nazi-maruttaš exalted the word of
il-la id-ma
the lord Enlil,

alāni mašŠa mat Nam-ri ma-la [bašu-ú]
all cities that were in the Mat Namri ...
ina ki ... ri dan [ ]
in strong ....
u-šab [ ]
he caused to ...
......

Reverse

[ ] 12 alāni mašš pi-baṭ [ ]
...... u [ ]
...... 12 cities of the district of...

a-na kan-ga-nu 1En-lil beli-šu u-šik [ ]
to the dominion of his lord Enlil he
du-ur da-riš
subjected for ever
a-na qatē 1En-lil mu-im-bi bi-ašu ri-ba
into the hands of Enlil, who let shine(?)
ali gar-ri
the ruins(?) a fourth of city (for)
destruction(?)
li-na-it-bal-kid(?)(?) karamu, dispšu, šimetu,
he delivered (?) wine, honey, butter,
inbu
fruits

1 Or: kal-abē.
2 Cf. magdû, magaddu, magdadu.
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

99

š-e-i ma-la ba-šu-u
Pi duppi 'i-i En-lil-ia-ḥa(?)-nu

' Ba-šu-ţu bal-šu 'i-Enlil
u 'i-Ninlil 'i-Ninib u 'i-Nusku
... i-ta-bal-šu ina-arhi-šu
[a-na(?)] bēli-šu i-sa-šir-šu

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

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 (:a) še ḫar-ra giš-bar dingir še-ba
ki 'i Marduk-ni-ţu
'Nabû-na-ţin-aţhē mei
šu-ba-an-li
a-na um eburi ša
ni-šam-e
Arāb Tašriti
um 21 kam
mu 16 kam.
' Nabû-na-ţin-aţhē mei
i-ţu
i-na duppi 'i Kur-ă-ţu-ţu
[ ]-a-ni ka-ni-ik

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

from Marduk-nizu
Nabû-na-ţin-aţhē has received.
On the day of harvesting
he shall pay.
Month of Tašrit
the 21st day,
the 16th year.
Nabû-na-ţin-aţhē
when
on the tablet of Kurazuzu
his seal(?) was impressed.

No. 71. CBS. 7188
Food receipt, dated the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil, under the seal of Ninib-na-ţin.

4 (gur) 10 (qa) gene giš-bar 300 qa(?).
ak-lum ḫar-ra-nu Larsam ki
gati 'i Aši Šamaš Adad
ina li-bbi 'i Ta-ti-ik(?)
na-as-ha-am-ma,
ka-an-ka-sa(?)-šu

4 gur 10 qa of flour, measure of 300 qa
food for the expedition of Larsa,
into the hands of Aši-Šamaš-Adad
On Tašik
it was drawn and
marked with his seal.

No. 72. CBS. 14203
Donation.
Na-din-tu ša 'i Ti-ţu Marduk
a-na Ši-lu-u-li i-din-nu.

Donation that Tizu-Marduk
bestowed on Šiluti.
1 sikkatu . . . na i-si-ḫi ti-ra
i-na šatī 5 ma-lu-li En-lil
1 ma-na šipati 10 (qa) iâ-ḫiš i-na alī Larsamū
1 ma-na šipati 150 (qa) i-na alī Nibru
lubuštu kab-ru ḫī Nīg-ba-ia āmu-ni šu
Naphar 4, ½, ⅔ nig hurasi ša i-na qati
Ti-tu Marduk ḫī lu-lu maḫ-ru

1 peg . . . to close a cover
during 5 years to Malul-Enlil
1 pound of wool, 10 qa of sesame oil at
Larsa
1 pound of wool, 150 qa at Nippur
1 heavy garment for Nigbaia his son
Napbar 4,
Total 4+⅔+⅔ nig of gold belonging
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 Šagarakti-Šuriaš.

2 eru ki-tu-u ša ma-la(?)
2½ ma-na ki-lal-bi
ša ištu alī Ardi-bēlit
iš-šu-nim
qati ḫī Amel Marduk
1 eru ku-lu-u
............
2 copper covers, that . . .
2½ pounds their weight,
which from the city of Ardi bēlit
they removed
by the hands of Amel Marduk.
1 copper vase

No. 76. CBS. 15220
Cassite letter.

Obverse
A-na be-li-ia qi-ḫi-ma
um-ma ḫī Marduk-ri-šu na-ka . .
a-na di-na-an be-li-ia lu-ul-lik
ana alī šulmu ʿē-ding-ri šu-ul-mu
72 ša-ki-lum ša-par-

To my master say:
thus (speaks) Marduk-rišēšu . .
To the justice of my master may I
find access
Peace to the city and peace to the
temple.
72 keeper of . . .
LEON LEGRAIN—HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

[ ] ṭūnir-gal nibruki

. . . temple of the hero of Nippur

[ ] im-lu ba [ ] ir ga-a-ti

. . . have filled . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ..
Obverse

\[ \text{naphar } 30 \text{ me-e nár [ } \text{total 30 canals of the river . . .} \]
\[ 26 \text{ ali Dûl-bu [ } \text{26 of the village(?) Dulbu,} \]
\[ 4 \text{ ali Kislah-bi } \text{ki } \text{4 of Kislaḥbi,} \]
\[ 10 \text{ ali Dûr } \text{"Nin-maḥ } \text{ki } \text{10 of Dûr-Ninmaḥ,} \]
\[ 11 \text{ ali Kar } \text{"Ba-šu } \text{ki } \text{11 of Kar-Bau,} \]
\[ 10 \text{ ali } \text{pa-te-si } \text{meš } \text{ki } \text{10 of "The patesis,"} \]
\[ 7 \text{ ali } \text{Ur-ši } \text{"En-lil } \text{ki } \text{7 of Urpi-Enlil,} \]
\[ 8 \text{ ali Karri } \text{! Kar-zi-lim } \text{ki } \text{8 of Karri-Karzitim} \]
\[ \text{naphar } 76 \text{ me-e nár pihatki ali Kar } \text{"Nin-lil Total 76 canals from the river in the} \]
\[ \text{ki } \text{district of Kar-Ninlil.} \]
\[ 12 \text{ ali Bit } \text{"En-šu } \text{ki } \text{12 of Bit-Enšu,} \]
\[ \text{me-e nár eššu-ti canals of the Nár-eššuti.} \]
\[ \text{Šu-nigin } 138 \text{ har git-ma-lu-u-tum, Total 138 canals completely cut cover-} \]
\[ \text{wa-pa-lim edin-na ing the plain.} \]

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-Bēlit. 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 excavated\(^1\) 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 Cassite\(^2\) 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-Bélit. 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

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\(^1\) 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 × 113\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet and 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) 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, I.
his daughter as a wife to the son and heir of Burnaburias. 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-Belit was a good precaution in the
troubled days of Nazi-maruttaš.

Obverse

Du-ul-li ḫuruši ša Nippuri į Dūr-
Ka-ri-gal-[ca
ša a-na ʾArdi-Bēlīt įna ʾarab ʾSabāti
ša šanat 5bam Na-zi-[ma-ru-ul-ta-aš
šarri
1 kutallu ḫuruši ga-na-ši-ad-du 1 ʾabam ʾukni
šam-ti-ru ʾabam
2 kutallē ḫuruši ʾu-ʾup-pa-um 2

1 Ganamnu.
2 Šubatu.

Gold work from Nippur and Dūr-
Kurigalzu, brought into Ardi-Bēlīt, in the month
of Ṣabat, the 5th year of King Nazi-maruttaš

1 casket of gold with a cover of lapis-
lauzuli and a bottom of ... stone,
2 caskets of gold coating,
1 e-rum ūṛūṣi ša ħar-ba-ga-ni û
   a-a-ra-ni  after ka-ni]
1 e-rum ūṛūṣi ša ga-na-an-di 5 inē
   mušgarriš ra-ki[  5 boxes of gold coating, 14shekels
5 e-rum ūṛūṣi ū-ṛu-pu-ti-mu 14š[  siglu
   šugul-ti  in weight
7 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-tiš ūṛūṣi 11
   šiglu] 7 necklaces in form of chain of gold,
2 KI-SUHURš pu-gu-ti ūṛūṣi 14
   šiglu] 2 necklaces in form of thorns of gold,
1 KI-SUHURš ša-an-šu
   ši-na-ti [  1 necklace in form of thorns, with a
2 ŠAR-ŠUš ša ip-piš] 2 bracelets of gold with fruits(?)...
   šiglu] 3... of gold coating ..., 3 shekels...
2 ŠAR-[GIR ša[i la ši-aššu 2 anklets of gold ...
2 aššušuš ša it-tiš patīš 1 seal cylinders of lapis lazuli with
2 aššušuš ša it-tiš patīš 1 seal cylinders of chalcedony stones,
1 aššušuš ša it-tiš patīš 1 seal cylinder of agate with gold
5 NUNUZ-INš ša it-tiš patīš 5 necklaces of large chalcedony stones,
7 inēš ša at-tiš ša lu-li da-ni-tum
   šu-šu [ūṛūṣi 7 eyes of chalcedony stone together
6 inēš ša iš sīb-ti šu-šu 6 eyes of small chalcedony stone, no
11 bi-ir-šuš mušgarriš aššuš šu-šu 4 eyes of agate with gold mounting
11 bi-ir-šuš mušgarriš aššuš šu-šu 11 cut (hilt or ring?) agate stones together with 6 arms ...
2 tu-di-šuš ūš 2 breastplates of lapis lazuli ...
2 lu-di-it-ti \textit{aban} mu\textit{garri} \text{[ ]} 2 breastplates of agate . . . .
8 in-qa-ap-ti ḫa-še-e\textsuperscript{4} ḫurāṣi 8 earrings of compact gold,
8 in-qa-ap-ti \textit{aban} ḫurāṣi 8 earrings of lapis lazuli,
1 ša-an\textsuperscript{6} dup-pi \textit{aban} parri la ib-ṣu 1 tablet mould of chalcedony, no
mounting,
1 li-ša-nu\textsuperscript{6} ša ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī 1 tongue of russet gold,
napḫaru ša Nippuri ki total from Nippur;

\textbf{Reverse}

1 kutallu ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī \frac{3}{2} ma-na šuqulti 1 casket of russet gold \frac{3}{2} maneh in
weight,
2 e-ru ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī a-di ša iš-ti 2 boxes of russet gold together with
Lu-ub-di\ldots ra 15 ši₅tu šuqulti one . . . from Lubdi, 15 shekels
in weight,
3 e-ru ḫurāṣi piṣṭi 11 ši₅tu šuqulti 3 boxes of pale gold 11 shekels in
weight,
3 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-li ḫirāṣi ruṣṣī 10\frac{1}{2} ši₅tu šuqulti 3 necklaces in form of chain of russet
gold, \frac{10}{3} shekels in weight,
2 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-li ḫirāṣi ruṣṣī 10 ši₅tu šuqulti 2 necklaces, idem, 10 shekels in weight,
2 HAR-SÙ ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī 1 iš-ti ši₅tu 2 bracelets of russet gold, with a facing
17\frac{1}{2} ši₅tu šuqulti in shape of a bull, \frac{17}{2} shekels in weight,
1 HAR-GIR ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī 2 ši₅tu \text{[ ]} 1 anklet of russet gold, 2 shekels
napḫaru ša Dûr-Ku-ri-gal-za qat . . . from Dûr-Kurigalzu, from the
hand of Sabar . . . .
1 Sa-bar \text{[ ]} 5 boxes of russet gold coating . . .
5 e-ru ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī ẓu-up-pu-tum \text{[ ]} 1 bracelet of russet gold coating . . .
1 HAR-ŠÙ ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī ẓu-up-pu-tum \text{[ ]} 1 anklet of russet gold coating . . .
1 HAR-GIR ḫurāṣi ruṣṣī ẓu-up-pu-
tum \text{[ ]}
11 NUNUZ-IN \textit{aban} parri \textit{aban} mu\textit{garri} 11 necklaces of chalcedony, agate,
\textit{aban} \text{[ ]} 5 . . . stones,
5 \textit{aban} \text{[ ]} total from Ninib-riju.
[napḫaru] \textit{iu} Nin-uraš-ri-ṣu \text{[ ]} \text{[ ]} . . . of gold coating . . .
10 \text{[ ]} Month of Šabat, the 25th
\textit{a-ra} Šabati til 25 \textit{kam}
\textit{sallu} 5 \textit{kam}
Na-ṣi-ma-ru-ul-ta-aṣ 1arri of King Nazimaruttaš

\textsuperscript{1} Hašt: entrails,
\textsuperscript{2} šumu.
\textsuperscript{3} Nabd. 33, 1.
\textsuperscript{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

[ ]-êr-matâti mat i-bi-iš-ma[. . . . . the land he governed and

[ ] še-šu-šuUm. . . . . under his feet.

[ ] é-sag-il u Babî'uk . . . . . Esagil and Babylon,

[ ] mu-kin sa-tuk-ku . . . . . fixing the offering

[ ] Babîlîki sa-li-ib-šu-u . . . . . of Babylon, its outer wall

[ ]-u šu-bat-su . . . . . its dwelling

[ ] ušum]-gal kalam-ma ú-lir-ú-ma . . . . . the great . . . of the land, he re-

stored and

[ ] da-ra-a-ti . . . . . . eternal,

[ ] ul-šu ki-rib mat Aššurki . . . . . out of Assur,

[ ] šu-šu is-gu-riš-u-un . . . . . there he proclaimed them

[ ] ma-ša-si rabutišme . . . . . great . . .

[ uš-te]-ši-ru šu láq-bu . . . . . her ordered purifications

[ ] ù Akkadiki . . . . . [of Sumer] and Akkad

[ ] ni mar ' Ada-ad šar . . . . . son of Adad(?) king of Assur

mat Aššurki

[ ] ]-tu-ki ša-pa-a-a . . . . . . . of my lips

[ ] lil? bél matâti bél-ia ša šar Enlil(?) lord of the countries, my lord

ma-ki-i . . . . . who a king of destruction(?)

] igardî . . . . . . . . . . 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-là (Rev. 3); mul la-mi-na-ti(la) (Rev. 5); mul ... bar-gal, mul-dil-bat ... (Rev. 10, 11); mul ha ... (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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AUTOGRAPH TEXTS
PLATE XI

OBV
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REV

27

OBV
CBS 14193

REV

28

OBV
CBS 8370
REV

29
A SEAL GIVEN BY KING IBI-SIN TO THE HIGH PRIEST OF ENLIL. No. 5.
ENLARGED 6 TIMES.
C. B. S. 12570.
LIST OF KINGS. NO. 1
C. B. S. 14220.
ABOVE OVERSE. BELOW REVERSE.