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OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

SERIES A: CUNEIFORM TEXTS

EDITED BY
H. V. HILPRECHT

VOLUME VI. PART 2

BY
ARNO POEBEL

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PHILADELPHIA

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BABYLONIAN
LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS
FROM THE TIME OF
THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON
CHIEFLY FROM NIPPUR

BY
ARNO POEBEL. PH.D.
Formerly Harrison Research Fellow in Assyriology, University of Pennsylvania

60 Plates of Autographed Texts and 10 Plates of Halftone Illustrations

PHILADELPHIA
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Prof. Dr. Rudolf Flex
Prof. Dr. August Oesterheld
Prof. Dr. Otto Zimmermann

in Dankbarkeit
zugeeignet
EDITORIAL PREFACE.

In addition to the tablets dated in the reigns of kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, there have been included by Dr. Poebel in the present work nine cuneiform texts bearing the names of Rim-Sin and Wardi-Sin, of Larsam, which with several hundred others excavated in Nippur will constitute Volume V of Series A. Upon his application Dr. Poebel had likewise been entrusted with the publication of this volume, but unfortunately found it later impossible to carry out his original plans. In order to express their appreciation of Dr. Poebel's work done while in Philadelphia, the Committee granted him permission to include in the present publication the nine tablets referred to, reserving for themselves, however, the right of republishing them in the proper volume.

February 18, 1909. H. V. HILPRECHT.
PREFACE.

The present book has grown out of a dissertation presented in 1906 by the writer to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania, as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D., under the original title: Sechsundzwanzig Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Zeit Hammurabis und Ammizadugas in Umschrift, Uebersetzung und Kommentar, mit 8 Köpien. Since it had been determined that the thesis should form the basis for a volume of The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, I have considerably enlarged the work, the original portion of which, in the main, forms the contents of Chapter II of the present volume.

The autograph copies have been made in Philadelphia and in Constantinople in the years 1906 and 1907. In the winter of 1907-08 I collated a large number of tablets in the Berlin Museum, which I made use of in the list of date-formulas. Unfortunately my time did not allow me to complete this undertaking, nor did I, as was my purpose, have an opportunity to collate the date-formulas on tablets in the British Museum, which undoubtedly would have yielded important results. The manuscript of this volume had been completed and delivered to the Editor in May, 1908; but owing to the fact that not only the writer, but also the Editor and the Committee were absent from Philadelphia during the summer months, the printing could not begin before November, 1908.

It is a pleasant duty for me to publicly acknowledge here my heartiest thanks to those who have taken a kind interest in my studies, and who have supported me in the difficult and wearisome researches, a fruit of which is this work. I name especially the late Mr. Julius von Eichel-Streiber in Eisenach, Mr. Friedrich Georg von Eichel-Streiber in Eisenach, the Grossherzoglich Sächsische Staatsministerium, Departement des Kultus, and the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. C. C. Harrison, the founder of the Harrison Research Fellowship, the occupancy of which I have greatly enjoyed.

My sincere thanks are due also to Mr. W. L. King, for collating a number of passages on tablets in the British Museum; to his Excellency Hamdi Bey, and Dr.
Halil Bey, and to Prof. Fr. Delitzsch, for allowing me to copy and collate tablets in the Museums of Constantinople and Berlin, and besides the other members of the Publication Committee of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, especially to Mr. Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr., through whose generosity the Fund has been founded and maintained which made possible the publication of this volume.

Finally I feel greatly indebted to my friend, Prof. Albert T. Clay, of the University of Pennsylvania, who undertook to revise the English portions of my manuscript, and to the Editor, Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, who by his advice and kind assistance greatly facilitated my stay in Philadelphia as well as in Constantinople.

*Eisenach, January 28, 1909.*

Arno Poebel.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. .......... Ba. 91–5–9, 281 (list of dates), published by Pinches in C. T., VI (pl. 9 and 10), and King in L. I. H., Vol. II (No. 101).
B. E. .......... The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, edited by H. V. Hilprecht, published by the University of Pennsylvania.
Br. .......... R. E. Bruennow, A Classified List of all simple and compound Cuneiform Ideographs.
C. T. .......... Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, printed by order of the Trustees. Quotations as, e.g., VIII, 37b (p. 50) in the List of Date Formulas, refer to the respective volume of C. T., page and tablet.

F. .......... Berl. 5991 (list of dates), published by Ungnad, l.c., p. 46.
K. .......... Name of the king.
M. .......... B. Meissner, Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht (see B. A. P.).
O. .......... Object of sale, exchange, etc.
P. .......... A. Poebel, Babylonian Legal and Business Documents, etc. (present volume of B. E.).
P. N. .......... H. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names from the published tablets of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty (B. E., Series D, Vol. III).
I. R., etc. .......... Sir H. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vols. I–V.
X, Y, Z .......... Names of persons in the schemes.

{ xi }
TRANSCRIPTION OF SIGNS.

The numbers refer to Bruennow, Classified List.

A

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MEANING OF THE THREE KINDS OF BRACKETS USED IN CHAPTER IV, PAGES 56ff.

[ ]], large brackets refer to all the references in the right column.

[ ], small brackets placed somewhat higher (cf., e.g., p. 66, li. 4) refer only to the first reference.

[ '), small brackets placed somewhat lower (cf., e.g., p. 92, li. 13) refer only to the second reference.
# CONTENTS

## I. Introductory Remarks

### PAGE
1-2

## II. The Scheme of Legal Documents at Nippur:

<table>
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<td>VI. Marriage Contracts</td>
<td>35-38</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII. A Manumission Document</td>
<td>38-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Deeds of Loan</td>
<td>40-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Contracts of Hire</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>X. Leases</td>
<td>43-44</td>
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<td>XI. Acquittance</td>
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<td>XII. Memorandum of Grain</td>
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<td>XIII. Confirmation Document</td>
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<td>XIV. Agreements connected with Proceedings before a Court of Law</td>
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## III. The Seals

51-55

## IV. List of Date Formulas of the Time from Hammu-rabi to Samsu-ditana:

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<tr>
<td>7. Samsu-ditana</td>
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</table>

## V. The Naming of the Year after Events

109-112
VI. Outline of the Political History from Sin-muballit's Seventeenth Year to the end of the First Dynasty 113–122

VII. An Earlier King 123–124

VIII. Concordance of Proper Names:
1. Names of Persons from the Nippur Texts 125–139
2. Names of Persons from the Texts of the Appendix 139–144

IX. Table of Contents and Description of Objects:
1. Autograph Reproductions 145–161
2. Photograph Reproductions 162

X. Numbers of the Catalogues of the Babylonian Collections 163–164

XI. Cuneiform Texts Plates 1–60

XII. Halftone Reproductions Plates I–X
I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Of the cuneiform texts published here Nos. 1–7 and 10–69 were excavated at Nippur. They are dated in the reigns of Warad-Sin, Rim-Sin, Hammu-rabi, Samsum-iluna and Iluma-ilum, and embrace a period of about eighty or ninety years. As Prof. Hilprecht informs me, they were found for the greater part in the southwest section of Mound IV (cf. the map of the ruins of Nippur in Hilprecht, B. E., Series D, Vol. I, p. 305) during the first and second expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania. There are several documents among them belonging to one and the same person (Nos. 32–35 to Ahih-Uiskii, Nos. 64, 66 and 68 to NinIB-rahim-sirim, Nos. 40, 47 and 58 to Enlil-izzu, Nos. 10, 14 and 30 to Mar-irsitim and Nos. 17, 21, 25 and 27 to Nabi-Shamash), from which we may conclude that the tablets were found in the houses of their owners. It is of interest to notice that the persons named in the contracts to a large extent are connected with the temple of Enlil or with the houses or small temples of other gods.¹

No. 8 (and 9?), which is dated in the reign of Rim-Sin, was excavated by Dr. Peters at Yokha (cf. Peters, Nippur, Vol. II, p. 283 ff.). While resembling the Nippur tablets in important features, it differs from them in various respects.

Nos. 69a and b, giving the seal imprints on two earlier documents from Nippur, have been added because they furnish us additional evidence for our conclusions on the burgul seals.

Of the tablets published in the Appendix, Nos. 70, 72b, 78, 80, 137 and 138 were bought by the second expedition of the University of Pennsylvania from Arabs who stated that they came from Abu-Habba and El-Birs. These statements seem to be correct; but notice that No. 80, said to have come from El-Birs,² mentions Sippar as the place of payment. The other tablets are the fruit of a gleaning of the early legal documents of the Khabaza, Shemtob and Prince Collections of the University of Pennsylvania, from which Ranke already has published a selection of 119 tablets in Vol. VI, Part 1. With the exception of the undated texts,

¹ Enki and Damgalunnuna, Babbar and Enlil(?), Kusa, Lugal-esh-ana, Māk, Martu, Ninurta and Nusku.
² According to a slip attached to the tablet.
Nos. 137 and 138, the documents are dated in the reigns of Hammurabi, Samsu-iluna, Ammi-ditana, Ammi-zaduga and Samsu-ditana. Of a large number of tablets I have published only the date formulas, the contents of the document being either too much broken or of little interest. One of these documents (No. 130), however, which is provided with a date belonging to the time of Ammi-zaduga, is of great historical value, as it is a copy of a grant of land by an earlier king, who in the introductory lines enumerates his titles and his exploits. See p. 123.

The following sketches and remarks are intended to elucidate some questions connected with the contracts of the time of the first dynasty.
II. THE SCHEME OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS FROM NIPPUR.

I. Purchase Documents.

1. Purchase of House Property (6, 12, (18), 33, 34, 35, 38).

No. 33.

A. a. ½ sar 6 ùin é-dû-a
   da é E-a-i-din-nam pà-DÙ
   é dMar-tu-ma-lik
   dumu E-ri-ish-su-ma-tum
b. ki dMar-tu-ma-lik-ta
   £' A-bil-dMar-tu shesh-gal-a-ni
   in-shi-in-sham ³
B. sham-tîl-la-bî-shû
   9 ùin kû-babbar
   in-na-an-lâ(l)
C. a. ù-kûr-shû dMar-tu-ma-lik
   ù ibila-nî a-na-me-a-bi
   é-bi-shû gi-nu-un-mù-mà-a ³
b. mu lugal-bî in-pâ(d)

No. 12.

A. a. 1 sar 10 ùin é-dû-a
   shag-ba 1 ³ishig . . . . . . . . .
   gub-ba

¹ The scribes in Nippur distinguished between the verb šámu, "to buy", and the noun šînu, "purchase price." As the phonetic value sham given to the latter sign in Sb, 4:3 seems to have originated from she-a-an, it is possible that the sign without a-an had some other pronunciation, perhaps she. Cf. also the complement a instead of ma in 45 : 4.

² For the pronunciation gi-numanâ compare gi-nu-mà-mà, 10 : 36. The closing l of mal has disappeared by first becoming mouillé and finally being dropped. The l mouillé is still preserved in writings like gi-nu(-um)-mà-mà-ia, C. T., II, 14 : 15, IV, 17 : 15 (cf. Ranke, P. N., p. 12, note 2) and gi-nu-mà-mà-a(a = matia), P., 18 : 13. The last furnishes a new instance for the reading of a-a as aia. For another new example see note to Ennugi-inaiia.

[3]
One sar 10 gin of built house, in which a door . . . . is standing, on one side adjoining the house of Silli-NinIB, son of E-lu-ti, and Sin-eribam, son of Ellil-nishu, the front side towards Silli-NinIB, son of Silli-Ishtar, the exit into the lane of Sin-lidish, son of Azag-NinIB: the house of Imgur-NinIB, son of Ibasharrum, the eldest brother, of NinIB-abi (and) NinIB-gamil, his brother, sons of Lu-ga-tum, and of Manutum, their mother; from Imgur-NinIB, NinIB-abi, NinIB-gamil and Manutum, their mother, Sin-liwir, son of Enil-mansi, has bought it. As the complete purchase price he has paid them half a mine. In future Imgur-NinIB, NinIB-abi, NinIB-gamil, Manutum, their mother, and any heir of theirs shall make no claim to the house: by the name of the king they have sworn.

1 É-lā-a = bētu epshu (passive-intransitive adjective formation like bētu abtu, bētu nadā) designates the ground as far as it is covered with buildings. For its relation to é-kanalk and é-ki-shub-ba see p. 12, note 1. For the expression "so much area of built house," see remarks on Babylonian houses, pp. 25 and 26.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

2. Purchase of Field Property (31, 68).

No. 68.

A. a. \( \frac{1}{3} \) (bur) gan a-shag gûg-she
    shag a-shag Dul\(^4\)Sin-na
    sag-bi u'd A-bar-ri
    sag-bi min-kam-ma u'd Ba-i-kum
    us-a-rá \(^4\)Sin-ša-zi-ir dim
    a-shag \(^4\)Babar-an-dûl dumu \(^4\)Nin-IB-ga-mîl
       u I-da-tum dumu \(^4\)Nin-IB-nî-shu
b. ki \(^4\)Babar-an-dûl u I-da-tum-ta
   \(^4\)Nin-IB-ra-li-im-ši-ri-im
   dumu \(^4\)Nin-IB-ma-an-ši-ge
   in-shi-in-sham
B. sham-tîl-la-bî-shû
   12\(\frac{1}{2}\) gin kû-babbar
   in-na-an-lû(l)
C. a. ù-kûr-shû \(^4\)Babar-an-dûl I-da-tum
    ù ibîa-ne-ne a-na-me-a-bî
    a-shag-bî-shû \( \frac{1}{3} \) (bur) gan
    gî-nu-um-mâ-mâ-a
b. mu lugal-bî in-pâ(d)-dé-êsh

Six acres of gûg-she-field, in the field Till-Sîn, the front side (adjoining) the canal Abarri, the other front side the canal Baîkum, with the long side adjoining Sin-ḫâzîr, the builder: the field of Babbar-ändûl, son of Ninlû-gamîl, and of Idâtum, son of Ninlû-mansî; from Babbar-ändûl and Idâtum, etc.


No. 36.

Purchase of Temple Offices and House Property.

A. a. nam-shutug\(^1\) nam-PA-é nam-lû-SHIM + GAR
    nam-NI-dû nam-kišal-lûk ù nam-bûr-shû-ma
    è \(^4\)Mar-tu mu-a [tî]-2-ud-20-kam
    bal-gub-ba El-lu-m[u-u]-shu

\(^1\) For this reading see Thureau-Dangin, S. A. K. I., p. 48, note 1.
BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

\[ \frac{1}{3} \text{ sar } 5 \ \text{gin } \epsilon-d\ddot{a}-a \ \text{da } \epsilon \ \text{A-bil}^d \text{Mar-tu} \\
\text{nam-shutug } \epsilon \ \text{lu-la-ba} \\
\mathcal{V} \text{El-lu-mu-u-shu dumu } \mathcal{S}i-l\ddot{i}^d \text{Shamash} \\
b. \text{ ki } \text{El-lu-mu-u-shu dumu } \mathcal{S}i-l\ddot{i}^d \text{Shamash-ta} \\
\mathcal{V} \text{I-li-i-din-nam dumu } \mathcal{S}i-l\ddot{i}^d \text{Shamash-ge} \\
in-shi-in-sham \\
\] \\
B. \text{ sham-til-la-bi-shú} \\
\frac{4}{3} \text{ gin ku-babbar } \text{in-na-an-lá(l)} \\
C. \text{ a. } \ddot{u}-kúr-shú \text{ El-lu-mu-u-shu} \\
\text{ \text{ibila-a-ní } a-na-me-a-bí} \\
\text{nam-shutug } \epsilon^d \text{Mar-tu} \\
\text{mu-a ití-2-ul-20-kam} \\
\text{ \text{í } } \frac{1}{3} \text{ sar } 5 \ \text{gin } \epsilon-bi-shú} \\
b. \text{ gi-\mu-um-mà-mà-a mu lugal-bi } \text{in-pá(d)} \\

The offices of the pashishu, the temple superintendent, the caterer, the doorkeeper, the court-cleaner and the stone-jar bearer (?!) of the temple of Mar-tu for 2 months and 20 days in the year, the . . . .1 of Ellumushu, \( \frac{1}{3} \) sar 5 gin of built house, the long side adjoining the house of Abil-Martu; the pashishu-office and the house, the inheritance of Ellumushu, son of Silli-Shamash: from Ellumushu, son of Silli-Shamash, etc.

An analysis of the purchase documents shows that they always consist of three parts which follow each other in this order:

A. The purchase proper; technical term: \text{in-shi-in-sham}.
B. The payment of the purchase price; technical term: \text{in-na-an-lá(l)}.
C. The agreement regarding future claims concerning the object purchased, including the oath.

A. The part which treats of the purchase proper gives

a. A description of the object bought, namely

1. With reference to its character as house property, garden, field, income, etc.

2. When real estate is in question, as to its site, by designating one or more of the boundaries and in some cases also the landmark, etc., where the object purchased is situated.

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1 \text{Bal-gù-ba}, the exact meaning of which is not clear, resumes the temple offices and the income attached to these. Perhaps it must be analyzed \text{balgù-ba} (or \text{baldu-ba}), "the inherited . . . . . .", a term which would correspond to \text{hala-ba}.
3. As to the owner.

b. Describes the transaction with the formula \(ki-Y-ta | Z-ge | in-shi-in-sham\).

B. The payment of the purchase price is in all known instances recorded by the formula, \(sham-til-la-bi-shù | x \ gín ku-babbar | in-na-an-lâ(l)\).

C. a. The agreement as to future claims is, that the seller, as well as his legal heirs, shall make no claim to the property in question.

b. The oath is taken on the name of the king with the usual formula, \(mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)\). The name of the king is never given, and besides no allusion is made to the fact that a god was invoked.¹

The scribes who drew up the documents made a very mechanical use of this scheme. Not only did they never change the order of the three parts and employed the same phrases, but even the succession of the single groups of words was very rigidly observed,² so that the scheme took, as it were, the place of a mental formulary,³ into which it was only necessary to put the names of persons and objects, the numbers and measures, etc. It is unnecessary to comment upon the great advantages which such a method had for the authorities and officials.

The documents of this character from Nippur record the purchase of houses, fields and temple offices. The variations in the description of the object purchased are shown by the following:

a. Purchase of house: So many sar and \(gín ē-dū-a (ē-kis-lah)\)
   \(da ē X^4 \)

   \(ē Y\)

b. Field: So many \(gan a-shag\). . . . . . ( = species of field)
   \(shag a-shag\). . . . . . ( = name of the landmark)
   \(sag-bi\). . . . . .

¹ Nevertheless we may consider it beyond doubt that Ellil, the god of Nippur, played just the same rôle in oaths as Shamash in Sippar and Larsam, Marduk in Babylon, Urash in Dilmun, i.e., that he was mentioned in close connection with the king who officiated as his plenipotentiary. Perhaps mentioning the latter made all allusion to the god superfluous. But it is also possible that lugal here designates the chief god (of a city or a person, as, e.g., Gud., Cyl. A, Col. V, l. 10), although in Semitic it is rendered by sharru (cf. No. 30 : 251, náa sharrim iimá), not bitu. But notice the expression lugal-ar-bi, which might be translated "the lord of both."

² Cf. the phrase: \(sham-til-la-bi-shù x \ gín ku-babbar in-na-an-lâ(l),\) and the equally constant Tell Sîfr formula: \(x \ gín ku-babbar sham-til-la-nî-shù in-na-lâ(l).\)

³ A more distinct arrangement was arrived at by placing grammatical units (words or word groups) each on one line (e.g., \(sham-til-la-bi-shù, in-shi-in-sham\), or by indenting the lines when the grammatical group covered more than one line (as especially with the kunge). A more extensive use of the indenting of lines seems to have been practised at Babylon, judging from the purchase deed C. T., VIII, 22c, where the verbs which close the divisions of the document—\(in-shi-in-sham, in-na-an-lâ(l), in-pá(d)-di-me-esh\)—are warped.

⁴ No. 12 adds \(sag-bi \ X_1, ki-b-bi e-sîr \ X_2-shù.\)
sag-bi miu-kam-ma
us-a-rá
a-shag Y
c. Temple office: nam-x, nam-y, etc.
è d . . . . . . , mu-a iti-m-ud-n-kam
bal-gub-ba Y

The scheme which was employed in Nippur corresponds closely to those used in other parts of Babylonia, but it shows minor characteristic differences from them, as well as these latter schemes from each other, which the following table will demonstrate.

**Nippur.**

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki-Y-ta
      \( \nabla\ Z-ge \)
in-shi-in-  \( \frac{\text{š}}{\text{š}} \)  \( ^1 \) (-esh)
B. sham'-til-la-bi-shú
   x gin kü-babbar
   in-na-an-lá(l) (-esh)
C. a. ā-kür-shú Y
   ù ibila(-a)-ni a-na-me-a-bi
   Obj. -bi-shú gi-nu-un-mà-mà-a
   b. mu lugal-bi in-pá(d) (-dé-esh)

**Sippar (since Hammurabi).**

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y
      \( \nabla\ Z \)
in-shi-in-sham
B. sham-tíl-la-bi-shú
   x gin kü-babbar
   in-na-an-lá(l)
C. shag-ga-a-nì al-dug
   i-bi al-til

**Babylou (C. T., VIII, 22c).**

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y
      \( \nabla\ Z \)
in-shi-in-  \( \frac{\text{š}}{\text{š}} \)
B.  \( \frac{\text{š}}{\text{š}} \)  til-la-bi-shú
   x gin kü-babbar
   in-na-an-lá(l)
C. a. ā-kür-shú šù-lù-ra
   gi-nu-un-mà-mà-a
   b. mu "Marduk ú K
      in-pá(d) -dé-me-esh

**Sippar (before Hammurabi).**

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y
      \( \nabla\ Z \)
in-shi-in-sham
B. sham-tíl-la-bi-shú
   ki-babbar in-na-an-lá(l)
C. šisš kan-na šî-ta-bal
   (shag-ga-a-nì al-dug)
   i-bi al-til

\(^1\) The same sign also Sin-gashid, cone of clay, 20; Uruk., cone B, 11 : 23, etc. See note 1 on p. 3.
\(^2\)  \( \frac{\text{š}}{\text{š}} \)
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

D. a. ū-kūr-shū lū-lū-ra
   gu-nu-um-ma-ma-a
b. mu a' Shamash a'Marduk ù K
   in-pā(d)-dē-esh

Sippar (Hu-na-ila, Immerum, Buna-ta-
   tun-ila).

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y
      𒈪 Z
      in-shi(-in)-sham

B. sham'i-til-la-ni-shū
   ku-babbar in-na-lā(l)
C. 𒈬škan-na ǚ-ba-bal
   (i-bi al-tiš)

D. a. ū-kūr lū-lū
   nu-mu-un-gi-gi-dam
b. mu a' Babbar (a'Marduk) ù K
   in-pā(d)-dē-esh

Till Sifr.

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y (lugal-a-ni-ir, S. 37 : 7)
      𒈪 Z
      in-shi(-in)-sham

C. T., VI, 38b.

P.S.B.A., XXIX, Nov. 13, 1907, Pl. III
(Sumudail).

A. a. Description of object
   sham-ti-lā-ni-shū
   x ĝin ku-babbar in-na-lā{l}
   b. ki Y
      Z
      in-shi-sham

B. ššškan-na ǚ-ba-bal

C. a. ū-kūr lū-lū
   nu-mu-un-gi-gi-dam
b. mu a' Urash ù K
   in-pā(d)-dē-esh

1 C. T., VIII, 44b (Šin-muballit) distinguishes between the verb šu₃ and the noun šu₂.
2 C. T., VIII, 47b : 9, ku-babbar šag-ga-ni ba-an-SHU.
3 This scheme corresponds in its first part to the following scheme used in Nippur at the time of Bar-Sin of Isin:

A. a. Description of object
   sham-ti-lā-ni-shū
   x ĝin ku-babbar
   in-na-an-lā{l}
   b. ki Y-la
      𒈪 Z, ū Z₂, dam-a-ni
      in-shi-in- šu₂[l]

B. a. ū-kūr-shū
   lū-lū-ū(r)
   gu-nu-ma-ma-a
b. mu lugal-bi in-pā(d)-dē-esh
babylonian legal and business documents

B. x gin kú-babbar
   sham-ti-la-ni-shú
   in-na(-an)-lā(l)(e-me-esh)

C. a. ū-kur-shú ū-na-me-a-ka
   gi-gar-ra é-ni-shú
   ñ Z
   ba-ni-ib-gi-gi
   b. nu-mu-un-da-BÚR-e
   c. mu 4 Nannar 4 Babbar
      èk lugal
      in-pá(d)(-dé-me-esh)

C. T., IV, 43.

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y
      ñ Z
      in-she-sham

B. sham ti-la-ni-shú
   x gin kú-babbar in-
      šiškan-na ìb-ťa[ ]
      lù-lù-rí[ ]

   b. mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)-de-esh

P., 18 (from Nippur).

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y | lugal é-a-ge
      ñ Z
      in-shí-sham

B. sham ti(la)-bi-shú
   x gin kú-babbar
   in-na-al

C. a. ū-kúr-shú
   ibila a-na-me-a-bi
   è gi₅-nu-mà-mà-a-a
   b. mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)-dé-esh

P., 83 (Si 13).

A. a. Description of object
   b. ki Y
      ñ Z
      in-shí-

B.  פ til-la-ni-shú
   x gin kú-babbar ni-lā(l)-e

1 S., 39 : 12; ū-na-me-a-ak-kam, S., 51 : 12; ū-nu-me-a-ak, S., 53 : 15; nu-me-kam, S., 8 : 11; often wanting.
2 S., 8 : 12; gi₅-gar-ra é-ša₂, S., 53 : 16; é-ge, S., 60 : 14; gi₅-gál-la é-a-na, S., 85 : 11; ë, S., 27 : 12;
   — é-bi-shu, S., 84 : 10.
3 S., 8 : 14; — in-na-ob-gi-gi, S., 51 : 12; gi₅-gál-la | Y | Z-ra | in-na-gub-bu, S., 85 : 11; nam-gi₅-gar-ra in-na-gub,
   S., 41, case; ū-kúr-shú lù-rí nu-mu-un-gi-gi-dé, tablet.
4 The copy shows mu lugal in bi (p)ad-esh | di-mu(?)-ùr.
5 Cf. p. 3, note 2.
C. a. ā-kūr-shū ā-nu-me-ak
    ba-gi-ra-nam ʾi-ta-na-pa-ʾa[l]
b. mu 4Babbar 4Marduk
    ā K lu-ʒal
    ʾi-n-pā(d)-eʃ

The most conspicuous grammatical peculiarities of the Nippur documents are the use of ki—ta instead of the simple ki, and the use of -ge to denote the grammatical subject. Characteristics which the Nippur documents have partially in common with those from other Babylonian cities are the use of bi as a determination (šam-tīl-ū-bi-shū, ʾē-bi-shū) instead of ni (šam-tīl-la-ni-shū, ʾē-ni-shū; Tell Sifr.), the pleonastic accusative -n after infixes (in-na-an-lā[l] instead of in-na-lā[l]), the verbal plural ending ʾeʃ instead of me-ʾeʃ (Babylon, Sippar, etc.), ā-kūr-shū instead of ā-kūr-ki (C. T., VI, 38b). Other differences arise from the different provisions as to future claims and certain ceremonies observed in other cities. In Nippur only the seller takes the oath. He alone, therefore, seems to have had the right to undo the contract, while from the fact that in Sippar and Babylon both parties swear (lū-lū-ra ʾi-nu-um-mā-mā-a), it would follow that the purchaser as well as the seller could exercise this privilege. The phrases šaqt-ga-nī ʾa-dug, ʾi-bi ʾa-tīl and gish-kan- na ʾi-ba-bal (Sippar, and some northern cities?) are not found in Nippur documents, and probably the custom which the last phrase describes had not existed in Nippur or had passed into disuse.

II. Redemption Documents (45, 64, 66).

No. 45.

Redemption of Field Property.

A. a. 5 gan a-šaqt ʾuq-she
    ʾuq a-šaqt 4Nin-unu
    ʾu-ša-rā 4En-tīl-na-da
    ku-𝑡a-sham-ša ki La-ma-zum SAL + ISHIB 4Nin-IB
    dumu 4En-tīl-mu-an-ša

1 It may be questioned whether the dropping of the postposition ta after ki must be considered as an error on the part of Semitic scribes; at least the possibility cannot be denied that the use of ki as an independent preposition was a characteristic of the local Sumerian dialects which formerly were spoken in the respective localities, and which, when no longer spoken, were handed down in schools and temple rituals.

2 See note 2, on p. 3. The affixed a, the function of which it is to group the preceding ideas into a grammatical unit, and thus especially to substantiate verbal expressions, is placed here directly after ku-ta-sham; although there follows still a modification by ki. In 64:6 and 66:5, however, it is placed behind the verbal modification (ku-ta-sham ... in-sha-ma). Compare the similar positions of the temporal d in uddā inlat and ʾud inlatā.
Five acres of gug-she field, in the field of Nin-unu, on one long-side adjoining Enlil-nada, bought from Lamazum, priestess of NinIB, daughter of Enlil-mansi, and from Suluntum, priestess of NinIB, daughter of Namram-sharur; the field of Beltani, priestess of NinIB, daughter of Enlil-galzu: from Beltani, priestess of NinIB, Lamazum, priestess of NinIB, daughter of Enlil-mansi, has ransomed it as the field of the house of her father. Seven shekels of silver she has paid her.

In future Beltani and any heir of hers shall make no claim to the 5 acres of the field of Nin-unu; by the name of the king she has sworn.

No. 64.
Redemption of house property.

A. a. 1½ sar é-kī(ż)-lāh\(^1\)
da é \(^1\)Nin-IB-ra-ḫi-im-zi-ri-im
dumu \(^1\)Nin-IB-ma-an-šī

\(^1\) C. T., XII, 11, Rev. 1 : 17, ḫa, 1 : 19, ta-uxa = pa-da-ram.

\(^2\) kīšab, kī-kal or kī-gal (pronounced with nasalization kankal) and kī-shub-ba have practically all the same meaning of uncultivated ground, or ground not covered with buildings, against ē-dū-a, built house or land covered with buildings. The identity of the first two terms can hardly be doubted, since both are rendered with teriktu and niddātu, but it is 10 less certain that niddātu is the direct translation of kī-shub-ba. As kal denotes “to take down a house” (cf. II R., 15 : 32a: the house in-kal ụ i-n-dū = iq-qar i-pu-ush, “he has taken down and built anew”; [kal]-la dītu (= na-ga-ru) ša būtī, Del., H. W., 480b), kī-kal denotes the place where a house has been taken down, and this is evidently also the general meaning of niddātu (= place of a ruined house; cf. ē-shub-ba = šītu na-da-a, IV R., 30 : 31, 32) and teriktu (from tarāku, “to break, crack”). In Neo-Babylonian contracts we find also šītu ad-ba-su (same formation as šītu na-dū and šītu epēhu), followed in the deed of purchase, Weissb., Misc., No. 15, by the addition: ša na-ka-ru ụ e-pī-shu, “which must be taken down
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

kū-lu-sham ki dumu-mēš É-a-i-din-nam-ta
\[Ma-an-nu-um-me-shu-li-ṣur dumu A-wi-li-ia-ge\]
kū-shū in-sham-a

b. ki "Nin-IB-mu-ba-li-ṭ̄ dumu A-wi-li-ia
\[I-din-Ish-tar dumu Ma-an-nu-um-me-shu-li-ṣur\]
\[Na-ru-ub-lum ama-ni-ta\]
\[Nin-IB-ra-li-im-zi-ri-im\]
dumu "Nin-IB-ma-an-ši-ge
\[é ad-da-na in-dū\]

B. sham til-la-bi-shū
\[6\frac{1}{2} gin kū-babbar in-ne-en-lā(l)\]

C. a. ē-kū-r-shū "Nin-IB-mu-ba-li-ṭ̄
\[I-din-Ish-tar \ Na-ru-ub-lum ama-ni\]
\[ibila-ne-ne a-na-me-a-bi\]
\[1\frac{1}{2} sar ē-ki(z)-lāh-bi-shū gu-nu-um-mà-mà-a\]

b. mu lugal-bi in-pā(d)-dē-esh.

No. 66.

Redemption of temple offices.

A. a. nam-shu-tug nam-IPA-ē nam-lù-SHIM + GAR
nam-NI-dū nam-kisal-luḫ ù nam-bur-shu-ma
\[É "En-ki "Dam-gal-nun-na mu-a ud-15-kam\]
bal-gub-ba "En-ki-mash-zu dumu Dam-ki-li-li-shu
ki-ta-sham "En-ki "Dam-gal-nun-na in-sham-a

b. ki "En-ki "Dam-gal-nun-na-ta
\[Nin-IB-ra-li-im-ši-ri\]
dumu "Nin-IB-ma-an-ši-ge
garza é ad-da-na in-dū

B. sham til-la-bi-shū
\[18 gin kū-babbar in-na-an-lā(l)\]

and built anew.” Perhaps kikal has the more special meaning of “levelled site,” and ki-lakh that of “cleaned, i.e., cleared site,” of a collapsed house.

As the walls of Babylonian houses were usually built of sun-dried bricks, with layers of reed without a wooden frame, presumably many buildings collapsed in the rainy season. The site of the old house was levelled, upon which the new house was erected. By the frequent occurrence of this process (we must remember that the city mounds have risen to a considerable height by the débris of such poorly constructed houses), it will be easily understood that kikal, etc., first received the meaning “building ground” and subsequently even that of “unbuilt ground,” in distinction to é-dū-a, “built ground.”
C. ă-kūr-shū nam-shutug ud-27-kam  
mu gū-gāl-la kishib in-na-an-tag¹

A variation of the purchase deeds is represented by those documents which record the purchase of property formerly in the possession of the purchaser's family. The scheme corresponds therefore to that of the purchase documents, except that in-shi-in-sham is replaced by the technical term in-di, 'he has ransomed,' and that this term is given a short rationale by the addition of ē ad-da-na, resp. a-shag ē ad-da-ni or garza ē ad-da-na, which refers to the ransomed object. With a view of making this relation between the latter and the ransomer more expressive, it is often stated in the description of the ransomed object how it passed from the ransomer or his family into the possession of the present seller by means of the apposition of kū-ta-sham² ki-X-ta Y-ge kū-shū in-sham-a, 'purchase by money, which from X, Y has bought for money,' 64 : 4–6 (cf. R. 50b: 7–9, shi-ma-at X sha itti Y i-sha-mu), or shortened: kū-ta-sham-a ki-X,³ 'purchase by money from X,' 45: 4–7.¹ The character of the redemption as purchase is made still more evident from the scheme employed at Tell Sifr, which is exactly that of the deeds of purchase, apart from the addition of the phrase ē ad-da-a-ni in-di which occurs after the payment of the purchase price. The scheme of Sippar documents seems to have been the same as in Nippur, apart from the known grammatical differences.

**Nippur.**

A. O | ki-Y-ta | Z-ge
ē ad-da-ni in-di

B. sham-ti-la-bi-shū
x gūn kū-babbar in-na-an-lā(l)

C. a. ă-kūr-shū Y
iš ibila-ni a-na-me-a-bi
O-bi-shū () gū-nu-um-mā-mā-a
b. mu lugal-bi in-pā(d)

**Tell Sifr.**

A. O | ki-Y | Z
in-shi(-in)-sham(-me-esh)

B. x gūn kū-babbar
sham-ti-la-ni-shū in-na(-an)-lā(l)

C. ē ad-da-a-ni in-di(-me-esh)

D. ă-kur-shū ă-na-me-ka, etc.

¹ The line is written over an erasure. The translation seems to be: One has given him a title deed to the pushāšu-office for all times on account of a (future) complainant.

² Thus also II 13, 20a, b (ana ittisku) and Reisner, Tellah, 49 : 3; Tell Sifr contracts have rem-ša-kū (= šiminu).

³ When a substantive is connected with another in the sense which in verbal expressions is designated by ki-ta the Sumerian does not seem to have employed ki-ta, but only ki; cf. shu-ti-a 4 Da-mu-i-din-nam ki 4 En-lil-ša-liīk, 54: 11, 12), but ki-Y-ta shu-ba-an-ti.

⁴ Cf. R., 50b : 7–9, shi-ma-at X sha itti Y i-sha-mu.
What the exact provisions of the law were with regard to the ransoming is still unknown. It is not likely that the ransomer possessed the right to compel the owner to sell his property to him at any time. From the analogy which the gô'êl in the book of Ruth presents, we may conclude that his privilege became valid only as soon as the property changed owners. The oath not to make a claim in future to the property sold (giu-um-ma-ma-a) most probably, therefore, does not imply the renunciation to the right of redemption, but effectuates only the loss of the right to undo the contract as long as the purchaser and his family shall own the bought property themselves.

III. Exchange Documents (kîshîb ki-ba-gar-ra) (11, 37, 39, 59).

No. 39.

Exchange of temple offices for field property; supplementary payment in money.

A. a. nam-shutug nam-lu-SHIM + GAR nam-PA-ê
   nam-NI-dû nam-kisal-lûk û nam-bur-shu-ma
   ê 4Kû-sû mu-a-an îlu-2-kâm
   bal-gub-ba Ilû-shu-ba-ni dumu Ut-ta-gûl-lû-me-DU
   b. 4Ilû-shu-ba-ni dumu Ut-ta-gûl-lû-me-DU-geê
   4En-lil-lû-shûg nu-êsh dumu 4Sin-i-din-nam-ra
   in-na-an-sû

B. a. ki-ba-gar-ra-bi-shû
   4îs bur gan a-shag gûg-she shag a-shag 4Nû-nun
   us-a-râ kûr-e Im-gur 4Sin
   b. 4En-lil-lû-shûg nu-êsh-ge
   4Ilû-shu-ba-ni-ra
   in-na-an-sû

C. a. mu a-shag nam-shutug ê 4Kû-sû
   sá-nu-ub-dûg-ga-ash
   b. ô gin kû-babbar 4En-lil-lû-shûg nu-êsh-ge
   4Ilû-shu-ba-ni-ra in-na-an-bûr

D. a. û-kûr-shû lû-lû-û-ra
   gu-û-nu-um-ma-ma-a
   b. mu lugal bi in-pâ(d)

The offices of the pashishu, of the rigqu (caterer), of the house superintendent, of the doorkeeper, of the court-cleaner and of the purshumu in the temple of Kusu

1 The tablet by mistake draws together lines 4 and 5 to bal-gub-ba Ilû-shu-ba-ni dumu Ut-ta-gûl-lû-me-DU-ge.
for two months per year, the . . . . . of Ilushu-bani, son of Uttagu-ulu-meDU, Ilushu-bani, son of Uttagu-ulu-meDU, to Enlil-lushag, the priest, son of Sin-udinnam, has sold. As the equivalent Enlil-lushag, the priest, has sold to Ilushu-bani 4 acres of gúg-she-field in the field of Nin-um, on one long side adjoining the lode of Imgur-Sin. Because the field does not equal1 (in value) the pashishu office at the temple of Kusu, Enlil-lushag, the priest, has paid 5 shekels of silver to Ilushu-bani. In future shall one against the other make no claim; by the name of the king he (= either of them) has sworn.

No. 37.

Exchange of temple offices and fields.

A. a. [nam-PA-é õ-Nusku mu-a . . . . . . . . . . .]  
[nam-lù-niq-KU-ba õ-Nusku . . . . .]  
[1 gan a-shag] gúg-she shag a-shag õ-Nin-nil-lá  
[bal-gub]-ba Shu-mu-um-li-ib-shi dumu Ur-Dù-azag-ga
b. ki-ba-gar-ra-bí-shú  
3 gan a-shag a-gár a-tu-GAB + LIS  
us-a-rá Shu-mu-um-li-ib-shi shesh-a-ní  
dumu Ur-Dù-azag-ga  
a-shag Lù-È-shu-me-DU

c. a-shag PA-lugal-dím-nam  
lù-lù-ra in-shi-in-gar-ri-esh

B. a. mu a-shag PA-lugal sá-mu-ub-dúg-ga-ash  
b. 2 gin kù-babbar  
\[ Lù-È-shu-me-DU-ge \]  
\[ Shu-mu-um-li-ib-shí-ra \]  
in-na-an-bár

c. ū-kùr-shú lù-lù-ra gi-ju-nu-mà-mà-a  
mù lugal-la ur-bi in-pá(d)-dé-esh

The office of the house superintendent of the temple of Nusku for . . . . months in the year, the office of the master of the wardrobe of the temple of Nusku for . . . . months in the year, 1 gan of gúg-she field in the field of Ninlîl, the . . . . of Shumum-libshi, son of Ur-Duazagga; as the equivalent 3 gan of field of the sarbatu landmark, with a long side adjoining Shumum-libshi, his brother, son of Ur-Duazagga,

1 Sá-du = kashádu; as compound substantive sá-du = satukku, "assessment," "tax," originally perhaps kishítu, "spoil."
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

the field of Lu-EshumeDU: field like a royal preferment, they have exchanged, one to the other. Because the field does not equal the royal preferment, Lu-EshumeDU has paid 2 shekels of silver to Shumum-lībši. In future shall one against the other make no claim; by the name of the king they have sworn.

No. 59.
Exchange of field and house.

B. a. [ki-ba]-gar[ra-bi-shú]
[ ] sar 1½ [gīn ē-dū-a ʾu-ra]
da ʾē4Sin-[i]-[u-ra-am shesh-a-nī]
½ sar ē-dū-a bil-[a]
da ʾē4Sin-ʾi-tu-ra-am shesh-a[nī]
shag ki-la-sham ki Lugal-nīg-sī-(sā) (? dum[u
ē Ad-da-dingir dumu Ilu-sukkal

c. ʾē-e a-shag-ga-dīm-nam
lū-lī-ʾu-ra in-gar
C. a. ā-kūr-shū lū-lī-ra
nu-giatan-dē
b. mu lugal-la [ur-bi]

\[n-pā(d)-dē-esh]\n
No. 11.
A. a. 10 gīn ē-dū-a
da ʾē Im-gu-u-a
ush[ ]-bi-shú
\[D[a-mi-iq]-tī-lī-shu
ū [Na-ru-u]b-tum dam-a-nī
b. nam [Na-bi]4Shamash
ki-bi-[gar-r]a-bi-shú
mu-na-an-sī-mu-ne

B. a. 10 gīn ē-dū-a tūr-ē-a
da ʾē4Babbar-ḫe-gal
\[Na-bi]4Shamash dumu Im-gu-u-a

1 -dim-nam = dim-na-a-an; or does nam = piḫatu mean "object of exchange?"
2 PA-LUGAL corresponds to PA-DINGIR, which either designates parṣu ša ili (= kush) or parṣu ša šarri (= garza); cf. garza (or kush), 66 : 9.
b. nam Da-mi-iq-î-li-shu
   û Na-ru-ub-tum dam-a-ni
   ki-bi-gar-ra-bî-shû
   in-na-an-sî
C. a. mu tûr-ê shu-ba(?)-ti(?)-esh
   b. ∪ Na-bî-Shamash
      nam Da-mi-iq-î-li-shu
      û Na-ru-ub-tum dam-a-ni
      1 ĝûn kû-babbar in-na-an-bûr
D. a. û-kûr-shû lû-lû-û
     gu-nu-um-mâ-mâ-a
     b. mu lugal-bî in-pâ(d)

After Damiq-ilishu and Narubtum, his wife, had given 10 ĝûn of a built house, adjoining the house of Imgua, for exchange to Nabi-Shamash, Nabi-Shamash, son of Imgua, has given 10 ĝûn of a built house (and) courtyard for exchange to Damiq-ilishu and Narubtum, his wife. (But) because they have received the courtyard,¹ Nabi-Shamash has paid 1 shekel of silver to Damiq-ilishu and Narubtum, his wife. In future shall one against the other make no claim; by the name of the king he ( = each one) has sworn.

The general plan of the documents of exchange differs considerably from that of the purchase and redemption documents, inasmuch as the exchange is not conceived as a twofold purchase, but as a mutual sale. Notice the authentication of the exchange in No. 39 by a repeated in-na-an-sî, "he has given," the technical term for "to sell." There were two schemes in use at Nippur, one which keeps the two parallel actions of the exchange separate, and another which conceives both as one dihedral act.

A. a. First object of exchange.
   b. Ŷ-ge
      Z-ra
      in-na-an-sî
B. ki-ba-gar-ra-bî-shû
Second object of exchange.
   Z-ge

¹ Instead of built house.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

Y-ra

in-na-an-sî

C.  mu O₂ O₁ sá-nu-ub-dâg-ya-ash

x ぎん きゅ-бавbar

Z-ge

Y-ra

in-na-an-bûr

D.  ū-kûr-shû  lucr-lù-ra gu-nu-mâ-mâ-a

mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)

B.  mu O₂ O₁ sá-nu-ub-dâg-ya-ash

x ぎん きゅ-бавbar

Z-ge

Y-ra

in-na-an-bûr

C.  ū-kûr-shû  lucr-lù-ra gu-nu-um-mâ-mâ-a

mu lugal-la ur-bi in-pá(d)-dê-esh

Compare the schemes of documents from Tell Sifr and Sippar:

Tell Sifr (M. 46).

A. a. First obj. of exchange.

sham-kiי Y sha itti ........ ishâmû

b. bu-ša-ti-shu second obj. of exh.

sham-kiי Z sha itti ........ ishâmû

c. i-na mi-ît-gur-ti-shu-nu

ê-é-dim

Y a-na Z in-gar

C.  ū-kûr-shû, etc.

Sippar.


eqîl Y

b. Second obj. of exchange.

eqîl Z

c. ū-bi-ît-hu (a-na Z u-bi-ît-hu)

B.  a-na ........ | va-tar-li bit Y

........ shîqlu kaspu

Z a-na Y ............... 

C.  ū-kûr-shû, etc.

Since the two objects of exchange seldom represent the same value, this class of documents usually adds the statement, that the party which gave the less valuable object paid an additional sum of money (or real estate, etc.). The technical term for “to pay” in such instances is not in-na-an-lâ(l), but in-na-an-bûr.1 The same use of the term occurs in division documents.2

The oath is a mutual one, since both parties waive their rights. In the formula lucr-lù-ù-ra gu-nu-um-mâ-mâ-a, the scriptio plena ù(r) may be cited as a (not always occurring) characteristic of Nippur tablets. No. 59 has the formula lucr-lù-ra nu-gî-gî-dê, “they shall not turn against one another.”

1 Literally “to loosen, solve,” ｐｉｓｈｂｙｕ; the corresponding noun is ｎａｍ-ｂûr-ｒｕ.

2 Ｍｕ—ｓｈû, ｕ—ｅｈ, which introduces this part of the scheme, corresponds entirely to ａｓｈｂｕｍ = ａｎａ ｓｈｕｍ, which probably has been formed under the influence of the Sumerian. The enclosed sentence is changed into a nominal expression by adding ａ.
IV. Partition Documents (1, 23, 26, 32, 43, 44).

No. 44.

Division of house and money among two brothers.

A. 1 sar é-dū-a (gi)bil
   da é dumu É-a-ba-ni pà(y)-DÙ
   1 sar é-dū-a û-ra
   da é Igi-shag nu-âššu
   7 gin kù-babbar
   ha-la-ba dNinIB-nîr-gâû

B. 1 sar é-dū-a (gi)bil
   da é dNînIB-nîr-gâû shesb-a-ni
   1 sar é-dū-a û-ra
   da é dNînIB-nîr-gâû shesb-a-ni
   7 gin kù-babbar
   ha-la-ba Rî-im-Ishtar shesb-a-ni

C. ibîla Lugal-â-zi-da-ge-ne
   shê-qa-ne-ne-ta
   in-ba-esh

D. mu Lugal-bi in-pá(d)-û-êššu

1 sar of (a) new built house, on one side adjoining the house of the son of Ea-bani the mudû, 1 sar of (an) old built house, on one side adjoining the house of Igi-shag the priest, (and) 7 shekels of silver, the inheritance portion of NinIB-nîr-gâû, 1 sar of (a) new built house, on one side adjoining the house of NinIB-nîr-gâû his brother, 1 sar of (an) old built house, on one side adjoining the house of NinIB-nîr-gâû his brother, (and) 7 shekels of silver, the inheritance portion of Rim-Ishtar, his brother,

the sons of Lugal-azûda, by mutual agreement have divided. By the name of the king they have sworn.

No. 23.

A. ½ sar 5 gin é-dû-a
   da é Babbar ën-lîl-lû
   40 sar gîsh-sar a-shag ìgi-nîm-na
   u-sal ìgi-bi-shû nîg a-an-ê-ne-a
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

zag gish-sar El-li-tum
♀ A-li-a-ku-sha say-sal
♀ Ishkur-ri-im-λ-li sag-nita

ha-la-ba Na-ru-ub-tum dumu-sal Mi-gir-λ-En-lil

B. ¼ sar 5 gin é-dû-a
da é Ib-ku-λ-Da-mu
40 sar gish-sar i gi-nim-ma
u-sal i gi-bi-shú u ig a-an-ê-ne-a
zag gish-sar Ib-ku-u-a-tum
1½ yan a-shag uz-a
ki-bûr-ru ² Ishkur-ri-im-λ-li sag-nîta
♀ Dum-ki-Ishtar say-sal
♀ Ta-ri-bu-um sag-nîta

C. ha[-la Ur-λ-Pa-bil-saq-gá ]
½ nam Na-ra-am-tum ama Mi-gir-λ-En-lil
♀ Na-ru-ub-tum dumu-sal Mi-gir-λ-En-lil
ì Ur-λ-Pa-bil-saq-gá egir dam-a-na-ka
nam-ibila-ni-shû ba-da-an-ri-a
ur-a-sè-qa-bi in-ba-esh

D. ù-kûr-shû ùù-lû-ra nu-gi-gî-ô dé mu bugal ur-bi in-pá(d)-ô-esh

¼ sar 5 gin of built house, on one side adjoining the house of Babbar and Enlil;
40 sar of upland garden, which slopes down into the marsh before it(?)\(^1\), the side of the garden adjoining Ellitum; Ali-ahusha, the maid-slave; Ishkur-rim-ili, the man-slave; inheritance portion of Narubtum, daughter of Migir-Enlil;
¾ sar 5 gin of built house, on one side adjoining the house of Ibku-Damu, 40 sar of upland garden, which slopes down into the marsh before it(?)\(^1\), the side of the garden adjoining Ibku-atum; 1½ acres of usû field, (additional) payment for Ishkur-rim-ili, the man-slave; Dumqi-Ishtar, the maid-slave; Taribum, the man-slave; inheritance portion of Ur-Pabilsagga, a third of the fortune\(^2\) of Naramtum, mother of Migir-Enlil; Narubtum, daughter of Migir-Enlil and Ur-Pabilsagga, whom he has adopted as heir after the death\(^3\) of his wife, have divided into equal

\(^1\) Cf. gish-sar a-shag a-an-ê-ne-a, 43:23. The correct meaning seems to be: a garden which turns into field or marsh.

\(^2\) Instead of ½ nam perhaps one must read ½ nam, i.e., shushkan-nam = shushkan-a-an. Or does nam = pîšatu also here mean “object of exchange”?

\(^3\) Cf. the same meaning of arki in Semitic Babylonian.
parts. In future neither shall have power to revoke this agreement. By the name of the king they both have sworn.

No. 43.

A. Nam-nu-êsh dEn-lil-lá mu-a ûtu-6-a-an
ù burmin gan a-shag slu­ku-bi
1 šibâmsur zag-gú­lå sib-ta nam-shesh-gal-lå-shú
1 sar é-dû-a ki-ê ash-a a-an-ê-ne
3 gan a-shag da-ab-ta da é dumu Sa-al-lu-u
ha-la-ba Igi-shág dumu I-na-É-kur-ra-bi

B. 2 sar é-dû-a da é Igi-shág
ki-ê ash-a a-an-ê-ne
2½ sar é-ki(z)-láh da é dumu-mésh Da-du-um
9 gan a-shag da-ab-ta
us-a-râ dumu-mésh d?-urû
6 gîn ku-babbar gab-ri 1 sar é-dû-a
ù 3 gan a-shag da-ab-ta
I Igi-shág-ge ha-la-ba-na-shú
slu-ba-an-ti-a-ash
gab-ri nam-nu-êsh-shú
I I Sin-ish-me-a-nî dumu I En-lil-ma-an-sî
shesh ad-da-na-ra
in-na-an-bîr
nig-gú-na é-a-gâl-la slu-ri-a-bi.
ha-la-ba dSin-ish-me-a-nî
dumu dEn-lil-ma-an-sî

C. é a-shag gish-sar a-shag a-an-ê-ne-a
ur-a-sî-ya-bi ni-ba-e-ne

D. ù-kúr-sbú ù-ù-lù-ra1 nu-gú-gi-dé
she-ga-ne-ne-ta mu lugal-bi in-pâ(d)-dé-esb2

The office of a priest of Enlil for six months per year and its 36 acres of field for livelihood, one zag-gula bowl: as the privilege of the elder brother; 1 sar of built house from which one goes out by one (common) exit, 3 acres of dabta land, on one

1 Mistake of scribe for lù-du-ù-ro.
2 I.e., the exit of the house is used by two or more parties.
side adjoining the house of the son of Sallû; the inheritance portion of Igi-shag, son of Ina-Ekur-rabi.

Two sar of built house, on one side adjoining the house of Igi-shag, from which one goes out by one (common) exit; 2½ sar of waste ground, on one side adjoining the house of the sons of Dadum; 9 gan of dabta field, on one long side adjoining the sons of .........; 6 shekels of silver as equivalent to the one sar of built house and the three acres of dabta field which Igi-shag has taken in addition to his inheritance; (the whole) as equivalent to the priest office he has paid to Sin-ishmeani, son of Enlil-mansi, the brother of his father; the half of the furniture which is in the house: the inheritance of Sin-ishmeani, son of Enlil-mansi.

House, field and garden which turns into field they shall divide into equal parts.

In future neither shall have power to revoke the agreement. Mutually they have sworn by the name of the king.

No. 26.

Division of an inheritance among four brothers.


Col. II: 21. 5½ gan a-shag viš-gi-mah gab-ri é-dû-a 22. us-a-rá E-la-lî shesh ad-da-nî


1 Perhaps gîsh-SUG.
Col. I: 1 acre 36 sar of . . . . . . . . field, lengthwise adjoining Elalî; 5½ sar of garden of the field . . . . . . , one side of the garden adjoining the sons of Lu . . . . . . ; of the victual prebend (consisting of) the "great food," the half, and 1 of the corn and dates of . . . . . . of Mah, the half: the choice portion from the offices of the kalû and of the pashishu of the temple of Ninsun; 2 shekels of silver from the purchase price for Warad-NinSHAH; 1 zay-yula bowl: the privilege of the elder brother.

Col. II, 21–III, 25: 5½ gan of "great reed" field as equivalent to the built house, lengthwise adjoining Elalî, his uncle; 6 acres of ibbatanum field, lengthwise adjoining Sin-idinnam, the priest; 3 acres of lower highland, on one side adjoining Nannar-ara-mungin. 4½ acres 11 sar of the . . . . . . of Gilgamesh, lengthwise adjoining Ellil-tushag, his brother; the office of the pashishu of the temple of Ninsun as equivalent for the usû field; 12½ sar of garden in the . . . . . . field, the side of the garden adjoining Nannar-ara-mungin, his brother; of the half of the victual prebend (consisting of) the "great food" the fourth part; of the half of the corn and dates of the . . . . . . of Mah, the fourth part; of the food of the kalû office, the compensation of their father, the fourth part; Ishtar-nahrari, the female slave, her value in money 11 shekels; therein (comprised) 5½ shekels of silver, the half, which Ur-Duazagga from his inheritance has paid to Ur-DUN-PA-ea; 1 miriza door, its money value 1 Iša-na door, 1 beam(?); 1 . . . . . . , of the house furniture the fourth part: the inheritance portion of Ur-Duazagga . . . .

The scheme of the partition documents is shown by No. 36 in a very precise form:

A. Enumeration of the inheritance:
  ha-la-ba X

B. Enumeration of the inheritance:
  ha-la-ba Y

C. ibila-Z-ge-ne she-ga-ne-ne-ta in-ba-e-esh

D. (ū-kur-shû lù-lù-ù-ra nu-gi-gi-dê) mu lugal-bi in-pâ(d)-dé-esh

The parts A., B. represent the grammatical object to the verb in-ba(-e)-esh at the end of c; ibila-Z-ge-ne refers as apposition to the persons who are named at the

1 The ū indicates that the apposition in li. 13 refers to li. 10, as well as to li. 11 and 12.

2 Cf. kû-balbar iqi-te-bî, 14:7.
end of their respective inheritance. The oath, the contents of which is not stated expressly in No. 44, is a mutual one: lu-lu-û-ra nu-gi-gi-dé. The scriptio plena lu-lu-û(r)-ra is a (not always occurring) characteristic feature of the Nippur tablets, while those from Sippar have lu-lu-ra. With the exception of No. 32, no use is made of the formula gu—ma-ma, "to make a claim to some object," since the purpose of the document is primarily to fix the mode of dividing, which shall not be altered again (gi-gi, "to turn, to upset, to undo"). Cf. later.

A special feature of the partition documents is the use of a separating line which marks off the portions of the different heirs, and thus makes the document more perspicuous. On No. 44 the line, for which there was no room left on the reverse, is even placed on the uninscribed lower edge. This shows that the line was considered to form a part of the scheme. Usually it seems to have been placed below the line of writing which begins with ha-la-ba, but on Nos. 1, 23 and 32 it is above the line, from which on Nos. 1 and 23 it is moreover separated by a small blank space. On No. 32 it is written only after the last portion; while on No. 43 it is in that place omitted.

Of special interest is the document No. 43, because it partly records the mode of a division already effected (the enumerated heterogeneous portions of the two heirs, nephew and uncle, are to balance each other), and partly fixes the mode of the future division of the rest of the inheritance (consisting of house, field and garden, which shall be divided into equal parts): ni-ba-e-ne, "they shall divide." But it seems that all partition documents more or less were of a similar preliminary character. Apparently their aim was in the first place to furnish the legal forms which authorized the heirs to dispose of their inheritance without being thwarted by the rights of the co-heirs, while a definitive settlement was left to later agreements between the different parties. For this fact an instructive example is found in the group of contracts Nos. 32-35. No. 32, dated Tashritu 17th, records the division of a house among four brothers, but in Nos. 33-35, dated Arah-samma 9th and 21st and Kislimu 5th respectively, the eldest brother buys back all the shares of the house that had fallen to his co-heirs. This accounts also for the fact that in division documents we find the houses quite mechanically dissected into as many pieces of equal size as, it seems, was desirable. Thus in No. 44 a new house and an old one are both divided into

1 Cf. the similar provision in adoption documents. Ni-ba-e, plur. ni-ba-e-ne, is the future to in-ba, pl. in-ba-esu. Cf. ni-tâ-l(e)-e, ni-tâ-l(e)-ne, 56:16, and in-tâ-l(e); ni-â-g-e (in Nippur texts only al-â-g-e, 15:11, 17:8, 50:10, 63:9) and in-â-g; ni-di-lâ-e, "he shall build," 14:13, and in-di-lâ.

2 Compare the similar ease in M. 49 where two brothers exchange parts of their inheritance.
halves. In No. 32 one house is first divided into two halves, and then one of these halves again into four parts of equal size.\(^1\)

Attention may be called to the part which the eldest brother plays in the partition documents. He has an equal share with his brothers, but receives in addition a preference portion which in the document always heads the enumeration of his inheritance. In No. 26 it is even separated from the portion due him as a son, by means of a line. The technical term is sib-ta mu-nam-shesh-gal-la-shú, "preference title on account of the position as eldest brother." For the Semitic equivalent (ziltu) elātu see II R. 9, 76, and Meissner in A. P. R., p. 2.

The proportional amount of the preference portion cannot be exactly determined because of the broken condition of the tablets in question; but from No. 32, provided we are allowed to generalize because of this instance, it would seem that it amounted to one-half of the inheritance; the number in li. 1 is probably to be restored as 1\(\frac{1}{2}\), equal to 4 times \(\frac{1}{2}\), i.e., the sum of the regular portions of all heirs. The same mode of dividing we find in 26, I, 10-13 (shu-ri-a-bi), compared with 26, I, 29-31; II, 10-12; III, 12-13 (shu-ri-a—igi-4-gal-bi), but our right to quote this instance may be questioned because the item given there figures as the sib-ta from another item; the amount of the other items of the sib-ta in this document, as far as they are preserved, differs considerably and is much less than the regular portions. Though it is thus impossible to arrive at a definite result in this question, this much seems to be certain, that the amount of the sib-ta was in some way or other a fixed one, because in adoption documents where two persons are adopted as brothers, it is provided that they shall divide the inheritance into equal parts after the eldest brother has taken his preference portion; no information being given as to the amount of the latter.

While the sib-ta generally was rated from the various items of the inheritance,\(^2\) one object seems to have formed an integral part of the sib-ta, viz., the sib-ta zaggé-la, written also zag-gâ-lâ, in Akkadian pashkur sakki. This kind of bowl (plate or kind of table?) occurs in the preference portion of the eldest brother in all documents except No. 1, its place being always at the end (26, I, 15; 32 : 3, 43 : 3). Notice furthermore that in no document its money value is noted, while this is done 26, III, 20, with a sib-ta nam-gala u nam-shutug ê(Nin-sum), 26 : 13.

\(^1\) Nevertheless this custom would not have arisen unless it had been founded on actual conditions, and we must, therefore, conclude that the Babylonian houses, which as far as we can judge from the present remains consisted of walls of sun-dried bricks, over which the beams of the roof were spread, could easily be divided into several parts by building boundary walls across them. That this procedure was actually practiced we may infer from the fact that several times mention is made of boundary walls in the common possession of two neighbors.

\(^2\) This is expressly stated in adoption documents, where it shall be taken from house, field and all household furniture; cf. also sib-ta nam-gala ù nam-shutug ê(Nin-sum), 26 : 13.
Apart from the privilege of the eldest brother, the principle was followed that brothers divided the remainder into equal parts: ur-a-si-ga-bi in-ba-esh (ni-ba-e-ne); ur-a-shu si-ga-bi in-ba-esh, 23 : 23, 43 : 34, 16 : 10.1

The following scheme of partition documents from Tell Sifr (S. 25 and 26, 52, 91) corresponds in its construction on the whole to that used in Nippur:

A. a. Enumeration of the inheritance: ha-la Y X
   b. Enumeration of the inheritance: ha-la Y Y
   c. (dumu-me-esh Z, S. 52, 21)
      in-na mi-il-gur-ti-shu nu iz-ga-am i-du-u-ma
      ha-la é ad-da-a-ni ni-ba-e-ne

B. ü-kür-shu, etc.

Here the future actual division is distinguished from the legal fixing of the respective shares. "In mutual agreement they allotted the shares and shall (later on) divide the inheritance of the house of the fathers."

At Sippur, however, it was the custom to furnish the heirs with deeds, in which the portions of all persons participating in the division were not put down, but only the portion of the person for whom the document was drawn up, followed by an addition like this: mi-im-ma an-ni-im ha-la X sha itti Y, Z, etc. | a-ah-hi-shu i-zu-zu zi-zu ga-am-ru | i-na ba-shi-tim sha i-li-a-am mi-it-ka-ri-esh i-zu-uz-zu | ü-kür-shu li-li-ra gu-nu-um-ma-ma-a mu "Babbar "Marduk K lugal it-mu-u—'all this, the inheritance of X, which he divided with Y, Z, etc., his brothers, has been definitively allotted. The property which (later) shall turn up, they shall divide into equal parts," etc. (R. 28), or mi-im-ma an-ni-im ha-la X um-mi-shu sha Y itti aḥ-hi-shu ʾil-ku u aḥ-hu-shu | u-ul i-ra-ga-mu-shum, R. 50b, 11–15, or the like.

V. Adoption Documents (4, 24, 28, 57).

No. 24.

A. a. ∨ İ-li-i-din-nam shesh-gal
   h İ-li-um-na-ti shesh-a-ni
   ∨ Èa-i-din-nam dumu Ibi-kI-Ishtar

1 IV R., 13 : 1b, ur-a-si-ga = mītarish, "in the same way," ishtenish (ur-bi=mītarish), "in one (and the same) way" (Br. 11259 and 11261); cf. mi-il-ka-ri-esh i-zu-uz-zu, S., 105 : 5, 6; R., 28 : 19, 23; C. II., 16 : 21, 22. The connection ur—sig occurs also in ka-ur-a ne-in-si-ga, "who made them one mouth, subdued them" = mu-ush-te-esh-mi, Samsu-iluna, li. 38 and 39 (more closely rendered by the phrase pā ishten ushashkin); cf. also bal ka-ur-sig-ki, Warad-Sin, Canephor, 2 : 10. For the signification of mītarish cf. mīru, "the equivalent, the same as." For the reading ur see ur-ri-esh=ish-te-nish, Reisner S. B. H., No. 44, Rev., 29 : 30.
ù Ku-ri-tum dam-a-ni
nam-dumu-ni-shū ba-da-an-ri

b. nam-ibila-a-ni-shū in-gar(-ri-esh?)

B. é a-shag nigung-ga a-na-me-a-bi
shesh-gal sib-ta-na
shu-ba-ab-te-gâ-e-en
ur-a-shū și-ga-bi ni-ba-e-ne

C. a. ő-kûr-shû tukundi-bi
[7] I-li-i-din-nam shesh-gal
ù I-li-um-ma-ti shesh-a-ni
ù Ku-ri-tum ama-na-ra
nu ad-da-mu nu ama-mu
ba-an-na-gû-esh
é a-shag nigung-ga a-na-me-a-bi
ba-ra-ē-ne-esh
ù kû-shû ba-ab-șî-mu-ush

b. ő tukundi-bi Ê-a-i-din-nam
ù Ku-ri-tum dam-a-ni
ù I-li-um-ma-ti shesh-a-ni
nu dumu-me ba-an-na-gû-esh
e a-shag nigung-ga a-na-me-a-bi
ba-ra-ē-ne-esh
ù 1 ma-na kù-babbar ni-lâ(l)-e-ne

D. she-ga-ne-ne-ta
mu lugal-bi in-pâ(d)-dé-esh

Ili-idinnam, the elder brother, and Iliummati, his brother, Ea-idinnam, son of Ibku-Ishtar with Kuritum, his wife, has adopted as his children; his heirs he has made them. House, field and all property they shall divide into equal parts after the elder brother shall have received his preference portion. In future when Ili-idinnam, the elder brother, and Iliummati, his brother, say (either of them) to Ea-idinnam, his (= their) father, and to Kuritum, his (= their) mother: "Not art thou my father," "not art thou my mother," they shall forfeit house, field and all property and shall be sold for money. But also when Ea-idinnam or Kuritum, his wife, say (either of them) to Ili-idinnam, his (= their) child, and to Iliummati, his brother: "Not art
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

thou our child,” they shall forfeit house, field and all property, and, in addition, shall pay one mine of silver. In mutual agreement they have sworn by the name of the king.

No. 28.

A. [Ib-]ku-sha dumu An-a[zag-sha]
   È-a-ta-a-ar dumu .......[.....]
   nam-ibila-ni-shû ba-an-d[a-ri]

B. a. ud nam-ibila-ni-shû ba-an-da-ri-a
   $ she-gur (?) ìar (?)-ra ìb-ku-sha ad-da-ni
   \ È-a-ta-a-ar in-SU

b. a. gibil-bi-shû-a-an Ib-ku-sha ad-da(?) .........
   \ È-a-tu-ra-am dumu sal-nilalam-ni (...........)
   \ ù È-a-ta-a-ar dumu shu-ti-ra (......)
   \ ìa-la in-ne-en-ba

\ 15 gin ê-dû-a da é Ib-ku-È-a dumu An-azag-sha
1 gan a-shaq ⁴En-lil-gar-ra us-a-rá Ib-ku-È-a
   nig-gù-na é-a shu-ri-a-bi-shû
   ìa-la-ba È-a-tu-ra-am

γ. 15 gin ê-dû-a da é È-a-tu-ra-am shesh-a-ni
1 gan a-shaq ⁴En-lil-gar-ra us-a-rá È-a-tu-ra-am shesh-a-ni
   nig-gù-na é-a shu-ri-a-bi-shû
   ìa-la-ba È-a-ta-a-ar shesh-a-ni

C. a. 2½ she-gur ³ ma-na sîg ³ qa ìa-gish
   \ á mu-ù-a-shû
   \ 2½ she-gur ³ qa ìa-gish ³ ma-na sîg
   \ á mu-ù-a-shû
   \ È-a-tu-ra-am ù È-a-ta-a-ar
   \ È-ku-sha ad-da-na-ra
   \ in-na-ab-kal-la-gi-ne

b. ibila ëù na-mu-na-ab-kal-la-gi
   nam-ibila-ni-ta ba-ra-ë-ne

D. she-qa-ne-ne-tna mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)-dé-esh

Ibkusha, son of Anazagsha, has adopted Ea-taiar, son of (?) ......., as his heir. At the time when he adopted him as his heir, Ibkusha, his father, ......
has given to Ea-taiiar four gar of interest grain. Again,\textsuperscript{1} Ibkus\text{a}, the father, has distributed the inheritance to Ea-turam, the son by his wife, and to Ea-taiiar, the adopted son. \textsuperscript{15} gin of built house, on one side adjoining the house of Ibkus\text{a}, son of Anz\textsuperscript{g}sha; \textsuperscript{1} acre of En\textsuperscript{lil-garra} field, lengthwise adjoining Ibkus\text{a}; of the property in the house one-half:\textsuperscript{2} the inheritance portion of Ea-turam. \textsuperscript{15} gin of built house, lengthwise adjoining the house of Ea-turam, his brother; \textsuperscript{1} acre of En\textsuperscript{lil-garra} field, lengthwise adjoining Ea-turam, his brother; one-half of the property in the house: inheritance portion of Eataiiar, his brother. \textsuperscript{2} \textfrac{2}{3} gur of grain, \textfrac{3}{3} mines of wool and \textfrac{3}{3} qa of oil as yearly payment\textsuperscript{3} Ea-turam and Ea-taiiar shall each pay to Ibkus\text{a}, their father. The heir who will not pay his sustenance shall forfeit his heirship. In mutual agreement they have sworn by the name of the king.

No. 57.

A. \textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Ta\textsuperscript{4}-ab-ba-la-du dumu E-til-bi\textsuperscript{4} Shamash
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Be-el-ti-ia dam-a-ni
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Ha-bil-a-li nam-dumu-ne-ne-shu ba-an-da-ri

B a. \textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} a-shag nig-ga e-gal-la a-na-ne-a-bi
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Nin-IB-ga-mil shesh-gal sib-la-na
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} shu-ba-ab-te-ga
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} ur-a-si-ga-bi ni-ba-e-ne

b. a-na kishib nam-ibila \textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Ab-hum gala
garza a-shag e ut gish-sar \textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Ha-bil-a-li
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Nin-IB-ga-mil shesh-u-ni
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} giu-um-ma-ma-a

C. a. tukundi-bi Ta-ab-ba-la-du
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Be-el-ti-ia dam-a-ni
\textsuperscript{\texttt{30}} Ha-bil-a-li dumu-ni-ra

\textsuperscript{1} Gibil-bi-shu-a-an, 10 : 20 gibil-bi-esht-a-an, is composed of gibil-bi-shu (= ana esht\text{a}tisku = "ausf neue") and the iterative element a-an = am. The simple "auslaut" sh(u) as well as the compound "auslaut" shuan—sham passed over into the Semitic Babylonian, the former as the common adverbial ending ish, ash, the latter as the iterative ending sham(ma) in esh-shi-sha-am-ma, "again, anew," R. 6 : 13; in amisham, "daily" and skattisham, "yearly." Compare also ha-shu-a-an, "on account of all this," Samsu-\text{ibuna}, 24.

\textsuperscript{2} Smuria-bi-shu is an adverbial expression formed like gibil-bi-shu with the postposition shu. The Sumerian construction can be rendered more closely in German: "Das Hausgeraet zur Haelfte." The determinative element bi in such adverbial formations is rendered in the Semitic Babylonian by means of the possessive pronoun, e.g., ana shi\text{t}isku (to which compare in Hebrew lebaddod).

\textsuperscript{3} Cf. \texttt{30}-mu-\texttt{a}, 29 : 10.

\textsuperscript{4} The value \texttt{30} for \textit{SHAR} (from the Semitic \textit{t\text{u}bu}) ensues from the often occurring ba-at-\texttt{30}-at = perm. fem. sing.

Cf. No. 70 : 15; G. T., VI, 26a : 14, 30 : 20; VIII 20 c, g., etc.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

dumu nu-me-en ba(-e)-ne-in-giù-ush
\( \frac{1}{2} \) ma-na kù-babbar ni-lù(l)-e-ne
b. ıt tukundi-bi Ha-bil-a-ḫi
\( \sqrt{T}a-ab-ba-la-du \) ıt Be-ul-ti-ia
ad-da nu-me-en ama nu-me-en
ba-ne-en-giù-ush
DUBBIN-al-tar-ru-ne
kara-an-ni-fb-dū-e
tı kù-shú ba-ab-sī-mu-ne

Ṭab-balaṭu, son of Etel-bi-Shamash, (and) Beltia, his wife, have adopted Ḥabîl-āḫi as their son. House, field and all property that exists in the house, after NinlB-gamîl, the elder brother, shall have received his preference portion, they shall divide into equal parts. To the sonship document of Ablum, the kalû-priest, the temple income, the field, the house and the garden of Ḥabîl-āḫi, NinlB-gamîl, his brother, shall make no claim. When Ṭab-balaṭu and Beltia, his wife, say to Ḥabîl-āḫi, their son: ‘Son not art thou,’ they shall pay half a mine of silver. But when Ḥabîl-āḫi says to Ṭab-balaṭu and Beltia: “Father not art thou, mother not art thou,” they may mark him with the thumb-nail mark(?), put an unsalable slave’s mark upon him or even sell him for money.¹

No. 4.

A. a. ỳ A-wi-ir-tum dumu-sal Ḥu-pa-tum
ki Ḥu-pa-tum ad-da-ni
tı Ru-ba-tum ama-a-ni-ta
ỳ Sha-lu-ur-tum dam ï(nim)-Nannar-ge
nam-dumu-sal-a-ni-shù
ba-da-an-ri
b. 1½ gìn kù-babbar
kù-nam-eḫi-a-ni-shù
ỳ Sha-lu-ur-tum-ge
Ḥu-pa-tum-ra
in-na-an-lal

¹ Cf. dubbin mi-ni-in-AG-a | gīr-ra-ni (thus instead of ashi? mi-ni-in-dū-e | ıt kù(babbar)-ga-ash mi-ni-in-s), V R, 23, III, 26 : 28 = u-ga-la)-ab-shu | ab-bi-ut-tum ı-sha-ak-kan-shu | ıt a-na kaṣpî ı-na-am-din-shu. The enumerated procedures represent punishments of rising severity. C. H., 8a : 43–59 forbids in the case in question to sell for money and allows only the abdalam shakînu. The grammatical correctness of the verbal forms in lis. 21–23 may be doubted. Cf. also the wrong plural infix, resp. the wrong plural ending in barugush, lis. 15 and 20. Perhaps we should read altarrude and babimude and correspondingly alter the translation.
BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

B. a. Ṿ A-wi-ir-tum-ge
    KARA-LIL al-dā-ni-ma
b. Ṿ Sha-lu-ur-tum ama-a-ni
gar-an-ni-ib-kū-a
C. a. tukundi-bi Ṿ A-wi-ir-tum-ge
    Sha-lu-ur-tum ama-a-ni(-ra)
am-a-mu nu-me-en ba-na-an-gū
kū-shū ši-mu-dam
b. Ṽ tukundi-bi
    Ṿ Sha-lu-ur-tum-ge
    Ṿ A-wi-ir-tum dumu-sal-a-ni-ra
dumu-sal-mu nu-me-en ba-na-an-gû
10 gûn kû-babbar nî-lâ(l)-e
û kû-nam-eši-a-ni-shû
ba-ra-ê-ne
D. mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)

Awirtum, the daughter of Hupatum, from Hupatum, her father, and Rubatum, her mother, Shalurtum, wife of I(nim)-Nannar, has adopted as her daughter. 1½ shekels of silver as money (compensation) for her adoption Shalurtum has paid to Hupatum. Awirtum shall be made a votary and then she shall let Shalurtum, her mother, eat her prebend.¹ When Awirtum says to Shalurtum, her mother: "My mother not art thou," she shall be sold for money.² But when Shalurtum says to Awirtum, her daughter: "My daughter not art thou," she shall pay 10 shekels of silver and shall forfeit the money for her adoption. By the name of the king she has sworn.

The scheme of adoption documents consists of (1) the adoption proper; (2) the regulation of the position of the adopted with regard to the property; (3) provisions concerning the solution of the adoption contract; (4) oath.

A. The technical term for "to adopt" is nam-dumu-ni-shû (No. 57), nam-ibila-ni-shû (No. 28) or nam-dumu-sal-a-ni-shû (No. 4) ba-da-an-ri or ba-an-da-ri. No. 24 distinguishes expressly between nam-dumu-ni-shû ba-da-an-ri and nam-ibila-ani-shû in-gar, and it is evident that a difference "'in re’” corresponds to this distinc-

¹To the combination of gar and kû compare the compound gar-kû-a (Reisner, Telloh, 101, IV, 7) and Br. 11997 and 11954.
²The formation lali-dam is not determined as to the genus verbi; it usually designates a future action; dam is to be analyzed as de-a-an.
From the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

tion of terms, the first kind of adoption giving the person concerned only the right to be brought up and kept like a child (dumu, māru) in the house, the latter conferring also the right of inheriting; ībīla, āblu therefore has the meaning of 'heir.' In No. 28 we find the contracted formula nam-ībīla-ni-shu ba-an-da-ri.

Instead of the usual formula: X | Y | nam-dumu-ni-shu, etc., ba-da-an-ri, No. 4, exhibits a scheme closely corresponding to a deed of purchase:

\[
a. \ X \ (= \ object \ of \ adoption) \ | \ ki-Y \ ad-da-ni-(etc.)-ta \ | \ Z-ge \ | \ nam-dumu-sal-a-ni-su \ | \ ba-da-an-ri \\
\]

\[
b. \ x \ gīn \ kū-babbar | kū-nam-chī-a-ni-shu | Z-ge | Y-ra | iu-na-an-lā(l)
\]

This is explained by the different legal position held by the adopted, who as a girl, and probably still a child, does not possess the right of disposing of herself, and therefore is rated rather like a useful help, for whose cession an indemnification must be paid: technical term kū-nam-chī, 'money (indemnification) for the bringing up.'

B. The regulation of the rights of the adopted to the property was subject to agreement, but in most cases the general rule concerning the right of inheritance seems to have been applied also to the adopted, i.e., it was provided that the brothers divide the inheritance into equal parts after the eldest had received a preference portion. Therefore in our documents the adopted, when more than one, and provided there was not already a natural heir, are introduced at once as X shesh-gal and Y shesh-a-ni. This formula seems to be peculiar to Nippur contracts, for in Sippar we find the express statement that of more than one adopted, one shall be the ābu resp. māru rabū. Cf. M., 94 : 13. No. 4 contains at this place a provision as to the employment of the adopted girl, and the use to be made of her income. See for a similar provision made in Cassite times, Clay, B. E., Series A, XIV, 40 : 6–8: shum-ma a-na mu-tim i-nam-din-shi | shum-ma ḥa-ri-mu-ta ibu-us-si | a-mat-ṣa u-ul i-sha-ak-ka-an, 'be it that she gives her to a husband, be it that she makes her a votary, her slave she shall not make her.'

C. The provisions as to the solution of the adoption contract show the casuistic form of the laws in the Code of hammurabi, known in Sumerian also from the so-called Sumerian family laws. The various directions of these latter reoccur in our documents, although with considerable grammatical and often material variations.

2 The ge denoting the grammatical subject is found in No. 4, but not in the other adoption documents, which moreover are very careless in the distinction of plural and singular endings, infixes and suffixes.
3 The following and the preceding lines differ from that of the corresponding lines in purchase deeds.
4 Eḥī = ɨqiṭu, ɨṭātu, coner. the child which is brought up; nam-čī = ɨqiṭu, ɨṭātu, abstr. the adoption, the bringing up of a child.
They were evidently put together either for accomplished scribes or for those who were learning to write, to serve as patterns for the corresponding parts in adoption documents (law 1–4), marriage contracts (law 5 and 6) and contracts of hiring (law 5). This is very evident from the line which heads the collection of laws: ū-kūr-shú ū-na-me-shú, “in future, always,” which is not quite suitable for a collection of laws, since laws are given in the first place for the present (Hammurabi begins his code of law with i-nu-mi-shu, “now,” C. H., 5 : 25), not for the future.

D. The oath which is omitted in No. 57 is a mutual one (she-ga-ne-ne-ta) when the adopting and the adopted are the negotiating parties (Nos. 24, 28); in No. 4 it is taken only by the adopting priestess who concludes the contract with the parents of the adopted.

The great number of adoptions and the fact that adults, and often more than one, are adopted show that in Babylonia adoption formed a kind of business transaction by which not only the adopted, but also the adopting person gained an advantage. This consisted primarily in the help which he had from the adopted, and which he needed especially at his age when he could no longer earn his sustenance himself. This becomes very evident from No. 28, which determines the exact amount of the sustenance which the adopted, and the legitimate son have to give to their father, and from No. 4 where the adopting priestess secures for herself the benefit of her adopted daughter’s sustenance.

The document No. 57 combines adoption, division of an inheritance, and obligation to pay annuities. Such combinations are a characteristic feature of Nippur documents, while in or near Sippur, as we have seen already in connection with the division contracts, separate documents for each party were drawn up, in which only the individual rights that a person had secured were set forth. As an example of such an independent document of the character last mentioned, see C. T., VIII, 37a: 1. she-gur-ba 2. 3 qa ī-a-gish-ba 3. igi-4-gál kū-babbar šig-ba 4. i-na mu-i-kam 5. a-di A-bi-ra-tum 6. ba-al-ta-at 7. 3 isin ū 3 zid-da 1 uzu(?) 8. ū Erish-ti-d Shamash 9. màrat A-li-wa-aq(-rum) 10. i-ta-na-di-shi-im 11. mu 4Babbar 4A-a 4Marduk 12. ū Ha-am[-mu-ra-bi] 13. in-pá(d); i.e., a rate of 1 gur of grain, a rate of 3 qa of oil, a rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ (shekel) of silver for wool (and) at three feasts (of Shamash) 10 qa of flour and 1 piece of meat, as long as Abiratum shall live, Erishti-Shamash shall give her.
VI. Marriage Contracts (40 and 58).

No. 40.

A. \( ^d \)En-lil-id-zu nu-\( \text{-} \)esh \( ^d \)En-lil-lá dumu Lugal-\( \text{-} \)zi-da
\( \vee \) Ama-sukkal dumu-sal \( ^d \)Nin-IB-\( \text{-} \)ma-an-si-ge
nam-dam-shú ba-an-tug

B. 19 gin kú-babbar \( \vee \) Ama-sukkal-ge
\( \vee \) \( ^d \)En-lil-id-zu dam-a-ni-ra
in-na-ni-in-tur

C. a. \( \text{"} \)kú-shú tukundi-bi \( \vee \) \( ^d \)En-lil-id-zu-ge
\( \vee \) Ama-sukkal dam-a-ni-ra
dam-mu nu-me-en ba-na-an-gú
19 gin kú-bi gur-ru-dam
\( \text{"} \) ma-na kú-dam-tág-ni-ra ni-lá(l)-e

b. \( \text{"} \) tukundi-bi \( \vee \) Ama-sukkal-ge
\( \vee \) \( ^d \)En-lil-id-zu dam-a-ni-ra
dam-mu nu-me-en ba-na-an-gú
19 gin kú-bi ba-ra-\( \text{-} \)ne
\( \text{"} \) ma-na kú-babbar ni-lá(l)-e

D. she-ga-ne-ne-ta
mu lugal-ur-bi in-pá(d)-dé-esh

Enlil-idzu, priest of Enlil, son of Lugal-azida, has taken Ama-sukkal, daughter of NinIB-mansi,\(^1\) to wife. 19 shekels of silver Ama-sukkal has brought in to Enlil-idzu, his wife. In future, when Enlil-idzu says to Ama-sukkal, his wife: ‘‘My wife not art thou,’’ he shall return the 19 shekels of money, and, in addition, pay half a mine as her divorce money. And when Ama-sukkal says to Enlil-idzu, her husband: ‘‘My husband not art thou,’’ she shall forfeit the 19 shekels of money, and, in addition, pay half a mine of silver. In mutual agreement they have both sworn by the name of the king.

No. 48.

A. 1. \( \vee \) A-wi-li-ia dumu Warad-\( ^d \)Sin
\( \vee \) Na-ra-am-\( \text{-} \)tum dumu-sal \( ^d \)Sin-na-tum
nam-dam-shú in-tug

2. \( \vee \) I-bi-\( ^d \) En-lil ibila shesh-gal Idu-shu-ib-ni-shu shesh-a-ni
\( \text{"} \) I-li-ma-a-bi shesh-a-ne-ne \( \vee \) A-wi-li-ia-ge
\( \vee \) Na-ra-am-\( \text{-} \)tum dam-a-ni-ra nam-ibila-ni-shú in-na-an-si

\(^1\) The postposition ge makes Ama-sukkal the subject. But this can hardly have been the intention of the scribe, he probably having misplaced ge, intending it to follow \( ^d \)En-lil-id-zu, etc.
B. 2. \( I-bi^{4} \) En-lil ibila shesh-gal Ilu-shu-ib-ni-shu shesh-a-ni
\(  \)\( I-li-ma-a-bi \) shesh-a-ne-ne
\(  \)\( e \) a-shag gish-sar geme arad nig-ga é-a-gál-la
\(  \)\( A-wi-li-ia \) ad-da-ne-ne-ge
shesh-gal sib-ta-na shu-ba-ab-te-gá-a-an
ur-a-ši-ga-bi ni-ba-e-ne

C. 1. tukundi-bi. \( A-wi-li-ia \) Na-ra-am-tum dam-a-ni-ra
dam-mu nu-me-en ba-na-an-gù \(  \)\( 1/2 \) ma-na kú-babbar ni-lá(l)-e
tukundi-bi \( Na-ra-am-tum A-wi-li-ia \) dam-a-ni-ra
dam-mu nu-me-en ba-na-an-gù dubbin al-tar-ru-ne kú-shù ne-ib-
ši-mu-uskî

2. tukundi-bi \( I-bi^{4} \) En-lil Ilu-shu-ib-ni-shu
\(  \)\( I-li-ma-a-bi \) shesh-a-ne-ne Na-ra-am-tum ama-ne-ne-ra
ama-me nu-me-en ba-na-an-gù-ush
nig-ga \( A-wi-li-ia \) ad-da-ne-ne-ge ba-ra-č-ne-ne-en-ne-en
tukundi-bi \( Na-ra-am-tum I-bi^{4} \) En-lil
\( Ilu-shu-ib-ni-shu \) \( I-li-ma-a-bi \) dumu-ne-ne-ra
dumu-mésh nu-me-en ba-na-an-gù
nig-ga \( A-wi-li-ia \) dam-a-na-ge ba-ra-č-ne

D. \( Na-ra-am-tum \) shag g[a \( . . . . . \) ]
[ \( . . . . . . \) am-ibila [ ]
\( mu-a 2\frac{1}{2} \) she-gur 6 [ma-na sig \( . . . . . . \) ga iá-\( \) ] gish
\( I-bi^{4} \) En-lil ibila shesh-gal Ilu-shu-ib-ni-shu
\( I-li-ma-a-bi \) [shesh-a-ne-\( \) ]ne
\( Na-ra-am-tum \) ama-ne-ne-ra in-na-ab-kala-gi-ne
ibila she-ba iá-ba \( \) sig-ba nu-mu-na-ab-kala-gí
nig-ga \( A-wi-li-ia \) ad-da-na-ge ba-ra-č-ne

E. she-ga-ne-ne-ta mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)-dé-esh

Awilia, son of Warad-Sin, has taken Naramtum, daughter of Sinatum, to wife.
Ibi-Enlil, the heir (and) elder brother, Ilushu-ibnishu, his brother, and Ilima-abi,
their brother, Awilía\(^1\) has given to Naramtum, his wife, as sons. Ibi-Enlil, the heir (and)
elder brother, Ilushu-ibnishu, his brother, and Ilima-abi, their brother, shall divide
house, field, garden, maid-slave, man-slave and the property that exists in the house
of Awilía, their father, into equal parts after the eldest brother shall have taken his

\(^1\) This document uses ge only here (but not, e.g., in li. 1, 13, 15, etc.) to denote the subject, while else it designates with ge the genitive (li. 10, 20, 24, 32).
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

preference portion. When Awilia says to Naramtum, his wife: "My wife not art thou," he shall pay ½ mine of silver. When Naramtum says to Awilia, her husband: "My husband not art thou," they shall mark her with the thumb-nail mark(?) and sell her for money. When Ibi-Enlil, Ilushu-ibnishu and Ilima-abi, their brother, say to Naramtum, their mother: "Our mother not art thou," they shall forfeit the property of Awilia, their father. When Naramtum says to Ibi-Enlil, Ilushu-ibnishu and Ilima-abi, their children: "My sons ye are not," she shall forfeit the property of Awilia, her husband. Naramtum ............... In the year 2½ gur of grain, 6 mines of wool and . . . . qa of oil Ibi-Enlil, the heir (and) elder brother, Ilushu-ibnishu and Ilima-abi, their brother, shall give to Naramtum, their mother, as sustenance. If a son will not give her the grain, oil, and wool installments as sustenance, he shall forfeit the property of his father. In mutual agreement they have sworn by the name of the king.

The scheme of the marriage contracts corresponds in its four parts—(1) the marriage proper (treating of the persons); (2) the dowry (treating of the property); (3) the break of the contract; (4) oath—as well as by the formulating of the single parts, entirely to that of the adoption documents, both kinds of treaties being also "in re" closely related to each other, as they both belong to the family law.

A. The technical term for "to marry," nam-dam-shú in-tug (48 : 3), "he has taken into wifehood," nam-dam-shú ba-an-tug, "he has taken for himself," etc., shows the same formation as nam-dumu-shú ba-da-an-ri.

B. The technical term for "to bring as a dowry" is in-na-ni-in-tur, "she has brought in," the same as in German, "eintragen," in Sippar documents, the more explicit term, ana bit X (R., 101 : 18, husband; R., 84 : 39, father of the husband), usherib, is used.

C. Cf. the adoption documents.

D. The oath is a mutual one (she-ga-ne-ne-la mu lugal(-ur)-bi in-pá(d)-dé-esh). No. 48 is a combination of marriage contract, adoption document and obligation to pay annuities, inasmuch as the wife is given by her husband also the legal rights of a mother over the sons of his former marriage by making them her children (dam-a-ni-ra nam-ibila-ni-shú in-na-an-šù). The principle followed in this

1 Cf. Z. A., XXI, p. 220.
3 Subject the father of the bride; R. 101 : 19, u-she-ri-ba-ši (object = the bride).
4 ur = múḫarish, ishtenish, Br., 11259, 11261, is as adjective connected with mu-lugal (object), not with the predicate.
combination is the juxtaposition of corresponding parts (A. 1, and 2, 1, C. 1 and 2). The mother acquires the right to be sustained by her sons after they have inherited the property of their father. The amount of the sustenance is fixed (D).

VII. A Manumission Document.

No. 8.

A. a. \( Du-shu-ub-tum \) \( NIN(EL, SAL-?)-DINGIR \) (?)
\( Shu-zi-an-na \)
\( dumu-sal \) \( Dug-ya-a \)
\( Ishtar-ra-bi-a-at geme-ni-im \)
\( ama-ar-gi-ni \) in-gar
b. sag-ki-ni in-lāh-lāh
c. BI (?) nam-geme-ni in-bi
d. kishīh nam-el-la-ni-shū in-na-an-tāg

B. \( Ishtar-ra-bi-a-at-ge \)
\( Du-shu-ub-tum \) nīn-a-ni-ra
10 gīn kū-babbar
in-na-ni-in-tur

C. \( ū-kūr-shū \) \( I-bi^{d} \) En-lil
\( A-me-ir-tum \) SAL + KU-a-ni
ibila \( Nanna(r)-zi-mu \)
\( Du-shu-ub-tum-ge-ne \)
\( Ishtar-ra-bi-at-ra \)
gū-nu-im-mā-mā-a

D. \( mu bugal-ur-bi \)
in-pā(d)-dē-esh

Dushubtum, the priestess(?) of Shuzi-anna, the daughter of Duggā, has manumitted Ishtar-rabiat, her maid-slave; her forehead she has cleansed; the . . . . . of her slavedom she has pronounced; a document on her cleansing she has given her. Ishtar-rabiat has brought in to Dushubtum, her mistress, ten shekels of silver. In future shall Ibi-Enlil and Amertum, his sister, the heirs of Nanna(r)-zi-mu and Dushubtum, make no claim against Ishtar-rabiat. By the name of the king they both have sworn.¹

¹ The scribe intended perhaps mu-ni-im.

² This document from Yokha shows several peculiarities. Notice the habit of leaving a blank space between wedge and name (ll. 4, 9, 10 and 17) and between īpi and name (ll. 21–34); \( DAM(?)-DINGIR(?) \) instead of \( SAL + ISHIB \); the mentioning of Shuzianna and the absence of the buγ-gul.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON. 39

The scheme consists of four parts: 1. The freeing. 2. The paying of a compensation in money. 3. Provision as to future claims. 4. Oath.

A. The technical term for "set free" is ama-ar-gi-ni in-gar = andurarshu ishkun, "he has made his liberty." As formalities connected with this act are enumerated the following:

1. A religious ceremony, the cleansing of the forehead: say-ki-ni in-lāh-lāh, Sem. bu-zu u-li-il, C. T., IV, 42a; only ulil, R., 96 : 7; C. T., II, 33 : 4; VIII, 29a : 6; 29b : 3; 48 : 5. The cleansing, which in all these cases appears as correlative to an adoption of slaves, in the Yokha document, however, to a manumission, refers to religious cleanliness, as is also shown by the phrase a-na Shamash u-li-il-shi-na-ti, C. T., VIII, 29a : 6. This is a very important fact, because therefrom it would follow that slaves were not allowed to participate in the cult of free Babylonians. In V R. 47: 32b the same ceremony is described as a removing the muttatu, i.e., the slave mark which was placed on the forehead (muttatu), and as a removing the abuttum.

2. Whether the pronouncing of the dissolution of servitude represents a legal formality or a further religious act, perhaps the reciting of an exorcism, is difficult to say.

3. The legal formality of giving a document which authenticates the cleanliness. The term kishib-tāg corresponds to, or, more correctly, was the model for the Semitic kishippam or kunukkam ezēbu, literally "to leave one's seal impression" (in the possession of the other party).

B. The 10 shekels of silver, the equivalent paid for the manumission, represent about the value of a maid-slave, who, e.g., in 20, III, 15, 16, is estimated at 11 shekels. In the other cases of "cleansing" the equivalent consists in the obligation to care for the adoptive parents. The term in-na-ni-in-tur, "she has brought in," is the same as that used in connection with the bringing of a dowry; here most probably "the bringing in" is meant in the commercial sense of yielding proceeds, returns, from which we may conclude that the maid-slave had to earn money for her mistress in such a way that part of the proceeds were credited to her.

C and D. Like in similar documents, the provisions against future claims are directed against the heirs of the former mistress. In this instance also the oath has been taken by them (mulugal-ur-bi in-pā(d)-dé-esh). 1

1 Ranke's view (B. E., Series A, VIa, p. 29) that bu-zu refers to the pudenda is confuted by the Sumerian say-ki = pātu, pānu. Lāh-lāh-ga, Br., 7927 = ēlu.
2 So expressly stated R., 96, sha X u-da-am-na-ku-hi-na ala ma-rū-lu-ska isk-ku-nu-si.
3 Kunukkam ezēbu (C. II.) shows that we have to read kishipp-pa-am, not dup-pa-am uš-te-zi-ilb, C. II., 9a : 34.
4 Ur does not refer to mistress and maid-slave, since the latter enters into no obligation, in which case we would also expect she-ga-ne-ne-ta. Moreover the parts C (no claim shall be made against the former slave) and D belong, like in purchase documents, closely together, and thus ur refers to the two children of the mistress.
VIII. Deeds of Loan.  

No. 22.
Loan of money.

A. 1 gin kū-babbar másh-an-tug
3 3 gin 12 she shemir (?)
másh nu-ub-tug
ki Da-mi-iq-li-shu
dumu Na-ra-am-Sin-ta
\( \Uparrow \) Lù-Ama-a-ra-zu
dumu Ad-da-du-ga nu-ēsh-ge
shu-ba-an-ti

B. mu-DU ud-ebur-ka
kū  u másh-bi gur-ru-dam

No. 16.
Loan of grain with interest due in money.

A. 25 she-gur
15  gin kū-babbar másh-in-tug
ki 6 Nin-IB-ma-an-sù
dumu Da-mi-iq-li-shu-ta
\( \Uparrow \) Ha-ba-na-tum  u-6 Da-mu-[
]  
dumu-ni-ge
shu-ba-an-ti-esh

B. mu-DU ud-ebur-ka
she-bi  u kū-babbar-bi
shag-ga-ni ne-ib-du-gi-esh

25 gur of grain bearing an interest of 15 shekels of silver, from NinIB-mansi, son of Damiq-ilishu, Habanatum and Damu-......, his son, have received. At the ...... of the harvest time they shall pay him the grain and the money.

No. 15.
Loan of grain.

A. 12 she-gur
másh nu-ub-tug
ki Ib-ku-īr-ši-tim
dumu 6 Sin-lī-di[-ish]-ta

1 Loans of grain, Nos. 13, 15, 16, 17, 25 and 63; loans of money, Nos. 20 and 22; loan of bricks, No. 21.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

Zi-ia-tum dumu Ur-\textsuperscript{4}En-nu-gi
ù I-bi\textsuperscript{4}Nin-shah
dumu Nu-ur\textsuperscript{4}Nin-shah-ge
shu-ba-an-ti-esh

B. mu-DU ebur-ka
kara-Nibru\textsuperscript{ki}-ka
she-al-\textsuperscript{ag}-e

No. 21.
Loan of bricks.

A. \(\frac{1}{2}\) sar 1 gin sig
sig Na-bi\textsuperscript{4}Shamash
ki Na-bi\textsuperscript{4}Shamash
\RA Igi\textsuperscript{4}Nanna(r)-shu-al-gin
shu-ba-an-ti

B. itu sig-a sag
sig ki-gar-ra-bi-shú
gur-ru-dam

\(\frac{1}{2}\) sar 1 gin of bricks,\(^1\) the bricks of Nabi-Shamash, from Nabi-Shamash Igi-Nannar-shu-algin has received. At the beginning of the month of Siwan he shall return bricks for exchange.

Deeds of loan, hire, rent and lease form a group of legal documents by themselves, inasmuch as they transfer a right to the concerned object of treaty only for a time. We therefore find in such documents neither provisions as to future claims nor the oath. Thus of the four parts of the deeds of purchase only the first two are left, which treat of the passing of the property into other hands and the equivalent given in exchange, here the payment of interest, rent, etc. Cf. the following schemes of deeds of loan and of hire:

\textit{Loan} (money or grain).

\begin{itemize}
  \item A. Object of the loan.
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ki-Y-ta
      \item \RA Z-ge
      \item shu-ba-an-ti
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textit{Hire}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item A. \RA X (object of hire).
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ki-Y-ta
      \item \RA Z-ge
      \item in-KU
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\(^1\) Bricks were measured, as we see from M. 82 and this instance, by superficial measures. This seems to presuppose that they had a fixed diameter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.</th>
<th>mu-DU (ud-)ebur-ka</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>á-bi ışl-da-shú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O (ù mášh)-bi</td>
<td>al-āg-e</td>
<td>x she-la-a-an</td>
<td>al-āg-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. The technical term for "to take as a loan" is shu-ba-an-ti, "he has taken, received," pl. shu-ba-an-ti-esh (Sippar: shu-ba-an-ți-me-esh). The object, when grain or money, is always accompanied by an apposition denoting whether the loan shall bear interest — másh-in-tug (an-tug) — or not — másh nu-ub-tug —: that is to say, whether the interest has still to be added to the amount noted in the document, or whether it is already included in it, respectively has been paid already. Instead of másh-in-tug we find in Sippar documents másh ... dah-he(î)-dam, e.g., másh 1 gur $\frac{1}{6}$ + $\frac{1}{3}$ dah-he-dam, "as interest from 1 gur he shall add 100 qa," R., 38 : 2; in Semitic, e.g., siḥat Shamash u-za-ap, "the interest of Shamash he shall add," R., 27 : 2. Contrary to the documents from Sippar, those from Nippur do not indicate the rate of interest. Probably there has been in use at Nippur only one rate which was understood in all cases. Only No. 16 indicates the amount of interest for grain, because it shall be paid in money.

B. Since the compensation for the loan has been determined before by the statement concerning interest, this part contains only provisions as to the time and the place of returning loan and interest. The verbs used to denote the returning are gur-ru-dam, "he shall return"; al-āg-e (Sippar: ni-āg-e), "he shall measure" of grain; and shag-ga-ni ne-ib-dug-gi-en,1 20 : 8, plur.: ne-ib-dug-gi-esh, 16 : 10, "he shall satisfy his heart."

The usual time for the return of grain and money is at harvest. For bricks, in No. 21, the month of brick-making, Sīvān, is designated. Instead of ud-ebur-shū, which occurs on the Sippar tablets, our tablets show mu-DU (ud-)ebur-ka. As ka denotes the ablative of a genitive combination (cf. kara-Nibrūši-ka, "in the granary of Nippur," 15 : 6), mu-DU should be connected with ebur or ud-ebur. But it is difficult to determine the precise meaning.2 Only in the one instance just quoted (15 : 6) we find a statement concerning the place of the payment. A statement as to a certain grain measure, corresponding to i-na gish-shī3 4Shamash on Sippar documents, is not found.

3. For GISH-BAR we find 80 : 10, gish-shī; as BAR interchanges with šī in ṣubā-šī-a (cf., e.g., the date Ad 13), where the reading šī is proved by the Semitized form dusḥā, it follows that gish-BAR is to be read gish-shī.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

IX. Contracts of Hire (51).

No. 51.

A. \( l-din-Ishtar \)
dumu Na-bi-\(^4\)Shamash
ki Na-bi-\(^4\)Shamash-ta
\( Lù-\(^4\)Nin-si-an-na \)
itu sig-a ud-21-ta
itu she-gür-kud ud-30-shû
in-KU

B. \( á-bi \; d-da-shû \)
\( \frac{1}{5} + \frac{7}{30} \) she-ta-a-an
al-ág-e

Idin-Ishtar, the son of Nabi-Shamash, from Nabi-Shamash Lu-Nin-si-anna has hired (for the time) from Siwan 21st to Adar 30th. As his hire he shall pay 80 qa of grain every month.

A. The technical term is in-KU, ìgur, ‘he has hired.’ The duration of the hiring is indicated by -ta—-shû.

B. Cf. the deeds of loan. The wages (technical term \( á = idu \)), which in this instance do not represent a great amount, are probably paid at the end of the time of hiring, since a specified term is not mentioned.

X. Leases (Nos. 29 and 61).

No. 29.

Lease of a field.

\( 4 \) gan á-shag güg-she
shag a-shag \(^4\)Nin-unu
us-a-rá A-gu-u-a
a-shag Ib-ga-tum
dumu Ur-Dù-azag-ga
ki Ib-ga-tum dumu Ur-Dù-azag-ga-ta
\( á \) Da-mu-i-din-nam-ge
nam-urú-tú-shû
igî-3-yúl-shû
[á]-mu-ú-a-shû
[ib]-\( á \)-a-an-ê

\(^1\) Cf. also \( á \)-mu-ú-a and á-mu-ú-a, 28 : 20, 22; 29 : 10.
4 gan of gúg-she field in the field of Nin-unu with one long-side adjoining Agua, the field of Ibgatum, son of Ur-Duazagga, from Ibgatum, son of Ur-Duazagga, Damu-idinnam has rented for the purpose of cultivating, at the rate of one-third (of the returns) as yearly rent.

The documents of lease from Sippar (and other cities) show, like the deeds of loan and hire, the characteristic two parts. Cf. e.g., R. 74 (Sippar Am-na-num):

A. \( \frac{1}{2} \) bur 3 gan eqlum ugar na-bil(?)-tum | itti Be-li-tum SAL(+ ISIIIB) \(^4\) Shamash mârat I lu-shu-ib-ni-shu | be-el-ti eqlim | \( \sqrt{1b-ni} \) Shamash mår I lu-na-sî-îr | eqlam a-na ir-ri-shu-tim a-na billin | u-she-zi.

B. ud-cebur-shû | 4 she-gur gish-shšt \( \sqrt{4} \) Shamash | i-na Kar-Sippar\(^5\) Am-na-na | ni-ág-e.

Or P. 77:
A. 1 bur \( \frac{1}{2} \) bur 3 gan a-shag | a-shag A-bi-ia-tum | ki A-bi-ia-tum | lugal a-shag-ge | \( \sqrt{\text{Warad}^{4} \text{Mar-tu}} \) nam-urû-lâ-shû | ib-ta-è-a.\(^1\)

B. ki-ma i-mi-it-ti-shu | û shu-mi-li-shu | she ni-ág-e.\(^2\)

The only completely preserved deed of lease from Nippur, however, unites the two parts into one.

The technical term for "to take in lease, to rent," is ib-ta-an-è, "he has brought out." The addition nam-urû-lâ-shû = ana irrishutim is not superfluous, because the lessor, even if the rent was not dependent upon the returns, had a great interest in his land being properly cultivated, in order to keep it from waste.

XI. ACQUISTANCE.

No. 65.

Receipt for the purchase money of a house.

A. 3 gīn ku-babbar
sham-è(?) kisal)
\( \sqrt{Ki-ish-ti}^{4} \) Nin-IB

dumu Ta-ba-la-du
ki Ba-li-tum
ù \( ^{4} \) Sin-ma-lik

dumu Zi-ia-tum
shu-ba-an-ti

B. shag-ga-na ba-ab-dug-gi-en

\(^{1}\) Ib-ta-è-a = ib-ta-à-a?

\(^{2}\) Like right and left he shall pay, i.e., the harvest shall be divided between lessor and lessee into equal parts.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

3 shekels of silver, the purchase money of a house, Kishiti-Nin-IB, son of Țab-balatu, has received from Balînum and Sin-malik. His heart shall be satisfied.

The technical term of these receipts is shu-ba-an-ti = mahîr, "he has received." The phrase shag-ga-na ba-ab-dug-qi-en is, it seems, the passive equivalent to ne-ib-dug-qi-en and, like this and shu-ba-ab-te-gâ-en, future, although one should more expect a perfect, "it has been satisfied."

XII. Memorandum of Grain.

No. 55.

\[\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} \text{ she shu-yi-a Ba-ba-a}\\ \frac{3}{5} \text{ she shu-ti-a}\\ li-su-usán-sur\\ \frac{1}{3} + \frac{3}{5} \text{ she sham su-e-sir-zun}\\ \frac{1}{5} \text{ she ki-dish(?)}\\ \frac{1}{3} + \frac{3}{5} \text{ she i-na gish-ba-an}\\ li-gash-tin-na

shu-ti-a
Ul-ta-gãl-lu-ma-an-si
shu-kil 1\frac{3}{5} \text{ she gur}
shu-ti-a 4 Da-mu-i-din-nam
ki 4 En-lil-ma-lik

\[\frac{1}{3} \text{ gur of grain which Babâ has received; } \frac{3}{5} \text{ gur of grain which the harnessmaker has received; } 100 \text{ qa of grain, the price for shoes; } 60 \text{ qa of grain ditto(?);}
1 \text{ gur 10 qa of grain in the . . . . . of the wine-maker which Uttagallu-mansi has received; in all 1 gur 30 qa of grain which Damu-idinnam has received from Enlilmalik.}

Annotation: The verbal adjective shu-ti-a, "received," from shu—ti, stands instead of a relative clause, which we find, e.g., C. T., VI, 25: 5: \[\frac{3}{4} \text{ she sha at-ta te-el-ku-u, } "\text{which thou hast taken,}" \text{ li. 2, 1 she-gur sha . . . . ta-am-lu-ru,}
"\text{which thou hast received." Shu-ti-a has passed into the Semitic Babylonian as shutû, gen. shu-ti-i, 130: 11.

XIII. Confirmation Document.

No. 42.

A. a. 7 \[\text{Sin-a-bu-shu}\\ dumu 4 \text{Nannar-li-ti}\\ kishib-ash-ash nam-gala
BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

Two years after the titles to the kalû office and the inheritance of Sin-abushu, son of Nannar-luti, have been conferred upon Nannartum, the priest, after Sin-abushu has died, Aba-Enlil-dim has received the titles of Sin-abushu from the hand of Nannartum. In future a complainant on account of the titles, Aba-Enlil-dim shall satisfy.

The document authenticates to a person the receipt of titles to a temple office. It is not sealed by the person from whom the titles are received, but by the witnesses, \textit{i.e.}, a collegium of the chief kalû and the chief temple superintendent, besides a rigqu, a pashishu and a scribe. From this fact we may conclude that the temple, perhaps on account of the death of the former owner, had to dispose of the titles. It is not stated what the recipient had to give as an equivalent.

\textbf{Annotation:} \textit{Li. 8} presents an example for the substantiation of sentences, \textit{nasmuch as} "Sin-a-bu-shu ba-IDIM, "Sin-abushu died," is made dependent on \textit{egir—ta}, literally "from after," \textit{i.e.}, "since." Exactly the same construction we find Urukagina, Clay tablet, Rev. II, 11-12, the GISH-\textit{HU-ite} is guilty with Ningireu, \textit{egir Lagashkî ba-bul-a-ta}, "since Lagash is destroyed."

\textbf{XIV. Agreements Connected with Proceedings before a Court of Law.}

1. \textit{No. 10.}

\begin{itemize}
\item Cession of a house.
\end{itemize}

From the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

47

ne-ne-ta mu-un-sar-ri-esh-ma 14. di-bi bu-uh-ru-um Nibr[ka] 15. dur-bi-ne-
e-du-a gab-ri ½ bur 3 gan a-shag gan-da 19. šì-ma-ab ne-in-bi-esh

e-du-a 24. 4 gin kizlah diri mu e-du-ù-dë 25. sag-bi é "Nin-IB-ri-im-
i-li 26. da é "Nin-IB-qar-ra-ad mu 27. 2 da é Wa-ra-zu-nu nagar 28. 2 Iškur-
sharru的父亲，and "Nin-lil-lā 29. u Ib-ga-tum shesh-a-ni 30. ibīla-ū-dū-du-ge-ne-e
31. "Iškur-ra-bi-ge-ne 32. ibīla "Iškur-ra-bi-ge-ne 33. gab-ri nam-
34. "Iškur-RUSH-ra shutug "Nin-lil-lā in-ne-en-s(ì)m-ush 35. µibila-a-ni a-na-me-a-bi
e-bi-shu gù nu-ma-ma mu lugal-bi in-pá(d)-esh

Mar-irsitim, the elder brother, and Mutum-ìlum, his brother, the sons of
Ishkur-rabi, went before Hammurabi, the king ............... and spoke as follows:
"9 acres of cultivated land worth in money 10 shekels, the equivalent of the pashishu
office of Ninlil and the prebend field, Ududu, the pashishu of Ninlil, the brother
of our father, has sold to Ishkur-rabi, our father."

The king and Ishkur-sharrum, the soldier messenger of the king, the son of
Ishum-ābi, on their part wrote that the council of Nippur should render them justice.
In the council of Nippur they considered the case and ordered to give one sar of built
house as equivalent for the 9 acres of cultivated land.

Again one with the other has agreed. In mutual consent 1 sar of built house
and waste ground, (and) additional 4 gin of waste ground on account of the house
having still to be built with the front adjoining the house of NinIB-rim-īl, on
one side adjoining the house of NinIB-qarrad, the baker, on the other side adjoining
the house of Warazunu, the carpenter, Ishkur-RUSHra, the pashishu of Ninlil, and
Ibgatum, his brother, the sons of Ududu, have given to Mar-irsitim and Mutum-
ìlum, the sons of Ishkur-rabi, as equivalent for the pashishu office of Ninlil. In future
shall Ishkur-RUSHra, Ibgatum, his brother, and any heir of his make no claim to
this house; by the name of the king they have sworn.

The document consists of three parts: (1) Record of the appeal to the king,
li. 1–10; (2) Remittal of the case to the council of Nippur, and decision of the council,
li. 11–19; (3) Acceptance and execution of the decision by the parties, li. 20–36.
The principal interest of the document as such-centres in the last part, the authentic-
ication of the previous history of this
cession is of less interest for the document. This expresses itself in the tenses of the verbs, only those of the last part being in the perfect (ba-lal, li. 21; e-lal, li. 33, 36), while those of the first two parts are in the historical tense (mu-lal, li. 13; ne-lal, li. 5, 10, 15, 19; i-ib-lal(?), li. 5).

Of direct appeals and complaints to the king we know a good many instances from the letters of Hammurabi, and one from S. 1 (to Nur-Ishkur). In the latter instance the king renders judgment himself, while here, as in the letters of Hammurabi, the king turns the case over to the home authorities. The puhrum of Nippur is the city council. As a subaltern officer of this council appears the rēl puhrum, who is mentioned, 53 : 37 (= 34 : 36), beside a rabīš daiiani. It is likely that this council represented the administrative and executive authority as well as the regular court of justice for Nippur, thus corresponding to the college of judges in Sippar, who, together with the shakanakku, are often called upon in the royal letters with regard to administrative matters. In smaller towns, like, e.g., Tell Sifr, a rabiānu, "mayor," exercised the executive functions of the government, while judgment was rendered in the neighboring city of Larsam.

Annotations: "ṭẖa-am-mu-ra-bi luqal-e, li. 4. It is unlikely that we should read dīṅ gir, etc., "God and Hammurabi." The "aunalut" e does not denote the nominative, but is most probably due to the influence of the l. To gab- i-ib-ri-esh, li. 5, cf. S., 1 : 10: luqal-e gab-in-ne-ri-esh; gab—ri means "to be or stand face to face." The meaning of igi-ne-ne-in-gar is not clear. Supposing that igi—gar is a compound verb (cf. igi-mu-na-ni-gar, Gud., Cyl. A, 1 : 20), we should analyze nemen as prefix ne + dative ne + accusative n and translate "they made eye to them" = they looked upon them, which might be understood by a favorable acceptance at the court. But then the change of subject would present some difficulty. On the other hand a translation, "their face they (the complainants) have turned" (igi-ne-ne in-gar-ri-esh = panishnu išškunu), would require the indication of some object towards which they turned their faces.

-ne ma after verbs stands in li. 5, 13 and 17, before direct speech or an order in the infinitive; but I do not venture to conclude from these instances that it is its function to introduce the speech (= umma; ma). Apparently it is the equivalent of the copulative ma, "and then," the surprising treatment as postposition of which and its difference from n might thus be easily explained by its Sumerian origin. Sesh ad-da-me-e, li. 8: the "aunalut" e denotes the nominative; cf. ibi-li-U-du-du-ge-ne-e, li. 30. In-sī, li. 9, perfect tense, because they assert that it is now their property. Ne-in-bi-esh, li. 10 and 19, bi for bi, qībā, "to speak." Dur-bi ne-ne-in-di(g), li. 15, (dur—dāg-ga = qībā sha ameli, Br. 10574) contains the command of the king. We would expect that this should be indicated in mood or tense, but as far as we can judge durbi nendu(g) is the historical preterit tense in the indicative mood, and we may therefore think of a mistake of the scribe, so much the more as after munaarrēsh-ma and the direct speech we would expect a verb like "to order": they wrote and ordered that, etc. Si-ma-ab ne-in-bi-esh, li. 19, for the construction of bi with infinitive, compare 49 : 29: šibānu luqal-e gab-in-ge-en; Gud., Cyl. A, 1 : 19: e-a-ni ē-ba mu-na-dāg; and Warad-Sin, Clay cone 2 : 5 (quoted below). Mu e-du-ū-dē, li. 24, the 4 gin of waste ground are added to the 1 sar mentioned in li. 23, because this 1 sar does not wholly consist of e-du-ē, but partly also of kīzīl, and therefore a part of the house must be built before it becomes 1 sar ē-du-ē. Compare the similar case in 11 : 16-20. To ē-du-ū-dē compare e-a-ni ē-ba diu-ū-dē,

1 In the third duplicate, 52 : 26, the rēl puhrum is designated only as rēdē, from which we may conclude that with the rēdē in 14 : 31, 28 : 12 and 58 : 22 likewise the rēl puhrum is meant. This shows that also in 14, 28 and 58 the council of Nippur rendered judgment.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

"to build his house (he bade me)," Warad-Sin, Clay cone 2:5; and Canephore, 1:14. Instead of mu—šu we have here only mu (or mu—dē). The apposition ibīlāškur-ra-bi-ge-ne, li. 33, is not included in the complex of words joined together by the postposition ra.

Cession of a boundary wall.

A. a. Iz-zi ri-ba-na
nig ṣSin-ish-me-a-ni nagar
dumu Wa-ra-zu-nu
ù Ma-ri-ir-ši-tim
dumu Da-ma(?)-gu-gu
b. û Ma-ri-ir-ši-tim
kū-babbar igi-te-bi
shag ṣSin-ish-me-a-ni nagar
ne-ib-duq-gi
c. nig na-me muh-na nu-tug
B. a. ū-kūr-shū ṣSin-ish-me(-a)-ni
iz-zi ri-ba-na im-mu-ta
ni-dū-e
gish-dū nu-ub-dū-e
gish-ūr-ra nu-ub-nitaḫu-e
û ṣSin-ish-me-a-ni-ge
û Ma-ri-ir-ši-tim-ra
nu-mu-na-ab-bi
C. she-qa-ne-ne-ta
mu lugal-bi in-pa(d)-dē-esh

On account of the boundary wall, the property of Sin-ishmeani, the carpenter, the son of Warazunu, and also of Mar-iršitīm, the son of Dama(?)-gugu, Mar-iršitīm shall satisfy the heart of Sin-ishmeani, the carpenter, with a sum for aequittance, so that he has no claim whatever against him. In future shall Sin-ishmeani build a boundary wall of his own. "A peg he shall not drive in, a beam he shall not lay on," shall Sin-ishmeani not say to Mar-iršitīm. In mutual assent they have sworn by the name of the king.

No. 44.
Payment of money.

5 šiqlu k[aspm]
e-zu-ub 19 š[iqlu kaspim]
Five shekels of silver in addition to the 19 shekels of silver, which in the marriage (?) document Ama-sukkal has .........., NinIB-mansi shall (?) .......... to Enlil-idzu to the .........

The two documents are decisions of a court of justice, as is evident from the fact that in No. 14 the rēdā, and in No. 44 the rabiš daiianī are found among the witnesses, and that the documents are not sealed by the party upon whom the obligation rests, but by the witnesses, respectively the judges. The seals employed are temple seals.

Annotations to No. 14.—The signification of izzi ri-ba-na, li. 1, iz-zī ri-ba-na, C. T., IV, 22b : 1, iz-zī ri-ba-an-na, II R., 15 : 22a (= i-gar bi-ri-lim), can be no other than boundary wall, as is evident from the facts that here, C. T., IV, 22b, and R. 44 it is the common property of two neighbors, and that an izzi ribana can be sold to a neighbor (e.g., 44 : 14–16). For kū-babbar īgi-te-bi, cf. 26, III, 14, where a nam-gala is called the īgi-te ad-da-ne-ne. Cf. also the Hebrew kesit 'inajim, Gen. 20: 17. Nig-na-me = mimma or mimma bashā, V R., 11 : 41, corresponds in formation and signification to a-na-me(-a-bi) = manman. The phrases of li. 12–14 are among others set down in II R, 14, 15, Col. IV, 36–39 for the use of scribes who had to draw up legal documents. We find there, instead of nu-ub-dū-e, nu-ub-dū-a, i.e., nu-ub-dū-a, the original ending e having been contracted with the preceding vowel to ē; cf. mi-ni-in-AG-a, p. 31, note 1. Gis'īr-ra nu-ub-dū-e refers to the laying of the roof beams upon the wall, which the neighbor has of course an interest in forbidding, because the brick wall would be impaired by the additional weight. She-ga-ne-ne-ta in-pā(ẖ)ā-de-esh, li. 19: the oath is a mutual one, because both parties assume obligations, that of Mār-irītīn being not to revoke the compensation which he paid.
III. THE SEALS.

A characteristic feature of the Nippur documents are the seal impressions, which differ in various respects from those on tablets from other parts of Babylonia. As I have shown in another place, the seals employed in Nippur in connection with documents that were sworn to were not those usually borne by the persons who sealed the contract, but were made expressly for the occasion by an official, the bur-gul, who as such is associated in the closest connection with the dub-sar, either in the succession dub-sar—burgul or burgul—dub-sar, after the names of all other witnesses are recorded. The seals made by the burgul were not engraved on such small cylinders of a very hard material as have been found abundantly in the mounds of Babylonian cities, but on small rectangular slabs, or on the rectangular side of more handy pieces of a soft material which could be cut easily. These seals, of course, could not be rolled over the tablet, but were stamped upon them, as can be seen clearly from the impressions on the case of No. 49. It should be mentioned also that they never contain pictorial representations. The script of the inscription is larger and less carefully made than on the cylinders. The seal was placed on the tablet in such a way that the inscription traversed the uninscribed parts of the surface in longitudinal direction (see Nos. 4, 10, etc., left edge; No. 35, upper edge; Nos. 33 and 32, reverse). The name of the sealing person is therefore usually reproduced in full, while on the Sippar tablets the inscription, because of its latitudinal direction, is impressed only partially, it being often impossible to make out the name (see Nos. 83 and 134, Vol. VI, Plates X and VIII). The inscription never contains an addition to the name

1 Der bur-gul als Notar in Nippur, O. L. Z., 1907, col. 175-181.
2 But before the female witnesses, cf. 6 : 24, 25. Exceptions to the rule we find only on Nos. 39 and 40. In the first instance the bur-gul is separated from the dub-sar by but one person; in the second he occupies the regular place of the official persons at the end of the list of witnesses. Compare also C. T., 32c: 18 and 19 (Sippar), where the ḫazānu (li. 18) and the dub-sar (li. 19) follow the male witnesses (li. 14-17), but precede the female witnesses (li. 20 and 21); the same persons occur R., 22 : 25 and 26 after the witnesses 17-24. In the Tell Sifr documents the ḫazānu is usually the first witness and in one case also the scribe.
3 See Plate II and compare with Vol. VI, 1, Plate X.
4 Cf., e. g., No. 6 with Nos. 29, 70, etc.
5 Only then the inscription has a latitudinal direction when so much space was left that the inscription could be reproduced in full (or nearly so). Cf. No. 34.
6 On the tablet from Yokha (No. 8) the seal impressions show the same direction as on the Nippur tablets, and likewise (but sometimes only partially) on a considerable number of tablets in the Berlin Museum which I have examined. This fact should be noticed in the determination of their provenance.
denoting a religious confession, like "servant of this or that divinity," which is so frequently found on cylinders, but confines itself, on account of its official character, to strictly legal designations, i.e., the kunia; and not infrequently the statement of the vocation, which stands before the kunia, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 28</th>
<th>No. 6</th>
<th>No. 69a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ib-ku-sha</strong>&lt;br&gt;dumu An-aug-sha</td>
<td><strong>Be-ta-tum</strong>&lt;br&gt;SAL + ISHIB dNin-IIB&lt;br&gt;dumu-sal Zi-in-tum</td>
<td><strong>Ur-dNinni nu-esh</strong>&lt;br&gt;dumu Azug-dNinni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most remarkable feature, however, is that the names of all the persons forming one party of the treaty, and in connection with division documents the names of all parties concerned, are united on one seal, which would have been an impossibility if the seal had not been made for the one special occasion. A very instructive example we have in the division document No. 32, the seal impression of which reads:

| A-bil-dMar-tu |
| Li-bi-it-dMar-tu |
| Li-bi-it-dEn-lil |
| dMar-tu-ma-lik |
| dumu-mes E-ri-ish-su-nu-ma-tum |

The deeds of purchase Nos. 33–35, in which the eldest of these brothers buys back the shares of his co-heirs, however, are sealed respectively:

| dMar-tu-ma-lik |
| Li-bi-it-dEn-lil |
| Li-bi-it-dMar-tu |
| dumu E-ri-ish-su-nu-shum-ma-tum | dumu A-bil-dShamash |

Compare also the adoption document No. 24:

| E-a-din-nam |
| dumu Ib-ku-Ishhtar |
| ū Ku-ri-tum dam-a-ni |

It is remarkable that such seals were cut by the burgul even for the temples, or, using the Babylonian way of expressing it, for the gods, when they were the parties on whom the obligation rested. Thus No. 66, where the temple of Enki and Damgalnunna sells offices of the temple, is sealed:

| d-En-ki |
| dDam-gal-nun-na |
For those contracts, however, in which both parties undergo obligations the burgul made two different seals. Cf., e.g., the seal impressions on the marriage contract No. 40:

\[\text{\textit{En-lil-id-zu}} \quad \text{dumu Lugal-zi-da}\]

and

\[\text{\textit{Ama-sukkal}} \quad \text{dumu-sal} \quad \text{\textit{Nin-IB-ma-an-si}}\]

and on the deed of exchange No. 39:

\[\text{\textit{En-lil-li-shag}} \quad \text{nu-esh}\]

and

\[\text{\textit{Hu-shu-bo-ni}} \quad \text{dumu Ul-ta-gal-ku-me-DU}\]

The seals used with contracts that were not sworn to, or such documents as were sealed by the witnesses, were private seals (cf. 22, 62, on page 55, etc.). It is a fact, well known from Sippar tablets, that only a comparatively small number of persons carried seals containing their own names,\(^1\) but most of them such as either had formerly belonged to other persons, containing the names of these, or had no inscription at all.\(^2\) A considerable number of seal impressions shows only the picture and the name and the titles of a god.\(^3\) The scanty material at our disposal does not permit us to decide with absolute certainty whether this peculiarity explains itself simply by the character of the seal as a charm, or whether they, like the above mentioned burgul seal of Enki and Damgalnunna, are temple seals, and were used by the persons who held office in the respective temples. But the frequent occurrence of one and the same god on different seals leaves but little doubt that the first view is the right one.\(^4\)

With some tablets the whole surface is covered with seal impressions, the traces of which can clearly be seen between the script.\(^5\) These seal impressions were made before the tablets were inscribed, because the script shows no sign of derangement. This seems to be the case also with those tablets on which the seal impressions are

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\(^1\) Cf., e.g., No. 62, seals a and b.

\(^2\) For the first kind see No. 62, seal c; for the second No. 25 (and No. 83).

\(^3\) No. 29: \textit{She-tir} (lease of field); No. 30: \textit{Nin-shaḥ} and \textit{Pa-bit(∅)-say}; No. 14: \textit{?a-ub-gal} and \textit{…………..} (= seals of two witnesses); No. 42: \textit{Lugal-esh-a} (= seal of the witnesses); No. 47: twice \textit{Nin-shaḥ} and \textit{Lugal-esh-a} (seals of three witnesses), besides the seal of the scribe; No. 58: one seal of the witnesses and one of ?; compare also No. 74, seal a: \textit{Nin-shaḥ | sukkal-zi-an-na | godsar-……. shu-…….}, and similar ones in De Clercq, \textit{Collection}.

\(^4\) It is of some interest to notice that the seal of No. 29 with the picture and the name of the god of grain, \textit{She-tir}, belongs to a farmer. Especially frequent are seals with the name of \textit{Nin-shaḥ}, the god who listens to the prayer (cf. \textit{Rim-Sin}, Clay cone 7).

\(^5\) See the photographic reproductions on Pt. I, II and III.
made only on the blank spaces. Contrary to the custom prevailing at Sippar of sealing only the case and leaving the tablet unsealed, in Nippur the inner tablet was sealed also.

The following gives a list of the inscriptions of burgul seals on tablets in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, which my time did not permit me to copy:

No. 11.
Deed of Exchange.
a. Na-bi$^d_{Shamash}$
dumu Im-qa-u-a
b. Da-mi-$^d_{Shamash}$-iu$^u$ Na-rub-tum dam-a-ni

No. 12.
Deed of Purchase.
Im-gur$^d_{Nin-IB}$
duma I-ba-shar-ru-un
d$^d_{Nin-IB}-u-bi$
d$^d_{Nin-IB}-ga-nil$
dumu-mésh Li-ga-tum
Ma-nu-[tam ama-ne-ne]

No. 23.
Division Document.
Nu-ra-ub-tum
duma-sal Mi-qi-r$^d_{En-lil}$

No. 26.
Division Document.
En-lil-li-shag
$^d_{Nanna(r)-a-rá-mu-un-gi}$
Ur-Du-azug-ga
Ur$^d_{DUN-PA-i-a}$
dumu-mésh $^d_{Ninni-ma-an-si}$

No. 31.
Deed of Purchase.
Ni-shi-ni-shu
dumu-sal Nu-ur$^d_{Kab-ta}$

No. 36.
Deed of Purchase.
Ek-la-mu-u-shu
dumu $^d_{Shamash}$

No. 37.
Deed of Exchange.
a. Sha-mu-um-li-ib-shi
dumu Ur-Du-azug-ga
b. Li-é-sha-me-DU
dumu $^d_{Shamash}$ $^d_{En-lil}$

No. 41.
Deed of Purchase.
d$^d_{Nusku-ni-shu}$
dumu $^d_{Nin-IB-mu-sha-lim}$

No. 45.
Deed of Ransoming.
Be-el-ta-ni
SAL-1SII B $^d_{Nin-IB}$
dumu $^d_{En-lil-gal-zu}$

No. 46.
Adoption Document.
a. Lo-ma$^d_{Nanna(r)-ma-an-si}$
SAL-1SII B $^d_{Nin-IB}$
dumu $^d_{En-lil-ma-an-si}$
b. Sha-at$^d_{Shamash}$
dumu $^d_{En-lil}$

No. 49.
Payment of an Indemnity.
Shu-mu-um-li-ib-shi
dumu $^d_{Nanna(r)-ma-an-si}$
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

No. 62.
Private Seals:

a. ḫše-ma-ilum
   dumu Ab-lum
   arad NE
   dIM-bi

b. Úr-ra-i-din-nam
   dumu ḫše-iš-me-a-ni
   arad dNe-unu-gal

c. [M)a-ši-ši-[tim]
   [dumu] BA-sha

[arad] 5Nin-si-an-na
       (kishiš Dam-lum mär Ur²Gú-lò)

No. 64.
Deed of Ransoming.

5Nin-Ib-mú-ba-li-št
       dumu A-wi-li-ša
       I-din-Ištar
   dumu Ma-an-nu-um-me-shu-lò-[šur]
   [à Nu-ru-ub-tum ama-a-ni]
IV. LIST OF DATE FORMULAS OF THE TIME FROM
HAMMU-RABI TO SAMSU-DITANA.

HAMMU-RABI.

1. [m]u Ḥa-am-mu-[a-bi lugal-e]
   mu Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e
   mu Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal
   mu Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi

2. [m]u nīg-sī-sā [kala]m-m[a ........ ]
   mu nīg-sī-sā kalam-ma in-gar
   mu Ḥa-mu-ra-bi | nīg-sī-sā gar-ra
   mu Ḥa-mu-ra-bi lugal-e shag-ya kalam-ma nam-sī-sā

   The year in which Hammurabi who establishes (var.
has established) righteousness in (the midst of)
the land,— — —

3. [m]u sīš gu-za ɗ Nann[ar .............. ]
   mu sīš gu-za bara-mal ě Nannar Kā-dingir-ra mu-un-
   na-dim
   mu gu-za ɗ Nannar
   mu sīš gu-za ɗ Nannar | Kā-dingir-ra
   mu sīš gu-za ɗ Nannar Kā-dingir-ra ki mu-na-an-dim
   (ʔ) shattu ɗ Nannar | ě ɗ Nannar | Kā-dingir-ra ki | "Ḥa-
mu-ra-bi | u-she-bi-shu"

   The year in which (Ḥammurābi), after having made
the throne for (the great chamber of) Nannar of
Babylon, — — —

   The year in which Hammurabi, after having caused
to make the Nannar (?) in the house of Nannar
in Babylon, — — —

1 Cf. C. H., 5 : 20-23, ki-it-tam u mi-sha-ra-am i-na pt mu-tim ash-bu-un, and the date šanat Ka-ash-il-li-ia-shu
4. *mu bâd Gâ-gi-a [ba-du]*
   *mu bâd Gâ-gi-a ba-du*
   *mu bâd Gâ-gi-a ne? mu-un(?)-dû*
   *mu bâd-gal Gâ-gi-a*

   The year in which *(Hammu-rabi)* after having built
   the wall of the Gagî,¹ — — —

5. *mu en(?)*
   *KA-ash-bar-ra[..........................]*

   The year in which *(Hammu-rabi)*, after having made
   the ...... of Laz, — — —

6. *mu bâd? d*[mu bâd? d] La-az*
   *mu-.........mu-[n-na]-dim*

   The year in which *(Hammu-rabi)*, after having made
   the ...... of Laz, — — —

7. *mu [Unugkî] l-si-in-[ ]*
   *mu Unugkî l-si-in-naâ*¹
   *mu Unugkî l-si-in-naâ*
   *mu Unugkî u l-si-inâ ba-an-dib*

   The year in which *(Hammu-rabi)*, after having taken
   Erech and Isin, — — —³

8. *mu m[a-d]a gu id nu-lu[.........]*
   *mu[l............] E-mu-ut-ba-tum*
   *mu[l............] lâ-mu-ut-ba-lu[m]*

   IV, 31d (but cf. the 31st

¹ Part of the temple precincts of Shamash in Sippar; called the wide court of Shamash, Ad. 18. It is often mentioned in contracts as Gagî or Gâ-gî-akî; it has a gate (bâb Ga-gî-imkî, R., 39b:10; kâ Gâ-gî-akî, R., 89:10, etc.) and there are houses in the Ga-gî (P., 70:2; i-na Ga-gî-l-im), inhabited, as it seems, if not exclusively but principally by women. C. T., XII, 22, 36991, Rev. I, 14, 15, MAL + inserted GI = gu(?)-gi-â = bit na-ak-mi-tum, bit ni[.....], bit te-li-tum, bit ki-la-[um]; "house of lustration," and "house of seduction" seems to point towards a meaning like "cloister."

³ Perhaps "for the lord who decides the decisions," or "a chamber for the deciding of the decisions."

³ Or more likely: The year in which Erech and Isin has been taken.
The year in which Hammu-rabi, after having — — the land on the bank of the river . . . . . . — —
The year in which [the . . . . . . ] of Emušal — — —

9. \[mu \text{id} Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-he-gal \]
\[\text{mu } \text{id} Ha-am-mu-ra-bi \]
\[\text{mu } \text{id} Ha-am-mu-ra-bi \]
\[\text{mu } \text{id} Ha-am-mu-ra-bi \]

The year in which (Hammu-rabi, after having dug) the canal Hammurabi-hegal, — — —

10. \[\text{mu } \text{erim } \text{a-dam } \text{M}a-al-gi\text{-[a]} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{uru } \text{a-dam-bi } \text{M}a-a[^{[?]}]-\text{gi-}\text{a}^{k} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{uru}^{ki} \text{ a-dam-bi Mal-gi}\text{-a}^{ki} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{uru } \text{a-dam } \text{Mal}g\text{a}^{ki} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{uru } \text{(a-dam)} \text{ Malg}a^{ki} \]

The year in which (Hammu-rabi the king), after having — the city (var. army) and the population of Malgâ, — — —

11. \[\text{mu } [R]a-b[i]-k[u]m^{ki} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{Ra-bi-kum}^{ki} \text{ i } \text{Sha-li-bi} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{Ra-bi-kum} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{uru } \text{Ra-bi-kum}^{ki} \]
\[(? ) \text{mu } \text{Ra-bi-kum}^{ki} \text{ } \text{I-bi-iq}^{4} \text{Ishkur ba-dib(?)} \]

The year in which (Hammu-rabi), after having —, (var. the town of) Rabikum and Shalibi, — — —
The year in which, etc., Rabikum which Ibiq-Ishkur had taken(?) — — —

12. \[\text{mu } \text{viš} \text{gu-za } \text{(Za)\text{-pa-ni-tum}} \]
\[\text{mu } \text{gu-za } \text{(Za)\text{-pa-ni-tum}} \]

\[\text{A. } \text{; C. } \text{; VIII, 22b.} \]

\[\text{M. } 30. \]

\[\text{1 In } R, \text{ } 37 : 16, 17 \text{ and } C, T., \text{ II, 25 : 13, 14 the same persons occur: } \text{Sin-eribam (s. of Ikun-pîsha) and Bur-Sin, s. of } \text{Zîlikum, both times as first and second witnesses.} \]

\[\text{2 Confusion of } \text{erim and } \text{eri } = \text{uru.} \]

\[\text{3 Cf. C, II, 4 : 12-14, } \text{mu-usk-\text{pa-az-zi-ir ni-shi } M\text{a-al-ka-a}^{ki} \text{ in ku-ra-shi-im. On the probable position of } \text{Mari on the middle Euphrates, see p. 65, note 1.} \]
The year in which ( Hammu-rabi has — ) a throne for Sarpanišum.

13. mu urud[k]-lugal-gub]-ba dū-maḫ-bi
   mu urud[k]-lugal-gub dū-maḫ-bi

The year in which ( Hammu-rabi has — ) a brazen royal standing place and a . . . . . . . . .

14. mu stē[k] gu-za š Ninni; Kā-dingir-ra[k]
   mu stē[k] gu-za š Ninni
   mu gu-za š Ninni
   mu gu-za š Ninni Kā-dingir-ra[k]
   mu gu-za š Ninni Kā-dingir-ra

The year in which ( Hammu-rabi has — ) a throne for Ninni of Babylon.

15. mu alam-[bi] imin-na
   [mu alam-bi] imin-a-an
   mu alam-bi imin-a-an
   mu alam-bi imin-bi
   mu alam-bi imin-[a]-an

The year in which the seven images — — —

1 As ki-gub-ba means "manzuzu," ki-lugal-gub-(b)a and ki-BAD-gub-(b)a probably denote the places where the king and the . . . . . have their stands or seats, which is confirmed by the fact that in Ad. 6 ki-BAD-gub-(b)a appears as opposition to stē[k] gu-za. Lugal refers evidently to the chief god of the temple (cf. Gud., Cyl. B, 16 : 16). According to Si. S, Ad. 15 and Az. 13, the stand of the god was or contained a representation of mountains and rivers that carry exuberance and abundance (Si. 8). Compare to this the representations of gods sitting on a throne, below which there runs a river with fish in it. (An explanation, "a brazen vessel or the like, erected in the ki-lugal, corresponding to the construction of gu-za gu-en-na gud-ba-bi, nā(d)-bi ki-nā(d)-a gub-ba-bi and sē(d)-da BI-da-ba gud-ba-bi, Gud., Cyl. B, 16 : 17, 19; 17 : 9, seems to be out of question, because urudu is wanting several times, e.g., IV, 17c, VI, 33a; P. 80 and M. 9, and ki-lugal-gub therefore must be considered as the principal idea. Besides, there is no a after ki-lugal or ki-BAD indicating the idea of locality, and also the co-ordination with dū-maḫ and urudadū-maḫ speaks for urudu being a determinative.)

The dū-maḫ, which here is closely connected with the ki-lugal-gub (bi denoting a close connection, while ī expresses a contrast — "not only, but also"), is in Az. 14 mentioned alone as an object of dedication. In this passage it likewise is or contains a representation of mountains and rivers,

1 See L, I, II., III, p. 233, note 51.
16. \(\text{mu } \text{gish} \text{gu-za } \text{Na-bi-um}\) C.; A.
[\(\text{mu } \text{gish} \text{gu-za } \text{Na-bi-um}\) B.
\(\text{mu } \text{gu-za } \text{Na-bi-um}\) IV, 12b; M. 11; Fr. 6.
\(\text{mu } \text{gu-za } \text{Na-bi-um } \text{mu-na-dim}\) P. 70.
The year in which \((\text{Hammu-rabi})\), after having made
a throne for \(\text{Nabium}, \) — — —

17. \([\text{mu } \text{alam } \text{Ninni} \text{ki-bal mash-dū-ki}\) A.
\([\text{mu } \text{alam } \text{Ninni} \text{ki-bal mash-dū-ki}\) B.
\([\text{mu } \text{alam } \text{Ninni} \text{ki-bal mash-dū-ki}\) C.
\(\text{mu } \text{Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-[e] } \text{alam } \text{Ninni} \text{ki-bal}
\text{mash-dū-ki } \text{sag an-shu mu-un-il(?)-la(?)}\) P. 71.
\(\text{mu } \text{alam } \text{Ninni} \text{ki}\) Berl. 974 (= M. 71).
\(\text{mu } \text{alam } \text{Ninni} \text{ki-bal } \text{mash-dū-ki}\) Berl. 975.
The year in which \(\text{Hammurabi} \) the king, after having
raised to heaven the image of \text{Ninni,} who throws
down the land of the enemies, — — —

18. \([\text{mu } \text{En-lil-ra}\) A.
\([\text{mu } \text{KAK} \text{GISH-ma}\text{h En-lil-ra}\) B.
\(\text{mu } \text{KAK} \text{GISH-ma} \text{h En-lil-ra}\) C.
\(\text{mu } \text{KAK} \text{GISH-ma} \text{h En-lil mu-na-dim (cf. H. 24).}\) VIII, 43c (Sippar).
The year in which \((\text{Hammu-rabi})\), after having
made the sublime battlemace\(^2\) for \(\text{Enil}, \) — — —

19. \([\text{mu } \text{bad I} \text{gi-har-sag-gā}\) A.
\([\text{mu } \text{bad I} \text{En-igi-har-sag-gā}\) B.
\(\text{mu } \text{bad I} \text{gi-har-sag-gā}\) C.
The year in which \((\text{Hammu-rabi})\), after having — the
fortress \((\text{En-}) \text{Igi-har-sag}, \) — — —

20. \([\text{mu } \text{gish} \text{gu-za } \text{Ishkur-ri}\) C.; A.
\([\text{mu } \text{gish} \text{gu-za } \text{Ishkur-ri}\) B.
\(\text{mu } \text{gu-za } \text{Ishkur}\) IV, 20c.
\(\text{mu } \text{us-sa E-igi-har-sag-gā}\) Bu. 91–5–9, 364.

\(^1\) Perhaps we should connect and translate: "After \text{Ninni} \ldots \ldots \ldots \text{raised him}," i.e., \text{Hammu-rabi}.
\(^2\) C. shows the sign as \text{NIN}; VIII, 43c has \text{bara(?).}
The year in which (Hammu-rabi, after having made)
the throne of Ishkur, — — —
The year after that, in which, etc.

21. [mu bad Ál-Ba-zi\(^k\)]
   \[mu \text{ bád Ál-Ba-zum}\]
   \[mu \text{ bád Ál-Ba-šum (sic!)}\]
   \[mu \text{ bád (Ál-)Ba-zum}\]
   \[mu \text{ bád Ál-Ba-zum ba-dū}\]

   The year in which (Hammu-rabi), after the wall of
   Ál-Bazum\(^\text{'}\) has been built, — — —

22. [mu alam Ha-am-]mu-ra-bi
   \[mu \text{ alam Ha-am-mu-ra-bi}\]
   \[mu \text{ alam Ha-am-mu-ra-bi}\]
   [mu akam Ha-am-mu-ra-bi ba-yal náy-sá]

   The year in which (Hammu-rabi, after having —)
   the statue "Hammu-rabi is the king of righteousness,"\(^2\) — — —

23. [mu \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots Zimbí]\(^k\)
   \[mu \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots Zimbí\(^k\)-ra]
   \[mu APIN bád Zimbí\(^k\)]

   The year in which Hammu-rabi after having — the
   foundation of the wall of Sippar, — — —

24. [mu \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 4En-lil-ra
   (?) mu bara-mah \(d\)En-lil mu-na-dim (cf. H. 18).

   The year in which (Hammu-rabi) — — — for Enlil.

\(^1\)Alu is never used as a mere determinative; here it seems to be a part of the name of the town which means "town of Bazum" (notice the genitive Ba-zi; Bazum = personal name), like A-al\(^2\)Göt\(^3\)Sis, doorsoeket of Arrad-Namu, 2 : 2; Al-Ur\(^4\)MASH, B., E., Series A, XIV, 114 : 11; Al-Tukul\(-\)i-E-kur\(^k\), 128 : 2, etc. For the personal name Bazum compare Ba-a-zi (genitive of Bazum, Cassite time), B., E., Series A, XIV, 16 : 3, the hypocoristic Ba-zi-a, P. N., and the feminine name Ba-za-tum, P. N.


\(^3\)A. space for one sign; C. for two. B. has before this line still another one: [\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots Z]imbí\(^k\)-ra.
25. [mu bād Zimbir]\(^{ki}\)

A.

[mu bād Zimbir\(^{ki}\) ba-dū]

B.

[mu bād Zimbir\(^{ki}\)-ra]

C.

The year in which (Hammu-rabi, after having built) the wall of Sippar, — — —

26. [mu . . . . . . . . ga']-la

A.

[mu . . . . . . . . gal-la\(^{1}\)]

B.

The year which . . . . . . great . . . . . .

27. [mu . . . . . . . .]-mah

A.

[mu . . . . . . . . mah gushkin rush-a]

B.

The year in which (Hammu-rabi has — — ) a sub-lime . . . . . . of red shining gold.

28. [mu ḃ]-nam-[he]

A.

[mu ḃ-nam]-he

B.

mu ḃ-nam-he \(^{d}\)Ishkur

Fr. 8.

mu ḃ-(nam-)-he \(^{d}\)Ishkur

VIII, 12c.

mu ḃ-nam-he \(^{ē}\)Ishkur

VIII, 40a.

The year in which Hammu-rabi, after having —

E-namhe (the temple) of Ishkur, — — —

29. [mu al]am \(^{d}\)Sha-[la]

A.

[mu alam] \(^{d}\)Sha-la

B.

mu alam \(^{d}\)Sha-la

IV, 40a; R. 28.

The year in which Hammu-rabi, after having — the statue of Shala, — — —

30. mu ugnim Nim-ma[ ]

A.

[mu ugni]m Nim-ma

B.

mu (case: Ha-am-mu-ra-bi) ugnim Nim-ma\(^{ki}\)

Bu. 91–5–9, 2440.

mu erim ugnim Nim-ma (case: \(^{ki}\))

VI, 44c.

The year in which Hammu-rabi, after having — the army of Elam, — — —

\(^{1}\) The formula for this year cannot be restored as mu ḃ-sh-nu-na a-gal-gal-la, because this formula is found on tablets from Tell Sifr.
31. *mu ma-da E-mu-ut-[ba-lum]*
   
   [mu ma-da E-mu-ut-ba-lum]
   mu ma-da la-mu-ut-ba-lum
   
   *mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal | SHI + DUB-ti Ana\(^d\) En-lil-bi-ta *
   *igi erim-na-shi | ni-gin-na-a *
   *la-mu-ut-ba-lum\(^k\) | u lugal Ri-im-\(^d\) Sin. *
   *shu-ni ki-ne-di-a\(\) [ ]
   
   *mu Ha-am-mu-ura-bi lugal | SHI + DUB-ti Ana\(^d\) En-lil-bi-ta *
   *igi erim-na ni-gin-na-a *

The year in which Hammurabi, the king, after his hand with the help of Anum and Ellil who marched before his army, had struck to the ground the land Emuthal and king Rim-Sin, — — —

32. *mu ugnim Ásh-[mun-na\(^k\)]*
   
   [mu] ugnim Ésh-[nun-na\(^k\)]
   
   *mu erim Ésh-nun-na\(^k\) wîh-tukul ba-sîg*
   
   *mu ugnim Ésh-nun-na\(^k\)*
   
   *mu ugnim Ésh-nun\(^k\)*

The year in which the army of Ashnunnak was slain with the weapon.

33. *mu id Ha-mu-ra-bi*
   
   [mu] id Ha-am-mu-ura-bi nu-\(hu\)-ush ni-shi
   
   *mu id nu-\(hu\)-ush-ni-shi*
   
   *mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal | id Ha-am-mu-ra-bi nu-\(hu\)-ush ni-shi | shag-gi-rá-a\(^d\) En-lil-lá mu-un-ba-al*

The year in which Hammurabi, the king, after having dug the canal, "Hammurabi is the abundance of the people," which brings the flood for Enlîl

— — —

1 Strassmaier's copy has Ana Ana\(^d\) En-, etc.
2 Or "the flood of Enlîl”? This might be an allusion to the deluge story. Cf. Guili, Cyl. A, 1: 9.
3 Compare the partly parallel passage, Louvre Inscr. Obv. 17–22: nár Ha-am-mu-ra-bi nu-\(hu\)-ush ni-shi ba-bi-la-at me-e be-gal a-na nôt Shu-me-ri-im ù Ak-ka-di-im ù ak-ri. According to the attribute of the canal in the above date formula, it seems to have run past Nippur on its way to Shumer. The compound substantive shag-gi-rá-a forms a genitive (\(\text{status constructus}\)) connection with En-lîl-bá. The same construction, e.g., limestone tablet of Hammurabi from Hillal, 11: 12: *sib shag-dug\(^a\) Marduk-ge*; muu shag-dug-dug \(\text{En-lîl}\) *Nîn-lîl-bi = ru-bu-u mu-\(fîb\) lib-bi En-lîl *u \(\text{Nîn-lîl}*, IV 8., 12: 9, 10.
34. mu Ana "Nin'ni "Na-na-a
mu Ana "Ninni ú "Na-na-a
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e | Ana "Ninni ú "Na-na-a
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e Ana "Ninni "Na-na-a
mu-un-düm-ma
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e Ana "Ninni ú "Na-na-a | e-[ne]-bi-ta
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e | Ana "Ninni "Na-na-a | e-ne-bi-ta | É-tür-kalam-ma mu-un-(gi)bil-a-an(?)

The year in which Hammu-rabi, the king, after having caused Anum, Ninni and Nanà to be made(?), —
The year in which Hammu-rabi, the king, after having restored E-tür-kalama for Anum, Ninni and Nanà,

35. mu bán[ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]

(?) mu bán Kara-^Babbar
mu bán-gal Kara-^Babbar(ki M. 51)
mu bán-gal Kara-^Babbar (¡) mu-un-dû-a
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal | bán-gal Kar-ra-^Babbar | mu-un-dû-a
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal | bán-gal gü Id-digna | ğar-sag-dim mu-un-il-la
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal [ ] | bán-gal gü Id-digna
ğar-sag-dim mu-[un-il-la] | Kara-^Babbar mu-ni
ne-in-s[a]-a
mu H-a-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e | bán-gal gü Id-digna |
sag-bi ğar-sag-dim mu-un-il-lâ | Kar-ra-^Babbar
mu-bi ne-in-[sù] | mu-un-dû-a
mu bán Kara-^Babbar | ü Ra-bi-kum
mu bán-gal Kara-^Babbar(¡) | ü bán Ra-bi-kum(¡)
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal | bán-gal gü Id-digna(-a?)-
ta | Kara-^Babbar mu-ni ne-in-sû-a | ü [bán Ra-
b]i-kum(¡) | gü id Buranunu-ka | mu-un-dû-a

1 Friedrich's copy shows an additional sign before kar.
The year in which Hammurabi, the king, after having built a great castle on the bank of the Tigris whose summit (var. which) he made high like unto a mountain, and whose name he called "Wall of Shamash," and (after having built) the wall of Rabikum on the bank of the Euphrates, — — —

36. mu ["Tash-me-tum]
   mu ["Tash-me-tum (Nippur)

   mu ["Ha-am-mu-ra-bi ["Tash-me-tum
   mu ["Tash-me-tum gushkin
   mu ["Tash-me-tum gushkin-?a(?)
   mu ["Tash-me-tum KA-shág-shág-ga(S. 40 add. -a)-ni
   mu ["Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e (m. 39) 
   ["Tash-me-tum KA-shág-shág-ga(S. 36 case and 43
      add. -a)-ni

The year in which Hammurabi, the king — — —

Tashmetum, who — — — his prayer.

37. mu[bád Má-ri[i ba-g[jul
   mu bád Má-ri[i
   mu bád Má-ri[i ba-gul
   mu bád Má-ri[i ba-gul-la
   mu bád Má-ri[i ̕u Má-al-ka-a[i ba-an-gul
   mu ["Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e | (dúg Ana ["En-lil-lá-ta,
      case) | bád Má-ri[i ̕u [bád Má-al-ka-a | ba-an-gul-la
   mu ["Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e | [dúg ["An-a["En-lil-ta |
   bád Má-ri[i ̕u Má-al-gí-a[i mu-un-gul[i

A. P. 17. S. 33, 36, 39, 40, 108. R. 34b; 36a; VIII, S. 43 (Tell Sifr). [5a; 37d.
   R. 35a (Sippar).
   R. 34a.
   VIII, 43b; S. 40.
   S. 33 case; 36 case; 39 case; 43 case.

1 That this date belongs to the later part of Hammurabi's reign ensues because of the following reasons: 1. C. T., VIII, 22c: 3, 5, a married woman bears the name "Hammurabi-sharri"; this points to a time after, at least, the 14th year of Hammurabi. 2. The Tell Sifr contracts S. 31 and M. 27 are dated in this year; but Southern Babylonia came definitely under the sway of Hammurabi only after his 29th or 30th year. 3. Sin-rimeni haṣmesh and Ibiq-A Ha dub-sar (R., 22 : 25, 26) occur C. T., VIII, 32c : 23, 24 (10th year of Samsu-iluna), and the latter also C. T., II, 5 : 31 (9th year of Samsu-iluna).

On the geographical position of Mari see Weisbach, Miscellen, p. 13. From the inscription of Shamash-resh-ugur it ensues that it is near the territory of Suh, of the position of which on the middle Euphrates not far from the mouth of the Habur the inscriptions of Assyrian kings leave no doubt. As a special kind of boats was named after Mari, it was evidently situated on the Euphrates, probably somewhat farther down the river.
The year in which Hammurabi, after having destroyed the wall of Mari and Malkû upon the command of Anum and Ellil, — — —

38a. mu ʕEsh-nun-naกา a-galกา gal-la  
mu ʕEsh-nun-naกา a-gal-gal-la mu-un-gul  
[μu ʕEʃ-nun-na ga-gal-gal mu-un-gul-la  
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal ʕEsh-nun-naกา a-gal-gal-la  
mu-un-gul-la  
mu ʕEsh-nun-naกา a-gal-gal-la | mu-un-gul-bi  
mu ʕEsh-nun-naกา a-gal-gal-e | mu-un-gal-e  

b. μu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal | ug nim Tu-ru-uk-ku | Ka-ag-mu-umกา ʔSu-ʔbi-ʔeGa-bi-ta  
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi | ug nim Tu-ru-uk-kum | Ka-ag-mu-μu  
mu ug nim Tu-ru-kum  
mu ki-ʔlāb-pa-tim | aw il Tu-ru-kum

The year in which (Hammurabi), after having — — Ashunnak, which a great flood had destroyed, — — —
The year in which the army of Turukkum, Kagmu and Subê — — —

39. μ[u ki-lib ʔu-dā]-ʔa-bi 1  
μu ki-lib ʔu-dā-a-bi  
μu ki-lib ʔu-dā-a-bi | di(u(?))-EDINกา-ne(?)  
μu ki-lib ʔu-dā-bi | kur di(u(?))-EDINกา-ne(?)-na  
μu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e ki lib ʔu-dā-a-bi(?) kur di(u(?))-EDINกา-[n]e(?) | ʔ[ag-giʃ-ne]-in-ʔ[ʔa]-ʔa  
μu ki-lib ʔu-dā-a-bi | kur di(u(?))-EDINกา-ne | ʔag giʃ-ne-rI-a  
μu ki-lib ʔu-dā-a-bi | kur di(u(?))-EDIN-ne(?)-ne 2

The year in which Hammurabi, the king, after having subdued the totality of the land of the enemies in the desert district(?), — — —

1 The formula occurs on Nippur and Tell-Sifr contracts and is therefore to be assigned to Hammurabi’s later years. Mu-Le-ʔa-am mîr ʔSin-a-zu (S. 103, S. 13) occurs also on S. 71:21 (3d year of Si) and on 97:26 (8th year of Si). The correctness of the transcription and translation of the first part of the formula may be doubted.
2 Meissner’s copy shows kur-ne-ra-ge-ne.
40. [mu. . . . . . . . . . .] [ . . . . ]

(?) mu id Ti-shi-it₄ En-lil(-la, VI, 47b)
mu id Ti-shi-it₄ En-lil id Zimbir₄
mu id Ti-shi-it₄ En-lil id En-lil-lá id Zimbir₄

The year in which (Hammu-rabi), after having built the canal Tishit-Enlil, the canal of Sippur, — — —

41. [mu É-me-te-u]r-[s]ag

mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e (M. 46 om.) É-me-te-ursag mu-un-bil-a (var. -lá, P. 18; -la, P. 18 case)
mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e | É-me-te-ursag mu-un-bil-a | IGI + É-nir ki-KU-ma₄ | Za-ma₄ Nı₄

The year in which Hammu-rabi, the king, after having restored É-mete-ursag and having built the temple tower, the sublime abode of Zamama and Ninni, so that its head rises as high as heaven, — — —

42. [mu . . . . . . . . . .] [₄][ . . . . ]

mu bád₄

(?) mu bád Shi-ra-ma₄
mu bád Shi-ra-ma₄ ba-d₄
mu bád Shi-ra-ma₄ mu-un-d₅-a

The year in which (Hammu-rabi), after having built the fortress Shirama₄, — — —

43. [mu sahار Zimbir₄] uru-d₄ [Babbar]
mu sahار Zim[bi]₄ uru-d₄ [Babbar]
mu sahар Zimbir₄ [Babbar-ta]
mu sahăr-gal Zimbir₄
mu Zimbir₄ uru-d₄ [Babbar-ge] bada₄ sahăr-gal-ta

A.
M. 110 case; VI, 47b; Bu.
M. 110. [88–5–12, 211.]
Fr. 25.

A.
M. 45, 46 (= B. 56 and 61); S. 25, 42; P. 18 (Tell Sifr, Nippur).
S. 26 (Tell Sifr).

M. 46 (case of B. 61) (Tell Sifr).
S. 26 (= case of 25) (Tell Sifr).

A.
C.
R. 38; VI, 36b.
R. 39a.
R. 39b.

A.
C.
VI, 44a.
R. 33.
R. 31.
mu Zimbir\textsuperscript{k} uru-dù

(?) mu Zimbir\textsuperscript{k}

shattum epîr Sippar\textsuperscript{k} ish-sha-ap-ku

The year in which Hammu-rabi, the king, after having
thrown up the wall of Sippar, the beautiful city\textsuperscript{1} of
Shamash, with great masses of earth,\textsuperscript{2} — — —

SAMSU-ILUNA.

1. mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e

mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lu[gal-e (dûg-ga zi-da dMarduk-
ka-ta)] nam-en-bi kur-kur-ra[a ]
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal(-e M. 66) dûg-ga zi-da
Marduk-ka-ta
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | dûg-ga zi-da dMarduk |
ka-ta | nam-en-bi kur-kur-ra PA-ê-shú(?)-ag-a

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king who at
the true command of Marduk makes shine his
dominion in the lands,\textsuperscript{4} — — —

2. mu [ama-a]r-qi Ki-en-qi Kî[ ]
mu ama-ar-qi Kî[ ]
[mu ama-ar-qi Kî[-en-qi Ki-uri] in-gar
mu ama-ar-qi
mu ama-ar-qi
mu ama-ar-qi Ki-en-qi Ki-uri
mu ama-ar-qi[ ]
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal ama-ar-qi i-ni-gar-ra

A.; VIII, 9a; R. 45, 48;
Fr. 7.
VI, 4Sc.
R. 32.

A. ; VIII, 9a; R. 45, 48;
Fr. 15; M. 66 (tablet).
VI, 3, 40a, 48b; P. 20;
C. [R. 47.
P. 62; M. 66 case (= S. 68)\textsuperscript{3} (Nippur, Tell Sifr).
S. 51 (Tell Sifr).

A. C.
C.
D.

VIII, 24b (tablet).
VI, 32a.
Case.
M. 33.

M. 100 (Babylon).

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Unug\textsuperscript{k} uru-dù, Rim-Sin, stone tablet, A, Rev. 5. Terra-cotta cone, A. 25 (Thureau-Dangin, S. A. K. L.).

\textsuperscript{2} Cf. bad Zimbir\textsuperscript{k} sahar-ta hal-sag-gal-dim sug-bi he-(im-)u-(il = düru shu Sippar\textsuperscript{k} in e-pi-ri ki-ma sa-tu-im ra-bi-im ri-shi-shu lu-ul-li, Bil. Cyl. inscr. of Yam., 10–14, which probably refers to the events of this year.

\textsuperscript{3} The tablet is dated by the usual short formula.

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king who has liberated Shumer and Akkad, — — —

3. [mu id Sa]-am-su-i-lu-na (na-)ga-[ ] A.
mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-[na na-ga-ab] | nu-uh-shi B.
mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-u[na nagab nu]-hu-us | ni-shi D.
mu-un-ba-al
mu id Sa-am-su-i-[lu-na . . . . . ] C.
mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na | na-ga-ab nu-hu-us nis-shi
mu-ba-al
mu (Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal, 64) id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na na-ga-ab nu-uh-shi mu-un-ba-la
mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e | na-ga-ab nu-uh-shi

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after having dug the canal, 'Samsu-iluna is the spring of the abundance of the people,' — — —

4. mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na he-gál B.; Fr. 18.
mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na he-gál | mu-un-ba-al D.
mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na . . . . . . C.
mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na | he-gál | mu-un-ba-al-la P. 21.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e (om. S. 57, 58, 60, 67) | id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na he-gál | mu-un-ba-al(58 om.)-la P. 23; S. 52, 53, 57, 58, 60.
S. 53, 58, 60, var. -lá; 57 om.?)
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | id-he-gál-la(|)mu-un-ba-al-la (22 om. or -lá) P. 24, 22.
The year in which Samsu-iluna, after having dug the canal, 'Samsu-iluna is the abundance of the people,' — — —

5. mu iššu-za [ba']ra-ge B.; IV, 11b.
mu iššu-za [ba']ra-ge C.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | iššu-za . . . . . . S. 72; M. 83 (Tell Sifr).
mu iššu-za bara-ge mu-un-na-dim-ma S. 48 (Tell Sifr).
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal iššu-za bara-ge [?]Nannar S. 48 case (Tell Sifr).

dingir SAG-DU-ga-ni-shû(?-ra or -ge) mu-un-na-an-dim-ma
dingir SAG-DU
mu gu-ma il
mu gu-ma il mu-na-ge
mu gu-ma il
mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e gu-za gushkin d) Nannar

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after
having made a portable(? throne for Nannar, the
god who begat him,

6. mu alam KA + SHU d) lamma gushkin-ash-ash-bi-da
mu alam K[A ....
mu a[la]m KA (+ SHU)-ne
mu alam KA (?)-BIL (?)-E (?) d) lamma (?) | gushkin
mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal(-e, 59) alam KA + SHU-KA + SHU-ne d) lamma gushkin ash-ash-bi-ta
mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e alam KA (+ SHU)-ne
alam gushkin | ash-ash-bi-ta (om. 56)
mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e | d) Babbar d) Marduk e-ne-bi-da-ra(?) nïq-dim-dim-ma-bi al-in-na-an-gu-ush-
| lamma alam KA + SHU-KA + SHU-ne d) lamma gushkin
| ash-ash-bi-ta | Ê-babbar igi-3 Babbar-shú Ê-sag-il igi-4 Marduk-shú | ki-gub-ba-ne-ne mi-ni-gi-na
mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e | ....... d) Babbar d) Marduk e-ne-bi-ta-ge nïq-dim-dim-ma-bi al-in-na-
| lamma alam KA + SHU - KA + SHU-ne d) lamma gushkin
| ash-ash-bi-ta | Ê-babbar igi-4 Babbar-shú Ê-sag-il igi-4 Marduk-shú in-in-tu-ri

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, whose
deeds both Shamash and Marduk, ............., after having erected their standing places (i.e., of

1 Cf. d) Nannar | dingir SAG-DU-mu-shû = a-na d) S[IN]-II b[a-ni]-[in]. Samsu-iluna, Col. II, 50, 51 (similarly a-na
Marduk ili ba-ni-shû, limestone tablet of Ham, from Borsippa, 31, 32); dingir SAG-DU-ga-dim = ki-ma ili ba-ni-
1 shû, II R., 17f, IV, 48. The phonetic value of SAG-DU ended in g.

1 Cf. B., 44 (â S. 18) and B., 44 (S. 17), which Thureau-Dangin transcribes with alam-shâ(g)-shâ(g)-ne.

1 B., according to King, traces like u. 

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FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

the statues), has brought praying statues of guardian gods of gold, into E-babbar before Shamash, and into E-sagil before Marduk.

7. \( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul } \text{ki-šugal-gub } \text{baš-sag } \text{ida} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir-maḫ} (?) \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir } \text{gushkin } \text{kū-babbar} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{šu-nir-maḫ} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir } \text{gushkin} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir } \text{niq-babbar-ra} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{Sa-am-su-i-lu-na } \text{šugal-e } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir } \text{niq-bār-bār-ra} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{Sa-am-su-i-lu-na } \text{šugal-e } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir } \text{niq-babbar-ra } \text{gushkin } \text{kū-babbar } \text{me-te- } \text{... } \text{...-ge } \)  
\( \text{dMarduk-ra } \text{a-mu-na-RU} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{Sa-am-su-i-lu-na } \text{šugal-e } \text{gišštukul } \text{šu-nir } \text{niq-babbar-ra } \text{gushkin } \text{kū-babbar-ge } \text{me-te- } \text{...-ge } \)  
\( \text{dMarduk-ra } \text{a-mu-na-RU } \text{É-sag-il-la } \text{ē } \text{dMarduk } \text{mi-ni-in-mul-la-a} \)  
The year in which Samsuiluna, the king, after having dedicated to Marduk a mazraAšu-weapon, a shining one, of gold and silver, the ornament of ...... and after having it ...... in E-sagil, the house of Marduk, — — —

8. \( \text{mu } \text{urudški-šugal-gub } \text{baš-sag } \text{ida } \text{aš-ash[ ]} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{gišštukul } \text{ki-šugal-gub } \text{baš-sag } \text{ida} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{urudški-šugal-gub ...} \)  
\( \text{mu } \text{Sa-am-su-i-lu-na } \text{šugal-e } \text{urudški-šugal-gub } \text{baš-sag } \text{ida-ša-šaš-šaš} \)  

\(^{1}\) Confusion of the dates for the 7th and the 8th year. So according to Messerschmidt's copy in O. L. Z., X, p. 174; but judging from the copy in King, Chronicles, which shows a clear urudu instead of gišštukul, the scribe has simply omitted the formula of the 8th year.

\(^{2}\) The copy has ṝ-dingir-dingir-Marduk = ṝ Anu-dMarduk?

C.  
B.; Fr. 21, 40.  
D.  
P. 79.  
P. 78.  
M. 8.  
Fr. 20, 20a.  
Fr. 22 (21).  
P. 27.  
P. 77.  
S. 55.  
S. 49.  
P. 28; Fr. 25.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal urudu[ki]-lugal-gub har-sag-idd-ash-ash-bi
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | urudu[ki]-lugal-gub | har-sag id-ash-ash-bi | hi-nun he-gal-bi tum-tum
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | urudu[k]-lugal-gub-ba id-
har-sag-ash-ash-bi
mu urudu[ki]-lugal-gub har-sag | ida-ash-ash-bi-ta(?)
mu ki-lugal-gub (har-)sag'
mu ki-lugal-gub har-sag-id-ash-ash(?)-bi
mu sha-di-i .vm na-ra-tim

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king (after having made) a (brazen) lordly manzazu (which represents) mountains and rivers carrying exuberance and abundance, — — —

9a. mu us-sa urudu[ki]-lugal-gub
mu us-sa ki-lugal-gub-ba
b. mu ugnim Ka-ash-shu-u
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ugnim Ka-ash-shu-u
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ugnim4 Ka-ash-shu

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after having — — the hordes of the kashshu, — — —

10. 'mu ugnim I-da-ma-ra-az
mu erim I-da-ma-ra-az
mu erim I-da-ma-ra-azki
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e | ugnim I-da-ma-ra-az

The year in which (Samsu-iluna, the king, after having — —) the hordes of Idamaraz, — — —

11. [mu . . . . . . . . ]
mu bád Uri4i Unuf4i
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal(-e P. 35) bád Uri4i
Unuf4i-ga mu-un-gul-la

S. 69, 70 (73) (Tell Sifr).
S. 65 (Tell Sifr).
S. 70 case (Tell Sifr).
Fr. 23, 24.
P. 80.
VI, 33a.
P. 81.
D.; R. 57; M. 73.
IV, 17c.
B.
Bu. 88–5–12, 144.
II, 5.
A; B.
VIII, 24a; 32c.
P. 82.
S. 63 (Tell Sifr).

1 First part of seg written over har.
2 Cf. H 13, note.
3 D, was composed in this year.
4 (ki).\textsuperscript{u}Ub-gar.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

mu Sa-am-su-il-na lugal-e bād Urši i ū Unugši mu-un-gul-la
P. 36.
mu ṣ̅̄Sa-am-su-il-na lugal bād Urši i ū Unugši mu-un-gul
P. 31.
mu ṣ̅̄Sa-am-su-il-na lugal-e bād Urši-ši ma Unugši-ga mu-un-gul-e
P. 32.
mu Sa-am-su-il-na lugal-e dūg-ga Ana ṣ̅En-lil-bi-da
(P. 33 var. -ta) bād Urši i ū Unugši-ga mu-un-gul-la
R. 58.
mu bād Urši i

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after having destroyed at the command of Anum and Ellil the wall of Ur and Uruk, — — —

12. mu kur gū-si-a
B.; VI, 49c.

[mu kur gū]-si-a
A. [ ( = VI, 49c).

mu kur gū-si-a an-ga-a
Case of Bu. 91–5–9, 2518

mu Sa-am-su-il-na lugal | kur gū-si-a an-ga-a-an | P. 38 (Nippur).
mu-da-bal-esh

mu Sa-am-su-il-na lugal-e | kur gū-si an-ga-a-an
mu-un-da-bal-e-esh-a-an
P. 39.

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after all(?) the . . . . lands had revolted from him, — — —

13. [mu Ki-sur-ra] ū Sa-bu-bi-da-ge
A.

(mu Ki-sur-ra ū Sa-b[u ]
B.

bį-da-ge

mu Sa-am-su-il-na lugal-e | Ki-sur-raši Sa-bu-umši-bi-da-ge
P. 43.

mu Sa-am-su-il-na lugal-e | dūg ṣ̅En-lil-lá-ta Ki-sur-raši | Sa-bu-umši-bi-da-ge | KA-si-il-lá-ash ne-in-tu-ra
P. 40.
mu Sa-am-su-il-na lugal-e | Ki-sur-raši Sa-bu-um
mu-un-gul-la
P. 83.

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after having brought to obedience (var. destroyed) Kisurra and Sabum, — — —
The year in which king Samsu-iluna, the subduer of the illegal king whom the Accadians had seduced to make a rebellion, — — —

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after having restored to its place the destroyed wall of Isin and having settled(?), — — —

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after having built the wall of Sippar that equals the heaven , — — —

Or nig-di-e?
The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having restored to their place the great castles of Emutbal which had been destroyed, — — —

18. *mu É-babbar ša-Babbar Zimbir(?)-raši*

*mu É-babbar-ra Ša-[Babbar]*

*mu Sa-am-su-i-šu-na lugal-e | Ša-Babbar-ge Zimbirši-tašu šu-bil ne-in-ag-a*

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having renovated E-babbar, the temple of Shamash in Sippar, and after having raised to heaven the head of the stage tower, his sublime gigunā, — — —

19. *mu šišk gu-ša bara(?)-b[ar]a(?)-gushkin min-na-bi*

*[mu Sa-aš-mu-su-i-šu-na lugal-e | šišk gu-ša b[ar]a gushkin min-a-bi | šišk Marduk ša-Zar-pa-ni-tum-bi-da*

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having made two golden thrones for the sanctuary of Marduk and Zarpanitum, — — —

20. *mu kur nu-she-ga-ne*

*mu Sa-am-su-i-šu-na lugal-e | lugal sag-kal kur nu-she-ga-ni | ne-in-ši-ši-ga-a*

*mu Sa-am-su-i-šu-na lugal sag-kal | kur nu-she-ga-ni | ne-in-ši-ši-ga-a*

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, the supreme king, after having thrown down the unruly land, — — —

1 To the determination of the locality by means of -ta after a nominal expression cf. ba-dim E-babbar ša-Babbar Larsamši-ma-ta, Brick of Hammu-rabi from Larsam.
21. \textit{mu \textsuperscript{a} gu-za bara-gu-[l[\textsuperscript{a} ]}
\textit{mu \textsuperscript{a} gu-za zaq(?) gushkin gu-[la-ta?] | mul-mul[ VIII, 41c.}
\textit{mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e | \textsuperscript{a} gu-za bara gu-la gushkin-ta | mul-dim\textsuperscript{l} mul-mul-lå | \textsuperscript{a} Nin-gal-ra mu-na-dim-ma VIII, 32b.}
\textit{mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e | gu-za bara gu-la gushkin-ta | mul-dim mul-mul-la \textsuperscript{[\textsuperscript{a}]}Nin-gal-ra | \textsuperscript{[\textsuperscript{a}]}Sa-am-su-i-lu-na}
P. 55.
\textit{mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na \textsuperscript{a} guza gushkin-ta VIII, 15a.}

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having made for Ningal a throne in the great golden chamber which sparkled like the stars, — —

22. \textit{mu IGI\textsuperscript{1} + \textsuperscript{4}É-nir ki-KU-mah}
\textit{mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e | IGI + \textsuperscript{4}É-nir ki-KU-mah | \textsuperscript{d}Za-mà-mà \textsuperscript{d}Ninni-bi-da-ge | shu-bil ne-in-ag P. 57.}
\textit{mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e | IGI + \textsuperscript{4}É-nir ki-KU-azag\textsuperscript{6} \textsuperscript{d}Za-mà-mà P. 56.}

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having renovated the stage tower, the sublime (var. clean) dwelling place of Zamama and Ninni, —

23. \textit{mu à-kal[}
\textit{mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e à-kal RUSH-ra \textsuperscript{d}En-lil-li | mu-na-an-sî-ma-ta P. 58.}
\textit{mu Sa-am-su-i-tu-na lugal-e | à-kal RUSH-ra \textsuperscript{d}En-lil-li mu-na-an-sî-ma-ta | Sha-a'-na'kî Za-ar-\textsuperscript{2}ha-nu-um R. 46.}
\textit{mu bād Sha-a'-na-a VIII, 32a.}
\textit{mu Sha-a'-na-a VIII, 6a.}

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having in the formidable might which Ellil had given him, (destroyed) Sha'na and Zaranun, — — —

\textsuperscript{1} After a copy by King.
\textsuperscript{2} Cf. IV R., 9 : 24a, ki-KU-mah = \textit{shub-tu ell-lim.}
24. *mu bād K[ish] [ki]*

\[ *mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal nam kalam-ma | mu-un-úr-ra | bād Kish^{k} mu-un-dā-a* \]

\[ *mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal nam kalam-ma mu-úr-ra* \]

*bād Kish^{k} gū id Buranuna mu-un-dā-a*

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, who determined the destiny of the land, after having built the wall of Kish on the bank of the Euphrates, --- ---

25. *mu alam [ ]*

\[ *mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e | alam (?)*\textit{š}ukul (?)-sig-\textit{gi} ki (?)-sag (?) - \ldots | mu-un- \ldots -a* \]

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king, after having \ldots a statue(?) with a striking weapon(?) in the \ldots place, --- ---

26. *mu har-sag[ ]*

\[ *mu har[ ]* \]

\[ *mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e | har-sag-gal kur Mar-tu* \]

\[ *mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na[ ] | har-sag-gal kur Mar-tu-a[-ta]* \]

\[ *mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e | har-sag-gal kur Mar-tu-a[-ta] 1\frac{1}{2} \text{ gar } 4 \text{ u } 10 \text{ da-ush[ ] | nà sag-gi-a-bo[ ]}* \]

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having (brought) from the great mountain of the westland a \ldots stone measuring 1\frac{1}{2} gar 4 cubits and 10 inches(?) \ldots, --- ---

27. *mu nīg-babbar-ra*

\[ *mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal[ ] | nīg-babbar-ra sakkur-\textit{sakkur} (?) | \ldots \ldots ki shag dù-shar-ra* \]

1 *Ur (Br., 11890) = ṣamānu, “to direct.”

2 That is, about 11 metres.

3 As the text in lines 18 and 19 mentions the 26th year of Samsu-iluna, and as the formulas from the 28th year to the last year of Samsu-iluna are known, it follows that the above given formula is that of the 27th year.

4 The transcription of this line is a mere attempt.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal [ nigr-babbar-ra sakkur-sakkur-ra?] ............ [ ]

The year in which Samsu-iluna, the king after having — —

28. [mu á]-ág[-gá] [ ] A.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | á-ág-gá "En-lil-lá-ta(?) P. 60.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | á-ág-gá "En-lil-lá R. 70 : 15, 16.
[mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | á-ág-gá "En-lil-lá | IV, 11a.
[.........]ta
mu nam á-ág-gá | "En-lil-lá-ta P. 61.

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having — upon the (decision of the) oracle of Ellil, — —

29. mu[us-s]á á-ág-gá [ ] A.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e us-sa á-ág-gá "En-lil-lá VI, 20a.
The year after that in which, etc.

30. mu us-sa us-sa á-ág-gá[ ] A.
mu us-sa us-sa á-ág-gá IV, 39a.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e | us-sa us-sa-bi á-ág-gá P. 86.
"En-lil-lá[ ]
mu bil min-kam-ma | [sh]a egir mu á-ág-gá "En-lil-lá VIII, 9b.
The second year after that in which, etc.

31. mu alam-a-ni gish-nim mu[- ] A.
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal | alam <i>šiškuk</i> gushkin rush-a¹

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having (made) a statue with a weapon of red shining gold, —

32. mu id Qar(?)[- ] A.
The year in which Samsu-iluna, after having — the canal, ........, — — —

¹ This date has to be consigned to the 31st year, because R. 70 stands between the 28th year of Samsu-iluna and a year of Abieshu', and no other formula of the intermediate years begins with alam.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

33. *mu Ál-Ka-mà(?)-ra-tum[ ]* A.

The year in which *Samsu-iluna*, after having —
Al-Kamaratum, — — —

34. *[mu] gish-gal nam-nun-na* A.


É-he-dú [ [ . . . . . . . . . ] mu-un[- -a]

The year in which king *Samsu-iluna*, after having — a manzâzu of grandeur in É-he-dú . . . . . . .

35. *mu A-ma-alšî Ar-ku-umšî* A.

The year in which *(Samsu-iluna, after having—)*
Amal and Arkum, — — —

36. *mu erim Mar-tu-a* A.

The year in which *(king Samsu-iluna, after having—)*
the people of the West land, — — —

37. *mu m[a-d]ša Ki-uri-a* A.

The year in which *(king Samsu-iluna, after having—)*
the land of Akkad, — — —

38. *mu Ud-ba-nu-il-la* A.


The year in which king *Samsu-iluna* has renovated the "unsparing storm," the mighty battle mace, for *NinIB* the great hero.

Uncertain Dates.

a. *mu us-sa Sa-am-su-ú-lu-na lugal-e | Ia-di-ha-bu u* P. 64.

*Mu-ti-hu-ur-sha-na | KAK + GISH rush-a-na gish-hash ne-in-ag-a*

The year following that in which king *Samsu-iluna*, after having destroyed with his fierce battle mace Iadih-abu and Mutihurshana(?) — — —

1 Before this divine weapon of NinIB it was a custom in Nippur to take an oath; cf. P. 49 : 29, *ma-šar Ûd-ba-nu-il-la ga-ba-am*, and 58 : 1, 2, erá *KAG + GISH ÛN-IB . . . . . . . . . . . . iz-zi-iz-ma* "the brazen battle mace of NinIB stood as witness."
b. \textit{mu} Sa-am-su-i-lu-va lugal | ki-in-gin níg ud-ul(?)- \textit{P. 63.} \\
\textit{li}(?)-ta(?) ató(?)-shub-ba(?)

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having—
the ki-in-gin, which since old times had been in
ruins(? ?),\(^1\) — — —

c. \textit{[mu Sa-am]-su-i-lu-na lugal-e} \[ \text{[ ]} \] . . ba . . . . . . . \textit{P. 89.}

\[ \text{[ ]} \text{Mash-gan-shabra(?)}^k \]

The year in which king Samsu-iluna, after having —

. . . . . . . \text{Mashgan-shabra,}^2 — — —

\textbf{ILI-MA-ILUM.}

\textit{mu bil I-li-na-ilum lugal-e} \textit{P. 68.}

The year after that in which \textit{IIi-na-ilum} — — —

\textbf{ABI-ESHU'.}

1. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu' lugal-e} \textit{Fr. 29.}

a.\(^3\) \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | gu-gi-ga á māh \(\text{a}^d\) Marduk-ge

The year in which king \textit{Ahi-eshu'}, who trusts in the
great might of Marduk, — — —

a + 1. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | sib kī-āg Ana \(\text{a}^d\) En-lil-bi-da-ge

The year in which king \textit{Ahi-eshu'}, the beloved shep-

herd of Anum and Ellil, — — —

a + 2. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | dūg-mah Ana \(\text{a}^d\) En-lil-bi-da-ge | á-kal gal-gal \(\text{a}^d\) Marduk-bi-da'-ge

\textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | dūg-mah Ana \(\text{a}^d\) En-lil-lā(?)-ta | á-kal gal-gal \(\text{a}^d\) Marduk-ka-ta\(^5\)

\textbf{1} Transcription and translation are mere attempts. Is this formula identical with that of the 28th year?


\textbf{3} The three consecutive years a — a + 2 seem to belong to the earlier time of \textit{Ahi-eshu'}, since \textit{R. 70} records a

purchase of fields in the a + 2d year of \textit{Ahi-eshu'} in connection with such purchases in the 28th and 31st years of

\textit{Samsu-iluna}.

\textbf{4} \(\text{bi-da} \) probably mistake of the scribe.

\textbf{5} The copy shows \textit{ba-è} for the two last signs.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | dug-ma$h Ana 4En-lil-bi-da(?)-ge(?)
mu A-bi-e-shu-u lugal-e | dug-ma$h Ana 4En-lil-lá-ta | alam1 gal-gal-la 4Marduk-ge

The year in which king Abi-eshu', after at the sublime command of Anum and Ellil the great battle forces of Marduk — — —

b. mu alam-a silim(?)-ma sá(?)-a-ge(?)

The year in which (king Abi-eshu' has —) a statue which procures prosperity.

b + 1. mu E-kish-shír-gál é-4Nannar-kam(?)
mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | E-kish-shír-gál

The year in which king Abi-eshu', after having —
E-kish-shír-gal, the house of Nannar, — — —

mi-ni-in-dun-na
mi-in-dun-na

The year in which king Abi-eshuh, after having dug
the canal ‘‘splendor of Abieshu,’’ — — —

kû-babbar-bí-da-ge
mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | nimgir-nimgir-a KÜ-GI-ga | R. 73; VI, 24b.
kû-babbar-ra-bí-da-ge
mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | nimgir-nimgir(-a?) KÜ-GI-ga kû-bár-ba-ra|bi-da-ge
mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | nimgir-nimgir-a KÜ-GI-ga-ge
mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | nim-gîr-nîm-gîr-a KÜ-GI-ga-ge(?)

1 The variant reading alam for d-kal makes it probable that ID-KAL has to be pronounced a-lama. As long as the continuation of the formula does not disprove it, a translation “the great images of Marduk” is not out of question either.
mu A-bi-eshu'u' lugal-e | nim-gir-nim-gir-a | KU-GI-ga-ge

The year in which king Abi-eshu' has lightnings of gold and silver.

c + 1 + x

mu A-[bi]-eshu'u' lugal-e | Ad-na-tum-ma

The year in which king Abi-eshu', after having

Adnatum, — — —

d. mu A-bi-eshu'u' lugal-e | [nun] BUR-na, lü d Babbar-ge
mu A-bi-eshu'u' lugal-e | nun BUR-na lü d Babbar-ge | gish-in-na-an-tug-tug-a | bar-kin kalam-ma-ni-la

The year in which king Abi-eshu', the humble prince, whom Shamash hears, the giver of direction in his land, — — —

e. mu A-bi-eshu'u' lugal | sag-DU-DU gu-la d Marduk |

The year in which Abi-eshu', after he had in the great wisdom of Marduk — — —, — — —

f. mu A-bi-eshu'u' lugal-e | Bad-A-bi-eshu-u' lugal-e |

The year in which king Abi-eshu', after having (built) Dur-Abi-eshu' — — —, — — —

g. mu A-bi-eshu'u' lugal-e | [á]-kal-mah(?) d Marduk-? |

Id-(\frac{1}{2}) digna gish-ne-in-gi(?)-gi(?)

The year in which king Abi-eshu', after having dammed up, in the sublime power of Marduk, the river Tigris, — — —

1 The consecutive years o and o + 1 (cf. R. 72; 73) and the year o + 1 + x probably belong to the later time of Abi-eshu's reign, as the two latter years in r. 119 are mentioned together with the 4th year of Ammi-ditana.

2 This was done with a view of capturing king Ilúma-lum. See King, Chronicles, II, p. 105, li. 9, *Idiglat is-kirma*, etc.; gish-gi-gi from gish-gi-gi = sakirum, sakirum.
h. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | \textit{Nannar Marduk-bi-da\footnote{\textit{Nannar} \textit{Marduk-bi-da} corresponds to \textit{git-ma-\textit{tu} e-\textit{mu-\textit{ki}}, Gilg., 12 : 38, 45. Cf. Ad. 22 and Az. 17 + b.}} \textit{KA in-ne-en-du(g)-dug-ga} | sha-mu-\textit{[ ... da-sar-sar-(?) ... ]} | \textit{KAK + GISH(?)- ... [}

The year in which king \textit{Abi-eshu'}, after \textit{Nannar} and \textit{Marduk} had ... the word which he had addressed to them, — — a battle-mace ...

i. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | \textit{shag-ma\textit{h gushkin-rush-a}} \textit{[ ... -ta ... ]} | \textit{R. 69 : 5, 6.}

\textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | \textit{shag-ma\textit{h gushkin rush-a}} | \textit{R. 69.}

The year in which king \textit{Abi-eshu'} has — a \textit{gamiru} of red shining gold ...

k. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu[u' lugal-e]} | \textit{á-kal shag ash-[ ... -kalam-ma(?)-shú ASH-ME[ ... ]} | \textit{R. 68.}

\textit{cf. mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | \textit{shag-ash-GUB} | \textit{II, 24.}

\textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | \textit{á-kal shag-ash-GUB} | \textit{Fr. 31.}

The year in which \textit{Abi-eshu'}, the king, the perfect one in power,¹ ...

l. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | \textit{sish ash-te bara-zag ba-ni-ge-ne} | \textit{ni-ma\textit{h-esh-a²}} \textit{[ ... ]} | \textit{VIII, 27b.}

The year in which king \textit{Abi-eshu'} has — thrones of the ... chamber ... that are shining.

m. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} \textit{[ ... Nannar en IGI + DUB-ti-la-ni-shú(?) ... ]} | \textit{shu-nir gal-gal-la KÜ-GI-ga(?)-ge(?) | a-mu-na-RU-a}

The year in which king \textit{Abi-eshu'}, after having consecrated great emblems of gold for \textit{Nannar} the lord, his helper, — — —

n. \textit{mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e} | \textit{alam-gal-gal shu-sar-sar} \textit{[ ... ]} | \textit{VI, 38.}

The year in which king \textit{Abi-eshu'} has — great praying statues.

¹ \textit{á-kal shag-ash-GUB} corresponds to \textit{git-ma-\textit{tu} e-\textit{mu-\textit{ki}}, Gilg., 12 : 38, 45. Cf. Ad. 22 and Az. 17 + b.
² Cf. Ad. 13 (in connection with Sd.a: \textit{ni-lab-ge-esh-a} and \textit{mah-\textit{bi}}, and notice the note to Si. 22).
o. *mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam-a-ni gish(?)-?ge | ŠE-kish-shir-gál é-ki-mah Nannar-kam*

The year in which king *Abi-eshu* has — his statue of wood(?) into *E-kishshirgal*, the house of the sublime place of Nannar.

p. *mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam dMarduk dZar-pa-nitum [bi-.....]*

*mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam [dMarduk] dZar-pa-nitum|bi-da-ge*

The year in which king *Abi-eshu* has — a statue of Marduk and Zarpanitum.

q. *mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam nig-si(?)-sú (?).....*

... gar-ra | *A-bi-e-shu-u' nam-nun-shú .....

The year in which king *Abi-eshu* has — a statue of justice(?) for the highness of (?) *Abi-eshu*.

r. *[mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam-a-ni GAB + LIS ab-bi-a|[ . . . . . . . . ]...IGI + ŠE-nir-ra ŠE-babbar-ra-shú igi dBabbar-shú i-ni-ti-ra*

The year in which king *Abi-eshu* has brought his statue which ....., into ....., the stage tower of E-babbar before Shamash.

s. *mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam dEn-temen-na-a | nam-dingir-ra-ni-shú ba-ab-UL-a*

The year in which king *Abi-eshu* has — the statue of En-temena which ....., for his divinity.

28. *mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam-a-ni MUD-NIG-SHAG-a(min?)*

*mu A-bi-e-shu-u' lugal-e | alam-a-ni MUD-NIG-SHAG-a | alam-a-ni gish(?)-kal(?)-.....*


The year in which king *Abi-eshu* has — his statue ............ and his statue ............
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

AMMI-DITANA.

1. \text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | ad-gi-a gu-la} \text{Marduk-ge E.}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | a[d]-gi-[a} \text{B.}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | ad-gi gu-la} \text{VI, 24a : 3, 4 (Sippar).}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | ad-gi-a gu-la} \text{Babbar- VI, 24.}
\text{Marduk-bi-da-ge}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | ad-gi-a gu-la} \text{Babbar- VI, 29 (Babylon).}
\text{Marduk | -bi-da}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-[na lugal-e] | ad-gi ga-la} \text{[Babbar] | P. 98.}
\text{Marduk} \ldots []
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e} \text{VI, 26b.}

The year in which king Ammi-ditana, upon the great resolution of Shamash and Marduk \ldots ..., \ldots ...

2. \text{mu sib ni-tug[} \text{B.}
\text{mu sib ni-tug she-ga} \text{Ana} \text{En-lil-ge E.}
\text{mu sib ni-tug she-ga} \text{[B[abbar] \text{R. 91 : 3.}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e sib ni-tug she-ga} \text{Babbar M. 68.}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e sib ni-tug she-ga} \text{Babbar} \ldots \text{Bu. 88–5–12, 271.}
\text{bi-da}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | sib ni-tug she-ga} \text{R. 81; Berl. 1260: 6.}
\text{mu Am-mi-te-ta-na lugal-e sib ni-tug she-ga} \text{B. 88–5–12, 197.}
\text{mu sib ni-tug} \text{R. 82.}

The year in which king Ammi-ditana, the reverent shepherd, who is obedient\text{ to Shamash (var. to Anum and Ellil), \ldots ...

3. \text{mu esh-bar-mah-[} \text{B.}
\text{mu nam-a-gal-la} \text{Marduk-ge E.}
\text{mu nam-a-[gal-la} \text{Marduk-ge VI, 6 : 13.}
\text{mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | esh-bar mah-a dingir- gal-gal} \text{Bu. 88–5–9, 393.}

\text{Mentions kar Sippar\textsuperscript{1} Ia-ab-ra-rum and bit \textsuperscript{2} Shamash.}
\text{1 Cf. l. 7; oath by the name of Marduk, l. 22.}
\text{2 she-ga = shemû, migru = obedient; like shemû also migru has active force; it has never the sense of \textquotesingle{\textquotesingle;favorite, darling.\textquotesingle; Cf. nu-she-ga = la ma-gi-ri.}
The year in which king Ammi-di-țana, who by the sublime decision of the great gods . . . . his head with the power of Marduk (var. which Marduk had given him) (or them = the people of his land(?)), — — —

4. **mu-bił** [eGISr ................. ]
   **mu-bił** egir nam-ă-găł ^Marduk-ge
   **mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e** **mu-bił** | egir | nam-ă-găł-
   la ^Marduk-ge
   **mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e** **mu-bił** | egir **mu nam-
   (ă-)găł-la ^Marduk-ge
   [**mu-bił**] egir nam-ă-găł-la ^Marduk-ge in-ne-dū(?)-shu
   **mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e** **mu-bił** egir **mu nam-ă-
   găł ^Marduk-ge
   **mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e** **mu-bił** sha egir **mu nam-
   ă-găł-la
   **mu-bił** | sha egir **mu nam-ă-găł-la** ^Marduk-ge
   **mu-bił** sha egir **nam-ă-găł-la** ^Marduk

The new year (which is) after that in which, etc.

5. **mu alm anăm**
   **mu alm nam-nun-na-ni** Ḫ-sag-il-la-shū in-ni-tu-ri(?)
   **mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e** | alm nam-nun-na-ni
   **mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e** alm nam-nun-na-ni sišgu-
   za bara-maḫ-a an-da-ri-a Ḫ-sag-il-la-shū in-ni-tu-ra
   [**mu Am-mi-di-ta-na** lugal-e | (al)nam nam-nun-na-ni |
   (ē) Ḫ-sag-il-la-shū | i-ni-in-tu-ra ([ ]-en-tu-ra
   Berl. 1545)

The year in which king Ammi-di-țana has brought into E-sagil the statue of his highness which is borne by a throne of the sublime chamber.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON. 87

6. mu ụšgu-za
   mu ụšgu-za ki-BAD-gub-a
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e ụšBAB-gub-ši(?)-nā | ụšgu-za ki-BAD-gub-ba KÜ-GI-ge

The year in which king Ammi-ditana has — a throne, a . . . . stand, of gold, for Shamash, the lord his favourer.

7. mu alam-a-ni KA + SHU(?)-KA + SHU(?)-ne an-sā-sā-a
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | alam-a-ni KA + SHU-a
   an-sā-sā-a | [ù] alam-a-ni māš igi-dā-a | É-saq-il-šu i-ni-in-tu-ra

The year in which king Ammi-ditana has brought into E-babbar his statue (which represents him as) saying prayers and his statue (which represents him as) beholding a (sacrificial) lamb.¹

8. mu alam nam-lugal-a-ni É-babbar-ra-shū in-ni-tu-ra
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e alam nam-lug[al-a-na] | alam KÜ-GI-ge
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | alam nam-lugal-la-na² | alam KÜ-GI-ge | shu-ne-in-dā-a
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | alam nam-lugal-la-na
   alam KÜ-GI-ge shu-a ne-in-dā-a É-babbar-ra-
   ash in-na-ni-tu-ra

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, after having caused the statue of his royalty, a statue of gold, to be formed, brought it into E-babbar.

9. mu Mash-gan-Am-mi-di-ta-na³

The year in which (Ammi-ditana, the king, after having — ) Mashkan-Ammiditana, — — —

¹ I.e., for the purpose of soothsaying. Perhaps we are to supply shu-a an-da-gāl-la (see Az. 5) after másh igi-dā-a, and therefore should translate: holding (in his hands) a lamb for soothsaying, igi-dā-a being in this case a substantive = támantu, "observation."

² Alam namlugalana because it is dependent on in-ni-tura (construed with the accusative); alam namlugaluana because it is dependent on shu(a) nendūa (construed with locals). Cf. Gud., Cyl. A, 4 : 25: gi-dub-ba ozug-gi (= gi)-a shu-im-
   mi-dā (see St. Langdon, "Syntax of Compound Verbs in Sumerian" (Babyloniaca, II, pp. 64–101), a 11).
10. mu-bil egir Mash-gan-Am-mi-di-ta-na
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bil egir Mash-gan-Am-mi-
di-ta-na

The year of king Ammi-ditana, the new one after
(that in which), etc.

11. mu bād Kara-^Babbar
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e Kara-^Babbar ĝū iñ Kib-
nun-na-ĝe bād-a-ni in-dū-a-an
…………. | bād-[a]-][ni i]n-dū-a

The year in which king Ammi-ditana, after he had
built the wall of Kar-Shamash on the bank of the
river ……………, — — —

12. mu alan-a-ni másh-gê(y)-a
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | alan-a-ni másh-gê(y)-a

The year in which king Ammi-ditana has — his
statue (representing him as having) a vision of the
night (= dream).

13. mu ASH-ME gal-gal-la „dū-shī-a-ge
[mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | [ASH-ME gal-gal-la-a
dūšī-a-ge
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | ASH-ME gal-gal-la dū-
shi-a-ge
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | ASH-ME gal-gal-la „dū-
shi-a-ge | shu-nir-ra ni-mah-es-ha | É-babbar-ra-shú
in-ne-en-tu-ra

The year in which king Ammi-ditana has brought into
E-babbar huge sun disks of Dushū stone, emblems
that were sparkling.

1 The tablet shows ni; but the line is written over an erasure.

2 Perhaps „dūšī-a-ge instead of dū-shī-a-ge.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.


mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | alam nam-shul-a-ni

The year in which king Ammi-ditana has brought into Esagil the statue of his heroship, "thou art their (?) shepherd."


............. ] ................ -šú nam-nin VIII, 8b.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | urudu ki-lugal-gub ni-mah- a | urudu ki-lugal-gub kur-ash-ash-a
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | urudu ki-lugal-gub gal-gal la | [ ] ná-na kur-šar-sag-gá | [ ? ] id-id(?)

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has —
great lordly stands, (representing) a mountain
land ................ (var. a brazen royal
stand that sparkled, (and ?) a royal stand (repre-
senting) mountains).

16. mu Bád-Am-mi-di-ta-na | gu id Zi-lá-kum-ma-ta ne- in-dū-a E. Berl. 5932:
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | Bád-Am-mi-di-ta-na

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king after having
built Dur-Ammiditana on the bank of the canal
Zilakum,2 — — —

17. mu á-kal-mah-a 4Babbar 4Marduk-bi-da-ge E.
4Marduk-bi-da-ge

1 Za-e DU-DU-ne is the beginning of the inscription on the statue. For the second person in inscriptions on
statues compare the bilingual hymn inscription on the statue of Hammurabi beginning 4En-lil é-te-tu-tam id-di-ik-kum
at-ta ma-an-nam tu-qa-a; this statue, moreover, shows us what an alam nam-shul-a-ni (eddátišku, Ad. 14), nam-ur-sag-gá
(gardāti, Ad. 34), nam-nir-gáš-la-ni (etellātishu, Az. 9), nam-lugal-a-ni (sharrātishu, Ad. 8), nam-nun-na-ni (rubātishu,
Ad. 5) was, viz., a statue with an inscription which glorifies the exploits of the king.
2 Cf. Már. 44Zi-la-ku, VIII, 32b : 10.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e á-kal-maḫ ḏBabbar ḏMar-
duk-bi-da-ge  
Berl. 1187.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e á-kal-maḫ ḏBabbar ḏMar-
duk-bi-da-ge A-ra-ha-ab li-.ma-da  
Berl. 5914.
 Berl. 5963.

The year in which king Ammi-ditana, after having, with the great (battle) forces of Babbar and Mar-
duk, (vanquished) Araḥab, the Sumerian, — — —

18. mu Gá-gi-a tūr dagal-la ḏBabbar-ge  
E.
The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, after having — the Gagû, the wide court of Shamash, —

19. mu gish-gal KÚ-GI-ga  
E.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | gish-kal KÚ-GI-ta | me-

te ki-BAD-gub  
Berl. 89.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e gish-gal KÚ-GI-ga me-te ḏki-BAD-gub-a  
Berl. 1225.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | gish-gal KÚ-GI-ga me-te ḏki-BAD-gub-a | ī alam-a-ni KAB ab-sar-sar-ri-[i]\  
Ē-nam-ti-la-shû in-ne-(1227: Ė-nam-ti-la-ta(?) ī-

ni-)tu-ra-a.  
The year in which king Ammi-ditana has brought into Ė-namtila a golden chair, as the ornament of the . . . . . . manzązu, and his statue (representing him as) . . . . . . . . . . . .

20. mu Ki-KU-shag-dug-ga\ki  
E.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | Ki-KU-shag-dug-ga-ta\  
gû ūd A-ra-ab-tum-ma-ta | ne-in-dû-a  
Berl. 625.
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | Ki-KU-shag-dug-ga-ni |  
gû ūd A-ra-ab-tu[m-m]a-[ta] | ne-in-dû-[a ]  
Berl. 1580.

1 In this line only the heads of the signs are visible.
2 Probably mistake under influence of the ta in the next line.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | Ki-KU-shag-du[g-ga]\n
The year in which king Ammi-ditana, after having built Ki-KU-shag-dugga (var. his pleasure dwelling place) on the bank of the canal Arahum, (and after having — a palace ......... , — — —

21. mu en NI-ÍB ki-áq "Babbar-ge | har-ra ma-da-ni ba-da-

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the lord, the beloved ......... of Shamash, by whom the oppression of his land has been broken, — — —

22. mu en shag-ash-DU id Am-mi-di-ta-na

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, the strong lord, after having dug the Ammi-ditana canal (var. a canal the name of which he called(?), Canal of Ammi-ditana) ......... , — — —

23. mu alam-alam-a-ni | ú 4lamma 4lamma-a(?)

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has — his brazen statues and the guardian gods — —

1 To NI-ÍB compare perhaps MI-ÍB, var. MI-NI-ÍB and tukul MI-ÍB, the designation of a weapon, Gud., Cyl. B, 7 : 14, 24, 13 : 23 and date of Gudea. If amma-rabi calls himself the NI-ÍB of Dagan, C. II., 4 : 27.
24. *mu x\(^{i}\) tukul-la \(\text{ib-dirig-}\text{gi-esh-a}\)

*mu x\(^{i}\) \(\text{qin}^{\text{tukul}}\ \text{ib(?)-d}[\text{rig(?)}]\)  

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | \(x^{i}\) \(\text{qin}^{\text{tukul}}\-la[-a]?\) (5804 var. -\(a\)) (\(\text{l}\) \(\text{ib-dirig-}\text{gi-esh-a}\))

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | \(x^{i}\) \(\text{qin}^{\text{tukul}}\ \text{gushkin} \)  

\(n^{\text{g}}\text{dû-shi-a-bi-[da-ge]}\) | \(\text{Marduk lugal-a-na} \) | \(\text{E-sag-il-la-shû i-ni-in-tu-ra}\)

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has brought into \(\text{E-sagil}\) a battle-mace (and) a weapon which were gigantic\(^{2}\) (var. of gold and \(\text{dushû}\) stone) for Marduk, his king.

25. *mu us-sa \(x^{i}\) \(\text{qin}^{\text{tukul}}\-la \text{ib-dirig-}\text{gi-esh-a}\)

*mu \(\text{us-sa} \) \(\text{x}\) \(^{	ext{i}}\ | \(\text{qin}^{\text{tukul}}\ \text{ib(?)}\)

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e \(\text{us-sa} \) \(\text{x}\) \(^{	ext{i}}\ \text{qin}^{\text{tukul}}\-la \text{ib-dirig-}\text{gi-esh-a}\)

The year after that in which, etc.

26. *mu alam-a-ni \(\text{igi-gin} \) \(\text{erim} \) \(\text{KA-kesh-kesh-da}\)

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | \(\text{urud\text{a}}\) \(\text{alam-a-ni} \) \(\text{igi-gin} \) \(\text{erim} \) \(\text{KA-kesh-}\)\((\text{kesh-})\)\text{da}\)

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | \(\text{alam-a-na-ni}^\text{2} \) \(\text{igi-gin} \) \(\text{erim} \) \(\text{KA}?\)

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e alan-na-ni

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e alan-na-ni (sic!) \(\text{igi-gin} \) \(\text{erim} \) \(\text{KA-kesh-da-ge}\)

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e \(\text{urud\text{a}}\) alan-na-ni \(\text{igi-gin} \) \(\text{erim} \) \(\text{KA}?\)

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e alan-na-ni \(\text{igi-gin} \) \(\text{erim} \) \(\text{KA}?\)\text{(-kesh-})\text{da}\)

*mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e alan-na-ni \(\text{igi-gin} \) \(\text{KA-kesh-da-ge}\)

\(1\ R.\ E.\ C.,\ 318;\) the forms of the sign on the above cited tablets vary much. \(E.:\ \text{SAL} + \text{KU}\); Berl. 693, 725, 983: \(\text{SAL} + \text{GUR}\); Berl. 5804: \(\text{SAL} + \text{GISH}\); Berl. 5904: \(\text{SAL} + \text{perpendicular wedge} + \text{GISH}\); Berl. 937: \(\text{SAL} + \text{TU(?)}\).

\(2\ \text{ib-dirig-}\text{gi-esh-a, ib-dirig-}\text{ga, Ad. 24, ib-dirig-}\text{ga-mêsh, etc., Az. 17(+ a), corresponds to the verbal adjective shâturû.}\)

\(3\ \text{Perhaps we have to read in all following instances lana for alam} = \text{lûnu.}\)
The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has — his stele (which represents him as) leader of a regiment of soldiers.

27. mu $d$ Urash ur-sag-gal-la E. [VIII, 2b : 17.]

mu $d$ Urash ur-sag-gal-la ash B. P. 109; IV, 31b; Berl. 791.

mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e $d$ Urash ur-sag-gal-la Fr. 33.


[. . . . . . ]-GI rush(?)-a NIM(?)—SUR(?) VIII, 36b.


The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has — for Urash, the great hero . . . . . . . . . .


The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has — his stele (which represents him as) bringing tribute(?).

29. mu $d$ lamma $d$ lamma mash-sú-qa-ge E. [R. 105 : 15, 16.]

mu $d$ lamma $d$ lamma-a mash-sú-qa-ge B. Berl. 906.


mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e $d$ lamma $d$ lamma-a mash-sú-qa-ge VI, 37c.


94 BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

RUSHₕ₋ₐ | sag (nam)₁-lugal-la-na-ge an-shi-in-ib-il-la-ash in-ne-en-tu-ra

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, after having caused (var. his) colossal third guardian goddesses who pray for his life, to be made to perfection with red shining gold and precious stones, has brought them in to ʾNinni nin-gal RUSH-a (= the great mistress of RUSH), who raises unto heaven his kingdom.

30. mu ʿalam-a-ni nam-nun-na-ni-dim
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | alan-na-ni nam-nun-na-ni-dim
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e alam-a-ni nam-nun-na-ni-a

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has brought into Ė-IM-te-en-shar his stele, (which is) like (that of) his majesty.¹

31. mu ʾNin-IB am-sag ʾdah-a-ni-shū
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e ʾNin-IB am-sag | ʾdah-a-ni-shū
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e ʾNin-IB am-sag ʾdah-ni-shū
   mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | ʾNin-IB am-sag ʾdah-a-

E.; B.  
Berl. 731, 836.  
Berl. 792.  
Berl. 5887.

R. 83.  
Berl. 838.  
R. 84 (cf. Bu. 88–5–9, )

¹ Omitted by the scribe.

¹ For mash-su-ga compare the adjective mash-su = massā and mashku, Br. 1928, 1929; it occurs in the same connection Sanh. Const., 80, Assurh. V, 52, in ʾlamaziti pl.-erē ma(sh)-sha-a-ti(e) (Del., H. W., under ṣum = shining). For the substantive mash-su-ga (= meshrā) in connection with statues, cf. ʾshēd lamassātī pl.-ʿa-lam mesh-re(e)-ti, Sanh. Kuy. 4 : 14, Lay. 40 : 52 (Del., H. W., 8880).

¹ The statue which this new statue resembled is mentioned in the 5th year of Ammi-ditana.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

ni-shù | šîsh'gu-za mah-a ............... | Ẹ-nam-
til-la-shù i-ni-in-tu-ra

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has brought into E-namtilia to NinIB, the great bull, his helper, a shining throne ...........

32. mu bād Ish₇-ku-un₄-Marduk-ge₄
    mu bād Is-ku-un₄-Marduk₣
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e bād Is₅₈₂₁, var. Ish₄-ku-un₄-Marduk-ge
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bād Ish₉₈₅₂₁, var. Is₄-ku-un₄-Marduk-ge | gū id(-da(?), M. 25) Zi-la(VIII, 7a, var. -lā)-kum-ma (M. 25 om.)
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bād Ish-ku-un₄-Marduk-ge | gū id Zi-la(-lā)-kum-ma-ta.
The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, after having — the wall of Ishkun-Marduk on the bank of the canal Zilakum, — — —

33. mu egi r bād Ish-ku-un₄-Marduk
mu-bil egi r bād Ish-ku-un₄-Marduk₄
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | mu-bil | egi r bād Ish-ku-un₄-Marduk₣
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | mu-bil egi r bād Ish-ku-un₄-Marduk₣
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bil egi r bād Ish-ku-un₄-Marduk
[₄-Marduk ... ]
The new year after that in which, etc.

34. mu alam nam-ur-sag-gā Sa-am-su-i-lu-na(?)
    mu [alam nam-u]r-sag-gā Sa-am-su-i-lu-na(?)
    mu alam nam-ur[-sag-gā Sa-am-su-i-lu-na] | pab-bil-
    [ga-
    mu alam Sa-am-su-i-lu-na ....
    mu alam Sa-am-su-i-lu-na pab-bi(l)-ga-ni
    mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e alam nam-ur-sag-ga pab-
    bi(l)?
The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has brought into E-namtila the stele of the heroism of Samsu-iluna, his grandfather, into E-mete-ursag the stele of his lordship (var. his stele, a statue of gold).

35. mu Bâd-Am-mi-di-ta-na\(^{a}\) gù id Me-e\(^{d}\) En-lil

The year in which Ammi-ditana the king, after having caused Dur-Ammi-ditana to be built on the bank of the canal Mê-Enlil,\(^{a}\) — — —

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\(^{a}\) Cf. pa-BIL-ga 5-kom-na-ma = a-bi a-bi-in hâ-am-shum, Si. 64; his grandfather, pa-gish-BIL-go-ni, is Ur-Ninâ, Ean., stone A, 8 : 4 (see SAKI, p. 22, note f). For the first part of the Sumerian compound cf.\(^{["pa-a"]}\) | a-bu, Sb, 1, Col. II, 18; for the second gish-BIL = a-bu, II, R., 32 : 66d (gish = edillum, zikaru = "male") and GIN (= TU) in ama-GIN | a-bu um-ma (gish-GIN interchanges with gish-BIL-ga in the name Gish-BIL-ga-mes = Gish-GIN-mash).


\(^{c}\) Cf. also Berl. 1120: mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bâd gal-pal-la-ge gù id\(^{d}\) En-lil. The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, after having — the great castles on the bank of the canal of Ellil, — — —
36. [mu-bil e]gir Bād Am-mi-di-ta-naₖᵢ
    mu-bil egir Bād Am-mi-di-ta-naₖᵢ
    mu Am-mi-di-ta-na [lugal-e] | mu-bil egir | Bād-Am-mi-di-ta-naₖᵢ | ġū id Me₄-En-lîl[  ]

E.                                B.; C.

R. 87.

The new year after that in which, etc.

37. [mu bād . . . . . . . . . ] ...ₖᵢ-e Dam-ki-₃-li-shu-ge
    mu bād-da BĀDₖᵢ-ge (?)
    mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e [bād-da BĀDₖᵢ-ge (?)] |
    Dam-ki-₃-li-shu-ge | in-dû-a | ne-[g]u[?]l(?)    ]
    mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bād-da BĀDₖᵢ | "Dam-
    ki-₃-li-shu-ge | ne-in-gul-la
    mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bād BĀDₖᵢ Dam-ki-₃-li-
    shu-ge | ne-in-dû-a ne-in-gul-la
    [mu Am-mi]-di-ta-na lugal-e | [bād-    ]da BĀDₖᵢ-?-
    ge | [ . . . . . . . .  ]a ne-in-gul-la
    mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | bād(-da, 2716) BĀDₖᵢ-ma
    (var. 2716 -e(?)) Dam-ki-₃-li-shu-ge (ne-in-dû-a
    in-gul-la, 6131)

Berl. 2716, 5833, 6131.

The year in which Ammi-diṭana, the king, after
having destroyed the wall of BĀDₖᵢ,¹ which Damki-
ilištu had built, — — —

Uncertain Year.

mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | dūg-ga gu-la | ⁴Babbar
lugal-a-ni-ta
mu Am-mi-di-ta-na lugal-e | dūg-ga gu-la ⁴Babbar[r
lugal]-a-ni-[ta] | [  ] . -la

VIII, 30a.

AMMI-ZADUGA.

1. [mu A⁴-mi-ža-du-ga] lugal-e | ⁴En-lîl-[i nam-en-na-
    ]
    mu ⁴En-lîl nam-en-na-ni ?-

E. ; C.

F.

¹ On Berl. 5833 the sign is made the same as the preceding bād, but in all other instances it is made differently,
on P. 116 the second sign of R. 86 being used first, and the first second. In other instances the second sign seems to
be U urlparse, in the last, not the middle, part of which is placed a horizontal wedge, the sign thus resembling ūm-ma. The
transcription BĀDₖᵢ therefore is doubtful.
ne-ib-gu-la
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | 4En-lil nam-en-na ni ne-
ib-gu-la
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | 4En-lil-li nam-en-na ni ne-
ib-gu-ul-la-a
ne-ib-gu-ul-[la]
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | R. 92; Berl. 5884, 5935.
The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, (has — —
for) Ellil who makes great his lordship.

2. mu sib BûR-na Ana 4En-lil-bi-da-ge3
mu sib BûR-na
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e sib BûR-na Ana 4En-lil-
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e sib BûR-na Ana 4En-lil-
bi-da-(a, Berl. 729)-ash
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | sib BûR-na Ana 4En-lil-
bi-da-ge [ . . . . . . . ] in-ne-da(?)-gál-la
The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, the
humble shepherd of (var. for?) Anum and Ellil,
— — —

3. mu egir sib BûR-na3
[mu-bîl] egir sib BûR-na
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | mu-bîl sha egir | sib BûR-
na Ana 4En-lil-bi-da-a-ash
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | mu-bîl egir mu sib BûR-
na Ana 4En-lil-bi(5799, var. -bi)-da-a-ash
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | mu-bîl egir sib BûR-na |
Ana 4En-lil-bi-da-ash
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | mu-bîl egir sib BûR-na |
Fr. 39.
The year after that in which, etc.

4. mu shu-nîr gal-gal-la É-sag-il
mu shu(?)-nîr(?)-? [ . . . . . . . . . . . . ]
[mu shu]-nîr gal-gal-la
1 By mistake of the scribe omitted R. 92.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e shu-nir gal-gal-la
[mu Am]-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | [shu]-nir-nir gal-gal-la
mu Am[-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | shu-nir gal-ga[l-la] | Ė-sag-il-la-shu | in-ne-in-tu-ra
mu Am-mi[-za-du-ga lugal-e] | Marduk e[n(?)]

The year in which Ammi-zadaga, the king, has
brought unto Marduk, the lord who . . . . . . .
into Esagil huge emblems of gold, silver and precious
stones.

5. [mu ala]m-a-ni másh igi-dū-a; mu ala[m
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni másh igi-dū-a
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni másh igi-dū-a
shu-a an-la-gal-la
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | En-lil en-gal-la mu . . .

The year in which Ammi-ditana, the king, has
brought into E-namtila to Enlil the great lord who
has called him with a . . . . . . name, his stele
(which represents him as) holding (in his hands) a
lamb for soothsaying, and his stele (representing
him as) saying prayers.

6. mu ASH-ME ni-maḥ-a
[mu ASH]-M E ni-maḥ-a
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e ASH-ME ni-maḥ-a
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | ASH-ME ni-maḥ-a shu-
nir-ra
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | ASH-ME ni-maḥ-a | Ė-babbar-ra-shú in-ne-en-tu- . . . ]

1 A clear NI.
The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has brought into E-babbar a solar disk that sparkles (var. for the great door), an emblem which (shines) like the sun.

7. ḫu-nir-ra ū(?)-dīmn | E-babbar-ra-shū in-ne-en-tu-ra (not rum!)
E(?)-babbar-ra-shū in-...

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has brought into E-babbar for Aia the sublime spouse, guardian god(desses).

8. ḫu-nir-ra ū(?)-dīmn | E-babbar-ra-shū in-ne-en-tu-ra (not rum!)

This reading ensues from Ad. 19; also there a golden throne for the ki-BAD-gub and a similar statue is dedicated.

The reading ba (Ungnad) seems to be excluded by the form of the signs; ni-tūm-ma corresponds to šaluku in the sense of "to correspond with, to be fit, to adorn.

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2 The reading ba (Ungnad) seems to be excluded by the form of the signs; ni-tūm-ma corresponds to šaluku in the sense of "to correspond with, to be fit, to adorn.

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The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has brought into E-namtila a golden throne fitting the . . . . . manzazu, and his stele (representing him as) . . . . . . .

9. \( \text{mu al'am-a-ni nam-nir-gál-la-a-ni} \)
   \( \text{[mu al']am-o-ni nam-nir-gál} \)
   \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam nam-nir-gál-la-an-ni | zub(u)-bi KÚ-GI-ga-a-g[e]} \)
   \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam nam-nir-gál-la-an-ni | zubu KÚ-GI-ga-a-ge | É-babbar-ra-shú en-n[e-in-tu-ra]} \)
   \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam nam-nir-gál-la-ní | zubu KÚ-GI-ga-ge shu-a an-da[-gál-la] | É-babbar-ra-shú in-ne-en-tu-ra(-an erasure?)} \)
   \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | ´Babbar en-na-an-ta-gál | alam nam-nir-gál-la-ní zubu KÚ-GI-ga-ge} \)

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has brought into Ébabbar to Shamash the exalted lord, the stele of his lordship, (representing him as) holding a gamlu-weapon of gold in his hand.

10. \( \text{mu sib she-ga "Babbar "Marduk-(bi-)da-ge} \)
    \( \text{[mu sib]-zi she-ga | [har-ra] ma-da-na} \)
    \( \text{[mu sib-zi] she-ga ´B[abbar "Marduk-bi-da-ge] | [har-ra] kalam-ma-na | [shu-ne-]in-dū-a} \)
    \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | sib-zi she-ga} \)
    \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e sib-zi she-ga "Babbar "Marduk-bi-da-ge (om. VIII, 21c)} \)
    \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | sib-zi she-ga "Babbar "Marduk-bi-da-ge | [hā]r-ra kalam-ma-an shu-ne-in-dū-a} \)
    \( \text{mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e sib-zi she-ga "Babbar "Marduk-bi-da(-ge)} \)
    \( \text{[shu-]ne-in-dū-a} \)

\( \text{E.} \)
\( \text{F.} \)
\( \text{P. 129.} \)
\( \text{IV, 17a.} \)
\( \text{Berl. 5955.} \)
\( \text{Berl. 796 (= M. 75).} \)
\( \text{E.} \)
\( \text{F.} \)
\( \text{B.} \)
\( \text{R. 106.} \)
\( \text{VIII, 10b ( = VIII, 14a); M. 4; VIII, 21c.} \)
\( \text{Berl. 6146.} \)
\( \text{Bu. 88–5–12, 158, 215, 283; Bu. 91–5–9, 753; Berl. 633, 1496, 58383.} \)
\( \text{Fr. 34.} \)
The year in which Ammi-zaduga the king, the right shepherd who is obedient to Shamash and Marduk, after he had broken the oppression of his land, —

11. mu Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga\(^{ki}\) ka id Buranunu\(^{ki}\)  
[hu Bād]-Am-mi-za-du-ga-a  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga\(^{ki}\)  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga | ka id Buranunu\(^{ki}\)  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga\(^{ki}\) (om. 5885) ka id Buranunu\(^{ki}\)-ta  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga\(^{ki}\) ka id Buranunu\(^{ki}\)-ta [ ] ne-in-di-u-a  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga\(^{ki}\) | ka id Buranunu\(^{ki}\)-n[a]-ta | ne-in-dim-ma-a (R. T., XX, in-ne?-en?-dim-ma-a)  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | iqi-gāl gu-la Marduk  
lugal-bi in-na-an-gar-ra | Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga-a(?)  
ka Buranunu | mu-un-di-u-a  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e Bād-Am-mi-za-du-ga\(^{ki}\) ka id Buranunu\(^{ki}\)-ta [ ] an-dim-dim-ma-a  

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, after in the great wisdom which Marduk, his king, has given him, he had built Dur-Ammi-zaduga at the mouth of the river Euphrates, — — —

12. mu alam-a-ni mášh gab-tab-ba  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e alam-a-ni mášh gab-tab-ba  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni mášh gab-tab-ba | shu-a an-da-a  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni mášh gab-tab-ba | ù alam-a-ni ba-di[ ] | ab-bi-e-a  
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e alam-a-ni mášh gab-tab-ba(? ) shu-a an-da-a  

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has — his statue (representing him as) carrying\(^{1}\) (with his

\(^{1}\) Br. 6651: da = nashû ša amēli.
hands) a lamb with coloured breast(?) and also his statue (which represents him as) saying......

13.  mu urudu[ki-lugal-gub-ba ni-mah-a
mu urudu[ki .............. ]ni-mah-a
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urudu[ki-lugal-gub-ba |
ni-mah-a
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urudu[ki-lugal-gub ni-
mah-a har-sag id-ash-ash-a ni-me-esh-a-b[i]
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urudu[ki-lugal-gub ni-mah-
a | har-sag-ash-ash-a id-da ni-me-esh-a-bi | é-mah
É-nam-ke-a-ta | me-te-a-ash mi-ni-in-gar-ra

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, after having placed in the sublime house of E-namhe, as an adornment a splendid lordly manzazu (representing) a mountain and rivers (var. mountains and a river) which are many, — — —

14.  mu urudu[dù-mah gal-gal-la
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urudu[dù-mah gal-gal-la
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urudu[dù-mah gal-gal-
la | har-sag id-da .............. -a-bi | É-nam-ti-la-shú
in-ne-en-tu-ra

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has brought into E-namtila great brazen ......
.... (with a representation of) a mountain and rivers, which ..............

15.  mu alam-a-ni shu-silim-ma ab-DI-D[I-a]
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni shu-silim-ma
(var. -a, R. 100)
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni shu-silim-ma
ab-DI-DI-ne; — ab-DI-DI-a; — ab-DI-DI-ne-a;
— ab-DI-DI-e-a

In Sumerian “which is splendid.” Translate before perhaps “in E-mah, the house of abundance.” Cf. also Az. 17 + a.
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni shu-silim-ma-
ab-DI-DI-e(?)-ne-a | ʻZa-mù-mà ʻNinni e-ne-bi-da
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | alam-a-ni shu-silim-ma-
ab-DI-DI-ne-a-ash1 | ʻZa-mù-mà ʻNinni-bi-da-ash |
È-me-te-ur-saq-shù in-ne-en-tu-ra

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has brought into E-mete-ursag to Zamama and Ninni his stele (which represents him as) ..............

16. mu id Am-mi-za-du-ga\textsuperscript{12}
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | id Am-mi-za-du-ga (nu-
\textbf{bu}-ush ni-shi, 5910)
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | id-da Am-mi-za-du-ga |
\textbf{nu-bu} ush ni-shi
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | dug-ga maḫ ʻBabbar
lugal-a-ni-ta | id Am-mi-za-du-ga | nu-bu-ush ni-shi
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | dug-ga maḫ ʻBabbar
lugal-a-ni-shù id Am-mi-za-du-ga | nu-bu-ush
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | dug-ga maḫ-ā ʻBabbar
lugal-a-ni-ta | id Am-mi-za-du-ga nu-bu-ush ni-shi
mi-ni-in-ba-al-la-a

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, after having, at the sublime command of Shamash, his lord, dug the canal: Ammi-zaduga is the abundance of the people, — — —

17( + a) mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urud\textsubscript{ā}ki-lugal-gub
\textbf{ib-dirig}-ga | me-te ne-saq-gá-shù | é-maḫ ʻE-IM-te-
en-shar-shù | ki-a ne-ib-us-sa
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urud\textsubscript{ā}ki-[ku]gal-gub-ba
\textbf{ib-dirig}-ga | é-maḫ ʻE-IM-te-en[. . . . . . .] | ki-a
ne-ib-us-a
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | urud\textsubscript{ā}ki-lugal-gub \textbf{ib-dirig}
(5898, ? var. -si)-ga | me-te ne-saq-gá-shù(?); — ne-
saq-ga-ta; — (ne?-)sag-di(kt?)

\textsuperscript{1} Probably a mistake.
\textsuperscript{2} Mistake.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

mu *Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e* | *urudki-lugal-gub ib-diri-ga*; — *ib-si-ga*; — *ib-si-i*; — *ib-diri-ga-mësh*; — *ib-diriqe-ta*; — *ib-diri-me-ésh*

R. 98, Fr. 38, Berl. 5928(?); 5879, 5889, 5895; 6010; 5450, 5842, 5847, 5869, 5870; 5907; 5928(?).

mu *Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e* | *urudki-lugal-gub-ba ib-diri(6133, var. *-si)-ga*

Berl. 5817(?), 6133(?).

mu *Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e* | *ki-lugal-gub-ba-a* | *ib-diri-ga*

M. 9.

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, after having set up a very great\(^2\) brazen lordly *manzazu* as an ornament for the *ne-sag\(^4\)* in* the sublime house of E-IM-ten-shar (cf. Az. 13), — — —

17(+b) *mu Am-mi-za-du-ga* | *alam-a-ni DIN-BI* KAK-USLAN\(^{3}\)-a | *Pab-nun-na nun-ash-DU-a* | É-babbar-ra-shú in-na-an-tu-ra

R. 105. KAK-USLAN\(^{3}\)-a | Pab-nun-na nun-ash-DU-a | É-babbar-ra-shú in-na-an-tu-ra


Berl. 5900. KAK-USLAN\(^{3}\)-a É-babbar-ra-shú in-ne-en-tu-ra

mu *Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e* | *alam-a-ni DIN-.... a* Berl. 5810, 5816, 5836, 5841, 5904; Sipp. 60.

(om., 5816)-USLAN-a (om., 5900; Sipp. 60)

mu *Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e* | *alam-a-ni DIN-.... a* Berl. 5812.

mu *alam-a-ni DIN-BI-.... a*

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, has brought into E-babbar to Pab-nunna ...... his statue .............

17(+c) *mu Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e* | *"Babbar-dim kalam-ma-ni-shú zi-bi-ésh im-ta-é-a* | *sag(?)-shar-ra-ba(?)*

VIII, 11c; Berl. 1241. si-ne-ib-sá-sá-a

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\(^1\) The plural is probably due to the wrong connection of *ib-diri-ga* with the following me-te.

\(^2\) Cf. Ad. 24.

\(^3\) The *ne-sag* is one of the temple buildings or rooms. Cf. Gud., Cyl. A, 28 : 10.

\(^4\) The postposition *-shú* seems to be caused by the verb *intura* at the end of the formula.

\(^5\) The identification of these signs is difficult.

\(^6\) On Berl. 1241, according to Ungnad; VIII, 11c, .... -a(?) = uku?

14
The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, who, like Shamash, has brought to his land ... , and directs ....

17( + d) \( mu \) Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | \( IG1 + E-nir \) sag ...

.... \( d \) Babbar-ge \( E-babbar-ra \) \( E-ul-mash-a-bi[\) ]

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, after having — the stage tower, the ................. of Shamash in \( E-babbar \) and \( E-ul-mash \), — — —

17( + e) \( mu \) Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | \( d \) \( En-lil \) \( pab(?) \)-mah-a

\( mu \) Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e | \( d \) \( En-lil \) \( pab(?) \)-mah-a

The year in which Ammi-zaduga, the king, (has — —) Enlil the sublime father(?)

Samsu-ditana.

a [sha-at-tum] esh-she-tum sha i-ru-ba

\( a[nba] \) ra-zag-gar \( ud-1-kam \)

[\( mu \) Sa]-am-su-di-ta-na lugal-e

[ASH-M] E-ash-ash-a \( \#d\u0153-shi-a-ge \)

shu-nir-ra \( \u015b-gim \) ni-lah-gi-esh-a

\( \#z\u0153-a-gin-na \) gushkin rush-a \( k\u0100-me-a-bi-da-ta \)

shu-a mah-bi \( eb-ta-an-d\u0103-u-sh-a \)

ne-in-dim-ma-a-an

\( d \) Babbar en an-ta-gi\u0101-la-ash

nam-lugal-a-ni ne-\( \#b \)-gu-la-ash

\( E-babbar-ra-sh\u0103 \) in-ne-en-tu-ra

ak-ka-

du-

sha

sha-at-tum sha Sa-am-su-di-ta-na shar-rum

sha-am-sha-a-tim sha \( \#d\u0153-shi \)

1 For the construction of \( shu-\) du with -ta, cf. \( mu \) \( \#d\u0153-shu-zu \) bara-mah gushkin-k\u0103-babbar-ta shu-du-a \( d \) Marduk-ra mu-un-na-dim-mu, A, Sl. 22; and similarly A, A-S. 3, etc. In the shorter formula which drops the verb \( shu-\) du, \( \#b \) za gin-na, etc., becomes a genetive modifier to \( ASH-M \) E-ash-ash-a just as \( \#d\u0153-shi-a \); therefore we find here, after bi-da, ge instead of ta, while the ge after \( \#d\u0153-shi-a \) has been dropped.

2 Ash probably mistake.

3 Cf. d\( \#luga-l\)\( \#h\)a-tu-GAB + LIS | \( mu \) (mistake? or: the name of my kingdom) nam-lugal-la-mu-um | ne-\( \#b \)-gu- 

ul-la-ash = a-na d\( \#luga-l\)\( \#h\)a-tu-GAB + LIS | \( mu \) shar-bi-ci | shu-\( \#b \)-\( \#h \)-ia, Samsu-iluna, 52-54.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

shu-ri-ni sha ki-ma ú-mi nam-ru
i-na șirî-și shu-[uk-]lu-la
ib-mu-u ma
a-na "Shamash be-lim sha-ki-i
mu-shar-bi shar-ru-ti-shu²
a-na Ê-babbar-ri u-she-lu-u

[kî-a-a]m li-is-ha-di-ir
[mu Sa-am]-su-di-ta-na lugal-e
[ASH-M]È-ash-ash-a ashamed[û-shi]-a
[û]a-gin-na gushkin RUSH-a kù-[ ]a bi-da-ge
[Babbar en an-ta-gâl-la-ash
[È-bab]bar-ra-shú in-ne-en-tu-ra

The year in which Samsu-ditana, the king, after having made solar disks of dushû stone, emblems which shine like the day, which¹ they have made perfect (in Accadian: have been made perfect), with lapis lazuli, red shining gold and me-a silver, brought them in( in Accadian: up ) to E-babbar to Shamash, the high lord, who makes high his kingdom:

b  mu Sa-am-su-di-ta-na lugal-e | ⁴Marduk nun-gal-la R. 114, 118.
The year in which Samsu-ditana the king has — — for(?) Marduk, the great prince.

b + 1  mu Sa-am-su-di-ta-na lugal-e | mu-bîl ege Marduk R. 112, 113.

The new year after that in which, etc.

c  mu Sa-am-su-di-ta-na lugal-e | ⁴Pab-nun-an-ki nin R. 115.
an-ta-gâl-la | gunni kù-babbar ù-tu-da | È-sag-il-shû
in-tu-ra

¹ Refers to the shamshatim.
The year in which Samsu-ditana, the king, has brought into Esagil a perfuming pan, made of silver, for Pab-nun-anki, the high mistress.

The year in which Samsu-ditana, the king, after having with the great forces of Shamash and Marduk — — —

The year in which Samsu-ditana, the king, has — for Urash the strong lord.

The year in which Samsu-ditana, the king, whose head Shamash and Ishkur have raised to heaven,

The year in which Samsu-ditana, the king, has brought into E-sagil for Nabium(?) the great lord(?), his stele (which represents him as) . . . . . .

1 According to V R., 46 : 35, this goddess is identical with Zarpanitum; which is here corroborated by her abiding in E-sagil.

V. THE NAMING OF THE YEAR AFTER EVENTS.

1. In the explanation of the date formulas some difficulty has been found with regard to the time of the events mentioned therein. The question has been asked whether they fall within the year which is named after them, or whether they occurred in the preceding year. Closely connected with this is the question as to the time of the naming, resp. the possibility of a renewed naming in the later part of a year.

A priori we may consider it a necessity for a land with such a highly developed commerce and law as Babylonia was, that the formulas were made known as early as possible, at least no later than the first day of the new year. This assumption is fully corroborated by the observation that a number of tablets dated on the first of Nisann1 show the new formula. Therefore there can be no doubt that such tablets as have been preserved of the 29th year of Ammi-ditaša and of one year of Samsuditaša,2 which contain the full and in the one case also an abbreviated formula of the year in Sumerian, with a translation in "Akkadian," were sent to the various cities and temples before the beginning of the year.

The events after which the years were named may be classed into two kinds, such as consist of an act that could be performed on one single day, and at any desirable time, as, e.g., the dedication of a votive statue, of a weapon, or of a throne for a god; and, on the other hand, such as either it was beyond one’s power to fix on a certain day or that needed a long time for completion, as, e.g., historical events, the capture of hostile cities and princes, or the digging of canals, the building of city walls and fortresses, of temples and stage-towers. The explanation of date formulas referring to events of the first kind presents no difficulty, e.g., Az. 4: mu Ammi-zaduša lugale shumīr galgalla ša-šašu innentura, "The year in which Ammi-

1 Ungnad in Die Chronologie der Regierung Ammizaduša’s und Ammišaduša’s (= B. A., VI, pt. 3, p. 7, enumerates R. 31 (H. 43); IV, 44c (S. 7); Fr. 19 (= Scheil, 267); Ad. 34); Berl. 5833 (Ad. 37); 5875 (Az. 5); M. 63 (Az. 107); Berl. 5910 (Az. 16); 5900 (Az. 17 + b); 6115 (Az. 16 + c); to which may be added P. 84 (S. 15). Ungnad (l.c., p. 7) considers it a possibility that for some reason or other the documents might have been dated back, but considering the character of the documents as being sworn to and sealed in the presence of the parties and witnesses, this is scarcely plausible.

zaduqa, the king, has brought into E-sagil great emblems.” This phrase clearly
implies that the act referred to took place within the year in question. Now we
know that in later times in Babylon the beginning of the year was celebrated with
great religious ceremonies, and that the king himself took a prominent part in them.
Therefore, we are hardly wrong in assuming that the king dedicated the statue, throne
or the like on New Year’s day, the event being thus within the year to which it gave
its name, and, nevertheless, so early that not one day of the year was left unnamed.
This assumption becomes very reasonable from the fact that by far the greater
number of formulas refer to actions of a religious character. Undoubtedly the royal
authorities and the priesthood knew the program of the New Year’s celebration, with
the acts planned by the king, a sufficient time before, and could make use of it in the
naming of the coming year.¹

The difficulties arise with those formulas which refer to events of the second class.
The building of temples, the digging of canals, etc., could not be achieved within the
year except after considerable time, and although these works might have been
planned, it would nevertheless have been rather hazardous to name a year after a
future event, the completion or even the beginning of which might be interfered with
sometime during the year by some unlooked-for condition of affairs, quite apart from
the fact that such an explanation is impossible where historical events are concerned.
There is a possibility, and in some few cases it is even likely, that the formula was
promulgated in a later part of the year after the historical event had taken place,
but as a general custom this procedure is very improbable, and at least in one case
impossible, because the formula which mentions the historical fact is found on a
tablet of the first of Nisan.²

The solution of the difficulties is that the date formulas mentioning events of
the second class are incomplete, and that they recorded in the missing part
some religious act, probably the offering of some votive object which alone took place
on New Year’s day, and thus in the year of the formula, while the events mentioned
before this religious act had occurred in the past, i.e., in the previous year. We
should therefore not translate “year in which Hammu-rabi vanquished Rim-Sin,”
but “year in which Hammu-rabi, after having vanquished Rim-Sin, brought before
Anum and Ellil some object of the booty or some votive object.” The correctness

¹ That a solemn ceremony was performed in which the year was named, besides the regular New-Year’s celebration
(Ranke, B. E., Series A, VI, 1, p. 13), it is unnecessary to assume, and such is by no means likely to have taken place.
² Berl. 5833 = Ad. 37; Ungnad should not conclude from this fact that the forcible capture of a fortress which
another king had fortified is not an historical event. On the contrary, his assumption that historical events mentioned
in dates must have occurred in the year of the formula is to be modified.
of this explanation is proved by the observation that the verbs relating the dedication, etc., of objects on New Year's day stand in the perfect tense,¹ those relating historical events, however, in the historical tense,² which, as I have tried to show in Z. A., XXI,³ p. 224ff., denotes the difference of time when it is contrasted with perfect tenses. An illustration for this we have in the complete date formulas of Ammilditana, Berl. 670 (= Ad. 29), and Samsu-ditana, Berl. 1200. There the dedication of the tutelary deities and of the sun-disks on New Year's day is recorded in both instances by the perfect *in-ne-en-tur-ra*, but the making of the votive objects, which took place before New Year, i.e., in the preceding year, by the preterit *ne-in-dim-dim-ma-a* (Berl. 670) and *ne-in-dim-ma-a-an* (Berl. 1200).⁴ As a still more instructive example Ad. 8 may be referred to, because there we have abbreviated formulas closing with a perfect and with a historical tense, besides the full formulas. It would certainly be wrong to translate *mu Ammilditana lugale alam namlugalana* . . . . *shuinda* by "the year in which Ammilditana caused his image, etc., to be formed," since not this action, but, as is shown by the other formulas, *mu alam namlugalani E-babbarashesu inniutra* (E) and *mu Ammilditana lugale alam namlugalana* . . . . *shua nenda* E-babbarash inniutra (Berl. 6091), only the dedication took place in the year designated by the formula. By reversing this observation we obtain, therefore, the rule that all the actions expressed by a verb in the perfect occur in the year of the formula; those in the historical tense, however, in the previous year (or years).

From this discrimination it follows that, e.g., the capture of *Isin* by *Sin-muballit*, which is related by the formula *mu Isin*¹ *indi* (M. 32), occurred in the 17th, not in the 16th year of *Sin-muballit*,² and similarly the conquest by *Rim-Sin* in the year designated as *mu* . . . . *Isin*¹ *uru namlugalla indibba*. Of a considerable number of formulas containing historical facts, as, e.g., *Si. 9, mu ugnim Kashshu; Si. 10, mu ugnim Idamaraz*, etc., unfortunately the verb is still wanting, and a definite decision is consequently not possible.

2. The first year named after a king was not the year of his accession to the

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² *Mu-un-gul-la; mu-un-dâ-a; mu-un-ba-la; mu-un-la, mu-un-bil-a-an(?)*, H. 34; *ne-in-gul-la*, Ad. 37; *ne-in-dâ-a*, Ad. 20; *ne-in-ba-a*, H. 35; *gish-ne-in-ra-a*, H. 39; *gish-bans ne-in-ag-a*, Si. 29; *ne-in-bil-a*, Si. 15; *ne-in-tu-ra*, Si. 13; *ne-in-
⁴ Cf. the translation *bi-ni-i-ma* and *bi-mu-u-ma*; *ma* denotes the difference of time.
⁵ The observation of Ranke, who concluding from the occurrence of the formula *mu us-ra gu-za bara-maḥ* ⁴Lugal-
⁶ggâ-dâ-a, places the conquest of *Isin* by *Sin-muballit* in the time between *Nisan(?) 6th* (or perhaps better 1st) and *Adar 13th*, is thus fully corroborated.
thron, but that which began with the first of Nisan after his accession. The year of accession, which practically in all cases had been named after the then still living former king, probably continued to be designated with its old name even after the death of the king, the formula mu K ana bit abishu irubu, which corresponds to the later mu sog namlugalla K, being either employed only during the earlier time of the First Dynasty or besides the regular formulas.

The year beginning with the following first of Nisan was not called officially mu K lugal-e, but was designated by a complete formula like all other years. Compare

Sumu-abu: ——
Sumu-lail: mu Sl. lugale id 4 Babbar-hegal munbal
Zabium: ——
Sin-muballit: mu Sm. lugale bad Rubatum badū
Hammurabi: mu H lugale (D)
Samsu-iluna: mu Si. lugale dugga zida 4 Mardukkata
        namenbi kurkurra (PAea) (C)
Abi-eshu': ——
Ammi-ditana: mu Ad. lugale adgia gula 4 Mardukge (E, B)
Ammi-zaduga: mu Az. lugale 4 Enlilli namennani (nebgulla) (E)

The formula mu K lugale is therefore only an abbreviation. Its shortness, in comparison with the abbreviations of the following years, is accounted for by the fact that it is the first formula that mentions the name of the respective king. This observation furnishes us with a principle to assign to their proper years contracts dated, e.g., mu id Hammurabi, where we have the choice between the id Hammurabi-hegal and the id Hammurabi-nukush-nishi. Such formulas can only refer to the first date that mentions a canal or a statue, etc., of the king or god; mu id Hammurabi being thus the 9th, not the 33d year of Hammurabi.

1See Ungnad, I.e., pp. 8, 9.
VI. OUTLINE OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY FROM SIN-MUBALLIT'S SEVENTEENTH YEAR TO THE END OF THE FIRST DYNASTY.

The political development during the second half of the First Dynasty forms a very interesting chapter of the history of Babylonia, showing us how in those times the North and South rivalled each other with changing luck in the endeavor to win the supremacy of Babylonia. Unfortunately our sources for a reconstruction of the history of this time are still very scanty, and in many instances it will only be possible to arrive at a more or less great probability. Nevertheless, the recent discovery of historical references bearing on the subject, the realization of the statements of the date lists and dated contracts, and not least the fact that in some few cities we can ascertain the succession of kings by means of tablets dated in their reign, enable us even now to establish an outline which in the main will prove correct.

We take our start from the facts, gathered from dated tablets and Date List A, that Sin-muballit, king of Babylon, in his 17th year, and likewise Rim-Sin, king of Larsam, some time later, took possession of Isin, which city in former times had been the capital of kings of Shumer and Akkad for 225 years. There is not the slightest indication that these two events should be considered one and the same, and that Sin-muballit achieved his deed either as the vassal or as the ally of Rim-Sin. As the date Sm. 20: mu 𒌀𒈗𒊏 Larsam, ‘‘when (Sin-muballit defeated) the army of Larsam,’’ shows, and as can be seen from the later development, the king of Babylon was rather the political adversary of the king of Larsam, and his rival for the dominion over all of Babylonia. The events prior to and following the first conquest seem to have been these: In the 13th year of Sin-muballit the army of Ur, which of course is not identical with that of Larsam, invaded the territory of Babylon, but was driven back by Sin-muballit, whose political influence in the course of the following four years rose to such an extent that in his 17th year he could occupy the city of Isin. That Sin-muballit's power had been growing steadily for a long time is indicated by the fact that he built or fortified anew quite a number of fortresses. As Sin-muballit never mentions military conquests, undoubtedly the rise

1 Cf. the remarks of Thureau-Dangin in O. L. Z., X, 256 f.
2 In his 1st, 7th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th and 18th years.
of his power had its origin in advantageous political constellations, for which the temporary independence of Ur, besides the kingdom of Larsam, which we must infer from its military enterprise against Sin-muballit, accounts sufficiently. But there can be no doubt that also Kesh and Uruk, before they were conquered by Rim-Sin, were independent kingdoms; Babylonia thus being divided into several small states.

After Sin-muballit's conquest the kingdom of Larsam under Rim-Sin had risen to a dominating position, and made this felt by an attack on the kingdom of Babylon. The campaign was successful inasmuch as the old renowned city of Isin, occupied before by Sin-muballit, fell into the hands of Rim-Sin, who regarded this success, it seems, as his greatest deed, because thenceforth he counts his years of reign after the capture of Isin. But, on the other hand, he failed in his endeavor to overthrow the kingdom of Babylon. The invading army was routed by Sin-muballit, over which deed this king glories in the date of his 20th year.

In consideration of this we should place the capture of Isin by Rim-Sin in Sin-muballit's 19th year, and from the following calculation it will be seen that this is indeed approximately the right time. For Hammu-rabi conquered Southern Babylonia in his 30th year, and dated tablets from Nippur and Tell Sijr show that from that time he actually ruled over these cities at least in his 31st, 33-39th and 41st years, while Rim-Sin ruled over the same cities (and Yokha) in the 18th, 21st, 23d, 25th-28th and 30th years after the capture of Isin. These facts can be combined only by placing Rim-Sin's thirty years of reign before Hammu-rabi's 30th year. The conquest of Isin would then have occurred no later than the last year of Sin-muballit, and may have actually occurred in his 19th year.

In consequence of his method of dating his years of reign, we know practically nothing of Rim-Sin's enterprises during the thirty years after the conquest of Isin. The first five years of Hammu-rabi went by either without an important event, or with such events as were not favorable for Hammu-rabi, so that he could not boast of them in the names of years. But in his 6th year he conquered or occupied Uruk

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1 Compare the date of Rim-Sin, in which he states that in the temple of Nin-mah in Kesh he was raised to the kingdom over the totality of the land, corresponding to the sharrat kishshati, and notice, moreover, the fact that Upišt occurs frequently as part of personal names instead of a divinity during the time from Zabium to Hammu-rabi (and partly Samsu-iluna). This presupposes that Upišt was during the time from Sumulail to the end of Sin-muballit's reign the capital of a kingdom and as such was worshiped as a divinity.

2 The years of Hammu-rabi and Samsu-iluna, as late as the latter's second year, which occur on tablets from Tell Sijr and Nippur, will be seen from the following list: H. 30 —; 31 T-S. —; 32 —; 33 —; 34 T-S. —; 35 T-S., N.; 36 T-S., N.; 37 T-S., —; 38 T-S., N.; 39 T-S., N.; 40 —; 41 T-S., N.; 42 —; 43 —; Si. 1 T-S., N.; 2 —. There are tablets dated in the reign of Rim-Sin of the 1-9th, 11th, 13th, 18th, 21st-23d, 25th-28th and 30th years after the occupation of Isin.
and Isin, thus repeating the attempt of his father to extend his power over the South. In the following year he even directed, it seems, an expedition against Emutbal, the land of Rim-Sin's father. This expedition, though somehow successful, was probably far from humiliating Rim-Sin, since we have tablets dated in the 9th, 11th and 13th years of this king. How long Hammurabi could maintain his conquest we do not know, but we may conclude that at least in his 9th year he still maintained it, since the canal Hammurabi hegal, which he built in this year, was probably intended to procure, like later the Hammurabi-nukush-nishi canal, prosperity to a newly acquired devastated territory.

In the 9th year, Hammurabi seems to have destroyed the town and the people of Malqû, the city of Ea and Damkina, which at some time was the seat of a kingdom.\(^1\)

The 10th year is marked by an enterprise against or in the cities of Rabikum and Shalibi, the former being described in the date of the 35th year as situated on the bank of the Euphrates. The notice of this enterprise, although most fragmentary, is of eminent value for us, because it opens up for us a view into the close connection of the middle Euphrates valley with Babylonia. Rabikum and Shalibi, the latter of which seems to be represented by the present ruins of Zelebîye on the left bank of the Euphrates, half way between the mouths of the Balîh and of the Habur, commanded the water-course of the Euphrates, the important natural commercial route between the Westland and Babylonia, and it is easy to understand that the Babylonian rulers strove to maintain control of the river by occupying the chief towns along its course. A tablet in the British Museum is dated after the capture of Rabikum by a certain Ibiq-Ishkur.\(^2\) If we are allowed to see in this the beginning of a fuller form of the date of the 11th year, it would appear that Hammurabi was prompted to take his action because Ibiq-Ishkur, by means of this fortified town, could control the Euphrates against the Babylonian merchants.

The dates from the 12th to the 29th year record no military success, a sure sign that Hammurabi's position had suffered a total change. Without doubt Rim-Sin had won back his former power and possessions. Only gradually Hammurabi's influence rose again, as can be observed from his building fortresses in his 19th(?) 21st and 27th years, and his fortifying Sippar in his 23rd, 24th(?) and 25th years, the latter presupposing perhaps a previous destruction or devastation in warfare.

The period of Hammurabi's great and lasting successes begins with his 29th year. In this year he defeated an army of the Elamites, the people that since the oldest

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\(^1\) See the inscription of Ibiq-Ishkur in Vorderasiatische Schriftenmâler, I, No. 32.

\(^2\) According to King in L. I. II., III, pp. 238f., note 72.
times had invaded and ransacked Babylonia. That they came as allies of Rim-Sin is an unproved assumption, and is very unlikely, since Rim-Sin’s mother-country was Emutbal, not ‘Elam. The real state of affairs was undoubtedly this, that Rim-Sin’s empire, as being nearest to Elam, had to suffer the first attack from the invaders. After they had overthrown Rim-Sin’s army, but probably had suffered themselves through the resistance of the South-Babylonians, it may have been easy for Hammurabi to rout them and expel them from Babylonia. Never before, it seems, was Hammurabi offered such occasion to realize his and his father’s aspirations, the dominion over all Babylonia, as now by Rim-Sin’s weakness and his own success. He exploited fully his advantage. In the following year, with the help of Anum and Enlil, as we read in the date formula of the 31st year, his hand slew to the ground the land Emutbal and king Rim-Sin. From this time Hammurabi was ruler over all Babylonia. The chronicle records the same event with the words: ‘Hammurabi, king of Babylon, summoned his people and against Rim-Sin, king of Ur, he marched. Ur and Uruk did his hand conquer and their property he took to Babylon.”

It seems that Ashmunak, which probably also at that time was ruled by patesis, made likewise an attempt to profit from the troubles in Babylonia; for in the following year an army of Ashmunak appears in Babylonia, but is defeated by Hammurabi. From the next year Hammurabi begins his works of peace. He dug (in the 32d year) the canal Hammurabi-nuḥush-nishi, which from Akkad went past Nippur down to Shumer, carrying waters of exuberance along with it. He tells us, and we may well believe him, that the people of Shumer and Akkad had been scattered; he gathered and settled them in towns and cities along this canal. He rebuilt temples, e.g., E-mete-ursag (41st year) in Kish, the temples in Larsam, in Halab, etc. He built new fortresses, like Dur-Sinmuβalitt at the head of the Hammurabi-nuḥush-nishi canal (i.e., where this canal leaves the Euphrates), the great castle Kar-Shamash on the bank of the Tigris, and refortified the city of Rabikum on the bank of the Euphrates in the 36th (or a later) year.

This latter notice shows us that Hammurabi’s power extended far beyond the boundaries of Babylonia proper. The possession of Rabikum proves that the middle Euphrates valley was again in his power, and undoubtedly Kar-Shamash, which is mentioned with Rabikum in the same date formula, occupied the same position in the upper valley of the Tigris as Rabikum in the valley of the Euphrates, i.e., it

1 Cf. Thureau-Dangin, Une incursion élamite en territoire sumérien à l’époque prérassonique, R. A., VI, 4, pp. 7–10.
2 The following line is partly broken. The title king of Ur is of course a mistake.
4 See the inscriptions on bricks.
5 The date formula states that Kar-Shamash is situated on the bank of the Tigris.
secured the other natural commercial route down the Tigris; for we know from his Code of Laws that Hammurabi ruled over the city of Ashshur, to which he returned its tutelary god, and over Nineveh, where he richly endowed the temple of Ishtar; moreover, the directions in the letters to Sinidinnam in Larsam as to the employment of a detachment of Ashshurites, give evidence that the king actually exercised his power over these cities.

Other military enterprises of Hammurabi are the conquest of Mari and Malgû in the 36th year, an expedition against (or the achievement of some work in) Ashnunnak in the east in his 37th year, and the subjugation of the whole steppe, i.e., Mesopotamia with its hostile tribes, in the 38th year. These tribes perhaps are also to be identified with the people of Turukkum, Kaqmum and Subê, whose bands were defeated in the 38th year. For the people of Mera and Tutul see C. H., 4 : 30.

Thus at the end of Hammurabi's reign his dominion extended over the whole territory from the Persian Gulf as far northwest, perhaps, as Charchemish and Diarbekr.

When Samsu-iluna inherited his father's kingdom, he took also the charge upon him to maintain Hammurabi's conquests. This was no easy task, and his reign is, as we shall see, largely filled up with suppressing revolts and warding off attacks from outside. His very year of accession to the throne and his first year are marked by conflicts, for in the date of the first year he glorifies in having made his dominion shine over the lands, at the true command of Marduk, which implies that he had first to establish it outside of Babylonia proper; and in the date of the second year he asserts that he liberated Shumer and Akkad, which presupposes that it was occupied by a foreign power. Probably at that time the events recorded by the chronicler took place, in which either the old Rim-Sin 1 or one of his family played a part. Apparently it was an attempt to regain the kingdom of Shumer and Akkad. At any rate it failed. Samsu-iluna conquered the city of his foe and captured him alive in his palace. Unfortunately the continuation of the chronicle is only fragmentary.

Samsu-iluna, as was customary after successes, endeavors to make his land prosperous by digging two canals, Samsu-iluna-nagab-nahshim and Samsu-iluna-hegal. As far as we have any knowledge, peace and prosperity reigned in the land up to the 8th year, when a period of war sets in that extends over a time of six years, and is marked by the defeat of Cassite invaders in the 8th or 9th, of an army of the city of Idamaraz in the 9th, the capture of Ur and Uruk in the 10th, the subjugation of insurgent lands in the 11th, the capture of Kisurra and Sabum in the

1 At that time Rim-Sin would have been at least about $20 + 6 + 2 + 43 + 1 = 70$ years.
12th, and the suppression of an insurgent king in Akkad in the 13th year. This long war or series of wars, the details of which unfortunately are unknown to us, ended, it seems, with the complete success of Samsu-iluna. But Babylonia in all likelihood lay waste when peace was again established in the land. Besides the cities conquered by the king also Isin and the fortresses of Emulbal had been destroyed either by Samsu-iluna or his foes. Their fortifications were restored in the 14th and the 16th year, and the construction of a wall of Sippar in the 15th year may suggest that even this city had suffered devastation. Nor can it be accidental that the tablets from Tell Sifr, existing abundantly for the first decade of Samsu-iluna's reign, cease completely after the 10th year—a sure indication that the small town was destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants.

The period of peace from the 14th to the 26th year is only interrupted by the suppression of an uprising in one of the foreign lands in the 19th and an expedition against the foreign (?) cities Sa'na and Zarjanum in the 22d year. In connection with the last achievement Samsu-iluna calls himself lugal sag-kal, "the supreme king." We also receive the impression that at that time Samsu-iluna stands at the height of his power, and moreover reigns in peace, from his statement in the date of his 25th year, that he caused a stone of about eleven metres in length to be brought to Babylonia from the great mountain of the Westland.  

Some great disturbance seems to have occurred in Samsu-iluna's 28th year; for the 29th as well as the 30th year are dated after the formula of the 27th year, which indicates that in those years the king was prevented from dedicating a votive object, or even from participating in the New-Year's celebration. Probably he was engaged in an unfortunate war. The 27th year perhaps still brought success, as we conclude from the formula of the 28th year: "year in which Samsu-iluna after having — upon the oracle of Enlil, — — ." Unfortunately we do not possess as yet the continuation of this formula, but if the date of P. 40 is to be assigned to the 29th year, Samsu-iluna in his 27th year vanquished a certain Iadih-abu and perhaps one

1 In the 20th year some catastrophe seems to have befallen Nippur, because the three baked duplicate tablets, Nos. 52-54, were found at one place, and moreover one of them is broken into two pieces, only one of which is burnt. Perhaps this fact points towards a conflagration of the city caused by enemies.

2 Like the Westland mountains Basalta and Tidanum, from where Gudea procured certain stones, Stat. B., 6 : 15, 13, this great mountain of the Westland may be sought for somewhere in the vicinity of the Amanum, Gud., Stat. B., 5 : 28. Should it be the Taurus? From there almost the entire trip could be made on rafts down the Euphrates and the canals in Babylonia.

3 The date of this tablet is later than the 12th year, because Mannummesdilipur, who buys a building lot according to No. 38 (Du'uzu 6, 12th year), is already dead according to No. 64 (a house, perhaps erected on that building lot, is sold by the brother, the son and the wife of Mannummesdilipur). As all the following years are named with official formulas that do not seem to allow an identification with ours, and as there is only the one ussa date of the 29th year, we should
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

pushtarshana. The issue of the struggles of these years was certainly unfavorable for Samsu-iluna, because also the date of the 31st year makes, as far as we know, no allusion to political events. It is, therefore, not improbable that this is the time of the unfortunate conflict with Iluma-ilum, the first king of the so-called Second Dynasty.

The very fragmentary report on this and the immediately preceding events in the Chronicle opens with a battle on the shore of the Persian Gulf, which ended with a victory for Samsu-iluna. We may conclude this from the words: their dead bodies (i.e., of the enemies) the sea [carried away]; for we would not expect such a detailed feature if the Babylonians had been defeated. As the passage is incomplete we are left in doubt as to whether Samsu-iluna was already at that time fighting Iluma-ilum, or if our previous calculations should prove correct, Iadih-abu and Mutusharshana. The chronicle continues: 'A second time Samsu-iluna [went to the Sealand(?)]'; but Iluma-ilum approached and defeated him.

A tablet (P. 68) found at Nippur and dated mu-bil 1-li-ma-ilum tugal-e gives evidence that Iluma-ilum, as he is called on this tablet, more correctly, actually reigned over Southern Babylonia as far north as Nippur for at least two years, but probably he ruled over these districts the last nine years of Samsu-iluna's reign. The latest Nippur tablets from the reign of Samsu-iluna are dated in the 27th, 28th and 29th years, and it is possible that Iluma-ilum took possession of Nippur already in the last mentioned year.1

No tablets of rulers of the First Dynasty from Nippur dated later than the 29th year of Samsu-iluna have come to light as yet, and although according to an oral communication by Hilprecht there exists a building inscription of Ammi-ditana from Nippur, nevertheless the absence of tablets can be sufficiently accounted for only by the assumption that Nippur was destroyed, and that for a long period all or most of the mounds of Nippur remained uninhabited.

1 P. 64.

2 The 29th or 30th year would be an absolute limit, because the burgul Aswila is mentioned as early as forty years before, in the 33d year of Hammur-rabi. The last occurrence of his name on other tablets is in the 18th year. The three persons mentioned also elsewhere are Aswila burgul (4, 33; H 4, 11, 12, 13 and 18); Ibn-Enlil dubsar (Si. 13, 14 and 28); Ninib-ragim-sirin (Si. 13, 20 and 29 (= No. 64)). From this one could be inclined to think again of some year near the 13th or 14th; notice especially the juxtaposition of Aswila and Ibn-Enlil in Nos. 43 (13th year) and 44 (14th year). But cf. the occurrence of Ibn-Enlil in the 28th year.
The unfortunate outcome of the fight of *Samsu-iluna* with *Ilīna-ilum* seems to have crippled his power for the rest of his reign. The date list informs us of another success against invaders (?) from the Westland in his 35th year, and of the suppression of an uprising (?) in *Akkad* in his 36th year. Particulars about these events are not known.

*Samsu-iluna*’s son and successor *Abi-eshu’* again made an energetic effort to get rid of the rival in the South. We learn from the chronicle that he tried to capture *Ilīna-ilum* and, therefore, even planned the damming up of the Tigris. He indeed achieved the latter work, but he did not capture *Ilīna-ilum*. The statement concerning the damming up of the Tigris is borne out by the date: ‘year in which *Abi-eshu’*, the king, after in the great power of *Marduk*, he had dammed up the Tigris, — — —.’ The Tigris, or more correctly that part of the Tigris in question, is undoubtedly the *Shatt-el-Hai*, the influx of which at *Kut-el-Amara* *Abi-eshu’* seems to have diverted, thus depriving the land on the banks of the river of the life-giving power, the water. From this we may safely conclude that *Ilīna-ilum* had his stronghold in one of the cities on the banks of this canal. That *Abi-eshu’* succeeded in getting control of Southern Babylonia we may also conclude from his building (?) the temple *E-kish-shir-gal* and dedicating his statue to this temple, provided that the sanctuary in *Ur* is meant.

Apart from the instance mentioned above, the dates, as far as they are known at the present, 1 furnish little material for the history of *Abi-eshu’*. From one we learn the name of a certain *Adnatum*, but are kept entirely in doubt as to the rôle he played. Perhaps he was vanquished by *Abi-eshu’*.

Scanty also are the data gathered from the formulas for the history of the last three kings, *Ammi-ditana*, *Ammi-zaduga* and *Samsu-ditana*. With rare exceptions they relate the dedication of votive objects; sometimes the building of a temple, or of a fortress. The impression is, therefore, forced upon us that the political activity of these kings was on the whole a limited one. The new political centre in the South checked the movements of his neighbor in the North. Unfortunately we have, with one exception, no positive knowledge of the continuous contest we must necessarily assume existed between the last kings of Babylon and the first kings of the Second Dynasty. The names and the number of years of the reign of these kings are known from two chronological lists, and we can thus calculate that, after *Ilīna-ilum*, the contemporary of *Samsu-iluna* and *Abi-eshu’*, *Itti-ilili-nibi* was contemporaneous with *Abi-eshu’* and *Ammi-ditana*, *Damqi-ilishu* with *Ammi-ditana*, *Ammi-zaduga* and *Samsu-ditana*, and *Ishkibal* and *Shushshi* with *Samsu-ditana*.

1 We know the formulas of 25 (or 26) out of the 28 years of *Abi-eshu’*. 

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120 BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS
Perhaps we may see the traces of a continued war with changing results between the two rival kingdoms in the fact that a number of years of the reign of Ammi-ditana have no formula of their own, which always is a sign of turbulent times, while the immediately preceding year in all cases is marked either by some military success or by the construction of a fortress. This apparently means that Ammi-ditana several times made an attack upon foreign territory and endeavored to secure it for himself by building fortresses, whereupon the enemy very soon reconquered the lost territory or at least tried to do so. Thus the three first years of Ammi-ditana are all designated with formulas that suggest some military or political success. The fourth year, however, has no formula of its own, nor those denoting the second year after the construction of the fortresses Mashkan-Ammiditana in the 8th, Ishkun-Marduk on the Zilakum in the 31st and Dur-Ammiditana on the canal Mê-Enlil in the 34th year. Another fortress, Dur-Ammiditana on the Zilakum, Ammi-ditana had built in his 15th year; the construction of Ishkun-Marduk on the same river (or canal) in the 31st year, represents perhaps a renewed attempt to subdue the regions around this river. A royal castle KiKU-shag-dugga was built on the Arahum canal in the 19th year.

In the 16th year Ammi-ditana vanquishes a certain Arahum, who is called a lû-ma-da. Nothing more concerning this event is known.

A most important historical notice, however, is contained in the date of Ammi-ditana's last year, because it mentions the name of Damqi-ilishu, the third king of the Second Dynasty. We learn that Ammi-ditana in his 36th year conquered a fortress which Damqi-ilishu had built, exactly the reverse of what we concluded above for several years of Ammi-ditana. The political course of things in the last period of Ammi-ditana's reign seems to have been this: in his 34th year Ammi-ditana advanced towards the South and built a fortress on the canal Mê-Enlil, which, judging from its name, was not very far from Nippur; in the 35th year apparently Damqi-ilishu drove Ammi-ditana back and erected his own fortress, but in the 36th year Ammi-ditana conquered this fortress, and again extended his dominion over the South.

1 Perhaps the Sumerian (?).
2 The opinion of Ungnad that the formula does not refer to the conquest of a fortress held by the enemy, but to the razing of a wall of a fortress in Ammi-ditana's own possession, cannot be maintained, because a king does not boast of such an event and mark a year after it, quite apart from the fact that the kings in order to secure their dominion tried to build as many fortresses as they could. Moreover, "to destroy the wall of a city" is the technical term for "to take a city by force," "to conquer a city."

It is likewise impossible to assume that the words, "which Damqi-ilishu had built," do not refer to a contemporaneous event, but to a construction of the wall by Damqi-ilishu, king of Isin, at a much earlier time; for a wall of sun-dried bricks and beaten clay, as usually the Babylonian city walls were, would long since have been destroyed by rain and rendered unfit for the defense, even if it had not been devastated in the previous turbulent periods.
That *Ammi-ditana*, at least at times, actually ruled over Southern Babylonia we see from his title, "king of *Shumer* and *Akkad,*" which he holds in the inscription published by King.\(^1\) From the same inscription we learn that he was also king of *Kish,* and that he had subdued the Westland.\(^3\)

*Ammi-zaduga* received from his father, who died the year after his success over *Damqi-ilishu,* the dominion over Southern Babylonia. We see this clearly from the date of the first year, in which he refers to *Enlil* who makes great his dominion, and from the formula of the second year, in which he calls himself the humble shepherd of *Anum* and *Enlil.* But, perhaps, in the latter year he lost the southern part of his dominion. In his inscription the judge, *Gimir-Marduk,* calls *Ammi-zaduga* simply king of Babylon, a sign that he did not rule over *Shumer.* In his 9th year, however, *Ammi-zaduga* broke, as he asserts, the oppression of his land and in his 10th year he built a fortress at the mouth of the Euphrates, which proves that in this year his power extended as far south as the Persian Gulf. From the formulas of the following years we do not receive the impression that *Ammi-zaduga* maintained this powerful position.

From the reign of *Samsu-ditana,* the last king of the First Dynasty, as yet only few date formulas\(^2\) are known. We may conclude that before the year whose formula mentions the great battle forces of *Shamash* and *Marduk,* *Samsu-ditana* won some military success, while the fact that one year was named after the preceding year, again points to some political trouble. A short notice in the chronicle, made by way of addition, informs us that at the time of *Samsu-ditana* the Hittites invaded *Akkad.* From all appearance this people made an end to the kingdom of Babylon and the dynasty of *Hammu-rabi.*

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The short historical notice is the more valuable as by combining it with the fact that *Ilmu-ilum* is the contemporary of *Abi-esbu'* we are able to determine the synchronism between the First and the Second Dynasty in such a way that there is left only a play of about five years. See my tables of the corresponding rulers in "*Das zeitliche Verhältnis der ersten Dynastie von Babylon zur zweiten Dynastie*" in *Z. A.*, XX, p. 445, and "*Das zeitliche Verhältnis der zweiten Dynastie der grösseren Königliste zur dritten Dynastie*" in *Z. A.*, XXI, p. 175.


2 *Lugal da-ga-m[u] kur Mar-tu*\(^{ki}\) = (I am) the king who has made the Westland obey me.

3 Eight out of thirty.
VII. AN EARLY KING.

No. 130.

Obv.: 1. dNin-su[un?] ama kalam-ma dam nun(?)-[......] dam-bal dEn(?)
[......] -ni-ir(?)] 2. Lugal-[......]-ni-mu-un-gin (vi-ta-rum) nita{-
kal}a-ga 3. ú-a Nibrum[-a (ma-ni-in Nippur k)] lugal UD-[......].ki-a-ge 4. lugal an-ub-da-
tab-tab-ba-ge 5. Ál-Ha-lim[= m Ha-li-um u-te-ir) LI-UM(?)-...... gur-ru-dam 6. gi-kalam
kur-kur-ra-ge mi-ni-in-gi-gi 7. uku-e kur-kur-ra u-sal-la mi-ni-in-ná-a 8. é dingir-
gal-gal-e-ne (ki-i)-ba-sha) mu-un-dû-a 9. kur ki-bi-shu (ma-tam a-na aš-ri-sha u-te-[rum]) ne-in-gi-a
la-ki 12. m{= En-lil-iz-zu pa-te-si ŠIR ki 13. m{= [...]-ki-e-el(?) pa-te-si
Ki-e-el ki 14. mQat-[= Nu-[nu?] pa-te-si Ká-gal-la ki 15. mL[......]-e-lum pa-te-si
Am-da-ma ki 16. mI-bi-Ma-ma pa-te-si Ar-da-ma ki 17. mNu-uš-shu-e-li pa-te-
Si A(ZA?)-SUH-UNU(?) ki 18. mMa-at-ga-nu pa-te-si [......] 19. m{= Ishkur-sharrum [......]
20. mZu-zum-ta-nu [......] 21. mTa-im-shu-nu [......]
22. A-bi[......]

urudgish-har-bi 5. (a-ne) [......] 6. [UD [......]] 7. l½ bur gún a-shag é(?)-[......]
mu [......] 9. kalam-na ká-bi a-shay-ga ib(?)-ne [......]

To Nin-......, the mother of the land, the august lady ......, the great lady of
[......], Lugal[......]ni-mungin, the strong hero, who endows Nippur,
kings of UD......, king of the four corners of the world, who gained back Al-Halim
......, who shielded the totality of the territory of the lands and caused
the people of the lands to dwell in safety, who built the house of the great gods,
who restored the land to its place, who exercised lordship over the totality,
in the presence of Migir-Enlil, governor of Al-Halim; Ellil-izzu, governor of SIR; [......]
kiel, governor of Kiel; Qat-Nunu(?), governor of Kurgalla; Li......bun, governor of
Amdama; Ibi-Mama, governor of Ardama; Nurshu-eli, governor of Hallab(?); Matgam, governor of
......; Ishkur-sharrum, governor of ......; Zuzumtanu, governor
of ......; Taimshunu, governor of ......; Abi ......, governor of ......
Annotations. To li. 1. compare 4Nin-in-si-na nin-gal ama kalama ... nin-a-ni-ir, Warad-Sin, Stone tablet, Obv., 1-5. Should the appellation ama kalamma, common to both divinities, be an indication that Nininsina = Ninsumma? The situation of Al-Halim, li. 5, is unknown. Gur-ru-dom is here translated with u-te-ir; the formation lali-dam, which elsewhere also denotes the future, seems to become determined as to the time only by the context. To gu-kalam et. sib gu-kalam ki-Ni-bru5, Rim-Sin, Clay, part II. As to the meaning, sib corresponds to mi-ni-in-gi-gi, et. gi-gi = paq'idu, shullumu. I. 6, 7 seem to form a unity, since the enclosing a stands only after the last verb.

The document No. 130, which is dated by a colophon in the reign of Ammi-zaduga, is the copy of a transfer of land (see Rev. li. 29) by an earlier king, probably to the temple of the goddess who is mentioned Obv. li. 1. Unfortunately the name of the king as well as that of his capital is only partially preserved. The latter, consisting of two signs, the first of which is UD, can be neither Unug nor Larsam, because of the complement a, possible readings being perhaps Adab, Larak or Upi. The Sumerian name of the king and the mentioning of the goddess Mah, who elsewhere appears associated with Anu, Ellil and Ea, seem to point towards the South, while the title, King of the Four Corners of the World, the prominent place of Nippur in the titles of the king and the names of the first two mentioned patesis, compounds with Ellil, render it probable that the king in question ruled over a territory in the centre of which Nippur was situated. But, judging from the other predicates which he assumes, his dominion extended also over districts outside of Babylonia (kur-kur-ra), and over the regions north(east) of Akkad (ki-shar-ra). Akkad itself and the great southern cities are not under his rule.

As to the time of this king all indications as yet are wanting, except perhaps that the title ú-a Nibru6 held by Ishme-Dagan, might place him near this king of Isin, especially as after the reign of his son a usurper founded a new branch of the dynasty, and Gununnum of Ur and Larsam, who calls himself also king of Shumer and Akkad, is a contemporary and liege lord of another son of Ishme-Dagan, the time being thus a variously disturbed one.

1 But cf. the similar phrase ú-a 4Ninni, Lagal-zaggisi, I, 25.
VIII. CONCORDANCE OF PROPER NAMES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

b., brother; c., cousin; d., daughter; f., father; gd., granddaughter; gf., grandfather; gm., grandmother; gs., grandson; h., husband; m., mother; n., nephew; s., son; s., seal; si., sister; u., uncle; w., wife.

Determinate: d., deus, dea. † denotes feminine names.

I. Names of Persons from the Nippur Texts.¹

A-ab-ba

f. of Nannar-zi nu-ISH, 10 : 37.
A-ab-ba-a

s. of Dingir-mansu, 12 : 27.
A-ab-ba(?)-...-...

**nagar, 9 : 3.
A-ab-ba-bum

bur-gul, 37 : 19
A-bei(?)-a

*1. f. of Manum-(ma)hirshu.
A-be-im-lil-dim

*1. s. of SHESH-SHESH, 5 : 23.
2. 42 : 9, 14.
A-bi-la-tum

f. of Taribum, 32 : 27.
A-bi-la-tum

2. f. of Nish-inishu, 31 : 19.
A-bili-la-shu

1. s. of Ninî-is-um-id; varâd Da-gan, 22, 8.
2. s. of Nusku-nishu, 41 : 22.
3. s. of Ur-...-. . . . . , 40 : 4, 10, 11, 17.
6. là-SHIM + GAR 4-iš-En-il, 47 : 12 | 58 : 11.
A-bili-lu

s. of Damiq-ilishu, 11 : 25.

¹ Names marked with * occur on Nippur tablets dated in the reigns of Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin (Nos. 1–7); those marked with ** on the Yokha tablets (Nos. 8 and 9).

A-gu-u-a
*1. f. of Ibku-Damu, 6 : 3.
2. 29 : 3.
A-bi-sar-mu-ur
63 : 5.
A-bi-sha(3)-ish
s. of Namur-zimu, 11 : 26
A-bi-sha-3i-lish
*1. bur-gul, 7 : 25.
2. f. of Nimia, 12 : 29.
A-hu-um
*f. of . . . . . , 4 : 28.
A-hu-shu-nu
1. s. of Ur-Ennugi, b. of Ziatum and Nabi-Shamash,
*7 : 5, 7, 14, 8. | 14 : 22.
**2. b. of Namartum and Dingir-mansi, 9 : 4, 9.
†A-b-u-lu-sha
†A-b-u-asht-ta
female slave, 49 : 2.
A-bi-du
s. of Rish-En, 48 : 21.
A-bi-3a-ag-ru-um
*1. s. of Abiliatum, 7 : 24.
*2. s. of Lu-Nannar, 7 : 21.
*3. b. of Ur-Duaazaga, 5 : 10, 15.
A-nu-esh, 44 : 20.
†A-3a-sukkal
d. of NinB-mansi, w. of Enlil-idzu, 40 : 2, 4, 8. 12,
Amar-3uba (young bii of Shuba?)
f. of Mar-ircitum, 53 : 29 | 54 : 29.
†A-mar-tum (cf. Awirum)
**d. of Namgar-zimu and Dushabtum, si. of Ibi-Enlil,
9 : 14.
An-asag-ta-sha
1. f. of Ibkusha, 28 : 1, 8.
2. f. of Ibku-En, 28 : 11.
AN-BA-ili-ti (AN-BA quickens mankind)
An-ni-bo-ab-ul (or Dingir-ni-bo-ab-ul?)
(*) f. of Enlil-dingir, 6 : 21 | 10 : 11.
A-ap-pa-a-tum
A-paxu(?)-kal(?)
51 : 12.
Arad^En-nil-la
gala-mab, 26, IV : 17.
Arad^Imin-bi
s. of Zarzir? 65 : 10.
Arad-mu (my servant; abbreviated)
red puhrum, 52 : 26 | 53 : 37 | 54 : 36.
Arad^Nannar
*1. f. of Ata, 9 : 15.
2. f. of Hima, 23 : 29.
3. f. of Sin-magir, 64 : 22.
Arad^Nin-shah-ka
male slave, 26, 1 : 14, 34.
A-at-ta-a
1. s. of Naram-Sin, 40 : 19.
2. f. of Sin-erish, 10 : 45.
A-ta-a
**1. s. of Arad-Nannar, 9 : 15.
3. f. of Warad-Sin, 22 : 29.
A-wi-ta-tum
1. ila-SHIM + GAR^En-nil-la, 42 : 17 | 57 : 25.
2. f. of Lugal-azida, 12 : 33.
A-wi-li-ia, a-wi-il-ia (= *)
1. s. of Warad-Sin, h. of Naramkum, f. of Ibi-Enlil,
Ibusu-imnisku and Hima-abu, 50 : 1, 4, 10, 13,
15, 20, 24.
2. bur-gul, s. of Ur-Bau, 10 : 48 | *23 : 34 | 24 : 36 |
3. f. of Mannumeshuliqur, 38 : 10, 64 : 5.

d1. On bashii in female names see Ranke, P. N., p. 224.
2. If R. 50 : 12e, ^shu-bal) Shuba. The bi in 54 : 29 seems to be rest of an erasure, not phonetic complement to
sub(a).
3. Notice the frequent an-asag-ga ( = sammé dlit), e.g., Warad-Sin, Stone tablet, Obv. 4, and an-asag-gi, Warad-
Sin, clay cone, 1 : 3.
4. Compare AN-BA-NI-NI (C.T., XIII, 41, Obv. 18), which probably is likewise Sumerian, concluding from
the names of the wife and the sons of this king (perhaps AN-BA-zal-zal). Does the name An-ni-bo-NI-NI (cf.
inscription of this king) suggest a reading anu-bo for AN-BA? 
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

A-vi-il-1 Ishkur
shutug 1 NINIB, 62 : 19.

†A-wi-il-tum
*d. of Hupatum and Rabatun, adopted by Shalartum,
  4 : 1, 12, 16, 22.

A-vi-il-tum

A-ni-nar
f. of Lu-NINIB and Ninshubur, 16, IV : 20.

A-wi-il-gal
f. of NinlB.

A-wi-il-120
f. of NinlB.

†A-wi-il-tum
f. of NinlB and NinlB.

†Be-ta-tum
*SAL + ISHIB dNINIB, d. of Zidum, s. of Enlil-nishe, 6 : 6, 8.

Da-da-hal-la
*f. of IM-URUDU-ta, 5 : 25.

Da-du-um
1. 43 : 9 (dumu-mesh Da-du-um).
2. *Da-gan-ma-an-er
f. of Hi-dabani, 39 : 22.

Da-ma(?)-gu-gu
f. (by adoption) of Mar-ir-gi, 14 : 5 | 30 : 15.

Da-ma-1i-li-shu, Dam-kil-li-shu (* = *)
1. la-li, s. of Lugal-he-gal, 48 : 40.
2. s. of Lu-sha-ga, 8 : 26.
4. s. of Ur-Dnay-ga, 12 : 30.
5. h. of Narub(tum), 11 : 4, 12, 18, 8.
6. f. of Abi-l-idum, 11 : 25 (identical with the preceding?).

Da-ni-kum
1. s. of Ur-Gula, 62 : 15.
2. f. of Niskutum, 49 : 48.

Da-mu-er-ba-am
shutug 1 NINII, 44 : 21

†Da-mu-ge-gal
37b : 9.

Da-mu-1i-din-nam
1. 40 : 10 | 14 : 32
2. 17 : 11.
3. 29 : 7.
4. 43 : 31, lu-SHIM + GAR 1 En-lil-ta.
5. 55 : 12.
6. f. of Mutum-idum, h. of Hidum, 41 : 4.

†Da-mu-1i-din-nam
1. *Da-mu-er-ba-am
2. 1 NINII, 44 : 21

Da-mu-an-er
f. of . . . . tum, 47 : 19.

Da-mu-sha-mi
*s. of . . . . . . , 5 : 22.

Da-mu- . . . . .
s. of HU-bo-na-tum, 10 : 5.

Da-ni-kum
f. of Uba-aitum, 23 : 27.

Da-ta-tum
53 : 2, 54 : 2.
Dingir-ma-an-sî, dingir-mu-â-lî ( = *)
1. s. of Idu, 10 : 22.
2. dub-sar, s. of Lu-ama-arazu, 10 : 21.
3. f. of Abî, 12 : 27.
*5. f. of Idu, 6 : 23.
6. f. of Nannar-mansi, 30 : 6
**7. b.(?) of Aghû-shunu and Nannartum, 9 : 5, 10.
9. 29 : 15.
10. 53 : 3, 5, 11 | 54 : 3, 12 | 54 : 5.

Dingir-urâ (= Ilum-erish)
*f. of Beltani, 6 : 29.

Dûg-ga-a
**8, of Dushubtum, 8 : 3.

†Dù-shu-ub-tum
**9(NIN(?)-DINGIR(IlAL) 4Shu-zi-an-na, d. of Dug-gâ, w. of Nannar-zimû, m. of Ibi-Enlîl and Amertum; gene 4Shu-zi-an-na, 8 : 1, 10, 16, S.

Ê-a-ba-ni
pâ-Dû, 44 : 2, 8.

Ê-a-ba-li-tî
63 : 11.

Ê-a-i-din-nam (Ex has given me (an heir))
1. s. of Damgi-ilishu, 10 : 21, L.E.
2. pâ-Dû, s. of Ea-tukulti, 32 : 16 | 33 : 2.
3. s. of Ibkusa-Enlîl, h. of Kuritum, f. (by adoption) of Ibi-idinnam and Iliammat, 21 : 3, 14, 15, 21, 8.
4. s. of Ibkusa, 25 : 32.
5. f. of EsûmeDU-tumur šatuûg, 67 : 22.
8. MU, 62 : 23.

Ê-a-mu-ba-li-tî, Ê-a-mu-ba-al-li-tî ( = *)
s. of Sin-eriba, 52 : 24 | 53 : 34 | 54 : 34.

Ê-a-na-sîr
**1. s. of Nabi-Enlîl, 8 : 23.
2. f. of Sin-ismâanni, 60 : 17.

Ë-a-ta-a-ar
s. of . . . . . . , by adoption s. of Ibkusa and b. of Ea-turam, 28 : 2, 6, 9, 18, 23.

Ë-a-tu-kul-ti
f. of Ea-idinnam pâ-Dû, 32 : 17.

Ë-a-tu-ra-am
s. of Ibkusa, b. of Ea-taia, 28 : 8, 11, 15, 16, 23.

Ë-la-li, É-la-li ( = *)
**1. s. of Nabû, 7 : 22.
3. f. of Izkur-Shamash, 67 : 19.

É-li-tum
s. of . . . . . . . -ga-a, 16 : 12.

El-li-tum
1. s. of Ibu-nashi, 30 : 4.
2. s. of Ninib-meDû, 49 : 22.
3. f. of Idin-Ishtar, 13 : 11.
5. 23 : 5.

El-lu-mu-u-shu
s. of Šiliti-Shamash, b. of Ilû-idinnam and Abî-Martu, 36 : 4, 7, 8, 13.

É-lu-ti
2. f. of Šiliti-Ninib, 12 : 4.
3. f. of Taribum, 12 : 25.

En-ki-mash-zu
1. s. of Damgi-ilishu, 67 : 5.
2. f. of Lushkalim-êlu, 12 : 34.

En-ki-a-nir-gil
f. of Šin-shamûa and Ilkatum, 27 : 30 | 62 : 17.

En-lil-be-el-ê-tî
18 : 2, 17.

En-lil-gal-zu
1. s. of Damgi-ilishu, 30 : 8 | 38 : 2.
2. f. of Beltani, 45 : 9.
3. gala, 15 : 12.
4. 29 : 15.

En-lil-ka-zi-ir
s. of Dingir-sukkal, 62 : 14.

En-lil-id-zu, En-lil-iz-zu ( = *)
ne-êsh 4En-lil-ta, s. of Lugal-azida, h. of Ama-sukkal
32 : 1, 5, 7, 13, 8, | 47 : 6 | 58 : 5, 8, 9 | 66 : 16.
From the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

En-lil-lum (or dingir)
(*) s. of Anní-babûl, 6 : 21 | 16 : 11.

En-lit-lá-ne-gû
dub-sar lugal, s. of I(nim)-NinIB, 32 : 25 | 33 : 15 | 34 : 16.

En-lil-li-wi-âr
s. of Enût-mansî, 12 : 15.

En-li-li-na-lik
1. s. of Sillî-NinIB, 40 : 23.
2. s. of Zlatum, 65 : 6.
3. 55 : 12.

En-li-li-ma-an-en
1. s. of Nin-lil-lá, s. of Lu-NinIB, 41 : 17; probably identical with the shtug
2. s. of Ur-Duazaçga, 6 : 8.
3. f. of Enût-lit-lit, 12 : 15.
4. f. of Lamazu, 45 : 5, 11 | 40 : 3, 8.
5. f. of Sin-iskinaunî, 43 : 17, 21, 8.
6. lu-SILIM + GAR, 10 : 44.

En-li-li-me-DU

1. f. of Inbûlum, 9 : 14.

En-li-li-ma-ba-tû
- dò-ba-sar, 58 : 23 | 64 : 25.

En-li-li-ma-nu-nî-q
s. of Rim-Išhtar, b. of ..., 47 : 17 | 58 : 15.

En-li-li-shâg
1. s. of Nin-ni-nansî, b. of Nannar-a-ra-mûgin, Ur-Duazaçga and Ur-DUN.PACa, u. of Elalî, 26, III : 6, 22 | IV : 9, 8.
2. nu-šez, s. of Sin-lîlîn-nam, 39 : 5, 10, 15 | 44 : 17.

En-li-li-tu-ti
f. of Watar-Shanûsh, 57 : 26.

En-li-li-nu-da
1. s. of Naram-[....], 22 : 11, L.E.
2. lu-ISÌI, 24 : 31.
3. 45 : 3.

En-li-li-na-shi
65 : 11.

En-li-li-na-shu

*1. s. of Zlatum, 6 : 5.
2. f. of Sin-ribûm, 12 : 5.

En-li-šu-a-a-a
lû SLIM + GAR En-liâ, 58 : 15.

En-li-li-za-me-en (thou art Enûl)?
25 : 10.

En-li[....]
51 : 11.

En-li[....]
39 : 2.

En-na-gî-rua-li-za-am (look favorably at me, O Enûgi)
s. of Dingir-mansî, 68 : 22.

En-na-gî-rua-li-za-am, En-na-gî-rua-li-za-am (= *)
rabiq daïani, 41 : 21 | 53 : 36 | 51 : 37 (omits d).

En-na-gî-rua-li-za-am (Enûgi is the preserver of
the life of the land)
- dò-ba-sar, 48 : 44.

En-ri-bi-sîn-lû-nûr?
63 : 12.

En-ri-(îsh-)su-ma-tum, En-ri-(îsh-)su-ma-tum
1. f. of Abûl-Martû, Martû-ma-lûk, Lîbût-Enûl (and
Abûl-Shamash?), g.f.? of Lîbût-Martû, 32 : 19,
S, | 33 : 4, 19, 8 | Case 6 | 34 : 4, 6, 8, S | 35 : 1, 12.

En-ru-me-DU-lû-nûr
1. shtug, s. of Enûdûnam, 67 : 22.
2. 21 : 10.

En-te-ebû-û(lû) Sin, En-te-ebû-Sîn (= *)
s. of Enûdûnam, 48 : 35 | 50 : 22 | 57 : 35.

En-lî-ku-Shamash
f. of Tûb-balû, 53 : 1.

Gâni-lum
Gimîl(or Qût).â En-lîl

Gimîl(or Qût)-û-lû-shu
s. of Gîr-ni-ni-shag, 48 : 41.

1 The Sumerian character of names compounded with me-DU is proved by Nannar-me-DU.
2 Cf. also Nannar-zal-mûn, Ranke, P. N., p. 2496.
3 Cf. *Huna-i-na-a and Shamash-i-na-a, Ranke, P. N., 8-n = aßa. For the change of aßa with à see p. 3, note 1.
4 "Verschleifung" of the 1; cf. E-te-ba-um, 81 : 17, instead of Etelbam.

17
Gir-ni-ni-šâg (his way is bright)\(^1\)
f. of Gišîš-šiššu, 48: 41.

Gir(?)-ni-ni-za
s. of Lu-shag, 21: 9.

**Ha-bo-a-na-tum**

f. of Damu- . . . . , 16: 5.

**Ha-bî-ti-qi**

adopted s. of Țab-balitu and Beltia, 57: 3, 14, 17.

**Ha-bî-kî-nu-um**


\(^{d}Ha-am-mu-ra-bi\)

king, 10: 4 (with the determinative for gods) and in the dates of 1-3, 5-10.

**Ha-ab-sî**

**\(*\)** f. of Šumum-lîšši, 8: 32.

\(^{†}Ha-i-du-tum\)

w. of Damu-idinnam, m. of Mutum-ilum, 42: 5.

**Hu-pa-tum**

1. s. of . . . . -gurum(?), h. of Rubatum, f. of Awirum, 4: 2, 10, S.
2. f. of Sin-erish, 10: 42.

**I-bo-lu-ut**

I-bo-la-la-ut (= *)

s. of Ud-alleru, 52: 10 | *53: 30 | *54: 30.

**I-bo-sha-ra-um** (abbreviated)\(^2\)

f. of Imgur-NinIB, s. of Lagatum, 12: 9, S.

**Ib-ga-tum**

1. s. of Aza-âr-Ningal, b. of Nidnusha, 26, IV: 20.
2. s. of Enki-a-nirgal, b. of Sin-shamu, 23: 31.
3. s. of Lûburum, 10: 38.
4. s. of Udâdû, b. of Ishkur-girra, u. of Ishkur-rabi, c. of Mar-irSAFE and Mutum-ilum, 10: 29, 34 | 14: 27, L.E. | 30: 17.
5. s. of Ur-Duazaga, 29: 4, 6.
6. s. of Warrad-Sin, 13: 2.
7. f. of Dingir-sukkal, 28: 30.

**I-bi-En-il**

1. s. of Atešîa, b. of Hushu-ibnîššu and Iluma-abi, 48: 4, 7, 17, 21, 23.
2. lu-SHIM + GAR 4 En-il-lâ, s. of Nannartum, 48: 45.

\(^{**3}\) s. of Nannar-zimû and Dushublum, b. of Amertum, 8: 13, 21.

4. s. of Sin-lidîšî, 32: 26 | 33: 17 | 34: 17.
5. s. of Sin-magir, 28: 33.
6. lu-SHIM + GAR 4 En-il-lâ (identical with 27).

**I-bi-šINib (or shaḥ)\(^3\)**

s. of Nur-Ninšaḫ, 14: 6.

**I-bi-šilnaḥ**

1. lu-SHIM + GAR 4 En-il-lâ, s. of Nabi-Ensîl, 7: 19.
2. s. of Sin-lîrûm, 48: 34.

**Ib-ku-a-tum** (abbreviated)


**Ib-ku-Damu**

1. s. of An-azag-sa, 28: 11, 12.
2. s. of Sharaḫ-ili, 68: 20.

**Ib-ku-En-il**

nu-âšî, 43: 30.

**Ib-ku-iššim**

s. of Sin-lidîšî, 15: 3

**Ib-ku-Ishkur**

49: 12.

**Ib-ku-Išhtar**

1. s. of Lugal-azida, 68: 25.
2. s. of Tarîrum, 12: 26.
3. f. of Ea-idînâm, 24: 3, 8.

**Ib-ku-sha**

1. s. of An-azag-sa, f. of Ea-taïar and (by adoption) of Ea-taïar, 28: 1, 5, 7, 11, 24.
2. s. of Sin-magir, 35: 17.
3. f. of Ea-idînâm (identical with Ibku-Išhtar, No. 3 ?), 28: 32.

**Ib-ši-E-a**

s. of [ . . . . . . . . . ] , 38: 21.

**Ib-ši-En-il**


**Ib-ši-Iškur**

* s. of Idin-Iškur, 4: 33.

**I-(nim)4 Da-mu**

* f. of Ibku-Damu, 7: 23.

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\(^1\) The same name occurs Reisner, Tellah, 139, II: 14, and in the name of a small town Al-Gir-ni-ni-šâg\(^2\) in the domain of Sin-idînâm, the governor of Larsam, L. I. H., 42: 19. See also Nannanî-nîšâg, 10: 46; E-turra-nîšâg, Rsr., Tel., 164, IV, 2 from below; \(^{d}Pa.\) šîšHIL-sag-ka-nîšâg, Rsr., Tel., 125, I : 15, 16.

\(^2\) Cf. Ili-ipashar.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

I-de-tum
1. s. of Ninib-nishu, 68 : 7, 9, 16.
2. f. of Nabi-Enlil, 47 : 20.

I-din^2 En-lil
1. nu-esh, s. of Sin-er(t)obam, 10 : 40 | 39 : 20 | 49 : 43.
2. f. of Ur-Kusuga, 49 : 44.
3. 3rd-SHIM + GAR, 57 : 24.

I-din^2 Ishkur
1. shutug ^Nin-ili-lâ, s. of Ishkur-girra, 40 : 20.
2. f. of Ibl-Ishkur, 4 : 33.

I-din-Ishhtar
1. s. of Ellitum, 13 : 11.
2. s. of Lugal-EZEN, 49 : 23.
3. s. of Mannummesheilgur and Narubatum, 64 : 8, 16.
4. s. of Nabi-Shamash, 51 : 1.
5. s. of Sin-magir, 32 : 28.
6. dub-sar, 35 : 25.
7. 27 : 3.

I-din^2 Ishum
*bur-gul, 6 : 24.

[I]-din^2 Sin
s. of ...... tum, 16 : 14.

I-di-shum

Igi-shâq
nu-esh, s. of Ina-Ekur-rabi, 43 : 6, 7, 14, S, 44 : 4.

Igi^4 Nannar-shâ-al-gub (before Nannar he (or I) went)

I-li-a-â-li
1. f. of Sagg-nin-bi-zu, 49 : 20, 39.
2. 9 : 28.

I-li-e-liba-am
3. h. of Shut-Shamash, 46 : 5, 8.

I-li-i-ba-shar (my god will loosen)
I-li-lib-ni-a-ni
s. of Dagan-mansi, 39 : 21.

I-li-i-din-nam
1. adopted s. of Ea-idinnam and Kuritum, b. of Ilummati, 24 : 1, 12, 23.
2. s. of Shil-Siamash, b. of Ellumashu and Abil-Martu, 36 : 9.

I-li-i-ki-sham
s. of Ili, ......, 68 : 23.

1-li-i-pa-al-zâ
s. of Ninib-......, 41 : 20.

I-li-i-pa-al-za-am
s. of Sherun-illi, 62 : 24.

I-li-ish-me-a-ni, -ish-me-a-an-ni (= *)
1. f. of Ili-Bashar, 33 : 18.

I-li-ma
1. s. of Sin-idinnam, 49 : 46.
2. s. of Arad-Nannar, 23 : 29.

I-li-ma-a-bi
s. of Awilia, b. of Ibi-Enlil and Ilushu-ibnušu, 48 : 5, 8, 18, 22, 24.

I-li-ma-lû
2. PA-PA, 62 : 2, 8.

I-li-ma-lû-lî

I-li-ma-ta-mû
f. of Ili-ikisham, 68 : 23.

I-li-na-â-pî-za-am
s. of Damiq-ilishu, 37 : 21.

I-li-tu-ra-am
1. s. of Shagia, 12 : 31.
2. kû-dim, b. of Abil-Martu, s. of Šilli-Shamash, 36 : 19.

I-li-um-ma-ti
adopted s. of Ea-idinnam and Kuritum, b. of Ili-idinnam, 24 : 2, 13, 24.

I-li-û-Shamash
**1. s. of Imlur-Sinn, 8 : 30.
3. 27 : 10 (identical with the preceding?)

Ilû-bl^4 Shamash
s. of Lugal-azida, 50 : 17.

Ilû-na-shi
f. of Ellitum, 30 : 4.

I-li-nî
*1. s. of Dingir-mansi, 6 : 23.
2. f. of Dingir-mansi, 40 : 22.
3. 48 : 3.

I-li-nî?
* f. of Ur-Sadarunun, 59 : 17.

Ilû-suukkal (see Dingir-suukkal)

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1 Notice the use of a to denote the hiatus.
2 Cf. Ilum-lû-lûm, Ranke, P. N.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Iškur-shar-ru-um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>uku-ush lugal, s. of Ishum-abi, 10 : 11.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Iškur-ta-a-ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>dub-sar, 18 : 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Iškur-la-ma-zi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a.</td>
<td>1. w. of Adda-dugga nu-ésh, 40 : 26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b.</td>
<td>2. w. of Lugal-ulaidu nu-ésh, 40 : 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Iškur-na-ab-ra-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>female slave, 26, III : 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Iškur-ra-bi-a-at</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>**slave of Dushubtum, 8 : 4, 9, 17.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Is-šum-a-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f. of Ishkur-sharrum, 10 : 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Iz-kur Shamash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s. of Eholi shutug, 67 : 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>KAL-KAL-bu-ri⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>KA-šad-g₃ En-lîl-lā</td>
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<td></td>
<td>50 : 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Keš(t)₃ i-din-nam⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Kirā(g) = gish-sar-ga-mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s. of Warazunu, b. of Sin-eshmeani, Kumbulum and Nuru-arsî, 14 : 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Ki-šiš-lî₃ NînB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s. of Ṭab-balatu, 65 : 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Ku-bu-tum</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>lu-SHIM + GAR d En-lîl-lā, s. of Sin-eriba(m), 52 : 11, 16</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Ku-um-bu-tum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s. of Warazunu, b. of Sin-eshmeani, Nuru-arsî and Kirâ-gamîl, 14 : 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Ku-ri-tum</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>w. of Ea-idinnam, adoptive m. of Ilī-idinnam and Ilī-ummat, 24 : 4, 15, 22, 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Lāh₄ Nîn-ba-zi, (cf. the following name)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dub-sar, 15 : 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Lāh₄ Nîn-ba-zi, (the light of Nîn-ba enlightens the universe)⁴</td>
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<td>s. of Ellitum, 10 : 25.</td>
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</tbody>
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¹ For this reading see Hrozny in Z.A., XX, pp. 424ff.; but cf. C.T., XXIV, 32 : 149b, DINGIR-ma-ur-IM, and Thureau-Dangin in S.A.K.I., p. 208, note e (²IM = dImmer because of the name Immerum. The last would point to a reading ²mi, ²mir-ä (cf. Sc. 288, IM = i-mi).
² Cf. dKAL-KAL-ma-ša-dî-dî, Ranke, P. N.
³ The name occurs also in L. I., II., Vol. I, 17 : 9 (King: SII-HAL-IA(R)₃).
⁴ Lit. cf. Us-su-NA-NI-DUG, Reisner, Tellah.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

† [Lu]-ma-za-um
1. (w. or d. of) Lu-Bab, 31 : 20.
*2. d. of Lu-Enlilla, 6 : 27.
† Lu-na-sum
1. SAL + ISHIB₁ⁿ NinIB₁², d. of Damkuwa, 45 : 23.
2. SAL + ISHIB₁ⁿ NinIB₁², d. of Enlil-manai, 46 : 2, 8.
Lu-bi-it₁² En-ili
s. of Erissumatum, b. of Abil-Martu, etc., 32 : 10,
12, S. | 33 : 19 | 34 : 3, 5, 11, S.
Lu-bi-it₁² Ishtar
1. s. of Sha-Emah, 37 : 20.
2. s. of Shama-ili, 30 : 9.
Lu-bi-it₂ Mar-tu
s. of Abil-Shamash, gs.(?) of Erissumatum, 32 : 13,
S. | 35 : 3, 5, 13, S.
Li-bur-ru-am
f. of Bogatum, 10 : 38.
Lu₂² Ana-a-ru-zu
2. f. of Dingir-mansi, 40 : 24.
Lu₂² Bau
h. or f. of Lamazatum, 31 : 21.
Lu₂² En-ki-ga
s. of Nannar-a-daḫ, 49 : 21.
Lu₂² En-lil-Id
1. SHI + DUB, s. of E-luti, 38 : 20 | 41 : 19 | 64 : 21.
2. f. of Sin-ëm-guranni, 48 : 37.
*3. f. of Lamazatum, 6 : 27.
5. 52 : 6 | 53 : 15 | 54 : 16.
Lu₂²-shu-me-DU (cf. Lu₂²-shu-me-DU)
s. of Shamas-Enlil, 37 : 8, 13, S.
Lugal-a-ma-ru
1. shutu₁ⁿ Nin-lil-lá, 59 : 15.
2. 32 : 2.
Lugal-a-zi-da
1. s. of Awlatum, 12 : 33.
2. f. of Enlil-iddu nu-ésh₁ⁿ En-lil-Id, 40 : 1, probably
  identical with Lugal-a-zi-da nu-ésh, h. of Ishtar-
  lamazi, 40 : 27.
3. f. of Ibbu-Ishtar, 68 : 28.
4. f. of Iba-bi₁ⁿ Shamas, 50 : 17.
6. f. of NinIB-nigal and Rim-Ishtar.
Lugal-dumingu
50 : 5.

Lugal-EZEN
1. s. of Nannar-a-daḫ, 23 : 23, perhaps identical with
2. f. of Idin-Ishtar, 50 : 23.
Lugal-hegal
1. s. of Ea-idinnam, b. of NinIB-emugoia, 38 : 4,
7, 15, 8.
2. f. of Damuq-lišu, 48 : 49.
Lugal-mu-pó₂(d)-du
dub-sar, 57 : 48.
Lugal-nig-si(CLUD)?
s. of ........... , 59 : 6.
Lu₂²-ga-tum
h. of Manatum, f. of NinIB-abi and NinIB-ga-
  mül, 12 : 10, 8.
Lu₂²-ul-gi-tum
60 : 5.
Lu₂² Nanner
1. shutu₁ⁿ Nin-lil-lá, s. of Enlil-meDU, 40 : 21 |
  41 : 8 | 47 : 10 | 59 : 16.
2. s. of Nammani-nishög, 10 : 46.
Lü₂² NIn-IB
1. s. of Abium, 31 : 20.
2. s. of Azag-Nannar, 13 : 5.
*4. f. of Beltani, 6 : 28.
5. f. of Enlil-manši shutu₁ Ninilla, 41 : 18.
**7. f. of Nannartum, 8 : 25.
Lü₂² Nin-ia-na
51 : 4.
Lu₂²-sho-ga
Lu₂²-sho-ga
*9. of Damiq-ilishu, 8 : 27.
Lu₂²-shu-me-DU (cf. Lu₂²-shu-me-DU)
Lu₂²[...........]
dumu-mêš, 18 : 9.
Lu₂²-shu-[lit(-im)-iši]-um (or -ši-im?) (cf. Lušalim-béli, 
P.N.)
s. of Enki-mašzu, 12 : 34.
Lu₂²-ush-ta-ma
1. s. of Taribum, 52 : 23 | 67 : 18.
2. nagar, 31 : 3.
3. 52 : 1, 7 | 53 : 7, 9, 17 | 54 : 7, 10, 18.
Ma-an-na-tum, Ma-na-tum (= *) (abbreviated)
2. dab-sar = Mannum-našširšu dab-sar.

Ma-ni-ia, Ma-an-ni-ia (case)
s. of Utbita, 12 : 32.

Ma-an-nu-um-našširšu, Ma-an-nu-našširšu (= *)
1. s. of Iμgšum, *10 : 43.
2. dab-sar, 36 : 23; case Ma-an-na-tum.

Ma-an-nu-um-mešu-li-sar
1. s. of Asššili, f. of Idin-Ištar, h. of Narubum, b. of NinIB-mešallit, 38 : 9 | 61 : 5.
2. s. of NinIB-qarrad, 14 : 23.

Ma-a-nu
18 : 15.

Ma-nu-um-(ma-)šširšu
*s. of Abū, 3 : 28.

† Ma-na-tum
w. of Lugalum, m. of NinIB-abi and NinIB-pamiś, 12 : 12, 14, 21, 8.

Ma-ri-ir-ššum, Ma-ri-ir-ššum (= *), Ma-ri-ir-ššum (= **), Ma-ri-ir-ššum (= ***)
1. s. of Asman-waqqar, *430 : 5.
4. s. of BA-ša-[..], **462 : 8.
5. s. of Iskukur-rabi, b. of Mutum-ilum, n. of Ubudum, c. of Iskukur-girra and Iššum, 10 : 1, 31; identical with Ma-ri-ššum, s. of Dama(?)-gugu, 14 : 4, 6, 17 | **430 : 15.

Mar-tu-ššum-lik
s. of Erishšum-asum, b. of Abīb-Martu, Lībīb-Enlīl (and Abīb-Šumashu); u. of Lībīb-Martu, 32 : 18, S. | 33 : 3, 5, 11, 8, S | 35 : 2, 18.

Ma-ru-ul-Ištar
s. of Sin-šiššid, 48 : 42.

Mi-gir-[..]En-il
f. of Narubum, s. of Narān̄um, 23 : 8, 19, 20.

Mu-mu-tu-gub (my name he may establish; cf. Shamash-asūn-šum)
yušum, 26 : 14, 19.

Mu-mu-ni-paš (my name has been called)
ušum, 43 : 28 | 44 : 18.

Mu-na-wi-ru
s. of Damumu, 13 : 13.

Mu-tam-ilum
1. s. of Damumu-ida-nunum and Hīdum, 41 : 5.
2. s. of Iskukur-rabi, b. of Mar-ir-ššum, n. of Ubudum, c. of Iskukur-girra and Iššum, 10 : 1, 31 | 30 : 16.

Na-bi-ia
*f. of Ilaru, 7 : 22.

Na-di-En-il
1. s. of Iššum, 47 : 20 | 58 : 19.
**2. f. of Iššum, 8 : 28.
*3. f. of Ilīb-Ninšabur, 7 : 20.
4. f. of Sin-eršum, 24 : 33.

Na-di-Šumash
1. s. of Ismiša, 11 : 6, 11, 17, S | 23 : 25.
*2. s. of Ur-Enūgī, b. of Ḫuššum-šum and Zītum, 7 : 8.
3. f. of Idin-Ištar, 51 : 2, 3.
4. 17 : 3 | 21 : 3, 4 | 25 : 3 | 27 : 4; probably identical with No. 3; cf. Idin-Ištar, 27 : 3.

Na-di-En-il
1. s. of NinIB-mushšuk, 68 : 22.
2. 27 : 9.

Nam-ma-ni-ni-ššag (his fate is bright)²
f. of Lu-Nannar, 10 : 46.

Nam-ru-an-ša-ru-ur
f. of Sḫuntušum, 45 : 7.

Nam-ru-ni-i-ššu²
f. of Nūr-Šumash, 62 : 22.

²Nannar-da-ššag (Nannar is a helper)
1. f. of Lugal-ENEN.

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1. f. of Lugal-ENEN.

²Nannar-da-ššag (Nannar is a helper)
1. f. of Lugal-ENEN.
**FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.**

1. s. of *Lugatum* and *Manatum*, b. of *NinIB-gamil*, 12 : 10, 13, 20, S.
3. s. of *Lugatum* and *Manatum*, b. of *NinIB-abu*, 12 : 10, 14, 21, S.
5. s. of *Sîlû-Ishar*, 8 : 24.
6. s. of *Tab-balaña* and *Beltin*, b. of the adopted *Hubil-abû*, 57 : 5, 10.
7. s. of *Ur-Duazagga*, 30 : 11.
10. s. of *dub-sar*, 37 : 21.
11. 25 : 12.

s. of *Ea-idinnam*, b. of *Lugal-hegal*, 38 : 5, 8, S.

† s. of *Ea-idinnam*.

1. f. of *Ellitum*, 49 : 22.
2. f. of *Stdû-nabûtu*, b. of *Manulum*, 50 : 15.

s. of *Auril*, b. of *Manummashulîpar* and *Idin-Ishar*, 64 : 7, 15.

1. s. of *Manum*.
2. s. of *Nannartum*, 28 : 9.

1. s. of *Manulum*.
2. s. of *Na-ma-an-su*.

6. s. of *Aû-tûl*, 40 : 19; perhaps also 47 : 15.

† s. of *Mugir-Enûl*, gm. of *Nûrûlîtu*, 23 : 19.

2. d. of *Sinatam*, w. of *Avîlîa*, by adoption m. of *Ibi-Enûl*, *Hushu-imnîshu* and *Hû-abû*, 57 : 2, 5, 13, 15, 18, 21, 25, 30.

2. SAL + *ISHIR* + *Nîn-IB*, 31 : 16.
3. w. of *Daûqî-lilîshu*, 11 : 5, 13, 19, *S.*
4. w. of *Manummashulîpar*, m. of *Idin-Ishar*, 64 : 9, 16.

4. s. of *Aû-harîgîsh*, 12 : 29.
**BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS**

1. Notice the use of the i to denote the hiatus before a syllable beginning with i.

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1. **Nin-B-gar-ra-ad**
   1. mu, 10 : 26.
   2. f. of *Mannumshukulqur*, 14 : 24 (probably identical with the preceding).

   2. *60 : 4 | 61 : 6 (probably identical with the preceding).

3. **Nin-B-ra-im-m-ù**
   10 : 25.

4. **Nin-I[s. . . . . .]**

5. **Ninim-ma-an-si**
   1. s. of *Luku-bi-nushu*, 67 : 20.
   2. f. of *Ninil-tusagy, Nunnara-muneg, Ur-Dumazzaga* and *Ur-DUN.PAea*, 26, IV : 13.

6. **Nin-lil-ni-shu**
   2. SÂL + ISHIB **Nin-B**, d. of *Nur-kabta*, 31 : 4, 6, 12.

7. **Nu-im-Â-ba**
   *dub-sar*, 12 : 35.

8. **Nu-ra-tum**
   1. t. of *Sin-eribam*, 5 : 27.

9. **N[u]-a-rî-i-di, Nu-ri-di (= *)
   f. of *Shanuma-ilu*, 16 : 13 | *25 : 35.

10. **Nu-im-âb-ba**
    1. f. of *Nishtan-gushu*, 31 : 5 (6), probably identical with *Nu-im-âb-ba* *dub-sar*, 31 : 22.
    3. 17 : 4.

11. **Nu-im-Nin-sha**
    2. f. of *Ihi-NinIB* (or *Nishtâh*), 15 : 6.

12. **Nu-im-Shamash**
    1. s. of *Nahrum-ili*, 62 : 22.

13. **Nu-rum-li-gi**
    s. of *Warazuzu*, b. of *Sin-ismceni, Kumbutum* and *Kirâ-gamul*, 14 : 29.

14. **Nusku-ni-shu**

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1. Notice the use of the i to denote the hiatus before a syllable beginning with i.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

7. f. of Kudatum lū-SHIM + GAR ḫEn-lil-lā, 52:
**S. dub-sar, 8 : 33.
9. lū-ul-gal, 41 : 24 (omits -ba-).

Sin-er Ish
1. s. of A'īlu, 10 : 45.
2. s. of Ḫupatum, 10 : 42.

Sin-bâ-zi-ir
dim, 68 : 5.

Sin-idin-um-am
1. s. of Nannar-zimu, 10 : 39.
2. f. of Ḫenti-lushag nu-ēš, 39 : 5.
3. f. of Ḫima, 49 : 46.
4. f. of Ḫili-Shamash, 62 : 18.
5. nu-ēš, 26, III : 2.
6. 18 : 16.

Sin-īk-ṣa-um
s. of Nur-Kalta, 45 : 19.

Sin-im-gur-ana-ni, ḪSin-im-gur-an-ni (− *), ḪSin-im− (− **)
1. s. of A'safl, 52 : 18 | **53 : 33 | 54 : 33.
2. lū-SHIM + GAR, s. of Lu-Entilla, **48 : 37.

Sin-ishe-mani
1. s. of Ea-našīr, 66 : 17.
2. s. of Enti-manni, b. of In-Enu-er-rābi, u. of Igi-
   shag, 43 : 17.
3. s. of Warruzu, b. of Kudatum, Nurum-līši and
   Kūš-gimil, 14 : 2, 8, 11 (omits o), 16.

Sin-lat-u-um
s. of Dingir-sumkal, b. of Adda-du-gul, 59 : 3, 5.

Sin-il-di-esh
1. s. of Arad-Nannar, 64 : 22.
2. f. of Ibi-Entil, 28 : 33.
3. f. of Ḫkkusba, 35 : 17.
4. f. of Ḫin-Entil, 32 : 28.
6. ḪSin-na-ap-she-ra-am ḪShum-um-ulšu, 47 : 11.
7. 18 : 3, 4.
11. ḪSin-pi-la-āgh Ḫf. of ḪNin-sha-ma-āgh
   61 : 4, 5.
12. ḪSin-pu- . . . . . . . . (see ḪSin-wa-du)
13. ḪSin-rim-[um]
   f. of [. . . . . . . .], 47 : 18.
14. ḪSin-su (?)-kar(?)-ri
   25 : 11.
15. ḪSin-su-ama-ag
   s. of Enki-zi-nig ud, b. of ḪDu-sum-kali, 23 : 30 | 62 : 17.
16. ḪSin-wa-du (− *-dim, − pi-loh[?])
   f. of ḪLu-ShameDU, 5 : 24.
17. ḪSin- . . . . . . . . s. of Shamun-lishhi, 26, IV : 26.
18. ḪSu-ba-in-tum

Shi-i-Ishtar
1. f. of ḪNin-ma-gimil, 8 : 29.

Shi-ā2 NIN-IB
1. s. of En-ṭuli, 12 : 4.
2. s. of ḪHallo-Ishtar, 12 : 6.
3. f. of Enlil-mātik, 40 : 23.

Shi-ū-d. ḪShamash
1. s. of Sin-idinnam, 62 : 18.
2. f. of ḪEšmu-ushu and ḪIli-idinnam, 36 : 7, 8, 9, 21.
3. 18 : 6.
4. ḪShu-Ennīma
   f. of Libit-Ishtar, 37 : 20.
5. ḪShu-zi-at
6. ḪShu-ur-tum
   *w. of (Im-Im)-Nannar, m. of Sin-idish, 5 : 2; w. of
   (Im-Im)-Nannar, m. (by adoption) of Awir-um,
   4 : 4, 9, 14, 17, 21, 8.
7. ḪShu-ur-um
   *s. of Worad-En, 5 : 26.
8. ḪShamash-a-bi
   f. of [. . . . . . . .], 15 : 13.
9. ḪShamash d. ḪEn-ṭili (3)
   f. of ḪLu-Ešha-ma-āghDU, 37 : 8.
10. ḪShamash-er-umu
   uku-ush, s. of Babbar-gulz, 49 : 47.
Shamash-ma-gir
s. of Babbar-galzu, 26, IV : 22.

Shor-shar\textsuperscript{4}Ishtar
bur-gal, 11 : 27.

Shu-ru-shy\textsuperscript{4}[Sin]
w. of Hilli-bi-A, 68 : 20.

† Shu-at-Ishtar
*d. of Sennin, 6 : 26.

† Shu-at\textsuperscript{4}Shamash
w. of Hilli-bi-A, 46 : 4, 8.

She-rum-A
2. 18 : 21.

Shesh-kal-la
*f. of . . . . . . . . . . . . . . , 4 : 31.

Shesh-ki
bub-la\textsuperscript{3} s. of Adda-dugga, b. of I(nim)-Nannar, 42 : 25.

Shu-er-shu-SHESH
*f. of Aqa-Enlut-dim, 5 : 23.

Shu-me-a-la-wun
f. of Nuru rubbish, 31 : 17.

Shu-me-ilum
f. of Libit-Ishtar, 40 : 9.

Shu-me-um-li-ib-shi, lib-shi (= *), Shu-me-lib-shi (= **)
**1. s. of Hilli, 8 : 31.
2. s. of Nannar-mansi, 49 : 7, 30, 35, 30, 40.
3. mu-és, s. of NinlB-meDU, 50 : 14.
4. s. of Ur-Duzazga, 37 : 2, 6, 14.
7. . . . . . , 50 : 12.

Shu-me-um-ilum
s. of Nuru-id, 16 : 13 | 24 : 35.

Ta-kum
**f. of Warad-Ishtar, 8 : 22.

Ta-ri-ba-tum
1. s. of A-bi-in-tum, 32 : 27.
2. s. of E-bi-lit 12 : 25.
3. f. of Abil-Martu, 48 : 36.
7. mu, 62 : 25.

1 If read correctly, this would prove the value \textit{lul} for \textit{LUL} = zammeru.

2 \textit{Ubaria(tum)} with Verschleifung of the r \textit{Uba}\textsuperscript{4}\textit{a(tum)}; cf. \textit{U-bar-(ri)}-in; \textit{U-ba-in-tum}, P. N.

3 \textit{i.e.}, as new moon; cf. \textit{nunnur-šil}.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

Ur$^d$En-na-qi

(*) f. of Aḫushana, 7 : 6, S. 1: 22; f. of Šiṣāmat, 15 : 5; f. of Šiṣāmat and Nabi-Shamash, 7 : 9.

Ur$^d$G über-sā

f. of Damkum, 62 : 15, 30.


Ur$^d$Kū-ša-qa

na-ēš, s. of Idin-Enlil, 49 : 44.

Ur$^d$Na-na-un

f. of Uruk-madī, 13 : 8.

Ur$^d$Pa-BIL-sag-gā
dü-roša-nu

s. of Naramtum (or Migir-Enlil?), 23 : 21.

Ur-ra-ba-ni

bur-pul, 57 : 27.

Ur-ra-di-nu-na

u-ka-šek lagal, 62 : 16.

Ur-ra-mu-di

s. of Uruk-Nanum, 13 : 8.

Ur$^d$Sin-di-nu

[ ]
s. of Iluš-[n], 59 : 17.

Ur-ta-gùl-tu-ge-si


Ur-ta-gùl-tu-ma-an-si


Ur-ta-gùl-tu-me-DU

f. of Šu-bani na-ēš, 39 : 4.

Warad-En

*f. of Shataram, 5 : 26.

Warad-ša-tar

**s. of Takum, 8 : 22.

WARAD$^d$Sin

1. s. of Abī, 32 : 29.

2. f. of Abīlīlu, 57 : 7.


4. f. of Iḫṣatam, 13 : 12.

5. na-giš-sar, 8 : 34.

Wa-ra-za-na, Wa-ra-za-na-nu ( = *)


War-ra$^d$Shamash

s. of Enlil-tā-ti, 57 : 26.

ZA-ri-ia(?)
f. of Arad-Imīn-bī, 65 : 10.

ZI-in-tam

(*) 1. s. of Ur-Ennagī, 15 : 5; s. of Ur-Ennagī, b. of Nabi-Shamash and Aḫushana, 7 : 8.

2. f. of Enlil-mašik 65 : 7.

*3. f. of Enlil-ālu and Belṭum, 6 : 5, 7, 8.

*4. f. of ........ , 4 : 30.

[.............]-as-ni(?)

s. of ......... , 1 : 13.

[.............]-ši , 1 : 10.

[.............]-na-ši

s. of ......... , 1 : 12.

[.............]-tam

s. of Shamash-abī, 6 : 13.

[.............]

f. of Dumā-shemī, 5 : 22.

[.............]-u-am

f. oi .......... , 4 : 32.

?-gu-na-um[?]

f. of Iluštam, 4 : 8.

d.?-erish (urd)

damas-mēš — , 43 : 11.

II. NAMES OF PERSONS FROM THE TEXTS OF THE APPENDIX.

A-bi-e-shu-u'

king, in the dates of 91-97; 91 : 8, 18.

A-bi-li-šu-shu

75 : 3.

A-biš-šin

king, 72 : 8.

A-biš-šu-đor-ri

[ ]
s. of Hushu-abushu, 126 : 4.

A-biš$^d$[.....]

po-te-si [.....], 130 : 22.

A-bu-ša-aqar

135 : 7.

A-di-an-ri-a

f. of Sin-rabi, 74 : 16.

A-ša-um-ni-ski

80 : 15.

A-bi-e-shu-u'

king in the dates of 91-97; 91 : 8, 18.

A-bi-li-šu-shu

75 : 3.

A-biš-šin

king, 72 : 8.

A-biš-šu-đor-ri

[ ]
s. of Hushu-abushu, 126 : 4.

A-biš$^d$[.....]

po-te-si [.....], 130 : 22.

A-bu-ša-aqar

135 : 7.

A-di-an-ri-a

f. of Sin-rabi, 74 : 16.

A-ša-um-ni-ski

80 : 15.

1 Written goš(Br. 961)-ukkin.

A-ha-um-ur
f. of Mard-ilm-Ninini(?), 77 : 11, 8.
A-ki-ia
s. of Taliqam, 70 : 29.
A-nidi-anum-ur
f. of A nú (?), Sipparr, 131 : 5.
A-ni-ki-nu-am
s. of Sin-rimeri, 72 : 16, 8.
A-um-ur
f. of Ward-Ishtar, 88 : 5.
A-ni-ki-ia
s. of Ibiq-Shamash, 88 : 8.
Am-di-la-na
king, in the dates of 98; 100-116.
Am-ni-za-du-ga
king, in the dates of 117-130.
A-ni-am-tum
f. of Ešir, 138 : 5.
A-ni-ki-e-k[ ]
s. of Ki-e-se, 138 : 10.
Ar-dî-ia
s. of Buia . . . . . . . , 116 : 6.
A-wi-li-ia
77 : 15.
A-wi-ili-din
1. s. of Hushu-ibnišu, 91 : 4.
2. merat — , 130 : 1.
A-wi-il-din
s. of Sin-imparanni, b. of Iskkur-sharrum and Hushu-ibnišu, 109 : 6, 13.
A-na-am-ki-ia
134 : 4.
A-na-zu-ka
s. of Sin-idinam, 83 : 6, 7.
BA-sha-ki-Sak-kud
f. of Sin-bilab, 70 : 8.
Ba-at-ga-um
pa-te-ši [ . . . . . . . . . . . ], 130 : 18.
Be-la-nu
s. of Sin-ma . . . . . . . , 85 : 27.
† Be-li-su-nu
d. of Zidum, 75 : 5.

Be-el-sha-um
15 : 11.
Be- . . . . . . . . .
f. of Ward- . . . . . . , 120 : 8.
Bu-la(?)
. . . . . .
f. of Ardia, 16 : 9.
Bu-ni-ia
f. of Hanu 78 : 2.
Dam-ki-šu
En-ili-iz-za
pa-te-ši Sin[?], 130 : 12.
E-te-bu-um
s. of Ibalum, 81 : 11.
E-te-ga-din
s. of Sin-ma . . . . . . , 115 : 4, L. E.
† E-te-im-tum
E-trum
1. s. of Anatum, 138 : 5.
2. merat — , 138 : 3.
E-x-am-na-nu-an-si
72a : 17; 115 : 3.
Gimil(or Qdl).d-Nu[ . . . . . . ](Gimil-an-nu-um?)
Ha-ab-tum
85 : 3.
Ha-ia-am-di-du-un
(70 : 30, -ki-da-un) s. of (omitted), 70 : 30, case, L. E.
Ha-am-nu-ri-bi
king, 70 : 24 and in the date of 71.
Ha-za-um
138 : 18.
I-la-(zu)-ni(lit)-im (gen. of Ibanum)
f. of Etebām, 81 : 12.
Ib-ga-tum
1. f. of Ribatam, 73 : 3; Vol. VI, Part 1, 30 : 2, 4 and often.
2. 66 : 2.

1 To the Verschleifung of I compare Etehi-Sin, p. 00.
2 72c shows BAD, but 72c : 17, case, and 72b : 15 show more correct forms, the latter and 72 case ASH + inverted ASH, the former ASH + inverted and inclined ASH. It is one of the signs that have been confounded into the one sign BAD, but it cannot be identified with R. E. E. 11 or 278. For x-an-na cf. perhaps Br. 1544 = maliku, but more likely E-x-an-na is "the house of the . . . . . of heaven."
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.
BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

1. Iskuk-shar-run
   1. s. of Sin-im-gurummi, b. of Ithu-ibnushu and
      Arul-Shamash, 123 : 6, 11, 14.
   2. pa-te-si [ . . . . . ]130 : 19.
   3. 83 : 21.

2. Ish-me-Iskur
   77 : 17.

3. L-[ . . . . . ]2Shamash
   f. of Sin-idinnam 74 : 15.

† Kal-i-mi-za (he holds her right hand)
SAL + ISHIB 4Shamash, d. of Sin-‘a-im-Urun,
ši. of Shamash-erabam, Sarrum-Iskur and
Shamash-idinman, 70 : 10, 14.

† Ki-Ishtum
qadibtim, d. of Rish-Shamash, 85 : 17.

Ku-ab-bi-run
s. of Ibi-Shamash 124 : 6.

Lugal-šir(?)-ni-mu-us-gin (he steadied the way of the
king)
king of UDU[. . . . . ]2f, 130 : 2.

Lit-Ishtur-ra
127 : 4.

Ma-bu(?)-bu(?)
f. of Shamash-bozi, 89 : 7.

Ma-ad-gi-mul-be-el-tí (many is the benefaction of my
mistress)
81 : 1.

Ma-ad-gi-mul-Nini
s. of Aham[. . . . . ]; urวด 4Né-un-mgol], 77 : 11, S.

Ma-ni-um
f. of Tarlabiun, 123 : 8.

† Ma-an-na-tum (on unpublished texts also Ma-na-tum)
(SAL + ISHIB 4Shamash, d. of Idu-ilu), 72 : 2.

Ma-an-na-mi-ka-Iskur
s. of Warad-Martu, 77 : 13.

Marduk-mu-sha-lin
s. of Ibi-Ninshali, 88 : 9.

Marduk-nasir
s. of Ila-ra[bi], 85 : 26.

Marduk-ni-šen
s. of Martu-kur[. . . . . ]; [warad] 4Ab-biš[šin], 72 : 8.

Marduk-qa-ra-ud
s. of Mar-ir-šilim, 88 : 7.

† Mar-ir-šilim, Mar-ir-šilim ( = * )
1. s. of Nur-Ishara, *83 : 8.
2. f. of Ibiq-Ishtar, 85 : 24.
4. pa-te-si, 89 : 8.

Mar-šamash
s. of Ibiq-Ishtar, 88 : 10.

Mar-tu-ka[. . . . . ]
f. of Marduk-nishu, 72 : 8.

Mar-tu[. . . . . . ]
f. of Warad-Martu, 85 : 23.

Mar-shamash
138 : 14.

Mi-gir-šEn-lil
pa-te-si At-ša-šam[ši], 130 : 11.

Mi(?)-šir-šShamash (perh. Nu-ur-)
72 : 20.

† (? ) Mu-šul-ka-tuk (gen. Mulluktim, P. N.)
85 : 2.

[N]u-bi-um[. . . . . . . . ]
s. of Warad-ilishu, 88 : 4.

Nab-she-me-ša
s. of [. . . . . . ], 83 : 16, 19.

Na-mi-ši-im (gen.; cf. Nukinum, P. N.)
81 : 10.

† Na-ši-ir-tum
75 : 4.

Ni-id-nu-um
72 : 18.

Ni-di-it-[um]
s. of Sin-ilni, 85 : 25.

Ni[. . . . . . . .]
f. of Sin-mu[. . . . . . . . . . ], 110 : 7.

Nu-šir-šIsh-ba-ra
83 : 8.

Nu-šir-shu-el-ti
pa-te-si A[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . ], 130 : 17.

Pa-šu-na[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]
f. of Shat-šia, 81 : 14.

Piramum
85 : 21.

2 Nab = A.N.A.N.; cf. Nab-šme-ša at the time of Sin-gamul of Uruk. NAB is identified with Enûlil, but a
reading Enûlil (or Bêl) for NAB is not possible.
3 Cf. Pakanum, P. N.
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

† Ri-ba-tum

SAL + 1SHIB dShamash, d. of Iggatum, 73 : 2;

Vol. VI, Part 1, 30 : 1, 3, etc.

Ri-isk-Marduk

91 : 14.

Ri-isk-Shamash

f. of Kisshtum 85 : 18.

Sa-al-tu-di (gen.)

marat — , 138 : 2, 5.

Sa-am-su-di-ta-na

king, in the dates of 131 and 132.

Sa-am-su-ta-na

king, in the dates of 77, 83 and 85-90 | 83 : 5 | 113 : 3.

Sa-mu-i(?)

s. of Ibni-Shamash, 73 : 16.

Sa-ni-ig-di-Shamash

138 : 15.

dSin-a-bu-shu

dub-sar, 78 : 13.

dSin-a-sha-ril-ud

f. of 4Sin-ii-din-nam, 91 : 3.

Si-na-tum

138 : 12.

dSin-be-el-it

f. of Ibni-Marduk, 80 : 6.

dSin-bi-lu-ak

dam-qar, s. of Basha-Sakkul, 70 : 8.

Sin-e ri-ba-am

s. of Sin-ikisham, 73 : 14, i. E.

Sin-ib-ni

f. of Nidittum, 85 : 55.

dSin-ii-din-nam

1. s. of I. — — — Shamash, 74 : 15.

2. s. of Sin-asharid, 91 : 3.

3. (s. of Sin-eribam), 105 : 1.

4. s. of [.....], 115 : 12.

5. f. of Bubbar-zimu, 83 : 6, 7.


4Sin-ii-sha-am Sin- ( = *)

1. f. of Sin-eribam, 73 : 15.

2. f. of Sin-ra'im-Urum, gf. of Shamash-eribam, etc.,

70 : 8.

4Sin-im-gur-an-[ni]

f. of Ilushu-ibnishu, Ishkur-sharrum and AwilShamash, 123 : 4, 6, 14.

Sin-li-ra-am


Sin-tu-ud-tu-ul

s. of Idishum (Shamma-Shamash), 70 : 26.

4Sin-ma-gir

80 : 4.

Sin-ma[......]

f. of Bataunu, 85 : 27.

4Sin-ma[......]

f. of Sin-naqir, 85 : 22.

4Sin-ma[......]

f. of Etul-bi-Sin, 115 : 15.

Sin-mu(?)[......]

s. of Ni[......], 110 : 7.

Sin[......]

s. of Ib[-......], 89 : 4.

Sin[-......]

89 : 5.

dSin[-......]

f. of Warad-Sin, 110 : 16.

dSin[-ish-me-]a-ni

PA-6, 131 : 11.

4Shamash-ba-ni

s. of Mahubu?, 89 : 7.

4Shamash-e-ri-ba-anu

1. s. of Sin-ra'im-Urum, b. of Sharrum-Ishkur, etc.,

70 : 13.

2. 81 : 3.

4Shamash-ga-mil

73 : 1.

4Shamash-id-nam

s. of Sin-ra'im-Urum, b. of Sin-eribam, etc., 70 : 17.

4Shamash-ma-ti

f. of Tarabatam, 73 : 11.

4Shamash-mu-ba-li-ti, -mu-ba-al-li-ti (= *)

1. f. of Ubar-Shamash, 70 : 27.

2. owner of Ilummati, *80 : 3.

4Shamash-nu-ir-ma-tim

1. PA-dam-kar, 91 : 20.

2. 83 : 22.

4Shamash-nu-ir-ma-tim

80 : 17.

Sharrum-Ishkur

s. of Sin-ra'im-Urum, b. of Sin-eribam, etc., 70 : 16.

† Sha-at-A-a

d. of Paknana [ ], 81 : 13.

1 Cf. Zu-ni-ig-di-Shamash, etc., P. N.
BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

144

Warad-i-li-shu

Shesh-ni-pd(d)
dub-sar, 70

:

31.

Shu-mi-ir-^-tim, -irfUim

73

*)

*L. E.

4,

:

=

(

Shum-ma-^Shamash

=

(

[Shu}-mu-um-li-ib-shi, Shu-mu-li-ih-shi
1.

shang^, 126

2.

*123

:

:

f.

of

Nabium^

f.

of

Warad-Marduk, 116

3.

138

],

:

:

4.
5.

17.

:

Warad-Ishtar

Idi-shum)

of Sin-ludlul, variant of case to 70

f.

88

1.

2.

:

25.

=

(

s.

*)

88

of Afium-waqar,

:

6,

L. E.

Warad-Ku-bi

8.

f.

Urram, 70 28.

of

:

U. E.
Warad-'^MardukCl)

Shu-mu-um-li-^
dub-sar, 116

s.
:

14

124

15; dumu-ffish-dub-ba-a, 126

:

|

9; Shtt-miir^m-i

Ta(?)-tm-«Au-nu

[

120

],

:

*'],

130

:

of

Ahia 80

21.

Ta-ri-ba-a-tum

83

(cf.

29.

:

1.

s.

of Martu-{

2.

f.

of

3.

47

:

5.

4.

83

:

20, 24.

the following name)

of

a.

Manium, 23

of

81

:

85

:

110

Sin-idinruim,

86

1,

C. T., VIII, 2a

:

:

16

:

12

10.

8.

:

Warad-''[

Shamash-mati, 73

2. s. of
3.

],

10, L. E.

:

s.

]

120

of Be-

:

8.

2.

Ta-ri-bu-^m
77

12.

:

Tii-ia-tum

Ta-ri-bu-slm
8.

f.

of Ibni-Shamash,' b. of Idin-Ea dainmim, 119

:

4,

„

:

27.

of Sin-iiram, 73

:

E.

12, L.

Warad-Kubi, 70

:

dub-sar, 120

:

4; Vol. VI, Parti,

Ish erasure.

:

5

I

37

]

'"],

:

2

1

93

:

4

|

VIII, 11

94
:

4

:

4
|

|

95

36

:

:

}-e-W-6a[

[

>''Mar(iufc, 123

[

y^Mar-tu, 89

3

],

[

:

:

:

:

130

20.

12.
16.

3

15.

]-sha
f.

|

5.

119

[

[

C. T., VI, 35

'

5.

[I-biiy'Mar^ti,, 123

28.

U-tul-Ishtar

6.

:

[pa-te-si

Ur-ra-ia
of

:

Zu-mur{'!)-ta-nii[

of Shamash-mubalUt, 70

Ur-ra-ga-mil

s.

Belimnu, 75

,

85

V-bar-^Shamash

s.

of

.

/iu-(iu-lum

^- ^-

s.

23.

Mannum-kima-Ishkur, 77

Vol. VI, Papt

Ta-ri-ba-tum, gen. Ta-^ba-tim>
1. s.

L. E.

14.

Warad-''Sin

23.

:

4,

Warad- Mar-tu

Ta-la-fiu-um
f.

:

13.

]

[pa-te-si

of Warad-ilishu, 116

:

of

Ibiq-Annunitum, 85
Y^Shamash, 89 9.
:

20.

116
101

:

:

12

I

124

34; M., 74

:

14;

:

28;


IX.

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND DESCRIPTION OF OBJECTS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

B. E. F., Collection acquired and presented by the Babylonian Exploration Fund of Philadelphia; C. B. M., Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and Musée Impérial Ottoman, prepared by H. V. Hilprecht; Exp., Expedition; H. V. H., Collection presented by Prof. H. V. Hilprecht; Inscr., Inscription; J. D. P., Collection presented by Prof. J. D. Prince of Columbia University, New York; J. S., Joseph Shemtob Collection; Kh., First Khabaza Collection; Kh', Second Khabaza Collection; H., lines; L. E., Left Edge; Lo. E., Lower Edge; M. I. O., Babylonian Collection of the Musée Impérial Ottoman, Constantinople; Ni., Nippur; O., Obverse; R., Reverse; U. E., Upper Edge; Yo. = Yokha.

Names of rulers abbreviated: Ad., Ammi-ditana; Ac., Abi-eshuh; Az., Ammu-zaduga; H., Hammu-rabi; Ii., Ilma-ilum; R.-S., Rim-Sin; Sii., Samsu-iluna; Si., Samsu-iluna; W.-S., Warad-Sin.

Measurements are given in centimetres, length (height) × width × thickness. Whenever the tablet (or fragment) varies in size, the largest measurement is given.

1. Autograph Reproductions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Collection</th>
<th>C.B.M.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>W.-S.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ni. B.E.F.</td>
<td>11237</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two pieces of the same size glued together. Some small parts scraped and chipped off. Unbaked. 5.7 × 4.4 × 2.2. Inscr. 8 (O.) + 5 (lt.) + 2 (U. E.) = 15 li. I Exp.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>Ni. H.V.H.</td>
<td>10166</td>
<td></td>
<td>O. damaged. Unbaked. 3.9 × 2.9 × 1.6. Inscr. 8 (O.) + 2 (lt.) = 10 li. III Exp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>R.-S.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni. B.E.F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>11980</td>
<td>Some few particles of R. chipped off, otherwise well preserved. Baked. Reddish brown. 7.3 × 4.8 × 2.9. Inser. 15 (O.) + 14 (R.) = 29 li. Seal impressions. II Exp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni. B.E.F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3384</td>
<td>Several portions of O. and U. E. glued on. Unbaked. 3.9 × 2.7 × 1.7. Inser. 8 (O.) + 2 (Lo.</td>
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¹ After the capture of Isin.
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>Scratched and partly effaced. Unbaked. 5.6 × 3.9 × 2.1. Inser. 10 (O.) + 9 (R.) = 19 li. Seal impressions faint.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Well preserved. Baked. Yellowish brown and dark brown. 4.4 × 3.3 × 2.15. Inser. 8 (O.) + 6 (R.) = 14 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td>11596</td>
<td>Partly effaced, small pieces chipped off. Unbaked. 3.4 × 3 × 1.9. Inser. 6 (O.) + 5 (R.) + 2 (U. E.) = 13 li. II Exp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Well preserved. Baked. Brown. 4.8 × 3.4 × 1.9. Inser. 8 (O.) + 6 (R.) = 14 li. Seal impressions with picture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Lo. E. wanting. Baked. Red-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text.</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Collection</td>
<td>C.B.M.</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td>10891</td>
<td>Well preserved. Baked. Whitish yellow. 10.4 $\times$ 5.9 $\times$ 3. Inser. 18 (O.) + 20 (R.) = 38 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Well preserved. Baked. Brown and blackish. 4.75 $\times$ 3.5 $\times$ 2.2. Rough script. Inser. 7 (O.) + 8 (R.) + 2 (U. E.) = 40 li. Seal impressions without inscription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Fragment. Unbaked. 17 (+ x) $\times$ 8.5 $\times$ 4.35. Inser. 30 (+ x) (O. Col. I) + 22 (+ x) (O. Col. II) + 30 (+ x) (R. Col. III) + 31 (+ x) (R. Col. IV). Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Well preserved. Baked. Light brown. 3.5 $\times$ 2.7 $\times$ 1.6. Inser. 7 (O.) $\times$ 7 (R.) = 14 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td>11173</td>
<td>U. E. damaged. Unbaked. 10.4 $\times$ 5.5 $\times$ 3.1. Inser. 19 (O.) + 18 (R.) = 37 li. Seal impressions. I Exp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td>10890</td>
<td>Part of Lo. E. wanting. Baked. Whitish yellow. 7.4 $\times$ 4.7 $\times$ 2.6. Inser. 11 (O.) + 10 (R.) = 21 li. Seal impressions. I Exp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td>10883</td>
<td>Well preserved. Baked. Reddish brown. Somewhat irregular shape. 8.8 $\times$ 4.9 $\times$ 2.5. Inser. 17 (O.) + 12 (R.) = 29 li. Seal impressions. I Exp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td>9182</td>
<td>O. considerably broken. Unbaked.</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ni. B.E.F.</td>
<td>10889</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fragmentary. Unbaked. 8.8 × 5.4 × 2.9. Inscr. 13 (O.) + 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ni, B.E.F.</td>
<td>7018</td>
<td>Some small pieces chipped off, otherwise well preserved. Slightly baked. Dark brownish gray. 11.75 × 6.3 × 3.45. Inser. 17 (O.) + 18 (R.) = 35 li. Seal impressions. II Exp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni, B.E.F.</td>
<td>6055</td>
<td>Slightly pressed, otherwise well preserved. Unbaked. 5.9 × 3.95 × 2.4. Inser. 9 (O.) + 10 (R.) + 3 (U. E.) + 1 (L. E.) = 23 li. Faint seal impressions. I Exp.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT.</th>
<th>PLATE.</th>
<th>KING.</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>PROVENANCE</th>
<th>C.B.M.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ni. M.I.O.</td>
<td>1996?</td>
<td>Single case. Fragments joined together. Unbaked. 7.9 ( \times ) 4.4 ( \times ) 2.75. Inscr. 13 (O.) li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ni. B.E.F.</td>
<td>9047</td>
<td>Fragment. Slightly baked, blackish brown. 8.2 ( \times ) 5.7 ( \times ) 2.8. Inscr. 14 (O.) + 11 (R.) + 1 (L. E.) = 26 li. Seal impressions. Reported to have come from Yokha. II Exp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ni. M.I.O.</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Two pieces of O. chipped off, otherwise well preserved. Baked. Brown and black. 13.5 ( \times ) 6.3 ( \times ) 3.3. Inscr. 24 (O.) + 24 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 49 li. Seal impressions.</td>
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<td>(Scheil 183)</td>
<td>Case of the preceding: Fragmentary. Inscr. 6 (+ x) (O.) li. Seal impressions all over the case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ni. M.I.O.</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Somewhat effaced. Unbaked. 5.35 ( \times ) 3.85 ( \times ) 1.9. Inscr. 9 (O.) + 1 (Lo. E.) + 7 (R.) = 17 li. Seal impressions with picture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ni. B.E.F.</td>
<td>12698</td>
<td>Two fragments. The smaller one (12698) unbaked; the other one baked, yellowish. (x +) 11 ( \times ) 7.7 ( \times ) 3.45. Inscr. (x +) 15 (O.) + 13 (+ x) (R.) = 28 (+ x) li. II Exp. (12698) and I Exp. (10887).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ni. B.E.F.</td>
<td>10886</td>
<td>Duplicate of the preceding. Well preserved. Yellowish, red burnt spot on Lo. E. and R. Baked. 10.6 ( \times ) 6.5 ( \times ) 3.2. Inscr. 19 (O.) + 20 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 40 li. I Exp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1849</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Ni.</td>
<td>M.I.O.</td>
<td>1997</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 63    | 30     | Si.   | ?    | 9     |      | Ni, B.F.F.  |             | 11563 | Rather well preserved. Unbaked. 5.25 × 3.8 × 2.1. Inscr. 9 (O.) + 7 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 17 li. Faint seal impressions. II Exp. |}
| 65    | 39     | Si.   | ?    | 9     | 14   | Ni, M.I.O.  |             | 1852  | Well preserved. Baked. Reddish brown. 2.8 × 2.8 × 1.75. Inscr. 5 (O.) + 2 (Lo. E.) + 5 (R.) + 3 (U. E.) = 15 li. Seal impressions. |}
| 67    | 40     | Si.   | 27   | 1     |      | Ni, M.I.O.  |             | 263   | Pressed and effaced. Slightly baked. Blackish. 3.12 × 3 × 1.65. Seal impressions (in Sippar fashion). |}
| 68    | 40     | Li.   | 21   | 8     | 26   | Ni, H.V.H.  |             | 11013 | Well preserved. Baked. Brown. 8.2 × 5.1 × 2.8. Inscr. 14 (O.) + 16 (R.) = 30 li. Seal impressions. III Exp. Long ridge to the west of Shatt en-Nil. |}
| 69a   | 22     |  |      |      |      | Ni, B.F.F.  |             | 6962  | Case: Broken pieces glued together. Blackish spots. II Exp. Long ridge to the west of Shatt en-Nil. |}
| 69b   | 22     |  |      |      |      | Ni, B.F.F.  |             | 11191 | Tablet of the time of Sin-ikisham. II Exp. Long ridge to the west of Shatt en-Nil. |}
| 70    | 41     | Li.   | 16   | 13    |      | B.F.F.      |             | 11560 | Tablet of the time of Sin-ikisham. III Exp. Long ridge to the west of Shatt en-Nil. |}
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<th></th>
<th>7017</th>
<th>Cracked, otherwise well preserved. Baked. Light and blackish brown. 8.9 × 4.8 × 2.7. Inscr. 16 (O.) + 3 (Lo. E.) + 16 (R.) = 35 li. Case of the preceding tablet: Fragmentary. 6 different seal impressions. Purchased by II Exp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.D.P.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Well preserved. Unbaked. 3.05 × 2.9 × 1.8. Inser. 5 (O.) + 1 (Lo. E.) + 4 (R.) = 10 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td></td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>Some pieces chipped off. Baked. Brown. 6.8 × 4.6 × 2.5. Inser. 9 (O.) + 9 (R.) + 3 (U. E.) = 21 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>7010</td>
<td>Fairly well preserved. Some particles chipped off. Unbaked. 4.8 × 3.9 × 2.2. Inser. 6 (O.) + 5 (R.) + 3 (U. E.) + 2 (L. E.) = 16 li. Purchased by II Exp. and said to have come from Abu-Habba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>J.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>167</td>
<td>R. almost entirely destroyed. Unbaked. Inser. 7 (O.) + 7 (R.) + 2 (U. E.) = 16 li.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| 72a   | 42     | H.    | 21    | —      | —    | Kh.²        |            | 1588  | Cracked. Lower right corner wanting. Unbaked. 6.7 × 4.3 × 2.5. Inser. 9 (O.) + 2 (Lo. E.) + 9 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 21 li. Case: Broken pieces. Seal impressions. |
| 72b   | B.E.F. | J.D.P. |      |       |      |            |            |       | Variants of names on other Mammatum tablets. No. 7011 purchased by II Exp., No. 1796 by I Exp. (for the J.D. Prince Coll.). |
| 72c   |        |       |       |       |      |            |            |       |            |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT.</th>
<th>PLATE.</th>
<th>KING.</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>PROVENANCE</th>
<th>COLLECTION</th>
<th>C.B.M.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>B.E.F.</td>
<td>7013</td>
<td></td>
<td>Corner of Lo. E. damaged, otherwise well preserved. Baked, of strongly washed clay. Reddish brown. $6 \times 3.9 \times 2$. Inser. $10 \ (O.) + 9 \ (R.) = 19 \ li$. Purchased by H. Exp. and said to have come from El-Birs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Si(?).</td>
<td>8(?)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>J.S.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>Case tablet, partially opened. Unbaked. $4.25 \times 3.8 \times 2.5$. Inser. $6 \ (O.) + 6 \ (R.) + 2 \ (U. E.) + 1 \ (L. and U. E.) = 15 \ li$. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kh</td>
<td>565</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pieces chipped and cut off. Portions of case preserved. Unbaked. $8.6 \times 5.2 \times 2.6$. Inser. $15 \ (O.) + 3 \ (L. E.) + 16 \ (R.) = 34 \ li$. Some fragments of case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>580</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fragmentary, pieces glued together. Portion of case preserved. Unbaked. $9.2 \times 5.3 \times 2.8$. Inser. $13 \ (O.) + 3 \ (L. E.) + 14 \ (R.) = 30 \ li$. Seal impressions. Case: Broken pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>1362</td>
<td></td>
<td>Several pieces chipped off. Slightly baked. Brown to blackish. $6.2 \times 4.6 \times 2.4$. Inser. $9 \ (O.) + 9 \ (R.) = 18 \ li$. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>1395</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fragments glued together. Unbaked. $8.9 \times 5 \times 2.7$. Inser. $15 \ (O.) + 2 \ (L. E.) + 13 \ (R.) + 3 \ (U. E.) = 33 \ li$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>4485</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fragmentary, broken pieces glued together, lower part missing. Slightly baked. Brown with black spots. $11.8 \times 7.7 \times 3.1$. Inser. $10 \ (O.) + 6 \ (R.) = 16 (+ x) \ li$. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>J.S.</td>
<td>114</td>
<td></td>
<td>Upper right corner of R. broken. Partially baked. Brown to black. $7.6 \times 5 \times 2.6$. Inser. $12 \ (O.) + 2 \ (L. E.) + 4 \ (R.) + 4 \ (U. E.) = 22 \ li$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>355</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower part wanting. O. considerably damaged. Partially baked. O. light brown, R. black. $6 \times$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text.</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Collection</td>
<td>C.B.M.</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kh. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1647</td>
<td>Fragmentary. Slightly baked. Brown. $6.7 \times 5 \times 2.4$. Inser. $12 (O.) + (O.) + 12 (R.) = 24 (O.)$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kh. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1679</td>
<td>Upper part of O. crumbled, R. covered with white substance. Unbaked. $7.2 \times 4.5 \times 2.5$. Inser. $10 (O.) + 2 (R.) + 2 (R.) = 19 (R.)$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Ac.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Upper part of R. defective. Baked Light brown to blackish. $6.6 \times 4.3 \times 2.6$. Inser. $10 (O.) + 3 (R.) + 10 (R.) + 3 (R.) = 26 (R.)$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Ac.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>566</td>
<td>Upper right corner wanting. Slightly baked. Brown. $9.8 \times 5.6 \times 2.5$. Inser. $14 (O.) + 14 (R.) = 28 (R.)$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Ac.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kh. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>Fragment. Greater part of R. chipped off. Baked. Light brown, O. black. $9.4 \times 5.1 \times 2.3$. Inser. $15 (O.) + 14 (R.) = 29 (R.)$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Ac.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kh. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1504</td>
<td>Considerable portion of R., L. E and O. missing. Slightly baked. Light brown to black. $7.8 \times 4.4 \times 2.6$. Inser. $15 (O.) + 7 (R.) = 22 (R.)$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ac.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kh. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1187</td>
<td>Part of O. broken off. Baked O. and edges blackish, R. brownish gray with blackish spots, $6.55 \times 4 \times 2.55$. Inser. $11 (O.) + 9 (R.) + 3 (R.) = 23 (R.)$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ac.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Considerable portions chipped off. Baked. Blackish brown and black. $6.5 \times 4.3 \times 2.4$. Inser. $6 (O.) + 3 (R.) = 9 (R.)$. Faint seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text.</td>
<td>Plate.</td>
<td>King.</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Collection</td>
<td>C.B.M.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
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<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ac.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1537</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>L. and Lo. E. entirely, R. almost entirely broken. Baked. Reddish brown. 11.8 \times 6.5 \times 4.6. Inser. 16 (O.) + 19 (R.) + 5 (U. E.) = 40 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7?</td>
<td>5?</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fragment, Baked. Light brown and black. 10.8 \times 6.4 \times 3. Inser. 19 (O.) = 19 (+ x) li. Seal impression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Well preserved. Slightly baked. Brown. 3.7 \times 3.7 \times 2.2. Inser. 5 (O.) + 2 (Lo. E.) + 3 (R.) = 10 li. Seal impression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fragment, Baked. Lower part of L. E. and adjoining portions broken away. 4.2 \times 4.5 \times 2.2. Inser. 6 (O.) + 6 (R.) + 2 (R. E.) + 3 (L. E.) = 17 (+ x) li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Two pieces of same size glued together. Small pieces chipped off. Baked. Grayish brown. 6.4 \times 4.4 \times 2.3. Inser. 9 (O.) + 3 (Lo. E.) + 9 (R.) + 2 (L. E.) = 23 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20?</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Two pieces glued together. Very slightly baked. Clay brown. 8.6 \times 5.4 \times 2.4. Inser. 16 (O.) + 5 (Lo. E.) + 14 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 36 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13?</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fragment, lower part of tablet. Baked. Brown. 4.7 \times 7.3 \times 3.1. Inser. 7 (O.) + 6 (R.) = 13 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Some small pieces chipped off. Baked. Light brown changing into black. 4.4 \times 4.3 \times 2. Inser. 6 (O.) + 2 (Lo. E.) + 3 (R.) + 3 (U. E.) = 14 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kh.²</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Considerable portions chipped off. Baked. Light brown changing into reddish brown. 13.3 \times 6.8 \times 3.3. Inser. 23 (O.) + 3 (Lo. E.) + 24 (R.) + 2 (U. E.) + 2 (L. E.) = 54 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT.</td>
<td>PLATE.</td>
<td>KING.</td>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>MONTH</td>
<td>DAY</td>
<td>PROV/E.</td>
<td>COLLECTION.</td>
<td>C.B.M.</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>Two fragments glued together. Slightly baked. Blackish brown. 6.7 × 4.7 × 2.2. Inser. 9 (O.) + 1 (Lo. E.) + 5 (R.) = 15 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1507</td>
<td>Damaged, especially R. Unbaked. 7.9 × 4.7 × 2.4. Inser. 7 (O.) + 11 (R.) + 2 (U. E.) = 20 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>Fragmentary. Part of O. and R. E. wanting. Baked. Blackish brown. 5.8 × 4.4 × 2.3. Inser. 7 (O.) + 1 (Lo. E.) + 8 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 17 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>306</td>
<td>Three pieces glued together. Unbaked. 3.8 × 3.4 × 2. Inser. 5 (O.) + 1 (Lo. E.) + 3 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 10 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1670</td>
<td>Two fragments glued together. Baked. Light brown. 8 × 4.8 × 2.6. Inser. 12 (O.) + 10 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 23 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>473</td>
<td>O. somewhat effaced. Part of upper left corner wanting. Baked. Light brown. 13.7 × 6.3 × 3. Inser. 32 (O.) + 1 (Lo. E.) + 7 (R.) = 40 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>J.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>Fragmentary. Effaced and pieces chipped off. Unbaked. 6.2 × 5.1 × 2.4. Inser. 9 (O.) + 9 (R.) + 1 (U. E.) = 19 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>Five pieces glued together. Considerable portions chipped off. Baked. Light brown. 12.9 × 6.5 × 3.2. Inser. 27 (O.) + 3 (Lo. E.) + 20 (R.) + 3 (U. E.) + 1 (L. E.) = 54 li. Seal impressions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Az.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>J.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Upper and lower right corners and lower edge wanting. Unbaked. 6.6 × 5.6 × 2.5. Inser. 9 (O.) + 9 (R.) + 2 (U.E.) + 2 (L.E.) = 22 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Az.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>J.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Lower left corner wanting. Somewhat effaced. Unbaked. 5.7 × 5.2 × 2.3. Inser. 10 (O.) + 6 (R.) = 16 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Az.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18(?)</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1322</td>
<td>Considerable pieces chipped off, especially on R. Baked. Light brown. 4.9 × 4.1 × 2.3. Inser. 8 (O.) + 6 (R.) + 2 (U.E.) + 1 (L.E.) = 17 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Az.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>Right side of R. broken off. Lo. E. wanting. 5.9 × 2.5 × 2.5. Inser. 8 (O.) + 6 (R.) + 5 (U.E.) = 19 li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Az.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>Fragment. Lower part of tablet wanting. Pieces chipped off. Slightly baked. Blackish brown 4.6 × 3.8 × 2.3. Inser. 6 (O.) + 3 (R.) = 9 li. Seal impressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Az.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1613</td>
<td>Fragment. O., U. E. and portions of L. E. (and R.); the rest broken off or destroyed. Baked. Grayish brown. 5.9 × 5.9 × 2.4. Inser. 16 (+ x) (O.) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT.</td>
<td>PLATE.</td>
<td>KING.</td>
<td>YEAR.</td>
<td>MONTH.</td>
<td>DAY.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Collection</td>
<td>C.B.M.</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>Small portion of Lo. E. broken. Otherwise well preserved. Baked. Light brown; R. black.</td>
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<td>Well preserved. Two scratches forming a cross on O. and R. Slightly baked. Blackish brown.</td>
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<td>Fragment. Two scratches forming a cross on O. and R. Lo. and LEs. and adjoining portions wanting. Baked. Light brown. Blackish spots.</td>
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<td>Several fragments glued together. R. almost entirely destroyed. Unbaked.</td>
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<td>Partly indistinct, small pieces of L. E. and Lo. E. chipped off. Unbaked. 4.5 × 4.2 × 2.4. Inser. 7 (O.) + 2 (Lo. E.) + 5 (R.) = 14 li. Faint seal impressions.</td>
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<td>Much cracked and effaced. Unbaked. 5.8 × 4.2 × 2.5. Inser. 9 (O.) + 3 (Lo. E.) + 9 (R.) = 21 li. Faint seal impressions.</td>
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<td>Lower left corner chipped off, otherwise well preserved. Slightly baked. Brown and blackish brown. 2.9 × 2.8 × 1.6 Inser. 4 (O.) + 2 (Lo. E.) × 5 (R.) = 11 li. Seal impressions.</td>
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<td>B.E.F.</td>
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<td>Part of R. and small pieces of Lo. E. chipped off. Slightly baked. Blackish. 8.5 × 5.3 × 2.5. Inser. 11 (O.) + 3 (Lo. E.) + 9 (R.) = 26 li. Reported to have come from El-Birs. II Exp.</td>
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CUNEIFORM TEXTS
Pl. 1

1

Obverse.

Reverse.

5

10

16

U. E.

2

Obverse.

Reverse.

5

10

U. E.

15

3

Obverse.

Reverse.

5

10
Obverse.

Reverse.

Seal impression on Case of 9

Obverse.

Reverse.

Variant of Case.
Obverse.

Reverse.

Seal impression on Case

Seal impression on Tablet and Case

Pl. 11

Obverse.

Reverse.

Case omits
Variants of Case.

Obverse.

Reverse.

Li. 6:
Li. 13:

Li. 6:
Li. 16:
Obverse.

Reverse.

Variants of Case.

Li. 7 omits -um-
Li. 13 omitted.

Obverse.

Reverse.

Variants of Case.

Li. 4 omitted
Li. 5:
Li. 9 adds
Li. 25:
Case adds after 1a. 25:
Tablet.

Variants of Case.

Seal impressions on Case.

For no 89 see Pl. 22.
Seal impressions on Case:

Margin of Obs.  Margin of Rev.  Left Edge.

Li. 15:  

Li. 19:  

c.
Obverse.

Reverse.

92
Case.

93

94

Tablet.
1. CESSION OF HOUSE PROPERTY AS INDEMNITY FOR A TEMPLE OFFICE AFTER AN APPLICATION TO KING HAMMURABI, WHO TURNS THE CASE OVER TO THE COUNCIL OF NIPPU.
2. CONSENT OF A COMPLAINANT NOT TO FORCE THE WITNESSES OF THE DEFENDANT TO TAKE AN OATH ON THEIR TESTIMONY, AND RENOUNCEMENT TO HIS CLAIMS AFTER RECEIVING 1½ SHEQEL OF SILVER. 19TH YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
3. ADOPTION OF TWO PERSONS, ONE OF WHOM HAS THE RIGHTS OF THE ELDER BROTHER. 4TH YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
4. DECLARATIONS OF WITNESSES UNDER OATH IN THE TEMPLE OF ENKI AND DAMGANUNNA. 20th YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
5. LEASE OF A FIELD FOR PAYMENT OF ONE-THIRD OF THE CROP, 13th YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
6. DIVISION OF INHERITANCE. THE SEAL CONTAINS THE NAMES OF ALL FOUR DIVIDING PERSONS. 13th YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
7. DIVISION OF INHERITANCE. 14th YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
8. SEE PL. VII.
8. PURCHASE OF A PORTION OF A HOUSE BY THE ELDEST FROM A YOUNGER BROTHER. 13th YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
10-11. TABLET WITH CASE, RECORDING THE PURCHASE OF A PORTION OF A HOUSE BY THE ELDEST (SAME AS IN 8 AND 9) FROM A YOUNGER BROTHER. 13th YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.
12-13. TWO TABLETS RECORDING LOANS OF MONEY. 371st YEAR OF AMMI-DITANA. THE DATES MENTION KING DAMQI-ILISHU.
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THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
EDITED BY
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