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BY

ARNO POEBEL

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FOREWORD

In the spring of 1912, Dr. Poebel was granted permission to study the historical and grammatical texts in the Babylonian collections in the University Museum, and was employed by the Museum during the summer of 1913 and during the winter of 1913-14 for the purpose of continuing these studies. During these two periods, Dr. Poebel was chiefly engaged in copying historical and grammatical texts selected from a large number of tablets of all classes. It was Dr. Poebel's plan to publish simultaneously with his copies, complete translations of all of these texts. It was also a part of his plan to reconstruct, on the basis of the historical tablets, portions of the early history of Babylonia. Another task to which he set himself at the same time was the preparation of a treatise on Sumerian grammar based upon the grammatical tablets in the Museum's collection.

Neither of these tasks had been completed at the time when Dr. Poebel's duties called him back to Germany in March, 1914. It was decided, however, to publish that portion of the work which had been completed and to bring out the remainder at a later date. This volume contains that portion of the projected historical studies which was completed in March.

Dr. Poebel had just corrected and returned the galley proofs at the time when communication with Germany was

interrupted by the war. In justice to Dr. Poebel, it should be stated that he had no opportunity of reading the final proofs as he expected to do.

Dr. Poebel's autograph copies of all the historical texts included in this volume and many more of which translations and commentaries have not been finished, will be found in Volume V of this series.

G. B. GORDON.

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I

A NEW CREATION AND DELUGE TEXT

A NEW CREATION AND DELUGE TEXT

INTRODUCTION

The tablet published as No. 1 of the present volume contains a Sumerian account of the creation, the founding of prediluvian cities and the deluge. I found this tablet in the summer of 1912 in several fragments among the tablets which had been numbered and catalogued by the former curator of the Babylonian section of the Museum, Prof. H. V. Hilprecht.¹ According to the catalogue it was dug from the soil of Nippur during the third Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.

The tablet, as published here, represents only the lower portion of the original. This measured about 7 inches or 17.8 centimeters in length and $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches or 14.3 centimeters in width and its inscribed surface was about three times that of the present fragments. There is, however, some hope that at least some of the missing fragments will be found either in the University Museum at Philadelphia or in the Museum at Constantinople, since the breaks on the upper side of the recovered portion are very sharp, a fact which seems to indicate that the missing portions were broken off only after the tablet was dug from the soil.

As regards the contents of our tablet, this will best be seen from the transcription and translation of the text itself. A brief synopsis, however, may perhaps be found useful by those who do not care to read the technical remarks in the last section of this chapter, or who are not so thoroughly accustomed

¹ The box in which the main fragment of the tablet was preserved is labeled: Incantation, 10673, Ni. 19-12-04. According to this the tablet was entered in the catalogue on December 19, 1904. The catalogue contains the following entry: 10673 | H. V. H. | 19-12-04 | Ni. — | fragment of baked clay | III. Exp. | Box 13. In a search for the missing portions of the tablet, I found two small fragments which proved to belong to the tablet and were accordingly joined on. These had been catalogued, together with a third piece which did not belong to this tablet, under the number 10562.

to the quaint peculiarities and especially to the abrupt style of ancient poetry—for our text is a poem as may be seen from the mere external appearance of the tablet, namely, the arrangement of the lines and the frequent blank spaces between the various groups of signs due to the rhythmical character of the text. Readers of the Bible, moreover, will easily recognize the quaint principle of partial repetition or paraphrase in parallel lines, which is so characteristic a feature of Hebrew poetry.

At the beginning of the preserved portion of the first column we find the goddess Nintu(r) or Nin-ḥarsagga speaking of the destruction of mankind which she calls hers, because she was one of its creators as we shall presently see. It is not clear, however, whether in this passage she promises to protect human kind from destruction or whether she declares her intention to destroy human kind. In the annotations at the end of this chapter it will be shown how the answer to this question would definitely establish the relation between the first two columns of our tablet and the rest of the text, the point at issue being whether the former represent an independent account of the creation or simply a retrospective description of the origin of what was to perish in the flood, namely, all living beings and the cities which man had built. Unfortunately it will be impossible to give a definite answer to this important question as long as the upper portion of the tablet is missing.

Be this as it may, in l. 11 we read that the creating deity fixes the commandments concerning man, *i. e.*, defines his duties and his rights, one of which is, *e. g.*, the building of cities and temples in a "clean spot," *i. e.*, in hallowed places.

The last lines of the first column refer to the creation of the animals which by this passage are shown to have been created after man just as in the second Biblical account of the creation in Genesis 2. The introductory lines 13 and 14, which form the transition from the account of the creation of man to that of the animals, fortunately give us the names of the four creators of mankind, namely, An, Enlil, Enki and the goddess Nin-ḥarsagga, the four highest deities of the Babylonian

pantheon. It has hitherto been almost completely overlooked what an important part the last named deity played in the earlier Babylonian period, especially in the southern section of the country; our passage, therefore, furnishes us a most welcome clue concerning the position of this deity. One of the sacred cities of this goddess, the city of Adab, has been made known to us by the excavations of the University of Chicago.

In the preserved portion of the second column we read of five prediluvian cities of Babylonia, which were founded and bestowed upon various deities evidently by the most powerful of the gods, namely, Enlil, the lord of all the lands. As the first of these cities, Eridu, is given to Enki, the lord of the ocean, who is the third of the gods in rank, it is evident that the now missing upper portion reported the founding of the sacred cities of the two highest gods, namely, Uruk, the city of An, god of Heaven, and Nippur, the city of Enlil himself, which has been partially excavated by the University of Pennsylvania, and where our own tablet was dug from the soil. In one of the two cities, moreover, one of the created men must have been established as the first king of Babylonia, but in our text we have preserved only an allusion to the creation of the insignia of this king in the broken lines at the beginning of Column 2.

The last lines of the column are not clear to me; possibly they treat of the creation of canals, etc., the water of which was indispensable for the existence of the Babylonian cities; for without it the land would turn into a sandy desert as indeed it has in many places at the present day.

In the third column of our fragment we are already in the story of the flood. The gods have resolved to destroy mankind, but when it comes to the execution of the decision, the gods, and especially the goddesses Innanna and Nintu, are filled with terror and the latter with repentance for the great calamity which they have caused. But it is only Enki, the god of wisdom, who is able to devise a plan to save at least one of the doomed race, *Ziugiddu*, the tenth and last of the prediluvian kings, who like Noah in the Bible was a pious man; in Column 4 we there-

fore read that Enki informs *Ziugiddu* of the resolution of the gods, and the missing part of the same column must have reported how *Ziugiddu* built his boat and placed in it his family and all kinds of artisans as well as all sorts of animals.

In the fifth column the deluge itself is recounted. In accordance with the older Biblical account it is caused only by a strong rain or, in the Babylonian expression, the rain demon, not as in the later Biblical account also by the waters from underneath the earth. The duration of the rain is seven days and seven nights; in this our tablet differs from the previously known Babylonian account which gives it as six days only; nevertheless, in this point our text stands much nearer to this other Babylonian account than to either Biblical tradition, the older of which makes the rain last forty days and nights, while according to the later tradition the flood continued to rise for five months.

After the rain has ceased, the sun-god appears from behind the clouds and is the first to observe *Ziugiddu* in his boat which is floating on the waters. Our hero prostrates himself before the god and by offering up sacrifices evidently wins his favor. In the sixth and last column, after an obscure passage, he prostrates himself before Enlil who had been chiefly responsible for the resolution of the gods to destroy mankind. But he too is now appeased and shows his favor by making *Ziugiddu* a god. In the last of the preserved lines the gods take *Ziugiddu* to a distant land, probably the country of Dilmun somewhere on the shore of the Persian gulf, where he lives thenceforth as a god.

TRANSCRIPTION

COLUMN 1

The upper part of the column, about three-fourths of the text, is missing.

- [.....] IM mà... [.....]
 nam-lù-qal-mu ḥa-lam-ma-bi-a ga-ba-n[i-.....]
^dnin-tū-ra nig-dím-dím-ma-mu sì-[.....]
 ga-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí
 5' uku ki-ùr-bi-ta ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-ru-NE
 uru ki-me-a-bi ḥe-im-mi-in-dū
 giš-gě-bi ní-ga-ba-ab-dúb-bu
 é¹-me-a síg-bi ki-azag-ga ḥe-im-mi-in-šub(u)
 ki-eš-me-a ki-azag-ga ḥe-im-mi-ni-ib-ri
 10' azag-a·NIG·NE-te(me)-na si-mi-ni-in-si-sá
 garza-me-maḥ šu-mi-ni-ib-šu-dú
 ki-a·im-ma-ab-KA DI-ga·mu-ni-in-gā
 an ^den-lil ^den-ki ^dnin-ḥar-sag-gá-ge
 sag-gě-ga mu-un-dím-eš-a-ba
 15' nig-x²-ki-ta ki-ta mu-dib-dib
 MĀŠ-ANŠU nig-úr-limmu³-edin-na
 me-te-a-aš bí-íb-gal

COLUMN 2

The upper part of the column, about three-fifths of the text, is missing.

- [.....].....[.....]
 5' [.....]-ám [.....]
 [.....]-ri.....[.....] ga-ba-ni-in-[.....]
 [.....].....-b[i] igi-ga-ba-ni-ib-dū-[.....-.....]
 [...].-dím-kalam-ma-ge uš-gi[-....-g]i...-ab-ba?-[...]

¹ Not quite certain.

² Perhaps z1 + z1, g1 + g1, etc.

³ Perhaps to be read tab-tab.

- [.....]..-nam-lugal-la an-ta-ě-[...-]a-ba
 10' [...]-maḥ giš-g[u]ʔ-[z]aʔ nam-lugal-la an-ta-ě-a-ba
 [garza-me-m]aḥ [.....]...š]u-mi-ni-ib-šu-dú
 [.....]...]-ga u[ruʔ-....] b]aʔ-an-da-šub
 mu-bi ba-an-s[â-a ka]b-dū-g[a] [b]a-[ḥa]l-[ḥa]l-la
 uru-bi-e-ne eridu^{ki} máš-sag ^dnu-dím-mut
 15' mi-ni-in-sì
 2-kam-ma TÛ¹.nu-gĩ-ra bád-NAGAR+DIS^{ki2} mi-ni-in-sì
 3-kam-ma la-ra-ak ^dpâ-bil-ḥar-sag mi-ni-in-sì
 4-kam-ma zimbir^{ki} šul ^dutu mi-ni-in-sì
 5-kam-ma šurubba(k)^{ki} ^dŠU-KUR-RU-ra mi-ni-in-sì
 20' uru-bi-e-ne mu-bi ba-an-sâ-a
 kab-dū-ga ba-ḥal-ḥal-la
 a-gí. DAR. ma. an(?)-ŠÛ(?)³ A-AN³. im-ma-al-la. a. im-ma-an-
 DU
 ī-tur-tur-ri šu-luḥ. BI. GAR. ḤAR-ḤAR mi-ni-íb-gă-gă

COLUMN 3

The beginning of the column, about two-thirds of the text, is missing.

- 10' ki-.... an-naʔ-...[.....]
 uk[u.....]
 a-ma-ru[.....]
 ..[...]. ..[.....]
 ...-ne-ne in-(š)â[-ešʔ⁴.....]
 15' û-bi-a ^dnin-t[ū.....]dím a-[.....]
 azag^dinnanna-ge uku-bi-šù a-nir mu-[.....]
^den-ki šâ-ní-te-na-ge ä-i-ni-...[-gí-gí...]
 an ^den-lil ^den-ki ^dnin-ḥar-sag-gá-g[e.....]
 dingir-an-ki-ge mu-an-^den-lil mu-ḥ[i-.....]
 20' û-ba zi-û-GID-du lugal-ám pašiš[.....]

¹ Perhaps intended for 2-kam-ma-šù?

² Seems to be the sign REC 308.

³ Perhaps aš-ti(?)?

⁴ Perhaps ḥar-dím bí-in-(š)â "thus they (he)"

- zi-û-GID-du ^{giš}má-gūr-gūr KA(?)-BŪR mu-un-da-BŪR
 šul-^dutu giš-šir-ni? . šà? . ^{giš}mà-gūr-gūr-šù ba-an-tū-ri-en
 zi-û-GID-du lugal-ám
 10 igi-^dutu-šù KA-ki-su-ub-ba-tùm
 lugal-e gû im-ma-ab-gaz-e u[d]u im-ma-ab-šár-ri
 [.....]... si-gal [.....]....-la-da-
 [.....] mu-un-[n]a-.....[.....]...[...]
 [.....]
 15 [.....] bí-in-sì
 [.....].. tab-ba
 [.....] a-[b]a

The rest of the column is missing.

COLUMN 6

- zi-an-na zi-ki-a ni-pá-dé-en-ze-en
 za-zu-da ɥe-im-da-lá
 an-^den-lil zi-an-na zi-ki-a ni-pá-dé(-en)-ze-en
 za-da-ne-ne im-da-lá
 5 nig-x(-ma)¹ki-ta² ě-dé im-ma-ra-ě-dé
 zi-û-GID-du lugal-ám
 igi-an-^den-lil-lá-šù KA-ki-su-ub-ba-tùm
 ti dingir-dím mu-un-na-sì-mu
 zi-da-rí dingir-dím mu-un-na-ab-ě-dé
 10 û-ba zi-û-GID-du lugal-ám
 mu nig-x-ma numun-nam-lù-qal-ŪRU?-â
 kur-bal kur-dilmun?-na ki-.....-šù mu-un-ti-eš
 za-.....[.....]gal-?bi? ti?-eš-a?

The rest of the column, about three-fourths of the text, is missing.

LEFT EDGE

.....-ra? zi-û-GID-du SAL+.....[.....]

¹ Erased?

² Written over an erased da?

TRANSLATION

COLUMN 1

-
 [.....].....[.....]
 "My human-kind *on* its destruction I will (let us).....
 "My, Nintu's, creations.....
 I will (let us).....
 5' "The people in their settlements I will (let us).....
 "Cities..... he may build,
 their shade (protection) I will (let us).....
 "The brick of our houses may he cast in a clean spot,
 "Our *places* may he establish in a clean spot."
 10' of the temennu she made straight
 for it,
 The sublime commandments and precepts she made perfect
 for it,
 After An, Enlil, Enki and Nin-ḥarsagga
 Had created the blackheaded,
 The of the *ground* the *ground*,
 15' The animals, the four legged, of the field artfully *they* called
 into existence.

COLUMN 2

- 5' ".....
 "..... I will (let us) upon *bim*
 "..... I will (let us) look upon *bim*."
 After the maker of the of the land, the establisher
 of the foundations of the
 Had *created* the of royalty,
 10' *Created* the sublime, the of royalty,
 The sublime commandments and precepts he made perfect
 for it.

- In clean places *five* cities he founded,
 (And) after their names he had called, (and) they had
 been allotted to kabdu(ga)s
 —The of these cities, Eridu, to the leader Nudimmut
 15' he gave,
 Secondly, to Bad-NAGAR+DIŠ he gave,
 Thirdly, Larak to Pabilḥarsag he gave,
 Fourthly, Sippar to the hero Šamaš he gave,
 Fifthly, Šuruppak to he gave—;
 20' After the names of these cities he had called, (and) to
 kabdu(ga)s they had been allotted,
 The he he,
 small rivers *and* šuluḥs he established . . .

COLUMN 3

-
 10' The place
 The people
 A rainstorm

 Their they made,
 15' At that time Nintu *screamed* like a *woman in travail*
 The holy Ištar wailed on account of her people.
 Enki in his own heart held counsel.
 Anu, Enlil, Enki and Nin-ḥarsagga
 The gods of Heaven and Earth invoked the name of Anu
 (*and*) Enlil.
 20' At that time Ziugiddu was king, the pašišu of
 A huge he made,
 In humility prostrating himself, in reverence,
 Daily and perseveringly standing in attendance,
 *ing* by dreams which had not been (before),,
 25' *Conjuring* by the name of Heaven and Earth

COLUMN 4

- For the gods a *wall*
- Ziugiddu standing at *its(?)* side heard
- “At the wall at my left side stand and
- “At the wall I will speak a word to thee.
- 5 “O my holy one, *thy ear open to me*
- “By our *hand(?)* a rainstorm
- will be *sent*;
- “To destroy the seed of mankind, to
- “Is the decision, the saying of the assembly of the gods,
- 10 “The commands of Anu (*and*) Enlil
- “Its (their) kingdom, its (their) rule
- “To him
-

COLUMN 5

- All the windstorms which possess immense power, they
all (and) together came,
- The rainstorm raged with them.
- When for seven days, for seven nights
The rainstorm in the land had raged,
- 5 The huge boat on the great waters by the windstorms had
been carried away,
- Šamaš came forth (again), shedding light over Heaven and
Earth.
- Ziugiddu *opened* a of the huge boat,
The light of the hero Šamaš *he lets (thou lettest)* enter into
the interior? of the huge boat.
- Ziugiddu, the king,
- 10 Before Šamaš he prostrates himself,
The king, an ox he sacrifices, a sheep he *slaughters*.
While great *born?*
- he for him
-

- 15 he *filled*
 *two* ...
 After.....

COLUMN 6

- “By the soul of Heaven, by the soul of the earth, ye shall
 conjure him,
 that he may with *you*.
 “Anu (*and*) Enlil by the soul of Heaven and by the soul of
 the earth ye shall conjure,
 and he *will* with *you*.”
 5 The of the *ground* (with the earth), rising it rises.
 Ziugiddu, the king,
 Before Anu (*and*) Enlil he prostrates himself.
 Life like (that of) a god he gives (*I give* ?) to him,
 An eternal soul like (that of) a god he creates for him.
 10 At that time Ziugiddu, the king,
 The name of the “Preserver of the seed of man-
 kind”
 On a mountain, the mountain of *Dilmun*
 they caused him to dwell
After they had caused him to dwell,

LEFT EDGE

.....Ziugiddu.....

COMMENTARY

COLUMN I

The preserved portion of the first column begins with the direct speech of a deity referring to what man shall do and what the deity or all the gods intend to do with regard to man whose creation must have been reported in the now missing portion of the first column. The beginning of the speech, as well as the lines which stated who the speaker is, are not preserved, but as the expression *nam-lù-qal-mu*, "my human-kind," l. 2, could be used only by a deity who had some special relation to mankind, and as in the following line the possessive pronoun of the first person is anticipated by the genitive ^d*nin-tū-ra*, "of Nin-tu(r)," it seems that the words in ll. 1'-9' are uttered by Nin-tu, the goddess, who is usually known as Nin-ḫarsag(ga), Ninmah or Belit-ili, who according to l. 12 is one of the creators of mankind and evidently its chief creator. Note, moreover, that in the passage Gilg. Ep. XI_{122, 123} the almost identical term *nišêa*, "my people," is used by her, and also compare the annotations to 2₁₁.

On the other hand, it would seem that the highest of the gods, Anu or Enlil, or the Anu Enlil, would be likely to be credited with determining the duties and rights of man; in this case ^d*nin-tū-ra* might easily be taken as a dative dependent on *ga-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí*, but the expressions "my human kind" and "my works" would present some difficulty if they have to be referred to Anu or Enlil; and as we shall see that Nin-ḫarsag herself was, in the oldest period, one of the supreme ruler-deities, it should not surprise us that we find her here in the rôle of Anu or Enlil.

For the allusion to the destruction of mankind in *nam-lù-qal-mu ḫa-lam-ma-bi-a*, l. 2, I cannot give a satisfactory explanation at the present. As the roots of the verbal forms in ll. 2 and 3 are broken off, and as the meaning of the verbs

in the immediately following lines is not sufficiently clear, we cannot even say whether Nintu according to this passage wishes to have the human race destroyed or whether she promises to guard it against destruction. In the former case we should have to assume a situation such as is presupposed in the lamentation of Belit-ili because of her participation in the plan to destroy the human race, Gilg. Ep. XI₁₂₀₋₁₂₄; we should then have here already a reference to the cause of the deluge which forms the theme of the last four columns of our tablet; but as in this case the lower part of Column 1 and practically the whole of Column 2 would have to be taken as a kind of retrospective sketch inserted into the main stream of the narrative, the second possibility, namely, that Nintu promises to guard her creation against possible extinction, seems to me by far preferable. A definite solution, however, will be possible only through the recovery of the parts now missing.

On the supposition that ll. 2, 3 and 4 are parallel lines, they may perhaps be reconstructed as follows:

nam-lù-qal-mu ḥa-lam-ma-bi-a ga-ba-n[i-ib-gí-gí]
^dnin-tū-ra nig-dím-dím-ma-mu sì-[...-bi-a]
 ga-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí.

The last verbal form as well as the forms ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-ru-dé?, l. 5', and ní-ga-ba-ab-dúb-bu, l. 7, seem to belong to the middle theme ga-bab-dim, "let me make for myself," which, however, in the idiom of our text appears with a final e (gab-gurrud-e, ní-gab-dubb-u)¹. Ḥa-lam-ma-bi-a ga-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí therefore might perhaps be translated, "I shall cause them to beed from their destruction."

Ki-ùr, l. 5', is in Semitic durusšu, which according to 5 R 41_{5h} is a synonym of alu, "city," and according to 2 R 35₄₅ a synonym of išdu, "foundation."

The meaning of ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-ru-dé is very doubtful. Note that gur(rud) as well as gí-gí have the meaning of "to

¹ See U.M.B.S., Vol. VI, Grammatical Texts.

turn." In case the passage should refer to the destruction of mankind, a translation, "The land in its foundations let us overthrow," would be possible; otherwise the meaning of the passage must be something like: "The people in their settlements let us cause to (for us)."

Uru-ki-me-a-bi, l. 6, presents great difficulties; note that we have here me-a-bi, while the following lines have only me-a. Possibly me-a-bi is a contraction of two variants me-a, "our," and bi, "their;" in this case URU . KI might have to be taken as uru^{ki} : uru^{ki}-bi ħe-im-mi-in-dū, "his cities may he build." However, the meaning "our" for me-a is by no means certain, and ki-me-a-bi may be a formation analogous to a-na-me-a-bi, "whosoever," and mean "wherever (he has built a city)." Cf. also Gudea, Cyl. A 1⁴, uru-me-a NIG-UL PA-nam-è, etc.

The subject of the singular ħe-im-mi-in-dū is "man" in a collective sense.

Ní-ga-ba-ab-dúb-bu perhaps = "I will (or let us) cause them to rest in it (or upon it, upon them)." Cf. ní-dúb(-dúb) = pašâĥu, "to rest," nâĥu, "to rest," but also kuppuru?, kubburu, etc. = destroy?

Is ki-eš, l. 9, perhaps a different writing for kēš^{ki}, the sanctuary of Belit-ili?

With l. 10 the direct speech, in which the deity explains her intention with regard to mankind seems to be at an end, the following lines probably relating in the third person that this deity establishes the laws by which her intentions are definitively carried into effect. Compare also the similar relation between the direct speech in Column 2_{4,7} and the phrase garza-me-maĥ šu-mi-ni-ib-šu-dú in l. 11. For another possibility, however, see immediately below.

The meaning of l. 12 is entirely obscure to me; the verbs seem to be immab-dū and munin-gă, so that ki-a and DI?-ga would probably be objects or designations of the place where the actions take place. But a verbal form ga-mu-ni-in-gă, "I will in it," would not be impossible, in which case naturally ll. 10-12 would be part of the direct speech and

the subject of the verbs in ll. 10, 11 and 12a would therefore be "man," not the deity, ll. 10 and 11 then forming simply an amplification of ll. 8 and 9.

In the last lines of the first column, ll. 13-17, the narrative, after a recapitulation of the creation of mankind, turns to the creation of the animals. This recapitulation, short as it is, is of the greatest value for us, because it gives us the names of the creators of mankind, namely, An, Enlil, Enki and Nin-ḫarsagga.

THE GODDESS NIN-ḪARSAG

Among these four deities, the goddess Nin-ḫarsagga, "Lady of the mountains," claims our special interest, because our tablet furnishes the first unequivocal evidence of her participation in the work of creation. The list An | ^da-nu-um gives as her most common Semitic name belit-ili, "Lady of the gods," of which ^dnin-dingir-e-ne, one of her Sumerian names, is the exact equivalent. From the inscriptions, however, she is best known, aside from the name Nin-ḫarsagga, as ^dmaḫ, "the great one," ^dnin-maḫ, "the sublime lady," and ^dnin-tu or ^dnin-tū, the former of which means "Lady of child-bearing," while the latter has no clear etymology.

The name "Lady of the gods" clearly indicates that Nin-ḫarsag was one of the deities who held the highest rank among the great gods, and this is fully borne out by the fact that in the inscriptions she is associated with An, Enlil and Enki, the oldest and most important ruler gods, and not with Sin, Šamaš, Ištar, Adad, etc., the younger of the great gods. It will be observed that in our text she is mentioned after An, Enlil and Enki, which shows that at the time when the tablet was written she followed in rank these three gods. Exactly the same order is found in the kudurru inscriptions of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B. C., as will be seen from the

following list of the gods mentioned in the imprecations at the ends of these inscriptions.¹

Susa, reign of Meli-Šipak (Dél. en Perse II, pl. 21-27) : Anu, Enlil, Ea and Nin-ḫarsagga (= ilī^{pl}rabûti^{pl}), Marduk, Sin, NinIB, Gula.

Susa, reign of Marduk-apla-iddina (Dél. en Perse VI, pl. 9, 10) : Anu, Enlil, Ea, Nin-ḫarsag, Sin and Ningal, Šamaš and Aⁱⁱa, etc. (follow 37 other gods).

London 105, PA-ŠE dynasty (3R 41) : Anu, Enlil, Ea, Ninmaḫ (= ilī^{pl}rabûti^{pl}), Sin, Šamaš, Ištar, Marduk, etc.

Caillou de Michaux, PA-ŠE dynasty (1R 70) : Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmaḫ (= ilī^{pl}rabûti^{pl}), Marduk, Šamaš, Sin, etc.

Compare also the same order in the passage Surpu IV₄₂; 4 (= in the fourth place) lip-tu-ru ^da-nu-um ^den-lil ^dé-a u ^dnin-maḫ.

Many of the kudurru inscriptions, however, do not mention Nin-maḫ at all, which indicates that in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B. C., despite the fact that Nin-ḫarsagga was one of the highest of the great deities, the cult of the goddess did not have the same importance which it must have had at some earlier period. Note also that in the knob inscription of the Cassite king, Ulaburariaš, of the Country of the Sea,² she is even relegated to the fifth place, the gods being enumerated in the order an-nu ^dAB(or nab? = Enlil) ^dšár-šár (= Ea), ^dmarduk, ^dnin-maḫ; here we notice evidently the influence of the theology of Babylon, according to which Marduk is the ruler-god *κατ' ἐξοχην* and therefore is placed before Nin-maḫ. It may perhaps be mentioned here that the former deity seems to have played a much more important rôle during the earlier Cassite period than during the kingdom of Karduniaš and the second dynasty of Isin, if we may judge from the fact that King Agum rebuilt the temple of Marduk at Babylon, in all its former splendor. During the kingdom

¹ See Hinke, BE Ser. D IV, pp. 231-240.

² Weissbach, Bab. Misc., No. 3.

of Karduniaš, however, the Enlil worship, as far as our present material allows us to draw conclusions, again gains the ascendancy over all other cults, probably because the kingdom of Karduniaš had its center in southern Babylonia.¹ As we shall see below, this was probably likewise responsible for the increasing importance of the cult of Nin-ḫarsag at that time.

In a much earlier period, at the time of Eannadu (at the beginning of the fourth millennium B. C.) and Gudea (at the beginning of the third millennium), however, Nin-ḫarsag held an even higher station than in the kudurru inscriptions of the Cassite time, inasmuch as she then ranked immediately after An and Enlil, preceding the god Enki. Cf., *e.g.*,

Eannadu, Stele of Vultures : (An either mentioned in the preceding column or not mentioned at all); En-lil 16-17₂₀; Nin-ḫarsag 17₂₁-18₂₂; En-ki 18₂₃-19; Sin 20-21; (lacuna); Utu Rev. 1-2; Nin-ki 3-5₄₁.

Gudea, Statue B, in the curses: 8 ⁴⁴an-e ⁴⁶en-lil-e ⁴⁶nin-ḫar-sag-ge, ⁴⁷en-ki ge, ⁴⁸sin dé, ⁴⁹d. nin-gir-su ge, etc. (follow eleven other gods).

Gudea, Cyl. B. : 12 ²⁶an-azag-gi zi-dé-šù mu-gă 13¹ ^den-lil-e sag-ba gur-bí-dar ^{2d}nin-ḫar-sag-ge igi-zi ba-ši-bar ^{3d}en-ki lugal-eriduⁱ-ge temen-bi mu-si ⁴en-zi-šà- - -ga-ge ^{5d}sin-e me-bi an-ki-a im-mi-diri-ga-ám, etc.

Ibidem: 19 ¹⁸an zag-gal-la mu-na-KU ¹⁹an-ra ^den-lil im-ma-ni-uš ^{20d}en-lil-ra ^{21d}nin-maḫ mu-ni-uš (the following lines are missing).

The same sequence of the gods as in these early Sumerian inscriptions is also presupposed in the list of gods An | ^da-num, as may be seen from its arrangement:

- Tablet I. An and his circle.
Enlil and his circle.
- Tablet II. Maḫ (Belit-ili) and her circle.
Enki and his circle, including Marduk.

¹ Note also that the names of the Cassite kings, Kadašman-Enlil, Kudur-Enlil, are compounded with Enlil.

Tablet III. Nanna and his circle.

Utu and his circle.

Tablet IV. Innanna and her circle.

Tablet V. NinIB and his circle.

Tablet VI. Nergal and his circle.

This fact proves, of course, that the origin of the list An |^da-nu-um goes back to a very early time.

The inscriptions with which we have thus far dealt, and which attribute so great an importance to Nin-ḫarsag, are all of South-Babylonian origin. An examination of inscriptions from Northern Babylonia, however, shows that there the Lady of the gods did not at any time play an important part. In Naram-Sin's inscription in the fourth column of the reverse of No. 36, *e. g.*, she is not mentioned at all among the "great gods"¹ who are enumerated in the order: Innanna-Annunitum, Anu, Enlil, Zamama, Sin, Šamaš, Nergal, Umes and Ninkar(a). It will be observed that the goddess Ištar has here taken the place of the supreme ruler-deity and that as such she is placed even above Anu and Enlil. On the other hand, the inscription also omits Enki who was likewise a deity primarily of the South.

As Nin-ḫarsag, however, the goddess is mentioned in the imprecations at the end of the so-called cruciform monument in Column 12_{26.29}², which proves that she was worshipped in Northern Babylonia during the Sargonic period; but the contents of the curse, namely, that she may cut off the bringing forth of children in the land, shows that she was worshipped there only as goddess of birth, not as a ruler-deity. In the imprecations at the end of his code of laws, Hammurabi enumerates the following great deities³: Anu, Rev. 26₄₅, Enlil 26₅₃ (Ninlil and Enlil 26₈₁), Enki 26₉₈, Šamaš 27₁₄, Sin 27₄₁, Iškur 27₆₄, Zamama 27₈₁, Innanna 27₉₂, Nergal 28₂₄, Nintu 28₄₀ and Ninkarrak 28₅₀. Here Nin-ḫarsag is mentioned under her name ^dnin-tu, but she plays a very subordinate part, inasmuch as

¹ Ll. 15-17. i-lu ra-bí-ù-tum.

² Column 12 ^{26d}nin-ḫar-sag-ga ²⁷in ma-ti-su ^{28a}la-da-am ^{29li}ip-ru-us.

³ Reverse, Column 28₇₀ ilû rabûtum (= DINGIR-GAL-GAL.) ša ša-me-e ù ir-ši-tim.

she is mentioned as the tenth among eleven deities and again only in her character as goddess of birth.

From the examination of the inscriptions it is evident that Nin-ḥarsag, at least in her character as ruler-deity, was a specifically South-Babylonian deity, an observation which, moreover, is entirely corroborated by the fact that her principal sanctuaries Keš and Adab¹ were both situated in Southern Babylonia; it even seems that for this reason, at least during the oldest periods when the Sumerians were in full possession

¹ For Keš see, *e. g.*, Eannadu, Stele of Vultures, Obv. 18 ⁶d⁶nin-ḥar-sag-ra ⁶kéš^{kl}-šù 7. . . . [.]; Rim-Sin, date (Strassm. 11 and 12): mu ^dri-im-^dsin lugal ^dnin-maḥ-e é-kéš^{kl}-temen-an-ki-bi-da-ta nam-lugal-kalam-kiš?-gál-la-šù ba-an- -la, etc.; the list of gods An | ^da-nu-um mentions as belonging to Ninḥarsag's circle the god ^dsa-kisal-nun-na nimgir kéš[ki. . .] "prefect of Keš" and ^dlugal-igi-ug nimgir adab^{kl} [. . .] "prefect of Adab."

For Adab see, beside the last quoted passage, the inscription of Lugal-anna-mundu of Adab (No. 75 and BE VI, Part 2, No. 130) which mentions our goddess as ^dnin-tū in l. 1, and as ^dmaḥ in l. 26, and, furthermore, the inscriptions excavated by Banks at Bismya, *e. g.*, Vase of Mesilim, Banks, Bismya, p. 266:

1. me-silim	Mesilim
2. lugal kiš	king of Kiš,
3. dumu-ki-ág	beloved son
4. ^d nin-ḥar-sag [. . .]	of Ninḥarsag.
5. [.] . . . ^{k[^l]}
(Rest is missing.)	

Brick inscription of Dungi, *ibid.*, p. 134:

1. ^d nin-ḥar-sag	For Nin-ḥarsag,
2. nin-a-ni	his lady,
3. dun-gi	Dungi,
4. nita-kal-ga	the strong hero,
5. lugal-uri ^{kl} -ma	king of Ur,
6. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ge	king of Šumer and Akkad
7. ^g keš-šā	her beloved
8. ki-ág-ni	Kešša
9. mu-na-dū	he built for her.

(This inscription, by the way, proves that the stone tablet of Ur-engar, OBI, No. 121, came from Bismya; the last lines of this inscription have to be supplemented and translated:

kéš(a) ^{kl}	her beloved
[k]i-ág-gā-ni	Keš(a)
[m]u-na-dú	he built for her.

Note the variants ^gkeš-šā and kéš(a)^{kl}; kéš(š)a evidently denotes the sacred district of Nin-ḥarsag which was named for her sacred city Keš.

Copper tablet of E-igi-nim-PA-ê, *ibid.*, p. 200, l. 1, and No. 311 (of this publication), which is identical with the first-mentioned inscription.

of Southern Babylonia, the idea of domination over Southern Babylonia was associated with Nin-ḫarsag. In this connection it may also be remembered that when Rim-Sin, in the earlier part of Samsuiluna's reign, caused a revolt of Southern Babylonia against the rule of the Akkadians, the goddess Nin-maḫ, as he tells us in a date formula, raised him to the kingship over the totality(?) of the land¹ in her temple Keš(a).

The fact that Nin-ḫarsag is associated with the highest of the supreme gods is due entirely to her character as a ruler-deity; for the possession of royal power places the divine ruler over the other gods in the same way as it raises a human king above even the most powerful of his subjects. This also is the simple reason why in the earliest inscriptions she ranks above the god Enki, who was primarily a god of wisdom, etc., and not a god of lordship, a trait which appertains only to Anu and Enlil, and, as we see from the inscriptions above quoted, to Nin-ḫarsag. There is, of course, no doubt that originally Anu, the god of Heaven, the highest of the gods, was worshipped as the sole supreme ruler of the universe. The fact that already in the earliest periods of Babylonian history to which our information goes back, Enlil and Nin-ḫarsag are associated with him as gods of domination, presupposes that in still earlier times these two deities must have played an important part in some significant political event in the Euphrates and Tigris basin. As will be seen from the title *rubâtum* (var. *ru-batum*) *ši-ir-tum ša ma-ta-tim*, "the sublime lady of the lands," given to Nin-ḫarsag by Hammurabi in his code of laws, the theologians claimed for her the same authority over the countries of the earth as otherwise is exclusively ascribed to Enlil. It is thus evident that the ancient kingdom to whose political predominance the goddess owed her rise to such a supreme position among the gods, must have held sway not only over Babylonia, but over all the surrounding countries. From the human point of view the claim of the goddess to the rule over

¹ The meaning of the expression *kalam kiš?-gál-la* or *uku-kiš?-gál-la* is not quite certain.

the world takes the form of a bestowal of royal power and its insignia upon the human king; in the quoted date formula of Rim-Sin, Ninmah, therefore, raises the king to kingship, and compare also Code of Hammurabi: 1 ⁵⁰ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi . . . 3 ²⁴be-lum zi-ma-at ²⁵ḥa-aṭ-di-im ²⁶ša u-ša-ak-li-lu-šu ²⁸e-ri-iš-tum ^{29d}ma-ma, "Hammu-rabi, the lord, the adornment¹ of sceptre and tiara wherewith the wise Mama has adorned him." In her character as bestower of the royal diadem Nin-ḥarsag was called ^dnin-men-na, "lady of the tiara," in Semitic be-lit me-a-am-mi and be-lit ma-a-mi, from which perhaps her names ^dma-ma and ^dma-mi² have been derived. Of course, she herself likewise wore the diadem as we see from the text 76, Col. 7₁₀₋₁₄ where the unknown king, the author of the inscription, says that he proceeded to the chamber of Ninmenna and placed a golden tiara upon her head.

Nin-ḥarsag is an entirely independent type of the female deity and has nothing to do either with Ninlil or Ištar, with both of whom she is usually identified.³ A clear indication of her independent character may be seen in the fact that she appears as the supreme deity of the cities where she was worshipped, whereas Ninlil, as far as we know, is always only a reflexion of Enlil. Nin-ḥarsag has a husband, the god DUN-PA-è, but he plays a very insignificant rôle beside her, about such a rôle as the wife of a great god plays beside her husband. According to the list of gods An | ^da-nu-um (CT 24, 1₂₃; 20₁₅) a goddess ^dbelit(or rubat)-i-li⁴ appears as the wife of Anu, and a few lines further on the same deity is equated with Antum and Ištar. Whether this Belit-ili is identical with Ninmah, is not certain, but if so, the fact that she is identified with Antum as well as Ištar would at least indicate that this goddess cannot originally have been connected with Anu and his circle. It

¹ Perhaps simtum has a passive meaning = "he who is adorned with something."

² For these names see in the list of gods An | ^da-nu-um, CT 24, 12, 25, the 18th, 40th and 41st names of Belit-ili.

³ Thus, *e. g.*, Zimmern in KT², p. 428-430 (Belit-ili and Ninmah = Ištar) and p. 356 (Nin-ḥarsag = Ninlil); Jastrow, Religion I, p. 55 (= Ninlil) and p. 252 (= Ištar).

⁴ Has the name to be read so?

is, however, much more likely that belit-ili is simply the title which Antum and Ištar bore as supreme ruler-deities, though Antum evidently only as the counterpart of Anum. The orthography of the name is clearly that of the Dynasty of Akkad, and it will be remembered that Ištar under Naram-Sin is in fact the highest of the gods, ranking even above An and Enlil. On the other hand, under the name DINGIR-SIG-za-gín-na our goddess Belit-ili (Maḥ according to a duplicate), as well as her husband ŠUL-PA-è-a under the name ^dmaškim-mi¹-lù-ḥar-ra-an-na, plays some part in the circle of Enlil, CT 24, 6_{16,17}; although the list does not state what their exact connection with it was, yet from the fact that DINGIR-SIG-zaginna is mentioned together with Ninlil and Šuzianna, the wives of Enlil,² it follows that she too was here conceived in the character of a female counterpart of Enlil. Nevertheless, since neither the goddess is expressly designated as the wife of Enlil, nor her husband as Enlil, it is evident that this combination in the list An | ^da-nu-um only indicates a general relation between the two ruler-deities, although the mere fact that SIG-zaginna is mentioned together with Ninlil makes it very likely that the equation was based on some special local cult.

Another side of Nin-ḥarsag's character is that of the mother-goddess. A comparatively frequent appellation of hers is, *e. g.*, ama-dingir-ri-ne, "mother of the gods;" cf. Ur-Bau, Statue, 3 ^{8d}nin-ḥar-sag ama-dingir-ri-ne-ra é-gir-su^{ki}-ka-ni ²mu-na-dū; Lu-Utu, clay nail, 1 ^{1d}nin-ḥar-sag ²ama-dingir-ri-ne-ra, etc. Gudea, Statue A, 3 ⁴nin an-ki-a nam-tar-ri-dé ^{5d}nin-tu ²ama-dingir-ri-ne-ge, etc., "the lady who determines the fate in Heaven and upon earth, Nintu, the mother of the gods," etc.³ It will

¹ See note . . . on p. . . .

² The order is:

1. Ninlil (7 names) | dam-bi sal.

2. Šuzianna | dam-banda ^denlillage, etc. Enzikalamma | ^ddam-bi ^denlilli!

3. DINGIR-SIG-zaginna | ^dbe-lit-ì-lí. Maškim-mi-lù-ḥarranna | ^dŠUL-PA-è-a.

Šuzianna, to mention this by the way, is of course not identical with Ninlil, as usually is stated, but another wife (dam-banda) of Enlil.

³ Beginning of the name of a statue which Gudea set up in the temple of Nin-ḥarsag at Girsu.

be observed that ama-dingir-ri-ne is an exact parallel to the appellation ab-ba-dingir-ri-ne, "father of the gods," which is given to the ruler-god Enlil; cf., *e. g.*, Entemena, Cone, 1^{1d}en-lil lugal-kur-kur-ra³ab-ba dingir-ri-ne-ge. The terms ab-ba-dingir-ri-ne and ama-dingir-ri-ne do not necessarily imply the idea of physical fatherhood or motherhood, but rather have the meaning, leader of the gods or the first of the puḫur ilī; nevertheless the origin of the title undoubtedly lay in the idea of physical fatherhood, for there are many indications of the belief among the Babylonians that Anu the god of Heaven or the Heaven itself, and his wife Ki, "the earth," were the progenitors of the gods.¹ From this point of view it would be very tempting to establish a connection between Nin-ḫarsag and Ki, for ḫar-sag, "mountain," or in a collective sense "mountains," might very well be taken as an expression for "earth." Our present material, however, does not afford sufficient evidence for this equation; still it may be kept in mind that Enlil also undoubtedly had originally some relation to the earth, although in the later development of his cult this side of his character has been completely overshadowed by other characteristics.

A clear allusion to physical motherhood, however, is found in two of Nin-ḫarsag's names in the list An | ^da-nu-um, namely, ^dama-tu-ū-da (var. ^dama-ù-tu-da), "mother of child-bearing," and ^dama-dû-bad = ummu pi-ta-at bar-ki, var. um-mu pi-ta-a-at bir(!)²-ki, "the mother whose lap (literally knees) is open(ed)." Note also that in Gudea, Statue A, the name Nintu, which in the list An | ^da-nu-um is written ^dnin-tū(r) and expressly glossed as (nin-)tu-ur, is written ^dnin-tu(d), which means "the lady of child-bearing" or the like; unless this writing is due to a mistake of the scribe, which is not at all likely, we should have here at least an attempt to refer the name to child-bearing, though the mere existence of the form ^dnin-tū(r), ^dnin-tū-ra seems to place it beyond any doubt that the latter is the original

¹ A remembrance of the supreme position of An and Ki is still found in the part which they play in the incantations; their names have power even over the highest gods.

² Cf. Meissner, OLZ 109, Cols. 199-201.

name. But in the code of Hammurabi, Rev. 28₄₀, we have the same writing ^dnin-tu(d) again and there the relation of the goddess to child-bearing is not liable to any doubt, because Hammurabi gives her the predicate ummum ba-ni-ti, "the mother who has born me," and wishes that she may deny male offspring to the king who should destroy his inscription, and that she may not "create seed of mankind in the midst of his people." Notwithstanding the obscurity of the etymology of the name Nintu(r), it seems to me, that we have in this side of the character of Nin-ḥarsag an original trait. It may be expected that the full publication of the results of the excavations at Bismya will give us some information on this point, for Banks reports that he found small clay reliefs "representing most obscene figures," and although he brings them into connection with Ištar, who likewise had a temple at Adab, called E-sar or E-sar-ra, they may perhaps be votive objects presented to the goddess of birth. Likewise there is no doubt that the clay figurines which have been found at Nippur and other places, and which represent a goddess suckling a child and clasping one of her breasts, are representations of Nin-ḥarsag and not of Ninlil as it is mostly assumed,¹ and the more so, because we know from the inscriptions that the image of Nin-ḥarsag was conceived as that of a mother suckling a child. In the description of images of deities, K 2148², it is expressly said of ^dnin-tu or ^dmaḥ: ⁵irat-sa pi-ta-a-at ⁶ina GUBU-šá še-ir-ra na-šat-ma UBUR-šá ik-kal ⁷ina ZAG-šá i-kar-rab, "her breast is open (*i. e.*, bare?), in her left she carries a child sucking (?) her (left) breast, with the right she *blesses*."³ Cf. also the vase inscription of Lugal-zaggisi in which this king designates himself as 1 ²⁸ga-zi-kú-a ^{29d}nin-ḥar-sag, "who was (or is) nourished by the true milk of Nin-ḥarsag." In all likelihood therefore the Mylitta of Herodotus also is the goddess Nin-ḥarsag.

¹ As images of Belit-ili (= Ištar) referred to by Zimmern, KAT³, p. 429, note 5.

² Bezold, ZA IX, p. 121.

³ The clay images represent the goddess as clasping her right breast with her right hand. Is this perhaps the gestus of the karābu?

A feature of the character of the goddess, widely different, at least at first sight, from those with which we have hitherto dealt, refers to her wisdom and skill in the handicrafts, especially of the carpenter or wood-carver, the potter and the copper-smith. It will be remembered that Hammurabi refers to her as *erištum Mama*, "the wise Mama." Then observe that one of her names in the list *An | ^da-nu-um* is *^dgurgur-dingir-ri-ne*, "coppersmith of the gods," another *^d[.....]NAGAR-kalam-ma*, "coppersmith(?) of the land," *^dnin-paḥar*, "lady potter."¹ What the proudest works of her hands were, we may again infer from names of hers. She was, *e. g.*, called *nagar-nam-lù-gal-lu*, "carpenter of mankind;" *^dnagar-šà-ga*, "carpenter of the heart;" *^dnig-zi-gál-dím-dím-me* (var. *-ma*), "builder of what has breath;" *^den-MĀ+SAL-dím*, "the maker of" We see from these names that *Nin-ḥarsag* once, no doubt, at the time of creation, exerted her skill in carving men as well as all other living beings in wood, or in moulding them in clay, and she too made the most wonderful part of the human body, the heart or the interior of the body.

AN, ENLIL AND ENKI AS CREATORS.

The first three of the deities who created mankind according to our text, An, Enlil and Enki, are mentioned as creators, without *Nin-ḥarsag*, in two short school texts containing the introductory phrases to an incantation or the like. One, which is written in Akkadian, begins with the words: *Enuma Anum, Enlil, Ea, il^{pl} rabûti, ina milkišuna kîni ušurât šamê û irsitim iškunû*, etc., "when Anu, Enlil and Ea, the great gods, by their legitimate counsel made the forms (images) of Heaven and earth," etc. The other, Sumerian, text contains the same phrase, but in a very corrupted Sumerian, and was evi-

¹ See also Jensen, KB 6, 1, p. 544 to *^dšu-gal-an-zu*.

dently wrongly reproduced by the pupil; it runs: \hat{u} an-na¹ \hat{d} en-lil-lá¹ \hat{d} en-ki dingir[-gal-gal-e-ne] malga²-ne-ne-gi-na-ta³ megal-gal-la[. . . .].

In all instances where the works of creation are referred to, Anu as well as Enlil is credited only with the creation of the universe in general or, to use the Babylonian term, of Heaven and earth, but no special creative work within the universe is ascribed to either of them, at least not in the material known to us. Enki, however, is credited, *e. g.*, in Weissbach, Miscellen 12, with the creation of the apsû, the brick god, vegetation, mountains, seas, the king and mankind, etc. The reason for this is evidently that Enki is a god of wisdom and clever designs, qualities which are indispensable to a god who is to create complicated organisms such as living beings, etc. It will be observed that in this respect Enki and Nin-ḫarsag are deities of a kindred character, and we may suppose that this somehow or other must have led to contradictory or at least parallel accounts of the creation. In our text this difficulty is entirely avoided by the general statement that mankind was made by the four creators.

So far as we know of Anu's and Enlil's character, it is not likely that there ever existed the belief that they tried their hand at special creative acts requiring any display of wisdom and skill. Their share in the creation of mankind consisted probably in the mere expression of their desire to have the earth peopled with living beings while they left it to the other gods, especially to the gods of wisdom and skilled handicraft, to devise the necessary means and to execute their wishes. Indeed the ordinary procedure in all that is done by the ruling god is that he convenes the assembly of the gods to ask their

¹ The a after an and \hat{d} enlil is entirely uncalled for.

² MAL+GĀ = malga is loanword from the Semitic milku; for the pronunciation, see CT 12, 34^{13a}.

³ The pupil made the mistake of following the position of the words in Akkadian; in correct Sumerian the sequence of the words is of course, malga-gina-(a)nene-ta. See U. M. B. S., Vol. VI, Chapter I, Grammatical Texts.

advice which he is likely to follow, and evidently the procedure in the creation will not have made an exception to this rule. Note that CT 13, 34 states expressly that the gods in their assembly created Heaven, earth and all things,¹ and that according to the practice tablets above quoted, Anu, Enlil and Ea first deliberated with one another before they began the work of creation. Thus also Marduk in the epic *Enuma eliš* first communicates his plan to create man to the gods,² and, although the following part of the poem is most fragmentary, yet enough remains to show us that Ea aids him with his counsel and perhaps this god and eventually another deity even actually effected the creation of man, though the process of substituting Marduk in the rôle of older gods may very well have already been carried so far as to ascribe to him the actual creation of man, which would be quite possible since Marduk is a god of wisdom.

As the relation between Nin-ḫarsagga and Enki, so also that between An and Enlil with regard to their respective part in the creation of man is left entirely undetermined by the general character of the statements in our text. There is no doubt that either god must have played about the same rôle as the other, since both are essentially ruler-deities; the difficulty which naturally arises from this fact, was, however, overcome by the doctrine that the power of the supreme god might be exercised by another ruler-god in consequence of the former's resolution to confer his own power upon the other, thus making him the legitimate ruler. The epic *Enuma eliš* therefore relates at length how the Anûtu, *i. e.*, the supreme power and functions of Anum, was conferred on Marduk; and although as yet we have no direct testimony for a similar legal transfer of Anu's power to Enlil, yet the constant association of Anu and Enlil in the inscriptions and the fact that the term Enlilûtu expresses on the whole the same idea as Anûtu, leave no doubt that

¹ E-nu-ma ilî^{pl} i-na bu-uḫ-ri-šû-nu ib-nu-u [.], etc.

² Tablet VI, at the beginning.

the doctrine above referred to was likewise applied to the relation between Enlil and Anu, *i. e.*, that Enlil became "the Anu," as Marduk later became "the Enlil." This latter relation has often been conceived as an identification of Marduk with Enlil, and here, as in many other cases, the tendency to identify distinctly separate gods has played a somewhat unfortunate part. That here we have a relation quite different from what is implied by the term "identical," is clearly shown by the fact that although Enlil acts in the character of Anu, and Marduk later in the character of Enlil, yet Anu as well as Enlil never ceased to be distinct and independent gods and what is more, always remained the highest of the gods and the ultimate legal source of divine power. A most instructive illustration of this conception is, *e. g.*, the beginning of the inscriptions of Samsuiluna LIH 97-99, according to which An and Enlil look favorably upon Marduk, confer the lordship over the four quarters of the world upon him, etc., wherea; Marduk, who is now "the Enlil of his land,"¹ entrusts the shepherding of the land, etc., to Samsuiluna, the human ruler. It is clear that Marduk simply acts as Enlil by performing his functions as ruler, but he is as little identical with Enlil as Samsuiluna with Marduk. Our own text is likewise an example for this peculiar theological problem, for throughout the tablet neither An nor Enlil is mentioned alone,² though six times their names are mentioned together (1₁₃ 3_{18,19} 4₁₀ 6_{3,7}); moreover, it will be observed that in 6_{8,9} the verbal forms of which an-^den-lil is the subject, are in the singular, so that it is very likely that an-^den-lil has to be translated "the Anu Enlil," *i. e.*, Enlil representing not only his own power, but also the authority of An. Viewed from a literary point of view this combination of the names of the two gods evidently indicates a conscious blending of two separate versions of the deluge story, one with Anum and the other with Enlil as the chief god. It may be recalled that,

¹ Ll. 17, 18: ^den-lil kalam-ma-na = ^den-lil ma-ti-šu.

² Except An in zi-an-na zi-ki-a 6i.

according to the introduction to the deluge story which is inserted in the Gilgameš epic, Anu is the supreme deity, "the father of the gods;"¹ yet later on Enlil alone appears as the ruler of the gods, a clear indication that also in this account two separate versions, one with Anum and one with Enlil as the chief deity, have been fused into one. As a version which recognizes Enlil alone as the ruling god, the Atra-ḫasis epic may be cited, in which Enlil is described as the father of the gods, that is, he is here given also the title and the position which Anu holds in the version of the Gilgameš epic. At the present we know unfortunately almost nothing of the various forms in which the story must have been told at the various Babylonian sanctuaries; but from the above remarks we may at least conclude that there existed at Uruk and other sacred cities of Anu a version in which Anu still figured alone in his supreme power.

As we have seen that Nin-ḫarsag also was a ruler-deity, the question may be asked as to whether perhaps a version of the creation story did not exist in which she not only appeared in the rôle of Enki as the wise maker of human beings, etc., but at the same time in the rôle of Enlil and Anu. This question, however, cannot be answered with the help of our present material. An indication might perhaps be seen in the repentance of Belit-ili in the deluge story of the Gilgameš epic for having spoken unfavorably of mankind in the assembly of the gods and having ordered a "fight" to destroy her people;² this incident may very well have been taken from a version in which Nin-ḫarsag played a more prominent part than she does in the present form of the epic.

The post-positive element a-ba after mu-un-dim-eš, in l. 14', has the force of a verbal conjunction meaning "after," "when"

¹ Gilg. Ep. XI, 15.

² Gilg. Ep. XI₁₂₂.

(with pluperfect). It seems to me that *ba* contains the demonstrative element *bi* and the locative element *a* = "upon (the occurrence of) this," the first *a* being probably identical with the relative *a* which gives definite verbal forms the force of a noun; possibly we may have to render the demonstrative idea of *bi* by adding a "thus" : "after thus they had created."¹ Whether, on the other hand, it has some connection with the dialectical substantive *a-ba* (for *a-ga*) = *ar-ka-tum* 5 R 11^{29b}, must remain doubtful for the present.²

Line 15 evidently related a special work of creation which was achieved between the creation of man and of the animals; but as it is not possible to identify with certainty the second sign of the word *nig-x* which denotes the object of this creative act, I cannot offer a definite suggestion for the meaning of this line. In 6₁₁ we find *nig-x* in the genitive : *mu-nig-x-ma*, "the name of the," from which we can probably conclude that the phonetic value of the unidentified sign ended with *m*. In 6₅ the *ma* after *nig-x* seems to be a mistake of the scribe and to have therefore been erased. Unfortunately also the exact meaning of the following word *ki-ta*, "that which is below," in our passage is not quite clear: perhaps "ground" or "depth (of the ground or the waters?);" apparently the first *ki-ta* forms a genitive to *nig-x*, while the following *ki-ta* seems to be subject or secondary object of *mu-dib-dib*. According to our passage the *nig-x* is the product of the *ki-ta*; according to 6₅ it rises up from something, perhaps from the waters of the flood; it seems to play some important part in the salvation of *Ziugiddu*, for according to 6₁₁, if this passage is correctly interpreted, it is given the name "which saved the seed of mankind."

¹ It will be possible to determine the exact meaning of *-aba* only after we have a larger material at our disposal.

² In the passage *Rim-Sin*, stone tablet, ¹⁵*é-a-ni nig ú-ul-li-a-ta*¹⁶ *ba-dū . a-ba ba-sun* we might, accordingly, take *a-ba* either as post-positive conjunction and connect it with the preceding *ba-dū*: "his house which, after it had been built in old times, had been destroyed," or we might take it as an adverb and connect it with the following verb, "which had been built and later on had been destroyed." In view of the use of *aba* as a post-positive element in our text, the first explanation is perhaps preferable, though by no means certain.

As Zi-ugiddu prostrates himself before Enlil after the nig-x has risen (from the waters?), it probably is in some way or other connected with the presence of Enlil, and therefore we might perhaps think of some such meaning as "land," "stretch of land," though other meanings as, *e. g.*, "vegetation," etc., are quite possible.

Dib-dib perhaps = duššû, "to cause to be abundant," "to cause to sprout up;" or = šûtuqu, etc.?

For references to the creation of the animals see CT13, 34(DT41)_{3,4}: bu-ul šêri [u-ma-a]m šêri.....; CT13, 35₂₂: MĀŠ-ANŠU nig-zi-gál edin-na ba-dū = bu-ul šêri ši-kin napiš-ti ina ši-e-ri ib-ta-ni. According to our passage the animals were created after man just as in the second Biblical creation story in Genesis 2; we may conclude that this was likewise the order of the creation in the epic Enuma eliš, for Marduk's speech at the beginning of the sixth tablet refers to the creation of man only, and the animals, therefore, will have been created only after man that he might rule over them. The text CT 13, 34₃₋₆ mentions the animals of the plain before the namaššê ali, "the city tribes," *i. e.*, "men," but in this passage animals and men are taken together as šiknat napišti, "living creatures," in l. 3, and the writer of the text therefore may not have intended to observe a strict chronological sequence in these details. In CT 13, 35₂₀₋₂₂ again the beasts of the plain are created after men; moreover, it will be observed that in this text those beasts which live in the river marshes and on the mountains are created even later, because marshes and mountains were made later than the level country in which the creation of man and the animals of the plain took place.

COLUMN 2

The broken lines in the upper part of the preserved portion of Column 2 again contain a direct quotation in which, as in Column 1, a deity explains his intentions with regard to some subject, as will be seen from the fact that the verbal forms

begin with *ga*, "I will." There is not enough preserved to make out the general trend of the speech, but from the recapitulation in ll. 8–10 it follows that it referred to the establishment of the kingdom which was bestowed upon one of the created men. The statement as to what god is speaking, is not preserved, but as will be seen further below, there is little doubt that it was the Anu Enlil. The recapitulation is followed, in l. 11, by the phrase *garza-me-maḥ šu-mi-ni-ib-šu-dú* referring to the effective establishment by this god of the divine laws by which the kingdom existed.¹

The following lines, 12–19, refer to the founding of five cities and their bestowal upon certain gods who are called *kab-dū-ga*'s, a term which later on is also used of the *amaru*, the deluge demon. As the first of these cities is Eridu, the city of Nudimmud or Enki, it is clear that somewhere in the preceding, but now missing portions of the text, the founding of Uruk, the city of Anu, and of Nippur, the city of Enlil, must have been reported, and it would be natural that the first institution of the kingship, which is the subject of the preceding lines, is connected with the founding of these cities of the ruling gods, since according to the belief of the Babylonians the human king officiated as the vicegerent of the god of domination. We may recall in this connection that according to Berosus, who in every point follows the traditions of the Marduk cult, Alorus, the first of the prediluvian kings, was a Chaldean from Babylon, the city of the creator Marduk.² It is very likely that this version of the beginning of the history of Babylonia, which, of course, shows the influence of the theology of Babylon, had superseded an older tradition which located the first king in the city of the god who was then the supreme ruler-deity, namely, Anu or Enlil. A strong support, if not the final evidence,

¹ Concerning the first institution of the Babylonian kingdom by a god compare the quotation from Abydenus' "History of the Chaldeans" in Eusebius' *Chronicon* (Syncellus, p. 38 C): *βασιλεύσαι δὲ τῆς χώρας πρῶτον λέγει ἄλωρον τὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐωῦτοῦ λόγον διαδοῦναι ὅτι μιν τοῦ λεῶ ποιμένα ὁ θεὸς ἀποδείξει.*

² Eusebius, *Chronicon*, Chapter I, after Apollodorus (excerpt in Syncellus): *ἄλωρον ἐκ βαβυλωνος χαλδαίων.*

for our conclusions concerning the founding of Uruk and Nippur before Eridu and the other sacred cities may be found in the fact that in the creation text CT 13, 35f the sacred cities are built in the following sequence: first Eridu, the city of Ea, Marduk's father, l. 12, Babylon, the own city of Marduk, l. 14, and only then after the creation of mankind, animals, vegetation, bricks, etc., Nippur, the city of Enlil, l. 39, and Uruk, the city of Anu, l. 40. The tendency to have the city of the supreme god founded first is made here the more conspicuous by the fact that the text originally, before it was adapted to the requirements of the Marduk worship, conceded the first place among the gods to Enlil, and the glory of being founded first to the city of Nippur; for in that part of the text which emphasizes the original non-existence of the sacred cities, their sequence is Nippur, l. 6, Uruk, l. 7, and Eridu, l. 8, while no mention at all is made of Babylon. But even in this earlier form of the text we may already trace the same tendency; for the fact that Enlil's city Nippur is built before that of the highest god Anu, can be accounted for only on the assumption that the original text was written at a time when Enlil, not Anum, was the supreme ruler of Babylonia.¹

¹ 5 R 44, Column 217 mentions a king LÁL-úr-alim-ma (translated DÛ-GA(=tâb-ut-li-^denil) who according to 5 R 47, Rev. 5 dwelt in Nippur (a-šib Nippur^{kl}). As we do not know of a post-diluvian dynasty of Nippur, there is a possibility that he is the first prediluvian king whom Enlil established at Nippur immediately after he had founded this city. In this case the name of the first king Aloros might very well be abbreviated and corrupted from Lal-ur-alimma.

Apart from the poetical composition 4 R 60*(67) A—G, which depicts the sufferings of LAL-ur-alimma, and of which 5 R 47 is a commentary, LAL-ur-alimma is mentioned in line 2' of the reverse of the text published by King in STG II, pp. 216 and 217, where instead of the sign AMAR+ŠE at the beginning of the line the original has evidently the sign LÁL. The passage, which as far as I know has hitherto escaped observation, runs:

² LÁL! : da-a-bi : úr : ut!-lum : a[lim : ^den-lil.]

³ mu-šu-u šá šâr nippur^{kl} : ŠUL-MU. [.]

⁴ GIŠ-MES-ki-in-gi-ra : ħu-la-me š[u?]

⁵ ki-in-gi : nippur^{kl} : ir : šá-la-la[.]

Note that here LAL-ur-alimma is evidently king of Nippur according to l. 3, and that kingi (= kengi) is equated with Nippur, so that the historical titles "en of Kengi" and "king of Kengi" denote domination over Nippur and evidently claim to be a renewal of the title of the first king after the creation. We may conclude from this that the Sumerian equivalent for šâr nippur^{kl} in l. 3, with which l. 2 must have closed, was lugal-ki-in-gi-ra.

Judging from the order in which the gods rank in our text, it might be expected that the city *bád-NAGAR+DIS^{ki}* in l. 16 was the sacred and chief city of the goddess *Nin-ḫarsag*; but as the name of the city and that of the deity to whom the city is given are otherwise unknown, it is impossible to come to any conclusion on this point.

The city of Larak, which is bestowed upon the god *Pabil-ḫar-sag*, is, of course, identical with *Larancha*¹, which according to *Berosus* was the seat of the last three prediluvian kings, or at least the seat of *Amempsinos* and *Otiartes*, since it is not expressly stated that *Xisuthros*, the son of *Otiartes*, lived in *Larancha*. The name of the city is here written phonetically *la-ra-ak* without the determinative *ki*; as ^{Au}*la-rak*, the city, is mentioned in the Assyrian eponym chronicle under the second year of King *Sanherib*. According to the syllabaries *la-rag* and *la-ra-ag* are the phonetic readings of 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢 and 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢, *i. e.*, *lara^{ki}(g)* and *lara-â(g)^{ki}*. In the former writing the city is several times mentioned in Persian times in the business documents of the house of *Murašû* at *Nippur* (*BE X*, 36_{5,8}, 37₇, 41_{6,9}, 88₇, 101₅; *PBS II*, 181_{5,7}), and from this source we gather the important information that the city was situated on the old *Tigris*.² Since the former course of the *Tigris* is approximately represented by the *Šaṭṭ-el-Ḫai*, which leaves the present *Tigris* at *Qut-el-Amara*, the site of the city of *Larak* may be looked for in one of the tells in the vicinity of that water-course, not far from the place where it comes nearest to *Nippur*. The supposed "ideographic writings" of the name are in reality old phonetic writings *lâ-lâ^{ki}(g)* and *lâ-lâ-â^{ki}(g)*, which show the same phonetic relation to the later pronunciation *larak*, as, *e. g.*, the pronunciation *illag* shows to *uruk*.³ These writings

¹ *Eusebius*, *Chronicon*, Chapter I (*Syncellus*): *ἐκ Λαραρχων*; variant of the Armenian version: *Lanchara*, *Chanchara*, *Ilanchara*.

² *PBS II*, 181_{6,7}: *šâ ina ali larak^{ki} kišâd nârlidiglat la-bi-ri*; *BE X*, 36₈: *šâ kišâd nârlidiglat la-bi-ri šâ ina larak^{ki}*, etc.

³ In the name of this city we have an interchange of *l*, *n* and *r*: *unu(g)*, *uruk*, *illag*; cf. the same change in *idigna*, *idiglat* and *tigris*. The second of the above-mentioned writings, namely *lâ-lâ-â(g)^{ki}*, seems to indicate that the stress was on the second syllable, as is likewise indicated by the nasalization of the *χ* in the Greek *Λαραρχα*.

evidently go back to a very old time, possibly even before the Sumerians occupied Babylonia, although it is quite conceivable that the change of the second l to r took place within the older Sumerian period.

The chief deity of Larak, Pa-bil-ḥar-sag, is, so far as I know, not mentioned again in the inscriptions outside our passage.¹ This seems to indicate that the tradition concerning Larak goes back to a very remote period. The city was evidently destroyed in that early time, and as it is not before the neo-Babylonian period that the place is again mentioned, we may assume that throughout the earlier periods of Babylonian history it lay in ruins and was known only as a till abûbi or a "deluge ruin."

Sippar, the fourth of the prediluvian cities, is mentioned in the extracts from Berossus, under the designation *πολις ἡλίου σισπαρα*,² as the place where the "scriptures" were buried before the deluge.³ As En-me-dur-an-ki, who is doubtless identical with Evedorachos, the seventh of the prediluvian rulers, is a king of Sippar,⁴ it follows that Pantibiblon or Pautibiblon,⁵ the city of Evedorachos, is identical with Sippar, provided, of course, that Berossus' words have been correctly rendered by his excerptors. In this case Pautibiblon is perhaps corrupted from Par-kib-nun, which might be the phonetic reading of the signs with which the name of Sippar is usually written.

¹ An identification with the similar name ^dpa-bil-sag is, of course, impossible if the ḥar in our passage is correct. What Pa-bil-ḥar-sag's relation was to the "Lady of Larak" (gašan lara-^{ak}l-ge) who is mentioned SBH 4914; 51 Obv.11; 52 Obv.11, cannot be ascertained.

² Eusebius, *Chronicon*, Chapter III (Syncellus): *ἐν πολιῖ ἡλίου σισπαραῖς* (= *σιππαραῖς*); *ibidem*: *ἐκ σισπαρων*.

³ The scriptures are buried in order to preserve the revelations concerning the origin of the world, and especially concerning the human arts, vocations, etc., for the post-diluvian race. The burial of the scriptures is therefore a parallel to the report in the version of the Gilgamesh epic that Ut-napištim took on his boat all kinds of artisans or learned men (marê^{pl} um-ma-ni) by whom the arts could be transmitted. It is evidently for this reason that this version does not mention the burial of the scriptures, which seems, moreover, originally to have been the local tradition of Sippar only. The version of Berossus, on the other hand, for the same reason, omits the report concerning the saving of the artisans.

⁴ Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln* 241, 23.

⁵ Syncellus: Pantibibla and Pantibiblia.

Šurrupak, modern Fara, finally, is the well-known city of Ut(a)-napištim, the hero of the deluge story in the Gilgameš epic. Whether, however, it is the city of *Ziugiddu* also, is not evident from the preserved portion of the tablet, but the fact that Šurrupak is mentioned as the last of the prediluvian cities, may very well point in this direction. For it is quite possible that the enumeration of the seven prediluvian cities not only reflects the rank of the gods by whom they were ruled, but also denotes, at least in some of the versions, the sequence of the various prediluvian dynasties. We are, however, not able to prove this point from what at the present is our only source, namely, the extracts from Berosus, in which only three cities are mentioned in the order, Babylon—Sippar(?)—Larak.

The deity of Šurrupak is written with the same signs as the city,¹ a phenomenon which we may likewise observe in the writing of ^den-lil and EN-LIL^{ki}, ^dnina and nina^{li}, ^diškur and IŠKUR^{ki}; but whether the pronunciation of the name of the deity corresponds to that of the city, we do not know. According to the list An | ^da-nu-um, CT 24, 5 Col. 28 and 22^{109a}, ^dSU-KUR-RU is a name of Ninlil.

Lines 20 and 21, which form the transition to the next work of creation, again take up the sentence begun in l. 13 and interrupted by the explanatory sentences 14–19.

The exact meaning of the last two lines of Column 2 (ll. 22 and 23) and even the grammatical analysis of the first of these lines is still doubtful; but it seems to me that the passage

¹ The form and arrangement of the signs vary considerably. In the oldest texts we find a single sign which is compounded of SU?, KUR and RU (SU?+KUR+RU); cf. REC 190^{bl}; in SBH 816 = CT16, 36_s, the two signs LAM+KUR and RU (LAM+KUR-RU^{ki}, Semitic equivalent šu-ru-ub-ba-ak); in our text, CT11, 49₂₆ and SBH 821₂, three signs SU-KUR-RU (SU-KUR-RU^{ki} = šu-ru-ub-bak; ^dSU-KUR-RU SBH 821₂).

The signs LAM+KUR-RU^{ki} have also the phonetic value aratta when they are the "ideogram" for kabtum "mighty," "lofty," Smith, Misc. Texts 25, 26, Obv.47; for arattû, loan word of the same meaning, *ibid.*48; for tanâdâtu "loftiness," "splendor," "glory," *ibid.*48, and for tanittu šá šá-ri-... "splendor," "loftiness" of, CT 19, 25₂₆ + K 13618_s (SAI 6813). The first element of this value is evidently identical with ár or ár(a), ár-ri (= ár-ri(t)?) = tanittum "glory," etc. As far as we know there is no city Aratta (Zimmern, KAT2, p. 533), although aratta, "the lofty one," may very well have been a byname of Šurrupak; or was aratta the name of the deity DINGIR-ŠURRUBBA(K)?

deals with the creation of rivers or canals, and lakes or ponds, if we have thus to translate the word *su-luḥ*.¹ From this we may further conclude that the signs *a-an* in l. 22 do not represent the ending *ám*, but the word *šeg*, "rain," the water of which evidently serves to fill the rivers and the ponds mentioned in the following line. This latter line seems to relate that Enlil placed in these rivers and ponds some objects, called *nig-ḥar-ḥar*(?), perhaps denoting certain living creatures(?) or the like. That this account of the creation of rivers and ponds follows that of the founding of cities, is easily understood, since the canals, etc., supply the necessary water for the cities and the temples of the gods. The creation of the two large rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, however, had evidently already taken place before any of the cities was built, and therefore must have been related in the upper portion of Column 2 which is now missing; note that also in CT 13, 35 the creation of the Tigris and the Euphrates is placed between the creation of man and the founding of the cities of Nippur, etc.

COLUMN 3

In the preserved portion of Column 3 the narrative has already turned to the creation story. The few legible words in the broken lines at the beginning evidently refer to the resolution of the gods to send a rainstorm. The first of the lines which are somewhat better preserved, contain an allusion to the screaming and lamenting of Nintu and Inanna which we likewise find in almost identical words in the deluge story of the Gilgameš epic.² It will, however, be observed that in our text the two goddesses are mentioned in reverse order, so that

¹ Cf. Radau, BE XXIX 1, Nos. 2, 310: *f-tur-tur-ri šu-luḥ lù li-bí-in-(š)â*, "canals (?) and (?) ponds? a man had not made." (For the negation *li* in this passage see my forthcoming paper "Die Negation *li* im Sumerischen" in OLZ). The meaning "pond" or "lake" would very well suit the passage CH Col. 166 21: *mu-ub-bi-ib šu-luḥ é-ab-zu* "who made shine the (sacred) lake of E-abzu." Ungnad's translation "Allerheiligstes" is out of question.

² Gilg. Ep. XI_{117, 118}.

the expression "her people" refers to Inanna, not to Nintu, a fact from which it might be concluded that Inanna or Ištar likewise was credited with the creation of mankind;¹ but it seems to me that the names of the two goddesses have simply been erroneously interchanged, the version of the Gilgameš epic probably representing the better text.

In the latter version, furthermore, the passage under discussion occurs at the point where the actual beginning of the flood is related, whereas in our text it evidently follows immediately the resolution of the gods to destroy mankind. Whether it is here or in the Gilgameš epic that the passage appears in its original place, depends entirely on its interpretation. According to its present connection in the version of the Gilgameš epic it might seem that the screaming of Ištar is an expression of anguish, the psychological moment for which indeed would be at the first outbreak of the fury of the storms. The same may be said of Nintu's lament, if this has to be taken in the sense that the goddess begins to repent of her former ill-will against mankind, an interpretation which indeed we find in the direct quotation of her speech in the Gilgameš epic. But on the other hand, in the lines Gilg. Ep. XI 163-170, which have evidently been taken from another version, Belit-ili, after Utnapištim's salvation, attributes all responsibility for the destruction of the human race to Enlil, a circumstance which seems to suggest that in the council of the gods she had opposed Enlil's proposal to destroy the human race, and from this point of view the lament over the destruction of "her people" might very well be expected immediately after the final decision of the gods had been made. Whatever the original interpretation of the lament may have been, at any rate the different placing of the passage is again an indication of different versions in the story of the deluge.

In the version contained in the Gilgameš epic, the lines under discussion are followed by a lament of Belit-ili in direct quotation. The fact that the latter is not found in our text,

¹ Cf. Craig, *Religious Texts I*, i 5 Obv.₁₀.

clearly shows that it is taken from a different version, a conclusion which likewise may be drawn from the fact that the direct quotation refers to Belit-ili's lament only, and not also, as we should expect, to Ištar's screaming.

It will be noticed that our text, especially at this point, refers to the various incidents of the narrative in a rather short and merely allusive style. This is especially evident from the following line, according to which Enki secretly conceives a plan the contents of which is not betrayed to the reader, although there can be no doubt that he devises a means to frustrate the plan of the gods. What the following lines allude to, however, it is impossible to say, as the ends of the lines are broken, and no other source gives us information concerning incidents at this juncture of the narrative.

In l. 20 Zi-û-GID-du, the hero of the deluge, is introduced. The meaning of his name is evidently "who made life long of days."¹ It will be observed that this name alludes to life or to the soul (zi = napištum) just as does the Semitic name Ut(a)-napištum which the hero of the known deluge story bears; but so far as we can judge at the present time, there seems to be no correspondence between the other elements of the two names. Our zi-û-GID-du is, of course, identical with the zi-SÛ-da who is mentioned in CT 18, 30_{9a} and rendered ut-na-PAB-ĤAL-te, *i. e.*, ut-na-pîš-te,² in the Semitic column, for we find him there between Gilgameš and Engidu, evidently on account of the connection between the hero of the deluge story and the Gilgameš legend. It will be noticed that in the last mentioned form of the name the û has been dropped or rather contracted with the preceding i, that instead of the simple sign siru, we have the sign sirgunû, and lastly that the final u has become an a, which probably gives the name a passive meaning: "Who has been lengthened in life," *i. e.*, "who has

¹ If this explanation is correct û-GIDdu would be a compound participle "time lengthening," which, together with the prefixed object zi, again would form a new compound participle zi-û-GIDdu (in Semitic murrik ûm balaṭi). Cf. the similar formation ti-û-SÛ-du in BE XXIX 1, col. 113, 13.

² Perhaps ut-na-pà-aš-te?

gained long life (for himself).” Which of the two names may represent the older form it is impossible to say, both perhaps being due to an artificial etymology by which it was attempted to establish a connection between the name and the experiences of the hero of the deluge story.

The reading of the signs GID and SŪ in the two forms of the name presents some difficulties. On account of the u at the end of the sign group GID-du one might expect that the first of the two signs represents a value containing an u, and since we find the sign SŪ in the other form of the name, as well as in the phrases ti-û-SŪ-du, BE XXIX 1, Col. 1_{13, 14}, bal-û-bi-SŪ-SŪ-du, HGT 74, Col. 2₁₅, nam-ti-la-ni ħe-SŪ Gudea, Statue A, Col. 4₁, nam-ti ib-SŪ-du, AMAR-Sin, Statue B, Rev. 12, and as we doubtless have to read û-mu ħe-sú-su-û in Warad-Sin, Stone tablet, Rev. 21, it would be very tempting to read our name zi-û-sú-du.¹ But the sign GID on our tablet seems to be quite certain, as may be seen from the enlarged photographic reproduction of the five passages where it occurs, and unless the scribe has made a mistake in all these passages, the only value that could be taken into account, as far as we know at present, would be gid = arâku. Moreover, it will be remembered that both BU and SŪ have the meaning urruku “to lengthen,” “to make long;” cf. ana ittišu 1 Col. 3:

⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶ in- ^{gi-id} gid	is-su-uĥ, iš-du-ud, ur-ri-ik
⁵⁶ in- ^{bu-u} bu	ib-bu-uĥ
⁵⁷ in-SŪ	ur-ri-ik;

^{giš}má-gid-da | a-rik-tum, Br 7512; and ^{giš}giš-^{iš}..(=^{gi-di})SŪ | ar-rak, Scheil, ZA IX p. 220, Obv.₂₅. According to the passage last quoted SŪ had the value gi-di, and if this value be certain,² we might assume that in the passages quoted above we have perhaps to read *gid-du* instead of *sú-du*, etc., the root of the word then being something like gidu. In support of this assumption it may

¹ The same was suggested to me by Prof. Zimmern in a letter in which he called my attention to the above-mentioned passage CT 18, 30_{9a}.

² Perhaps zi?-di (for sú-du)? Cf. l. 15 GIŠ ^{gi}(=^{si?})-^{si}SŪ-SŪ.

perhaps be said that *sú-û-da* means *rûqu* "distant," "remote" (cf., *û-sú-û-da-šú* = *a-na û-mi ru-qu-ti* 4 R 9^{34a}) and that, therefore, it would be likely that SUD in the meaning "to be long," etc., would have a different value.¹ Nevertheless, with our present material it is impossible definitely to decide this question.

Quite in accordance with Berossus' tradition that Xisuthros was one of the prediluvian rulers, throughout our text, with only a few exceptions, *Ziugiddu* is referred to as king; but at the same time he occupies a priestly office, namely, that of the *pašišu* to some god, whose name is broken off. This is very unfortunate, for the god's name would probably have given us a clue as to the city in which the deluge story was localized by our text.

Line 21 seems to refer to a famous work which the Babylonians ascribed to *Ziugiddu*. It will be noticed that the AN-SAG which he built, is called *gür-gür*; "huge," the term also used to describe the boat by which *Ziugiddu* saved himself, which according to Berossus measured 5 stadia in length and 2 stadia in width. The idea that whatever man in those old days made was of enormous dimensions, is, of course, closely connected with the belief in the enormously long lives of men in those days, and likewise, no doubt, man himself will have been fancied by the Babylonians then to have been of a much higher stature than at present. Possibly the AN-SAG which *Ziugiddu* built or made was some well-known natural or artificial landmark which excited the curiosity and fancy of the Babylonians.

Of especial interest for us are the lines 22 ff, because they represent *Ziugiddu* as a pious man, a feature which is not found in the Babylonian versions already known, but which has its counterpart in the Biblical statement that Noah was a just and pious man in his time, Genesis 6₁₉; 7₁.

¹ In this case the value *su(d)* in *he-sú-sú-û* (above quoted) and in the rather uncertain passage *û-nam-ti-la-ka-na-SÛ-Û-RI? DA.BI.Û-me-na-sá[-sá. . . .]* = *mu-ur-rik û-mi ba-la-di-šu mu-šak-šid ir-n[i-it-ti.]*, 4 R 9^{34a}, would have to be attributed to a confusion of the two values, a confusion which might very well have been caused by the similarity of the Semitic equivalents of *in-sú(-û)* and *in-gid*, namely *urîq* and *urrik*.

The exact meaning and especially the grammatical construction of the last two lines of Column 3 is not clear to me. The "bringing forth" of "dreams (or a dream) that had not existed before(?)," and the invoking or conjuring by the name of Heaven and Earth might still be part of the description of *Ziugiddu's* doings, l. 24 perhaps representing him as the first man who tried to find out the will of the gods by means of dreams. On the other hand, we might expect that these dreams had something to do with the following revelation of the resolution of the gods, that is, that they were the means by which *Ziugiddu* gained knowledge of the impending destruction of mankind. That the story, at least in some versions, was indeed told in this way, we see clearly from ll. 195 and 196 of the account in the *Gilgameš* epic, according to which *Ea* protests that he has not communicated the secret of the gods to *Atraḫasis*, but has only made him see dreams, so that he "heard" the decision of the gods.¹ Moreover, in the account of *Berosus* it is expressly stated that *Kronos*, *i. e.*, *Ea*, appeared to *Xisuthros* in a dream and informed him that mankind would perish by a flood.² As far as we can judge from the preserved text of our tablet, however, there seems to be no logical connection between the dreams mentioned in l. 24 and the communication of the plan of the gods in Column 4.

¹ 196a-na-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-riš-ti ili^{pl} rabūti^{pl} 196at-ra-ḫa-sis šu-na-ta u-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-ris-ti ili^{pl} iš-me.

² In the account of the deluge story in the eleventh tablet of the *Gilgameš* epic there have been worked together at this point three different versions which can still be very clearly traced.

In the first *Ea* himself communicates the decision of the gods directly to *Ut-napištim* (ll. 23-47), and when later taken to account by *Enlil*, boldly justifies his course by the argument that it is unreasonable to destroy mankind altogether, instead of simply punishing them with all sorts of plagues and thus causing them to desist from their evil ways (ll. 180-194). This argument appeals to *Enlil* and he becomes reconciled to the fact that *Ut-napištim* is saved.

In the second version *Ea* is afraid to act directly against the will of *Enlil*, and perhaps against his own promise, not to divulge to mankind the contents of the gods' decision. He therefore sends a dream to *Atraḫasis*, "the very wise (or clever) one," and the latter, on account of his cleverness, guesses the impending peril. In this version *Ea* later justifies himself by saying that he has spoken to no man regarding the plan of the gods, but that "the very wise one" guessed the secret from the dream (ll. 195, 196). Note that in this version the hero of the deluge is not

COLUMN 4

The meaning of the first line of Column 4, which is the immediate continuation of the last line of Column 3, is not clear on account of its broken condition; at the end of the preserved part of the line a wall or building (IZ?-SIG) seems to be mentioned, which probably is identical with the wall (iz-zi) mentioned in the following lines. The situation in ll. 2 and 3 is apparently this, that *Ziugiddu*, while standing beside this wall, hears a voice, which utters the words contained in lines 3 ff. It will, however, be observed that the god by whom *Ziugiddu* is warned does not address his words to the wall, as he does according to ll. 20 and 22 of the eleventh tablet of the *Gilgameš* epic, but to *Ziugiddu* himself, the wall being simply the place where the revelation is made. This entirely agrees with the account in the main version¹ of the story in the *Gilgameš* epic according to which the god *Ea* addresses *Ut-napištim* directly. However, that also in one of the versions upon which our own text is based the wall originally played a more important part, seems to follow from the emphasis laid upon it. It may perhaps be concluded that in a certain Babylonian sanctuary a sacred wall figured as a means of ascertaining future events, and possibly there existed the belief that this wall inspired especially significant dreams in those who slept near it.

For *numun-nam-lù-qal*, "seed of mankind," in l. 8, compare CT 13, 35₂₁^d *a-ru-ru numun-*"(=*nam-lù-qal-lu*) *an-da*^(sic) *bí-in-mú* = ^d"(=*a-ru-ru*) *zi-ir a-me-lu-ti it-ti-šu ib-ta-nu*.

called *Ut(a)-napištim*, but *Atra-ḫasis*. In *Berosus'* account that *Kronos, i. e., Ea*, himself, appeared to *Xisuthros*, this original significance of the dream has already been obliterated.

In the third version *Nin-igi-azag*, as *Ea* is called in this account, relates the plan, for the same reason as in the second version, to a wall (ll. 19-22), and *Ut-napištim* thus becomes aware of it. Here *Nin-igi-azag* must therefore, when taken to account by *Enlil*, have defended himself on the ground that he had not told any man, but a wall, and that thus *Xisuthros* had heard it. It will be observed that in l. 196 the words *pirišti ill išme*, are rather strange in connection with a dream; we would expect that "the very wise one" guesses what is meant by the dream; here evidently we have a trace of the third version, according to which *Utnapištim* hears what is said to the wall. Did there perhaps exist a tale, according to which the wall in some miraculous way passed the secret of the gods on to *Ut-napištim*? This might perhaps have been an allusion to the phenomenon of the echo.

¹ At least the main version of the story at this point.

Buḫrum in bu-úḫ-ru[-um dingir-ri-ne], "assembly of the gods," is the Semitic word puḫrum; at the time of Hammurabi, and no doubt some time before him, puḫrum was the common designation for the city council which was entrusted with the political administration of the city as well as with the rendering of judgment. For the latter cf., *e. g.*, BE VI 2 No. 10, according to which King Hammurabi refers a legal case to the bu-úḫ-ru-um nibru^{ki}; it will be observed that this text likewise, although written in Sumerian, uses the Semitic word rather than the corresponding Sumerian ukkin, evidently because puḫrum was at that time the technical term for the city council. That the word in our text is also applied to the assembly of the gods, is a good example of the tendency to model everything relating to the gods after human affairs: like men the gods form an organized community. This parallelism is even more evident from the fact that the functions of the assembly of the gods are described in the same technical terms as those of the human city council; *e. g.*, di-til-la, in l. 9, is the common term for the final decision of a court of justice at the time of the kingdom of Ur; cf. also Enuma eliš VI 145 u-ši-bu-ma ina puḫri-šu-nu i-nam-bu[-u], "they sat down (for a session)," etc., where the technical term ašâbu, "to sit," "to be in session," is used. For other occurrences of puḫrum see, *e. g.*, CT 13, 34, e-nu-ma ill^{pl} i-na bu-úḫ-ri-šu-nu ib-nu-u [.], etc. However, it will be observed that the idea of the assembly of the gods becomes prominent only in rather late inscriptions; if this is not merely accidental, it might perhaps be taken as an indication of a difference in organization between Sumerian and Semitic communities, at least at the time when the two races were still opposed to each other. Originally, of course, the word puḫrum, "assembly," must have implied that the whole community took part in the deliberations, and this may very well have been the practice among the Semites, while in the Sumerian cities there seems to have prevailed a more feudal organization under an hereditary išakku who at the same time often occupied a hierocratical position. Nevertheless, at the

time of the first dynasty the puḫrum had already become a select patrician council, for, as the letters of Hammurabi and his successors show, it consists of the so-called judges with a bēl tērētīm, or whatever the designation of this official was, at their head. It is evidently after this patrician body that the assembly of the gods has been modeled.

COLUMN 5

The missing portion of Column 4 must have contained the account of the construction of Ziugiddu's boat. The first lines of Column 5 already depict the flood. The repetition of im-ḫul in l. 1 expresses the idea "all;" dū-a-bi, "they all," is therefore a pleonasm. For im-ḫul im-ḫul . . . ni-laḫ-gi-eš, "all the winds . . . went," *i. e.*, "blew," l. 1, and ū-7-ám gě-7-ám a-ma-ru kalam-ma ba-ūr, "seven days and seven nights the rainstorm struck the land," ll. 3 and 4, compare Gilg. Ep. XI ¹²⁸6 ur-ri ù mu-šá-a-ti ¹²⁹il-lak šá-a-ru a-bu-bu me-hu-u i-sap-pan mâta.¹ The principal destructive force, however, is not the im-ḫul, "the windstorm," but the a-ma-ru, "the rainstorm," "rain flood," "cloud burst," which therefore in the summary in ll. 3 and 4 is mentioned alone, the imḫullu being mentioned only because a thunder-storm is almost invariably preceded and accompanied by a windstorm. The same two destructive forces we find in the version of the Gilgameš epic designated as šâru and abûbu, meḫû in ll. 128 and 130 being simply a variant of the latter, as follows from their reversed sequence in the two lines; one of the sources of this account evidently used the word abûbu, another the word meḫû for the destructive rainstorm.² Neither the version of the Gilgameš epic nor our own text speaks of an

¹ For the verb ūr (ūru) in ba-an-da-ab-ūr-ūr, l. 2, and kalam-ma ba-ūr-ra-ta, l. 4, as characteristic of the activity of the rainstorm or rain demon, compare, *e. g.*, Hrozný, *Ninrag*, p. 8, below: lugal a-ma-ūru ba-ūr-ta? = be-lum a-bu-ba-niš ib-ta-a', "the lord like a deluge demon rages;" CT 12, 50, Obv. 23 ūr-ūr | ša-ba-tu ša , (= a-bu-bi), and especially 5 R 42^{54c} ūr-ūr | sa-pa-nu, which latter verb is used in the version of the Gilgameš epic.

² For another mechanical juxtaposition of two variants see Gilg. Ep. XI ¹⁴nin-igi-azag é-a, and ¹⁴²šadu-u ^{šadū}ni-šir.

inundation by a rising sea; in this both of the Babylonian accounts agree with the Biblical Jehoistic version of the flood story which knows only of a rain that lasted forty days and forty nights, in contradistinction to the Priestly Code according to which Elohim flooded the earth from below and above by opening the fountains of the great ocean and the windows of Heaven.

According to our text the rainstorm lasted fully seven days and seven nights, ll. 3 and 4, while according to the account in the Gilgameš epic its duration was only six days and nights, the rain ceasing at the beginning of the seventh day.¹ Nevertheless this variation is hardly of any importance when compared with the forty days of rain in the Jehoistic version and the 150 days during which the flood continued to rise according to the Priestly Code.

For bul-bul = nâšu, "to move" (intransitive), in l. 5, see 4 R 28, 2 ^{10d}iškur sūr-ra-na ki ši(?) -in-ga-bul-bul = ^dadad ina e-zi-zi-šú ir-ši-tum i-na-as-su, and Hrozny, Ninrag 2 and 3 Rev.₃ gîr-gin-na-zu-šù an-ki a(?) -bul-bul = ina a-la-ki-ka šamu-u ú irši-tim i-nu-uš-šú; in these passages nâšu, "to move," is used as a synonym of "to shake," "to tremble;" but that it can denote the movement of a ship upon or over the water, is shown by Gilg. Ep. XI₁₄₂ šadu-u ^{šadû}ni-šir ^{išû}elippu iṣ-bat-ma a-na na-a-ši ul id-din, "the mountain (var. Mount Nišir) caught the ship and did not allow it to move." This verb nâšum (נױשׁ) is, of course, against Delitzsch, HW, p. 454, identical with the verb nuâšu which according to 2 R 35_{50 e, f} is a synonym of alâku.²

The text has clearly im-ḥul-bul-bul-a-ta; if this is correct we might either assume that bul-bul-a is a transitive verbal

¹This seventh day is designated as ū-mu in l. 130 because the whole day, including the night, is meant; "day" in contradistinction to night is urru, which we therefore find in l. 128: 7 ur-ri ù mu-šá-a-ti.

²Judging from the occurrence of tuâru and târum, nuâšu would be a characteristically Assyrian form; note, e. g., that the Assyrian legal documents usually use the phrase tu-a-ru di-e-nu da-ba-a-bu la-aš-šu, whereas in Babylonian tablets we find ta-a-ri ù da-ba-bi ia-a-nu. Tuâru is, of course, the infinitive form kašâdum, not as Delitzsch, HWB p. 703, states, qutâlu formation.

form without prefix, having im-ḥul as subject,¹ or im-ḥul-bul-bul-a is a compound passive participle, "wind driven," here used instead of a definite verbal form. But it would not be impossible, though it is not very likely, that the original text read im-ši-ib-bul-bul "(the boat) moved (intransitive) (over the waters)."²

The post-positive ta, added to the relative a is here as elsewhere used as conjunction "since," "after;" it corresponds exactly to ištu with relative clause in Semitic Babylonian. Another example of this construction of ta is ¹²a-ga-dé^{ki} nam-lugal šu-ba-ab-ti-a-ta "after Agade had taken the kingdom," Stele from Telloh, RS 1897, pp. 166 f, col. 4. Compare also the compounded conjunction egir—ta with relative clause in ^degir ^dsin-a-bu-šu ba-úš-a-ta "after Sinabušu had died," BE VI 2, No. 42.

The prominence which the god Šamaš is given in the next lines is quite natural, since during the seven days of the rain-storm the world was covered by darkness, and, moreover, the sun-god, whose light shines everywhere, would be the first to perceive the boat, and to be himself perceived by *Ziugiddu*. For this reason *Ziugiddu* prays first to him (l. 10), even before Anu and Enlil, and we may conclude that Šamaš, taking pity on him, aids him with his counsel to placate the other gods and especially Enlil.

In the version of the Gilgameš epic the adoration scene before the god Šamaš has entirely lost its original color; for when in this version Ut-napištim opens a nappašum, it is not the sun-god that enters the boat by his rays, but the "daylight," urru (written ū-da), falling on Ut-napištim's cheek.³ Yet in

¹ Similar incomplete verbal forms are not infrequently found in late and corrupt Sumerian texts; cf., e. g., an-ki-a^(stl)bul-bul in the passage quoted above. But in our case this may be a correct or at least permitted construction, since the prefix would be clear from the preceding verbal form ba-ūr-ra-ta; cf. also ū-mā-mā in the next line. Moreover, such incomplete verbal forms may perhaps be allowed by poetic license.

² Cf. also the above quoted passage 4R 28, 2₁₀ in which bul-bul is likewise connected with the element ši(?).

³ Gilg. Ep. XI ¹³⁶ap-ti nap-pa-ša-am-ma urru im-ta-qut eli dūr-ap-pi-ia ¹³⁷uk-tam-mi-is-ma at-ta-šab a-bak-ki. The words im-ta-qut eli dūr-ap-pi-a, by the way, are perhaps influenced by l. 138 eli dūr-ap-pi-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a.

l. 137 we still find an indication of the original form of the story in the feature that Ut-napištim throws himself down, uk-tam-mi-is, which corresponds to our KA-ki-su-ub-ba-tùm, and, moreover, does not fit very well the immediately following at-ta-šab, "I was sitting." The reason for this alteration in the version of the Gilgameš epic is obvious; for if Šamaš noticed the boat, he (and therefore the other gods) would at once be aware of Utnapištim's escape, which would not be in harmony with the feature later mentioned that the gods are drawn to the ship by the pleasant smell of the offerings; nor would there be time enough left for the sending out of the birds, which according to ll. 140–146 takes place fully seven days later. For the same reason, on the other hand, the feature of the sending out of the birds cannot have existed in our own text, as, moreover, is clearly shown by the fact that immediately after the adoration before Šamaš, or more likely, in the intention of the author, at the same time, *Ziugiddu* offers up his sacrifices, which latter action in the version of the Gilgameš epic follows the bird scene.

So far as we can judge, the adoration scene and the offering up of the sacrifices take place, according to our text, in the boat itself, which evidently is supposed to be still floating on the waters. No doubt this was likewise the assumption in one of the versions which have been fused into the present account of the flood in the Gilgameš epic, for according to ll. 198–200 Enlil, after his anger has subsided, with no plausible reason boards the boat, where he seizes Ut-napištim by his hands and bestows eternal life upon him and his wife.¹ This, of course, is not quite in harmony with the previous statement,

¹ Gilg. Ep. XI 198i-lam-ma ^denlil a-na lib-bi ^{18u}elippi ¹⁹⁹ⁱš-bat ga-ti-ia-ma ul-te-la-an-ni ia-a-ši ²⁰⁰uš-te-li uš-tak-mi-is sin-niš-ti ina i-di-ia, etc. Ul-te-la-an-ni and uš-te-li present considerable difficulty; a translation such as "he led me out (of the boat)," or Ungnad's translation "er führte mich ans Land," is very doubtful, because šûlû has the meaning "to lead out of something" only in cases where "to lead into something" is expressed by šûrudu; šûlû on the contrary means "to take aboard (a vessel);" cf., ilamma, l. 198. It would therefore seem that these verbs are either taken from a different context or represent an attempt to harmonize the statement that Enlil goes aboard the boat with the previous statement that Ut-napištim has already left it before by the assumption that Enlil leads Ut-napištim back to the ship.

that Ut-napištim offered up his sacrifices on the peak of the mountain where the boat had landed, a feature which is evidently taken from a different version.

The boat in which *Ziugiddu* saves himself is designated as ^{giš}má-gūr-gūr. The same word, but written má-gur-gur, is used in the fragment of the Semitic deluge story from Nippur which was published by Prof. Hilprecht.¹ In this latter form we find it also in the syllabary K 4378, etc. (Col. 5, l. 15),² where it is rendered in the Semitic column ŠU-rum, *i. e.*, magurgur-rum. The word has, of course, nothing to do with ^{giš}má-ūru = magurru,³ which denotes the barges of the gods; as our text shows, the second element is gūr-gūr(-ra) = kabbârum, "very great,"⁴ ^{giš}má-gūr-gūr therefore corresponding to the ^{giš}elippu ra-bí-tú in l. 6 of the fragment just quoted.

The element ra in the verbal form im-ma-ra-è, l. 6, is probably the same as in ba-ra-è = i-ta-ši.

There can hardly be any doubt that the sentence in l. 7 relates that *Ziugiddu* makes an opening in the roof or in one of the walls of the boat, through which, according to the following lines, the rays of the god Šamaš can enter. As according to Gilg. Epic XI₁₃₆ Ut-napištim opens a nappašu, we may conclude that KA?-BŪR in our text has the same meaning and is identical with the KA-BAL = nappašu in 5 R 39, 2₆₃; 42, 1₃₄ which probably is a mistake of the copyist for KA-BŪR. From the occurrence of nappašu outside the deluge story it would appear that its meaning is simply "hole" and the verb Ū would then evidently be bŪr(u) = palášu, "to make a hole."⁵ The literal translation of l. 7 then would be: *Ziugiddu* dug a hole (with, *i. e.*, through) the boat.⁶

¹ BE Ser. D, Vol. V, fasc. 1.

² Delitzsch, AL³, pp. 86-90.

³ This is assumed by Hilprecht, BE Ser. D, Vol. V, fasc. 1, pp. 52-55.

⁴ Cf. Br. 10181, 10211.

⁵ Pilšu is a hole which is dug through something, *e. g.*, through the wall of a house; a hole which is dug in something, *e. g.*, in the ground, is ħurru, etc. In Sumerian both ideas are expressed by Ū = bu-ru = pilšu, palášu and ħurru, ħarâru.

⁶ Or perhaps: "he perforated the boat with a hole."

The ending en in ba-an-tu-ri-en in l. 8 is perhaps simply a mistake.

The phrase KA-ki¹-su-ub—tùm means literally, "to perform the kissing of the ground," *i. e.*, "to worship," "to do homage (before somebody)" and finally, "to pray humbly (before a deity)"; cf. 2 R 47^{32, 33ef} KA-ta-su-ub | ka-ra-bu, "to worship," na-šá-qu, "to kiss," and 4 R 9^{59, 60u} ki-a mu-un-su-ub-su-ub = qaq-qa-ru u-na-šá-qu. Outside the Eme-sal texts the stem sub is usually written with the sign KA + ŠU(?)²; cf. sub-bí = ikribu, "homage," "prayer"; sub-sub = šukinnu, "to humble oneself (before somebody)," "to do homage"; and especially the phrase sub—tùm, "to perform the proskynesis," and "to pray (before a deity)": 1²²ninni nin-a-ni²⁵mu-na-an-gin²⁶sub-mu-na-tùm (follows direct quotation), Utu-ḫegal; 2²⁹lugal-ba-ga-ra mu-na-gin sub mu-na-tùm, Gud. Cyl. A, etc. For the meaning of KA-ki-su-ub—tùm, cf. also Berosus' report that Xisûthros, after the ship had landed, disembarked, and *προσκυνήσαντα την γην* and having erected an altar, disappeared.

With gû im-ma-ab-gaz-e | udu im-ma-ab-šár-ri in l. 11 compare Gilg. Ep. XI⁷¹ . . . ud-dib-bi-iḫ alpé^{pl} |⁷²aš-gi-iš [immerê]^{pl}. Šár is here evidently synonym of gaz; or does it have its usual meaning, "to make abundant?"

COLUMN 6

The rest of Column 5, now missing, may have dealt with the arrival of the other gods, but this is by no means certain. In the opening lines of Column 6 one of them³ seems to be speaking to Ziugiddu and his companions, advising them to invoke Anu and Enlil by the soul of Heaven and Earth for the accomplishment of some purpose which is not clear to me. The

¹ The ki is quite plain in 510.

² KA+KU?

³ Or perhaps still Šamaš?

form *ni-pá-dé-en-ze-en* is the second plural of the future tense of the active theme *in-pá (ni-pá)*.¹

The exact meaning of the following line which again contains the word *nig-x*, and its connection with the preceding or the following are not quite clear to me. For the first part of the line compare Col. 1¹⁵. The verbal form *im-ma-ra-ě-dé* would correspond to Semitic *illi (illâ)*, "he (or it) rises up," "goes up." Could this line refer to the rising of the land out of the water, corresponding to *i-te-la-a na-gu-u*, Gilg. Ep. XI 140, and *nig-x(-ki-ta?)* therefore be an expression for land? At least it would seem natural that *Ziugiddu*, when approaching land, should prostrate himself, according to the following line, before *Enlil*, the lord of all the lands.

As in the version of the *Gilgameš* epic, so here, according to ll. 7-10, *Enlil*² bestows eternal life upon *Ziugiddu*. Note in both cases the comparison of this eternal life with that of the gods: *dingir-dím*, Column 6₈; *ki-i il^{pl} na-ši-ma*, Gilg. Ep. XI 203.³ The words of *Enlil* are apparently spoken while *Ziugiddu* is prostrated before him. A reflection of the same situation in one of the sources of the account in the *Gilgameš* epic may be seen in the fact that according to l. 200 *Enlil* causes the wife of *Ut-napištim* to prostrate herself at the latter's side: *uš-tak-mi-is sin-niš-ti ina i-di-a*; note that the verb *kamâsu* here as well as in l. 137 (*iktamis*) corresponds to *KA-ki-su-ub—tùm*.

In the account of the deification our tablet mentions only *Ziugiddu*, and not his wife, as does the account in the *Gilgameš* epic. But even there it can plainly be seen that the wife of *Utnapištim* was mentioned only in some of the versions upon which this account is based, since in l. 199 *Ut-napištim* alone is referred to, while his wife is not introduced before l. 200 and then only in a rather awkward manner; and furthermore,

¹ It would not be altogether impossible, however, that it is the 2 pl. of the permansive theme *ni-pá*, and then might mean "you have been invoked," "you are invoked."

² More accurately the *Anu Enlil*.

³ In the Semitic text the plural is used because the comparison refers to *Ut-napištim* and his wife.

although the following lines 201–203 refer to Ut-napištim and his wife in the plural, the closing lines of the poem (ll. 204, 205) again return to the singular, referring to Ut-napištim alone. Berosus' account of the deluge bears testimony to the existence of a third version according to which the gods bestow divinity even upon Xisûthros' daughter and the steersman of the boat.


The last section of the preserved portion of Column 6, beginning with l. 10, evidently corresponds to the closing lines of the account in the Gilgameš epic which tell us that the gods took Ut-napištim to a distant place at the mouth of the rivers, but the particulars of the text are not all clear at the present. Numun-nam-lù-qal-üru¹(-š)â), "who (or which) saved the seed of mankind," might be a by-name of Ziugiddu, unless it is the name of the nig-x.² Note that in the fragment of the deluge story published by Prof. Hilprecht, the deluge boat is given a similar name, namely, na-ši-rat na-piš-tim.³ Mu-un-ti-eš, "they caused him to dwell," l. 12, corresponds to uš-te-ši-bu-in-ni, "they caused me to dwell," Gilg. Ep. XI, l. 205.

If the fourth sign in line 12 is identical with the Assyrian signs NI-TUK,⁴ the place to which the gods took Ziugiddu after eternal life had been bestowed upon him would be the kur-tilmun-na which in the writing kur-tilmun^{ki} occurs also in ASK 21₃₇ and there is rendered in the Semitic interlinear translation by šadû tilmun, "Mount Tilmun."⁵ From the

¹ The sign is clearly ŠEŠ.

² Cf. mu-nig-x-ma, "the name of the nig-x;" but in this case one would expect a verb "he called (the name, etc.)."

³ Read [^{g18}elippu] ši-i lu [^{g18}má-gur-gur-ma! šum!-ša! lu na-ši!-rat na-piš-tim. "The same ship shall be a magurgurru (giant boat) and its name shall be 'Which saved life.'"

⁴ The first part of the sign is rather effaced, but it seems to be SAL; the second part is probably tug, but it might be kin, or, if the perpendicular pressed wedge does not belong to an erasure, KAB(TÜG). For the assumed identity of the sign with the signs NI-TUG note that in 157 Column 12 it has the form  (in é-SAL-TUG-na, a temple of Ištar at Ur). Compare also that the archaic sign KAK+GIŠ, "battle mace," in the second half of the first dynasty appears as SAL+GIŠ, NIN and DAM! On the other hand, there is a sign KAK+KAB; cf., e. g., BE. VI, 2 No. 30, seal.

⁵ ³⁷PU-kur-NI-TUK^{ki}-ka sag-ma a-ba-ni-in-[.] = ³⁸ina bur-ti ša-di-i dil-mun qa-q-qa-du am-si, "in the cistern (or pond) of Mount Tilmun I washed my head."

inscriptions we see that Tilmun must have been situated in the South outside of Babylonia proper. It is usually assumed that it was situated on an island about thirty miles from the shore of the Persian Gulf¹ which in those times extended much further north; but the passage from which this conclusion has been drawn,² states merely that King Uperi of Tilmun had, like a fish, made for himself, at that distance from the shore, a lair in the midst of the sea, which, of course, proves nothing for the exact position of Tilmun, since it is not stated that Tilmun itself was situated in the sea. Nor does the fact that the inscription found by M. Durand on the Bahrein Island Samak contains the name of the god ⁴in-za-ag, who is probably identical with the god ⁴en-zag of Tilmun,³ prove that this island is Tilmun. From Gudea, Statue G, Col. 47-10, which mentions the country or the mountains of Tilmun together with the countries or mountains of Magan, Meluḥḥa and Gubi as places which furnished wood for Gudea's buildings and from which Babylonia could be reached by ship, it rather follows that Tilmun was an extensive mountainous district, probably situated somewhere on the shore of the southern section of the Persian Gulf, either in Oman or, what is more likely, in Persia.⁴

According to the deluge story in the Gilgameš epic the gods caused the deified Ut-napištim to dwell at the mouth of the rivers, by which evidently the Tigris and Euphrates are meant. This conception, of course, is not in accordance with the localization of *Ziugiddu's* abode in the country of Tilmun, nor with the idea prevailing in the other portions of the Gilgameš epic that Ut-napištim lives in a very distant land and that Gilgameš has to make a long and perilous journey over high mountains and across the sea before he arrives there.

¹ Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 178.

² Sargon, *Monol. Col.* 23-25.

³ 2 R 5466 = CT 25, 35 Obv.20

⁴ Jensen, in *ZA* 15, p. 225 ff. thinks that Tilmun is the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf as far as the straits of Hormus, comprising also the province Persis.

There existed clearly two distinct versions concerning Ut-napištim's dwelling place; in the closing lines of the present deluge story in the Gilgameš epic they have been harmonized by adding to *ina pî nârâti* the words *ina rûqi*, "in the distance," which originally represented a variant to *ina pî nârâti*, but now imply that the mouth of the river has to be sought at a distance and not on the southern shore of Babylonia itself.

The effaced and broken signs after *kur-dilmun-na* are perhaps *ki-^dutu-è*, "a place in the East," which would very well agree with a localization of the city or country of Tilmun on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf; but as the traces of the signs are not clear enough it is safer to leave this question undecided.

What the rest of Column 6 may have contained it is impossible to say.

COLOPHON

The colophon on the left edge of the tablet is unfortunately too much damaged to allow any definite reading at the present except of the name *zi-û-GID-du*. The last of the preserved signs, which follows this name, may be *dam*, and the signs at the beginning of the line perhaps an *^den-* If, however, the vertical impression at the beginning of the line was intended to form part of a cuneiform character, the first signs might very well be read *én ^den*; in this case our text would evidently form the introduction to an incantation rite, which would indeed be possible, since the recital of traditions relating to events of the earliest times was believed to give the exorcist supernatural power; and, moreover, we could then easily account for the fact that such unusual stress is laid on the invoking of the name and the soul of Heaven and earth in the course of the narrative. But as the reading *én* is entirely uncertain, it is impossible, at the present, to come to any definite conclusion.

THE POETIC FORM OF THE TEXT

Like all the other known accounts of the creation and deluge in cuneiform script our new text is a poetical composition, as will easily be seen from the arrangement of the lines, from the parallelism and especially from the peculiar repetition of certain lines with only a slight variation. As to the arrangement of the lines note, *e. g.*, the distribution of certain metrical unities over two lines, the second of which is indented and not ruled and therefore is merely the continuation of the first; see 1_{3,4}, 1_{6,7}, 1_{16,17}, etc. Especially instructive examples are furnished by lines 2₁₃ and 2_{21f}, which are almost identical, the latter, in fact, being merely a recapitulation of the former; for while in the passage first mentioned the verse is placed on a single line, in the latter it occupies one of the double lines just described.

On the other hand, we notice that certain word-groups, by the use of blank spaces between them, are made to fill the whole line, which is the more significant, as many of these lines represent only part of a sentence. We may take as an example of this the four lines 5₃₋₆, transliterated in the following with the same arrangement of the word-groups as found on the original:

u-ímin-ám	ge-ímin-ám
a-má-ru kalám-ma	ba-úr-ra-tá
^{g.š} ma-gúr-gur a-kál-la	im-ḥul-bul-búl-a-tá
^d útu i-im-má-ra-e	án-ki-á u-má-ma

It will be noticed that each of these lines is divided into two halves by the use of a blank space, and that, moreover, in the first and last lines these halves show parallelism in form as well as in meaning. On the other hand, the blank spaces which we notice in the divisions to the right, are not due to any metrical consideration, but simply to the desire of the scribe not to leave a blank space at the end of the column. A good example of parallelism between two complete lines is found in 6_{8,9}:

ti dín-gir-dím	mú-un-na-sí-mu
zi-dá-ri dín-gir-dím	mú-un-na-ab-é-de

Another phenomenon similar to the so-called parallelism, but nevertheless quite distinct from it, is the repetition of certain lines in a somewhat different form; as a rule, the second verse is slightly enlarged by the addition of an element more closely defining one of the grammatical units of the preceding verse, usually the first. Cf. lines 2_{9,10}:

[giš....-]...-nam-lugal-la an-ta-ē-da-a-ba
 [...].-mah^{giš}....[...]-nam-lugal-la an-ta-ē-a-ba

It will also be observed that this peculiar repetition as well as some of the parallelisms produce a sound effect which in some way may be compared to that of the modern rhyme, though, of course, the actual resemblance between the two phenomena is only a remote one. This effect is very well shown, *e. g.*, by lines 5₃₋₆ quoted above; note here the correspondence of imin-am in the two half verses in l. 3, and of a-ta in the two following verses, examples which approach very closely to actual rhyme.











The poem character of our text finally shows itself in the diction. It has already been pointed out that our text does not relate the various incidents of the story in the quiet and steady progression usually found in historical narrative, but often merely alludes to some striking incident and without wasting any time on details jumps abruptly to some other incident. A good illustration for this is found in the third column, where line 17' merely tells us that Enki held counsel in his heart without betraying what the subject of his deliberations was. Our poem evidently belongs to that class of historical poetry which was not intended to impart new historical information, but rather to review historical facts with which the person who listened to the poem or song was quite familiar. In these features our poem resembles the old Hebrew historical poetry with its merely allusive style, a feature which is very striking in the so-called Song of Deborah, Judges 5, when compared with the simple historical narrative in the fourth chapter.

In this connection I should like to call attention to the comparatively frequent use of the expression *û-bi-a* or *û-ba*, "on that day," "at that time," which is found in 3₁₅ : *û-bi-a* ^dnint[*u*] *dím a*-[.]; 3₂₀ : *û-ba zi-û-GID-du lugal-ám*, and the same again in 6₁₀. For this phrase, which directs the attention to bygone days in contradistinction to the present, very well illustrates the purpose just described, namely, to make historical facts pass in review before the listener. This use of *û-ba*, by the way, is a very common feature of historical poetry, as I hope to show more at length at some other time. Here, however, it may be pointed out that the use of 'āz, "then," "at that time," in old Hebrew poetry forms an exact parallel to this peculiarity of the Babylonian; for in the Song of Deborah, *e. g.*, we find the particle used no less than five times to introduce some striking incident: 5₈ אָז לָחַם שְׁעָרִים; 5₁₁ אָז יָרְדוּ לְשַׁעְרֵים עִם יְהוָה; "at that time the people of Jahweh descended to the gates;" 5₁₃ אָז יָרַד שָׁבִיר לְאֲדָרִים עִם; "at that time the kings of Canaan did battle;" and 5₂₂ אָז חָלְמוּ עֵקְבֵי-סוּם; "at that time the hoofs of the horses pawed the ground." From this as well as from the similarities in poetical form it will be seen that there existed a very close relation between Israelitish and Babylonian poetry. These common peculiarities, however, were doubtless not restricted to these two nations, but will probably be found to have been characteristic of the poetry of the whole ancient Orient.

THE AGE OF THE TABLET

As our tablet is not dated, the important question as to its age can be decided only by the character of the script and by internal and other indirect evidence.

Notwithstanding its great neatness, the script, owing to


the small size of the signs, is of a somewhat indefinite character, and therefore allows us to fix the time of the tablet only within certain limits. The widest scope would be between 2300 and 1300, *i. e.*, approximately from the time of the dynasty of Isin to the end of the Cassite period. It is true, for the dynasty of Isin and for the first half of the dynasty of Babylon the script of our tablet would be rather advanced, but this might be due to the smallness of the characters, as in such a case the signs show a greater tendency to simplification than in large script which allows sufficient room for all the details of the signs. At least at the time of Rim-Sin, Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna, but also in closely written texts from the time of the dynasty of Isin, each sign represented on our tablet may be found in exactly the same form, as will be seen, *e. g.*, from BE VI, 2, No. 49, which is dated in the time of Samsu-iluna, and from AO 5478, RA 1911, p. 82, dated in the time of Rim-Sin. On the assumption that the scribe wrote carefully, on the other hand, the tablet might very well have been written during the earlier Cassite period, although two or three signs show a more archaic form than we find on any other tablet of the Cassite period. The sign *mi*, *e. g.*, appears in our text as  and  with three or four horizontal wedges above each other, while the Cassite tablets always have  with two wedges only; the sign *ḥar* is found on our tablet in the form , whereas the published Cassite texts show either the form  or . Note also  and  instead of  and . But to assign an earlier date to our tablet merely on account of these few indications which might very well be due to intentional archaism on the part of the scribe, would be rather hazardous, and the more so because in the case of an earlier date we would have to go back at least to the time of Samsu-iluna; for up to the present no Nippur tablet dated between Samsu-iluna and the kings of Karduniaš has come to light, evidently because Nippur was not inhabited during the greater part of this period.

Even less satisfactory, at least for the present, must remain an attempt to find indications of the age of our tablet in the


form of the language. It will be noted that the text is written in a kind of Sumerian which shows considerable deviation from the idiom used, *e. g.*, in the royal building inscriptions, differences which moreover betray clearly a decay of the language such as we notice, although to a much greater extent, in the very late Sumerian texts of the Assyrian and neo-Babylonian period. Note, *e. g.*, the change of the verbs šu—dú and si—sá into šu—šu-dú and si—si-sá; and the locative form šà-ní-te-na-ge instead of šà-ní-te-na-ka; it has likewise been mentioned that the text has by no means been carefully transmitted, and this as well as the corruption of the language might very well be taken as indications of a late date; but as at the present, for lack of the necessary material, we are not yet able to determine to what extent such deviations in the late Sumerian texts already existed in texts of earlier periods outside the royal inscriptions, this conclusion has only a comparative value. Nevertheless we can say this much, that we are already in a time when Sumerian as a spoken language can have survived only in a more or less corrupt condition; so far as our present material allows us to draw a conclusion on this subject the process of decay seems to have set in during the later period of the first dynasty of Isin.

Nor do we gain a more definite result from internal evidence which, moreover, will prove much less for the date at which the tablet was actually written than for the time of the first composition or at least the last redaction of the text. The fact that our tablet mentions the highest gods in the order An, Enlil, Enki and Nin-ḫarsagga makes it impossible to place the date of the composition of the text at or before the time of Gudea; for we have seen that Gudea still mentions them in the old order An, Enlil, Nin-ḫarsag and Enki. On the other hand, we have seen that a number of kudurru inscriptions which belong to the latest period of the Cassite dynasty and the time of the second dynasty of Isin, enumerate the gods in the same order as our tablet. The time of the latter dynasty, however, would have to be regarded as the lowest limit to which

the composition of the text could be referred, since from that time Marduk begins to rank above the goddess Ninḥarsagga.

I think, however, the observation that our tablet shows a remarkable affinity to the list of kings which is published as No. 5 of this volume, will lead us a step nearer to our goal. Both tablets are of the same reddish-brown clay, of at least approximately the same size¹ and the same shape and, what is especially important, show the same peculiarities of writing. For the latter compare, *e. g.*, the combination of the signs an and en into ² with the characteristic development of an into the form of me. It seems to me, therefore, sufficiently certain that the two tablets were written by the same hand and probably were intended to form, together with one or two others, a series of tablets on which the scribe wrote an outline of the history of Babylonia from its earliest beginnings down to his own time. As each column of the king list contained the names of about thirty-nine or forty kings,³ the missing portion of the last column cannot have given the names of more than nineteen kings, but in all likelihood much less, as there must have been left some space for the summary and probably a colophon. On a rough estimate the list will thus be carried down to approximately the latter half of the dynasty of Babylon, and this then would likewise be the time when the list as well as the deluge and creation tablet were written.

¹ The width of the tablet which contains the list of kings was probably a centimeter less than that of the creation and deluge text.

² Not  as Hilprecht's copy shows. For a similar development see BE VI, 2, No. 8₁₂ (Rim-Sin, 2d year after the conquest of Isin); 59₅ (Samsu-iluna 26th year), both from Nippur; 115_{8,12} (Ammiditana 37th year); 120₁₁ (Ammi.); 123_{14,38} (Ammizaduga 5th year); 124_{11,18} (Ammi-zaduga 6th year). It will be noted that this form of the combination is especially frequent during the last period of the kingdom of Babylon, but it is likewise found in closely written literary texts from the time of the dynasty of Isin.

³ As the Babylonians counted 139 kings from the deluge to the end of the dynasty of Isin, the first three columns must have contained the names of 118 kings (139 kings — 21 kings of Ur and Isin), and each column therefore those of about thirty-nine or forty. Hilprecht, judging only from the reputed size of the tablet, estimated each column at about forty-eight or fifty lines; cf. BE XX, 1 p. 40, note 1.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ACCOUNT

The new account of the creation and deluge is important from more than one point of view. First, it is written in Sumerian, while the other accounts, with the exception of three texts referring to the creation, exist in Semitic Babylonian only, and although we have seen that the Sumerian idiom of our text is no longer that of the classical period, yet the importance of our tablet is sufficiently established by the fact that it proves the existence of entirely independent larger Sumerian versions of the creation and deluge stories, and therefore may be regarded as an earnest of the discovery of considerably older Sumerian accounts.

However, even as it is, this Sumerian text reflects, at least in one point, theological conceptions which antedate by a considerable period most of those accounts with which we have been familiar. The older forms of religious belief in Babylonia can at the present time be inferred, on the whole, only from more or less occasional allusions in royal inscriptions, lists of gods, etc., and if therefore a new text enables us to verify one of these conclusions as here with regard to Enlil's part in the creation, this must, of course, be very welcome. But more than this, our new text enables us to see the known parallel sources in several points in a new light, as, *e. g.*, with regard to the position of one of the most important deities of the older Babylonian pantheon, the goddess Nin-ḫarsag. Altogether new, however, is the information concerning the prediluvian cities and deities.

Furthermore, it has already been pointed out that our text, because it constitutes an independent version, is of considerable value for the tracing of different sources within the known deluge account in the Gilgameš epic. In this respect our new text has also an indirect bearing on the Biblical account of the deluge in Genesis 6₁₁–9₁₇, because the recognition of the composite character of the Babylonian versions gives us a valuable insight into that literary process by which the present composite Biblical account of the deluge must have been evolved.

II
NEW LISTS OF KINGS

NEW LISTS OF KINGS

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

No. 2

The beginning of Column 1 (about 16 lines) is missing.

	[.....]
Col. 1	[....]-bu-um	.....bum
	[... +] ¹ 300 mu (n)î-â	ruled 300 + x years.
	[uš?] - [...]	Uš(?)....
	[] ²	
5'	[...]-tab-ba	....tabba
	[] ²	
	[ga-]lu-mu-um-e	Qalumum
	[900] mu (n)î-â	ruled 900 years.
	[z]u-ga-gí-ib-e	Zuqaqib
10'	[8]40 mu (n)î-â	ruled 840 years.
	ar-pi dumu maš-dā-ge	Arpi, son of a muškênu,
	720 mu (n)î-â	ruled 720 years.
	e-ta-na siba	Etana, the shepherd,
	lù?-an?-šù?-ni?-ib-ě-d[a]	who ascended to Heaven,
15'	[l]ù? kur-kur-ra mu-ni-gi-	who subdued (ruled) all
	n[a]?	lands,
	635 ³ mu (n)î-â	ruled 635 years.
	wi?-li-ŠĀR? + x	Wi(?)li....,
	dumu e-ta-na-ge	son of Etana,
	410 mu (n)î-â	ruled 410 years.

¹ Probably 900 (= 600 + 300).

² Blank line.

³ Perhaps 625; the last 10 may be an erasure.

20'	en-me-nun-na-ge 611 mu (n)i-â me-lám-kiš(i) ^{ki} dumu en-me-nun-na-ge 900 mu (n)i-â	En-me-nunna ruled 611 years. Melam-kiš(i), son of En-me-nunna, ruled 900 years.
25'	bar-sal-nun-na dumu en-me-nun-na-ge 1200 mu (n)i-â [me]s-za ¹ -m[u]g dumu bar- sal-nun-na-ge [... m]u (n)i-â	Bar-sal-nunna, son of En-me-nunna, ruled 1200 years. Mes-za ⁴ -mug, son of Bar- sal-nunna, ruled ... years.
30'	[.....] dumu bar-sal- nun-na-ge	....., son of Bar-sal- nunna,
Col. 2	[... mu (n)i-â] [.....]	ruled ... years.

The beginning of Column 2 (about 18 lines) is missing.

	[.....]
1'	[ki]š(i) ^{ki} nam-lugal-[bi] é-an-na-šù ba-t[ú]m] é-an-na-ka	The kingdom of Kiš passed to Eanna. In E-anna
5'	mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir dumu ^d utu en-ám lugal-ám 325 mu (n)i-â	Meskingašer, son of Šamaš, as lord and king ruled 325 years.
10'	mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir [.....] ba-an-tū [.....]-.....-šù ba-(a ² -)ě en-me-ir- ³ kár dumu mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir-	Meskingašer descended into and ascended to.... Enmerkar, son of Meskingašer,

¹ Perhaps limmu = 4?

² The a perhaps erasure.

³ The horizontal wedge is evidently an erasure.

15'	ge luga[l] unu ^{ki} -ga lù-unu ^{ki} -ga mu-un-da-dū-a lugal-ám	king of Uruk, who built (.....) together with the people of Uruk, ¹ as king
20'	420 mu (n)ì-â ^d lugal-bán-da si[ba] 1200 mu (n)ì-â ^d dumu-zi ŠU-KUAGUNŪ uru ^{ki} -ni ĤA-A ^{ki}	ruled 420 years. Lugal-banda, the shepherd, ruled 1200 years. Dumu-zi, the hunter, ² whose city was ĤA-A, ruled 100 years.
25'	100 mu (n)ì-â ^d GÍŠ-BIL-ga[-mes] ab-ba-ni a... [.....] en kul-á[ba ^{ki}] 126 mu [(n)ì-â]?	Gilgameš, whose father was....., the lord ³ of Kulab, ruled 126 ⁴ years.
Col. 3	[.....-lugal] ⁵ [dumu ^d GÍŠ-BIL-ga-mes- ge] [.... mu (n)ì-â	.....lugal, the son of Gilgameš, ruled years.

The beginning of Column 3 (about 21 lines) is missing.

[.....]
[unu ^{ki} -ga]	The kingdom
1' n[am-lugal-bi]	of Uruk
ur[í ^{ki6} -šù ba-túm?]	passed to Ur.
urí ^{ki6} -ma]	In Ur
mes-an-ni-p[á-da]	Mes-anni-pada
5' lugal-ám	became king

¹ There is evidently some mistake in the sentence; have we to read lugal unu^{ki} lù-unu^{ki}-ga(-da) mu-un-da-dū-a "the king who built Uruk with the people of Uruk?"

² ŠU-ĤAGUNU, usually ŠU-ĤA, = bāiru "fisher," "hunter." Is there perhaps a difference in meaning between ŠU-ĤA and ŠU-HAGUNU?

³ *I. e.*, high priest.

⁴ Perhaps 186, if the preceding wedge belongs to the number and not to the sign na, which, however, is not very likely.

⁵ Supplied from No. 66.

⁶ The name of the city is written uru-AB^{ki} on this tablet.

	80 mu (n)î-â	and ruled 80 years.
	mes-ki-âg-nun-na	Mes-kiag-nunna,
	dumu-mes-an-ni-pá-da(-ge)	son of Mes-anni-pada,
	30 mu (n)î-â	ruled 30 years.
10'	e-lu-[.....]	Elu.....
	25 mu (n)î-â	ruled 25 years.
	ba-lu-[.....]	Balu.....
	36 mu (n)î-â	ruled 36 years.
	4 lug[al]	4 kings
15'	mu-bi 171 [mu]	ruled 171 years.
	í[b-â]	
	uri ^{ki} -ma	The kingdom
	nam-lugal[-bi]	of Ur
	a-wa-an ^{ki} [-šù(ba-túm)?]	passed to Awan.
20'	[a-]w[a]-a[n ^{ki} -na]	In Awan
	[.....]

Rest of Column 3 (about 7 lines), all of Columns 4-9 and about 10 lines at the beginning of Column 10 are missing.

	[.....]
Col. 10	[^d i-din- ^d da-gan]	Idin-Dagan,
	dumu ^d [Š]U-[i-lí-šu-ge]	son of ŠU-ilišu,
	21 mu (n)î[-â]	ruled 21 years.
	^d iš-me- ^d d[a-gan]	Išme-Dagan,
	dumu ^d i-din- ^d d[a-gan-ge]	son of Idin-Dagan,
5'	20 mu (n)î[-â]	ruled 20 years.
	^d li-bi-it ¹ [ištar]	Libit-Ištar,
	dumu ^d i-din- ^d da-g[an-ge]	son of Idin-Dagan,
	11 mu (n)î-â	ruled 11 years.
	^d ur- ^d ni[n[-IB]	Ur-NinIB,
10'	dumu ^d iškur-[.....]	son of Iškur.....,
	mu-....[.....]	.....
	bal-[.....]	dynasty.....
	...[.....]

Rest of Column 10 (about 21 lines) is missing.

¹ The text has da.

Col. 11	šu-nigin 51 ¹ lugal mu-bi 18[000+ +] 9 mu[. . . iti û] íb[-â]	Total: 51 ¹ kings ruled 18009+ . . . years . . . months . . . days
5	a-rá-4[-kam] šà-kiš(i)[^{ki}] šu-nigin 22 lu[gal] mu-bi 261[0+x ² mu] 6 iti 15 û íb[-â]	four times in Kiš. Total: 22 kings ruled 2610+x ² years 6 months and 15 days.
10'	a-rá-5-kam šà-unu ^{ki} -ga šu-nigin 13 lugal mu-bi 396 mu íb-â	five times in Uruk. Total: 13 kings ruled 396 years
15	a-rá-3-kam šà-uri ^{ki} -ma šu-nigin 3 lugal mu-bi 356 mu íb-â	three times in Ur. Total: 3 kings ruled 356 years
20	a-rá-1-kam, šà-a-wa-an ^{ki} šu-nigin 1 lugal mu-bi 7 mu a-rá-1-kam	once in Awan. Total: 1 king ruled 7 years
25	šà- [] [.] [a-r]á-1-kam	once in once

Rest of Column 11 (about 15 lines) is missing.

Col. 12	[šu-nigin 12] lugal [mu-bi 1]96 [mu] íb-â	Total: 12 kings ruled 196 years
---------	---	---------------------------------------

¹ The first two upper wedges of the number are written very close together, so that it would not be altogether impossible to assume that the scribe wrote 40 over another number. But this is not very likely.

² Only the units are broken away.

5	[šà-]a-ga-dé ^{ki} šu-nigin 21 lugal mu-b]i 125 mu 40 û íb-â a-rá-1-kam	in Agade. Total: 21 kings ruled 125 years and 40 days once
10	šà-ugnim ¹ gu-ti-um ^{ki} [šu-nigin] 11 lugal [mu-b]i 159 mu íb-ag	in the people of Gutium. Total: 11 kings ruled 159 years
15	[šà-ì-s]i-in ^{ki} -na	in Išín.
	11	11
	[uru-]nam-lugal-la [.....]-AG-bi [šu-nigin-]šu-nigin 134 lugal	cities of royalty; grand-total: 134 kings; grand-total of their years (of reign): 28876[+?] [.....months] 21? [days]
20	[(šu-nigin-)]šu-nigin mu-bi 28800[]+60+16 []21?[] [.....]	

The rest of Column 12' is missing.

No. 3

Beginning of Column 1 is missing.

Col. 1	[.....] [.....-b]u-um [.....] mu(n)î-â [.....]-ba ² [900+?] mu (n)î-â	..........bum ruled years. Uš(?)ba(or Uš(?)zu) ruled ... years. Uš?tabba ruled years. Qalumum
5	u[š?]-tab-ba [....] mu (n)î-â ga-l[u-mu-u]m-e	

¹ The šà is perhaps erased.

² Perhaps zu.

	900 m[u (n)î-â]	ruled 900 years.
	[z]u-ga-gí-[ib-e]	Zuqaqib
10	840 mu[(n)î-â]	ruled 840 years.
	[a]r-bu-um dumu maš ^{en} dā-	Arbûm, the son of a muš-
	ge	kinu,
	[7]20 mu (n)î-â	ruled 720 years.
	[e]-ta-na siba	Etana, the shepherd
	lù .....ě-da	who ascended
15	[.....].	.....

Rest of Column 1 and beginning of Column 2 are missing.

Col. 2	mà(?)-...-ga(?)...[...].	.....
	900 mu (n)î-â	ruled 900 years.
	AG? dumu en-me-bár-[...]	..., son of En-me-bar...
	625 mu (n)î-â]	ruled 625 years.
5	1525(?)m[u.....]	1525 (?) years
	en-me-b[á]r-[.....]	(of) En-me-bar....
	23(?)	23 kings
	mu-bi 18000+[.....mu]	ruled 18000 + years
	iti-3 û 3 i[b-â]	3 months and 3 days.
10	[k]iš(i) ^{kí} [.....]	The kingdom
	[nam-lugal-bi]	of Kiš
	[é-an-na-šù ba-túm]	passed to Eanna.
	é-a[n-na-ka	In Eanna
	m[es-ki-in-ga-še-ir	Meskingašer, etc.
15	[.....]	.....

Rest of Column 2, Columns 3-6' and beginning of Column 7' are missing.

Col. 7'	[.....]	.....
	u[r.....]	Ur-.....
	6 [mu (n)î-â	ruled 6 years.
	..[.....]	Bá(?).....
	[.....]

Rest of Column 7 and beginning of Column 8 are missing.

[.....]
---------	-------

Col. 8'	[4]4 ¹ [mu- (n)î-â] [ša]r-ga[-lí-šar-rí] [dumu?-]dumu na[-ra-am- ^d sin-ge(?)]	ruled 44 years. Šar-gali-šarri, grandson of Naram-Sin,
	24 mu (n)î-â]	ruled 24 years.
5'	[... +] 37 mu[...] [..... ša]r-ru-GI-...[.....] ma-nu-um šarrum ma-nu-um la šarrum i-gí-gí lugal	... years.... the <i>family</i> of Šarru-kin... Who was king? Who was not king? Igigi, the king,
10'	i-mi lugal na-ni lugal e-lu-lu lugal 4-bi 3 mu íb-â du[-du.....]	Imi, the king, Nani, the king, Elulu, the king, these four ruled 3 years. Dudu.....
15'	[.....]	.....

Rest of Column 8 is missing.

No. 4 (100.13213)

Beginning of Column 1 is missing.

Col. 1	[.....] mu-bi 2[6 íb-â] unu ^{ki}[.....] nam-lugal-[bi] ugni[m ]	..... ruled 26 years. Uruk....., its kingdom passed to the people of Gutium.
5'	gu-ti-um ^{ki} [.....] im-bi-[.....] 3 mu (n)î-â] in-ki-[.....] [.....]-da [.....]	Imbi..... ruled 3 years. Inki.... <i>and</i> .....da....
10'	[.....]	.....

Rest of Column 1, Columns 2-7 and beginning of Column 8 are missing.

¹ Perhaps 54. Beginning of number broken away.

Col. 8'	[.....]	.....
	mu-b[i?.....]	.....
	nam-lugal-....[.....]	kingship.....
	11 uru	11 cities
	139 lugal	139 kings
5'	mu-bi 32243	their years (of reign)
	mu	32243 years,
	[.....] iti? 18? û?...[...]	.... months and 18? days.
	[.....]

Rest of Column 8' is missing.

CBS 15365, Reverse (P₁)

Beginning of the column is missing.

Col. 1'	[.....]	.....
	4[+.....]	ruled 4+x years
	^d i[r-ra.....]	Irra-.....
	u[r-.....]	.....
	dumu nu-mu[-.....]	son of
5'	6 mu (n)-î[â]	ruled 6 years.
	su-mu-a-bu-û[m]	Sumu-abum
	iti 8 (n)î-â	ruled 8 months.
	[i-k]u-un-pî-ištar	Ikun-pî-Ištar
	[.... mu (n)î-â	ruled years.
	[.....]

Rest of this column and beginning of the following are missing.

Col. 2	[.....]	.....
	[š-u-nigin....lug]al	Total: kings
	[m]u-bi 125	ruled 125
	îb-â	years
	[a-r]á-6-kam	six times
5'	[šâ-....] ^{ki} -a	in
	[š-u-nigin....luga]l	Total: kings, etc.
	[.....]

Rest of column is missing.

No. 5 (1897)

The upper part of Column 1 is missing.

Col. 1	[.....]	mu ... in-â]
	[...] ... [.....]	mu ... in-â]
	[.....] ..... [	mu ... in-â]
	..[...] -um?-e?	[mu ... in-â]
5'	[.....] AN?.....	[mu ... in-â]
	.[.....]...	[mu ... in-â]
	[.....]..[.....].....	mu ... in-â]
	.....-tab?-ba?	mu ... in-â]
	ka-lu-mu-um	mu ... in-â]
10'	zu-gā-ki-ib	mu ... in-â]
	ar-pi-u dumu maš-dā-ge	mu[... in-â]
	e-ta-na siba lù an-šù al?-ě[-da] ¹	m[u ... in-â]
	ba? ² -li- <i>iḫ</i> ³ dumu e-ta-na-ge	mu[... in-â]
15'	en-me-nun-na	mu 600[+ x in-â]
	me-lám-kiš(i) ^{ki} dumu en-me-nun- na-ge	mu 600[+ x in-â]
	bar-sal-nun-na	mu 60[o + x in-â]
	mes-za ⁴ -mug(?) dumu bar-sal- nun-na-ge	mu [... in-â]
	.... GIŠ-GŪ(?) dumu mes-za ⁴ -mug(?) -ge	[mu ... in-â]
20'	en?-me?-dur-mes?-e?	m[u ... in-â]
	.... - za? ⁴ ... TAB?-DU-	m[u
[.....]]
	[e]n?-me-bara?-gi-šu? lù? ma-da? m[i? - ....	.....

Columns 2 and 3 are missing.

¹ "Etana, the shepherd, who ascended to heaven [and]"

² Or zu-?

³ See lists No. 5 and K 8532.

⁴ Or limmu = 4?

⁵ "En?-me?-bara?-gi-šu?, who..... the land (?) and....."

Col. 4	urí ^{ki} -ma ur- ^d engur-ge lugal-ám mu 18 in-â ¹	
	dun-gi dumu ur- ^d engur-ge	mu 58 in-â
	AMAR- ^d sin(-na) ² dumu dun-gi-ge ³	mu 9 in-â
	ŠU- ^d sin dumu AMAR- ^d sin-na-ge	mu 7 in-â
5	i-bi- ^d sin dumu ŠU- ^d sin-na-ge	mu 25 in-â
<hr/>		
	5 lugal-e-ne (mu) ⁴ 117	in- â-eš
	urí ^[k] ⁱ bal-bi ba-an-kúr nam-lugal-bi	î-si-in ^{ki} -šù ba.[. . .]
	[i]-si-in ^{ki} -na iš-bi- ^d ir-ra ⁵ lugal-ám	mu 32 in-â. ⁶
	ŠU-î-lí-šu dumu iš-bi- ^d ir-ra-ge	mu 10 in-â
10	i-din- ^d da-gan dumu ŠU-î-lí-šu-ge	mu 21 in-â
	iš-me- ^d da-gan dumu i-din- ^d da-gan-ge	mu 20 in-â
	l[i-[b]i-it-ištar dumu iš-me- ^d da-gan-ge	mu 11 in-â
	[ur- ^d nin-]IB	mu 28 in-â
	[bur- ^d s]in dumu [u]r- ^d nin-IB-ge	mu 21 [i]n-[a]
15	[i-te-ir-pî-ša] du[mu b]ur- ^d sin	mu 5 in-[â]
	[^d ir-ra-i-]mi-ti	mu 7 [in-â]
	....[.....]...	iti 6 i[n-â]
	^d en-lil-[b]a-[n]i	mu 24 i[n-â]
	za-a[m ⁷ -b]i-ia	mu 3 i[n-â]
20	.....	mu 4 i[n-â]
	....[.....]	mu 4 i[n-â]
	^d sin-ma-g[ir]	mu 11 [in-â]
	da-m[i]-iq-î-lí-šu dumu ^d sin-ma-gir	mu 3 [in-â]
<hr/>		
	[16 lugal-e-ne [m]u 225 iti 6 in-â[-eš]	
25	[.....].....[.....]	

Rest of the column is missing.

¹ "In Ur Ur-Engur as king (or having become king) ruled 18 years."

² Omit -na as mistake of the scribe.

³ In older Sumerian one would expect dun-gi-ra-ge; the scribe who drew up this list treats *dungi* as a noun ending with a vowel.

⁴ Omitted by the scribe.

⁵ The determinative dingir before *ir-ra* proves that the text was written later than Samsuiluna.

⁶ "The dynasty of Ur was overthrown, its kingdom *passed* to Isin. In Isin Išbi-Irra as king (having become king) ruled 32 years."

⁷ Or ab.

K 8532 + K 8533 + K 8534¹Obv. Col. 2¹⁻⁴

[.....].....[.....]
 DINGIR-ILLA(D) dumu ki-min [... mu in-â]
Ilu-illat, the son of ditto (= Etana), ruled ... years.
 en-men-nun-na [... mu in-â]
 En-men-nunna ruled ... years.
 mê-lám²-kiš(i)^{kiš} dumu ki-min [... mu in-â]
 Melam-kišu, the son of ditto (= Enmennunna), ruled ... years.

¹ King, SEH III, pp. 143, 145. This list, when complete, enumerated the kings from the deluge, or probably from the creation, to an apparently considerable time beyond the seventh dynasty of the larger Babylonian list of kings.

² Sign a; read thus instead of King's a-bil; has the original perhaps me?

³ King's copy shows kiš-šú.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF THE BABYLONIANS

I. Period: Apsû and Tiamat.

II. Period: Lahmu and Lahama.

III. Period: An-šar and Ki-šar.

|| Conquest of Apsû.
 || Conquest of Tiamat: creation of Heaven and earth, mankind, etc.

IV. Period: The kings before the flood.

<i>α. εκ πολεως βαβυλωνος χαλδαιος</i>			
1. <i>άλωρος</i>	⊙	10 <i>σαροι</i>	36,000 years
|| First revelation of knowledge by <i>Ωανης</i> : first year of Aloros.			
2. <i>άλαπαρος</i> , son of Aloros	○○○	3 ..	10,800 ..
<i>β. εκ πολεως παντιβιβλιας (Abydenos).</i>			
3. <i>άμηλων</i>	⊙○○○	13 ..	46,800 ..
|| Second revelation by <i>Αννηδωτος</i> at the end of the reign of Amelon or at the beginning of the reign of Ammenon.			
4. <i>άμμενων</i>	⊙○○	12 ..	43,200 ..
5. <i>μεγαλαρος</i>	⊙○○○○○	18 ..	64,800 ..

6. δαωνος ποιμην.....	◎	10 σαροι	36,000 years
|| Third revelation by Εὐε- δωκος, Ἐνευγαμος, Ἐνευβουλος and Ανημεντος.			
7. εὐεδωραχος.....	◎○○○○	18 ,,	64,800 ,,
en-me-dur-an-ki || Fourth revelation by Ἄνω- δαφος.			
γ. ἐκ λαραγχων (i. e. Larak).			
8. ἀμεμφινος.....	◎	10 ,,	36,000 ,,
9. ὠτιαρτης [for ὠπαρτης, etc.).....	○○○○	8 ,,	28,800 ,,
ubara- ^d tu-tu (δ. From Šurripak) (Gilg. Ep. XI.)			
10. ξισουθρος (= Hasis-wat- ru), son of Otiartes.....	◎○○○○	18 ,,	64,800 ,,
[w]a-at-ra-am-ḫa-si-is, a-tar-PI (= ḫasis) u-ta-na-(p)iš-tim, ut(a)- napištim, son of Ubara- Tutu. zi-û-GID-du, zi-SŪ-da			
Total: 10 kings	⊗⊗⊗	120 σαροι	432,000 years
|| Deluge.			

V. Period: The kings after the flood

1. FIRST KINGDOM OF KIŠ¹

1. εὐηχιος	$\begin{array}{c} \text{D D} \\ \text{D D} \end{array}$	4 νηροι	2,400 years
2. χωμασβηλος, ² son of Euechios	$\begin{array}{c} \text{D D D} \\ \text{D D D} \end{array}$	4 ,,	2,700 ,,
		5 σως	
1'. [.]			years
2'. [.] . . . [.]			,,
3'. [.] [.]			,,
4'. [.]-um?-e			,,
5'. [.] AN? [.]			,,
6'. [.]-bu-um			,,
7'. [uš]?-ba(or zu)?			,,
8'.-tab-ba		900?	,,

¹ Syncellus (90 C and 92 AB) gives the following list of kings after the deluge:

A. Seven Chaldean kings.

1. εὐηχιος 6 years (+ a fraction)
2. χωμασβηλος 7 years (+ a fraction)
3. πωγος 35 years
4. νεχουβης 43 years
5. ναβιος 48 years
6. ονιβαλλος 40 years
7. ζινξηρος 46 (45) years

B. Six Arab kings.

1. μαρδοκετης 45 (44) years
2. μαρδακος 40 years
3. σισιμορδακος 28 years
4. ναβιος 37 years
5. παραννος 40 years
6. ναβουνναβος 25 years

C. Forty-one Assyrian kings.

1. βηλος 55 years, etc.

With the exception of the first two names taken from Berossus, this list is spurious, serving merely the purpose of filling out the gap between the deluge and the first king of Assyria in Syncellus' chronological system. The years of reign of the first two kings are arrived at by dividing 2400 and 2700 by 360, i. e., by counting each year as one day.

² 2 and 1' are perhaps identical.

9'. ga-lu-mu-um, ka-lu-mu-um	900	years
10'. zu-ga-gi-ib, zu-ga-ki-ib	840	„
11'. ar-pi, son of a muškînu	720	„
ar-bu-um, ar-pi-u		
12'. e-ta-na, the shepherd	635 ¹	„
^d e-ta-na		
13'. wa-li-x, son of Etana	410	„
ba?-li-ib, AN-ILLA(D)		
14'. en-me-nun-na, en-men-nun-na	611	„
15'. me-lám-kiš(i) ^{ki} , son of En-me-nunna	900	„
mê-lám-kiš(i) ^{k(i)}		
16'. bar-sal-nun-na, son of En-me-nun-na.	1,200	„
17'. mes-za ² -MUG ³ , son of Bar-sal-		
nunna . . . . .	...	„
18'. en?-GIŠ?-GŪ?, son of Bar-sal-nunna.	...	„
19'. en?-me?-dur?-mes?-e . . . . .	...	„
20'. . . . -za? . . . . .	...	„
21'. ⁴ [e]n?-me?-bara?-gi?-šu? . . . . .	...	„
22. ⁴	900	„
23. AG(?), son of En-me-bara-[.]	625	„

Total: 23 kings 18,000 + x years 3 months and 3 days.

2. KINGDOM OF EANNA = FIRST KINGDOM OF URUK

1. mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir, son of Šamaš, high priest and king	325	years
2. en-me-ir-kár, son of Meskingašer, king	420	„
3. ^d lugal-bán-da, the shepherd	1,200	„
lugal-bán-da		
4. ^d dumu-zi, the hunter (or fisherman) from the city of HA-A	100	„

¹ Or 625.

² Perhaps limmu = 4.

³ Perhaps ME-KAK?

⁴ 21' and 22 are perhaps identical.

7'. SECOND KINGDOM OF UR

1'. AN-na-ni.....	... years
2'. lù- ^d nanna, son of AN-na-ni.....	... „
3. „
4. „
	<hr/>
Total: 4 kings.....	108 years

8'. FIRST (?) KINGDOM OF ADAB?

.....	
1'. Lugal-da-ĒU	
2'. me-IGI...[.....]	
.....	
	<hr/>
Total: 2 (+x) kings.....	... years

9'. SECOND (?) KINGDOM OF KIŠ

me-silim.....	
ur-zag-è.....	
lugal-tar-si.....	
en-bi-ištar.....	
	<hr/>
Total: 1(+ 3) (+x) kings	... years

10'. SECOND (?) KINGDOM OF URUK?

en-šà-kúš-an-na lugal ki-en-gi lugal
kalam-ma

.....

11'. FIRST (?) KINGDOM OF UPI?

.....

ZU-ZU.....

12'. THIRD KINGDOM OF KIŠ?

1. é-an-na-du^m
 é-an-na-^dinnanna-ib-gal-ka-ka-du^m
 lum-ma

13. SECOND (?) KINGDOM OF UPI

1. KALAM-zi.....	30 years
2. KALAM-da-lu-lu.....	12 „
3. ur-šā.....	6 „
4. BĀ-ŠA- ^d saḥan.....	20 „
5. i-šu-il.....	24 „
6. ŠU- ^d sin, son of Išu-il.....	7 „
	<hr/>
Total: 6 kings.....	99 years

14. FOURTH (?) KINGDOM OF KIŠ

1. kù- ^d ba-u.....	14 ¹ years
2. BĀ-ŠA- ^d sin, son of Ku-Bau.....	25 „
3. ur- ^d za-mà-mà.....	6 „
4. zi-mu-tár.....	30 „
5. u-zi-wa-tár, son of Zimutar.....	6 „
6. el-mu-ti.....	11 „
7. i-.....- ^d šamaš.....	11 „
8. ....-ia-.....	3 „
	<hr/>
Total: 8 kings.....	106 ¹ years

15. THIRD (?) KINGDOM OF URUK

1. lugal-zag-gi-si.....	25 years
	<hr/>
Total: 1 king.....	25 years

¹ See OLZ XV (1912), Cols. 289-294.

16. KINGDOM OF AGADE

1. šar-ru-GI (= kîn) . . . . .	... years
šar-um-GI (= kîn); šar-ru-ki-in, šarru-GI-NA, Šar-ru-GIN, ša-ru- ki-in	
2'. (i)rī-mu-uš lugal kiš „
(i)rī-muš	
3'. ma-an-iš-tu-su lugal kiš(i) „
4'. „
5. ^d na-ra-am- ^d sin šàr a-ga-dé ^{ki} šàr ki-ib- ra-tim. ar-ba-im	44(+10?) years
na-ram- ^d sin	
6. ^a šar-ga-lí-šàr-rí šàr a-ga-dé ^{ki}	24 years
šàr-ka-li-e-šarri	
7. i-gí-gí, ì-gí-gí	} 3 „
8. i-mi	
9. na-ni, na-nu-um	
10. e-lu-lu, i-lu-lu	
11. du-du	21 „
12. ŠU-DUR-KIB, son of Dūdu	15 „
<hr/>	
Total: 12 kings	197 years

17. FOURTH (?) KINGDOM OF URUK

1. ur-nígin	3 years
2. ur- ^{giš} ginar, son of Ur-Nigin	6 „
3. -da	6 „
4. BĀ-ŠA-ì-lí	5 „
5. ur- ^d utu	6 „
<hr/>	
Total: 5 kings	26 years

18. KINGDOM OF GUTIUM

1.	im-bi ¹ -[.....]	3 years
2.	in-ki[.....]	}
3.	da ² -da-[.....]?.....	
4-10.	(a) e-ir-ri-du-pi-zi-ir da-nùm šàr gu-ti-im ù ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im. en-ri-da-pi-zi-ir	}
	(b) la-si-ra-ab, da-num šàr gu-ti-im	
	(c) si-ù-um, lugal gu-ti-um ^{ki}	
	(d) sar ³ -a-ti-gu-bi-si-in(?) ⁴	
	(e)	
	(f)	
	(g)	
11.	ti-rí-ga-a-an lugal gu-ti-um ^{ki} ti-riq-qa-an	
Total: 11 kings.....		125 years

19. FIFTH (?) KINGDOM OF URUK

1.	^d utu-ḥe-gal.....	... years
The other kings of this dynasty are not known.		
Total: 1(+x) kings.....		... years
Lacuna, in which probably has to be placed dynasty 20'.		

20'. SECOND (?) KINGDOM OF ADAB

lugal-an-na-mu-un-dû, lugal ^d ub-da-limmu-ba.....	.. years
lugal-an-na-mu-un-dû	
Total: 1(+x) king(s).....	.. years

¹ Perhaps ga.² Perhaps ma.³ Perhaps to be read mā?⁴ Is perhaps not a king of Gutium.

21. THIRD KINGDOM OF UR

1. ur- ^d engur	18 years
2. dun-gi, son of Ur-Engur	58 "
^d dun-gi	
3. ^d AMAR- ^d Sin, son of Dungi	19 "
4. ^d ŠU- ^d sin, son of Amar-Sin	7 "
5. ^d i-bi- ^d sin, son of ŠU-Sin	25 "
i-bi- ^d sin	
<hr/>	
Total: 5 kings	117 years

22. KINGDOM OF ISIN

1. ^d iš-bi- ^{ir} -ra	32 years
iš-bi- ^{ir} -ra, iš-bi- ^d ir-ra	
2. ŠU- ^{ir} -lī-šu, son of Išbi-Irra	10 "
3. ^d i-din- ^d da-gan, son of ŠU-ilišu	21 "
4. ^d iš-me- ^d da-gan, son of Idin-Dagan	20 "
5. ^d li-bi-it-ištar, son of (Idin-Dagan or)	
Išme-Dagan	11 "
li-bi-it-ištar, li-bit- ^d iš-tar	
6. ^d ur- ^d nin-IB, son of Iškur-[. . . .]	28 "
7. ^d bur- ^d sin, son of Ur-NinIB	21 "
8. ^d i-te- ^{ir} -pî-ša, ⁵ son of Bur-Sin	5 "
^d i-te- ^{ir} -pî-ša ¹	
9. ^d ir-ra-i-mi-ti	7 "
^d ir-ra-ZAG-LU	
10. . . . .	.. " 6 months
11. ^d en-lil-ba-ni	24 "
^d en-lil-DŪ ²	
12. ^d za-an-bi-a, ³ za-ab?-bi-a or za-am?-bi-a ⁴	3 "
13.	5 "

¹ Tablets from Nippur.² King, Chronicles, No. 26472 Rev. 6.³ Tablet from Nippur, Hilprecht, ZA 1907.⁴ No. 5 (king list).

14.	4 years
15. ^d sin-ma-gir	11 „
16. ^d da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu, son of Sin-magir	23 „
da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu, dam-ki-ì-lí-šu.	

Total: 16 kings 225 years 6 months

Perhaps partly contemporaneous with the dynasty of Isin:

23'. KINGDOM OF

Predecessors unknown.

1'.	4+x years
2'. ^d [r-ra]	6 „
3'. su-mu-a-bu-um . . . . .	.. „ 8 months
4'. i-ku-un-pî-ištar „

Successors unknown.

Total: 4(+x) kings 10+x years

24'–29'. SIX? DYNASTIES OF

..... years

Total: ... kings 125 years

and possibly

30'–34'. FOUR OR FIVE OTHER INTERMEDIARY DYNASTIES

Total: kings years

These and the preceding dynasties probably comprise Dynasty 23' and some of the dynasties of Ur, Larsam, Kiš and Babylon. On the question of the contemporaneousness of these dynasties with that of Išin, see a later chapter.¹

¹ Considerable light will probably be thrown on this question by the publication of a list of kings from Warka (or Senkireh), now in the Museum of Yale University, which enumerates the various kings of Larsam with their regnal years.

35. KINGDOM (OR KINGDOMS) OF LARSAM

Probably contained in 24'-35'.

- a.* nu-úr-^d
- a+1.* ^dsin-i-din-nam, son of Nûr-IM
- b.* ^dsin-i-ki-ša-am
- c.* nu-úr-^dšamaš¹
- d.* ì-lu-ni lugal²
- e.* a-bì-sa-ri-e³, a-bì-sa-ri-e⁴, lugal urì^{ki}-ma lugal larsam^{ki}
-ma⁵
- f.* ^dwarad-^dsin, son of Kudurmabuk
warad-^dsin
- f+1'.* ^dri-im-^dsin,⁶ son of Kudurmabuk
ri-im-^dsin, ri-im-sín, rîm-^dsín

Total: ... kings years

36. KINGDOM OF BABYLON

Kings of the four quarters of the world.

1. ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi, son of Sin-muballit. . . 13 (or 14) years⁷
^dḥa-am-mu-ra-bi, ḥa-mu-ra-bi,
ḥa-mu-ra-am?
2. sa-am-su-i-lu-na, son of Ḥammu-rabi. 29 (or 30) years⁷

37. KINGDOM OF THE COUNTRY OF THE SEA

1. ì-lí-ma-ilum. 2(+x) years

¹ Tablet from Larsam (?), unpublished.

² Contract from Warka in the possession of V. Scheil. See Scheil, OLZ, 1914, Col. 246 (Un nouveau roi de Larsam).

³ Unpublished tablets from Oheimir; see Scheil, RT 34, p. 119.

⁴ Unpublished tablets from Oheimir, ibidem; mace-head of ARAD-^dUTU, CT 33, 50 (104836).

⁵ Mace-head of ARAD-^dUTU.

⁶ Between Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin perhaps an intermediary dynasty.

⁷ As rulers over the whole of Babylonia.

ANNOTATIONS TO THE KING LISTS

The new chronological material contained in the fragments of king lists published in this volume allows us to make a considerable advance towards the final reconstruction of the chronological system by which the Babylonians spanned the long periods of their country's history. While up to the present the dynasty of Upi in Scheil's list has been the oldest of those known from native king lists, we can now place before the kingdom of Upi ten or at least eight other kingdoms, the earliest of which lie entirely in the legendary period and, in fact, lead us as far back as the deluge according to the belief of the Babylonians. Furthermore, the new fragments give us—and this is an entirely new feature—various summaries in which, among other data, it is stated how often a Babylonian or foreign city or country enjoyed the privilege of being the seat of the ruling king, thus enabling us to attribute at least to some of the kingdoms a definite designation, as, *e. g.*, to the dynasty preceding that of Isin the designation "Third kingdom of Ur." But what is perhaps the most important feature of these lists, is that two of the fragments give the total length of the period from the deluge to the eleventh and sixteenth kings of the well-known dynasty of Isin and thus make it possible in connection with information derived from the excerpts of Berosus to map out the framework of the chronological system of the Babylonians from the times when Apsû and Tiamat were the solitary rulers of the universe down to the latest periods of Babylonian history. It is true that even with the new material at our disposal there are still some serious gaps left within this system which at the present can only be bridged by statements in the summaries concerning the length of certain dynasties or, what is worse, only by more or less accurate calculations, quite apart from the fact that we still lack a means to connect, beyond any doubt, the dynasty of Isin with the

later Babylonian dynasties. Nevertheless, we have at least this consolation for the present, that sooner or later, when a systematic classification of the material in the Museums at Philadelphia and Constantinople is undertaken, we shall recover the whole list; for the texts published in this volume belong to five separate tablets and the possibility that the hope just expressed will materialize is, for this reason, very great.

THE DATE OF THE TEXTS

The list of kings which forms the second text of this volume was drawn up during the reign of the eleventh king of Isin. This follows from the fact that the summary in Column 10 assigns to the dynasty of Isin only 11 kings and 159 years instead of 16 kings and 225 years, a fact which can be explained only on the assumption that the eleventh king of Isin was the ruling monarch when the list was drawn up. Figuring from the number of years given to the various kings of Isin in list No. 5, the first year of Enlil-bani, the eleventh king of Isin, was the 156th year of the kingdom of Isin, and it is thus clear that the list was finished in the fourth year of Enlil-bani.

A corroboration of the conclusion that list No. 2 was written at the time of the dynasty of Isin must furthermore be seen in the fact that the names of the kings of Isin in this list are written with the divine determinative; for this presupposes that at the time when the list was drawn up, the axiom of the divine character of the kings was still officially upheld, which would not be the case had the kingdom of Isin already been overthrown, as we may see from No. 5, which presumably was written during the second half of the kingdom of Babylon and therefore designates neither the kings of Ur nor those of Isin as gods. Compare also No. 3 and the list of Scheil where the names of the kings of Agade are written without the determinative for god.

As we see from the final summary in Column 10 of No. 2, the eleventh king of Isin, Enlil-bani, was the 134th king from

the deluge. The fragment which is published as No. 4, however, counts 139 kings, *i. e.*, five kings more than No. 2, from which it follows that this list was finished during the reign of the sixteenth and last king of Isin, Damiq-ilišu. According to the summary, the year to which list No. 4 extends was the 32, 243d after the flood, probably corresponding, as will be shown later, to the last year of Damiq-ilišu. List No. 4, therefore, probably was finished 67 years later than No. 2.

THE SUMMARY OF DYNASTIES

From the fact that lists Nos. 2 and 4 date from the time of the dynasty of Isin, it follows, of course, that the other dynasties enumerated in the summaries have all to be placed before the dynasty of Isin. The summary of No. 2, so far as it is preserved, mentions the following eight different groups of kingdoms, which are here enumerated in the same order:

- Col. 9. 4 kingdoms of Kiš.
 5 kingdoms of Uruk.
 3 kingdoms of Ur.
 1 kingdom of Awan.
 1 kingdom of[...].
 Rest of column missing.
- Col. 10. 1 kingdom of Agade.
 1 kingdom of Gutium.
 1 kingdom of Isin.

The enumeration corresponds to the order in which the various cities first became seats of kings of Babylonia. This is proved for the kingdoms of Kiš, Uruk, Ur and Awan by list No. 2, which enumerates as first kingdoms after the deluge: Kiš, Eanna, Ur, Awan. Furthermore, Akkad precedes Gutium in the list because the kings of Akkad ruled over Babylonia before those of Gutium, while Isin, finally, as the latest kingdom, is mentioned at the end of the summary.

The summaries of Nos. 2 and 4 tell us expressly that altogether there were eleven "cities of kingship," *i. e.*, cities which at one time or other had been capitals of a Babylonian kingdom; but our lists mention only eight, three therefore being missing. One of them, however, must have been Upi, the kings of which are enumerated at the beginning of Scheil's king list; but still we do not know how many dynasties of Upi there were, and for this reason we are not able to give Upi a definite place in our summary. If we could be sure that there existed only one dynasty of this city, we should have to place it directly before Agade as there was no dynasty between those of Upi and Akkad not already mentioned at an earlier point of the summary; however, as we shall show in the fourth chapter, there are strong indications that there was more than one dynasty of Upi, and in this case the city was probably mentioned before one or both of the other missing groups of dynasties.

Another of the "cities of royalty," now broken away, is evidently Adab. In Chapter VII it will be shown that there existed a kingdom of this city which comprised Babylonia and the surrounding countries and which therefore it would have been entirely impossible to omit from the list of kings. Although we have no definite clue to its age, yet the probability is that it has to be placed between Utu-ḫegal of Uruk and Ur-Engur of Ur. If, however, this date is correct, it will be necessary to assume that there existed an earlier kingdom of Adab even before the kingdom of Agade, since the summary does not mention the city between the group Akkad, Gutium and Isin which would necessarily be the case if Adab had become the capital of a Babylonian kingdom only after the time of Utu-ḫegal. In this connection may be remembered what has been said of the ruler character of the goddess Nin-ḫarsag, the deity of Adab, and it will be seen that our conclusions concerning the close connection of Nin-ḫarsag with some politically very important kingdom fall in line with our present conclusion concerning the early existence of a powerful kingdom of Adab; for this, indeed, would best explain the rise of Nin-

harsag to a supreme ruler-deity. Moreover, in the inscription on the archaic statue of Lugal-da-LU, king of Adab, and in the vase inscription of Me-IGI-...[...], likewise king of Adab, we have the proof for the actual existence of an important pre-Sargonic kingdom of Adab, and taking this together with our previous conclusions we may indeed regard it as certain that one of the missing items in our summary has to be supplied as two dynasties of Adab.

As to the third of the missing groups of dynasties, however, we have no positive indication. Possibly the city of Mari on the Euphrates, northwest of Babylonia, was the seat of a Babylonian kingdom for some time, though it is perhaps not very likely that a king or prince of Mari, after having conquered Babylonia, would have continued to reside in this city.

Nor is it possible with our present material to identify the city of the dynasty following that of Awan, since only the beginning of the first sign is preserved. This latter might perhaps be a composition of uru and ud or the sign bád.

An important question finally is whether in our summary the three missing groups of dynasties have all to be placed in the gap between the dynasty just mentioned and the kingdom of Akkad, or whether one of them has not rather to be placed before the kingdoms of Kiš, *i. e.*, at the head of the summary. Judging from the shape of fragment No. 2 there are about fifteen lines of the lower portion of Column 11 missing. As the summary usually gives five lines to each city,¹ three different groups of dynasties, *i. e.*, all of the missing items of the summary, must have been contained in the lower portion of Column 11, or in other words, in the gap before the dynasty of Akkad.

We arrive at the same result by figuring out the missing lines of the preceding column. The last partially preserved line of Column 10⁷ contains an historical statement concerning Ur-NinIB² and we have therefore to assume that two more

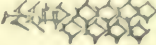

¹ The dynasties of Kiš (ll. 1-6) occupy six; the dynasty in ll. 22-25, only four lines.

² The line seems to begin with lù, which probably began a relative clause comprising this and the following lines.

lines referred to the length of his reign. Furthermore, as Ur-NinIB is only the sixth king of Isin and as the tablet counts eleven kings of this dynasty, five of them therefore ruling after Ur-ninIB, we must assume that there followed fifteen more lines, since we have to attribute to each of the kings about three lines as in the preserved portion of Column 10. Three more lines, finally, have to be assumed for a summary such as is attached to each dynasty, as, *e. g.*, in Column 3¹⁴⁻¹⁶, after the first dynasty of Ur. As will be seen from the schematic sketch of the original tablet, these twenty lines would carry the column to the same point as the fifteen lines at the end of Column 11, leaving perhaps one blank line at the end. On the other hand, if we were to transfer one of the missing groups of dynasties to the end of Column 10, we should have five lines too little in Column 11 and five lines too much in Column 10, making a difference of ten lines. From this it is evident that there was no group of dynasties mentioned at the end of Column 10, the summary beginning therefore in line 1 of Column 11 with the dynasties of Kiš. This fact then proves that the Babylonians began the list of post-diluvian rulers with a dynasty of Kiš, the twenty-three kings of which are enumerated in the first two columns of Nos. 2 and 3.

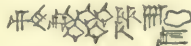
As regards the final summary of the list, which gives the total number of the kings as well as the length of the whole period comprised by their reigns,¹ it will be observed that the numbers given in texts 2 and 4 for the period from the deluge to the last king of the list do not completely agree, even after making the necessary allowance for the five additional kings of No. 4. Since list No. 2 counts only 134 kings, whereas in No. 4 139 are counted, the latter, No. 4, must necessarily give a higher total of regnal years, and it is thus clear that the first part of the total in No. 4, which is much broken, must, exactly

¹ Judging from the position of the signs, it seems that in the final summary of No. 2 the numbers were introduced by *šu-nigi(n)-šu-nigi(n)* "total of totals," "grand-total," in contradistinction to *šu-nigi(n)* "total," which latter is used in the preceding summary of dynasties. The final summary of No. 4, on the other hand, gives the numbers without any introductory phrase.

as in No. 2, be eight sar, nine sar being out of the question, as there is not sufficient space. The arrangement of the signs for sar in No. 4 is evidently ¹ instead of  in No. 2. After the eight sar No. 4 has five ner, seven sos and twenty-three, that is, 3443, the total number of No. 4 therefore being 32,243. In No. 2, on the other hand, there are preserved after the eight sar only one sos and sixteen, *i. e.*, 76,² and judging from the position and appearance of the sign šuš, it is not at all likely that the beginning of the line contained any further number, the total being thus 28,876 in this case. As compared with the total of No. 4, this number is, of course, by far too low, since the difference between the totals in Nos. 2 and 4 must be equal to the number of regnal years of the five kings following Enlil-bani of Isin and the last twenty years of Enlil-bani himself. Assuming that, in comparison with the number 32,243, for a reason that will presently become clear, the tens and units at least, are correct, it is easy to figure out that a number closing with 16 could be arrived at only by subtracting 67 from 32,243, and it will be observed that this represents the number of years of the last five kings of Isin plus twenty years of Enlil-bani, that is, exactly the interval between the year in which list No. 2 was drawn up and the last year of the 139th, *i. e.*, the last king of list No. 4.³

With this reduction then the actual difference between the totals of Nos. 2 and 4 would be 3300 years. Now it will be observed that in No. 2 Col. 1₃₇₋₆₇ the statements as to the

¹ Note the same arrangement in No. 132 Col. 15, 6 of my forthcoming volume of account tablets from the time of the third dynasty of Ur:



² If carelessly written the number might perhaps have been intended for [] + 600 + 6 × 60 = (x +) 960.

³ By adding 67 to the 159 years attributed to the first eleven kings of Isin in No. 2 we obtain 226 years for the whole dynasty of Isin. As list No. 5 gives only 225½ years to the dynasty, the half year, perhaps taken together with fractions of years from previous dynasties, seems to be reckoned as a full year in the final summaries of our lists.

length of the reigns of the kings [.]ba and Uštappa of the first dynasty of Kiš are omitted, the tablet leaving merely a blank line after the names; list No. 3 Col. 1_{3'-6'}, on the other hand, ascribes to both kings a certain period, to Uštappa, *e. g.*, 900 years or more. Assuming that list No. 4 likewise gave the duration of the reigns of the two kings, the difference in the final summaries would easily explain itself on the supposition that the reigns of the two kings above mentioned, and perhaps of one or two others, are counted in No. 4, while in the summary of No. 2 they are not counted. As the two kings belong to the first dynasty of Kiš, 3300 years would by no means be too high for the reigns of two or a few more kings, and for the same reason, furthermore, we may expect that a round number of years was attributed to them, so that indeed in the final summary the tens and units of the grand total may have been left unaltered, as we have assumed above. Taking the total of No. 4 as our basis, the length of the period comprising the reigns of the 134 kings of list No. 2 would therefore be 32,176 years. Whether perhaps this number was given in the now missing portion at the end of Col. 12 in addition to the number 28,876, we cannot say at present.¹

The new information which the summaries of our lists give us concerning the chronological system of the Babylonians again confirms, at least to a certain extent, the statements of Berossus as transmitted to us in Eusebius' *Chronicon* and in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus. According to Berossus there ruled from the deluge to the conquest of Babylonia by the Medes 86 kings for a period which in the Armenian version of Eusebius is given as 33,091 years, in Syncellus, however, as 34,080 years.¹ When compared with our new cuneiform sources it will at once be seen that there must be some mistake in the figures of Berossus as transmitted to us, since king-list

¹ Syncellus 78 C: ἐν τρισμυρίοις ἔτεσιν καὶ δ'π' (variant δ'ζ'), τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν σάροις θ' καὶ νήροις β' καὶ σώσσοις η' ($9 \times 3600 + 2 \times 600 + 8 \times 60 = 34,080$), ἄπερ τινὲς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡμῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐ καλῶς (read either οὐ κακῶς or καλῶς) ἐξέλαβοντο πάλιν εἰς ἔτη ἡλικὰ ἡδ' καὶ μῆνας η' ($34,080 : 360 = 94$).

No. 4 reckons 32,243 years for 139 kings, while in Berosus 34,080 years are attributed to 86 kings only; we make here the usual observation that in Greek and other manuscripts numbers relating to foreign matters are very apt to become corrupt, unless safeguarded by special circumstances. On the whole, however, the similarity between the statements of the cuneiform sources and the Greek tradition is very striking, inasmuch as, according to both, the Babylonians ascribed a very long duration to the period extending from the deluge to their own times. To emend either the number 86 or the number 34,080 would at present, of course, be an entirely futile undertaking, since we do not know at what time the conquest of Babylon referred to by Eusebius has to be placed. Moreover, it will be observed that the Armenian version of Eusebius and Syncellus are at variance in their statements regarding the rôle of the Medes in the early Babylonian dynasties, for according to Syncellus, who does not mention the conquest of Babylon at all, the first 86 kings of Babylonia were kings of the Chaldeans and Medes and were followed by a dynasty of seven Chaldean kings,¹ while according to Eusebius they were Chaldeans and were followed by a dynasty of eight Median kings, a fact which evidently indicates that there must have been some confusion with regard to this point in the source of Eusebius and Syncellus, namely, Alexander Polyhistor's book on Chaldea. If the number 34,080 should turn out to be correct and to have been computed on approximately the same principles as the number 32,243 in list No. 4, it would even be possible to see in the invasion of the Medes the conquest of Babylon by the Persians in 539 B. C., since in this case the end of the dynasty of Isin in the 32,243d year after the deluge would fall in the year 2386 B. C., a date which, with the necessary allowance

¹ Syncellus 78 C. The original text of Syncellus perhaps did not make Zoroaster, who is here conceived as a king of the Medes, the eighty-fourth king after the deluge, but the eighty-fourth after the second king Chomasbelus, *i. e.*, the last of the 86 kings, so that the dynasty of the seven Chaldean kings would follow immediately after him (*μετ' αὐτόν*). Do perhaps Zoroaster and the seven Chaldean kings correspond to Eusebius' eight Median kings?

for differences in such calculations, might be regarded as coming comparatively near the time when this event actually must have occurred. We should then, of course, have to assume that Eusebius erroneously referred a statement of Alexander Polyhistor concerning the interval between the deluge and the conquest of Babylon in 539 to the period of the first 86 kings, for which Berosus then must have given a figure by several thousands lower than 34,080.

THE SEQUENCE OF THE VARIOUS DYNASTIES

The last of the three dynasties of Ur mentioned in the third item of the summary is, of course, identical with the well-known dynasty of Ur which preceded that of Isin; this dynasty should, therefore, be known henceforth as "third dynasty of Ur." According to No. 5 it comprised five kings who ruled 117 years. The first dynasty or kingdom of Ur, on the other hand, judging from the fact that the dynasties of Ur form the third group of the summary, is evidently the third kingdom after the deluge; according to No. 2, Col. 21-19, it comprised four kings, who ruled 171 years. Of the second kingdom of Ur, however, we have at present no definite trace, but as we know the number of the kings and the length of both the first and third dynasties, as well as of all three dynasties together, it will be found by mere subtraction that the second dynasty numbered four kings ruling 108 years. It may be placed either between the dynasties of Awan and Upi or between Utu-ḫegal of Uruk and the third dynasty of Ur; but the former possibility is by far more likely than the latter. For the assignment of the kings Anani and Lu-Nanna to this dynasty see the annotations to the reconstructed list of kings.

The five dynasties of Uruk can all be accounted for if we are correct in assuming that En-šà-kúš-an-na lugal kalam-ma was a king of Uruk. The first, third and fourth dynasties are known from the king list, and the placing of the fifth immediately after the kingdom of Gutium is made certain by the

fact that Útu-ḫegal, the first king of this dynasty, liberated Babylonia from the yoke of the Guteans. Regarding the placing of En-šakuš-anna and the second dynasty of Uruk after Enbi-līstar of Kiš and before Zuzu of Upi and Eannadu of Kiš, see Chapter IV.

Of the twenty-two kings belonging to the five different dynasties of Uruk, thus far only fourteen are known. Of the missing eight the greater part probably belongs to the first dynasty. At the beginning of Column 3 of No. 2, which contained the latter part of this dynasty, about twenty-three lines are missing, the last two of which, evidently containing the words unu^{ki}-ga nam-lugal-bi, belong to the statement concerning the passing of the sovereignty from Uruk to Ur; assuming that about three lines are devoted to each ruler, there would be space for seven kings, which would mean six new ones, since the first,-lugal, son of Gilgameš, has already been counted among the known rulers. But a glance at the preceding columns shows us that this calculation is too hypothetical to be made the basis of further conclusions, since in the earlier part of our list two, three or four and in one case even eight lines are devoted to one king, so that possibly only three or four kings have to be supplied. At any rate, this much is certain, that in no case can we assume more than four missing kings for the second and fifth dynasties. It is possible that the early kings Lugal-ki-gub-ni-dú-dú and Lugal-kisal-si who bear the titles king of Uruk, king of Ur, are to be assigned, along with En-šà-kúš-an-na, to the second dynasty of Uruk, although in that case we should have to assume a considerable political change or at least a break in the line of rulers, within this second dynasty; for En-šakuš-anna, as we shall see in Chapter IV, exercised the enship of ki-en-gi, *i. e.*, Nippur, besides the kingship of the kalam, *i. e.*, Uruk, while Lugal-kigub-ni-dudu and Lugal-kisal-si ruled as kings over Uruk and Ur. Nevertheless, such a break is quite conceivable, since we observe a similar change from one ruling family to another, *e. g.*, in the kingdom of Akkad and the kingdom of Isin; on the whole,

however, it would seem more likely that the two kings have to be assigned to another dynasty.

Of the four dynasties of Kiš only two are known to us from the king lists, namely, the first which lies entirely in the legendary period immediately after the deluge, and that founded by Queen Ku-Bau. At least one of the missing dynasties has to be placed before that last mentioned, since the existence of a mighty Babylonian kingdom of Kiš in early historical times is proved by the references to King Mesilim in the inscriptions of Eannadu and Entemena, as well as by his own inscriptions found at Adab and Telloh. As Eannadu himself has to deal with a king of Upi, and furthermore, as he renews the kingdom of Kiš after the conquest of Upi, we have apparently to assume a sequence of kingdoms, Kiš...—Upi—Kiš, which means that we have to place two, *i. e.*, all of the missing dynasties of Kiš, between the first kingdom of Kiš and that founded by Ku-Bau, or in other words, in the gap between the kingdom of Awan and the kingdom of Upi which heads Scheil's list of kings. Quite in accordance with this conclusion, furthermore, is the fact that we know a comparatively large number of early kings of Kiš, while there is, at least at the present, no evidence for the existence of a kingdom of Kiš from the time of Utu-ḫegal to the period immediately before the kingdom of Babylon.

To the earlier of the two missing dynasties of Kiš we have likewise to assign Enbi-Ištar, since he is a contemporary of En-šakuš-anna who, for palæographical reasons¹, has to be placed before Eannadu. It will be observed that Enbi-Ištar's name is Semitic, while Me-silim's name is evidently Sumerian, or at least non-Semitic; this fact need, however, by no means point to a change of the ruling family, since we notice the same change in names between Ur-Engur and Dungi of Ur and their successors AMAR-Sin, ŠU-Sin, Ibi-Sin, and between Ur-NinIB of Isin and his son Bur-Sin.

¹ See Chapters III and IV.

Whether there were kings of Kiš immediately after Eannada, and whether these kings were his successors in the hegemony over Babylonia, so that they were mentioned in the king list, is not certain, though it is likely, since in the latter part of his narrative Eannadu mentions Kiš before Upi, which seems to indicate that the leadership, at least in the North, fell to Kiš, not to Upi. Of other north-Babylonian cities only Mari could be taken into account as a state of sufficient power to assume the hegemony over Babylonia at that time; but the fact that this city is mentioned as the last of Eannadu's opponents, seems rather to suggest that it played only the part of an ally to Kiš, not that of the leading power of Babylonia.

Of the fifty-one (or perhaps only forty-one) kings attributed to the four dynasties of Kiš by the summary of No. 2, twenty-three, according to No. 3, belong to the first dynasty, and eight, according to Scheil's list, to the fourth, so that no more than twenty (or ten) have to be attributed to the second and third dynasties. Of these again five are known from inscriptions, so that only the names of fifteen (or five) kings are missing.

Regarding the sequence of the kings of the second dynasty only this much can be said, that Enbi-Ištar is probably the last king of this second dynasty, the hegemony evidently passing to En-šakuš-anna after Enbi-Ištar's capture.

For the dynasties after Isin and the relation of the Isin dynasty to that of Babylon, see later.

ANNOTATIONS TO THE KINGS

¹Ἄλωρος. For the possible identification of this king with LAL-úr-alim-ma of Nippur see Chapter I.

Δαωνος ποιμην. For the designation "shepherd" compare Etana siba and ^dLugal-banda siba.

²Ἀμεψινος. The proposed identification of this king with the reputed Amel-Sin, the "abkallu of Ur,"¹ who is mentioned in the colophon of K 8080,² is, at present at least, out of question, because the latter's name is lù-^dnanna, and not awil-^dsin. Nevertheless, the identification is not altogether impossible, because in a Semitic version of the old traditions Lù-Nanna may have appeared under a translated name, as indeed is the case with Zi-û-GID-du; on the whole, however, this is not very likely, since Lu-Nanna, for aught we know, probably did not figure in a story of such popularity as the deluge story, nor does his name seem to have been as characteristic of the contents of the story told about him as was Zi-û-GID-du's name with regard to the deluge story, so as to warrant its translation into Akkadian.

Ξισουθρος,³ Σισιθρος,⁴ [w]a-at-ra-am-ḥa-si-is,⁵ at-ra-ḥa-sis,⁶ a-tar-PI(=ḥasîs),⁷ Σισυθης (or Σισυθεις),⁸ u-ta-na-(p)iš-tim,⁹ ut-ZI(=napištim),¹⁰ zi-û-GID-du,¹¹ zi-SÛ-da,¹² (νωχος).¹³

¹ Zimmern, Beitrage, p. 152, note 3.

² Cf. Bezold, Catalogue, p. 893: ni-šir-ti lù-^dnanna NUN-ME urí^{kl}.

³ Eusebius, Chronicon, quoting from Alexander Polyhistor's remarks on Berosus' book on Chaldea and from Abydenus' "History of the Chaldeans" (Syncellus and Armenian version).

⁴ Eusebius, Chronicon, quoting from Abydenus' "History of the Chaldeans" (Syncellus and Armenian version); variants σισουδρος and ξισιθρος.

⁵ Old-Babylonian fragment, Morgan 135 Col. 8 (= Scheil, RT 20, p. 55 ff).

⁶ Gilg. Ep. XI₁₉₆.

⁷ CT 13, 49 (K 3399 + K 3934).

⁸ Name of the hero of the deluge story in Hierapolis, Lucian, De Syria Dea 12; as Prof. Zimmern suggested to me by letter, Sisuthes may perhaps be identical with the Sumerian zi-SÛ-da, zi-û-GID-du and not with Xisuthros.

⁹ VAT 4105 (MVG VII pp. 4 and 5), Col. 46.⁽¹³⁾

¹⁰ Gilg. Ep. IX, Col. 16 ¹ut-napištim mār¹ubara-^dtu-tu; X Col. 228, 523, 24, XI₁, 2, etc.

¹¹ HGT No. 1.

¹² CT 18, 30 Col. 48.

¹³ Josephus in Apionem 1, 19 (remarks on Berosus, book on Babylonia).

Ga-lu-mu-um,¹ ka-lu-mu-um² = qalumum, "young animal," especially "young lamb."³

Zu-ga-gi-ib,⁴ zu-ga-ki-ib⁵ = zuqaqibum, "scorpion." Did the king perhaps figure in a legend which in some way dealt with the scorpion, the king perhaps being changed into a scorpion by an angry deity?⁶ It will be noted that the names Qalumum, Zuqakib and the broken bum (No. 2 Col. 1₁₇.) are Semitic, which fact, however, does not exclude the possibility that originally the legends and tales concerning these kings were told in Sumerian, in which case the present Semitic names would simply be translations from Sumerian. On the other hand, it is equally possible that these tales originated among the Semites; this much, at any rate, is certain that, when our lists were first drawn up, the Semitic names were those with which the Babylonians of that time were familiar.

Ar-pi,⁷ ar-pi-u,⁸ ar-bu-um,⁹ son of a muškînu. The latter designation, if correct, would presuppose a story relating how Arpi, despite his lowly birth, rose to the position of ruler over Babylonia; compare for a similar motive the story of Irramitti and the gardener Enlil-bani, the later king of Isin. Instead of the usual maš^{en}dā = muškînum which we read in No. 3 Col. 1_{11'}, No. 2 Col. 1_{11'} has only maš-dā. This latter is likewise equated with muškînum in CT 12, 16_{41b}; nevertheless, if the writing maš-dā should be more correct than maš^{en}dā, we may here very well have the word maš-dā "gazelle," which might be the name of one of the Babylonian heroes. — According to

¹ No. 3 Col. 1₇.

² No. 5 Col. 1₉.

³ The writing ga-lu-mu-um in No. 3 proves that the word began with q, not with k, as Delitzsch, AHW p. 333, assumes; the same root is found in qa-al-mu which in 2 R 36_{41 a, b} is given as one of the synonyms for šiḫru "small," "young."

⁴ No. 2 Col. 1₁₇; No. 3 Col. 1₁₇.

⁵ No. 5 Col. 1₁₆.

⁶ Cf. the passage Gilg. Ep. VI₈₈₋₈₃ according to which Ištar turned a shepherd into a jackal and II. 64-78 where she turned the gardener Išullanu into a dallalu. Evidently such metamorphoses were a favorite theme in Babylonian legends as in those of any other nation.

⁷ No. 2 Col. 1_{11'}; perhaps ar-wi.

⁸ No. 5 Col. 1_{11'}; perhaps ar-wi-u.

⁹ No. 3 Col. 1_{11'}.

CT 12, 16_{39b}, maš-dā is a byname of Né-unu-gal; according to CT 11, 40₂₄, of Lugal[-gir-ra], and according to CT 11, 40₂₃, of Mes-lam-ta-ê-a; but it is by no means likely that the maš-dā in our lists refers to this deity, since in that case it would be written with the sign for god, quite apart from the fact that we should expect a more common name, such perhaps as ^dné-unu-gal, since the designation maš-dā is evidently used only in poetical language.

E-ta-na,¹ ^de-ta-na,² is the hero of the well-known Etana epic as may be seen from the first of the two historical references attached to his name in our lists. It will be noted that the verb "to ascend" is ẽ(d) in Sumerian, and we may therefore ask whether Etana's name itself does not perhaps allude to the tradition that he ascended to Heaven, the name being perhaps a compound of ed "the ascender" and anna "of Heaven."

From the second historical reference we learn that Etana was credited with having ruled over all the lands or, in other words, over the whole world, probably being considered the first of the great Babylonian conquerors. The assumption that in the Etana epic the gods select the child born by Etana's wife as king over the human race must therefore be given up, Etana himself without any doubt being the chosen ruler. Of course, there is still the difficulty that the ruler for whom the gods, according to this epic, are searching, is apparently the first king; how this can be harmonized with the tradition that the kingship was established at the time of the creation, it is difficult to say for the present lack of material; possibly this epic reflects an independent tradition concerning the establishment of kingship, unless perhaps the previous rulers may have been considered as patriarchs rather than real kings.—It will be noted that in the fragment K 2606_{26 ff.}, re'u "shepherd" and šarru "king" are used as synonyms and that in our list Etana is called a shepherd; nevertheless, there can be no doubt that this latter designation refers to Etana's original vocation, just as Lugal-

¹ Nos. 2, 3 and 5; old-Babylonian Etana epic.

² Assyrian Etana epic.

banda according to our list was originally a shepherd and Dumuzi a hunter (or fisherman). A corroboration of this assumption may be seen in the fact that in the Etana epic the eagle and, to some extent, the snake play so important a part, features which fit very well in the *milieu* of a shepherd tale.

In the Assyrian fragments of the Etana epic the hero's name is preceded by the determinative for god; in Scheil's old-Babylonian fragment, however, as well as in our lists, this determinative is not found. These writings reflect the fact that Etana, like Ziugiddu, Lugal-banda, Dumuzi and Gilgameš, was originally a mortal and was taken into the number of the gods only at a later period of his life. It may be noted in this connection that Gilgameš, according to Column 4 of the second tablet of the epic, dreams that he entered the nether world—the *bīt ipri*—and saw there the kings of old, the high priests and the other priests of the great gods as well as Etana¹ and ^dGĪR, Ereš-kigal and Belit-sêri, the scribe of the nether world. We see from this passage that Etana was believed to have become a god of the nether world, for it is for this reason that among all the ancient rulers he alone is mentioned by name and associated with the chthonian gods. It will be noted that the passage just referred to and the king lists presuppose the same chronology, at least in so far as both of them assume that Etana lived on earth before the time of Gilgameš.

Wa-li-x,² *ba-li-x*,³ AN-ILL(A)(D).⁴ The reading of the name is very doubtful. Is this son of Etana identical with the child born by the latter's wife according to the Etana epic?

En-me-nun-na,⁵ en-men-nun-na.⁶ Note that in CT 14, 9_{18b} *dumu en-me-nun-na*, apparently the name of an animal or insect, is rendered *mâr ad-mu-m[u]*, and that the preceding line mentions an insect *nim-iâ-nun-na* "butter-fly" = *a-da-mu-mu*,

¹ Written without the determinative for god.

² No. 2 Col. 117.

³ No. 5 Col. 113.

⁴ K 8532 Col. 21, according to King's copy, SEH III, p. 143.

⁵ No. 2 Col. 120, 23, 26.

⁶ K 8532 Col. 22.

which CT 14, 10 is translated zumbu a-da-mu-mu. Whether this connection of the name Enmenunna with Nimi(a)nunna is original or due to popular etymology, it is at present impossible to decide. Regarding the element nunna cf. the names bar-sal-nun-na, mes-ki-ág-nun-na; from the latter, it follows that nunna is the genitive of nun "the great one" or as superlative "the highest," which, like the Hebrew 'eliôn, is used as the name of a deity; for mes-kiag-nunna can hardly be translated other than "the beloved hero of the Highest." According to CT 12, 18b (93041)₈₋₁₁ nun "the highest" is a designation for each of the four highest gods, Anu, Enlil, Ea and Sin; cf. also 2 R 31_{25e}, nun | ^dé-a. En-me-nunna should therefore be translated "the oracle(?) lord of the Highest," en-men-nun-na "the crown lord of the Highest." For en-me as designation of a special kind of high priest cf., e. g., en-me-^dinnanna (pronounced u-ku-ur-rim) = e-nu ša ^dištar 82, 8-16¹ Obv.₁₈; en-me-lagar (pronounced mu-ru-ub) = e-nu šá ^dla-GAR-bu, ibid., Obv. 20; en-me-š-kù (pronounced še-en-nu) = e-nu šá ^dé-a, ibid., Obv. 19, and the name of the seventh prediluvian king en-me-dur-an-ki "the oracle(?) lord of Duranki (*i. e.*, the link of Heaven and earth)."²

Me-lám-kiš(i)^{ki}³, mê-lám-kiš(i)^{k[i]}⁴, "splendor of Kiš." The fact that the second component of this name is the name of the city of Kiš may be regarded as a corroboration of the assignment of the first twenty-three kings after the deluge to a dynasty of Kiš. The writing mê-lám-kiš(i)^{ki} is perhaps only due to a slip of the copyist; however, one of the Sumerian values of the sign a is indeed me.

Bar-SAL-nun-na, "the of the Highest." Bar seems to occur as an equivalent of lugal "king," "ruler," in

¹ Smith, Misl. Texts, 25-26; CT. 11, 49, 50.

² Cf. also en-me-LI (pronounced ensi) = ša'ilu, en-me-ħaldim (pronounced en-di-ib) and en-me-gi (pronounced en-gi-ma), both = nu-ħa-dim-mu; this latter word, by the way, evidently originated from enmeħaldim = ^enu^eħa^dim. According to CT 24, 426,27 the father gods Enki and Ninkī were high priests of the universe, as their names ^den-me-šar-ra and ^dnin-me-šar-ra indicate.

³ No. 2 Col. 122.

⁴ K 8532 Obv. Col. 21_{4f}.

the inscription of Utu-ḫegal, RA 1911 p. . . , and in the letter in Langdon, Liturgies V₁₄.

Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir, son of Šamaš. As the historical references attached to his name show, this king was the hero of a legend relating how he entered or descended into something which unfortunately is broken away, probably into the nether world, and how likewise he ascended to something which again is broken away. In some respects the latter of these statements concerning Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir may perhaps remind us of Phaëthon, the son of Apollo, who attempted to drive his father's chariot across the sky, though Mes-kingašer evidently was more successful in his enterprise than Phaëthon. It will be noted that we have here the first instance of the belief that one of the great gods engendered a mortal son; of course, this presupposes another legend relating that Šamaš loved a mortal woman who bore him this son. The fact that the Babylonians pictured Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir as one of their great heroes is indicated by his very name the first element of which is mes "hero," found also in the name of the other great hero GIŠ-BIL-ga-mes, as well as in the names of Mes-za?-me?-DŪ?, Mes-anni-pada, Mes-kiag-nunna.

According to our list Meskingašer is high priest and king of Eanna, *i. e.*, the temple and sacred precinct of An and Ištar, not king of Uruk. Compare also the preceding statement that the kingdom of Kiš passed to Eanna. The city of Uruk was apparently not supposed to have existed at that time, at least it became the seat of the ruler only under Meskingašer's son. This tradition of the hierocratic origin of the kingdom of Uruk easily explains why in historical times, *e. g.*, during the third kingdom of Ur, the high priest of Uruk plays so important a part, his investiture being mentioned several times in the date formulas as the most important event of the year, and it will be noted that even kings bore the title En of Uruk or en of the land of Uruk as, *e. g.*, Lugal-zaggisi¹ and Lugal-kigub-nidudu.²

¹ No. 32, Column 10 at the beginning.

² Vase A, ⁹unu^{ki}-ga ¹⁰nam-en mu-(š)â-ge.

^dLugal-bán-da,¹ lu_gal-bán-da,² figures as the hero of a legend dealing with the theft of the tablets of fate by the bird-god Zû from the palace of Enlil. While none of the gods dared make an attempt to recover them from the thief who by their possession exercised supreme power over the world, the shepherd Lugal-banda recovered them evidently by playing a trick on the bird-god and his wife whom he had invited to a sumptuous feast. We must then conclude that in recognition of this deed Enlil made him king of Uruk and even a god, as which he was worshipped to the latest periods of Babylonian history. Note that in No. 18 Lugal-banda's name is not written with the determinative for god, evidently because at that juncture of the narrative he was still a mere mortal.³ As the king list and the epic show, Lugal-banda is, of course, not identical with Enlil, nor is he a different aspect of this deity.⁴ It is true, that in 5 R 46, 1, Obv. 27, the star mul-DĀR-LUGAL is rendered ^den-lil šá kullab^{ki} ^dlugal-bán-da; but this may prove at the most that Lugal-banda, despite the fact that he was not one of the great gods, played the rôle of Enlil within the precincts of Kullab, a privilege which the theologians may have claimed for him as a reward for the service he rendered Enlil in recovering the tablets of fate. Note that in the same manner Marduk, Sin and Šamaš appear in the rôle of Enlil without being in the least identical with him.⁵ The city of Kullab, mentioned in the passage just quoted, must have been situated in the immediate neighborhood of Uruk;⁶ according to our list the father of Gilgameš was the high priest of Kullab, and this perhaps

¹ No. 16₉; No. 20₁₀; 4 R 14.

² No. 18₁.

³ In the late Assyrian duplicate 4 R 14, 11, however, the divine predicate is given him at the very start of the narrative.

⁴ Suggested by Jensen, KB VI, p. 370; taken for certain by Weber in "Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer," p. 66.

⁵ Cf., e. g., Marduk = ^den-lil kalam-ma-na, and names like šamaš-^denlil-ilī, etc. Possibly the star is only a common designation for Enlil of Kullab and Lugalbanda, though in this case a division sign between the two names might be expected.

⁶ Note that in the inscription of Utu-ḫegal, Col. 34-5 the inhabitants of Uruk and Kullab are mentioned together: ^ddumu unu^{ki}-ga ^ddumu kul-āba^{ki}-ka.

explains that according to Gilg. Ep. VI₁₉₂ Lugal-bán-da is the special patron god of Gilgameš to whom he dedicates the oil gained from the horns of the heavenly bull.¹ It will be observed that the Gilgameš epic is quite in accordance with the chronology of the list of kings in that it presupposes that Lugal-banda's earthly days lay before the time of Gilgameš.

According to the list of gods 2 R 59 Rev. 24, 25², the goddess ^dnin-sun, in Eme-SAL ^dgašan-sun, was the wife of Lugal-banda; both deities are, therefore, worshipped in a common temple at Uruk, according to the "clay nail" inscription of King Singašid, CT 21, 15-17, namely, in the é-ki-kal (é-kankal) which Sin-gašid built or restored for them. On the relation of Ninsun to the city of Kullab see later under Gilgameš, whose mother she is according to the inscription of Utu-ḫegal and the Gilgameš epic.

The historical epic, No. 20 and its duplicate No. 21, which deals with events of Lugal-banda's and Dumu-zi's time, is unfortunately too fragmentary to give us definite information; but we see at least that it dealt among other subjects with the conquest and destruction of the city of HA-A^{ki}, with the restoration(?) by Lugal-banda of another destroyed city, with certain events at Eridu and Ur, and finally, with wars against Elam "below," Ḫalma "above" and Tidnum in the west. The latter information is of importance, because it shows that Elam, Ḫalma and Tidnum are the names of the peoples who in pre-historic times lived to the east, north and west of Babylonia. From Rev., l. 14, it appears that Elam is here mentioned for the first time in the history of Babylonia, at least as invader of the Tigris-Euphrates country. Tidnum is well known from the name of the fortress Murik-Tidnim which ŠU-Sin of Ur, according to the date formula of his fifth year, built in Martu.³

¹ 6 gur šamni ši-bit ki-la-li-e a-na hiš-ša-ti ili-šu ^dlugal-bán-da i-kiš.

² ^dUmun-bán-da [^dlu]gal-bán-da ŠU-ma

^dgašan-sun ^d[ni]n-sun dam-šú^{stc} sal

³ The name of the fortress cannot be Martu-murik-Tidnim on account of the abbreviation of the formula to mu bád-mar-tu(^{ki}) ba-dū (RT 18, p. 71 and date list) and because mar-tu, which in this case would be the name of the god, should be written with the determinative for god.

From the equation $ti-id-nu \mid \bar{G}IR-\bar{G}IR^1 \mid a-mur-ru-u$ we see that Tidnum is the name of the people that inhabited the later Amurru country; but as the determinative ki in $2 R 50^{59e}$ $kur-tidnu^{ki} \mid mât a-mur-ri-e$ indicates, Tidnum is used also to designate the country inhabited by this people.² At the time of Gudea the name $Ti-DA-num^3$ which evidently is identical with Tidnum, is confined to a certain mountainous district of Amurru, but whether this can be taken as an indication that this district was the original seat of the people we do not know; perhaps the name clung to the mountains, because they were the last stronghold of the people of Tidnum against the onset of the Martu,⁴ who appear in the West-land for the first time, as far as we know, at the time of the kings of Agade.

^d**Dumu-zi.** This king is the well-known god Dumu-zi, the husband⁵ of the goddess Ištar. According to our king list, Dumu-zi was originally a ŠU-KUAGUNŪ, *i. e.*, either a hunter or a fisherman. As we see from Gilg. Ep. VI, l. 46,⁶ the goddess Ištar fell in love with him, but whether this happened when Dumu-zi was still a hunter, or after he had become king of Uruk, is not known. From Gilgameš' words that she "decreed a yearly wailing" for him, it follows that the goddess' love proved fatal for him and that he met with a premature death; however, we do not yet know whether Ištar killed her husband or was in some indirect way the innocent

¹ In $2 R 48_{12}$, the sign is written $\bar{G}IR-\bar{R}I\bar{D}$.

² Cf. the use of Gutium, Elam, etc., for people and country.

³ Statue B 6 $^{13}ti-DA-num$ $^{14}har-sag-mar-tu-ta$, etc. $Ti-DA-num$ is probably $ti-id-num$.

⁴ Or perhaps against a people inhabiting the Amurru country before the Martu.

⁵ $Mu-UT-na = ha-me-ru, hâwiru, hâ'iru$ "husband," "lover?"

⁶ $Ana^d dumu-zi ha-mi-ri \dots [\dots]-ri-ti-ki$ $^{47}šat-ta a-na šat-ti bi-tak-ka-a tal-ti-meš-šu$. A translation "Buhle deiner Jugend," etc. (Jensen KB VI₂) is here as well as in Ištar's descent into Hades, Rev. 47 ($^d dumu-zi ha-mir ši-iḫ-ru-[ti-ša]$) not very well possible, since Dumu-zi was the immediate predecessor of Gilgameš and thus lived about 450,000 years after the creation of the world, whereas Ištar's birth doubtless has to be placed before the time of creation. We have therefore probably to translate "thy youthful husband" (Jensen, l. c., p. 404). The enumeration of the six lovers of Ištar no doubt follows the inverted chronological order, the first lover being her father's gardener Išullanu, the second, etc., the shepherd Tabulu(?) or Utullu ("Shepherd"), Sîsû ("Horse"), Nêšû ("Lion"), Allallu (the variegated ".....bird") and the last Dumu-zi.

cause of his death. At any rate her grief after his death was excessive, and in order to bring him back from the dead she herself descended into Hades, as we read in the well-known epic. There she herself is kept a prisoner by Ereš-kigal who possibly, like Ištar, is in love with Dumu-zi,¹ until the gods, alarmed at the changes wrought in nature by her absence, sent UDDUšu-namir to the nether world to enforce her liberation. This he achieves and eventually when Ištar refuses to be freed, we may suppose he also restores Dumu-zi to life, together with whom Ištar then returns to the upper world.² It seems that from that time the rescued god lived in the heavenly palace of Anu, for in the Adapa legend Adapa meets Dumu-zi and Giš-zi-da in the gate of Anu's palace, and when Adapa appears before Anu, these two gods intercede for him. It will be noted that Adapa affects to be sorry for the previous disappearance of the two gods from the earth, from which it follows that in the chronological system of the Babylonians the Adapa legend has to be assigned to the time of one of the successors of Dumu-zi. According to Utu-ḫegal's inscription Column 2₂₉₋₃₁,³ as well as other passages,⁴ Dumu-zi is the AMA-Ušumgal of Anu,⁵ and it is evidently in this capacity that he "pronounces the fate" of Utu-ḫegal, as we read in the latter's inscription.⁶

The father of Dumu-zi is the god ^dnin-giš-zi-da, in Eme-SAL ^(d)umun-mu(š)-zi-da, as is shown by the designation of

¹ Cf. in Greek mythology the rape of Persephone by Hades. To Dumu-zi's sojourn in the nether world as the lover of Ereš-kigal evidently refers the title ð-mu-un-e a-ra-li CT 15, 18_s, umun a-ra-li 4 R 27, 11_s.

² This explanation seems to solve the difficulty presented by the passage in Ištar's descent to Hades, Rev. 47-58.

³ Nin-mu ^dinnanna ²⁸a-daḫ-mu-um ²⁹dumu-zi ³⁰ama-ušumgal-an-na-ge ³¹nam-mu bi-dū.

⁴ CT 16, 46_{19b}; SBH 67₁₉; 136₁₉; 2 R 54_{54g} = CT 24, 19 Col. 21; CT 24, 9₁₂; 4 R, 30, 2_{20a}; 3_b.

⁵ Or does an-na mean "high"? The meaning and reading of ama in AMA-ušumgal-anna is uncertain; it cannot, therefore, be taken as an indication that Dumu-zi was originally a female deity (Zimmern, *Der babylonische Gott Tamūz*, p. 7); as to the composition of the name, AMA or DAGA(L), DAMA(L), etc., is probably the proper name to which ušum²-gal¹-an-na forms an apposition.

⁶ See the passage just quoted.

Dumu-zi as $\text{dumu-}^{(d)}\text{umun-giš-zi-da}$.¹ The identification of ${}^d\text{Giš-zi-da}$, whom Adapa meets in the gate of Anu's palace, with the god ${}^d\text{nin-giš-zi-da}$, however, cannot be proved and, moreover, is not very likely, because elsewhere the enlarging of a name by nin is noticed only in feminine names.

The mother of Dumu-zi, according to the list of gods 2 R 59, Rev.⁹, and Zimmern, *Der babylonische Gott Tammuz*, p. 13, is the goddess ${}^d\text{sir-du}$, in Eme-SAL ${}^d\text{ze-ir-tū(r)}$.² Dumu-zi is therefore called the son of Sirtu(r) and this designation is even used as a divine name; cf. ${}^d\text{dumu-ze-ir-tū-ra}$, VAT 617 Col. 2₆; ${}^d\text{dumu-ze-ir-tū-ra-ge}$, Macmillan, *Rel. Texts* 32.³

A sister of Dumu-zi is the goddess ${}^d\text{Geštin-an-na}$, in Eme-SAL ${}^d\text{mu(š)-tin-an-na}$ or ${}^d\text{mu(š)-ti-an-na}$, who also bears the shorter name ${}^d\text{gaštin}$, in Eme-SAL ${}^d\text{mu(š)-ti}$ or ${}^d\text{mu(š)-tin}$, while the Semites usually called her ${}^d\text{be-lit-šêri}$;⁴ Dumu-zi is therefore designated as $\text{šeš-ama-muš-tin-na}$, CT 15, 18₁₃; IV R 30, 2_{21,51} and the duplicate SBH 37₂₀; 4 R 27, 1₁₂; and compare also the designation of the goddess as "his sister" and "the sister of the lord."⁵ According to Ištar's descent into Hades,⁶ Dumu-zi is the only brother of Be-li-li,⁷ but whether this goddess can be identified with Geštin-anna, or does not rather belong to a different tradition, it is difficult to decide at the present.

¹ Dumu ù-mu-un-mu(š)-zi-da CT 15, 20₆; tu-mu umun-mu(š)-zi-da 4 R 27, 1₆; Macmillan, *Rel. Texts* 30, dupl., SBH 80₆; 4 R 30, No. 2, Rev.², dupl., SBH 371₄.

² ${}^d\text{ze-ir-tu(r)}$ | ${}^d\text{sir-du}$ | ama ${}^d\text{dumu-zi-ge}$. The list is part of an Eme-SAL and Eme-KU vocabulary; the section to which the list belongs deals with names of gods beginning with umun and mu "lord" (Eme-SAL) = en, nin and lugal (Eme-KU), and with gašan "lady" (Eme-SAL) = nin, ereš (Eme-KU); the next section (on the following tablet) began with mu = giš = šá-mu-u.

³ Without mentioning the names, the mother and the father of Dumu-zi are referred to in CT 15, 26₆₁₋₆₂ as ama-ù-tu-da-ni and ab-ba-ni.

⁴ Zimmern, *Der babylonische Gott Tamūz*, p. 13.

¹⁰ ${}^d\text{mu(š)-ti}$ ${}^d\text{geštin}$ ${}^d\text{be-lit-šêri}$

¹¹ ${}^d\text{mu(š)-ti-an-na}$ ${}^d[\text{gešt}]\text{in-an-na}$ ${}^d\text{be-lit-šêri}$

⁵ E. g., CT 15, 20 ²⁰SAL + KU-a-ni amaš(?) -ta è-da-ni₂₁ ${}^d\text{mu(š)-tin-an-na}$ SAL + KU-ù-mu-un-na-ge(?) amaš(?) -ta è-da-ni.

⁶ Rev. ⁵⁶a-hi e-du la ta-ħab-bil-an-[ni].

⁷ According to the list of gods an | ${}^d\text{a-nu-um}$ CT 24, ${}^d\text{be-li-li}$ is one of the primeval female An-deities; *i. e.*, she represents the earth, while the male god who is associated with her, A-la-la, represents the Heaven. It will be observed that this is quite in accordance with the rôle of Belili as an under-world deity in Ištar's descent to Hades. To what language the names Alala and Belili belong, we do not know.

The connection of Belit-séri with the nether world, however, seems to be proved by Gilgameš' dream, in which he sees [.]-EDIN, the female scribe of the earth, *i. e.*, the nether world, kneeling before Ereš-kigal.¹

The list of kings has after the name of Dumu-zi the remark: "whose city was HA-A^{ki}," which no doubt is intended to mean that Dumu-zi lived in this city during his childhood and youth. This explains why in Macm. 30_{25, 26}, dupl. SBH 80_{25, 26}, the plain of A-ĤA^{ki} occurs immediately after the lines mentioning "the city of the youth," *i. e.*, of the young Dumu-zi.² The city of HA-A^{ki} occurs likewise in the two texts published as Nos. 20 and 21, according to which this city was destroyed at the time of Lugal-banda, the predecessor of Dumu-zi. In the incantation CT 15,6 A-ĤA^{ki} is rendered as šu-ba-ri,³ while Macm. 30₂₆ and dupl. SBH 80₂₆ render it as šu?- 'a-a-ra⁴ both of which seem to denote a šuwari; in 2 R 57, Column 4, moreover, A-ĤA^{ki} is glossed tuba, which can hardly be taken as a variant pronunciation of šuba(r) if the text of 2 R 57 is correct. Langdon, Liturgies, page 115, note 2, suggests a reading ĥa-bûr for ĤA-A, which, in view of the gloss just mentioned, cannot be regarded as likely. However, according to 4 R 36 No. 1, Col. 1₂₆₋₂₈, there were three cities the names of which were written ĤA-A^{ki}, and very likely in each case ĤA-A had a different pronunciation. The city of ĤA-A^{ki} with which we are here concerned was situated in the southwestern part of Southern Babylonia, since in the tablet published as No. 49

¹ Nin-geštin-(an-)na 2 R 27, 5_{29ff} is evidently the same deity as ^dgeštin-an-na, the names differing simply in that in the one geštin-anna is preceded by nin "lady" to which geštin-anna now forms an apposition; "the lady, the."; cf. ^dmaḥ (or dingir-maḥ?) and ^dnin-maḥ."

² Macm. 30 ²³[.] úru-guruš-tur-ra-ge ²⁴[.] a-al ba-tu-lim.

²⁵[.].. edin(-na) A-ĤA^{ki}-ge ²⁶[.] ana(?) ši-e-ri šu-'a-a-ra.

Zimmern translates "Stadt der Jünglinge," but this would be úru-guruš-tur-ra-ne-ge = a-al ba-tu-li, an expression which, moreover, it would not be easy to explain. For the plural see, *e. g.*, l. 17: [.] umun-ne-ne-šû(?) (read thus instead of umun-bil-bil-šû; = umun(n) +ene+. . .) = [.] šá šar-ra-ni. The variant edin-na instead of edin is corrupt.

³ 239 Eridu^{ki} A-ĤA^{ki}-šû mu-un-na-ri-. . . -me-en

²⁴⁰šá ina eri-dû^{ki} ú šu-ba-ri. . . -ĥu-u ana-ku

⁴ Macmillan's copy has KU-'a-a-ra, which may very well be correct.

in Langdon, Tablets from the Archives of Drehem, it is mentioned together with Ereġ, Eridu and Ur, and in the incantation CT 15,6 together with Eridu.

A city noted for its Dumu-zi cult towards the end of the third millennium B.C. is Dur-Gurgurri; Sin-idinnam of Larsam tells us that he built the wall of this city and that he "rejoiced the heart of Šamaš and Dumu-zi;" note also the designation of Dumu-zi as ù-mu-un-e BĀD-URUDU-NAGAR^{ki}, "lord of Dur-Gurgurri," in a text dating from the time of the Dynasty of Babylon.¹ Whether this can be taken as an indication that the city played some part in the Dumu-zi legend, it is impossible to say at the present; it is not very likely because in the Assyrian versions of the Dumu-zi songs the title "lord of BĀD-URUDU-NAGAR" does not occur and therefore probably was likewise not found in older Babylonian versions.

Dumu-zi's connection with the Ištar cities Uruk and Kullab is attested by the inscription of Utu-ḫegal, where Inanna, Dumu-zi and Gilgameš are mentioned in that section of the inscription which deals with the king's sojourn in these two cities.²

The legend of Dumu-zi, as quoted above, is the reflection of a yearly occurrence in nature; Dumu-zi is the personification of the vegetation which must die in the summer heat, until with the new year it rises again to new life. In the historical system of the Babylonians, however, this mythological feature seems to have been entirely disregarded, Dumu-zi appearing here as a king of Uruk who like others lived and ruled for a certain time. From the historical epic, No. 20 (and 21), Rev.^{14 ff.} we see that there was a tradition concerning an invasion of Babylonia at the time of Dumu-zi by the Elamites which was especially directed against the city of EZEN + AZAG^{ki}. According to the same text this was the second time that the Elamites "came forth from the mountains."

¹ CT 15, 18 (15821).

² Col. 2.

^dGĪŠ-BIL-ga-mes,¹ ^dGĪŠ-BIL-gē-mes,² ^dGĪŠ(-BIL-ga-mes),³ ^dGĪŠ-GĒ-maš,⁴ gi-il-ga-me-eš,⁵ γιλαγμος,⁶ kal-ga-imin⁷, is the well-known hero of the epic usually designated as Gilgameš epic. According to this epic Gilgameš was shepherd, *i. e.*, in a less poetical term, king of Uruk,⁸ which accords with the fact that the king list assigns him to the first dynasty of Uruk or Eanna. Compare also the passage in the old-Babylonian version in which Enkidu says to Gilgameš, šar-ru-tam ša ni-ši i-ši-im-kum ^den-lil, "the kingdom of the people Enlil has destined for thee."⁹ According to Gilg. Ep. I, Col. 19, our hero built the wall of Uruk,¹⁰ a tradition likewise found in the inscription of AN-ám, where the wall of Uruk is called an ancient work of Gilgameš.¹¹ According to Gilg. Ep. I, Col. 1_{10ff}, Gilgameš also built the temple Eanna at Uruk, or at least, the šutummu.¹² A similar tradition of building operations on the part of Gilgameš existed at Nippur, for the tablet published as No. 8 states that when the Tummal of Nin-lil had been destroyed, Gilgameš built or rebuilt a certain part of the temple of Enlil.¹³

From an incantation in which Gilgameš is invoked¹⁴ we see that after his earthly days the king became the judge of the Anunnaki. Line 5 of this text contains the words ta-az-za-az ina irši-tim ta-gam-mar di-[...]; but it cannot be concluded, as it has been, from this passage that he was a

¹ No. 2 Col. 226; stone tablet of AN-ám 7; BE VI 2 No. 26 Col. 36; 5 R 32, 6 No. 1 = CT 18, 30 Col. 39, etc. The signs GĪŠ-BIL-ga are to be read ^ggibil-ga, which first developed to genrilga and then to gilga. See p. 127.

² For this writing of the name see Allotte de la Fuye and Thureau-Dangin in RA 6, p. 124.

³ Old-Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epic, VAT 4105 (MVG VII pp. 4, 5), and BS 15282.

⁴ Assyrian version of the Gilgameš epic; Maqlû, Tablet 2 (K 43, etc.) Obv.₃₇, etc.

⁵ Pinches, BOR IV p. 264 (82-5-22,915, gloss to ^dGĪŠ-GĒ-maš).

⁶ Aelianus, De natura animalium 12, 21.

⁷ 5 R 32, 6 No. 1 = CT 18, 30 Col. 46.

⁸ Tablet I, Col. 224, šu-u rē'û-ma ša uruk^{kl}[.....].

⁹ BS 15282 Col. 6_{32',33'}.

¹⁰ [.....]... dūru ša uruk^{kl} su-bu-ri.

¹¹ Cf., ⁶bád unu^{kl}-ga ⁶nig-dím-dím-ma-labar-ra ⁷dGĪŠ-BIL-ga-mes-ge.

¹² [... é-a]n-na qud-du-ši šu-tum-mi el-lim

[.....]-na-šu ša ki-ma qi-e NI[.....], etc.

¹³ ²[A-r]á-2-kam Itum-ma-al^{kl} ba-šub ²4[GĪ]Š-BIL-ga-mes-e GUG-bur-ra ^den-lil-lá in-dū

¹⁴ Haupt, Nimrodepos, p. 93.

judge of the nether world; on the contrary, the statement that he overlooks the regions of the world (l. 2) and that Šamaš, the god of judgment, entrusted "incantation" and "decision" to him seems rather to indicate that he had to do with Heaven and the upper earth.

Concerning the childhood of Gilgameš, Aelianus in *De natura animalium* 12, 21 relates a story according to which Γιλγamos was born in secret by his mother and thrown over the precipice on which the palace of his grandfather stood, but was miraculously saved by an eagle which caught him in his fall and carried him to an orchard; there he was found by the keeper, in whose care he grew up to manhood and finally became king. The grandfather of Gilgameš on the mother's side, according to this story, was king Σευηχορος or Σακχορος, but it is not possible to identify this king with any of Gilgameš' predecessors, and on the whole, the story told by Aelian does not seem to fit very well with what we know of Gilgameš; possibly the story may therefore have originally been told of some other Babylonian king.

According to the inscription of Utu-ḫegal, Gilgameš was the son of Nin-sun.¹ In Reissner, SBH No. III_{9,10}, this goddess is called the mother of the lord,² the latter expression referring perhaps to Gilgameš. Note also that in the Nippur document from the time of Samsu-iluna, BE VI 2 No. 26, Col. 36, a field sur-^dGIŠ-BIL-ga-mes and a pašišu office at the temple of Nin-sun figure as portions of an inheritance, from which fact we may conclude that Gilgameš, as the son of Nin-sun, was worshipped at Nippur in the temple of this goddess. The mother of our hero, furthermore, is frequently mentioned in the earlier part of the Gilgameš epic where she is given the epithet mu-da-at ka-la-ma, "who knows all," or mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-di, "who knows all knowledge,"³ and in correspondence with this epithet is able to interpret the dreams of her son.

¹ Col. 3, ^dGIŠ-BIL-ga-mes ²du[mu] ^dnin-sun-na-ge ³maškim-šù ma-an-sì.

² Reissner, SBH, No. III, Col. 1, ³ama-umun-e ^dgašan-sun-na = um-mi be-lim ^dnin-sun;
48 Obv., ²ama-umun-na gašan-sun-na.

³ The former in the old-Babylonian version, the latter in the Assyrian version.

In the Assyrian version of the epic the passages referring to the mother of Gilgameš are all more or less broken.¹ By combining two of them it has been concluded that her name was ^{sa1}ri-mat-^dnin-lil,² and as in one of the passages the name of Ninsun quite clearly occurs, this conjectural Rimat-Ninlil was declared to be priestess of Ninsun.³ At the end of the second tablet of the old-Babylonian version, however, we find the following words addressed to Gilgameš by Enkidu: ki-ma iš-te-en-ma um-ma-ka u-li-id-ka ri-im-tum ša zu-bu-ri ^dnin-sun-na, "as one unique (among men)⁴ thy mother has born thee, the wild cow⁵ of the enclosures, Ninsunna," from which it follows that ^{sa1}ri-mat is not part of a proper name, but an appellation of Ninsun, this goddess being thus the mother of Gilgameš also in the Assyrian version of the epic⁶ as well as in the old-Babylonian.

The list of kings No. 2 apparently gave the name of the father of Gilgameš; but unfortunately only the first sign, a-, is preserved. According to the following line, he was high priest of Kullab and therefore apparently a mortal, as, more-

¹ The passages of any use for the restoration of the name are the following:

Tablet I, Column 6²⁹⁻³⁰ (Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pl. III f.).

²⁹[.....]-LIL mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-di izaqa(r)-ra ana māri-ša

³⁰[.....]-LIL mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-di izaqa(r)-ra ana ^dGIŠ-GĒ-maš

Tablet III, Column 1a²²⁻²⁴ (Haupt, NE, p. 20).

²²[ib-ri i] ni-il-li-ka a-na é-gal-maḥ

²³[..... ^dni]n-sun šar-ra-ti rabī-ti

²⁴[..... m]ju-da-at ka-la-ma i-di, etc.

Tablet IV, Column 3¹⁷⁻¹⁹ (Haupt, NE, p. 82).

¹⁷[u]m-mu ^dGIŠ-GĒ-maš mu-da-at ka-la-ma

¹⁸izaqa(r)-ra [.....] a? [.....]

¹⁹^{sa1}ri-mat ^dnin-[.....]

² Jensen, in *Das Gilgamešepos in der Weltliteratur*, p. 7, suggested Rēšat-Bēlit; Ungnad, in *Ungnad and Gressmann, Das Gilgamesch-Epos, and Thureau-Dangin, RA 9*, pp. 118, 119, take ^{sa1}ri-šat-^dnin-lil as certain.

³ Thureau-Dangin, *RA IX*, p. 119.

⁴ Išten (= one) has perhaps simply the meaning of "man," "hero."

⁵ Rimtum "wild cow" is a poetical expression for "the strong one."

⁶ Read, therefore, ^{sa1}ri-mat ^dnin-sun mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-di, if the signs AN-NIN in Haupt's copy of IV, Column 3¹⁹ are correct. (Haupt states that the text is very difficult to read.) The omission of the ending finds a parallel in ^{sa1}šam-ḥat for which the old-Babylonian version has ša-am-ka-tum.

over, is attested by the fact that his name does not have the determinative for god. This circumstance is of importance, because according to the epic his son Gilgameš was two-thirds god and one-third man, which necessarily presupposes that the mother must have been a deity, thus furnishing a further indication that Gilgameš was the son of the goddess Ninsun.

In the vocabulary 5 R 30, 6 No. 1 = CT 18, 30, part of which is evidently taken from a commentary to a Sumerian version of the Gilgameš epic,¹ the Sumerian column gives the name of the hero as kal-ga-imin "Seven-strong"² and that of Gilgameš' friend as A-DU-imin "Seven-.....,"² while Ut-napištim, as will be remembered, appears as Zi-SUD-da. How this difference in the names has to be explained, we do not yet know; kal-ga-imin "Seven-strong" may originally have been a descriptive epithet,³ just as is Watram-ḫasis, "Very-wise," for the hero of the deluge story. For the names Gilgameš, Enkidu and Ziugiddu the Babylonians themselves had evidently no definite etymology as we see from the widely variant modes of writing and pronouncing them,⁴ a fact which perhaps indicates that these names were not of Sumerian origin, though later adapted to the Sumerian language. The first part of the name GIŠ-BIL-ga-meš was evidently regarded as identical with the same element in pa-GIŠ-BIL-ga "grand-

¹ Cf. Col. 3 ¹³ME-gal-zu = šu-ut-tam pa-ša-ru and Gilg. Ep. I Col. 525 šu-na-ta ipašar^{AR}; ¹⁴kili-an = kakkab šame-e and Gilg. Ep. I Col. 529 kakkab šame-e.

² Note, however, that in Col. 2 IMIN is rendered u-ru-uk.

³ The vocabulary mentioned above renders kal-ga-imin also muq-tab-lu "fighter" and a-lik pa-na "man of old," *i. e.*, one of the old strong race of man.

⁴ Cf. ^den-ki-dū, Assyrian version of the Gilgameš epic; ^den-ki-dū, old-Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epic; en-gi-du, CT 18, 30¹⁰.

The readings ^den-ki-du and ^den-ki-dū, instead of Ea-bani and Ea-ṭabu, were given, by reason of the principles established by me for the reading of proper names, in my habilitationsschrift "Die sumerischen Personennamen zur Zeit der Dynastie von Larsam und der ersten Dynastie von Babylon" (laid before the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Halle in May, 1909, published in summer, 1910) in note 1 on page 12; compare also note 2 on page 81 in Clay, Amurru, 1909. Ungnad, in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, 1909, read Ea-bani, but remarked in note 2 on page 41 that the name is probably Sumerian and to be read Enkidu or the like. The identity of en-gi-du, CT 18, 30¹⁰, with ^den-ki-du and ^den-ki-dū was first recognized by Jensen, who by letter communicated his discovery to Ungnad; see Ungnad in *OLZ*, 1910, Col. 306.

father," "forefather,"¹ for which the date formula Ammitana 34 has only pà-BIL-ga and LIH 98, 99⁶⁴, pa-BIL-ga = 97⁶¹ a-bi a-bi(-ia); cf. also GIŠ-BIL = [a-bu] "father" 2 R 32^{60d}.² The second element mes = "hero" was evidently taken as an allusion to the hero character of Gilgameš. The name GIŠ-GIN-maš of the Assyrian version is a different pronunciation and a different phonetic writing of the same name, comparing with ^dGIŠ-BIL-ga-mes as does Zi-gid-da with Zi-û-gid-du; according to 82-5-22, 915³ the Assyrians pronounced it gi-il-ga-me-eš, which evidently goes back to an original ^{giš}gibil-ga-mes. Whether ^dGIŠ in the old-Babylonian version of the epic is simply an abbreviation of ^dGIŠ-BIL-ga-meš or perhaps represents a different name of the hero, cannot yet be definitely decided, since the first tablet which must have given the full name when first mentioning the hero has not yet been recovered; but despite the fact that abbreviations are not elsewhere met with in old-Babylonian names, it is here very likely that ^dGIŠ is indeed an abbreviation.

[.]-lugal, son of Gilgameš, is supplied from text No. 8 and 9, according to which he built the tum-ma-al of Ninlil at Nippur. Whether, however, he was the immediate successor of his father, we do not know.

Mes-an-ni-pá-da, "Hero, called by Enlil." With the first kingdom of Ur we reach comparatively historical times as is seen from the fact that the years of reign attributed to the kings of this dynasty are entirely within the limits of possibility, although the eighty-year period of the first king is rather high, and the composition of the names of both the first and second king, Mes-anni-pada and Mes-kiag-nunna, with mes "hero" seems to be suggestive of legendary characters.

¹ Eannatum, stone A 84.

² The stem of the word is perhaps GIŠ-BIL(g), *i. e.*, ^{giš}gibil(g) or ^{giš}gil(g), and GIŠ-BIL-ga may therefore be the locative = GIŠ-BILg-a; however, it seems more likely that there existed an absolute form GIŠ-BIL-ga; likewise it must remain uncertain for the present whether "father" is the original meaning of the word. Should the element kal-ga in kal-ga-imin perhaps be a variant of gilga in GIŠ-BIL-ga-mes? But how could then imin be identified with mes? Do perhaps both names go back to a foreign kilgaimines or the like, in which es was a case (perhaps nominative) ending?

³ See Pinches in BOR IV, p. 264.

Mes-ki-ág-nun-na, "the hero, the beloved of the Highest."

E-lu-[...]. Compare perhaps e-lu-lu, the name of one of the kings of Agade.

Ba-lu-[...], perhaps ba-lu-lu? Are perhaps e-lulu and ba-lu-lu active and passive forms of a Sumerian verb lu-lu?

The **dynasty of Awan** again leads us into legendary times, for the list ascribes 356 years to the three rulers of this dynasty. Awan was an Elamitic city, situated, it seems, at no great distance from Susa, since in an inscription of Rimuš a certain locality is described as being situated between(?) Awan and Susum.¹ In No. 34, Col. 12₄₁, it appears also among the cities which paid tribute to Šarrukin during his campaign against Elam and Barahsi. The passages just noted show that Awan was an important city of Elam in early historical times; the tradition that kings of this city ruled over Babylonia in an even earlier period need therefore meet with no suspicion whatever. We may suppose that the Babylonians possessed legends and epics relating to the conquest of Babylonia by these kings of Awan as well as to its final liberation from the yoke of the foreigners.

AN-na-ni is mentioned in No. 6₉ as builder (or rebuilders) of the GIŠ-SAR-mah of the house of Enlil at Nippur. He is assigned to the second dynasty of Ur on account of the fact that the name of his son and successor is compounded with Nanna, the god of Ur.

Lù^d-nanna is supplied from No. 6₁₀, according to which passage he restored the Tummal of Ninlil at Nippur.

Lugal-da-LU, "...ing with the lord." The name of this king is found in the inscription on a statue excavated by Banks at Adab; the inscription reads ¹é-sar ²lugal-da-LU ³lugal adab^{ki} "E-sar, Lugal-da-LU, king of Adab."²

¹ HGT 34 Col. 23₁₉₋₂₃ and AO 5476₁₃₋₁₆: in ba-rí-ti a-wa-an^{ki} ù su-si-im^{ki}.

² Banks, AJSL 21, p. 57-59 and Bismya, p. 196. While Banks read lugal da-udu, "King David," Thureau-Dangin, in SAKI, p. 152, took E-sar in the first line as the name of the king and read in the second line šarru da-lu "mighty king." This latter interpretation, however, is impossible, since E-sar, as Banks rightly contends, is the name of a temple at Adab, mentioned also in the inscription of King Me-IGI...[...] of Adab, Bismya, p. 264, as well as in the inscription dedicated to Mesilim, l. c., p. 201; as é-sar-ra it likewise occurs in No. 157 Col. 17.

Me-IGI...[...]. The name of this king is found in an inscription on a vase from Bismya,¹ reading ¹é²-sar¹ ²me-IGI-...[...]³lugal⁴adab^{ki} "E-sar, Me-IGI...., king of Adab."

É-an-na-du(m), abbreviated from é-an-na-^dinnanna-ib-gal-ka-ka-du(m);² lum-ma.³ This išakku of Lagaš must probably be reckoned as a king of Kiš on account of the passage Eannadu, door socket A 5₂₀₋₂₅: é-an-na-du...ra ^{26d}innanna-ge 6¹.... ²nam-isa(g)-ŠIR-LA-BUR^{ki}-ta ⁴nam-lugal-kiš(i)^{ki} ⁵mu-na-ta-si, "to Eannadu Innanna gave the kingdom of Kiš from (*i. e.*, growing out from) the Išakkuship of Lagaš." See Chapter V.

Kù-^dba-u, the queen who founded the fourth(?) kingdom of Kiš, began her career as keeper of a wine house, sal-lù-gaš-tin-na,⁴ according to the list of kings published by Scheil.⁵ The same list adds the statement that she "firmly establishes the foundations of Kiš," from which it has been concluded that she was the first founder of the city;⁶ but, as our new lists show, Kiš had been the capital of three kingdoms before Ku-Bau. The meaning of the phrase is, of course, merely that the queen laid the foundations for the political and economical strength and importance of the city. Ku-Bau is also mentioned in the list 5 R 44, Col. 1₁₄ among "the rulers after the deluge;" her name is there translated: ^dba-u-el-lit "Bau is bright," which probably is not correct, the name evidently meaning "Silver

Note that in all the inscriptions from Bismya the temple is mentioned without a postposition which would make clear its grammatical relation to the following names, a fact which shows that they belong to a very archaic age. Thureau-Dangin's interpretation, moreover, assumes that the inscription is written in Semitic, but there is not the slightest indication that the population of Adab, in this early period, was in the least Semitic.

¹ Banks, Bismya, p. 264.

² Stele of Vultures, Col. 5₂₈₋₂₉; see Poebel, "Zur Geierstele," OLZ 1911, Cols. 198-200.

³ Foundation stone A Col. 5₁₄; see Chapter V.

⁴ In better Sumerian we ought to expect only sal-gaš-tin-na, "woman of the wine," "wine-woman," the feminine to lù-gaš-tin-na, "man of the wine." Sal-lù-gaš-tin-na is formed from the latter by prefixing sal; the correct form sal-gaš-tin-na is found in Stele of the code of Hammurabi, Rev., Col. 1₁₈; the tablet, No. 93, Col. 4, last line, has sal-lù-tin-na which is evidently a mistake.

⁵ ⁹Kiš(i)^{ki}-a kù-^dba-u sal-lù-gaš-tin-na suhuš-kiš^{ki} mu-un-gi-na ¹⁰lugal-ám 14 (text 100) mu in-á.

⁶ See Eduard Meyer in SbKPAW 1912, p. 1088, Note 2.

of Bau."¹ The queen is likewise mentioned in the omen text K 166_{2, 3}, according to which "she subdued the land."² The one hundred years of reign, ascribed to her by Scheil's list, must be corrected into 14; see Peiser, OLZ 1912, Cols. 108 and 154, and Poebel, *ibid.* 289-291.

Šar-ru-GI(= kin),³ šar-um-GI(= kin),⁴ šar-ru-ki-in,⁵ šarru-GI-NA (= kin),⁶ šarru-GIN (= kin),⁷ šarru-GI-Ū?-NA (= kin),⁸ ša-ru-ki-in.⁹ According to Scheil's list the father of Šarrukin was a gardener and a QA-šu-dū of the god Zamama, unless the latter apposition refers to Šarrukin himself, which is possible.¹⁰ In either case, however, it is apparent that the well-known legend of Šarrukin's clandestine birth, exposure in the Euphrates and adoption by the water-pourer Akki cannot very well be harmonized with the statement of the list; we may therefore suppose that the legend is founded on a different tradition of a more popular character. As to this popular character compare the allusion to Agade in the name of Akki (see p. 231); should perhaps the words ab-ba-ni nu-GIŠ-SAR of the list of kings have first suggested the abi ul idi or aba ul iši of the legend?¹¹

On the new historical material concerning Šarru-kin and

¹ See Poebel, *Die sumerischen Personennamen*, pp. 32 and 43.

² CT 28, 6, EŠ-BĀR, ^{ab}ki-^dba-u ša mata i-be-lum, etc.

³ Semitic inscriptions of Šarru-kin, and in the name šar-ru-GI(= kin)-i-lí, "Šarru-kin is my god," Maništusu, Obelisk, A Col. 12 case 8.

⁴ Sumerian inscriptions of Šarru-kin.

⁵ Scheil's list of kings (time of the first dynasty).

⁶ Omens of Šarru-kin; legend of Šarru-kin.

⁷ Chronicle of Šarru-kin, etc.; legend of Šarru-kin.

⁸ 5 R 44, Col. 118; the king mentioned in this list is evidently the king of Agade.

⁹ Clay, *Amurru*, p. 194.

¹⁰ Obv., ²²a-ga-dé^{ki}-a šar-ru-ki-in ab!-ba-ni NU-GIŠ-SAR ²⁴QA-šu-dū ^dza-ma-ma ²⁶lugal? a-ga-dé^{ki} mu-ujn-dū-a.

¹¹ In the omen CT 20, 2(Rm 2, 112) Rev. 9 and 3(K 3671)_{1, 2} Frank (ZA 1913, p. 99) sees an allusion to Šarru-kin's death. However, his translation: "Šarrukēnu, den seine Truppen in eine Grube (Zisterne?) einschlossen und (die so) ihren Herren gemeinsam überwältigten," is neither satisfactory from a logical point of view, nor is it grammatically unobjectionable ("whom they confined" would be šá šsirušu, not šá šsiru; belišunu cannot be accusative of the singular = "their lord," which is belšunu; ana aḫameš does not mean "gemeinsam" = itti aḫames, but "to or upon each other"). The passage probably means: "Omen of Šarrukin whose army, while a rainstorm was raging(?), hurled(?) their weapons upon each other."

the other kings of Agade, see Chapter VI. Concerning the sequence of the successors of Šarrukin, see OLZ 1912, Cols. 481–485.

(I)ri-mu-uš,¹ (i)ri-muš.² See Chapter VI. According to the omen K 1346³ (I)rimuš was slain by his courtiers with their seals,⁴ which it will be remembered were cylinders of stone. Probably they used these cylinders for want of better weapons.

Contemporaries of Rimuš were a-ba-al-ga-maš, king of Baraḥsi⁵, and KA-AZAG, king of Ur⁶.

Ma-an-iš-tu-su⁷. The obelisk inscription mentions a son of Maništusu by the name of me-sá-lim,⁸ as well as a brother of his named (n)ì-ba-ri-im⁹; a-li-a-ḥu, the son of the latter, was therefore the nephew of Maništusu. This Ali-aḥu, by the way, is one of the 49 DUMU-DUMU a-ga-dé^{ki}, “citizens of Agade,”¹⁰ which city, therefore, was evidently the residence, or one of the residences, of Maništusu. Another of these mâré Agade is Šarru-kin-ili, son of Balga,¹¹ whose name proves that Šarrukin’s reign was prior to that of Maništusu, as Šarru-kin-ili must, of course, have been named during the time when Šarrukin was king.

^dNa-ra-am-^dsin,¹² na-ra-am-^dsin,¹³ na-ram-^dsín,¹⁴ son of Šarrukin according to the chronicle and the omens, as well as to the

¹ Inscriptions of (I)rimuš.

² K 1364 (Boissier, Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne, I, p. 441) and Sm 823 (ibid. p. 806).

³ See preceding note. The historical reference in Sm 823 is perhaps identical with that of K 1364.

⁴ EŠ-BĀR (i)ri-muš šarri šá maré^{pl} ekalli-šú ina aban¹ kunukki-šú-nu GAZ^{pl}-šú.

⁵ See inscriptions 34 u and x and RA 1911, p. 136.

⁶ See inscriptions 34 u-p.

⁷ Inscriptions of Maništusu.

⁸ Obelisk, B Col. 618,14; me-sá-lim | DUMU-LUGAL.

⁹ Obelisk, A Col. 1026-111; I a-li-a-ḥu | DUMU (n)ì-ba-ri-im | ŠEŠ-LUGAL. Is (n)ibarim perhaps the genitive of (n)ibarum? Compare perhaps the divine name in warad-^di-ba-ri, warad-i-ba-ri, ^{awll}šābu ka-aš-šū-u CT 6, 2315; 8, 118.

¹⁰ Obelisk, A Col. 1615,16.

¹¹ Obelisk, A Col. 128-10’.

¹² Inscriptions of Naram-Sin.

¹³ Chronicle; omens, Babylonian version(?); inscriptions of Naram-Sin in No. 36.

¹⁴ Omens, Assyrian version; inscriptions of Nabu-na’id.

inscriptions of Nabu-na'id.¹ A son of his, na-bí-x-maš, was išakku of tu-tu^{ki} according to the inscription of li-bu-uš-ì-a-am, priestess of Sin, daughter of Nabi-x-maš and therefore granddaughter of Naram-Sin.² Another son of Naram-Sin, by the name of li-bi-it-ì-lí, was išakku of the city of Marad, where he built the temple of Lugal-Maradda.³ Inasmuch as in the list of kings, Text No. 3, Šargali-šarri, Naram-Šin's successor, is evidently designated as [dumu]-dumu-na[-ra-am^dsin-ge], *i. e.*, as grandson of Naram-Sin, Šargali-šarri's father, DA-ti^den-lil,⁴ probably was a son of Naram-Sin, who, however, did not rule. A tablet belonging to the time of the dynasty of Agade⁵ then mentions Šar-gali-šarri and BI-in-ga-lí-šar-ri as belonging to the royal house, and since on the seal of the scribe Izinum,⁶ BI-in-gali-šarri is designated as the son of the king, he is probably a son of Naram-Sin, unless DUMU-LUGAL is used in the sense of prince, in which case he may perhaps be a second son of DATi-Enlil; whose brother the ú-bil-iš-tar is, who on the seal of the scribe Kal-ki⁷ is designated as šeš-lugal "brother of the king," is entirely uncertain. A contemporary of Naram-Sin as well as of Šar-gali-šarri is Lugal-ušumgal, iššakku of Lagaš.⁸

^dŠar-ga-lí-šâr-ri,⁹ šar-ga-lí-šâr-ri,¹⁰ šâr-ka-li-e-šarri,¹¹ "a king of all kings,"¹² is mentioned, outside of his own inscriptions and date formulas, in the omen text, CT 20, 2 Obv.¹⁸⁻²⁰.

The two broken lines after the passage referring to Šar-gali-šarri in list No. 3 undoubtedly contain a summary of the years

¹ Great cylinder inscription from Abu-Habba, Col. 257, 68: te-me-en-na^Ina-ram^dsin mâr Išarru-GI-NA ša 3200 MU-AN-NA-ME-EŠ ma-na-ma šarru a-lik maḥ-ri-ia la i-mu-ru.

² Perforated slab from Telloh, CR 1899, p. 348.

³ See inscription of Libit-ili, RA XI, p. 88 (Thureau-Dangin) and OLZ 1914 Col. 110 (Clay)

⁴ Provided that DA-ti^den-lil really is a personal name.

⁵ The beginning of the tablet has been published by Thureau-Dangin in RA 1912, p. 82.

⁶ Ménant, Glyptique, pl. I No. 1.

⁷ Brit. Mus. 89137, Ménant, Glyptique, pl. III No. 1.

⁸ Cf. the two seals of Lugal-ušumgal, RA 4, p. 11 and RA 4, pp. 8, 9.

⁹ Inscriptions and date formulas of Šar-gali-šarri.

¹⁰ List of kings, No. 3; Scheil's list.

¹¹ CT 20, 2 Obv.¹⁸ (Omen). On the reading šâr-rí see Dhorme, OLZ 1907, Col. 230; Poebel, ZA 1908, p. 228; on ga-lí see Boissier, Babyloniaca 4, p. 83; Poebel, OLZ 1912, Cols. 481-485.

¹² Hrozny, WZKM 1912, p. 145, translates "König des Alls ist mein König."

of reign of those kings of Agade who belonged to the family of Šarrukin, the founder of the kingdom, the name of Sarru-kin being almost completely preserved in the second line. Scheil's list and list No. 2 of this volume give 197 years to the whole dynasty; as the last six kings rule thirty-nine years, the first six kings, representing the family of Šarrukin, must therefore have ruled 158 years. In the summary just mentioned only the number thirty-seven is preserved, but there can be no doubt that we have to supply two vertical wedges, representing the number 120, before thirty-seven, the whole number then being 157; this, despite the difference of one year, which cannot as yet be explained, may be taken as a corroboration of the number in Scheil's list.

I-gí-gí,¹ ì-gí-gí;² i-mi; na-ni,¹ na-nu-um;² e-lu-lu,¹ i-lu-lu.² After the summary of the regnal years of Sarrukin's family we find in No. 3 the Semitic words *mannum šarrum mannum la šarrum* to which in Scheil's list the Sumerian words *a-ba-ám lugal* [*a-ba-ám nu?-lugal?*] correspond. These words evidently mean that with the overthrow of Šarru-kin's family a time of political anarchy began in which no one knew who was king;³ in fact, the following lines inform us that during the next three years four kings were pretenders to the throne of Agade at the same time. All four, however, were removed, it seems, by the following king Dudu.

Du-du succeeded in again consolidating the royal power, as is shown by the fact that his reign lasted twenty-one years and that he was followed by his son. The small fragment of a vase inscription published as No. 39 proves that this king exercised authority at Nippur; from the same fragment it appears that, like Šar-gali-šarri and Šudurkib, he bore only the title "king of Agade," and not "king of the four quarters of the world."

¹ No. 3 (list of kings). On the Obelisk of Maništusu, A 1113, 14, na-ni occurs as the name of a šakanakku.

² Scheil's list of kings.

³ Scheil, in CR 1911, p. 606, and, following him, Thureau-Dangin in RA 1912, p. 33, Hrozný in WZKM 1912, p. 143, and Eduard Meyer in SbKPAW 1912, p. 1070, took *a-ba-a-ilum*, as they read, as the name of the sixth king. That the words, quoted above, do not denote a name, is evident from the fact that in the Nippur list they appear in Akkadian translation.

Šu-dur-kib.¹ An inscription of this king on a small stone disk, pierced through the centre by a hole, was seen in the possession of an antiquity dealer at Bagdad by Pognon who gives the following translation: "Au dieu Nergal, pour la prospérité? de Choudourkib, roi de la ville d'Akkadou, Labatéchoum, devin du palais, a consacré."²

In-ki-(.....). The fact that in No. 4 in the line following in-ki-[...] we do not find the usual statement concerning the length of the king's reign, may perhaps indicate that ll. 8 ff. contained a statement similar to that concerning the kings Igigi, Imi, etc., of the dynasty of Akkad, namely, that several kings together ruled only a short time. In this case we should have to restore ⁸in-ki[lugal] ⁹[...]...-da [... lugal], etc., x-bi y mu íb-â.

E-ir-ri-du-pi-zi-ir,³ en-ri-da-pi-zi-ir.⁴ A long inscription of this king, or rather a copy of an original inscription, containing about 500 lines of one or two words each, has been found by Hilprecht in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania⁵ and is referred to by him in BE Ser. D, Vol. 5, Chapter IV: "An ancient king of Gutí as ruler of Babylonia." As regards the contents, however, Hilprecht states merely that Erridupizir several times calls himself da-núm šar gu-ti-im ù ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im, a title proving that Erridupizir is one of the missing kings of the dynasty of Gutium. As Hilprecht especially notes, the king's name is not written with the determinative for god, which is quite in accordance with the fact that the determinative is likewise not found before the names of Lasirab and Sium.

Si-ù-um. Cf. the date formula at the end of the marble tablet of Lugal-anna-du(m), išakku of Umma: ¹⁴ù-ba si-ù-um ¹⁵lugal-gu-ti-um^{ki}-kam "at that time Si'um was king of Gutium."⁶

¹ For this reading which is quite clear on the photograph of Scheil's list in RA 1912 facing p. 68, see Pognon in CR 1912, p. 416.

² CR 1912, p. 416.

³ Inscription of Erridupizir.

⁴ Once in the inscription of Erridupizir.

⁵ Or in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople?

⁶ Scheil, Une nouvelle dynastie suméro-accadienne, Les rois "Guti," CR 1911, pp. 318-327.

The fact that the išakku of Umma dates his tablet by referring to a king of Gutium, proves that this king ruled over southern and therefore no doubt also over northern Babylonia; as we know of no other time when this was the case, it follows that Si'um was one of the eleven kings of our dynasty of Gutium.

La-[s]i-[r]a-ab is shown by the language of the inscription on his battle mace (ZA 4, p. 406) to belong approximately to the age of the kings of Agade; it is therefore likely that he is one of the missing kings of the dynasty of Gutium.

Sar-a-ti-gu-bi-si-in is mentioned in the inscription of the scribe nig-ul-PA-è of Jokha¹ in the phrase nam-ti sar-a-ti-gu-bi-si-in lugal-na-šú "for the life of Sar'atigubisin, his king (or lord)." Although Sar'atigubisin is not given the title "King of Gutium" in this inscription, nevertheless he may be one of the missing kings of Gutium, since the name seems to be neither Semitic nor Sumerian.²

Ti-rí-ga-a-an,³ ti-riq-qa-an⁴ is proved by the inscription of Utu-ḫegal⁵ to have been the last of the kings of Gutium who ruled over Babylonia. An allusion to the overthrow of the king which is described by Utu-ḫegal, is found in an unpublished divination text of the time of the Seleucides reading EŠ-BĀR ti-riq-qa-an šarri ša ina qabal umma(n)-ni-šu ḪA-A-iq (= iḫ(ta)liq) "omen of Tiriqqan the king who perished in the midst of his troupes."⁶ Cf. also âl-ti-ri-qa-an, kudurru of Nazimaruttaš⁷ 124.⁷

Lugal-an-na-mu-un-du,⁸ lugal-an-na-mu-un-dū.⁹ See Chapter VII.

¹ Thureau-Dangin, RA 1912, p. 73 ff.

² If, after all, the name should be Semitic, the meaning would be "king of the of their (*i. e.*, the nations)"

³ Inscription of Utu-ḫegal.

⁴ Unpublished divination text, Thureau-Dangin, RA 1912, p. 120.

⁵ Thureau-Dangin, RA 1912, p. 111 ff.

⁶ Thureau-Dangin, RA 1912, p. 120.

⁷ Scheil, TES I, p. 86ff.

⁸ BE VI, 2, No. 130.

⁹ HGT 75. Since this inscription and that mentioned in the preceding note are evidently copies of one and the same original inscription, it follows that one of the variant writings of the name is due to faulty copying, the name in the original inscription being probably written with Vol. IV.

^dI-bí-^dsin,¹ i-bi-^dsin.² According to an unpublished omen text in the British Museum³ Ibi-Sin was led into captivity to Anšan,⁴ the later Persis.⁵ Since the time of Dungi the countries east of Babylonia had been subject to the kings of Ur, although the subjugation of the more distant regions, as, *e. g.*, Anšan, never seems to have been very thorough, and uprisings against the Babylonians were quite frequent. The date formulas, however, show that these eastern countries were always brought anew into subjection by a military expedition, Anšan itself being more than nine times the objective of such expeditions. In the last years of Ibi-Sin, however, one of the native nobles of Anšan must have succeeded in establishing the independence of the eastern countries, and by an invasion into Babylonia even brought to an end the kingdom of Ur.

Important light is shed on this last period of the kingdom of Ur by an unpublished Nippur text containing an address to the god Enlil in which evidently the king of Ur complains that Iš-bi-ir-ra, the man of Mari (= lù-má-rí^{ki}), has devastated the country as far as Ur. Išbi-Irra is the founder of the kingdom of Isin which followed that of Ur, and which by this new text is shown to have had its origin in a kingdom or probably a principality of Mari, the well-known, yet unidentified, city on the Euphrates to the northwest of Babylonia. This state of Mari, we may suppose, made itself independent under Ibi-Sin, perhaps at the same time as Anšan in the East, and by its bold attacks on Babylonia, as attested by the text just referred to, evidently became an important factor in bringing about

du, if we may judge from the writing of lugal-an-na-du, é-an-na-du, etc. Apparently the variant was caused by the fact that the inscription was dictated to the scribe; it is, however, most valuable, because it proves the pronunciation du for DU in this name as well as in the names lugal-an-na-du, en-an-na-du, é-an-na-du, etc., which are compounded with the participle du instead of the finite verbal form mundu.

¹ Inscriptions and date formulas of Ibi-Sin.

² Nippur list of kings, No. 5.

³ Rm 2, 174, referred to by Boissier, *Choix II*, p. 64.

⁴ Boissier, *l. c.*, Ibi-Sin "que l'oracle annonce devoir être emmené prisonnier en Elam (AN-DU-AN^{kl})."

⁵ See Chapter VI.

the final destruction of the kingdom of Ur by the Anšanites, the fruit of which eventually fell to Išbi-Irra himself, who erected the kingdom of Išin on the ruins of that of Ur.

^dIš-bi-ir-ra,¹ iš-bi-ir-ra,² iš-bi-^dir-ra.³ The fact that Mari was the home city of Išbi-Irra very satisfactorily explains the important rôle which Dagan, the supreme god of the regions along the middle course of the Euphrates, seems to have played in the royal family, the names of two of its members being compounded with the name of this god.⁴

^dLi-bi-it-ištar,⁵ li-bi-it-ištar,⁶ li-bit-^diš-tar⁷, is, according to No. 5, the son of his predecessor Išme-Dagan, but according to No. 2 the son of Idin-Dagan, which would make him the brother of his predecessor. As at present neither of the two statements is supported by other evidence, it is not possible to decide which is correct.

^dUr-^dnin-IB,⁸ ur-^dnin-IB⁹, is, according to No. 2, the son of ^dIškur-, of whom we know nothing. From the omission of his father's name in list No. 5, as well as from the fact that at about this time there existed an independent kingdom of Ur under Gungunum, it has been concluded that this break in the succession of the kings was caused by political disturbances, which placed a new family on the throne of Išin. This conclusion is entirely confirmed by the new list of kings No. 2; for although the passage following Ur-NinIB's name

¹ Inscriptions of Išbi-Irra (4 R²35, 70).

² BS 15419.

³ List of kings No. 5. The determinative for god before the divine name Irra shows that this list belongs to the time of the successors of Samsu-iluna.

⁴ For the connection of Dagan with the regions along the middle course of the Euphrates compare CH 4 ²⁴mu-ka-an-ni-iš ²⁵da-ad-mi ²⁶nâr purattim ²⁷li-tum ^dda-gan ²⁸ba-ni-šû. According to the inscription published by Condamin in ZA 21, p. 247, Šamši-Adad of Aššur built, or rebuilt, the temple of Dagan at Tirqa, evidently the chief temple of the city; note that the king mentions his relation to Dagan between the titles "vicegerent of Enlil" and "išakku of Aššur;" ²LUGAL-KIŠ ³ša-ki-in ^den-lil ⁴pa-li-iš ^dda-gan ⁵ISA(G) ^dA-UŠUR.

⁵ Inscriptions of Libit-Ištar; No. 2 (list of kings).

⁶ No. 5 (list of kings).

⁷ CT 13, 45, Col. 14.

⁸ List of kings No. 2 Col. 10₉; brick from Nippur, OBI 181.

⁹ List of kings No. 5 Col. 4₍₁₃₎₁₄; inscription No. 68 Col. 21₆.

is too broken to allow of any definite explanation, yet the word *bal* "dynasty" in Column 8₁₂ is sufficient proof that it dealt with the overthrow of the ruling family. We are, however, still entirely in the dark as to whether this change was preceded by a period of decline in the royal power under Libit-Ištar, or whether it was brought about by a sudden catastrophe. On the whole, it is more likely that the latter was the case. Probably it was at this juncture that Gungunum of Ur made himself independent and established his rule over the lower part of southern Babylonia from Ur to Lagaš in which latter city the high priest Enannaduma, son of King Išme-Dagan, built the šutummu of Nanna for the life of Gungunum.¹

Like most usurpers Ur-Nin IB was evidently an energetic personality who soon succeeded not only in overthrowing Gungunum and restoring the kingdom of Isin to its former power, but even engaged in successful campaigns against the country of Zabšali in the east and the Su-people in the west, and therefore was the only king of Isin, as far as we know, who could lay claim to the proud title "king of the four quarters of the world." See Chapter VIII.

^dIr-ra-i-mi-ti,² ^dir-ra-ZAG-LU (= imittu/i).³ From the date formula on a tablet from Nippur,⁴ which runs *mu* ^dir-ra-i-mi-ti *lugal-e* | *nibru*^{ki} *ki-bi* *bí-in-gí-a*,⁵ we learn that Irra-imitti restored the city of Nippur. It follows from this, of course, that previous to the restoration Nippur had been destroyed in warfare, but whether this happened in the course of an invasion of Babylonia by one of the neighboring nations or in the

¹ Cf. clay nail of Eannaduma from Mugheir.

² Tablets from Nippur; list of kings No. 5. In the former the sign for deity belongs to the whole name, the divine name *ir-ra* being written without the determinative for god; in the latter it belongs, as in *iš-bi-d*ir-ra, ll. 8 and 9, to *ir-ra*, since in list No. 5 the names of the kings of Isin are not written with the determinative for god.

³ King, *Chronicles*, No. 26472, Rev. 3.

⁴ BS 4941. The tablet will be published by Dr. Ed. Chiera as No. 19 of his volume on "Legal and Administrative Documents chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa."

⁵ "Year in which Irra-imitti, the king, after having restored to its place the city of Nippur, — — —"

course of an internal revolt, we cannot say at present. It will be observed that Irra-imitti is not the son of his predecessor Iter-piša,¹ and, therefore, we can safely assume that Irra-imitti's accession to the throne of Isin was in some way connected with the political troubles during which Nippur suffered the destruction mentioned above, the revolt perhaps being led by Irra-imitti himself. At any rate, we thus obtain at least a glimpse into the events which no doubt contributed to the decline of the political power of the kingdom of Isin during the latter half of its existence, for the dominion of the later kings, probably beginning with the time of Irra-imitti himself, but certainly with the time of Enlil-bani, seems to have been restricted to the territories of Nippur and Isin, as will be shown more at length in Chapter IX.

^dDa-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu,² da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu,³ dam-ki-ì-lí-šu.⁴ For the historical material to be derived from the inscriptions and date formulas (date-list No. 70), see Chapter IX. Note that the dates of Rim-Sin mention a city Uru-da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu,⁵ URU^{kl}-dam-ki-ì-lí-šu.⁶

^dWarad-^dsin,⁷ warad-^dsin.⁸ Note the city Uru(or äl)-warad-^dsin mentioned on a tablet dated under Rim-Sin.⁹

^dRi-im-^dsin,¹⁰ ri-im-^dsin,¹¹ ri-im-sín,¹² rîm-^dsin,¹³ son of Kudurmabuk and, therefore, brother of King Warad Sin. A sister

¹ This follows from the fact that the king-list No. 5 does not designate him as the son of Iter-piša.

² Inscriptions and date formulas of Damîq-ilišu.

³ King-list No. 5 and in uru-da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu, dates of Rim-Sin.

⁴ In URU^{kl}(=äl)-dam-ki-ì-lí-šu, date of Rim-Sin.

⁵ Mu uru!-d[a]-mi-iq-ì-lí-[šu] | [.....], B? (Strassmayer, Warka, No. 23); mu uru-dā-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu | mu-KU-bi, "year in which (Rim-Sin, the king), after having taken Al-Damiq-ilišu, ———," Nippur tablet.

⁶ URU^{kl}-dam-ki-ì-lí-šu in the date of Rim-Sin, AO 5478 (RA VIII, p. 82); see Chapter IX.

⁷ Inscriptions of Warad-Sin.

⁸ Inscriptions of Kudurmabuk (brick from Mugheir, CT 21, 33, and clay nail, RA IX, p. 122); inscriptions of Warad-Sin (brick and clay nail from Mugheir).

⁹ Thureau-Dangin, RA IX, p. 82.

¹⁰ Inscriptions of Rim-Sin, Kudurmabuk, etc.; date formulas of Rim-Sin.

¹¹ Date formulas of Rim-Sin (from the first period of his reign); date formula of the thirty-first year of Hammu-rabi.

¹² Date formula H-r 31 (VAT 666, Ungnad BA VI, p. 2).

¹³ Chronicle B.M. 96152, Obv. 9 (King, Chronicles II, p. 123).

of his, a priestess, by the name of BIL?-AN-KAL-UL is, according to Scheil,¹ mentioned on a clay cylinder of Nabu-na'id.² One of his wives was SI[.....]-^dnanna, daughter of *é*ri-^dnanna;³ another, ^dri-im-^dsin-^dša-la-ba-aš-ta-šu, daughter of a certain Sin-magir.⁴ A daughter of Rim-Sin bore the name Liriš-gamlum⁵.

¹ CR 1912, p. 680.

² In the possession of Messrs. Messayeh, Bagdad-New York.

³ Stone tablet B Obv. ¹³SI[.....]-^dnanna ¹⁴dam-ki-ág ¹⁵dri-im-^dsin Rev. ¹lugal-larsam^{kl}-ma ²dumu-sal evi-^dnanna-ge. She built the É-á-ág-gá-kili-ūr-ūr of Nin-é-gal.

⁴ Inscription of Rim-Sin-Šala-baštašu, in the possession of Messrs. Messayeh ¹³ ¹⁴ ^dri-im-^dsin-^dša-la-ba-aš-ta-šu ¹⁵dam-ki-ág ^dri-im-^dsin ¹⁶dumu-sal ^dsin-ma-gir-ge. This sin-magir is, of course, not the king of Isin, who, without doubt, would have been given his full titles by his daughter.

⁵ Ibidem: ¹²li-ri-iš-ga-am-lum dumu-sal-a-ni.

III

A HISTORY OF THE TUMMAL OF NINLIL
AT NIPPUR

A HISTORY OF THE TUMMAL OF NINLIL AT NIPPUR

No. 6

TRANSLITERATION

Beginning broken off.

- Obv. [... ..]
- 1' [d^{nin-lil tum-ma-a}]^{ki}-šù in-túm
 [a-DU]-2-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
 [d^{GI}Š-BIL-ga-mes-e GUG-bur-ra
 [(é-)]^den-lil-lá in-dū
- 5' [...]. - lugal dumu ^dGIŠ-BIL-ga-mes-ge
 [tu]m-ma-al^{ki} SI. PA-BIL-i-è
 [d^{nin-lil tum-ma-a}]^{ki}-šù in-túm
 [a-D]U-3-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
 [AN-n]a-ni GIŠ-SAR-maḥ é^den-lil-lá in-dū
- 10 [...]. - ^dnanna dumu AN-na-ni-ge
 [tum-ma-al^{ki} SI-]PA-BIL-i-è
 [d^{nin-lil tum-ma-a}]^{ki}-šù in-túm
 [a-DU-4-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
- Rev. [ur^den-gur-ge é-kur in-]dū
 [dun-gi dumu ur^dengur]-ge
 [tum-ma-al^{ki} SI. PA. BIL]-i-è
 [d^{nin-lil tum-ma-a}]^{ki}-šù in-túm
- 5 [a-DU-5-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
 [... ^dAMAR-^dsin- ...]. -ta
 [en-na ^dAMAR-^dsin lug]al-e
 [en-am-gal-an-na en^dinn]anna-unu^{ki}-ga
 [máš-e in-p]á-dé

- 10 [^dnin-lil tum-ma-al^{ki}]-šù (n)ì-láḫ-en¹
 [^diš-bi-ìr-ra é-kur-ra-igi-ga]l-la
 [é-gi-na-ab-dú² ^den-lil-]lá in-dū
 [ì(nim)-lù-^dinnanna-AŠGAB³-gal-^den-lil-lá-šù-s]ar-ra

No. 7

- Obv. , ur-^dengur-ge é-kur in-dū
 dun-gi dumu ur-^dengur-ge
 tum-ma-al^{ki} E?-PA?-BIL-i-è
^dnin-lil tum-ma-al^{ki}-šù in-tùm
 5 a-DU-5-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba?-šub
 [.]. . . . ^dAMAR?-^dsin-ka-ta
 [e]n-na ^d[AMAR?]-^dsin lugal-[e]
 [e]n-am-gal-a[n-n]a en-^dinnanna-unu^{ki}-ga
 máš-e in-pá-da
 10 ^dnin-lil tum-ma-al^{ki}-šù
 (n)ì-láḫ
 ì-lù-^dinnanna
 AŠGAB-gal-^den-lil-lá-šù-sar-ra
 ^diš-bi-ìr-ra
 Rev. é-kur-ra-igi-gál-la
 é-gi-na-ab-dú⁴ ^den-lil-lá in-dū

¹ En is probably mistake; cf. No. 7.

² Or šutum.

³ For this sign see Meissner, OLZ 1911, Col. 385.

⁴ Or šutum.

TRANSLATION

Beginning broken off.

- Obv. (and) led Ninlil into the Tummal.
 A second time, *after* the Tummal had been destroyed,
 Gilgameš built the GUG-burra of the house of Enlil
 5 (and)-lugal, the son of Gilgameš,
 ed the Tummal *anew*
 (and) led Ninlil into the Tummal.
 A third time, *after* the Tummal had (again) been
 destroyed,
 Annani built the GIŠ-SAR-maḥ of the house of Enlil
 10 (and)-Nanna, the son of Annani,
 ed the Tummal *anew*
 (and) led Ninlil into the Tummal.
 A fourth time, *after* the Tummal had (again) been
 destroyed,
- Rev. Ur-Engur built Ekur
 (and) Dungi, the son of Ur-Engur,
 ed the Tummal *anew*
 (and) led Ninlil into the Tummal.
 5 A fifth time, *after* the Tummal had (again) been
 destroyed,
 from the of AMAR-Sin
 to (the year) in which AMAR-Sin, the king,
invested
 En-am-gal-nun-na, the high priest of Ištar of Uruk,
 10 Ninlil went to the Tummal.
 11 *According to* the word which was sent to Lu-Innanna,
 the chief aškap of Enlil,
 13 Išbi-Irra built E-kurra-igi-galla,
 the sutummu of Ninlil.

The Tummal mentioned in our text is a certain quarter of the city or of the sacred precinct of Nippur, as is evident from the fact that it is provided with the determinative *ki*. Evidently it is the district sacred to Ninlil, since in our text this goddess is led or carried into the Tummal; moreover, according to CT 24, 5 Col. 29, 22₁₆₈ and 39₁₃(!), she bore the name ^dNIN-TUM-MA-AL¹ "Lady of the Tummal,"² and her sacred boat, according to K 4378 Col. 5₂₄, was called ^{giš}má-tum-ma-al "the boat of Tummal." In 5 R 21_{22 e.d} tum-ma-al is translated *ku-še-ra-tú*, which is the plural of *ku-še-ru*, by which the preceding line translates the Sumerian *ku-še-ir*; the meaning of this word, however, is at present no less dark than that of *tummal* itself. This much, however, is certain from this translation that *tummal* was not merely a proper name, but had an appellative meaning. The Tummal, written as in our case with the determinative *ki*, also occurs in the tablets from Drehem³ and Telloh⁴ as a certain locality in these cities, a fact which corroborates the conclusion just drawn.

At the beginning of our text apparently only one section is missing, namely, that relating the first construction of the Tummal, for the words *a-DU-2-kam* do evidently not belong to the sentence "the Tummal was destroyed," in which case it would be necessary to assume another missing section dealing with the first decline or destruction and subsequent restoration of the Tummal; they have, no doubt, to be taken together with the verbs *in-dū* "he built" and *i-è* "he . . . ed" in the sentences following the phrase *tummal bašub*, which latter therefore has to be taken as a kind of parenthetical retrospective description and for this reason has been translated above as a temporal clause with the verb in the pluperfect.

Concerning the various buildings or parts of the Tummal

¹ CT 24, 5 Col. 29 has a gloss *e-gi* between NIN and TUM, but whether this gloss refers to the whole name or only to TUM-MA-AL, we cannot say. Is *e-gi* perhaps a mistake for *e-ri-eš*? In this case we should read ^d*ereš-tum-ma-al*.

² In her character as Ninlil ša nišē, according to the last mentioned passage.

³ De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, 556₁₁; 557₈₇.

⁴ *E. g.*, Reisner, *Tempelurkunden* 154 Col. 215.

and of the temple of Enlil mentioned in our history, namely, the GUG-bur-ra of the house of Enlil, the GIŠ-SAR-maḥ, *i. e.*, "the sublime garden," of the house of Enlil, and the é-gi-na-ab-dú of Enlil we know practically nothing. In the vocabulary, No. 106 Col. 6₂₁, é-gi-na-ab-dú is translated šu-tu-um-mu which usually has been given the meaning of "granary," though this is probably wrong.¹ According to the passage just mentioned, the Sumerian pronunciation is [šu-]tu-um, the Akkadian sutummu therefore being a loan word from the Sumerian; the fact, however, that we also find the writing é-gi-na-ab-dum² instead of é-gi-na-ab-dú, seems to indicate that the Sumerians also read phonetically é-ginabdu and é-ginabdum.³ According to his clay cone Enannaduma built a šutum for Šamaš at Ur, calling it "his," *i. e.*, Šamaš's, "holy šutum," šutum-azag-ga-ni, which corresponds entirely to the šu-tu-um-mi el-lim in Gilg. Ep. I, Col. 1₁₀.

The GIŠ-SAR-maḥ of the house of Enlil is no doubt the sacred garden of Enlil, but as it is "built," it must at the same time be some kind of a structure. Since it is expressly stated that it is the garden "of the house of Enlil," the explanation suggests itself that it formed part of the house itself which it will be remembered mythologically represented a mountain, as is indicated by its name E-kur. This garden of Enlil may then perhaps be compared, at least in some respects, with the gignû of Aia, of which Hammurabi in the introduction to his code of laws, Col. 2₂₆₋₂₈, says that he clad it in "green," *i. e.*, "green plants,"⁴ etc.

¹ Notice, *e. g.*, that Gilgameš is said to have built the holy šutummu (šutummi ellim) Eanna; šutummu is here evidently in apposition to Eanna, contrary to the view of Jensen, KB VI, 2, p. 424; but even if this be not the case, the co-ordination of Eanna and the šutummu seems to exclude a meaning "granary."

² Enannaduma, clay cone from Ur.

³ Or is the dum in é-gi-na-ab-dum simply due to the influence of the pronunciation šutum?

⁴ A translation "grave" for gignû in the passage mentioned above, is entirely unwarranted, although conversely a grave might at times very well be called a gignû.

IV

TRANSCRIPTION OF EN-ŠAKUŠ-ANNA

TRANSCRIPTION OF EN-ŠAKUŠ-ANNA

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

<p> ^dEn-lil lugal-kur-kur-ra en-šà-kúš-an-na en ki-en-gi lugal kalam-ma û dingir-ri-ne e-na-NI-èš-a kiš(i)^{ki} mu-ḥul en-bí-ešdar lugal kiš(i)^{ki} mu-KU lù!-upi^{ki}-ka-ge lù-kiš(i)^{ki}-ge uru na-ga-ḥul-a! [giš-] nig-ga [.....]-ne Lacuna [šu-ne-]ne-a¹ mu-ne-gí¹ alan-bi kù-za-gín-bi </p>	<p> To Enlil, lord of the countries: En-šakuš-anna, lord of Kengi, king of Kalam, when the gods had to him, and he had devastated Kiš and captured Enbi-Ištar king of Kiš, the man of Upi (and) the man of Kiš, in order that the cities he might not destroy, their(?) and their (?) property Lacuna into their hands he returned, (but) their statues, their precious metal and pre- cious stones, </p>
--	---

¹ The plural pronouns refer to the man of Upi and the man of Kiš.

giš-nig-ga-bi	their wood(en utensils) and furniture
^d en-lil-la ¹	he presented
a-mu-na-ru	to Enlil.

The small fragment of a vase published as No. 29 is of great historical value because it proves that two sets of fragmentary vase inscriptions already known² form part of a single inscription, thereby enabling us to establish the important fact that the kings En-šakuš-anna and Enbi-lštar were contemporaries and opponents in the war which ended with the capture of Enbi-lštar and the devastation of Kiš. It will be seen that the inscription existed in a shorter and a longer version; the text of the former is now completely recovered, while of the latter only a few lines are missing.³ The fragment No. 28 is published here, because it helps to establish the correct reading and interpretation of a passage heretofore only fragmentarily known.

From the text as now recovered we see that at the time when the inscriptions were written, or at least shortly before, Babylonia was divided into a southern and a northern kingdom. Judging from the Semitic name of the northern king and the Sumerian name of the southern king, this conflict between North and South was clearly one of different races, the Semitic element predominating in the North, the Sumerians in the South. The capital of the northern state was Kiš as follows from the title of Enbi-lštar, but an equally important city of the latter's kingdom was Upi; it will be remembered that this city is mentioned in the same close connection with Kiš in the inscriptions of Eannadu of Lagaš in which he relates

¹ ^dEn-lil-la from ^den-lil-ra; for the assimilation of the dative r to a preceding l and for the writing of the resulting syllable la with the sign la, not lá, see my article: "Die Genetivkonstruktion im Sumerischen" in *Babyloniaca* IV, p. 00.

² OBI 102—105, 110; OBI 90—92.

³ The additional text of the longer inscription is marked by indentation in the transliteration and translation.

his various encounters with the king of Kiš and Upi. En-šakuš-anna, the southern ruler, on the other hand, styles himself "lord of kengi" and "king of the land." The latter title is likewise borne by Lugal-zaggisi in his vase inscriptions, where it follows the title "king of Uruk," as well as by Šarru-kin of Agade besides his other titles "king of Kiš" and "king of Agade." It will be shown in Chapter VI that by adopting the title "king of the land" the latter king evidently desired to designate himself as ruler over Southern Babylonia and as legal successor to Lugal-zaggisi, while his title king of Kiš lays claim to the rights of the north Babylonian kingdom. Kalam "the land" is itself a designation of Southern Babylonia, the same as kengi, which, moreover, is probably the same word as kalam.¹ The titles en ki-en-gi and lugal kalam-ma, if taken in their strictest sense, express therefore a claim to dominion over identical territories; nevertheless, the mere fact that they appear side by side as titles of En-šakuš-anna is sufficient proof that there was an actual difference between them. In fact, taking together all evidence concerning the use of kengi and kalam in the various royal titles, there can be hardly any doubt that the nam-en ki-en-gi denotes the dominion over Southern Babylonia as conferred upon the ruler by Enlil, the god of Nippur, while the title lugal kalam-ma goes together with the kingship or enship of Uruk, the city of An and Innanna. As to ki-en-gi compare, *e. g.*, the equation ki-en-gi = nibru^{ki} in King, STC I, p. 217, l. 5; the connection of the nam-lugal kalam-ma with Uruk, on the other hand, is clear from Lugal-zaggisi's titles lugal-unu^{ki} lugal-kalam-ma, as well as from the fact that Šarru-kin couples the latter with the religious title "pašišu of Anu," while his title "king of Kiš" bears the same relation to the religious title "vicegerent of Innanna (of Kiš)."

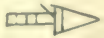

¹ Cf. the dialectical form (Eme-sal) kanag(g) for kalam(m) "land." Kengi, stem kengir, must be a very old form of a third Sumerian dialect, and was preserved only as a geographical name in the classical idiom (and even as such only as archaism, because the more modern kalam was used in the same geographical meaning).


Although both *en* and *lugal* mean "lord," yet *en* is used exclusively as a hierocratic title which may be rendered as "princely high priest," while *lugal* is employed as purely social or political title. We may perhaps conclude that En-šakuš-anna was originally *en* of *kengi* and became king of the land only after the conquest of Uruk, a conclusion which finds a strong support in the fact that he bears a typical high priestly name beginning with the word *en* "lord," *i. e.*, "high priest," followed by a substantive, which stands in apposition to *en* and is usually connected with an adjective, and by the genitive *anna*, "of Heaven" or "of Anu," which is dependent on the mentioned substantive. Unfortunately En-šakuš-anna himself, in his inscriptions, gives us no direct information in which of the Babylonian cities he began his career; this, however, seems certain that just as in the case of Lugal-zaggisi, Uruk was considered by him the natural capital of his kingdom.

The war between En-šakuš-anna and King Enbi-lštar of Kiš led to the capture of the city of Kiš and of Enbi-lštar himself. However, whether this brought about the complete overthrow of the northern kingdom we cannot say with certainty, though it seems to be likely, at least for a short period. According to the shorter inscriptions the city of Kiš was devastated by En-šakuš-anna; but according to the passage which is found only in the longer inscriptions, the citizens of Upi and Kiš offered him all their movable possessions that he might not destroy their cities, and although the next lines unfortunately are missing, nevertheless the mere fact that En-šakuš-anna mentions this incident in his inscriptions, evidently indicates that he granted their request. When the inscription again sets in, we read that he returned something, apparently their cities, to them, but all the sculptures, the precious metal, the precious stones and all kinds of goods he carried away and presented them, or at least a part of them, to the temple of Enlil at Nippur.

This testimony for the practice of carrying away the sculptures from conquered cities is very interesting, as it shows

that such works of art were highly valued by the Babylonians; in fact, in our inscriptions they are mentioned even before gold, silver and precious stones.

The approximate time of En-šakuš-anna and Enbi-Ištar, at least with regard to the Babylonian dynasties now known, can be determined with sufficient certainty by the following considerations. First, it is impossible to place the two kings in the period of 453 years which elapsed between the beginning of the dynasty of Upi and the end of the dynasty of Uruk following that of Agade, because either En-šakuš-anna as ruler of Southern Babylonia or Enbi-Ištar as ruler of Northern Babylonia would be mentioned among the kings of the ruling dynasties, which, however, is not the case, although the Babylonian chronologist enumerates North Babylonian kings of Kiš, Upi and Agade and South Babylonian kings of Uruk in uninterrupted sequence. Nor is it possible to place the two kingdoms in the period of 159 years of the rule of Gutium; for if En-šakuš-anna and Enbi-Ištar who together ruled over the whole of Babylonia, had reigned at that time, the chronologist would certainly have broken the time of the foreign rule in two periods and inserted the native dynasties of Kiš and Uruk somewhere between the first and second rule of Gutium. There remains therefore no other possibility than to place En-šakuš-anna and Enbi-Ištar either before the kingdom of Upi or more than 612 years later after Utu-ḫegal, the liberator of Babylonia from the yoke of Gutium. Palæographical evidence, however, shows clearly that only the first possibility can seriously be taken into account, since the script of En-šakuš-anna's inscriptions in some particulars is more archaic than that of the inscriptions of Lugal-zaggisi. The sign for bi in En-šakuš-anna's inscriptions, *i. g.*, has the forms  and , *i. e.*, with the additional slanting stroke or triangle which represents the handle(?) of the jug originally depicted by the sign, cf. OBI 1059; 110_{3, 4, 5}. In the inscriptions of Lugal-zaggisi, those of the kings of Agade, as well as any later

inscription, on the other hand, the sign always appears in the simplified form . In OBI 102, though not in the other inscriptions of En-šakuš-anna, the inner strokes of the sign ki are spreading in somewhat the fashion of a fan, which is never observed in the inscriptions of Lugal-zaggisi. It is quite inconceivable that these features should have to be attributed to intentional archaisms, for the rough engravings on the vases of En-šakuš-anna do not suggest the slightest intention of the scribe to deviate from the then current way of drawing the signs. Thus we have to place En-šakuš-anna and Enbi-lštar before the dynasty of Upi, *i. e.*, somewhat more than two hundred years before Lugal-zaggisi. This result, moreover, explains very satisfactorily the fact that in our inscriptions Kiš and Upi are the most important cities of Northern Babylonia; for the first two dynasties of the period for which the sequence of the kings is again known, show Babylonia under kings of these two cities.

Assuming that En-šakuš-anna succeeded at least in assuming the leadership of Babylonia after his success over Kiš, we should have to assume the following succession of Babylonian kingdoms:

Second (?) kingdom of Kiš.

.....
Enbi-lštar

Second (?) kingdom of Uruk (?)

Enšakušanna

.....
Kingdom of Upi.

V

THE EVENTS OF EANNADU'S REIGN

THE EVENTS OF EANNADU'S REIGN

The value of the historical material to be derived from the inscriptions of Eannadu, išakku of Lagaš, has been considerably underestimated because of the assumption that the events mentioned in them are not enumerated in their historical sequence. King,¹ *e. g.*, although for no obvious reason, assumes that the enumeration was made on a rough geographical scale and consequently feels at liberty to contract several chronologically separated events into one, while Eduard Meyer,² though assuming a chronological order for the first part of the enumeration, nevertheless sees only a résumé of previously mentioned events in the second half of the account in the inscriptions. Against these assumptions it must be said that in none of the older Babylonian inscriptions can a parallel for these alleged repetitions be found and that therefore such a repetition in our case is by no means likely. Note also that the account, although in all cases that we can control beginning with the same events, is not carried on to the same point in all inscriptions, a fact which finds a satisfactory explanation only in the assumption that at the time when these inscriptions were written the additional events related in other inscriptions had not yet taken place and therefore could not be recorded. But the best proof for the chronological order will be found in the internal congruity of the following outline of Eannadu's career.

As the first events of Eannadu's reign three peaceful works are recorded, namely, the restoration of the city of Girsu, the construction of the wall of Uru-azag, and the building, or

¹ HSA, p. 147 ff.

² Die Kriege Eannatums von Lagaš, SbKPAW 1912, p. 1094.

possibly the rebuilding, of the city of Nina.¹ From this fact it is evident that Girsu had previously been destroyed, which event, for aught we know at present, probably took place during the reign of Eannadu's father Akurgal; for Akurgal, though Eannadu calls him king in one passage, is elsewhere given only the title išakku, which means that, at least in the later part of his reign, he no longer laid claim to the title of king which his father Ur-Nina had borne. This loss of the royal title, no doubt, was the consequence of some political disaster, and it may very well be that Girsu was destroyed when this took place; whether Uru-azag, "the holy city," and the city of Nina had been destroyed at the same time, we have no means of knowing. We see clearly that the young išakku tries to strengthen his political power by erecting strong fortifications. The three works are recorded in all inscriptions that treat of this first period of Eannadu's reign, except in Brick A, where the construction of the wall of Uru-azag is omitted, evidently through an oversight.

After the preparatory works just mentioned, the completion of which, of course, must have required several years, Eannadu embarks on a series of daring military enterprises, which in the inscriptions are enumerated in the following sequence: (1) war with the mountain country of Elam to the east of Lagaš; (2) war with the išakku of the unknown city of URU + A; (3) war with the neighboring išakku of Umma, north of Lagaš; (4 and 5) war with Uruk and Ur in the west; (6) war with Ki-babbar; (7-9) war with the otherwise unknown cities of Uru-az, Mešime and A-RŪ-a.²

In all these conflicts with his neighbors Eannadu was victorious; but with the exception of the war with Umma, we know nothing of the causes that led to them, and only a few scanty details as to the final outcome, at least in so far as this was favorable to Eannadu. As regards the first and second enterprises, for example, the inscriptions refer only to a battle

¹ Foundation-stone A 36-11.

² Foundation-stone A 312-411.

in the high mountains of Elam and a battle over against URU+A, in which the išakku of the hostile city himself fought at the head of his troops; after either victory Eannadu triumphantly piled up a mound of slain enemies.

As regards the war with Umma, the third enterprise, we are considerably better informed, since it is referred to somewhat more at length on the stele commemorating the subsequent treaty with Umma,¹ and likewise is mentioned in a very important historical review at the beginning of an inscription of Entemena, Eannadu's nephew.² According to the latter the išakku Uš of Umma had invaded the territory of Lagaš and, as we must infer, had especially appropriated the so-called Gu-edin of Ningirsu, a territory the tithes of which evidently belonged to the temple of this god. The inscription does not state whether this event, as is generally assumed, took place at the time of Eannadu immediately before his own attack on Umma, or whether it had taken place before he began to rule over Lagaš; the latter, however, was evidently the case, since the statement that Eannadu restored the Guedin to Ningirsu, indicates that this territory had been in the hands of Umma for some time. It is by no means impossible, that the territory was seized by the Ummites at the time of the calamity during the reign of A-kurgal, of which we have spoken before; for in the damaged second column of the stele of vultures, which evidently deals with the previous conflicts between Lagaš and Umma, A-kurgal is mentioned immediately after the people of Umma, which shows that this išakku was engaged in a feud with them. A longer occupation of the territory is also made likely by the complaint in the sixth column of the stele that the išakku of Umma together with the people of Umma(?) "eats" the Guedin, the beloved field of Ningirsu, *i. e.*, that he enjoys the usufruct of the fields. Moreover, this assumption would easily explain why the inscriptions mention Enakalli as išakku of Umma, contemporary with Eannadu.

¹ Stele of Vultures.

² Clay cone of Entemena.

without alluding to the supposed replacement of Uš by this išakku. It seems that after his success in Elam Eannadu considered the time ripe for again taking possession of the lost territory. On the strength of an oracle or some other sign from Enlil, by which Ningirsu was ordered to fight against Umma,¹ Eannadu invaded the territory of this city and in a pitched battle routed its forces. Umma itself was stormed and Eannadu, to use his own words, raged in its midst like the deluge demon. How fierce the fighting in the battle must have been, may easily be judged from Eannadu's boast that he piled up twenty mounds of slain. Enakalli of Umma then submitted to a treaty by which the old frontier, which seems to have been much nearer to Umma than to Lagaš, was restored, and Enakalli himself became, if not in name, at least in fact, the vassal of Lagaš.

The fourth and fifth enterprises, the war or wars with Uruk and Ur, show that Eannadu at once followed up his decisive victory over Umma by attacking the western part of Southern Babylonia. The inscriptions merely state that he vanquished the two cities in two separate battles, the first of which was fought with the Urukites, the other with the people of Ur; but from the similar laconic description of his victory over Umma we must infer that he took possession of the two cities themselves, treating them, no doubt, in a similar manner as the city of Umma, and so evidently also the city of Ki-babbar, which he defeated in a third battle.² As in some of the inscrip-

¹ See *Babyloniaca* IV p. 206.

² The city of ki-^dbabbar, foundation-stone A Col. 410, ki-babbar-k[a], B Col. 414, is perhaps, as Dhorme has pointed out in *OLZ* No. 8 Col. 34, identical with the city of ki-bal-bar-ru^{kl}, 2 R 60, 1 Col. 185, ki-bal-bar-rú^{kl}, 4 R 36[38] 3 Col. 216; under the latter form the city is mentioned in the date formula of the 4th year of Sumu-abum: mu bád ki-bal-bar-rú^{kl} ba-dū = "year after the wall of Kibalbarru was built," as well as in the date of the 17th year of Hammu-rabi: mu ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e alam-^dinnanna-ki-bal-bar-rú^{kl} sag-an-šū-mu-un-il?-..... = "year in which King Hammu-rabi, after having made high as Heaven an image of Innanna of Kibalbarru," Since Hammu-rabi's rule in his 16th and 17th year, so far as we know, reached only to some point between Kiš and Nippur, and since, on the other hand, Eannadu would naturally first have to encounter the resistance of a North-Babylonian city near the dividing line between North and South, we may conclude that Kibabbar was situated in the southernmost part of Northern Babylonia. Ki-babbar was an important city at the time of the dynasty of Agade, standing under its own išakku; cf. ⁴zu-zu ⁵dumu ur-amar-da⁶ DUMU-DUMV i-ki-lum ⁷ISAG ⁸ki-babbar^{kl}, Maništuš, Obelisk, C, Col. 2.

tions the battles with Ur and Ki-babbar are omitted, we may suppose that the one fought with Uruk was the most important, all three battles perhaps occurring in the same campaign.¹

The cities of Uruaz, Mišime and *Arua*, against which the seventh, eighth and ninth enterprises were directed and which, no doubt, were situated outside of Babylonia, however, were treated more severely. The first two were sacked and the išakku of Uruaz was killed, while the city of *Arua* was completely destroyed.

How long a period we have to assume for these successful enterprises of Eannadu, we are not able to say; only this seems to be certain that they extended over several years. There is, *e. g.*, hardly any doubt that the invasion of Elam, the attack upon Umma, the occupation of Uruk and Ur, and the raid into the foreign countries belong, each of them, to a separate year, so that we may assume a period of at least four or five years.

The enterprises of which we have spoken form a well-defined section in the inscriptions, comprising the lines 3₁₂-4₁₉ on foundation-stone A and marked as an independent section by placing the name of Eannadu at its beginning. It treats of those events by which Lagaš became the leading power in Southern Babylonia; and indeed, the stele of vultures evidently had a remark to that effect at the end of the corresponding section, for the words šu-è ki-en-gi, ". . . . Sumer," Rev. 8_{3,4}, no doubt stated that Eannadu at that time exercised hegemony over Southern Babylonia.

With the new section, 4_{20ff}, we enter upon the period of Eannadu's greatest successes. While up to this time his achievements were restricted to Elam and Southern Babylonia, we see him now engaged in a conflict with the North then forming the kingdom of Upi. The city of Upi, the later Opis, was situated on the Tigris in the northernmost part of Babylonia, from which we may probably conclude that the boundaries of the kingdom of Upi stretched much farther north into the

¹ Note, however, that Brick B Col. 2₁₀₋₁₁ mentions only the defeat of Ur.

territory of Assyria. The inscriptions of Eannadu themselves indicate the broadening of his sphere of action by the introductory statement that all the foreign lands¹ engaged in war with him.² This passage is of special interest since it shows that at the time of Eannadu, at least from the Sumerian standpoint, Northern Babylonia clearly was included in the term *kur-kur*, for in the immediate continuation the inscription speaks exclusively of the king of Upi. We have in this another proof that Northern Babylonia was then as at other times inhabited or at least dominated by a different race, namely, the Semites, although, of course, of itself it would not be impossible that Northern Babylonia had then fallen into the hands of a non-Semitic people.

In the inscription on Brick B the statement referring to the foreign land precedes the account of the destruction of the city of *Arua* with which the inscription closes. This is, however, by no means remarkable, since *Arua* probably is a foreign city, and as such its destruction could very well be related in the new section of the narrative. This oscillation in the dividing up of the various sections, moreover, may even indicate that the north-Babylonian war now beginning was a continuation of the previous wars, or rather developed out of them. Apparently the king of Upi feared the constant

¹ *Kur-kur-rí*; *kur*, "foreign land," is perhaps of the same origin as the word *kúr* "foreign," "different," "strange," "hostile," and originally meant simply "die Fremde." As the Sumerians dwelt in the plain and the hostile foreigners chiefly came from the Zagros range and the mountains in Kurdistan, etc., it seems that later on the idea of "mountain" also became associated with the term *kur*.

² Thureau-Dangin translates the phrase *é-an-na-du...da kur-kur-rí sag-e-da-síg* "von Eannadu... wurde den Ländern der Kopf zerschmettert;" but as I have pointed out on various occasions, the combination *e-da-lal* has active force; the active subject of the sentence, moreover, is clearly *kur-kur-rí*, denoted as such by the subject-*e*.

The construction with *da* and the context show that the phrase *X-da sag—dá-síg* expresses an idea like "to fight with somebody," corresponding to the phrases *X-da dam-ḫa-ra—da-(š)ā*, *X-da* ^{§15}*tukul—da-síg*. As ^{§15}*tukul—síg* means "to smite with one's weapons," *sag—síg* might mean literally "to smite with one's head," *i. e.*, to gore like a bull with his horns; *X-da sag—dá-síg*, corresponding to *X-da* ^{§15}*tukul—da-síg*, then would be "to fight with somebody with one's horns (like a bull);" but whether this is the right explanation, our material does not allow us definitely to decide at the present time. In some of the passages where the word occurs a meaning "to revolt" would fit very well.

growth of the power of the southern išakku, and as soon as Eannadu began to direct his attentions beyond the boundaries of Southern Babylonia, he attacked him. For aught we know, Eannadu himself had up to that time been the aggressor in his various martial enterprises; that now, however, the situation changed, is clearly indicated by the different wording of the introductory phrase; for the latter does no longer state that Eannadu waged war with the foreign lands, but on the contrary asserts that the foreign countries make war on Eannadu.¹ In fact, the inscription presently tells us that Zuzu, king of Upi, invades the territory of Lagaš, advancing as far as the Antasurra of Ningirsu, a certain territory somewhere in the vicinity of Lagaš, probably to the north, belonging, like the Gu-edin, to the temple of Ningirsu. But Eannadu promptly routed the king of Upi and with continual slaughter pursued him to his very capital, so that almost none of Zuzu's army was saved when he arrived there.² Upi itself was perhaps not conquered, but Northern Babylonia south of the territory of Upi proper, and especially the important city of Kiš, fell into Eannadu's hands.

The išakku is now at the acme of his career. Now is the time when the stele of vultures was dedicated, and it will be observed that Eannadu in the inscription on this monument has changed his title to "king of Lagaš."³ It is probably only a short time later that, as we learn from the inscription on foundation-stone A, the priests of Innanna at Kiš, or if we adopt the phrasing of the Babylonian theologians, the Goddess Innanna herself, proclaimed him king of Kiš,⁴ a title much prouder than "king of Lagaš," since in the earliest legendary times of Babylonian history it had stood for dominion over the whole world.

¹ Foundation-stone A Col. 420-24. See the preceding note.

² Cf. 52-3: "From the antasurra of Ningirsu he slew and annihilated the king of Upi as far as Upi." This does not, of course, mean that Zuzu himself was slain, which undoubtedly would have been expressed by zu-zu . . . mu-üş, the phrase used, e. g., 414 of the išakku of Uru-az.

³ Stele of Vultures, Rev. 542.

⁴ Foundation-stone A Col. 520-65.

It seems that after the complete defeat of Zuzu and the extension of Eannadu's power to the north a short period of peace began for Babylonia, since Eannadu then commenced to dig a new canal to Lagaš, which he called after his own name Lum-ma-dím-šár, that is, "prosperous(?) like Lumma;"¹ for, as the passage expressly states, the išakku had a second name besides Eannadu, namely, Lumma, which perhaps means "the prosperous one."²

But before the canal was finished—only the excavating had been done and it still remained to line its walls with bricks—Eannadu was again drawn into the vortex of warfare. The Elamites began hostilities by invading Southern Babylonia. Eannadu drove them back to their country, according to his statement,³ but as he fails to make any further comment on this success, it is evident that at any rate he was not able to follow up his success by an invasion of Elam itself; for in the meanwhile Kiš in Northern Babylonia had revolted and even taken the offensive against Eannadu. As the immediate continuation speaks only of the king of Upi as the adversary of Eannadu, this king must have been the soul of the attack, but the extreme brevity of the narration does not allow us to say whether then he himself had again taken possession of Kiš or whether an independent king had established himself

¹ Foundation-stone A Col. 59-19.

² The passage from 59-19, the meaning of which has not been heretofore understood, must be translated: "At that time he dug a new canal for Ningirsu and called its name Lumma-dim-šar after Lumma, the GĪR-GĪR name of Eannadu, Eannadu being his U-RUM name."

Is GĪR-GĪR perhaps Tidnum? In this case we should have to suppose that the family of Eannadu had immigrated into Babylonia from the West. A satisfactory explanation for U-RUM, however, cannot yet be offered.

Grammatically the passage is very interesting on account of a complicated anticipatory construction. The complex é-an-na-du-ma lum-ma-a 510-11 belongs to the sentence mu mu-na-sà 519, but is placed before the sentence ^dnin-gir-su-ra a-gibil mu-na-dun, the consequence of which is that the latter sentence now forms only a kind of parenthesis. Within the anticipated group é-an-na-du-ma . . . lum-ma-a the first word é-an-na-du-ma again represents an anticipated genitive which is later taken up by the possessive pronoun ni; literally, therefore, the passage runs "of Eannadu his U-RUM-name," etc., that is, "the U-RUM name of Eannadu." See the rules for this construction in my paper: *Die Genetivkonstruktion im Sumerischen, Babyloniaca IV, p. 203, No. 5.*

³ Foundation-stone A Col. 66-3.

in this city.¹ The text only states that Eannadu drove the king of Upi back to his land.²

This rather modest statement, which makes no mention of a pitched battle, as well as the similar statement concerning the preceding repulsion of the Elamites must perhaps be taken as an indication that Eannadu himself was entirely kept on the defensive, the Elamites and the Northerners perhaps retreating only temporarily, in order to collect new forces; in fact, the following group of events, which begins with 6₁₂, shows us Eannadu again attacked in his own territory from the east as well as from the north, and in both cases the foes are reinforced by new allies. Together with the Elamites we find the people of the cities of Šubur(?) and of URU + A arrayed against him, whereas Kiš and Upi are allied with the kingdom of Mari. The fact that this comparatively remote state assists the adversaries of Eannadu, however, is a clear indication of the strong position held by the ruler of Lagaš and of the fear of the allies that he might again succeed in forcing his supremacy on Babylonia. Kiš and Upi here appear clearly as two different states, the former constituting, in this period at least, a kingdom independent of Upi.

This time Eannadu defeated the aggressors in two pitched battles; that against the Easterners was fought at a place called the Suḥur-water or the Suḥur-canal, which probably was situated to the east of Lagaš; the battle against the Northerners took place again, as on the previous occasion, in the Antasurra of Ningirsu.³ These victories were decisive and secured Eannadu, at least for some time, against further attacks from the east as well as from the north, as may be concluded from Eannadu's renewed building activity. It will be noted

¹ But note that in Col. 12 of the reverse of the stele of vultures the words *lug[al] ki[š(i)] ki[š(i)](?)* occur. The king of Kiš mentioned here, is of course not identical with the king of Upi, who is mentioned in foundation-stone A 6₁₀. Whether the sign *al* in the preceding panel begins the name of the king, is entirely uncertain; nor is it very likely that Col. 12 represents the *cartouche* of the king of Kiš, Col. 12 evidently belonging together with Cols. 10 and 11.

² Foundation-stone A Col. 6₁₀, 11.

³ Foundation-stone A Col. 6₁₂₋₇₃.

that in the introductory phrase of the section treating of these successes Eannadu proudly calls himself, with reference to his victories, "Ningirsu's humiliator of the foreign lands;" nevertheless, his power was now considerably restricted, as is evident from the fact that he again has to content himself with the modest title "išakku of Lagaš," and although there is no reason why we should not assume that he was still the most powerful dynast of Southern Babylonia, yet there seems to have been established a kind of political equilibrium which secured the peace for some time.

Immediately after the battle with the northern confederates Eannadu finished the canal begun before the last wars, lining its walls with bricks and solemnly dedicating it to Ningirsu.¹ Some time later² he built a huge basin fed by this canal and having a capacity of 3600 kor of water, as he expressly states.³ Still later⁴ he built the "tiraš-palace" and dedicated it to his tutelary god DUN-X.⁵

This is the last we know of the achievements of Eannadu. His successor was not a son, but a brother of his, Enannadu.⁶ We do not know the reason for this break in the succession, but similar cases seem to suggest that the warlike išakku became the victim of a final catastrophe, which placed his brother upon the throne and, at the same time, ushered in a period of political weakness for Lagaš, from which it again arose only under Entemena, the son of Enannadu.

As we see from this sketch of his career, Eannadu played a very important part in the history of Babylonia during this period. The fact that he occupied, though only for a short time, the throne of Kiš, doubtless gave him a place in the list of kings, and it is therefore of great importance to determine

¹ Foundation-stone A Col. 73-4.

² Indicated by the fact that the following statement forms a new section beginning with Eannadu's name.

³ Foundation-stone A Col. 77-13.

⁴ Again indicated by Eannadu's name at the beginning of the sentence

⁵ Foundation-stone A Col. 714-20.

⁶ We do not know, however, whether Enannadu was the immediate successor of Eannadu.

his chronological relation to the dynasties known to us from the recovered portions of the list. As the script of his and his successors' inscriptions leaves no doubt that Eannadu and his successors preceded Lugal-zaggisi, we have to place them before the dynasties of Upi and Kiš known from Scheil's list, since neither Eannadu as king of Kiš nor his contemporary Zuzu of Upi is enumerated among the rulers of Upi and Kiš. The fact that up to the present time only seven išakkus between Eannadu and Lugal-zaggisi are known from Telloh tablets,¹ cannot, of course, be cited as a proof against this conclusion, since the excavations may at any time result in the discovery of the now missing išakkus, quite apart from the possibility that Lagaš may not have been inhabited for some time.

The sequence of old Babylonian rulers, as far as it can be ascertained from our inscriptions, is therefore the following:

Mesilim, king of Kiš

At least several generations; among other rulers perhaps

Enbi-Ištar, king of Kiš.

En-šakuš-anna, king of Uruk?

.....

Zuzu, king of Upi.

Eannadu, king of Kiš.

.....

Second (?) kingdom of Upi.

Fourth (?) kingdom of Kiš.

¹ Thureau-Dangin counts ten reigns from Ur Nina to Uru-kagina, RA IX, p. 37, note 4.

VI

INSCRIPTIONS OF KINGS OF AGADE

INSCRIPTIONS OF KINGS OF AGADE

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

No. 34

A. AND B. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN IN SUMERIAN AND AKKADIAN

	Col. 1.	Col. 2.	
a.	[šar-um ¹ -GI(= kin)]	[šar-ru ^m -GI(= kin)]	Šarru-kin,
	[lugal]	[šàr]	king
	[ag-gi-dé ^{ki}]	[a-ga-dé ^{ki}]	of Agade,
	[maškim?]	[MAŠKIM-GI] ²	<i>vicegerent</i>
5	[^d innanna]	5 [^d innanna]	of Ištar,
	[lu]gal [kiš(i)]	[šàr kiš(i)]	king of Kiš,
	[paš]iš-an-na	[pà-šiš AN(= anim)]	pašišu of Anum,
	lugal	[šàr]	king
	kalam-ma	KALAM-MA ^{ki} (= matim)	of the land,
10	isa(g)-gal	10 ISAG(= išak)	great išakku
	^d en-lil	^d en-lil	of Enlil:
	uru unu ^{ki}	URU ^{ki} (= âl) | uruk ^{ki}	the city of Uruk
	e-ḫul	SAG-GIŠ-RA(= inâr)	he smote
	bád-bi	15 ù | BĀD(= dâr)-su	and its wall
15	e-ga- . . .	(N)Ī-GUL-GUL	he destroyed.
	lù-unu ^{ki} -ga-[da	in KAS-x(= taḫazi)	With the people of Uruk
	^{giš} tukul	uruk ^{ki}	he
	e-da-sig		battled ³
20	tún-KĀR	20 LAM+KUR-ar(= išâr)	and he

¹ See footnote to 32b.

² See inscription *b*.

³ Akkadian text: in a battle he vanquished Uruk, or perhaps better: in the battle with Uruk he gained the victory.

	e-ni[-sì]		routed them.
	lug[al-zag-|gi-si]	lugal-zag-|gi-si	With Lugal-zaggisi,
	[lugal]	šàr	king
25	[unu ^{ki} -ga-da]	uruk ^{ki}	of Uruk,
	[^{giš} tukul]	25 in KAS-x (= taḥazi)	he
	[e-da-sīg]		battled
	e-ga-KU	ŠU-DŪ-A(=qatsu iqšud) ¹	and he captured him ²
	^{giš} si-gar-ta	in SI-GAR NE-RU ³	and in fetters
30	ká ^d -en-lil-|lá-šù	a-na KĀ(=bâbi) ^d en-lil	he led him
	e[-t]úm	ú-ru-u[š] ⁴	through the gate of Enlil.
	[šar-um ⁵ -GI(=kin)]	30 [š]ar-ru-GI(=kin)	Šarru-kin,
	lugal	šàr	king
35	[a]g-gi-dé ^{ki}	a-ga-dé ^k	of Agade,
	lù-urí ^{ki}-|ma-da	in KAS-x	battled with the
40	^{giš} tukul | e-da-sīg	urí ^{ki}	man of Ur
	tún-KĀR | e-ni-sì	35 LAM+KUR-ar	and vanquished him;
	uru-ni	ù | URU ^{ki} (=âlam)	his city
	e-ga-	SAG-GIŠ-RA (=inâr)	he smote ⁶
45	ù	ù	and
	bád-bi	40 dūr-su	its wall
	e-ga-	(N)Ī-GUL-GUL	he destroyed.
	é ^d -nin-mar ^{ki}	é-nin-mar ^{ki}	E-Ninmar
	e-ḫul	SAG-GIŠ-RA	he smote
50	bád-bi	45 ù | dūr-su	and its wall
	e-ga-	(N)Ī-GUL-GUL	he destroyed,
	gú-kalam-bi	ù | KALAM-MA ^{ki}-|su	and its (<i>entire</i>) territory,
	ŠIR-BUR-LA ^{ki}-|ta	50 Ū ⁷ | la-BUR-ŠIR-ri ^{ki}	from Lagaš
55	a-ab-ba-šù·na·|NE	a-ti-ma | ti-a-am-tim	to the sea,
	e-ḫul	55 SAG-GIŠ-RA	he smote.

¹ Perhaps ŠU-DŪ-a=gatsu ilqa²?

² Akkadian text: his hand captured him.

³ Perhaps ÉRIM (= erim) "of bronze?"

⁴ Uš has here, as well as in the name (e)rí-mu-uš, evidently the value us; cf. also iš = is in ga-ti-iš-su, No. 36 Rev.(?) Col. 319.

⁵ See footnote to 325.

⁶ The Semitic text runs: In a battle he vanquished Ur and smote the city.

⁷ To be read ištum?

	^{giš} tukul-ni	^{giš} TUKUL(=kag)-gi-su ¹	His weapons
	a-ab-ba-ka ²	in ti-a-am-|tim	he washed
60	(n)ì-laḥ	(N)Ī-LAḤ	in the sea.
	lù-umma ^{ki}-|[d]a]	60 ub-me ^{ki}	With the man of Umma
	[^{giš} tukul] | [e-da-sīg]	[i]n K[AS]-x	he battled
65	[tun-kár] | [e-ni-sì]	[LAM + KUR-ar]	and he routed him
	[uru-ni]	[ù] | [URU ^{ki} (=âlam)]	and smote
	[e-ga-...]	65 [SAG-GIŠ-RA]	his city
	[ù]	[ù]	and
70	[bád-bi]	[BĀD(=dûr)-su]	destroyed
	[e-ga-...]	[(N)Ī-GUL-GUL]	its wall.

Col. 3.

β. šar-um-GI(=kin)
 lugal
 kalam-ma-ra
^den-lil-li
 5 lù-érim
 nu-na-sì
 a[-ab-ba-]
 igi-nim-ma-|ta
 10 a-ab-ba-
 sî-šù
^den-lil-[l]i
 [.....]

Lacuna of about six lines.

...	[.....]	20'	[.....]
20'	mu-.....[.....]		[.....]
	lù-ma[-da]		[.....]
	lù-.....[.....]		[.....]
[...]		[.....]

Col. 4.

[šar-ru-GI(=kin)]	Unto Šarru-kin,
šà[r]	king
KALAM-MA ^[ki]	of the land,
^d en-lil	Enlil
5 ma[-ḥi-ra]	gave
[la i-ti-|sum]	no foe (sem. adversary);
[ti-a-am-|dam]	from the upper
10 [a-lí-dam]	sea
[ù]	to the lower
[ša-bil-dam]	sea,
[^d en-lil]	Enlil <i>subjected (the lands)</i>
[.....]	<i>to him.</i> ³

¹ For the writing compare the name ^{giš}TUKUL(=kag)-ga-su-al-si-in, "his weapon upon them (he has hurled)," Obelisk of Maništusu, A Col. 135.

² The k proves that a-abba is a genitive connection; it probably means "the water(s) of the father," *i.e.*, of the primeval begetter of the world.

³ The Semitic text runs: The upper sea and the lower sea Enlil *subjected to him*.

25' igi šar-um- ¹ GI (= kin) - lugal kalam-ma-|ka-šù	25' [maḥ-rí-iš] šar-ru-GI (= kin) LUGAL (= šarri) KALAM-MA ^{ki} (= mâtim)	before Šarru-kin, king of the land.
30' (n)i-làḥ-gi-|ěš šar-um-GI (= kin) lugal kalam-ma-ge kiš(i) ^{ki}	i-za-zu-ni 30' šar-ru-GI (= kin) šar KALAM-MA ^{ki} (= mâtim)	Šarru-kin, king of the land, restored
35' ki-bi bí-gí uru-bi ki-gub e-na-ba (na-ba) ⁴	a-ša-rí-su 35' i-ni URU ^{ki} (= âl)-sun ² ú-sá-ḥi-su-ni ³	Kiš (<i>i. e.</i> , the people of Kiš) in its (old) place. Their city (or the city) he gave to them as a dwell- ing place.
40' lù im-sar-ra-|e ab-...-e-a ^d utu suḥuš-a-ni he-bá-du	ša DUB (= duppam) sù-a 40' ú-sa-za-ku-ni ^d šamaš SUḪUŠ (= išđi)-su li-zu-uḥ	Who shall destroy this inscription, may Šamaš tear out his foundations
45' numun-na-ni ḥe-ga-ri-|ri-gi	ù ŠE-NUMUN (= zír)-su 45' li-il-gu-ut	and destroy his seed.
mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba	mu-sar-ra	Inscription on its <i>base</i> .

¹ Does here the sign um have a special value ru? But compare the writing šar-u-kin in the Sumerian inscription on bricks of Šarru-kin of Assyria in Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, 382, and šar-u-ti-šu, VAT 670 (date of the 29th year of Ammi-ditana). The sign um is clear; or is it perhaps intended for the sign urudu (= ru)?

² Or lam (*i. e.*, â¹-lam)? The scribe evidently wrote LAM+KUR or LAM+KÛR, but it seems as if he had afterwards erased the sign inscribed in LAM.

³ Or ú-di-ḥi-su-ni? For the value sá in Semitic inscriptions compare ú-sá-rí-ib, CT 32, 5 B.M. 98917 Obv. Col. 2'⁶, beside u-sa-rí-ib, RA XI, p. 88 (Thureau-Dangin, Inscription of Libit-ili, son of Naram-Sin) Col. 121. Can we conclude from this that the fragment B.M. 98917 like our inscription, belongs in the earlier time of the dynasty of Agade? Is the ni in u-sá-ḥi-su-ni perhaps due to the influence of the following relative forms?

⁴ Erasure.

γ.	šar-ru-GI (= kin)	Šarru-kin,
51'	šàr	king
	KALAM-MA ^{ki}	of the land.
	(= mâtim)	
	[.....]

The end of the column is missing (about five or six lines); perhaps the inscription extended to Column 5.

Col. 4 δ.	lugal-zag-gi-si	Lugal-zaggisi,
	šàr	the king
50	uruk ^{ki}	of Erek.
ε.	mes-É	Mes-E,
	išak	the išakku
	[u]b-m[e] ^{ki}	of Umma.

About three lines at the end of Column 4 are missing; perhaps there followed some more of these small inscriptions, extending into Column 6.

[ki-gal.....]	Slabs.....
[.....] ¹	.....

C. AND D. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN IN SUMERIAN AND AKKADIAN

Col. 5.

Col. 6.

The upper halves of Columns 5 and 6 are missing.

[.....]
KA(+?)-mu-[.....]	[.....]	.....
kalam igi-nim	ma-dam	and he gave unto him
	a-lí-dam	the upper
mu-na-sì	i- ^(tin) ti-sum	land,
ma-rí ^{ki}	5' ma-rí-am ^{ki}	Mari,
5' ì-ar-mu-ti ^{ki}	ì-ar-mu-ti-a-am ^{ki}	Iarmuti
ib-la	ib-la ^{ki}	and Ibla,

¹ Cf. Col. 12^{60'}; 22²⁷, 28.

	10' a-ti-ma	as far as
tir-	^{giš} TIR (= kišti)	the cedar
^{giš} erin	^{giš} ERIN (= erinni)	forest
	ù	and
ḫar-sag-	KUR-KUR (= šadê)	the silver
10' kù-ga-šù	15' KŪ (= kaspim)	mountains.
šar-um-GI (= kin)	šar-ru-GI (= kin)	Unto Šarru-kin,
lugal	šarrum	the king,
^d en-lil-li	šu ^d en-lil	Enlil
lù-gaba-ru	ma-ḫi-ra	did not give
15' nu-mu-ni-tug	20' la i- ^(tin) ti-|sum	an adversary. ¹
5400 erin	5400| GURUŠ (= zikarî)	5400 men
û-šú-šù	ú-miš-šum	eat daily
igi-ni-šù	25' ma-ḫar-su	food
gar (n)ì-kú-e	GAR-KŪ (= akâlam	before him.
20' lù mu-sar-ra-e	ikkalû)	Whoever destroys
[ab-ḫ]a-lam-e-a		this inscription,
an-ni	Mu-sar-ra alan-na	may Anu
mu-ni	ki-gal-bi nu-sar	destroy
ḫe-ḫa-lam-e	Inscription on a statue.	his name,
25' ^d en-lil-|li	Its <i>base</i> is not inscribed.	may Enlil
numun-na-ni		extirpate
ḫe-til-li		his seed,
^d innanna-ge		may Innanna
30 [.....]-ni		.....
[.....]		his.....

Rest of inscription is missing.

¹ In the Semitic text the scribe began in l. 18 a relative clause (Šarru-kin to whom Enlil had not given an adversary, etc.), but he did not add the verb in the relative form. Or is ŠU ^den-lil=qât Enlil (the hand of Enlil did not give)?

E. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN

Col. 6	zā ^m -a-mà	(For) Zamama,
30'	il-su	his god:
	šar-ru-GI(-kin)	Šarru-kin,
	šàr	king
	kiš(i)	of Kiš,
	in	in the
35	ki -ri?	. . . . .
	a-ga-dé ^{ki}	of Agade,
	URU ^{ki} (=âlam)	a city
	[.]	he built

The rest of the inscription (at the beginning of Column 7) is missing.

F. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN

The beginning of the inscription is missing.

Col. 7	[. . . . .]	. . . . .
	[ù]	and
	^{giâ} TU[KUL(=kag)-gi-su]	he washed
	in [ti-a-am-tim]	his weapons
	(N)Ī-LAH	in the sea.
5'	mu-sa[r alan-na]	Inscription on a statue.
	ki-gal[-bi nu-sar].	Its pedestal is not inscribed.

G. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN(?)

Only a few traces of this inscription which comprised about eight lines are preserved.

H. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN

15'	[šar-ru-G]I(=kin)	Šarru-kin,
	šàr	king
	a-ga-dé ^{ki}	of Agade,

	MAŠKIM-GĪ ¹	<i>vicegerent</i>
	^d inanna	of Inanna,
20'	šàr kiš(i)	king of Kiš,
	pà-šeš AN(= anim)	pašišu of Anu,
	šàr	king
	KALAM-MA ^{ki}	of the land,
	ISA(G) (= išak)	išakku
25'	^d en-lil	of Enlil,
	in KAS-[x]	in a battle
	uruk ^{ki}	Uruk
	LAM + KUR-a[r]	and
	ù	50 išakkus
30'	50 ISA(G)	he vanquished
	in KAK + GIŠ	with the battle mace
	zā ^m -a-mà	of Zamama
	ù	and
	URU ^{ki} (= alam)	the city
35	[SA]G-GIŠ-[RA]	he smote,
	[.....]

About twenty-five lines at the beginning of Column 8 are missing.

Col. 8	[.....]	.....
	[é-nin-mar ^{ki}]	E-Ninmar
	[SAG + GIŠ-RA]	he smote
	[ù]	and
	dûr-su	its wall
	[(N)I]-GUL-GUL	he destroyed
	ù	and
5'	[KALA]M(= mât)-su	its territory
	Ū ²	from
	la-BUR-ŠIR[-ri]? ^{ki}	Lagaš

¹ Cf. IGI MAŠKIM-GĪ in Maništusu, Obelisk, A Col. 14, Case 6 (likewise a Semitic text). MAŠKIM-GĪ is perhaps identical with MAŠKIM-MI, which interchanges with the simple MAŠKIM in the name of the god ^dMAŠKIM-MI-lù-ḫar-ra-an-na (= ^dŠUL-PA-è-a), CT 24, 617, [^dM]AŠKIM-lù-ḫar-ra-na(= ^dŠUL-PA-è), CT 24, 2215. Note that mi has the value gē.

² Probably = ištum.

	[a]-ti-ma	as far as
10'	[t]i ¹ -(a-)am-|tim	the sea
	SAG-GIŠ-RA	he smote;
	² TUKUL(=kag)-gi-su	his weapons
15'	[in t]i-a-am-|tim	he washed
	(N)Ī[-LAḪ]	in the sea.
	ub-me ^[ki]	Ubme
	in KAS-[x]	in a battle
	LAM+KUR-ar	he vanquished
20'	ù	and
	URU ^{ki} (=âlam)	the city
	SAG-GIŠ-RA	he smote
	ù	and
	BĀD(=dûr)-su	its wall
25'	(N)Ī-GUL-GUL	he destroyed.
	ša[r-ru-G]I(=kin)	Unto Šarru-kin,
	šâr	king of
	KALAM-MA ^{ki}	the land,
	[šu ² ^d en-l]il	Enlil
30'	[ma-ḫi-]ra	(then) gave
	la i-[t]i-|sum	no rival, ³
	ti-a-am-|dam	the upper
35'	a-lí-dam	and
	ù	the lower
	sa-bil-d[am]	sea
	[.....]

Here some thirty lines are missing. The inscription then continues:


Col. 9	[.....]	.....
β	[ša DUB(=duppam)]	Who destroys
	[sù-]a	this
	ú-sa-za-ku-ni	inscription,



¹ Written over an erasure.


² Supplied from Col. 6₁₈; perhaps missing in our passage.





³ Perhaps a relative sentence: Šarru-kin, king of the land, to whom Enlil (then) gave no rival. See note to 6_{18.20}.

	^d en-lil	may Enlil
	ù	and
5'	^d šamaš	Šamaš
	SUHUŠ(=išdī)-su	tear out
	li-zu-ḫa	his foundations
	ù	and
	ŠE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su	destroy
10'	li-il-gu|da	his seed.
	ma-na-ma	Whoever
	DŪL(=šalmam)	shall
	sù-a	this
15'	ú-a-ḫa-ru	image,
	^d en-lil	may Enlil
	MU(=šum)-su	. . . . .
	li-a-ḫîr	his name,
	^{gi} TUKUL(=kag)-su	may he break
20'	li-iš-bîr ¹	his weapon!
	maḫ-rî-iš ²	Before
	^d en-lil	Enlil
	E-GUB	he has set (it) up.
	Mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba	Inscription on its pedes-
25'	igi-lugal-zag-gi-si-šû	tal written in front of
	a-ab-sar	Lugal-zaggisi.

¹ The value bîr of the sign , which follows from our passage, is attested by the vocabulary AO 5400, published by Thureau-Dangin in RA 1912, pp. 76 and 77, where ll. 34 and 35 of Col. I have to be restored as follows:

³⁴na-am []|a-a
³⁵bi-ir []
³⁶ [.]

Has perhaps the sign  (=NAM+BÎR) likewise the value bir (= bîr^{bîr})?

² The sign maḫ has here, as well as in Col. 10₂₀, the form , which is perhaps peculiar to the inscriptions of the empire of Akkad, and which compares with the form  as the sign  uš compares with  uš. The same sign for maḫ occurs in the inscription of Libit-ili, RA 10, p. 88, Col. 116; read there maḫ-rî-iš (instead of ši-ri-iš) ^den-lil u-sa-rî-ib. The phrase maḫriš ^dX usarib corresponds to the Sumerian phrase igi-^dX-šû i-ni-in-tû in the date-formula of the 6th year of Samsu-iluna.

γ	šar-ru-GI (= kin)	Šarru-kin,
	lugal	king
	a-ga-dé ^{ki}	of Agade,
30'	MÁŠKIM-GI ¹	<i>vicegerent</i>
	^d inn[an]na	of Inanna,
	[šâr ki]š(i)	king of Kiš,
	išak	išakku
	^d en-lil	of Enlil,
	[.....]

The rest of the inscription, about thirty lines, is missing.

Col. 10	[.....]	.....
	[mu-sar-ra	Inscription
	.....[.....].....	written
	a-ab-sar	.....

I. INSCRIPTION ON A STATUE OF LUGAL-ZAGGISI

	lugal-zag-|gi-si	Lugal-zaggisi,
5'	EN (= bêl)	lord
	KI-UNU ^{ki} (= ašari uruk)	of the land of Uruk,
	LUGAL (= šâr)	king
	KI-UR ^{ki} (= ašari uri)	of the land of Ur.
	ša DUB (= duppam)	Who shall destroy
10'	sù-a	this
	ú-sa-za-ku[-ni]	inscription,
	^d en-lil	may Enlil
	ù	and
	^d šamaš	Šamaš
15'	SUHUŠ (= išdê)-su	tear out
	li-zu-ḥa	his foundations
	ù	and
	ŠE-NUMUN (= zîr)-su	destroy
20'	li-il-gu-|da	his seed.

¹ See note to Col. 718.

	ma-ma-na	Whoever
	DŪL(=šalmam)	shall
	sù-a	this
	ú-a-ḫa-ru	image,
25'	^d en-lil	may Enlil
	MU(=šum)-su	.....
	li-a-ḫìr	his name,
	^{giš} TUKUL(=kak)-su	may he break
	li-iš-bìr	his weapon.
30'	maḫ-rí-iš	Before
	^d en-lil	Enlil
	E-GUB	he has set (it) up. ¹
	mu-sar-ra	Inscription on the statue
	alan (?) lugal-zag-gí-si	of Lugalzaggisi.

K. INSCRIPTIONS OF ŠARRU-KIN ON HIS STATUE AND ITS
PEDESTAL

a.	35'	šar-ru-GI(=kin)	Šarru-kin,
		šàr	king
		a-ga-dé ^{ki}	of Agade,
Col. 11		[.....]	.....

The upper portion of Column 11 is missing.

	[.....]
	[ša DUB(=duppam)]	Who shall destroy
	[sù-a]	this
	[u-sa-za-ku-ni]	inscription,
	[^d en-lil]	may Enlil
	[ù]	and
	[^d šamaš]	Šamaš
	[SUHUŠ(=išdî)-su]	tear out
	[li-zu-ḫa]	his foundations
	[ù]	and
	[ŠE-NUMUN(=zir)-su]	destroy
	[li-il-gu-da]	his seed.
	[ma-ma-na]	Whoever

¹ I. e., the statue.

	[DÚL(= salmam)]	shall
	[sù-a]	this
	[ú]-a-ḥa-ru	image,
	^d en-lil	may Enlil
	MU(= šum)-su	. . . . .
	li-a-ḥìr	his name,
5'	^{giš} TUKUL(= kak)-su	may he break
	li-iš-bìr	his weapon.
	maḥ-rí-iš	Before
	^d en-lil	Enlil
	E-GUB(= usaziz)	he set it up.
10'	[mu-sar-ra a]lan-na	Inscription on a statue.
β.	šar-ru-GI(= kin)	Šarru-kin,
	šàr	king
	kiš(i)	of Kiš,
	SAG-GIŠ-RA	smiter
15'	ELAM ^{ki} (= elamtim)	of Elam
	ù	and
	ba-ra-aḥ-sì ^{ki}	Baraḥsi.
	ša DUB(= duppam)	Who shall destroy
	sù-a	this
20'	ú-sa-za-ku-ni	inscription,
	^d en-lil	may Enlil,
	^d šamaš	Šamaš
	ù	and
	^d ninni	Ninni
25'	SUḤUŠ(= išdî)-su	tear out
	li-zu-ḥa ¹	his foundations
	ù	and
	ŠE-NUMUN(= zîr)-su	destroy
30'	li-il-|gu-da ¹	his seed.
	mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba	Inscription on its pedestal.

¹ Sic! Should be plural: li-zu-ḥu and li-il-gu-du. The dual is evidently due to the fact that in the other inscriptions usually only Enlil and Šamaš are mentioned.

γ.	UR ni[m.....] [.....]	UR
----	-----------------------------	----------------------

Here about nine short inscriptions (upper half of Column 12) are missing.

Col. 12	[.....]	.....
ν'	25' da-gu ŠEŠ-LUGAL (aḥ šarri) ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}	Dagu, brother of the king of Baraḥsi.
ξ'	nig-.... ḤE-ni ^{ki}	<i>Spoil</i> of Ganni?
ο'	30' nig-.... bu-un?-ba-an ^{ki}	<i>Spoil</i> of Bun(?)ban.
π'	zi-na iṣak ḥu-....[..... ^{ki}]	Zina, the iṣakku of Hu.....
ρ'	35' ḥi-da-rí-da-.... iṣak gu-ni-la-ḥa ^{ki} ?	Hidarida...., the iṣakku of Gunilaḥa.
σ'	nig-.... sa-bá ^{ki}	<i>Spoil</i> of Saba?
τ'	40' nig-.... a-wa-an ^{ki}	<i>Spoil</i> of Awan.
χ'	si-id-ga-ù šakanak ba-ra-aḥ-si	Sidgau, the šakanakku of Baraḥsi.

ϕ'	45'	kum-du-bá DI-KŪ (= da ⁱⁱ an) ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}	Kumduba, the judge of Baraḥsi.
ψ'		nig- su-si-im ^{ki}	<i>Spoil</i> of Susa
	50'	ki-gal-ba šu-dū-a	. . . . . on the pedestal.

L. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN

51'	ša[r-ru-GI (= kin)]	Šarru-kin

Here about forty-five lines (four lines of Column 12 and about forty-one lines of Column 13) are missing.

Col. 13	[. . . . .]	. . . . .
	[ù]	and (over)
	30 [ISAG]	thirty išakkus
	LAM + KUR-ar	hegained the victory:
	URU-URU ¹	the <i>guilty</i>
	za-ar-ru-ti[m]	cities
	ú-ID-ME?..[. . .]	he.
	[ù]	and
	..[.]

The rest of Column 13, the whole of Column 14 and likewise the whole of Column 15, with the exception of the following lines, are missing.

M. INSCRIPTION OF ŠARRU-KIN²

α' Col. 15	šar-r[u-GI (= kin)]	Šarru-kin,
	š[ar]	king
	[a-g]a[-dé ^{ki}]	of Agade,
	[.]

¹ Written over erasure which read: URU^{ki}.URU^{ki}.

² Perhaps continuation of an inscription.

After about ten lines:

^d e[n-.....]	.....
[.....]
i(?)-...[.....]	.....
sa(?)[.....]	.....

The rest of Column 15 is missing.

<i>β'</i>	[ša DUB (= duppam)]	Who shall destroy
	[sù-a]	this
	[ú-sa-za-ku-ni]	inscription,
Col. 16	[^d en-lil]	may Enlil
	[ù]	and
	[^d šamaš]	Šamaš
	S[UHUŠ (= išdî)-su]	tear out
5'	li[-zu-ḫa]	his foundations
	[ù]	and
	ŠE-NU[MUN (= zîr)-su]	destroy
	[li-il-gu-da]	his seed.

After a gap of about fifteen lines:

<i>ζ'</i>	[.....]	.....
<i>η'</i>	.....-ru	.....ru,
	išak	the išakku
	ši-rí-ḫi-im	of Širiḫum,
<i>θ'</i>	25' si-id-ga-ù	Sidgau,
	šakanak	the šakanakku
	ba-ra-aḫ-sì ^{ki}]	of Baraḫsi,
<i>ι'</i>	sa-nam-si-m[u.....]	Sanamsimu....,
	šakanak	the šakanakku
30'	ELAM ^{ki}	of Elam.

κ'	lu-uḥ-iš ¹ -ilum DUMU(= mâr) ḥi- LUGAL ELAM ^{ki}	Luḥiš ¹ -il, the son of Ḥi. . . . , king of Elam.
λ'	kum-du-bá 35' DI-[KŪ] (= da ⁱⁱ an) [ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}]	Kumduba, the judge of Baraḥsi.

The rest of the inscription is missing.

N. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

Col. 16	[(i)rí ² -mu-uš] ³ [šâr] [kiš(i)] [in KAS-x] [urí ^{ki}] [ù] [ub-me ^{ki}] [LAM + KUR-ar] [ù] [8040 GURUŠ(= zikarî)] [ú-sa-am-ki-it] [5460] [LŪ + ŠU]	Rimuš, king of Kiš, in the battle with Ur and Umma he gained the victory and 8040 men he cast down; 5460 prisoners
Col. 17	[ŠU-DŪ-A(= qatsu ikšud)] [ù] [K]A-[AZAG] šâr 5 urí ^{ki} SU-DŪ-A	his hand captured, and KA-AZAG, king of Ur, his hand captured,

¹ Perhaps mil?

² Or (e)rî.

³ Cf. inscription p.

	ù	and
	ISAG-ISAG(=išakkî)-su	his išakkus
	ŠU-DŪ-A	his hand captured,
10	ù	and
	ID-lu-[.....]	.....
	SU[-DŪ-A	his hand captured,
	[ù]	and
	a-t[i-ma]	as far as
15	ti-a-am-[tim]	the lower
	sa-bil-tim	sea
	ša.....	.....
	ù	and
	5700 ¹	5700
20	GURUŠ-GURUŠ(=zikarî)	men
	in URU ^{ki} -URU ^{ki}	from the cities
	šu-me-rî-im[]	of the Sumerian
	u-su-zi-am-ma	he brought out and
25	a-na	to
	ga-ra-si-im	.....
	iš- <i>kum</i>	he .....ed them, ²
	ù	and
	URU ^{ki} -URU ^{ki} (=alî)-su-nu	their cities
30	SAG-GIŠ-RA	he smote
	ù	and
	BĀD-BĀD(=dûrî)-su-nu	their walls
	(N)Ī-GUL-GUL	he destroyed
	Ū-LUM,
35	in ta-a-ri-su	on his return march
	ka-za-lu ^{ki}	Kazallu,
	na-ki-ir-ma	which had revolted,

¹ 3600+3×600+5×60=5700. The scribe uses here the usual Sumerian numeral system, in which the next higher magnitude after the ner(=600) is the sar(=3600). Note that in this system the corner wedge is used instead of the circle.

² Garasum is probably identical with karāšum. Perhaps the meaning of the passage is: "and to punishment (destruction) he condemned(?) them;" cf. the phrase ana karaši imnu "to punishment(?) he delivered them." (Or can karašu be a synonym of šallatu "booty," "prisoners"?)

SAG-GIŠ-RA
[. . .] . . . [.]

he smote
.

The rest of the inscription is missing.¹

O. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

The beginning of the inscription is missing.

a. Col. 18	[. . . . .]	. . . . .
	NI-[. . . . .]	. . . . .
	KAS-x. . . [.]	battle.,
5	DŪL(=šalam)-su	his image
	ib-ni-ma	he made and
	a-na	to
	^d en-lil	Enlil,
	sa-lí-mi-su	his ally,
10	A-MU-RU	he dedicated it.
	ša DUB(=duppam)	Who shall
	sù-a	destroy
	ú-sa-za-ku-ni	this inscription,
	^d en-lil	may Enlil
15	ù	and
	^d šamaš	Šamaš
	SUHUŠ(=išdī)-su	tear out
	li-zu-ḫa	his foundations
	ù	and
20	ŠE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su	destroy
	li-il-gu-da	his seed.
	ki-gal-an-ta igi-ni-šú	The upper , written
	a-ab-sar	before him. ²
β.	25 ma-na-ma	Whoever
	MU(=šum)	shall destroy
	(i)rí-mu-uš	the name

¹ For the continuation of the text compare inscription *q*.

² *I. e.*, in front of the picture of Lugal-zagri.

	šarri	of Rimuš,
	kiš(i)	king
30	u-sa-za-ku-ni	of Kiš,
	al DŪL(=šalmi)	or upon the image
	(i)rí-mu-uš	of Rimuš
	MU(=šum)-su	shall place
35	i-sa-ga-nu-ma	his name,
	DŪL(=salam) mi-me	or the image of some
	ù?	one (else)
	[.....]	or

The rest of the inscription is missing.

γ' Col. 19	[.....],
5	išak	išakku
	ub-me ^{ki}	of Ubme.
δ'	ilum-ú-MES	Illum-u-MES,
	á-lí-ik	his
	maḥ-rí-su	predecessor.
ε'	10 KA-AZAG	KA-AZAG,
	šàr	king
	urí ^{ki}	of Ur.
	ki-gal-ki?-ta bur	The lower,
	lù- ^d da-mu	of Lu-Damu.

P. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

15	(i)rí-mu-uš	Rimuš,
	šàr	king
	kiš(i)	of Kiš,
	in KAS-x	in the battle
	urí ^{ki}	with Ur
20	ù	and

	[ub-me] ^{ki}	Umma
	LAM+KUR-ar	he gained the victory
	ù	and
	8040 ¹ GURUŠ	8040 men
25	u-sa-am-|ki-it	he cast down;
	5460 ²	5460
	LŪ+ŠU	prisoners
	ŠU-DŪ-A	his hand captured
30	ù	and
	KA-AZAG	KA-AZAG
	šàr	king
	urí ^{ki}	of Ur,
	ŠU-DŪ-A	his hand captured
35	ù	and
	.....-Ī(D) (=nar?)	....

The rest of the inscription is missing; for the continuation cf. inscription *n*.

Q. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

Col. 20	[(i)rí-mu-uš]	Rimuš,
	[šàr]	king
	[kiš(i)]	of Kiš:
	[in KAS-.]....	in the battle
5	ka-za-lu ^{ki}	with Kazallu
	12650 ³ GURUŠ	he slew
	u-sa-[am]-|ki-it	12650 men
10	5864 ⁴ | LU+ŠU	and 5864 prisoners
	ŠU-DŪ-A	his hand captured,
	ù	and
	a-ša[-rí]	in the land
	ELAM ^[k] (= elamtim?)	of Elam

¹ $1 \times 6000 + 3 \times 600 + 4 \times 60 = 8040$.

² $9 \times 600 + 1 \times 60 = 5460$.

³ $2 \times 6000 + 1 \times 600 + 5 \times 10 = 12650$.

⁴ $6000 - (2 \times 60 + 10 + 6) = 5864$.

15	[URU ^{ki}]-URU ^{ki} ŠU-DŪ-A ù BĀD(=dûr)-... (N)Ī-GUL-GUL	the cities his hand captured and their walls (fortresses) he destroyed.
20	ša DUB sù-a u-sa-za-ku-ni ^d en-lil ù	Who shall destroy this inscription, may Enlil and
25	^d šamaš SUHUŠ(=išdī)-su li-zu-ḫa ù	Šamaš tear out his foundations and
30	SE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su li-il-|gu-da ki-gal-ki-ta á-zi-da-na	destroy his seed. on the lower .. at his right hand

R. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

35	(i)rī-mu-uš [lugal] [kiš(i)] [.....]	Rimuš, king of Kiš,
----	---	------------------------------------

Here about thirty-five lines are missing. The inscription then continues in Column 21:

Col. 21	[.....] u-[s]u-[z]i[-a]m-|ma 5 a-na ga-ra-si-im iš-kum ša DUB (duppam) sù-a he brought out and to he .....ed them. ¹ Who shall destroy
---------	---	---

¹ Cf. inscription 7125-27.

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 10 | u-sa-za-ku-ni
^d en-lil
ù
^d šamaš
[SUHUŠ(= išdī)-su] | this inscription,
may Enlil
and
Šamaš
tear out
his foundations |
| 15 | [l]i[-zu-ḥ]a
ù
ŠE-NUMUN(= zîr)-su
li-il- gu-da | and
destroy
his seed. |
| 20 |ki-gal ki[-ta]
egir-ra-ni-šù | of the lower <i>slab</i>
behind him. |

S. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 25 | (i)rî-mu-uš
šâr
kiš(i)
in KAS-x
ub-me ^{ki}
ù
KI-AN ^{ki}
LAM+KUR-ar | Rimuš,
king
of Kiš,
in the battle with
Umma
and
Der
he gained the victory |
| 30 | ù
8900 ¹ GURUŠ-GURUŠ
ú-sa-am-ki-it
3540 ² LU+ŠU | and
8900 men
he cast down;
3540 prisoners |
| 35 | [ŠU-DŪ-A]
[.....] | he made.
..... |

The rest of the inscription is missing.

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| Col. 22 | 5-ki-gal-ki-[t]a
da-.....-ni-šù | of the lower <i>slab</i>
at his..... |
|---------|---|--|

¹ 6000 + 5 × 600 - (60 + 4 × 10) = 8900.

² 6 × 600 - 60 = 3540.

β.	zi-nu-ba ŠES(=aḥ) ISA(G)(=išakki)	Zinuba, the brother of the išakku.
γ.	10 a- .....-mu-bí sukkal-su	A. mubi, his sukkallu.
δ.	lugal-uš[umgal]? išak NINNI-UNU ^{ki}	Lugal-ušumgal(?), the išakku of Ḫallab.
ε.	15 ur- ^d sin sukkal-su	Ur-Sin, his sukkallu.
ζ.	.....-KA išak KI-AN ^{ki}	....., the išakku of Der.
η.	20 ...-... GAL-SUKKAL-su ¹	....., his rab-sukkal.
θ.	ki-KU-Ī(D) išak la-ŠIR-BUR ^{ki}	Ki....., the išakku of Lagaš.
ι.	25 ab-da šakanakku ki-gal-ki-gub- šub-ba-me-eš	Abda, the šakanakku <i>Slabs</i> standing place.

T. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

(i)rí-mu-uš	Rimuš,
30 š[âr]	king

¹ Cf. IGI GAL-SUKKAL-li, "in the presence of the rab-sukkal," Maništusu, Obelisk, A Col. 1310.

k[iš(i)]	of Kiš,
šu-[	.....
ma-[	.....
...[.....

The rest of the inscription is missing.¹

U. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

AO 5476²; HGT No. 34, HGT No. 34,
Cols. 25 and 26; No. 36, Columns 23 and 24.
Rev. Col. 4'.

Col. 23.

(i)rí-mu-uš	a.	[(i)rí-mu-uš]	Rimuš,
šâr		[šâr]	king
kiš(i)		[kiš(i)]	of Kiš:
in KAS-x		[in KAS-x]	in a battle
a-ba-al-ga-maš	5	[a-ba-al-ga-maš]	Abalgamaš,
šâr		[šâr]	king
ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}		[ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}]	of Baraḥsi,
LAM + KUR-ar		[LAM + KUR-a]r	he vanquished
ù		[ù]	and
si-id-ga-ù	10	s[i-id-ga-]ù	Sidga'u,
šakanak-su		šakanak	šakanakku
		ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}	of Baraḥsi,
ŠU-DŪ-A		ŠU-DŪ-A	his hand captured,
		ù	and-
	15	...-ga-pi	...gapi,
		šakanak	šakanakku
		ZA[-.....] ^{k 3}	of..... ³
		ŠU-DŪ-A	his hand captured
in ba-rí-ti		in ba-rí-ti	<i>between</i>
a-wa-an ^{ki}	20	a-wa-an ^{ki}	Awan
ù		ù	and

¹ Possibly this is the beginning of inscription *u*.

² Published by Thureau-Dangin in RA 1911, p. 136.

³ Perhaps za[-ab-ša-li]^{ki}?

su-si-im ^{ki}		su-ši-im ^{ki}	Susa
in·Ī (= nâr(im))		in·Ī (= nâr(im))	....
KABGUNÛ-NI-tim		KABGUNÛ-NI-tim	.....
ù	25	ù	and
NE-RU-dam		NE-RU-dam	.....
in a-ša-ar-rí ¹		in a-ša-ar-|rí	.....
al-su ²		al-su-nu	upon them ³
iš-bu-uk	30	iš-bu-uk	he poured out (heaped
		ù	and [up]
		URU ^{ki} -URU ^{ki}	the cities
		ELAM ^{ki} (= elamtim)	of Elam
		SAG-GIŠ-RA	he smote
	35	ù	and
		BĀD-BĀD-su-nu	their walls
		(N)Ī-GUL-GUL	he destroyed
ù		ù	and
SUḪUŠ (= išdī)		SUḪUŠ (= išdī)	the foundations
ba-ra-aḫ-sì	40	b[a]-r[a]-a[h]-s[i] ^{kr}	of Baraḫsi
in UKU (= niši)		[.....]	from the people
ELAM ^{ki} (= elamtim)		The rest of the inscription is	of Elam
i-zu-uḫ-ma		missing.	he tore out, and

¹ A-ša-ar-rí (gen. pl.), which Thureau-Dangin in RA 1911, p. 137 takes as the name of a city, is probably identical with a-sa-ar-ru (gen. pl.) in the neo-Babylonian inscription on the reverse of a small brick containing the impression of an inscription of Šarru-kin (now in the University Museum); cf. *The Museum Journal*, Vol. III, p. 23. The neo-Babylonian inscription runs: 'zi-i-PA a-gur-ru^{abnu} ušl³ša a-sa-ar-ru pa-li-su-tim³ša i-na Ê-GAL a-sa-ar-ru, 'ša^d na-ra-am-^dsin šarri⁵ i-na ki-ir-ba a-ga-dé^{kl}Id nabû-zîra-SI-SĀ dupsarru i-mu-ru, "impression of (the inscription on) the blocks (or a block) of diorite stone from theed (oring), which Nabû-zîra-SI-SĀ, the scribe, has seen in the palace of of Naram-Sin, the king, in the city of Akkad." According to this the asarrû were the chief characteristic of the palace of Naram-Sin; does é-gal a-sa-ar-ru perhaps mean "stone palace," *i. e.*, a palace not built entirely of bricks, but (partly) of blocks of stone?

² That al-su does not mean "his city" (thus Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*) follows from the fact that alu "city" is written URU^{ki} at the time of the dynasty of Agade; cf., *e. g.*, URU^{ki}-URU^{ki} in l. 32 of our inscription. Moreover, Thureau-Dangin's translation "dans Ašarri, sa ville," would require the genitive form alisu. For al "upon," "against," compare: ma-na-ma.... al DÛL(=šalmi) rî-mu-uš MU(=šum)-su i-sa-ga-nu-ma, below, Col. 2524-28, and the names ⁸¹⁸TUKUL(=kag)-ga-su-al-si-in, "his weapon upon them (*i. e.*, the hostile nations) (he has hurled)," Obelisk of Maništusu, A Col. 138, and išdar-al-su "Ištar (watches) over him," *ibid.* B Col. 2'.

³ Do the pronouns su and sunu refer to the two šakanakkus mentioned in ll. 10-17?

(i)rí-mu-uš		Rimuš,
šār		king
kiš		of Kiš,
ELAM ^{ki} (= elamtam)		subjected
i-be-(a)l		Elam;
^d en-lil		Enlil
Ū-GAL-ŠI ¹		.....¹
^d šamaš		Šamaš
ù		and
zā ^m -a-mà		Zamama
U-MĀ		.....
la.zu-ra-tim		.....
LU.GI.NI-iš-ma ²		.....²
	[mu-sar-ra alan-na]	Inscription on a statue

COL. 24

ša DUB(tuppam) β.	[ša DUB(= tuppam)]	Who shall
sù-a	[sù-a]	destroy
[ú-s]a-za-ku-[ni]	5 [u-sa-za-ku-ni]	this inscription,
^d en-lil	[^d en-lil]	may Enlil
ù	[ù]	and
^d šamaš	^d šamaš	Šamaš
SUHUŠ(= išdê)-su	10 SUHUŠ(= išdê)-su	tear out
li-zu-ḥa	li-zu-ha	his foundations
ù	ù	and
ŠE-NUMUN-su	ŠE-NUMUN(= zîr)-su	destroy
li-il-gu-da	15 li-il-gu-da	his seed.
	ki-gal -šù	..... written
	[a]-ab-sar	at

¹ Perhaps (a-na) ^den-lil ū-gal-ši "to Enlil he subjected it (*i. e.*, Elam)," or "Enlil subjected it (to him)"(?); cf. Col. 2512-20.

² Perhaps (a-na) ^dšamaš ù zā^m-a-mà lu-gi-ì-iš-ma, "unto Šamaš and Zamama, indeed, he has presented(?)," or ^dšamaš ù zā^m-a-mà iš-ma, "Šamaš and Zamama heard (granted)"(?)

7.	ma-na-ma MU(=šum)	Whoever shall destroy
20	(i)rí-mu-uš šarri kiš(i) ú-sa-za-ku-ma al DŪL(=salam)	the name of Rimuš, king of Kiš, and upon the image
25	(i)rí-mu-uš MU(=šum)-su i-sa-ga-nu-ma DŪL(=šalam) mi-me	of Rimuš shall place his name or (to set up) the image of anyone else
30	i-ga- pi -ù ^d en-lil be-al DŪL(=šalmim) sù-a ù	shall command, ¹ may Enlil, the lord of this image, and
35	^d šamaš SUḪUŠ(=išdī)-su li-zu-ḫa ù [ŠE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su]	Šamaš tear out his foundations and destroy
40	[li-il-gu-da] [.....] [.....]	his seed.

V. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

The beginning of the inscription is missing.

Col. 25	[.....] ga-la-ma i-ti-sum	..... in <i>its</i> entirety he gave unto him.
10	ti-a-am-dam a-lí-dam ù	The upper and the lower

¹ Cf. 36 Rev. Col. 41-4.

	sa-bil-dam	sea
	ù	and
15	SA-TU-e(=šadê)	all
	ga-la-su-nu-|ma	the mountain lands
	a-na	unto
	^d en-lil	Enlíl
20	ú-ga-al	he subjected.
	ša DUB(=duppam)	Who shall destroy
	sù-a	this
	u-sa-za-ku-ni	inscription,
	^d en-lil	may Enlil
25	ù	and
	^d šamaš	Šamaš
	SUḪUŠ(=išdî)-su	tear out
	li-zu-ḫa	his foundations
	ù	and
30	ŠE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su	destroy
	li-il-|gu-da	his seed.
	mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba	Inscription on its pedestal.

W. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

	(i)rî-mu-uš	Rimuš,
35	šâr	king
	kiš(i)	of Kiš,
	SAG-GIŠ-RA	smiter
	E[LAM ^{ki}]	of Elam
	[ù]	and
40	ba-r[a-aḫ-si ^{ki}]	Baraḫsi.
	zag(?)...[.....]	.....

X. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ

	(i)rî-mu-uš	Rimuš,
	šâr	king
	kiš(i)	of Kiš:

45	in [KAS-x] a-ba-a[l-ga-maš] [šâr] [ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}] [LAM + KUR-ar]	in a battle Abalgamaš, king of Baraḥsi, he vanquished,
50	[ù] [si-id-ga-ù] [šakanak-su] [ŠU-DŪ-A] [in ba-rí-ti]	and Sidgau, his šakanakku, his hand captured.
55	a[-wa-an ^{ki}] [ù] su-s[i]-i[m ^{ki}] in·Ī (= nâr(im)) KABGUNŪ-NI-tim	<i>Between</i> Awan and Susa
60	[ù] NE-R[U-dam] in a-ša[-ar-rí] [al-su] [iš-bu-uk]	and ¹ upon him he poured out (heaped and [up] the foundations of Baraḥsi he tore out from among the peoples of Elam, and Rimuš, king of Kiš, subjugated Elam. Enlil Šamaš
Col. 26	[ù] [SUHUŠ (= išdî)] [ba-ra-aḥ-si ^{ki}] [in UKU (= nišî)] [ELAM ^{ki}] [i-zu-uḥ-ma] [(i)rí-mu-uš]	[up] the foundations of Baraḥsi he tore out from among the peoples of Elam, and Rimuš, king of Kiš, subjugated Elam. Enlil Šamaš
5	[šâr] [kiš(i)] [ELAM ^{ki}] [i-be-(a)] ² [^d en-lil]	king of Kiš, subjugated Elam. Enlil Šamaš
10	[ú-gal-šî] ^d šamaš	..... Šamaš

¹ See inscription *u*.² Or i-b^e-al=ib^{al}?

	ù	and
	zā ^m -a-mà	Zamama
	U·MĀ	.....
15	la·zu-ra-tim	.....
	LU·GI·NI·iš-|ma	.....¹
	ša DUB	Who shall destroy
	sù-a	this
20	u-sa-za-ku-ni	inscription,
	^d en-lil	may Enlil
	ù	and
	^d šamaš	Šamaš
	SUḪUŠ(=išdī)-su	tear out
25	li-zu-ḫa	his foundations
	ù	and
	ŠE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su	destroy
	li-il-|gu-da	his seed.
30	mu-sar-ra ŠIN-za-lum	Inscription on a

Y. INSCRIPTION OF RIMUŠ IN SUMERIAN AND AKKADIAN²

	Col. 28.	Col. 27.	
	[(i)rî-mu-uš]	[(i)rî-mu-uš]	Rimuš,
	[lugal]	[šâr]	king
	[kiš(i)]	[kiš(i)]	of Kiš;
	[û-ul-lî-a-ta]	[iš-tum ûm(i) zî-a-tim]	since the days of old
5	[^d en-lil-ra]	5 [a-na ^d e]n[-lil]	nobody
	[lù-na-me]	[ma-na-ma]	had made
	[alan-an-na ³]	[DŪL-KŪ-AN ⁴]	a statue of lead

¹ See inscription *u*.² The same inscription on a broken clay tablet (AO 5477) published by Thureau-Dangin in RA VIII, p. 138.³ Or alan-nagga, alan-niggi an(n)a(k), as loanword in Akkadian anaku, is the genitive of an "Anu" before which we must supply kù "metal": kù-an-na "the metal of Anu"; cf. in the Akkadian inscription KŪ-AN, i. e., "metal of Anu." Nagga and niggi have evidently developed from ana(k).⁴ (=šalam anaki).

	nu-ta-dím	la ib-ni	for Enlil.
	(i)rí-mu-uš	(i)rí-mu-uš	Rimuš,
10	lugal	10 šâr	king
	kiš(i)	kiš(i)	of Kiš,
	alan-na-ni	DÛL-su ša KÛ-AN	made
	an-na-kam ¹	(ša AN) ²	his statue
	(n)î-dím	ib-ni-ma	of lead
15	igi- ^d en-lil-lá-šù	15 IGI-ME | ^d en-lil	and before Enlil
	(n)î-gub	i-za-az	it stands;
	NI-UL-	DA-iš ì-lí	<i>on (to) the.....</i>
	dingir-ri-ne-ka	(ì-li) ³	of the gods
	me-te-ni	MU-su ⁴	he caused his <i>glory</i>
20	(n)î-ŠITI	ú-sa-mi-id	to be .....ed.
	lù	20 ša DUB(=duppam)	Who
	im-sar-ra-e	sù-a	shall destroy
	ab-ḥa-lam-me-a	ú-sa-za-ku-ni	this inscription,
	^d en-lil	^d en-lil	may Enlil
25	^d utu-bi	25 ù | ^d šamaš	and Šamaš
	suhus-sa-ni	ŠUHUŠ(=išdî)-su	tear out
	ḥe-paḏ-du-|[n]e	li-zu-ḥa	his foundations
	[numun-na-n]i	ŠE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su	and destroy
30	[.....|.....]	30 li-il-|gu-da	his seed.
	mu-sar-ra ... ŠIN-za-lum		Inscription on the of the ...

¹ There is a dividing line in the text between ll. 13 and 14, indicating that in the original from which our copy was made a new column began with l. 14 (or 15); the original inscriptions, the Sumerian as well as the Akkadian, were therefore arranged in two columns.

² Erasure.




³ Have we perhaps to read ì-dú-dingir-ne-ka = i(t)ti-iš ì-lí "at the side(?) of the gods." i. e., "equal to the gods" (he caused his splendor to be reckoned)?

⁴ Evidently we have to read sùm-su; sumu (or perhaps us(u)mu?), which was the pronunciation of šumu "name" at the time of the dynasty of Agade, would then of course be a derivation from the root ūsm and have the same meaning as simtum = me-te.

Z. INSCRIPTION OF MANIŠTUSU¹

a. Col. 26	ma-an-iš-|tu-su šâr kiš(i)	Maništusu, king of Kiš:
35	î-nu an-ša-an ^{ki} ù šî ² -rí-ĥu-um ^{ki}	when Anšan and Širiĥum
40	SAG-GIŠ-RA-|ni ti-a-am-tim sa-bil-tim MĀ-MĀ. [LUGAL-]LUGAL	he had smitten, the lower sea <i>in ships he crossed;</i>
45	[URU ^{ki} -URU ^{ki}] a-bar-ti ti-a-am-tim 32 a-na KAS-x (= taĥâzim)	32 kings of the cities on the other side of the sea had rallied to
50	ip-ĥu-ru-|nim-ma LAM + KUR-ar ù URU ^{ki} -URU ^{ki}-|su-nu	battle and he defeated them and their cities
55	SAG-GIŠ-RA EN-E[N-su-nu] ³	he smote, (and) their lords

¹ A fragment of the original inscription on a diorite block from Nippur is published as No. 35 of this publication. Two diorite fragments with parallel inscriptions from Sippar are B.M. 56630 (= A.H. 82-7-14, 1023) and B. M. 56631 (= A.H. 82-7-14, 1024), both quoted by Jensen in ZA 15 p. 248, note 1, and published in CT 32, 5; another diorite fragment from Susa is published by Scheil in *Textes elamites-sémitiques* V, pl. II B.

² Sign  (= šû, šê, šî). Since in inscription *m* (Šarru-kin) an išak šî-rî-ĥi-im (written with the sign igû) is mentioned side by side with the šakanakku of Baraĥsi and the šakanakku of Elam, the šî-rî-ĥu-um^{ki} of Maništusu's inscription and the Širiĥum of Šarru-kin are evidently identical. The writing of the name with the sign  (= tû, tē) on the Cruciform Monument (CT 32, 1-4, Col. 2 ¹⁸an-ša-an^{ki} ¹⁹ù ²⁰TĒ-rî-ĥu-um^{ki}) is therefore probably a mistake, unless Teriĥum be a variant of Šeriĥum, which, however, is not very likely. At any rate, a reading ku-rî-ĥu-um^{ki} (Thureau-Dangin, RA VIII, p. 183; King, RA IX, p. 94) is excluded, since the sign is not  in either case.

³ The following lines are supplied from the fragment Scheil, *Textes elamites-sémitiques* V, pl. II 4 Col. 1.

	[ú-sa-am-|ki-it]	he cast down,
	[ù]. . . .	and
60	[.]	the <i>whole country</i>
	id[. . . .],
	a-ti-ma	as far as
	ḥu-ri KŪ (= kaspim?)	the silver mines,
	il-gu-ut	he destroyed.
65	SA-TU-e (= šadê)	The mountains
	a-bar-ti	beyond
	ti-a-am-tim	the sea,
	NĀ-NĀ-su-nu-mi	their stones
70	ì-bu-la-ma	<i>he broke</i>
	[DŪL (= šalam)-su]	<i>and his statue</i>
	[ib-ni-ma]	<i>he fashioned¹ and</i>
Col. 27	a-na	to
	^d en-lil	Enlil
	A-MU-RU	he dedicated it.
35	^d šamaš	Šamaš
	ù	and
	za ^m -a-mà	Zamama
	U-MĀ	. . . . .
	la-zu-ra-tum ²	. . . . .
40	LU.GI.NI-|iš(-ma) ³	. . . . .⁴
	ša DUB (= duppam)	Who shall destroy
	sù-a	this
	ú-sa-za-ku-ni	inscription
45	[^d e]n-lil	may Enlil
	ù	and
	^d š[amaš]	Šamaš

¹ Lines 70-72 are supplied from the analogous passages in inscription y (see above) and the inscription of Naram-Sin, Scheil, TES III, p. 2, Col. 2. The passage in the latter inscription evidently must be read ⁸n SA-TU-su-nu ⁹NĀ-NĀ e-si-i[m] ¹⁰i-bu-lam-ma, "in their mountains he broke ešû (i. e., diorite) rocks and" etc. Note that the statue on which the inscription is engraved is of diorite.

² In the inscriptions of Rimuš (*u* and *U*) la-zu-ra-tim!

³ The sign ma seems to be erased by the scribe.

⁴ See inscription *u*.

	SUHUŠ (= išdî)-su	tear out
	li-zu-ḫa	his foundations
50	ù	and
	ŠE-NUMUN (= zîr)-su	destroy
	li-il-gu-da	his seed.
	[mu-sar-ra]	Inscription on a
<i>β.</i>	55 [ma]-an-iš-|[tu]-su	Maništusu,
	[š]âr	king
	[kiš(i)]	of Kiš:
	a-[na]	to
60	^d en-lil	Enlil
	a-mu-ru	he has dedicated (it).
	mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba	Inscription on its <i>pedestal</i> . ¹
<i>γ.</i> Col.	28 ^d en-lil	Enlil:
	ma-an-iš-|tu-su	"Maništusu,
35	šâr	king
	kiš(i)	of Kiš,
	^d en-lil	Enlil
	ú-da-|bí-sù	<i>has ed him</i> "
40	MU = šum)-su	he called
	i-bí	its name,
	ù	and
	[.]	<i>to Enlil</i>
	[.]	<i>he dedicated it.</i> ²
	[.]

¹ Inscription *β* corresponds to the inscription engraved in larger characters on the fragment B.M. 56631 to the left of the main inscription which is written in smaller characters and corresponds to *α*. As the monolith B. M. 56631 was set up in the temple of Šamaš at Sippar (it was found at Abu-Habba), the dedication runs in the case of course: [ma-an-iš-tu]-su [š]âr [kiš(i)] a-[na] [-]šamaš [A-MU]-RU.

² In better English: "Enlil has ed Maništusu, king of Kiš;" (thus) he (*i. e.*, Maništusu) called its (*i. e.*, the statue's) name and dedicated it to Enlil. The name of the god is placed at the beginning of the inscription in order to make it conspicuous; it is later taken up again *in* the dative *ana* Enlil.

45	[. . . . n]i? ša DUB(=duppam) sù-a ú-sa-za-ku-ni ^d en-lil	..... Who shall destroy this inscription, may Enlil
50	ù ^d šamaš SUHUŠ(=išdî)-su [li-zu-]ḫa [ù]	and Šamaš tear out his foundations and
55	[ŠE-NUMUN(=zîr)-su] [li-il-]gu-da [.....] [.....] [.....].. [.....].. [.....]..	destroy his seed.

REMARK OF THE COMPILER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

LEFT EDGE

Col. 1'	[.....] [.....]-si ¹ [.....]	Inscriptions ¹
2'	šar-ru-GI(=kin) (i)rî-mu-uš ma-an-iš- [tu-s]u	of Šarru-kin, Rimuš, and Maniš- tusu,
3'	šà-é-kur-ra a-na-me-a-bi	as many as there are in Ekur.

¹ Probably we have to supply [lugal-zag-gi-]si, "of Lugal-zaggisi."

No. 35

FRAGMENT OF ORIGINAL INSCRIPTION OF MANIŠTUSU¹

The beginning of the inscription is missing.

[.....]
[LUGAL-LUGAL]	32 kings
[a-bar-ti]	of the country beyond
ti-a[-am-tim]	the sea,
32 a-[na]	to
taḥâ[zim]	battle
ip-ḥu-r[u-]nim-m[a]	assembled
[LAM + KUR]-ar	and he gained the
[.....]	victory.

The rest of the inscription is missing.

No. 36

COPIES OF INSCRIPTIONS OF RIMUŠ AND NARAM-SIN

OBVERSE (OR REVERSE?)²

Only a few signs of Col. 1' are preserved. The beginning of Col. 2' is missing.

Col. 2' (4') [.....]	<i>with the help</i>
[^d innanna]	of Ištar,
an-n[u]-n[i-tim]	the Annunitu,
ù	and
AN-nim(=anim)	Anu,

¹ Cf. 34 Cols. 26 and 27.

² As the fragment published as No. 36 represents only a small portion of a very large tablet, it is impossible to make out with certainty which side is the obverse and which the reverse. The side designated as obverse in the copy has been designated as such only because the side of the fragment is flat, while the other is convex; but note that then the inscription of Rimuš in Col. 5 of the Reverse would follow the inscriptions of Naram-Sin, a fact which would be rather strange.

5'	na-ra-am-|^d sin da-núm in KAS-x(= taḥâzi) [.....]	Naram-Sin, the mighty, in a battle ¹
----	--	--

The lower portion of the column is missing.

The beginning of Col. 3' is missing.

Col. 3'	[.....]..[.....] ù [x+]600+3×60+4[o] +5 LÛ	..... and x+825 men
5'	in KAS-x (= taḥâzim) i-ik-mi ù a-na [...]-x ² -NUN	he made prisoners in battle and to
10'	[...]..... ³ -tim [.....]-li [.....].... [.....].... ...]	..... ..... ..... ..... .....
15'	[.....] ^{ki} [SAG-GIŠ-]RA ù [BĀD (= dūr)]-su [(N)Ī-]GUL-GUL	the city of he smote and its wall he destroyed
20'	ù [Ī]D(= nâram) [i-na] kir-bí-su u-su-zî [.....]	and the river (?) from its midst he turned away (and).....

The lower portion of the column is missing.

¹ Have we perhaps to connect: the mighty in battle?

² Sign REC 343.

³ Perhaps [...] nâr-tim.

The beginning of Col. 4' is missing.

Col. 4'(2')	..[.....]	.....
[.....]
	.....[....[.....]]	.....from (?)
5'	ti-a-a[m-tim]	the lower
	sa-bil-t[im]	sea
	id-gi-e-zu-nu-ma	he summoned them
		and
	ba-rí-ti	<i>between</i>
10'	URU+UD ^{ki}	.....
	ù	and
	.....-na-ak ^{ki1}	.....
	iš-tu-ud-ma	he .....ed and
15'	KAS-x	awaited
	ú-ga-e	the battle.
	na-ra-am-|^d sin	Naram-Sin,
	da-núm	the mighty,
20	iš-má-sù	<i>heard of him (or it)</i>
	[.....]

The lower portion of the column is missing.

The beginning of Col. 5' is missing.

Col. 5'(1')	[.....	.....
	ú-[...]	he .....ed
	-[.....
	[ù]	and
5'	ša-.....[.....]-[...[.....]	.....
	ša [ ]	.....
	nâr..[.....]	the river.....
	u-su-zi	he turned away
10'	ù[.....]	and.....
	ma-..[	Ma.....
	ù	and

¹ Perhaps-na-ak-ki?

.....[.....],
iša[k]	the išakku
15' [nibr]u ^{ki}	of Nippur,
[.....]

The lower portion of the column is missing.

REVERSE (OR OBVERSE?)

The upper portion of Col. 1' is missing.

Col. 1'(5') [.....]	.....
...[.....]
na[-ra-am-] ^d [sin]	Naram-Sin
5' d[a-núm]	the mighty
i[n si-iḫ-rí]	.....
^d [innanna] ¹	of Ištar
[.....]

The rest of the column is missing.

The upper portion of Col. 2' is missing.

Col. 2'(4') [.....]	whom (or which)
i[š-tum.....-] [...[.....]	since the days of old
šar in [šàr-rí]	no king
ma-na-ma	whatever
5' la i-mu-ru	had seen,
ì-nu	at the time when
na-ra-am- ^d sin	Naram-Sin,
da-nim ²	the mighty
10' in si-iḫ-rí	.....

¹ See Col. 2'(4') 10', 11'.

² If da-nim be not merely a mistake, naram-^dsin, etc., would be in the genitive. Have we perhaps to supply an a-na before na-ra-am-^dsin, which would be dependent on i-ḫa-ni-sù ("they bowed before him")? Or is na-ra-am-^dsin, etc., dependent on ì-nu ("at the time of Naram-Sin")? If, however, Naram-Sin is the subject of the verb GA-NAR, da-nim is probably a mistake for da-núm.

	^d innanna	of Ištar, ¹
	GA-NAR-|ma	..... and
	ki-ib-ra-t[um]	the four
15'	ar-ba-um	quarters of the world
	iš-ti-|ni-iš	as one
	i-ḥa-ni-|sù-ma	bowed and
20'	im-ḥu-ru-|nim	received ²
	...[.....]

The rest of the column is missing.

The upper portion of Col. 3' is missing.

Col. 3'	[.....]	.....
	[^{giš} TUKUL(= kag)-gi-su]	his weapons
	in [ti-]a-am-tim	he washed
	sa-bil-tim	in the lower
5'	(N)Ī-LAḤ	sea.
	na-ra-am-|^d sin	Naram-Sin,
	da-núm	the mighty
	in si-iḫ-rí	.....
10'	^d inanna	of Ištar,
	ì-nu	when
	^d en-lil	Enlil
	DI-KŪ(= dîn)-su	had given
15'	i-ti-nu-|ma	his judgment ³
	ù	and
	zi-ra-at	had given
	ni-sî	the reins ⁴
	ga-ti-iš ⁵ -su	of the nations

¹ Have we perhaps to translate: in the *work* of Ištar (*i. e.*, in warfare)?

² If the broken sign of the following line is LUGAL, we must perhaps translate: "they went before the king" or possibly: "they accepted him as king."

³ *I. e.*, the judgment for, or in favor of, Naram-Sin.

⁴ Literally: the nose-rope, *i. e.*, a rope fastened to a ring in the nose of an animal or a captive. See for this explanation Jensen, *Kosmologie* (Index) and KB VI, p. 341, and Thureau-Dangin, JA 1909, p. 86 and *Restitution materielle de la stèle des vautours*, p. 45, note 6.

⁵ Iš has here evidently the value is; cf. note 4, on p. 174.

20'	i-ti-nu	in his hand
	ù	and
	na-e	had not given him
	e-ir-tim	an
25'	la i-ti-|nu-sum	adversary

	[...]....[].....

The rest of the column is missing.

The upper portion of Col. 4' is missing.

Col. 4'(2')	[.....]	.....
	[ù]	or
	MU(=šum) mi-me	says: [(else)
	su-gu-un	the name of some one
	i-ga-pi-ù	place (upon it), ¹
5'	^d inanna	may Inanna,
	an-nu-ni-tum	the Annunitu,
	an	Anu,
	^d en-lil	Enlil,
	zā ^m -a-ma	Zamama,
10'	^d sin	Sin,
	^d šamaš	Šamaš,
	^d né-unu-gal	Nirgal
	[^d]ú-mes	Umes
15'	[^d]nin-kara	Ninkara,
	ì-lu	the great
	ra-bí-|ù-tum	gods
	in ŠU-NIGIN(=naphari)	in their entirety
20'	ar-ra-dam [-su-nu]	curse him
	li-mu-ut-dam	with a bad
	[l]i-ru-ru-uš	curse.
	a-na	To
	[^d e]n-lil	Enlil
25'	[.....]..[...].	.....

The rest of the column is missing.

¹Or perhaps: "the name of some one (else) make it"?

The upper portion of Col. 5' is missing.

Col. 5'(1')	[(i)rí-mu-u]š [šà]r [ki]š(i)	Rimuš, king of Kiš:
5'	[in KAS-]x(= taḥâzi) [a-ba-al-ga-m]aš [šà]r [ba-ra-aḥ-sì] ^{ki} [LAM + KUR)-ar	in a battle he defeated Abalgamas, the king of Barahsi,
10'	ù si-id-ga-ù [š]akanak-su [ŠU]-DŪ-A	and Sidgau, his sukallu his hand captured.
15'	[in] b[a]-r[í]-t[i] [a-wa-an] ^{ki} [ù] [su-si-im] ^{ki} [.....]	<i>Between</i> Awan and Susa

The rest of the column is missing.

No. 37

FRAGMENT OF COPY OF INSCRIPTIONS OF AN EARLY KING PROBABLY NARAM-SIN

The beginning of the column is missing.

.....
[d]a-núm	mighty
[š]àr	king
ki-ib-r]a-tim	of the four
[ar-ba-i]m	quarters of the world,
[.....]

The rest of the column is missing.

No. 38

DATE FORMULA OF ŠAR-GALI-ŠARRI

mu šar-ga-lí-šàr-rí	Year after Šar-gali-šarri
ki-gi-en ^{ki} -šù ¹	to
im-ta-ě-da	.....
...-sag-gá	.....
5' [m]u-uš-bi	the following year.

No. 39

FRAGMENT OF VASE INSCRIPTION OF DUDU

[du-d]u	Dudu,
[da-n]úm	mighty
[š]àr	king
[a-ga-d]é ^{ki}	of Agade.

The rest of the inscription is missing.

¹ Probably ki-²en-¹gi^{ki}-šù "to Sumer."

THE BEARING OF THE NEW INSCRIPTIONS ON THE
HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF AGADE

ŠARRU-KIN

The tablet published as No. 32 contains copies of inscriptions of Lugal-zaggisi, king of Uruk, and Šarru-kin, Rimuš and Maništusu, kings of Agade or Kiš, set up in the temple Ekur at Nippur, as is stated in the colophon on the left edge. The inscriptions contain important historical information, the bearing of which on our knowledge of that remote period it is the purpose of the following sketches to set forth.

Šarru-kin was the founder of the kingdom of Agade in Northern Babylonia, as the list of kings published by Scheil in 1911 has shown. According to the same list he ruled after Lugal-zaggisi, king of Uruk in Southern Babylonia, who had begun his brilliant career as išakku of Umma, and for twenty-four years had ruled over Babylonia and, at least for a time it seems, over the surrounding countries. On the events that brought about the passing of the kingdom from Uruk to Agade only surmises could hitherto be ventured; but the new inscriptions of Šarru-kin, published here, give us the information that Lugal-zaggisi's dominion was overthrown by Šarru-kin in a victorious campaign into Southern Babylonia, in the course of which Lugal-zaggisi himself was taken captive by the Akkadians.

Šarru-kin's own narrative of the war begins with the statement that he conquered Uruk, the capital of Lugal-zaggisi. From the wording of this passage it appears that he found little or no resistance when he marched southward and took the city, which, as the capital of Lugal-zaggisi's kingdom, no doubt, was strongly fortified; for while in all other instances where Šarru-kin relates the conquest of a city, he first mentions a battle with the forces of the city, here, in inscriptions

a and *b* at least, the report begins immediately with the statement that he "smote" Uruk and destroyed its wall, then only proceeding to speak of two battles, one against the "man of Uruk," the other against King Lugal-zaggisi himself. We may, therefore, conclude that the attack came as a surprise to the commander or commanders of the city and province of Uruk, or at least found them utterly unprepared and unequal to a vigorous resistance, and only after Šarru-kin had stormed the city do they seem to have succeeded in gathering sufficient forces to confront the invaders in a pitched battle, which, however, as the inscription tells us, ended in their defeat. On the other hand, it is true, inscription *b* mentions the battle before the capture of Uruk, but it is very likely that the scribe who wrote this inscription was influenced by the fact that in the later course of the campaign the battle invariably took place before the capture of a city. Inscription *b*, furthermore, informs us that fifty išakkus were defeated in this first battle. Where the battle was fought is not stated, though it must have been in the vicinity of Uruk or at least within the boundaries of the province, because otherwise the inscriptions would not mention the Urukites alone as the adversaries of Šarru-kin. However, that the forces of Uruk were strongly reinforced by contingents from the other provinces of Lugal-zaggisi's realm, is evident from the fact just mentioned that fifty išakkus took part in the battle, since it can hardly be assumed that this great number refers to princes of the province of Uruk alone, even if we assume that most of them ruled over small towns only.

Up to this juncture no mention is made of King Lugal-zaggisi himself, which would seem to indicate that he was not present when these events transpired. To defend his kingdom against the invaders he now appears himself upon the scene with an army which we may suppose he had hurriedly assembled. The second of the battles mentioned above then takes place, and again the Northerners are victorious, Lugal-zaggisi himself being taken prisoner.

The whole territory from Agade to Uruk along the river Euphrates, which then took its course farther east than at the present time, past Kiš, Nippur, Kisurra and Šuruppak, *i. e.*, the whole northwestern half of Southern Babylonia, was now in the hands of Šarru-kin. Of Nippur, which is situated somewhat less than half way between Agade and Uruk, this is proved by Šarru-kin's statement, that he led Lugal-zaggisi in fetters through the gate of Enlil, *i. e.*, the gate of the temple Ekur at Nippur, a statement, from which, at the same time, we see that Šarru-kin took care to seek religious sanction for his suddenly acquired power; for Enlil, as the god of lordship, was regarded by the Babylonians as the primary source of all royal power and particularly of that over Babylonia, and for this reason Šarru-kin was obliged to seek his favor. But at the same time it was a great triumph for Šarru-kin himself, when he presented the once mighty ruler as a prisoner to the god. No doubt the god confirmed Šarru-kin through the mouth of his priests as the legitimate lord of Babylonia, for as the titles at the beginning of his inscriptions show, either then or later the dignity of great išakku of Enlil, *i. e.*, chief nomarch of Enlil,¹ was conferred upon him, the same title, by the way, which before him the ill-fated Lugal-zaggisi had borne in the days of his power.²

At this point of the narrative a new section begins, the transition being marked by a repetition of Šarru-kin's name and title. Perhaps this indicates that the royal historians divided the campaign, by which Šarru-kin made himself ruler over Babylonia, into two parts, the first of which comprises the conquest of the northwestern half of Southern Babylonia

¹ Iša(g)-gal^den-lil, Šarru-kin, No. 34, Col. 110.

An išakku is an hereditary prince inferior, in the feudal order of ranks, only to the king, having his residence in a fortified city and ruling over a more or less extensive territory. By calling himself the išakku of Enlil, Šarru-kin recognizes the god as his king to whom he owes allegiance, though at the same time by the term great išakku he implies that he is the first of all vassals of the god, that is, of all other kings.

² Iša(g)-gal^den-lil, Lugal-zaggisi, Vases, Col. 115, 16. It will be observed that, in this title, here as well as in the inscriptions of Šurru-kin, the genitive element ak is entirely dropped, while in all other instances the genitive of Enlil is enlilla; cf., *e. g.*, kā^den-lil-lá-šù 120.

and naturally culminates in the capture of King Lugal-zaggisi as the most important event, while the second part is taken up by the subjugation of the other half of Southern Babylonia, where the išakkus of Lugal-zaggisi, even after the king's capture, hoped to check the progress of the invaders. In this southeastern half our inscriptions clearly distinguish three different territories, namely, that of Ur, southeast of Uruk, bordering on the edge of the Arabian desert; secondly, the country to the east of Ur: the extensive territory of E-Ninmar, stretching from the city of Lagaš to the shore of the Persian Gulf;¹ and lastly, the territory of Umma, which joined that of E-Ninmar on the north.

The first attack of Šarru-kin in this second half of the campaign is directed against the province of Ur, the extreme southwestern part of Southern Babylonia. The city of Ur itself was situated some forty miles below Uruk in the vicinity of the Euphrates. Taking into account that Šarru-kin began his campaign by an attack on Uruk, which is likewise situated in the west, it seems a significant fact that he now begins the conquest of the remaining portions of Babylonia in the same locality, leaving, for the time being, the central part of Southern Babylonia in the hands of the foe. Perhaps he was prompted to this procedure by the fact that the Euphrates afforded a convenient means of drawing resources from the North; but no doubt his chief reason was that the central part of Southern Babylonia, dominated as it was by Umma, Lugal-zaggisi's chief stronghold, presented too great an obstacle for a quick conquest, and he therefore preferred first to do away with the fortresses south and southeast of Umma and then only, after depriving the latter of the possibility of drawing resources from the other parts of the country, to turn upon Umma itself. The išakku of Ur, or whoever it was that commanded the forces of the province, met Šarru-kin in a battle. He was defeated, and the city of Ur consequently fell and shared the fate of Uruk. After this Šarru-kin pushed east-

¹ The Persian Gulf at that time reached much farther inland than at the present.

ward into the territory of E-Ninmar, again leaving Umma unmolested. Another battle was fought with the same result; E-Ninmar was conquered and destroyed and the whole territory from the city of Lagaš to the shore of the Persian Gulf, as the inscription expressly states, devastated. Šarru-kin himself approached the coast, where he and no doubt his whole army washed their weapons in the waters of the sea, a ceremony which was intended to hallow the weapons for the war which the Babylonians evidently regarded as a sacred enterprise.

The province of E-Ninmar is identical with the territory over which in former times the išakkus of Lagaš had ruled and which under Urukagina, shortly before Lugal-zaggisi made himself king of Babylonia, had formed the kingdom of Lagaš. After the destruction of the latter city by Lugal-zaggisi, Girsu seems to have become the capital, Urukagina changing his title to "king of Girsu."¹ Finally, however, when Urukagina lost his kingdom altogether, it appears that Lugal-zaggisi made E-Ninmar, which must be sought somewhere south of Telloh, the chief city and the chief stronghold of that region.

After having taken possession of the provinces north, west and southeast of Umma, Šarru-kin finally turns against Umma itself. This city was then ruled by the išakku Mes-É, as we see from inscription *a*, *ε*, which served as subscription to a picture of the išakku on the monument of victory set up by Šarru-kin. The fact that in No. 34 the inscription referring to Mes-É is placed immediately after that referring to Lugal-zaggisi evidently indicates that on the monument the išakku's picture followed that of King Lugal-zaggisi and preceded those of the išakkus of Uruk, Ur and E-Ninmar, if the latter were represented on the monument; this fact, by the way, is a further

¹ Cf. Uru-kagina, Clay tablet, Rev. 37, 8. According to Cones B and C, Col. 31, Uru-kagina had fortified the city of Girsu by building its walls. Whether Cone A, in which Uru-kagina likewise bears the title "king of Girsu," has to be placed before or after the destruction of Lagaš, we do not yet know.

proof of the great political importance attributed by us to Umma. Whether this Mes-É was perhaps a relative of Lugal-zaggisi who now considered himself as his heir, we do not know; at any rate, he was neither a son nor a brother of the king, since this fact would certainly have been mentioned in the inscription. When the king of Akkad drew near with his victorious army, the fifth and last battle of the campaign was fought. Again Sarru-kin was the victor, and probably immediately afterwards he took Umma and destroyed its fortifications. As thus the last resistance was broken, Šarru-kin was now the undisputed lord of Babylonia.

The overthrow of Lugal-zaggisi and the complete conquest of Southern Babylonia by Šarru-kin was followed by the subjugation of the country northwest of Babylonia. In the inscriptions 34 *a* and *b*, which we have followed in the foregoing account, this fact is reported in the short statement that Enlil gave unto Šarru-kin the lands "from the upper sea to the lower sea," *i. e.*, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, the Semitic version differing somewhat in expression from the Sumerian, inasmuch as it says that Enlil gave or subdued unto Šarru-kin "the upper and the lower sea." Two other parallel inscriptions, *c* and *d*, one of which is in Sumerian, the other in Akkadian, are somewhat more explicit, stating that Enlil gave to Šarru-kin the "upper land," and then specify the latter as Mari, Iarmuti and Ibla, and even denote the extreme boundaries to which Šarru-kin's conquest extended, namely, the "Cedar Forest" and the "Silver Mountains." Short as this statement is, nevertheless it is of very great importance for our knowledge of the geography of Western Asia at this early period.

Mari is well known as the name of a city on the Euphrates above Babylonia, though its exact position is not yet determined. Here it appears as a designation for an extensive territory, evidently comprising the Euphrates Valley from the northwestern boundaries of Babylonia to perhaps the vicinity

of Karkemish. The use of the name of the city as a geographical designation is, of course, due to the fact that either then or in former times this territory formed a political state, governed by rulers of the city of Mari. In fact, the existence of a politically important kingdom of Mari in the Sargonic period is sufficiently proved by the inscriptions. On a statuette a certain [.]-šamaš calls himself *lugal-ma-ri^{ki} isa(g)-gal-en-lil*, the last a title which, as we have seen, was borne by Lugal-zaggisi as well as by Šarru-kin, and which, it would seem, implied the possession of the city of Nippur.¹ Then we recall that at the time of Eannadu² Mari appears as the political equal of the kingdom or kingdoms of Kiš and Upi, with which it is allied in their uprising against Eannadu. Turning to a much later period we find again a kingdom or principality of Mari towards the end of the third kingdom of Ur, when Išbi-Irra, the man of Mari, as he is called on an unpublished Nippur tablet, invades Babylonia and founds the kingdom of Isin. Still later, Hammurabi, according to the date formula of his fourth year, wages war against Mari and makes it defenseless by destroying its wall; here Mari is possibly again the political centre of the middle Euphrates Valley.

The identification of the two other lands mentioned as constituting the "upper country" is at the present to a great extent dependent on the correct localization of the "Cedar Forest" and the "Silver Mountains," which Šarru-kin mentions as the extreme limits of the territory subdued by him. In one of the inscriptions of Gudea,³ the *ama-a-núm*, *i. e.*, the Amanus range, is defined as *ḥar-sag-erin* "cedar mountains" and Gudea relates that he procured from there cedar beams sixty and fifty yards in length as well as another kind of tree only twenty-five yards in length. But it is a question whether these cedar mountains can be identified with the ^{gis}*tir-erin-na* "Cedar Forest" of

¹ From this we have perhaps to conclude that Mari is one of the missing "cities of royalty" in the lists of kings. But see p. 101.

² See Chapter V.

³ Statue B, Col. 52.

which Šarru-kin's inscriptions speak. To me this identification does not seem to be very likely; for since the Amanus Mountains bar the way to the Mediterranean to which Šarru-kin claims to have extended his empire, and which itself, according to the Akkadian version, he claims to have included in his dominion, Amanus could not very well be mentioned as one of the remotest points of his empire. Thus possibly the cedar forest has to be sought further south, as far south perhaps as Lebanon and Antilebanon.

It may here be recalled that a cedar forest¹ is mentioned in the Gilgameš epic as the abode of the god Humbaba, to fight with whom Gilgameš and Enkidu set out from Uruk. As this forest, as well as that in the inscriptions of Šarru-kin, is mentioned without any other specification, evidently being understood to be the well-known cedar forest, it would be very tempting to see in both the same locality. The cedar forest of the Gilgameš epic is usually sought in Elam, though on no better ground than because the name Humbaba is considered to be compounded with the name of the Elamite god Humba or Umba,² an assumption which neither can be proved nor is very likely,³ so that indeed there would be no obstacle to the identification of the two forests; on the other hand, there is no conclusive proof in favor of the identification.⁴

The "Silver Mountains," on the other hand, are in all likelihood the Taurus Mountains, where, as we know, silver mines were worked in antiquity. Note, e. g., that Šulmanu-ašarid II states that he went to Mount Tunni, the silver

¹ Written ^g18TIR-^g18ERIN, Gilg. Ep. IV a₆; b₁₆.

² See Jensen in KB VI a p. 437. Whether the KUR-^g18ERIN^{k1} mentioned in 2 R 50₆₅ is identical with our ^g18TIR-^g18ERIN and whether it really was situated to the east of Babylonia, is equally doubtful, although 5 R 50 mentions the mountain between Gutium and Marḫalim.

³ Equally unfounded, at least in view of our present evidence, is the identification of Humbaba with *κομβάβος*, who appears as the guardian of Queen Stratonike in the legend concerning the construction of the sanctuary at Hierapolis reported by Lucian in *De dea syria*.

⁴ Note, however, that the šadu-u ^g18ERIN, the mu-šab ili^{pl}, parak ^dir-NI-NI, in front of which the cedar is standing, V 16 77, occurs in a passage which clearly betrays the hand of a redactor; for šadû and ^g18erinu in l. 6 seem to be variants as well as mu-šab ili^{pl} and parak ^dir-NI-NI, so that we may have to reckon with a combination of different traditions which very well may have located the cedar forest or cedar mountain at different localities.

mountain, on an expedition to Kue and Tabal.¹ These mines probably formed one of the chief objectives of Šarru-kin's campaign; note that Maništusu in Col. 26⁰²⁻⁰⁴ likewise mentions mines as the extreme limit of his conquests in the country "beyond the sea."

The country of Jarmuti is known to us from the Tell-Amarna letters as ^{mātu}ia-ri-mu-ta and ^{mātu}ia-ri-im-mu-ta. It is mentioned in twelve letters of Rib-Addi, the ruler of Gubla or Byblos on the Phœnician coast, in which he implores the king of Egypt to order his agent Janḫamu to send grain from Jarimuta to Gubla, since the inhabitants of his city are unable to procure it themselves, having already given all their money, valuables and even their children in exchange for food from that country. In one of the letters Rib-Addi refers to the advice probably given him by the royal court to send a ship to Jarimuta, while in two others he seems to protest that for certain reasons it is impossible to reach Jarimuta by ship. From these latter passages it follows that Jarimuta was situated on the shore of the Mediterranean, that at the time of Amenophis IV it was under the control of the Egyptians, and lastly, that it could produce grain in sufficient quantities to supply the Phœnician cities, a fact which necessarily presupposes that it was a more or less level country. For these reasons it has been proposed to see in the land of Jarimuta the Nile delta,² an identification which in the light of the new inscriptions of Šarru-kin is, of course, entirely out of question, since Jarimuta is a part of the "Upper Land" between the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains, and must therefore be sought somewhere along the Syrian or possibly the Sicilian coast. As the boundary of the Egyptian sphere of influence towards the North during the earlier part of the reign of Amenophis IV was approximately

¹ Black obelisk 104-107; statue (Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur I No 30) Rev. 2-4. See Meissner, OLZ 1912, Cols. 145-149 (Woher haben die Assyrer Silber bezogen?).

² Niebuhr, Das Land Jarimuta. MVG I, p. 208 ff; his view was approved of by W. M. Müller, *ibid.*, II, p. 274; H. Ranke, KMAäv, p. 22 and note 1, and lastly adopted by O. Weber in Knudtzon, Die Tell-Amarna-Briefe, p. 1153.

the Amanus, we may very well assume that the Jarimuta of the Tell-Amarna letters was the plain of Antioch along the lower course and at the mouth of the Orontes river. This fertile region must have been considered by the Egyptians as one of the most valuable of their Asiatic possessions and doubtless for this reason stood directly under an Egyptian rabišu, namely, Janhamu who is so frequently mentioned in the Tell-Amarna letters. The fact that we hear comparatively little of this region in the Tell-Amarna letters, cannot be cited as an argument against this assumption, since the correspondence between the Egyptian governor and the court, of course, was carried on in Egyptian and, therefore, probably was written on a material that long since has perished.

While at the time of the Tell-Amarna letters the land of Jarimuta, as far as we know, comprised a rather restricted area, at the time of Šarru-kin, Jarmuti was the geographical name for an extensive territory, evidently comprising the whole country from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates where it bordered on the territory of Mari. In both the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of our inscriptions Jarmuti is supplied with the determinative ki, and it is therefore likely that it was called after a city of this name. This fact, if correct, would of course indicate the existence in those regions at some very early time of a powerful kingdom of Jarmuti the kings of which resided in this city.

The important question as to the relation in which the country of Jarmuti stood to the country or people of Martu which we meet for the first time in a date formula of Šar-gali-šarri, the sixth king of Agade, cannot yet be definitely answered. Šar-gali-šarri lived more than one hundred years after the beginning of Šarru-kin's reign, and we cannot, therefore, be sure whether the Martu country was of any significance at the time of Šarru-kin. Nevertheless, considering the extent of the country of the Amurru with which Martu was equated in later times, it may be regarded as very well possible that Martu even at this early period designated Syria and Palestine

south of the northern ends of Lebanon and Antilebanon, while Jarmuti designated Syria to the north of these limits as far as perhaps the northern slopes of the Amanus range.

If the identification of Jarmuti is correct, then the country of Ibla, which is mentioned as the third region of the "upper country," must necessarily be situated north of Jarmuti, comprising the southern slopes and offshoots of the Taurus Mountains and probably stretching eastwards into the bend which the Euphrates describes around the later Commagene and Melitene. That the country was mountainous is shown by the above-mentioned inscription of Gudea who speaks of a certain URU-ur-su^{ki} as a mountain district of Ibla from whence he procured all kinds of mountain trees, such as zabalum, ù-kugal-gal, tulubum, etc.¹ At our own period Ibla is mentioned in an inscription of Naram-Sin,² who there styles himself the smiter of Armanum and Ibla,³ a juxtaposition from which we must conclude that Ibla and Armanum were neighboring countries, the former perhaps comprising the southern slopes of the Taurus chain west of the Euphrates, the latter probably stretching from the Euphrates towards Assyria.

That the "upper land" has to be understood as a collective name for the western regions is evident from the fact that in inscriptions *c* and *d* it is not mentioned together with the countries of Mari, Jarmuti and Ibla, but is separated from them by the verb *itism*, these latter countries, therefore, merely constituting the "upper land." The term has, of course, arisen from the fact that Syria is reached from Babylonia by going up the Euphrates; note that for the same reason the west or rather northwest is often referred to as *igi-nim* "above," while the regions southeast of Babylonia are spoken of as *sî(g)* "below,"⁴

¹ Statue B, Col. 555-62.

² Published by H. de Genouillac in RA 10, p. 101, No. 1; the same inscription is found on a perforated plaque from Telloh (Thureau-Dangin, CR 1899, p. 348; SAKI, p. 166d), but here the last line *ib-la^{ki}* is broken off.

³ SAG-GIŠ-RA ^aar-ma-nim^{ki} ⁹ù ¹⁰ib-la^{ki}.

⁴ Cf. ⁷sî-šù elam-ma ba-ši-gub-bu [.] ⁸nim-šù ḥa-al-ma lù-kúr-ra-ge[.], HGT 20 Rev.; mu ur-^dengur lugal-e sî-ta igi-nim-šù gír si-bf-sá, date of Ur-engur, RTC 261-263.

and that the Mediterranean is called the "upper sea," the Persian Gulf the "lower sea."¹

The account of the subjugation of the "upper land" in inscriptions *a* and *b* is preceded by the statement that Enlil gave no foe or, as one inscription has it, no rival to Šarru-kin, and the same statement is added at the same point of the narrative in inscriptions *c* and *d*. The position of this statement is by no means accidental; it was only on this expedition or perhaps expeditions to the West that Šarru-kin encountered no serious opposition, whereas in the previous war against Lugal-zaggisi and the South Babylonian išakkus five battles had to be fought before the last resistance was broken. From this point of view it is significant that Šarru-kin himself does not allude to any battle during this expedition, nor does he claim to have devastated the western countries. We may therefore imagine that Šarru-kin set out for the West with an enormous army and that, wherever he appeared, the cities and local princes, seeing that resistance would be fatal, as a rule, submitted to his demands of tribute and hostages, which probably were very excessive. That Šarru-kin brought home an enormous spoil we may conclude from the grandeur of his royal household of which he speaks immediately after the account of the subjugation of the West, and the costs of which he evidently defrayed with the tribute of the foreign countries. As an illustration of the splendor with which he surrounded himself he mentions in inscriptions *c* and *d* that daily 5400 men eat bread before him, while in inscriptions *a* and *b* he boasts that princes or nobles of the foreign nations stand in attendance before him.

In inscriptions *a* and *b* the section containing this allusion to the foreign nobles is immediately followed by the account of the restoration of the city of Kiš which evidently had lain

¹ Cf. a-ab-ba-igi-nim-ta a-ab-ba-si-ga-šù, Gudea, Statue B 525, 26; *ù-ba⁴ a-ab-ba *st-ga(?) -ta *idigna buranun-bi *a-ab-ba *igi-nim-ma-šù ¹⁰Ēr-bi si-e-na-sá, Lugal-zaggisi, vase inscription Col. 2.

in ruins since the destruction of the kingdom of Kiš by Lugal-zaggisi.¹ Šarru-kin, however, did not make Kiš his residence, but, as the following partially broken inscription *e* stated, built an entirely new residence, or, as he says, a city, within the marches of Agade. It is from this city that he derived his title "king of Agade." But evidently in order to establish a connection with the past history of Babylonia and thus to legitimate his new kingdom, he also adopts in his official list of titles that of "king of Kiš" and "king of the land," the former of which implied chiefly the dominion over Northern Babylonia, while the title lugal-kalam-ma "king of the land," as we have seen in Chapter IV, denoted sovereignty over the South. It will be noted that the sequence of the titles is "king of Agade," "king of Kiš," "king of the land," and that the second of these, "king of Kiš," is preceded by the theological title "vicegerent of Innanna," the chief deity of Kiš, while the title "king of the land" is preceded by the title "pašišu of Anum," the god of Uruk. No theological predicate is connected with the title "king of Agade," because none of the great ruler-gods had his seat there, the city enjoying, as we see from the summaries in our new lists of kings, for the first time the privilege of being the capital of Babylonia.² On the other hand, the theological predicate "great-išakku of Enlil," is not followed by any political title, because in the past, at least in historical times, Nippur had had only religious or theological importance as the seat of the supreme god of lordship.

It may perhaps seem strange at first thought that the god Zamama of Kiš does not appear in the titles of Šarru-kin, but this is explained by the fact that at the time of the founding of the kingdom of Agade, Zamama was a god of minor importance, or at least, was not reckoned as one of the great ruler-gods. This is clearly shown by the fact that he was the *ilu*,

¹ The assumption that Lugal-zaggisi himself made an end to the kingdom of Kiš is, of course, at the present only a conjecture.

² Cf. No. 2 Col. 12, 1: a-du-1-kam ša a-ga-dé^{kl}.

i. e., the patron or tutelary god of Šarru-kin,¹ ranking as such perhaps with the goddess Nidaba, the tutelary goddess of Lugal-zaggisi, or with the god Nin-šubur, the god of King Urukagina of Lagaš,² but not with deities like Enlil and Innanna, to whom the king, as a rule, would refer as “his lord” or “his lady,” not as “his god” or “his goddess.” The very fact, however, that Zamama was the patron god of King Šarru-kin, it seems, gave occasion to his elevation to the rank of chief god of Kiš, as which he appears, *e. g.*, at the time of the first dynasty, being at that time mentioned before his spouse Innanna of Kiš wherever the two are named together.³ This elevation can already be noted under Naram-Sin, for in the fourth column of inscription No. 34, Rev. Col. 4’₉, he is enumerated as one of ten gods whom Naram-Sin expressly designates as *ì-lu ra-bi-ù-tum* “the great gods,” ranking as fifth immediately after Enlil.

The site of the city of Agade has usually been sought in the vicinity of Sippar, though for no sufficient reason. The statement of the legend that Šarru-kin was exposed on the Euphrates and was carried by the water to the abode of Akki, proves that Agade was situated either on the Euphrates, or on a canal which derived its waters from this river. The legend, the chronicle and the omens, the list of kings, published by Scheil, as well as the inscriptions, all bring Šarru-kin in close connection with Ištar or Zamama, which seems to indicate that Agade was situated in the vicinity of Kiš. If this conjecture should prove correct, an entirely new light might be thrown on the difficult passage in the chronicle where it is stated that Šarru-kin “tore out the soil of the esê of Babylon,” and “built the itê of Agade in view of Babylon,” for the remov-

¹ Cf. *za^m-a-mà il-su*; notice the writing of *il* with the sign *il*, which is characteristic for this period. For the reading *za^m-a-mà*, see OLZ 1912, Col. 484. For the writing *a^dza-mà-mà* at our period see *e. g.*, SANGU-*a^dza-mà-mà*, Maništuš, Obelisk A 8₂₀, and the name KA+ŠU-ŠA-*a^dza-mà-mà*, *ibid.*, B 4₈, beside SANGU-AN-*a-mà*, B₁₈.

² Cf. Urukagina, stone tablet 4₁₀, 51 *dingir-ra-ni a^dni-šubur-ge*.

³ Cf., *e. g.*, IGI + Ê-nir ki-dúr-maš *a^dza-mà-mà a^dinnanna*, date of the 36th year of Hammu-rabi.

ing of the soil to a nearby city would be entirely within the limits of possibility. However, the variant readings of the omens show that the text is too uncertain for the deduction of any trustworthy conclusion on this point. Of much more weight, however, is the fact that in the obelisk of Maništusu as witnesses for purchases of land, there appear chiefly *mârê agade^{ki}* and *mârê kiš^{ki}*, thus showing again the close connection between Kiš and Agade.

It is of great interest to notice that the Sumerian and Akkadian inscriptions of Šarru-kin give different forms for the name of the capital, inasmuch as the former write *ag-gi-dé^{ki}*, while in the latter we find the well-known writing *a-ga-dé^{ki}*. These variants show unmistakably that even at the time of Šarru-kin the original meaning of the name was unknown. Both *a-ga-dé^{ki}* and *ag-gi-dé^{ki}* are purely phonetic renderings of the name. The doubling of the g corresponds to the well-known spelling of the name with kk, namely, as Akkad, at a later period, the g instead of the later k being, as the inscriptions show, a common orthographic peculiarity of this early period.¹

A popular etymology of the city's name, however, is perhaps transmitted to us in the name of Akki, who was Šarru-kin's foster-father according to the legend; for *aqqi* means "I poured out (water)," and might here be an epithetic name referring to the vocation of Akki who was a *nâq mê^{pl}*, a "pourer of water." In Sumerian, on the other hand, *a-gade* means "I will pour water." Perhaps there existed an ætiological legend concerning the name of Agade, explaining it as the abode of a man who once on a certain occasion said the words: "I poured out water," or "I will pour out water," and thus gave the place its name.

The inscriptions contained in Columns 1-11 of text 32 form a well-defined group, treating of the events with which

¹ See also my remarks in OLZ, Col. 485.

we have hitherto been occupied. All these inscriptions were evidently composed after the subjugation of the West and before the conquest of Elam which forms the subject of a second group of inscriptions, beginning at the end of Column 11. According to the colophons of the copyist, the texts were copied from inscriptions on "images"—alan—and stone slabs—ki-gal—which formed the pedestals or bases of the images, as well as from inscriptions on other votive objects. Some of the "images" were probably sculptures in the round; others, however, were doubtless of the type of the stelæ of victory, namely, slabs or blocks of stone with pictorial representations in relief.¹ Besides the figure of the king, which, of course, was never omitted, these monuments contained representations of the conquered kings and commanders and of the spoil or tribute of the conquered cities, as we may infer from the many short inscriptions containing only the names and titles of these foreign officials or reading "*tribute of Anšan*" and the like, inscriptions which no doubt served to explain the sculptures. *E. g.*, on the monument from which inscription *b* was copied, which described Šarru-kin's war against Lugal-zaggisi, the latter king and the išakku of Umma were pictured, evidently in the posture of the vanquished, with bound hands, kneeling or prostrated before Šarru-kin. Long rows of subjected foreign officials and tribute-bearing citizens must have been engraved on monument *k* which belongs to a later period of Šarru-kin's reign. Inscription *b*, on the other hand, was copied from a statue which Lugal-zaggisi had set up for himself and which Šarru-kin did not remove, allowing it to be, by its contrast with the present, an eloquent witness of his own success.

Our new inscriptions, by the way, thus reveal the important fact that the interior of the temple of Enlil at Nippur contained a considerable number of sculptured works such as described above, and there is not the slightest doubt that as soon as the main building of the temple, which contains the sanctuary of Enlil, and which has received but slight attention from the

¹ Cf. the monument of Šarru-kin found at Susa and described by Gautier in RT 27, p. 176 ff.

four expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania, is excavated, many of these ancient works of art will be recovered. The proof for this assertion may be seen in the fragment of an original diorite stela of King Maništusu, published as No. 35 of this volume, the inscription of which is found almost complete in Columns 26 and 27 of our tablet. The fragment contains only five lines or panels, while the original monument comprised about sixty-three lines, a fact which, taken together with the huge size of the signs, clearly indicates the monumental character of the original stela.

As to the second group of inscriptions which begins with Column 11 below, and which deals with Šarru-kin's conquest of the countries of Elam and Baraḥsi, unfortunately those parts containing the detailed narrative of the conquest itself are missing, with the exception of a few words in Column 13. In an inscription copied from the pedestal of a statue,¹ however, Šarru-kin is given the epithet "smiter of Elam and Baraḥsi," and, moreover, Column 11 and Column 12² give us the short explanatory inscriptions which were added to sculptured reliefs representing the vanquished high dignitaries of Elam and Baraḥsi and the booty or tribute of the cities of these two countries, so that at least the fact of the conquest of Elam and Baraḥsi by Šarru-kin can be established beyond any doubt.

Elam and Baraḥsi must be neighboring countries, since they are mentioned side by side not only here but also in the inscriptions of Rimuš. From the statement of Rimuš that he tore out the foundations of Baraḥsi from the nations of Elam,³ it follows that the name of the latter might be used so as to include the former, as indeed Elam in a comprehensive sense could denote the whole country east and southeast of Babylonia, including Anšan, Širiḥum, Kimaš and Zabšali.⁴ But in

¹ Inscription *i*, β.

² Inscriptions *i*, γ-ψ.

³ See inscription *u*.

⁴ Cf. HGT 20 Rev. 7.

a restricted sense Elam is only a part of this territory, namely, the region around Susa, and as such ranking in the same category as those other countries; cf., *e. g.*, the enumeration Anšan, Elam, Simaš and Baraḥsi in the inscription of Anu-mutabil. So also are mentioned in the inscriptions of Šarru-kin side by side, among the vanquished dignitaries, Sanamsimu, the šakanakku of Elam, and Sidgau, the šakanakku of Baraḥsi. The exact geographical relation of Elam and Baraḥsi to each other, however, has not yet been determined, but it seems that the latter was the more remote from Babylonia, since Elam, probably because it was nearer to Babylonia, is mentioned before Baraḥsi. Towards the southeast then were situated the neighboring countries of Anšan and Širihum which have to be sought at no great distance from the shores of the Persian Gulf, because Manišusu, as we shall see, crosses the Persian Gulf and subjugates the Arabian shores after having devastated these two countries. Anšan, at least, can be definitely identified with the later province Persis, since in the Nabuna'id-Cyrus chronicle, Cyrus, at the time when he was still the vassal of Astyages, is called king of Anšan;¹ likewise Nabunaid, in his great cylinder inscription from Abu-Habba, designates him as king of Anzan,² which is, of course, identical with Anšan; and lastly, Cyrus himself in his cylinder inscription gives himself as well as his forefathers the title king of Anšan.³

The country of Širihum then evidently comprised the southern part of Carmania, *i. e.*, the country near the straits of Oman, where Manišusu crossed over to Arabia; note the sequence Anšan and Širihum from which, no doubt, it follows that the latter was the more remote from Babylonia.⁴

¹ Col. 21: ku-raš šār an-ša-an.

² Col. 120: ku-ra-aš šār^{matl} an-za-an.

³ Cf. l. 12: ¹ku-ra-aš šār¹ an-ša-an; l. 21: már ¹ka-am-bu-zi-ia šār^{ai} an-ša-an mār-māri ¹ku-ra-aš šār^{ai} an-ša-an LIB-BAL-BAL ¹ši-iš-pi-iš šār^{ai} an-ša-an.

⁴ Winckler in *MVG* 1896, p. 71 f. erroneously defines Anzan as lying north of Elam, east of Suri (= Subari), south of the Manda and west of Gutium, while in *KAT*², pp. 28, 100, etc., he identifies it with Media, and in the map makes it comprise the Zagros mountains. Ed. Meyer in *Geschichte des Altertums* 1² p. 408, thinks that it is that part of Elam in which Susa is situated, which, however, is disproved by the passages mentioned above. The position of Anšan is correctly recognized by Jensen in *ZA* 15, p. 225 ff.

Unfortunately, Columns 13–15, which contained further inscriptions of Šarru-kin, are destroyed. The few preserved lines of Column 13 refer to a battle and a victory over thirty išakkus, the last of the preserved lines mentioning “rebellious cities.”¹ In Column 17, the second of the reverse, we have already an inscription of Rimuš, but the short inscriptions in Column 16 were doubtless copied from a monument of Šarru-kin, because the series of pictorial representations from which they were taken presupposes a longer main inscription, which would necessarily extend to the preceding column where Šarru-kin is mentioned. Among the vanquished foes in these reliefs there reappear at least two of the persons already mentioned in Column 12, namely, Sidgau, the šakanakku of Baraḥsi, and Kumduba, the judge of Baraḥsi. Nevertheless, this second group of reliefs cannot refer to the same events described in the group of inscriptions *i* and *k*, as may be seen from the following comparison of the short legends originally engraved under the sculptures in the two groups.

Inscription <i>i</i> , γ-ψ.	Inscription <i>m</i> , η-λ.
Ur,	[.....]
(after at least 25 lines)	..... ru, išakku of Širiḫum.
Dagu, brother of the king of Baraḥsi	
<i>Tribute</i> of HE-NI	
<i>Tribute</i> of Bunban	
Zina, isakku of Hu.	
Ḫidarida, išakku of Gunilaḫa	
<i>Tribute</i> of Saba	
<i>Tribute</i> of Awan	
Sidgau, šakanakku of Baraḥsi	Sidgau, šakanakku of Baraḥsi.
	Sanamsimu, išakku of Elam.
	Luḫiṣ-AN, son of the king of Elam.
Kumduba, judge of Baraḥsi	Kumduba, judge of Baraḥsi.
<i>Tribute</i> of Susa	[.....]

The fact that in the first of the two lists Dagū, the brother of the king of Baraḥsi, is mentioned among the vanquished or

¹ URU-URU za-ar-ru-tim.

subdued adversaries of Šarru-kin seems to indicate that at the time of the campaign which the sculptures illustrate, *i. e.*, the campaign described in the second group of Šarru-kin's inscriptions, Baraḥsi was the leading political power in Elam; it will be noted that, as far as Elam proper is concerned, only Susa is mentioned, and only at the very end of the list; the second much shorter list, on the other hand, mentions Luḥis-AN the son of Hi(.), king of Elam, which may be taken as an indication that at that time Elam proper was the seat of the Elamite kingdom. It is, therefore, very likely that we have to do with two separate campaigns of Šarru-kin. As under Rimuš Elam and Baraḥsi and our Sidgau again appear as vanquished adversaries, it is evident that Šarru-kin did not completely break the power of resistance in the Elamitic countries, which indeed, owing to the mountainous character of these regions, would have been a very difficult task. He probably contented himself with accepting the submission and the tribute of the various governors and išakkus, who after some time doubtless became lax in the payment of tribute, thus necessitating another campaign of the Akkadians against Elam. It is probably such a later campaign to which the list in Column 16 refers.

Unfortunately only a few lines of the inscription of Šarru-kin on his monument of victory found at Susa¹ are preserved and, moreover, they do not give us any definite data of historical bearing. We cannot even say whether this monument was set up at Susa by Šarru-kin himself, or whether it was carried there from a Babylonian city by an Elamite invader of Babylonia. For this reason it must remain undecided at present whether the scenes of combat on the monument refer to the Elamite wars of Šarru-kin or not.² We see, however, that Šarru-kin speaks of a battle in which he vanquished the king(?) or the

¹ See Gautier, RT 27, p. 176 ff., and Scheil, Textes elamites-semitiques IV, p. 4 ff. and pl. 2, Nos. 3 and 4. Photographic reproductions of the sculptures have not yet been published.

² It is likely that the short inscriptions of HGT 34 will give us a clew for the identification of the scenes on the monument of victory.

army of a certain city (or country) of which only the determinative *ki* is preserved, the inscription after this probably relating some building operation, the dedication of some votive object, or most likely the erection of the monument of victory.

The second campaign of Šarru-kin against Elam and Baraḥsi is the last event of his reign of which we have knowledge from his own inscriptions at Nippur, at least as far as they are preserved.

It is of the greatest importance to compare the historical data gathered from these inscriptions with the traditions concerning Šarru-kin which were current in neo-Babylonian times.

On examining the chief of the late sources, namely, the chronicle and the historical references in the omen texts, it will be found that the chronicle is in substance more or less identical with the latter half of the historical references in the omens; moreover, this latter half of the omens begins with a general introductory phrase which would be expected only at the beginning of an account of Šarru-kin's history, and in the chronicle, in fact, it serves to introduce the section dealing with Šarru-kin. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the first section of the historical references in the omens lies completely outside of the chronological framework of the chronicle and of the latter half of the historical references in the omens.

Despite the fact that the accounts of the chronicle and of the latter half of the omens are substantially identical, nevertheless they differ greatly in details, the first paragraph, *e. g.*, showing no less than four variants considerably altering the meaning of the text. Compare

<i>Chronicle</i>	<i>Omens</i>
Introduction	
šarru-kin šar Agade ^{ki} ina palê	..... šarru-kin ša ina širi ann(l)
^d istar ilamma	[ina palê ^d ištar] ilamma
šanina ú maḥiri ul iši	šanina GABA-RI ul išu
šalummatu eli matati itbuk	šalummatu eli [matati itbuku]

Chronicle

Section I

tamta *ina* šit šamši ibirma
 MU-11-KAM *mat* ereb šamši adi
 kitišu qatsu ikšud
 pišu ana ištīn ukin
 šalmešu ina ereb šamši ušziz
 šallatsunu ina *amati* ušebira

Omens

tamta *ša* ereb šamši ibiruma
 MU-3-KAM *ina* ereb šamši adi
 kitišu q|atsu ikšudu
 pišu *ašar* ištēn ukinu
 šalmešu ina ereb šamši [ušzi]zzu
 šallasunu ina mati *tamta* ušebira

The chronicle, *e. g.*, states that Šarru-kin crossed the eastern sea, and without mentioning any details concerning this expedition in the east, at once begins to speak of the conquest of the western country to its very ends. Instead of "sea in the east" the omens have "sea of the west" which at first thought might seem to be more in harmony with the account of the conquest of the West, immediately following, but in reality brings in a new difficulty, since, in order to reach what the Babylonians knew as the country of the West, it is not necessary to cross the western sea. Moreover, the crossing of the Mediterranean would have been an achievement for which we have no other parallel, whereas we know of several instances when the "eastern sea," *i. e.*, the Persian Gulf, was crossed by a Babylonian or Assyrian army, *e. g.*, under Maništusu, one of Šarru-kin's successors.

It will be observed that the inscriptions of Šarru-kin neither contain the statement that he crossed the eastern sea, nor that he passed over the western sea, although Šarru-kin certainly would not have failed to make mention of such an achievement, since he mentions a fact of such minor importance as the washing of his weapons in the waters of the Persian Gulf. Nevertheless, the inscriptions at least testify that Šarru-kin reached the shores of the Persian Gulf in his war against Lugal-zaggisi, and that afterwards he subjugated the lands from the upper sea to the lower sea, or, according to the Semitic version, subdued the upper sea and the lower sea themselves. There is the possibility that the original, from which the present texts of the chronicle and the omens have been derived, contained

a statement to this effect which, however, by the long process of recopying and abbreviating may have been disfigured to its present condition. Perhaps the idea that Šarru-kin crossed the eastern sea was even suggested under the influence of the historical tradition that Maništusu traversed the Persian Gulf.

The point to which Šarru-kin's conquest of the West was carried is designated in the chronicle as the end of the western country, with no hint as to where this end has to be sought. It will be remembered that Šarru-kin himself mentions the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains as the farthest points to which he penetrated or extended his power. Should these have been regarded by the Babylonians as the extreme boundaries of what here is called the country of the West, then indeed the passage in the chronicle and the omens might be taken as a correct variation of Šarru-kin's own statement; however, it is more likely that the wording of the statement is due to some careless exaggeration, unless the writer perhaps simply wishes to say that Šarru-kin conquered the country as far as the Mediterranean.

Our suggestion as to the solution of the difficulties in the passage of the chronicle referring to the crossing of the sea receives a strong support by the observation that the account of the subjugation of the westland is followed in the chronicle by a statement concerning the wide extension of Šarru-kin's residence; for in Šarru-kin's own inscriptions, in Columns 3 and 4 as well as in Columns 5 and 6, the passages which are intended to illustrate the splendor of the royal household take exactly the same place immediately after the report on the subjugation of the "upper," *i. e.*, the "western country," and it is very remarkable that in the passage which the omens give in addition to the text of the chronicle, or rather instead of an ill-suited general statement in the latter, the very phrase, although somewhat enlarged, is employed as that used by Šarru-kin, as will be seen by a comparison of Omens 29: *dannûti izzizûnišumma êkiam inilik iqbûšu* and No. 34, Column 2 [...mahriš] *šarru-kin šarri mâtim izazûni*.

After the section dealing with Šarru-kin's residence and his court, the chronicle and the omens mention a campaign against Kaštubila of Kazalla and the utter destruction of his city. No parallel account of this campaign is found in the inscriptions represented in No. 34, at least so far as the text is preserved. It would be tempting to recognize this campaign in that against Baraḥsi and Elam which forms the subject of the second group of inscriptions; however, this would necessitate the further assumption that Kazalla has wrongly been given the prominence which it has in the present account, since in Šarru-kin's inscriptions it is evidently Baraḥsi and its king against whom the campaign is directed. Now we know that Rimuš, the successor of Šarru-kin, conquered and devastated the city of Kazallu, and the assumption would by no means be improbable that this deed of King Rimuš was later erroneously ascribed to the first king of Agade. At present, however, it is entirely impossible to adduce the slightest proof for this suggestion, since our Nippur inscriptions by no means represent a complete chronicle of the events of Šarru-kin's reign and indeed, Kazalla may very well have been destroyed by Šarru-kin in a later period of his rule. In this case, however, we should hardly expect to find it again under Rimuš among the states opposing the Akkadians.

One of Šarru-kin's campaigns against Elam, however, is referred to in the first paragraph of the first half of the omens; but we learn here nothing beyond the general fact that Šarru-kin marched against Elam, conquered and devastated it. Moreover, Elam is here evidently used as a general designation for the whole country to the east of Babylonia. Likewise we find in the second and in several of the later omens Mar-tu^{ki} used as a designation for the whole West although at Šarru-kin's time this term can have applied only to a restricted region.

It is interesting to note that the grouping in the first part of the collection of omens follows to some extent the same plan as in the second part, in that it first refers to a campaign directed against the East, then to a campaign against the West and in

the third paragraph speaks of Šarru-kin's residence. It is, therefore, very likely that the compiler of this first collection took the principle upon which the second half was compiled as his pattern, unless indeed both collections go back to a common primary source.

The events which, according to the express statement of the chronicle, took place in Šarru-kin's old age, namely, the general revolt against Šarru-kin, the subsequent campaign against the Subari, the destruction(?) of Babylon(?) and the revolt in the last year or years of Šarru-kin, are not recorded in the temple inscriptions of Nippur; this fact need not be regarded as in any way remarkable, since Šarru-kin's death may have prevented him from erecting a monument commemorating his last exploits. We have seen that in Šarru-kin's wars against Elam and Baraḥsi in part the same persons occur as in Rimuš' inscriptions, which shows that these campaigns must be assigned to the end of Šarru-kin's reign; the general revolt just referred to then would naturally have to be placed in the very last period of Šarru-kin's reign, which indeed would be in complete accordance with the conclusions just drawn.

The revolt recorded by the chronicle at the end of Šarru-kin's reign, however, seems to be confirmed by the so-called cruciform monument, the unknown king of which says that all the lands left to him by his father Šarru-kin revolted against him. In its strict sense, it is true, this passage can only prove that the lands were in revolt after Šarru-kin's death; nevertheless, the assumption would be entirely possible that this revolt began under Šarru-kin himself, perhaps immediately before his death. This indeed is exactly what the last sentence of the chronicle's account of Šarru-kin's reign says, for the words *ik-ki-ru-šu-ma la za-la-la i-mi-id* [šadâ-šu] mean "they revolted against him and without being able to lie down (for a rest) he died."

Reviewing the comparison of the inscriptions and the later traditions, it will be observed that in a general sense there are sufficient correspondences to show that the statements

of the chronicle and of the omens were originally based on good historical information; at the same time, however, one cannot avoid seeing that in all details the reliability of the present text of the chronicle as well as the omens is by no means incontestable.



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