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WM. J. HINKE

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A NEW BOUNDARY STONE
OF
NEBUCHADREZZAR
Debuchadrezzar I.
FROM NIpper

With a Concordance of Proper Names and
a Glossary of the Kudurrus
Inscriptions thus
far published

3601

BY
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Theological Seminary

With 16 Halftone Illustrations and 35 Drawings

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PREFACE.

That part of this book which relates directly to the boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Nippur was originally presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. The author has since continued his studies of the Babylonian boundary stones, and now offers Chapter One as a general introduction into this interesting field of Babylonian studies. The questions which the Babylonian boundary stones open up are so numerous and varied that their contents are not only of interest to the specialist, but their legal enactments offer material to the student of ancient law, their religious features are of interest to the student of ancient religion, while their symbols claim the attention of the student of ancient astronomy. When we realize that these symbols are the oldest astronomical charts which are in existence, they are seen to possess an unusual importance. The attempt seemed, therefore, warranted to secure, if possible, a complete collection of all the symbols and to present them in the form of an astronomical atlas. This original plan, however, had to be given up, because the Museums of Berlin and London declined to permit the publication of the material in their possession, inasmuch as it had been "reserved for publication by the Museum." As a result the author was compelled to restrict himself to a collection of all the material that had been published thus far. In the case of the boundary stones discovered by the French at Susa, and now preserved in the Louvre at Paris, photographs of several originals were secured through the kind assistance of Dr. Léon Heuzey, Director of the Louvre, for whose valuable help the author wishes to express publicly his gratitude. Through these photographs it was possible to give not
only an improved drawing of the important stone, Susa No. 1 (fig. 24), and to offer accurate drawings of Susa Nos. 16 and 20 (see figs. 10 and 30), but also to substitute several halftone pictures in place of the drawings given in the *Délégation en Perse* (see figs. 2, 17, 18). The publication of the symbols on the boundary stone of Merodach-baladan II., now at Berlin, was made possible through the kindness of Prof. Clay, who placed at my disposal a set of photographs which he had secured from Berlin. The symbols on III R. 41 and 43 (see III R. 45, Nos. 1 and 2) were redrawn from casts of these stones in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, by which a more accurate representation of these important monuments was secured. The excellent drawings, prepared under the direction of the author, were made by Mr. P. F. Goist, an artist of Philadelphia, who spared no pains in making them as accurate as possible.

The new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I., whose "important inscription" was announced in 1901 by Prof. Hommel, will doubtless fulfill all expectations, as there are few *Kudurrus* inscriptions which surpass it in interest. Inasmuch as the boundary stone of Marduk-aḫē-erba had never received an adequate treatment and its inscription had not been translated in full, it was thought fitting to add it as an Appendix, with some brief notes on its linguistic features.

The Concordance will be found to contain the proper names which occur in all the *Kudurrus* inscriptions published thus far. In order to make it as complete as possible two lists of symbols were added. Although the symbols are given at length in Hommel’s *Aufsätze*, yet inasmuch as his list does not include the latest finds since made at Susa, and as it seemed desirable to have one place in which all this information could be found conveniently grouped together, the author concluded to repeat the list, with such additions as were necessary, and to add another alphabetical list, which brings out more prominently the number and variety of the symbols represented.
The Glossary, while not aiming at absolute completeness, was prepared to include all the words used in the inscriptions and most of the passages in which the words occur, with the exception of some of the most common words, for which it seemed unnecessary to quote any passages.

In conclusion, the pleasant duty remains to express my gratitude to my teachers and friends who have aided me in my study. Prof. Hilprecht not only permitted me most kindly to publish the important inscription of Nebuchadrezzar I., but he has also given me during the whole course of my study his generous assistance and encouragement. He has still further increased my obligation by reading the proof-sheets as they passed through the press, to which he added many valuable suggestions, the most important of which are duly acknowledged in their respective places. With Prof. Clay I spent many delightful hours, discussing with him the problems connected with these inscriptions. I owe much to his stimulating suggestions. Prof. Jastrow has given me the benefit of his thorough knowledge of the literature involved and has supplied me with a number of references for the list of the gods. Through the kind mediation of my friend, Dr. Ranke, of the Egyptological Department of the Royal Museums at Berlin, Dr. Ungnad kindly undertook the task of collating a number of passages for me on the stones in the Berlin Museum. His readings have been credited in the Concordance as well as in the Glossary. Finally, I wish to thank the Publication Committee of the University for generously undertaking the publication of my book, and especially the liberal founder of this Fund, Mr. Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr. To all these friends I owe much, and I can only hope that the result of my studies may be worthy of their interest.

WILLIAM J. HINKE.

PHILADELPHIA, November 13, 1907.
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F. Delitzsch, Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft I, Leipzig, 1907, Nos. 35, 36, 37, 57, 58, 70, autographed by Dr. Ungnad.

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B. Meissner, Ein Freibrief Nebukadnezars II. (in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Vol. IV, 1889, pp. 259–267; cf. also p. 403f.).

F. E. Peiser, Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke, 1889, pp. 2–17.


H. V. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, 1894, pp. 1–58.

V. Scheil, Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie Assyro-Mésopotamiennes (in Recueil de Travaux, Vol. XVI, 1894, p. 32f.).


III. DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF THE SYMBOLS.


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IV. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE BABYLONIAN KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

I. Kudurru of Nazi-Maruttash.
   Provenance: Susa, found 1898.
   Present location: Louvre, Paris.
   Translation: Scheil, l.c., pp. 86–92.
   Quoted as Susa, No. 2.

II. Kudurru of Bitiliššu.
   Provenance: Susa, found 1898.
   Present location: Louvre, Paris.
   Translation: ibidem, 36 lines, fragmentary.
   Symbols: Published by De Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, Vol. I, p. 179, fig. 386, *Koudourou*, No. 9; see also fig. 21 of this book; described by Hommel, *Aufsätze*, p. 445; our List of Symbols, p. 231.
   Quoted as D. E. P., II, 93, 94.

III. Stone tablet of Agabtalḫa.
   Provenance: Susa.
   Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Translation: Scheil, l.c., p. 95.
Symbols: None.
Quoted as D. E. P., II, pl. 20.

IV. Kudurru of Rammán-shum-uṣur.

Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Translation: Scheil, ibidem, 19 lines, fragmentary.
Symbols: None preserved.
Quoted as D. E. P., II, 97.

V. First Kudurru of Meli-Shipak.

Provenance: (?).
Present location: British Museum, No. 103 (90,827).
Symbols: Unpublished, described by Pinches, "Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon," 1886, p. 54f.; Hommel, Aufsätze, pp. 244-246, No. 1; our LIST OF SYMBOLS, p. 231f.
Quoted as London, 103.

VI. Second Kudurru of Meli-Shipak.

Provenance: (?).
Present location: British Museum, No. 101 (90,829).
Quoted as London, 101.

VII. Third Kudurru of Meli-Shipak.

Provenance: Susa, found 1899.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Translation: Scheil, l.c., pp. 99-111.
Symbols: Published by De Morgan, Délégation en Perse, Vol. I, pl. 16; Koudourrou, No. 3; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 440f., No. 21; our LIST OF SYMBOLS, p. 232f.
Quoted as Susa, No. 3.

VIII. Fourth Kudurru of Meli-Shipak.

Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Text: Transliterated by Scheil, Délégation en Perse, Vol. II., p. 112.
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Translation: Scheil, ibidem, 10 lines, fragmentary.
Symbols: Broken off.
Quoted as D. E. P., II, 112.

IX. First Kudurru of Marduk-apal-iddina I.
Provenance: Opposite Bagdad, found by George Smith and presented to the British Museum by the "Daily Telegraph" in 1873.
Present location: British Museum, No. 99.
Text: IV R.¹ 41; IV R.² 38.
Symbols: Published IV R.¹ 43; see also fig. 6 of this book; described by Pinches, "Guide," p. 46; Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 248f., No. 3; our List of Symbols, p. 233.
Quoted as IV R.² 38.

X. Second Kudurru of Marduk-apal-iddina I.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Text: Scheil, Délégation en Perse, Vol. VI, pls. 9, 10.
Symbols: Published by Scheil, l.c., pls. 9, 10; see also fig. 10 of this book; described in our List of Symbols, p. 233.
Quoted as Susa, No. 16.

XI. Third Kudurru of Marduk-apal-iddina I.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Text: Scheil, Délégation en Perse, Vol. VI, pl. 11.
Translation: Scheil, l.c., pp. 39–41; fragmentary.
Symbols: Published by De Morgan, Délégation en Perse, Vol. VII, p. 140; see also fig. 40 of this book; described in our List of Symbols, p. 234.
Quoted as Susa, No. 14.

XII. Fourth Kudurru of Marduk-apal-iddina I.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Translation: Scheil, ibidem, 71 lines; fragmentary.
Quoted as D. E. P., VI, 42, 43.
XIII. Cassite Dynasty, first fragment.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Translation: Scheil, *ibidem*, 23 lines; fragmentary.
Symbols: Published by De Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, Vol. I, pp. 174-175, figs. 380-381; *Koudourou*, No. 4; see also fig. 23, p. 76, of this book; described by Hommel, *Aufsätze*, p. 443f., No. 22; our *List of Symbols*, p. 234.
Quoted as D. E. P., II, 113.

XIV. Cassite Dynasty, second fragment.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Translation: Scheil, *ibidem*, 7 lines.
Quoted as D. E. P., II, 115.

XV. Cassite Dynasty, third fragment.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Quoted as D. E. P., II, 116.

XVI. Cassite Dynasty, fourth fragment.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Translation: Scheil, *ibidem*, 58 lines.
Symbols: Published by De Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, Vol. VII, p. 145, fig. 456; *Koudourou*, No. 18; see also fig. 4, p. 14, of this book; described in our *List of Symbols*, p. 235f.
Quoted as D. E. P., VI, 44, 45.

XVII. Cassite Dynasty, fifth fragment.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Quoted as D. E. P., VI, 46.

XVIII. Cassite Dynasty, sixth fragment.
Provenance: Susa.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS.

Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Symbols: Published by De Morgan, Délégation en Perse, Vol. VII, p. 146, fig. 457; Koudourrou, No. 19; see also fig. 30, p. 104, of this book; described in our List of Symbols, p. 236.
Quoted as D. E. P., VI, 42.

XIX. First Charter of Nebuchadrezzar I.
Provenance: Abu Habba, found by Rassam in 1882.
Present location: British Museum, No. 100 (90,858).
Symbols: Published V R. 57; “Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities,” London, 1900, pl. VI, etc.; see also fig. 49, p. 131, of this book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 249f., No. 4; our List of Symbols, p. 236.
Quoted as V R. 55, 56.

XX. Second Charter of Nebuchadrezzar I.
Provenance: (?)
Present location: British Museum, No. 92, 987 (82–7–4, 34).
Text: Published by S. A. Smith, “Assyrian Letters,” 1888, Pt. IV, pls. VIII–IX; C. T., IX, pls. IV, V.
Quoted as C. T., IX, pls. IV–V.

XXI. Kudurru of Nebuchadrezzar I.
Provenance: Nippur, found by the Babylonian Expedition of University of Pennsylvania, 1896.
Present location: In possession of Mrs. Hilprecht.
Translation: ibidem.
Symbols: Published fig. 47, p. 120, of this book; described pp. 121f.; 236f.
Quoted as Neb. Nippur.

XXII. Stone Tablet of Ellil-nadin-aplu.
Provenance: Presumably neighborhood of Babylon.
Present location: Museum of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania.
Quoted as O. B. I., No. 83.

XXIII. Second Isin (PA.SHE) Dynasty.
Provenance: (?)
Present location: British Museum, No. 105 (90,841).
Text: III R. 41.
Symbols: III R. 45, No. 1; see also fig. 14 of this book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, pp. 250ff., No. 5; our List of Symbols, p. 237.
Quoted as III R. 41.

XXIV. Second Isin (PA.SHE) Dynasty.
Provenance: Bagdad, found by C. Michaux, brought to Paris in 1800.
Present location: Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, No. 702 (Caillou de Michaux).
Text: I R. 70.
Symbols: First published by Millin, l.c., pls. VIII–IX; repeated by Lichtenstein, Münster and elsewhere; see also fig. 13 of this book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 252ff., No. 6, and our List of Symbols, p. 237.
Quoted as I R. 70.

XXV. Stone Tablet of Marduk-nádin-ahê, first year.
Provenance: Za'aleh, near Babylon.
Present location: British Museum, No. 96 (90,938).
Symbols: None.
Quoted as I R. 66.

XXVI. Kudurru of Marduk-nadin-ahē, tenth year.
Provenance: (?)
Present location: British Museum, No. 106 (90,840).
Text: III R. 43.
Symbols: Published III R. 45, No. 2; see also fig. 12 of this book; described by Hommel, *Aufsätze*, p. 253; and our List of Symbols, p. 237f.
Quoted as III R. 43.

XXVII. Kudurru of Marduk-ahē-erba.
Provenance: Unknown.
Present location: Unknown, perhaps Constantinople.
Quoted as O. B. I., 149.

XXVIII. Kudurru of Second Isin (PA.SHE) Dynasty.
Provenance: Nippur.
Present location: Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople.
Translation: None, fragment of four lines.
Symbols: O. B. I., Vol. I, Pt. 1, pl. XII, Nos. 32, 33; see also fig. 44 of this book; described in our List of Symbols, p. 238.
Quoted as O. B. I., 80.

XXIX. Kudurru of Second Isin (PA.SHE) Dynasty.
Provenance: Perhaps Nippur.
Translation: None.
Quoted as V. A., 213.

XXX. Kudurru of the Second Isin (PA.SHE) Dynasty.
Provenance: (?)
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS.

Present location: Berlin Museum, V. A., 211.
Text: Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, No. 57.
Translation: None, transliterated by Ungnad, l.c., p. IXa.
Symbols: l.c., Beih. pl. V, described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 258f.,
          No. 14; our List of Symbols, p. 238.
Quoted as V. A., 211.

XXXI. Kudurru of Nabû-mukîn-sîlu.
Provenance: (?)
Present location: British Museum, No. 102 (90,835).
Symbols: Unpublished, described by Pinches, "Guide," p. 53f.; Hommel,
         Aufsätze, p. 253f., No. 8; and our List of Symbols, p. 238f.
Quoted as London, 102.

XXXII. Stone Tablet of Nabû-apal-iddina.
Provenance: (?)
Present location: British Museum, No. 12,051 (90,922).
Text: C. T., X, pl. 3.
Symbols: Published by Boseawen, l.c., facing p. 65; see also fig. 9 of this
         book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 255f., No. 10; and our List
         of Symbols, p. 239.
Quoted as C. T., X, pl. 3.

XXXIII. Stone Tablet of Marduk-shum-iddina.
Provenance: (?)
Text: Peiser, Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke, pls. 1–2; Vorderasiatische
       Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, No. 35.
Symbols: Published in Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, Beih. pl.
         II; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 256f., No. 11; and our List
         of Symbols, p. 239f.
Quoted as V. A., 208.

XXXIV. Kudurru of Sargon.
Provenance: (?)
Text: Peiser, Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke, photos 1–5; Vorderasiatische
       Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, No. 70.
Translation: Revillout, Mélanges assyr. babyl., I, No. 1; Peiser, l.c., pp.
Symbols: Published by Peiser, l.c., photos 1–5; Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, Beiheft, p. V; see also fig. 15 of this book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 257f., No. 12; and our List of Symbols, p. 240.
Quoted as V. A., 209.

XXXV. Kudurru of Marduk-apal-iddina II.
Symbols: Published in part by Bezold, Ninete und Babylon, p. 63; in full, Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, Beiheft, pls. III, IV; also fig. 8 of this book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 258, No. 13; our List of Symbols, p. 240.
Quoted as V. A., 2663.

XXXVI. Kudurru of Shamash-shum-ukin.
Present location: British Museum, No. 87,220.
Text: C. T., X, pls. IV–VII.
Symbols: Unpublished.
Quoted as C. T., X, pls. IV–VII.

FRAGMENTARY BOUNDARY STONES, WHOSE INSCRIPTIONS ARE BROKEN OFF OR UNPUBLISHED.

I. Fragments of the Cassite Dynasty.
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
1. Susa, No. 1, De Morgan, D. E. P., I, p. 168, fig. 379, Koudourrou, No I; see also fig. 24 of this book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 437f., No. 19; our List of Symbols, p. 231.
3. Susa, No. 6, De Morgan, D. E. P., I, p. 177, fig. 383; see fig. 38, p. 103 of this book, and the description in the List of Symbols, p. 234.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS.

5. Susa, No. 8, De Morgan, D. E. P., I, p. 178, fig. 385; see fig. 21, p. 73 of this book, and the description in the List of Symbols, p. 235.
7. Susa, No. 11, De Morgan, D. E. P., I, p. 179, fig. 388; see fig. 44, p. 112 of this book, and the description in the List of Symbols, p. 235.
8. Susa, No. 12, no symbols preserved.
11. Susa, No. 20, De Morgan, D. E. P., VII, pls. 27, 28; see fig. 16, p. 38, and fig. 30, p. 95 of this book, and the description in the List of Symbols, p. 236.

II. Second Isin (PA.SHE) Dynasty.

Provenance: 'Amran (Babylon).
Present location: Berlin Museum.
Text: Fragmentary, unpublished.
Symbols: Published in Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft, No. 7, p. 25; see also fig. 19, p. 45 of this book; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 436, No. 18; our List of Symbols, p. 238.

III. Elamite Boundary Stone.

Discovered at Susa, where it remained.

UNPUBLISHED BOUNDARY STONES.

I. British Museum, No. 94 (90,833), c. 1400 B.C.


II. British Museum, No. (?).


III. British Museum, No. 104 (90,834).

Of the reign of Marduk-balāṭn-iqbi, c. 830 B.C., given as a boundary stone in Guide, 1900, p. 88, but cf. E. Cuq, La propriété foncière en Chaldée, p. 703.

ABBREVIATIONS.

B. A. .......... Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
B. E. .......... The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania,
Series A, Cuneiform Texts.
B. O. R. .......... Babylonian and Oriental Record.
Br. .......... Brünnnow, A Classified List.
C. T. .......... Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
D. E. P. .......... Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse.
I. S. A. .......... Thureau-Dangin, Les Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad, Paris,
1905.
K. B. .......... Keilschriftliche Bibliothek.
O. B. I. .......... Hilprecht, Old Babylonian Inscriptions.
P. N. .......... Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names, from the published
Tablets of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty.
R. .......... Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.
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Z. A........Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
Z. D. M. G...Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Z. K........Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.

Delitzsch, Kossäer = Die Sprache der Kossäer, Leipzig, 1884.
Hommel, Geographie = Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients, München, 1904.
Langdon, Building Inscriptions = Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, Paris, 1905.
I.

BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONES.

BABYLONIAN boundary stones and their inscriptions have long been the subject of study and investigation. Among the earliest Babylonian monuments which arrived in Europe was the now famous Caillou de Michaux, found by the French botanist, C. Michaux, at the Tigris, a day’s journey below Bagdad, in the ruins of a palace, and brought by him to Paris in the year 1800. Published by A. J. Millin in 1802, its inscription was at once studied and translated by the German professor, A. A. H. Lichtenstein, of Helmstädt. His attempt was, however, a failure, for he made out the inscription to be Aramaic, read it from right to left, and declared it to be a dirge addressed by a certain Archimagus to wailing women at an annual mourning festival. After this unpromising beginning no progress was made in the interpretation of Babylonian boundary stone inscriptions until after the epoch-making decipherment of the great Behistun inscription by Sir Henry C. Rawlinson in 1851. Among the scholars who at that time devoted all their energies to the decipherment of the new language was Jules Oppert,


2 Tentamen Palaeographiae Assyrio-Persicae, Helmstädt, 1803, pp. 111-134; pls. III-VII. The inscription is rendered in a Latin poem. Its contents are described as follows:

Namiam quasi quandam ab Archimagó parentantibus feminís inter Sabaós, sive Persas eius avi, qua nuper maritos, fratres vel alios cognatos amiserant, et comitantibus praeficis, die festo, quando solennia sacra luctus publici ob defunctos quotannis celebrantur, praegendam, vel recitandum.
who in 1856 gave the first approximately correct rendering of the Michaux stone. During the next two decades the text of the first four kudurru inscriptions¹ was published by Sir H. C. Rawlinson in his monumental work, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I–IV, 1861–1870. An important step in advance was made in 1877 by the joint work of Oppert and Menant, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, in which the four inscriptions referred to were transliterated and translated.

A brief history of the publication and interpretation of boundary stones till 1891 was given by C. W. Belser in B.A., II, 112–114. Since that time the following scholars have made contributions to this subject: Prof. F. E. Peiser furnished transliterations and translations of fifteen kudurru inscriptions for the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vols. III–IV. Prof. H. V. Hilprecht published two boundary stones (O. B., I, 83, 149) and two fragments (O. B., I, 80, 150), together with an exhaustive discussion of the inscription of Ellil-nādin-aplu (*Assyriaca*, pp. 1–58). Prof. H. Winckler gave a transliteration and translation of the stone of Shamash-shum-ukin (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 497–503). Dr. L. W. King published three boundary stones (C. T., IX, pls. IV–V; X, pls. III; IV–VII). Finally Prof. V. Scheil published three large Cassite stones

¹The most common name applied to Babylonian boundary stones is *abnunarû*, literally “a stone (NA) that is engraved (RU)”; so Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 349, note, 440, and K. B., III, 1, p. 37 note *. The name kudurru is employed less frequently with a direct reference to the stone on which the inscription is written (cf. London, 103, V, 39; VI, 21; London, 101, I, 1; Susa 3, III, 53; I R. 70, II, 8; Neb. Nippur, heading I. 2). Other names are *abnu*, “stone” (London, 101, III, 2; London, 103, III, 30; London, 102, V, 6), *asumittu*, “a sculptured and an inscribed stele” (London, 103, VI, 26), *tuppu*, “an inscribed tablet” (I R. 66, II, 5; C. T., X, pl. III, 23; V. A. 2663, IV, 56; V. A. 208, 48; V. A. 202, II, 11; V, 13), and *liğā*, “a tablet” or “document” (Neb. Nippur V, 8; Susa 9, II, 9, 12; *isuLI*, Susa 16, III, 11, 15; see Chap. I, p. 10). Finally, the term *kan-gi* (= kānīku) is used in the sense of “a sealed document” in London, 102, VI, 14.
and twelve fragments\(^1\) (Delegation en Perse, Vols. II, IV, VI). For a full list of all the known boundary stones, together with their literature, see our Bibliography.

At the present time (June, 1906) we have twenty whole boundary stones with inscriptions more or less complete, together with sixteen fragments of other boundary stones. They cover the period from about 1350–650 B.C., or from the reign of Nazi-Maruttash to that of Shamash-shum-ukin.

But while boundary stones, properly so called, do not make their appearance until the Cassite dynasty, we find other similar monuments at a much earlier period. The oldest monument of this kind is a national boundary stone, erected by Entemena,\(^2\) one of the early rulers of Shirpula, about 3500 B.C., to mark the boundary between Shirpula and the neighboring city Gish-ḫú. Its important inscription closes, in perfect agreement with the later boundary stones, with a series of curses:

"Whenever the people of Gish-ḫú shall cross the boundary canal of Ningirsu or the boundary canal of Niná, in order to bring this land under their power—whether they be the men of Gish-ḫú or the men of the mountain—may Enlil destroy them, may the great net of Ningirsu overthrow them, may his sublime hand and sublime foot be lifted up high (over them), may the warriors of

\(^1\) These fragments are: One of the reign of Bitiliāšu (D. E. P., II, 93f.), one of Rammān-šum-uṣur (D. E. P., II, 97f.), one of Meli-Shipak (D. E. P., II, 112), two of Marduk-apal-iddina I (D. E. P., VI, 39–41; 42, 43), and six undated Cassite fragments (D. E. P., II, 113f.; 115; 116; VI, 44f.; 46; 47). A boundary stone fragment is perhaps also the broken stone of Meli-Shipak (D. E. P., IV, pls. 16, 17). The phraseology of the curses points in that direction. Its shape resembles the stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. = IV R.\(^2\) 38. Finally, the stone of Agabtaḫa (D. E. P., II, 95) must also be included, for it is a private deed, recording a grant of land. Cf. below, p. 11.

the city be filled with rage, and, in the midst of the city, may fury be in their hearts.

Another series of monuments closely related to the later boundary stones are the doorsockets of the ancient kings of Agade and other early rulers. The doorsockets and thresholds of temples were evidently regarded as their boundary. A doorsocket of Ur-

![Doorsocket of Ur-Ninā](image)

Fig. 1.—Doorsocket of Ur-Ninā, shaped as a boundary stone.

Ninā has actually the shape of a boundary stone,¹ while all their inscriptions close with the identical formula of the later boundary stone inscriptions. Thus, e.g., the second doorsocket inscription of Shargāni-shar-āli, published by Prof. Hilprecht,² reads:

¹ Published by Heuzey in R. A., IV, 97; see also Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., p. 18f.
² Hilprecht, O. B. I., Vol. I, No. 2; cf. also No. 1.
"Šar-ga-ni-šar-âli már Itti(-ti)-dEn-lil,1 da-num šar Akkadi-û bâ-û-la-ti dEn-lil bâni E-kur bît dEn-lil in Nippur damaged ša duppa sù-a (u)-sa-zaku-ni 2 dEn-lilû dŠamaš išid-su li-zu-ḫaû zér-su li-il-gu-da—i.e., “Shar-gâni-shar-âli, the son of Itti-Ellil, the powerful king of Akkad and of the dominion of Ellil, (is) the builder of Ekur, the temple of Ellil in Nippur. Whoever shall alter this inscribed stone, may Ellil and Shamash tear out his foundation and carry off his seed.”

Other inscriptions of Naram-Sin, the kings of Gutium and Lulubû and of Gudea close with similar curses.3 It seems in fact that most public monuments were placed by these imprecations under the protection of the gods, to guard them against destruction by ill-disposed persons. A conspicuous example is furnished by the famous stele of Hammûrabi, containing his code of laws, in which twelve of the great gods are invoked (Col. XLII, 45–XLIV, 90) to punish anyone who abolishes his judgments, overrules his words, alters his statues, effaces his name and writes his own name in its place (Col. XLII, 27–35).

1 Or perhaps better Da-ti-dEn-lil, as suggested by Thureau-Dangin (cf. I. S. A. 233, note 10), on the basis of R. T. C. No. 176, Da-ti-dEn-lil, as compared with C. T. 21335, 121, Da-o-ti-dEn-lil. For Ellil see article of Prof. Clay, “Ellil, the God of Nippur,” in A. J. S. L., July, 1907.

2 Thureau-Dangin calls attention to the fact (cf. I. S. A., 233) that nazâku alternates with nakâru, especially in the Code of Hammûrabi: Col. XLI, 74, u-zu-ra-ți-i-a a u-ța-ți-iq; Col. XLII, 10, u-zu-ra-ți-i-a la u-na-ki-ir.

3 For the inscriptions of Naram-Sin, containing curses, see (a) Hilprecht, O. B. I., 120, Col. III, 5–IV, 4; (b) Scheil, D. E. P., II, 55, note 1, Col. IV, 1ff.; (c) Scheil, D. E. P., VI, 3–4, Col. II, 20–30. For the inscription of King Lasirab of Gutium see Hilprecht, O. B. I., Vol. I, 13ff.; Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 244ff. For the stele of Anu-banâni, King of Lulubû, see Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 246. The statue of Gudea, numbered C, contains also a curse, Col. IV, 5–17 (Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 119). Similar curses are found on a number of Elamite monuments, e.g., the stele of Karibu of Shushinak: (a) Scheil, D. E. P., II, 64, Col. III, 1–6; (b) Scheil, D. E. P., IV, 6–7, Col. V, 1ff.; (c) Scheil, D. E. P., VI, 3–4, Col. II, 20–30, and the inscriptions given by Thureau-Dangin, i.e., pp. 252–258. An example of a Sumerian curse during the Cassite period occurs on an inscription of Kadashman-Turgu (Hilprecht, O. B. I., Vol. I, 63, 14–20).
Turning now to the boundary stones, properly so called, the first question that engages our attention is the probable origin and introduction of boundary stones into Babylonia to mark the limits of private property. All that is known for certain is that they first make their appearance during the third or Cassite dynasty. But when we consider the fact that, although there are many transfers of land in the earlier periods, no traces of boundary stones for private land have come to light, and when we consider furthermore that there was no marble, basalt or limestone in the alluvial soil of Babylonia to provide the material for boundary stones, but that they had to be imported, we are almost forced to the conclusion that the erection of boundary stones on private lands was a foreign custom, which
originated in a mountainous country where there were plenty of stones to supply the demand. As the Cassite rulers were foreigners, who came most likely from the mountainous regions east of Babylonia,\(^1\) it is natural to conclude that they caused the introduction of this custom.\(^2\) This conclusion is somewhat supported by the interesting fact, which ought to be emphasized, that all the twelve boundary stones of the Cassite period which have come down to us, in whole or in part,\(^3\) contain either the record of a royal grant or the confirmation of such a grant when no earlier deed had been

\(^1\) Cf. Hommel, Geographie, p. 36.

\(^2\) While this book was passing through the press I had an opportunity of consulting Edouard Cuq, *La propriété foncière en Chaldée d'après les pierres-limites* (extrait de la Nouvelle Revue historique de Droit français et étranger, de November-December, 1906, pp. 701-738). Unfortunately I am unable to agree with the author in many of his positions. His statement (§ 10, p. 735) that the introduction of boundary stones was a sign of a degeneration of law, and was caused by the inability of the Cassite kings properly to protect land, does not seem to be borne out by the facts. A number of the later Cassite rulers have the determinative *ilu* before their names, which implies that they enjoyed divine honors (Hilprecht, B. E., XX, pt. 1, p. 51f.). If they were regarded as divine surely their power was sufficient to protect property. Again, several of these kings, *e.g.*, Nazi-Maruttash (Susa 2, I, 2), Rammân-shum-uṣur (D. E. P., II, 97, 8), Meli-Shipak (London, 101, I, 13) and Marduk-apal-iddina (D. E. P., VI, 42, Col. I, 24), used the title *šar kikkiati*, which implied a claim of supremacy over Babylonia, Assyria and Mesopotamia (cf. Winckler, Forschungen, I, 222-232). If they could rule practically all of Western Asia, they could surely protect the property of their subjects at home. There may have been a degeneration of law at the close of the Cassite period, but the introduction of boundary stones had nothing to do with it. Finally, no inferences of that kind can be drawn from the stone of Meli-Shipak (London, 103), which contains the record of several lawsuits, for it does not appear that the case was reopened by the same party after the king had rendered an adverse decision, but different parties made claims under different reigns.

\(^3\) As the Bibliography shows, eighteen boundary stones of the Cassite period have been published thus far. Six of them are, however, so fragmentary that the name of the king has not been preserved, nor is enough of their inscriptions left to enable us to classify them as to the nature of the grants they contained.
executed or when the land had been in dispute. Gradually, however, during the second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty, these stones were also used to record transfers of private property, while still later their use was even further extended. It is also interesting to note that all the boundary stones published thus far come from Babylonia; none have as yet been found in Assyria. Even the stone of Sargon is dated in the Babylonian city of Dēr (Col. II, 25). There are a number of similar grants of land by the Assyrian kings Adad-nirari, Tiglath-pileser III, Ashur-bān-aplu and Ashur-ētil-ilāni, but they are written on clay tablets.

Documents for Public and Private Use.

From the evidence at hand it seems that at least in all royal grants of land two documents were used—one a large conical block, to be placed as a public monument upon the field for the information of the people in general, the other a private document, to be

1 A stone, dated in the reign of Nabû-shum-šilkun (M. D. O. G., No. 4, March, 1900, pp. 14–17), has the shape of a boundary stone. It has also the various symbols on top (see p. 97) and its inscription contains the usual curses. It is, however, no boundary stone, but a document recording the investiture of a Nebo priest of Borsippa, Nabû-mutakkil, with certain rights and privileges pertaining to his office. The analogy of the stone of Nazi-Maruttash (see p. 22) and of the Nippur stone (see p. 123) leads to the inference that the priest himself wrote the inscription and caused the selection of this undoubtedly sacred monument bearing the symbols of the gods, because the transaction was one of great importance, at least for himself and his family.


3 This fact had already been recognized before, e.g., by Prof. Hilprecht, O. B. I., Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 38, note 8. The inscriptions on the private documents were, however, not exact copies of the public boundary stones. As to the differences see below, p. 13.
held by the owner of the field as a proof of his ownership. Of the former class there was in each case but one copy.\footnote{This is in contrast to Egyptian custom, where a number of boundary stones seem to have been used for one tract of land. In a number of cases at least we have clear proof that such was the case. A cemetery at Abydos was marked by two stelæ (Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. I, §§ 766–772). At Tell-el-Amarna were fourteen landmarks to indicate the extent of the city (Breasted, l.c., II, §§ 949–972). The extent of the jackal nome was marked by fifteen boundary stones (Breasted, l.c., I, § 632). Egyptian boundary stones resemble those of Babylonia in several respects: (a) They are elaborate stone monuments, set up on the boundaries of fields (Breasted, l.c., IV, § 332). (b) Frequently the stone had a name (Breasted, l.c., IV, 479). A list of such names is given by Maspero, Dawn of Civilization, 3d ed., p. 329. (c) The inscriptions of the boundary stones carefully define the demarkations of the fields on all four sides (Breasted, l.c., IV, §§ 479–483). (d) The historical circumstances leading to the grant are sometimes given (Breasted, l.c., I, § 768; II, § 1043). (e) In some cases there are also curses uttered in the name of the gods or prohibitions not to erase the inscription (Breasted, l.c., II, §§ 925, 968; IV, § 483). (f) Not only the land but also immunity from taxation was granted by the king in some instances (Breasted, l.c., IV, §§ 147–150). All these features appear also on the Babylonian boundary stones, see below, pp. 37–39.} This is evident from the repeated references in the inscriptions to the boundary stone of the field (\textit{ku-dur-ri eqlu šu-a-tu}); the plural of \textit{kudurru} is never used in this connection. The same inference can be drawn from the name of the stone of Nazi-Maruttash: \textit{dNabû-naṣir-kudur-eqlāti}, and also from the curses of Ninib. That the boundary stones were actually placed on the fields appears from the curses, which show that they were public monuments which could be removed from their place; hence we find provisions that the stone shall not be removed from its place (London, 101, III, 2), that it shall not be placed in a secret place where it cannot be seen (Susa, 3, Col. V, 43, 44), that it shall not be hidden in the earth (III R. 41, II, 12). It can also be inferred from the fact that the lowest part of the stones was not covered with writing (cf. D. E. P., II, pls. 21–23; VI, pls. 9, 10; 11a; IV R. 43; I R. 70, etc). But the
clearest proof consists in the repeated reference to the actual removal of the stone from the field in the course of a litigation (cf. Susa, 16, III, 5-10; London, 103, II, 20–III, 2; O. B. I., 83, I, 10–14).

The existence of the second class of documents, dealing with land grants, depends upon the following evidence: The stone of Bitiliāšu refers to a field granted in the reign of Kurigalzu (D. E. P., II, 94, Col. II, 8–12). A duplicate copy of the original grant was produced during a litigation in the reign of Bitiliāšu. Again we learn that of the grant of Nazi-Maruttash a record was written on a tablet of terra cotta and set up before the god (narā ša hašbi išturma maḥar ilišu ušṣiz, D. E. P., II, 91; Med., I, 3–5). The latter refers evidently to a private document and does not exclude the existence of a public boundary stone. Both the public and the private documents are referred to on the new stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I, which reads: ŠU u tup-pi eqli ka-nik di-ni ik-nu-uk-ma a-na mMu-un-na-bi-tum id-din. I-na ka-nak ŠU u tup-pi eqli abnu-ka-nušik di-ni šu-a-tum . . . . iz-za-az-zu (D. E. P., VI, 34, Col. III, 11–15). The group ŠU cannot be read with Scheil I ammatu and rendered "'l'aune,'" from which he concludes that there is here a reference to the sealing of the yardstick alongside of the sealing of the tablet. This is clearly excluded, for on the new stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. the phrase: Ina ka-nak ŠU šu-a-tu, etc. (Col. V, 8), occurs alone, which, following Scheil's rendering, would lead us to the impossible conclusion that no sealing of a tablet took place. The true reading of the signs in question can be inferred from the stone of Merodach-baladan II, where Bābili (Gen.) is written Bābi +li (>() while ili, resp. ilē, "gods," appears as (>) (V. A., 2663, I, 26; II, 2); hence (>) has the value li and the signs under discussion ought to be read li-ū.1 While the term li-ū refers to the public boundary

1 I owe this explanation to Prof. Hilprecht. In support of it he calls attention to the fact that the use of NI and NI.NI is exactly parallel. The single NI is often read li, while NI.NI is used for ili (Br. 5356) and ilē, e.g., in the name Shamash-bēl-NI.NI, see Ranke, Personal Names, p. 213, note 3.
stone (cf. D. E. P., II, 94, 8, 12), the term *tuppu* refers to the private tablet,¹ both of which were sealed in the presence of witnesses.²

But, what is more important, the existence of private documents recording grants of land cannot only be inferred from the inscriptions; we are also in the possession of actual copies that have come down to us. Being stored in the temple (cf. D. E. P., II, 91; Med., I, 5) or held by the owner, they were not exposed to destruction by strangers, and hence the most characteristic feature of the public boundary stones, the long-drawn-out curses, are naturally wanting on the private monuments. Taking this absence of the curses as our guide, we can classify the following stones as documents kept privately: (1) The tablet of Agabtaḫa (D. E. P., II, pl. 20), recording a grant of ten *gur*³ of cultivated land by King Bi-ti-li-ia-a-šu to Agabtaḫa, a fugitive of Ḥaligalbat. (2) The charter of Nebuchadrezzar I (C. T., IX, pls. 4, 5), granting land and immunity from levies to two priests of Eria. (3) The stone of Ellil-nādin-aplu (O. B., I, 83), confirming the grant of a tract of land to a temple of the goddess Ninâ at Dēr. (4) The stone of Za'aleh (I R. 66), granting exemption from levies to one called the Ishnumakean. (5) The grant of King Nabû-apal-iddina to the temple officer Nabû-apal-iddina.⁴ (6) The grant of land, made in the eleventh year of King Marduk-shum-iddina, by Bēl-iddina to his son Kidinni (V. A. 208). (7) To this

¹ There are of course cases in which *tuppu* refers to the public monument (see above, p. 2, note 1). The statement in the text has only reference to its use on the stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa 16).

² Another reference to a private document occurs in a stone of Meli-Shipak (London, 103), where it is distinctly stated that the sealed document had been deposited in the house of the owner of the field (*kunuk šimi eqli-ša ana būl ša mBēlāni šaknu*, Col. III, 9–10).

³ The reading of *gur* is made certain by the interesting discovery of Prof. Clay that it is represented in the Aramaic endorsements of the Murashû tablets by 鹗; cf. his forthcoming article on the "Aramaic Endorsements of the Murashû Tablets" in the William R. Harper Memorial Volumes.

⁴ See C. T., X, pl. 3.
Fig. 3.—Stone tablet of Ellil-nādin-aplu, confirming a grant of land to a temple of the goddess Ninā at Dēr. (O. B. I., No. 83)
same class of private records belongs also the stone of Nazi-Maruttash (Susa, 2 = D. E. P., II, pls. 16–19). Its inscription states distinctly that it was a copy of a terra cotta tablet which had been set up in the temple, and in perfect harmony with this is the fact that it has no curses against the removal of the stone. Nevertheless when a new copy was made it was written upon a block like those of the public boundary stones. Originally then, as we may infer from this case, private deeds were written upon terra cotta or perhaps clay tablets. In course of time stone tablets were substituted, and in exceptional cases even stone blocks, such as were commonly used for public boundary stones. The characteristic features of these private deeds during the Cassite and PASHE dynasties were as follows: (1) With the exception of the stone block of Nazi-Maruttash, they are stone tablets and not conical blocks. (2) Their inscriptions contain no curses against the removal of the boundary stone. At most there are curses against any change in the status of the field (D. E. P., II, pl. 17; III, 11–15), or admonitions not to change the boundary nor to curtail the field (O. B. I., 83, II, 21–24). (3) No witnesses are mentioned. (4) There is no demarcation of the field. (5) All but the Nazi-Maruttash stone have no symbols. The two later private deeds, made under Nabû-apal-iddina and Marduk-shum-iddina, differ in several respects from the earlier tablets. They have both witnesses and demarcations

1 It is of course possible that the introduction of boundary stones was earlier than the Cassite period, and that even in the earlier period stone tablets were used. The above inferences are drawn from the material now at our disposal. Later discoveries may compel us to modify our statements. Such a modification would even now be necessary if the statements on the stone of Ellil-nâdin-aplu (Col. I, 11, 12) implied that the governor of Bit-Sin-mâgir took away the original boundary stone granted under Gulkishar. This, however, is not at all necessary; because, when the custom was once introduced during the Cassite period, it would be quite natural to have copies of the private documents made, in order to erect them on the fields.
noted in their inscriptions, and in addition the one of Nabû-apaliddina has also symbols. The close connection of all these stone tablets with the public boundary stones is proved by their similarity of language and the fact that both record grants of land, originally royal grants alone.

Babylonian boundary stones and boundaries were sacred to the god NIN.IB, hence he is called *bêl kudurri* (D. E. P., II, 113) or *bêl mišri u kudurri* (Neb. Nippur, IV, 19). Sometimes his wife Gula is associated with him (O. B. I., 149; III, 1) and mentioned with him in the curse to tear out the boundary stone of the enemy (V R. 56, 39–40). In at least one case, however, the boundary stone is placed under the protection of Nabû, the god of agriculture,¹ for this is clearly implied in the name of the stone of Nazi-Maruttash: *Nabû-nâṣir-kudur-eqlâtî* (Col. IV, 34).

An interesting reference to boundary stones in the religious literature occurs in the *Shurpu* series, in a prayer which is remarkable for its ethical contents. In this prayer the priest intercedes for the worshiper, and implores the deity to forgive him by asking the following questions: *Kudurru là ketti uktadir, kudurru ketti ul uktadir, usa mišra u kudurru uštêli*—i.e., "Has he drawn a false

boundary? Has he omitted to draw a true boundary? Has he removed the confines, the limits or the boundary stone?""

Fig. 5.—Symbols on a fragmentary boundary (?) stone of Meli-Shipak, carried to Susa by Sutruk-nahunte. (D. E. P., IV, pl. 16.)

1 Shurpu II, 45–46. It is remarkable that no punishment for the removal of the boundary is referred to in the kudurrü inscriptions aside from the curses. Only once, in an inscription of Sennacherib, do we find a threat of hanging in case a man tears down his old house and rebuilds the new extending into the royal highway (ša bitu labiru inaqqaruma eššu ibannu ša usšē bitišu ana girri šarrī īrrubā šīr bitišu ana gaštiši illališu; I R. 7 F 24–27; cf. Peiser, Acten-Stücke, p. IX, note 2).
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

LEGAL TRANSACTIONS IN THE KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS.

According to the various legal transactions recorded on the boundary stones, they naturally group themselves into two general divisions—first, those which represent royal grants; second, those which represent transfers of private land from one individual or family to another.

(I) In the first group there are again several sub-divisions:

(a) Royal grants to faithful and distinguished officials, of which we have the following specimens:

King Rammân-shum-uṣur granted a tract of land to an official whose name is partly broken off (D. E. P., II, 97).

From the reign of Meli-Shipak we have three grants of this kind:

The longest and most interesting inscription (Susa, 3 = D. E. P., II, pls. 21–24) records in seven columns ($52 + 54 + 60 + 60 + 57 + 53 + 51 = 387$ lines) a grant of $84$ gur $160$ qa of cultivated land of the city of Tamakku, the communal land ($ugâru$) of the city of Akkad (A-ga-de), situated at the royal canal, belonging to Bit-Pir-$^d$Amurru.$^1$ It was deeded by the king to his son and

$^1$ The translation of bitu as “tribe” by Scheil and the far-reaching conclusions of Edouard Cuq, based on this translation, that the royal grants during the Cassite period were essentially transfers of tribal land to private property, are not justified. The land granted was always taken from the $ugâru$ or communal land of some city or district (for this use of $ugâru$ see Meissner, A. P., 123). That the term bitu refers to a district consisting of smaller villages and towns appears from its usage. The stone of Marduk-nadin-ahê (III R. 43) refers to twenty gur of seed land, the communal land of Alnirēa, at the banks of the canal Zirziiri, in (ina) Bit $^m$A-da. In other cases the term piḫât (French: gouvernement; in German: Regierungsbezirk) is prefixed to bitu, as piḫât Bit-$^m$Sin-$^m$-gîr (Susa 2, I, 28), which is parallel to piḫât mēt $^d$Hu-da-di (Col. II, 4). Again, piḫât Dupliak (Col. II, 9) is placed alongside of piḫât Bit-$^m$Sin-$^m$-šaridu (Col. II, 14). There can hardly be any question that these are all districts. Moreover, the curses contain provisions that the land is not to be returned to the piḫât (III R. 41, II, 2; Neb. Nippur, III, 28; C. T. X., pl. VII, 34, etc.), but there is no reference to any tribe. The communal land of the cities was evidently public land of which the king could make disposition.
Fig. 6.—Symbols on a boundary stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I., found by George Smith opposite Bagdad in 1873. (IV R.¹ 43.)
successor Marduk-apal-iddina I. The grant embraced four tracts, for which a compensation was given (Col. I, 26).

A second grant of 50 gur of cultivated land, the communal land (ugârû) of the city Shaluluni, at the banks of the royal canal, in the district of Bit-\textsuperscript{a}Pir(?)-\textsuperscript{d}Amurru(MAR.TU), was made to Hasardu, a sukallu, son of Sumê (London, 101).

A third grant was made by Meli-Shipak to [Melîli-\textsuperscript{a}Hala, son of Zumê[a]. Unfortunately but a fragment of the inscription remains (D. E. P., II, 112), which does not enable us to give the exact size or location of the field.

Of the reign of Marduk-apal-iddina I. two grants to officials have come to light:

One, now in the British Museum (London, 99 = IV R.\textsuperscript{2} 38), records a grant of 10 gur of cultivated land, the communal land of the city Dûrzizi, at the banks of the Tigris, in the district of the city Gur-\textsuperscript{d}Ninni, to Marduk-zákir-shumu, a governor (bêl pahâti).

By another stone, Marduk-apal-iddina I. confirmed a grant of land, which had originally been made by King Rammân-shum-usur to Rammân-bêl-kala, a royal officer (šaq-šarrû). The reason for this confirmation was that no sealed document had been given by the former king (Susa, 17 = D. E. P., VI, 42, 43).

During the period of the second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty we also find several royal grants to distinguished officials.

Nebuchadrezzar I. granted 22 gur and 170 qa of cultivated land, at the Tigris, of the communal land of the town of Mâr-Ahattûâ, in the district of Bit-Sin-sheme, to Nusku-ibni, the son of Upaḫḫir-Nusku, a priest of Ellil at Nippur, perhaps for aid rendered in the reorganization of the temple services at Nippur.

Marduk-nâdin-aḫê ordered the grant of 20 gur of cultivated land at the Zirzirri canal, of the communal land of Alnirêa, in the district of Bit-Ada, to Rammân-zêr-iqîsha, a šaq-shuppar, for valuable services in a war with Assyria. The transfer of the land
Fig. 7.—Boundary stone of Marduk-nadin-ahê. (III R. 43.)
was made by Marduk-il-napḫari (DUL), the chief of Bit-Ada (London, 106 = III R. 43).

Under Marduk-ahē-erba 12 gur of the royal domain, in the district Bit-Pir-dAmurru, was granted by the king to Kudurra, a Ḫabirean (O. B. I., Vol. I, No. 149, pls. 65-67).

![Fig. 8.—Symbols on the boundary stone of Marduk-apal-iddina II. (Berlin, V. A. 2663.)](image)

Finally, Marduk-apal-iddina II., the Biblical Merodach-baladan,\(^1\) granted four tracts of land of the royal domain, in all 109 gur 126 qa, to Bēl-ahē-erba, a dignitary (ḫša-ku) of Babylon. The transaction took place at Babylon, in the seventh year of Merodach-baladan (714 B.C.), in the presence of Iqīsha-Marduk, son of the king, and nine high dignitaries of the realm (V. A., 2663 = B.A., II, 258-271).

(b) Two other stones record grants of land to fugitives.

Agabtaḥa, a fugitive of Ḥaligalbat, fled to King Bitiliāšhu, and after having made for the king some object of leather (pa-gu-mi)

the king granted him 10 gur of cultivated land in the city of Padan (D. E. P., II, pl. 20).

Shamūa and Shamai, two priests of the god Eria, fled from Elam to Nebuchadrezzar I., who not only received them, but accompanied by them went to Elam, devastated the country and transferred the statues of Marduk\(^1\) and Eria to Babylon. From there the statue of Eria was taken to Ḥuṣṣi, in the district Bit-Sin-asharidu, not far from Opis. There the priests were settled and a tract of land was granted to them, to be held by them as temple property. It was moreover freed from all imposts and territorial obligations (London, 92, 987 = C. T., IX, pls. 4, 5).

(c) The last forms a natural transition to two others which are royal grants to temples.

The earliest known boundary stone of Nazi-Maruttash, c. 1350 B.C., records a grant of several tracts of land opposite Babylon, in all 700 gur, to the god Marduk. But only 494 gur, divided into eight sections, which were located in six different districts (Bit-Sin-mágir, Dūr-Papsukal, Ḥudâdu,\(^2\) Duplish, Bit-Sin-asharidu and Upê), were given directly to the god; the remaining 206 gur were given to Kashakti-Shugab, the son of Aḫu-báni. The reason for the last act is not stated. But the two "medallions," which form the distinguishing feature of this monument, state that "Kashakti-Shugab, the son of Aḫu-báni, wrote a memorial tablet of terra cotta\(^3\) (narû ša ḫašbi) and set it up before his god. In the reign of Marduk-apal-iddina, the son of Meli-Shipak, a wall fell upon that tablet and

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\(^1\) The god written ṣu.EN is always Marduk, never Enlil of Nippur; see Schrader, K. A. T.\(^2\), 174; also article of Prof. Clay on "The God Ellil of Nippur" in A. J. S. L., July, 1907.

\(^2\) Not to be read Bagdadu, a Persian word, but Ḥu-dādu, the opposite of Ḥu-aibu; see Hommel, Geographie, pp. 252\(^2\), 345.

\(^3\) The meaning of ḫašbi is definitely established by a terra cotta dog, found by Scheil at Sippar (Fouilles à Sippar, p. 90, fig. 13), which bears the inscription: Ana  lateinit\(\) (Gula) bēlti kalbu ḫašbi ēpušma aqēš; i.e., p. 92.
broke it. Shuḫuli-Shugab, the son of Nibi-Shipak, wrote upon a new monument of stone a copy of the original and set it up."

This interesting statement shows (1) that Kashakti-Shugab, the new owner of the land, himself wrote the tablet recording the grant; (2) that he placed it before his god, i.e., he put it into the temple archives; (3) that the original tablet was of terra cotta. All this makes it very probable that Kashakti-Shugab was one of the priests of Marduk. His ability to write, his anxiety to preserve a record of the transaction, and his setting it up in the temple, all point in that direction. This also explains why he is mentioned on this document which purports to record a grant to Marduk: he was one of his priests. The reference to the original terra cotta tablet is distinctly interesting. Does it imply that there was no public boundary stone? This can hardly be inferred from the statement of Shuḫuli-Shugab, because the copy which he executed on stone was the transcript of the original private record of the transaction, and therefore leaves the question of a public record out of consideration.

Another grant in favor of a temple of the goddess Niná, located in the city of Der, which had originally been made by Gulkishar,1 a king of the sea country (šar māt tāmdu), was partly set aside by E-karra-iqisha, the then governor of the district Bit-Sin-māgir, in which the land was located. Thereupon the priest of Niná, Nabû-shum-iddina, appealed to the king Ellil-nádín-aplu (c. 1130 B.C.), who ordered at once the governor to restore the land to the temple (O. B. I., Vol. I, pls. 30, 31).

(d) There are several other grants which involve restorations.

King Nabû-apal-iddina (c. 865 B.C.) granted the restoration of three gur of cultivated land and five gardens to a priest, Nabû-apal-iddina, the son of Atnaī, after they had been bought by his

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1 The reading GUL.KI.SHAR is most likely to be retained. The sign gir has also the value gul (kul), see Code of Hammurabi, XLIII : 19, in tu-kul-ti and Concordance.
Fig. 9.—Stone tablet of King Nabû-apal-iddina, restoring land to one of his officials. (Br. M. 90,922.)
uncle. Nabû-apal-iddina, the priest, appealed to the king for their restoration, basing his request on the plea that the king should not allow a part of his paternal estate to be alienated from the family. It was granted at Babylon, in the presence of five witnesses, in the twentieth year of Nabû-apal-iddina, the king of Babylon (London, 90, 922 = C. T., X, pl. 3).

The latest boundary stone, of the reign of Shamash-shum-ukîn, dated in his ninth year (658 B.C.), records the restoration of a certain estate which had been taken away from a Chaldean nobleman, Mushêzib-Marduk, during the political disturbances under Esarhaddon, but which had been restored to him by Esarhaddon. Before, however, this king could give him a proper deed, both he and Mushêzib-Marduk died. Hence the nobleman’s son Rammân-ibni appealed to king Shamash-shum-ukîn, who restored to him Bit-Ha’rahu with all its fields, and gave him a proper deed confirming the restoration by Esarhaddon (London, 87, 220 = C. T., X, pls. 4-7).

(e) Several of the boundary stones contain royal grants, involving lawsuits.

To this class may belong the stone of Bitiliâshu, by which he confirmed 120 gur of cultivated land at the town Rishshagidi to Uzub-Shipak. This grant had originally been made to him by Kurigalzu, for services in a war with Assyria. It was confirmed by Bitiliâshu, either because one of the neighbors of the grantee had contested the grant by a lawsuit or, what is just as likely, Kurigalzu had failed to give him a sealed document, or perhaps both reasons were involved, as in the following case (Susa, 9 = D. E. P., II, 93).

A stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, 16 = D. E. P., VI, pls. 9, 10) begins by stating that a certain tract of land, situated within the limits of the town Shakanâ, at the banks of the canal Méndandan, in the district of Hudâdu, had been given by King Meli-
Shipak to his servant Munnabittu, the son of Ṭābu-melû. Officials of the king having surveyed the field it had passed into the possession of Munnabittu. Unfortunately the king failed to draw up a document recording his grant. Meanwhile Munnabittu remained in peaceful possession of the field till the first year of Marduk-apaliddina I., when one of his neighbors, Aţunēa, the son of Daian-

Fig. 10.—Symbols on a boundary stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I., discovered at Susa. (Susa, No. 16.)

Marduk, claimed a part of the field, namely three gur and twenty qa. Munnabittu appealed to the king, who summoned Kidin-NINIB, the former governor of Ḫudādu, under whom the field had been granted, and Şir-shum-iddina, his successor in office, and the
old city officials (\textit{paršē labirāti}), whom the king questioned about the field. They were unanimous in saying that the field belonged to Munnabittu. The king thereupon sent the governor, Şir-shum-iddina, and the scribe, Bêl-bashmê, who measured the field and found it to be thirty \textit{gur} as Munnabittu claimed. The king then confirmed the land to Munnabittu. This inscription gives us an interesting insight into the workings of a Babylonian court; we notice the summoning of witnesses and the taking of testimony. The part played by the elders (the śibā of the Code of Hammurabi) reminds us of the modern jury.

Another lawsuit of a much more complicated nature dragged through the reigns of the kings Rammân-shum-iddina, Rammân-shum-uşur and Meli-Shipak. Unfortunately the stone in question (London, 103) is much broken, so that many of the details of the various transactions escape us. From what remains we gather the following facts. The house of Tàkil-ana-ilishu being without direct heirs, the question of succession arose. During the reign of Rammân-shum-iddina a claim was made for the property by two men (Col. I, 26, 27). But as they had not been recognized as sons by their father their claim was rejected, and the property was awarded to Ur-Bêlit-muballîṭat-mîtûṭi, a brother of Tàkil-ana-ilishu (Col. I, 37–39). During the reign of the next king another attempt to secure a share of the property was made by another person, who claimed to be a grandson of Tàkil-ana-ilishu (Col. I, 40–43). But his effort, as it seems, was likewise unsuccessful. Meanwhile a part of the land, ten \textit{gur}, had passed through purchase (Col. III, 9, 10) into the hands of Bêlânî, but upon an appeal of Ur-Bêlit-

\footnote{The reading \textit{paršū} is to be preferred to \textit{maššu} (Br. 1930), because it connects the word with the well-known stem \textit{parāsu}, which occurs frequently in the Code of Hammurabi (\textit{e.g.}, Col. VI : 9; XLI : 90; VIII : 65) and in the Letters of Hammurabi (King, \textit{Letters of Ham.}, Vol. III, p. 287), as a synonym of \textit{parāsu}. The ideogram \textit{BAR.SU(D)} points in the same direction.}
muballiṭat-mītūti to the king, Bēlānī was compelled to surrender the land again, upon the payment of a certain amount of grain equivalent in value to the purchase price (Col. III, 25–36). After the death of Ur-Bēlīt-muballiṭat-mītūti, Aḫu-dārū, another brother of Tākil-amā-ilišu (Col. IV, 23), took the field by force, whereupon Marduk-kudur-uṣur, a son of Ur-Bēlīt-muballiṭat-mītūti, appealed to the king, Meli-Shipak, who, after some delay and after the death of Aḫu-dārū, decided the case in favor of Marduk-kudur-uṣur. All of which, with many other details, too much effaced to be deciphered, was duly engraved upon the stone.

Another lawsuit seems to have been involved in a stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, 14 = D. E. P., VI, 39–41), in which the king is referred to as listening to an appeal (Col. I, 15), and a certain sum of money is mentioned as having been paid as a fee (atru). The land in question was a part of the district Bit-Pir-Amurru, adjoining with its eastern side the canal Radanu. The name of the grantee is broken off.

(f) Besides the royal grants of land already considered, there is still another class by which not only the land in question was conveyed, but also special favors were secured, such as exemption from taxation or immunity from forced labor, or, as in some cases, this freedom from territorial obligations alone was granted.

Of the first kind we have the grant of King Meli-Shipak to his son Marduk-apal-iddina, granting to him not only four tracts of land, but also freedom from all territorial obligations. No levies were to be raised to build, maintain and dyke the royal canal, or guard the cities of Bit-Sikkamidu and Dāmiq-Rammān against inundation (Col. II, 18–27). The people were not to be compelled to work at the sluices of the royal canal, to close or open them or dig up the bed of the canal (Col. II, 28–33). No governor of Bit-Pir-Amurru had the right to draft farmers, sojourners, citizens or councilmen (Col. II, 34–42). Neither king nor governor nor any other
Fig. 11.—Boundary stone of King Meli-Shipak, granting land to his son Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, No. 3.)
official had the right to forage wood or grass, straw, wheat or any other grain (Col. II, 43-50). Nor could they for this purpose demand wagons with harness, asses to draw them or men to drive them (Col. II, 51-53). During the low water level of the connecting canal, which joined the canal Rāṭi-Anzan with the royal canal, no water could be taken from its canal or reservoir, nor could its system of irrigation be diverted to other fields (Col. II, 54-III, 2). The grass of its fields could not be cut by king or governor, nor were they allowed the right of pasturage (Col. III, 13-21). Neither roads nor bridges could be constructed for king or governor (Col. III, 22-27). Neither king nor governor could order any new work or the reparation of the old (Col. III, 28-41).

Similar immunities were granted by King Marduk-nādin-aḫê to Rammân-zêr-iqîsha (III R. 45, No. 2). No river or land officers were to take away the freedom of the town Alnirêa from forced labor. No (royal) officials, who were appointed over Bit-Ada, had the right of entry in Alnirêa; the government of Bit-Ada was not to be introduced there; the canal was not to be stopped up; asses and oxen were not to be taken into the city by the tax collector.

Nebuchadrezzar I. granted to the priest Nusku-ibni certain immunities. None was allowed to make use of the pasture lands (III, 21); no canal officer was to seize a canal digger under the pretext of a levy (III, 25); no land officer was to cut any grass (III, 26). The same king exempted the land granted to the priests Shamûa and Shamai from several obligations, ordering that "officers of the canals and officers of the land shall not go into the city; its servants, oxen and asses they shall not bind (i.e., impress them to forced labor); its sheep they shall not seize; its chariots they shall not hitch up; from all forced labor whatsoever he has freed them" (C. T., X, pl. V, 33-39).

The stone of Za'aleh records a similar grant of freedom (zakûtû)
from forced labor. Unfortunately much of the section in which it was recorded (Col. I, 6–II, 1) has been effaced (Col. I, 11–20).

The most notable charter of freedom is that granted by Nebuchadrezzar I. to his distinguished officer, Ritti-Marduk, the chief of Bit-Karziabku. Here we find the following immunities. The officers of the king and of the governor of Namar have no right of entry (Col. I, 51, 52). Neither stallions nor mares are to be taken into the cities of Bit-Karziabku by the master of the horse (Col. I, 53–54). Taxes on oxen or sheep are not to be levied for the king or governor (Col. I, 55). Dues on gardens are not to be given to

Fig. 12.—Symbols on the boundary stone of Marduk-nādin-ahē, in the British Museum. (III R. 45, b = London 106 and No. 90,840.)
the tax-gatherer (Col. I, 56-57). The master of the royal horse cannot enter the cities to take out mares for riding horses (Col. I, 58, 59).

The hedges(?) of the parks and date palm groves are not to be cut down, and the walls of the cities Bit-Shamash and Bit-Shanbasha are not to be torn down (Col. I, 60-II, 1). Bridges are not to be built and roads are not to be constructed (Col. II, 2). Nor shall the soldiers of the king who live in the district have the right to impress any one into service (Col. II, 3-5). From all the territorial obligations of Namar Nebuchadrezzar freed the cities of Ritti-Marduk (Col. II, 6-8), but the soldiers stationed in its cities he assigned to the extraordinary support of the governor and palace commander (Col. II, 9, 10).

An analysis of these provisions shows that the ordinary territorial obligations in Babylonia were threefold— to the king, to the governor and to the community. (1) The king could levy men to keep up the royal canal, to work its sluices, to dig its bed or to preserve its embankments. By forced labor he could build bridges and roads and carry on any government work that was needed. He could draft men for service in the army. His master of horse could demand horses for the royal stable. The king had the right of forage, for which he could demand wagons, asses and men. He had also the right of pasturage. His privilege to cut the herbage (Neb. Nippur, III, 26; Susa, 3, Col. III, 13, 14) was no doubt parallel to the Hebrew "'king's mowings'" (Amos 7:1), which appear to have been a tribute levied by the kings of Israel on the spring herbage, to be used as provender for their horses (cf. I K. 18:5). (2) The governor had the right to levy a tax on wood, grass, straw, wheat or any other grain. He had also the right of pasturage. He could demand wagons and their harness, asses and men for forced labor. He levied taxes on oxen and sheep and dues on gardens. (3) The community could make use of private

1 Cf. Edouard Cuq. La propriété foncière en Chaldée, p. 730.
canals during the period of low water level. It could use private reservoirs and cut branches from any system of irrigation to water neighboring fields.

(II) Having exhausted the list of the royal grants we turn to the remaining stones dealing with the transfer of private property.

(a) There are two boundary stones which record the grant of land to daughters as their dowry.

The famous Caillou de Michaux (I R. 70) records the grant of twenty *gur* of cultivated land, of the communal land of the town Kar-Nabû, at the banks of the canal Médandan, in the district Bit-

"Habban, by Shir-uṣur, son of Ḥabban, to his daughter Dur-

sharru-kēnaiti, the bride of Ṭāb-ashâb-Marduk, as her dowry

(*mulugu*). In connection with this transaction the bridegroom
had to swear, ‘‘by the great gods and the god Širu,’’ not to raise
any claim against that field.

A similar grant of land was made in the reign of Nabû-muki-

naplu (London, 102) by Arad-Sibitti, son of Atrattash, to his
daughter SAG-muddammiq-sharbi, wife of Shamash-nādin-
shum. This grant of three *gur* of cultivated land was made by
Arad-Sibitti in the fourth year of king Nabû-muki-napl, in the pres-
ence of seven sons. But not all the children having been present
at the transaction it was confirmed by the others in the following
year. Besides this dowry grant the monument also contained the
record of several earlier transactions, extending from the second
year of NINIB-kudur-uṣur to the fifth year of Nabû-muki-napl, parts of which are so badly defaced that it is impossible to make
out the details. It is at all events certain, that Burusha, father of
Shamash-nādin-shumu, and Arad-Sibitti were engaged in litigation,
which seems to have been ended by the marriage of the two
children and the settlement of the tract of land upon the daughter
of Arad-Sibitti as her dowry.

(b) There finally remain several cases in which land was acquired
through purchase.
Fig. 13.—Symbols on the Caillou de Michaux, now in Paris. (I R. 70.)
A boundary stone from the reign of one of the kings of the second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty, most likely Nebuchadrezzar I. (III R. 41), records the purchase of five gur of land, belonging to the district of Bit-Hanbi, by Marduk-nāṣir, an officer of the king (kṣaššir šarri), from Amel-Ellil, son of Ḥanbi, for one wagon, several horses, asses, oxen, harness, grain and clothing, in all worth 816 pieces of silver.

Another stone, dated in the reign of Marduk-shum-iddina (c. 850 B. C.), records the purchase of a field by Kidini, son of Bēliddina, from Iddina, for one and five-sixths mines of silver.
NEBUCHADREZZAR I.

But this purchase occupies only the latter part of the inscription. The former is taken up with a bequest of Bêl-iddina, a priest of Dilbat, to his younger son Kidini, giving him his share in the paternal property. It consisted of three parts. First, an income derived from his position as priest (amelu TU) of the temple of the goddess Lagamal (l. 33). Second, a piece of land, consisting of four gur of uncultivated land and an orchard. Third, a lot with a house on it in the city of Dilbat. The first transaction is dated in the twenty-eighth year of Nabû-apal-iddina, the second in the eleventh year of Marduk-shum-iddina (V. A., 208).

A still larger number of transactions is recorded on the stone of
Sargon (V. A., 209).  

Nabû-ile'î, the son of Nûr-Sîn, owned a piece of land in the city of Dèr. But as he desired to enlarge its size, he offered to his neighbor, Ina-eshê-êtîr, another property at the new canal in exchange for the one next to his own lot. At the same time he asked him to give him a sealed document for his own lot. This may have been due to the fact that Ina-eshê-êtîr was its former owner, who sold it to Iddina-Nabû, and the latter in turn to Nabû-ile'î. To this exchange and request Ina-eshê-êtîr consented, with the condition that Nabû-ile'î give him six sheqels as a fee for concluding the transaction, which was done. A second property, adjoining his own, Nabû-ile'î bought from Sharâni for fifty-six sheqels of silver. A third property, adjoining that of Sharâni, Nabû-ile'î bought from Uşallî, for one and one-third mines and four sheqels of silver. A fourth property, adjoining the one bought from Sharâni, Nabû-ile'î acquired from Iddina and Shamâ, sons of Erbâ, for one and one-third mines and five sheqels. Then Nabû-ile'î won a lawsuit against Bêl-usâtu; but instead of taking the sum of money awarded to him he accepted several lots (bitâti) which Bêl-usâtu had in Dèr. Another claim for one mine and thirteen sheqels was settled in a similar way. Nabû-ile'î gave his creditors fifty sheqels in exchange for a house and an orchard in the confines of the city of Dèr. All these six transactions are duly recorded on this stone, which is dated in the eleventh year of Sargon or 711 B.C. The combination of so many transactions upon one document is a well-known Babylonian custom, which may have been dictated by a desire on the part of Nabû-ile'î to have a permanent record of all the transactions involving his property.

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1 Thus according to a kind communication of Dr. Ungnad; not 202 as given formerly.

2 For a similar instance see Ranke, B. E., VI, pt. 1, pl. 71.
CONTENTS OF THE KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS.

The different parts of a kudurru inscription are usually as follows:

(1) In a number of cases the stone has a name. It is called "Nabû-nāṣir-kudur-eqlâti (Del., II, pl. 17; III, 34, 35), or "Rammûn-lîmûtu(?)-pattinu-da(?)-riš (London, 101, Col. I, 3), or "NIN.ÎB-u-"Nusku-mukîn-kudurri (Neb. Nippur), or Mukîn-kudurri-dârâti (III, R. 41).

(2) Then follows the description of the field or fields in question; the total area is given and the different sides are carefully bounded by referring to the adjoining properties. In a few cases the exact length of each side is added.

(3) Next we find a statement of the circumstances which led to the grant. The grantor and the grantee are mentioned. In this section we often find important historical information, as well as elaborate eulogies on the king from whom the grant proceeded.

(4) The next section contains the most characteristic feature of these inscriptions, namely, elaborate curses against all kinds of officials and persons who might interfere with the land, its area, its privileges and its owners. This section has usually several well-marked subdivisions:

(a) An enumeration of the individuals admonished not to raise claims or warned not to interfere with the land—kings, princes, governors, prefects, judges, overseers, counselors, magistrates, relatives and neighbors. Thirty different officials are found in this section on the various stones.

(b) Next follow the acts of violence which are forbidden. No claim or lawsuit is to be made against the land. It cannot be confiscated, turned over to the state, nor given to a temple. The extent of the field is not to be changed. Its ditches and boundaries are not to be removed. Its canals are not to be closed up, nor its water supply to be diverted to other fields. The boundary stone, more-
Fig. 16.—Uninscribed boundary stone of the Cassite period, showing symbols and a sacrificial procession. (Susa, No. 20.)
over, is not to be touched, not to be thrown into fire, water or a
dark place. It is not to be broken nor to be hidden in the dust.
The inscription finally is not to be erased, nor anything else put in
its place. No irresponsible person is to be engaged to carry out
any evil intentions against the land or the boundary stone.

(c) Then the great gods are invoked, either by enumerating
them first and then ascribing one curse to them all, or by giving a
separate curse to each deity. The latter is the more common
method. In the curses themselves all kinds of diseases or calamities
are threatened to the would-be offenders. Although there is some
regularity in ascribing the various curses to the different deities,
yet there is considerable variation.

(5) The last section usually contains a list of the witnesses pre-
sent during the transaction, and sometimes even the date is added.

These various sections follow by no means in a set order, but
it was left to the individual scribe to arrange them as he saw fit.
In some instances one or more sections are omitted. In other
cases new sections are added, as, e.g., the hymn to Ellil on the new
boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar from Nippur (Col. I, 1-22), the
glorification of Marduk on the stone of Merodach-baladan II. (V. A.,
2663, I, 1-24), together with the elaborate eulogy on Merodach-
21-24; V R. 55, 56; Neb. Nippur; C. T., IX, pls. 4, 5; I R. 66; III
R. 45, No. 2) the section treating of the territorial immunities"and
exemptions is also peculiar to these stones.

Several of the above sections are important enough to deserve
further discussion.

As to the orientation of the fields, there is considerable differ-
ence on the various stones. Most of them begin the enumeration
of the sides of the fields with the upper length (šiddu elū); only
three start with the upper width (pātu elū), namely, D. E. P., II,
112; IV R. 38, and O. B. I., 150. Taking the upper length as the
determining factor, we find that eight stones locate that side towards north (illānu), namely, London, 103; 101; Susa, III; Susa, XVI; III R. 41; III R. 43-45; O. B. I., 149; 150. Five stones locate it towards west (amurrā), namely, Neb. Nippur; IV R.² 38; London, 102; Br. M. 87,220; V. A., 208. Three locate it towards east (ṣadû), namely, D. E. P., II, 112; I R. 70; Br. M. 90,922. On two stones (V. A., 209, and V. A., 2663) several fields are mentioned, which are differently oriented. Three fields on V. A., 209, have the upper length towards south (Col. II, 31; III, 2, 19); one field has it towards east (Col. IV, 9), and one towards west (Col.

Fig. 17.—A priest standing before the symbol of Marduk, on a fragmentary boundary stone. (Susa, No. 5, a.)
On V. A., 2663, three fields are oriented towards south (Col. III, 44; IV, 23; IV, 35) and one towards west (Col. IV, 7).

Fig. 18.—The god Ramman and other symbols, on a fragmentary boundary stone found at Susa. (Susa, No. 5, b.)

Officials of the Kudurru Inscriptions.

To show the number and variety of the various officials mentioned in the curses it will be best to reproduce the passages in full, leaving out the connecting particles and the names of the
places in connection with which many of the titles occur. We shall quote the various lists in their chronological order.

1. Nazi-Maruttash (Susa II)

2. Rammân-shum-usur¹ (Susa, IV)

   ḥša̱qû(SAG) ḥlaputtû, ḥšak(ḫ)anakkû (NER.ARAD) (Col. II, 13-14).

4. Meli-Shipak (Susa, III)

5. Marduk-apal-iddina I. (IV R.² 38)
   aklu, laputtû, ḫa-za-an-nu ša eqlu šû-a-tum (Col. III, 1-3).

6. Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, XVI)
   ḫaklu, ḥlaputtû,ša-pi-ru, ḥšakin(-in) te-mi, bêl pahâti, ḫa-za-an-nu, PA.TE.ŠI, mu-ir-ru, USH.SA.DU, šakkanakkû, (NER.TA!) ša i-na pîhât........îš-šak-ka-nu (D. E. P., VI, 35; III,²²7-IV, 8).

¹ Or Rammân-nâdin-aḫu.
² The reading labuttû is also possible.
⁴ That the reading ša te-mi must be given up has long been apparent from the writing ḥšakin(GAR-in) te-mi on the stone of Marduk-aḫē-erba, O. B. I., 149, II, 3; cf. also Susa 16, III 30.
7. Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, XIV)
   šakkanakku, ḫa-za-an-nu, mu-ir-ru, ša-kin (Bil-miPir-
   ِdAmurru), USH.SA.DU (D. E. P. VI, 40; II, 1−5).
8. Nebuchadrezzar I. (Nippur)
   ré-ū, šakkanakku, ak-šu, ša-pi-ru, ri-du-ū, ḫa-za-an-nu
   (Col. III, 19, 20).
9. Ellil-nādin-aplu (O. B. I., 83)
   aklu, laputtu, šakkanakku (Col. II, 12).
10. Second Isin Dynasty (III R. 41)
    ak-šu, laputtu, ḫa-za-an-nu, mu-še-ri-šu, gū-gal-šu, ki-pu
    (Col. I, 31−33).
11. Second Isin Dynasty (I R. 70)
    laputtu (NU.TUR.DA), i-tu-ū (Col. II, 5−6).
12. Marduk-nādin-aḫē (III, R. 43)
    bēl bīti, bēl pahāti, ḫa-za-an-ni, šakin te-šu, gu-ta-ku, lu-pu-
    ut-tu-ū, ak-šu, ki-pu-tu ar-ku-tu (Col. III, 8−14).
Appendix to III R. 43 (III R. 45, No. 2)
    daianu (DI.KUD) bēl pahāti, bēl bīti, bēl pahāti, ki-pu-tu,
    ḫa-za-an-nu ar-ku-tu, ki-pu-tu, šakin te-šu, ḫa-za-an-nu
    (I. 3−5).
13. Marduk-aḫē-erba (O. B. I., 149)
    ša-šu, bēl pahāti, ḫa-za-an-nu, ḫšakin(-iš) te-šu, PA.TE.SI
    (Col. II, 2−4).
14. Marduk-apal-iddina II. (V. A., 2663)
    šarru, mār šarri, ḫki-i-pu, ḫšak-nu ḫša-tam, ḫa-za-an-nu
    (Col. V, 19, 20).
15. Shamash-shum-ukin (C. T., X, pls. 4−7)
    šarru, mār šarri, ḫ[ša]-kan, ḫša-pi-[ru], ḫḫa-za-an-nu (Col. II,
    32−33).

Here we have in fifteen inscriptions thirty officials and dignitaries from the king downwards. Arranged in alphabetical order they are as follows:

The largest number of officials, ten, occurs on the stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I (D. E. P., VI, pls. 9, 10); the smallest number, namely two, is found on the Caillou de Michaux (I R. 70). No principle of arrangement can be detected except that aklu heads the list five times; laputtā occurs four times in second place, following aklu, and ḫazannu five times in third place. Several titles occur in pairs—aklu and šāpiro (Nos. 2, 8), aklu and laputtā (Nos. 5, 10), ḫazannu and šakin ṭēmi (Nos. 12, 13), šarru and mār šarri (Nos. 14, 15).

Only a few of these officials appear in these kudurru inscriptions outside of the curses, and then only in the act of measuring the fields. In one case (London, 101, I, 18–21) a ḫazannu, a tupšarru and a šaq šarri measure the field, in another (Susa, 3, I, 28–38) a šaq šarri and a ḫazannu, in a third a šaknu and a tupšarru (Susa, 16, II, 5–10). In a fourth case it is an amel pahāti, a šakin ṭēmi and two other men whose official position is not given (D. E. P., VI, 44; I, 9–15). Later a sukallu, who is also the bēl būti, appears in the same act (III R. 43, I, 9–13), while in the last instance on record (O. B. I., 149, I, 15–20) two tupšarru, a šakin ṭēmi and a ḫazannu measure the field. In one case the measurement of the field is performed by a certain officer of Nippur, ideographically written GŪ.EN.NA (London, 103, III, 26).

It seems doubtful whether US.H.SA.DU has the meaning "neighbor" in this connection, especially as it appears in the midst of the officials on Susa 16. At any rate its occurrence among the officials should be noted.
It is evident that the enumeration of the officials in the curses was not arbitrary, but depended upon the actual number and character of the officials who held office in the district where the land granted was located. Whether they were royal officials or chosen by the community in which they lived does not clearly appear, but from the fact that the king dealt directly with them it is more likely that they held office by the appointment of the king. As they are enjoined in the curses from engaging in certain acts, it must of necessity follow that under ordinary circum-

Fig. 19.—Boundary stone found by the German expedition at 'Amrân, in December, 1900, now at Berlin.
stances they enjoyed certain rights over the public lands and most likely derived income from them.

In private transfers of property, in which the king does not appear, these officials are omitted, but their place is taken by brothers, sons, family, members of household and relatives, male and female servants (aḫē, mārē kimti, nišūti, sašāti, ardēn ʿu kinūti; London, 103, V, 28, 29; I R. 70; II, 2–4; London, 102, IV, 36–37; V. A., 208, 43, 44; V. A., 209, I, 32, 33). The stone of Marduk-nādin-aḫē (III R. 43; III, 2–3, 8–15) has both lists.

INJUNCTIONS AGAINST ACTS OF VIOLENCE.

The possible acts of violence against which the officials are warned, and from whose committal they are solemnly enjoined, may be classified under eight heads.

1. The officials might enter lawsuits against the land. They might direct their mind to the seizure of the field (ana tabāl eqlāti annāti uzunšu išakkanu). They might sue or cause a suit to be made (ina eli eqlu šu'atum idabbubu ʾušadbabu). They might raise a claim or cause a claim to be raised (iraggumū ʾušargamu, ṣiqaqqiru ʾušapqaru). They might give false testimony, saying the field has not been granted (eqlu annū ʾul nadin-mi iqabbā), or it is not a gift of the king (eqlu ʾul nidiṭti ʾšarri-mi iqabbā), or it has not been measured

1 III R. 41, I, 35, 36; cf. I R. 70, II, 7; V. A. 2663; V, 32.
5 Susa 14, II, 12, 13; Susa 16, IV, 20, 21; O. B. I., 149, II, 7, 8; C. T., X, pl VII, 35.
and a sealed document has not been given (kunukku ul kanik iqabû).  

2. The officials might not only raise claims against the field, but they might actually take it and thus change its ownership. They might turn it over to the state again (eqlāti šināti ana piḫatišina utarrû), give it to a temple, to the king, to a representative of the king, to a representative of the governor, to a representative of his council or to any other person (ana ili lu ana šarri lu ana iššakki šarri lu ana iššakki ḫakiš lu ana iššakki bīt ṭemīšu lu ana mamma šanumma išarraqu). They might give it to a stranger (ana aḫānu išarraqu), exchange it for another field (eqlu kīmu iṭtanaššû) or appropriate it to their own use (ana ramānišu išakkanu), and thus change the royal grant (nidinti šu'atu ušannû) or overthrow it entirely (šarqi eqlu šu'atu inamdû) by taking it away or causing it to be taken (ūṭabbalu uṣatbalu).

3. The officials might change the extent of the field. They might curtail it or cut it up (niširta qiṣṣata ina liḫī išakkanu). They might change its ditches and boundary lines (ika mišra ittiqû) or alter its confines, limits and boundary (usa mišra û kudurrašu ušannû).

1 III R. 43, III, 16; perhaps also Neb. Nippur III, 33.
2 III R. 43, III, 17.
5 C. T., X, pl. VII, 33.
6 Susa 3, V, 33.
8 C. T., X, pl. VII, 33.
10 Susa 16, IV, 15; III R. 41, I, 37; cf. London, 103; V, 37, 38; Susa 3, V, 28.
12 Susa 16, IV, 18.
4. The officials might damage the canals or divert them. They might stop up the canals with mud (šakikki dalti u ašar mili nārišu isikkiru) or divert its waters (šikizzu ubbalu).

5. The officials might change or damage the boundary stone. They might take it (narā annā ušaššū) and change its location (unakaru ina šubtišu), throw it into the water (ana mē inamdū) or into the river (ana nāri inamdū), or put it in a well (ana būri inassuku), hide it in the dust (ina epiri itammiru), or bury it in the earth (ina iršiti iqabbiru), put it in a dark place (ana bit ekliši ušṣerribu), or in a place where it cannot be seen (ašar la amāri šakkanu), in a secret place (puzra ušṭaši), wall it up (ina igari ipteši), or enclose it in an enclosure (ina lipitti illeiti). They might

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1 Susa 16, V, 5-7.  
2 Susa 16, V, 8.  
6 III R. 41, II, 10; O. B. I., 150, II, 2; London, 102, V, 1; cf. ana mē ušadā, London, 103, V, 45; ana mē ana šēṭi ušaddū, IV R. 38, III, 18–19; ana mē ana šēṭi ina(m)dā (ittādi), London, 101, III, 3; Susa 3, V, 51; Susa 16, IV, 31–32; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 14.  
7 III R. 41, II, 11; London, 102, V, 2; cf. ana nāri inassuku, V R. 56, 36.  
10 IV R. 38, III, 7, 8; cf. ana bit a-sa-ki a-šar(!) la amāri ušēribu, D. E. P. VI, 45 Col. V, 17–19.  
11 Susa 16, IV, 35–V, 1; I R. 70, III, 7, 8; V. 2663, V, 31; cf. ašar la amāri šanamma ušakanu, O. B. I., 150, II, 5; ašar la amāri ušakanu, London, 101, III, 7; ašar la amāri itammiru, III R. 41, II, 12; ina ašrim šanima ki limulti iltakan, Susa 3, V, 41, 42.  
12 Susa 3, V, 43, 44; cf. ašar la a[ma]-ri puzri [ušašazu]; C. T., X, pl. VII, 37; puzru ušašazu, V. A. 2663, V, 30, 31.  
think of breaking the stone (ana ḫapē ṣba₃uru ṣuatu ışakkanu uzna₃u),

1 crush it and thus destroy it (uṣṭessima ittaqar itabat uḥṭallik),

2 break it up with another stone (ina abis inaqgaru ³ or ina 

abni abbixatu) burn it with fire (ina isâti iqallû),

3 or plan any other malicious act against it (ina mimma şumiṣu mala baṣû ibannû nikîltu mamman).

6 6. The officials might erase the inscription. They might erase 

the names of the gods and the king and put others in their places 

(šum ili ʿu šarri ša šaṭru uplaṣṣiṭuma šanam ilatru).

7 7. The officials might employ irresponsible persons to carry out 

their wishes. This they might do out of fear of the terrible curses 

written on the stones (aṣṣu arrâtî šiniṭî (limutti) ša ina abni 

šaṭru iptalaḥ), or because the persons they sent did not fear the gods

1 V. A. 2663, V, 22.

2 Susa 3, V, 55, 56.

3 V R. 56, 35; cf. uṣaqgaru unakkaru uḥalliqqu, London, 103, V, 42, 43; 

uṣaqgaru inaqgaru, IV R.³ 38, III, 16, 17.

4 III R. 41, II, 11; I R. 70, III, 3; III R. 43, I, 34; London, 102, V, 2; cf. 

ina abni ubbâṣu, London, 101, III, 4; ina abni ubbaṣu, Susa 16, V, 2; ina abni 

upasasu, V. A. 2663, V, 30; upasasu, O. B. I., 150, II, 3; šiṣir nikîlti ubbatu, C. 

T., X, pl. VII, 36.

5 III R. 41, II, 11; III R. 43, I, 34; O. B. I., 149, II, 12; London, 102, V, 3; 

C. T., X, pl. VII, 37; cf. isâti uṣaqgulû, London, 103, V, 44; ana isâti inadû, 

London, 101, III, 3; D. E. P., VI, 45, Col. V, 12; ana mē u isâti ittadi, Susa 3, V, 

51; ana mē ana isâti uḥaddû, IV R.³ 38, 18, 19; ana mē u isâti inamû, Susa 16, 

IV, 31-32; isâti ʾeṣaglû, V R. 56, 36; ina isâti ʾeṣarrapu, I R. 70, III, 4; isâti uṣakatu, 

O. B. I., 150, II, 4.

6 V. A. 2663, V, 23, 24.

7 V R. 56, 33; cf. šumi šaṭra iptaṣṣit, Susa 3, V, 57; Susa 16, V, 3, 4; upaṣṣa-

ṭuma šanamma šaṭṭarû, I R. 70, III, 5, 6; šumu šaṭru ipaṣṣitu, V. A. 2663, V, 32.

8 From this point of view IV R.³ 38, III, 15 mār bel eqli šuʾatûm, must be 

undertstood. It is doubtless a minor whom the writer has in mind.

8 Susa 3, V, 47, 48; I R. 70, II, 19, 20; cf. aṣṣu arr[at] ipallakûma, London, 

102, V, 3; aṣṣu arrâtî šiniṭî, Susa 16, IV, 22, 23; aṣṣu arrâtî, III R. 41, II, 8; 

They might send strangers and enemies (ṣāḥūm, nakara),\(^2\) rascals (gišḥabbā),\(^3\) persons affected with bodily ailments, deaf and blind (sakka, la šēmā ša amāti, samā, lā nāṭīš ša pānī-shu), or persons with mental defects, fools, weak-minded and idiots (sakla, nu'a, ulāla)\(^4\) who do not understand what they are doing (lā mūdā).

8. Officials might curtail or revoke the freedom of the land from certain territorial obligations. They might subject it again to the regular taxation (ana ilki ušṭēriḥ\(^5\) or utteruma ilka ʾilaknu),\(^6\) permit land officers to cut grass and canal officers to seize canal diggers (ina ilki diktūti šabāt amel ḥirē nāra baqān šammi kallē nāri u tabali ušaṣṣū),\(^7\) and send some one to forage the pasture lands (ana ikīlī rīti umaʾaru šanamma).\(^8\)

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\(^1\) V. A. 2663, V, 27; cf. V. R. 56, 32, šarru u ilānīšu lā īptalḥume utteruma ilka ʾilaknu.


\(^3\) III R. 41, II, 9.

\(^4\) The order of the first three persons mentioned in this section is usually sakla sakka (sakkuka) samā, cf. London, 101, III, 6; Susa 16, IV, 26, 27; Susa 14, II, 14, 15; V. R. 56, 34; I R. 70, II, 21, 22; III R. 43, I, 31; but the order may also be sakka sakla samā, Susa 3, V, 50, or sakla sakka lā šēmā, V. A. 2663, V, 25, 26, and perhaps IV R. 38, III, 11, 12; or sakka sakka lā šēmā, D. E. P., VI, 45 Col. V, 20, 21, or sakla sakka lā mūdā, London, 103, V, 41, 42. When the series begins with sakla sakka (sakka sakla) samā it is always followed by a fourth term, which may be lā mūdā, Susa 3, V, 50; Susa 16, IV, 26, 27; or lā šēmā, V. R. 56, 34; I R. 70, II, 21, 22 (which may also be prefixed to this series, O. B. I., 149, II, 9, 10); or ulāla, Susa 14, II, 14, 15; or ulāla and lā šēmā, III R. 43, I, 43. The formula sakla sakka lā šēmā is varied in III R. 41, II, 8, 9 by the insertion of nu'a and gišḥabbā after sakka, while V. A. 2663, V, 25–27 adds to this series lā nāṭīš ša pānīša lā mūdā nu'a. Finally, London, 102, V, 4, has only sakla lā šēmā, with perhaps a third term effaced.

\(^5\) Susa 3, IV, 57, 58; V, 31.

\(^6\) V. R. 56, 32.


\(^8\) Neb. Nippur, III, 21, 22. Other infringements of privileges and immunities granted by the king are mentioned in the various charters, see above, pp. 27–31.
Names and Titles of the Gods.

As to the names of the gods which are employed in the various curses, we can refer to the discussion of the subject by Prof. Jastrow in his Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens, Vol. I, pp. 182–187, and to our Index. Attention must be called to the longest list of gods that has been found thus far on any boundary stone. It occurs on a stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, XVI), recently published by Prof. V. Scheil (D. E. P., VI, pls. 9, 10). It begins with the four gods, Anu, Ellil, Ea and NIN.HAR.SAG, a title of the Bêlit of Nippur. Then follow a series of pairs, Sin and his wife NIN.GAL, the gods of Ur; Shamash and his wife Ai, the gods of Sippar, together with three lesser gods, forming the court of Shamash, Bunene, Kittu (NIN.GI.NA) and Mêsharu (NIN.SI), and two gods the reading of whose name is not yet certain, AT.GI.MAḪ and SHE.-RU.SHISH. These are followed by Marduk and his wife Zarpanitum, the gods of Babylon; Nabû and his wife Tashmûtum, the gods of Borsippa; NIN.IB and his wife NIN.KAR.RA.AG, a title of Gula, worshipped chiefly at Nippur; Zamama and his wife Bau, the gods of Kish. The next group consists of five goddesses, Damu and GESHTIN.NAM (GESHTIN is explained as bêlit šéri,² see Br. 5008), Ishtar, Nannâ and Anunitum. Then follow Rammân and his wife Shala, together with Mi-šar-ru (the latter is also associated

¹ Perhaps to be read malku šišu, since AT.GI = ma-lik, cf. Br. 4170, and belonging with ŠE.RU.SIŠ to the attendants of Shamash. Their position between Bunene and Kittu points in that direction.

² Bêlit šéri occurs in the Gilgamesh epic as the scribe of the under world, kneeling before Ereshkigal (col. V, 47, cf. K. B., VI, 190). In IV R. 27, No. 5, 29, 30, dNIN.GEŠTIN.NA DUB.SAR MAḪ corresponds to dbe-ši-ri tup-sar, cf. also II R. 59, Rev. 10–11, b, c, where dGEŠTIN is given as the equivalent of dbe-ši-ri, as well as dGEŠTIN.AN.NA. dNIN.GEŠTIN.NA is placed alongside of Nannâ on K 2613, Obv. II, 13, cf. B. A., V, 701. dGAŠ.TIN.NAM appears alongside of NIN.KA.SI, a wine goddess, =Siris, in Reisner, Hymnen, IV, 64, 65. In I R. 43, 32, dGAŠ.TIN.NAM is mentioned among the deities of Erech (ušâni ašibût Uruk).
with Rammân and Shala\(^1\) in D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 2); Nergal and his wife Laṣ, the gods of Kutha; Ishum and Shubula, the latter being known as the goddess of Shumula.\(^2\) Their juxtaposition here proves them husband and wife. Next come LUGAL.GIR.RA and SHIT.LAM.TA.E, two forms of Nergal, here perhaps regarded as male and female; LUGAL.GISH.A.TU.GAB.LISH (to be read Bél-ṣarbi),\(^3\) also a form of Nergal, the god of Baṣ, and his wife Ma'-me-tum, usually named as the wife of Nergal.\(^4\) Next LIL and NIN.BAD,\(^5\) together with Tishłu,\(^6\) and probably his wife KA.DI, the goddess of Dūr-ilu, and finally the three pairs Nusku and his wife Sadarnunna, IB (or Urash) and his wife NIN.E.GAL (also called Mama, according to the Code of Hammurabi, II, 29), the gods of Dilbat, and Shuqamuna and his wife Shumalia.

The number of all the gods invoked in the curses on the various boundary stones published thus far is fifty-eight. This large number is mainly due to the new stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, XVI), which alone enumerates forty-seven deities. Omitting this stone the number on all the other stones is but thirty-six, and even of these hardly a dozen occur frequently. The deities invoked on the 

Caillou de Michaux give a fair representation of the most favored gods, because all of them occur more than six times. They are Anu, Ellil, Ea and NIN.MAH (a title of the Bēlit

\(^1\) The same association occurs also in Craig, Religious Texts, pls. 57, 22; 58, 24.

\(^2\) Cf. II R. 60, 18, a, b. Ishum and Shubula are mentioned together as the gods of the Tigris and Euphrates, see Craig, Religious Texts, pl. 57, 11.

\(^3\) Cf. Langdon, Building Inscriptions, Nebuch. 1, II, 29, 30, and 9, II, 48.

\(^4\) Cf. Böllnërücher, Gebete an Nergal, No. III, 8, p. 20; but LUGAL.GIS.A.-TU.GAB.LISH is placed alongside of dMa-mi-tum also in Shurpu Series, VIII, 14.

\(^5\) dNIN.BAD.NA is called the wife of LUGAL.AB.BA, cf. III R. 68, 73, a, and LUGAL.A.AB.BA is a title of Nergal, cf. II R. 59, 37, 38, e; hence dLIL must also be a title of Nergal, which agrees very well with the context, in which various forms of Nergal are enumerated.

\(^6\) For the pronunciation Tish合う see Ranke, Personal Names, pp. 169 and 207; Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 249, note 9.
of Nippur), Marduk, Shamash, Sin and Ishtar, NIN.IB, Gula, Ramman and Nabu. Besides these nearly all the stones of the Cassite period mention the Cassite gods Shuqamuna and Shumalia. As lesser gods, which occur at least three times, are invoked Nergal and Nusku, NIN.E.GAL and Zamama, Bau and Zarpanitum.

Numerous titles are applied to the gods on the boundary stones.

Anu, the father of the gods (abi ilani), the king, the father of the gods (sarru abi ilani), Anu the prince, the great lord (Anu rabu belu rabu), the king of heaven (sar samu).

Anunit, the one inhabiting heaven (aszibat samu).

Belit, the mistress of the gods who creates all (belat ilani banat naphari).

Bunene, the son of Shamash, the exalted king, the hero, the counselor of his father (apil Shamash sarru tizkaru qardu malik abišu).

Ea, the creator of men (pātik nisē), the creator of all (ban kala), the king of the ocean, the lord of wisdom (sar apst bel taštmti), and perhaps "the king of springs" (sar naqbe).

Ellil, the great lord, the command of whose mouth cannot be altered and whose grace is steadfast (belu rabu ša qibit pišu la innennu u annasu kinnu), the lord of lands (bel matati), the king of all (sar gimri), the sublime lord who determines the fate of the gods (bel šaqū muṣtim šimat ilani).

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4 Susa 2, IV, 2. 5 London, 101, III, 15.
7 D. E. P., II, 115, 5, 6. The ideogram from Shamash is ALAM, see Br. 7298 and cf. Br. 7296.
8 O. B. L., 83, II, 17.
Gula, the glorious mistress, the mistress of all mistresses (bêltu šurbûtum etillit kala bêlêti),¹ the great mistress (bêltu rabîtu),² the great mistress, the wife of NIN.IB (bêltu rabîtu hîrat NIN.IB),³ the great physician (azugallatu rabîtum),⁴ the physician, the great mistress (azugallatu bêltu rabîtu),⁵ the bride of Esharra (kallat Ešarra).⁶

Girru, the terrible Girru (BIL.GI), the child of Nusku (Girru izzu mûru ša Nusku).⁷

Išara, the mistress of victory over lands (bêlit lêti dadma).⁸

Ištar, the mistress of heaven and earth (bêlit šamê u īršiti),⁹ the mistress, the princess among the gods (bêltu rabû ilâni),¹⁰ the mistress of lands (bêlit mâtati),¹¹ the mistress of lands whose fury is like a storm flood (bêlit mâtati ša rûbaša abûbu).¹²

Marduk, the leader of the gods (abkal ilâni),¹³ the leader of heaven and earth (abkal šamê u īršiti),¹⁴ the great lord (bêlu rabû),¹⁵ the great lord whose command no god can annul (bêlu rabû ša šît pišu îlu mamma la ušpellum),¹⁶ the king of the gods (šar ilâni),¹⁷ the king of heaven and earth (šar šamê u īršiti),¹十八 the mighty one, the lord (owner) of this field (alîlu bêl eqlí šu'atum),¹⁹ the lord of constructions (bêl liptêti),²⁰ and bêl

¹ Susa 3, VII, 14-17.
³ III R. 43, IV, 15; I R. 70, IV, 5.
⁴ Susa 14, IV, 5, 6.
⁵ III R. 41, II, 29.
⁷ Susa 2, IV, 18, 19. The rendering of Scheil, šîbru (=šîbirru) ša Nusku, i.e.,

"the weapon of Nusku," is also possible.

⁸ III R. 43, IV, 28; called thus as the goddess of war.
⁹ I R. 70, III, 22; III R. 43, IV, 12.
¹¹ Susa 2, IV, 16; London, 103, VI, 18.
¹⁴ Neb. Nippur, IV, 22.
¹⁵ London, 102, I, 40.
¹⁶ Susa 3, VI, 29-32.
¹⁷ Susa 2, III, 30-32.
¹⁸ Susa 14, III, 14.
¹⁹ III R. 41, II, 25.
²⁰ O. B. I., 149, II, 21.
Marduk and Zarpanitum together are addressed as the lords who determine fate (bēlē mušimmu šimti). 2

Nabû, the overseer of the universe (pa-qid kiš[šal]), 3 the overseer of the totality of heaven and earth (pα[qid kiššat šamē u irtīti]), 4 the lofty messenger (sukallu šīru), 5 the firstborn son of Esagila ([aplū] reštū ša Esagila), 6 the king of Ezida, the scribe of Esagila, the shepherd of the totality of heaven and earth (šar Ezida tupšar Esagila re[i kiššat šamē u irtītim]). 7

Nanā, together with Rammân and Nergal, called “the gods of Namar” (ilāni ša mātu Namar). 8

Nergal, the lord of weapons and bows (bēl bēlē u qašāti), 9 the lord of war and battle (bēl qablī u taḫāzi). 10

Ninā, the mistress of the goddesses (bēlīt eštarātu). 11

NIN.E.GAL, together with Nusku, Shuqmuna and Shumalia, called “the gods of the king” (ilāni šarrī) 12 and “the gods of the kingdom and of his land” ([ilāni] šarrūti u mātišu). 13

NIN.IB, the lord of the boundary, limit(?) and boundary stone (bēl aplī šāmī u kuddurri), 14 the lord of the boundary stone (bēl kuddurri), 15 the lord of boundary stones (bēl kuddurretī), 16 the lord of the boundary and of the boundary stone (bēl mīsri u kuddurri) 17 (so alone and also with Gula), the king of heaven and earth (šar šamē u irtīti), 18 the son of Ešarra, the sublime son of Ellil (apil Ešarra, mār Enlil šīru). 19

1 D. E. P., II, 113, 4; written bēl ŠŪ-ta-ti.
2 V. A. 2663, V, 40–42.
4 London, 102, I, 44.
5 I R. 70, IV, 16; III R. 41, II, 34, III R. 43, IV, 1.
6 London, 102, I, 45.
7 D. E. P., VI, 46, 4–6.
8 V R. 56, 48.
9 III R. 43, IV, 21.
10 London, 102, II, 3.
12 Susa 14, IV, 11.
13 Susa 3, VII, 5–8.
14 D. E. P., VI, 47, 5, 6.
18 V R. 56, 39.
19 I R. 70, IV, 1, 2.
Nusku, the powerful lord, the mighty scorch (bêl gašrum, ârîrum karâbû).¹ Nusku, NIN.E.GAL, Shuqamuna and Shumalia are called "the gods of the king"² (Marduk-apal-iddina I.) and "the gods of the kingdom and of his land" (îlâni šarrûti u mâtišu).³

Papsukal, the messenger of the great gods, who walks in the service of the gods, his brothers (sukallî îlâni rabûti, âlik kiširri îlâhi aḥêšu).⁴

Rammân, the leader of heaven and earth (gugal šamê u iršiti),⁵ the leader of heaven and earth, the lord of fountains and rain (gugal šamê u iršiti bêl naqbi u zunnî),⁶ the leader of the gods (gugal îlâni),⁷ the son of Anu, the hero (mâr Anum qardu),⁸ the lord of right (?) (bêl ki-ta-a-ti).⁹ Rammân, Nergal and Nanâ are called "the gods of Namar" (îlâni ša mātu Namar).¹⁰

Sin, the terrible lord, who among the great gods is brilliant (bêlum izzu ša ina îlâni rabûti šupû).¹¹ The inhabitant of the bright heavens (ašâb šamê ellûti),¹² the light of the bright heavens (nannar šamê ellûti),¹³ the light, the inhabitant of the bright heavens (nannaru ašib šamê ellûti),¹⁴ the light delivering decrees (nannari pâris purussê),¹⁵ the eye of heaven and earth (în šamê u iršitim),¹⁶ the lord of the crown of splendor (bêl agê namerûti),¹⁷ the father of the great gods (abi îlâni rabûti).¹⁸

Širu, the child of KA.DI (mēru ša KA.DI),¹ the brilliant god, the mār bītu of Dēr (ilu šūpū mār bītu ša ḫub Dēr).²

Shamash, the judge of heaven and earth (daian šamē u irṣīti),³ the judge, the prince of heaven and earth (daianu rabu šamē u irṣītīm),⁴ the judge, the strong one over men, the great one in heaven and earth (daianu kaškaš nīše rabu šamē u irṣīti),⁵ the great judge of the great gods (daianu rabu ša ilāni rabūti),⁶ the great creator of heaven and earth (pāṭik šamē u irṣītīm).⁷ Shamash and Rammān together are called "the powerful gods, the lofty judges" (ilāni gašrūtu daianē širūti)⁸ and "the gods, the lords of right" (ilāni bēlē dē nú).⁹

Shumalia, the mistress of the bright mountains, dwelling on the mountain tops and walking by the springs (bēlū šadē ellūtī āšībat rēšēti kābīsit kuppātī).¹⁰

Shuqamuna and Shumalia, the gods of the king (Meli-Shipak) (ilāni ša šarrī),¹¹ called the gods of war (ilāni qabli tamu).¹²

Zamama, the king of battle (šar tahāzi),¹³ the powerful one among the gods (kaškaš ilāni).¹⁴

Zarpanitum, the mistress of Esagila (bēlīt Esagila),¹⁵ the great mistress ([bēltu] rabītum).¹⁶ Marduk and Zarpanitum, the lords who appoint fate (bēlē mušimmu šimti).¹⁷

¹ Susa 2, IV, 23; or perhaps šibru ša KA.DI, "the weapon of KA.DI."
⁴ I R. 70, III, 15. ⁵ III R. 43, IV, 10. ⁶ Susa 14, III, 3.
⁹ London, 103, VI, 9. ¹⁰ V R. 56, 46, 47.
¹¹ London, 103, VI, 15, 16, cf. also Susa 14, IV, 10, 11, and the title "the gods of the kingdom and of his land" ([ilāni] šarrūti u mātišu), which they share with Nusku and NIN.E.GAL, cf. D. E. P., VI, 47, 5, 6.
¹² Susa 2, IV, 22, or perhaps "the gods of war, the twins," as suggested by Zimmern, see Frank, Bilder und Symbole, p. 40.
¹⁴ London, 102, I, 43.
¹⁵ O. B. I., 149, II, 22.
¹⁶ V. A., 2663, V, 40–42.
Anu, Ellil and Ea,¹ and in some cases also NIN.HAR.SAG² or NIN.MAH,³ are called the great gods (ilâni rabûti).

Of all these titles only a few of a more general nature are exchanged between the gods; bēlu rabû is common to Anu, Ellil and Marduk; abi ilâni is attributed to Anu and Sin, and šar šamē u irṣiti to Marduk and NIN.IB. In the other cases the titles seem to have become firmly attached to the several gods. At least no transfer can be observed.

THE CURSES OF THE KUDURU INSCRIPTIONS.

The calamities and disasters which the gods are asked to send down upon would-be offenders are even more numerous and varied than their titles. We quote them under the names of the gods with whom they are connected.

Anu is asked:

a. May he overthrow him in anger and destroy his soul (aggiš litallikšuma napšatuš liballī, Neb. Nippur, IV, 3, 4).

b. May he cause him to take a road that is obstructed (harranna parikta lišēšisu, III R. 43, IV, 30, 31).

Anûnût:


Bunene:

May his command tear him out (qibītu lisuhšuma, D.E.P., II, 115, 6).

Ea:


² Susa 3, VI, 16–20.
³ I R. 70, III, 9, 10; III R. 41, II, 13, 14.
b. May he take away from him gladness of heart, happiness of mind, abundance and fullness, so that lamentation may seize him (nûgu ḫubûṭti numûr liḇbi ḥabûṣa ḫabûṣa lîkimûṣum aₜ nîssatu lîlqîṣû, Neb. Nippur, IV, 10–12).

Ellil:

a. May they (the curses) not miss him, but overtake him (lâ išettâšu liḵûdâšu, Susa 3, VII, 50, 51).

b. May he appoint for him an evil fate, so that calamity, misfortunes and the words of men may oppress him (ṣimû mat marûṣṭi lišilmûma lubnâ nêlmenâ amût nišè ligisâšu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 6–8).

c. May he lay his punishment upon him (ṣe-ri-[i]-ṣu li]-mi-[[i]-su, London, 101, III, 10).

Gula:

a. Destructive sickness may she put into his body, so that he may pass dark and bright red blood as water (simma laz(za) in zumrišu liškumma (lišabšima) dama u šarka kî mè lîrmuk (lîrtammuk), I R. 70, IV, 6–8; III R. 43, IV, 16–18; III R. 41, II, 30, 31).

b. idem till body, then adding: So that as long as he lives he may pass dark and bright red blood as water (adî um balṭu šarqa u dama kî mè lîrmuk, Susa 3, VII, 19–25).

c. idem as a, then adding: And may she not cause his corpse to have burial (ṣâ[lamašu] qîvâra aṣ[ušaršišu], London, 102, II, 20–25; cf. Susa 16, VI, 21, ša-lam-ta-šu i-na iṛṣiti ai ik-ki-bîr).

d. A painful, destructive disease, a depression that does not go away, may she let loose into his body (simma aṭṣa lazza miqâ la tabâ ina zumrišu lišeti, Susa 14, IV, 6–9).

Išhara:

May she not hear him in mighty battle (ina taḥâzi dānim lâ išemîšu, III R. 43, IV, 29).
Ištar:

a. Before the gods and the king of Babylon may she bring him into evil (ana mahri ilâni u šar Bābili ana limutti lirteďišu, III R. 43, IV, 13–14).

b. Daily before god and the king may she lead him into evil (ûmišamma ana mahar ʾili u šarri ana limutti lirteďišu, I R. 70, III, 23–24).

c. In conflict and in battle to the weapon of the enemy may she surrender him (a-šar qa-tuš u taḫâzi ana ʾawakki nakiri limnuš, London, 103, VI, 18–20).

d. May she send him despair and... her message of anger, day and night he may multiply his words, like a dog pass the night in the street(s) of his city (tālitum lispuršuma.... našpartaša ša uzzi urra u mûša limaʾida atmēšu ktma kalbi libtaʾita ina rêbit ālišu, III R. 41, II, 21–24).

e. May she cause him to see difficulties, so that he may not escape from misfortune (namraša likallimšuma ai ūši ina ušaki, Neb. Nippur, IV, 23, 24).

Marduk:


b. May he pour out his life like water (napištašu ktma mē lībuk, Susa 2, III, 33–35).

c. May he inflict famine as his severe punishment upon him. Seeing angry faces and holding out his hand, without being fed, may he wander through the streets of his city (bubūta šērtašu rabīta limissuma ina naṭal kammali tiris qāti ū lâ epērī sāq ālišu lissahḥar, Susa 3, VI, 33–40).

d. May he cause him to bear dropsy as a bond that is unbreakable (agalātillā riksu (rīkissu) lā paṭēra lišiššišu, III R. 43, III, 31–32; I R. 70, III, 13, 14; London, 102, I, 41).
e. May he stop up his canals (?) (nárûte(?)-šu liskirma, O. B. I., 149; II, 21).

f. May he fill his body with dropsy, whose hold cannot be broken (agalâtillâ ša rikissu là ippaṭaru lišân karassu, III R. 41, II, 25, 26).\(^1\)

g. Marduk and Zarpanîtum:

May they cause him to bear dropsy as his severe punishment, and with the bloating of his flesh may his body perish (šerîtsu kabittu agalâtillâ lišîššûšuma ina šîhat šeri liqta zumurû, V. A., 2663, V, 42–44).

Nabû:

a. May he change his confines, limits and boundary stone (usa miṣra u kudurrašu lišenni, III R. 43, IV, 1–2).

b. May he appoint for him days of want and drought as his fate (ûm sugê u arrati ana šîmâtîšu lišîmû, III R. 41, II, 34–35).

c. May he bring want and famine upon him, so that he may not attain whatever his throat desires (sugû u nibîta liškunaššumma mimma uttû ana ħurri pîšu là īkaššad, I R. 70, IV, 17–20).

d. May he lead (?) his children into famine ([mârêšu ana ḫušabhi [lîrteddi?]], London, 102, I, 45).

Nergal:

a. May he break his weapons (kakkêšu lišèbir, III R. 43, IV, 22).

b. May he slay him in his battle (ina taḥâzišu lišqissu, London, 102, II, 5).

NIN.GIRSU and Bau:

May they not appoint for him cheerful hilarity (?) as his lot (alâla šâba ana šîmtûšu là imannû, London, 103, VI, 6–8).

\(^1\) Cf. D. E. P., II, 113, 18–19, May the head be sick, may dropsy like a band of fire enclose him (qaqqadu [mar(?)]-zi-ma agalâtillâ mêsir maqlûtu likmi-[šu]).
NIN.KAR.RA.AG (or Gula):

Of his seed may she snatch away (ina zerišu lilqut, London, 101, III, 17).

NIN.IB:

a. The son, the water pourer, may he take away from him, and may he not cause him to have seed and offspring (aplam naq mē likimšuma še'uzēru u pira ai ušaršišu, Susa 3, VII, 9–13).

b. May he tear out his boundary stone (kudurrašu lissuḫ, Neb. Nippur, IV, 19; D. E. P., II, 113, 3).

c. May he deprive him of his son, his water pourer (apilšu naqa mēšu lišēli, III R. 43, IV, 20).

d. May he tear out his boundary stone, tread down his boundary line and change his plot (kudurrašu lissuḫ misiršu likabis pilikšu lini, III R. 41, II, 27–28).

e. May he tear out his confines, limits and boundary stone (ussu misiršu u kudurrašu lissuḫ, I R. 70, IV, 3, 4).

f. May he tear out his boundary stone, destroy his name, his seed, his offspring, his descendants from the mouth of men, and may he not let him have a son and a pourer of water (kudurrašu lissuḫ šumišu zerišu pūršu u nannabšu ina) pē nišē lihaliq aplu u naq mē ai ušaršišu, London, 102, II, 15–19).

g. May he destroy his boundary stone (kudurrašu linaqir, London, 103, VI, 12).

h. NIN.IB and Gula:

May they destroy his boundary stone and annihilate his seed (lībutū kudurrašu līhaliqū zerišu, V R. 56, 40).

i. NIN.IB and Gula:

May they cause destructive sickness to be in his body and, as long as he lives, may he pass dark and bright red blood as
water (simmu lazi[za ina] zumrišu lišabšúma ùm baltu
dama u šarka kíma mè lirmuk, O. B. I., 149, III, 3–5).

Nusku:

a. May he be his evil demon and burn up his root (lu rabiušu
limuttišu śuma liqamme šuršišu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 26, 27).

b. Nusku and NIN.E.GAL:

May they cause the kingdom and his land to make him sick
(šarrūtu u mātišu lišamrišūšu, D. E. P., VI, 47, 5, 6).

c. Nusku, NIN.E.GAL, Shugamuna and Shumalía:

May they fill his head with sickness (qaqqadsu lišamrišūšu,
Susa 14, IV, 9–12).

Papsukal:

May he bar his gate (babšu liparriki, III R. 43, IV, 27).

Rammān:

a. May he destroy his fields with weeds, keep back the grain,
so that no blade of grass may come forth (eqlātišu idrā[nu]
lišashīma lizammi 4Ašnan ai ueši urqiti, Susa 14, III,
9–13).

b. May he fill his canals with mud, bring upon him hunger and
want, and surround him day and night with distress,
frailty and misery, so that frailty fasten its grip upon the
inhabitants of his city (nāratišu limillā sakikē bubūta u
hušaḫa liškunšumma lubnu makū u liminu urra u mūšu
lū rākis īttišu ana āšib ālišu makā qātsu limug, V R. 56,
41–45).

c. May he fill his canals with mud and his acres may he fill with
thorns, may his feet tread down vegetation and pasturage
(nārāti sakikē limilī u tamirātišu limilā puqutta šir bīrā
likabbisa šepāšu, III R. 43, IV, 3–6).

d. May he flood his fields and instead of green herbs may weeds,
instead of grain may thorns grow luxuriantly (ugāršu
lîrêšma kîmû urqêti idranu kîmû Nîsâbû puquttu lihûbû, III R. 41, II, 32, 33).

e. May he flood his field, and destroy his grain so that thorns may grow in abundance, and may his foot tread down vegetation and pasturage (ugâršu lîrêšma Nîsâbû lihâllîqa puquttu lišmuḫ šerâ bîrûta likabbûša šêpâšu, I R. 70, IV, 11–14).

f. May he cause barrenness instead of grain and weeds instead of water to be there ([kîmû ŠE.BAR la širîš kîmû mē idrâna lišabšî, London, 102, II, 11–14). Sin:

a. May he cause him to bear dropsy, whose hold cannot be broken, may he clothe his body with leprosy as with a garment and as long as he lives bar him from his home, so that like a beast of the field he lie down and may not tread upon the streets of his city (agalâtîllâ ša rikissu la îppaṭṭaru lišèššû isrubâ kîma šubâti paganšu lîlabîšma adî ūm barṭu bîtsu lişâmûma kîma umâm šerî lîrûd rebît ališu aî ikbus, Susa 3, VI, 44–VII, 4).

b. May he clothe his body with leprosy as with a garment (isrubâ kîma lubâri lîlibûsa zumuršu, III R. 43, IV, 8, 9).

c. May he cause leprosy to be in his body, so that he may not lie down within the wall of his city (isrubâ ina zumrišu lîlabšuma ina kamât ališu aî irbiš, O. B. I., 149, Col. III, 6–8).

d. May he clothe his whole body with never yielding leprosy, so that he may not be clean till the day of his death, but, like a wild ass, stretch himself out at the wall of his city (isrubâ la tebâ gimir lânišu lîlabbîšma adî ūmi šîmâtišu aî ībîb u kîma purûmi ina kamât ališu lirtappud, III R. 41, II, 16–18).

e. With leprosy as with a garment may he clothe him, so that, as
a wild ass, he may stretch himself out at the wall of the city (išrubā kt lubārī lilabbisuma kt purīmi ina kamāt ālišu lirtappud, I R. 70, III, 19–21; London, 102, I, 46, 47).

f. May he darken his face so that he may not have merriment (būnīšu liṭṭesuma līlī ai īši, Neb. Nippur, IV, 13, 14).

Shamash:


b. Blindness of eyes, deafness of ears and lameness of limbs may he present to him for a present (zāt pānī sakāk uzni u ubbur mešrēti [ana ši]riqiš lišrunšu, Susa 14, III, 4–6).

c. May he decree the denial of his right and oppose him with violence (lūdi(n) kul dīnišu ina par(ik)ti lizzis(s)u, III, R. 43, IV, 10, 11; I R. 70, III, 15–17).

d. May he not decide his right and his judgment, i.e., give him a favorable decree (dīnišu u purussūšu ai iprus, London, 102, II, 2–3).

e. May he smite his face so that his clear day may turn for him to darkness (pānīšu limḫasama ūmišu namru ana daʾummati līturšu, III R. 41, II, 19, 20).

Shamash and Marduk:

When he calls upon Shamash and Marduk may they not hear him (ēma dŠamaš ʿu dMarduk īssāt ar ai (iš!)-mu-šu, IV R. 38, III, 42–44).

Shamash and Rammān:

May they not let his cause succeed (dīnišu là ušteššerū, London, 103, VI, 9, 10).

May they spoil his plans, and with a judgment of justice and righteousness may they not judge him (lu mulammenū igirrešu šunuma dīn kitī u mesari ai idināšu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 15–18).
Shuqamuna and Shumalia:
May they place him before the king and the nobles (as a culprit) (ina pàn šarru u rubûti lišaškinûšu, London, 103, VI, 15, 16).

Urash and NIN.E.GAL:
May they pursue him with evil (ina limutti lirîtêdûšu, London, 103, VI, 13, 14).

Zamama:
May he not take his hand in battle (ina tâhâzi qaṭsu lâ išabat, III R. 43, IV, 24).

Zamama and [Bau]:
May they look upon him in anger, so that they may not let him have a name (child) ([izz]iš likkîlmûšuma u šumu aî ušarštûšu, D. E. P., VI, 47, 1–3).

Zarpanûtum:
May she spoil his plans (iğirrâšu ḫâla][mman, O. B. L., 149, II, 23).

There are still a series of curses left, uttered in the name of a number of gods:

1. Anu, Ellîl and Ea are asked:
   a. May they in the anger of their heart look upon him (ina aggî libbišumû likkîlmûšu, London, 103, V, 48–VI, 2).
   b. May they tear out and destroy his foundation, tear out his offspring, carry off his descendants (eṣissu lissuhhû lihalliqû pirîhšu lissuhhû lišêlû nannabsû, III R. 43, III, 26–30).
   c. May they in anger look upon him and destroy his soul and the children of his seed (izzîš likkîlmûšuma napsśašu] mărê zêrišu lihalliqû, O. B. L., 149; II, 18–20).
   d. May they curse him with an evil curse that cannot be broken ([arrat] la napsûri marûṣta lirû[rûšu], London, 102, I, 38, 39).
e. [The gods] as many as there are, may they curse him ([ūlānī] mala ʾiššīmu līrūšu, C. T., X, pl. 7, 40).

f. A curse from which there is no escape, blindness of eyes, deafness of ears, lameness of limbs, may they present to him, so that he may drag along evil (arrat la napšur turti ʾinā sakāk uznū ʿubbur meʿrēti līšruqūsūmma lišdūd maruṣtī, V. A., 2663, V, 36–40).

2. Anu, Ellil, Ea and NIN.HAR.SAG (or NIN.MAH):
   a. May they look upon him with their angry face and with an evil curse from which there is no escape, may they curse him (ina bunišunu izzūti likkīlmušuma arrat la napšuri limutta līrūšu, Susa 3, VI, 23–28, or izziš likkīlmušuma arrat la napšuri marušta līrūšu, III R. 41, II, 13–15).
   b. May they look upon him in anger, tear out his foundation and destroy his offspring (izziš likkīlmušuma išisdu lissuḫu liḥalliqū pirʾīšu, I R. 70, III, 9–12).

3. Anu, Ellil, Ea, NIN.IB and Gula:
   May they look upon him in anger, and with a curse, from which there is no escape, curse him, tear out his boundary stone, snatch away his seed in misery, and in poor bodily health may he end the few days which he has to live (izziš likkīlmušu arrat la pašāri līrūšu kudurrašu lissuḫu zērišu līqutū(m) ina limuttī u lā-tūb šēri adī ʾumī išūti ša baša liqtīma, IV R. 38, III, 26–41).

4. Sin, Shamash, Rammān and Marduk:
   May they tear out his foundation (išisdu lissuḫu(!), London, 103, VI, 4).

5. Of the (great) gods which are mentioned on this stone:
   a. May they curse him with an evil curse, destroy his name, and may his seed not have a resting place for repose(?)
      (arrat limuttī līrūšu ʾumšu liḥalliqū zēršu ana šulī ai iršū nida ahi, Susa 2, III, 23–29).
b. May they destroy his name and cause him to come to naught (šumišu lihalliqû ana mimma là baše lišālikûšu, London, 103, VI, 23–25).

c. May they curse him with a curse that is without escape, and may they not prolong his life a single day, may they not let him, his name, his seed live, may they appoint days of drought, years of famine for him as his fate, before god, king, lord and prince may his whining be long and may he end in misery (arrat la napšuri lirurûšuma ûna istên là balâtsu liqûbû šâšu šumišu û zêrišu ai(?) usâbû(?) āmê arurti šanâte ḫuṣâhî ana šêmâṭişu lišìmû eli ûtì šarri [bêli?] u rubî lîrik rininšuma ina limutti likla, London, 101, IV, 6–14).

d. May they appoint for him a fate of not seeing (blindness), stopping up of ears (deafness) and dumbness of mouth forever (šêmât là naṭâli sakâk uzni û šibît pt ana şat ʿumî lišîmûšu, Susa 3, VII, 35–40).

e. May they tear out his name, his seed, his posterity (šumšu zêršu pîrʾîšu liṣṣuḥû, D. E. P., IV, pl. 16, II, 9, 10).

f. May they look upon him in anger, ...curse him with an evil curse that is without escape, with a deadly leprosy, a serious condition, may they envelop his body, from the gate of his city may he be driven captive, at the wall of his city may they make him crouch, as long as he lives may he clinging to(?) the country, may he not come near to his people, may they afflict him with dropsy, so that his body may not be buried in the earth, [his spirit] may not press the hand of another spirit, decreeing life may they not grant his life, but destroy his name, tear out his foundation, snatch away his seed and may they not spare his children (izzîš lik[ki]l)mûšuma. ...literrûšu arrat la napšurim marust- ta lirurûšu isrubà mûti ān kabbta zumuršu lillâb[biš]ma

g. With a curse may they be cruel and may he not have offspring (ina arrat limirūrū piri ai iršu, Susa 14, IV, 17).

h. May they curse him in anger, may god and the king look upon him in anger (aggīš lirurūšu ilū u šarru izziš likkilmūšu, V R. 56, 37, 38). In the anger of their heart may they plan evil against him, so that another may own the house he built. With a dagger in his neck and a poniard in his eyes, may he cast down his face before his captor and may the latter, unmindful of his pleading, quickly cut off his life. In the collapse of his house may his hands get into the mire, as long as he lives may he drag along misery, and as long as heaven and earth exist may his seed perish (ina uzzat lībbī ana limuttaš liḥtassūšuma bītu ippušu lībbel šanumma ultu patru ina kišādišu u kuppū ina ṭinišu ana šabīṭānišu apṣatū liḥlimma unnīnišu ai inḥuršu ḫaṭṭiš likkīsa napṣat[u] ina hipē bītišu qāṭāšu ṭtta līrubā adi ām balṭu marušta liṣdüd u adi šamē u iršiti bašu zēršu liḥliqū, V R. 56, 51–60).

i. May they lead him into evil and misfortune, and may they destroy his name, his seed, his offspring, his posterity from the mouth of the people far and near (ana limuttī u lā ḫābīš lirṭaddūšu šumšu zēršu pirišu nannabšu ina pē nīšē dišāti liḥallīqū, III R. 41, II, 37–39).

j. May they curse him with an evil curse that is without escape, and may they destroy his seed forever (arrat la napṣuri
limutta lirurūšuma adi ūm šāti lippušū zēršu, I R. 70, IV, 23–25).

k. May they curse him with a curse that is without escape (arrat là napšuri (limutta) lirurūšu, III R. 43, III, 25; IV, 34–35; O. B. I., 149, II, 16, 17). For a single day may they not grant him life (ki īšēn ūmi là balātušu liqū, O. B. I., 149, III, 10, 11).

l. May they destroy his name, his seed, his offspring from the mouth of the people, may they cut off his future (šumšu zēršu pirišu ina pt niše lihaliqū lunakkisū arkātsu, V. A., 2663, V, 46, 47).

Here then we have nearly one hundred curses, uttered in the name of nearly thirty gods. It will be of interest to review briefly the most characteristic of these curses. Ea is asked to send melancholy, Gula a destructive sickness, Ishtar loss of weapons in battle, Marduk dropsy, Nabû want and famine, Nergal death in battle, NIN.IB removal of boundary and death of children, Nusku burning of root and headache, Rammân destruction of fields through floods, Sin leprosy, Shamash blindness, deafness and lameness or unfavorable decision in law, Zamama bad luck in battle. The other curses are couched in vague and general terms.

It is remarkable that the presence of witnesses was not always recorded upon the boundary stones. In view of Hammurabi’s law (§§ 7 and 123) that a contract without witnesses was invalid, it is hardly possible to infer from these instances that no witnesses were present. We can only note the fact that on some of the finest boundary stones their names are omitted. The stone of Meli-Shipak (D. E. P., II, pls. 21–24), the sale of land to Marduk-nāšir (III R. 41), the Caillou de Michaux (I R. 70), and the stone of Marduk-aḫē-erba (O. B. I., 149) omit this feature. When witnesses were present and their signatures were added, their number varied from at least three (IV R.² 38) to sixteen (III R. 43).
Several stones have a pictorial representation of the king who made the grant. III R. 41 shows the picture of one of the first kings of the second Isin (PA-SHE) dynasty. London, 102, represents Nabû-mukin-aplu. C. T., X, pl. III, shows Nabû-apal-ididdina, and V. A., 2663, Merodach-baladan II. Finally, the stone of 'Amrân (M. D. O. G., No. 7, p. 26) shows the picture of a king, who resembles the one on III R. 41 so much that they are most likely pictures of the same king, perhaps of Nebuchadrezzar I.

THE SYMBOLS OF THE BOUNDARY STONES.

The last remarkable feature of the boundary stones are the symbols which are sculptured either on top or on one of the sides of the stones. They are found on all the public boundary stones and on three of the private documents (the stone of Nazi-Maruttash, D. E. P., II, pls. 18, 19; that of Nabû-apal-ididdina, B. O. R., I, 65; and the one of Marduk-šum-ididdina, V. A., 208). They also occur on the stone of Nabû-šum-īškun, which records the appointment of Nabû-mutakkil as priest of Nebo at Borsippa.

Various theories have been proposed as to the meaning and purpose of these symbols. According to one theory (Guide to Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, 1900, p. 85f.) they are "representations of certain powers of evil from which the owners of the lands wished to preserve their property, or powers of good whose favor they wished to secure." According to another theory they are the representatives of the gods invoked in the inscription. This is the view of Prof. Scheil (Recueil de Travaux, 1901, Vol. XXIII, pp. 95–97), of Dr. Ward (''The Asherah,''' A. J. S. L., XIX, 33, 44), of George Thiele (Antike Himmelsbilder, Berlin, 1898), and partly of Prof. Jastrow (Religion Babylonien und Assyrien, Vol. I, p. 191f.). According to a third view they represent the signs of the zodiac. This was first suggested by Oppert (Documents juridiques, 1877, p. 85f.). It was adopted by Pinches (Guide to
Fig. 20.—Boundary stone of Marduk-apal-iddina II. (V. A. 2663.)
the Nimroud Central Saloon, 1886, pp. 40–60), and more fully developed by Epping and Strassmaier, who identified three emblems as belonging to the zodiac (Astronomisches aus Babylon, 1889, pp. 149, 150). It was most fully elaborated by Prof. Hommel (Aufsätze und Abhandlungen, 1900, pp. 236–272, 350–372, 434–474). It has since been accepted by Prof. H. Winckler (Preussische Jahrbücher, Vol. 104 (1901), p. 226) and by F. K. Ginzel (Beiträge zur Altertum Geschicht, Vol. I, p. 7ff.). A fourth view recognizes in them only in part signs of the zodiac and in part other stars. This is held by Franz Boll (Sphaera, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 198–208).

![Fig. 21.—Fragments of boundary stones found at Susa, Nos. 7–9.](image)

In view of this uncertainty it is not surprising that many scholars agreed with Oppert, who declared: "It would be rash to pretend to explain these symbols." Recently, however, the problem has passed into a new stage through the discovery by the French expedition at Susa of a number of new boundary stones, on which the symbols are repeatedly referred to. Before that time there was but one reference to the symbols on IV R.³ 38, III, 29–31: īlānī ma-la i-na narī šū-a-tum eš-ri-tu-šū-nu ud-da-a—i.e., "the gods whose shrines are shown on this stone." Now we read on the stone of Nazi-Maruttash (D. E. P., II, pl. 17, III, 19–22): šum-šū-nu za-ak-ru išqakku-šū-nu kul-lu-mu ʿu šū-ba-
tu(m)-şu-nu ud-da-a—"whose names are mentioned, whose weapons are shown, whose seats are indicated."

Meli-Shipak, VII, 26-34 (D. E. P., II, pl. 23) reads: ilâni rabûti ma-la i-na abû-nârî an-nî-i šú-um-šû-nu za-ak-ru šû-ba-tu-šu-nu ud-da-a išu kakhê-šû-nu ku-ul-lu-mu û-u-sû-ru-tu-šu-nu uš-su-rai.e., "the great gods as many as are mentioned on this stone by their names, whose seats are indicated, whose weapons are shown, whose reliefs are sculptured."

D. E. P., II, 89, note 3, reads: ilâni mala [ina eli n]ârî anni

Fig. 22.—Babylonian temples as they appear on the boundary stones.

šum-šu-nu [šuṭṭ]uru K.L.DUR.MES-šunu uuddâ u išu D.I.B.MESšunu [u]-zu-[zu], and the fragment D. E. P., II, 113, 20, 21 reads:
ilâni mala [ina nari anni šum-šunu] za-ak-ru u-su-ra-[tu-šu-nu uš-su-ra].

These passages make it plain that the symbols represent three different things: (1) The seats or shrines of the gods, called šubâṭi or ešrêti; (2) the weapons of the gods, called išu kakhê and išu D.I.B.MES,1 and (3) the bas-reliefs of the gods, called ušurâti. The shrines are no doubt to be recognized in what scholars (Pinches

1 This ideogram is perhaps only a scribal error for išu KU = kakkû.
and Hommel) have been in the habit of calling altars. That these shrines actually represent ziggurats appears not only from the names esrēti, "sanctuaries," which is applied to them, but also from the fact that a ziggurat is clearly drawn on IV R.¹ 43, third row,¹ last figure. The dragon, crouching before the stage tower, with a wedge standing upright on its back, corresponds to the wedge lying flat on the usual form of shrines (London 100; 106; 105; I R 70, etc.).² The stage tower on IV R.¹ 43, has four stories, and when we examine the other shrines more closely we find that they also contain four oblong squares within each other. It is the ground plan of a stage tower (cf. Bezold, *Nineve und Babylon*, p. 102).

These shrines, however, are not the stations of the planets or of the moon (Hommel, *Aufsätze*, pp. 244, 272, 435¹), but more generally the seats of stellar deities (Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 203). This is particularly clear in the figure of the seated goddess on the stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. (V R. 57, fifth row),³ which is not King Nebuchadrezzar, but the goddess Gula, as is definitely stated on a new stone from Susa (D. E. P., VII, p. 140, fig. 452).⁴ Here the shrine evidently indicates the dwelling place of the deity; however, not an earthly temple (for all Babylonian deities are stellar in their nature), but a heavenly sanctuary. As the prototypes of all earthly conditions are to be found in heaven, according to the belief of the Babylonians, so earthly temples had their heavenly models.⁵

The shrines are not represented in connection with all the symbols. The largest number of shrines (ten) occurs on the stone of Meli-Shipak (D. E. P., II, pl. 24).⁶ There we have two shrines with

¹ See fig. 6, p. 17; and fig. 22, second row.
² See fig. 49⁴, p. 131; fig. 14⁴, p. 34; fig. 12¹⁸, p. 30; fig. 13⁹, p. 33. The upper figures refer to the numbers of the symbols on the various pictures.
³ See fig. 49⁴⁴, p. 131.
⁴ See fig. 40¹, p. 105.
⁶ See fig. 11, p. 28.
tiaras, one with a ram's head, one with a pin and a horseshoe-like figure, one with a spear, one with a brick\(^1\) and a wedge, one with a goddess, one with a lightning fork, one with a chisel, and one with a sea-shell. Besides these, there are shrines with a tortoise (London 106),\(^2\) with a winged dragon beside it (V.A. 2663),\(^3\) with a pyramid-shaped object (Susa 15),\(^4\) with a square object (Susa 15),\(^5\) with a round object with two horns (Susa 15),\(^6\) with another round object (Susa 13),\(^7\) one on the back of a monster carrying a vase on its

\(^1\) Instead of one brick there may also be several rows of bricks, cf. Susa 16\(^11\) (fig. 10, p. 25), which shows twelve bricks in four rows. Compare also Susa 20\(^8\), where three rows of bricks are given. It is the symbol of Nabû, which follows the spear, the symbol of Marduk. The same arrangement seems to be followed on Susa No. 15 (fig. 2, p. 6). The spearhead of Marduk in the third row is there followed by a pyramid-shaped figure, which is no doubt a variant representation of the bricks of Nabû.

\(^2\) See fig. 14\(^12\), p. 34.

\(^3\) See fig. 8\(^16\), p. 20.

\(^4\) See fig. 2\(^2\), p. 6.

\(^5\) See fig. 2\(^10\), p. 6.

\(^6\) This object is probably a variant form of the horseshoe-like figure, which follows usually the symbols of Anu, Ellil and Ea (cf. Susa 3\(^7\), Susa 20\(^4\), I R. 70\(^7\), V. R. 57\(^7\)). It is the symbol of Ninharsag. See below, p. 95.

\(^7\) This round object is perhaps identical with the tortoise, see London, 106 (fig. 14, p. 34).
head (Susa I), and one with a stylus-like object\(^1\) (V. A. 2663). The shrines occur therefore thus far in connection with eighteen symbols. It seems to have been left to the choice of the artist to reproduce the shrine or to omit it. Accordingly we find the spear of Marduk on a shrine (V R. 57),\(^2\) or on a dragon (IV R. \(^1\) 43),\(^3\) or alone (Susa 16);\(^4\) the ram’s head of Ea is on a shrine (London 105),\(^5\) or on a goatfish (IV R. \(^1\) 43),\(^6\) the lightning fork of Rammân is on a shrine (Susa III),\(^7\) or on a crouching ox (IV R. \(^1\) 43),\(^8\) or it stands alone (I R. 70).\(^9\) Indeed a close examination of the symbols reveals the fact that they can be represented in three ways, corresponding to the three classes of objects mentioned on the stone of Meli-Shipak (shrines, weapons and reliefs of the gods, VII, 23–34). Either the weapon is shown alone, or, secondly, the weapon and the shrine or the weapon and the animal figure are placed together, or, thirdly, weapon, shrine and animal figure are combined into one group. In other words, either one, two or three figures constitute the symbol.

A few examples will show the nature of this variation.

(1) The spear of Marduk is found alone on Susa I, II, Susa IV.\(^{10}\)

\(^1\) The stylus is a substitute for the wedge, the symbol of Nabû. This appears from the following considerations: (1) The symbol of Nabû would otherwise be wanting on this stone (V. A. 2663), while it occurs on nearly every other stone. (2) Nabû is frequently represented as holding the stylus, cf., e.g., tâmeḫ qân toppî ḥizu šukāmî (I R. 35, No. 2, 4) ṣâbit qân toppî elli nāši tupsîmât ilâmî (K. B., IV, 102, 3). (3) On the stone of Sargon (fig. 15, p. 35) the stylus standing erect follows the spearhead of Marduk. It here takes the place of the wedge, the usual symbol of Nabû. On Assyrian monuments the symbol of Nabû is a single (rock relief of Bavian) or double (Esarhaddon stele of Sendschirli) column. On the boundary stone of Nabû-apal-iddina (fig. 9, p. 23) the two columns are joined so that they form an H-like figure.

\(^2\) See fig. 49\(^7\), p. 131.

\(^3\) See fig. 6\(^{10}\), p. 17.

\(^4\) See fig. 10\(^{13}\), p. 25.

\(^5\) See fig. 12\(^{11}\), p. 30.

\(^6\) See fig. 6\(^{17}\), p. 17.

\(^7\) See fig. 11\(^{18}\), p. 28.

\(^8\) See fig. 6\(^{17}\), p. 17.

\(^9\) See fig. 13\(^{19}\), p. 33.

\(^10\) See fig. 24\(^1\), p. 86; fig. 28\(^{11}\), p. 91; fig. 23\(^{16}\), p. 76.
It appears on a shrine, London, 90922; on a dragon, London, 99. Dragon, shrine and spear on top are found on London, 100, 105, 106, I R. 70 and on most of the other stones. (2) The wedge appears standing alone on the new stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. (Neb. Nippur), on the dragon (London, 99), on the shrine without the dragon (V. A. 208), on the shrine with the dragon alongside (London, 100, 105, 106, I R. 70). (3) The ram’s head is on a shrine (London, 90922), on a goatfish (London, 99). Ram’s head, shrine and goatfish are seen together on London, 105, V. A. 2663, Susa I, etc. (4) The arrow, pointing downwards, occurs alone I R. 70. It is held by a scorpion man with a bow (London, 100), or by a centaur with a bow (London, 101). (5) The fork of Ramman occurs alone (London, 106, 101, I R. 70), or on the crouching ox (London, 99, 100, Susa II), or on a shrine (V. A. 208), or on a shrine with crouching ox alongside (Susa III). These variations might be multiplied, but enough have been given to show that a considerable number of symbols appear in three possible forms.

From the shrines we pass to a discussion of the weapons. A number of these weapons can readily be recognized on the boundary stones, others are more difficult to identify, because the Babylonians did not limit the term “weapons” to what we commonly include in that term. Of the more obvious weapons on the boundary stones may be mentioned the spearhead (fig. 24), the lightning

1 See fig. 9, p. 23.  
2 See fig. 6, p. 17.  
3 See fig. 49, p. 131; fig. 12, p. 30; fig. 14, p. 34; fig. 13, p. 33.  
4 See fig. 47, p. 120.  
5 See fig. 6, p. 17.  
6 See Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 256.  
7 See fig. 49, p. 131; fig. 12, p. 30; fig. 14, p. 34; fig. 13, p. 33.  
8 See fig. 9, p. 23.  
9 See fig. 6, p. 17.  
10 See fig. 12, p. 29; fig. 8, p. 20; fig. 24, p. 86.  
11 See fig. 13, p. 13.  
12 See fig. 49, p. 131.  
13 See fig. 32, p. 98.  
14 See fig. 14, p. 34; fig. 13, p. 33.  
15 See fig. 6, p. 17; fig. 49, p. 131; fig. 28, p. 91.  
16 See Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 250.  
17 See fig. 11, p. 28.
fork (fig. 28\textsuperscript{16}), the mace with the double head (fig. 24\textsuperscript{11}), the mace with the square top (fig. 24\textsuperscript{10}), the mace with the vulture head (fig. 24\textsuperscript{8}), the mace with the lion head (fig. 24\textsuperscript{7}), the lion standing erect, holding two daggers (fig. 21), the mace with the globular end (fig. 12\textsuperscript{13}, fig. 14\textsuperscript{9}) and the arrow (fig. 12\textsuperscript{10}, fig. 14\textsuperscript{6}, fig. 13\textsuperscript{11}). The three scepters or shafts with round balls on top, pictured on the new boundary stone from Nippur (fig. 47, Nos. 3, 6, 9), belong perhaps to the same category.

When we turn to the historical and religious texts\textsuperscript{1} we find that the Babylonians included among the weapons of the gods a number of mythological forms and natural phenomena.

Anu has a weapon called e-ri, which was held by the sorcerer in incantations (e-ri isu\textsuperscript{}kakku širi ša dA-num ina qatā-ia našāku, C. T., XVI, pl. 3, 87; cf. also pl. 6, 211; pl. 21, 202). A bow of Anu is spoken of in the Creation Story (ımurû-ma isu\textsuperscript{}qaštu kī nukkalat [epšetsa], K. 3449, a Rev. 2, cf. K. B., VI, 1, 32).

Anunit, as the goddess of battle, carries a bow and a quiver (\textsuperscript{4}Anunîtum bēlît taḫāzi našāta isu\textsuperscript{}qašti u išpaṭi, V R. 64, III, 22, cf. K. B., III, 2, 104).

Ea has a net (gišparru ša dEa, C. T., XVII, 34, 26).

Ishtar is supplied with a “powerful bow, a mighty spear, which cuts down the disobedient” (isu\textsuperscript{}qaštu dannatu isu\textsuperscript{}tartāku gišru mušamqit lā māgiri, Esarhaddon stele of Sendschirli, Rev. 29, 30, see Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, p. 38). Aššurbânaplû describes an appearance of Ishtar in a dream, “on the right and left she had quivers hanging, she held a bow in her hand and drew a sharp sword” (imna u šumēla tullāta išpāṭi tamẖat isu\textsuperscript{}qaštu ina idīša šalpat namṣaru qaqtu, Cyl. B., Col. V, 53–55, cf. K. B., II, 250). The same king killed four lions with “the

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. for this section especially Frank, Bilder und Symbole, pp. 7–32.
terrible bow of Ishtar, the mistress of battle” (tiḷpānu izzitu ša ʾIštar bēli₅ taḥāzi, I R. 7, No. 9, a, 2).

Lugal Maradda is mentioned by Nebuchadrezzar II., who refers to his “terrible weapons which spare not the foe, truly advance and are sharp” (kakkēka ezzūtim ša lā igammilū nakiri lā ṭībū lū zaqṭū, Langdon, Building Inscriptions, Nebuch. 2, Col. III, 42–43; cf. 3, Col. II, 27f.).

Marduk’s weapons are described in the Creation Story. Before he went into the fight with Tiāmat “the gods gave him a weapon without equal, which overwhelms enemies” (iddināšu kakkū lā maḥra dā’ipu zaiari, IV, 30). To prepare himself for the conflict Marduk “formed a bow and appointed it for his weapon; he laid the arrow on it; he took up the mittu-weapon and caused his right hand to seize it, he hung a bow and a quiver at his side; he placed lightning before him and filled his body with burning fire; he prepared a net to enclose Tiāmat” (ibṣīmma ʾiṣu qaṣṭa kakkašu uaddi mulmullum uṣṭarkiba iṣšima ʾiṣumittu imnāšu uṣūḥiz ʾiṣu qaṣṭu u maḫkūʾiṣpatum iḍuššu ilul iškun birqu ina pānīšu nablī mušṭahmuṭu zumuršu umtallū ēpušma sapara šulmu kirbiš Tiāmat, IV, 35–41). The same weapons of Marduk occur in several other passages (cf. Frank, Bilder und Symbole, p. 23).

Nabū has a weapon of which it is said: “Thy weapon is a dragon from whose mouth runs no poison,” kak-ka-ka ʾu-šum-gallu ša iš-tu pišu im-tu la i-na-at-tu-ku, IV R.² 20, No. 3, 15, Nanā had a bare sword and a pointed ulmū as the adornment of her divinity ([na]mṣaru piṭū [u]lμmū zaqṭu simat īlūtiša, Craig, Rel. Texts, I, 55, Col. I, 2).

Nergal is called “the lord of weapons and bows” (bēl bēlē u qaṣāti, III R. 43, IV, 21, cf. above, p. 55). Tigrathpileser declares

¹See also Hehn, Hymnen an Marduk, B.A., V, 309, 19; 327, Obv. 16; 329, Obv. 10, 15; 330, 20; 339, Obv. 1; 349, 23.
that he received from Ninib and Nergal "their terrible weapons and their sublime bows" (िसुकक्केशुनु इजुति औ िसुकात्सुनु सीर्तु, I R. 14, 58, 59, cf. K. B., I, 38). Again he is represented as holding "the merciless abābu weapon" (तामेन, अबुबु ला पढे, Böllernücher, Gebete an Nergal, No. 8, 8, p. 50).

Of Nudimmud (Ea) it is said, "he presented to thee a weapon without equal" (िसुकक्कु ला माहिरु ईज़िश्कु इनुदिममुद, Böllernücher, No.8, 12. He is "the hero whose whip[cracks"] and people cry out, "The noise of his weapon" (गररदु ० जानाज्जु . . . इज़ब्बु रिगिम काक्किशु, Böllernücher, No. 5, 46).

He is the one "who lifts up the weapon, who urges on to battle" (नास इसुक्क्की दिकू आनान्तुम, Böllernücher, No. 4, 13, p. 21).

NIN.JB's weapons are the most numerous and best known at present. Upon what is perhaps the third tablet of the Ana-gim gim-ma series (Hrozný, Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrig, p. 13f.) twenty-two weapons (perhaps originally twenty-four) are enumerated. Some are given in Assyrian, others only in Sumerian. Not all of the latter can be explained. The weapons given in Assyrian are: "The heavy weapon of Anu" (िसुकक्कु काब्तु शा इनुनम, Obv. 30); "the wide net of the hostile land" (अल्लुहाप्पु माति नुकुर्तिम, Obv. 34); "the sword, the dagger of my divinity" (नामसारु पाफ़रु आनूतिका, Rev. 1); "the net of the battle" (सुक्कल ताहाज़ी, Rev. 4); "the long bow" (अरिक्तु, Rev. 6); "the girdle clasping men and the bow of the storm (battle)" (शिबा शा आना अमेली ईब्बहू गास्तु अबुबी, Rev. 8); "the bow and the shield" (तिलपानु उ काकाबु, Rev. 10).1 The weapons whose names are only

1 These weapons have a series of ornamental names: "The destroyer of lords," मुबब्बत शाति, Obv. 30; "The over thrower of lords," मुखनिश शाति, Obv. 32; "The victor in battle," लिटी ताहाज़ी, Obv. 34; "The one cutting off necks," मुस्सिर कीडानी, Rev. 2; "The lord from whose power there is no escape," शा शाति इना गोतिशु ला इप्पारङ्गदु, Rev. 4; "The helper of heroes," रेज़स ईन्दी, Rev. 6; "The over whelmer of the houses of the hostile land," बतु बित मात नुकुर्तिम, Rev. 10.
given in Sumerian are: \(4 \text{Šar-ur} \) in his right and \(4 \text{Šar-gaz} \) in his left hand (Obv. 19–22); \(4 \text{Ud-ka-ninnû} \), “the storm with fifty edges” (Obv. 23); \(4 \text{Ud-ba-nu-illa} \), “the merciless storm” (Obv. 25, cf. also II R. 26, 38c–d, and II R. 57, 61a = āmu là pādu); mir-siliq-ga (Obv. 27); the nu-na weapon (Obv. 31); Ku-šag-ninnû, “the weapon with fifty heads” (Rev. 11); Giš-ga-šag-imin-na, “the weapon with seven heads” (Rev. 13); Ku-šag-ia, “the weapon with five heads” (Rev. 16); \(4 \text{Kur-rašu-ur-ur} \), “which makes the lords tremble” (Rev. 19); \(4 \text{Erim-a-bi-nu-tuk} \), “whose enemy has no strength” (Rev. 21); \(4 \text{SI} + \text{UM-tila} \), “support of life” (Rev. 28) and once more Ku-šag-ninnû (Rev. 29, cf. Rev. 12).

NIN.IB is also called “the spear, the great hero, the son of Ellil, with his arrow he cuts off life” \(4 \text{NIN.IB tartahû qarradu rabû apîl } 4 \text{En-lil ina uşṣīšu zaqtî uparrî napištîm, V R. 9, 84–85} \). In Shurpu IV, 75, he has the title “the lord of the weapon” (bēl ʾuṣṣakkī).

Nisaba, like Ea, has a net (saparu ša \(4 \text{Nisaba, C. T., XVII, 34, 30}.\)

Rammān’s weapon is the lightning, hence one form of Rammān (\(4 \text{UMUN-IM} \)) is called \(4 \text{Rammān ša birqi, III R. 67, 47c–d,} \) and the curse of Rammān is “that he may strike his (the evildoer’s) land with awful lightning” \(4 \text{Rammān ina birqi limutti mātzu liḥriq, Tigl., VIII, 83, 84}.\) Rammān is also pictorially represented with the lightning fork on the boundary stones (most clearly on Susa, No. 5, b, see fig. 18, p. 41). Another weapon of Rammān, as has been suggested by Zimmern (cf. K. A. T., 448), may be the axe, which is once referred to on a fragmentary boundary stone (O. B. I., No. 80, 1).

Shamash has a snare by which he overthows all lands (sāhip šuškallaka puḫur mātāti, IV R. 17, Rev. 13). The net (šētu) of Shamash occurs in the Etana myth (I, a, 11, cf. K. B., VI, 1,
104) and a synonym, gišparru, is also mentioned (gišparru mamît 4Šamaš, Etana Myth, 1, a, 12).

Sibitti, they are described by Esarhaddon as holding bow and arrow ('Sibitti ilāni qardūti tāmeḫu tilpānu u ṣṣi, K. 2801, 12, Esarhaddon's Bauinschriften, cf. B. A., III, 228). Cf. also Hehn, Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babylonier, pp. 19ff.

Sin, his symbol is the crescent, usqaru- asqaru, also called the basket (bugina) and the ship (maqorro, Susa 2, IV, 10, 11). Although it is probable that the crescent was regarded as Sin’s weapon, it is not definitely called by that name in the inscriptions published thus far.

Ur-ra, "the powerful weapon of the terrible Ur-ra," is mentioned by Nabopolassar (išukakkû dannû ša 4Ur-ra rašubbu, O. B. I., No. 84, Col. I, 24, 25).

A fragmentary list of divine weapons together with their names is given III R. 69, 3, 75–83. As it has not been used in this connection before, as far as I know, it is reproduced entire:

\[\text{išukakkû} \text{ } 4\text{En-lil mar-šar-ú}\\ \text{išukakkû} \text{ } 4\text{Marduk qa-qi-ul-tu}\\ \text{išukakkû} \text{ } 4\text{Nabû(UR) iš-ti-it-[tum]}\\ \text{išukakkû} \text{ } 4\text{NIN.IB hi-ši-nu}\\ \text{išukakkû} \text{ } 4\text{Za-ma-ma ši-il-lu}\\ \text{išukakkû} \text{ } 4\text{Nergal(UGUR) pal-s[u?-u?]}\\ . . . . . . . . . . \text{pu-qut-[tum]}\\ . . . . . . . . . . \text{ma-aš-[šū(?)-u(?)]}\]

As to the names only a few suggestions can be ventured at the present time because none of them, with perhaps a single exception, appear elsewhere. It seems that several of the names indicate different species of thorns. It-ši-it-ti occurs in the Gilgamesh Epic (XI, 284) as the "bramble," by means of which Gilgamesh is
enabled to return home. Puquttu is also a thorn, which occurs on the boundary stones in the curses of Rammān (cf. p. 64f.). With ḫiḫinu we may perhaps compare ḫa-ḫi-in which is mentioned as a synonym of puquttu (II R. 41, 58a, b). Maššū (if the restoration is correct) is perhaps the maš-šū-u mentioned II R. 47, 14, b, as a synonym of kak-ku. For qa-ḫu-ul-tu, the weapon of Marduk, we can offer no explanation, unless it has something to do with qaḫ-qul-ti la pa-te-e, "a closed vessel," mentioned in an incantation text, cf. C. T., XVII, 35, 79. It is tempting to restore the weapon of Nergal to pal-[u-u], because of the occurrence of this name in an omen text, to which we shall presently refer.

The Babylonians did not only picture the divine weapons on the boundary stones, but they fancied that they could also detect them in the markings found on sheep livers. Hence they appear frequently in omen texts. In one of these (C. T., XX, 42) which has recently been discussed by Prof. Jastrow (A. J. S. L., XXXIII, (January, 1907), pp. 111–115) we find a similar series of divine weapons. The destructive weapon (išu-kakku iššu) of Ellil is called kak-su-ū, the weapon of Shamash ud-di-su-ū and the weapon of Ea gab-lah-ḫu.

1 Cf. also the god Id-di-tum (or It-ti-tum) in the Cassite texts published by Prof. Clay, B. E., XV, p. 54. For the deification of the divine weapons see the weapons of NIN.1B, cf. p. 82.

2 The view of Prof. Jastrow that the names of these weapons are written ideographically does not seem to me to be fully established. The other names found in Col. VI of the tablet under discussion (K 2235) are all written phonetically. Moreover the name of the weapon of Ea, written gab-lah-ḫu, is not necessarily connected with the ideogram GAB.LAH, for which the reading saḫ-maš-tum seems probable, or, if they are the same, it might be argued that gablaḫḫu is only a synonym of saḫmašṭum, but not identical with it. Finally the fact that four of the names end in su-ū does not necessarily prove them to be ideograms, especially since the ideogram SU-Ū is unknown and no possible meaning can be attached to it. For these reasons I prefer to regard the names as written phonetically.
of the respective deities to whom they belonged have been effaced. They are: pal-su-ú, di-di-su-ú and isu kakku III-tuš, perhaps to be read with Prof. Jastrow šalaltuš.

Besides the weapons mentioned on this tablet there are numerous other references to divine weapons in omen texts. As Prof. Jastrow has shown, there is a weapon of Ishtar called di-e-pu, "the overthrower" (V R. 63, II, 30), a weapon of Shamash called ma-ak-ša-ru, perhaps "the helper," from kašāru to support. A second weapon of Shamash is called at-mu-u ki-e-nu, "the faithful word" (Rm. 2 106), and a double weapon is named ūmu šaqû, "the mighty storm" (Stele of Nabonidus, XI, 11f.). As one of the weapons of NIN.IB is called Ud-ba-uu-illa = ūmu là pādû (cf. above p. 82), "the merciless storm," and as the double-headed club is the symbol of NIN.IB, it is probable that the ūmu šaqû here mentioned is also a weapon of NIN.IB. We also find a "sevenfold zibu," the weapon of Shamash (C. T., XX, 48, 33-36), a "fifteen-fold zibu," the weapon of Ishtar (C. T., XX, 48, 39), a "threefold zibu," the weapon of Sin (C. T., XX, 48, 42). Three other names appear on the tablet referred to above (C. T., XX, 42, 33), namely, šú-šú-ru, šul-mu and isu kakku KU.ŠI. To these may be added a name occurring in the omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, namely su-ḫu-ru-ni (IV R. 2 34, Rev. 4). Altogether the omen texts have thus far furnished us with seventeen names of divine weapons.

Finally divine weapons appear also in the heavens. The Babylonians spoke of certain constellations as the weapons of the gods. Thus both the mulmullu star and the gamlu star were called "the weapon of the hand of Marduk" (isu kakku ša qat dMarduk, V R. 46, Obv. 3, 26, a), and the star GIŠ.GAN.URU was called the weapon of the God A-e(mal), (V R. 46, 25, a). One of the weapons of NIN.IB was the tartahu (V R. 9, 84), but there was also a tartahu star, which was identified with Ninib (II R. 57, 52,
Ishtar held a bow in her hand (see above, p. 79), but there was also a bow star (= Sirius), identified with Ishtar, cf. V R. 46, 23, a, b, and Jensen, Kosmologie, pp. 53, 149. Šar-ur and šar-gaz are two weapons of NIN.IB (see above, p. 82), but they are also two stars, cf. V R. 46, 32,a, and Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 145f.

A review of these divine weapons has shown that the Babylonians did not only represent them pictorially upon their boundary stones, but they also believed that they could detect their

1 For the tartakhu star (= Saturn) see Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 150.
shape in the markings of sheep livers and in the forms of certain constellations.

There can no longer be any question that not only the weapons but all the varying figures on the stones are symbolic representations of certain gods. This is not only stated in the inscriptions, as quoted above, but one of the new stones from Susa (D. E. P., I, fig. 379) has actually the names of the gods written on the symbols. We now know that the spear represents Marduk, the mace with a vulture head Za-mâ-mâ, the mace with a lion head Nergal,¹ the mace with the square top Shuqamuna, the walking bird most likely Bau, the shrine with the goat-fish and ram’s head Ea, the lamp Nusku, the seated goddess Gula, the crescent Sin, the sun disk Shamash, the eight-pointed star Ishtar and the serpent Širu. The inscriptions on the scorpion, on the mace with twin-headed dragons, on the crocodile-like monster with a shrine on its back and a vase on its head, have become illegible (cf. fig. 24).

There are other symbols which can be identified with certain gods. On the stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. (V R. 57)² we find three shrines with tiaras in the first row. These correspond to the two shrines followed by the symbol of Ea (a shrine and a goatfish), on Susa III, Susa XV, I R. 70, Susa XX.³ This makes it probable that the first two symbols stand for Anu and Ellil. The proof for

¹ The sign is $\text{\textcopyright}$, as determined by an examination of a photograph of the original, which I secured through the kind assistance of Dr. Heuzey, the Director of the Louvre. I submitted the photograph also to Prof. Hilprecht, who independently reached the same conclusion. The sign is a variant of GIR (cf. Br. 9190), as can be seen by a comparison with the older forms, cf. Amiaud et Méchineau, Tableau comparé, No. 203. This conclusion is important because it shows that the twin lion heads, as on the rock relief of Bavian, can only be NIN.IB. It also proves that the lion standing erect with daggers in his fore claws, as shown on Susa No. 9 (fig. 21, p. 73), is a symbol of Nergal.

² See fig. 49, p. 131.

³ See fig. 11², p. 28; fig. 2¹,²; fig. 13²,³, p. 33; fig. 30¹-³, p. 95.
this identification is found on the rock relief of Sennacherib at Bavian. In this case the symbols agree with the gods mentioned on the stone. As the list is important for our later discussion we reproduce it:

1. Shrines with horned caps
2. Shrine with ram’s head
3. Crescent
4. Winged disk
5. Forked lightning
6. Column with spear head
7. Square column
8. Column with two lion heads
9. Venus star
10. Seven stars

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Aššur,} \\
\text{Anu,} \\
\text{Ellil.} \\
\text{Ea.} \\
\text{Sin.} \\
\text{Shamash.} \\
\text{Rammân.} \\
\text{Marduk.} \\
\text{Nabû.} \\
\text{[NIN.IB].} \\
\text{Ištar.} \\
\text{Sibitti.}^{1}
\end{align*}\]

\[1\text{ The god Sibitti is written in this as well as in other inscriptions } d\text{VII-Bi, which should not be read } d\text{Sibi(-bi). The Semitic reading is determined by IV R.}^{1}\]

21 (B) Rev. 21–22 (= Zimmern, Ritualtafeln, No. 54, p. 168), where to } d\text{VII-Bi in the Sumerian line corresponds } ilâni Si-bit in the Semitic line. Cf. also Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, II, 10, } d\text{Si-bit-ti; Zimmern, K. A. T.}, p. 620, and Hehn, Siebenzahl, p. 24, note. For the inscription on the Bavian relief see III R. 14.
In this inscription, as Hommel has already shown (Aufsätze, p. 442), Anu and Ellil are clearly represented by the shrines with tiaras. To the identifications made on Susa I are here added: Rammân with the lightning fork, Nabû with the square column, Ishtar with the four-cornered star, which on Babylonian monuments appears usually as eight-cornered. The identification of NIN.IB with the twin lion heads has now become certain, because Susa I has shown that the single lion head stands for Nergal, hence there is no other god but NIN.IB left for the twin lion heads.

The gods represented are as follows: (1) The seven stars, the Sibitti; (2) Aššur (Anu) standing on two animals; (3) Bélit seated on a lion; (4) Ellil standing on a dragon, similar to that of Anu; (5) Rammân holding the lightning fork and standing on an ox; (6) The crescent of Sin; (7) The winged disk of Shamash; (8) The sixteen-pointed star of Ištar; (9) The spearhead of Marduk; (10) The double staff of Nabû; (11) The ram’s head of Ea; (12) The twin-headed mace of NIN.IB.
Fig. 27.—Boundary stone of King Nazi-Maruttash found at Susa, No. 2, face C.
Fig. 28.—Boundary stone of King Nazi-Maruttash found at Susa, No. 2, face D.
These are all the identifications that can be made with any degree of certainty. Recently, however, Prof. Zimmern has attempted to increase the number considerably by a study of the stone of Nazi-Maruttash. I should be glad to follow the ingenious explanation of this distinguished scholar, but it seems to me there are fatal objections to his identifications: (1) His whole theory is based on the supposition that the seventeen terrible figures (ṣuripāt) of the gods are actually represented on the stone. But there is no justification for this supposition in the text. The strongest argument that can be found for the view of Prof. Zimmern is the fact that there are actually seventeen figures on the stone. But this is in itself not sufficient to warrant their identification, especially when we find that on no other boundary stone do the figures and the gods quoted in the text agree. This point is important enough to warrant the full presentation of the evidence on hand.

London, 103 has 17 symbols and 15 gods in the text.¹
London, 101 " 19 " " 13 " " " "
London, 99 " 18 " " 7 " " " "
London, 100 " 20 " " 12 " " " "
London, 106 " 19 " " 12 " " " "
I R. 70 " 19 " " 12 " " " "
London, 105 " 19 " " 16 " " " "
London, 102 " 19 " " 14 " " " "
London, 90922 " 8 " " 0 " " " "
Berl. V. A. 208 " 9 " " 0 " " " "
Berl. V. A. 209 " 6 " " 4 " " " "
Berl. V. A. 2663 " 16 " " 5 " " " "
O. B. I. 149 " 14 " " 8 " " " "

¹ The number of gods might possibly be increased to seventeen by counting twice Shamash and Rammân, whose names are repeated. There are only fifteen different gods enumerated in the curses.
Nebuchadrezzar I. 93

Neb. Nippur ............. has 20 symbols and 10 gods in the text.
Susa III ............. " 24 " " 9 " " "
Susa XVI ............. " 18 " " 47 " " 

This list shows that the supposition that the gods and the symbols are identical is not favored by the other boundary stones. (2) But when we analyze Prof. Zimmern's identifications we meet still more objections. The first two symbols are two identical shrines with tiaras; hence we should expect, if symbols and text correspond, that the text should have the same or at least similar statements about these two symbols. But this is not the case. While the first is described as šub-tum u šú-ku-zu šá Anum(-num) šarri šamē, the second is said to be gir-gi-лу al-la-ku ša "En-lil bēl matāti. Hence Prof. Zimmern is forced to the assumption that the second symbol "'in der bildlichen Darstellung nur implicite vorhanden ist.'" This is equivalent to a confession that his theory does not agree with the evidence. (3) It may well be doubted that the third symbol, which is entirely erased, consisted of the shrine and the goatfish. There is room for the shrine with the ram's head, but for the goatfish is hardly any room, as a glance at the upper row will show. (4) He identifies the two lion heads with Shuqamūna, while Susa I shows that the mace with the square end represents Shuqamuna. To call the latter simply "'eine weitere Zuthat'" seems again due to the exigencies of a theory. (5) Shar-ur and Shar-gaz represent the personified weapons of NIN.IB, of which Shar-ur is held in his right hand and Shar-gaz in his left (Frank, Bilder und Symbole, p. 28); but how can the vulture head alone be said to fit that description? It demands rather that the two lion heads represent the weapons of NIN.IB. (6) The ma-sab ru-ba-ti, or "censer of the princess," is also absent, and Prof. Zimmern must again have recourse to the supposition that it is implied. (7) The identification of the mar-ka-su rabû(-ū)ša bēl si-kil-
Fig. 29.—Symbols on a boundary stone found at Susa, from the Cassite period. 
(Susa, No. 13.)
la with the shrine carrying the horseshoe-like, or Ω-like, figure is also doubtful, and would hardly have been made if the theory had not demanded it. It will be observed that this last symbol occurs frequently in fourth place after the symbols of Anu, Ellil and Ea (e.g., V R. 57, Susa XX, Susa XV, Susa III, I R. 70, III R. 41). And as in several of these cases (I R. 70, III R. 41, Susa III) NIN.HAR.SAG or NIN.MAH follows Anu, Ellil and Ea, it is likely that this symbol is a representation of Ninharsag. Although the identifications of Prof. Zimmern as a whole can hardly

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1 See fig. 49, p. 131; fig. 30, p. 95; fig. 2, p. 6; fig. 11, p. 28; fig. 13, p. 33; fig. 14, p. 34.
be accepted, there are several which are correct. His identification of Ishara with the scorpion is very happy. Both have the same ideogram, GIR.TAB (Br. 315–316). The lion-headed dragon undoubtedly represents Nergal or Shit-lam-ta-ê (Frank, Bilder und Symbole, p. 30).

Recently Dr. Leon Heuzey has made it very probable (Revue d’Assyriologie, VI, 95–104) that the shrine with the brick and the wedge, which is frequently (Susa III, XX, V R. 57, IV R.1 43, III R. 41, I R. 70, etc.)1 placed alongside of the lance of Marduk, is the symbol of Nabû, the god of writing and architecture.

To sum up, we have thus far been able to make twenty identifications of symbols with their respective deities;2 that is, nearly half of the symbols have been identified. But these symbols are more than gods, for all the gods of Babylonia are astral. They represent certain stars with which the gods were identified. This should have been plain long ago, for sun, moon and the eight-pointed Venus star, which occur on all these monuments, clearly point to the heavens as the place where we should look for all the other symbols.

The most prominent of the symbols is the serpent, which is either coiled up on top of the monument or extends along the

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1 See fig. 114, p. 28; fig. 306, p. 95; fig. 498, p. 131; fig. 614, p. 17; fig. 149, p. 34.

2 These identifications are: (1) The spearhead stands for Marduk; (2) the mace with vulture head for Zamama; (3) the mace with lion head for Nergal; (4) the mace with the square top for Shuqamuna; (5) the lamp for Nusku; (6) the shrine with goatfish and ram’s head for Ea; (7) the seated goddess with dog (or dog alone) for Gula; (8) the crescent for Sin; (9) the sundisk for Shamash; (10) the eight-pointed star (five-pointed on Neb. Nippur, No. 13, six-pointed on Susa, No. 4, seven-pointed on the stone of Nabû-shum-iskun) for Ishtar; (11) the serpent for Sir; (12) the walking bird for Bau; (13–14) the two shrines with tiaras for Anu and Ellil; (15) the shrine with the wedge, brick(s) or stylus for Nabû; (16) the mace with the twin lion heads for NIN.IB; (17) the scorpion for Ishara; (18) the forked lightning and the ox for Rammân; (19) the shrine with the yoke or horseshoelike figure for Ninharsag; (20) the seven stars for the Sibitti.
lower edge of the symbols or winds through the centre and hangs downwards with its tail. The meaning of this serpent has been determined by three separate facts: (1) In a list of rivers (II R. 51, 45–47) the river of the serpent (nār Śēr) is explained as "the river of the great band of heaven" (nār DUR.AN.GAL) and as "the river of the great ocean" (nār ZU.AB.GAL). (2) Another text (Rm. 282) represents Ellil as drawing the picture of the great serpent, called Labbu, upon the firmament (see Hrozný, *Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag*, p. 108, obv. 7–10). (3) Franz Delitzsch has added the observation that Jewish tradition identified the serpent defeated by God (Job 23:16) with the milky way (so Rabbi Levi Ben Gersom; see Delitzsch, "Commentary on Job," 2d ed., p. 339). Prof. Hommel was the first to infer from the first and the third of these facts that the serpent was identical with Tiāmat and her eleven helpers, and recognized them in the milky way and the signs of the zodiac (Hommel, *Aufsätze*, pp. 360, 370). On the basis of this identification Prof. Hommel has argued that all the other symbols are signs of the zodiac. This theory has recently
been subjected to an able criticism by Boll in his valuable work, *Sphaera*, Leipzig, 1903. He raises two strong objections to Hommel's theory:

(1) The symbols do not occur in a fixed order, such as we naturally expect to be followed if they represented the signs of the zodiac. In all other known zodiacs the order is fixed, while the arrangement of the symbols on the boundary stones varies constantly. (2) There are more symbols than twelve represented on fifteen stones, while at least five have less than twelve symbols. In view of this evidence we must come to the conclusion that the zodiac as such is not represented on the boundary stones.

A different answer, however, must be given to the inquiry whether separate signs of the zodiac are to be found on the stones. This is certainly the case. The most striking symbol on the boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. (V R. 57)\(^1\) is the scorpion man or archer. It also occurs on the stone of Meli-Shipak (London, 103).\(^2\) The human part ends with the belt, below which is the body

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\(^1\) See fig. 49\(^{13}\), p. 131.

and the tail of a scorpion, with the feet of a lion. To this symbol corresponds a centaur drawing a bow on two other stones. In one case (London, 101)\(^1\) he has a double head, one human, the other that of a dragon. He is also provided with wings and a double tail, the lower of a horse, the upper of a scorpion, and under his fore feet is a scorpion. In the second case (D. E. P., I, p. 175, fig. 381)\(^2\) the wings are left off and there is but one tail. All these remark-

![Diagram of the archer from the Egyptian zodiac of Dendera.](image)

*Fig. 33.*—The archer from the Egyptian zodiac of Dendera.

able features appear on Egyptian and the Greek zodiacs. On the square zodiac of Dendera, *e.g.*, which dates from the time of the Emperor Nero, we see the same double-headed centaur drawing a bow, winged and having two tails, the lower of a horse and the upper of a scorpion. Here, too, the scorpion follows as the next sign of the zodiac. Moreover, there is the same transition from a centaur to a human form. The *sagittarius*, which Boll gives from a Latin MS. (p. 131), is a two-legged satyr with a horse-tail. These

\(^{1}\) See fig. 32, p. 98.  
\(^{2}\) See fig. 23\(\text{a}\), p. 76.
Fig. 34. — Rectangular zodiac of Dendera from the time of Emperor Nero.
remarkable agreements cannot be accidental. They rather prove conclusively that the Egyptian zodiac was influenced by the Babylonian, and that by this symbol on the Babylonian boundary stones a sign of the zodiac, the *sagittarius* or archer, is meant. If one symbol of the zodiac is unquestionably represented on the boundary stones, it is reasonable to suppose that there are more.

In this connection the round zodiac of Dendera deserves special attention. Here we find along the inside circle, besides the planets, the thirty-six decanii and some other stars, the signs of the zodiac in the usual order: *aries, taurus, gemini, cancer, leo, virgo,*
libra, scorpio, sagittarius, capricornus, aquarius and pisces. The planets are arranged as follows: Mercury between lion and virgin, Saturn between virgin and balance, Mars above the capricorn,

Fig. 36.—The goatfish (Capricorn) from a boundary stone of Meli-Shipak (Susa, No. 3).

Fig. 37.—The goatfish (Capricorn) from the round zodiac of Dendera.

Venus between waterman and fishes, Jupiter between twins and cancer. Several of these signs are found in similar forms on the Babylonian monuments. The goatfish, combining the head and body
of a goat with the tail of a fish, is found repeatedly on the boundary stones as the symbol of Ea (I R. 70, London, 99, Susa I, Susa XV, Susa XX, etc.). The close similarity in form absolutely demands a common origin. Another symbol which shows close similarity is the lion walking on a serpent. It may correspond to the winged lion walking on a serpent on Br.M. 99. Again, the waterman pouring water out of two vases reminds us very much of the similar figure on Susa VI, most likely Ea, standing on a goat. In front of his breast he holds a vase, out of which two streams are running. A similar figure of Ea with vases, out of which water is bubbling in two streams, is published by Heuzey in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. VI, p. 95. This identification, however, can hardly be said to be certain, because we found that the

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1 See fig. 13°, p. 33; fig. 617, p. 17; fig. 24°, p. 86; fig. 2°, p. 6; fig. 30°, p. 95.
2 See fig. 610, p. 17.
goatfish, the symbol of Ea, corresponds to the Greek capricorn, while here we would have the God Ea identified with the waterman. It will be noticed, however, that the goatfish and waterman are two adjoining signs, and it might well be that the figure of Ea himself stood for the waterman, while his symbol, the goatfish, expressed the neighboring sign of the capricorn.¹

![Image of Marduk's symbol]

Other identifications that have been proposed are still less certain. Attention has been called to the fact that in a number of cases the spear of Marduk opens the series of symbols (V. A. 2663, Susa I', Susa 106¹), and that on the Sargon stone the inscription AM, the "ox," is placed alongside of it (Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 257). Now when we recall the fact that at 1100 B.C., when the boundary

¹The symbol of Gula seems to be a parallel case which probably stands for the virgin, while her dog represents the next zodiacal sign, the lion. The same combination of two symbols into one group may be seen in the centaur holding the bow, which represents the sagittarius, under whose fore feet is the scorpion, the next sign in the zodiac (see fig. 32, p. 98).
stones were engraved, the vernal equinox fell into the sign of the bull (*taurus*), it may be argued with some degree of probability that the spear represents the first zodiacal sign or *taurus*. It is often preceded or followed by the shrine with the wedge, and, as a glance at the northern hemisphere of heaven shows, the triangle is a part of the sign of the *ram*. Therefore the wedge represents perhaps the *aries*. Again, the spear of Marduk is at least twice associated with the twin lion heads (London, 105, Susa II), but the twins (*gemini*) adjoin the *taurus*; hence the twin lions may stand for the *gemini*. All these identifications are rendered uncertain by the fact that the spearhead stands for Marduk, the wedge most likely for Nabû and the twin lion heads for NIN.IB. These are the gods of the three planets Jupiter, Mercury and Mars. Hence it would be more natural to identify them with these planets.

To sum up, the only certain identifications of the boundary stone symbols with signs of the zodiac are, the archer with the *sagittarius*, the scorpion with the *scorpio* and the goatfish with the *capricorn*. The rest cannot be regarded as fully established—the god pouring out water with the waterman, the walking or sitting lion (dog) with *leo*, the spearhead with *taurus*, the wedge with the *aries*, the twin dragon heads with the *gemini*. The goddess Gula may stand for the virgin. But that the mace with
the globular end is a substitute for the cancer, the Ω like figure on the shrine for the libra, and the walking bird for the fishes does not appear to have been proved by the arguments of Hommel.¹

But even if all the twelve signs of the zodiac were fully established it would by no means exhaust the list of the symbols, as there are more than forty different symbols. What are the rest?

We naturally expect to find besides the signs of the zodiac the five planets that were known to the ancients. Now, it is highly probable that they are represented. We have seen that the spearhead is attributed to Marduk, who was in later times identified with Jupiter; the wedge is most likely the symbol of Nabû, identified with Mercury; the twin lion heads are the symbol of NIN.IB, identified with Mars; the lion-headed dragon is the symbol of Nergal, identified with Saturn, while the eight-pointed star is certainly the symbol of Išhtar, identified with Venus, the morning and evening star.

As neither the signs of the zodiac nor the planets exhaust the list of symbols found on the boundary stones, we must look for other constellations which might possibly be represented. At this stage of our investigation an astrological text of a Greek writer named Teueros the Babylonian, which was published recently by Boll,² seems to show us the right way. In this text we find each sign of the zodiac associated with an animal name, which is called ἡ ἄρωτα λεοντίων. These animals, therefore, are symbols of a series of twelve hours. The hours must have been double hours, because it takes twenty-four hours for one revolution of all the twelve parts of the ecliptic, and each animal represents one-twelfth

¹ I do not mean to question the many and valuable contributions of Prof. Hommel on this subject. But in the points enumerated he does not seem to have established his contention. See also article of C. Bezold in Archiv für Religionsgeschichte, X (1907), p. 115f., and Frank, Bilder und Symbole der Babylonisch-Assyrischen Götter, p. 3. ² Cf. Ball, Sphara, pp. 17–21, 41–52.
part or thirty degrees. Moreover, these twelve double hours could not originally have referred to the ecliptic, because each twelfth part of the ecliptic rises in unequal intervals of 1 hour 20 minutes, to 2 hours 24 minutes in the latitude of Babylon. To secure equal divisions the twelve parts must have been applied to the heavenly equator.¹

Now it is well known that the system of double hours called kaš(s)-bu (KAŠ.GID) was used in Babylonia, as the tablet III R.

¹ Ball, i.e., p. 315.
51, Nos. 1 and 2, and other passages plainly show. The Babylonians must, therefore, first have measured the dodekatemoria of the equator, and from this division determined that of the ecliptic; so also in Egypt the division of the thirty-six decani referred originally to the equator.¹

This juxtaposition of the zodiacal circle with the dodekaoros circle has recently been found pictorially represented on a marble plate discovered in Egypt.² The centre is occupied by the two heads of Apollo and Phæbe, around which is a double circle. The outer circle represents the signs of the zodiac, the inner circle agrees completely with dodekaoros animals mentioned by Teucros. They are as follows:

1. ram, with belt ......................... αἰλοῦρος, cat, sitting.
2. bull ........................................ κίνων, dog (or jackal).
3. twins (man and woman) ............. δίπτες, serpent.
4. crab ........................................... κανθάρος, crab (Cancer).
5. lion ........................................... ὄνος, ass.
6. virgin ........................................... λιων, lion, walking.
7. balance (borne by man) .............. τράγος, goat (or gazelle)
8. scorpion ................................. ταῦτος, ox.
9. archer (centaur) ......................... ἱππαζ, falcon.
10. goatfish ................................. κυνοχίαλος, ape.
11. waterman ................................. ἱβις, ibis.
12. fishes ...................................... προξόδειλος, crocodile.

It is strange to notice that while the idea of a twelve-hour circle goes back to Babylonia, several of these animals at least (cat, ibis, crocodile) are no doubt due to Egyptian influence. The best theory to account for this phenomenon is, as Boll has pointed out, to suppose that the dodekaoros was carried from Babylonia to Egypt, where several of the animals were renamed. That there

¹ Ball, l.c., p. 316. ² Ball, l.c., pl. VI; see fig. 41.
was such a renaming process seems to be supported by the East Asiatic cycle. This cycle of twelve animals represented: (1) A cycle of twelve successive years. (2) A cycle of twelve months. (3) The twelve hours of the calendar day. In all these relations the Chinese substituted the twelve tschi or characters in their places which (4) designated the twelve signs of the zodiac and

(5) twelve successive days. The same uniform designation of hours, days, months and years, corresponding to the twelve parts of the zodiac, is not only a part of ancient astrology, but we know that the Babylonians divided the calendar day into twelve double hours, they had twelve months, over which presided the same gods

1 Ball, i.e., p. 333.
as those attributed to the signs of the zodiac (Diodor., II, 30),\(^1\) while Censorinus testifies to the “Chaldaic” origin of a cycle of twelve years. From all this it is highly probable that the East Asiatic cycle, with all the ideas connected with it, goes back to Babylonia. A comparison of the two series of animals, those of the dodekaoros and of the East Asiatic cycle, will further corroborate this view. They are as follows:

**Dodekaoros.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th><strong>East Asiatic Cycle.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>hen (bird)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serpent</td>
<td>ape (long-tailed monkey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scarab (cancer)</td>
<td>sheep (goat).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ass</td>
<td>horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-goat</td>
<td>dragon (crocodile)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull</td>
<td>hare (rabbit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falcon</td>
<td>tiger (leopard, panther)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ape</td>
<td>ox (cow, heifer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibis</td>
<td>mouse (rat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>pig (wild boar)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both cases we have twelve animals, of which nine are the

\(^1\) He says: τῶν δὲ ἁρμῶν ἐπὶ κυρίων εἶναι φασί δώδεκα τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὅπως ἑκάστῳ μόνα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων ζῳῶν ἐν προσνάμοις, i.e., “the chief of these gods (the thirty-six decani), they say, are twelve in number, to each of whom they attribute a month and one sign of the twelve in the zodiac.” With this statement of Diodorus ought to be compared the list of months and their gods in IV R.\(^2\), 33 (= K 2049 + K 129). It reads: (1) Nisannu ša dA-num u dEn-lil (2) A'uru ša dE-a bēl te-ni-še-e-ti (3) Simānu ša dSin máru rēštē ša dEn-lil (4) Dūzu ša qu-ra-du dNIN.IB (5) Abu ša dNin-giš-zī-da bēl ... (6) Ulātu ša dIš-tar be-līt ... (7) Tašritu ša dŠamaš qu-ra-du (8) Araḫšammu ša abkal ilāni dMarduk (9) Kisiritu ša qarradu rabū dNergal (10) Tēbitu ša dPap-sukal sukal dA-num u dIštar (11) Šābaltu ša dRammān gū-gal šamē(-e) u iršitin(-tim) (12) Addaru ša dSibitti ilāni rabūti (13) [šummah-rū ša Addaru] ša Lēšur a-bi ilāni.
Fig. 43.—Zodiac of a Sivaite pagoda at Trichinopoly, India, showing the signs of the zodiac in the fourth circle from the outside and the eleven karanas in the fifth circle.
same or at least similar in both lists. Only three of the *dodekaoros* have no parallels, the cat, the scarab and the falcon, and three on the East India circle are unique, the hare, the mouse and the pig.

An intermediate link between these two circles, found on an Indian zodiac, is preserved on a wall in a pagoda at Trichinopoly,\(^1\) India. It shows six circles, of which the fourth contains the signs of the zodiac and the third, corresponding to them, eleven animal figures called Karana. Here we find the following animals corresponding to the zodiacal signs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zodiac</th>
<th>Karana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ram—bull</td>
<td>lion (Bhava)(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull—twins</td>
<td>tiger (Bhalava)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twins—crab</td>
<td>boar (Çolava)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab—lion</td>
<td>ass (Tëttila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion—virgin</td>
<td>elephant (Carasey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgin—balance</td>
<td>bull (Banij)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balance—scorpion</td>
<td>hen (Bhadra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scorpion—bow</td>
<td>hawk (Saccouni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow—sea monster</td>
<td>dog (Tchatouchpad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea monster—urn</td>
<td>serpent (Naga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urn—fish</td>
<td>rat (Kintoughna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish—ram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D(^3) (lion, cat).</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>D (a horse).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>D (ibis, falcon).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these animals the lion, ass, bull, hawk, dog, serpent are found on the *dodekaoros* in the same or similar forms, while the tiger, wild boar, horse, bull, hen, dog, serpent and rat occur on the East Asiatic circle. Only the elephant is represented on neither, while bull, dog and serpent occur on all three circles.

\(^1\) Cf. E. Morien in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, I Serie, Tom. III (1853), pl. No. 4, facing p. 276.

\(^2\) I reproduce the spelling as found on Morien's plate.

\(^3\) D stands for Dodekaoros, A for Asiatic circle.
When we now ask the question, What is the possible bearing of these figures upon those of the Babylonian monuments? we must remember that while the arrangement and also the names of these animals differ, they all agree in the fact that they represent constellations parallel to the signs of the zodiac. This parallel circle, which in its full form numbers twelve animals and represents a division of the heavenly equator, points unmistakably to Baby-

![Diagram of stone fragments]

Fig. 44.—A group of fragments: (1) From Nippur, O. B. I., Vol. I, Pt. 1, pl. XII. (2) From Susa, No. 10. (3) From Susa, No. 11.

...onia as the place of its origin. If this is true, we are fully warranted in seeking a representation of this dodekauros circle on Babylonian monuments.

It is evident that, as has already been pointed out, some of these animals are due to native influences—the cat, ibis and crocodile to Egypt, the tiger and elephant to India—but after making due
allowance for such native influences, there remain certain of these animals, common to the different circles, which must go back to a common origin. It is at least interesting to note that we find on the boundary stones a lion (the sitting lion on London 105, 106)\(^1\) and an ox (the crouching ox of Rammân with lightning fork), also two birds, corresponding to the falcon and ibis of the dodekaoros and to the hen and hawk on the Indian circle (the walking bird of Bau and the bird perched on a pole). We find also a horse (V R. 57)\(^2\) and a dragon with wings (IV R.\(^4\) 43, Susa III).\(^3\) There is also a sheep with a shrine bearing a chisel (Susa III) and a crocodile-like creature (Susa I, XV).\(^4\) In view of these resemblances it is altogether probable that some of the symbols on the boundary stones represent constellations belonging to the dodekaoros.\(^5\)

The attempt of Richard Redlich\(^6\) to explain all these symbols as constellations of the equator circle must be regarded as a failure, because the archer, the scorpion and the goatfish point decidedly to the ecliptic; nor is their position close enough to the equator circle that they could represent equatorial constellations. But he seems to be right in claiming that the equatorial circle was more original than the ecliptic, and that constellations of the equatorial circle are represented on the boundary stones, not, however, to the exclusion of the signs of the zodiac.

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\(^1\) See fig. 12\(^7\), p. 30; fig. 13\(^8\), p. 34.  
\(^2\) See fig. 6\(^9\), p. 17; fig. 11\(^10\), p. 28.  
\(^3\) See fig. 49\(^11\), p. 131.  
\(^4\) See fig. 24\(^12\), p. 86; fig. 2\(^13\), p. 6.  
\(^5\) Cf. also the chart given by Hommel at the end of his *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* III, 1.  
We may summarize the results of our investigation as follows:

(1) The symbols on the Babylonian boundary stones represent primarily certain deities, as is now definitely known from Susa I, XIV and XIX. The deities thus symbolically represented are
independent of the deities enumerated in the texts. The two series never agree. The symbols represent the deities either by their shrines, their weapons, their sacred animals or in human form.

(2) Babylonian deities being also stellar in their nature, the symbols represent by implication certain constellations. Some signs of the zodiac are represented, but not the zodiac itself, for there is no order such as we expect if the zodiac as such were represented.¹

(3) There being more than forty symbols, other constellations besides the zodiac are included. These are most likely the planets and the constellations of the *dodekaoros*. Here again there is no representation of the full series, but, as in the case of the zodiacal signs, only a selection is made.

The problems in connection with these symbols which still await future solution are: (1) The compete identification of all the symbols with the gods they represent. (2) The identification of the symbols with their respective constellations. (3) The determination of the principle which guided the Babylonian sculptors in their selection and arrangement of the symbols on the stones. When these problems are solved the mystery of the symbols shall have found its complete and satisfactory solution.

¹ According to Prof. Hilprecht, the rounded top of the boundary stones, as also frequently seen in Etruscan monuments (cf. Milani, *Studi e Materiali di archeologia e numismatica*), represents the firmament of heaven with various well-known stars and constellations.
II.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF NEBUCHADREZZAR I. FROM NIPPUR C. 1140 B.C.

1. INSCRIPTION AND SYMBOLS.

This magnificent boundary stone was found at Nippur, "on the northwest side of the Ziggurat, within the temple area,"² in February, 1896, at the close of the third Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. It was presented by the Imperial Ottoman Government to Prof. Hilprecht for his services in organizing the Assyriological Section of the Sultan’s Archeological Museum in Constantinople.³

It is a conical block of black limestone, being 49 cm. in height and 73.2 cm. in circumference around the center. It tapers towards the top, being 68.4 cm. along the upper edge of the inscription. The latter consists of a heading of two lines, placed among the symbols on top, and five columns, containing $32 + 32 + 33 + 30 + 26 = 155$ lines of text. The stone is slightly damaged, a piece having been broken off at the lower end, by which the latter part of six lines from column three and the beginning of four lines from column four have been lost. Fortunately their contents can be restored almost completely.⁴

This boundary stone has several peculiar features not found on

¹ According to a note entered by Dr. Haynes in his diary, to accompany the photographs taken of the stone at the time of its discovery. It was found on the last day while closing up one of the ditches.
³ See the translation and transliteration for the restoration of these passages.
Fig. 46.—Boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Nippur.
other monuments of this kind. In the first place, it contains a
drawing of the field in question, together with an accompanying
description, which precedes the inscription proper. Similar plots
of fields and plans of buildings are, however, found on numerous
clay tablets. A second peculiarity is a beautiful hymn to Ellil,
at the beginning of the inscription. It was no doubt taken from the
liturgical collections of hymns in use at Nippur. It is the finest
Ellil hymn which has been found thus far, fitly celebrating the
majesty and power of the god of Nippur. In some of its expres-
sions it approaches the Psalms of the Old Testament. A similar
hymn to Nanâ, opening a legal document, is found on a stone
tablet, dated in the reign of Nabû-shum-ishkun, which records the
investiture of a priest of Nebo at Borsippa with certain rights and
privileges. The nearest approach to a hymn on other boundary
stones is the glorification of Marduk on the stone of Merodach-
baladan II., now at Berlin.

The inscription is also remarkable for certain peculiar signs, as
e.g. the sign to be read perhaps saḥ in saḥ-pu-ū, (I, 13), the sign
for rabîṣu (IV, 26), the sign for isду (V, 7), and the sign NISAG in
nisakku (V, 18). A large number of ideograms is used, and
several new words occur. Of the latter the following may be
mentioned: alâku, “to throw down” (IV, 4); nelmenu, “misfor-
tune” (IV, 7); lîllu, “laughter” or “smile” (IV, 14); uṣaku,
“calamity” (IV, 24). Other words are written in an unusual way—
baq̇ânu (because of following š) = baq̇ânu (III, 26); nazuzzu
(under accent) = nanzzu (I, 8); šuzzu (half accent) but šuzu-

1 Compare the full literature quoted by Prof. Hilprecht, B.E., Vol. XX, Pt. 1, p. 11, note 9.
2 For other hymns to Ellil see Dr. Jastrow’s Religion Assyriens und Babyloniens, I, 488–492.
3 See Commentary for detailed comparisons.
zatma (II, 19 and II, 30); mahšar = mahšar (II, 18); nanzaz = manzaz (II, 18); nugu kabitti = nugu kabitti (IV, 10); bannūa = bānuā (IV, 26); ikīlu (probably = ekēlu) = akālu (III, 21) as lībēnu = labānu (II, 10).1

The stoncutter has not always been accurate in engraving the inscription. There are several erasures, as ina written on an erasure of ši (III, 23); the sign preceding i-tar-ra-šu (III, 24); the second last sign following the nu in i-din-nu-šu (IV, 18); suppar written on an erasure of bit (V, 9). Even some mistakes occur—at-pi instead of ap-pi (II, 10); ta instead of ša (II, 11); ŠAŠAG instead of ŠADUG(KA, II, 3); and probably also me-su-šu instead of par-su-šu (I, 18) and A.HA.ME instead of HA.A.ME (V, 7).

The inscription consists of the following divisions:

(1) The heading, containing the name of the stone, in two lines, written between the symbols.

(2) The plot of the field, accompanied by a description of eight lines.

(3) A hymn in honor of Ellil, the god of Nippur, Col. I, 1–22.

(4) The historical circumstances under which the land was given to Nusku-ibni, a high dignity of Ekur, the temple of Ellil at Nippur, Col. I, 23–II, 16.

(5) The measuring of the land under the supervision of Bau-shum-iddina, the governor of Bit-Sin-sheme, in response to a royal command; a more detailed description of the field and its actual transfer to Nusku-ibni, Col. II, 17–III, 16.

(6) The curses: (a) Introduction to the curses, forbidding any official to appropriate the land or interfere with the privileges of the owner, Col. III, 17–IV, 2. (b) Invocation of the gods and the punishments they are asked to mete out to any offender, Col. IV.

1 Several of these forms (baqānu, nanzaz, lībēnu) occur also elsewhere, but rarely. See Commentary.
3-27. (c) Curses directed against any one removing or destroying the boundary stone, Col. IV, 28-V, 7.

(7) The fourteen witnesses present at the transaction, Col. V, 8-25.

(8) The date of the inscription, Col. V, 26.

Fig. 47.—Symbols of the boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Nippur.

As the symbols covering the top have not been described very accurately by Prof. Hommel,¹ who had only photographs to guide him, which evidently did not show all the objects, a full description is herewith given:

¹ Aufsätze und Abhandlungen, München, 1901, p. 435f.
A shrine with the spearhead of Marduk, before which lies a crouching dragon, whose head is broken off. (2) A pointed shaft, wedge-shaped, standing upright, most likely the symbol of Nabû.¹ (3) A scepter, erect, with a knob at the upper end and the head of a horned animal in the center. (4) A shrine with a tiara on it, the symbol of Anu. (5) The neck and head of a lion above the shrine, the symbol of Nergal. (6) A scepter (like No. 3) standing erect, a knob on top and an animal head in the center. (7) A shrine with a tiara on it, the symbol of Ellil. (8) The head and neck of a vulture above the shrine, the symbol of Zamama. (9) A scepter, standing erect, with a knob and the head of an animal (partly defaced) in the center. (10) A shrine with a yoke-shaped figure, reversed (as on V R. 57, third symbol, second row, and Susa No. 20), most likely the symbol of Ninharsag.² (11) A scorpion, the symbol of Ishḫara. (12) The crescent, the symbol of Sin, partly surrounding (13) a five-pointed star, the symbol of Ishtar. (14) A sitting dog, the symbol of Gula.³ (15) The sundisk, the

¹ See Chap. I., p. 96; R. A., VI, 95-104.

² Dr. Hayes Ward, of New York, has called my attention to the fact that this symbol, which represents most likely the goddess Ninharsag (cf. p. 95), shows a remarkable resemblance to the plaits of hair adorning the Egyptian goddess Hathor. Compare, e.g., the picture given by Prof. W. Max Müller in his Egyptological Researches, Washington, 1906, p. 14 (cf. fig. 48). The similarity is striking, to say the least. If the figure on the Babylonian boundary stones really represents plaits of hair, it would furnish an adequate reason why this peculiar symbol stands for the goddess Ninharsag. There is but one difficulty in the explanation—if it was intended for plaits of hair, why was it reversed and even flattened out, cf. fig. 11¹; 30¹; 47¹⁰; 49²?

³ The dog is not only associated with Gula on numerous boundary stones, but there is definite evidence in the inscriptions that the dog was sacred to her. Nebuchadrezzar II. set up two gold dogs, two silver dogs and two bronze dogs at the entrance of Gula's temple E-sa-bad in Babylon. Cf. Neb. Wady Brissa, B, VI, 20-24; and in the temple E-ul-la in Sippur he found her name written upon a terra cotta figure of a dog (šu-um ša dNin-kur-ra-ag [a-ši-ba] E-UL.LU [gi-i-ri] kalbu ḫa-aš-ba ša-ṭi-ir-ma); cf. K. B., III, pt. 2, p. 50. Finally Scheil
symbol of Shamash, above the dog. (16) The lightning fork of Rammán, ending in two serpents. (17) A curious figure, consisting of some kind of a vessel supported by two animal feet, perhaps a censer.¹ (18) A tortoise above the partly effaced dragon of Marduk. (19) The serpent, winding over the top of the stone. (20) A bird, perched on a pole alongside of the serpent.

![Symbol of Ninēarsag and symbol of Hathor.]

The three scepters which appear here for the first time may simply be marks of division, as Hommel thinks.² However, attention must be called to the fact that the animal heads, placed in the found at Sippar (see Fouilles à Sippar, p. 90, fig. 13) a terra cotta dog with the inscription: Ana dME.ME, (M.Gula, cf. V R. 44, c–d, 10) bēlti kalbu ḫaṣbi ṣpušma aqīš.

¹ It is remarkable that the symbol of Ea, the goatfish with the shrine carrying a ram’s head, is wanting. Its place may be taken by this new symbol, which may be intended for a brazier or censer, called kinānu in Babylonian. If this is true, the remarks of Hommel may be compared (Aufsätze, p. 241) who places the star called Kinānu near the Capricorn, the symbol of Ea.

² L.c., p. 436. The horned animal head in the first scepter is perhaps that of an antelope, the second can hardly be recognized, the third is perhaps a lion head. With these three scepters the three fans or fly flaps on the stone of Nabû-shum-ischkun may perhaps be compared. See p. 97.
center of the scepters, differ. It is therefore more probable that they may turn out to be separate symbols.

The finding of this boundary stone within the confines of the temple at Nippur raises the interesting question, How can we explain its presence there? An examination of the inscription shows that the priest to whom the land was granted was Nusku-ibni, the son of Upaḫḫir-Nusku, who was officially connected with the Nusku worship at Nippur,¹ being the pašši apsi or UH.ME.-ZU.AB of Nusku. Hence the name of this boundary stone contains the name of the god Nusku, while at the same time Nusku is invoked in the curses. This is remarkable, as it is thus far the only instance of a separate curse being uttered in the name of Nusku. But the key to the whole situation lies in the title which is ascribed to Nusku. It is banniūa, "my creator." Now, as the name of the priest was Nusku-ibni, he is evidently playing on his own name. This conclusion leads us to the further inference that he himself wrote the inscription. This is at once the explanation of all the peculiarities. It explains the repeated use of the god Nusku in the title and in the curses. It also furnishes the reason for the plot of the field. It was a measure of precaution, adopted by the priest to locate and describe his land as exactly as possible. It also explains why this inscription begins with a hymn of Ellil. Nusku-ibni, the priest (nisak) of Ellil (Col. II, 13; III, 11), had access to the hymnological collections of the temple, and by its insertion wanted to glorify his god and place the land and stone under his special protection. Finally we can also infer from it why the stone was found in the temple precincts. It had evidently been deposited

¹ The earliest reference to Nusku that has come to my notice occurs on a seal cylinder, dedicated to Nusku by a patesi of Nippur, for the life of Dungi, king of Ur. Collection de Clercq, No. 86; cf. Thureau-Dangin, Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad, p. 278, Seeau, B.
by Nusku-ibni in the temple. The land itself was located between the royal canal and the Tigris, probably at some distance from Nippur.

A comparison between this inscription, written under Nebuchadrezzar I., and the inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II. reveals the fact that there is a remarkable similarity between them, and makes it very probable that the scribes of Nebuchadrezzar II. intentionally imitated the style and phraseology of his great predecessor and namesake.

The following table contains the most important parallels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nebuchadrezzar I.</th>
<th>Nebuchadrezzar II.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-su-usu ša-aḫ-tiš, I, 8.</td>
<td>pa-al-hi-iš lu ū-ta-aq-qu, 9, I, 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellil is called: ka-bit mātāti, I, 12. me-gir-šu, I, 23.</td>
<td>pa-al-hi-iš ū-ta-ak-ku-šu, 15, II, 61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muš-te'-ū aš-ra-ti-šu, I, 24. a-na hrē'-ū-at mátuŠū-me-ri u Akkadīki, II, 1.</td>
<td>Marduk is called: ka-ab-tu, 15, II, 2. mi-gi-ir dMarduk, 19a, I, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-na ud-du-uš eš-rit ma-ha-az da-ad-me, II, 2.</td>
<td>mu-ša-te'-ū aš-ra-a-ti, 13, I, 8; 19b,V, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-dar satuk E-kur, II, 3.</td>
<td>a-na ri-e-ū-ti i-ti-nam, 9, I, 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾıššakku na-ki-ri-šu ū-šib-bir-ma, II, 4.</td>
<td>a-na ri'-i-ū-ti id-di-na, 10, I, 10.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A parallel case is furnished by the stone of Nazi-Maruttash, whose inscription states explicitly that it was set up in the temple, before the god (maḫar ilišu ušši, D. E. P., II, pl. 18, 5). For the picture of such a temple treasure vault, see Hilprecht, Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, facing p. 390.

2 See Commentary, p. 158f.

3 The passages from the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar II. are quoted from the Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, by Stephen Langdon, Paris, 1905.
Some of these phrases are also found in other inscriptions, but it is impossible to duplicate any considerable number of them from the inscriptions of any other king. The scribes of Nebuchadrezzar II. adopted, therefore, not only the archaic script, but imitated also the style of older kings, notably that of Nebuchadrezzar I.
2. Identity of PA.SHE with Isin.

This inscription of Nebuchadrezzar I. brings again the questions and problems still surrounding the fourth Babylonian dynasty to the front.

One of these problems refers to the proper pronunciation of the name of the dynasty written PA.SHE in the king's list.¹ It seems to be tacitly assumed by some scholars (Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 130, 138)² that Pa-še is to be read phonetically and that it represents, therefore, the actual name of the dynasty. This, however, is far from certain. On the contrary, it is most probable that PA.SHE is an ideogram. Not only are most of the other dynastic names written ideographically in the king's list (*TIN.TIR*₃; *URU.AZAG*, or *URU.HA* according to list A, and E), but other considerations point in the same direction.

As early as 1888 Sayee regarded PA.SHE identical with the cities of Isin and Patesi.³ The same view was maintained by Pinches.⁴ It was further developed by Jensen,⁵ who observed that (1) according to K. 4995, 20f.⁶ (*PA.ŠE GAL.LA.BA = ša i-ši-in-šu ib-šu-ū*) PA (= aru, the tassel) + ŠE (corn) is equivalent to išinšu. This seems to be confirmed by another passage⁷

² Hommel formerly held this view, *Geschichte*, pp. 170, 488, but he has since expressed himself in favor of Isin being a synonym of Pashe; cf. *Geographie und Geschichte des alten Oriens*, p. 297.
³ R.P.², Vol. I, 17³, quoting II R. 53, 13a. This passage, however, does not prove the identity of Isin and Patesi, just as Kutha and Nippur (l. 4) or Sippar and Dilbat (l. 8), though placed in the same juxtaposition, are not identical.
⁵ Z.A., XI, p. 90.
⁶ Haupt, A.S.K.T., p. 124; see also Böllnürcher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal*, p. 43.
⁷ Haupt, l.c., p. 22; cf. Z.A., VII, 199, l. 4.
in which \( PA + X \) is followed by the gloss \( i-\text{ši-in} \). (2) That in the charter of Nebuchadrezzar I. (V R. 56, 17–18), who was a member of the PA.SHE dynasty, the name of the governor of Ishin precedes that of the governor of Babylon, which argues for the great political importance of Ishin at that time. (3) That according to Reissner, V.A.TH. 408 + 2178, Obv. 5, \( PA.ŠE \) is \( i-\text{ši-in} \). From these facts Jensen concluded that the city of PA.SHE\(^{ki}\) was also to be pronounced Ishin. This conclusion, however, while very ingenious, was not absolutely necessary, for what was true of the word \( iš(i)nu \), estr. \( išin \), meaning the blossom of the grain,\(^1\) was not necessarily true of the city of Ishin. But as the Babylonians were very fond of playing with their ideograms, it is \( à \) priori probable that the sameness of sound in the two words caused a transferring of the ideogram, originally intended for \( iš(i)nu \), blossom, to the name of the city of Ishin.

This probability can be increased by other evidence. In 1897 Craig published two tablets,\(^2\) preserved in the British Museum, which shed more light on this question. From the first tablet (80–7–19, 126) we learn that the later pronunciation of \( NI.SI.IN.\text{\(^{ki}\)} \) is \( I-\text{si-in} \)\(^{3}\) (l. 9–10), that Gula was the “Lady of Isin” (l. 1), which is called “the city of her dominion” (\( ál bêlûtiša \), l. 9–10).

These statements are supplemented by another inscription, published by Craig (Sm. 289, Obv. 17), in which we read: \( Būk-Gu-la ša PA.ŠE\text{\(^{ki}\)} \). Combining these statements we are naturally brought to the conclusion that PA.SHE and Ishin are identical.

The name of this city is written either I-si-in (so in the tablet 80–7–19, 126, quoted above) or I-ši-in (V R. 56, 17; I R. 66, II, 7) or I-šin (Babylonian Chronicle, IV, 18; see Winckler, Forschungen, I, 303). In the Sumerian texts the same variation occurs between

\(^{1}\) See also \( šami-\text{ši-in egli, Hebraica} \), XIII, 221.


\(^{3}\) Cf. Bezold in Z.A., IV, 430.
NI.SI.IN (so usually) or NI.ŠI.IN (K. 3811 + 3833 and K. 10844, see Bezołd, Catalogue, pp. 566, 1118). In this connection it is noteworthy that the word išinu, "the blossom of the grain," is also written isinu (Reissner Hymnen, 73, 5a, compared with ibid., pp. 21, 27). Finally it may be mentioned that alongside of the personal name PA.ŠEₕiₐ also the form I-sin-na-ₐ is found.¹

On the basis of the above evidence Isin may well be adopted as the probable pronunciation of PA.SHE.²

The dynasty was called Pa-she, according to some scholars,³ from a certain quarter in the city of Babylon, which is inferred from Nebuchadrezzar I.'s statement that he was "the offspring of Babylon" (V R. 55, 2), and it is further assumed that the names of the other dynasties (TIN.TIR.KI, URU.AZAG and E) refer to Babylon. On the other hand, those scholars who identify PA.SHE and Isin naturally connect the origin of the fourth dynasty with that city as the ancestral home of its princes. They look for the city somewhere in Southern Babylonia.⁴

In favor of a city of PA.SHE or Isin as entirely different from Babylon the following considerations may be urged. The argument based upon the title of Nebuchadrezzar, "the offspring of Babylon," is not absolutely convincing, for this personal title may have nothing to do with the origin of his dynasty. Nebuchadrezzar may have been born in Babylon as the son of a younger royal prince, perhaps Ninib-nadin-shum,⁵ who held a priestly office, for it is noteworthy that Nebuchadrezzar bears the titles iššakku

¹ See Hilprecht and Clay, B.E., IX, p. 61; X, p. 60.
⁵ Cf. p. 129, below.
(PA.TE.SI) qardu šakkanak Bâbili¹ and also nisakku (Neb. Nippur, II, 12), the same title as borne by the priest Nusku-ibni. Moreover, the new stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. distinctly implies (Col. II, 1–4) that the causes which placed him on the throne were largely of a religious nature.

Nor is the argument drawn from the names of the other dynasties more conclusive, because several dynasties, the fifth, sixth and seventh, had nothing to do with Babylon. Why should the fourth? Besides, the name of the second dynasty is very uncertain (URU.-AZAG or URU.HA) and not well suited to draw far-reaching conclusions from it. Cf. King, "Chronicles," pp. 70f., 107ff.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the city of Isin appears prominently during the fourth (PA.SHE) dynasty. On the charter of Nebuchadrezzar I. (V R. 56, 17) Shamash-nâdin-shumu, the son of Atta-iluma, the governor of Ishin, is placed in a conspicuous position before the governor of Babylon. On the stone of Za'aleh (I R. 66, II, 6–7) E-karra-iqîsha, the then governor of Ishin, is the very first among the witnesses, and on the new stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. (Neb. Nippur, V, 21) we find among the witnesses a native of Ishin, named Amel-Ishin. To complete the references mentioning the city of Isin during this period, we may recall the fact that at the close of the Cassite period Ishin was entered by a victorious Elamite army under Kidin-ḫutrutash (Babylonian Chronicle, IV 18).

As to its location we know nothing definite, but the various lists of cities seem to locate it in Southern Babylonia. On K 3811 + 3833 (Bezold, Catalogue, p. 566) NI.ŠI.IN appears between Shurpula and Girsu (= Telloh, cf. Hommel, Geographie, p. 189). On

¹ That diuHI(DUG), "the good city," is a term applied to Babylon appears from the parallel expression šakkanak Bâbili, applied to Nebuchadrezzar I. on the new stone from Nippur (Col. II, 20). This corroborates the view of Winckler, K.B., III, pt. 1, p. 165, note 2. Cf. also IV R.² 21,² No. 1 (C), Col. III, 1.
K. 4541 (Catalogue, p. 640) it follows Shirpurla and Nippur. On K. 10844 (Catalogue, p. 1118) it precedes Larsa. In another text (Rass. 2, 417, see Catalogue, p. 1674) PA.ŠE is preceded by Eridu, Adab (UD.\textit{NUN}^{kī}) and Ur, while in still another passage (80–7–19, 126) it is in close parallelism with Nippur.

3. The Succession of the Isin Kings.

Another problem of the Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty is the succession of its kings.

Our knowledge of the dynasty is based on the kings’ list, the synchronistic history and the inscriptions of the various rulers belonging to this dynasty.

The kings’ list is unfortunately very incomplete at this point. We only know that there were in all eleven kings belonging to it, who reigned 132 years and six months.\(^1\) The names of the last three kings are partially preserved, only one of which can be restored with certainty. This is the name of the last king, \textit{Nabû-shum-[lī-bur]}, the same king to whom the inscription upon a duck-weight found by Layard in the North-West palace at Nimrûd belongs. Cf. King in \textit{P. S. B. A.}, Vol. XXIX (1907), p. 221, and \textquotedblleft Chronicles,\textquotedblright Vol. II, p. 159. Of the eight kings whose names are missing entirely six are known to us from their own inscriptions, \textit{Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I.}, Ellil-nādin-aplu, Marduk-nādin-aḫē, Marduk-shāpik-zirīm, Rammān-apal-iddina and Marduk-aḫē-erba.

Nebuchadrezzar I. is now represented by three boundary stones (V R. 55–57; C. T., IX, pls. 4, 5, and the new stone from Nippur). Two hymns glorify his military achievements (K. 3426, published

\(^1\) The sum total was long in doubt. It was read 72 by Pinches, Winckler and Delitzsch. Peiser first proved (Z.A., VI, 269) that the number 72 was impossible. Later Knudtzon and Lehmann read 132, while Rost still considers it as doubtful (\textit{Untersuchungen}, p. 3). Taking, however, everything into consideration, the figure 132 (or perhaps 133) seems to be the most probable and has, therefore, been generally accepted.
last in *C.T.*, XIII, pl. 48, and III R. 38, 4; see Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 534-538). Winckler also translates two other inscriptions (K.

**Fig. 49.**—Boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Abu Habba. V R. 57.
3444 = IV R. 20 and D.T. 71), which seem to refer to Nebuchadrezzar’s successes over Elam. Finally, an inscription published by Strassmaier (Br. M., Sp. II, 407, in Hebraica, Vol. IX, p. 5) must be mentioned. It refers to a king, Nabû-kudurri-usur šar Bâbili már NIN.IB-nâdin-šumu. This seems to refer to Nebuchadrezzar I., because it can neither apply to Nebuchadrezzar II., the son of Nabopolassar, nor to the usurper Nebuchadrezzar III.

From the reign of Ellil-nâdin-aplu we have one kudurru inscription (O.B.I., Vol. I, 83). To the reign of these two kings belong also III R. 41 and I R. 70, as we shall show below in discussing the succession of the various kings.

The reign of Marduk-nâdin-aḫē is represented by two boundary stones, the stone of Za’aleh from his first year (I R. 66) and III R. 43-45, from the tenth year of his reign. An inscription, dated in the fifth year of this king has been discovered at Nippur, as announced by Prof. Hilprecht (see his Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, p. 519).

The king Marduk-shápiq-zirim (or Marduk-shápiq-zēr-māti, of which the first is an abbreviation; see Rost, Untersuchungen, p. 26, note 1) is represented by a fragmentary inscription (O.B.I., Vol. I, No. 148).

Of Rammân-apal-iddina we have a short inscription, preserved in the Louvre (Place, Ninive et Assyrie, III, 78, note 4; cf. Winckler, Untersuchungen, p. 28, note 2). An inscription dated in the tenth year of this king has been found at Nippur (see Hilprecht, Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, p. 519).

A boundary stone of Marduk-aḫē-erba was published by Prof. Hilprecht (O.B.I., Vol. I, No. 149).

Four of these kings are also mentioned in the Synchronistic History (II R. 65,1 and III R. 4,3; see also Winckler, Untersuchungen,

1 For the use of “m” as a hypocoristical ending see note of Prof. Hilprecht in Ranke’s Early Babylonian Personal Names, p. 186.
pp. 148-152), namely, Nebuchadrezzar, Marduk-nádin-aḫē, Marduk-
šápišk-zēr-mātī and Rammān-apal-iddina. Of the last two it is
definitely stated that they followed each other immediately. That
leaves us to determine the succession of the other four kings. From
the inscription of Ellil-nádin-aplu it is evident (Col. I, 7-15) that he
was the immediate successor of Nebuchadrezzar, for the land in
question had been for 696 years in peaceful possession of the temple
of Ninā up to the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, but in the fourth year
of Ellil-nádin-aplu its area was reduced by E-karra-iqīsha. It is
also evident that the reign of Ellil-nádin-aplu was of short duration
and was followed immediately by that of Marduk-nádin-aḫē, for
Ardi-Nanā, son of Mudammīq-Rammān, occurs both on the
charter of Nebuchadrezzar (V R. 56, 13) and the stone of Za’aleh
(I R. 66, II, 13) dated in the first year of Marduk-nádin-aḫē. Ṭāb-
ashāb-Marduk, son of Ina-Esagila-zēru, is mentioned on three
stones, on V R. 56, 22, as governor of Ḥalmān, but on I R. 70, I, 15
and I R. 66, II, 11 as sukallu. Moreover, E-karra-iqīsha, son of
Ea-iddīna, is found as governor of Bit-Sin-māgīr in the reign of
Ellil-nádin-aplu (O.B.I., 83, I, 10), but as governor of Ishin (I R. 66,
II, 6, 7) in the reign of Marduk-nádin-aḫē. Perhaps Ellil-nádin-
aplu had transferred him to another province as the result of
his high-handed actions in Bit-Sin-māgīr. Again, Ṣīr-uṣur,
brother of Ellil-nádin-shumu, and son of Ḥabban, mentioned VR. 56,
23, is also found on the Caillou de Michaux (I R. 70, I, 13), while
Nabū-zēr-līshīr, son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and grandson of
Ardi-Ea, who served as surveyor of the field, mentioned on the
new stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. (Col. III, 13, 14), is no doubt a
brother of Shāpiku, son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and grandson of
Ardi-Ea, the surveyor of the field mentioned in III R. 41, Col. I, 13.
All these links would be impossible if Ellil-nádin-aplu and Marduk-
nádin-aḫē had not succeeded Nebuchadrezzar immediately. They
also prove that III R. 41 and I R. 70 were written either in the
reign of Nebuchadrezzar I. or his immediate successor, as Hommel had already concluded in his *Geschichte*, p. 459. The position of Marduk-aḫē-erba is less easy to determine. Rost (*Untersuchungen*, p. 65) places him with a question mark at the head of the Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty. Lehmann (*Zwei Hauptprobleme, Tabelle IV*) inserts him between Marduk-nādin-aḫē and Marduk-shâpik-zêrmâti. Assyrian synchronism does not favor the latter arrangement, because Tiglath-pileser, the contemporary of Marduk-nādin-aḫē, is followed immediately by his son Ashur-bêl-kala, the contemporary of Marduk-shâpik-zêrmâti. This would argue that, as in Assyria, so in Babylonia there was an immediate succession of the two kings in question. It is therefore more natural to place Marduk-aḫē-erba either at the beginning of the dynasty or after Rammân-apal-iddina. The latter seems to me preferable, because none of the persons named on the stone occur on any of the other boundary stones of this period.\(^1\) It was, therefore, most likely separated from them by a considerable number of years.

4. PLACE OF NEBUCHADREZZAR I. IN THE DYNASTY OF ISIN.

The last question that needs discussion is the position of Nebuchadrezzar I. in the dynasty. It appeared in our discussion that he heads the six kings whose names are broken off from the kings' list; but where is he to be placed in the dynasty? It is now generally agreed that he did not occupy the first place. A renewed examination of this passage in the kings' list seems to have placed that beyond doubt.\(^2\) On the other hand, there is strong and even irresistible evidence to show that he was actively engaged in freeing his country from the chaos and disorder such as we know prevailed

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\(^1\) This is also the judgment of Hommel, who identifies him with the ninth king of the PA.SHE dynasty, see his article, "Eine neuer Babylonischer König," in *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. böhm. Ges. d. Wissensch.*, 1901, pp. 18, 24.

at the close of the Cassite period. This appears first of all in the remarkable titles that are attributed to him. He is called "the sun of his land who makes prosperous his people" (Šamaš mātišu mušammihu nišēšu, V R. 55, 4); "the protector of boundary stones, who fixes the boundaries" (nāṣir kudurrēti mukinnu ablē, V R. 55, 5); "the king of right who judges a righteous judgment" (šar kināti ša dīn mēšari idīnnu, V R. 55, 6). The last two statements clearly imply previous lawlessness and disorder, which he brought to an end. The titles applied to him in the new inscription from Nippur point even more strongly to a change of dynasty. It is said that "Ellil broke the weapon of his (Ellil's) enemy and laid the scepter of his enemy into his (Nebuchadrezzar's) hand" (Col. II, 4, 5). These statements show that the Ellil cult at Nippur had been neglected by the previous rulers, that this neglect had roused the anger of Ellil, and that the downfall of the Cassite dynasty was attributed to it. In perfect agreement with this is the fact that after Bitiliāšhu no monuments of Cassite kings have been found at Nippur. But the new inscription from Nippur is even more explicit in its statements as to the causes which led to the elevation of Nebuchadrezzar to the throne of Babylonia. We are told that it was done for a threefold purpose: "that he might shepherd Shumer and Akkad, renew the sanctuaries of the city of dwellings and regulate the tithes of Ekur and Nippur" (Col. II, 1–3). Here the religious character of the movement is plainly indicated. Another significant title applied to Nebuchadrezzar is "the one who lays the foundation of the land," mukīn išti māti (Col. II, 24). As Nebuchadrezzar was not the first of the dynasty, it can hardly mean "the founder of the dynasty," as Winckler interpreted it, but perhaps

1 Hammurabi uses a similar title, dŠamaš Bābili mušēzi nūrim ana mātuŠu- mērim u Akkadim, Code V, 4–9.

2 For the meaning of ablē, see Glossary and Lau, J.A.O.S., Vol. 27, pp. 301f.

3 Cf. Winckler, Forschungen, I, 519.
"the one who established the autonomy of the land," for we find the title used by Agukakrina (K.B., III, 136; Winckler, Forschungen, I, 517f.), the seventh Cassite king. It is also used by Nebuchadrezzar II. (Langdon, Building Inscriptions, 16, I, 4), neither of whom were founders of dynasties. Nor could this title, in the sense of founder of a dynasty, be properly applied to Sargon,
Fig. 51.—Figure of a king, probably Nebuchadrezzar I., on III R. 41
(London, 106).
as we find it done by Shamash-shum-ukin (C.T., X, pl. IV, 7), nor to Merodach-baladan II. (B.A., II, 261, Col. II, 44). Nabopolassor is the only one using this title (Sippar inscription, A.H., 82, 7–14, Col. I, 5) who can properly be called the founder of a dynasty. In view of these facts the translation, “the one who establishes the autonomy of the land,” seems to be more appropriate, because it fits every case. Of great importance for the relation of Nebuchadrezzar I. to his contemporaries is the interesting inscription K. 2660 (III R. 38, 2), translated and discussed by Winckler (Forschungen, I, 534–38). Here we find that Zamama-shum-iddina, the next to the last Cassite king, was driven away by an Elamite king, whose name we now know from the inscriptions found at Susa to have been Sutruk-naḥunte, who, it seems, had entrusted his son Kudur-naḥunte with the conquest of Babylonia. In the course of the following lines, which are badly broken, Ellil-nādin-aḫu, the last Cassite king, is twice referred to, and it is stated that he (most likely the Elamite conqueror) swept away all the people of Akkad like a storm flood and devastated all their large cities (nišē mātu ḫurru akkādī kul-lat-sī-na a-bu-biš is-pu-nu . . . . ma-ḫa]-zi ši-ru-[ti] na-gab-šu-nu u-še-me [kār-miš], Obv. 7–8). By this same Elamite invasion another king suffered, who called Ellil-nādin-aḫu “the king my predecessor” (šarru pa-na maḥ-ri-ia, Obv. 5). His name is broken off, but his title, “the offspring of Babylon” (nabnīt Bābīlī), still remains. Winckler is undoubtedly correct in restoring the missing name to Nebuchadrezzar, whose wars against Elam form the theme of several other hymns. This inscription, by connecting Ellil-nādin-aḫu and Nebuchadrezzar so closely, implies clearly that they are contemporaneous. It constitutes, therefore, a valuable corroboration of the view recently advanced by Prof. Hilprecht that the first kings of the Isin (PA.-

SHE) dynasty were contemporaneous with the last Cassite kings.\footnote{Hilprecht, B.E., Vol. XX, Pt. 1, pp. 44f.} This view reconciles also the otherwise contradictory statements of the kings' list and Nebuchadrezzar's own inscriptions. From the evidence now at hand we can conclude that Nebuchadrezzar was a usurper, for his father is not given any royal titles; that at first he battled in vain against the Elamite and Assyrian supremacy, but after repeated reverses and late in his reign he was able to throw off the foreign yoke, ascend the throne of Babylonia and even extend his conquests to the Lulubbeans in the east and the land Amurru in the west. This enabled him to assume the proud title, "king of the world" (šar kiššati). The case of Nebuchadrezzar I., fighting against the Elamites and only succeeding in the latter part of his reign in defeating them, has a close parallel in the history of Hammurabi, who only in the thirtieth year of his reign defeated the Elamites and in the following year Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, by which he was able to unite all of Babylonia under his rule.

If it is true that Nebuchadrezzar followed the last Cassite king immediately, it should be possible to remove the chronological objections which have been raised against this view by Winckler and others. These chronological difficulties are caused almost exclusively by assigning to the Assyrian kings more years than the inscriptions demand. Thus, e.g., Winckler assigned at first\footnote{Cf. Forschungen, Vol. I, pp. 135-138, 266-268.} approximately twenty years to Ninib-apal-Ekur and about thirty-five years to Ashur-dân. Recent discoveries, however, have compelled him\footnote{Cf. Forschungen, Vol. III, p. 347.} to lower the reign of the first king to twelve years, and that of the latter to not more than twenty. The probabilities are that at least the reign of Ninib-apal-Ekur must be reduced still more. The following table offers the probable synchronisms of this period:

\footnote{Hilprecht, B.E., Vol. XX, Pt. 1, pp. 44f.}
Babylonia.

Bitiliashu
Reign of eight years.
Defeated by Tukulti-Ninib.
Captured and brought to Assyria.
All of Shumer and Akkad conquered
(Inscr. of Tukulti-Ninib, Obv. 30-36; Synchron. History, S. 2106; Babyl. Chronicle, IV, 1).

Ellil-nadin-shum
Reign of one year and six months.
Elamite invasion by Kidin- ijtru-tash.
Nippur and Durilu devastated.
Ellil-nadin-shum's rule overthrown
(Babyl. Chron., IV, 14-16).

Kadashman-ijbarbe
Reign of one year and six months.
Babylon taken by Tukulti-Ninib.
Marduk statue taken to Assyria.
Governors over Babylonia appointed
(Babyl. Chron., IV, 3-8).

Rammân-shum-iddina
Reign of six years.
Second Elamite invasion.
Ishin captured.
Battle at MaradSAFE (Babyl. Chron. IV, 17-21).
Nobles revolt and place on throne
(Babyl. Chron., IV, 8, 9).

Rammân-shum-usur
Reign of thirty years.

Assyria.

Tukulti-Ninib
Victorious war against Babylonia.

Tukulti-Ninib rules Babylonia through governors seven years (Babyl. Chron., IV, 3-7).

Nobles of Assyria revolt, dethrone and kill king and place on the throne
Ashur-nâšir-aplu, his son (Babyl. Chron., IV, 9-11).

(Ninib)-tukulti-Ashur flees to Babylonia and returns statue of Marduk and scepter of Shagarakti-Shuriah.
Ashur-shum-ilshir entrusted with the government (IV R.² 34, No. 2).
The nobles of Assyria place on throne
Meli-Shipak
Reign of fifteen years.
Writes letter (IV R.² 34, No. 2) to neighboring prince.
Isin dynasty begins.
The first two local kings reign 18 + 6 years at Isin.

Ellil-kudur-uṣur
(J.R.A.S., 1904, 415.)
He is killed in war (Synchr. History, K. 4401b).

Ninib-apal-ekur
"Whose might like an urinna spread over the land and who led the soldiers of Ashur aright" (Figl., VII, 57–59).
Conquered Ashur with help of Babylonian (?) king (Synchr. Hist., K. 4401b).

Ashur-dân
"Who reached gray hairs and old age" (Figl. VII, 54).

Marduk-apal-iddina I.
Reign of thirteen years.

Zamama-shum-iddina
Reign of one year.
He is driven off by the Elamites (III R. 38, 21).

Ellil-nâdin-ahu
Reign of three years.
Defeated by Elamites.
Akkad devastated (III R. 38, 2, 5–7).

Isin Dynasty.

Nebuchadrezzar I.
Reign of at least sixteen years.
Drives out the Cassites (V R. 55, 10).
Victorious over Elamites.
Marduk statue brought back (IV R. 20, 1, 10–14).
Conquers the Lulubeans and the West Land (V R. 55, 9–10).

Mutakkil-Nusku

Ashur-rishishi
Compels Nebuchadrezzar to give up attack on Assyrian fortress Zanqi.
Defeats Nebuchadrezzar.
## TRANSLITERATION.

\[ Šûm \text{ } \text{abunarrī} \text{ } an-ni-i \text{ } d\text{NIN.IB-} \text{ } u\text{-}d\text{Nusku-mu-kin-ku-dur²-ri } Šûm-šu. \]

\[ XXII \text{ (gur) } 170 \text{ (qa) } šeuzēru \text{ } \frac{1}{s} \text{ GAN } 30 \text{ qa } I \text{ ammatu}^4 \text{ rabitu}^5 \]

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<tr>
<th>nāru</th>
<th>IV UŠ šiddu elâ amurrû UŠ.SA.DU</th>
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<td>I UŠ</td>
<td>pūtu šaplû [\text{šûtu} ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>diq-</td>
<td>kišádi nāruIdiq-lat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| lat  | nūr barri \[\text{ Gur GAR} \text{ pūtu elâ} \]
|      | \[\text{UŠ.SA.DU} \]
|      | bēl mātāti \[\text{UŠ.SA.DU} \]

|      | III UŠ LV GAR (šiddu šaplû)^b šadû UŠ.SA.DU Bīt-mSu-ḫur-Gal-du |

Col. I

\[ d'\text{En-lil}^9 \text{ bēl ša-qa-ù e-til šamē(-e) u īrṣiti} \]
\[ \text{rubû}^{10} \text{ bēl gim-ri} \]
\[ šār ilâni rabâti šā ina šamē(-e) u īrṣiti} \]
\[ \text{la i-}ba-aš-šû-ù īlu ša-nin-šû \]

5 šā a-na na-dan ur-ši-šû \[d'\text{I-}gi-gi\]

\[ \text{ap-pa } i\text{-lab-bi-nu } ū\text{-taq-qu-ù } \text{pal-ḫiš}^{11} \]
\[ ū a-na ši-tul-ti-šû \[\text{d'A-nun-na-ku} \]
\[ \text{aš-riš } Šû-ḫar-ru-ru na-zu-uz-uzu Šû-ah-ḫiš \]
\[ \text{be-el } bēlum^{12} ša } i\text{-piš } pī^{13}\text{-šû la } ū\text{-šam-sa-ku} \]

10 īlu \[\text{ai-um-ma} \]
\[ \text{ra-šub-bi } d\text{A-nun-na-ku be-el } šal^{14}\text{-mat qaqqa-di}^{15} \]

1 N.A.R.U.A. 2 ku, dur. 3 M.U.NE.
4 Ū. 5 GAL. 6 T.I.K.
7 E.N.KUR.MES. 8 Omitted by scribe, see III, 2. 9 See Commentary.
TRANSLATION.

The name of this stone: "‘NIN.IB and Nusku establish the boundary," (such) is its name.

XXII (gur) 170 (qa) of seedfield, $\frac{7}{4}$ GAN (reckoned) at 30 qa of seed, (equivalent to) a large cubit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>River</th>
<th>IV USH, upper length, west, adjoining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ti-gris</td>
<td>I USH, lower width south (adjoining) the bank of the Tigris</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III USH, LV GAR (lower length) east, adjoining Bit-Suḫur-Gal-du.

Col. 7

Ellil,—the lofty lord, the ruler of heaven and earth, the prince, the lord of all, the king of the great gods, whose equal as a god does not exist in heaven and on earth, upon the giving of whose command the Igigi prostrate themselves, reverently pay homage, and upon whose decision the Anunnaki wait in submissive awe, stand in humble fear, the lord of lords, the word of whose mouth no god can set aside, the potentate of the Anunnaki, the lord of the blackheaded,

$^{16}$ NUN.  $^{11}$ ut, tu tam.  $^{13}$ EN.  $^{12}$ KA.

$^{14}$ ni, āl.  $^{15}$ SAG.DU.
ka-bit mâtâti¹⁸ mut-tar-ru-ú ba'-ú-la-ti
ardu šá melammí¹⁷-sú saḥ(?)¹⁹-pu-ú nam-ri-ir-ri ša'-nu

šá-ru-ru-šú ka-la si-ḫi-ip ša-ma-me

15 nap-ḫar qin-ni-e u kal da-ad-me lit-bu-šu ma
ša-qum¹⁹-mat-su mâtâti¹⁸ ka-at-ma
be-lut-su la iš-ša-na-nu la um-daš-ša-šu ilu-su

par(?)#²⁰-su-šú šit-ru-ḫu billudú²¹-sú širu
šak-ku-šú riš-tu-ú al-ka-ka-tu-šu nak-la

20 mu-ma'-ir šamē(-e) u iṛṣiti mu-ḫil mâtâti¹⁸
na-bu-ú re'-ū²² ki-nu mu-ad-du-ú ša-kan iṛṣiti

a-na šat-ti ina nûr²³ pânu²⁴-šu damqûti²⁵ ina bu-ni-šu nam-rû-ti

'Nabû-kudurri²⁶-uṣur²⁷ rubû²⁸ me-gir-šú

muš-te'-ú aš-ra-ti-šu ki-niš ip-pa-lis-ša

Col. II
a-na ₅²re'-ū²²-ut mâtû šú-me-ri u Akkad²⁹šu
a-na ud-du-uš eš-riṭ ma-ḫa-az da-[a]d-me
û ša-dar satuk²⁸ E-kur u Nippur²¹šu
šu-kakku²² na-ki-ri-šú ú-šib-bir-ma

5 śir-riṭ ₅nakkir²³-šû qa-tu-uš-šû it-muḫ
balâ³² ūmē da-ru-ú-ti iš-ruq-sum-ma
elî šarri a-liḫ maḫ-ri ú-ša-tir šûm-šu.
Ina ša-dar satuk²⁸ E-kur ina nige²⁹ šum-du-li
the sovereign of lands, the ruler of kingdoms,
The god, whose splendor is overwhelming (?) and filled with brilliancy,
with whose glory the whole extent of heaven,
15 all habitations and all dwellings are clothed,
with whose majesty the lands are covered,
whose rule cannot be rivalled, whose divinity cannot be equaled,
whose decision is weighty, whose command is lofty,
whose law is supreme, whose ways are wonderful,
20 who rules heaven and earth, who sustains the lands,
who calls the faithful shepherd, who appoints the governor of the earth,
forever,—with the light of his gracious countenance, with his shining face
he looked faithfully upon Nebuchadrezzar, the prince, his favorite,
who is devoted to his sanctuaries, and

Col. II

that he might shepherd Shumer and Akkad,
that he might renew the sanctuaries of the city of dwellings
and regulate the tithes of Ekur and Nippur
he broke the weapon of his enemy and
5 the sceptre of his enemy he placed in his hand,
a life of eternal days he granted to him and
above any preceding king he magnified his name.
Because of the regulation of the tithes of Ekur, because of the magnificent sacrifices,
ina igiše²⁷ hab-su-ú-ti ina na-kín³⁹-ti mah-ri⁴⁰ En-lil
10 ina li-bi-en ap³⁹-pi ša a-na béli u már béli

šá⁴⁰ ana En-lil u NIN.IB pal-ḫi-iš u-taq-qu-ú
ina zu-ru-ub ZI.ŠAG.GAL-ši ina amáta⁴¹ šarru nisakkî⁴²

mdNusku-ib-ni már. mUpaḫyîr⁴³-dNusku nisak⁴² En-lil
[UH.ME]⁴⁴.ZU.AB dNusku laputtatu⁴⁵ DUR.AN.KI
15 [a]-na šarru rēt²⁸ ki-ni rubû³¹ me-gir En-lil

ina ut-ni-ni-šu ki-niš ippalissu-ma
mdBa-ušum-iddina²⁷(-na) már Ḥu-un-na i-bir beli-šu
na-an-zu-az mah-šar šarru ki-zu-ú ša ultu³³ ul-la
at-mu-šu na-as-qu-ma šú-zu-uz-zu ina mah-ri
20 šakkanašak⁴⁹ Bûbîlîšoki ša-kìn Bît-mdSin-šê-me
rubû³³ me-gir-šu ú-ma-ša-ri
ina qa-bi-e šarr meša-ri
dNabû-kudurrî³²-usur³³ šâr kiššatî³⁴
mu-kin iš-di ma-a-tî

25 XXII (gur) 170 (qa) šeuzêru eqlu qî-ru-ba-a
šá a-na bu-tuq-ti šaknu³⁵(-nu)
ugär³⁶ aži ša Mâr-mAḫ³³-at-tu-ú-a
ina kišâad³² nhuruIdiqlaš³⁸ ina pîhâšt³⁹ Bît-mdSin-šê-me
ša ultu³³ âmî(-mi) pa-na i-ku la šap-ku
30 abēne³⁶ la šú-zu-za-at-ma a-na me-rîš-ti
la šú-ku-ku-ú-ma a-na me-te-iq mē šaknu³⁵(-nu)

I[V]US šiddu elû amurrû³¹ UŠ.SA.DU

²⁷ SI.DI.
³³ har._mur.
³⁶ Text has ta, by mistake.
³³ NU.AB.
³⁳ KIL.
³⁶ NU.TUR.
³⁴ŠI.BAR.
³⁵ TA.
³⁵ NER.ARAD.
³⁶ Text has at, by mistake.
³⁴ KA.
³⁶ Cf. III, 11.
³⁵ SE.
³³ KA.DINGIR.RA.KI.
because of the rich gifts and the treasures (laid) before Ellil,
10 because of the prostrations, with which to the lord and the son of
the lord,
with which to Ellil and NIN.IB he showed his respectful reverence,
because of the utterance of supplications, because of the prayer
of the king, the priest,
Nusku-ibni, the son of Upahhir-Nusku, the priest of Ellil,
the UH.ME.ZU.AB of Nusku, the chief of Duranki,
15 to the king, the faithful shepherd, the prince, the favorite of
Ellil,
because of his (the king's) supplication, he looked faithfully, and
Bau-shum-iddina, the son of Hunna, the friend of his lord.
who stood before the king, the servant whose word
was always weighty and respected before the
20 potentate of Babylon, the governor of Bit-Sin-sheme,
the prince, his favorite, he sent and
upon the command of the king of righteousness,
Nebuchadrezzar, the king of the world,
who has laid the foundation of the land,
25 XXII (gur) 170 (qa) of seedfield, arable land,
which had been exposed to flooding,
a field of the town of Mar-Ahattu'a,
on the bank of the Tigris, in the district of Bit-Sin-sheme,
where since ancient days no ditch had been dug,
30 no vegetation had grown up and which had not been brought
under cultivation, but had been exposed to the inroads of the
water,—namely
IV USH, upper length, west, adjoining

81 NUN.
82 SA.DU(NIN.GUB).
83 SES.
84 HI(SAR).
85 SA-nu.
86 A.KAR.
87 TIK.
88 MAS.TIK.KAR.
89 NAM.
90 AB.SIM.
91 IM.MARTU.
Col. III

Bīt-mdŠīr-ap-pi-li u piḫat62 Bīt-mdSin-še-me
III UŠ LV GAR šiddu šaplū šadū
UŠ.SA.DU Bīt-mSu-ḫur-Gal-du
II UŠ X GAR pūtu elū iltānu UŠ.SA.DU
5 Bīt-mUš-bu-la ša a-na bēl mātāti nadnu63(-nu)
I UŠ pūtu šaplū šātu kišād67 māruIdiqlat68
naphar64 XXII (gur) 168½ (qa) 5 (gin) šḫu-zēru 1½ GAN 30 qa
I ammatu65 rabītu
ugār66 ʿāli ša Mār-mAḫ65-at-ṭu-ū-a piḫat62 Bīt-mdSin-še-me

62 NAM.
63 SE-nu.
64 SŪ.NIGIN.
65 U GAL
66 KIL.
67 NU.AB.
68 ARAD.
69 SI.DI.
70 T.L.A.
71 UN.MEŠ.
Col. III

Bit-Šir-appili and the district of Bit-Sin-sheme

III USH, LV GAR, lower length, east,

adjoining Bit-Suḫur-Gal-du,

II USH, X GAR, upper width, north, adjoining

5 Bit-Ushbula, which had been given to the Lord of countries,

I USH, lower width, south, on the bank of the Tigris,

in all XXII (gur) 168½ (qa) 5 (gin) of seedfield, ɣ½ GAN

(reckoned at 30 qa of seed, (equivalent to) a large cubit,

a field of the town of Mār-Āḫattûa, in the district of Bit-

Sin-sheme,

Bau-shum-iddina, the governor of Bit-Sin-sheme,

10 measured and to Nusku-ibni, son of Upaḫḫir-Nusku,

the priest of Ellil, the UḪ.ME.ZU.AB of Nusku,

the magistrate of Nippur, his servant, forever

granted. The surveyors of this field were Nabû-zêr-lishir,

son of Itti-Marduk-balâṭu, a descendant of Ardi-Ea

15 and Nabunna, son of Aḫi, the commander

of Bit-Sin-sheme.

For all future days!

Whenever one (who dwells) in human habitations,

be it a ruler or a potentate, a governor or a regent,

20 a levymaster or a magistrate, overthrows the grant

of this field and in order to secure the use of the pasture land

sends some one and

with evil intent causes (its) seizure,

stretches out his finger to do evil,

25 under the obligation of a levy permits a canal or land-officer

to seize a canal digger or to cut down plants,

79 SIB. 79 NER.ARAD.

84 Written on erasure of ši.

85 SÛ.SI. 86 ḤUL.
uš-aš-šù-nû [šad-ba-bu(?)]
30 u m²Ba-[uš-kùm-iddina(-na) ša-kìn Bitt-m²d[Sin-še-me]]
a-na m²d[Nusku-ib-ni már m²U[pahhir-²dNusku].
ha-za[-an d²u Nippur²s³ki ul i-ri-im-šu i-qab-bu-ù(?)]
eqlu [šù-a-tu ul ma-ṣi-ib(?)]²⁴

Col. IV
ul ša-ri-iqt ul na-di-in
ul ma-ḥi-ir-mi i-qab-bu-ù
²³A-nu šarru abi³² ilâni ag-giš li-tal-lik-šu-ma

nap-šá-tuš³³ li-bal-li.

5 ²⁴En-lil³³ bél ša-qu-ù mu-šim
ši-mat ilâni ši-mat ma-ru-uš-ti
li-šim-šù-ma lu-ub-na ni-el-me-na
a-mat nišê³⁵ li-gi-sa-šù.
²⁵E-a šâr apš³⁶ bél ta-šim-ti

10 nu-gu ka-bût³⁷-ti nu-mur lîbû ni-ḥa-ša
ha-ba-ṣa li-kim-šû-ma
ni-is-sa-tu li-ûlq³⁸-šû.
²⁸Sin³⁸ bél aqê³⁹ na-me-ru-ti
bu-nî-šû li-[te]-šû-ma lîl-li ai iši.³¹

15 ²⁹Šamaš u ³⁰Rammadân ilâni ga-aš-ru-tu
daianê³² šîrûti³² lu mu-lam-me-nu
i-gir-ri-šu šû-nu-ma di-in kit-ti
u me-ša-ri ai i-di-nu-šu.
³¹NIN.1B bél me-îṣ-ri u kudurri²⁹ kudurra-šu lissû³⁵(-uḫ).

³² See Commentary.
³⁴ Cf. Col. III, 10.
³⁵ Cf. Col. III, 10, and Commentary.
³⁶ ku, tuš.
³⁷ ZU.AB.
³⁸ A.D.
³⁹ UN.MES.
who [makes a claim] and takes
that field [who gives it away or] returns it to the crown
and says it has not..........................
30 or [Bau-shum-iddina, the governor of Bit-Sin-sheme]
has not [given it to Nusku-ibni, son of Upalhîr-Nusku,]
the ma[gistrate of Nippur].....],
says that [field has not been measured]

Col. IV

has not been presented, has not been given,
has not been received—
May Anu, the king, the father of the gods, in anger overthrow
him
and annihilate his life,
5 Ellil, the lofty lord, who appoints
the fate of the gods, appoint for him
an evil fate, so that calamity, misfortune
and the commands of men may oppress him.
Ea, the king of the ocean, the lord of wisdom,
10 take away from him gladness of heart, happiness of mind,
abundance and fullness, so that
lamentation may seize him.
Sin, the lord of the crown of splendor
darken his face, so that he may not have merriment(?).
15 Shamash and Rammân, the powerful gods,
the lofty judges, give him
evil plans, and with a judgment of justice
and righteousness may they not judge him.
NIN.IB, the lord of confines and boundaries, tear out his bound-
ary-stone.

88 SU.TI. 89 dXXX. 90 MIR.
91 TUK. 92 DI.KUD. 93 MAH.MES.
94 SA.DU. 95 ZI
20 4Gu-la bél-\text{tu}^{96} rab\text{i}tu si-im-ma la-az-za
   ina zumrî\text{stu}^{97} liškun\text{ma} dâma\text{ma} u šarqa\text{ma} kîma\text{me} li-\text{muk}.
4\text{Iš-tar bél-\text{tu}}^{98} mâtâti ša ru-\text{ub-ša a-bu-bu}
   nam-ra-ša li-kal-lim-šu-ma ai ú-\text{si}
   ina ú-ša-ki.
25 4Nusku\text{tu}^{103} bél ga-aš-rum a-ri-rum ka-ru-bu
   [i\text{lu}] ban-nu-\text{u} a lu rabîsu\text{tu}^{104} limutti\text{tu}^{105} šu šu-ma
   li-ga-am-me šur-ši-šu
   [ša ab\text{nu}^{106}] narâ\text{tu}^{107} an-na-a
   ............SIM.MEŠ ina e-pi-ri
30  
i-tam-me-ru

Col. V

ina išât\text{i}^{108} i-qal-\text{lu}-u šu-na mē\text{tu}^{102} inamdû\text{tu}^{99}(-u)
ina \\text{se}lipit\text{ti}^{110} i-pi-\text{lu}-u sa-ak-la
sa-ak-ka là šemâ\text{nu}^{111} ú-ša-aš-šu-ma
a-šar la a-ma-ri i-ša-ka-nu
5 ilâni rabûti ma-la ina ab\text{nu}^{112}
an-ni-i šûm-šu-nu zakrû\text{tu}^{113} ar-rat limutti\text{tu}^{114}
li-ru-ru-šu išid\text{tu}^{115} su lissu\text{tu}^{116}(-u) u zêri-šu lihâlliqû.\text{tu}^{117}
I-na ka-nak li-\text{lu}^{118} šû-a-tu
md\text{Šamaš-nâ\text{ši}}^{119} kṣaq-šup-par\text{tu}^{120} md\text{Sin-še-me}
10 m\text{Ku-bu-bu amel bâb}^{121} kalkallâ\text{tu}^{122} Bît-md\text{Sin-še-me}
m\text{Šita-li-ba} kṣaq\text{tu}^{123} Bît-md\text{Sin-še-me}
m\text{Ta-qi-šu mûr m}Ki-\text{ni-pi}^{124} d\text{Šamaš}
kṣa-kîn bû-ši Bît-md\text{Sin-še-me}
m\text{A-tu-\text{tû}} mûr m\text{Ki-diš(dâš)} kbarû\text{tu}^{125} Bît-md\text{Sin-še-me}
20 Gula, the great mistress, put lingering sickness
into his body, so that dark and bright red blood he may pour
out as water.
Ishtar, the mistress of lands, whose fury is like a flood,
reveal difficulties to him, so that
he may not escape from misfortune.
25 Nusku, the powerful lord, the mighty scorcher,
[the god], my creator, be his evil demon
and may he burn his root.
Whoever [removes?] this stone
hides it in the dust,

Col. V
bURNS it with fire, throws it into water,
shuts it up in an enclosure, causes a fool,
a deaf man, a witless man to take it,
places it in an invisible place,
5 may the great gods as many as are mentioned
by their names on this stone, curse him
with an evil curse, tear out his foundation and destroy his seed.
At the sealing of this document
Shamash-nâṣir, the shaq-shuppar of Sin-sheme,
10 Kububu, the gatekeeper of the palace of Bit-Sin-sheme,
Shi-tariba, the dignitary of Bit-Sin-sheme,
Taqishu, son of Kīn-pî-Shamash,
the administrator of the property of Bit-Sin-sheme,
Atu'û, son of Kidish, the seer of Bit-Sin-sheme,
15 "Ri-mut-dGu-la bêl pahâti\textsuperscript{126} Bît-mdSin-še-me
mdNabû\textsuperscript{127}-un-na mär mA-hi ḫša-kin
țe-me ūluDûr-Rîm\textsuperscript{128}-dSin Bît-mdSin-še-me
mKaš-šu-u tup-šar nisak\textsuperscript{129} Bît-mdSin-še-me
mdSin-zër-ib-ni ḫa-za-an ūluDûr-Rîm\textsuperscript{128}-dSin

20 Bît-mdSin-še-me mPir\textsuperscript{130}-šâ ḫnâgir\textsuperscript{131} Bît-mdSin-še-me
mAmel-ūluI-ši-in mär mHu-un-na
mKaš-šu-u mär mHu-un-na
mdGu-la-zër-iqlâ\textsuperscript{132}(-şâ) mär mHu-un-na
u mdNabû\textsuperscript{127}-zër-lîšir\textsuperscript{133} mär mArdi-dE-a

25 iz-za-zu.
šattu XVI kan dNabû-kudurri-ušur\textsuperscript{134} šarru.
15 Rimût-Gula, the governor of Bit-Sin-sheme,
   Nabunna, son of Aḫi, the commander
of Dûr-Rim-Sin in Bit-Sin-sheme,
   Kashshû, the scribe, the priest of Bit-Sin-sheme,
   Sin-zêr-ibni, the magistrate of Dûr-Rim-Sin
20 in Bit-Sin-sheme, Pirsha, the prefect of Bit-Sin-sheme,
   Amel-Ishin, son of Ḥunna,
   Kashshû, son of Ḥunna,
   Gula-zêr-iqlîsha, son of Ḥunna,
   Also Nabû-zêr-lîshir, son of Ardi-Ea,
25 were present.
The 16th year of King Nebuchadrezzar.
COMMENTARY.

The heading of the inscription written among the symbols is a nominal sentence, whose predicate, for emphasis sake, has been placed at the head of the sentence. Cf. the other nominal sentences in this inscription, Col. IV, 15-17, 26, and Delitzsch, Gr., § 140. For similar constructions in Hebrew see Gesenius-Kautzsch, Hebr. Gram., 28 p. 446d.

The gods NIN.IB and Nusku are combined in this heading as guardians of the boundary, because they were, alongside of Ellil, the chief gods worshipped at Nippur. The earliest references to both of them are found in the reign of Dungi, the first king of the second dynasty of Ur (cf. Thureau-Dangin, Inscriptions de Sumer et d’Akkad, pp. 278, B; 330, 1). Their worship became prominent at Nippur during the Cassite dynasty. Not only do we find numerous votive objects, dedicated to Nusku (O. B. I., Vol. I., Nos. 51, 54, 58, 59, 64, 71, 75, 138) and NIN.IB (O. B. I., Vol. I., Nos. 31, 32, 61, 62, 76), but they also occur together in the oath formula of contract tablets dated in the Cassite period. For example, Clay (B. E., XIV, 40, 22-24) reads: niš(MU) 4En-lil 4NIN.IB 4Nusku ǜ Ku-ri-gal-zu šarru (LUGAL.E) mūḫâriš (UR.BI) ūtmû (IN.PAD.DE.EŠ), i.e., “by the name of Ellil, NIN.IB, Nusku and King Kurigalzu together they swore” (cf. also B. E., XIV, 1, 18-20; 7, 28-30).

As to the pronunciation of NIN.IB see the Aramaic transliteration nusam (Clay, B. E., X, pp. XVIII, 8), for which Prof. Clay offers the ingenious explanation: ēn-waštu = ēn-maštu = ēn-martu, i.e., “Lord of the West Land” (cf. J. A. O. S., July, 1907).

MU.NE = MU.NI = šûm-šu, see Br. 4,600, 5,330.
The drawing of the field is not a correct geometrical figure, corresponding to the measurements as given in the text, but the stonecutter adapted it to the space at his disposal. The correct drawing would have been as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{IV UŠ} = 240 \text{ GAR} \\
\text{III UŠ} = 60 \text{ GAR} \\
\text{II UŠ} = 120 \text{ GAR} \\
\text{III UŠ} 55 \text{ GAR} = 235 \text{ GAR}
\end{array}
\]

This would give a square area of \(60 \times 120 = 7,200 \text{ GAR}^2 + 235 \times 65 = 15,275 \text{ GAR}^2\), in all \(22,475 \text{ GAR}^2\).

Now assuming the correctness of the usual statements (Reissner, in S. B. B. A., 1896, p. 477f., and Z. A., XI, p. 422; Thureau-Dangin, R. A., IV, pp. 18ff.; IV, p. 80, and Z. A., XI, p. 428; Johns, A. D. D., II, p. 231) that 1 gur = 300 QA, 1 QA = 3 GAR, 1 gur = 900 \text{ GAR}^2, 1 \text{ GAN} = 1,800 \text{ GAR}^2\), we obtain the following result:

\[
\frac{900}{1800} = \frac{22475}{4475} = \frac{GAR^2}{3600} = 24 \text{ GUR}
\]

\[
3 : 875 = 291\frac{3}{3} \text{ QA}
\]

This sum, 24 GUR, 291\frac{3}{3} QA, shows that a mistake has been made, either by the scribe or possibly by the surveyor, in giving the length of one or several of the sides. If it were possible to take
1 GUR at 1,000 GAR² we would come much nearer to the 22 (gur) 168 3/4 (qa) 5 (gin), the result of the measurement of the surveyors (Col. III, 7), for we would obtain on that basis 22 (gur) 158 1/3 (qa), which differs only by 10 1/3 qa, 5 gin from the sum given by the surveyors. For a similar error see the Caillou de Michaux (I R. 70); cf. Johns, A. D. D., Vol. II, p. 232.

From the fact that the ancient formula DIL.GAN.AŠ is used, it may be concluded that the old system of measurement, making 1 gur = 300 QA, is employed. The phrase DIL.GAN.AŠ has caused considerable discussion. Delitzsch (B. A., II, 273) and others read: ina KAR.AŠ I ammatu rabītu, and explain the whole phrase as meaning "according to the square yard." But the investigations of Thureau-Dangin have shown that the first two signs are used in the GAN.SAR scale to denote $\frac{1}{8}$ GAN (according to Oppert, 1 GAN), while AŠ denotes 30 qa of seed, used to seed $\frac{1}{8}$ GAN. Hence Thureau-Dangin explains the whole expression as meaning "$\frac{1}{8}$ GAN is reckoned at 30 qa of seed and equal to one ammatu rabītu." The latter is 32,400 _UC² = 100 GAR (DU)² = $\frac{1}{8}$ GAN (cf. R. A., IV, 19). According to this interpretation two systems of measurements have been combined in this expression—one which determined the size of the field by the amount of seed it took to sow it, the other by the number of yards it contained.

The reading of _UC-GAL(-tum) is now certain from the stone of Agabtaḫa (D. E. P., II, 95, ll. 4, 5), which reads: 10 zērē i-na am-ma-ti ra-bi-i-ti.

The field, presented by Nebuchadrezzar to Nusku-ibni, was not situated in the neighborhood of Nippur, as might be expected, but it lay most likely in Northern Babylonia. This seems to follow from the fact that the field was bounded on its northwestern side (iītānu) by the royal canal and on the southwest (sūtu) by the Tigris. All the references to the "Royal Canal" point to Northern Babylonia. The Semitic name nār šarrī appears first in the
Cassite period. The boundary stone of Nazi-Maruttash informs us that the city of Pilari, in the government of Ḥudādi (Col. II, 2–4), and the city of Kari in the government of Upi (Col. II, 17–19), were located at the royal canal. The latter is the classical Opis at the mouth of the Adhem river (cf. Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.*, II, 509ff., and Hommel, *Geographie und Geschichte*, 346ff.). According to the new boundary stone of Meli-Shipak from Susa (Susa, No. 3) the city Tamakku, belonging to the environs of Akkad in the government of Bit-Pir'−d-Amurru (Col. I, 3–6) and the town Shalḫi, belonging to the land of the goddess Ishtar of Akkad (Col. II, 47–54), bordered on the royal canal. The same inscription records the immunity of the people of Akkad from conscription to repair the sluices of the royal canal (Col. II, 25–29). It also refers to a connecting canal (*mē ša mušēbiri*), which joined the canal Rāṭi-Anzan with the canal of the royal province (*nār piḥāti ša šarri*, Col. III, 1–3). Another inscription of Meli-Shipak (London, 101) locates the town Shaluluni, in the government of Bit-Pir'−d-Amurru, at the royal canal (Col. I, 5, 6). The royal canal is also most likely meant by the *kišād na-ga-ar šarri*, referred to on a fragmentary boundary stone, D. E. P., II, 112, 5. On the charter of Nebuchadrezzar I., granted to the priests Shamûa and Shamai (C. T., IX, pls. 4, 5), the district *Bit-ša-Ma-zi* (or perhaps better *Bit-ša-Ba-zi*), "of the royal canal," is mentioned (pl. IV, 24).

The new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Nippur locates the town of Mār-Aḫ-attūa, in the government of Bit-Sin-sheme, at the royal canal, and places Bit-Ṣir-appili and Bit-Suḫur-Gal-du in its immediate vicinity. It also shows that the land was bordered on its southeastern side (*šātu*) by the Tigris, and on its northwestern side by Bit-Ushbula, which was temple property. The land of Nusku-ibni adjoined this temple land, while, according to the plot of the field, the royal canal passed through its northwestern end. On the boundary stone of Marduk-aḫē-erba (O. B. I., 149,
Col. I, 6, 11) the canal nár (dišu)Ša-šar-riški is mentioned, which Streck (Deutsche Lit. Zeit., 1905, p. 618) includes among the references to the royal canal. But it is safer to take Šašarri as one word which does not refer to the royal canal (cf. p. 196). Under Merodach-baladan II. (668-648 B.C.) we find the field (ugâru) of Dun-ni-edinni and Nurzu (perhaps also a city) situated on the royal canal.

Unfortunately the references to the royal canal in the contract tablets do not help us materially to fix its location. Straussmaier, Nbn., 483, refers to tithe (ešrû), the property of Šamash, of the tenth year of King Nabû-na'id. In the text occurs this passage: a-di dišu Zà-za-an-nu 50 gur ulti muh-hi nár šarri a-di muh-hi nàru Idiqlat (Nbn., 483, 6, 7). This statement, which does not go beyond the new boundary stone from Nippur, except that it seems to locate the town Zazannu in the neighborhood of the royal canal, is the most definite that occurs; all the others are indefinite. Cyrus 26:17, a text dated at Sippar, refers to the nár šarri in a broken passage. Cyrus 181:11, suluppâ GIŠ.BAR ša muh-hi nár šarri. Camb. 44:5 locates a field at royal canal, but the boundaries of the other three sides are unfortunately broken off. Cf. also Darius 198:4 and Dar. 411:7-9. The latter refers to a royal canal in Elam. It reads: a-di-i u-il-tim mahrîtim(-tim) ša 1½ ma-na kaspi ša a-na dul-šu ša nár šarri ša mûtû Elamti nadna(SE-na). Finally one of the Murashû texts refers to the royal canal, but again in such general terms that no definite inference is possible. B.E., IX, 73, 1-3, reads: II gur 24 qa šetušamaššammu ziltt šarri ša ina uz-bâ-ri ša šarri ša ina muh-hi nár šarri ša ina pâni "Rimût-dNIN.IB aplu ša Mu-ra-šû-û. The same is true of a passage in the Harper Letters, No. 275, Rev. 4. For a recent discussion of the “royal canal” see Hommel, Geographie, pp. 284-6.

UŠ.SA.DU. The pronunciation of this word is still unknown. Oppert (Doc. jur., p. 99) proposed emêdu; Belser (B. A., II, p. 135)
tıh. The former, however, is a verb, while UŠ.SA.DU is here used as a preposition. The latter is admittedly only a hypothetical reading. The form UŠ.SA is used in the date list of the first dynasty, published by King (Letters of Hammurabi, Vol. III, pp. 212–253), in the sense of “after” or “next” (King, p. 310), DU = nazāzu (Br. 4,893), hence the ideogram means literally “standing after” or “standing next.” See Daiches, Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden, p. 21, and the discussion of Arno Poebel as to the use of MU.UŠ.SA in the contract tablets of the first dynasty (Z. A., XX, pp. 234–238).

Col. I, 1. The recent investigations of Prof. Clay (“Ellil, the God of Nippur,” in A. J. S. L., XXIII (July, 1907), pp. 269–279) have shown that in the Aramaic endorsements of the Murashû tablets the name, which was formerly read Bēl-nādin-shumu, is transliterated יִרָא שׁ בְּלַ, i.e., Ellil-šum(w)-iddin (cf. B. E., IX, 66a), which proves that the god ʻEn-lil is not to be pronounced Bēl, but Ellil. This is corroborated by the equation, ʻl-il = ʻEn-lil in V R. 37: 21 and the transliteration ʻilīm of Damascius.

Many of the titles applied in this hymn to Ellil are in other hymns transferred to other gods. Etil šamē u iršiti is applied to Shamash by Agu-kakrima, Col. VIII, 7–9.

I, 2. The title bēl gimri is also applied to Ea. Cf. IV R.² 56, II, 9, bān kullati bēl gimri, “creator of everything, lord of all.”


I, 6. appa išabbinā. The same phrase is applied to the Igigi before Nabû, Rm. III, 15 ([ina ilu]-ti-šu ka-bit-ti Igigi ap-pi i-lab-bi-

The verb ú-taq-qu-ú stands here in parallelism with *appa īlabbīnā*, from which it may be argued that it has the same or a similar meaning. This raises at once the question, whether the usual derivation from NEL or NEL (see Delitzsch, H. W., 123a) is correct. In favor of Delitzsch’s rendering it may be urged that the syllabaries connect it with še-mu-ú, “obedient” (in S’ 24 ú-te-kú-ú follows še-mu-ú), and with pu-uq-qu (Pr) and nu-up-pu-qu, “to pay attention, to await” (the ideograms [HAR].DA and [HAR.DA].AG.A are shared in common by them, see K. 4,188, III, 55–59). But the historical inscriptions clearly connect it with “bowing,” e.g., Nebuch. E. H., II, 61, reads: *ilāni šu-ut šamē u šīṣiti pa-ul-ḫi-iš ú-tak-ku-šu ka-am-su iṣ-za-zu maḫ-ru-uš-šu*. Here it stands in parallelism to the phrase, “bowed they stood before him.” To do justice to all the passages I propose to connect utaqqu with a verb *taqū*, which corresponds to the Arabic ُتَفْتَيْكَ, “to fear god,” which in turn is the eighth form of ُتَفْتِيَكَ, “to fear or reverence God.” Accordingly utaqqu is the Piel (II, 1) of NEL, and means “to show reverence or obedience.” If this explanation is correct, the phrase utaqqu palḫiš is not absolutely synonymous with *appa īlabbīnā*, but rather gives the reason for the prostration; it was to show their reverence.

I, 7. The form *A-nun-na-ku* is exceptional. It is not singular but plural, hence Amunnakû (cf. IV R. 45, 30f., *ilāni rabūti ilāni ī-gi-gu ša ša-me-e ilāni A-nun-na-ku ša šīṣiti*). The meaning of the Sumerian *A.NUN.NA* is given (K. 4,829, Rev. 5f. = Hrozný, *Mythen*, pp. 18, 19) as *riḥūt rubē*, i.e., “offspring of the great,” namely “abyss.” Compare with this *DAM.GAL.NUN.NA*, “the

I, 8. šuharrūrû and nazuzzû are both permansives, 3d pl., nazuzzû = nazuzû = nazzuzû = nanzuzû, IV, 1 of 𒈗. The metrical accent has caused the form nazzuzzû instead of nanzuzû. The parallelism and metrical form of ll. 6 and 8 are evident. They are as follows:

áppa ilábbinû, utáqqû pálhiš
ašriš šuharrurû, nazuzzû šâlhiš.

I, 9. be-el bēlu(m), the singular bēlu(m) agreeing with the plural bēlu(m) in form, is used as a substitute for it. The same expression is applied to Marduk, IV R. 20, No. 1, 25, be-el be-lum (cf. Hehn, Hymnen, B. A., V, 340, 25). This title is also applied to Aššur, see Craig, Religious Texts, pl. 34, 15.

As to the meaning of ušamsaku, I would like to propose starting with the meaning of the corresponding Arabic word ُلُمسا “to lay hands on,” “to seize.” From this can easily be derived the meanings to remove, to set aside and to keep back.

These meanings suit all the known instances of its occurrence. It is applied: (1) To the removal of the statues and memorial tablets. Cf. Adad-nirari, I, Rev. 16, 17, lu na-ri-ia u-šam-sa-ku a-na ša-aḫ-lu-úq-ti i-ma-nu-û, i.e., “who will remove my inscribed stone and give it over to destruction.” Cf. also Aššur-našir-apal, Monolith, Col. V, 57, 58; Sargon, Cylinder, 76, and Sargon, Bull Inscription, 104. (2) It is applied to the removal of sin, šu-ṣi-i mur-ṣi šum-si-ki ṣi-te-ti, Br. M., 81, 2–4, 188, Rev. 21 (Z. A., V, 68), i.e., “let my sickness come forth, remove my sin.” (3) It is applied to shouting, Br. M., 81, 2–4, 188, Rev. 11, riq-ma šum-sa-ku si-mat u ḫa-da-a ša balati zu-um-ma-ku, “I am removed (i.e., kept) from
shouting, from the beauties and pleasures of life I am debarred.”
(4) It is applied to the contents of the inscriptions. K. 2,727,
Rev. 35 (B. A., II, 366f.), rubû arku(-ù) ša pi-i dan-ni-te šu-a-tu la
ù-šam-sak, “a later prince who will not remove (i.e., set aside) the
contents of this document.” Cf. K. 382, 13, 14 (Str., A. V., 5,065).
(5) It is applied to the commands of the gods, Neb. Nippur, I, 9f.,
i-pis pi-šu la ú-šam-sa-ku ilu aiummna, “his command no god can
set aside.” V R. 66b, 11, ina qibiti-ka kit-ti ša la uš-tam-sa-ku,
“by thy righteous command, which cannot be set aside.” Cf. also
K. 2,852 + 9,662, Col. I, 25, la uš-tam-sa-ku a-mat ru-bu-ti-ša. A
substitute for this phrase is ši-it pi-i-šu la uš-te-pi-il ilu ai-um-ma,
Creation Epos, VII, 132, and Susa, 3, VI, 29-32, ša ši-it pi-šu ilu
ma-am-ma la uš-pi-el-lum, “what issues from his mouth (i.e., his
command) no god can annul.”
(6) It is applied to the removal, i.e., the keeping back of tribute, Tigl. II, 92, Šu-ba-ri-i šap-su-te . . .
ša bilat-su-nu ù ma-da-at-ta-šu-nu u-šam-si-ku-ni, “the powerful
Shubarites, who had kept back their taxes and their tribute.”
(7) It is applied to the thoughts in one’s heart, IV R.², 60, III, Obv. 15,
ša ina lib-bi-šu mu-us-su-kat, “what is kept back in one’s heart.”

I, 11. rašubbi ṣAnunnakû, literally “one who fills the Anunnakû
with terror,” from which develops the more general meaning, the
powerful one, the potentate. In this line beings, including gods
and men, in the next line lands and kingdoms indicate the extent
of the god’s rule. ka-bit is the construct of kaktu, “powerful,” not
yet registered in the dictionaries.

I, 13. The value of the sign Ṣ is unknown. It is the
simple form of which Br. 2,706 is the double. As the noun
mešammû is frequently joined with the verb saḥâpu, e.g., a-na ša-a-ri
ir-bit-ti mešam-me saḥ-pu, “to all four directions they spread
terror” (for other passages see Muss-Arnolt, Dict., p. 550), it is
probable that the verb used here was saḥâpu, or at least a synonym.
I, 14. *ka-la si-ḫi-ip ša-ma-me.* The rendering of the word *si-ḫi-ip* has caused translators considerable difficulty. It occurs: Aššurb. (Smith) 285, 7; 274, 28, *si-ḫi-ip māti ka-la-mu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šu um-da-al-lu ana pāt gim-ri-ša.* To this passage corresponds V R. 9, 44, 45, *nap-ḫar māti-ia um-dal-lu-ū ana pāt gim-ri-ša.* In the first passage Delitzsch (H. W., p. 494a) is inclined to see in *si-ḫi-ip* a scribal error of George Smith. But the word occurs again in a Shamash hymn (A. J. S. L., XVII, 134), Col. I, 20, *nam-ri-ru-ka im-lu-ū si-ḫi-ip māṭāti,* and again Col. III, 41, *kal si-ḫi-ip da-ad-me.* The former passage is translated by Gray: “Thy brilliancy fills and overwhelms countries,” taking *si-ḫi-ip* evidently as equivalent to *sāhip* (cf. I, 40). But there can be little question that *siḫip* in these passages is the construct of *siḫpu* and means “extent.” The fundamental meaning of *saḫāpu* would, therefore, be to stretch out; applied to an area it is that which is stretched out, the extent; in a hostile sense it becomes “to overthrow.” This is corroborated by our passage, where *kala sḫip šamâme* is in parallelism to *napḫar qinnē u kal dadmē.* The phrase must therefore be translated literally: “the totality of the extent of heaven.” In agreement with this we find the expressions *kiššat da-ad-me* (K. 8,235 + 8,234, Col. I, 6; cf. Z. A., IV, 22, 8) and *gi-mir da-ad-me* (K. 8,717 + D. T. 363, Col. I, 8; cf. Z. A., IV, 230) substituted in similar passages. The accuracy of G. Smith is once more vindicated, and his passage becomes particularly valuable because it shows that *siḫip* actually exchanges with *napḥar.*

*Namrirri šaʾnu* is the governing sentence, whose thought is further elaborated by the two lines that follow (cf. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, pp. 14, 16).

I, 15. *qinnē* is here used with reference to human habitations, a usage which is also found in the O. T. (cf. Jer. 46:16; Hab. 2:9; Ob. 4; Job 29:18).

The etymology of *dadmē* is not given by lexicographers, as far as
I know. I would suggest that it belongs to the same root as *admānu*, dwelling (cf. Tigl., VII, 74, 90; VIII, 17, etc.), namely *adāmu*, to build. It is, therefore, a *t* formation, whose *t* under the influence of the following *d* has been softened to *d*. The same formation is probably to be found in *da(d)aru*, "the stench," whose root, according to Jaeger (B. A., II, 299), is *adāru*.

Parallel passages, comparing the glory of a god to a garment, are [ša *puluht-*tu liš-bu-šu ma-lu-ū ḫar-ba-šu, King, Magic, No. III, 11; cf. II, 13, and ḫa-*lip* ša-*qum*-ma-*ti* ša liš-bu-šu nam-ri-ri, King, Magic, No. 46 : 15, pl. 61. There are also Hebrew parallels to this thought, compare especially Hab. 3 : 3, 3 : 5 : 3, also Ps. 104 : 1–2, "With honor and glory thou art clothed, using light as a garment," and Ps. 93 : 1; 148 : 13.

I, 16. As Prof. Hilprecht was the first to recognize (Assyriaca, p. 57), the word *šalummatu* does not exist in Assyrian. The reasons for this are as follows: (1) If we read *šalummatu* it is impossible to connect the word with the verb *šalāmu*, "to be whole." Nor can any other satisfactory etymology be suggested. (2) We never find the word written *ša-šu-um-ma-tu*, but there are frequent cases in which we find the writing *ša-šu-um-ma-tu*. (3) The sign *lum* has also the value *gum*, *gum*, cf. Strassm., Neb., 135 : 24, a-pi-il *ru*-gum-*ma-a*, and Oppert, Z. K., I, 61; Tallquist, Contracte Nabū-na'idis, p. 127, sub rugummû; Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 57, note.²

(4) The meaning of *šaqummatu* appears from the explanation of its ideogram *SU.ZI* as *puluhtu*, "terror." From this develops the secondary meaning, "that which inspires terror," hence "majesty, glory." We must, therefore, translate the passage of Aššur-bān-apal (V R. III, 3) *ša-šu-um-ma-tu at-bu-uk*, "terror I poured out."

¹ This was written before the appearance of Prof. Hilprecht's latest book, which offers the same etymology, cf. B. E., Vol. XX, Pt. 1, p. 44, note 1.
For the discussion of Jensen, who makes the original meaning of יִשְׁלֹם, “to be quiet,” see K. B., VI, 1, 354f. Compare also Macmillan, B. A., V, 564, who arrives at the meaning, “to be in distress.”


\textit{um-daš-ša-lu}, II, 2 pres. of \textit{mašālu}. For other examples of this form see King, \textit{Seven Tablets of Creation}, III, 86; II, 24, and Muss-Arnolt, \textit{Dict.}, 605a. This same idea is also found in the O. T., \textit{e.g.}, Ex. 15:11, “Who is like thee of Yahweh among the gods?” Cf. further Ps. 71:19; 89:6; 113:5; II Chron. 6:14. \textit{ilu-su = ilu-us-su = iltītī-su}, cf. Delitzsch, Gr., § 51.

I, 18. \textit{me-su-šu}. There are three possibilities as to the reading of this word. (1) The signs may be read syllabically \textit{me-su-šu} or \textit{šip-su-šu}, for which, however, no satisfactory explanation can be offered. (2) \textit{ME.SU} may be an ideogram. \textit{ME} is \textit{parsu} (Br. 10,374) and \textit{ME.ZU} is \textit{mūdē tērtī} (Br. 10,385), “expert in omirā,” a title applied to the bārū. In the same way \textit{ME.SU} might be an ideogram for \textit{parsu} or one of its synonyms, possibly \textit{purussū}. If the latter word was intended sum might also be regarded as a phonetical complement (cf. \textit{KUD-su = ipparasu(-su)}). (3) The text contains a scribal error, \textit{me-su-šu} for \textit{par-su-šu}. The word \textit{par-si-e} occurs on the boundary stone of Ellil-nādin-aplu, II, 9 (\textit{Assyriaca}, p. 5). In that case the ideogram \textit{ME} for \textit{parsu} probably contributed to the confusion, as well as the similar form of the signs \( \overline{\text{	extbf{F}}} \) and \( \overline{\text{	extbf{F}}} \). The last alternative seems to me to be the most probable, especially as the most common word for law \textit{parsu} (of which \textit{parsu} is a synonym) would otherwise be wanting. Moreover, the inscription contains other inaccuracies (cf. Col. II, 3, 11; V, 10).

\textit{šit-ru-šu}. For other passages in which this word occurs see Zimmern, G. G. A., 1898, 826; B. A., V, 311, l. 20; Muss-Arnolt \textit{Dict.}, p. 1137a.
billudâšu (GARZA.MEŠ). The plural sign is only attached to the singular in this case because plural happens to agree in form with the singular. For this playful use of the plural sign see Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 55.

I, 19. For similar glorifications of the “word” of the gods see a hymn to Sin, IV R. 9, Col. I, 48–62; a hymn to Nergal, K. 69 (cf. Böllenhüther, Gebete und Hymnen, pp. 30–42), and the “word” of Ellil and Marduk in the Reissner collection, see Macmillan, B. A., V, 539f. A similar description of the law of Yahweh is found Ps. 19:7–9.

naklā is perm., 3. pl. fem., agreeing with alkakātu.


mukīl matāti. The verb kālu is here used in the sense of uphold, sustain, as, e.g., in IV R. 5, 37–39c, na-piš-ti māti ū-kal-lu, “he (Sin) sustains the life of the land.” Of Ishtar it is said: mukillat napišti, K. 3,477, Obv. 19, cf. B. A., V, 592; cf. also the statement of Hammurabi, Code XL, 49, 50, ina uštia niše mātuš Sumārim u Ākkadīm uktī. The various meanings of לֹ ה are discussed by Meissner, A. P., p. 138.

I, 23. With ana šaltī the various appositions to Ellil, extending I, 1–23, come to an end. With the next words the apodasis begins, whose first predicate is ippalismo.

ina BIR.ŠI.MEŠ. In view of the parallelism which characterizes this hymn, we should expect, corresponding to bûnisu namrūti, a noun followed by an adjective, so that BIR.ŠI would be the ideogram of a word synonymous with bûnu. This synonym might be zimu, for it occurs in parallelism with bûnu in V R. 61, Col. IV, 43–46, ina bu-ni-šu nam-ru-ti zi-me-šu ru-uš-su-ti damqāti inâ(ŠI + II)-šu ba-diš ip-pa-lis-su-ma. In accordance with the analogy of this sentence we should read: ina zimēšu damqāti ina bûnīšu namrūti. Over against these considerations we have the
expression in the O. T., Prov. 16:15, נורו; cf. also Ps. 4:7; 44:4; 89:15; 90:8. Now BIR (as LAH) is an ideogram of nūru, "the light." Hence it is equally possible to read: ʾIna nūr panāṣû damqūtī. This reading I regard as preferable in view of the Hebrew expression quoted above, and the absence of any evidence that BIR.ŠI is an ideogram for žimu.

II, 2. eš-rēt is pl. estr. = ešrēt. The phrase ʾana udduš ešrēti is common in the inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II. (cf. p. 124).


II, 5. qātuššu itmuḫ = ʾina qāti-šu itmuḫ, cf. Delitzsch, Gr., § 80e.

II, 7. ū-ša-tir šum-šu. This phrase ends the first long sentence, containing the hymn to Ellil and the appointment of Nebuchadrezzar as king.

II, 9. ʾina igisē, the singular, is here again used as a substitute for the plural, cf. I, 9.

The adjective ḫabšūṭi is in parallelism with šum-du-li. The exact meaning of ḫabāšu has been in dispute. Jensen (K. B., VI, 1, 20, 323) translates "to swell," Zimmern "to strengthen," Delitzsch "to fill, burst." Nebuchadrezzar II. connects igisē with the adjective rabūṭi (Délégation en Perse, II, 123), ba-bi-il i-gi-si-e ra-be-ʿu-tim, Col. I, 10, or with summuḫu, cf. E. H., II, 37, i-gi-sa-a šu-um-mu-ḫu, while in this inscription ḫabāšu stands in parallelism with nahāšu, "to be abundant." This establishes also for ḫabāšu
the meaning "to fill to overflowing," a meaning which fits very well the context of the Creation Epos, III, 136, ši-ik-ru ina ša-te-e ha-ba-su šu-um-[ru].

The word na-kin-ti appears now in four different forms: bīl na- 
kam-te (Layard, 34, 21), na-kan-ti (Aššurb., Sm., 132, 22), kīma na- 
kim-tum (V R. 47, 21b), and na-kin-ti in our passage. 

II, 10. The inf. libēnu instead of labānu occurs also in the new Ishtar hymn, Rev. 91, mug-ri li-bi-en ap-pi-ia, i.e., "received favorably my prostration," cf. King, Seven Tablets of Creation, I, 234.

The expression bēl u mār bēlī is also applied to Marduk and Nebo in an inscription of Sargon, a-na īšu Bēl īšu-māri (it ought to be māri īšu) Bēl u-ki-in (cf. Winckler, Inschriften Sargons, pl. X, No. 20, l. 7).

II, 12. The verb zarābu means to be pressed or oppressed, hence it shares with šaḥarratu, "anguish," the same ideogram (SIG), while zurub ša libbi has the same ideogram as marāru, "to be sad." In the stem II, 1, it means "to press out," so in Sennach. VI, 20, not "to keep back," or it may be applied to the expression of sounds. Regarding zurub as the cstr. of zurbu, "anguish," we should translate: "In the anguish of fervent prayer." But it is perhaps better to explain it as the inf. cstr. II, 1 = zur(r)ub, and translate "in the utterance of prayer." For the omission of the doubling see li-gi-sa-šu, IV, 8.

For ZI.ŠAG.GAL-li compare O. B. I., 83, I, 17, and Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 13+. This Sumerian word (also written ZI.ŠAG.GAL.- 
LA, cf. Gudea, B, III, 1) is no doubt correctly explained by Jensen (K. B., III, 1, 29††, 208) as ZI = napištatu, ŠAG = libbu, GAL = bašû, hence "breath being in the heart." It is a synonym of ikribu, see Jensen, Z. A., VIII, 221, and also Leander, Sumerische Lehnwörter, p. 18, No. 135.

II, 14. UH.ME.ZU.AB is rendered by Jensen as pašš apēt, Weltmeer-Gesalbter, while Meissner (A. P., 154) and Haupt (in
Cheyne, Isaiah, S. B. O. T., p. 82) transcribe pāšišu, “the anointer.” But in view of K. 4,328 (= C. T., XIX, 41) and K. 10,194 (= C. T., XVIII, 47), happily joined by Meissner (M. V. A. G., Vol. X (1905), p. 254), it is perhaps better to regard UH.ME.ZU.AB as the pronunciation which was actually used in Assyrian, for the word which is in the left-hand column is there accompanied (I. 6) in the right-hand (or Semitic) column by the remark šū-u, i.e., “the same.” For this use of šū see, e.g., Hommel, Geographie, p. 281. Or we should at least expect, following the analogy of UH.ME.ŠIK.BAR.RA = šū-‘ū-ru and UH.ME.-TUR.RA = lu-ma-ak-ku (l.c., ll. 7, 8), that there is one Semitic word to correspond to the Sumerian UH.ME.ZU.AB; but as none has as yet appeared the first alternative seems to me preferable, hence I retain UH.ME.ZU.AB. For a recent discussion of the meaning of this title as “one who anoints himself with the water of the apsū, perhaps a large basin standing in the temple,” see Morgenstern, M. V. A. G., Vol. X (1905), p. 117.


II, 14. DUR.AN.KI, “the link of heaven and earth,” was one

1 This “ditto” note can hardly refer to the preceding word in the Semitic column, for that is zer-ma-ši-tum = NU.BAR, which in turn is preceded by NU.GIG = qa-diš-tum.
of the names of the stage tower of the temple E.KUR at Nippur. See Hilprecht, *Explorations in Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 462. The same name also occurs in K. 3,454, Col. II, 8, 10, 50, 73; III, 73 (cf. B. A., II, 409); Br. M. 80, 7–19, 126, ll. 11, 12 (cf. B. A. V., 586); IV R. 24, No. 1, 50, 51; King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No 6, 18; Craig, *Religious Texts*, I, pl. 19, 9, ES.ES.LILki DUR.AN.KI; *Laws of Hammurabi*, I, 59, where we should not translate “Dûrīlu,” as Nippur precedes immediately. For other passages see Hommel, *Geographie*, 3512.

II, 15. To ana, šarri rē’i kīni the verb ippalissuma belongs. The whole section wants to say that, because the king was so pious (as shown by his restoration of all the gifts and tithes to the temple), Nusku-ibni, the high priest of Ellil, gathered courage and addressed his petition to the king through the governor, Bau-shuimiddina.

II, 16. ut-ni-ni-šu is inf. II, 2 of * Karno*; it ought to be written utinnu, cf. Delitzsch, H. W., 101b.

II, 17. Bau-šum-iddina, son of Ḫunna, the governor (šaknu) of Bû-Sin-šeme, was no doubt identical with Bau-šum-iddina, son of Ḫunna, the governor (šaknu) of Babylon, mentioned on the first boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar, V R. 56, 18.

II, 18. In na-an-za-az we have an assimilation of m to n.1 The same forms occur R. M. III, 105, na-an-za-az maḫ-ri-šu; see Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 256, 11; also Nabû-shum-ishkun, Edge 7, ilâni mala ina eli narî annî šurûdû na-an-za-zu, i.e., “the gods as many as on this stone have been caused to take a place.” The usual form of this title occurs on a boundary stone of Rammán-shum-uṣur, lu man-za-az pân šarri, D. E. P., II, 97, 13. maḫ-ḥar is an unusual writing for maḫ-ḥar, perhaps due to the accent.

1 Prof. Hilprecht, however, informs me that he prefers to explain nanzaz as a fa’al form nazzaz, dissolved into nanzaz, i.e., “a man whose business it is to stand before one.”


*šakkanakku*, literally *ša kanakku*, "the man of the door," like *šangū = šá naqū*, "the man of sacrifice," and *šabrū = ša barū*, "the man of sight," so Jensen, Z. A., VII, 174⁵. In V R. 55, 3, this title is placed alongside of *iššakku* (P.A.T.E.SI) qardu, while in our inscription the king is distinctly called *nīsakku* (II, 12), which is the same title as that of the priest Nusku-ibni (II, 13). With this compare the priestly titles of the Assyrian kings, see M. D. O. G., No. 22, p. 74.


II, 25. With *qirubū* compare the Aramaic נזרע, "an area that can be plowed in a day," from נזר, "to plow." In view of *qir-bi-tum*, pl. *qir-ba-a-ti* and *ga-ar-ba-a-tim*, the root must be נזר in Assyrian.¹ For a discussion of the word see Streck, Z. A., XVIII, 174⁶.

II, 26. With *bu-tuq-ti* compare Talmudical ברך, "flooding."

II, 27. *Ugār āli* means here as in Old Babylonian law (Meissner, A. P., 123) "the land belonging to a city." It is therefore usually followed by the name of the city, I R. 70, I, 2; III R. 43, I, 2; Susa 2, I, 23, 30, 33; II, 2, 7, 12, etc.

II, 29. *iku* and *palgu* are the little ditches of irrigation drawn through a field, so in Shurpu, V/VI, 63, which treats of an onion, "around which a furrow and ditch is not drawn" (ina iki u palgi

¹ Compare also the Arabic جرب and كَرَيب.
lā innimmedu). For the earliest occurrence of šapāku compare the stele of Narām-Sin from Diarbekr, O. B. I., 120, III, 3–4, K.I.GAL iš-pu-uk.

II, 30. mērištu from erēšu, “to plant,” cf. Arabic غرس, “to plant.” The fundamental meaning of this verb, as proposed by Jensen (Theol. Lit. Zeitung, 1895, Sp. 250), is “to irrigate,” but this is not accepted by Zimmern (Beiträge, p. 58). The Arabic does not support the meaning “to irrigate,” nor the Assyrian lexicographical lists, which give na-du-ū as a synonym of e-re-šu (cf. V R. 24, 12, c, d). Its connection with a-ga-di-īb-bi (Haupt, A. S. K. T., p. 73: 8, 9), whose exact meaning is still uncertain, can hardly be used to reach a definite conclusion.


III, 3. The last part of the name Su-ḥur-Gal-du is most probably a Cassite god. The same name occurs in the Cassite tablets from Nippur, e.g., ḫa-aš-mar-Gal-du (Clay, B. E., XV, 154 : 30); cf. also Clay, B. E., XIV, Introduction, p. 48.

III, 5. bēl mātāti, i.e., Ellil of Nippur, to whose temple the land in question belonged; see also plan of field, l. 7. Even this peculiar title of Ellil was transferred to Marduk by the priests at Babylon (K. 3,505, 8, see B. A., V, 325; K. 2,962, 14, see B. A., V, 334; IV R. 57, 1, see B. A., V, 349, etc.).

III, 12. A ḫazannu was originally the chief of a village or township, cf. Winckler, Forschungen, I, 246.

III, 14. A comparison of this line with III R. 41, I, 14–15; shows that ŠA.BAL.BAL has here the force of “grandson,” for in III R. 41, we find Shāpiku, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, son (māru) of Ardi-Ea, Shāpiku and the Nabû-zēr-lishir of our stone were no doubt brothers. This places III R. 41 either in the reign
of Nebuchadrezzar I. or of his immediate successor. Other names point to the same conclusion, see p. 133.

A discussion of the different meanings of ŠA.BAL.BAL is given by Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, p. 3; cf. also Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 518; II, 20. The Semitic pronunciation is perhaps liplipu, which like ŠA.BAL.BAL may be used of grandson (Aqum-kakrime, I, 14), great-grandson (Adad-nirari, Obv. 27), or descendant in general; so hesitatingly Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, 27, No. 224, and Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 20, 23.

III, 15. ḫṣa-kin te-me. The name of this official is not ḫā ṭe-me, so Belser (B. A., II, 118, Col. II, 3; p. 120, Col. III, 11), and still retained by Scheil (D. E. P., II, 108, Susa 3, VI, 9), but as O. B. I., 149, I, 18; II, 3, and Susa 16, III, 30, has shown, it is ḫŠA-in = šakin(-in) ṭe-me. Inasmuch as šakânu ṭēmu means always "to have, to hold a command" (Delitzsch, H. W., 297b), I prefer to translate ḫšakin ṭême "commander" instead of "councillor."

III, 17. Most of the boundary stones begin the section of the curses with mātima. In two cases (III R. 43, III, 1; I R. 70, II, 1) im-ma-ti-ma is used. Two other stones introduce this section with man-nu ar-ku-u, V. A. 2663, V, 18; also the stone of Nabû-shum-ishkun, II, 16; IV, 3. One has ma-na-ma arku(-u), C. T., X, pl. VII, 32. A stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (IV R.², 38) leaves out the line with mātima altogether and starts at once with the enumeration of the officials (lu aklu lu laputtu, etc., IV R.², 38, III, 1). Finally the smaller charter of Nebuchadrezzar (C. T., IX, pl. 5, 31) opens this section with ḫā.

The phrase anā ūmē is most frequently used, but ina ar-kašt ūmē occurs six times (D. E. P., II, 112, 10; I R. 70, Col. II, 1; London, 102, I, 29; V. A. 202, I, 31). On III R. 43, III¹, we find ina ar-ka-ti ūmī(-mī) and on V. A. 208, Rev. 43, ina (ar)-ka-š ūmâ(-ma).

III, 18. To anā aḥrat nišī apāti corresponds a-na ni-ši aḥ-ra-a-tī on London 101, II, 13. Nišē apāti is peculiar to the new boundary
stone from Nippur, but the same phrase is found, in a different connection, in the new hymn to Ishtar (King, Seven Tablets of Creation, Vol. I, 226, Obv. 27), where Ishtar is called ri-e-a-at nišē a-pa-a-ti. An etymology for apāti is offered by Zimmern, Z. A., VIII, 84, from the root שד, “to unite,” to which also šutapù, “the companion,” belongs.

III, 19. It is to be noted that rē’ā occurs here for the first time among the officials enumerated in the passage introduced by lu (cf. pp. 42, 43). Its absence on other boundary stones was commented on by Prof. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 19. A similar phrase occurs in the new stone of Meli-Shipak (Susa 3), Col. III, 59f., ša ʾilāni rabūṭi inambūšuma ana rēʾat māti inaššētu, “whom the great gods will call and to the rule (shepherding) of the land will raise.”

lu aklu lu šāpiru lu rīdū. The same succession of officers is found on K. 7599, Obv. 3 (cf. Winckler, Forschungen, I, 530). With aklu we can compare the Arabic ʿ-Agent, Verwalter” (Wahrmund, H. W., 1217b); for šāpiru (= Hebrew שדר), see Johns, Deeds and Documents, II, 160f.; with rīdū, cf. the Hebr. דָּרָה, I K. 5:30; 9:23, literally “one who drives the people, the levymaster,” see Hastings, Bible Dict., Vol. V, 590b; B. A., IV, 85, and Daiches, in Z. A., XVIII, pp. 202-222.

III, 20. ša-ar-qi eqlu ši-a-tu i-nam-du-ma. As there is a noun šurqu, “the gift,” used in the phrase šarāqu šurqu (Shurpu, II, 86), so this passage establishes the word šarqu, “the gift, grant.”

The context demands for inamdūma the meaning “to overthrow, to set aside”; cf. the use of inamdū in the curses, p. 48.

a-na i-ki-li riʾ-ti. Thus I would read the somewhat broken signs of this line. The ki might possibly be di and the ’i perhaps hi or ih, but after studying the signs carefully I have come to the conclusion that the proposed reading is the most probable. I regard ikīlu (ekīlu) as equivalent to akālu, as libēnu (II, 10) = labānu, hi-ri-e (III, 25) = harā, “to dig,” and limēnu (from which
the noun ni-el-me-na, IV, 7) = lamânu; ā and ā become ě and ě when standing in proximity of l, (m), n and r, cf. ramênu, nadênu, nasebaru, etc. (Prof. Hilprecht’s lectures). akâlu is used in the Code of Hammurabi (XIII, 1; XV, 57; cf. also XV, 48, 59) and in contract tablets of the first dynasty in the sense of “Nutzniessung nehmen,” “to obtain the usufruct of something.” Cf. C. T., VIII, 6b, iš-ri-ku-ma i-ku-lu, l. 6; C. T., VIII, 49b, a-di ba-al-ţi-at i-ka-al, l. 14; cf. Meissner, Assyriologische Studien, in M. V. A. G., Vol. X (1905), pp. 260, 291.

III, 24. After the word limutti(-ti) appears the trace of a little wedge, but it is not doubt an erasure, due to a small hole which the scribe wished to avoid.


As to the liabilities incumbent upon land in Babylonia see Chapter I, pp. 27-31, and Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents, II, 174-178.

III, 26. The verb baqânu occurs also on Susa 3, III, 13, 14, šammē eqlišu la ba-ga-ni. It is a variant of baqānu, a synonym of qasāsu, “to cut off”; cf. Delitzsch, H. W., 181b. The imper. occurs B. A., II, 393-4, Obv. 28, bu-qu-un-šu-ma. The change of m to n is caused by the following š, see Delitzsch, Gr. § 49, p. 114.

expression is followed by officials: kal-li nāri kal-li ta-ba-li ḫa-nu-ū ḫšanū(?), ḫšu-hi-li, while V R. 55, 51, 52, shows plainly that kullû is also an official, kal-li-e šarrī u ša-ki-n ma-tu Na-ma-r ḫnâgiru. The juxtaposition of šakin ma-tu Namar with kullê šarrı leaves no doubt that both are officials. On the new stone from Nippur "the seizing of a canal digger" goes evidently with the canal officers (kullê nāri); hence the cutting of plants must refer to the other group of officials. This leads to the natural conclusion that the noun tabâlu means land, and is in that case related to the Hebrew הָבָר, "the world." In this sense tabâlu is evidently a synonym of nabâlu, "the dry land."

III, 27. The verb following uš-aš-šu-ū and introducing ik-ki-mu of the next line is probably ū-šad-ba-bu, for (1) this verb occurs usually on the boundary stones in this connection (Susa 2, III, 13; London 103, V, 36; London 101, II, 17; IV R.² 38, III, 5; III R. 43, III, 6; O. B. I., 149, II, 7; V. A. 209, II, 1). (2) It would be natural to have the taking away (ekêmu) preceded by a legal action.


III, 32. As Bau-shum-iddina is the subject of the dependent clause, and is followed by a-na m[Nusku-ibni már Upâhhr-NSkus] it is necessary that the predicate be active, and as the main act of Bau-shum-iddina (Col. III, 13) is not mentioned in the other lines, it is probable that it stood here, hence we read: [ul i-ri-im-šu i-qabbu-û]. For the repetition of iqabbû see III R. 43, III, 6, 7, and V. A. 208, 45, 47.

IV, 2. ma-ḫi-ir-mi. The enclitic ma has here become mi under the influence of the preceding syllable. For other examples of

this change see O. B. I., 149, II, 7, šarri-mi; London, 103, V, 38, na-din-mi, and London, 101, III, 1. We ought to read i-qab-bu-ú not i-qab-bu-ú, and i-qal-lu-ú (V, 1) not i-qal-lu-ú, because the q is not softened to g in this inscription, see na-as-qu-ma, II, 19; qa-tu-uš-šu, II, 5; qa-bi-e, II, 22; ba qa-an, III, 26; li-qa-am-ma, IV, 27.

IV, 3. li-tal-lik-šu-ma, II, 2, pret. of alâku. The sign tal is Br. 7. For its syllabic use (dal) tal see Jensen, Kosmologie, 468. The meaning of the verb cannot be “to go,” for the following reasons: (1) The context demands a stronger verb than alâku, “to go.” (2) alâku, “to go,” is intransitive, hence always constructed with the preposition ana, but not with the direct accusative, such as we find here. (3) There is another verb alâku, whose meaning appears from V R. 24, 11-13, c-d: a-la-ku = e-re-šu; e-re-šu = na-du-ú; na-du-ú = ma-qa-tu(m). This passage shows that this verb alâku has the meaning “to throw down.” The prt. I, 1, of this verb seems to occur in a text published by Craig, Religious Texts, I, 23, 31, šamnu ṭâbu i-za-ar-ri-qu immerî niqê ṣip-pu-šu rikkê il-lu-ku, i.e., “good oil they shall sprinkle, sheep as sacrifices they shall offer, herbs they shall lay down.” Martin compares the vulgar Arabic ʿale, “to throw into the fire” (cf. Martin, Textes religieux Assyroens et Babyloniens, p. 97).

Like this curse was perhaps London, 101, III, 9, “A-nu-um a-bî ilâni [ag-gįš li-tal(?)]-lik-šu or [li-ḥal]-lik-šu.

Against the suspicion that the text contains an error, li-ḥal-lik-šu-ma instead of li-tal-lik-šu-ma (the tal sign is quite plain), it may be urged that if li-ḥal-lik-šu-ma were intended there would be a tautology, for it is followed by nap-ṣa-tuš li-bal-li.

The phrase nap-ṣa-tuš li-bal-li occurs also in the Creation Epos, IV, 103: nap-ṣa-taš (var. tuš) ū-bal-li.

IV, 5. The title mušim štmāti is also applied to other gods, e.g., to Anu, Monolith of Aššur-nāšir-apal, I, 2; to Aššur, Craig,
Religious Texts, I, 32, 2; to Marduk, D. T., 109, 5 (cf. B. A., V, 375); to NIN.IB, Hrozný, Mythen, p. 28, Obv. 4.

IV, 7. ni-el-me-na, an m formation from the root מָלַל. The m has become n under the influence of the labial (Barth’s law, see Delitzsch, Gr. 174).

Both lubnā and nelmenā are fem. pl.

IV, 8. li-gi-sa-šu, prt. I, 1, third pl. fem. of nagāšu, “to throw down.” The pret. of this verb is ig(g)iš, like ik(k)iš of nakāšu. The s before š is due to dissimulation. For other examples see Nabopol. (Hilprecht), Col. III, 32, ri-e-si-šu; cf. I, 36, ri-e-si-ša; ūša-ar-sa-an-ni, II, 19. The meaning of nagāšu in this passage is, like the Hebrew יִלַּכָּ, “to oppress,” so in Isa. 14 : 2; I Sam. 13 : 6. With this curse compare Susa 3, VII, 44-51; London, 101, Col. III, 10.

IV, 10. nu-gu is inf. II, 1, of מָלַל. It is treated as a noun, cf. Delitzsch, Gr., p. 339. To avoid the coming together of two ‘k’ sounds (nuq kabitti) we have here nuqu kabitti. Nahāša habāša are also two inf., which, like mahāru, govern a double accusative, cf. Delitzsch, Gr., p. 347f. The parallelism with nahāša establishes for habāša the meaning “to fill to overflowing,” see Commentary on II, 9. Usually the curses of Anu, Ellil and Ea are combined, cf. Chapter I, p. 66f.

IV, 14. lit-te-su-ma, II, 1, pret. of מָלַל, “to darken;” thus far not found in this stem. The result of the face being darkened is naturally that he does not smile, hence the meaning of “smile, laughter,” suggests itself for lil-lu. The passages quoted for lil-lu by Muss-Arnolt, Dictionary, 481a, hardly belong to this word, cf. Martin, Textes religieux, pp. 172, 76; 184, 218.

IV, 15. Shamash and Rammān are combined only on the Nippur stone and on London, 103, VI, 9, 10. For the other parallel passages see Chapter I, p. 65.

I retain the reading Rammān for Babylonia, because there is no proof thus far that it was pronounced Adad, as in Assyria. Com-
pare on this question Zimmern, K. A. T. 3, 444; Hommel, Aufsätze, 270; Ranke, Personal Names, 206.

IV, 16. With the nominal sentence lu mulammenū igirrē-ṣu ṣunuma compare the heading of this inscription, IV, 26; B. E., X, 94: 14, 15; 119: 10, 11; and Amos 7: 13, 1.

IV, 17. kitti u mēšari, also personified as the companions of Shamash, standing before him, cf. V R. 65, Col. II, 29; with which compare the Old Testament expressions: "Righteousness (샬ום) and judgment ( shemale) are the foundation of thy throne, mercy (דוד) and truth (אמות) go before thee," Ps. 89: 15; Ps. 97: 2.

IV, 20. simma can hardly be connected with the Aramaic הָלָה and the Arabic سم, "the poison," as Belser suggested (B. A., II, 146–7), because (1) If poison is injected into the body it does not have the results mentioned in IV, 21. (2) The curses uttered in the name of several other gods refer to sickness. Marduk is called upon to send dropsy (III R. 43, III, 31; III R. 41, II, 25; I R. 70, III, 13; London, 102, I, 40f.; V. A. 2663, V, 43; cf. Chapter I, pp. 61, 62). Anu, Ellil and Ea shall send blindness, deafness and lameness (V. A. 2663, V, 36–40). simma does not mean "blindness," but it is a synonym of maršu, Br. 9235, 9238; cf. also Jäger in B. A., IV, 287, and Jensen in K. B., VI, 1, 413f. Scholars have differed about the derivation and meaning of la-az-za. Jäger derives it from lā ās (sa), asa = assa = asia, "healing," from asū, "to heal," cf. B. A., II, 288. It is also derived from asū, cf. Muss-Arnolt, Dict., while Belser (B. A., II, 146–7) and Delitzsch (H. W., 357a) prefer to read la-az-za, from the root מָלַל.

The word is written la-zu (Winckler, Forschungen, II, 10), or la-az (Susa 3, VII, 19; III R. 43, IV, 16), or la-az-za (III R. 41, II, 30; I R. 70, IV, 6; London 102, II, 20), and la-az-zu (Labartu, III, a, 54). On the boundary stones it is applied to sickness, but in the Labartu series to a plan, a-nam-di šipta a-na la-az-za me-likki (Labartu, III, a, 54; b, 4, 14), and to heat, umma(NE) la-az-za
(Labartu, I, a, 21; cf. Z. A., XVI, 156). As to the meaning the Arabic ٳ٢٣١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩, "evil," and the verb ٳ١٤٩١٤٩, "to follow one persistently, to press upon," supply a satisfactory etymology. As ٳ١٤٩١٤٩ has similar meanings, it is impossible to decide the nature of the sibilant. I retain therefore the spelling preferred by Delitzsch. Judging from the symptoms of the disease, it may be consumptoin accompanied by hemorrhages.

IV, 22. As ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ means "bright red blood," cf. the Sumerian BE.UD and the Arabic ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩, "bright red, fox color," it refers perhaps to the blood of the arteries, in which case ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ would mean the darker blood of the veins.

As to the derivation of ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ in ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩, there are two possibilities. It may be derived from ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ or ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩. The former would lead to the translation: "Whose rage is (like) a stormflood," and the latter "whose destruction is (like) a stormflood." In favor of the first rendering the following may be urged: (1) The anger of the gods is often compared to a stormflood. Cf. e.g., King, Babylonian Magic, No. 11, pl. 23, 1, "Marduk ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ a-bu-bu.

(2) The verb ra'âbiu, "to rage," is applied to Ishtar, e.g., in the new hymn to Ishtar, Rev. 94 (King, Seven Tablets of Creation), a-di mâtâ "Bêltî-a ra'-ba-ti-ma uz-za-za-at kab-ta-at-ki. (3) The writing of the ٳ١٤٩ is frequently omitted, cf. e.g., ú-za-in and ú-za'-in (Del., H. W., 249a), bi-i-ši and bi'-i-šu (Del., H. W., 165a), ta-a-ū and ta'-a-ū (Del., H. W., 697a), da-a-tim and da'-a-ti (Del., H. W., 208a). (4) We must take into consideration the possibility that, as in Hebrew, ٳ١٤٩ guttural verbs, and ٳ١٤٩, verbs having the same meaning, may have existed side by side. Cf. Hebrew ٳ١٤٩ and ٳ١٤٩, ٳ١٤٩ and ٳ١٤٩, ٳ١٤٩ and ٳ١٤٩, and the nouns ٳ١٤٩ and ٳ١٤٩, "poison," ٳ١٤٩ and ٳ١٤٩, "the pit."

In favor of a derivation from ٳ١٤٩ may be urged that this verb is also applied to Ishtar. ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩ ٳ١٤٩١٤٩١٤٩.

On the whole the first alternative appears to me to be preferable, especially as the anger of the gods is dwelt upon in these curses (cf. IV, 3). Moreover Ishtar's anger would be the natural cause of what is stated in the next line.

IV, 24. The word ušaku is evidently used here as a synonym of namrašu. It is no doubt to be connected with the Hebrew נשמ, as Prof. Hilprecht suggested to me. It is here used, like the Hebrew word in some cases, in a figurative sense, "trouble, misfortune," cf. Isa. 9:1; Job 15:22. To the same root belongs ašakku, "a demon of sickness and misfortune," cf. the Ašakku series of incantation texts in C. T., XVII, pls. 1-11, and their discussion by Prof. Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens*, I, 348-351.

IV, 25. On the other boundary stones no curse is uttered in the name of Nusku; he is only referred to in Susa 2, IV, 19. As to the reason for the insertion of Nusku here, cf. Chapter II, p. 123, Com., p. 156. For Nusku hymns see IV R. 26, No. 3; Craig, *Religious Texts*, I, pls. 35, 36. For translations and discussion see Jastrow, l.c., I, 485-88.


IV, 26. The sign ban in ban-nu-ū-a is No. 145 in Amiaud and Méchinonau, *Tableau comparé; bannua = bānua*. The phrase ilu bānua or abu bānua is of frequent occurrence, especially in the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar II. (see Chapter II, p. 125).

IV, 27. In this line I assume that nothing is wanting, although the break has carried away a small part of this line.

IV, 28. The section which begins here is usually opened by
man-nu (see Nabū-shum-ishkun, Col. IV, 13; V. A. 2663, V, 18), or man-na-ma (C. T., X, pl. VII, 32), but as man-nu is always followed by ša, man-nu cannot have stood here. The section opened therefore with a simple ša, such as we find O. B. I., No. 1, 12; 2, 12; C. T., IX, 5, Rev. 31; V. A. 208, Rev. 45. It occurs also in contract tablets Nb. 198 : 9; 283 : 19; 368 : 8, and on Assyrian inscriptions, Pudi-ilu, ll. 5, 6; Adad-nirari, Rev. 14; Tiglathpil., VIII, 63.

IV, 29. ŠIM.MEŠ stands probably for a verb. The parallel passages suggest nakāru, abātu or našā, V. A. 2663, V, 28, ú-na-ka-ru ina sub-ti-šu; Nabū-shum-ishkun, IV, 18, ina abni ubbatu; I R. 70, II, 24, abunu-arrā annā ú-ša-aš-ša-ma; so also III R. 41, II, 10; III R. 43, I, 32; ina abni i-naq qa-ru, V. R 56, 35.

V, 2. With ina i-na-lipitti (LIBIT) i-pi-hu-ū should be compared Susa 3, V, 52-54: i-na qa-qa-ri it-te-mi-ir, i-na lipitti (LIBIT) it-te-i (N2, I, 2) i-na i-ga-ri ip-te-ḫi, i.e., “who hides it in the dust, surrounds it by an enclosure or shuts it up in a wall.” Ina LIBIT cannot be read, as is done by Scheil, ina libnāti, as there is no plural sign. Our passage shows that it is something made of wood and no bricks. We must therefore take lipittu (Br. 11,193), which forms with agurrū, “the enclosure,” and amāru, “to enclose,” a group, cf. II R. 36, 23-25, h. A similar expression is found D. E. P., II, 114, 16, 17, lu a-na išāti i-na-du-[u] lu i-na i-ga-ri i-p[i]-hu-u].

V, 3. For the persons here mentioned see Chap. I, p. 50.

V, 7. The text reads u zērī-šu a-ḫa-me. In view of the fact that aḫameš, a synonym of aḫame, is always used of two persons, but never of things, while here “the foundation” and “the seed” would be joined by aḫame, I am inclined to see in the last three signs a scribal error. To this must be added the fact that most of the other inscriptions close with balāqu; see V R. 56, 60, zēra-šu li-ih-liq; O. B. I., 149, II, 20, zēra-šu li-[hal]-li-[qu]; cf. also Susa 2, III, 25; London, 103, VI, 23; London, 101, III, 9, 12; but especially
V. A. 2663, V, 47, zēri-šu piri-šu ina pî nîshê lihalliğû (H.A.A.ME). The phrase occurs also on Assyrian monuments: Tukulti-Ninib, Rev. 29, 30; Adad-nirari, Rev. 55. All these passages make it probable that the scribe intended to write H.A.A.ME = lihalliğû.

With these curses compare the interesting passage in the history of the Arabic historian Maṣûdi, Kitâb Marûj el Dhahabi, Paris, 1861, p. 22f.: "He who dares to change the sense of this book, to remove one of the foundations upon which it rests, to obscure the clearness of the text or to cast doubt upon a passage by alteration or removal, by extract or résumé, and finally who shall allow it to be attributed to another author, may he be the object of divine wrath and of swift punishment," etc.

V, 8. For the reading of ?U as li-û, see Chap. I, p. 10.

V, 9. The title šaq-šup-par occurs on I R. 66, No. 2, Col. II, 10; III R. 43, I, 30; II, 30; Edge IV, 4; London, 102, IV, 48; VI, 17. By transposing the elements of the name we get kšu-par-šaq, "the commander." This reading has long been maintained by Guyard, Notes de lexicographic Assyrienne, Paris, 1883, § 33, and Winckler, Forschungen, I, 476². It has become more probable by the observation of the possible connection between these two titles (šaq-šup-par and šup-par-šaq) and the plausible emendation of Ezra 4:9 and 5:6, reading נגזרפנ instead of the unintelligible נגזרפנ, see Hoffmann, Z. A., II, 54f., and Marti, Gram. des Bibl. Aram., p. 53. This makes it probable that the usual reading of the word as šud-šaqû (see Delitzsch, H. W., 685a) has to be given up. For a full discussion of the word see Muss-Arnolt in A. J. S. L., 1904, p. 192; and Johns, A. D. D., II, 163.

V, 10. With the name Ku-bu-bu we may compare Ku-ub-bu-bu, on the Cassite tablets from Nippur, Clay, B. E., XV, 44 : 8; 157, 3, and the ju"ulu formations on p. 29² of the same work; cf. also Ranke, Personal Names, p. 21⁶.

¹ See also Tallquist, in O. L. Z., Vol. IX (1906), p. 467.
The interchange of the title amēl bāb ēkallī with amēlu ša bāb ēkallī (V R. 56, 16) shows that amēlu should not be taken as a determinative, but as a part of the title.

V, 11. Śī-ta-ri-ba, "She has increased." Compare with this name Śī-la-ma-zi and Śī-lu-da-ri, Ranke, Personal Names, 194; also 1Śī-lu-da-ra-at (Tallquist, N.B.), and for ta-ri-bi see Ištar-ta-ri-bi, Johns, A. D. D., No. 89; cf. III, 149. A different form is in Mīl-ḫi-ta-ri-bi (B. E., IX), Nabû-tarībi(-SU)-uṣur; in both cases it must be second person singular pret.; cf. Tallquist, Namenbuch, pp. 264, 317.


V, 15. Ri-muṭ-4Gu-la, usually regarded as an abbreviated name, but in view of the fact that irīm (pret. I of ṭāmu) is always used on the boundary stones of the "granting" of land, and also the noun ri-muṭ occurs (O. B. I., 149, I, 2; V. A. 2663, V, 33; also V. A. 66, 25 = Peiser, Acten-Stücke, p. 20) in the sense of "grant, gift," I would suggest that Ri-muṭ-Gula means "the gift of Gula."

V, 16. A-hi, abbreviated perhaps from A-ḫi-ba-ni (Clay, B. E., XV, 269), Aḫu-iddina (Clay, B. E., X) or a similar name.

V, 18. With nKaššu the name nKaš-ša-a (O. B. I., 149, I, 18) should be compared. There are but few names on the boundary stones of the second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty which can clearly be recognized as Cassite, e.g., Na-zi-4Marduk már Shad-dak-me, V R. 56, 12; Kaššak-ti-ia-an-zi, III R. 43, II, 10; Mi-li-Ḫar-be, III R. 43, II, 14, 18; Šar-bi-4Enīl, O. B. I., 149, I, 19. NISAG.GA is here used instead of the usual NISAG, cf. Br. 6710.

V, 20. If the reading Pūr-ša is correct we may compare Pūr(-ir)-4Šamaš, D. E. P., II, 93, of which it is perhaps an abbreviation; cf. the remarks of Prof. Hilprecht in Ranke’s Personal Names,
p. 19, calling attention to the Palmyrene name נָבֹאֵנ, transcribed in Greek ἀπάντη ταμασω; see Lidzbarski, Handbuch., p. 223.

kNāgiru, for the ideogram see Amiaud, Tableau, No. 127, and remarks under No. 126; also Thureau-Dangin, Ecriture, No. 91. For a discussion of this official see Johns, A. D. D., II, 70.

V, 24. The earlier passages (III, 14) in which the name Ardi-Ea occurred showed that he was the grandfather of Nabû-zēr-lišir, son of Itti-Marduk-balatu. Whether this Ardi-Ea is identical with persons of the same name mentioned on other stones (V R. 56, 19; III R. 43, II, 4; I R. 66, II, 15; O. B. I., 149, I, 15) cannot be determined.
III.

BOUNDARY STONE OF MARDUK-AHÉ-ERBA.


The discovery of this boundary stone was announced in the year 1894 by Prof. V. Scheil. It was then for sale in one of the bazaars of Constantinople. Scheil published a transliteration of the first column of the inscription in the Recueil de Travaux, Vol. XVI (1894), p. 32f. In 1896 the text itself was published by Prof. Hilprecht in his Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part 2, No. 149. As a full transliteration and translation has not yet appeared, as far as I know, it will be appropriate to present one in this volume, as an appendix.

This boundary stone of Marduk-ahé-erba belongs evidently to the second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty. This appears not only from the fact that there is no room for Marduk-ahé-erba at the end of the Cassite dynasty, to which its paleography might possibly permit us to place him, but on closer examination we find that the paleographical evidence points distinctly to the second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty. Many of the signs, like kat (II, 1), bi (I, 18, 19; III, 18), bir (I, 22), gu (III, 1), sa, (I, 6), šar (I, 16), zu (III, 3), ḫa (I, 19), SIS (I, 14), tuk (II, 9), šal (I, 16), and others, occur in the same form on the boundary stones of Nebuchadrezzar I., while other signs, like gir (II, 23), bar (I, 11), tim (III, 6), etc., appear also on III R. 41 and III R. 43. An exhaustive comparison of all the signs of this inscription with those of the other Kudurru inscriptions of the fourth dynasty shows that, with but few exceptions, they
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can all be found in them. As to the exceptions, it is difficult to say whether they are due to the idiosyncrasy of the scribe or to his inexperience in engraving inscriptions. The signs for īl (II, 5), īš (I, 15, 20; II, 19), šar are not found in exactly the same form in Amiaud, Tableau comparé. Two other signs are remarkable. One of them, liq (III, 11), looks much like ba (II, 7), but that it is meant for liq appears clearly from the context (see p. 199). The strangest sign is zi (II, 19), which has exactly the same form as gâb (Neb. Nippur, IV, 2). It is either due to an error, or, what is more likely, the scribe represents by his upper horizontal wedge two perpendicular wedges, as in the case of liq, where the uppermost horizontal wedge takes the place of the two usual perpendicular wedges, forming the first part of the sign (cf. Amiaud, l.c., No. 276).

The scribe shows also a peculiar tendency to make two similar signs so much alike that there is practically no difference between them. Thus di (I, 2, 4, 7; II, 7) is made like ki (I, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, etc.); ri (I, 2, 10, 11, 21; II, 13, 16, etc.) like uš (I, 7, 8, 9); ni (II, 15, 22; III, 2) like kak (II, 8, 14) and also like ir (III, 5); īb (I, 12) like lu (II, 3, 4). Again, the same signs vary constantly in form; compare, e.g., bi (I, 18, 19 and III, 8), ri (I, 5 and I, 6 and I, 10), ki (I, 5, 8 and III, 6), du (I, 7 and II, 11), tu (I, 1 and II, 6, 14), i (II, 14 and III, 2) and ir (III, 5 and III, 8).

For a general statement of the contents of this inscription see Chap. I, p. 20. For the position of Marduk-âhe-erba in the dynasty see Chap. II, p. 133f., and for the symbols see p. 238.

In the transliteration the most common ideograms are not indicated in the notes.
TRANSLITERATION.

Col. I

XII appName zêru $\frac{1}{3}$ GAN I ammatu rabitu(-tu)

a-di II appName zêru ri-mut

$^{md}$Sin-bêl-ilâni$^p_l$.

mâr $^{mK}$Ka-an-di ša-kin Bît-$^{mP}$ir$^d$-d Amûrû$^z$

5 ugar $^d_\text{lu}$Šá-šar-ri $^k_i$ ba-ar-ri

$^d_\text{lu}$Šá-sa-na $^k_i$ kišâd nár $^d_\text{lu}$Ša-šar-ri$^k_i$

šiddu élû iltânû UŠ.SA.DU

Bît-$^{m}$Šum-ilî-a-šip-ú-uš

šiddu šaplû šâtu ba-ba-at

10 ḫar-ri $^d_\text{lu}$Šá-sa-na $^k_i$ Bît-$^{m}$Pir$^d$-d Amûrû$^z$

pûtu élû kišâd nári Šá-šar-ri$^k_i$

pûtu šaplû ti-ib $^d_\text{lu}$Šá-sa-na$^k_i$

Bît-$^{m}$Pir$^d$-d Amûrû

šâ $^{md}$Marduk-ahê$^p_l$-erba$^a$ šarru$^t$

15 $^{md}$Nabû[-eriš$^a$](iš) mâr $^{m}$Ardî$^d$-E-a
tup-šar ʿ Bêl$^n$-mu-šal-lim $^b$bârû$^t$
tup-šar ša-kin Bît-$^{m}$Pir$^d$-d Amûrû$^z$

$^{m}$Kaš-šá-a $^b$šakin$^b$(-in) [!]e-mi

ʿ $^{m}$Sar-bï$^d$-En-šîl ḫa-za-an-na

20 iš-pu-ru-ma rēš$^t$ eqli iš-ṣû-ma

$^{m}$Ku-dur-ra mâr $^{m}$Ḫî(?)-ri-ṣû-ru

Ḫa-bîr-ai arad-su i-ri-mu.

Col. II

Ma-te{-ma a}-na ar-kat ūmi(-mi)

$^1$ BE.  $^2$ KUR.GAL.  $^3$ SU.

$^4$ LUGAL.E.  $^5$ PIN erased.  $^6$ EN.
TRANSLATION.

Col. I

XII (gur) of seedfield \( \frac{1}{3} \) GAN (reckoned) at 30 qa (of seed),
(equivalent to) one large cubit,
including II (gur) of seedfield, a gift of Sin-bēl-ilānī,
son of Kandi, governor of Bit-Pīr’-d-Amurru,
5 a field of the city of Sha-sharri, (at) the canal of
Shasana, (at) the bank of the canal of the city of Sha-sharri,
upper length, north, adjoining
Bit-Shum-ili-āšhipush,
lower length, south, the sluices of
10 the canal of Shasana, in Bit-Pīr’-d-Amurru,
upper width, the bank of the canal of Sha-sharri,
lower width, the approach of Shasana
in Bit-Pīr’-d-Amurru,
property of Marduk-aḫē-erba, the king,
15 (who) sent Nabû-ērish, son of Ardi-Ea,
the scribe, and Bēl-mushallim, the seer,
the scribe of the governor of Bit-Pīr’-d-Amurru
Kashshā, the commander,
and Sharbi-ēEllil, the prefect,
20 and took the boundary stone of the field
and gave it to Kudurra, son of Hirishuru,
the Ḫabirean, his servant.

Col. II

For all future days!

HAL.     GAR.     SAG
lu-ū ša-kin lu-ū bēl paḫāti
lu-ū ha-za-an-nu lu-ū šakin(-in) te-mi
lu-ū iššakku lu-ū ai-um-ma

5 šā Bīt-mīrī-š Amurrī šā īl-lam-ma
i-na muḫ-ḫi eqši šū-a-tu i-da-bu-bu
ū-šad-ba-bu eqšu ul ni-di-it-ti šarri-mi
i qa-bu-ū u abnumarā an-na-a
lā šēmā sa-ak-la sa-ak-ka

10 sa-ma-a ū-qar-ra-bu-ma ū-šā-aš-šū-ma
a-na mē i-nam-du-ū
i-na i šā-ti i qal-lu-ū
eqšu la a-ma-ri i-te-mi-ru
i lāni-šī rabūtu(-tu) ma-lā i na abnumarā

15 an-ni-i šūm-šū-nu za-ak-ru
ar-rat la na-ap-šū-ri li-mul-la
li-ru-ru šū.

a Anu b En-lēl E a
iz-zi-ši lik-kil-mu-šū-ma na-p[i-ša-ta-šu]

20 apšenānu zērī šū li-[hal]-li-[qu]

Marduk bēlā lip-te-ti [na(?)-ra(?)-a(?)-l]e-šū
li-ša-kir-ma Ṣar-pa-ni-[tum bēltu] rabštum(-tum)
i-gir-ra-[šu?] [i-lā]m-man.

Col. III

NI[N.I]B u Gu-la bēlā mi-is-ri
û ku-[ur]-ri an-ni-i
si-im-ma la-[az-za i-n]a zu-um-ri-šū
li ša-al-šū-ma ūm[ba]-[i] u da-ma ū šar-ka

5 ki-[ma] mē pl li-ir-muq

Sin in(-in) šame(-e) u irši(-tim) iš-ru-ba-a

10 EN.NAM. 11 PA.TE.SI. 12 NA.RU.A. 13 ŠI.NU.TUK. 14 A.MEŠ. 15 GAL.MEŠ.
Whenever a governor or the chief of the district,
a prefect or a commander,
a prince or any one
5 of Bit-Pir' Amurru shall arise and
against that field shall raise a claim
or cause a claim to be raised, shall say the field
is not the gift of the king and shall order
a thoughtless man, a fool, a deaf man,
10 a blind man to approach that inscribed stone
and shall throw it into the water,
burn it with fire,
hide it in a field where it cannot be seen—
May the great gods, as many as on this stone
15 by their names are mentioned,
with an evil curse, that is without escape,
curse him.
May Anu, Ellil and Ea
in anger look upon him and destroy
20 his life, (and) the children, his seed.
May Marduk, the lord of constructions(?), stop up
his rivers, and Zarpanitum, the great mistress,
spoil his plans.

Col. III
May NIN.IB and Gula, the lords of the boundary
and of this boundary stone,
cause a destructive sickness to be
in his body, so that, as long as he lives,
5 he may pass dark and bright red blood as water.
May Sin, the eye of heaven and earth, cause

BOUNDARY STONE OF

i-na zu-um-ri-šú li-šab-šú-ma
i-na ka-mat ālīš-šú ai ir-bi-iš
īlāniš ka-li-šú-nu ma-la šûm-šú-nu
10 za-ak-ru ki-i ištēn āmī(-mī) la balātš-su
    liq-bu-ū.

13 ER.KI.  30 TI.
leprosy to be in his body, so that
in the enclosure of his city he may not lie.
May the gods, all of them, as many as are mentioned
10 by their names, not grant him life for a single day.
COMMENTARY.

I, 2. For the noun ri-mut, "the grant, gift," compare also V. A. 2663, V, 33, ri-mut . . . i-ri-mu; V. A. 66, 25 (see Peiser, Acten-Stücke, p. 20), and Muss-Arnolt, Dictionary, 969a.

I, 4. The name Kandi may perhaps be compared with Ganduš(diš), the first king of the Cassite dynasty.

For the deity dKUR.GAL, equivalent to dAmurru, see Clay, B. E., X, p. 7f.

I, 5. The word haari, "canal," should also be recognized in the proper names, Har-ri-Pi-qu-du (B. E., IX, p. 76), Ha-ar-ri-Ba-ši, "the canal of the city Baš" (Susa 3, I, 24), and duHar-ri-Ka-ri-e (D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 3).

I, 6. The fact that after šarri in every case (ll. 5, 6, 11) the determinative ki is written decides in favor of the reading naru duŠa-šar-ri₃₄ki.

I, 12. I prefer to read ti-ib, estr. of tēbu, "approach," rather than ti-lu, as read by Scheil, which might be connected with til(l)u, "mound of ruins."

I, 15. The sentence beginning with Nabu-erish I take to be a relative sentence with the ša understood, hence the overhanging u vowel in the verbs iš-pu-ru-ma (I, 20) and i-ri-mu (I, 22). Another possibility would be to take Nabu-erish and Bel-mushallin as the subject and the other two persons as the object. Against this, however, militates the fact that the grant is distinctly said to be "a gift of the king" (ni-di-it-ti šarri-mi, II, 7), and then there is no apparent reason why the two scribes should have sent two men, who, to judge by their titles, held a superior office. Moreover,
scribes are repeatedly referred to as engaged in measuring fields (cf. p. 44).

I, 19. I see no reason for the reading Har-bi-Ellil as given by Scheil. The sign šar has the value bir (Br. 4287), but there is as yet no proof for the value har.

I, 20. The reading rēš eqli for SAG eqli is determined by the new stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa 16), Col. III, 6, 7, iš-purma ri-eš eqli šu-a-tum iš-šū-ma. This has been rendered by Scheil, “the area of that field they took,” but the meaning “area” for rēš can hardly be established. The verb našû means “to take up, to lift up,” and refers evidently to a portable object. Moreover, the phrase ri-iš eqli-šu i-ka-aš-ša-ad occurs repeatedly in Hunger’s texts of Becherwahrsagungen, and as Prof. Jastrow has shown (A. J. S. L., XXIII (1907), p. 100), is there used as a synonym of zittam akâlu, “to acquire possession”; but the taking of the area of a field could hardly be equivalent to gaining possession. It was rather the acquisition of the “boundary stone” which gave a man the title to a property. The term rēš, literally “the head-(piece),” was certainly appropriate for the boundary stone.

I, 21. The name of Kudurra’s father might also be read Tu(?)-uš-šu-ru. The scribe made no distinction between us (I, 6, 7, 8, 9) and ri (I, 2, 6, 10, 11, 22, etc.). The first character, however, looks more like a bi (I, 2; II, 5, 16) than an ud, tu (II, 1; III, 4, 10), whose final wedges are more perpendicular.


II, 3. Finding a hole at the end of l. 3 the scribe wrote te-mi at the end of l. 2.

II, 7. For šarri-mi see p. 178f.

II, 12. In view of i-qa-bu-ú (II, 8) I prefer the reading i-qal-lu-ú to i-gal-lu-ú. Cf. p. 179.
II, 19. The form of zi in iz-zî-iš (on which see above p. 189) may throw some light on London, 103, VI, 3, 4, dSin dŠamaš dRammân dMarduk iṣid-su GAB-ḫu. Peiser (K. B., III, 1, 162) takes GAB here as the ideogram of pahû (Br. 4486) and renders lîḫu(-ḫu) "may they loosen(?) his foundation," but as GAB has the same form as zi in iz-zî-iš (which is undoubtedly zi), and as ZI-ḫu is the ideogram of nasâḫu, used in connection with iṣid-su (cf. Neb. Nippur, V, 7; IV, 19 and I R. 70, III, 12; III R. 43, III, 27) I propose reading iṣid-su lissûḫu in London, 103, VI, 4.


II, 21. Marduk bêl lip-te-ti. This title does not appear elsewhere. But the phrase li-bit ga-ti-ia occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar II. (cf. Langdon, Building Inscriptions, Nebuch., 2, III, 31; 3, II, 18; 5, II, 17; 7, II, 24; 10, I, 16, etc.) and lip-ta-at qatâ-ia (Sargon, Bull Inscri., 101), cf. especially li-pî-it ga-tim dMarduk, "the work of the hand of Marduk," in an omen text published by Prof. Clay, B. E., XIV, 4. 1. The dams and dykes, guarding fields and preserving cultivation, are therefore placed under the protection of Marduk, as is implied in this title. For this side of Marduk's character compare his titles šâriq mērįšti mûktî isrâṭi (from esêru, to enclose), bânû šeam u qê mušêši urqûti, "giver of vegetation, creator of enclosures, creator of grain and herbs, producer of (green) grass" (King, Seven Tablets of Creation, Vol. I, pp. 92, 93), and Hehn, Hymnen und Gebete an Marduk (B. A., V, pp. 282, 319), muš-te-šir nărûte ina ki-rîb ša-di-i mu-pat-tu-û bu-ur kup-pi ina ki-rîb ḫur-sag-ni, "the director of rivers in the mountains, the opener of the depth of the spring(s) in the hills."

With the restoration [na-ra-a-t]e-šû lîs-kir-ma compare the following passages from other boundary stones: III R. 45, No. 2, 8, nâri-šu a-na la sa-ka-ri, "not to close his canal"; Susa 16, V, 5-8,
MARDUK-AHE-ERBA.

lu-ú ša-ki-i-ik-ki dal[-ti] u a-šar mi-il-ti nāri-šu i-si-ik-ki-ru-ma ši-ki-iz-zu ub-ba-lu, “whoever closes up with mud the sluice, the place by which his canal is filled, and diverts its irrigation”; Susa 3, II, 28-33, la e-pi-ši du-ul-li bāb nār šarri lu-ú ša si-ki-e-ri lu-ú ša pi-te(!)-e ḫi-ru-tu nār šarri la ḫi-ri-e, “they are not to do the work at the sluice of the royal canal, neither that of closing, nor that of opening it, nor to dig the bed of the royal canal.” Cf. also Code of Ham. (Harper), XLIII : 7-9, nārāte-šu i-na na-ak-bi-im li-is-ki-ir, “May he (Ea) dam up his rivers at the sources.”


III, 4. ūm [ba]l-tu. The last part of bal is clearly visible. The form of ṭu, not given by Amiaud et Méchinau, Tableau comparé, No. 275, is found Susa 3, VI, 52; VII, 23-25, in the identical phrase, a-di ūm(-um) bal-ṭu šar-ka u da-ma ki-ma me-e li-ir-mu-uk.

III, 6. With the title of Sin īn(-in) šamē(-e) u irṣītim(-tim) compare the personal name ʾSin-i-na-ma-tim, Tallquist Namenbuch, p. 274; and ʾŠamaš-īn(Šl)-āli-šu, l.c., p. 281.

III, 8. In view of the fact that the other parallel passages (cf. p. 64f.) and Susa 16, VI, 17, i-na ka-mat āli-šu li-šar-bi-šu-šu-ma, contain the positive statement that the criminal shall lie outside of the wall of his city, i-na ka-mat āli-šu ai ir-bi-iš must mean “in the enclosure of,” i. e., “within his city may he not lie.”


III, 11. That the first sign of liq-bu-ū is really liq cannot be doubtful from the parallel passages quoted above and the context.
IV.

CONCORDANCE.

ABBREVIATIONS.

b., brother; cf., confer; d., daughter; f., father; s., son.
Determinatives: d., deus, dea; f., femina; h., homo.

TRANSLITERATION.

Ai = dGAL.
Bel = dEN.
Bēlit = dGAŠAN.
Bunene = dJAR.
Ellīl = dEN.LIL.
Ellīlī = dL.
Idūr = dRI.
Mār-biti = dTUR.E.
Marduk = dAMAR.UD.

Nabû1 = dAG.
Nabû2 = dPA.
Nergal = dUGUR.
Nusku = dPA + KU.
Rammān = dIM.
Sībīṭī = dVII - BI.
Sin = dXXX.
Šamaš = dUD.

I. NAMES OF PERSONS.

Ab-ba-ti (hypocor., cf. Ab-ba-tum, Ibbatum, Ranke, P. N.)
A-da (hypocor., cf. Ranke, P. N.)
in Bit-mA-da III R. 43, I, 3; 15, 17, 21; II, 23, 25; III, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14; edge IV, 1, 4, 6; III R. 45, No. 2, 4, 7.
A-dal-la-ti (cf. A-da-lāl-tum, Ranke, P. N.)*

A-ga-ab-ta-ḥa
Ha-li-gal-ba-tu-ū, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 1, 8.
Aḫē(SES.MEŠ)-šul-līm (abbrev., cf. Šamaš-ḫēšul-līm)
1. b. of Mār-biti-šum-ib-ni, London, 102, I, 23; IV, 32.
2. V. A. 2663, IV, 16.
Aḫī (abbreviated)
Aḥu(SES)-at-tu-ū-a, “My brother(?)”
Aḫu-bānī† (KAK-t) (hypocor., as indi-

* Compare with this name the opening stanza of a hymn addressed to Marduk (Craig, Religious Texts, pl. 29): a-dal-lal zī-kir-ka dMarduk.
† Not Nusku-na'id as Scheil translates, because SES.KAK is not preceded by the determinative ili. For the correct reading see Tallquist, N. B., p. 4.
cated by use of final long and ā).
f. of Ka-šak-ti-Šu-gab, Susa 2, II, 31; Medallion I, 2.
Aḫu-ba-nu-ù(ni-ī)
f. of Dšir-šum-iddina, Susa, 16, II, 25; III, 2.
Aḫu-da-ru-ù(ri-i), (cf. Šamaš-šu-ša-ri-i).
s. of Ellil-ki-di-ni, London, 103, IV, 12, 20, 40; V, 7, 13.
Aḫu-er-ka (abbreviated)
s. of Hab-ban, ḫa-šu, C. T., X, pl. III, 26.
Aḫu-iddina
s. of Muš-kal-šum-aplu, V. A. 2663, IV, 12.
Aḫu-ni-e-a (hypocor.)
s. of Daian-Marduk, Susa 16, I, 13; II, 15, 31; IV, 10.
Âši(GAL)-bēl-sumati(MU.MES)
s. of Ru-ḫaš, V. A. 209, IV, 16.
Âši(GAL)-mu-tak-kil, “Ai gives strength.”
s. of Nabû-iddina, V. A. 209, V, 19.
Amel-Eul-maš
s. of Ha-an-bi, III R. 41, I, 10, 28.
Amel-È-ul-maš
s. of Sam-(Ū)-eš-ba-la, III R. 43, I, 19; II, 19.
Amel-È-ul-ši-in
Amel-È-sakke(PA.TE.SI.MES)-ša-Uš-tim*
Amel-È-Nabû

Am-me-en-na (cf. Am-men-ni, Tallquist, N.B.)
ḫašû, London, 102, VI, 16.
Amurri×(KUR.GAL)-e-a (hypocor.)
Anu-bēl-ahē-šu (better than Ilu-bēl-
ahē-šu)
s. of Mi-ši-Ḫar-be, III R. 43, II, 17.
A-nu-num-nasir(PAP)
s. of Dūr-Ši, V. A. 209, II, 14; V, 15.
Apilâ(TUR.ŪŠ-a) (hypocor.)
ĂMUK, V. A. 209, II, 33.
Apil(TUR.ŪŠ)-ia
f. of Mušabši-ilu, III R. 43, II, 16.
A-qar-È-Nabû, “Nabû is dear.”
2. f. of Nabû-ḫašqâ(NIM)-ina-mâtî,
C. T., X, pl. III, 16.
Ardî×-È-a (written ÊE in No. 18)
1. f. of Iqîša-(ē)-Èa, London, 101, II, 8; Susa, 16, III, 22; D. E. P., VI, 43, II, 17.
5. f. of È-a-ku-dur-ri-È-ib-ni, III R.
43, II, 4.
6. f. of Nabû-[eriš]-ìš, O. P. I.,
149, I, 15.
7. f. of Ḫu-È-kur-È-Nabû, Susa 16, II, 3.
8. f. of Šu-È-bî-Marduk, Susa 16, II,
8.
10. f. of Ŭ-rîb-nî, Susa 14, I, 16.

* This name, meaning “the man of the rulers of Ushtim,” is hardly the real
name of the man, but more likely his professional name. To the same class of
names may belong the following of this list: mkaṣaq šup-par, mRē′ū piḫâti,
mKa-nil-ebî and perhaps mBēl-basîmê, unless the latter is abbreviated.
† For this rendering of the ideogram dKUR.GAL see Clay, B. E., X, p. 8,
and the hypocoristicon A-mur-ri-ia, which exchanges with dKUR.GAL-eriš in
‡ The most common writing is Ar-di-È-Bēl, cf. Tallquist, N. B., p. 12, although
the form Ar-di-È-Nusku also occurs. See Clay, B. E., XV, 27, note 5.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF


Ardi-dGu-la
s. of Kal-bi, V R. 56, 21.
Ardi-dIštar(Ri)
Ardi-dMarduk(SU)
f. of Mu-šal-lim-dMarduk, London, 102, IV, 7.

Ardi-dNabu
s. of Ardi-dE-a, London, 102, VI, 20.
Ardi-dNa-na-a
s. of Mudammiq(-iq)-dRammān, I R, 66, 11, 13; V R. 56, 13; Stone of Amrān II [1].

Ardi-nu-bat-ti, "The child of the nubattu day" (cf. Ardu-umu 3 kan, etc., Clay, B. E., XV).


Ardi-dSibitti
s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I [10], 19, 20, 23, 33; II, 38; III, 1, 10, 16: IV, 13, 31; VI, 2, 7, 9, 11.

Arkāt (EGIR, MEŠ)-ilāni-damqāti (BIR, ME).
s. of dNabū-ileti(DA), V. A. 2663, V, 10.

Ar-ra-kur-tu
f. of Ina-eš-eṭir, V. A. 209, I, 4.

A-šab-šu (abbreviated, cf. Tāb-a-šab-šu, Clay, B. E., XV, 44)
f. of dNabū-ahau-ni, V. A. 208, 51.
in Bit-mA-ša-ri-du, V. A. 208, 45.

dAššur-bān(KAK)-aplu(A)
šar kūšati, C. T., X, pl. IV, 11.

At-na-aī
f. of dNabū-apal-iddina, C. T., X, pl. III, 1, 10, 20, 22.

At-rat-taš
f. of Ardi-dSibitti, London, 102, I, 11, 15, 19, 31, 32; III, 6, 21; IV, 15, 31, 37; VI, 2, 7.

At-ta-ilu-ma

A-tu'-u
s. of Ki-dīš(daš), Neb. Nippur, V, 14.

Ba-bi-la-aī(u)

Ba-lat-su (abbreviated, cf. dBēl-balat-iqṭi, Talquist, N. B.)
s. of It-tab-ši, V. A. 209, II, 21.

Ba-ni-ia (hypocor.)
1. s. of E-ī-ru, V. A. 209, IV, 27; V, 17.
2. s. of Kan-dar-šam-(Ū)-ši, V. A. 208, 28.

dBāniti(KAK-ti)-ēriš (PIN-eš)*
s. of Ulūlai, V. A., 209, II, 18.

Ba-ri-kī-ilu (cf. Hebr. יָקָע)
C. T., X, pl. VI, 21.

dBa-ah-iddina(-na)

dBa-ū-šūm-iddina(-na)
s. of Ḥu-un-na, V R. 56, 18; Neb. Nippur, II, 17, 30; III, 9, 30

* Thus according to a suggestion of Dr. Ungnad.
Ba-zi (cf. city Baš).
3. in Bit-mBa-zi, D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 14; and perhaps in C. T., IX, pl. V, 24, instead of Bit-mMa-zi.

Be-la-ni (abbreviated, cf. dBel-bel-a-ni, Strassmaier, Neb., 135, 15)
 f. of Ri-mu-ti and Tab-nu-ti, London, 103, II, 16; III, 3, 10, 12, 32, 44.

dBel-abē-erba(SU)
ka-ku Bābili, V. A. 2663, III, 36; IV, 50; V, 34.

Bel-am-ma
mār kāpari, V. A. 2663, IV, 29.

Bel-anā-mōtī-šu (abbrev. from perhaps Bel-anā-mōtī-šu-utir)
V. A. 2663, III, 44.

dBel-a (hypo., cf. Mar-duk-a, B. E., X, 55).
 s. of dŠamaš-erit(PIN), V. A. 208, 50.
Bēl-baššu(BUR.RA) (cf. Br. 98 and 334), "The lord of serpents."
s. of Ardī-De-a, Susa 16, III, 4.

dBel-ē-paš(KAK-uš)
V. A. 208, 22.

dBel-er-ba
s. of Ku-ri-gal-zu, V. A. 208, 27.

dBel-iddina(-na)
1. s. of Ši-gu-ē-a, C. T., X, pl. VII, 50.
2. s. of dNabû-zēr-iddina(-na), V. A. 208, 1, 14, 18, 49.

Bēl-āhē-(DA)-kalāmi(KAK.ABI), "Bēl is all powerful."

dBel(?)-ē-lī-ia
kā pān ēkalli, C. T., X, pl. VII, 43.

dBel-ē-šal-lim
kābari, O. B. I., 149, I, 16.

dBel-ē-sum-ēkkun(SA-an)
in Bit-mBēl-ē-sum-ēkkun, V. A. 209, III, 6, 21.

dBēl-ū-sa-tu, "Bēl is help."
s. of I-ū-šu, V. A. 209, II, 15; IV, 2, 6, 13.

dBēl-ū-sip-pi, "Bēl I implored."
mār ḫārū, V. A. 209, V, 18.

dBēl-ūšabši(GAL-ši), "Bēl has called into existence."

hNI.SUR, V. A. 209, III, 3, 29.

Bi-e-a
s. of Šu-ša-a, V. A. 209, IV, 9.

Bi-ra-a (cf. Bi-ri-a, Clay, B. E., XV)
s. of Ardi-De-a, D. E. P., 44, I, 43.
mBit-dar(?)-da-ri-ib-nu

mBit-dī-bi-nu

Bi-tīš-[ia-as] (cf. Bi-tiš-ša-šu, D. E. P. II, pl. 20, 3, 4)
šarru, D. E. P., 93, II, 5.

Bur-Ra-Bu-ri-aš(Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-as)

Bu-ru-ša (cf. Bi, ywr2)
2. s. of Ab-ba-ti, London, 102, I, 28, 35, 37, II, 32; IV, 20, 22, 25, 30; VI, 3, 7, 10, 12, 15.

Da-bi-ı (abbrev., cf. Da-bi-bi-ı-ni-ir and dNabû-dabibi-ı-ni-ir, Tallquist, N. B.)
f. of La-ba-ši-dMarduk, V. A. 2663, V, 8.

Daian(DI.KUD)-dMarduk
1. f. of A-šu-ša-⊏-a, Susa 16, I, 14; II, 15; IV, 11.

Da-ku-ru (cf. Mār-Da-ku-ru, Bezold, Catalogue V, 1994).
f. of dNabû-muşallim(GI), C. T., X, pl. V, 10; VII, 45.

Dāmiq(SI.BIR-iq)-dRammān
in abī ša turmoil Dāmiq-dRammān, Susa 3, II, 24.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

dU Dûr-sarru-kên-ai-i-ti
d. of dŠšr-ušur, I R. 70, I, 14.

dE-a-iddina
dE-a-ku-du-rí-ib-ni
s. of Ardi-dE-a, III R. 43, II, 3.
dE-a-ma-liš
kntngaru, in Bû.šdE-a-ma-liš, Susa 3, I, 22.
E-an-na-ellu (AŠZ.G.A.L)
E-an-na-šum-iddina(na)
ša-kin mât tâmdî, O. B. I., 83, II, 7.
E-gi-bi (cf. Tallquist, N. B., p. 57)
f. of Ku-dur-ru, V. A. 2663, IV, 12.
Èhalla-ai
s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I, 14.
E-kar-ra-iqša (BAS-ša)
dEllil-iddina (SE-na)
dEllil-ki-di-ni
dEllil-mušallim (GI)-aplu, "Bêl has preserved a son."
s. of kîšug-šup-par, III R. 43, II, 5.
dEllil-nâdin-aplu
šarru, O. B. I., 83, I, 9, 18.
dEllil-nâdin-šumu
2. s. of Ša-zu-ū-ti, III R. 43, II, 11.
3. s. of Hāb-ban, V. R. 56, 23.
dEllil-šum-ib-ni
dEllil-šum-im-bi
perhaps s. of Daššaš₄Marduk, London, 103, I, 46; III, 6, 25, 34, 37.
dEllil-tar-ni-bu-ul-liš, "O Ellil, preserve what thou hast created."
khâru, V. R. 56, 25.
dEllil-zâr-ke-ni, "O Ellil, establish the seed."
s. of Ardi-dIštar, III R. 43, I, 24.
Er-ba (abbreviated)
1. s. of Na-na-šu, V. A. 208, 10.
Er-ba-dMarduk
1. šar Bâbîli, V. A. 2663, II, 43; III, 52.
2. s. of Ardi-dE-a, C. T., X, pl. III, 29.
E-sag-ila-ai
f. of Bêl-ile'i-kalâmî, C. T., X, pl. VII, 48.
E-sag-ila-bu-nu-û-a
khâ-za-an Bû.šdM-Adam, III R. 43, II, 3
E-sag-ila-zêru (identical with Ina-E-
sag-ila-zêru)
f. of Tâb-âšâd-Marduk, V. R. 56, 22;
cef. also I R. 70, I, 15, 19; I R. 66,
II, 12.
E-ti-ru(gi)
s. of Ba-ni-ia, khânu dA-e, V. A.
209, IV, 4, 26; V, 17.
E-ul-mâš-nâšir
s. of Tu-na-mis-saḥ, London, 102, VI,
19.
E-ul-mâš-šurgi (ŠA-ki)-iddina
s. of Ba-zi, III R. 43, I, 29.

GUL.KIŠAR*
šar mât tâmdî, O. B. I., 83, I, 3, 6.
dGu-la-zêr-iqša(BAS-ša)

*That the name of this king is to be read Gul-ki-šar and not Gir-ki-šar as claimed by Winckler (Allorientalische Forschungen, I, 130, note 3, p. 267) and Lehmann (Zwei Hauptproblème, p. 18) has been shown by Jensen (Göttinger Gelehrten-Anzeiger, 1900, p. 860). Another instance, besides those given by Jensen, of the sign gir having the value gul (kul) is found in the Code of Hammurabi, Col. XLIII: 19, tu-kul-ti.
Ha-ra-ḫu
in Bit-mHa-ra-ḫu, C. T., X, pl. V, 12, 16; pl. VI, 29.
Hab-ban (cf. Han-bi)
4. in Bit-mHab-ban (Hab-ba-an), VR. 56, 50; I R. 70, I, 3, 10, 12; II, 5.

Ha-šu-e
in Bit-mHa-li-e, C. T., X, pl. VI, 18.
Ha-an-bi
1. f. of Aml-dEllil, III R. 41, I, 11, 28.
2. in Bit-mHa-an-bi, III R. 41, I, 2, 3, 7, 34.

Harr-ru
V. A. 209, III, 5.
Ha-sar-du
1. s. of Su-me-e, ḫṣukkal mu-ni-rī, London, 101, I, 14, 22.
2. ḫṣukkal, Susa 16, III, 18.

Hi-ma-gu
in Bit-mHi-ma-gu, Susa 16, I, 20.
Hi(?)-ri-tu-ra
4. f. of ḫu-la-zēr-iqša, prob. same as Nos. 2 and 3, Neb. Nippur, V, 23.

Hy-ši-dMarduk
I-bu-nu (cf. I-ḫu-ni, Tallquist, N. B.)
1. of Bēl-u-sa-tu, V. A. 20, II, 15; IV, 2.

Išdin-na (abbreviated)
s. of Er-ba, V. A. 209, III, 23.
Išdin-a-na (hypocor., cf. Clay, B. E., X, 17)
1. s. of Sāpik-zēru(!), V. A. 208, 34, 37, 54.
2. s. of sānā-dMarduk, V. A. 208, 52.

Išdin-na-n-ba
V. A. 209, I, 6, 13.
Ilānī-usra(SEŠ)-išu,* "O gods help him."
London, 102, VI, 4.
Ilī-ia (abbreviated, cf. Bēl-ili-ia)

Illat-at†
Ilī-ia-ila-(DA)-i, "My god is powerful."
Ilū-mu-adḫammig(SI.BIR-iq)
s. of ḫa-r-dMarduk, London, 102, VI, 22.

Im-bi-ia-ti, "He called me."
in Bit-mIm-bi-ia-ti, III R. 41, I, 15.
Im-bu-pāni-ia
s. of Er-ba, V. A. 209, III, 24.

Ina-E-sag-lā-žeru
1. f. of ḫa-duš-akḫar(VUL), ḫṣukkallu, III R. 43, I, 9; Edge IV, 4, 5.
2. f. of ḫa-duš-akḫar, I R. 70, I, 16, 19; I R. 66, II, 12; Stone of Amrūn, II, 1; cf. also V R. 56, 22.

Ina-ēš-ēṭṭir(KAR-īr), "From destruction he has delivered."

† Zimmern (Beiträge, p. 60) suggests the reading duHarrān-ṣadā.

Ina-ki-bi-dEN.AB*
khazan Bābili, V. A. 2663, V, 5.

In-nu-ú-a (hypocor.)
 f. of Šn-r-a-ni, V. A. 209, II, 36; III, 8.

s. of Šum-ukin, V. A. 209, II, 19.

Iqša(BA-ša)-dBa-ú
 s. of Ardi-dE-a, London, 101, II, 8; Susa 16, III, 21; D. E. P., VI, 43, II, 16.

Iqša(BA-ša)-dMarduk
apil barri, V. A. 2663, IV, 57.

Is-ba-dRammón(IM)
in Bit-mIs-ba-dRammón, Susa 3, I, 18.

Is-nu-na-aí
 f. of Ū-bal-li, V. A. 209, III, 10.

Is-kal(?)-dá-a

dI-šum-ba-ni
 s. of Sin-ka-rab-ši-me, V. A. 2663, V, 12.

It-tab-ši (abbrev., cf. It-tab-ši-lišir, "May that which has been created prosper!")

1. f. of Ba-laš-su, V. A. 209, II, 21; IV, 11.
2. s. of dNabā-ša-[u-nu(?), V. A. 202, 25.

Itti-dMarduk-balatu (TII.A)
2. f. of Šāpiku, III R, 41, I, 13 (identical with No. 1).

Iz-kur-dNabū
 s. of Ardi-dE-a, Susa 16, II, 3.

Kal-bi (abbrev., cf. Kalbi-dSin)
 f. of Ardi-dGu-la, V. R. 56, 21.

Kan-dar-šam(U)-ši
 f. of Ba-ni-ia, V. A. 208, 29.

Ka-an-āi
 f. of dSin-bēl-ilāni, B. O. I, 149, I, 4.

Ka-nik-bāhī, "notary."
 f. of Mar-duk, V. A. 2663, IV, 27.

Ka-ri-e-a (hypocor., cf. dNabū-ina-kāri-lāmūr, Nk. 402, 18)
 f. of dNabū-ga-mil V. A. 2663, IV, 8.

Kar-zi-ia-ab-ku
2. f. of Zēr-ukin (perhaps-identical with No. 1), London 102, IV, 15, 28, 33.
4. in Bit-mKar-zi-ia-ab-ku, V. R. 55, 25, 35, 45; 56, 4, 30.
5. f. of Rit-ti-dMarduk, V. R. 56, 8.

Ka-šak-ti-ia-an-zi

Ka-šak-ti-Šu-gab (Cassite)
 s. of Aḫu-bānî(-i), Susa 2, II, 30; Med. I, 2.

Kaš-ša-a
kšakin(-in) te-mi, O. B. I, 149, I, 18.
Kaš-ša-ai
 s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I, 12; III, 16; IV, 31.

Kaš-ku-ú

Kaš-šu-ú-makin-aplu
 s. of Ba-zi, London, 102, VI, 17.

Kaš-šu-ú-nādin-aḫē
 s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I, 13; IV, 46.

Kaš-šu-ú-šum-iddina(-na)
 s. of Na-zi-dMarduk, London, 102, VI, 18.

* Perhaps intended for Ina-ki-bi-dEN.ZU.AB=Ea; or AB might be a title, for the name Ina-ki-bi-dBēl occurs; cf. Nd. 753, 16.
Ki-bu-šik-nu
V. A. 209, III, 18, 22.
Ki-di-ni (hypocor., cf. Ki-din-d-Marduk)
s. of dBel-iddina, V. A. 208, 2, 6, 21, 32.
Ki-din-Dupliaš(A.B.NUN.N.AB)
V. A. 211, II, 13.
Ki-din-d-Marduk, “The client of Marduk.”
Ki-din-d-NIN.IB
1. s. of Nam-rii, Susa 16, II, 5, 21.
Ki-dili (daši)
Ki-in-pi(KA)-dŠamaš (cf. I-kun-bi-Sin, Ranke, P. N., p. 98)
f. of Ta-qi-šu, Neb. Nippur, V, 12.
Kud-da-ai (cf. Qu-da-a, Qud-da-a, Hilprecht in B. E., IX)
London, 102, III, 15.
Ku-dur-ra
s. of Hi(?)-ri-šu-ru, O. B. I, 149, I, 21.
Ku-du-ra-na (hypocor., cf. Ranke, P. N., p. 13)
s. of dBel,..., London, 103, I, 21.
Ku-dur-ru
s. of E-gi-bi, V. A. 2663, IV, 11.
Ku-ri-Gal-ru
1. f. of Na-zi-Marut-taš, Susa 2, I, 3;
II, 28.
2. s. of Bu-ra-Bu-ri-ia-aš, D. E. P.,
II, 93, I, 6, 18 (identical with
No. 1). 3. ancestor of dMarduk-apal-iddina
I, IV R. 38, I, 25.
4. s. of dBel-erba, V. A. 208, 27.

*Kur-zu-bu
s. of Su-me-e-a, D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 14.
La-baši-dMarduk (cf. Lā-tu-ba-sa-ni-ilu, Ps. 25 : 2; Tallquist, N. B.,
p. 308)
s. of Da-bi-bi, V. A. 2663, V, 8.
La-bašu (abbreviated)
2. s. of Ra-šaš, V. A. 209, IV, 16.
DiuLa-rak-zēr-ilmi(KAKI)
s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I, 12.
La-ri(?)
V. A. 208, 40.
Li-bur-zu-nin-E-kur, “May the restorer
of Ekur be strong.”
hšaqū, London, 101, II, 6; Susa 16,
III, 17.
/Li-ki-im-ma-ai
V. A. 209 IV, 12.
Lūša(UD.DU)-a-na năr-dMarduk
Lūša(UD.DA)-ilu ...

dMār-bitti(TU.R.E)-aḫē-iddina(-na)
mār šarrī, London, 102, IV, 44.
dMār-bitti(TU.R.E)-ša-li-ti
s. of Me-li-Ḫa-la, London, 102, IV, 45.
dMār-bitti(TU.R.E)-šum-ilmi(KAK)
s. of Ardi-dSibitti, London, 102, I, 19,
25 [35], III, 18; IV, 18, 19, 28,
32.

Mar-duk
1. s. of Ka-niš-bābi, V. A. 2663, IV,
26, 41.
2. s. of dSin-tab-ni, V. A. 209, II, 12.
dMarduk-apal-iddina(-na)
1. šarru, s. of Me-li-Ši-pak, Susa 2,
Med. 2, I, 2; Susa 16, II, 14, 20,
29, 34; IV R. 38, I, 20; II, 18;
Susa 3, I, 39; II, 4; Susa 14, I,
15; D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 23.
2. šar Bābili, V. A. 2663, I, 25, 43;
III, 39; IV, 49; V, 17, 33.

* A hypocoristicon, cf. Puḫḫuru, Tallquist, Namenbuch, p. xviii; O. L. Z., IX
(1906), p. 467.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

dMarduk-e-a (hypocor.)
f. of Sa-mi-du, III R. 43, II, 22.
dMarduk-ahè-erba(SU)
1. šarru, O. B. I., 149, I, 14.
dMarduk-ibni
kha-za-an Bit-mPir'-dAmurru, Susa 14, I, 9.
dMarduk-il-naphari(DUL)
s. of Ina-Eaqila-zérzu, III R. 43, I, 8; Edge IV, 3, 4.
dMarduk-ku-dur-ri-ûsur(SA.DU.ŠEŠ)
1. s. of Ur-dBélit-muballihat-mítati, London, 103, IV, 15; V, 9, 18, 24.
2. kšaq bitti, Susa 16, III, 19.
dMarduk-mukin-aplu
s. of Tābu(H)mi-li-e, V R. 56, 20.
dMarduk-nadin-ahè
šarru, I R. 66, I, 3; II, 18; III R. 43, I, 4, 22, 28; edge IV, 4.
dMarduk-nasir(PAP)
1. kšaq šarru, III R. 41, I, 11, 29.
2. s. of Ga-md[r]...III R. 43, II, 29.
dMarduk-sāpik(DUB)-zérzu
s. of Tam-ma-sad(?)-dar, C. T., X, pl. III, 28.
dMarduk-šar-ilani(?)
f. of Su-ma-a, C. T., X, pl. VI, 25.
dMarduk-sūm-iddina
šar Bābili, V A. 208, 53.
dMarduk-za-kir-šumu
dMarduk-zēr-ib-ni
Mār-ašu-lu-nu-nak
I R. 66, II, 3.
Ma-zī (perhaps better Ba-zī)
in Bit-mMa-zī, C. T., IX, pl. V, 25
Me-li-Ha-la
2. [Me]-li-Ha-la, s. of Zu-me-[a], D. E. P., II, 112, 8; VI, 44; I, 2(?)
Me-li-Si-pak
f. of Marduk-apal-iddina I., Susa 2, Med. 2, I, 3.
šarru, Susa 3, I, 27; II, 3, D. E. P., 112, 7; Susa 16, I, 5; II, 4, 12;
Mi-li-Har-be
Mudammiq(SLI.BIR-iq)-dRammān
Muk-kut-is-saḥ (cf. perhaps Tu-na-mi-is-su-ah, IV R.3 38, I, 14)
1. s. of Sa(z)ap-rī, V R. 56, 16.
2. in Bit-mMuk-kut-is-saḥ, Susa 2, I, 12, 18.
Mu-un-na-bit-tu(ti), “fugitive,”
s. of Tābu(DUG.GA)-me-lu-[i], Susa 16, I, 6; II, 11, 19, 32; III, 9, 13.
Mu-ra-nu
s. of Se-kīb-sī-bar...V, A. 208, 42.
Mušabbi(TUK)-ili
Mu-šal-li-mu (abbrev., cf. dNabā mušallim)
s. of dSin-apal-iddina, V A. 208, 23.
Mu-šal-ili-aplu
Mu-šal-ilim-dMarduk
s. of Ardi-dMarduk, London, 102, IV, 7.
Mu-še-zīl-dMarduk
f. of dRammān-ibni, C. T., X, pl. IV, 22; V, 14; VI, 31.
Mu-šīb-ša
apil kha-za-an-na, V A. 208, 41.
dNabû-apal-idanna
1. šarru, C. T., X, pl. III, 2, 9, 21, 31; V. A. 208, 30.
2. s. of At-na-ai, C. T., X, pl. III, 1, 22.
dNabû-agu-ni(!)*
s. of Ašab-sù, V. A. 208, 51.
dNabû-balû(TIN)-su-îq-bi
V. A. 2663, V. 4.
dNabû-bêl-sûmâti(MU,MEŠ)
s. of Iš-ia, C. T., X, pl. VII, 47.
dNabû-bêl-u-šu-na
kha-šin, C. T., X, pl. VII, 42.
dNabû-n-ga-mil
1. s. of Ka-re-e-a, V. A. 2663, IV, 7.
2. mûr šinâjaru, V. A. 208, 9.
dNabû[eriš]-iša (cf. Šamaš-eriš of this list)
s. of Ardi-dEa, O. B. 1, 140, 1, 15.
dNabû-ḫa-mat-ú-a, "Nabû is my help"(?).
nâgir ékallû, V. A. 2663, V. 7.
dNabû-idanna(SE-na)
f. of DAI(GAL)-mu-tak-kil, V. A. 209, V, 19.
dNabû-ileši(DA)
1. s. of Akkû-ûlû-namû, V. A. 2663, V, 10.
2. s. of Nûr-Šin, V. A. 209, I, 3, 17, 20, 26, II, 35, III, 9, 23, IV, 1, 6, 15, 18, 31, 34, 38.
dNabû-îqûša(BA-šša)
dNabû-ku-dur-ri-ugûr(ŠA,DU,ŠES)
dNabû-mukin(GI,NA)-ašu
šarru, London, 102, I, 10, 18; II, 37; III, 9, 12, 22; IV, 1, 12, 14.
dNabû-mušallim(GL)
s. of Da-ku-ru, C. T., X, pl. V, 10, 11; VII, 45.
dNabû-nâdûn-akê
1. s. of Nam-ri, I R. 66, II, 15.
2. IV R. 38, I, 32.
dNabû-ña-ši-ir
s. of Na-zî-dMarduk, IV R. 38, II, 34.
dNabû-ni-ir-da-ši-bi
ḫûskarru, V. A. 2663, V, 14.
dNabû-rû-im-zûru
s. of Ardi-dEa, I R. 66, II, 14.
dNabû-ri-m-an-ni
C. T., X, pl. VII, 43.
dNabû-sa-du[nu(?)]†
f. of It-tab-ši, V. A. 208, 25.
dNabû-sa-kin(kakûn-in)-šumu
1. s. of Ardi-dEa, IV R. 38, II, 36.
dNabû-saqû(NIM)-ina-mâtî
dNabû-šum-iddina
1. s. of Šu-zîb-Marduk, Susa 16, II, 7.
2. šangû dApsû(ENGUR), O. B. I., 83, I, 15.
dNabû-tab-ni-bal(!)-liš
London, 102, VI, 20.
s. of A-hi, Neb. Nippur, III, 15; V, 16.
dNabû-û-šib-ši (= Nabû-û-šab-ši, II R. 67, 15)
s. of dNabû-zér-iddina, V. A. 208, 19.
br. of Mûr-biš-ušû-lûni, London, 102, I, 22.
dNabû-zér-û-nu

* Dr. Ungnad regards the last nu as a scribal error for ir and accordingly reads the name dNabû-nâšir(-ir).
† Read dNabû-sâkim-[nu] by Ungnad; see Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmâler, Vol. I, p. vii, a; but compare the name dŠu-ša-du-nu of this list.
dNabū-zēr-iddina(-na)
1. f. of dBēl-iddina, V. A. 208, 1, 14, 18, 20, 32, 49.
2. f. of dNabū-ū-šēb-ši (identical with No. 1), V. A. 208, 20.

*Nergal-UGUR)-ašaridu(SAG.KAL)

*Nergal-ŠUB bitu(KAK-ušī)
V. A. 209, IV, 29.

*Nergal-rišu-ū-a
bīši-ši PAŠKIG, V. A. 211, II, 1.

*Nergal-ū-šēb-ši (ušēši(IG-ušī))
1. s. of Tu(tam)-mašad(lad)-dar, C T., X, pl. III, 27.
2. V. A. 211, II, 8.

Ni-bi-Sī-pak
f. of Šu-šu-ši-Šu-gab, Susa 2, Med. 2, 8.

*Ni-šaBit

*Nim-šaBit ra-hi dMar[dāk]

*NIN.JB-apal-iddina

*NIN.JB(BAR)-bēl-šu-ru
s. of Na-zi-dEllīl, V. A. 2663, V, 1.

*NIN.JB-ludurri-usur (SA.DU-PAP or SES)
1. šarru, London, 102, II, 36; III, 21; VI, 1, 6, 8, 24.
2. mār barri, London, 102, IV, 42.

*NIN.JB-nādīn(SE)-šumu
London, 102, IV, 47.

*NIN.JB-nāšir(PAP-šīr)
London, 103, I, 27.

*NIN.JB . . . tu-ū
f. of Ta-ši-il-Ši-il-šu, London, 103, II, 2.

* Nu-ur-ahē-šu (abbreviated)
in ātu ša Nu-ur-ahē-šu, Susa 3, I, 17.

*Nur(LAH)-Bunene(HAR)

*Nur-e-a (hypocor.)
in Bit-mNur-e-a, C. T., X, pl. VI, 24, 29.

*Nergal-apal-šu-šur
V. A. 211, II, 5.

*Nergal-ŠUB bitu(KAK-ušī)
V. A. 209, IV, 29.

*Nergal-rišu-ū-a
bīši-ši PAŠKIG, V. A. 211, II, 1.

*Nergal-ū-šēb-ši (ušēši(IG-ušī))
1. s. of Tu(tam)-mašad(lad)-dar, C T., X, pl. III, 27.
2. V. A. 211, II, 8.

Ni-bi-Sī-pak
f. of Šu-šu-ši-Šu-gab, Susa 2, Med. 2, 8.

*Ni-šaBit

*Nim-šaBit ra-hi dMar[dāk]

*NIN.JB-apal-iddina

*NIN.JB(BAR)-bēl-šu-ru
s. of Na-zi-dEllīl, V. A. 2663, V, 1.

*NIN.JB-ludurri-usur (SA.DU-PAP or SES)
1. šarru, London, 102, II, 36; III, 21; VI, 1, 6, 8, 24.
2. mār barri, London, 102, IV, 42.

*NIN.JB-nādīn(SE)-šumu
London, 102, IV, 47.

*NIN.JB-nāšir(PAP-šīr)
London, 103, I, 27.

*NIN.JB . . . tu-ū
f. of Ta-ši-il-Ši-il-šu, London, 103, II, 2.

* Nu-ur-ahē-šu (abbreviated)
in ātu ša Nu-ur-ahē-šu, Susa 3, I, 17.

*Nur(LAH)-Bunene(HAR)

*Nur-e-a (hypocor.)
in Bit-mNur-e-a, C. T., X, pl. VI, 24, 29.

*Nergal-apal-šu-šur
V. A. 211, II, 5.

*Nergal-ŠUB bitu(KAK-ušī)
V. A. 209, IV, 29.

*Nergal-rišu-ū-a
bīši-ši PAŠKIG, V. A. 211, II, 1.

*Nergal-ū-šēb-ši (ušēši(IG-ušī))
1. s. of Tu(tam)-mašad(lad)-dar, C T., X, pl. III, 27.
2. V. A. 211, II, 8.

Ni-bi-Sī-pak
f. of Šu-šu-ši-Šu-gab, Susa 2, Med. 2, 8.

*Ni-šaBit

*Nim-šaBit ra-hi dMar[dāk]

*NIN.JB-apal-iddina

*NIN.JB(BAR)-bēl-šu-ru
s. of Na-zi-dEllīl, V. A. 2663, V, 1.

*NIN.JB-ludurri-usur (SA.DU-PAP or SES)
1. šarru, London, 102, II, 36; III, 21; VI, 1, 6, 8, 24.
2. mār barri, London, 102, IV, 42.

*NIN.JB-nādīn(SE)-šumu
London, 102, IV, 47.

*NIN.JB-nāšir(PAP-šīr)
London, 103, I, 27.

*NIN.JB . . . tu-ū
f. of Ta-ši-il-Ši-il-šu, London, 103, II, 2.

* Nu-ur-ahē-šu (abbreviated)
in ātu ša Nu-ur-ahē-šu, Susa 3, I, 17.

*Nur(LAH)-Bunene(HAR)

*Nur-e-a (hypocor.)
in Bit-mNur-e-a, C. T., X, pl. VI, 24, 29.

*Nergal-apal-šu-šur
V. A. 211, II, 5.

This name occurs as the name of a canal in the Murashû texts, cf. B. E., Vol. X, p. 70.
Núr-dE-a
Núr-lišīr(SL.DI)
  f. of Samúa and Šamaš, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 2; V, 29.
Núr-dMarduk
  f. of Išu-ŠamaUdi(-iq), London, 102, VI, 22.
Núr-dSin (XXX)
  1. f. of dNabú-šešems, V. A. 209, I, 3; III, 9, 23; IV, 1, 18.
  2. f. of Sa-ba-ia, V. A. 209, II, 13, 14; V, 14.
  3. f. of dA-num-nāšir, V. A. 209, II, 14; V, 15 (perhaps all three identical).
  
  dNusku(PA+KU)-ib-ni

Pir-dAmurru(KUR.GAL)
  1. in Bit-mPir-dAmurru, O. B. I., 149, I, 4, 10, 13, 17; II, 5; Susa 14, I, 11; Susa 3, I, 25; II, 40, 47; III, 17, 25, 32.
  2. in Bit-Pir(?)-dAmurru(MAR.TU), London, 101, I, 6, 7, 12.

Pir(UD)-ša (cf. perhaps Pir(UD)-ša-ti, Clay, B. E., XV, 49, or abbreviated from Pir-dŠamaš, see p. 186f.)

Pir-ir-dŠamaš
  s. of Šu-ma-al(?)-dŠamaš, D. E. P., II, 93, I, 14.

Rabâ(GAL-a)-ša-dMarduk*

Ra-ḫaṣ
  f. of Lu-ba-šu, V. A. 209, IV, 17, 35, 36.
  dRammân(IM)-bēl-ka-la
  dRammân-iš-ni
    s. of Mušēšid-dMarduk, C. T., X, pl. V, 14; VI, 31.

  dRammân-da-an
    kesukkalu, C. T., X, pl. VII, 42.
  dRammân-na-ši
    f. of dNUN.ŠU-ŠAPAL-iddina, IV R. 38
      II, 32.
  dRammân-šum-eršīš
    s. of dSin-šapal-iddina, V. A. 208, 22.
  dRammân-šum-iddina
    šarrū, London, 103, I, 2, 4, 18, 24, 37;
      VI, 29.
  dRammân-šum-usur (or perhaps nādin-
      aḫu)
    šarrū, London, 103, I, 40, 45; II, 17;
      III, 2, 39; IV, 5, 31; VI, 30;
      D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 18.
    šar kiššati, D. E. P., II, 97, 8.
  dRammân-en-igīša(BA-ša)
    III R. 43, I, 6, 12; Edge IV, 3.
  mhRē'-a-piḫōti
    f. of Ta-ki-ša-dBēlit, III R. 43, II, 8.
  Ri-li-šu
    kē-ši-piḫa E-sag-ila, C. T., X, pl. VII,
      44.
  Ri-ḫu-ša-ilāni, “The seed of the gods.”
    mār šarrī, London, 102, IV, 43.
  Ri-me-ni-dMarduk, “Merciful is Mar-
      dukan.”
    f. of dNabû-na-din-ahē, IV R. 38, I,
      34.
  Ri-muk-ti(?) (abbreviated)
    s. of Be-la-ni, London, 103, III, 11,
      27, 31.
  Ri-muk-šu
  Rit-ti-dMarduk, “My hand (= help) is Mar-
      dukan.”
    bēl biti ša Bit-šu Kar-zi-ab-ku, V R. 55,
      25, 35, 45; VI, 7.
  Ri-zī-in-ni

  Sa-a-mi-pa(?)
    f. of dUr-dBēlit-muballīt-muḫšiti,
      London, 103, IV, 8.
  Šag-qa . . .
    D. E. P., II, 93, 9.

* For this reading see Tallquist, Namenbuch, p. 173a.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

1dSAG-mudammuq(SIBIR-iq)-šar-be
d. of Ardi-dSibitti, London, 101, I,
16, 27, 34.
Sa-mi-du (cf. Clay, B. E., XIV, p. 51; 
XV, p. 41)
dSin(XXX)-ahē-erba(SU)
s. of Ra-ḫaš, V. A. 209, IV, 16.
dSin-apal-iddina
f. of Mu-šal-li-mu, V. A. 208, 23.
dSin-ašaridu (SAG.KAL) (abbreviated, 
cf. dSin-a-ša-rid and dŠamaš-a-ša-ri-id-lii(VINN); see Tall-
quist, N. B.; cf. also Hilprecht in Ranke's P. N., p. 129, 
under Nannar-SAG-KAL.
1. O. B. I, 150, I, 2, 3, 4.
2. in Bit-mdSin-ašaridu, Susa 2, II, 
14; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 22.
dSin-bēl(BE)-ilānī
s. of Ka-an-di, O. B. I, 149, I, 3.
dSin-il-nu
hnuhatimmu(MU), V. A. 209, II, 16.
dSin-ka-rab-ū-ša-me
f. of dŠu-ša-ba-ni, V. A. 2663, V, 12.
dSin-šarāb(AGAZ.GAZ)-ē-ša-me
f. of dNergal-ašaridu, C. T., X, pl. 
VII, 49.
dSin-šišir(SLI.DI)
f. of Ba-bi-la-aši(-u), I-R. 66, II, 8; 
III R. 43, II, 2.
dSin-ma-ša
in Bit-mdSin-ma-ša, Susa 2, I, 28; 
dSin-mu-ša-lim
s. of Bu-ru-ša, London, 102, VI, 15.
dSin-ša-du-nu
f. of dMarduk-zēr-ibni, C. T., X, pl. 
VII, 46.
dSin-ša-me
in Bit-mdSin-ša-me, Neb. Nippur, II, 
20, 28; III, 1, 8, 9, 16 [30]; V, 9, 
10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20.
dSin-zēr-ib-ni
dSin-tab-ni (abbreviated, cf. Sin-tab-
ni-ušur)
f. of Mar-duk, V. A. 209, II, 12.
Su-šu-šu-gal-du (cf. p. 174)
in Bit-mdSu-šu-šu-gal-du, Neb. Nippur, 
Heading 9; III, 3.
Su-me-e
Su-me-e-a
Ša-ba-ia
s. of Nār-Šin, V. A. 209, II, 13; V, 
14.
Šad-dak-me†
f. of Na-zi-dMarduk,IV R. 56, 12.
Ša-ga-ša-tum (abbrev., cf. Šogarākī-
šurišša)
hša-šin-ša-me mšuššišt-ša, D. E. P., 
VI, 44, I, 11.
Šal-ma-la-ti-šu... 
s. of Nār-Šin Bune, London, 102, IV, 8.
Ša-ma-aš
s. of Ša-šu-ša-a, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 1, 
17; pl. V, 29.
Ša-mar-di
br. of dMār-bašt-ša-sum-ibni, London, 
102, I, 22.
Šamaš(UT)-ēša(PIN)
f. of dBēl-iddina, V. A. 208, 50.
dŠamaš-iddina (abbreviated)
hša-ša-an-ša Ha-ni, London, 101, I, 
18.
dŠamaš-nāšašu
1. s. of Ardi-nu-baš-ti, Susa 3, I, 30.
2. s. of At-la-ilu-ma, V R. 56, 17.
3. s. of Bu-ru-ša, London, 102, I, 17, 
27, 36; IV, 30.
dŠamaš-nāšir(SES) (abbreviated, see 
Tallquist, N. B., 142, under 
Šnabū-nāšir)

* Cf. the names Ša-ba-ii-a and dMarduk-ša-bu-šu, see Tallquist, Namenbuch.
† Formerly read Kur-ka-me, but the second sign is not KA, from which it 
differs by the last two wedges. In the Cassite texts the name Šad(Kur)-dak-me 
occurs; see B. E., Vol. XV, 37, 8; 85 : 3; 90 : 20. That makes it probable that the 
doubtful sign is an older form of dak.
Šamaš-šum-lišir(SI.DI)
2. s. of Ul-tu-ši, Susa, 3, I, 33.
Šamaš(GIS.SIR)-šum-ukin(GL.NA)
šarru, C. T., X, pl. V, 7; VI, 29; VII, 51.
Šam(U) ėš-Ḫa-la
Ša-mu-ú-a
s. of Nūr-lišir, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 1, 17; pl. V, 28.
Šāpik(DUB-ik)-ṣērḫu* (abbreviated)
f. of Iddinā, V. A. 208, 34, 37, 54.
Ša-pi-ku (abbreviated)
s. of Itti-Marduk-balatu, III R. 41, I, 13
mŠaq-šu-pur (cf. p. 201*)
Sūr-a-ni (abbrev., cf. dBēl-šar-a-ni, Tallquist, N. B.)
s. of In-nu-ú-a, V. A. 209, II, 35; III, 8.
Šarru dEllil†
ḫazzatu, O. B. I., 149, I, 19.
Sarru-ušir(DU)(u-šīn)
šarru, C. T., X, pl. IV, 12; V. A. 209,
II, 28; V, 4.
Ša-zu-ú-ti
f. of Ellil nan-dinšumu, III R. 43, II,
13.
Šē-kīši-bašir,
.. f. of Mu-ra-nu, V. A. 208, 42.
Šē-li-bi
in ēlu ša Mār-šē-li-bi, Susa 3, I, 44.
SEŠ-ša-pa,
Ši-gu-ú-a (cf. Šē-gu-su, Nk. 305, 14, and ʾegā, lamentation)
f. of dBēl-iddina(-na), C. T., X, pl.
VII, 50.
Šī-ta-ri-ba, “She has increased” (cf. p. 186).
Šu-ub-ḫu
C. T., X, pl. IV, 6.
Šu-ḫu-li-Šu-gab
s. of Ni-bi-Ši-pak, Susa 2, Med. 2, 7.
Šū-la-a (cf. perhaps Šūl-šu-ú-a, Tall-
qust, N. B.)
f. of Bi-š-e-a, V. A. 209, IV, 9.
mŠu-li-[i]
D. E. P., VI, 43, III, 2.
Šul-ma-nu-ša-dād(MAŠ)
šar mātu-Assur, V. A. 209, I, 1.
Šū-ma-a
1. s. of Er-ba, V. A. 209, III, 24.
2. s. of dMarduk-šur-[ilāni(?)], C. T.,
X, pl. VI, 25.
Šu-ma-at(?)-dŠamaš
f. of Pī-ir-dŠamaš, D. E. P., II, 93, I,
15.
Šum-ši-a-šīp-ú-šu, “The name of the
god is his diviner.”
O. B. I., 149, I, 8.
Šum-ukin(GL.NA)
f. of Iqšā(BA-ša-a), V. A. 209, II, 19.
Šu-qa-ma-na-aḫu-iddina
s. of Mi-li-Ḫar-be, III R. 43, II, 13.
(Su)-qa-ma-na-apal-iddina(-na)
s. of Kar-zi-ab-ku, London, 102, IV, 5.
Šu-zib-šMarduk
s. of Ardi-d Ea, Susa 16, II, 8.
Ša-ša-i-r (cf. ZA-ap-rum(ru, ri), in Clay,
B. E., XIV, p. 55. Probably
abbreviated, a derivation of
šaparu, to call)
dŠir-ap-pi-li, perhaps “O Sir, answer.”
in Bit-mṯdŠir-ap-pi-li, Neb. Nippur,
Heading 5; III, 1.
dŠir-šum-iddina(-na)
s. of Aḫu-ba-nu-ū, Susa 16, II, 24;
III, 1.
Šir-úšur(SEŠ)
s. of Ḫab-ba-n, I R. 70, I, 13.

* Thus according to Dr. Ungnad.
† For the element Šar-bi cf. dSAG-mudammiq-šar-be in this list.
Tab-ni-e-a (hypocor.)

khazannu, V. A. 209, V, 16.

Tab-nu-ta(ti)


Ta-kil-a-na-ili-šu, ‘‘He is trusting in his god.’’

1. kbáru, London 103, I, 5, 7, 28, 39, 42; I, 1, 7, 10, 15; III, 43; IV, 9, 22, 32, 41; V, 22, 30, 33.

2. Bit-mTa-kil-a-na-ili-šu, London, 103, I, 1, 5, 36, 42; II, 7; III, 43; V, 30, 33.

Ta-qi-ša-dBélit(GAŠAN)

s. of ’Rê-a-piḫatti, III, 43, II, 7.

Ta-qi-šu (abbreviated)


Tu(lam)-ma-šad(lad)-dar


Tu-na-mi-is-sa-ah(sah)


2. in Bit-mTu-na-mi-is-sa-ah(sah), IV R, 38, I, 14; I R. 70, I, 18; Susa 3, I, 45.

Tu-un-na-a (cf. Tu-na-a, Tallquist, N. B.)

AMUK, V. A. 209, II, 17; IV, 44.

Ta-ab-a-šab-4Marduk, ‘‘Good is the dwelling of Marduk’’ (cf. Clay, B. E., XV, 44, note 2).*


Tábu(DUG.GA)-me-lú-ú

f. of Mu-un-na-bi-tu, Susa 16, I, 7; III, 10.

Tábu(DUG).mi-li-e


Tu-bi-ia-en-na

kaqû, V R. 56, 15.

U-bal-li-šu (abbreviated)


Uballit(TIL.LA)-su-4Gu-la

s. of Ardi-dEa, V R. 56, 19.

Ú-bal-li-šu-4Marduk

f. of Ri-me-ni-4Marduk, IV R, 38, II, 2.

Ul-tu-ilu (abbreviated)

f. of dSamaš-šum-lišir, Susa 3, I, 34.

m arhu Ulûla-âi

f. of dBáni-ši-erêš, V. A. 209, II, 18, 32.

Upâkhîr(KIL)-dNusku, ‘‘Nusku gave strength’’ (cf. dNabû-upâkhîr (NJIN-ir)).

f. of dNusku-šûmi, Neb. Nippur, II, 13; III, 10,[31].

Up-pa... .

D. E. P., II, 93, II, 3.

Ur - dBélit - muBallit (T I N) - mitûti (BAD-ga)†

br. of Ta-kil-a-na-ili-šu, London, 103, I, 6, 17, 38, 44; II, 9, 12, 19; III, 5, 14, 15, 24, 33, 38, 46; IV, 7, 11, 16, 25, 35; V, 25.


1. f. of La-ba-šu, V. A. 209, II, 20.

2. s. of I-sin-na-ai, V. A. 209, III, 10.

Uš-bu-la

in Bit-mUš-bu-la, Neb. Nippur, III, 5.

Už-bi-â


Ü-zib-4Ellil

kukallu, Susa 16, III, 20.

* To this translation Prof. Hilprecht remarks: ‘‘It is doubtful to me whether the use of the ideogram in the passage quoted from B. E., XV, is sufficient to prove the writing with ’b,’ asâbu, ‘to dwell.’ In view of Šum-ili-a-šip-ú-úš it is not impossible that the scribe mixed the ideograms for âšâbu and âšâpu (the latter also pronounced asâbu in Babylonian), so that the old translation, ‘Good is the exorcism (asâbu=âšâpu) of Marduk,’ would stand after all.”

† The goddess Gula is meant, cf. her name dNIN.TIN.BAD-ya=bêltum muBallit miti, see Br. 11084.

\[\text{(KA.DINGIR.RA}^{\text{ki}}\text{)} \] Susa 2, I, 8; II, 29; Susa 2, Medallion 2, 4; D. E. P., II, 97, 9; Neb. Nippur, II, 20; I R. 66, I, 1; II, 17; O. B. I., 83, I, 7; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 12, 13; C. T., X, pl. III, 30; V. A. 208, 31; V. A. 2663, I, 44.

\[\text{(KA.DINGIR)} \] V. A. 2663, III, 52.

\[\text{(Bâbi-lish)} \] V. A. 2663, I, 26.

\[\text{(DUG) V.R. 55 : 3.} \]

\[\text{(SU.AN.NA}^{\text{ki}}\text{)} \] C. T., X, pl. IV, 16; V. A. 2663, V, 33; picture, I, 2.

\[\text{Bar-sîpki} \]

V. A. 2663, III, 25; V, II; C. T., X, pl. VII, 47.

Ba-ši (the town Baš in the name of the canal nîrusHâr-ri-Ba-ši)

Susa 3, I, 24.

\[\text{âluBit-mA-da} \]

III R. 43, I, 3, 15, 17, 21; II, 23, 25; III, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14; edge, IV, 1, 4, 6; III R. 45, No. 2, 4, 7.

\[\text{Bit-a-qar-nak-kân-di} \]


\[\text{Bit-a-ša-ni}^{\text{ki}} \]

V. A. 2663, IV, 9.

\[\text{Bit-mA-ša-ri-du} \]

V. A. 208, 45.

\[\text{Bit-m}^{\text{a}}\text{-At-na-ai} \]


\[\text{Bit-m}^{\text{a}}\text{-At-rat-taš} \]

London, 102, I, 31, 32, 33; IV, 37.
Bit-mBa-zi
D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 14; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 24.
Bit-mdBél-sum-iskun(ŠA-un)
V. A. 209, III, 6, 21.
Bit-mdE-a-ma-lik, bnaharu
Susa 3, I, 22.
Bit-mdEllil-ki-di-ni
London, 103, IV, 29.
\(\text{ālu}^*\)Bit-mHa-
C. T., X, pl. V, 12, 16; VI, 29.
Bit-mHā-ba-an(Ḥab-ba-an) (cf. Hommel, Geographie, pp. 267, 296)
I R. 70, I, 3, 10, 12; II, 5; V R. 56, 50.
Bit-mHa-an-bi (Delitzsch, Kossäer, p. 35)
III R. 41, I, 2, 3, 7, 34.
Bit-mHa-li-ē
C. T., X, pl. VI, 17.
Bit-mHi-ma-qu
Susa 16, I, 20.
Bit-mIm-bi-ia-ī
III R. 41, I, 5.
Bit-mIna-kē-ētīr
V. A. 209, I, 34.
Bit-mIr-ri-qa
Susa 3, I, 13.
Bit-mIs-ba-dRammān
Susa 3, I, 22.
Bit-mIz-kur-dNabū
Susa 16, II, 3.
Bit-mKar-zi-ia-ab-ku
Bit-mMuq-gut-is-sāh
Susa 2, I, 12, 18.
Bit-mNa-gi-bi-īlu
C. T., X, pl. VI, 20.
Bit-mNa-gi-dMarduk
IV R. 2, 38, 1, 10.
Bit-nār-e-a
C. T., X, pl. VI, 24, 29.
Bit-mPir'-dAmurru (KUR.GAL)
Susa 3, I, 6, 25, 36; II, 40, 47; III, 17, 25, 32; IV, 45; VI, 5, 8, 12; O. B. I., 149, I, 4, 10, 13, 17; II, 5; Susa 14, I, 11; II, 4.
Bit-mPir(?)-dAmurru (MARTU), London, 101, I, 6, 7, 12.
\(\text{ālu}^*\)Bit-Sik-ka-mi-du
Susa 3, II, 23.
Bit-mdSin-ašaridu(SAG.KAL)
Susa 2, I, 14; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 22;
V. A. 213, I, 2, 3, 4.
Bit-mdSin-ma-gir
Susa 2, I, 28; O. B. I., 83, I, 11, 12;
II, 4, 6, 13.
Bit-mdSin-šē-me
Neb. Nippur, II, 20, 28; III, 1, 8, 9,
16 [30]; V, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15,
17, 18, 20.
Bit-mdSu-hur-Gal-du
Bit-mdŠt-ap-pi-li
Neb. Nippur, Heading I. 5; III, 1.
\(\text{ālu}^*\)Bit-dŠamaš
V R. 56, 1.
Bit-mŠES-a-pa....
Bit-mŠum-ili-a-šip-ū-uš
O. B. I., 149, I, 8.
Bit-mTu-kił-a-na-ili-šu
London, 103, I, 1, 5, 36, 42; II, 7;
III, 43; V, 30, 33.
Bit-mTī....
London, 103, III, 50.
Bit-mTu-na-mis-sāh(sa-ah)
Susa 3, I, 45; I R. 70, I, 8; IV R. 38
I, 14.
Bit-mUš-bu-la
\(\text{ālu}^*\)ša mDāmiq(-iq)-dRammān
Susa 3, II, 24.
\(\text{ālu}^*\)Dēr (not Dūr-iluki, see references below and Delitzsch, Leesestücke, p. 15)
\(\text{ālu}^*\)Di-ri, V. A. 209, IV, 7.
\(\text{ālu}^*\)DUR.AN.KI, V. A. 209, I, 2; II, 25, 31; III, 2, 18; IV, 25.
\(\text{ālu}^*\)Di-er-ri, O. B. I., 83, I, 2.
\(\text{ālu}^*\)Di-e-ir maḫāz dAnum, V. R 55, 14, 49.
Dil-baṭki
V. A. 208, 2, 29, 49.
šuDi-in-du-bitu (šuDimtu-bitu)
III R. 43, I, 27.
šuDi-in-sarru
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 3, 18.
šuDul-lum
D. E. P., II, 97, 2.
šuDun-ni-edini (Hommel, Geographie, p. 286)
V. A. 2663, IV, 21, 45.
Dup-li-ia-aš (not Um-li-ia-aš; see also Hommel, Geographie, p. 290)
Susa 2, II, 9.
DUR.A.N.KI (one of the names of the zikkurat of the temple Ekur at Nippur, see Commentary, p. 171f.)
šuDár-Ku-ri-gal-zu (Hommel, Geographie, p. 344)
Susa 3, I, 20.
šuDár-dNergal
Susa 2, II, 7.
šuDár-dPap-sukal (Hommel, l.c., p. 295)
Susa 2, I, 37.
šuDár-Rim-dSin
šuDár-dSamaš-ili-bâni (KAK)
Susa 2, II, 12.
šuDár-šarru (Hommel, l.c., p. 296)
Susa 2, II, 33.
šuDár-šarru-uki
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 20.
šuDár-zî-zîki
IV R.² 38, I, 3, 19.
šuDu-il-šu

mâtÉlamtuki
V. R. 55, 41, 43; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 3, 9, 10.
E-an-na (the temple of Naná in Ereh, cf. Code of Ḥam., II, 43-47)
only in personal name, cf. E-an-na-šum-idina.
E-kur (the temple of Ellil in Nippur)

E-sag-ila (the temple of Marduk in Babylon, cf. Code of Ḥam., II, 7-12)
D. E. P., VI, 46, IV, 4; London, 102, I, 43; V. A. 2663, II, 2; V, 9; C. T., X, pl. VII, 44.
E-šar-ra (the temple of Nin.II.B in Assur, cf. the name Tukulti-apili-E-šar-ra and Gula is called: kal-lat E-šar-ra)
E-ul-maš (the temple of Anunit in Akkad, cf. Code of Ḥam., IV, 49-51)
D. E. P., VI, 47, 15.
IV R.² 38, II, 14; D. E. P., VI, 46, IV, 3; V. A., 2663, II, 3.

šuGur-dâštar (NIN.NI) (Hommel, Geogr., 289)
IV R.² 38, I, 5, 11, 18; II, 33.

Ha-ni
šu ša Ha-neki, D. E. P., II, 97, 6.
Ḫal-man (Hommel, Geogr., 295)
V R. 36, 22.
šuHu-da-da (not Bag-da-da, see Hommel, Geogr., pp. 252, 273, 341, 345)
Susa 16, I, 4; II, 1, 6, 22, 26, 28; III, 3; IV, 7; D. E. P., VI, 46, I, 4; I R. 70, I, 6.
Ḫu-da-di, Susa 16, I, 28, 30.
piḫat màt šuHu-da-di(!), Susa 2, II, 4.
šuḪar-rî-ša-ri-e (cf. šuKa-ri-e)
D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 3.
šuḪu-ša-ši
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 14, 22.
šuIr-ri-e-a (cf. šuIr-ri-a, III R. 4, 3)
D. E. P., 44, I, 7, 10.
mât šuIr-ri-ha
D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 12.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

\[ \text{al} \text{u-ši-in (Ni-ši-in)} \]
PA.ŠEki, V. A. 211, II, 2.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-tu-nu-nu-ka} \]
I R. 66, II, 3.

\[ \text{mu} \text{tu-Kal-du} \]
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Ka-bel-Šum} \]
D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 2.
\[ \text{mu} \text{tu-Ka} \text{-ni-a-aš} \]
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 5.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Ka} \text{-Nu-ba} \] (Delitzsch, Paradies, 206)
I R. 70, I, 2.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Ka-ri-e (in the district of Upl)} \]
Susa 2, I, 17.
\[ \text{Kutu(GU.DU.A} \text{ki}) \]
V. A. 2663, V, 13.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Lab-ža ša Bit-ja-[ki]} \]
C. T., X, pl. VI, 27.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Lab-ri} \text{-al (only in personal name, cf. m \text{al} \text{u-Lab-ri-šer-bi-ri})} \]
London, 102, I, 12.
\[ \text{mu} \text{tu-Lulu-bi-i} \]
V R. 55, 9.

\[ \text{al} \text{u-Man-du-i} \]
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša Mār-maš-at-tu-i-a} \]
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša Mār-Še-li-bi} \]
Susa 3, I, 44.

\[ \text{al} \text{u-Na-ba-ti(tu) (also in Neo-Babyl.}} \]
Names, see Tallquist, N. B., 293)
V. A. 2663, IV, 17, 19.
\[ \text{mu} \text{tu-Na-ma} \]
V R. 55, 47, 48, 51, 52, 55; V R. 56, 6, 8, 10, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 48.
\[ \text{Na-ra-ni-e} \]
D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 7, 11.

\[ \text{Nippur(EN.LIL.KI)} \]
London, 103, I, 20, 48; III, 7, 42;
Neb. Nippur, II, 3; III, 12 [32];
V. A. 2663, II, 9; III, 12.
\[ pihaṭ Nippur, London, 103, III, 42. \]
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{mNu-ur-ah-šu} \]
Susa 3, I, 17.

\[ \text{al} \text{u-Pa-da-an} \]
D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 6.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Pa-ra} \text{kk(AR)-ma} \text{ri(TUR)ki} \]
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Pi-la-ri} \]
Susa 2, I, 2.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-Pu-ra-taš} \]
D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 8.

\[ \text{al} \text{u-Ri-is-ni (at the banks of the canal)} \]
Su-ri-rabā)
Susa 2, I, 21.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{Riš-ša-gi-dik} \]
D. E. P., II, 93, I, 2.

\[ \text{Sis-parki} \]
V. A. 2663, II, 8; III, 12.
\[ Su-bar-[tu] (=Mesopotamia, Winckler, Forschungen, I, 154f.) \]
D. E. P., II, 93, I, 5.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{ha-neki} \]
D. E. P., II, 97, 6.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša-ak-na-na-a} \]
Susa 16, I, 2, 23.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{Šal-hi} ("Rampart city") \]
Susa 3, I, 47.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{lu-lu-ni (at the Royal Canal)} \]
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{an-ba-ša} \]
V R. 56, 1.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{ba-ši} \]
Susa 2, I, 30.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{na-ki} \]
O. B. I., 149, I, 6, 10, 12.
\[ \text{al} \text{u-ša } \text{paš-ša } \text{mSa}^2, \ldots \]
C. T., X, pl. VI, 23.

* Cf. also Clay, B. E., XIV, 107, 3; 133, 3, 6; 148, 31. Hommel, Geographie p. 251; and Br. 6900, Pa-rak-ma-ri.

**Ar-ra-ra**
Susa 16, I, 34.

**A-tab-dûr-dîstar** (cf. Delitzsch, Paradies, 192)
III R. 43, I, 16.

**Bê-dar(?)** (cf. Hommel, Geographie, p. 267, and B. E., XV, 102, 12)
III R. 41, I, 2, 9.

**Du-û-tu (nâr âlu-Du-û-tu)**
V. A. 209, IV, 25, 28.

**Ha-ar-ri-Ba-ši,** "The canal of (the city) Bas" (cf. Hommel, Geographie, p. 345).
Susa 3, I, 24.

**Idiqlat (MAŠ.TIK.KAR)**

**Kan(Sum)-di-ri**
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 23.

**Ki-ba-a-ti**
Susa 3, I, 50.

**Ma-še-e**
C. T., X, pl. III, 18.

**Me-e-dan-dan** (cf. Hommel, Geographie, pp. 273, 280, 296)
Susa 16, I, 3, 24; I R. 70, I, 3.

**Mî-gi-tî** (=nâr migâti, see Hommel, Geographie, p. 296)
Susa 2, II, 8.

**Min(NîS)-ga-ti-rabiti(GAL-ti)**
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 21.

**Min(Nû)-ga-ti-rim-ma**
London, 102, I, 3.

**Nâr šarri**

**Ni-ni-nâ**
London, 103, IV, 2; also Nin[-nî]-nâ
London, 103, III, 42.

*Every name is preceded by the determinative nûru.*


Susa 16, V, 18; also in the personal names \textit{d}Ai(GAL)-bêl-šumâti, \textit{d}Ai-mutakkil.


V. A. 209, IV, 27.


Anu (AN), IV R., 38; III, 26; III R. 43, IV, 30; V. A. 209, IV, 17.


Anum (AN-num), Susa 2, IV, 2, 18; D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 19.


dA-num, V R. 55, 14; I R. 70, IV, 10; C. T., X, pl. VII, 38; V. A. 209, II, 8; V, 7.

dA-num-um, London, 101, III, 9; Susa 3, VI, 16; Susa 16, V, 12.

Also in the personal name dA-num-nāṣir.


A-nun-äm-kikku (the gods of fate in the underworld, see Zimmern, K. A. T.², 451–53; Morgenstern, M. V. A. G., X (1905), 161–166). 

dApsu (ENGER) (a personification of the primeval ocean, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T.², 492; the mother of Ea, IR. 1, II, 36; for the reading cf. C. T., XII, 26, Rev. 17f., and Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A. 263).

O. B. I., 83, I, 16; II, 14, 15.

dA-ru-ru (the mother-goddess, cf. K. B., VI, 1, p. 41, 1, 21, and p. 121, IL 33, 34; identified with dNIN-MAH, IV R. 53, III, 40, and Bēlit ite, IV R. 58, III, 19; called the wife(1) of dMU.UL.LIL (= dEulil), cf. Craig, Religious Texts, I, 19, 6, and Zimmern, K. A. T.², 430).

Susa 2, IV, 9.


Only in the personal name dAṣur-(HI)-āku-iddina.

dAT.GI.MAH (a deity belonging to the court of Shamash, placed after Bunene and before Kettu and Mēsharû, perhaps, with Scheil, to be read: Malku širu for AT.GI = ma-liš, see Br. 4170).

Susa 16, V, 20.

dBa-û (the consort of NIN.GIR.SU, cf. Cyl. B of Gudea, Col. XI, 11, 12; or of Za-ma-ma, cf. III R. 65, 62, 63d; also identified with Gula, the wife of NIN.IB, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T., 410; London, 103, VI, 5; Susa 16, V, 27; D. E. P., VI, 47, [1].

Bêl(EN) (a title of Marduk, the god of Babylon).

V R. 56, 14; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 11, 12; V. A. 2663, II, 37.

Bu-ne-ne (the charioteer of Shamash, cf. V R. 65, 33b, forming with Ai, Kettu, Mēsharu and Daianu the court of Shamash at Sippar, V R. 65, 29b, ff.).

Susa 16, V, 19; D. E. P., II, 115, 4; also in the personal name Nûr- Bu-nene(dHAR).

Bu-ri-ia-az (the Cassite god Ubrish, identified with Ramman, cf. Cassite Vocabulary, Obv. 6).

Only in the personal name Bu-ra-Bu-ri-ia-az.


Susa 16, V, 28.

dE-a (the chief god of Eridu, II R. 61, 46; worshipped in the temple
E.ZU.AB, together with his consort DAM.GA.L.NUN.NA, cf. Code of Hamm., II, 1; IV, 17, 18. She was also called D.A.M.-KI.NA, cf. Shurpu, III, 140).


dNIN.IDI.AZAG (=dE-a ša ni-me-kir, II R. 58, 56b), V. A. 2663, III, 8.

dBE, V. A. 2663, V, 36.

dEn-lil(Ellil) (the chief god of Nippur, worshipped in the temple E-KUR. For the reading Ellil see above, p. 161).


dIN.NU, V. A. 2663, V, 36.

dEr-ia (an Elamite deity, not identical with the goddess Erûa, for dEr-ia was a male deity (cf. pa-nišu uššad-gil, C. T., IX, pl. V, 41) and his image was permanently located in the town Hûšši, not in Babylon, i.e., pl. IV, 15).

C. T., IX, pl. IV, 2, 11, 13, 18, 25; pl. V, 30, 40.

dErûa (dA.EDIN.NA) (this goddess, placed alongside of Marduk, is no doubt identical with dA.-Rû:U.A = dE-rû-û-a, men- tioned in the Bilinguis of Šamaš-sum-ukin, I. 8. She was the goddess of pregnancy, also called Šerûa, bêlit naboûti, cf. Lehmann, Šamaš-sumukin, II, 36ff. Both are names of Šarpaniûmum V R. 44, 34c; V R. 46cd, 40, 41).

V. A. 2663, V, 41.

Gal-du (doubtless a Cassite deity, see Clay, B. E., XV, pp. 4¹, 54).

Only in the personal name Su-hur-Gal-du.

dGESTIN.NAM (dGESTIN is identified with dBêlit šeri, the scribe of the underworld, II R. 59, Rev. 10c. A temple of dAMA.-GESTIN is mentioned by Urukagina, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., p. 92, K, Rev. II, 1, 3; also Ur-Bau built a temple (E.ANSU.DUN.UR) to dGES- TIN.GN.NA; cf. Thureau-Dangin, l.c., p. 96a, VI, 5. She is mentioned as dGAŠ.TIN.NAM among the deities of Erech, cf. I R. 43, 32. We find her also alongside of dNIN.KA.SI, a wine goddess, cf. Reisner, Hymn- nen, IV, 64, 65, and as dNIN.-GESTIN in a list of thirteen gods, cf. K. 26, 13, Obv. II, 12 = B. A., V, 701).

Susa 16, V, 28, in a group of five goddesses.

dGirru(BIL.GI) (the fire god par excellence, see Zimmer, K. A. T., 417f.).

Susa, 2, IV, 19.

dGU.LA (the consort of NIN.IB, III R. 43, IV, 15. That dGU.LA is Sumerian is shown by Reisner, Hymn- nen, IV, 49, 50, where AMA dGU.LA is rendered ummu ra-bi-tum, hence her titles ru-ba-a-ti ši-il-ti, cf. Nebuch., 13, II, 44, and bi-šel-ti ra-bi-ti, cf. Nebuch., 13, II, 48, see Langdon, Building Inscriptions,
p. 106. On this question see Zimmern, K. A. T.², 410². Her sacred animal was the dog, cf. p. 121².


Ha-la (a Cassite goddess identified with Ĝula, cf. Delitzsch, Leestücke, p. 136, 6).

In the personal name Me-li-Ha-la; and perhaps in Sam-(U)-es-Ha-la.

Har-be (a Cassite god identified with En-lil, cf. V R. 44, IV, 1).

In the personal name Mi-li-Har-be.

dI-qi-gi (a collective name for the gods of heaven, sometimes used for the planetary gods, hence the ideogram V + II, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T.², 451–453).


dIl-lat (for the ideogram cf. Br. 4466, perhaps to be read dIarrôn-šaddû, as suggested by Zimmern, Beitrigge, p. 60, for the title dšišu šaddû šallûti is applied to this deity, cf. Shurpu, VIII, 22).

Only in the name dIllat-ai.

dInin-ni (thus the doubtful signs of IV R.² 38, II, 8, are read by Peiser and others. Being placed alongside of Nabû it is at all events a name of Nanâ, the consort of Nabû, cf. Shurpu, II, 156).

IV R.² 38, II, 8.


Susa 2, IV, 8; D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 8; III R. 43, IV, 28.


dIš-sum (a fire and pest god and as such the messenger (sukkalû) of Nergal, IV R. 21, No. 1, Obv. 43ff. His most common titles are: na-gir ra-bu-û ra-bi-šî ši-ri ša ilâni, C. T., XVI, 46, 179; na-gir tu-šî ša-qu-um-mî, C. T., XVI, 15, V, 22; na-gir mu-šî, C. T., XVI, 49, 305. His consort was dSu-bu-la(l), IV R. 26, No. 1, 9).

Susa 16, VI, 1; also in the name dIš-sum-ba-ni.

dKA.DI (mentioned by Entemena, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 62, n, I, 10; Gudea, cf. L. C., 148, X, 26; Anu-mutabil, cf. T. C., 250, 4, and
especially by Dungi, cf. I.c., 330, 7, as the goddess of Dér (Dārī-lu). On one of the boundary stones of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa 16) she is placed alongside of Tiššu, most likely her husband. She is closely associated with the serpent goddess dlg-Sāru (Susa 2, IV, 23). In Babylon dKaš-DI was worshipped as one of "the daughters of Esagila," cf. Reisner, Hymnen, p. 146, 44, and Zimmerm., K. A. T.3, 505).

Susa 2, IV, 23; Susa 16, VI, 4.

dKaš-šu-u (the highest god among the Cassites, as Delitzsch has made probable, cf. Delitzsch, Kossäer, p. 51).

In the personal names, dKaš-šu-u-mukin-aplu, dKaš-šu-u-nadin-ahē and dKaš-šu-u-nadin-šumu.


Susa 16, V, 22.

dLa-ga-ma-al (the goddess of Dilbat, V. A. 208, 2, 3. Perhaps identical with dNIN.E.GAL, the consort of dIB, "the gods of Dilbat," cf. Peiser, Acten-Stücke, Nos. VII, 2; IX, 2-3. In the Code of Ḥam., III, 29, dMA.MA takes the place of dNIN.E.GAL. She is also connected with Ki-sur-ri-ekī, cf. II R. 60, No.1,15ab, and Hommel, Geographie, 397).

V. A. 208, 3, 16, 26, 33.

dLa-aṣ (the consort of Nergal, worshipped in the temple E.SIT.LAM at Kutha, Nebuch., 9, II, 36, 37, see Langdon, Building Inscriptions, p. 86).

Susa 16, V, 34.

dLIL (placed alongside of dNIN.BAD, "the mistress of the dead," Susa 16, VI, 4. dNIN.BAD.NA is said to be the wife of dLUGAL.-ABB.A, cf. III R. 68, 73a; but dLUGAL.A.Á.B.B.A is one of the titles of Nergal, cf. II R. 59, 37, 38e, hence dLIL must be in this connection (Susa 16, VI, 4) one of the titles of Nergal and not of NIN.IB, as suggested by Scheil on the basis of II R. 57, 66c).

Susa 16, VI, 4.


IV R.3, 8, II, 9.


Susa 2, IV, 24.


Susa 16, VI, 2.

Susa 16, VI, 3.

dLUGAL.UR.UR (one of the personified weapons of NIN.IIB, held in his right hand, the companion of LUGAL.GAZ (or Sar-gaz), cf. Hrozný, Mythen, p. 12, I, 20. For his stellar character see Jensen, Kosmologie, 145).

Susa 2, IV, 24.

dMa'-me-tum (the consort of LUGAL.GIS.A.TUG.ABLIŠ or Bêl-garbi, the god of Baš, cf. K. 2866, 13. But also regarded as the consort of Nergal, cf. Böllencrücher, Gebete an Nergal, p. 20, No. III, 8, and Gilgamesh Epos, X, 6, 37).

Susa 16, VI, 3.

dMār-bītī (TUR.E) (a god worshipped in Borsippa, where Nebuchadrezzar II. built him a temple, cf. I R. 55, IV, 49, which was not far from the gate of Rammân, cf. Strassm., Dar., 367, I, 4. His title mušabbir kakki nakiria seems to point to a war god, cf. Weissbach in O. L. Z., VI (1903), 442. In III R. 66, Rev. 11b, he appears among “the gods of Esagila,” Rev. 20b).

Occurs only in personal names, dMār-bītī-ahê-iddina, dMār-bītī-ša-li-ti, etc.


Marut-tash (a Cassite god identified with NIN.IIB, cf. Cassite Vocabulary, Obv. 8).

Only in the name Nazi-Maruttash.


Susa 16, V, 22, 32 (dMišar-ra); D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 2, written dMišā-ra.

dNabû (the chief god of Borsippa, worshipped in the temple E.ZIL.DA. His consort Nūn (cf. Nebuch., 9, II, 18–25, see Langdon, Building Inscriptions, I, 84) or Tashmētum, cf. Shurpu, II, 157; III, 145, Pinckert, Hymnen, pp. 1ff.).

dAG = dNabû1, Susa 2, IV, 34; London, 101, III, 14; Susa 16, V, 24; IV R. 38, II, 8; D. E. P., VI, 46, IV, 3; III R. 41, II, 34; III R. 43, IV, 1; I R. 70, IV, 16; London, 102, I, 44; C. T., X, pl. IV, 8, 14.
DPA = dNabû², V. A. 2663, II, 1; III, 8.

dNa-na-a (the goddess of Erech, worshipped in the temple E.A.N.A, cf. Code of Ḥam., II, 43-47; also at Borsippa as the consort of Nabû, cf. Šurpu, I, 156).

V R. 50, 48; Susa 16, V, 29.


Susa 14, III, 7; V. A. 209, V, 9 (dSES.KI-na-ra); cf. I. R. 70, III, 8.

dNergal (the god of Kutha, worshipped in the temple ESIT.LAM, cf. Nebuch., 9, II, 36, 37, see Langdon, Building Inscriptions, I, 86; his consort was Laš (Susa 16, V, 33) or Mamêtum (see above) or Ereškigal (Allatu), cf. II. R. 59, 33f.).


dNE.URU.GAL, Susa 16, V, 33.

dGIR = Br. 9189; Susa I. 13 (see fig. 24°).

dNinā (originally the goddess of Ninā, one of the component parts of Širpuš, cf. brick of Eannatum, see Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 46, III, 1, 2. Her temple was built by Ur-Ninā, cf. Thureau-Dangin, l.c., 13, I, 6. On the boundary stones she appears as the daughter of Ea, cf. O. B. I., 83, I, 22, and as the goddess of Dēr, cf. O. B. I., 83, I, 4, 16).

O. B. I., 83, I, 4, 16, 22; II, 14, 15.

dNIN.BAD (“The mistress of the dead,” a title of Allatu, the consort of Nergal, see above under dLIL).

Susa 16, VI, 4.

DIN.GAL (“The great mistress,” the consort of Nannar (Sin) of Ur, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 282d, II, 7; V R. 64, II, 38, 39, and Šurpu, III, 141. Her Semitic name was probably Ṣarratu, V R. 51, 24b. Her Sumerian name was later pronounced Nikkal, hence the ṣeṭa in the Nērāb inscription, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T., 363).

Susa 16, V, 17.

DIN.GIR.SU (originally the chief god of Girsu, later of Širpuš, whose temple E.NIN.NU was built by Urukagina, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 70, IV, 8, and Gudea Cyl. A, Col. V, 18. He was a god of fertility, hence his title bēl me-riš-ti, Šurpu, IV, 80. Later identified with DIN.IB, II R. 57, 74c. His consort was Bau, cf. Cyl. A of Gudea XXIV, 5, 6).

London 103, VI, 5.

DIN.E.GAL (a goddess, the consort of DIN (dUraš), worshipped in the temple E-in-bi-da-num (E.I.-NE.A.NUM) in Dilbat, cf. Peiser, Acten-Stücke, VII, 2; IX, 2, 3; also Reisner, Hymnen, No. 47, Rev. 7, 8, add. p. 154).

London, 103, VI, 13; Susa 16, VI, 6; Susa 14, IV, 10; D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, 1; D. E. P., VI, 47, 5.

DIN.AR.SAG.GA (“The mistress of the mountain,” a title of the bēlīt of Nippur. Her temple in Nippur was E.KI.URU, cf. Šurpu, II, 145, 146; also Clay, B. E., XIV, 148, Obv. 2; in Babylon E.MAH, Nebuch., 15, IV, 14, see Langdon, Building Inscriptions, 126).

Susa 3, VI, 19; Susa 16, V, 15.

DIN.IB (“The lofty son of Ellī,” I. R., 70, IV, 2, worshipped chiefly
at Nippur, in the temple E.SU-ME.DU, cf. Reisner, No. 18, Obv. 9; III R. 67, 54ab; Rm. 117, Rev. 2, 3 (see M. V. A. G. VIII (1903), p. 176), and B. E., XIV, 148, Obv. 3, and at Babylon in the temple E.PA.TU.TILLA, Nabop. 4, 22, see Langdon, Building Inscriptions, p. 58, also at Shurpura under the name NIN.GIR.SU, cf. II R. 57, 74e, and at Kish under the name Zamama, cf. II R. 57, 70c.


I R. 70, III, 10; III R. 41, II, 13, and perhaps London, 102, II, 26, dNIN.MAH.

dNIN.MEN.NA (“Mistress of the tiara,” a title of the bēlît ilânî, Sargon, Cyl. 48 (K. B., II, 47), usually applied to Ishtar, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T.4, 360f.3, but also to dNIN.MAH and Aruru, cf. Zimmern, l.c., 429f.).

V. A. 2663, II, 52, called bânit ilânî.

dNIN.SAR (mentioned by Urukagina as “the sword carrier of NIN.-GIR.SU,” Cone A, II, 14 (Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 74), and Plaque ovale V, 22f. (l.c., 90), but also referred to as “the sword carrier (naš pâfrī) of E-kur,” cf. Reisner, Hymnën, IV, 44, and Clay, B. E., XIV, 148, Obv. 26). Only in the name of a city, London, 103, III, 41.


D. E. P., VI, 43, III, 10; cf. also III R. 41, II, 33; I R. 70, IV, 12.

dNusku (PA.KU) (“The mighty son of E-kur” and “the sublime messenger (sukkalû štru) of Ellil,”

Susa 14, IV, 9; Susa 16, VI, 5; Susa 2, IV, 19; D. E. P., VI, 47, 5; Neb. Nippur, Heading, 2; II, 14; III, 11; IV, 25.


London, 103, VI, 11.

dPap-sukkal (occurs on boundary stones only once after Zamama, and is no doubt identical with the god Pap-sukkal of Kish, "who dwells in E-ak-ki-ìl," cf. Craig, Religious Texts, I, 58, 10, and Hommel, Geographie, 251, 387).

III R. 43, IV, 25; also in the place name Dùr-dPap-sukkal, Susa 2, I, 37.


dSAB.DAR.NUN.NA (consort of Nusku, cf. Reisner, Hymnen, No. 48, Obsv. 8, 9; II R. 59c, 15-17; V R. 64, II, 18, Craig, Religious Texts, I, 36, Rev. 2).}

Susa 16, VI, 5.


Only in the name Ardi-dSibitti.


dEN.ZU, Susa 2, IV, 11; Susa 3, VI, 41; Susa 16, V, 16; Susa 14, III, [7]; D. E. P., II, 113, 6; D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 16.


dŠar-pa-ni-tum ("The one shining (as silver)," a name of the consort of Marduk, cf. Reisner, Hymnen,
No. 48, 28, 29; *Shurpu*, III, 153.
A personification of the rising sun or of dawn, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T.², 375).

Susa 16, V, 23; O. B. I., 149, H, 22; London, 102, I, 42.

dŠtru (the serpent goddess, called *råbīṣ Ešarru*, V R. 52, 19f.
Closely connected with the goddess *KA.DĪ*, cf. Susa 2, IV, 23, and *Shurpu*, VIII, 6, with whom she is also identified, cf. II R. 59, 21ab, and Zimmern, K. A. T.³, 504f. Mentioned by Esarhaddon among the gods of Dūr-iliu as a male and female deity, cf. B. A., III, 238, 42).

Susa 2, IV, 23; V R. 56, 49; I R. 70, I, 21.

dŠa-la (a goddess, the consort of Rammān, Craig, *Religious Texts*, I, 57, 22; 58, 24; *Shurpu*, III, 143; III R. 14, 48; III R. 66, Obv. 27f.).

Susa 16, V, 31; D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 1.


dŠE.RU.ŠIS (mentioned between Bunene and Kittu, the attendants of Shamash, and belonging therefore to his court).

Susa 16, V, 21.

Ši-pak (a Cassite god identified with Marduk, cf. V R. 44, I, 27. For the pronunciation Ši-pak see Clay, B. E., XV, 3°).

Only in personal names, e.g., *Ni-bi-Ši-pak*, Û-uzu-ub-Ši-pak, Me-li-Ši-pak.

dŠIT.LAM.TA.È (or perhaps MES.-LAM.TA.È, so Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 198, p. 1; 278, z. 1. One of the twin gods, representing Nergal. His companion LUGAL.GIR.RA (see above). Treated as her female counterpart, cf. Susa 16, VI, 2. Compare the parallel forms *dAl-mu* and *dAl-mu kar-ri* Si-bit-li, IV R. 21, No. 1, A, Obv. 45; V R. 46, Obv. 21, 22b; perhaps "young man" (אַלְיָן) and "young woman" (אַלִית), see the remarks of Zimmern, K. A. T.³, 363°, and notice that the "Twins" are represented on the zodiac of Trichinopoly, India (fig. 43), as male and female).

Susa, 2, IV, 25; Susa 16, VI, 2.


Susa 16, VI, 1.

Šu-gáb (a Cassite god identified with Nergal, cf. Cassite Vocabulary, Obv. 12).

Only in personal names, e.g., *Šu-ḫu-ki-Šu-gáb*, Kašak-ti-Šu-gáb.

Šul-ma-nu (a west Semitic deity or יַלְמָן, representing perhaps a form of NIN.IB, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T.³, 474f.).

Only in the personal name Šul-ma-nu-a-ša-ri-du.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

$SUL.PA.Ê$ (or $DUN.PA.E$, literally "the hero ($SUL = edlu$) that is brilliant" ($PA.Ê = šúpû$), a name of Marduk as the god of the planet Jupiter ($da-pi-nu$), cf. II R. 48, 50ab; II R. 51, 62a, and Jensen, Kosmologie, 125ff. Also referred to as the husband of the bélit ilâni, cf. III R. 67, Obv. 14cd, ff.).

Susa 2, IV, 7.

$Su-ma-li-ia$ (a Cassite goddess, "the lady of the shining (snowclad) mountains," V R. 56, 46. Her name is also written $Si-i-ma-li-ia$, V R. 44, IV, 36. The consort of $Su-qa-mu-na$, IV R. 59, III, 23; Susa 16, VI, 7).

Susa 2, IV, 21; London, 103, VI, 15; Susa 16, VI, 7; London, 101, IV, 3; Susa 14, IV, 11; D. E. P., II, 113 [10]; D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, 2; D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 15; D. E. P., VI, 47, 4; V R. 56, 46.


Susa 2, IV, 20; London, 103, VI, 15; London, 101, IV, 3; Susa 14, IV, 10; Susa 16, VI, 7; D. E. P., II, 113, 10; D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, [2]; D. E. P., VI, 47, 4.

$Taš-me-tum$ (a title of Nanâ, the consort of Nabû at Borsippa, cf. Shurpu, II, 156, 157; III, 145; Craig, Religious Texts, I, 58, 13; I R. 65, II, 23, 24).

Susa 16, V, 24.

$Tiš-šu$ (a form of NIN.IB; cf. III R. 67, 67cd, = $dNIN.IB ša ram-ku-ti$; the god of Dushiash, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 248, 3, 2. Placed alongside of $KA.DI$, implying most likely that he was her husband at some place, cf. Susa 16, VI, 4. For the pronunciation of his name see Rankè, Personal Names, pp. 169, 207).

Susa 16, VI, 4.


London, 103, VI, 13; Susa 16, VI, 6; V. A. 208, 39.


Susa 16, V, 27; D. E. P., VI, 47, 1; III R. 43, IV, 23; London, 102, II, 6.
5. Symbols on the Boundary Stones.

A. Arranged Chronologically.

1. Susa I.—Cassite dynasty (fig. 24, p. 86).

(1) A spearhead, inscribed $\textit{dMarduk (dAM.UD)}$; (2) a goddess, seated, inscribed $\textit{d GU-la}$; (3) an eight-pointed star, inscription effaced, but representing Ishtar (cf. p. 88); (4) the crescent, the symbol of Sin; (5) a lamp, inscribed $\textit{dNusku}$; (6) a goatfish ($\textit{su-\text{\textbar}ur-ma-as}$, cf. Susa, 2, IV, 5) with a shrine, inscribed $\textit{dE-a}$, and a ram’s head placed on the shrine; (7) an animal figure, like a crocodile, with a shrine on its back and an open vase on its head, inscription effaced; (8) a walking bird, inscribed $\textit{dBa-\text{\textbar}u}$; (9) a solar disk, inscription effaced, but representing Shamash; (10) a mace with a square top, inscribed $\textit{d[Su-qa]-mu-na}$; (11) a mace with twin lion heads, having a round knob between them, inscription effaced, but representing NIN.IB (cf. p. 87); (12) a mace with a lion head, inscribed $\textit{dNergal (GI\text{R})}$; (13) a serpent, inscribed $\textit{[a-\text{\textbar}a]-ri-t\text{\textbar}u}$; (14) a mace with a vulture head, inscribed $\textit{dZa-ma-ma}$; (15) a scorpion, inscription effaced, but representing Ishšara (cf. p. 96).

The inscription of this stone is broken off.

2. Susa II.—Reign of Nazi-Maruttash (figs. 27, 28, pp. 90, 91).

(1) The crescent of Sin; (2) the sun disk of Shamash; (3) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (4) the goddess Gula, sitting on a shrine, with a dog at her feet; (5) the lamp of Nusku; (6) the scorpion of Ishšara; (7–8) two shrines with tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil (cf. p. 89); (9) a shrine with a ram’s head (?) and a goatfish (?), effaced; (10) a shrine with an Ω-like object, most likely the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG (cf. pp. 95, 121); (11) the spearhead of Marduk; (12) the twin lion heads, with a mace between them, the symbol of NIN.IB; (13) a mace with a vulture head, representing Zamama; (14) a mace with a lion head, representing Nergal; (15) a bird perched on a pole; (16) the lightning fork of Ramman, placed on the back of a crouching ox; (17) the serpent, the symbol of Širu.

The gods mentioned in the curses are: Anu, Ellil, Ea, SHUL.PA.Ê, Ishšara, Aruru, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Ramman, Girru (BI.L.-GI), Nusku, Shuqamuna, Shumalila, Širu, KA.DI, LUGAL.-UR.UR, LUGAL.GAZ, SHIT.-I.AM.TA.Ê.

3. Susa IX.—Reign of Bitiliššu (fig. 21, p. 73).

(1) The crescent; (2) the sun disk; (3) the six-pointed star of Ishtar; (4) the sitting dog of Gula (cf. p. 121); (5) a lion standing erect, holding daggers in his front paws, perhaps Nergal (Hommel).

The curses of the inscription have not been preserved.

4. London 103.—Reign of Meli-Shipak (symbols unpublished, described by Pinches, Guide to the Nim-
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

roud Central Saloon, London, 1886, p. 54ff.).

(1) The sun disk; (2) the crescent; (3) the star of Ishtar; (4) the serpent; (5) the scorpion; (6) a curved object, perhaps the yoke of NIN.HAR.SAG; (7) a fox; (8) a winged dragon; (9) a scorpion-man, "with a man's head, the wings of a bird, a lion's legs and a scorpion's body and tail"; (10) a shrine with a tiara, before which is a crouching animal; (11) a shrine with a tiara, before which crouches a winged bull; (12) the lamp of Nusku, mounted on a tripod table; (13) a tortoise; (14) the figure of a god, holding in his left hand a mace against his breast and in his right hand, which is hanging down, a boomerang (gamlu); (15) an animal with two straight horns and two curved horns or ears and a forked tongue; (16) the lightning fork of Rammân; (17) the spearhead of Marduk.

The gods mentioned in the curses are: Anu, Ellil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Rammân, Marduk, NIN.GIR.-SU, Bau, Shamash, Rammân, PAP.NIGIN.GAR.RA = NIN.-IB, IB (Urash), NIN.E.GAL, Shuqamuna, Shumalia, Ishtar.

5. London 101.—Reign of Meli-Shipak (symbols unpublished, but described by Pinches, i.e., pp. 50–52).

(1) The scorpion-man, represented as a centaur, holding bow and arrow (cf. fig. 32, p. 98); (2) the scorpion; (3) the dog of Gula, looking toward (4) a bird perched on a pole; (5) a satyr, the upper part of his body human, the lower that of a horse, holding with both hands a long thick staff, whose head is wedge-shaped; (6) a short staff, with a conical top and tassels hanging down on each side; (7) the mace with the twin lion heads, the symbol of NIN.IB; (8) the sun disk; (9) a staff with a conical top, but without tassels; (10) the figure of a goddess, in her right hand, close to her breast, she holds a cup, and in the left an object with a thin handle; (11) a mace ending in a dragon's (lion's?) head; (12) the lightning fork of Rammân; (13) the crescent of Sin; (14) the lamp of Nusku; (15) a goddess with two wings; (16) a small staff with the head of some creature at the end, bent at the neck and looking to the right; (17) a low table, the corners of the top ornamented with lion heads, on the table a tiara, ornamented with circles; (18) the star of Ishtar; (19) the serpent of Siru, coiled on top.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anum, Ellil, Ea, Shamash, Marduk, Nabû, Anumîmûn, NIN.IB, NIN.KAR.RA.AG = Gula, Rammân, Nergal, Shuqa-
muna, Shumalia.

6. Susa III.—Reign of Meli-Shipak (fig. 11, p. 28).

(1) The crescent; (2) the sun disk; (3) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (4–5) two shrines with tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (6) a shrine with a ram's head on it and a goatfish before it, the symbol of Ea; (7) a shrine with a nail (or a dagger?) and a reversed form of the yoke-like figure, most likely the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG; (8) a winged dragon carrying the
twin lion heads, having a mace between them; (9) the mace with the vulture head, Zamama; (10) a bird looking backwards; (11) the mace with the lion head, Nergal; (12) a crouching dragon with wings; (13) the spearhead of Marduk on a shrine with a dragon before it; (14) a dragon with a shrine, on which lies a brick and a wedge, the symbol of Nabû; (15) the sitting dog, with a shrine and the bust of Gula on the shrine; (16) a crouching ox with a shrine and the lightning fork standing on the shrine, the symbol of Rammân; (17) a crouching ram with a chisel on the shrine; (18) the lamp of Nusku; (19) a plow with a double handle; (20) a walking bird; (21) a bird perched on a pole; (22) a shrine with a sea shell on it; (23) the serpent of Širu; (24) the scorpion of Ishḫara.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anum, Ellil, Ea, NIN.HAR.-SAG.GA, Marduk, Sin, NIN.IB, Gula.


(1) The crescent; (2) the sun disk; (3) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (4) the lamp of Nusku; (5) the walking bird of Bau; (6) the mace with the vulture (?) head; (7) the mace with the lion (?) head; (8) the sitting dog of Gula; (9) the scorpion of Ishḫara; (10) a shrine with the yoke (?)-like figure; (11) a bird perched on a pole; (12) the crouching ox with the lightning fork of Rammân; (13) the dragon with the spearhead of Marduk; (14) a dragon with the wedge standing erect on his back, crouching before a stage tower; (15) a horned serpent; (16) a tortoise; (17) a goatfish with a ram’s head on its back, the symbol of Ea; (18) a winged dragon, walking along the body of the serpent.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, Ellil, Ea, NIN.IB, Gula, Shamash, Marduk.


(1) The crescent; (2) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (3) the sun disk; (4–5) two shrines with tiaras on them, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (6) a shrine with a ram’s head on it and a goatfish before it, the symbol of Ea; (7) the sitting dog of Gula; (8) the scorpion of Ishḫara; (9) the mace with the lion head, Nergal; (10) the mace with the vulture head, Zamama; (11) a shrine with four rows of bricks on it and a horned dragon before it, the symbol of Nabû; (12) the mace with the twin lion heads, having a knob between them, the symbol of NIN.IB; (13) the lamp of Nusku; (14) the crouching ox of Rammân, bearing the lightning fork on its back; (15) the spearhead of Marduk; (16) the walking bird of Bau; (17) a bird perched on a pole; (18) the serpent of Širu, coiled on top.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anum, Ellil, Ea, NIN.HAR.-SAG, Sin and NIN.GAL, Shamash and Ai, Bunene, AT.GL.-MAH, SHE.RU.SHIKH, Kittu and Mêsharu, Marduk and Zarpanitum, Nabû and Tashmētum.
NIN.IB and NIN.KAR.RA.AG, Zamama and Bau, DA.MU, GESHTIN.NAM, Ishtar, Naná and Anunitum, Rammán and Shala, Mi-shar-ru, Nergic and Láš, Ishum and Shubula, LUGAL,GIR.RA and SHIT.IAM.-TA.È, LUGAL,GISH.A.TU.-GAL.LISH (=Bél-šarbi) and Ma'métum, LIL and NIN.BAD, Tishhu and KA.DI, Nusku and SA.DAR.NUN.NA, IB (Urash) and NIN,E.GAL, Shuqamuna and Shumalia.

(1) The goddess Gula, seated on a shrine, alongside the inscription of Gu-ia, and (2) her dog at her feet; (3) the walking bird of Bau; (4) the scorpion of Ishjará; (5) apparently a priest standing before the goddess.
The gods mentioned in the curses: [Anu, Ellil, Ea], Shamash, [Sin], Rammán, Marduk, [NIN.IB], Gula, Nusku, NIN,E.GAL, Shuqamuna, Shumalia.

10. Susa IV.—Cassite dynasty (fig. 23, p. 76).
(1) The crescent; (2) the sun disk; (3) the six-pointed star of Ishtar; (4) the mace with the vulture head, Zamama; (5) the mace with the lion head, Nergic; (6) the scorpion of Ishjará; (7) the lamp of Nusku; (8-9) two shrines with tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (10) the spearhead of Marduk; (11) the lightning fork of Rammán; (12) a centaur shooting a bow (sagittarius); (13) indistinct traces of a figure, perhaps the ears of the dog of Gula, but hardly an altar of incense (Hommel); (14) the goddess Gula, sitting on a shrine; (15-17) the goatfish with a shrine on its back and a ram(!) over the shrine; (18) a peculiar forked object, perhaps a plow (De Morgan); (19) a winged dragon; (20-21) a crouching dragon with a shrine on its back; (22) a bird perched on a pole; (23-24) a crouching dragon with a shrine on its back.
The curses containing the names of the gods have not been preserved.

11. Susa V.—Cassite dynasty (figs. 17, 18, pp. 40, 41).
(1) The crescent; (2) a priest of Marduk, inscribed salam ša NÌT.AH.dMarduk, holding in his left hand a bowl and placing his right above (3) the spearhead of Marduk; (4) the seven-pointed star of Ishtar; (5) the god Rammán standing on a wild ox (rimu, cf. fig. 94 in Jeremiahs, Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients, 1st ed., p. 280), the god holding in his right hand the three-pronged lightning fork and in his left the reins; (6) the scorpion; (7) the serpent; (8) a dragon with two horns, crouching before (9) the spearhead of Marduk; (10) the walking bird of Bau.
The inscription is broken off.

12. Susa VI.—Cassite dynasty (fig. 38, p. 103; De Morgan, D. E. P., I, p. 177, fig. 383).
(1) The serpent coiled on top; (2) the crescent; (3) the solar disk; (4) the lamp of Nusku; (5) a shrine with a wedge lying on it, the symbol of Nabú; (6) the god Ea standing on a goat(!), holding against his breast a cup, from which run two streams of water.
The inscription is lost.
13. **Susa VII.**—Cassite dynasty (fig. 21, p. 73).

(1) The goddess Gula with the dog at her feet; (2) the serpent; (3) a dragon with a shrine and the wedge lying on the shrine, the symbol of Nabû.

The inscription is broken off.

14. **Susa VIII.**—Cassite dynasty (fig. 21, p. 73).

(1) The goddess Gula. The rest is broken off.

15. **Susa X.**—Cassite dynasty (fig. 44 (2), p. 112).

(1) The scorpion of Ishḫara; (2) the dog of Gula, with traces of the robe of Gula; (3) an animal, partly destroyed, perhaps a hare (De Morgan); (4) a lion holding a mace in his right paw, perhaps Nergal (Hommel).

The inscription has not been preserved.

16. **Susa XI.**—Cassite dynasty (fig. 44 (3), p. 112).

(1) A shrine with an indistinct figure, hardly the solar disk (Hommel), which never appears on boundary stones over a shrine; (2) the goddess Gula with her dog; (3) a shrine carrying the reversed yoke; (4–5) two staffs with indistinct objects on top.

The inscription is lost.

17. **Susa XIII.**—Cassite dynasty (fig. 29, p. 94).

(1) The crescent; (2) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (3) the sun disk; (4–5) two shrines, carrying tiaras, representing Anu and Ellil; (6) a shrine with an indistinct round figure, perhaps a tortoise (cf. fig. 14[1]); (7, 10) the goddess Gula with her dog; (8) the lamp of Nusku; (9) the scorpion of Ishḫara; (11) a bird perched on a pole; (12) the mace with the lion head, Nergal; (13) the mace with the vulture head, Zamama; (14) the lightning fork of Rammân; (15) the serpent of Siru; (16) the spearhead of Marduk.

The inscription has been effaced.

18. **Susa XV.**—Cassite dynasty (fig. 2, p. 6).

(1) The solar disk; (2) the crescent; (3) the star of Ishtar; (4–5) two shrines bearing tiaras, the symbols of Anu and Ellil; (6) the goatfish carrying a shrine, the symbol of Ea; (7) a shrine with a round figure on it, which has two horns, probably a substitute for the yoke; (8) the spearhead of Marduk; (9) a dragon carrying a shrine with a pyramid-shaped figure on top, perhaps several rows of bricks, and in that case the symbol of Nabû; (10) a dragon with a shrine on its back and a square object on the shrine which shows two wedges; (11) the serpent, the symbol of Siru.

The inscription has not been preserved.

19. **Susa XVIII.**—Cassite dynasty (fig. 4, p. 14).

(1) A crouching animal, perhaps a dog; (2) a mace with a lion(? head; (3) a bird; (4) a mace with a vulture(?) head; (5) a crouching animal supporting a circular object; (6) a dragon with a wedge(?) on its back; (7) a dragon with the spearhead(?) on its back; (8) perhaps a plow; (9) perhaps a flying bird; (10) a shrine with a border on top, formed by two corner pieces and three knobs in the centre; (11) the walking bird of Bau; (12) the scorpion; (13) the serpent.
stretched along the lower edge.

The inscription is lost.


(1-2) Two shrines, carrying probably tiaras originally, which are now broken off; (3) a dragon with a shrine on its back, on which stands the spearhead of Marduk, inscribed along its side $dMarduk ilu rabû; (4) the symbol of Ramman, broken off except the name $dRamman.

The inscription has not been preserved.

21. Susa XX.—Cassite dynasty (figs. 16 and 30, pp. 38, 95).

(1-2) Two shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (3) the goatfish with a shrine on its back and a ram’s head on the shrine, the symbol of Ea; (4) a shrine with the yoke reversed, the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG; (5) a dragon with a shrine and the spearhead of Marduk; (6) a dragon with a shrine, on which are three rows of bricks, the symbol of Nabû; (7) a shrine with the bust of the goddess Gula; (8) a winged dragon; (9) the mace with the lion head, Nergal; (10) a bird looking backwards; (11) the mace with the vulture head, Zamama; (12) a winged dragon crouching; (13) a mace with another lion head; (14) the serpent, coiled on top, with its head lying across the last lion-headed mace; (15) the solar disk; (16) the crescent; (17) the seven-pointed star of Ishtar; (18) the lamp of Nusku; (19) the scorpion; (20) the walking bird of Bau.

This stone has no inscription.

22. London 100 (V.R. 57).—Reign of Nebuchadrezzar I. (fig. 49, p. 131).

(1) The eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (2) the crescent; (3) the solar disk; (4-6) three shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu, Ellil and Ea; (7) a dragon with a shrine bearing the spearhead of Marduk; (8) a dragon with a shrine bearing the wedge of Nabû; (9) a shrine with the yoke reversed, the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG; (10) the mace with the vulture head, Zamama; (11) the mace with the twin lion heads, NIN.IB; (12) a low table with a horse head on it, enclosed in a shrine; (13) a bird perched on a pole; (14) the goddess Gula, seated on a shrine, accompanied by her dog; (15) the scorpion-man, having a human head and breast, below the belt the body and tail of a scorpion, holding bow and arrow in his hands; (16) the lightning fork of Ramman standing on the crouching ox; (17) a tortoise; (18) the scorpion of Ishtar; (19) the lamp of Nusku; (20) the serpent.

The gods mentioned in the curses: “The great gods” (i.e., Anu, Ellil, Ea, NIN.IB, Gula, Ramman, Shumalia, Ramman again, Nergal, Naná, Śtru, Sin and the Bélit Akkadi.

23. Boundary Stone from Nippur.—Reign of Nebuchadrezzar I. (fig. 47, p. 120).

(1) The dragon of Marduk with the shrine and the spearhead; (2) the wedge of Nabû, standing upright; (3) a scepter, with a knob on top and an animal head in the center; (4) a shrine bearing a tiara, the symbol of Anu
(5) the mace with the lion head, Nergal; (6) a scepter with a knob on top and an animal head in the center; (7) the mace with the vulture head, Zamama; (8) a shrine with a tiara, the symbol of Ellil; (9) a scepter (like 3 and 6) with a lion(?) head in the center; (10) a shrine with the yoke reversed, the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG; (11) the scorpion; (12) the crescent; (13) the five-pointed star of Ishtar; (14) the dog of Gula; (15) the solar disk; (16) the lightning fork of Rammān; (17) a pedestal with a censer(?); (18) a tortoise; (19) a bird perched on a pole; (20) the serpent, the symbol of Širu.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, Ellil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Rammān, NIN.IB, Gula, Ishtar, Nusku.


(1) The dragon of Marduk with the shrine and the spearhead; (2) the mace with the twin lion heads, NIN.IB; (3) a dragon with a shrine and a wedge lying on it, the symbol of Nabû; (4) the scorpion, the symbol of Ishhara; (5) a yoke, the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG; (6) the dog of Gula; (7) the lamp of Nusku; (8) an arrow standing upright; (9) a bird perched on a pole; (10) the lightning fork of Rammān; (11–12) two shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (13) a shrine with a tortoise over it; (14) the crescent; (15) the solar disk; (16) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (17) the walking bird of Bau; (18) a mace with a globular top; (19) the serpent, the symbol of Širu.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, Ellil, Ea, NIN.MAH, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Marduk, NIN.IB, Gula, Rammān, Nabû.

25. Caillou de Michaux (I. R. 70).—Second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty (fig. 13, p. 33).

(1) The crescent; (2) the sun disk; (3) the star of Ishtar; (4–5) two shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (6) the goatfish with a shrine, the symbol of Ea; (7) a shrine with the yoke, the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG; (8) a dragon with a shrine and the spearhead of Marduk; (9) a dragon with a shrine and the wedge of Nabû lying on it; (10) the lightning fork of Rammān; (11) an arrow standing upright; (12) the serpent extending over the top; (13) the dog of Gula; (14) the lion-headed mace of Nergal; (15) the vulture-headed mace of Zamama; (16) the walking bird of Bau; (17) the lamp of Nusku; (18) a bird perched on a pole; (19) the scorpion of Ishhara.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, Ellil, Ea, NIN.MAH, Marduk, Shamash, Sin, Ishtar, NIN.IB, Gula, Rammān, Nabû.


(1) The solar disk; (2) the crescent; (3) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (4–5) two shrines with tiaras, representing Anu and Ellil; (6) the scorpion of Ishhara; (7) the dog of Gula; (8) the walking bird of Bau; (9) the bird perched on a pole; (10) an arrow standing upright; (11) the lamp
of Nusku; (12) a dragon with a shrine and the spearhead of Marduk; (13) a mace with a globular top; (14) the goatfish with a shrine and the ram's head on it, the symbol of Ea; (15) the lightning fork of Ramman; (16) the yoke, the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG; (17) the twin lion heads, the symbol of NIN.IB; (18) the dragon with the shrine and the wedge on it, the symbol of Nabu; (19) the serpent winding around the symbols, representing Siru.

The gods mentioned in the curses:
Anu, Ellil, Ea, Marduk, Nabu, Ramman, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Gula, NIN.IB, Nergal, Zamama, Papsukkal, Ishhara, Anu rabu.

27. **Boundary Stone of Amran** (Berlin V. A.)—Second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty (fig. 19, p. 45).
(1) The crescent; (2) the solar disk; (3) the star of Ishtar; (4) the scorpion of Ishhara; (5) the serpent; (6-7) two shrines bearing tiaras, symbol of Anu and Ellil; (8) a dragon with a shrine and a wedge on it, the symbol of Nabu; (9) a shrine with a ram's head on it and traces of the goatfish before it, the symbol of Ea.

The inscription is still unpublished.

(1) The tortoise on top; (2) the scorpion; (3) the crescent; (4) the solar disk; (5) the star of Ishtar; (6) the mace with the lion head, the symbol of Nergal; (7) the mace with the vulture head, the symbol of Zamama; (8) the bird perched on a pole; (9) a dragon with a shrine and the tiara on it, the symbol of Anu; (10) a shrine with a tiara, the symbol of Ellil; (11) the lightning fork of Ramman; (12) the goddess Gula, with uplifted hands; (13) the lamp of Nusku; (14) the serpent of Siru.

The gods mentioned in the curses:
Anu, Ellil, Ea, Marduk, Zarpantum, NIN.IB, Gula, Sin.

29. **O. B. I., No. 80.**—Second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty, (fig. 44(1) p. 112).
(1) The dog of Gula; (2) the walking bird of Bau; (3) the lower part of what appears to be a pointed shaft (the rest is broken off).

(1) The crescent; (2) the eight-pointed star of Ishtar; (3) the solar disk (the rest is broken off).

(1) A dragon with a shrine and the wedge of Nabu; (2-3) two shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (4) a mace with the twin lion heads, the symbol of NIN.IB; (5) a mace with a globular top; (6) a mace with the vulture head; (7) the serpent.

The curses of the inscription have not been preserved.

32. **London 102.**—Reign of Nabumukin-aplu (symbols unpublished, described by Pinches, Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon, p. 53f.).
(1) The solar disk; (2) the crescent; (3) the star of Ishtar; (4-5) two shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (6) a shrine with a tortoise on it; (7) a shrine with a yoke, the symbol of Nin.Har.Sag; (8) a dragon with a shrine and the spearhead of Marduk; (9) a dragon with a shrine and the wedge of Nabû on it; (10) the goddess Gula, seated on a shrine, with her hands uplifted and her dog beside her; (11) the bird perched on a pole; (12) an arrow; (13) the lamp of Nusku; (14) the mace with the lion head, the symbol of Nergal; (15) the mace with the vulture head, the symbol of Zamama; (16) the lightning fork of Ramman; (17) the walking bird of Bau; (18) the scorpion of Ishhara; (19) the serpent winding alongside of the symbols.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, [Ellil], Ea, Marduk, Zarpanitu, Nabû, Sin, Shamash, Nergal, Zamama, [Ramman], Nin.Ib, Gula, Nin-[girsu?].

33. Stone of Nabû-shum-ishkun* (Berlin, V. A. 3031) (fig. 31, p. 97).

(1) The serpent winding through the center; (2) the crescent; (3) the solar disk; (4) the star of Ishtar, seven-pointed; (5) seven stars, probably the Sibitti; (6) a dragon with a shrine and the spearhead, the symbol of Marduk; (7) a dragon with a shrine and an upright wedge, the symbol of Nabû; (8) the yoke, the symbol of Nin.Har.Sag; (9) the goatfish with a shrine and a ram's head on it; (10) the lion-headed mace, the symbol of Nergal; (11) the scorpion; (12) the vulture-headed mace, the symbol of Zamama; (13-14) two shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (15) a flying (?) bird; (16) the lamp of Nusku; (17) the lightning fork of Ramman; (18) a mace with a conical top; (19) the dog of Gula; (20-22) three fly flaps or fans; (23) the figure of a god, holding in his left the reins of a winged dragon (cf. figure of Rammân in Clay, Light on the Old Testament from Babel, p. 367); (24) the figure of a god (or goddess?) with uplifted hands; (25) the figure of a god with a lion (?) crouching alongside of him; (26) a dagger close to the serpent.

No gods are enumerated in the curses. We find the general statement: “The gods as many as on this inscribed stone have been caused to take a place” (ilāni maša ina eli nori anni šuršudu nanzazu, Edge 6, 7).

34. London 90, 922.—Reign of Nabû-apal-iddina (fig. 9, p. 23).

(1) A shrine with the spearhead of Marduk; (2) a shrine with a ram's head, the symbol of Ea; (3) a shrine with two staffs joined in the center, the symbol of Nabû (cf. p. 77); (4-5) two shrines bearing tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (6) the mace with the vulture head, the symbol of Zamama; (6) the mace with the lion head, the symbol of Nergal; (8) the lightning fork of Ramman.

The inscription contains no curses.

35. Berlin, V. A. 208.—Reign of Marduk-shum-iddina (symbols pub-

* No boundary stone, but inserted for the sake of comparison.
lished in *Vorderasiatische Schrift-

(1) A shrine with the wedge of Nabû;
(2) a shrine with the spearhead of Marduk; (3) a shrine with the
twin lion heads, between which is
a mace, the symbol of NIN.1B;
(4) a shrine, the lion(?)-headed
dragon; (5) the dog of Gula; (6)
a shrine with the lightning fork
of Rammān; (7) the crescent; (8)
the solar disk; (9) the star of
Ishtar.

The inscription contains no curses.

36. Berlin, V. A. 209.—Reign of Sar-
gon (fig. 15, p. 35).

(1) The crescent; (2) the solar disk;
(3) the eight-pointed star of
Ishtar; (4) the serpent coiled on
top; (5) a dragon with a shrine
and the spearhead of Marduk;
(6) a dragon and a shrine with
the stylus standing upright, the
symbol of Nabû.

The gods mentioned in the curses:
Anu, Ellil, Ea and Sin.

B. ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

Animal figures, unclassified.*

Fig. 4² (crouching animal, perhaps
lion or dog); fig. 4³ (crouching
animal, supporting circular ob-
ject); fig. 24⁷ (crouching animal,
with a shrine on its back and a
vase on its head); Susa 10³ (fig.
44) (perhaps a hare); London
103¹³ (animal with two straight
horns, two curved horns or
ears and a forked tongue).

Arrow standing erect—*Sagittarius.*

Fig. 12¹⁷; fig. 13¹¹; fig. 14⁴; London
102¹².

37. Berlin, V. A. 2663.—Reign of Mar-
duk-apal-iddina II. (fig. 8, p.
20).

(1) The eight-pointed star of Ishtar;
(2) the crescent; (3) the solar
disk; (4) the serpent winding
alongside of the inscription; (5)
a dragon with a shrine and the
spearhead of Marduk; (6) the
goatfish with a shrine and the
ram's head on it, the symbol of
Ea; (7) a shrine with the yoke,
the symbol of NIN.HAR.SAG;
(8) a dragon with a shrine and a
stylus standing upright on it,
the symbol of Nabû; (9) the
lamp of Nusku on a pedestal;
(10) the lightning fork of Ram-
mān; (11) the dog of Gula; (12)
the walking bird of Bau; (13)
the scorpion of Ishbara; (14–15)
two shrines bearing tiaras, sym-
bols of Anu and Ellil; (16) a
winged dragon with a shrine.

The gods mentioned in the curses:
Anu, Ellil, Ea, Marduk and
Erūa.

*Bird.*

Fig. 4⁹; fig. 4⁸ (perhaps a flying bird);
fig. 11¹⁸ (bird looking back-
wards); fig. 30¹⁰ (bird looking
backwards); fig. 31¹⁵ (flying
bird).

Bird, perched on pole—Aruru(?).†

Fig. 6¹¹; fig. 10¹¹; fig. 11¹¹; fig. 12²;
fig. 13¹¹; fig. 14⁹; fig. 23²⁷; fig.
28¹⁸; fig. 29¹¹; fig. 49¹³; London
10¹; London 102¹¹; O. B. I.,
149⁴.

Bird walking—Ba[-d]u.

Fig. 4¹¹; fig. 6⁸; fig. 8¹²; fig. 10¹⁸; fig.

*The raised figures refer to the numbers given to the various symbols in the
different illustrations.
† So Zimmern, see *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, II, 2, p. 43.
11th; fig. 125; fig. 13th; fig. 14th; fig. 18th; fig. 24th; fig. 40th; fig. 44th; London 102th; Susa 20th (fig. 16).

Censer (?)—perhaps ḳinānu.*

Fig. 47th (placed on pedestal).

Centaur—Sagittarius.

Fig. 23rd (centaur holding bow and arrow); London 101th (see fig. 32).

Chisel, standing on a shrine.†

Fig. 11th (before the shrine is a crouching ram).

Crescent—Sin.

Fig. 2nd; fig. 6th; fig. 8th; fig. 10th; fig. 11th; fig. 12th; fig. 13th; fig. 14th; fig. 15th; fig. 17th; fig. 19th; fig. 21th; fig. 23th; fig. 24th; fig. 27th; fig. 29th; fig. 30th; fig. 31th; fig. 47th; fig. 49th; London 101th; London 102th; London 103th; Susa 6th; V. A. 208th; O. B. I., 149th; O. B. I., 150th.

Curved object.

London 103th (compare perhaps yoke).

Dagger.

Fig. 31th (cf. fig. 11th).

Dog of Gula (substitute for the goddess)—perhaps Leo.

Fig. 6th; fig. 8th; fig. 10th; fig. 12th; fig. 13th; fig. 14th; fig. 21th; fig. 23th (uncertain); fig. 31th; fig. 44th; fig. 47th; London 101th; Susa 10th (fig. 44th); V. A. 208th.

Dragon.

Fig. 2th (with a shrine which bears a pyramid-shaped object, perhaps some rows of bricks); fig. 18th (crouching before the spearhead of Marduk); fig. 23rd (with a shrine on its back); fig. 23rd (also with a shrine).

Drake, winged.

Fig. 6th (walking along the body of a serpent); fig. 8th (with a shrine); fig. 11th (a double-headed mace standing on its back, perhaps twin lion heads); fig. 11th (crouching before lion-headed mace); fig. 23rd (crouching); fig. 30th (crouching); London 103th.

Fans (or fly flaps).

Fig. 31th; 21th.

Fox.‡

London 103th.

Goatfish (with ram’s head) Ea—Capricorn.

Fig. 2th (with a shrine on the goatfish); fig. 6th (with a ram’s head over the goatfish); fig. 8th (goatfish crouching before a shrine with a ram’s head); fig. 11th (idem); fig. 12th (idem); fig. 13th (goatfish and shrine); fig. 19th (goatfish with shrine and ram’s head); fig. 23rd, 16th, 17th (idem); fig. 24th (idem, shrine inscribed dE-a); fig. 28th (ram’s head and goatfish effaced); fig. 30th (goatfish with shrine and ram’s head); fig. 31st (idem); fig. 9th (shrine and ram’s head without goatfish).

Gods.

Fig. 5th; fig. 31st (holding reins of dragon); fig. 31th (hands uplifted); fig. 31th (with a lion (? crouching at his side); Susa 6th (see fig. 38), the god Ea standing on a goat, holding a cup against his breast, from which flow two streams); London 103th (holding a mace against his breast with

* For the star ḳinānu, which appears near the Capricorn, see Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 241.

† This symbol can hardly be a substitute for the shrine with the stylus or the wedge, because the latter appears on the same stone at another place (cf. fig. 11th, 17th).

‡ For the “fox star” (kakkab šēlībī (LUL), see II R. 49, 8d; III R. 53, 66, and Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 423.
the left hand and in the right hand a gamlu.

Goddess.

London 101⁶ (holding a cup in the right and an object with a thin handle in the left hand); London 101⁸ (winged).

Goddess Gula—perhaps Virgo.

Fig. 11⁶ (the bust of the goddess on a shrine borne by a dog); fig. 23⁴ (seated on a shrine and accompanied by her dog, partly effaced); fig. 24² (seated on a shrine, inscribed "G[u-la]"); fig. 27⁴ (seated on a shrine, with the dog at her feet); fig. 29¹⁰ (idem); fig. 30⁷ (the bust of the goddess on a shrine); fig. 40¹⁰ (the goddess with the dog and the accompanying inscription "Gu-la"); fig. 49⁴ (on a shrine, with her dog beside her); Susa ⁷ (see fig. 21); Susa ⁸ (idem 21 only partly preserved); Susa ¹¹ (fig. 44, with dog, partly effaced); O. B. I., 149²ⁱ; London 102⁴⁶.

Horse head.*

Fig. 49² (standing on a table, enclosed in a shrine).

Indistinct figures.

Fig. 4¹; fig. 23¹²; fig. 44(1)²; Susa ¹¹ (fig. 44); Susa ¹¹⁴ (fig. 44).

Lamp of Nusku.

Fig. 6¹; fig. 8¹ (on pedestal); fig. 10²; fig. 11¹⁸; fig. 12¹¹; fig. 13⁷; fig. 1⁴¹; fig. 23⁴; fig. 24¹; fig. 2⁷¹; fig. 2⁹¹; fig. 3¹¹⁸; fig. 49⁴ (on a pedestal); London 101¹⁴; London 102²³; London 103²⁴ (mounted on a tripod); Susa ⁶; Susa ²⁰⁴ (see fig. 16); O. B. I., 149⁵².

Lightning fork of Rammán.

Fig. 6¹² (standing on a crouching ox); fig. 8¹⁶; fig. ⁹¹; fig. 10¹⁴ (on a crouching ox); fig. 11¹⁸ (standing on a shrine borne by a crouching ox); fig. 12²¹; fig. 13⁹; fig. 1⁴⁸; fig. 2³¹; fig. 2⁹¹; fig. ¹⁸³ (held by the god Rammán who is standing on the wild ox); fig. ²⁸¹⁸ (standing on the crouching ox); fig. ³¹¹⁷; fig. ³⁹¹ (symbol broken off, only the name "Rammán (dIM) preserved"); fig. ⁴⁷¹⁷; fig. ⁴⁹¹⁸ (on crouching ox); London ¹⁰¹⁳; London ¹⁰²²; London ¹⁰³⁸; O. B. I., ¹⁴⁹¹⁴; V. A. ²⁰⁸⁴.

Lion, standing erect.†

Fig. ²¹⁴ (Susa ⁹) (holding daggers in front paws); fig. ⁴⁴ (Susa ¹⁰⁴) (holding a mace in right paw).

Mace, with conical top.

London ¹⁰¹⁸ (tassels hanging down on each side, probably a substitute for the spearhead of Marduk which is missing).

Mace, with globular top.

Fig. ¹²²; fig. ¹⁴²; fig. ³¹¹⁸; London ¹⁰¹³; V. A. ²¹¹³.

Mace, with lion head—Nergal (cf. p. ⁸⁷⁷).

Fig. ⁴¹ (doubtful); fig. ⁶⁷; fig. ⁹⁷; fig. ¹⁰⁸; fig. ¹¹¹; fig. ¹３¹⁴; fig. ²³³; fig. ²⁴² (inscribed "Nergal (GIR)""); fig. ²⁵¹⁸; fig. ²⁹¹; fig. ⁳⁰²; fig. ³¹¹⁸; fig. ⁴⁷¹; London ¹⁰¹³; London ¹⁰²²¹; O. B. I., ¹⁴⁹⁶; V. A. ²⁰⁸⁴ (shrine with the head of a dragon, perhaps = lion).

Mace, with square top—Shuqamuna.

Fig. ²⁴⁸ (inscribed "[Shu-qa]-mu-na).

Mace, with two lion heads—NIN.IB (cf. pp. ⁸⁷⁷, ⁸⁸)—Geminis(?).

Fig. ¹⁰²³ (projecting knob between the two heads); fig. ¹¹⁸ (mace standing on a winged dragon,

* For the "horse star" see V R. ⁴⁶, ²⁰⁹b, and Hommel, Aufsätze, p. ²⁶².
† Perhaps a representation of Nergal (so Hommel, Aufsätze, p. ⁴⁴⁵). In that case it is a variant of the mace with the lion head.
also a knob between the two heads; fig. 127; fig. 142; fig. 2411 (with a knob between the two heads); fig. 2312 (the same); fig. 3012, 13 (winged dragon before the mace with the lion head — twin lion heads*) (cf. fig. 118); fig. 4911; V. A. 2114; London 1017; V. A. 2083 (placed on a shrine, a knob between the two heads).

Mace, with vulture head—Za-ma-ma.

Fig. 44 (doubtful); fig. 64; fig. 94; fig. 1094; fig. 114; fig. 1313; fig. 234; fig. 2414 (inscribed *Za-ma-ma*); fig. 2812; fig. 2912; fig. 304; fig. 3112; fig. 474; fig. 4914; O. B. I., 1497; London 1025; V. A. 2114.

Plow.

Fig. 448; fig. 1119; fig. 2318 (doubtful).

Priest.

Fig. 172 (standing before the spear-
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101; London 102; London 103; O. B. I., 149.

Scorpion-man—Sagittarius.

Fig. 49 having a human head and breast, a body and tail of a scorpion, holding in his hands a bow and arrow; London 103 (having a man’s head, wings, a scorpion’s body and tail, and a lion’s legs).

Serpent—Seru.

Fig. 43; fig. 64 (horned serpent); fig. 8; fig. 10 (serpent coiled on top); fig. 112; fig. 12 (winding along lower edge of symbols); fig. 13 (winding across top); fig. 14; fig. 15; fig. 18; fig. 19; fig. 24 (scribed [a-ša-ši-du]); fig. 28; fig. 29; fig. 30 (coiled on top); fig. 31; fig. 47; fig. 49; Susa 6 (coiled on top); Susa 7 (cf. fig. 21); London 101 (coiled on top); London 102; London 103; O. B. I., 149; V. A. 211.

Shrine, with sea shell.

Fig. 112.

Shrine, with two staves—Nabû.

Fig. 9 (two staves, joined in the center, standing on a shrine, cf. fig. 26).

Shrines with tiaras—Anu, Ellil (Ea).

Fig. 21; fig. 81; fig. 9; fig. 10; fig. 11; fig. 12; fig. 13; fig. 14; fig. 15; fig. 16; fig. 17; fig. 18; fig. 19; fig. 20; fig. 21; fig. 22; fig. 23; fig. 24 (scribed [ašu-ši-du]); fig. 25; fig. 26; fig. 27; fig. 28; fig. 29; fig. 30; fig. 31; fig. 32; fig. 33; fig. 34; fig. 35 (tiaras broken off); fig. 47; fig. 48; fig. 49; fig. 50 (Anu, Ellil, Ea); London 103 (a crouching animal alongside of the shrine); London 103 (a winged bull alongside of the shrine); London 102; V. A. 211; O. B. I., 149 (shrine with dragon); O. B. I., 149 (shrine without dragon).

Shrines with indistinct objects.

Fig. 29; Susa 11 (cf. fig. 44, 3)

Shrines with various figures.

Fig. 2 (a shrine with a round figure having two horns, perhaps a substitute for the yoke); fig. 2 (a dragon with a shrine, having a square object (brick?) on it, marked with two wedges); fig. 4 (a shrine with a border on top, formed by two corner pieces and three knobs in the center).

Solar disk—Shamash.

Fig. 2; fig. 6; fig. 8; fig. 10; fig. 11; fig. 12; fig. 13; fig. 14; fig. 15; fig. 16; fig. 21 (Susa 9); fig. 23; fig. 24; fig. 27; fig. 29; fig. 30; fig. 31; fig. 47; fig. 49; Susa 6; London 101; London 102; London 103; O. B. I., 149; O. B. I., 150; V. A. 208.

Spearhead of Marduk—perhaps Taurus.

Fig. 2; fig. 4 (crouching dragon with a spearhead (?) on its back); fig. 6 (spearhead standing on a dragon); fig. 8; fig. 9 (standing on a shrine); fig. 10; fig. 11; fig. 12 (standing on a shrine flanked by a dragon); fig. 13 (idem); fig. 14 (idem); fig. 15 (idem); fig. 17 (priest standing before spearhead); fig. 23; fig. 24 (scribed [Marduk] (AM. UD)); fig. 28; fig. 29; fig. 30 (standing on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 31 (idem); fig. 39 (on a shrine with a dragon, inscribed [Marduk ilu rabû]); fig. 47 (standing on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 49 (idem); London 103; London 102; V. A. 208.

Staff.

Susa 11 (cf. fig. 44, a staff with an indistinct object on top, partly broken off); Susa 11 (a staff, whose top is broken off); London 101 (a staff with the head of some animal on top).
Star of Ishtar—Venus.

Fig. 2²; fig. 6³ (eight-pointed); fig. 8⁴ (idem); fig. 10⁴ (idem); fig. 11⁵; fig. 12⁵ (idem); fig. 13⁵ (idem); fig. 14⁵ (idem); fig. 15⁵ (idem); fig. 18⁵ (idem); fig. 19⁹; fig. 21⁹ (Susa 9) (six-pointed); fig. 23⁹ (idem); fig. 24³ (eight-pointed); fig. 2⁷³ (idem); fig. 2⁹³ (idem); fig. 3⁰¹⁷ (seven-pointed); fig. 3¹⁴ (idem); fig. 4⁷¹² (five-pointed); fig. 4⁹ (eight-pointed); London 1⁰¹¹¹; London 1⁰²³; London 1⁰³³; O. B. I., 1⁴⁹⁴; O. B. I., 1⁵⁰²; V. A. 2⁰⁸³.

Stars—Sibitti.

Fig. 3¹ (seven stars, probably representing the seven planets).

Stylist (substitute for wedge)—Nabû.

Fig. 8⁴ (on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 1⁵⁴ (idem).

Table.

London 1⁰¹¹⁷ (the corners ornamented with lion heads, a tiara on the table, perhaps a substitute for the shrine with the tiara).

Tortoise.

Fig. 6⁴; fig. 1⁴¹³ (placed over shrine); fig. 2⁹⁴ (doubtful, but cf. fig. 1⁴¹³); fig. 4⁷¹⁹; fig. 4⁹¹⁷; O. B. I., 1⁴⁹⁴; London 1⁰²³.

Wedge (and bricks)—Nabû—perhaps aries.

Fig. 2⁴ (a dragon bearing a shrine with a pyramid-shaped object, perhaps bricks); fig. 4⁴ (a crouching dragon with a wedge)? on its back); fig. 6¹⁴ (wedge on the back of a dragon, crouching before a stage tower); fig. 1⁰¹¹ (a horned dragon before a shrine with four rows of bricks); fig. 1¹¹⁴ (a dragon carrying a shrine with a brick and a wedge); fig. 1²¹⁸ (a wedge on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 1³⁹ (idem); fig. 1⁴³ (idem); fig. 1⁹⁸ (idem); fig. 3⁰⁸ (a dragon before a shrine on which are three rows of bricks); fig. 3¹⁷ (wedge on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 4⁷² (wedge alone, standing upright); fig. 4⁹⁴ (dragon with shrine and wedge); V. A. 2⁰⁸³; V. A. 2¹¹¹; London 1⁰²³; Susa 6⁵ (shrine with wedge lying on it); Susa 7⁸ (cf. fig. 2¹, wedge on shrine with dragon).

Yoke (perhaps plaits of hair?)—Ninḫarsag (cf. fig. 4⁸).

Fig. 6¹⁹ (standing on a shrine); fig. 8⁵ (idem); fig. 1¹¹⁷ (shrine with nail (dagger?) and reversed yoke on top); fig. 1²¹⁸ (yoke alone); fig. 1³¹ (on shrine); fig. 1⁴⁵ (yoke alone); fig. 2⁸¹⁹ (on shrine); fig. 3⁰¹ (on shrine, yoke reversed); fig. 3¹⁹ (yoke alone); fig. 4⁷¹⁹ (shrine with yoke reversed); fig. 4⁹⁴ (idem); Susa 1¹³ (cf. fig. 4⁴, shrine with reversed yoke, partly broken off); London 1⁰²⁷ (yoke on shrine).

* Prof. W. Max Müller kindly informs me that the part of the Egyptian picture which corresponds to the Babylonian really represents the plaits of hair (hnskt) of the goddess Ḥal-ḥor, which, according to him, play an important part in Egyptian mythology.
Glossary

abu, father.

abùbu, storm flood.

abùbu, turn away (Hebr. "בָּאוּבּוּ").
1. I pret., a-i-bi-ib, III R. 41, II, 17.
2. I, 2 i-na kîštâ-(ta)ša in-qt-ma i-ta[bak-ma] i-na pañ . . . šarri . . . di-na lu-[ša]-ba, because of the property which he claimed he brought (his wife) and before . . . the King . . . they (dual) instituted a lawsuit. London, 102, VI, 5.

ablu, boundary.
\nNin-ib be-el ab-li šu-ú-mi u ku-dur-ri, Susa 3, VII, 6; na-šir ku-dur-ri-li mu-kin-nu ab-li-e, V. R.


abullu, city gate.

abullu(KA,GAL)-dî-šu, Susa, 16, VI, 16.


ubânu, finger.


abašu, break (cf. napašu).
II, 1 pres., a-na ab-ni ub-ba-šu, Susa, 16, V, 2.

abqallu, wise man, leader.
(Marduk) abqal(NUN,ME) iłâni, London, 101, III, 13; abqal šamê u irditi, Susa, 14, III, 14; abqal kîš-šat šamê(-e) u irditi(-tim), V. A., 2663, I, 8.

abâru, enclose, bind.
II, 1 inf., estr., ub-bur meš-ri-e-ti,
lameness of limbs, V. A. 2663, V, 38; Susa, 14, III, 5.

ibru, friend.

 Nebu, ebérū, pass over.
III, I part., mē ša mu-še-bi-ri, the waters of the connecting canal, Susa, 3, III, 1.

abšenu, vegetation.

 Nebu, abátu, destroy (Hebr. Nebu).
I, 2 pres., i-ta-ba-at uth-tal-lik, Susa, 3, V, 56.


abtu, fallen, dilapidated.
bi-taddi (EMES) abta-ti (GULMES)

agú, crown.
(Sin) bél agú (MIR) na-me-ru-ti, Neb. Nippur, IV, 13.

 Nebu, aggú, anger.
i-na ag-gi libbi-sú-nu, London, 103, VI, 1.

aggís, angrily, in anger.

igigallu, open-minded, wise.
(Marduk) igi (SI)-gal (IG) iláni, V. A., 2663, I, 3.

agalatillú, dropsy.

igisú, gift.

 Nebu, igirru, plan.
lú mu-lam-me-nu i-gir-ri šú-su-nu-ma, Neb. Nippur, IV, 17; i-gir-ra-[šu] [l/i]-la-man, O. B. I., 149, II, 23.

 Nebu, igaru, wall.
i-na i-ga-ri i-te-hi, Susa, 3, V, 54; i-na i-ga-ri i-pi-šu, D. E. P., II, 113, 17.

uguru, communal land.

 Nebu, edú, a single one.
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a-di IV aláni, Susa, 2, I, 13; a-di 
4-tur(!)-ri, Susa, 14, I, 3; a-di 
úm(-um) bal-tu, Susa, 3, VI, 52; 
VII, 23; V R. 56, 59; London, 
102, II, 22; a-di úm(-um) bal-du, 
Susa, 16, VI, 18; a-di šamé ú 
iršiti ba-shu-ú, V R. 56, 60; a-di 
úm(-um) ga-a-ti, I R. 70, IV, 25; 
a-di dNabu-ku-dur-ri-uṣur, O. B. 
I., 83, I, 7; a-di XII ta-a-ani-la-
nap-pal, V. A. 208, 47; V. A., 
209, II, 5; London, 102, IV, 40; 
a-di eglšu, C. T., X, pl. V, 16; 
a-di ̄išṭen-en) subūtu KUR.RA, 
V. A., 209, IV, 33.

edlu, man.
ed-li gar-di, V R. 55, 21; ed-lu bel 
šu-narkabû, the charioteer, V 
R. 55, 34; ed-lu dan-nu, V. A., 
2663, II, 33.

bēl ad-ma-ni, D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 5.
dadamu, dwelling.
dam ed-ad-me, Neb. Nippur, I, 15; 
maša-az da-[ad]-me, Neb. Nippur, 
II, 2; ad-ad-mi, D. E. P., 
VI, 45, IV, 9; dša-hara bel̄ it le-ši 
da-ad-ma, III R. 43, IV, 28; 
gi-mir kal da-ad-me, V. A., 2663, 
I, 23; niše da-ad-me sapha-
ti(BIR.ME), V. A., 2663, II, 28.

I. adamu, fear.
I, 1 pret., la i-dur-ma taḫāzi, V R. 55, 
38; pres., ul id-dar dan-na-at 
eqlit, V R. 55, 24; part., la a-di-ru 
taḫāzi, V R. 55, 8.

II. adaru, be dark.
IV, 1 perm., na'-du-ru pān dšam-
ši-ši(-ši), the face of the sun was 

drānu, weeds.
ki-mu ur-kī-ti id-ra-nu, III R. 41, 
II, 33; ki-mu uš id-ra-ša, 
London, 102, II, 13; egl̄iti-ši 
id-ra-nu) li-ša-ši-ma, Susa, 
14, III, 10.

edšu, be new.
II, 1 inf., a-na ud-du-uš eš-rit, to 
renew the sanctuaries, Neb. 
Nippur, II, 2; a-na ud-du-šu 
[eš]-rit, V. A., 2663, II, 22; part., 
uš-ad-diš ka-liš akkāt(AS.ME), 
V. A. 2663, II, 6.

esšu, new.
na-ra-a ša abnī eš-ša, Susa, 2, 
Med., II, 9; dul-la eš-ša, Susa, 3, 
III, 28; i-na eš-ši it-la-a, shall 
raise up anew, Susa, 3, III, 39;
i-na muḫḫi nāri eš-ši, V. A., 
209, I, 11.

du, and, passim.
lu-ū—u, either—or, Susa, 2, III, 
8; u lu-ū, or, London, 103, V, 
46; London, 102, I, 31, etc.

isu, few.
a-di ̄išu(-mi) i-šu-ti ša bal-ta, IV 
R. 38, III, 40.

urru, light.
ur-ra u muša, III R. 41, II, 23; V 
R. 56, 44.

ezbu, to leave, spare.
I, 1 pret., i-zi-ib, Susa, 3, III, 54; 
i-zi-bu, Susa, 3, IV, 10; ez-zi-bu, 
Susa, 3, IV, 42; V, 7, 26; e-du 
amelu la i-zi-ba, V. A. 2663, 
III, 27; ai i-zi-bu da-ad-da-šu, 
Susa, 16, VI, 27; la i-zi-bu ar- 
[k]-tu, C. T., X, pl. V, 7; i-zi- 
bu-ši-ni, Susa, 3, IV, 25; prec., 
u ar-ki-i lu-zi-bu, C. T., X, pl. 
V, 9.

azugallatu, great (lady) physician.
(dGula) a-za-gal-la-tu rabītu, Susa, 
14, IV, 5; a-za-gal-la-tu be-er-tu 
rabītu(-tu), III R. 41, II, 29.

uzzu, wrath, anger.
a-ni-par-ta-ša ša uz-zi, III R. 41, 
II, 22.

uzzatu, anger.
la uzza-at libbi(ši), V R. 56, 51.

izzu, terrible.
(dGirru)(BIL.GI) iz-zi, Susa, 2, IV, 
18; (dSin) be-lum iz-zi, Susa, 3,
aḥames, each other, both.
ii-ti aḥa-mes, London, 103, IV, 18, 37; a-na aḥa-mes ul i-raq-gu-mu,
they will not sue each other,
London, 102, IV, 35; V. A. 209, I, 30; II, 40; III, 16, 28; V. 2.
aḥu, side.
ai ir-šā-u ni-da a-hi, Susa, 2, III, 29.
aḥānu, another.
iš-tar-ra-qu a-ha-nu, C. T., X, pl.
V, 5; a-na a-ha[nu] išar-ra-[qu],
C. T., X, pl. VI, 33.
aḥū, hostile, strange.
amelu a-ha-am, a strange man,
Susa, 3, V, 47; u-ma'-a-ru a-ḥa-a sak-ku, V. A., 2663, V, 25;
na-ka-[ra?] lu a-ḥa, IV R.²
38, III, 10; na-ka-ra a-ḥa-a, I R. 70, II, 22; pl., par-ga-nīš
baš-e(e) a-ḥu-ū-ti, V. A., 2663, III, 18.
aḥāzu, take.
III, 1 i-na šim-mi-ti u-šā-ḥa-zu,
Nippur, III, 23; u-ma'-a-ru
u-ša-ah-ḥa-zu, London, 103, V,
36; ša-na-am-ma u-ša-ah-ḥa-zu,
commissions another one, Susa,
16, IV, 25; ša-nam-ma u-ša-
ah-ḥa-zu-ma, III R. 41, II, 8;
ma-am-man u-ša-ḥa-zu, V. A.,
2663, V, 25; pu-uz-ru u-ša-ḥa-zu,
puts it in a secret place, V. A.,
2663, V, 31.

Uḫ. ME. ZU. AB, a class of priests (cf.
p. 170f.).
Neb. Nippur, II, 14; III, 11.
aḫrū, future.
pl. fem., a-na ni-ši aḫ-ra-a-ti,
London, 101, II, 13; a-na aḫ-ra-
aḫrātaš, adv., in future.
ši-i-ti aḫ-[ra]-taš, a late descendant,
C. T., X, pl. IV, 14.
aḫartiš, forever.
a-ḫar-tiš i-ri-mu, London, 101, I,
15; a-har-ti-iš i-rim-šu, IV R. 38, II, 29.

סֶתָךְ, etú, be dark.

II, 1 bu-ni-šu lit-te-šu-ma, may he darken his face, Neb. Nippur, IV, 14.

eṭemmu, shade, departed spirit.

[etemmu-šu] a-na eṭemmi, Susa, 16, VI, 22.

טַנָּה, aṭru, support (cf. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 5, l. 5).

a-na aṭ- ri ha- ma-af ša ša-kin, V R. 56, 10.

א, ai, not.

Neb. Nippur, IV, 14, 18, 23; Susa, 2, III, 28; Susa, 3, VII, 4, 13; IV R. 38, III, 44; Susa, 16, VI, 19, 21, 22, 27; Susa, 14, III, 13; IV, 17; D. E. P., VI, 43, III, 14; III R. 41, II, 17; London, 102, II, 19, etc.


aiummma, any one.


א, o, indeed.


ג, geb, enemy.


י' נ, ia'nu, there was not.

ia'-nu mē saḥ-hi, there was no water of cisterns, V R. 55, 19.

י' נ, inu, eye.

qup-pu-ū i-na i-ni-šu, V R. 56, 54; ṭSin in(-in) šāmē(e) ū irištīm(-tim), O. B. I., 149, III, 6; [ṭSin in] šāmē(e) ū irištīm(-tim), London, 102, I, 46; tur-štē inā(S P) sa-kak uzna(S P), V A., 2663, V, 38.

םֶנ, aru, go forth.

II, 2, u-ta'-ir-šu-ma šar ili, sent him forth the king of the gods (perhaps = um-ta'-ir), V R. 55, 12.

urru, command.


Airu, the month Iyuar.


iku, ditch of irrigation.

i-ku la kap-ku, Neb. Nippur, II, 29; i-ka mi-is-ra ū ku-dur-ra, Susa, 3, II, 12; i-ka mi-is-ra li-ti-ku, Susa, 16, IV, 18.

עַדְיֵה, u-ki-e.

u-ki-e bi-lam-ma, London, 102, IV, 21 (or does the original read ū-dī(1)-e, vessels?).

אֵכְד, eku, powerful.

bu-ru eku, Susa, 2, IV, 17; ik(?) di-e a-ma-ti, London, 103, IV, 46.

אֹכְל, akil, instead of.


אַקָלָו, akalu, consume.


iklū, have usufruct (cf. p. 176).


aklu, secretary, agent (cf. p. 176).

Susa, 16, III, 27; IV R. 38; III, 1; O. B. I., 83, II, 12.

callu, palace.


callu, darkness.

bit ̄-ki-ti, IV R. 38, III, 7.

callu, take.


callu, temple.


ul, not.

London, 103, V, 38; Neb. Nippur, III, 29, 32, 33, IV, 1, 2; O. B. I., 149, II, 7; V A., 209, I, 28, 29, 30; II, 3; III, 15, 16, 27, 28; V, 1, 2, 3, etc.

ilu, god, passim.

ilu, goddess.


ilu, deity.


ilu, rise up.

I, 1 pres., i-na es-ši il-la-la, Susa, III, 1, 40; ša il-lam-ma, London, 103, V, 32; London, 101, II, 16; Susa, 16, IV, 12; III R. 43, III, 4; I R. 70, II, 7; London, 102, IV, 38; O. B. I., 149, II, 5; Susa, 14, II, 6; III R. 41, I, 33; ša ilamma(DUL.DU-ma); V A., 209, I, 35; V A., 208, 45; inf., ana á-li la e-li-e, C. T., IX, pl. V, 35; ana e-li ū pa-ki-ri, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 9.

II, 1 inf., ulu-ū rubu(NUN)-u-su, to elevate his lordship, V A., 2663, I, 30.


elī, over, above.

elī šarrī a-lih maḥ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; elī ili šarrī, before god, London, 101, IV, 12; a-na elī, on, London, 102, IV, 22; elī ša pa-ni, more than before, V A., 2663, III, 29; i-na elī, against, Susa, 2, III, 11; London, 101, II, 16, etc.; i-na elī na-ri-ə an-ni-i, upon that stone, Susa, 2, III, 17; Susa, 2, Med., II, 5, etc.

elīš, above.

elīš(A.N.TA) ū šapliš(KI), IV R. 38, I, 31.

elū, upper.

in the phrases šiddu elū, and pātu elū, passim; pl. fem., bēl e-la-tē, lord of that which is above, V A., 2663, I, 10.

ulū, distant.


elēnu, upper.

pa-na-at iswirī e-li-ni-i, before the upper orchard, V A., 2663, IV, 34.

tēlēnu, crop, revenue.


alū, city, town.

su-u-us alī-šu, Susa, 3, VI, 39; abulli alī-šu, Susa, 16, VI, 16; ka-mat alī-šu, Susa, 16, VI, 17; O. B. I., 149, III, 8; V A., 209,
aláku, go, march.

1, 1 pret., il-lik, London, 103, I, 3; a-na šur-ša-an la il-lik, London, 103, V, 4; illiku(DU-ku), Susa, 16, II, 28; a-na mâtâ Elamîki il-lik-ku-ma, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 10; pres., il-lak šarru na-as-qu, then advances the valiant king, V R., 55, 22; imper., a-lik-ma VII a-mi-lu-ta a-na mBu-[ru-ša i-din(?)], London, 102, VI, 10; part., eli šarrî a-lik mah-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; šarru a-[lik] pa-ni-ia, Susa, 3, IV, 2; a-lik da-i-li šu-a-tim, IV R., 38, II, 30; aâtik(DU)pâni, London, 102, IV, 23; a-lik ki-ši-ir-ri ilâni aḫ-ša, III R., 43, IV, 26; a-lik ar-ki, the younger, Susa, 16, I, 18.

1, 2 ša ina tu-kul-ti ilâni rabûti it-tal-la-ku-ma, who marches about, V. A. 2663, II, 27.


alakâtû, ways.

allâku, messenger.
gir-gi-lu al-la-ku ša dEn-il, Susa, 2, IV, 3.
ilku, tax, service (cf. p. 177).

allâku, throw down (syn. magâtu).


I. allû, basket.

zakûtum(?) i-na al(-lu) du-up-ši-ki, freedom from the baskets of forced labor, III R., 45, No. 2, 2.

allû, powerful.
dMarduk a-li-lu, Susa, 2, III, 30.

II. ulû, imbecile.
sa-ma-a u-la-la, Susa, 14, II, 15; u-la-la u la še-ma-a, III R., 43, I, 31.

III. elû, shining.


IV. alû, rejoicing, hilarity.

a-la-la ta-a-ba, London, 103, VI, 6.

alpu, ox.


ul-lap(b) (cf. 2, II, 1 pres., join?) iš-kar-a-ta ul-lap(b), V R., 55, 24.

elû, rejoice.


tâliûtû, despair.

ultû, from, after.


iltânù, north.
ideogram IM.SI.DI, passim.
ema, while, with.
 e-ma dŠamaš u dMarduk i-ša-as-su-ù, IV R.² 38, III, 42; e-ma purimê šéri li-ir-pu-ud, Susa, 14, IV, 3.

emêdu, stand.
II, 1, še-ir-ta-šu ra-bi-i-ta lim-is-su-ma, Susa, 3, VI, 34; his heavy punishment may he inflict upon him; še-ri-[u]-su li-šmi-is-su, London, 101, III, 10.
IV, 1, in-nin-di-ma šarrâni, the kings stood up, i.e., gathered, V R. 55, 29.

amû, speak.
I, 1 pret., i-mu šar[ru], D. E. P., II, 93, II, 14.
III, 2, šarru ili uš-tim(?)-mi-e-šu, the king caused him to swear by god, C. T., X, pl. V, 14.

amâtu, word.
la še-ma ša a-ma-ši, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 21; estr., a-mat ki-bi-ti-ši-nu, Susa, 3, VI, 21; ina a-ma-at dEn-lil, Susa, 3, VII, 43; ina amâtu(KA) šarrâ, because of the prayer of the king, Neb. Nippur, II, 12; a-mat nišé li-gi-sa-šu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 8; mim-ma a-ma-at limulti(-ti), anything evil, Susa, 16, V, 9; pl., a-ma-ta iš-tu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 24; a-ma-a-ti ša i-na a-iš-ni a-num-šu, Susa, 3, IV, 24; a-ma-a-ti ša i-na ahi-ni a-ni-ša-tu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 40, 59; ik(-?)-di-e a-ma-ti, London, 103, IV, 46.

atmu, word.
 at-mu-šu na-as-gu-ma, his word was weighty, Neb. Nippur, II, 19; li-ma-ša-ši da at-mi-šu, may she multiply his words, cries(?), III R. 41, II, 23.

U.MUK, title of an official.
V. A., 209, II, 17.
amelu, man.
amelûtû (SAL), woman.
mâr mârî amelûtû(SAL) ša Bit-ma-Ti-kil-a-na-šu-lî-šu, London, 103 I, 42.

ummu, mother.
um-mi a-ša-ra, London, 101, II, 9;
um ma-šu la zu-uk-ku-ra-[at], London, 103, I, 31.

umma, thus, as follows.
ki-a-am iq-bî um-ma-a, London, 102, IV, 20; i-ga[b]-bu-[u] um-ma-a, London, 102, I, 32; [iq-bi] um-ma-a, London, 102, I, 20; be-el šu u[a]-ša-ma um-ma, C. T., X, pl. III, Obv. 3; i-gab-ù um-ma, V. A., 208, 46;
i-ga[b]-u um-ma-a, London, 102 IV 38; ki-a-am iq-bî um-ma-a.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF


umåmu, animal. 
û-ma-am ù-ri, Susa, 3, VII, 1; 
û-ma-am ù-ri, D. E. P., VI, 47, 16.

ummânu, army. 
ûmmân(ZAB) nakru(PAP'), the army of the enemy, V. A., 2663, III, 16.

ammatu, cubit. 
inammatu(Ü) râbûtu(GAL-tu[m(m)], passim; ina amma-ti ra-î-iti, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 5.

emüqu, strength. 
ša a-na e-piš taḫâzi kil-pu-da e-mu-qa-šu, whose resources are devoted to battle, V. R. 55, 7; ina e-muq dBi[l(EN)], V. A., 2663, III, 37; šarru ša a-na e-muq dNabû u dMarduk [u-ka-lu], C. T., X, pl. IV, 14.

nimequ, wisdom. 
ni-me-ki ša dNabû, IV R. 38, II, 7; ni-me-ki dNabû u dMarduk, C. T., X, pl. IV, 8; ina ni-me-ki ip-še-ti-šu, V. A., 2663, III, 2.

amaru, see. 
i, I pret., i-mu-ur-ši-[ma] i-ri-im-šu, D. E. P., II, 93, I, 7; šarru bêl-ši i-mu-ru-šu-ma, V. R. 55, 46; inf., a-šar la a-ma-ri, a place where it cannot be seen, IV R. 38, III, 6; Susa, 16, IV, 35; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 18; D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 10; III R. 41, II, 12; O. B. L., 150, II, 4; I R. 70, III, 7; Neb. Nippur, V, 4; eqû la a-ma-ri, O. B. L., 149, II, 13; a-šar la a-ma-ru šakkanû[SA. MES], V. A., 2663, V, 31; ina eqû la a-ma-ri i-tam-mi-ru, V. R. 56, 36; a-šar la a-(ma)-ri pu-
uz-ri [i-tam-me-ru], C. T., X, pl' VII, 37.

amaru, construct. 
i, I inf., ḫarrâna u ti-tur-ra ... la a-ma-ri, Susa, 3, III, 27; ti-tur-ra la e-pi-ši ḫarrâna la a-ma-ri, V. R. 56, 2.

imêru, ass. 
imêrû-šu u ameli-šu la na-se-e, Susa, 3, II, 51; bit réî-tum imêrê, grazing place of the asses, Susa, 16, I, 27; I imêrû amûrrû, III R. 41, I, 17, 18; I imêrû KÎL.DA, III R. 41, I, 19; imêrû u al-pi, III R. 45, No. 2, 8; I imêrû rabû(-u), London, 102, IV, 24.

imêru, a measure of capacity = rûpa-tu-ukbu(g) u imêrû budâši, V. R. 55, 50, 57; IV imêrê, London, 102, III, 11; I imêrû, London, 102, III, 14, 16, 17.
amûrrû (IM.MAR.TU), west, passim.
imem, lamb. 
imûrê(LU, ARAD, Ú, ZUN)-šu la ṣa-ba-li, C. T., IX, pl. V, 37; imem(LU, ARAD) šâru taḫ-ši-e šêru šini(UR), V. A., 208, 5.
anu, condition. 
an ka-bit-ta, a serious condition, Susa, 16, VI, 14.
anu, prep., to, for, passim. 
a-na eli, concerning; a-na muḫ-ḫi, to, occur frequently.
ina, prep., in, at, with. 
i-na eli, against, over; i-na lîbbi, of; i-na muḫ-ḫi, against, occur often.
inu, time. 
i-nu-šu, at that time, V. A., 2663, I, 43; C. T., X, pl. V, 10; i-nu, when, V. A., 2663, I, 1; e-nu-ša, when, D. E. P., II, 113, 14, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 8; V. R. 55, 1.
enûtu, lordship. 
e-nu-us-su ṣa-ti-ru, V. A., 2663, I, 41.
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Nīnu, nannabu, offspring, descendant.

unūtu, vessel, property.

ENN, enū, to annul.

I, 2, sū-ū la i-te-ni ū la im-taš, he does not annul and does not disregard, Susa, 3, V, 8; inf., i-te-ni-e i-sū-lu-ma, annulment he asked for, O. B. I., 83, II, 9.

IV, 1, ša ki-bit pi-išu la in-nin-en-ru-ū, the command of whose mouth cannot be annulled, Susa, 3, VII, 46; la in-nin-en-ru-ū ki-bit-su, V. A., 2663, I, 16.

NUN, tānīlu, sighing.

anāku, I.
London, 103, IV, 27; Susa, 3, IV, 11; London, 102, I, 21.

annu, this.
Frequently in the phrase nar ti an-ni-i, London, 101, IV, 5; Susa, 3, IV, 41, 60; V, 23, etc.; or nar tu an-na-a, O. B. I., 149, II, 8;


NANU, anānu, be gracious.
anu, grace.
an-na-šu ki-i-nu, Susa, 3, VII, 47.
unninu, supplication.
inanna, now.
i-na-an-na, O. B. I., 83, II, 3; e-nin-na, C. T., X, pl. V, 8.

APPU, appu, face.

ASSU, aššatu, wife.
aššatu, marriage.
a-na aš-su-tū i-[il-qi], London, 102, VI, 4.

TIŠTÊTI, tēnišēti, mankind.
us(s)u, confines, limits.
  u-sa mi-iš-ra ̂ u ku-dur-ra, I R. 70, II, 13; u-sa mi-iš-ra ̂ u ku-dur-ra-šu, III R. 43, III, 20; IV, 1;
  us-su mi-šir-šu ̂ u ku-dur-ra-šu, I R. 70, IV, 3.

ŋän, asū, physician.
  8asū(A.ZU), III R. 43, II, 28.

  a-na bit a-sa-ki a-šar(?) la a-ma-ri, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 17.

ŋän, II, I pret., us-siq is-ki-e-tu, possessions he granted, V. A., 2663, III, 35.

isqu, portion, income, property.
  a-na is-ki-šu li-šā-kin-nu, Susa, 3, V, 19; ̂ ša iš-ki ma-šir, London, 102, III, 11, 14, 15; ̂ is-qu bit
  dLo-ga-ma-šal, income of the temple of L., V. A., 208, 3, pl.;
  us-siq is-ki-e-tu, V. A., 2663, III, 35; pl., ana tabālī esqēti(GISA.
  RU.BA.MEŠ) ša-ši-na, V. A., 211, III, 5.

usqar, the crescent (cf. asqaru, Del., H. W., 717b).
  us-ga-ru bu-gi-na ma-gur-ru ša ̂
  dSin, Susa, 2, IV, 10.

ŋän, esiru, street(?).

mēsiru, bond.
  mēsir(HU) maqlāti (=Br. 10,873)

ŋän, apalu, pay, restore.
  1, 1 perm., mah-ru ap-lu za-ku-ū, London, 102, IV, 34; ma-šir
  a-pil, za-ku, V. A., 209, I, 27;
  II, 39; III, 14, 26.

1, 3, a-di XII ta-a-ani-ta-nap-pal, restore, V. A., 208, 48; London, 102, IV, 40; V. A., 209, II, 5.

aplū, son.
  ap-la-am na-aq mē li-ki-im-šu-ma,
  Susa, 3, VII, 9; apil-šu na-qa
  mē-šu li-ši-ki, III R. 43, IV, 20;

aplū ̂ [na-a]q mē ai ̂ u-šar-ši-šu,
  London, 102, II, 18.

apsū, abyss, ocean.


ŋän, epiru, dust.
  i-na e-pi-rī ̂ u ša-at-ma-ru, London,
  103, V, 46; i-na e-pi-rī ̂ i-tam-
  me-ru, Neb. Nippur, IV, 29; III
  R. 43, I, 33; i-na epirē(ISI-
  ZUN) i-tam-mi-ru, I R. 70, III,
  2; V. A., 2603, V, 29; i-na
  epir(i)(IS) i-te-[mi-ru], O. B. L.,
  150, II, 3.

ŋän, atpiru, covering(?), adjoining(?).
  at-pi-ir-tu pa-an gi . . . . London,
  103, IV, 4.

ŋän, epērū, support.
  la e-pi-ir ā-shē u-ša ̂ u ši-is-sa-
  ah-gar, without being fed may
  be wander through the streets
  of his city, Susa, 3, VI, 38.

uprū, perhaps = epartu, cover.

apparu, thicket.
  qan(GI) apparī(SUK), reed thicket,
  C. T., IX, pl. IV, 19.

ŋän, epēšu, do, make.
  1, I pret., e-pu-šī-ma (1st pers.).
  Susa, 3, IV, 18; pres., ip-pu-šī
  tahāzī, they offer battle, V. R.
  55, 29; ip-pu-šī (relative sen-
  tence), Susa, 3, III, 35; bitū ip-
  pu-šī li-bi-čel ša-šu-um-ma, V.
  R. 56, 53; ina mātu Akkaddik
  ip-pu-šī be-lu-tū, V. A., 2603, V,
  22; inf., ip-piš pī-šū, decree, Neb.
  Nippur, I, 9; ti-tur-ra la e-pi-šī,
  V. R. 56, 2; la e-pi-šī du-ul-li,
  Susa, 3, II, 28; dul-la ša-a-tu lu
  e-pi-šī, Susa, 3, III, 41; a-na
  e-pi šā zāžī, V. R. 55, 7; II
  bitūti aštā ̂ ša na-ga-ru u e-pi-
  [šu], two dilapidated houses
  which are to be torn down and
  to be (re)built, V. A., 209, III,
  17; bitū šū-a-tu ša na-ga-ru u
  e-pi-šī, V. A., 209, IV, 23; part.,
e-piš ku-um-mu ki-is-ši u si-ma-
ku, V. A., 2663, II, 11.
I, 2, ki- is-pi-i rabu-ti ma-li ki-šu . . . .
la i-te-pu-us-ma, Susa, 3, V, 12.
ipsu, built.
biiu ip-su, a built-up plot, V. A.,
208, 12.
epišu, deed.
pl., i-na ni-me-ki ip-še-ti-šu, with
the wisdom of his deeds, V. A.,
2663, III, 3.
N, meditate (cf. Hebr. N and
Hilprecht, B. E., XX, 1, p.
xiiii).

Itpēšu, prudent.
ma-al-ku it-pi-šu, V. A., 2663, II,
47; [sar] ilāni it-pi-šu rim-nu-ū,
C. T., X, pl. IV, 15.

Išu, wood.
Used frequently as determinative;
lu-i isē lu-ù sammē, Susa, 3, II,
48.

Eqlu, field.
Used frequently in the phrases
eqlu ši-a-tum, IV R.3 38, III, 3,
15; Susa, 16, I, 11; II, 10, etc.;
eqla an-na-a, III R. 43, III, 18;
III R. 43; edge IV, 2, 5; eqlu
ša-a-šu, London, 102, II, 33; bēl
eqlu, Susa, 2, III, 31; IV R.3 38,
III, 15; ba-ab eqlu-ia, Susa, 16, II,
18; eqlul mu-li-qi, I R. 70, I, 4;
eqlu ki-i mu-tu-qi, I R. 70, II,
17; eqlul piḫāti, IV R.3 38, I, 17;
eqlul se-pir-ti, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 15;
eqlu la a-ma-ri i-te-mi-ru, O. B.
I., 149, II, 13; itti eqlu lib-ū-ū
eqlā, V. A., 209, II, 34; III, 19;
IV, 10, pl., eqlāti (tim),
Susa, 2, III, 11; eqlāti ši-na-ši, III R.
41, II, 2; eqlāti an-na-ši, III R.
41, I, 35; C. T., X, pl. VI, 29;
eqlāti (AŠA.ME) ša-ši-na, C. T.,
X, pl. V, 6.

aqqulu, pickaxe.
ta-dan-nun? aq-qu-ul-lu, V R.
55, 17.

aqšu, evil, painful.
si-im-ma aq-šu la-az-za, Susa, 14,
IV, 6.
erēbu, enter.
I, 1 pret., a-na i-lik mātu Na-mar
i-ru-bu, under the tax of Namar
had come, V R. 55, 48; qē-tā-šu
ti-ța li-ru-ba, may his hands get
into the mire, V R. 56, 58; inf.,
a-na ālī la e-ri-bi, V R. 55, 52;
a-na ālī-šu a-na la e-ri-bi, III R.
45, No. 2, 7, 10; a-na ālāni la
e-ri-e-bi, V R. 55, 58; bīt ablūSa-
ana-ba-ša la e-[ri-bi], V R. 56, 1.

I, 2, a-na nakri bēl-šu i-te-ru-ub,
against the enemy of his lord
he advanced, V R. 55, 39.

III, 1, a-na il-ki iša u-še-ri-bu, Susa,
3, IV, 7, 23; a-na il-ki la u-šer-
rib, Susa, 3, IV, 33; a-na ablūHu-
up-ši u-še-ri-bi, C. T., IX, pl.
IV, 14; a-na bīt iš-ši ti u-še-ir-
ri-bu, IV R.3 38, III, 8; a-šar
la a-ma-ri u-šer-ri-bu, D. E. P.,
VI, 45, V, 19; inf., a-na libbi (hi)

III, 2, a-na il-ki uš-te-ri-bi, Susa, 3,
V, 31; a-na il-ki la uš-te-rib,
Susa, 3, IV, 58.

Irību, income.

Urbu, income.
ur-ū bī te-ri-tu ma-la ba-šu-ū, V.
A., 208, 4.

Ardu, servant.

Arad-su . . . . i-ri-im, Neb. Nippur,
III, 12; Susa, 3, I, 40; II,
5; D. E. P., II, 112, 9; IV R.3
38, II, 4; Susa, 16, I, 8; D. E. P.
VI, 42, I, 21; D. E. P., VI, 44,
I, 4; III R. 43, I, 6; edge IV, 5;
O. B. I., 149, I, 22; C. T., X, pl.
III, 22; ardu-šu, I R. 66, II, 3; III
R. 43, I, 12; ardu po-lih-šu, V.
A., 2663, III, 37; pl., ar-di-en u
ki-na-a-ši, I R. 70, II, 4.
urū, horse.


arāku, be long.


irnītu, victory.


iršitu, earth, land.


arāru, curse.


2, li-te-ir-ru-šu, Susa, 16, VI, 12.

arratu, curse.


arāru, burn.


arratu, drought.

šum(-um) su-gi-e ʿa ar-ra-ti, III R. 41, II, 34.

aruru, drought.


irru, bitterness.

i-na(!) i-ri-i im-[la]-u, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 16.

erēšu, decide(?), plant(?).

tib(?)-da-a a-na la e-ri-ši, III R. 45, No. 2, 10.

erēšu, plant.

III, 1 part., mu-še-ri-šā lu-ū ṣa-gal-lu, a planter, Susa, 3, VI, 10; III R. 41, I, 32.

irīšu, farmer, cultivator.

ir-ri-ši ša šu-la-šu, Susa, 3, II, 34.

merēšu, cultivation (cf. p. 174).


isatu, fire.

ina šaṭṭi(NE) i-gal-šu-šu, Neb. Nippur, V, 1; C. T., X, pl., VII.

išdu, foundation.


īššu, esšatu, disturbance, revolution.


ūš, usakku, misfortune (cf. Hebr. úš and Jensen on osakku, K. B., VI, 4335).


iškaru, a span of horses.


usumgalu, sovereign.

usumgal (GAL. USU) dIgigé, V. A., 2663, I, 5.

aššamatsu, hurricane.

a-šam-ša-tu is-ga-nun-da, a hurri-

cane sweeps along, V R. 55, 32.

ašnān, grain.


išparu, weaver.

mBel(EN)-am-ma apil ëšpari (Uš-BAR), V. A., 2663, IV, 29.

išpartu, female weaver.

London, 102, IV, 23.

aššu, ašru, place.


ašširum, sanctuary.

a-ši-ir-tum rabûtum (GAL), Susa, 2, IV, 6; pl., muḫ-te'-u aš-ra-lišu, Neb. Nippur, I, 24; pl. cstr., aš-rat dNabû (PA) u dMarduk,
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V. A., 2663, III, 8; ša aš-rat ilâni . . . , C. T., X, pl. IV, 8; mu-ud-diš ka-liš aššâti (AŠ.ME), V. A., 2663, II, 7.

ešrêti, sanctuaries.

išrubû, leprosy(?).
ašarîdu, first.
ma-rû ašarîdu(SAG.KAL) ša [Aššur-aḫu-iddina], C. T., X, pl. IV, 9.
aššû, concerning.
iššâku, prince, representative.

ištu, from, since.
ištên, one.
iš-ša(ma) iš-tin, London, 101, IV, 7; ki-i ištên umi(-mi) la bala’t-su liq-b[u]-u, O. B. I., 149, III, 10.
ištênîš, in the same manner.
išra u rabû(-a) ki-i ištênîš(L-iš) u-ša-aš-bit-ma, V. A., 2663, III, 28.

istaru, goddess.

עָּנָּס, atû, see.

II, 1, mim-ma ut-tu-ú a-na šur-ri pi-šu la i-kaš-ašdî, whatsoever he seeks for his throat may he not secure it, I R. 70, IV, 19; gi-mîr kal da-da-me ki-nîš ut-tu-ú-ma, he paid careful attention, V. A., 2663, I, 24.
iťû, oversee(?).
laputtu lu-ú i-tu-ú, I R. 70, II, 6.
iťû, boundary.
30 (gur) i-te-e Bit-[m]a-zi nîr šarrî, C. T., IX, pl. V, 24; e te-ti-iq i-ta-[a], O. B. I., 83, II, 22.

בָּנָּס, etellû, lord.
amelu ši-ú lu-ú etellû(BE) lu-ú rabû ma-liš šarrî, Susa, 3, VI, 1; e-tîl kamê(-e) u irṣiti, Neb. Nippur, I, 1; (Nebuchadrezzar I.) e-tîl šarrānî, V R. 55, 2; fem., (Gula) e-tîl-li-it ka-la be-li-e-ti, Susa, 3, VI, 16.
bêlûtu, mistress.

(Gula) be-êl-tû rabûtu(-tu), III R. 41, II, 29; bêlûtu rabûtu, I R. 70, IV, 5; III R. 43, IV, 15; Neb. Nippur, IV, 20; D. E. P., VI, 47, 11; London, 102, II, 20; (Zarpanitum) [bêlûtu] rabûtu(-tu), O. B. I., 149, II, 22; bêlûtu a˘-sag-ila, London, 102, I, 42; (Istar) bêlûtu šamê(-e) u īršiti(-ti), III R. 43, IV, 12; I²R. 70, III, 22; (Istar) bêlûtu matûti, Neb. Nippur, IV, 22; Susa, 2, IV, 16; (Gula) bêlûtu šur-bu-tum, Susa, 3, VII, 15; (Išara) bêlûtu le-ti da-ad-ma, III R. 43, IV, 28; (Šumalia) be-êli šadê el-elu-ti, V R. 56, 46; (Istar) be-êl-tû ru-ba ilânî, III R. 41, II, 21; ša bêlûtu 

bêlûtu, lordship, rule.


baqalûti, kingdoms.


bêlu, weapon.


bêlu, possess.

I, I prec., bitu in-pa-šu bi-bi el ša

nu-um-ma, V R. 56, 53.

bêlu, lord, possim.

pl., be-šu-û īršiti Ša-a-tum, IV R² 38, 28.

bêlu, possess.

I, I prec., bitu in-pa-šu bi-bi el ša

nu-um-ma, V R. 56, 53.

bêlu, lord, passim.

pl., be-šu-û īršiti Ša-a-tum, IV R² 38, 28.

Bábbūlu, the Babylonian.  
*Bábbūλu (TIN.TIR ki ME), V. A., 2063, III, 45, 48; Bábbūlu (TIN.-TIR-ū), V R. 56, 3.

bubûtu, hunger.


bugina, basket.

us-qa-ru bu-gi-na maqur-ru ša 4Sin, Susa, 2, IV, 10.

bū, bālu, cattle.

bu-ul-šarri ṣa-ku-kin, Susa, 3, III, 15.

būrū, ox.

bu-ru ek-du ša 4Rammān, Susa, 2, IV, 17.

būrā, buḥalu, stallion.

XXX sisē XXV bu-ša-lu V ḫurūṭe (ṣisūa), III R. 43, edge IV, 2.

baṭālu, cease.


ba, bānu, give.


bū, bītu, house, passim.

bālu, balû, perish; II, 1, destroy.


belû, ragged garment (Hebr. שיִּתָן).  
II oubuṭu elītu be-šu-šu, III R. 41, I, 23.

billudû, command.


balūtu, live.

I, 1 perm., a-di um(-um) bal-šu, Susa, 3, VI, 52; VII, 23; V R. 56, 59; London, 102, II, 23; ūm [bja]-šu, O. B. I., 149, III, 4; a-di um(-um) bal-du, Susa, 16, VI, 18 a-di um(-um) i-su-ti ša ba-bal-ta, IV R.3 38, III, 41.

balatû, life.


bālu, balû, riches.

nu-ul-ši  ḫe-gal a-di bal-tu, Susa, 3, V, 19.

banû, do, make, create.


būnu, face, features.

pl., ina bu-niš-ba nam-rut, Neb. Nippur, I, 22; bu-niš-ba nam-ru-ši(tu), C. T. X, pl. III, 9; pl. V, 15; V A., 2663, III, 40; ina bu niš-nu iz-su-šu, Susa, 3,

nabnitu, birth.


baqānu, cut off (cf. p. 177).


nibrētu, hunger.


barū, see.


bārū, seer.

bīrū (HAL), London, 103, I, 1, 39; II, 10, 15; IV, 8, 22, 32; V, 22; V. R. 56, 26; Neb. Nippur, V, 14; O. B. I., 149, I, 16; V. A., 209, V, 18 (so acc. to Dr. Ungnad).

bīrīt, prep., between.


bīrū, luxuriants, pasture.


bīrītu, luxuriants, pasture.


bārū, luxuriants.

zur-šu bar-rušu, V. A., 2663, II, 16.

bārāmu, seal.

I, 1 inf., i-na ša-a-me ša-ša-ri u ba-ra-me, London, 102, IV, 41; perm., šup-ši bar-mu, the tablet has been sealed, V. A., 2663, V, 50.

bīrītītu, rise of the stars.

(İstar) išu bas-ri-ta, III R. 41, II, 22 (cf., however, Delitzsch, H. W., 188a).

burrurtum, shining (Zimmern).

ša dīšar, Susa, 2, IV, 15.

burāšu, cypress.

išer burāšī (SIM.II) la na-da-ni, V. R. 55, 56.

bašū, bašū, be.


busū, property.

i-na eli buštu (SA.ŠU) u-šib-ū-ma, London, 102, VI, 13.

bithallu, riding horse.

amelu ša bit-ḫal-li, master of the (riding) horse, V. R. 55, 58; urāt(eš-eš) bit-ḫal-la, mares as riding horses, V. R. 55, 59.
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īna batāqu, cut off.

II, 1 perm., bu-ut-tu-qu maš-qu-ù, the drinking places were cut off, V R. 55, 19.


gabbu, entire, total.
i-na i-liq māt̄u Na-mar gab-bi-šu, V R. 55, 19.

gabarū, gabrū, copy.

gugallu, regent, chief.
gū-gal-lu ša pihāt Bit-mPir-āmårū, Susa, 3, VI, 11; (Rammān) gū-gal ilānī, D. E. P., II, 113, 8; (Rammān) gū-gal šamē(-e) ut iršīlim(-tim), III R. 41, II, 32; I R. 70, IV, 9; III R. 43, IV, 3; V R. 56, 41; Susa, 14, III, 9; tu mu-še-ri-šu tu gū-gal-lu, III R. 41, I, 33.

gilimūlu, preservation.

gimārū, complete.

gamrūtu, completion, fulness.

gimru, totality.
(Marduk) šār gi-im-ri, V. A., 2663, I, 4; (Ellil) bēl gim-ri Neb. Nippur, I, 2; šār(? ) gim(? )


GAN, a surface measure.

GAN 30 qa I ammatu rabītū, Susa, 2, I, 26, 35; II, 5, 10, 15; Neb. Nippur, pl. 1; III, 7; London, 103, III, 40; London, 101, I, 4; Susa, 3, I, 2; Susa, 16, I, 1; D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 1; D. E. P., VI, 46, I, 1; C. T., IX, pl. V, 26; O. B. I., 83, I, 1; III R. 41, I, 1; I R. 70, I, 1; III R. 43, I[1], 11; O. B. I., 149, I, 1; C. T., X, pl. III, 11, 19; V. A., 2663, IV, 3, 18, 20, 32, 42, 47, etc.

GU.EN.NA, title of an official.


girgilu, a symbol of Ellil.
gir-gi-lu al-la-ku ša aEn-ši, Susa, 2, IV, 3.

girru, road.


gurrū, measure of area, Hebr. גностью, passim.

GIŠ.BAR, rent.


gišhabbu, rascal.
u-n-a giš-ša-ba, III R. 41, II, 9.

gišimmaru, date palm.

eqlu išušišimmaru zaq-qa, a field planted with date palms, V. A., 208, 35; iškūr(SAR) gišimmaru, V. A., 2663, IV, 21; C. T., X, pl. VI, 24; išušišimmaru šaši, V. A., 209, II, 30; III, 1; iškūr išušišimmaru 40 gišimmaru ina bilti(GU.UN) ina lō-šu, the date palm grove in which are forty date palms with fruit, V. A., 209, IV, 24.
gašru, strong.

gasrūtu, strength, power.
ša i-na dun-ni u [gaš]-ru-tu la [i]-ṣu-u tam-šil-šu, V. A., 2663, II, 32.

gutaku, title of an official.
gu-lu-ku ša Bit-mA-da, III R. 43, III, 12.

Dūzu, month of Tammuz.
V R. 55, 16; V. A., 2663, V, 16.

da'ummatu, darkness.

dibbu, raise a claim.


dibbu, lawsuit.
di-bi-bi tar-pir-ta ʾu ru-gu-um-ma-a, Susa, 3, II, 15.

dagalu, see.


daddu, child.
a[i] i-zi-bi da-ad-da-ši, Susa, 16, VI, 27.

duru, wall.
dūru ša ʾatu Bit-[i]Šamaš, V R. 56, 1.

darū, everlasting.
a-na da-ra-a-ti, forever, Susa, 3, V, 39.

dariš, forever.


דאהדוע, be abundant.

II, 1 part., mu-daḫ-hi-id ši-gar-šu-nu, who fills with plenty their gates, V.A., 2663, II, 4.

duḫdu, plenty.

šanôle duḫ-di, Susa, 3, V, 18.

dailu (=daialu), title of official.

a-liš da-i-li šu-a-tim, IV R.², 38, II, 30.

דנוע, judge.

I, 1 pret., di-in kit-ti u me-ša-ri ai i-di-nu-šu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 18; ša di-in mi-ša-ri i-din-nu, V R., 55, 6; prec., lu-ú-di-in kul dini(DI)-šu, may he decree the denial(?) of his right, I R., 70, III, 16; lu-ú-di-in kul dini(DI)-šu-ma, III R., 43, IV, 11.

dinu, right, lawsuit.


dainu (=daianu), judge.

(Šamaš) daianu rabû, Susa, 2, IV, 13; Susa, 14, III, 3; daianu(DI-KUD) rabû šamē(ê) u îris-tim(-tim), I R., 70, III, 15; Šamaš daianu kāk-kāk nišê, III R., 43, IV, 10; Šamaš daian šamē u îrisûti, London, 101, III, 12; III R., 41, II, 19; London, 102, II, 1; (Šamas and Rammân) daianê


דַּקוּ, overthrow.

I, 2, ši-û id-di-ki-ma i-na aš-ri-im ša-ni-im-ma ki i limutti(-ti) il-ta-ka-an, Susa, 3, V, 40.

דיקו, levy, be ready.

I, 1 pret., [ina] bu-ni-šu nam-ru-tu id-ki-ma, with shining face he was ready (willing), C. T., X, pl. V., 15; inf., la di-ki-im-ma, not to levy, Susa, 3, II, 27.

dikû, levymaster.


דיקותו, levy, conscription.


דרעל, door.

dal-[ti] û abar(Â) mi-il-ki nôri-šû i-ši-ik-ki-ru-ma, the sluice, the place of filling his canal, Susa, 16, V, 6.

דרעל, work.


דביע, blood.


דמוא, be merciful.

II, 1 inf., at-rîš a-na du-um-mu-ki, for an exceedingly great favor,
IV R.² 38, II, 26; part., mudam-me-ig zi-kir a-bi a-li-di-šu, who keeps unstained the name of the father, his begetter, V. A., 2663, II, 41.

damqu, gracious.
ina nūr pānū(SI.MES)-šu damqūti(ST.BIR.MES), Neb. Nippur, I, 22.

damqis, graciously.
[damqis] lip-pal-su-šu-ma, Susa, 3, V, 16.

damiqtu, favor.
i-na [fāb lib]-bi u da[migti iš]-pur, Susa, 16, I, 10.

[?] danānu, force.

dannu, powerful, mighty.

dannatu, difficulty.

dannu, strength.

dannu, document (cf. dannitu),
a-na šarrī dan(-an)-ni iq-bi-ma, III R. 43, I, 10; dan(-an) [-ni] ka-ni-ki, the document was sealed, III R. 43, I, 23.

dirktu, diminution (cf. dirku, small).
i-na di-ri-ik-ti me, at the low water level, Susa, 3, II, 54.

dišu, widely extended.
nišē(UN) di-ša-a-tī, people far and near, III R. 41, II, 39.

Adū, inform.
III. I pret., šarru uš-id-ma it-tī a-ḫa-
meš i-šal-šu-nu-ti-ma, London, 103, IV, 18; šarru . . . uš-id-ma, Susa, 16, II, 21; šarru bēli-šu . . . uš-id-ma, V R. 55, 49; šarru be-el-šu u[k]-š[ ][-]i-š-ma um[ -ma], C. T., X, pl. III, 3.

721, abālu, carry, bring.
III, 2 pres., pān bēl eqši uš-ta-ba-lu, in the presence of the owner of the field causes it to be taken, London, 101, III, 8.

bītū, (1) tribute, (2) fruit.
(1) tribute, bi-lat(UN)-su kabit-im(DUGUD-im), V. A., 2663, II, 14; (2) fruit, XL iš-šimmaru ina bītū(UN), V. A., 209, IV, 24.

Adū, fix, appoint.

Adū, law.
a-na la a-di-šu-nu, contrary to their law, V R. 55, 48.

alādu, beget.
I, 1 inf., a-la-ad a-me-lu-ti alšu u šēnē, the birth of men, oxen and sheep, London, 102, II, 27; part., a-bi a-li-di-šu, V. A., 2663, II, 42.

ilittu, child, offspring.
i-lī-ti mEr-ba-dMarduk, V. A., 2663, II, 43.

Assittu, a sculptured and engraved stele.

simtu, decoration.
pl., simatti, ina eš-riš ma-ḫa-zi ilānī rabāti iš-tak-ka-nu si-ma-tu, works of art, V. A., 2663, II, 47.
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 Nim, šupû, brilliant.
(Sin) ša i-na ilâni rabûti šu-pu-u, Susa, 3, VI, 43; šul '[S]iru iitu šu-pu-u marr bitî ša [tu] Di-e-îr, V, R., 56, 49.

 Nim, apitu, dwelling.

 Nim, ašû, go forth.
 II, 2, i-na qat fi Marduk-zákîr-šumu u zîrî-šu u-šu-šu, IV R.3 38, III, 22.


 Šitu, that which goes forth.
 ši-šu, command, Susa, 3, VI, 30; ša ši-ti pi-šu la uš-te-šu-û, V, A., 2663, I, 14; ig-bi ina ši-ši pi-šu, V, A., 2663, I, 31; ši-ti Bābili, offsprings of B, V, R., 55, 2; ši-ti aq-[ra]-šaš, late offsprings, C, T., X, pl., IV, 14; a-na ši-ti lu uš-ši, may he not let go out (of my hands), C, T., X, pl., III, 8.

 Šatu, eternity.

 arâdu, go down.
 I, 2, u-šir-ra a-na 7nakri, V, R. 55, 38.

 arû, lead.
 I, 2 part., mut-tar-ru-û ba'-u-la-ti, ruler of kingdoms, Neb. Nippur, I, 12.
 II, 1 part., mu-ir-ru, captain, Susa, 16, IV, 4; Susa 14, II, 3.

 arî, month.
 ar-ki ša ki-ta-ra-da, months that last, IV R. 38, II, 21.

 arî, afterwards.

 arkû, a later one.
āumi(-mi), III R. 43, III, 1; likkišā arkti(EGIR)-su, V. A., 2663, V, 47.

arkānu, adv., later.


 perror, urqitu, green herbs.
aî u-šé-ši ur-ki-ti, Susa, 14, III, 13;
ki-mu ur-ki-ti id-ra-nu, III R. 41, II, 33.

בש, asābu, dwell.

III, 1 inf., šu-šu-[ub ma]-ha-zi, the preservation of cities, V. A., 2663, II, 23.

šubtu, seat.

 perror, ašriš, submissively.

 perror, atāru, exceed.
III, 1, u-ša-tir šum-šu, he magnified his name, Neb. Nippur, II, 7;
e-nu-us-su u-ša-tir, V. A., 2663, I, 41; eli ša pa-ni u-ša-tir-ma, he enlarged more than it was before, V. A., 2663, III, 30.

atru, earnest money.
ki-i pi-i atri(DIR) lud-dak-ka, as earnest money I will give thee, V. A., 209, I, 15, 21; ki-i pi-i at-ru, V. A., 209, IV, 33; šiglu ḥurdi atri(DIR), Susa, 14, I, 14.

atriš, exceedingly.

atarat, powerfully.
i-te-ru-ub a-tar-ta, V R. 55, 39.

ataratu, that which has been added, property.
a-tar-ti egli Bit-mIr-ri-ga, Susa, 3, I, 12; a-tar-ta egli ālu ša . . . . ., Susa, 3, I, 16.

 perror, zāzu, divide.
I, I pret., šup-pi zitti ša . . . a-na mōri-šu i-zu-zi, the tablet of the share which N. assigned to his son, V. A., 208, 3.

zu’uztu, allotment.
še-pi-it zu’-uztu ša m Er-ba-Marduk, V. A., 2663, III, 51.

zūtu, blindness.

 perror, zāru, hate.
I, I imp., limutta(-la) zi-ir-ma kit-la ru-[am], O. B. I., 83, II, 24.

 perror, zakū, be free.
mdZēr-ukin iz-kam-ma, London, 102, IV, 17; perm., ša ina šarri po-na za-ku-ma, which under a former king had been freed, V R. 55, 48; maḫ-ru ap-lu za-kū-ū, London, 102, IV, 34; maḫ-ir a-pil za-ku, it has been received,
it has been paid, he is freed, V A., 209, I, 27; II, 39; III, 14, 26; V, 1.


zakūtu, freedom.

I. ʿaššu, zakāru, name, mention.

II, 1 um-ma-šu la za-uk-ku-ru-[af], London, 103, I, 31.

zikru, name, naming.
zi-kir ʾApsu i-pal-la-šu, O. B. I., 83, II, 14; a-na zi-kir šumi-šu, at the mention of his name, V A., 2663, II, 34; mu-dammeŠqi zi-kir a-bi, V A., 2663, II, 42.

II. ʾaššu, zikru, hero.

zamā, bar, keep back.
II, 1 prec., bit-su li-za-mi-ma, from his house may he bar him, Susa, 3, VI, 53; li-za-am-mi ʾAš-ša-an, may he keep back the grain, Susa, 14, III, 12.

zumru, body.

I. ʾaššu, zanānu, preserve.
II, 1 prec., li-za-ni-ma ḫa-zi-ni-šu, O. B. I., 80, 1.

II. ʾaššu, zumnu, rain.
(Rammān) bēl naq-bi ʾu zu-un-ni, V R. 56, 41.

ṣumru, zaqpu, cultivated.
a-di ʾeqkiri zaq-pi, V A., 208, 8; egqu ʾeqgišimmaru zaq-pu, V A., 208, 35; ʾeqkiri ʾeqgišimmaru zaq-pu u piʾi (!šul-pi), C. T., X, pl. VI, 24.

ṣuri, tīzaru, sublime.

ṣu, zarā, beget, create.

zēru, (1) seedfield.
šēʾ zēru, passim.
(2) seed, offspring.

מַזָּה, zarabu, be pressed (cf. p. 170).

זרִי, zuršu, abundance, plenty.
zur-šu ba-ru-šu, V. A., 2663, II, 16.

ZI.SAG.GAL-li, supplication (cf. p. 170).

זיתו, zittu, share.
ṭupp-Pi zitti(ḤA.LA), V. A., 208, 1; a-na zittu (ḤA.[LA]) u-tir-am-ma, to the (original) possession (owners) he returned them, V. A., 2663, III, 23; zi-īt-ti ma-nu-[ma], no share, C. T., X, pl. V, 13.

חָבָּשָׁ, habasū, be abundant.
I, 1 inf., na-ḥa-ša ḥa-ba-ša li-kim-ša-ma, abundance and overflowing may he take from him, Neb. Nippur, IV, 11.

חָבָּשׁ, ḥabšu, rich (cf. p. 169).

חָבִירָא, ḥabirai, the Habirian.
Ku-dur-ra mār mHi(?)-ri-šu-ru Ḥa-bir-ai, O. B. I., 149, I, 22.

חֵגָלּו, hegalu, affluence.

חָדוּ, ḥadū, to rejoice.
II, 1 inf., libbi be-liši ... ḥu-ud-di-i, to gladden the heart of his lord, IV R. 38, II, 19; i-na ḥu-ud libbi(-bi)-šu, V. A., 209, I, 23; i-na lī-ti u ḥu-ud libbi(-bi), V R. 55, 44.

חָדִיש, joyfully.

מַחְזָא, city.

חַזָּןְ, ḥazannu, magistrate.

חָתְו, ḥattu, scepter.
ipuḫattu i-kar-ti, V. A., 2663, I, 34.

חָטָו, ḥatu, inspect, examine.
I, 1 pret., kul-la-tan nišē i-ḫi-ṯi, V.
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A., 2663, I, 21; L šiqtu kašpi ša i-hi-it-ma id-da-as-šu-nu, V. A., 209, IV, 32; V šiqtu kašpi šim gam-ru-tu ša . . . i-hi-it-ma . . . id-din, V. A., 209, IV, 35.

 IPs, hîrtu, consort.
  Gu-la beltu rabitu (tu) hi-rat NIN.IS.B, III R. 43, IV, 15; hi-rat Šamaš-šu (UD.GAL.LU), I R. 70, IV, 5.

 Ilaḫ, nahlaptu, mantle.
  IX subâtu nahlaptu (TIK.UD.DU), III R. 41, I, 24.

 İluḫu, halâqu, destroy.
 I, 1 prec., zéra-šu li-ih-liq, V R. 56, 60.

 II, 2 (abnunâra) i-ta-bat uḫ-tal-liq, Susa, 3, V, 56.

 I, ṯūnun, ḫamâtu, hasten.
 I, 1 inf., a-na aš-ri ḫa-ma-ṣa, V R. 56, 10, for the support (cf. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 51, note 3).


 ḫantîš, quickly.
 ḫa-an-ṭi-ṣa lik-ki-sa na-ap-ṣaṭ-[ṣu], V R. 56, 57.

 II, ṭu, ḫamâtu, be hot.

 ḫarû, ḫanâbu, grow up in abundance.

 ḫasûsû, think, remember.
 I, 2, a-na limûtti(ti) li-ih-ta-as-su-ṣa-ma, V R. 56, 52.

 ḫasûsu, understanding.
 ḫa-si-sa pal-ka, V., 2663, III, 6.

 Ḫapû, break, destroy.

 Ḫašbu, terra cotta (cf. p. 21)*.
 na-ra-a ša ḥa-aṣ-bi, Susa, 2; Med., I, 3.

 ḫisû, wealth.
 ḫi-ṣib tam-tim rapaštim (DAGAL-tim), V. A., 2663, II, 15.

 Ḫazīnu, axe.
 li-zA-nin-MA ḫa-zi-ni-ṣu, O. B. I., 80, 1.

 Ḫiṣsatu, enclosure, dyke.

 Ḫirû, dig.

 Ḫirû, canal.
הגשר,香菇, famine, want.

הנה, UNUSED, defeat.
I, I pret., ša mâtû Âšur(AŠ) iḫtû(?)
III R. 43, I, 5; II, 27.

טֶמֶת, UNUSED, report, command.
fe-îm-šu . . . u-ṭir-ma, he brought his report, London, 103, III, 1; V, 10, 19; fe-im-ši-nu u-ṭir-ru-
ma, London, 103, III, 38; fe-e-
ma iṣ-kun-šu-ma, he gave him command, London, 103, III, 8;
âmûtâ ša ṭe-mi-šu, men of its council, Susa, 3, II, 38; bâ-kin fe-mi môt diû Ir-ri-ša, D. E. P.,
VI, 44, I, 12; bâ-kin fe-me,
commander, Neb. Nippur, III,
15; V, 17; šakin(GAR-in) fe-mi,
Susa, 16, III, 30; bâkin(GAR-
in) fe-mi, O. B. I., 149, II, 3; 
šakin(GAR) fe-mi mât, V R.
56, 13; šakin(GAR) fe-mi ša Bilt-
am-da, III. R. 43, III, 43, 11.

הב, UNUSED, be good.
I 1 pret., i-na eli bušt u-ṭib-u-ma,
regarding the property they made good, London, 102, VI,
13; inf., i-na li-mu-ut-ti u la 
ṭâb(DUG-ub) śeri, in misery and discomfort of body, IV R.²
38, III, 39; i-na [ṭûb lû]-bi u da[mqi]t iš]-pur, Susa, 16, I, 9.

תָבֻו, good.
a-la-la ṣa-a-ba a-na ši-im-ti-šu la 
i-man-nu-û, London, 103, VI, 6.

תָּבּו, prosperity.
a-na limutti(ti) u la têbbî(DUG-ti)

חָעָס, UNUSED, approach.
I, I pret., a-na nî-šî-šû ai ʾil-ḫi, Susa,
16, VI, 19; ma-har šarri bèli-šû 
it-ḫi-ma, O. B. I., 83, I, 19.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

šu-ši, mère.

gatâ-šu ši-ta li-ru-ba, V R. 56, 58; ni-is-si ša ši-iši, extract of the clay (tablet), C. T., IX, pl. V, 42.

\textit{fūppu}, tablet.


\textit{tupšikkû}, forced labor.


\textit{tupšarru}, scribe (Hebr. נ 순간).


\textbf{ša-ti}, tarâdû, drive away.

I, 2, ūmi(-mi) šâ na-ka-da ar-ši šâ ši-ta-ra-da, days that pass quickly(?), months that hurry on(?), IV R.² 38, II, 21.

IV, 1 prec., abûlî âli-šu ka-meš li-ša-ra-id, may he be driven away, Susa, 16, VI, 16; ina pâni-šu lim-niš ši-ta-ra-du, V. A., 2663, II, 36.

\textit{tû}, idu, side.

a-na i-di li-mut-ši išu-as-zu-ma, III R. 41, II, 1; a-na i-di ram-ni-šu-nu u-tir-ra-ma, they turned them (the fields) to their own use, C. T., X, pl. V, 5; a-na i-di ram-ni-šu u-tar-ru, C. T., X, pl. VI, 34.

\textit{ši-tû}, idû, to know.


\textit{muâdu}, intelligent.


\textit{ši}, ūmu, day, passim.

\textit{ūmičamâ}, daily.

ūmi(-mi)-šam-ma, I R. 70, III, 23.
imittu, right hand.

ša šu-usa-raši bit(?) i-mil-ti šarr, V R. 55, 26, 36.

esēru, form, sculpture.


uṣurtu, picture, bas relief.


ia-aši, me.

šu-ši ia-aši la u-qa-lala-la, Susa, 3, IV, 28.

išu, have.


ašaru, to be right.

III, 2, di-in šu la uš-te-esi-še-ru, may they not let his cause succeed, London, 103, VI, 10; part., muš-te-ši-ru te-ni-še-e-ti, the ruler of mankind, V A., 2663, I, 12.

iašaru, righteousness.

f., išu-hattu(PA) 1-ša-ti, V A., 2663, I, 34.

mēšaru, righteousness.


kabābu, burn.


kabāsu, tread, walk.


kabtu, heavy, mighty.

ka-bit mētāti, Neb. Nippur, I, 12; t., iš-ra-ba-a múti(BAD-ti) an ka-bit-a, a serious condition, Susa, 16, VI, 14; bilat(GUN)-su kabittim(DUGUD-tim), V A.; 2663, II, 15; še-rit-su kabittu(DUGUD-tu), V A., 2663 V, 142.

kabitu, mind.


KAD, title of an official.


kidūdē, temples, shrines.


kidin(n)u, protection.

gobē ki-di-nu, clients, V A., 2663, III, 11, 24, 32.

kudurrū, boundary stone.

II, 8; ú-sa mi-iš-ru ú ku-du-r-ru,
III R. 43, III, 20; IV 2; I R. 70,
II, 13; us-su mi-šir-šu u ku-du-
ra-šu, I R. 70, IV, 4; ku-du-r-ru
ú-na-ka-ru, O. B. I., 150, II, 1;
kudurri(SÁ.DU)-ši-na nu-uk-
ku-ru-ma, V. A., 2663, III, 21;
kudur-ru ú-na-ak-ka-ru, Susa,
16, IV, 19; ku-dur-ra-ša ul ut-
ta[k]-kijur, O. B. I., 83, II, 2; ku-
dur-ru-ša ut-tak-kir, O. B. I., 83,
II, 5; li-bu-tu ku-du-r-ru-šu, V
R. 56, 40; ku-du-r-ru-šu li-na-qir,
London, 103, VI, 12; be-el ab-li
šu-ši-mi ú ku-du-r-ri, Susa, 3,
VII, 8; šum ku-du-r-ri[L], London,
101, I, 1; ˝NIN.IB u ˝Nusku
nu-ki ku-ur-ra šum-šu(MU. 4NE),
Susa, Nippur, heading 2,
a-na ku-dur da-ra-a-ti, Susa, 3,
III, 53; pl., bi ku-du-r-ri-e-ti,
III R. 43, IV, 19; na-šir ku-du-

\[, kålú], hold, sustain.

\[, kúm], prep., instead of.
ku-un 587 kaspê, London, 102, IV,
29.

kému, place, instead of.
kí-mu eq-lu la i-nam-di-na-ak-sum-
ma (kí-mu = ina kémi), Susa,
3, IV, 48; eq-lu ki-mu la ú-ša-an-
na-ak-sum-ma, Susa, 3, V, 13;
kí-mu ur-gu-ti id-ra-nu, III R.
41, II, 33; [kí] mu-ú SE.BAR
la ši-ri-šu, London, 102, II, 11;
kí-mu-ú mé id-ra-na, London,
102, II, 12.
kummu, sanctuary.
e-piš ku-un-mu ki-ib-ši u si-ma-ku,
V. A., 2663, II, 11.

\[, kánu, establish, fix.
II, I pret., iš-fur-ma ú-kin, Susa, 2;
Med., II, 11; a-na da-ra-a-ti
ú-ki-in-nu, relat., Susa, 3, V, 39;
a-na =Mu-un-na-bit-ti ú-kin-nu,
Susa, 16, II, 12; u-kin kudurrum,
V. A., 2663, III, 29; part., mu-
kin iš-di ma-a-ti, Neb. Nippur,
II, 24; V. A., 2663, II, 44; C. T.,
X, pl. IV, 13; mu-kí-in ku-du-r-ri
da-ra-ti, III R. 41, heading 2,
II, 40; mu-kin-ru ab-li-e, V R. 55,
5; ˝NIN.IB u ˝Nusku mu-ki
ku-du-r-ri, Neb. Nippur, head-
ing 2.

kénu, faithful.
re-a kénu(GI.NA), V. A., 2663,
II, 25; re-a ki-ru, Neb. Nippur,
I, 21; re-i ki-ru, Neb. Nippur,
II, 15; an-na-šu ki-i-nu, Susa,
3, VII, 48; pl., šár ki-na-a-ti,

kiš, faithfully.
ki-niš ip-pa-lis-ma, Neb. Nippur,
I, 24; ki-niš ippalâ(SI.BAR)-
su-ma, Neb. Nippur, II, 16;
ki-niš lip-pal-šu-šu-ma, O. B. I.,
83, II, 16; ki-niš ut-tu-šu-ma,
V. A., 2663, I, 24; šum-šu ki-niš
im-bu-u, V. A., 2663, II, 55;
ki-niš šš-šš?-lu, C. T., X, pl.
V, 11.

ki-ttu, righteousness.
ki-ti-ta ir-tam-ma, Susa, 3, IV,
53; ki-ti-te iz-zi-ir-ma, Susa, 3,
V, 20; kit-ta ra-[am], O. B. I.,
83, II, 23.

mukinum, witness.
an-ru-ru mu-kin-nu[p], V. A.,
209, V, 20.

kizû, bodyguard, servant.
a-na-an-za-su mah-šar šarri ki-za-šu,

\[, ki, as.
ki-[j] a-na-ku, Susa, 3, IV, 1; ki-
pi-i, according to the word,
Susa, 3, IV, 13, 34, 44; V, 10;
III R. 43, I, 10, 22; London,
102, III, 10; ki-i pi-i atri(DIR),
as earnest money, V. A., 209,
I, 15; ki-i pi-i at-ru, V. A., 209,
IV, 33; ki-i m, I R. 70, IV, 8;

ki̲am, thus.

kima, as.

kakku, weapon.

kabla, dog.
ki-ma kabli(UKU), III R. 41, II, 24.


II, kalu, end, cease.

kala, all.

kališ, altogether.

kullu, denial(?), end(?).

kallū, name of an official (cf. p. 177).

kallatu, bride.

kabla, dog.
ki-ma kabli(UKU), III R. 41, II, 24.

I, kalu, drive forward(?).
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II, 1 pret., u-kan-ni-šu a-na ur-ti-šu,
V. A., 2663, I, 39.

Kisilimu, Kislev, ninth month.
V. A., 208, 53.

Kaspū, silver.
London, 103, III, 22; III R. 41, I,
15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,
24, 25, 26, 27; London, 102, III,
25, 26; IV, 23, 24, 25, 27; V. A.,
208, 46; C. T., X, pl. V, 2; V. A.,
209, I, 6, 15, 21; II, 3, 4; IV, 5,
19, 20, 32, 33.

Kisuru, boundary.
Ki-sur-ri-ši na im-na-šu-ma, V. A.,
2663, III, 19.

Kapādu, plan, devise.
I, 1 pres., mim-ma a-na-at limuttu (ti)
i-ka-ap-pa-du, Susa, 16, V, 10;
ša lib-bu-uš-šu i-kap-pu-du
limutta, V. A. 211, III, 3.
I, 2, ša a-na epē šahāzi kit-pu-da
e-mu-pa-šu, whose forces are
devoted to battle, V. R. 55, 7.

Kuppu, spring.
pl., ka-bi-sa-at kup-pa-a-ti, V. R.
56, 47.

Kišsu, dwelling, temple.
e-piš ku-um-mu ki-is-ši u si-ma-ku,
V. A., 2663, II, 12; pl., adi eqlı
ki-is-ša-a-ti ša i-na iššu Na-ra-

Kirū, garden.
šukiru (SAR) ašu-sa-ak-na-na-
Susa, 16, I, 23; šukiru u šaggu-
lani, V. R. 55, 60; šukiru (SAR).
MES eqlı Bit-mAt-na-ai, C. T.,
X, pl. III, 20; a-di šukiru šag-pi,
V. A., 208, 8; šukiru gišimmaru,
V. A., 2663, IV, 21; šukiru, V. A.,
2663, IV, 29, 33, 36, 43; C. T., X,
pl. VI, 24; V. A., 209, IV, 24.

Kikribu, prayer.
i-na ik-ri-bi u ZI.SAG.GAL-li, O
B. I., 83, I, 17.

Karubu, powerful.
(Nusku) a-ri-rom ka-ru-bu, Neb.
Nippur, IV, 25.
NEBUCHADREZZAR I.

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I. 1, 2, ik-la-šad a-na kiššad nāru,U-ša-a, V R. 55, 28.
kišittu, property.
i-na kišitta(KUR-ta) ša im-qut-ma, because of the property which he claimed, London, 102, VI, 5.

II. 3, kuršu (= karsšu), ruin.
i-te-mid kür-šu, fate overtook him, V R. 56, 41 (cf. Sennach., prism, II, 37; Aššurb. Annals, II, 81; Synchronistic History, II, 60; III [8], 26; and Winckler, Forschungen, I, 105, 241; De- litzsch, Lesebuchke, p. 170b).

KAŠ.BU(KAŠ.GID), double mile.

kišādu, (1) bank of river.
Susa, 2, I, 22, 25, 31, 34; II, 3, 8, 13, 18; London, 103, III, 42; IV, 2; London, 101, I, 5; Susa, 3, 4, 24, 30, 54; IV R. 38, I, 4; Susa, 16, I, 3, 24; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 21, 23; III R. 41, 1, 10, 9; I R. 70, 1, 3, London, 102, I, 2; C. T., X, pl. III, 9; V A., 2663, IV, 16, 22, 23, 31, 46, etc.
(2) neck, paš-ru i-na kišâdi(TIK)-šu, V R. 56, 54.

kašādu, reach, overtake.


kuttinu, younger (cf. Hebr. [םַע]).
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

Ki-di-ni māri-šu kut-tin-nu, V. A., 208, 3, 21; māri-šu kut-tin-nu, placed between māri-šu rabīt(-i) and māri-šu šal-ša-ai, London, 102, IV, 32.

lā, not, passim.

li’û, tablet (cf. p. 10).

li ( )-û u tuppi eqili, Susa, 16, III, 11; i-na ka-na-ak li ( )-û u tup-pi eqili, Susa, 16, III, 15; i-na ka-na-ak li ( )-û šu-a-tu, Neb. Nippur, V, 8; is’ûli’â(LI), D. E. P., II, 93, II, 9, 12.

litu, power, victory.


libbu, heart.


libbu, young(?)


labānu, libēnu, throw down, prostrate.


lubu, calamity.


labāru, become old.

I, 1 inf., a-na la-bar umi(-mi), to distant days, Susa, 16, III, 26; umē la-ba-ri, old age, O. B. I., 83, II, 19.

labiru, old.

ga-ba-ri-e la-bi-rišu, a copy of its original, Susa, 2; Med., II, 10; ul-tu la-bi-ri, from of old, Susa, 3, III, 37; bit abi(AD) la-bi-ri ma-ši-ra-a[t], C. T., X, pl. V, 12; ki i-na la-bi-ri, as was of old, V R. 55, 50; pl., parši(BAR.-SUD) la-bi-ru-ti, Susa, 16, II, 27; fem., eqalāši marē Bābili(šu) la-bi-riat, V. A., 2663, III, 15; eqalāši bit a-bē-e-a labāritti(Ô.R.A.-ME), C. T., X, pl. V, 2.

lubāru, garment.

iš-ra-ba-a ki-i lu-ba-ri, I R. 70, III, 19; îruðù(a) ki-ma lu-ba-ri, III R. 43, IV, 8; iš-ru-bαl-a ki-
ma lu-ba-ri li-lab-biš-[šu], London, 102, I, 46.

labšu, clothe.


tabalšu, garment.


lú, (1) adv., truly.

Neb. Nippur, IV, 16, 26; Susa, 2, IV, 31, etc.

(2) conj., either, or.

lu-ú ... ú, Susa, 2, III, 4; lu-ú ... lu-ú, London, 102, V, 1, 2; London, 101, II, 13-15; III, 3, 6, etc.

lazzu, destructive, evil (cf. p. 181).


lipu, descendant.


Ilú, laughter(?), merriment(?).


lamánu, liménù, be evil.


limnu, evil.


limnis, miserably, with evil intent.


limuttu, the evil.


lamassu, tutelary deity.

ilu šarrī u ḏlamassu(KAL) šarrī, Susa, 16, VI, 8.

lānu, body.


lēl, liptu, work, construction (cf. p.198).

lipittu, enclosure (cf. p. 184).
i-na lipitti(LIBIT) it-te-'i, Susa, 3, V, 53; ina iu-ipitti(LIBIT)

la(u)puttū, chief (cf. p. 171).
lū-pu-ut-tu-ū, III R. 43, III, 13;
NU.TUR, London, 101, II, 14;
IV R. 38, III, 1; Susa, 16, III,
28; D. E. P., II, 97, 11; O. B. I.,
83, II, 12; NU.TUR.DA, III R.
41, I, 32; I R. 70, II, 5.

laqū, seize, take.
1, 1 prec., ni-iš-so-tu li-ilqi(SŪ.TI)-
sū, Neb. Nippur, IV, 12; a-na
aš-šu-ti [il-qi], London, 102,
VI, 4; pres., ša ultu libbi nār
piqāti ša šarrī i-liq qa-a, Susa,
3, I, 52.
1, 2, eqlu bit abi-[ia al-ti]-ki, C. T., X,
pl. III, 4.

laqātu, snatch away.
1, 1 prec., i-na zēri-šu līl-quit, London,
101, III, 17; zēri-šu lil-qu-tum,
IV R. 38, III, 37; [zēri-šu] līl-
ku-tum, Susa, 16, VI, 26.

ma, part. of emphasis, passim.

mi, na-din-mī, London, 101, III, 1;
London, 103, V, 38; šarrī-mī,
O. B. I., 149, II, 7; ša-mī, Susa,
16, II, 32; ma-ti-ir-mi, Neb.
Nippur, IV, 2.

mu,[ma]-la ib-ši-mu, C. T., X, pl. VII,
40; iš-me-e-mu, V. A., 209, I, 17;
i-tar-ru-mu, V. A., 209, II, 39;
III, 27; ik-nu-ku-šu-mu, V. A.,
209, IV, 37.

mē, water.
a-na mē i-nam-du-u, I R. 70, III, 1;
III R. 43, I, 33; Susa, 16, IV, 31;
O. B. I., 149, II, 11; V. A., 2663,
V, 28; IV R. 38, III, 18; London,
103, V, 45; London, 101, III, 3;
Neb. Nippur, V, 1; C. T., X,
pl. VII, 36; ki-i mē li-ir-muk, I
R. 70, IV, 8; Neb. Nippur, IV,
21; Susa, 3, VII, 25; III R. 41,
II, 31; O. B. I., 149, III, 5; D.
E. P., IV, pl. 16, II, 4; ki-ma mē
līt-bu-uk, Susa, 2, III, 34; mē
sah-ḫi, V R. 55, 19; apīl šu na-qa
mē-šu, III R. 43, IV, 20; aplu
u [na-aq mē], London, 102, II, 19;
na-ag mē, Susa, 3, VII, 10;
D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 10; ki-mu-u
mē id-ra-na, London, 102, II,
13; mē ša mu-še-bi-ri, Susa, 3,
III, 1; mē nār ši-qī-ti-šu, Susa,
3, III, 4; mē la a-zi-im-ma,
Susa, 3, III, 7.

ma, ma'ādu, be much.
1, 1 prec., il-ma'-i-da at-mi-šu,
may he multiply his words;
III R. 41, II, 23.

ma'du, much.
ūmī(mi) ma'-du-ti, many days,
Susa, 3, V, 17.

ma'āru, send.
1, 1 pret., me-gir-šu u ma-ir-ma,
Neb. Nippur, II, 21; u-ma'-ir-
šu-nu-ti, O. B. I., 83, II, 8;
pres., u-ma'-a-ru ša-nam-ma,
Neb. Nippur, III, 22; u-ma'-a-
ru, London, 103, V, 35; Susa,
16, IV, 28; V R. 56, 35; Neb.
Nippur, III, 22; III R. 41, II, 9;
I R. 70, II, 23; V. A., 2663, V,
25, 27; u-ma-a-ru-šu, III R.
43, I, 32; part., mu-ma'-ir
šamél(e) u iršši, Neb. Nippur,
I, 20.

II, 2 pret., la mu-da-a um-ta'-ir-ma,
Susa, 3, V, 50.

māru, son, passim.

mārtu, daughter.
mārti(TUR.SAL)-šu aššatî(DAM)-
šu ša, London, 102, I, 17; a-na
mārti-šu id-di-nu, London, 102,
I, 21.

mēru, child.

dGirru iz-zu me-ru ša dNusku,
Susa, 2, IV, 19; dŠiru me-ru ša
dKA.DI, Susa, 2, IV, 23.
mēšu, disregard.

1, 1 pret., a-ma-ta ỉš-tu-ru-ma...
a-na-ki la e-mi-e-šu, Susa, 3,
IV, 26.

1, 2, šu-u la i-te-ni ǔ la im-taš, Susa,
3, V, 9.

magāru, be gracious.

1, 1 pret., "Aššur-aḫ-iddiña šur bēli-
migru, favorite.

rubā me-gir-šu, Neb. Nippur, I,
23; II, 21; me-gir "En-il, Neb.
Nippur, II, 15.
mitgurtu, agreement.
i-na mi-it-gur-ti-ša, London, 103,
III, 16.

madādu, measure.

1, 1 pret., "G.U.EN.NA in-đu-ud-ma,

mātu, die.

1, 1 pret., i-mu-ut-ma, London, 103,
V, 6; i-mu-tu, London, 103, IV,
12; V, 8.
mātu, death.

iš-ru-ba-a mātī(BAD-ti) an ka-
bīt-ța, Susa, 16, VI, 14.

meḥū, storm.
i-na-ar me-ḫu-ia, a storm rages, V
R, 55, 32; i-na ī-ḫe-e ta-ḫa-zi-
šu-nu, V R, 55, 33.
muhḫu, prep.
i-na muḫ-ḫi, against, III R, 43,
III, 23; IV, 32; edge II, 1; O. B.
I, 149, II, 6; V A., 209, I, 35;
IV, 20; i-na muḫḫi nārī eš-šit,
at, V A., 209, I, 10; i-na muḫḫi-
šu-nu, in their behalf, C. T., IX,
pl. IV, 8; a-na muḫḫi, to, C. T.,
IX, pl. IV, 4; D. E. P., II, pl.
20, 2.

mahāṣu, smite, break.

1, 1 prec., pa-ṇi-ṣi ỉm-ḫaṣ-ma, III

1, 2 part. pl., mun-đaḫ-ṣu-ti, war-
riors, V R, 55, 46.

I.1 perm., ku-duṟ-ri-ṣi-na nu-uk-ku-
ru-ma la mu-uh-ḫu-ṣa, their
boundary stones were changed,
but not broken, V. A., 2663, III,
22.

mahāru, receive.

1, 1 pret., im-ḫur, London, 103, III,
36; V. A., 209, II, 4; London,
102, IV, 26; im-ḫu-ru, relat.,
London, 102, IV, 40; V. A.,
208, 47; III R, 41, I, 12; ai im-ḫu-ur-
šu, V R, 56, 56; im-ḫu-[šu],
D. E. P., II, 93, II, 7; am-ḫu-ru,
C. T., X, pl. V, 3; an-ḫu-ru, V.
A., 209, I, 13; part., ša is-ki
ma-ḫir, London, 102, III, 11, 14,
15; perm., kaspu ul ma-ḫir, V.
A., 208, 46; V. A., 209, II, 3;
ma-ḫi-ir-mi, Neb. Nippur, IV, 2;
kaspu maḫ-ru, V A., 208, 38;
maḫ-ru aḫu za-ku-u, London,
102, IV, 34; ma-ḫir a-pi-ḫa-za-
u, V. A., 209, I, 27; II, 39; III,
14, 26; IV, 39, V, 1.

1, 2, ina qūṭa... im-taḫ-ḫu-ru, V.
A., 208, 34; ki-ša LV šiqlu kaspi
[am-]-da-ḫar, V. A., 209, I, 7;
perm., a-na šīmi V še-ul-e-mu
mi-taḫ-ḫu-ru, he received, III
R, 41, I, 30.

mahru, before.

mah-ri En-il, Neb. Nippur, II, 9;
ina maḫ-ri ṣakkanakki, Neb.
Nippur, II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7;
maḫ-ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7;
maḫ-ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7;
maḫ-ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; maḫ-
ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; maḫ-
ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; maḫ-
ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; maḫ-
ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; maḫ-
ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
II, 19; eli šarri a-lik
maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; maḫ-
ri ṣakkanakki, Neb. Nippur,
mīḫru, bulwark.
mi-iḥ-rī nam-ba[i], Susa, 3, II, 19.

maḥīru, front.
eqlīti ša maḥīrīt(SĪti) ātu Bābili, opposite, Susa, 2, I, 7.

maḫīru, price.

maḫārūtu.
V urāte i-na libbi-(bi) II ma-ḫa-ru- tu, IV R. 43, edge IV, 3.

A[MUK], title of an official.
London, 102, I, 17, 28, 35, 37; II, 32; IV, 29, 30; VI, 3, 7; V. A., 209, II, 33.

mākū, frailty.

makkaltu, perhaps enclosure or hedge.
[ma]-ak-kal-li iskīrī la na-ka-si, V R. 55, 60 (cf. ma-kal-li-e, dam, Neb., 760; B. A., IV, 21; Winckler, Forschungen, I, 453; Peiser, Verträge, 231; makallā, suburb).

mākisū, tax-gatherer.

I. mīkū, irrigate.
I, I inf., la mi-ki-e-ri, Susa, 3, III, 11.

II. makkūru, possession.
i-ta-lāt makkūra(ŠA.GA), V R. 55, 43.

mala, as many as, as much as.
Susa, 2, III, 16; London, 103, V, 32, 40; Susa, 3, VI, 14; VII, 27; IV R. 38, III, 29; Susa, 16, VI, 9; Susa, 14, IV, 15; D. E. P., II, 113, 2, 20; D. E. P., IV, pl. 16, II, 5; V R. 55, 47; 56, 4, 8; Neb. Nippur, V, 5; C. T., IX, pl. V, 38; III R. 41, II, 36; I R. IV, 22; III R. 43, III, 23, 24; IV, 33; O. B.L., 149, II, 14; III, 9; V. A., 208, 4; London, 102, V, 6; V. A., 2663, II, 38; III, 32; V, 24, 45; C. T., X, pl. VII, 40.

mālu, be full.
I, I, lu i-na(!) ir-ri-i im-[itu]-u, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 16.


miltu, filling.

tamiltu, terrace.
pūtu šapšā šar III US.SA.DU ta[m]-li-[ta]², V. A., 2663, IV, 1.

muli(u)gu, dowry.

maeltu, pleasure, happiness.
me[t]-la(?), ni-me-ki ša Nābū, IV R. 38, II, 7.

malakū, counsel.
I, I part., ma-li-ku ram-ni-[šu], V. A., 2663, II, 51; ma-li-ki-ša, Susa, 3, IV, 14; ma-li-ki-šu, Susa, 3, IV, 35; V, 10; ma-līk šarrī, Susa, 3, VI, 2; ma-līk a-bī-šu,

1, 2 part., mun-tal-ku, the wise, V. A., 2663, I, 45.

malku, prince.

milku, counsel.
mil-lik mašuš-me-re i Akkadi, V. A., 2663, I, 37, mil-lil-[šu-nu], O. B. I., 80, 2.

melammu, splendor.

mu-um.
mu-um u su-šur-ma-šu . . ša dE-a, Susa, 2, IV, 5.

mummu, prototype.

mul, manû, count.

minûtu, number.
mi-nu-ut šanātī, D. E. P., VI, 46, IV, 7.

manû, mine.

mu-ne.
sišê mu-ne(MU.NE), III R. 43, edge IV, 1.

mamma, anyone.
ma-am-ma e-di-e, Susa, 3, II, 46; ilu ma-am-ma, Susa, 3, VI, 31; ma-am-ma ša-nu-um-ma, any other one, V R. 56, 27; III R. 41, II, 5; London, 102, I, 31.

mammâna, anyone.

manâma, anyone.

mamman, anyone.

mammanâma, anyone whatsoever.

mimma, any whatsoever.
ilu-iš mim-ma maš-ši-ta, any harvest, Susa, 3, II, 50; mim-mu id-di-nu-šu, whatever he gave him, Susa, 3, III, 45; mim-ma ša i-na abnu-nāri-šu is-šu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 8; u mim-ma a-ma-at limulti(ti), Susa, 16, V, 9; a-na mim-ma la ba-še-e li-ša-li-kur-šu, London, 103, VI, 24; ina mim-maSUMI-šu ma-la ba-še-u, V. A., 2663, V, 23.

mannu, whoever.
man-nu arâkû(-u), V.A., 2663, V, 18.

mu-ni-ri.

masabbu, censer (Zimmern).
ma-sab ru-ba-ti, Susa, 2, IV, 26.

yssey, masâku, set aside, annul (cf. p. 163).

ma-su-šu-še-e.

mayu, mašû, find, gain.
I, 1 pret., ma-la luš-e-šu usu, he gained all that was in his heart, V. A., 2663, II, 39.
miṣru, boundary.

marṣu, sick.

marṣu, sickness.

marṣu, pay in full (Aram. פֶּתִי, finish).

marātu, be bitter.

maruṣtu, marustu, evil.

MAŠ.DA.MEŠ.

MAŠ.ŠA.MEŠ.

MAŠ.ŠI.MEŠ.

MIR.GAL, title of an official.

māṣaḥu, measure.

māṣāhu, boundary.

māṣu, night.

māṣu, forget.

māšiḫānu, surveyor.
ma-ši-ša-an eq[u], III R, 41, I, 14.

$māsālū, mašālū, be equal.

II, 2, la um-daš-ša-lu ilu-su, whose divinity cannot be equalled, Neb. Nippur, I, 17.

tamsūlu, equal.
l[a] [i]-šu-a tam-šiš-[u, V.A., 2663, II, 33; (kunu)kku] ša la tam-šiš (the royal seal), which has no like, V.A., 2663, V, 49; abnu[kku]-nukku šarru-št i-ši ša la tam-ši-li, C. T., X, pl. V, 8; VI, 30.

māšitu, harvest(?).
lu-ū tibnu(IN.NU) lu-ū SE.BAR ā lu-ū mim-ma maš-ši-ta, Susa, 3, II, 50.

mātu, land, passim.

$mātīma, matima, whenever.

$mānu, nādu, lofty, sublime.

$mānu, nāru, river.

I, §21, nābu, call.

II, §21, namba'u, inundation.

§22, nabātu, light up.
II, 1, umi(mi)-is nu-ub-bu-ši, lit up like day, IV R.3 38, II, 16.

§22, nablu, flame.
ha-am-ma-fu ki nab-li, V. R, 55, 18.

§22, nigū, be light.
nägiru, commander.


nangaru, carpenter.

Susa, 3, I, 22; V. A., 208, 9.

vably, nagäšu, oppress, overwhelm.


(assigns), nadû, throw, overthrow.

I, 1 pres., a-na mē ù ištāti i-nam-du-ù, Susa, 16, IV, 32; a-na me-e lu a-na ištāti inamdu(RU-ù), London, 101, III, 3; a-na mē inamdu(RU-ù), Neb. Nippur, V, 1; V. A., 2663, V, 28; a-na mē i-namdu-ù, I R. 70, III, 1; O. B. I., 149, II, 11; C. T., X, pl. VII [30]; a-na nārī i-nam-du-ù, London, 102, V, 1; III R. 41, II, 10; a-na nārī i-na-du-ù, O. B. I., 150, II, 2; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 14; a-na mē i-na-du-ù, III R. 43, I, 33; lu a-na ištāti i-na-du-[u], D. E. P., II, 113, 16; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 12; ša-ar-qi eqlu še-a-tum i-nam-du-ù, who overthrows the grant of this field, Neb. Nippur, III, 21.

I, 2, a-na me-e u ištāti i-ta-di, Susa, 3, V, 51.

III, 1, a-na me-e u-ša-ad-du-ù, London, 103, V, 45; a-na mē a-na ištāti(NE) u-šad-du-ù, IV R. 2, 38, III, 19.

nidû, throwing down.

zēr-šu a-na šu-li-i aī īr-šu-ù nī-da a-ḥi, throwing down of side, i.e., rest may he not have, Susa, 2, III, 29.

늘, nadānu, give.


nadinantu, seller.

nidintu, nidittu, gift.

nudunnū, dowry.
išt(!)-ti mu-lu-gi ū nu-dun-ni-e, London, 102, I, 16.

Na-has-si-pa-ni.
Susa, 16, I, 32.

Naḥāṣu, be full.
1, 1, na-ḥa-ša ha-ba-ša li-kim-šu-ma, Neb. Nippur, IV, 10.

Nuḥšu, abundance.
šanāte duḥ-di nu-ūḫ-ši ū ḫegallē (ḪEGAL), Susa, 3, V, 18.

Naṭālu, see.
1, I inf., i-na na-ṭa-al ka-am-ma-li, Susa, 3, VI, 35; ši-ma-at la na-ṭa-li, a fate of not seeing, i.e., blindness, Susa, 3, VII, 36; part., la na-ṭal ša pāni-ša, a short-sighted man, V, A., 2663, V, 26 (cf. Sippar tablet of Nabû-apal-iddina, I, 12, la na-ṭal ma-na-ma, not seeing anything).

Nuḥatiimu, baker.

Nuḥatiimu (MU), V, A., 209, II, 16.

Nī'u, enclose.
2, 1, i-na lipitti it-te'-i, Susa, 3, V, 53.

Nu'u, weakling, feeble.
nu'-a ǧiš-ḥab-ba, III R. 41, II, 9; nu'-a la pa-liḫ iliši, V, A., 2663, V, 27; sak-la sak-ka nu'-a, V, A., 211, III, 9.
naku, nakādu, pass quickly(?)

naku, nakālu, be skillful, wonderful.

nakū, nakalū, skillful.


nikītu, cleverness, mischief.


nakinu, treasure (cf. p. 170).


nakāšu, cut off.


II, I prec., lu-nakkušu (TARME) arkat(EGIR)-su, V. A., 2663, V, 47.

nakāru, change.


nakaru, enemy.

na-ka-ra a-ḫa-a la mu-da-a u ma'- a-ra-ma, I R. 70, II, 22; a-ḫa-am na-ka-ra . . . um-la'-šir-ma, Susa, 3, V, 48; lu na-ka(-ra) lu a-ḫa, IV R. 3, 38, III, 10.

nakuru, enemy.


nakru, hostile, enemy.


namāru, shine.


namru, shining.


namurutu, splendor.


numru, gladness.


namrir(u), glory.


nannaru, lamp.


nišū, depart, move away.

I, I prec., i-ni-is-su-u 3660 kaš-bu i-na e-muiq 4Bēl(EN), V. A., 2663, II, 36.
Nisaba, grain.

ki-mu dNisaba(SE.ELTEG) pu-
gut-tu li-î-î-nu-bi, III R. 41, II,
33; dNisaba li-bal-li-qa pu-gut-tu

nasâḫu, tear out.

I, 1 prec., ku-dur-ra-[šu] li-is-su-šu,
IV R. 38, III, 36; ku-dur-ra-šu
li-is-su-šu, I R. 70, IV, 4; III R.
41, II, 27; li-is-su-šu, London,
102, II, 16; kudurra-šu li-
suḫ(ZI-ub), Neb. Nippur, IV,
19; išid-su li-is-su-šu, I R. 70,
III, 12; eš-šu li-is-su-šu,
III R. 43, III, 27; išid-su
li-suḫ(ZI-ub), Neb. Nippur,
V, 7; [išid-su] li-ī-zi-šu, Susa,
16, VI, 25; pi-ri-šu li-is-su-šu-
šu, III R. 43, III, 29; piš-šu
li-is-su-šu, D. E. P., IV, 16,
II, 10; li-suḫ-šu-ma, D. E. P.,
II, 115, 7; li-suḫ-šu-ma, D. E.
P., II, 113, 22; inf., na-saḫ ku-
dur-ri an-i, I R. 70, II, 8.

nisḫu, extract.

a-na pi-i ni-is-hi ša ti-i-ši, C. T.,
IX, pl. V, 42.

nasâku, appoint, put.

I, 1 prec., a-na nārī i-na-su-ku (relat.),
V R. 56, 36; a-na nārī i-na-as-
su-ku, III R. 41, II, 11; London,
102, V, 2; part., na-siḫ šarrāni,
V R. 55, 11.

nisakkı, priest.

nisak(NU.AB) ili bēl biti, London,
103, I, 47; nisak(NU.AB) dEn-
līl, Neb. Nippur, II, 13; ina
amät šarrı nissakkı, Neb. Nippur,
II, 12; mKaš-šu-ū šup-šar nisak
(NISAG.GA) Bit.mędŠīn-še-me,

Nisannu, first Babylonian month.

C. T., X, pl. III, 30.

nissatu, lamentation.

ni-is-sa-tu li-ilqi(SU.TI)-šu Neb.
Nippur, IV, 12.

nasâqû, respect.

I, 1 perm., at-mu-šu na-as-qu-ma,

nasqu, noble.

rubî na-a-du na-as-qu, V R. 55, 2;
šarru na-as-qu, V R. 55, 22.

nisqu, excellence.


NIS.UR, title of an official.


napâḫu, kindle.


nipḫu, flaming rise (of sun).

ni-ipḫu nam-ri-ru, flaming sun
disk, Susa, 2, IV, 12.

napâḫu, smith.

V. A., 209, III, 6, 21.

napâṣu, crush, destroy.

I, 1 prec., lip-pu-šu zêr-šu, I R. 70,
IV, 25.

Nippurû, the Nippurian.

šabê Nippûrû(EN.LIL-û), V R. 56, 3.

napistu, soul, life.

na-pâ-ša-šu ki-ma mē lit-bu-uk,
Susa, 2, III, 33; li-ki-sa na-ap-
sat-[su], V R. 56, 57; nap-sa-tuš
li-bal-ši, Neb. Nippur, IV, 4;
na-p[i]-ša-šu aplē zērî-šu li-
[hah]-lî-[qu], O. B. I., 149, II, 19.

našaru, guard, protect.

I, 1 part., dNabû nāṣir(SES) ku-dur
egâtû, Susa, 2, IV, 34; îlu na-šîr-
ri-šu, Susa, 14, IV, 13; na-šîr

naḫbu, fountain.

šar naqê, D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, 4;
(Rammân) bēl naqê u zu-un-ni,
V R. 56, 41.

naqû, pour out water.

I, 1 part., na-ag me-e, libator, Susa,
3, VII, 10; D. E. P., VI, 45, IV,
10; aplû u nîm-ajî mē, London,
102, II, 19; apî-šu na-ga mē

niqû, libation.

ina niqê(SIGIS) šum-du-ti, Neb.
Nippur, II, 8.
naqaru, destroy.


I, 2, it-ta-qar i-la-bat uḥ-ṭal-liq, Susa, 3, V, 55.

III, 1 pres., u-ša-aq-qa-ru, London, 103, V, 42; IV R² 38, III, 16.

nařu, inscribed stone.

na-ri-šu, Susa, 2, III, 17; na-ri-e, Susa, 2, IV, 33; Susa, 2; Med., II, 5; III R 43, IV, 32; na-ra-a, Susa, 2; Med., I, 3; Med., II, 9; III R 43, III, 32; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 9; abnuNA.RU.A, London, 101, IV, 5; Susa, 3, III, 51; IV, 9; VII, 28; IV R² 38, III, 9; 30; Susa, 14, IV, 16; Susa, 16, IV, 29; VI, 9; D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, 8; D. E. P., II, 113, 20; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 9; D. E. P., VI, 47, 19; V R 56, 25, 35; III R 41, II, 36, 40; I R 70, II, 24, IV, 22; III R 43, III, 23; O. B. I., 149, II, 8, 14; London, 102, V 1; V A., 2663, V 45; V A., 209, V, 5; Neb. Nippur, heading 1; IV 28; V 5; abnuRU.A, Susa, 3, IV, 9, 41, 60; V, 22, 34, 46; C. T., X, pl. VII, 36.

nurzu.


nišu, spirit.

ni-iš ilāni rabāti is-qur, I R 70, I 21.

nišu, people.


nāšū, take up.

I, 1 pret., ri-eš eqli šu-a-tum īš-ša-ma, Susa, 16, III, 6; reš (SAG) eqli īš-ša-ma, O. B. I., 149, I, 20; reš (SAG) eqlu šu-a-tu iš-ši-ma, London, 103, II, 46; reš (SAG) eqlāti ša Bit-šin-ma-gir . . . īš-ši-ma, O. B. I., 83, I, 13; ⁴Er-lā iš-ti ⁴Bel (EN) a-na Bābi-liški īš-ša-a (Dual), C. T., IX, pl. IV, 12; mārēšu ša Be-la-ni īš-ša-am-ma (Dual), they brought, London, 103, III, 13; pres., i-na-aš-šu-šu a-na ri-šu-maṭi, they raised him, Susa, 3, III, 60; int., imēri-ši u amēli-šu la na-šē-e, Susa, 3, II, 53; a-na la na-šē-e ša maṭu Al-ni-rī-e-a, III R 45, No. 2, 3; a-na našē (ZIGA) u-šē-śu-šu, I R 70, II, 11; part., na-aš ša-qadī izzi-ti, V R 55, 8; ilāni na-ši-šu, the gods urging him on, V R 55, 22; la na-šē-nu, I R 66, I, 8.


III, 2, uš-taš-ši-ma a-na me-e u išti-iti-it-ta-di, Susa, 3, V, 13.


IV, 3, eglu ki-mu it-ta-na-aššum-ma, Susa, 3, V, 32.

nišûtu, nisîtu, relatives, family.

ahē marē nisîtu(IM.RI.A) u sa-la-ti, London, 103, V, 29; i-na kimti(IM.RI.A) nisîtu(IM.RI.-A) u sa-latî(IM.RI.A), III R. 43, III, 3; London, 102, I, 30; IV, 37; V. A., 209, I, 33; kimti(IM.RI.A) nišu-ti u sa-la-ti, I R. 70, II, 3; ni-su-ta u sa-la-ti, V. A., 208, 44.

nîšru, diminution.

רש, nisîrtu, diminution.

nušurrû, diminution.

nuširîtu, loss(?).
nu-šir-ti, London, 102, III, 20; [nu]-šir-ti-šu-nu ultu šatti Yšan

adi šatti 24 kan, London, 102, III, 12.

hSA, probably a worker in leather.

D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 8 (cf. ālu ša) hSA.MES, B. E., IX, 70, 7; 97, 4, 6; etc.).

סバス, sabasū, turn away, be angry.

I, 1 pret., ša ki-nil-tuš is-bu-su, V. A., 2663, I, 18 (cf. Nabû-apaliddina, Sippar tablet, III, 14, is-su-šu kišad-su).

סבע, sugû, want.


סבד, sadaru, set in order.


סונ, sūnu, thigh.

šir taḫ-ši-e šir sâni(UR), V. A., 208, 5.

סוק, sūqu, street.

su-u-ug āli-šu, Susa, 3, VI, 39; itti sāqu(SILA) kad-ni, V. A., 208, 13; itti sāqu(SILA) u bitu, V. A., 208, 16, 17.

סח, sahu, destroy.


II, 2, mi-šir-ša ul us-saḥ-ḫ[a], O. B. L., 83, II, 1; mi-šir-ša us-saḥ-ḫi, O. B. L., 83, II, 5.


sahḥu, cistern (Hebr. יָחוּס) (Haupt).

ia-nu mē saḥ-ḫi, V R. 55, 19.

ṣamaštu, revolt.

סיפה, siḫpu, extent (cf. p. 165).


רähr, saḥāru, turn.

I, 2, su-u-ug āli-šu li-is-sa-ah-har, Susa, 3, VI, 40.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

III, 2, ut-te-is-ši-ir limutte(-te) lu ana šár mātšu Elamti, he caused dis-aster to enclose the king of Elam, V R. 55, 41.

suḫurmašu, goatfish (Zimmern).
mu-um u su-ḫur-ma-šu a-ši-ir-tum rabitum ša d-E-a, Susa, 2, IV, 5.

𒆜, rage.
I, I pres., is-sa-ar me-šu-ū, V R. 55, 32.

𒆜, sakāku, stop up.

sakku, deaf.

sukkuku, a deaf man.

sakikē, sakikē; mud.

šaš, saklu, fool.

suk(k)allu, minister.

si-kil-la.
mar-ka-su rabī(-u) ša bit si-kil-la (Zimmern suggests that it may stand for E-sag-ila), Susa, 2, IV, 28.

šaš, sakăpu, throw down.
I, I pret., is-ši-pu-ma, D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 6.

šaš, sakāru, sikēru, stop up, dam.

šaš, salimu, favor.

salatu, household.
(IM.RI.A) u salati(IM.RI.A), III R. 43, III, 4; London, 102, I, 30; IV, 37; V. A., 209, I, 33.

**, samū, blind.


simaku, shrine.

e-piš ku-um-mu ki-i₇-zi u si-ma-ku, V. A., 2663, II, 12.

simmu, sickness (cf. p. 181).

si-im-ma la-a₇-zu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 20; III R. 41, II, 30; I R. 70, IV, 6; si-im-ma la[-azza], O. B. I., 149, III, 3; si-im-ma aq-qa la₇-azza, Susa, 14, IV, 6; si-im-ma la₇-az, Susa, 3, VII, 19; III R. 43, IV, 16.

**, sanāqu, press.

I, 1 pret., rit-ti₇-šu a₇-i₇-ni₇-iq, Susa, 16, VI, 22; prec., a-di₇ um₇-um₇ bal-du lit(!)₇-niq (= li₇-niq?) ma₇-ta, Susa, 16, VI, 18.

sisū, horse.


**a, sapḥu, scattered.

mu₇-pa₇-₇-hu₇-ru sapḥa₇-ti(BIR.ME), i.e., ni₇₇-e, V. A., 2663, I, 33; ni₇₇-e da₇-ad₇-me sapḥa₇-ti, V. A., 2663, II, 29.

suppu.

14; III R. 43, II, 4; III, 9; O. B., L., 149, II, 2; London, 102, IV. 8; VI, 21; IV R. 7, 38, I, 5; V. A., 2663, V, 3; belè paḫati (EN.-NAM.MEŠ), Susa, 2, III, 6.

piḫatu, district, province.
pi-hat xarrri, V. A., 2663, IV, 14, 49; ana pi-hat i-man-ru-ri, C. T., X, pl. VII, 34; piḫatu (NAM), Susa, 2, I, 28, 37; II, 9, 14, 19; London, 103, III, 42; London, 101, I, 6; Susa, 3, I, 52; III, 3, 16, 24, 31; IV, 16, 37, 51; V, 11, 14, 33; VI, 4, 7, 12; D. E. P., II, 112, 7; IV R. 7, 35, I, 5; Susa, 16, I, 4; IV, 6; Neb. Nippur, II, 28; III, 1, 8; O. B. I., 83, I, 15; O. B. I., 83, II, edge; III R. 41, II, 2; III R. 43, II, 23.

paḫaru, gather, collect.

puḫru, assembly.
in pu-ḫur šu-ut ma-al-ku, V. A., 2663, I, 42.

napḫaru, totality, all.

paḫaru, break, free.

IV, 1, ša ri-ki-šu la ṭu-tu-ur Susa, 3, VI, 46; III R. 41, II, 26

paḫar, dagger.
ul-tu paḫaru ina kišādi-šu, V. R. 56, 54.

šu, pū, mouth.
ši-it pi-šu, command, Susa, 3, VI, 30; ši-it pi-i-šu, V. A., 2663, I, 14, 31; qi-bit pi-i-šu, Susa, 3, VII, 45; ši-šu, Neb. Nippur, I, 9 ki-i pi-i, according to the word of, Susa, 3, IV, 13, 34, 44, V, 10; London, 102, IV, 27; III R. 43, I, 10; a-na pi-i ni-is-ḫi, according to the extract, C. T., IX, pl. V, 42; i-na pi-i nišē li-bal-li-qi, from the mouth of men, III R. 41, II, 39; London, 102, II, 17; V. A., 2663, V, 47; ši-bit pi-i, the holding of the mouth, i.e., dullness, Susa, 3, VII, 38; ša pi-i nāra-šaššu, the mouth of the river Š., I R. 66, II, 2.

pi-i.
in the phrase pi-i šu-ul-pi, V. A., 208, 36, uncultivated or pasture land; the opposite is eqšu saq-pu, cf. V. A., 208, 7, 8, 35, 36; ša ur-tur šu-gišmarē saq-pu u pi-i [šul-p]. C. T., X, pl. VI, 24.

palū, reign.
in na palē (BAL-e) "Marduk-apal-idina, Susa, 2, Med., II, 1; ina ūme(-me) palē-šu, C. T., X, pl. IV, 15.

palāhu, fear.

I, 2, kū-ū la ip-ta-la-ah-ma, Susa, 3, V, 27; ša i-na aḫu māt ūt-ru ip-ta-la-ha, Susa, 3, V, 47; šarru u ilānī-šu la ip-ta-la-hu-ma (relat.), V R. 56, 32.

palḫiš, reverently.

𒈪, palaktu, fix limits.

pilku, plot.

pulukku, boundary.

pu-šu-uk(g), perhaps a measure.
pu-šu-uk(g) u ša-išu burāši, V R. 55, 56.

𒈧, palkū, wide, comprehensive.

𒈧, palasu, look.

pānu.
(1) face, zu-ut pa-ni, blindness, Susa, 14, III, 4; la na-ši ša pānu-(ŠI)-ša, V. A., 2663, V, 26; pānu ša lim-ša-ma, III R. 41, II 19; pānu d-Samāš-ši, V R. 55, 31; (2) presence, pānu, before, in presence of, Susa, 16, 1, 25; London, 101, III, 8; London, 102, VI, 6; V. A., 208, 22, 49, 50, 51; i-na pa-an, before, in presence of, London, 103, III, 23, 24; VI, 16; i-na pa-ni, from his presence, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 3; V. A., 2663, II, 35; i-na pa-ni-ka, at thy disposal, V. A., 209, I, 9; pa-an ša-anū (šatu, amurru, šadu), towards north, etc., London, 103, III, 47, 49; IV, 1, 3, 4; London, 101, I, 7, 8, 10, 11; Susa, 14, I, 2, 7; D. E. P., II, 112, 2, 6; with the verb dagalu, cf. pānu ša šašad-gil, he entrusted to him, C. T., IX, pl. V, 41; C. T., X, pl. V, 6; V. A., 209, IV, 8, 22; V. A., 2663, III, 24; V. A., 208, 6, 21; (3) former time, ulu ša anšiš (mi) pa-na, from former days, Neb. Nippur, II, 29; šarru pa-na, a former king, V R. 55, 48; cf. šarru af-liš pa-ni-ša, my predecessor, Susa, 3, IV, 2; eli ša pa-ni, more than formerly, V. A., 2663, III, 29; also in the titles: man-za-az pān šarrī, D. E. P., II, 97, 13; and amelu ša pān (ŠI) šaškā, C. T., X, pl. VII, 43.

pañatu, in front of, before.
tap-ta-šu pa-na-at šuškā, V. A., 2663, IV, 33; a-diš tap-te-e ša pa-na-at šuškā, V. A., 2663, IV, 44.

pañū, title of an official.
ḫu-pu-šu ša-anu(?), ša ša-anu, C. T., IX, pl. V, 34.
aš-šu paq-ri la ra-še-e, London, 102, II, 34; a-na paq-ri la bašē(IG), V. A., 2663, IV, 52; [pa]-ak(?)-ri išqiri id-bu-um-ma Susa, 16, II, 17.

tappiritu, claim.
ap-ti-ra ū ru-qu-um-ma-a, Susa, 3, II, 15.


puquttu, thorn.

pargānis, undisturbed(?).  
par-ga-niš bašē(e) a-šu-ū-ti, V. A., 2663, III, 18.

purdu, leg.

piru, offspring.

paraku, lock, bolt.
a-na e-li u pa-ki-ri, for the purpose of opposing and reclaiming, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 9.

paqaru, reclamation.

a-na paq-ri la ra-še-e, I R., 70, I, 20;
IV, 1, la na-par-ka-a, without fail, IV R. 38, II, 23.

Purimu, wild ass.

e-ma in-tur-purimé šeri li-ir-pu-ud, Susa, 14, IV, 3; ki-ma in-tur-purimé (EDIN.NA), III R. 41, II, 18; V. A., 209, V, 11; ki-i purimi(m), I R. 70, III, 20; London, 102, I, 47.

Parasu, decide.


Parsù, decide, judge.

šarru parsé (BAR.SUD.MES) išolma, the king asked the judges, V R. 55, 50; parsé (BAR.SUD) la-bi-ru-ti ilikku šarru .. išalšú-nu-ti-ma, Susa, 16, II, 27; par-su-u nak-du, skilful arbitrator, V. A., 2663, II, 48.

Purussú, judgment, decision.

pa-ri-is purussé (ES.BAR.MES), Susa, 14, III, 7; di-in-su u purussi (ES.BAR)-šu aš i-pu-us, London, 102, II, 2; purussa (ES.BAR) kiš-šat nisé, V. A., 2663, I, 38; bēlē purussi, C. T., X, pl. VII, 39.

Parasu, decide.


Paršu, command.

a-na paraš (GARZA) šarru, Susa, 3, II, 43; paraš ša-kin, Susa, 3, II, 44; paraš ma-am-ma, Susa, 3, II, 45.

Pasatù, efface.

I, 1 pres., ša-mi ša-af-ra i-pa-āš-ši-šu (relat.), Susa, 16, V, 4; šum ša-tu i-pa-āš-ši-šu, V. A., 2663, V, 32.

I, 2, šu-mi ša-tu ip-la-ši-it, Susa, 3, V, 57.


Pasaru, loosen.


Pitu, open.


Patánú, keep off.


Patinnu, some kind of dress.


Patáqu, make, create.


Pitqu, building.


Šén, sheep.


Šanu, fill.

I, 1 prec., li-ša-an ka-ra-as-su, III R.

N.KY, šeru, field.
ū-ma-am și-ri, Susa, 2, VII, 1;
ū-ma-am șeri (EDIN), D. E. P.,
VI, 47, 11; și-ra li-ir-pu-ud,
Susa, 2, VII, 2; pa-an șeri
(EDIN), Susa, 16, I, 25; purimé
șeri, Susa, 14, IV, 4; i-na ăli șe
șeri, V R. 56, 5.

širu, lofty.
biłudad (GARZA)-șu și-ru, Neb.
Nippur, I, 18; șa Nabû sukallu și-
ru, III R. 41, II, 34; I R. 70, IV,
16; III R. 43, IV, 1; (Ninib)
măr șEn-šil și-ri-ru; pl., (Șamaș
and Rammân) daiană șirittä
(MAH.MEŠ), Neb. Nippur, IV,
16.

N.KY, šabu, soldier.
șab (ZAB) barri, V R. 56, 3; pl., šabē
(ZAB.MEŠ) ștu Nippurul (-i),
V R. 56, 3; šabē a-šib ălană šu-a-
tum, V R. 56, 9; šabē (ZAB.ME)
ki-din-nu, V. A., 2663, III, 11;
pa-ni șabē ki-din-nu . . . vi-

N.KY, šumbu, wagon.
șumu (MAR.GID.LA)-șu șu și-
mitti (LAL)-șu, Susa, 3, II, 51.

N.KY, șabu, desire, want.
I, 1 pret., a-na ma-ta șis-bi-i, IV R. 3;
38, II, 28.

N.KY, šabatu, seize.
I, 1 pret., șis-ba-at, he took, London,
103, III, 33; qat șBel (EN) șis-
ba-ta (Dual), C. T., IX, IV,
11; pres., i-na ta-șa-zi qat-su
la i-șa-bat, III R. 43, IV, 24;
inf., ina il-ki di-ku-ti șa-bat
amelu șiri-e-nāra, Neb. Nippur,
III, 25; i-na ăli șe șa-bat
amelu, V R. 56, 5; la șa-ba-ti, V
R. 55, 55, 59; C. T., IX, pl. V,
37; perm., șa-bit ălană șa mat
ștar A.GA.DEkî, Susa, 3, II, 26;

I, 2, șis-șa-bat șa-ra-a-na, he under-
took the march, V R. 55, 16;
șis-șa-bat matu Lamatu, V R. 55, 43.

III, 1 prec., șar-ra-an-na pa-ri-ik-ta
li-șe-șis-bi-su (= li-șeṣeṣibatu), III
R. 43, IV, 31; ki-i ștēnu (I-iš)
șa-șa-as-bit-ma, V. A., 2663, III,
28.

șibtu, holding, increase.
(1) și-bit pi-i, holding of the
mouth (= dummness), Susa, 3,
VII, 38; (2) revenue, increase,
șibit (BIR) alpē și-e-ni, V R.
55, 55; ina șibit și-en-ni (șeni)

șubatu, garment.
ki-ma șu-ba-ti pa-șa-ar-șu li-la-bi-
ța-ma, Susa, 3, VI, 49; șubatu
elitu (MUH) be-țu-i, III R. 41,
I, 23; I șubatu șa gâb-țu, III R.
41, I, 24; șubatu naḥlaptu (TIK-
UD.DU), III R. 41, I, 24;
șubatu up(b)-ru-i, III R. 41, I,
25; șubatu pa-țin-nu, III R. 41,
I, 26; a-di ștēn șubatu KUR.RA,
V. A., 209, IV, 33.

șabitana, captor.
a-na șa-bi-ta-ni-șu ap-pa-șu țăl-bi-
im-ma, V R. 56, 55.

N.Y, sădu, chase.
I, 3, a-kam-ça-tu șis-șa-nun-da, V R.
55, 32.

șuḫili, title of an official.

N.Y, şehruru, be little.
I, 1, ul-tu a-na-ku și-ih-ri-ku, since
I was little, London, 103, IV, 27.

șīruru, little.
iṣṭu șis-bi ra-bi, great or small, V
R. 56, 29, șīhra (TUR) u rabā(-a),
V. A., 2663, III, 27.

N.Y, šiltu, war.
i-na și-țu [tu] ša Su-ba[r-[tu]], D. E.
P., II, 93, I, 3.

N.Y, šilatu, protection.
ša ina šušilli (MI) bēl-ia am-țu-ru,
šulūlu, protection.
eli šabē ki-din-nu . . . iš-ta-kan

I. ṣalmu, picture.
ša-lam ṣa-Ardi-Sibitti, London, 102, III, 1, 4; ša-lam ṣa-Nabā-mukina-aplu

II. ṣalmu, black.
ša-mat (sec. nišē) qaqqadi(SAG-DU), Neb. Nippur, I, 11; ina
nap-ḫar ša-mat qaqqadi, V. A., 2663, I, 22; ša-mat qaqqadi, V.
A., 2663, II, 55.

ṣamittu, team.
šu-gumbi(MAR.GID.DA)-šu šu-ṣi-
mittu(LAL)-šu, Susa, 3, II, 51.

ṣuppāti, orchards.
šu-up-pa-a-ti ša ḫNa-ḫas-si-pa-ni,
Susa, 16, I, 31.

ṣuru, finger-nail.
šu-pu-ri-šu, D. E. P., II, 113, 7;
šu-pur ṣa-Mišqānu, V. A., 208, 54;
šu-pur ṣa-Ina-ini-šu, V. A., 209,
II, 26.

ṣarru, opponent, enemy.
(Gula) za-ar-ri-ša si-im-ma la-
az . . . ina zu-um-ri-šu liš-ku-
un-ma, Susa, 3, VII, 18; za-ar-
ri-ša si-im-ma la-az-za li-še-la-
šum-ma, D. E. P., IV, pl. 16, II,
1.

ṣirru, opponent.

ṣirritu, scepter.
šir-ri-šu ṣanakri-šu qa-tu-u-šu it-

ṣurru, heart, mind.
šur-ru ṣad-šu, of broad mind, V. A.,
2663, II, 49.

ṣubān, qabū, speak.
I, I pret., ki-a-am iq-bi (um-ma-a),
London, 102, IV, 20; VI, 9; C.
T., X, pl. V, 11; V. A., 209, I,
5; IV, 6; London, 103, IV, 21;
ki-a-am iq-bi-ši, O. B. I., 83, I,
19; a-na šarri iq-bi-ma, III R.
43, edge IV, 4; iq-bi-ma, III R.
43, I, 10; Susa, 16, II, 18; la
ba-la-tu iq-[bu-u], London, 102,
V, 7; iq-bi ina ši-it pi-i-šu, V. A.,
2663, I, 31; ki-a-am iq-bi-u, D.
E. P., II, 93, II, 18; V. A.,
209, IV, 19; iq-bu-šu-ma, Susa,
16, II, 33; prec., la balat-su liq-
bu-u, O. B. I., 149, III, 11; Lon-
don, 101, IV, 7; la ba-la-az-za
[iq-bu]-u, Susa, 16, VI, 24; pres.,
uḫ na-din-mi i-qab-bu-i, London,
103, V, 38; London, 101, III, 1;
uḫ ni-di-it-ti šarrān i-qa-ab-bu-u,
Susa, 16, IV, 2; Susa, 14, II, 13;
i-qa-bu-u, III R. 43, III, 6, 7, 16,
17; edge IV, 3; O. B. I., 149, II,
8; i-qab-bu-u, III R. 41, II, 7;
I R. 70, II, 18; London, 102, I,
32; IV, 38; Neb. Nippur, IV, 2;
III [32]; V. A., 209, II, 4; V. A.,
208, 45, 47; C. T., X, pl. VII,
35; inf., ina qa-bi-e šar me-ša-ri,

II, I prec., lu-ū-qa-bu-ū, London, 101,
IV, 4.

qibitu, command.
ša a-mat qi-bi-ti-šu-nu, Susa, 3, VI,
21; ša qi-bit pi-i-šu, Susa, 3, VII,
45; ša in-nu-ū qi-bi-su, D. E. P.,
II, 115, 7; i-na qibitu(KA) 4dšētar,
V R. 55, 40; la in-in-nu-ū qī-
bitu-su, V. A., 2663, I, 16.

Ḫağ, qablu, midst. battle.
(1) midst, i-na qablu(MURU)
ārḫu Dāzu, V R, 55, 16. (2)
battle, ṣu-qa-ma-na u ṣu-ma-
ti-a imān qablu ta-mu, Susa, 2,
IV, 22; subātu ša qab-šu, III R.
41, I, 24; ṣu-ṣuqal bel qab-šu u

qabitu, midst.
inā qa-bal-ti āli, V. A., 208, 12.

Ḫağ, qābāru, bury.
I, I pres., i-na iršēti qab-bi-ru, IV
IV, 1 pret., [salamta]-šu aš iq-qi-bir, Neb. Nippur, V. 1, O. B. I., 149, 12; London, 102, V. 5; C. T., X, pl. VII, 37; i-na išši (=SU+AS-šu), V. A., 2663, V. 29; i-na išši}=ša-qa-la₂, III R. 43, I, 34.

III, 1 išši}=ša-qa-la₂, V. R. 56, 36; išša}=ša-qa-[la], London, 103, V. 44.

II, 1 pres., šu-šu in-a-ši la u-gal-la-la, Susa, 3, IV, 29.

Quellluto, wrongdoing.

Qu-ul-ul-ul-la iz-xi-ir, Susa, 3, IV, 54; V, 21.

kān(i)ku, document.

kunukku, seal.

quppū, poniard, knife.
ul-tu pašt-ru i-na kišdišu qu-pu-ū i-na i-ni-šu, V R. 56, 54.

qāšu, cut off.

qiṣṣatu, curtailment.

qaqqadu, head.
qaqqadu(SAG)-su li-šam-ri-šu-šu, Susa, 14, IV, 12; qaqqadu(SAG) [mar(?)-zi-ma . . . li-ik-mi-[šu];


qaqqaru, piece of land.

qarābu, approach.

qariba, midst.
a-na ki-rīb Bā[i]ši i-tur-ma], C. T., X, pl. IV, 16; ša ki-rīb Dēri, V. A., 209, II, 31; III, 2, 18; IV, 25.


qarbašti, plowed fields.

qardū, strong, powerful.
qarrurtum, torch (?) (Zimmern).


qaštū, bow.

na-aš $maqatu(BAN)$ is zi-ti, V R. 55, 8; pl., $Nergal$ bēl be-li-e ú qa-ša-ti, III R. 43, IV, 21.

qatu, hand.


$rū$, qaṭū, complete, end.

I, 1 prec., ūmē(-mi) i-su-ti ša bal-ṭa liq-ti-ma, IV R. 3, 38, III, 41; liq-ta-a zumur $(SU)$-šu, may his body perish, V A., 2663, V, 44.

qati, adv. completely.

i-na qa-ti ma-aq-tu-ma, Susa, 3, III, 38.

$\text{ட}$, qaṭṭīnu. a class of farmers.


$\mathfrak{r}_5$, rēbitu, street.


$\mathfrak{r}_5$, rē'ū, feed, pasture.

I, 1 inf., šammē la ri'-e, Susa, 3, III, 21.

1, 2, ki-it-ta ir-tam-ma, (who) loves righteousness, Susa, 3, IV, 53; gu-ul-lu-ul-ta ir-tam, Susa, 3, V, 21.

rimūtu, grant, gift.

rimū, merciful.

naramu, beloved.

磐, rūku, distant.
pl., a-na ūmē ru-qu-ni-ti, Susa, 3, III, 56.


rēštu, top.
pl., (šSumalil) a-ši-bat ri-šes-ē-ti, V R. 56, 47.

rēštu, first.

ra, rabū, great, prince.
daianu rabū, Susa, 2, IV, 13; Susa, 14, III, 3; rabū ma-liš šarrī, Susa, 3, VI, 2; (šSumalil) rēš šamē(-e) u irtṣīti(-ti), III R. 43, IV, 10; Anu rabū bēlu rabū, III R. 43, IV, 30; mar-ka-surabū(-u), Susa, 2, IV, 27; mārī-šu rabi(-i), London, 102, IV, 31; ippū ši-šīr ra-bi, V R. 56, 29; ḫrū bē-iri e, master of the horse, V R. 55, 53; fem., rabīti, a-ši-ir-tum rabīti ša dE-a, Susa, 2, IV, 6; a-zu-gal-la-tu rabīti, Susa, 14, IV, 6; še-ir-ta-šū ra-bi-i-ta, Susa, 3, VI, 34; i-na am-ma-ti ra-bi-i-ti, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 6, and passim; bēltu rabītu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 20; be-el-tu rabītu(-tu), III R. 41, II, 29; dNīna mērāt dE-a rabīti(-ti), O. B. I., 83, I, 22; pl., ilāni rabāti, Susa, 2, III, 16; IV, 30; Susa, 14, III, 3; London, 103, VI, 1, etc.

rubū, prince.

rubūtu, lordship.

šurbū, sublime, glorious.
i., dGu-la bēltu(-tu) šur-bu-tum, Susa, 3, VII, 15.

 isbn, rabāšu, crouch.
I, 1 pret., i-na ka-mat āši-šu aš īr-še-īš, O. B. I., 149, III, 8.
III, 1 prec., iš-šur-bi-šu-šu-ma, Susa, 16, VI, 17.
rabišu, demon.

tarbašu, court.

Diš, ragâmû, raise a claim.

III, 1 pres., išar-ga-mu, London, 103, V, 35; Susa, 14, II, 11.

rugumnû, reclamation.

I, Išš, ridû, march.
I, 1 pres., il-lak šarru ..., i-rid-di.


ramānu, ramnu, self.


יר, rininu, whining.


 khả, rapādu, lie down.


רפי, rapšu, wide.


(For the ideogr. cf. Clay, B. E., XIV, List of Signs, No. 129.)

pañ, rašubbu, powerful.


סח, rašū, take possession, have.

I, 1 pret., *ai ir-šu-ū nî-da a-bi*, may he not have a resting place, Susa, 2, III, 27; *pi-ri ai ir-šu*, Susa, 14, IV, 17; *ir-ša-a sa-li-me* (relat.), granted favor, V. A., 2663, I, 19; inf., *a-na paq-ri la ra-še-e*, not to make reclamation, I R. 70, I, 20; *ru-šum-ša-la ra-še-e*, Susa, 3, II, 17; *aš-šu paq-ri la ra-še-e*, London, 102, II, 34.


רֶש, rāšū, creditor.

*Zēr-ukīn mār* Kar-zi-ab-ku rašū-u, London, 102, IV, 33; raša-a ul zak-ki, the creditor has not been satisfied, London, 102, IV, 39.

רַת, rittu, hand.

*[ešemmi-šu] a-na ešemmi riti-šu ai is-ni-iq*, Susa, 16, VI, 22.

שה, (1) who, (2) of, passim.

סֵש, sā, that, he.


שָא, šu’atu, that, passim.

Usually šu-a-tu, Neb. Nippur, III, 13, 20, 27, etc.; *i-na šu-a-ti*, whereupon, London, 103, IV, 30; *ānmu-tuppis ša-ma-tu* (?) (so Dr. Ungnad), V. A., 208, 48; *inā ka-nak tuppī(İM) šumāti*(MES), V. A., 2663, IV, 56.
K, šattu, eternity.
še'u, seed.
Only found as a determinative for she'uznu, seedfield, Susa, 2, I, 14; Neb. Nippur, II, 25, III, 7, etc., and in she'ubAR, London, 103, III, 18, 19, etc.


šitulu, decision.

K, šaru, cardinal point.

K, širu, (1) flesh, (2) body.
(1) šir(UZU) taḫ-ši-e šir sūni, the meat of a ram, the meat of the thigh, V, A., 208, 5; (2) la-fub(ucb) širi, ill health of body, IV R. 38, III, 39; ina ši-hat širi, with the bloating of the body, V, A. 2663, V, 44.

šertu, punishment.

šetu, leave, escape.
I, 1 pres., ar-ra-a-tum an-na-a-tum ... la iše-it-la-šu li-ikšu-daššu, may these curses not miss him, but overtake him, Susa, 3, VII, 50.

Šabātu, the month Shebat.
I R. 60, I, 2; II, 17; V, A., 208, 30.
ŠA.BAL.BAL, grandson, descendent.
Neb. Nippur, III, 14; Susa, 2, I, 3; IV R. 38, I, 25; II, 3; C, T., X, pl. IV, 12 (cf. p. 174f.).

šabaru, break.

šibiru, purchase price (Hebr. šw, buy).

šiibiru, staff.
ši-bir-ru mušal-lim nišē, V, A., 2663, I, 35.

ŠE.BAR, barley.
(Translation of this word is definitely determined by the rendering šagw pl., which found in the Aramaic endorsements of the Murashu tablets, according to Prof. Clay, London, 103, III, 18, 19; Susa, 3, II, 49; London, 102, IV, 27.

šaggulu, palm grove(?).

šigaru, lock, gate.
mu-dah-ši-id ši-gar-šu-nu, who fills
with plenty their gates, V. A., 2663, II, 4.

šaddú, šadádu, draw, drag.

I, I prec., ma-ru-uš-ta li-šu-du-ud, 
may he drag along misery, V R, 56, 59; li-šu-du-ud ma-ru-šu-ši, 
V. A., 2663, V, 40; šá-di-id eqši, 
probably "the one who drew the 
line," i.e., measured the field, 

šiddu, side of a field, passim.
šiddu(UŠ) élú and šiddu(UŠ) šapla.

šădú, (1) mountain. 
šću-ma-li-ia be-lit šaddè(KUR-MES) el-lu-ti, mistress of 
the shining (i.e., snowclad) moun-
tains, V R, 56, 46.

(2) east, passim.
šaddú(IM.KUR.RA).

šaddu, wide.
šur-ru šaddu, of broad intelligence, 
V. A., 2663, II, 50.

šumdu, magnificent. 

šú, he.
šú-ma, he is, Neb. Nippur, IV, 26; 
šú-mi (emph. mi), Susa, 16, II, 32; šú-ù, he, Susa, 3, IV, 28;
V, 8; used as adj., amelu šú-ù, 
Susa, 3, IV, 52; V, 20; VI, 1;
qog-qa-ru šú-ù, V. A., 209, I, 5;
pl., eqšáit ši-na-ti, these fields, 
III R, 41, II, 2; ar-ra-a-ti ši-na-
a-ti, Susa, 3, V, 45; Susa, 16, 
IV, 23.

šumu, boundary, limit. 
šumu ab-li šú-ù-mi ù ku-dur-ri, 
Susa, 3, VII, 7.

šēpu, foot.

Dual. li-kab-bi-sa šé-pa-šu, III R, 
43, IV, 6; li-kab-bi-sa šépša 
(NERP ph) šú, I R, 70, IV, 15.

šēpitu, foot end. 
šē-pi-it zu'-uz-tu, V. A., 2663, 
III, 51.

šāššu, mašáru, wheel.
šaššu mašráššu, whose charioteer,
V R, 55, 26; ša šumma-ša(ma)-
ra-šu, V R, 55, 36; šumma-ša-ra-šu 
uk-šil-la, V R, 55, 27, 37.

šútu, south, passim.
šútu(IM.E.R.LU).

šùt, genitive particle, of.
ina pu-šur šu-ut ma-al-ku, V. A., 
2663, I, 42; mārcē Sippur . . . u 
šu-ut ma-ha-zi ša maššu Akkadiššu, 

ši-hši. 
ši-hši ša 41B (Peiser pro-
poses the reading papahi(-ù), 
which cannot be substantiated 
thus far), V. A., 208, 39.

šihtu, march. 
ši-hši fa ši-ta-ka-an, a march he 
made, V R, 55, 15; šiš(?)-fa ina 
muh-hši šu-nu i-pu-uš-ma, an ex-
pedition(?) he made in their be-
half, C, T, IX, pl. IV, 7.

šahtu, fear, reverence. 
I, I pret., bel ilim [š]-ku-šu (cf. the 
adj. ša-ah-šu, Delitzsch, H. W., 
651a), V. A. 2663, II, 21.

šahtis, submissively. 
šahtumma, Neb. Nippur, 
I, 8.

šākurrum, tremble. 
I, I perm., ak-riš šu-har-ru-ru, Neb. 
Nippur, I, 8.

šātaru, write. 
I, I prec., ši-šu-ru-ma, Susa, 2; Med., I, 
4; II, 11; ši-šu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, III, 51; 
ši-šu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 10, 
24; ak-šu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 42; V, 1; V, 23, 34; il-šu-ru-šu-
nu-ti-ma, London, 103, IV, 39; 
20, 7; il-šu-ru-šu-um-ma, Lon-
don, 103, V, 16; pres., ša-nam-
ma ša-ta-šu-ru, I R, 70, III, 6; 
inf., in-nam ša-a-me ša-fa-ri ù bá-
ra-me, London, 102, IV, 41; 
part., šiš-ša ša-šir abnụfụpụ, 
V. A., 208, 28, 52; V. A., 209,


II, 1 pres., lu a-na ili lu a-na rubī(?), u ša-ta-ra-ra, IV R. 38, III, 25.

šītru, writing.
ki-ma ši-ši-ir šamē(-e), IV R. 38, II, 27; abu[kunukan ši-šir šum[kiš ik-nu-uk-ma, V. A., 2663, V, 43.

šītru, floating(?).
ina ši-baḫ širī līg-ta-a zumur(-SU)-šu, V. A., 2663, V, 44.

I, šāmu, fix, determine (cf. Hebr. šū).


šimtu, fate.

tasimtu, wisdom.

I, 2, šāmu, pay (cf. Talm. šām).

I, 1 pres., ša-mi-šu gam-ma-tu, he paid its full price, V. A., 209, II, 37; III, 13, 26; ša ... i-sha-ma, C. T., X, pl. III, 16; inf., i-na ša-še-ša-aš-a-ri u bar-su-me, during the paying of the price, writing and sealing, London, 102, IV, 41.

šēmu, price.

šai(a)manu, taxer, valuer.

šakkū, law.

I, šākānu, taxer, valuer.

I, 1 pres., za-ku-us-su ki-a-am iš-kun, its freedom he thus established, Susa, 3, II, 8; za-ku-tu iš-kun-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 5, 21; za-ku-tu ab-ku-nu, Susa, 3, IV, 32, 57; za-ku-tu aš-šu, ..., iš-šu, Susa, 3, III, 46; šarru [e-e-ma iš-kun-šu-ma, the king gave him a command, London, 103, III, 8; iš-šu, London, 102, IV, 18; prec., ša-im-ma la-az, ..., i-na zu-un-ri-šu iš-šu, Susa, 3, VII, 22; i-na zu'-ri-šu li-iš-šu, may she put into his body, III R. 43, IV, 17; i-na

šaknu, governor.

ša ša-ka-nu, V A., 2663, V, 20; often followed by name of city or country, ša-ša-kin . . . , Susa, 16, II, 6, 22, 25; III, 3; Susa, 14, II, 4; D. E. P., VI, 43, II, 18; D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 7; IV R.² 38, II, 33; V R. 55, 52, 55; V R. 56, 10, 18; Neb. Nippur, II, 20; III, 9; O. B. I, 83, I, 11; II, 4, 6, 7; O. B. I, 149, I, 4, 17; C. T., X, pl. III, 25; V A., 209, I, 2; I R. 66, II, 7; this title occurs also in the list of officials, lu-ša-ša-kin lu-ii bel paḫati, O. B. I, 149,


šumu, name, passim.

The most common phrases are: šûm an-ni, Neb. Nippur, heading 1; šumî(mı) na-rî, Susa, 2, IV, 33; šûm ku-du[r]-ri an-ni-i, London, 101, I, 1; cf. III R. 41, I, 3; šûm pina-šu-nu za-ak-ru, D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, 9; Susa, 3, VII, 29; Susa, 16, VI, 10; London, 103, VI, 22; III
R. 41, II, 36; I R. 70, IV, 23;  
O. B. I., 149, II, 15; III, 9;  
London, 102, V, 6; V. A., 2663,  
V, 46; also šu-un-šu-nu za-ak-ru,  
III R. 43, III, 24; IV, 33; šu-  
mu-un-šu-nu za-ak-ru, III R.  
43, edge II, 1; šu-un ili u karri,  
IV R. 56, 33; li-hal-šiq šumi-šu,  
London, 101, III, 12; cf. Susa,  
16, VI, 24; III R. 41, II, 38;  
London, 102, II, 16; šu-mi šat-ra,  
Susa, 3, V, 57; Susa, 16, V, 3;  
Susa, 14, IV, 16; šumu la  
šuḫu(-u), relat., London, 103,  
IV, 23; cf. London, 103, I, 3;  
II, 9; šumi-šu(MU.NI),  

šemū, hear.  
I, 1 pret., iš-me-e-mu, V. A., 209, I,  
17; iš-me-e-šu-nu-ti-ma, V. A.,  
209, IV, 31; iš-mi-ma, Susa, 14,  
I, 15; ai iš(!)-mu-ši, IV R. 38,  
III, 44; pres., la iš-me-mi-ši, III R.  
43, IV, 29.  
III, 1 pret., uš-ši-eš-mi-ma, he an-  
nounced, London, 103, III, 35.  

šemū, intelligent.  
là še-ma-a la na-ṭil ša pāni-ša, an  
imprudent man, V. A., 2663, V,  
26; šaš-là la še-ma-a, London,  
102, V, 4; III R. 43, I, 31; la  
še-ma ša a-ma-ti, D. E. P., VI,  
45, V, 21; là šemā(SI.NU.TUK),  
IV R. 38, III, 12; V R. 36, 34;  
Neb. Nippur, V, 3; III R. 41,  
II, 9; O. B. I., 149, II, 9; là  
šemā(SI.NU.GALLA), I R. 70,  
II, 22.  

šamū, heaven, passim.  
šamamu, hear.  
ka-la ši-ḫi-ip ša-ma-me, Neb. Nip-  
pur, I, 14.  

šamāhu, be prosperous, luxuriant.  
I, 1 prec., Nisaba li-hal-li-qa pu-  
gat-tu li-ša-mu-ḫu, may thorns  
grow luxuriantly, I R. 70, IV, 13.  

šammu, plant, herb.  
lu-ū isē lu-ū šammē(SAM.MES),  
Susa, 3, II, 48; šammē eqī-ši,  
Susa, 3, III, 13; šammē la ri-š-e,  
Susa, 3, III, 21; ba-qa-an šam-  

šumma, if.  
Susa, 3, IV, 52; V, 20.  

šamnu, oil.  
40 (qa) šamni(NI), III R. 41, I, 22.  

šamšu, sun.  
pān Šamsi(-ši), V R. 55, 31;  

ša-tu, year.  
i-na šatti(MU.A.NA) ša-a-ši,  
London, 103, V, 5; ina šatti rēštā,  
Susa, 16, II, 13; šanāte šu-ša-aḫ-  
hi, London, 101, IV, 10; šanāte  
dub-di, Susa, 3, V, 18; šatti, I R.  
66, I, 2; II, 17; III R. 43, I, 28;  
Neb. Nippur, V, 26; London,  
102, I, 9, 18; II, 35, 36, 37; VI,  
1, 24; III, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 22;  
V. A., 209, I, 1; II, 28; V, 4;  
C. T., X, pl. III, 31; V. A., 208,  
30, 53.  

šattīšam, yearly.  
ša-at-ti-šam, IV R. 38, II, 22;  

šangū, priest.  
šangū(E.MAS) Er-ia, C. T., IX,  
pl. IV, 2, 18; V, 30; šangū  
ENGUR u Šina, O. B. I., 83,  
I, 16; šangū Marduk, V. A., 208,  
52; E.MAS A-e, V. A., 209,  
IV, 27; šangū(SID) Ramman,  
V. A., 2663, IV, 40.  

šanū, change.  
I, 1 prec., pu-šu-uk-šu-un iš-ni-  
II, 1 prec., ša-ni-din-ti šu-a-tu uša-  
an-nu-ū, C. T., X, pl. VII, 33;  
ku-dur-ra uša-an-nu-ū, I R. 70,

šanú, the second.

hšanú (cf. Br. 4821), Susa, 16, III, 18; C. T., IX, pl. V, 34; and perhaps also I R. 66, I, 4.

šanú, the other one.

ša-na-ša it-ti-šu, the companion that was with him, V R. 55, 34.

šanamma, any other one.


šanimmma, any other.

ša-ni-im-ma, Susa, 3, V, 41.

šanumma, another, any other.


šešš, šanánú, be equal.


IV, 1, be-lut-sa la ša-ša-na-nu, whose rule will not be equalized, Neb. Nippur, I, 17.

šešš, šasú, call.

I, 1 pret., o-na ma-aš šarri il-šu-ma, C. T., X, pl. V, 10; pres., e-ma i-ša-as-su-ú, when he calls, IV R. 38, III, 43.

šašš, šapáku, throw up.

I, 1 perm., i-kú la šap-šu, a ditch had not been thrown up, Neb. Nippur, II, 29.

šapú, lower.

in the phrases šiddu šapú (K.I.TA) and pútu šapú, passim; pl. fem., bél e-la-ti šap-la-a-ti, lord of all that is above and below, V A., 2663, I, 11.

šapliš, below.


šapáru, send.


šipru, work.


šápiru, scriber (cf. p. 176).


šepiru, disposition, gift.


našpartu, message.

na-aš-par-la-ša ša uz-zi, III R. 41, II, 22.

našš, saqú, lofty.

bél ša-qu-ú, Neb. Nippur, IV, 5; šaqú (SAG), Neb. Nippur, V,
šaquaštu, destruction.

šiqiltu, bloodshed.

širiš, fruitful.

šuru, terror.

šaraḫu, burn.

šaraqu, present, give.

šukuzu, cap(?) (Zimmerm).

šaqāšu, destroy.

šaqū, irrigate.

šiqiltu, irrigation.

mašqū, drinking place.

mašqiltu, place of irrigation.

mašqū, drinking place.

mašqiltu, place of irrigation.

mešrēti, limbs.

mešrēti, vegetation.

mašqū, limbs.

šarakku, be exceedingly large.

šaraḫu, burn.

šaraqu, present, give.

šaqāšu, destroy.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF


šarqu, gift.

šeriqtu, gift.

šarqu, bright red blood (cf. p. 182).

יווע, šarru, king, passim.

šarrūtu, kingdom.

šarūru, glory.

שׁש, šurus, root.

šusšu, a soss, sixty.
šuššu(I SŪ) še'vezušu, Susa, 2, II, 1; šuššu(KU) ḫurāši, London, 102, IV, 25.

šatammu, a title of an official, perhaps overseer.

ti'ūtu, equipment(?).
I ša-narkabtu a-di ti'-u-ti-ša, III R. 41, I, 15.

דָּקְנָם, tämtu, tämdu, sea.
ša-la-la tämdii(A.A.B.B.A.) šaš mu-da-a, Susa, 14, II, 16; ina

hTU bitî, a title of a class of priests.


šabû, tabû, come out, rise.

I, 1 part., si-im-ma la te-e-ba-a, Susa, 3, VII, 20; is-ru-ba-a la te-ba-a, III R. 41, II, 16; mî-lga la ta-ba-a, a fall without rising, Susa, 14, IV, 7.

III, 1 pret., uš-at-ba-a išukakkê-šu, he caused him to draw his weapons, V R. 55, 13.

tibu, approach.

pâtu šapla ti-ib dûša-sa-naš, O. B. I., 149, I, 12.

tibû.

tib-da-a a-na la e-ri-ši, III R. 45, No. 2, 10.

šû, tabâku, pour out.

I, 1 prec., ki-ma mû lit-bu-uk, Susa, 2, III, 35.

tabku, poured out, perhaps stored.


šû, tabûlû, take away.

I, 1 pret., at-ba-lu (relat.), Susa, 3, IV, 4, 20; ina šî-qil-ti it-ba-lu-ma, V. A., 2663, III, 17; pres., eqlû . . . la it-tab-ba-lu it-la-ba-lu (relat.), Susa, 16, IV, 15; III R. 41, I, 37; inf., la ta-bal eqlî-šu, Susa, 3 II, 6; III, 42; a-na ta-bal eqlî-šu, I R. 70, II, 7; a-na ta-bal eglî-šu an-}


I, 2 pres., eqlû a-na zéri-ia aš-ru-ku la it-ta-bal, Susa, 3, IV, 56; V, 28.


tabalu, land (Hebr. 729) (cf. p. 178).


šûnî, ibûnû, straw.

lu-û ibûru(N.NU) lu-û SE.BAR, Susa, 3, II, 49.

šû, târu, return.


I, 2, ša ed-dî gar-di pu-ri-da-šu it-tu-ra, the legs of the strong man turned, i.e., failed, V R. 55, 21.

II, 1 pret., a-na pîhûti u-te-ir, to the crown he returned, O. B. I., 83, I, 15; te-im-šû u-tir-ma, his
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF


taḫāzu, battle.

taḫšū, ram (Hebr. שֶׁכֶר).
šir(UZU) taḫši-e šir zami(UR), mutton, V. A., 208, 5.
taptû, cultivated field (?) (perhaps from ṛ̣̂nu, to open, cultivate).

ña, taqû, pay homage (cf. p. 162).


turpu'tu, tumult.

ǧān, tarāšu, stretch out.

I, 1 pres., ubānī-šu a-na limutti(-ti)
taršu, direction.
a-na tar-ši ụ̑̂nu Na-ba-ti, towards, V.

A., 2663, IV, 17.

tiršu, stretching (of the hand).
i-na ti-ri-iš qa-ti, Susa, 3, VI, 37;
ti-ri-iš qa-ti-šu, guided by his hand, V. A., 2663, I, 26; III, 38.

turtu, blindness.
tur-ti ūnā(SP) sa-kak uznu(PF)
ub-bur mes-ri-e-ti liš-su-ku-šum-
ma, V. A., 2663, V, 38 (cf. the parallel expression: zu-ut pa-ni
sa-ka-ak uz-ni, Susa, 14, III, 4).

Tašritu, the month Tishri.
London, 102, IV, 11.

tituru, bridge.
ḥarrāna ú ti-tur-ra ... la a-ma-ri,
Susa, 3, III, 22; a-di ti-tur(!)-ri
mi-ti-ši šarri, Susa, 14, I, 3;
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. xxii, No. XXIX. "Perhaps Nippur."—There seems to be some difference of opinion as to the place where this stone was discovered. While the author of the official catalogue of the Royal Museums (Verzeichnis der Vorderasiatischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse, Berlin, 1889, p. 66, No. 213) assigns this boundary stone thus: "Aus Nippur (heute Niffer) in Südbabylonien," and while nothing is known of any authorized change in this designation, yet according to information received from one of the officials of the Museums more recently (June, 1905), the statement in the Catalogue rests solely upon what the dealer, who sold the stone to the Berlin authorities in 1885, said. Moreover, according to the records of the Museums, the stone was not excavated by the dealer, but purchased by him. In view of this, and in the absence of any internal evidence, it seems that an attitude of reserve is advisable.

p. 5, l. 2, and p. 10, ll. 15f. For duppu read tupp; see Glossary, s. v.

p. 11, l. 2. The "sealing" of the boundary stones is evidently a stereotyped phrase, derived from the period when clay tablets were still in use. Only in one case we may possibly have an instance of an autograph signature. The name of King Meli-Shipak is scratched under the inscription on Susa, No. 2.

p. 27, l. 2 from below. Instead of "sojourners," see Glossary under qattinu.

p. 58, l. 2 from below. For lilamman read lilamin. "Br. 9946, MIN has the same phonetic value also in Assyrian, which is required grammatically in the above passage. Cf. also Delitzsch, A. G. 2, p. 40" (Prof. Hilprecht). The same correction also on p. 66, l. 16; p. 192, II, 23; p. 199, ll. 10, 11.


p. 78, note 10. For "fig. 12", p. 29," read "fig. 12", p. 30."

p. 92, l. 20. For "London 106" read "London 105," also p. 137, last line.

p. 92, l. 22. For "London 105" read "London 106."

p. 97, fig. 31. Alongside of the figures found on the Babylonian boundary stones may be placed the figures on an unbaked cylinder which was recently found by Mr. MacAlister at Gezer, in débris belonging to the El Amarna period, and published by him in the October number of the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," p. 262. It shows two bands of figures in relief, made by the rolling of a seal cylinder over the clay. The complete design appears twice in each band. It represents certain constellations, some of which certainly belong to the zodiac, but (as on the Babylonian boundary stones) they are not arranged in regular order. Beginning at the left hand corner of the lower band we find, after a partial picture of the sun, what
looks like a tree, but is probably intended for an ear of grain and thus represents *spica*, the most prominent star in the *virgo*. Below it is the *scorpion*; alongside of it an upturned vessel, most likely the *amphora*, a name for the *aquarius*. Then follows a ladder with an upturned vase on top. The next figure is a horned animal, perhaps the *aries*. Immediately above it is a small animal which cannot be identified. Alongside is a bird with a little triangle. It reminds us of the walking bird on the Babylonian boundary stones. Over the three last figures is a curiously ribbed animal, perhaps intended for *leo* or *taurus*. This is followed by an animal which looks like an antelope. If is perhaps meant for the *capricorn*. Beneath it is a figure, resembling an inverted T, which may stand for the *libra*. Above the antelope is an indistinct, clumsy figure, which the artist intended perhaps for the *cancer*. Between antelope and lion is another T-shaped figure. Next comes a serpent, perhaps the *hydra*. Near its tail is a star, most likely *Venus*. Alongside of it is the crescent and the sun, beneath which are the clear figures of a fish and a scorpion. In all there are eighteen figures, of which the little triangle under the bird and the upper T-shaped figure are perhaps only inserted to fill out space. Of the remaining figures we can clearly recognize the sun, moon, Venus star, fish, scorpion, amphora and ear of grain, while the ram, capricorn, lion, balance and cancer are less clearly represented. Finally the ladder with inverted vase, the small animal between ram and lion and the bird with the triangle under it are still unclear. But they may stand in some relation to the *sagittarius*, *taurus* and *gemini*, which are not otherwise represented.

Fig. 52.—The zodiac tablet from Gezer.

p. 105, last line. Franz X. Kugler in his excellent work, *Sternkunde und Stern- dienst in Babel*, I. Buch, Münster, 1907, shows, pp. 261–263, that in the late (Arsacide) period the star of Gula corresponded to our waterman. This can hardly be applied to the picture of the goddess Gula on the boundary
stones, which is always associated with the dog. Now the "great dog," called UR.GU.LA (evidently also a play on the name of the goddess), is identical with leu, the zodiacal sign of the month Abù; hence the goddess Gula on the boundary stones is either an explanatory addition to the symbol of the "lion" or stands for the next zodiacal sign, the "virgin.

In the lists given by Kuqler on p. 229 the zodiacal sign for the month Ulûlu is either called AB.SIM(ter'au) or SU.PA(namru), which is identical with spica or a virginis (Kuqler, p. 251). Thus far, however, the picture of an ear of grain has not appeared on the boundary stones. It is, therefore, possible that the picture of Gula represents the "virgin." That the Babylonians associated a goddess with the month Ulûlu is evident from the list of months with their patron deities, where we read: אֶרֶץ Ulâlu II-tár be-lit. .

p. 106, l. 13. For NIN.IB read Nergal.

p. 106, l. 14. For Nergal read NIN.IB. The investigations of Kuqler (Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel, pp. 215-225) have shown that the names of the Babylonian planets and the gods associated with them were not exchanged, as has been argued by Hommel and Winckler.


p. 209, Col. II, 17. Instead of Nabû-[erî]-i, Prof. Hilprecht suggests Nabû-[gu]-miš as the preceding name. The form Nabû-[erî]-i had been chosen in view of Ilu-erîs(PIN-u), Rammû-[erîs](PIN-u), Šin-[erîs](PIN-u), Samâl-[erîs](PIN-u), etc., found in Clay, B. E., Vols. XIV, XV.

p. 213, Col. II. Instead of Šîr-ap-pi-li, Prof. Hilprecht suggests the reading Šîr-ap-pi-LI(SUB) as a possibility. LI is ideogram for ellu, therefore probably also for allûtu, "to be shining"; hence "O Šîr, make my face shining," i.e., "joyful."


p. 248, l. 6 from below. For drânû read idranu.


p. 277, Col. II, after l. 5 insert:
kalû, magician, priest.


p. 277, Col. II, after kallatu insert:
imašKIL.DA, III R. 41, I, 19.

p. 295, Col. II, l. 22. For makhku pa-gu-mu read makhku pa-gu-mu.

p. 299, Col. II, after pašaru insert:
pišu(bitu?), in the phrase p(b)ûti i-mil-ti karri, V R. 55, 26, 36, perhaps with Muss-Arnolt, Dict., p. 853a, to be rendered: "In front of the right hand of the king."

p. 309, Col. I, l. 13. In support of the identity of šadû, mountain, and šadû, east, which I owe to Prof. Hilprecht, he remarks: "(1) Cf. Hebr. ד', (a) sea, (b) west. (2) In 1900, while at Nippur, I convinced myself by repeated observation that on clear days the eastern mountains beyond the Tigris are easily visible in Babylonia at the latitude and longitude of Nippur."
p. 312, Col. 1, l. 3 from below. Prof. Hilprecht explains a-na šū-li-i differently.

"In view of the fact that elû in the contract literature is also used of the 'emporschiessen, aufgehen, wachsen,' of plants (ina qaqqari) and of fruit on trees (ina gišimmarê), I propose to translate šalû, standing here in connection with zêru, as Inf. III, 1 of elû: "May they destroy his name and may (= so that) his seed not have (find) a resting place where one lets it grow up."
ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS.

p. 169, l. 4. For panûšû read pûnûšu.
p. 182, l. 6. For "consumptoin" read consumption.
p. 184, l. 11. For u-ša-aš-ša-ma read u-ša-aš-šu-ma.
p. 281, Col. I, l. 11 from below. For ḫu read lillu.
p. 283, Col. I, l. 7 from below. For Ṝḫu read ḫḫu.
p. 308, Col. II, l. 12 from below. "is" has dropped out.
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