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A NEW BOUNDARY STONE

OF

NEBUCHADREZZAR

Debuchadrezzar I.

FROM NIPPUR

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

3601

BY

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With 16 Halftone Illustrations and 35 Drawings

PHILADELPHIA
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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 Kudurru 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 Kudurru 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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I. TEXT EDITIONS.


H. V. Hilprecht, Freibrief Nebukadnezar's I., Leipzig, 1883.


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

II. TRANSLITERATIONS, TRANSLATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS.


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H. V. Hilprecht, Freibrief Nebuchadnezer's I., Leipzig, 1883.


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


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

V. Scheil, Notes d'epigraphie et d'archéologie Assyriennes (in Recueil de Travaux, Vol. XVI, 1894, p. 32f.).


III. DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF THE SYMBOLS.


The text contains a bibliography with references to various texts and authors, including:

- Astronomie der alten Chaldäer, *l.c.*, 1901, pp. 434–474.
  384–389).

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

**I. Kudurrus of Nazi-Maruttash.**

- Provenance: Susa, found 1898.
- Present location: Louvre, Paris.

Quoted as Susa, No. 2.

**II. Kudurrus of Bitiliáshu.**

- Provenance: Susa, found 1898.
- Present location: Louvre, Paris.
- Translation: *ibidem*, 36 lines, fragmentary.

Quoted as D. E. P., II, 93, 94.

**III. Stone tablet of Agabtaša.**

- Provenance: Susa.
- Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Symbols: None.
Quoted as D. E. P., II, pl. 20.

IV. Kudurru of Rammán-shum-uṣur. 
Provenance: Susa.
Present location: Louvre, Paris.
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).
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.
Symbols: Published by De Morgan, *Délegation en Perse*, Vol. I, pl. 16; *Koudourou*, 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.
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. 248ff., 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; *Koundourou*, 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; *Koundourou*, 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.
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Present location: Louvre, Paris.
Symbols: Published by De Morgan, Délégation en Perse, Vol. VII, p. 146, fig. 457; Koudourou, No. 19; see also fig. 39, 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 (90,558).
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 Medailles, 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-ahë, 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-nādin-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: (?)
BI B L I O G R A P H Y O F K U D U R R U I N S C R I P T I O N S.

Present location: Berlin Museum, V. A., 211.
Text: Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, No. 57.
Translation: None, transliterated by Ungnad, l.c., p. IXa.
Quoted as V. A., 211.

XXXI. Kudurru of Nabû-mukīn-aplu.
Provenance: (?)
Present location: British Museum, No. 102 (90,335).
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. 255ff., 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. Heft pl. II; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 256ff., No. 11; and our List of Symbols, p. 239ff.
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. 6–17; Peiser, K. B., Vol. IV, pp. 158–164.
Symbols: Published by Peiser, l.c., photos 1–5; Vorderasiatische Schrift-
denkmäler, 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.


Text: Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I, No. 37; transliterated by

Translations: Delitzsch, l.c.; Peiser, l.c.; R. F. Harper, “Assyrian and
Babylonian Literature,” New York, 1901, pp. 64–68.

Symbols: Published in part by Bezold, Ninive 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.

Symbols: Published by De Morgan, D. E. P., Vol. I, figs. 370, 382–388;
Vol. VII, fig. 453, pls. 27, 28.

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.

2. Susa, No. 5, De Morgan, D. E. P., I, p. 176, fig. 382; see figs. 17, 18,
pp. 40, 41 of this book, and the description in the List of Symbols,
p. 234.

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.

4. Susa, No. 7, De Morgan, D. E. P., I, p. 178, fig. 384; see fig. 21, p. 73
of this book, and the description in the List of Symbols, p. 234.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS.  XXV

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: 'Amrân (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.

Symbols: Published by Walpole, "Travels in Various Countries of the East," London, 1820, pl. facing p. 426; described by Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 259f., No. 15; reproduced there p. 474.

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-balâṭsu-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.

A. P. Meissner, Altbabylonisches Privatrecht.
B. A. Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
B. E. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, Cuneiform Texts.
Br. M. British Museum.
B. O. R. Babylonian and Oriental Record.
Br. Brünnow, A Classified List.
C. T. Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
D. E. P. Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse.
G. G. A. Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeiger.
K. B. Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek.
M. V. A. G. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
O. B. I. Hilprecht, Old Babylonian Inscriptions.
O. L. Z. Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
P. N. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names, from the published Tablets of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty.
R. Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.
R. A. Revue d’Assyriologie.
R. P. Records of the Past.
R. T. Recueil de Travaux.
S. B. B. A. Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.
ABBREVIATIONS.

Z. A..............Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
Z. D. M. G........Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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.
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 1802,¹ 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.² 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 Palaographiae 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 quamdam ab Archimago parentantibus feminis inter Sabacos, sive Persas eius avi, quae nuper maritos, fratres vel alios cognatos amiserant, et comitantibus praeficiis, die festo, quando sollemnia sacra luctus publici ob defunctos quotannis celebrantur, praegendam, vel recitandam.
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 inscriptions 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 *Keilinschrifliche 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

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1 The most common name applied to Babylonian boundary stones is ābnu-narū, 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 1. 2). Other names are ābnu, "stone" (London, 101, III, 2; London, 103, III, 30; London, 102, V, 6); āsumuttu, "a sculptured and an inscribed stele" (London, 103, VI, 26), ātupu, "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 līṭa, "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-qi (= kāniku) 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 Bitilišu (D. E. P., II, 93f.), one of Rammān-šúm-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 phrasingology 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, shaped as a boundary stone.](image)

Ninā has actually the shape of a boundary stone, 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, 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.
“śar-ga-ni-šar-āli mār Itti(-ti)-
\(4\)En-lil,\(^1\) da-num šar Akkadi ū bā-ū-
la-\(4\)En-lil bāni E-kur bū\(4\)En-lil in Nippur\(^2\) ša ṣurpa sū-a (ui)-sa-za-
kū-ni\(2\) En-lil u\(5\) Šamaš išid-su li-zu-ḫa ȗ zēr-su li-īl-gu-da—i.e., "Shar-
gānī-shar-āli, 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 Guti and Lulubi 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 Hammurabi, 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-\(4\)En-lil, as suggested by Thureau-Dangin (cf. I. S. A. 233, note 10), on the basis of R. T. C. No. 176, Da-ti-\(4\)En-lil, as compared with C. T. 21335, 121, Da-a-ti-\(4\)En-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 nazāku alternates with nakāru, especially in the Code of Hammurabi: Col. XLI, 74, u-zu-ra-ti-ia a u-ša-zi-iq; Col. XLII, 10, u-zu-ra-ti-ia 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., III, 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 Guti see Hilprecht, O. B. I., Vol. I, 13ff.; Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 244ff. For the stele of Anu-banšī, King of Lulubi, see Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 246. The statue of Gudea, numbered C, contains also a curse, Col. IV, 5–17 (Thureau-
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, it is natural to conclude that they caused the introduction of this custom. 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, 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 īlu before their names, which implies that they enjoyed divine honors (Hilprecht, B. E., XX, pt. 1, p. 51ff.). 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), Rammān-shum-ūṣur (D. E. P., II, 97, 8), Meli-Shipak (London, 101, I, 13) and Marduk-apal-idīnna (D. E. P., VI, 42, Col. I, 24), used the title šar kīṣāṭti, 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.\(^1\) 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 Déř (Col. II, 25). There are a number of similar grants of land by the Assyrian kings Adad-nirari, Tiglath-pileser III, Ashur-bân-aplu and Ashur-êtil-ilâni, but they are written on clay tablets.\(^2\)

**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\(^3\)—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-îshkun (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.\(^1\) 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: \(^4\textit{Nabû-nāṣîr-kudur-eqlāti}, \) 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

\(^1\) 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 stelae (Breasted, \textit{Ancient Records of Egypt}, Vol. I, §§ 766–772). At Tell-el-Amarna were fourteen landmarks to indicate the extent of the city (Breasted, \textit{l.c.}, II, §§ 949–972). The extent of the jackal nome was marked by fifteen boundary stones (Breasted, \textit{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, \textit{l.c.}, IV, § 332). (b) Frequently the stone had a name (Breasted, \textit{l.c.}, IV, 479). A list of such names is given by Maspero, \textit{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, \textit{l.c.}, IV, §§ 479–483). (d) The historical circumstances leading to the grant are sometimes given (Breasted, \textit{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, \textit{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, \textit{l.c.}, IV, §§ 147–150). All these features appear also on the Babylonian boundary stones, see below, pp. 37–39.
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 išṭurma maḥar ilišu ušziz, 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:

\[\begin{align*}
\Upsilon \ U & u \ \text{tup-pi eqli ka-nik di-ni ik-nu-uk-ma a-na } \text{Mu-un-na-bīt-tum} \\
I-na \ ka-nak & \ U u \ \text{tup-pi eqli aḅnuḫu-nukki di-ni šū-a-tum} \\
& \ldots \ iz-za-az-zu (D. E. P., VI, 34, Col. III, 11–15).
\end{align*}\]

The group \( \Upsilon \ U \) 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 \( \Upsilon \ šū-a-tu \), 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 (\( \Upsilon \)) while ili, resp. ilē, "gods," appears as \( \Upsilon \) (V. A., 2663, I, 26; II, 2); hence (\( \Upsilon \)) has the value li and the signs under discussion ought to be read li-ū.\(^1\)

While the term liṭu 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, both of which were sealed in the presence of witnesses.

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 Agabtaḥa (D. E. P., II, pl. 20), recording a grant of ten *gur* of cultivated land by King *Bi-ti-li-ia-a-šu* to Agabtaḥa, 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-nádin-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 Zaʾaleh (I R. 66), granting exemption from levies to one called the Ishnunakean. (5) The grant of King Nabû-apal-iddina to the temple officer Nabû-apal-iddina. (6) The grant of land, made in the eleventh year of King Mardukshum-iddina, by Bēl-iddina to his son Kidnî (V. A. 208). (7) To this

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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 eqši ša ana biti 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 ܬܘ; 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-nâdin-aplu, confirming a grant of land to a temple of the goddess Ninâ at Dér. (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 PÂSHE 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. 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-nádîn-aplu (Col. I, 11, 12) implied that the governor of Bit-Sin-mâgîr 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-apal-iddina 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.

![Symbols on a Cassite boundary stone. (Susa, No. 18.)](image)

Babylonian boundary stones and boundaries were sacred to the god NIN.IB, hence he is called bēl kudurri (D. E. P., II, 113) or bēl 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, for this is clearly implied in the name of the stone of Nazi-Maruttash: dNabû-nāṣir-kudur-eqlâti (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 uštēli—i.e., "Has he drawn a false

1 For Nabû as the god of agriculture see Jastrow, Religion, Vol. I, p. 118, and the article on Nebo by A. Jeremias in Roscher's Lexicon, III, 60.
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 kuduru 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 bitšu labiru inaqaruma eššu ibannu ša uššē bitšu ana girri šarrī īrruba šīr bitšu ana gaššī illalūšu; I R. 7 F 24–27; cf. Peiser, Acten-Stücke, p. IX, note 2).
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 Bît-Pîr-d'Amurru.¹ It was deeded by the king to his son and

¹The 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-madin-aḫē (III R. 43) refers to twenty gur of seed land, the communal land of Alnirē, at the banks of the canal Zîrizîri, in (ina) Bît m'A-da. In other cases the term pîhâtu (French: gouvernement; in German: Regierungsbezirk) is prefixed to bitu, as pîhâtu Bît-mdSin-ma-gir (Susa 2, I, 28), which is parallel to pîhâtu mât ānaHu-da-dî (Col. II, 4). Again, pîhâtu Diglipaš (Col. II, 9) is placed alongside of pîhâtu Bît-mdSin-ašaridu (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 pîhâtu (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. 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 (ugāru) of the city Shaluluni, at the banks of the royal canal, in the district of Bit-*Pir(?)-d-Amurru(MAR.TU), was made to Hasardu, a sukallu, son of Sumê (London, 101).

A third grant was made by Meli-Shipak to [Méli]-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.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-*Ninni, to Marduk-zâkir-shumu, a governor (bêl pâhâti).

By another stone, Marduk-apal-iddina I. confirmed a grant of land, which had originally been made by King Rammân-shumuṣur 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 Már-Aḥattûa, in the district of Bit-Sin-sheme, to Nusku-ibni, the son of Upaḥḥir-Nusku, a priest of Ellil at Nippur, perhaps for aid rendered in the reorganization of the temple services at Nippur.

Marduk-nâdin-aḫē ordered the grant of 20 gur of cultivated land at the Zirzirri canal, of the communal land of Alnirēa, in the district of Bit-Ada, to Rammân-zêr-iqîsha, a shaq-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-naphari (DUL), the chief of Bit-Ada (London, 106 = III R. 43).

Under Marduk-aḫē-erba 12 gur of the royal domain, in the district Bit-Pir-d Amurru, was granted by the king to Kudurra, a Ḥabirean (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.)

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-aḫē-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.

Agabtaḫa, a fugitive of Ḥaligalbat, fled to King Bitilišhu, 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 Ḫusṣi, 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).

(e) 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-māgir, Dūr-Papsukal, Ḫudādu,\(^2\) Dupliash, Bit-Sin-asharidu and Upē), were given directly to the god; the remaining 206 *gur* were given to Kashakti-Shugab, the son of Aḫu-bānī. 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-bānī, wrote a memorial tablet of terra cotta\(^3\) (narā 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 *šuAN* is always Marduk, never Enlil of Nippur; see Schrader, K. A. T., 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 *Hu-dādu*, the opposite of *Hu-aiBu*; see Hommel, *Geographie*, pp. 252\(^1\), 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 dME.ME* (Gula) bēlti kalbu ḫašbi ēpušma aqēk; 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 Ninâ, located in the city of Dēr, which had originally been made by Gulkishar, a king of the sea country (šar mēt ūmadī), was partly set aside by E-karra-iqisha, the then governor of the district Bit-Sin-mâgir, in which the land was located. Thereupon the priest of Ninâ, Nabû-shum-iddina, appealed to the king Ellil-nâdin-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 Atnai, after they had been bought by his

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-ukin, 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-ukin, who restored to him Bit-Ha’raḫu 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 Bitiliāšhu, 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 Bitiliāšhu, 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 Shaknanâ, at the banks of the canal Mêdandan, in the district of Ḫudâdu, 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-apal-iddina I., when one of his neighbors, Aḫunjēa, 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 Ḥudādu, under whom the field had been granted, and Šīr-shum-iddina, his successor in office, and the
old city officials (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, Šir-shum-iddina, and the scribe, Bēl-bashmē, who measured the field and found it to be thirty 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 šību 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 Rammān-shum-iddina, Rammān-shum-ūṣur 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 Tākil-ana-ilishu being without direct heirs, the question of succession arose. During the reign of Rammān-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-Bēlit-muballīṭat-mītūti, a brother of Tākil-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 Tākil-ana-ilishu (Col. I, 40–43). But his effort, as it seems, was likewise unsuccessful. Meanwhile a part of the land, ten gur, had passed through purchase (Col. III, 9, 10) into the hands of Bēlānī, but upon an appeal of Ur-Bēlit-

1 The reading paršū is to be preferred to maššū (Br. 1930), because it connects the word with the well-known stem parāšu, which occurs frequently in the Code of Hammurabi (e.g., Col. VI : 9; XLI : 90; VIII : 65) and in the Letters of Hammurabi (King, Letters of Ham., Vol. III, p. 287), as a synonym of parāšu. The ideogram BAR.SU(D) points in the same direction.
muballītat-mitūtī 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-muballītat-mitūtī, Aḫu-dārū, another brother of Tākil-ama-ilishu (Col. IV, 23), took the field by force, whereupon Marduk-kudur-uṣur, a son of Ur-Bēlīt-muballītat-mitūtī, 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 (atra). 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-ahē to Rammān-zēr-iqisha (III R. 45, No. 2). No river or land officers were to take away the freedom of the town Alnirēa from forced labor. No (royal) officials, who were appointed over Bit-Ada, had the right of entry in Alnirēa; 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 Shamūa 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 (zakūtu)
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-nadin-ahê, 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 threefold1—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 Médandān, in the district Bit-

mHabban, by Šir-uṣur, son of Ḥabban, to his daughter Dūr-

sharru-kēnaiti, the bride of Ṭāb-ashāb-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-mukin-
aplu (London, 102) by Arad-Sibitti, son of Atrattash, to his daughter SAG-mudammiq-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-mukin-aplu, in the presence 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-mukin-aplu, 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-Ḥanbi, by Marduk-nāṣir, an officer of the king (*kšaqq šarrī*), from Amel-Ellil, son of Ḫanbi, 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 Kidīnī, son of Bēliddina, from Iddinā, for one and five-sixths mines of silver.
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 (a₅₆₄TU) 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
Nabû-ile'î, the son of Nûr-Sin, owned a piece of land in the city of Dêr. But as he desired to enlarge its size, he offered to his neighbor, Ina-eshê-êîr, 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-êîr 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-êîr 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 Uṣalli, 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-usîtu; but instead of taking the sum of money awarded to him he accepted several lots (bîlâti) which Bêl-usîtu had in Dêr. 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 Dêr. 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. 2

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-nâṣir-kudur-eqlâti" (Del., II, pl. 17; III, 34, 35), or "Rammân-lîmûtû (?)-pattinu-da (?)-riš" (London, 101, Col. I, 3), or "NIN.IB-u-4Nusku-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 present 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-baladan (I, 25–III, 35). On the various charters (D. E. P., II, pls. 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 difference on the various stones. Most of them begin the enumeration of the sides of the fields with the upper length (šiddu elû); only three start with the upper width (pûtu elû), namely, D. E. P., II, 112; IV R. 2 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. 38; London, 102; Br. M. 87,220; V. A., 208. Three locate it towards east (*sadā*), 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.
V, 26). 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 Rammán 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)
   \( \text{ša-kin mòtì, bélè pahâti (EN.NAM.MESH) ḫa-za-an-na-tim} \)  
   \( ū \text{ ki-pu-û-tim ša qaq qa-ra-tim an-na-tim (D. E. P., II, 89; } \) III, 5–10). 

2. Rammân-shum-usur\(^1\) (Susa, IV)
   \( \text{aklu (PA) ša-pì-ru, laputtù} \(^2\) (NU.TUR) daq̄anu] di-ku-û, \)  

3. Meli-Shipak\(^3\) (London, 101)
   \( ḥ\text{šaqû(SAG) ḥlaputtû, ḥšak(\text{k})anakku (NER.ARAD (Col. II, } \) 13–14). 

4. Meli-Shipak (Susa, III)
   \( \text{etellu (BE), rabû ma-lik šarri, ḥšaq šarri, ša-kin ša i-na } \)  
   \( pihâti......iš-šak-ka- nu, ḫa-za-an pihâti (NAM), šakin\(^4\) \)  
   \( (GAR) te-mi, mu-še-ri-šu, gu-gal-šu (D. E. P., II, 108; VI, } \) 1–11). 

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

6. Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, XVI)
   \( ḥ\text{aklu, ḥlaputtû,} ḥ\text{ša-pì-ru, šakin(-in) te-mi, bél pahâti, ḫa-za- } \)  
   \( \text{an-nu, PA.TE.SI, mu-ir-ru, USH.SA.DU, šakkanakku, } \)  
   \( (NER.TA!) ša i-na pihât......iš-šak-ka-nu (D. E. P., VI, } \) 35; III,\(^7\) 27–IV, 8). 

\(^1\) Or Rammân-nòdin-ahû. 
\(^2\) The reading laputtû 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-ahê-erba, O. B. I., 149, II, 3; cf. also Susa 16, III 30.
7. Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa, XIV)

8. Nebuchadrezzar I. (Nippur)
   rē-ū, šakkanakku, ak-šu, ša-pi-ru, ri-du-ū, ha-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, ha-za-an-nu, mu-še-ri-šu, gu-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-ahê (III, R. 43)
    bēl bi-ši, bēl paḫati, ha-za-an-₃i, šakin te-₃i, 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 paḫati, bēl bi-ši, bēl paḫati, ki-pu-tu,
   ha-za-an-nu ar-ku-tu, ki-pu-tu, šakin te-₃i, ha-za-an-nu
   (l. 3-5).

13. Marduk-ahê-erba (O. B. I., 149)
    ša-ši, bēl paḫati, ha-za-an-nu, hšakin(-in) te-₃i, PA.TE.SI
    (Col. II, 2-4).

14. Marduk-apal-iddina II. (V. A., 2663)
    šarru, már šarri, hki-i-pu, hšak-nu hša-tam, ha-za-an-nu
    (Col. V, 19, 20).

15. Shamash-shum-ukin (C. T., X, pls. 4-7)
    šarru, már šarri, h₃a-kan, hša-pi-[ru], hha-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; laputtû occurs four times in second place, following aklu, and hazannu five times in third place. Several titles occur in pairs—aklu and sâpiru (Nos. 2, 8), aklu and laputtû (Nos. 5, 10), hazannu and sakin têmi (Nos. 12, 13), sarru and mar sarri (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 hazannu, a tupšarru and a saq sarri measure the field, in another (Susa, 3, I, 28–38) a saq sarri and a hazannu, in a third a saknu and a tupšarru (Susa, 16, II, 5–10). In a fourth case it is an amel pahati, a sakin têmi 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 bel biti, 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 sakin têmi and a hazannu measure the field. In one case the measurement of the field is performed by a certain officer of Nippur, ideographically written GÛ.EN.NA (London, 103, III, 26).

1 It seems doubtful whether USH.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 kīmti, nišūti, salāti, ardēn ʿu kīnāti; 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 eqālti annāti uzunšu išakkanu). They might sue or cause a suit to be made (ina ēli eqlu šuʾatum idabbubu ušadbabu). They might raise a claim or cause a claim to be raised (išaggum eqlu ušargamu, eqālti ušappar). They might give false testimony, saying the field has not been granted (eqlu annā ul nadin-mi iqabb), or it is not a gift of the king (eqlu ul niḏitti šarri-mi iqabb), 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. L., 149, II, 7, 8; C. T., X, pl VII, 35.
(iqabû eglû ul mašû),¹ and a sealed document has not been given (kunukku ul kanîk iqabû).²

2. The officials might not only raise claims against the field,³ but they might actually take it and thus change its ownership. They might turn it over to the state again (eqlâti šinâti ana pihâtišîna utarrû),⁴ 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 šâkîn lu ana iššakki bit ūmîšu lu ana mamma šanumma išarraqu).⁵ They might give it to a stranger (ana aḫânu išarraqu),⁶ exchange it for another field (eqlû kîmu ittanaššû)⁷ or appropriate it to their own use (ana ramânišu išakkanu),⁸ and thus change the royal grant (nidinti šu’atu ušannû)⁹ or overthrow it entirely (šarqi eglû šu’atu inamdû)¹⁰ by taking it away or causing it to be taken (ūtabbalu ušatbalu).¹¹

3. The officials might change the extent of the field. They might curtail it or cut it up (nišîrta qišṣata ina libbi išakkanu).¹² They might change its ditches and boundary lines (ika mišra ittiqû)¹³ or alter its confines, limits and boundary (usa mišra û kudurrašu ušannû).¹⁴

¹ III R. 43, III, 16; perhaps also Neb. Nippur III, 33.
² III R. 43, III, 17.
⁴ III R. 41, II, 3-5; cf. I R 70, II, 10; III R. 43, III, 18.
⁵ C. T., X, pl. VII, 33.
⁶ Susa 3, V, 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.
¹³ III R. 43, III, 20; cf. O. B. I., 150, II, 1, 2.
4. The officials might damage the canals or divert them. They might stop up the canals with mud (ṣakikki dalti u ašar milti nāri-šu isikkiru)⁶ or divert its waters (ṣikizzu ubbalu).³

5. The officials might change or damage the boundary stone. They might take it (narā annā ušaššu)⁸ and change its location (unakaru ina šubtišu),⁴ throw it into the water (ana mē inamdā)⁵ or into the river (ana nāri inamdā),⁸ or put it in a well (ana būri inassuku),⁷ hide it in the dust (ina epiri itammiru),⁹ or bury it in the earth (ina ippiti iqabbiru),⁹ put it in a dark place (ana bit eklitli ušerribu),¹⁰ or in a place where it cannot be seen (ašar la amāri šakkamu),¹¹ in a secret place (puzra ušāḥiz),¹² wall it up (ina igari iptēḫi),¹³ or enclose it in an enclosure (ina lipitti iltēʾi).¹⁴

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 ušadda, London, 103, V, 45; ana mē ana šattu ušadda, IV R.² 38, III, 18–19; ana mē ana šattu ina(m)dā (ittadi), London, 101, III, 3; Susa 3, V, 51; Susa 16, IV, 31–32; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 14.
⁹ IV R.² 38, III, 20.
¹⁰ IV R.² 38, III, 7, 8; cf. ana bit a-sa-ki a-šar(!) la amāri ušeribu, 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 šanāma ušakkanu, O. B. I., 150, II, 5; ašar la amāri ušakkanu, London, 101, III, 7; ašar la amāri itammiru, III R. 41, II, 12; ina ašrim šanimma ki limuttu iltakan, Susa 3, V, 41, 42.
¹³ Susa 3, V, 54; ina igari ipiš[a], D. E. P., II, 113, 17.
¹⁴ Susa 3, V, 53; cf. ina lipitti ipiš[a], Neb. Nippur V, 2.
think of breaking the stone (ana ḫapē ʾabnutaru šuatu išakkanu uznāšu),\(^1\) crush it and thus destroy it (uqtessisma ittaqar itabat uḫtalik),\(^2\) break it up with another stone (ina abni inaqgaru\(^3\) or ina abni ubbatu\(^4\) burn it with fire (ina išāti iqallū),\(^5\) or plan any other malicious act against it (ina mimma šumišu mala bašū ibannû nikiltu 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 ū šarri ša šatra uptaššituma šanam iltaštri).\(^7\)

7. The officials might employ irresponsible persons to carry out their wishes.\(^8\) This they might do out of fear of the terrible curses written on the stones (aššu arratī šināti (limutti) ša ina ʾabnutaru šatra iptalāḫ),\(^9\) 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. uṣaqqaru unakkaru uḫalliqqu, London, 103, V, 42, 43; uṣaqqaru inaqgaru, IV R.\(^7\) 38, III, 16, 17.
\(^6\) V. A. 2663, V, 23, 24.
\(^7\) V R. 56, 33; cf. šumi šatra iptalīš, Susa 3, V, 57; Susa 16, V, 3, 4; upašša-šuma šanamma šaṭṭarū, I R. 70, III, 5, 6; šumu šatra ipaššitu, V. A. 2663, V, 32.
\(^8\) From this point of view IV R.\(^7\) 38, III, 15 mār bēl eqli šu'atum, must be understood. It is doubtless a minor whom the writer has in mind.
(lā pālīh īlāni raḥūti). 1 They might send strangers and enemies (aḥām, nakara), 2 rascals (gišhabba), 3 persons affected with bodily ailments, deaf and blind (sakka, la šēmā ša amāti, samā, lā nāṭil ša pānī-šu), 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 uṣṭērib 5 or utteruma ilka ʾiltaknu), 6 permit land officers to cut grass and canal officers to seize canal diggers (ina ilki diḵūti šabāt amel ūrē nāra baqān šammi kallē nārī u tabalī ušāššū), 7 and send some one to forage the pasture lands (ana ikīli ūrī uma'aru šanamma). 8

3 III R. 41, II, 9.
4 The order of the first three persons mentioned in this section is usually sakla sakka (sukkuka) 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 sakla 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 gišhabba after sakka, while V. A. 2663, V, 25–27 adds to this series lā nāṭil 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.MAH and SHE.RU.SHISH. These are followed by Marduk and his wife Zarpanti- tum, the gods of Babylon; Nabû and his wife Tashmêtum, 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 šērī, see Br. 5008), Ishtar, Nanâ 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 širu, since AT.GI = ma-lik, cf. Br. 4170, and belonging with ŠE.RU.SHIS to the attendants of Shamash. Their position between Bunene and Kittu points in that direction.

2 Bêlit šērī 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-lit ši-ri tups-šar, cf. also II R. 59, Rev. 10–11, b, c, where dGEŠTIN is given as the equivalent of dbe-lit šērī, as well as dGEŠTIN.AN.NA. dNIN.GEŠTIN.NA is placed alongside of Nanâ 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 (ilâni ašibût Uruk).
with Rammân and Shala in D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 2); Nergal and his wife Laš, the gods of Kutha; Ishum and Shubula, the latter being known as the goddess of Shumdula. 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-šarbi), also a form of Nergal, the god of Baš, and his wife Ma-me-tum, usually named as the wife of Nergal. Next LIL and NIN.BAD, together with Tishšu, and probably his wife KA.DI, the goddess of Dūr-ili, 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

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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.
4 Cf. Bollenrücher, Gebete an Nergal, No. III, 8, p. 20; but LUGAL.GIŠ.A.-TU.GAB.LIS 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 Tishšu 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), 1 the king, the father of the gods (šarru abi ilani), 2 Anu the prince, the great lord (Anu rabu belu rabu), 3 the king of heaven (šar šamē). 4  

Anunit, the one inhabiting heaven (ašibat šamē). 5  

Bēlit, the mistress of the gods who creates all (bēlat ilani bānat napharī). 6  

Bunene, the son of Shamash, the exalted king, the hero, the counselor of his father (apil Šamaš šarru tizkaru qardu malik abīšu). 7  

Ea, the creator of men (pātik niše), 8 the creator of all (bān kala), 9 the king of the ocean, the lord of wisdom (šar apṣt bēl tāšmti), 10 and perhaps “the king of springs” (šar naqēb). 11  

Ellil, the great lord, the command of whose mouth cannot be altered and whose grace is steadfast (bēlu rabu ša qibīt pišu la innennu u annasu kīnu), 12 the lord of lands (bēl māštī), 13 the king of all (šar ginri), 14 the sublime lord who determines the fate of the gods (bēl šaqū mušīm šīmat ilāni). 15

3 III R. 43, IV, 30.  
6 Bēlat is written NIN-at; cf. V. A. 2663, II, 52f.  
10 D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, 4.  
11 Cf. Ea, bēl naq-bi kup-pi ū ta-mir-ti, Sennach.,  
12 Susa 2, IV, 4.  
Gula, the glorious mistress, the mistress of all mistresses (bēltu šurbûtum etîlîti kala bêlêtu),¹ the great mistress (bēltu rabîtu),² the great mistress, the wife of NIN.IB (bēltu rabîtu hîrat NIN.IB),³ the great physician (azugallatu rabîtum),⁴ the physician, the great mistress (azugallatu bēltu rabîtu),⁵ the bride of Esharra (kallat Ešarra).⁶

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

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

Ištar, the mistress of heaven and earth (bêlit šamê u îršitî),⁹ the mistress, the princess among the gods (bēltu rabû ilânî),¹⁰ the mistress of lands (bêlit mâtâtî),¹¹ the mistress of lands whose fury is like a storm flood (bêlit mâtâtî ša rûḫa aḫûbu).¹²

Marduk, the leader of the gods (abkal ilânî),¹³ the leader of heaven and earth (abkal šamê u îršitî),¹⁴ the great lord (bēltu rabû),¹⁵ the great lord whose command no god can annul (bēltu rabû ša šût pîšu îlu mamma la ušpellum),¹⁶ the king of the gods (šar ilânî),¹⁷ the king of heaven and earth (šar šamê u îršitî),¹⁸ the mighty one, the lord (owner) of this field (aḫûlu bēl eqṭî šu'atûm),¹⁹ the lord of constructions (bēl líptêti),²⁰ and bēl

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 Susa 3, VI, 29–32.
¹⁶ London, 102, I, 40.
¹⁷ Susa 2, III, 30–32.
qat(?)-ta-ti. Marduk and Zarpanitum together are addressed as the lords who determine fate (bélē mušimmu šimti). Nabû, the overseer of the universe (pa-qid kiš[sal]), the overseer of the totality of heaven and earth (pa[qid kiššat šamē u iršiti]), the lofty messenger (sukallu šīru), the firstborn son of Esagila ([apl̄u] reštû ša Esagila), the king of Ezida, the scribe of Esagila, the shepherd of the totality of heaven and earth (šar Ezida tupsar Esagila re'î kiššat šamē u iršitum).

Nanâ, together with Rammân and Nergal, called "the gods of Namar" (ilâni ša mātû Namar).

Nergal, the lord of weapons and bows (bél bélē u qašati), the lord of war and battle (bél qabli u taḥāzi).

Ninâ, the mistress of the goddesses (bélit eštaratû).

NIN.E.GAL, together with Nusku, Shuqamuna and Shumalia, called "the gods of the king" (ilâni šarri) and "the gods of the kingdom and of his land" ([ilâni] šarrûti u mātišu).

NIN.IB, the lord of the boundary, limit(? ) and boundary stone (bél apl̄i šûmi u kudurri), the lord of the boundary stone (bél kudurri), the lord of boundary stones (bél kuddurrēti), the lord of the boundary and of the boundary stone (bél mišri u kuddurri) (so alone and also with Gula), the king of heaven and earth (šar šamē u iršiti), the son of Ešarra, the sublime son of Ellil (apil Ešarra, mār Enlil šīru).

1 D. E. P., II, 113, 4; written bél ŠU-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 D. E. P., VI, 47, 5, 6.
14 Susa 3, VII, 5–8.
18 V R. 56, 39.
19 I R. 70, IV, 1, 2.
Nusku, the powerful lord, the mighty scorcher (bêl gašrum, àrirum karâbu). Nusku, NIN.E.GAL, Shuqamuna and Shumalia are called “the gods of the king”7 (Marduk-apal-iddina I.) and “the gods of the kingdom and of his land” (îlânî šarrûti u màtišu).3

Papsukal, the messenger of the great gods, who walks in the service of the gods, his brothers (sukallî îlânî rabûti, àlık kিশirî îlâhi aḥēšu).4

Rammân, the leader of heaven and earth (gugal šâmê u iršiti),5 the leader of heaven and earth, the lord of fountains and rain (gugal šamê u iršiti bêl naqbi u zunni),6 the leader of the gods (gugal îlânî),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” (îlânî ša mîtuNamar).10

Sin, the terrible lord, who among the great gods is brilliant (bêlum îzza ša ina îlânî 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 iršitîmî),16 the lord of the crown of splendor (bêl aqê namerûti),17 the father of the great gods (abi îlânî rabûti).18

Šīru, the child of KA.DI (mēru ša KA.DI), the brilliant god, the mār bētu of Dēr (ilu šūpū mār bētu ša abī Dēr).

Shamash, the judge of heaven and earth (daian šamē u ıršiti), the judge, the prince of heaven and earth (daianu rabu šamē u ıršiti), the judge, the strong one over men, the great one in heaven and earth (daianu kaškaš nīšē rabu šamē u ıršiti), the great judge of the great gods (daianu rabu ša ilānī rabũtī), the creator of heaven and earth (pātik šamē u ıršiti). Shamash and Rammān together are called “the powerful gods, the lofty judges” (ilānī gašrūtu daianē širūtī) and “the gods, the lords of right” (ilānī bēlē dēnī).

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

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

Zamama, the king of battle (šar taḥāzi), the powerful one among the gods (kaškaš ilānī).

Zarpanītum, the mistress of Esagila (bēlē Esagila), the great mistress ([bēlū] rabītum). Marduk and Zarpanītum, the lords who appoint fate (bēlē mušimmu šēmtī).

1 Susa 2, IV, 23; or perhaps šībru ša KA.DI, “the weapon of KA.DI.”
2 V R. 56, 49.
4 I R. 70, III, 15.
5 III R. 43, IV, 10.
6 Susa 14, III, 3.
8 London, 103, VI, 9.
9 Neb. Nippur, IV, 15, 16.
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” ([ilānī] šarrūtī 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.
13 III R. 43, IV, 23.
14 London, 102, II, 6.
15 London, 102, I, 43.
16 O. B. I., 149, II, 22.
17 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; bêlu rabû is common to Anu, Ellil and Marduk; abi ilâni is attributed to Anu and Sin, and šar šamê u iršiti 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 KUDURRU 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 lišebisu, III R. 43, IV, 30, 31).

Anûnît:


Bunene:

May his command tear him out (qibîsu 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 (nunga kabitti numur libbi nahasa habasa likimsuma nissatu lilqisu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 10-12).

Ellil:

a. May they (the curses) not miss him, but overtake him (la ištattasu likšudasu, Susa 3, VII, 50, 51).

b. May he appoint for him an evil fate, so that calamity, misfortune and the words of men may oppress him (ṣimatu marusti lišimmuma lubnu nešmena amat niše ligisāšu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 6-8).

c. May he lay his punishment upon him (še-ri-[it-su li]-mi-is-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 ki mê lirmuk (lirmmuk), 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 (adi ūm balṭu šarqa u dama ki mê lirmuk, Susa 3, VII, 19-25).

c. idem as a, then adding: And may she not cause his corpse to have burial (ša[lamašu] qibira aš[ušarsšu], London, 102, II, 20-25; cf. Susa 16, VI, 21, ša-lam-ta-šu i-na iršiti ai ik-ki-bir).

d. A painful, destructive disease, a depression that does not go away, may she let loose into his body (simma akša lazza miqta la taba ina zumrišu lišēši, Susa 14, IV, 6-9).

Išhara:

May she not hear him in mighty battle (ina tahazi danni la isemišu, 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 Bâbili ana limutti lirtečiš, III R. 43, IV, 13–14).

b. Daily before god and the king may she lead him into evil (ūmisamma ana mašar ili u šarri ana limutti lirtečišu, 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 {text奉} kakki 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 (tālītum lispuršuma.... našpartaša ša uzzi urra u mûša lima'ida atmêšu kîma kalbi lîbta'ita ina rĕbit ālîšu, 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 āši ina ušakî, Neb. Nippur, IV, 23, 24).

Marduk:


b. May he pour out his life like water (napištašu kîma mē lîtbuk, 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 (bubûta šērtâšu rabîta limissuma ina naṯâl kammali tiris qâti u lâ epēri sâq ālîšu lišahār, Susa 3, VI, 33–40).

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

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

g. Marduk and Zarpanītum:
May they cause him to bear dropsy as his severe punishment, and with the bloating of his flesh may his body perish (šēritsu kabittu agalátillā lišššūsumma ina šīhat šēri liqta zumuršu, V. A., 2663, V, 42–44).

Nabû:

a. May he change his confines, limits and boundary stone (usa mišrâ 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 šimatišu lišimšu, 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 (sugî u nibrîla liškunaššumma minma uthû ana ūherri pîšu là ikašsad, I R. 70, IV, 17–20).

d. May he lead (?) his children into famine ([mărēšu ana hušabhi [lirteddi?]], London, 102, I, 45).

Nergal:

a. May he break his weapons (kakkēšu lišēbir, III R. 43, IV, 22).

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

NIN.GIRSU and Bau:
May they not appoint for him cheerful hilarity (?) as his lot (alâla ūaba ana šimtišu 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 agalátillā mēṣīr maqlūtī 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 (apilišu naqamēšu lisēli, III R. 43, IV, 20).

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

e. May he tear out his confines, limits and boundary stone (ussion miširšu 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 pirišu u nannabšu i(na)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 (lbutu kudurrašu lihaliqû 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 laž[za ina] zumrišu lišabšuma ūm balṭu
dama u šarka kīma mē lirmuk, O. B. I., 149, III, 3–5).

Nuskū:

a. May he be his evil demon and burn up his root (lu rabīṣu
limultišu šuma liqamme šurširišu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 26, 27).

b. Nuskū and NIN.E.GAL:

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

c. Nuskū, NIN.E.GAL, Shugamuna and Shumalia:

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

Papsukkal:

May he bar his gate (bābšu liparrīki, 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 idra[nu]
lišashīma lizammi 4Ašnan ai ušēši 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 (nārātišu limillā saktē būbūta u
ḫuṣahha liškun̲umma lubnu makū u līmīnu urra u mūṣu
lū rākis ittišu ana ʾāšib ʾālišu makē qāṭsu 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 saktē limili u tamirātišu limilā puqutta ʾir bīrā
likabbisa šēpāšu, 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
lirhisma kìmû urqêti idranu kìmû Nisâba puquttu lihñubi, 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 (ugârșu lirhisma Nisâba lihâlliqa puquttu lišmuḫ šerâ bûtuâ likabbisa šêpâšu, I R. 70, IV, 11-14).

f. May he cause barrenness instead of grain and weeds instead of water to be there ([kîlmû ŠE.BAR la širiš kîmû mē idrâna lišabštî, 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 lišeššîṣu išrubâ kîma šubati pagarșu lilabišma adî âm bâlṭu bîtsu lizamîma kîma umâm šerî lîrpuṭ rebît âlišu ai ikbus, Susa 3, VI, 44-VII, 4).

b. May he clothe his body with leprosy as with a garment (išrubâ kîma lubâri lilibiṣa zumursu, 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 (išrubâ ina zumrišu lilab-šuma ina kamât âlišu ai îtreṣ, 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 (išrubâ la tebâ gimir lânišu lilabbišma adî âmi šimâtiṣu ai ûbû ibû u kîma purīmi ina kamât âlišu lîrtappud, 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 (išrubâ kt lubâri lilabbisuma kt purûmi ina kamât aššu 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 (bûnišu liššešuma lilli ai tši, 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 (zût pâni sakûk uzni u ubbur mešrêti [ana ši]riqtî lišruqšu, Susa 14, III, 4–6).

c. May he decree the denial of his right and oppose him with violence (lûdî(n) kul dînîšu 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 (dînšu u purussûšu ai īprus, London, 102, II, 2–3).

e. May he smite his face so that his clear day may turn for him to darkness (pânišu limhasma ūmišu namru ana da’ummati lîturšu, III R. 41, II, 19, 20).

Shamash and Marduk:

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

Shamash and Rammûn:

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

May they spoil his plans, and with a judgment of justice and righteousness may they not judge him (lu mulammenû igirrêšu šunuma dîn kîltî u mêsari ai idînûšu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 15–18).
Shuqamuna and Shumalia:
May they place him before the king and the nobles (as a culprit) (*ina pān šarrī u rubūti lišaskešišu, London, 103, VI, 15, 16).

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

Zamama:
May he not take his hand in battle (*ina tahāzi qāṭsu ša šušat, 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) (*izziš likkilmāšuma u šumu ašiš arbāšu, D. E. P., VI, 47, 1–3).

Zarpanītum:
May she spoil his plans (*igirrašu šu šila[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, Ellil and Ea are asked:
   b. May they tear out and destroy his foundation, tear out his offspring, carry off his descendants (*ešissu lissusha lišal-liqā piriššu lissusha lišēlū nannabšu, III R. 43, III, 26–30).
   c. May they in anger look upon him and destroy his soul and the children of his seed (*izziš likkilmāšuma naπaštašu) mărē zērišu lišaliqā, O. B. L., 149; II, 18–20).
   d. May they curse him with an evil curse that cannot be broken ([arrat] la našuri marunša šuru[rāšu], London, 102, I, 38, 39).
e. [The gods] as many as there are, may they curse him ([ūlabû] mala ibrīmū līrū nonetheless, 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 napšuru turti ina sakūk uznû ubbur mešrēti lišragûšsumma lišdud marušti, 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 bānišûnu izzûti likkilmûšuma arrat la napšuri limutta līrūšu, Susa 3, VI, 23–28, or izzizz likkilmûšuma 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 (izzizz likkilmûšuma išidu lissuḫû lihalliqû pirûšu, 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 (izzizz likkilmûšu arrat la pašāri līrūšu kudurrašu lissuḫû zērišu līqutû(m) ina limuttu u lâ-tûb šēri adi ūmi išûti ša balṭa liqitima, IV R.² 38, III, 26–41).

4. Sin, Shamash, Rammân and Marduk:
   May they tear out his foundation (išidsu lissuḫû(!), 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 reposing(?)
      (arrat limuttu līrūšu sumšu lihalliqû zēršu ana šulî aî iîšû nida aîti, Susa 2, III, 23–29).
b. May they destroy his name and cause him to come to naught (šumišu lihalliqû ana mimma lâ 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 ûma ištên lâ balâtsu liqû šâšu šumišu û zêrišu ai(?) usabšû(?)) ûmē arurti šanâte šusâhî ana šimâtišu lišimû eli ili šarri [bêli?] u rubû lërik rininšuma ina lîmutti 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 (šimat lâ naṭâli sakûk uzni û šibût pt ana šat ûmi lišîmûšu, Susa 3, VII, 35–40).

e. May they tear out his name, his seed, his posterity (šumšu zêršu pirʾišu lissuḫû, 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 eling 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 (izziš lik[kil]mûšuma. ...littarrûšu arrat la napšurim maruštâ lirurûšu ʾisrubâ mûti ān kabītta zumuršu lillâb[biš]ma
abullā ālišu kameš liṭṭarid ina kamāt ālišu lišarbiššūma 
adī ūm baldu lis(?)niq māta ana nišēšu ai īṣi agallatillā 
lišamriššūma šalameša ina īrṣiti ai īkkičīr [ekimmusu] 
ana ekimmī rittišu ai isniq [muṣšim balatī lā balazzu [liqib]ū 
šumšu liḥallīqū [iṣidī] liṣīliḥu [zēršu] liļqatū a[i] īzibū 
daddašu, Susa 16, VI, 11-27).

\( \text{g. With a curse may they be cruel and may he not have offspring} \)
\( \text{(ina arrat limirūrī piri ai ārṣu, Susa 14, IV, 17).} \)

\( \text{h. May they curse him in anger, may god and the king look upon} \)
\( \text{him in anger (aggiš lirurūšu ilu u šarru izziš likkilūmusu,} \)
\( \text{V R. 56, 37, 38).} \)
\( \text{In the anger of their heart may they} \)
\( \text{plan evil against him, so that another may own the} \)
\( \text{house he built. With a dagger in his neck and a} \)
\( \text{poniard in his eyes, may he cast down his face before} \)
\( \text{his captor and may the latter, unmindful of his} \)
\( \text{pleading, quickly cut off his life. In the collapse of} \)
\( \text{his house may his hands get into the mire, as long as he} \)
\( \text{lives may he drag along misery, and as long as heaven} \)
\( \text{and earth exist may his seed perish (ina uzzat liṭbi ana} \)
\( \text{limutti lištasūsuma bitū īppušu libēl šanumma ulti} \)
\( \text{patru īna kišādišu u kuppū īna īnīšu ana ṣabatanišu appasu} \)
\( \text{lišimma unānišu ai imhuršu ūanšīš līkkiša napṣu[su]} \)
\( \text{ina hipē bittū qatūšu ūṭṭa līrubā adī ūm balṭu maruṣṭa} \)
\( \text{lišdūd u adī šameū ī īrṣiš bašū zēršu liḥliq, V R. 56, 51-60).} \)

\( \text{i. May they lead him into evil and misfortune, and may they} \)
\( \text{destroy his name, his seed, his offspring, his posterity from} \)
\( \text{the mouth of the people far and near (ana limutti u lā} \)
\( \text{ṭābi lirdeddašu šumšu zēršu pirišu nannabšu īna pē nišē} \)
\( \text{dišāti liḥallīqū, III R. 41, II, 37-39).} \)

\( \text{j. May they curse him with an evil curse that is without escape,} \)
\( \text{and may they destroy his seed forever (arrat la napṣuri} \)
May they curse him with a curse that is without escape (arrat là napšuri (limutta) lirurûšu, 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 ʾštēn ʾāmi là balûtsu liqû, O. B. I., 149, III, 10, 11).

May they destroy his name, his seed, his offspring from the mouth of the people, may they cut off his future (šumšu zéršu pirišu ina pt nišê liḫalliqû lunakkisû arkûtsû, 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, Rammān 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-nâšir (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-iddina, 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-iddina, B. O. R., I, 65; and the one of Marduk-šumi-iddina, V. A., 208). They also occur on the stone of Nabû-šumi-iškun, 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 Babyloniens und Assyrians, 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 Alten Geschichte, Vol. I, p. 7f.). 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.² 38, III, 29–31: ūlani ma-la i-na narî šú-a-tum eš-ri-tu-šú-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-šú-nu za-ak-ru iššakku-šú-nu kul-šu-mu ū šú-ba-
tu(m)-šú-nu ud-da-a—i.e., "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 aššûmarî an-nî-i šú-um-šú-nu za-ak-ru šú-ba-tu-šú-nu ud-da-a išuâkâkê-šú-nu ku-ul-lu-mu û ū-šu-ra-tu-šu-nu us-šu-ra—i.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."


These passages make it plain that the symbols represent three different things: (1) The seats or shrines of the gods, called šubûti or ešrêti; (2) the weapons of the gods, called išuâkâkê and išu DIB.MEŠ;¹ and (3) the bas-reliefs of the gods, called ušurâtî. The shrines are no doubt to be recognized in what scholars (Pinches

¹ This ideogram is perhaps only a scribal error for išu KU = kakku.
and Hommel) have been in the habit of calling altars. That these shrines actually represent ziggurats appears not only from the names esrêti, "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. Bezoald, Nineve und Babylon, p. 102).

These shrines, however, are not the stations of the planets or of the moon (Hommel, Aufsätze, pp. 244, 272, 435 1), 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. 49 4, p. 131; fig. 14 4, p. 34; fig. 12 18, p. 30; fig. 13 9, p. 33. The upper figures refer to the numbers of the symbols on the various pictures.
3 See fig. 49 14, p. 131.
4 See fig. 40 1, p. 105.
6 See fig. 11, p. 28.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

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\(^1\) (fig. 10, p. 25), which shows twelve bricks in four rows. Compare also Susa 20\(^4\), 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\(^1\), p. 34.

\(^3\) See fig. 8\(^1\), p. 20.

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

\(^5\) See fig. 2\(^1\), 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\(^1\), V. R. 57\(^1\)). 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., tâmêq qaṭ̄t̄up̄ṭ̄ ḏizū šukāmī (I R. 35, No. 2, 4) sābit qaṭ̄t̄up̄ ṭellī nāṣi tūp̄ṭ̄îmāt ilāmî (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 Sendschiri) 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\(^6\), p. 131.
\(^4\) See fig. 10\(^3\), p. 25.
\(^6\) See fig. 6\(^7\), p. 17.
\(^8\) See fig. 6\(^9\), p. 17.
\(^10\) See fig. 24\(^1\), p. 86; fig. 28\(^11\), p. 91; fig. 23\(^10\), p. 76.

\(^3\) See fig. 6\(^9\), p. 17.
\(^5\) See fig. 12\(^1\), p. 30.
\(^7\) See fig. 11\(^8\), p. 28.
\(^9\) See fig. 13\(^9\), p. 33.
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

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1 See fig. 9, p. 23.  
2 See fig. 612, p. 17.  
3 See fig. 497, p. 131; fig. 1212, p. 30; fig. 141, p. 34; fig. 138, p. 33.  
4 See fig. 477, p. 120.  
5 See fig. 614, p. 17.  
7 See fig. 498, p. 131; fig. 1213, p. 30; fig. 141, p. 34; fig. 139, p. 33.  
8 See fig. 9, p. 23.  
9 See fig. 617, p. 17.  
10 See fig. 1214, p. 29; fig. 88, p. 20; fig. 248, p. 86.  
11 See fig. 1319, p. 13.  
12 See fig. 4914, p. 131.  
13 See fig. 32, p. 98.  
14 See fig. 1410, p. 34; fig. 1311, p. 33.  
15 See fig. 615, p. 17; fig. 4918, p. 131; fig. 2814, p. 91.  
17 See fig. 1118, 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{9}), the mace with the vulture head (fig. 24\textsuperscript{a}), 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{3}, fig. 14\textsuperscript{8}) and the arrow (fig. 12\textsuperscript{6}, fig. 14\textsuperscript{4}, 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 is\textsuperscript{k}akk\textsuperscript{u} širi ša dA-num ina q\textsuperscript{at}\textsuperscript{a}-ia naš\textsuperscript{a}ku, 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 (ìm\textsuperscript{ur}û-ma is\textsuperscript{q}a\textsuperscript{š}tu kî nukkalat [ep\textsuperscript{š}etsa], 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}Anunitum bîlit taḥ\textsuperscript{a}zi naš\textsuperscript{a}ta is\textsuperscript{q}a\textsuperscript{š}ti u ış\textsuperscript{p}ati, V R. 64, III, 22, cf. K. B., III, 2, 104).

Ea has a net (gi\textsuperscript{s}parru ša dEa, C. T., XVII, 34, 26).

Ishtar is supplied with a “powerful bow, a mighty spear, which cuts down the disobedient” (is\textsuperscript{q}a\textsuperscript{š}tu dannatu is\textsuperscript{u}tart\textsuperscript{u} gi\textsuperscript{š}ru mušamqit lâ måg\textsuperscript{a}ri, Esarhaddon stele of Sendschirli, Rev. 29, 30, see Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, p. 38). Assurbanipal 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” (im\textsuperscript{na} u šum\textsuperscript{ê}la tull\textsuperscript{a}tā i\textsuperscript{p}āt\textsuperscript{î} tam\textsuperscript{h}at is\textsuperscript{q}a\textsuperscript{š}tu ina idī\textsuperscript{a} šal\textsuperscript{p}at nam\textsuperscript{š}aru zaq\textsuperscript{t}u, 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” (tílpânu izzitu ša ʾIštar bēlit taḫâzi, 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 lâ igammiłû nakiri lû tībû lû zaqtû, 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 Tiâmat “the gods gave him a weapon without equal, which overwhelm[s] enemies” (iddinûšu kakkû lâ maḫra dāʾipu 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 miṭṭu-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 Tiâmat” (ibʿîmmâ ʾisu qaṣṭa kakkaṣu uaddî mulmûlûm ušṭarkiba iššîma ʾisumîṭṭa innašu ušāḥiz ʾisu qaṣṭu u mašku ʾizpatum iḍuššu ʾilû iškun birqu ina pānišu nablû muṣṭahmiṭu zumûṣu umtalû ēpušma saparâ šulmû kirbiš Tiâmat, IV, 35–41). The same weapons of Marduk occur in several other passages (cf. Frank, Bilder und Symbole, p. 23).¹

Nabû has a weapon of which it is said: “Thy weapon is a dragon from whose mouth runs no poison,” kak-ka-ka u-šum-gal-lu ša iš-tu pî-šu im-tu la i-na-at-tu-ku, IV R.² 20, No. 3, 15, Nanû had a bare sword and a pointed ulmû as the adornment of her divinity ([na]msaru pitu [u]lmû zaqtu simat ilûtiša, Craig, Rel. Texts, I, 55, Col. I, 2).

Nergal is called “the lord of weapons and bows” (bêl bêlê u qaṣûti, III R. 43, IV, 21, cf. above, p. 55). Tiglathpîleser 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” (*išu-kakkēšunu ezzūti ǔ *išu-qaqatsunu šīrtu, I R. 14, 58, 59, cf. K. B., I, 38). Again he is represented as holding “the merciless abābu weapon” (tāmeḥ, abūbi là pādé, Böllennrücher, Gebete an Nergal, No. 8, 8, p. 50).

Of Nudimmud (Ea) it is said, “he presented to thee a weapon without equal” (*išu-kakku là māḫiru iqīšku ʾNudimmud, Böllennrücher, No.8, 12). He is “the hero whose whip[cracks] (?)” and people cry out, “The noise of his weapon” (qarradu ša qinazzu . . . . iqabbû rigim kakkišu, Böllennrücher, No. 5, 46).

He is the one “who lifts up the weapon, who urges on to battle” (nāš *išu-kakki dīkū anantum, Böllennrücher, No. 4, 13, p. 21).

NIN.IB’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 Ninrag, 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” (*išu-kakku kabtu ša ʾAnum, Obv. 30); “the wide net of the hostile land” (alluḫuḫku māṭi nukurtim, Obv. 34); “the sword, the dagger of my divinity” (namšaru pāṣru anūtia, Rev. 1); “the net of the battle” (šuškal taḫāzi, Rev. 4); “the long bow” (ariktu, Rev. 6); “the girdle clasping men and the bow of the storm (battle)” (šibba ša ana ameli šeṭḫu qaštu abūbi, Rev. 8); “the bow and the shield” (tīlpānu u kakābu, Rev. 10).1 The weapons whose names are only

1 These weapons have a series of ornamental names: “The destroyer of lords,” muabbat šadī, Obv. 30; “The over thrower of lords,” mušaknīš šadī, Obv. 32; “The victor in battle,” littī taḫāzi, Obv. 34; “The one cutting off necks,” muṣṣir kišādāti, Rev. 2; “The lord from whose power there is no escape,” ša šadū ina gāṭ积蓄 la ipparḥiddu, Rev. 4; “The helper of heroes,” rēṣṭ edī, Rev. 6; “The over whelmer of the houses of the hostile land,” ṣatū bit māṭ nukurtim, Rev. 10.
given in Sumerian are: ʻŠar-ur in his right and ʻŠar-gaz in his left hand (Obv. 19–22); ʻUd-ka-ninnû, “the storm with fifty edges” (Obv. 23); ʻUd-ba-nu-illa, “the merciless storm” (Obv. 25, cf. also II R. 26, 38c–d, and II R. 57, 61a = ṣumu là pādū); 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); ʻUkur-ra-šu-ur-ur, “which makes the lords tremble” (Rev. 19); ʻErim-a-bi-nu-tuk, “whose enemy has no strength” (Rev. 21); ʻSI+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” (NIN.IB taratuqarradurabû apîl En-lil ina usšišu zaqti uparri napištim, V R. 9, 84–85). In Shurpu IV, 75, he has the title “the lord of the weapon” (bēl išu kakkī).

Nisaba, like Ea, has a net (sāparu ša Nisaba, C. T., XVII, 34, 30).

Rammān’s weapon is the lightning, hence one form of Rammān (UMUN-IM) is called Rammān ša birqi, III R. 67, 47c–d, and the curse of Rammān is “that he may strike his (the evil-doer’s) land with awful lightning” (Rammān ina birqi limulti māṭsu lībriq, 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.*4, 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 overthrows all lands (sāhip šuškallaka puḥur māṭāti, IV R. 17, Rev. 13). The net (sētu) of Shamash occurs in the Etana myth (I, a, 11, cf. K. B., VI, 1,
and a synonym, gišparru, is also mentioned (gišparru mamit ʾŠamaš, Etana Myth, 1, a, 12).

Sibitti, they are described by Esarhaddon as holding bow and arrow (ʾSibitti ilāni qardūti tamēhu tilpānu u uṣṣi, K. 2801, 12, Esarhaddon’s Bauinschriften, cf. B. A., III, 228). Cf. also Hehn, Siebenthal und Sabat bei den Babyloniern, pp. 19ff.

Sin, his symbol is the crescent, usqaru=asqaru, also called the basket (bugīna) and the ship (maqurru, 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 (insukakku dannu ša dUr-ra raṣubbu, 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[insukakku} & \text{ dEn-lil mar-šar-ū} \\
\text{insukakku} & \text{ dMarduk qa-qu-ul-tu} \\
\text{insukakku} & \text{ dNabū(UR) it-iti-iti-tum} \\
\text{insukakku} & \text{ dNIN.IB bi-bi-nu} \\
\text{insukakku} & \text{ dZa-mā-mā ši-il-lu} \\
\text{insukakku} & \text{ dNergal(UGUR) pal-s[u?-u?]}}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pu-qut-[tum?]}} \\
\text{ma-aš-[šū(?)-u(?)]}
\end{align*}
\]

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-iti-iti 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 Rammân (cf. p. 64f.). With ḥiḥinu we may perhaps compare ḫa-ḫi-in which is mentioned as a synonym of puquttu (II R. 41, 58a, b). Maššu (if the restoration is correct) is perhaps the maš-šu-u mentioned II R. 47, 14, b, as a synonym of kak-ku. For qa-qu-ul-tu, the weapon of Marduk, we can offer no explanation, unless it has something to do with qaq-qiš-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-su-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 (imkakku ištu) of Ellil is called kak-su-ū, the weapon of Shamash ud-di-su-ū and the weapon of Ea gab-lah-ḥu. In the case of three other weapons, the names

1 Cf. also the god Id-di-tum (or It-ṭi-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.IB, 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-laḥ-ḥu, is not necessarily connected with the ideogram GAB.LAḤ, for which the reading saḥ-maš-tum seems probable, or, if they are the same, it might be argued that gablahhu is only a synonym of saḥmaktuθum, 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-u, di-di-su-u and isu kakkak 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 over thrower" (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. 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-nu-illa = ūmu là pādū (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, šu-šu-ru, šul-mu and isu kakkak KU.ŠI. To these may be added a name occurring in the omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin, namely su-ḫu-ru-ni (IV R. 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 kakkak ša qât 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 tartuḫu 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 Šîru. 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 $\text{знак1}$, 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. 11*, p. 28; fig. 2*, p. 33; fig. 13*, p. 33; fig. 30*, 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
   - Aššur,
   - Anu,
   - Ellil.
2. Shrine with ram’s head
   - Ea.
3. Crescent
   - Sin.
4. Winged disk
   - Shamash.
5. Forked lightning
   - Rammân.
6. Column with spear head
   - Marduk.
7. Square column
   - Nabû.
8. Column with two lion heads
   - [NIN,IB].
9. Venus star
   - Ištar.
10. Seven stars
    - Sibitti.¹

¹ The god Sibitti is written in this as well as in other inscriptions dVII-Bi, which should not be read dSibi(-bi). The Semitic reading is determined by IV R.¹ 21 (B) Rev. 21-22 (= Zimmern, Ritualtafeln, No. 54, p. 168), where to dVII-Bi in the Sumerian line corresponds ilâni Si-bit in the Semitic line. Cf. also Winckler, Alsorientalische Forschungen, II, 10, dSi-bit-ti; Zimmern, K. A. T.¹, 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 (Aujsätz, 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.

1 The gods represented are as follows: (1) The seven stars, the Sibitti; (2) Aššur (Anu) standing on two animals; (3) Bêlit 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 (ṣurīpāt) 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.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, 101</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>London, 106</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>I R. 70</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, 105</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, 102</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berl. V. A. 209</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berl. V. A. 2663</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. B. I. 149</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The number of gods might possibly be increased to seventeen by counting twice Shamash and Rammán, whose names are repeated. There are only fifteen different gods enumerated in the curses.
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-kú-zu šá Anum(-num) šarri šamē, the second is said to be gir-gi-lu al-la-ku ša "En-lil bēl mātāti. 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(-ú)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.MAḪ 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

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 Išhara 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-ē (Frank, Bildern 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

¹ See fig. 11¹⁴, p. 28; fig. 30⁹, p. 95; fig. 49⁸, p. 131; fig. 6¹⁴, p. 17; fig. 14⁲, 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-ishkun) for Ishtar; (11) the serpent for Šir; (12) the walking bird for Bau; (13–14) the two shrines with tiaras for Anu and Ellīl; (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 Išhara; (18) the forked lightning and the ox for Rammân; (19) the shrine with the yoke or horseshoe-like figure for Ninlarsag; (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 (nâr Šir) is explained as "the river of the great band of heaven" (nâr DUR.AN.GAL) and as "the river of the great ocean" (nâr ZU.AB.GAL). (2) Another text (Rm. 282) represents Ellil as drawing the picture of the great serpent, called Lābbu, upon the firmament (see Hrozný, *Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrages*, 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\(^1\), 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-

![Fig. 33.—The archer from the Egyptian zodiac of Dendera.](image)

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, 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 decani 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

![Image of a figure with a vase and a fish]

The god Ea on Susa, No. 6.

![Image of a figure pouring water]

Fig. 38. The waterman from the round zodiac of Dendera.

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

1 See fig. 13, p. 33; fig. 6, p. 17; fig. 24, p. 86; fig. 2, p. 6; fig. 30, p. 95.

2 See fig. 6, 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

Fig. 39.—The symbol of the god Marduk. (Susa, No. 19.)

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

¹ The 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 estab-
lished 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 spear-
head is attributed to Marduk, who was in later times identified
with Jupiter; the wedge is most likely the symbol of Nabû, identi-
fied 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 ἦ δωδεκάωρς. 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 Babyl-
onisch-Assyrischen Götter, p. 3.
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 \(ka\)š\(s\)-\(bu\) (KAŠ.GID) was used in Babylonia, as the tablet III R.

\(^1\) Ball, \textit{l.c.}, 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.\footnote{Ball, \textit{l.c.}, p. 316.}

This juxtaposition of the zodiacal circle with the \textit{dodekaoros} circle has recently been found pictorially represented on a marble plate discovered in Egypt.\footnote{Ball, \textit{l.c.}, pl. VI; see fig. 41.} The centre is occupied by the two heads of Apollo and Phœbe, around which is a double circle. The outer circle represents the signs of the zodiac, the inner circle agrees completely with \textit{dodekaoros} animals mentioned by Teucros. They are as follows:

1. ram, with belt \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \alpha\delta\iota\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron, cat, sitting.
2. bull \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron, dog (or jackal).
3. twins (man and woman) \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \delta\epsilon\iota\zeta, serpent.
4. crab \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \chi\alpha\nu\omicron\theta\alpha\omicron\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron, crab (cancer).
5. lion \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \delta\omicron\nu\omicron\omicron, ass.
6. virgin \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \lambda\omicron\omicron, lion, walking.
7. balance (borne by man) \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \tau\rho\alpha\omicron\omicron, goat (or gazelle).
8. scorpion \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \tau\alpha\omicron\vartheta\omicron\omicron\omicron, ox.
9. archer (centaur) \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \iota\iota\rho\alpha\zeta, falcon.
10. goatfish \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \kappa\nu\omicron\omicron\chi\omicron\iota\phi\alpha\omicron\omicron, ape.
11. waterman \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \iota\beta\omicron\omicron, ibis.
12. fishes \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \chi\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron, 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 \textit{dodekaoros} was carried from Babylonia to Egypt, where several of the animals were renamed. That there...
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

![Diagram of East Asiatic circle as represented in Tibet.](image)

Fig. 42.—East Asiatic circle as represented in Tibet.

(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, *l.c.*, 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.**

- cat .......................... dog.
- dog .......................... hen (bird).
- serpent .......................... ape (long-tailed monkey).
- scarab (cancer) .......................... sheep (goat).
- ass .......................... horse
- lion .......................... serpent.
- he-goat .......................... dragon (crocodile).
- bull .......................... hare (rabbit).
- falcon .......................... tiger (leopard, panther).
- ape .......................... ox (cow, heifer).
- ibis .......................... mouse (rat).
- crocodile .......................... pig (wild boar).

**East Asiatic Cycle.**

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

\(^1\) He says: τῶν θεῶν ὁδ διὰ κυρίου εἶναι φασι δώδεκα τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὃν ἐκάστῳ μένα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων ζωῆων ἐν προσέγγειοι, ἰ.ε., “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) Ašur ša dE-a bēl te-ni-še-e-ti (3) Simanu ša dSin maru riššu ša dEn-lil (4) Dûzu ša qu-ra-du dNIN.ÎB (5) Abu ša dNin-giš-zu-da bēl . . . (6) Ulâtu ša dÎš-tar be-lit . . . (7) Tašritu ša dŠamaḫ qu-ra-du (8) Arahšammu ša abkal ilâni dMarduk (9) Kiššitum ša qarradu rabû dNergal (10) Tēbitu ša dPap-sukal sukal dA-num u dÎštar (11) Sabâtu ša dRammân gu-gal šamē(-e) u irṣṣitum(-tim) (12) Addaru ša dSibitti ilâni rabûti (13) [arḫu]mah-ru ša Addaru] ša Âš-šur a-bi ilâni.
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 karnas 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 (Cōlava)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab—lion</td>
<td>ass (Tēṭṭila)</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>

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.

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\(^1\) Cf. E. Morien in Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, I Série, 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 Babylonia as the place of its origin. If this is true, we are fully warranted in seeking a representation of this *dodekaoros* 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. 21\(^13\), 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 complete 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," 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.  

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.

This boundary stone has several peculiar features not found on

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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.\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) 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.\(^5\)

The inscription is also remarkable for certain peculiar signs, as
e.g. the sign to be read perhaps saḫ in saḫ-pu-ú, (I, 13), the sign
for rabîšu (IV, 26), the sign for isdu (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); ušaku,
"calamity" (IV, 24). Other words are written in an unusual way—
baqânu (because of following š) = baqâmu (III, 26); nazuzzu
(under accent) = nanzuzu (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); maḫḫar = maḫar (II, 18); nanzaz = manzaz (II, 18); nugu kabitti = nug kabitti (IV, 10); bannūa = bānūa (IV, 26); ikīlu (probably = ekēlu) = akālu (III, 21) as libēnu = labānu (II, 10).  

The stonemason 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); ŠA.SAG instead of ŠA.DUG(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 dignitary 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,
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.
(1) 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 Ishšara. (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. 11²; 30⁴; 47⁰⁵; 49³?

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 Birsas, B, VI, 20-24; and in the temple E-ul-la in Sippar 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 ūa-ag-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. (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.

Fig. 48.—Symbol of Ninharsag and symbol of Hathor.

The three scepters which appear here for the first time may simply be marks of division, as Hommel thinks. 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, (= dGula, cf. V R. 44, c–d, 10) bēltī kalbu ḫasī bēpušma 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-ishkun 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 pašš apkē 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 bannūa, “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, Sceau, 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></td>
<td>pa-al-хи-иš lu u-ta-aq-qu, 9, I, 11.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ellil is called: ka-bit мaтaти, I, 12.
me-gir-шу, I, 23.
me-gir dEn-lil, II, 15.
a-na хре'-ут maltušu-me-ri u Akkaddiki, II, 1.

sa-dar satuk E-kur, II, 3.

Marduk is called: ka-ab-tu, 15, II, 2.
mı-gi-ı́r dMarduk, 19a, I, 3.

muš-te'-u аš-ra-a-ti, 13, I, 8; 19b,V, 2.
a-na ri-e-ти i-ti-nam, 9, I, 10.
a-na ri'-и-ти id-di-na, 10, I, 10.
šu-уб-би-р hakkе-шу-ну, 2, III, 38.

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 (ма́л-илшу уда́з, 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 P.A.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 P.A.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 P.A.SHE is an ideogram. Not only are most of the other dynastic names written ideographically in the king's list (TIN.TIRₘ; 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 P.A.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 (P.A.ŠE GAL.LA.BA = ša i-ši-in-šu ibr-šu-tu) PA (= aru, the tassel) + ŠE (corn) is equivalent to išinšu. This seems to be confirmed by another passage⁷

¹ Winckler, Untersuchungen, p. 147; Rost, Untersuchungen, pl. III (who, however, writes by mistake P.A.MU); Knudtzon, Gebete an den Sonnengott, p. 60, and Lehmann, Zwei Hauptprobleme, pls. 1, 2.
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 Orients, p. 297.
³ R.P., 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 Sippur 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 Böllenerücher, 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 $i\text{-}s\text{-}i\text{-}in$. (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, $PA.ŞE$ is $i\text{-}s\text{-}i\text{-}in$. 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 $I\text{-}si\text{-}in^{3}$ (l. 9–10), that Gula was the “Lady of Isin” (l. 1), which is called “the city of her dominion” (śli bêlûtiša, l. 9–10).

These statements are supplemented by another inscription, published by Craig (Sm. 289, Obv. 17), in which we read: $Bû\text{-}dGu-la ša P.A.ŞE^{ki}$. 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-si-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

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1 See also šami-si-in eglī, Hebraica, XIII, 221.


NI.ŠI.IN (so usually) or NI.ŠI.IN (K. 3811 + 3833 and K. 10844, see Bezold, 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.ŠE₇₇₆₁-ai also the form *I-sin-na-ai* 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 *išakku*

¹ See Hilprecht and Clay, B.E., IX, p. 61; X, p. 60.
⁵ Cf. p. 129, below.
(PA.TE.SI) qardu šakkanak Bābili¹ 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-nadin-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-iqlsha, 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-hutrutash (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 Shur-purla and Girsu (= Telloh, cf. Hommel, Geographie, p. 189). On

¹ That diuH(pUG), "the good city," is a term applied to Babylon appears from the parallel expression šakkanak Bābili, 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,* 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.NUN₆₄) 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, Nabû-shum-[li-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 P. S. B. A., Vol. XXIX (1907), p. 221, and "Chronicles," Vol. II, p. 159. Of the eight kings whose names are missing entirely six are known to us from their own inscriptions, Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I., Ellil-nâdin-aplu, Marduk-nâdin-aḫē, Marduk-shâpik-zîrim, Rammân-apal-iddana and Marduk-aḫê-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 (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. 37.
3444 = IV R. 20 and D.T. 71), which seem to refer to Nebuchadnezzar’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, Nabu-kudurri-usur šar Bābili már NIN.IB-nādin-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-nādin-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-nādin-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-shāpik-zirīm (or Marduk-shāpik-zēr-māti, of which the first is an abbreviation; see Rost, Untersuchungen, p. 26, note 1)¹ is represented by a fragmentary inscription (O.B.I., Vol. I, No. 148).

Of Rammān-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 (IIR. 65,1 and IIR. 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-aḫé, Marduk-shápik-zēr-māti and Rammán-apal-indina. 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 Niná 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-aḫé, for Ardi-Naná, son of Mudammíq-Rammán, 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-aḫé. Tāb-ashāb-Marduk, son of Ina-Esagila-zēru, is mentioned on three stones, on V R. 56, 22, as governor of Ḥalmán, but on I R. 70, I, 15 and I R. 66, II, 11 as sukallu. Moreover, E-karra-iqīsha, son of Ea-iddina, is found as governor of Bit-Sin-māgir 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-aḫé. Perhaps Ellil-nádin-aplu had transferred him to another province as the result of his high-handed actions in Bit-Sin-māgir. Again, Šhr-ušur, brother of Ellil-nádin-shumu, and son of Ḥabban, mentioned V R. 56, 23, is also found on the Caillou de Michaux (I R. 70, I, 13), while Nabû-zēr-līshir, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu 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-balātu 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-aḫé 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-zér-mâti. Assyrian synchronism does not favor the latter arrangement, because Tiglath-pileser, the contemporary of Marduk-nādin-aḫē, is followed immediately by his son Ashur-bēl-kala, the contemporary of Marduk-shâpik-zér-mâti. 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. 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. 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.

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" (ʿŠamaš mātišu mušammīhu nišēšu, V R. 55, 4); "the protector of boundary stones, who fixes the boundaries" (nāšir kudurrēti mukinnu ablē, V R. 55, 5); "the king of right who judges a righteous judgment" (ṣar kināti ša dīn mēšari īdinu, 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 Bitiliāšu 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 Ḫammurabi 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 Agukakrimne (K.B., III, 136; Winckler, Forschungen, I, 517f.), the seventh Cassite king. It is also used by

Fig. 50.—Figure of a king, probably Nebuchadrezzar I., on the Stone of ‘Amrân, now at Berlin.

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-shummiddina, the next to the last Cassite king, was driven away by an Elamite king, whose name we now know from the inscriptions found at Susa¹ to have been Sutruk-nahunte, who, it seems, had entrusted his son Kudur-nahunte with the conquest of Babylonia. In the course of the following lines, which are badly broken, Ellil-nadin-ahu, 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 (nišš mâtu Akkadi kul-lat-si-na a-bu-biš is-pu-nu . . . [ma-ha]-zi ši-ru-ti na-gab-šu-nu u-še-me [kar-miš], Obv. 7–8). By this same Elamite invasion another king suffered, who called Ellil-nadin-ahu "the king my predecessor" (šarru pa-na mah-ri-ia, Obv. 5). His name is broken off, but his title, "the offspring of Babylon" (nabnit Bābili), 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-nadin-ahu 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.¹ 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 first² approximately twenty years to Ninib-apal-Ekur and about thirty-five years to Ashur-dân. Recent discoveries, however, have compelled him³ 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:

¹ 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-šutru-tash.
Nippur and Dûr-ilu devastated.
Ellil-nadin-shum’s rule overthrown
(Babyl. Chron., IV, 14–16).

Kadashman-Ijarbe
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).

Rammám-shum-iddina
Reign of six years.
Second Elamite invasion.
Ishin captured.
Nobles revolt and place on throne
(Babyl. Chron., IV, 8, 9).

Rammám-shum-uṣur
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-násir-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-Iššir entrusted with the
government (IV R. 34, No. 2).
The nobles of Assyria place on throne
Meli-Shipak  
Reign of fifteen years.  
Writes letter (IV R.3 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 (Synchro. History, K. 4401b).

Ninib-apal-ekur  
"Whose might like an urinnu 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-dān  
"Who reached gray hairs and old age" (Tigl. VII, 54).

Invasion of Babylonia by Ashur-dān.  

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-nādin-āhu  
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Šùm} & \quad \text{šum}^1 \text{abnunar}^1 \text{ an-ni-i} \quad \text{d}^\text{NIN.JB-} \\
& \quad \text{u}^\text{-} \text{Nusku-mu-kin-ku-du}^2 \text{-ri} \text{ šùm-šu}.^3 \\
\hline
\text{XXII} & \text{gur} 170 \text{ (qa) }\text{ še}^\text{šu} \text{zēru } \text{t}^\text{š} \text{ GAN 30 qa I} \text{ ammatu}^4 \text{ rabītu}^5
\end{align*}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nāru</th>
<th>IV UŠ šiddu elâ amurrû UŠ.SA.DU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>UŠ pūtu šaplû şatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bît-mdŠir-ap-pi-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nār šarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>UŠ X GAR pūtu elâ iltânû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UŠ.SA.DU bêl mātātî^7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>UŠ LV GAR (šiddu šaplû)^8 šadû UŠ.SA.DU Bît-mSu-hur-Gal-du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Col. I

\text{dEn-lîl}^9 bêl šâ-qu-û e-til šamê(-e) u ırşiti  
rubû^10 bêl gim-ri  
šâr ilâni rabûti šâ ina šamê(-e) u ırşiti  
la i-ba-aš-šû-û ili ša-niš-nû  
5 šâ a-na na-dan ur-ti-šû^9 dI-gî-gî  
ap-pa i-lab-bi-nu ú-ťaq-qu-û pal-ḫiš^11  
û a-na ši-tul-ti-šû^9 dA-nun-na-ku  
aš-riš šû-har-ru-ru na-zu-uz-zu šâ-ah-țîš  
be-el bêlum^12 ša i-pîx pî^13-šû la ú-šam-sa-ku  
10 ilu ai-um-ma  
ra-šub-bî^9 dA-nun-na-ku be-el šal^4-mat qagqadi^5

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{1 NA.RU.A.}
\item \text{2 ku, dur.}
\item \text{3 MUN.E.}
\item \text{4 Ū.}
\item \text{5 GAL.}
\item \text{6 TIK.}
\item \text{7 EN.KUR.MES.}
\item \text{8 Omitted by scribe, see III, 2.}
\item \text{9 See Commentary.}
\end{itemize}
TRANSLATION.

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

XXII (gur) 170 (qa) of seedfield, \( \frac{1}{18} \) 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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the bank of the Tigris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bit-Šir-appili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Royal Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II USH, X GAR upper width, north, adjoining (the property of) the lord of countries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III USH, LV GAR (lower length) east, adjoining Bit-Šuḫur-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,

5 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

10 no god can set aside, the potentate of the Anunnaki, the lord of the blackheaded,

\( ^{10}NUN. \) \( ^{11}ut, \ tu \ tam. \) \( ^{12}EN. \) \( ^{13}KA. \)

\( ^{14}ni, \ šal. \) \( ^{15}SAG.DU. \)
ka-bit mātāti¹⁸ mut-tar-ru-ū ba'-ū-la-ti
īlu šā melammī¹⁷-šū saḥ(?)¹⁸-pu-ū nam-ri-ir-ri ša'-nu
šā-ru-ru-šū ka-la si-ḥi-ip ša-ma-me
15 nap-ḥar qin-ni-e u kal da-ad-me lit-bu-uš-ma
ša-qum¹⁹-mat-su mātāti¹⁹ ka-at-ma
be-lut-su la iš-ša-na-nu la um-daš-ša-lu īlu-su
par(?)²⁰-su-šū šit-ru-ḫu billudū²¹-šū šīru
šak-ku-šū riš-tu-ū al-ka-ka-tu-šu nak-la
20 mu-ma'-ir šamē(-e) u iṛṣīti mu-kil mātāti¹⁸
na-bu-ū rē'-ū²² ki-nu mu-ad-du-ū ša-kan iṛṣīti
a-na šat-ti ina nūr²³ pānū²⁴-šū damqūṭi²⁵ ina bu-ni-šu nam-rū-ti

²⁶ Nabū-kudurri²⁶-usur²⁷ rubū²⁸ me-gir-šū
muṣ-te'-ū aš-ra-ti-šu ki-niš ip-pa-lis-ma

Col. II
a-na h̄rē'-ū²²-ut mātu Šū-me-ri u Akkad²⁰kši
a-na ud-du-uš eš-rit ma-ḫa-az da-[a]l-me
ū ša-dar satuk²⁰ E-kur u Nippur²¹kši
iškaḫku²² na-ki-ri-šū ū-šūb-bir-ma
5 šīr-rit hₙakrī²³-šū qa-tu-uš-šū it-muḫ
balā²¹ ūmē da-ru-ū-ti ʾiš-ruq-šum-ma
elī šarri a-liš maḫ-ri ū-ša-tir šūm-šu.
Ina ša-dar satuk²⁵ E-kur ina niqe²⁶ šum-du-li

¹⁸ KUR.MEŠ. ¹⁷ M[E].LAM. ¹⁸ Sign 
¹⁹ lum. ²⁰ Text has ME, probably mistake of scribe.
²¹ PA + AN(GARZA). ²² SIB. ²² LAH.
²² SI.MES. ²² SI.BIR.MEŠ ²² ŠA.DU.
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 ḥab-šu-ú-ti ina na-kin²⁸-ti maḥ-ri ḏEn-lil
10 ina li-bi-en ap²⁹-pi ša a-na bēli u mār bēli

šā³⁰ ana ḏEn-lil u ḏNIN.IB pal-hi-iš ú-taq-qu-ú
ina zu-ru-ub ZI.ŠAG.GAL-li ina amāt³¹ šarri nisakki³²

³³Nusku-ib-ni mār ṣUpaḥlēr³³ ḏNusku nisak³³ ḏEn-lil
[[UH.ME]³⁴.ZU.AB ḏNusku laputtā³⁵ DUR.AN.KI
15 [a]-na šarri rē'³⁶ ki-ni rubā³¹ me-gir ḏEn-lil

ina ut-ni-ni-šū ki-niš īppalis³⁶-su-ma
³⁷Ba-ū-šūm-iddina³⁷(-na) mār ṣHu-un-na i-bir bēli-šu
na-an-zā-az maḥ-ḥar šarri ki-zu-ū ša ultu³⁸ ul-la
at-mu-šū na-as-qu-ma šū-zu-us-zu ina maḥ-ri

20 šakkanak⁴⁰ Bābīlēški ša-ki iq Tuṣ-m⁴¹Sin-še-me
rubā³¹ me-gir-šū ū-ma-ir-ma
ina qa-bi-e šar me-ša-ri
³⁷Nabu-kudurrī³⁷-usur³³ šar kiššati³⁴
mu-kin iš-di ma-a-ti

25 XXII (gur) 170 (qa) šheuzêru eqlu qi-ru-ba-a
šā a-na bu-tuq-ti šaknu³¹(-nu)
ugār³⁶ āli ša Mār-³⁷Aḫ³³-at-tu-ū-a
ina kišād³⁷ nāru Iduqla³⁸ ina piḫaṭ³⁹ Bīt-m⁴¹Sin-še-me
ša ultu³⁸ ūmi(-mi) pa-na i-ku la šap-ku

30 abšēnu³⁰ la šu-zu-za-at-ma a-na me-rīš-ti
la šū-ku-ku-ū-ma a-na me-te-iq mē šaknu³³(-nu)

[U]VUŠ šiddu elû amurrû³¹ UŠ.SA.DU
because of the rich gifts and the treasures (laid) before Ellil,
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,
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
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,
XXII (gur) 170 (qa) of seedfield, arable land,
which had been exposed to flooding,
a field of the town of Már-Ahattūa,
on the bank of the Tigris, in the district of Bit-Sin-sheme,
where since ancient days no ditch had been dug,
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

\[81 NUN. \]
\[82 S.A.DU(NIN.GUB). \]
\[83 S.A-nu. \]
\[84 M.AS.TIK.KAR. \]
\[85 I.M.MAR.TU. \]
\[86 SES. \]
\[87 A.KAR. \]
\[88 NAM. \]
Col. III

Bitt\textsuperscript{md}Šir-ap-pi-li u piḥāt\textsuperscript{62} Bitt\textsuperscript{md}Sin-še-me

III UŠ LV GAR šiddu šaplû šaddû

UŠ.SA.DU Bitt\textsuperscript{m}Su-ḫur-Gal-du

II UŠ X GAR pūtu elû iltânû UŠ.SA.DU

5 Bitt\textsuperscript{m}Uš-bu-la ša a-na bēl mātāti nadnu\textsuperscript{63}(nu)

I UŠ pūtu šaplû šatu kišad\textsuperscript{64} naru Idiqlat\textsuperscript{65}

napḫar\textsuperscript{66} XXII (gur) 168½ (qa) 5 (gin) škezêru \textsuperscript{75} GAN 30 qa

I ammatu\textsuperscript{68} rabītu

ugār\textsuperscript{76} ala ša Mār\textsuperscript{m}Ah\textsuperscript{55}-at-tu-ū-a piḥat\textsuperscript{62} Bitt\textsuperscript{md}Sin-še-me

\textsuperscript{md}Ba-ū-štum-iddina(-na) ša-kišn Bitt\textsuperscript{md}Sin-še-me

10 im-šū-uḫ-ma \textsuperscript{md}Nusku-ib-ni mār \textsuperscript{m}Upaḫḫiur\textsuperscript{69} -dNusku

\textsuperscript{h}nisak\textsuperscript{67} d En-ilil UḪ.ME.ZU.AB \textsuperscript{d}Nusku

ḫa-za-an dlu Nippur\textsuperscript{8} arad\textsuperscript{68}-su ana ūmē(-me) ša-ā-ti

i-ri-im. pa-liq eqlu šū-a-tu \textsuperscript{md}Nabû-zēr-lišir\textsuperscript{80}

mār \textsuperscript{m}Itti\textsuperscript{d}Marduk-balatu\textsuperscript{70} ŠA.BAL.BAL \textsuperscript{m}Ardi\textsuperscript{d}Ea

15 u \textsuperscript{md}Nabû-un-na mār \textsuperscript{m}A-ḫi \textsuperscript{b}ša-kišn te-me

ša Bitt\textsuperscript{md}Sin-še-me.

Ma-ti-ma ana ūmē(-me) da-ru-ū-ti

a-na aḫ-rat nišē\textsuperscript{71} a-pa-ti

lu-ū rē\textsuperscript{72} lu-ū šakkanakku\textsuperscript{73} lu ak-lu lu ša-pi-rū

20 lu ri-du-ū lu ḫa-za-an-nu ša-ar-qī eqlu šū-a-tu

i-nam-du-ma a-na i-ki-li ri’-ti

ū-ma’-a-rū ša-nam-ma

ina\textsuperscript{74} lim-ni-ti ū-šā-ḫa-zu

ubānī\textsuperscript{75}-šū a-na limulti\textsuperscript{76}(-ti) i-tar-ra-su

25 ina il-ki di-ku-ti ša-bat amēlu ḫi-ri-e nāra

ba-qa-an šam-mi kal-li-e nāri u ta-ba-li

\textsuperscript{62} NAM. \textsuperscript{63} SE-nu. \textsuperscript{64} ŠU.NIGIN. \textsuperscript{65} U GAL

\textsuperscript{66} KIL. \textsuperscript{67} NU.AB. \textsuperscript{68} ARAD.

\textsuperscript{69} SI.DI. \textsuperscript{70} TI.LA. \textsuperscript{71} UN.MEŠ.
Col. III

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

III USH, LV GAR, lower length, east,
adjoining Bit-Suḥur-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) 168$\frac{3}{4}$ (qa) 5 (gin) of seedfield, $\frac{1}{5}$ GAN
(reckoned) at 30 qa of seed, (equivalent to) a large cubit,
a field of the town of Mār-Aḥattūa, in the district of Bit-
Sin-sheme,

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

10 measured and to Nusku-ibni, son of Upaḥṭir-Nusku,
the priest of Ellil, the UĦ.ME.ZU.AB of Nusku,
the magistrate of Nippur, his servant, forever
granted. The surveyors of this field were Nabû-zêr-lîshir,
son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, 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,

"SIB.

"NER,ARAD.

"Written on erasure of šī.

"SU,SI.

"HUL.
uš-aš-sū-ū ṣal-ṣad-ba-bu(?)]77-ma eqlu šú-a-[u]
ık-ki-mu ṣa-aš-ra-qu(?)77 a-na] pihāti attività i-[u-ur-ru]
uł ri-ḫu. ...................................
30 u mdBa-[ū-kūm-iddina(-na) ša-kin Bit mdSin-še-me]78
a-na md[[Nusku-ib-ni már mU-pahhīr-4Nusku,79 . . . . .]
ḫa-za[-an du Nippurnokī ul i-ri-im-šu i-qab-bu-ū(?)]77
eqlu [šu-a-tu ul ma-ši-ib(?)]81

Col. IV
ul ša-ri-iq ul na-di-in
ul ma-ḫi-ir-mi i-qab-bu-ū
dA-nu šarru abi82 ilâni ag-giš li-tal-lik-šu-ma

nap-sā-tuš83 li-bal-li.
5 dEn-līl84 bēl ṣa-qu-ū mu-šim
ši-mat ilâni ṣi-mat ma-ru-uš-ti
li-šim-šu-ma lu-ub-na ni-el-me-na
a-mat nišē85 li-gi-sa-šu.
dE-a šār apšē86 bēl ta-šim-ti
10 nu-qa ka-bū87-ti nu-mur lībbi na-ḫa-ša
ḫa-ba-ṣa li-kim-šū-ma
ni-is-sa-tu li-ūldī88-šū.
dSin89 bēl aģē90 na-me-ru-ti
bu-ni-šū liš-te-šū-ma lil-li ai ṱši.91
15 dŠamaš u dRammān ilâni ga-aš-ru-tu
daianā92 širūtī93 lu mu-lam-me-nu
i-gir-ri-šu šu-nu-ma di-in kit-ti
u me-ša-ri ai i-di-nu-šu.
dNIN.IB bēl me-is-ri u kudurri94 kudurra-šu lissuh95(-uḫ).

77 See Commentary.
85 Cf. Col. III, 12.
82 A.D.
86 UN.MES.
88 ZU.AB.
81 Cf. Col. III, 10, and Commentary.
84 EN.LIL.
86 ku, tuš.
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 Upaḫḫir-Nusku,]
the ma[ghistrate 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 Rammān, 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.
20 4Gu-la běltu96 rabītu si-im-ma la-az-za
ina zumrī97-šu liškun98-ma dāma99 u šarqa100 kīma101 mē102 li-šir-
muk.
4Iš-tar bēlit98 mātāti ša ru-ub-ša a-bu-bu
nam-ra-ša li-kal-lim-šu-ma ai ú-ši
ina ú-ša-ki.
25 4Nusku103 bēl ga-aš-rum a-ri-rum ka-ru-bu
[ilu] ban-nu-ū-a lu rabisu104 limutti105-šu šu-ma
li-ga-am-me šur-ši-šū
[ša abnu106] narā107 an-na-a
................SIM.MEŠ ina e-pi-ri
30
i-tam-me-ru

Col. V

ina išāti108 i-qal-lu-ū ū-na mē102 inamdū109(-ū)
ina 4eslipitti110 i-pi-ḫu-ū sa-ak-la
sa-ak-ka là šemā111 ú-ša-aš-šu-ma
a-šar la a-ma-ri i-ša-ka-nu
5 īlānī rabūti ma-la ina abnunari112
an-ni-i šûm-šu-nu zakrū113 ar-rat limutti114
li-ru-ru-šu išid115-su lissuḫu116(-ḫu) u zēri-šu līhaliqū.117
I-na ka-nak li-ū118 šú-a-tu
mdŠamaš-nasir119 kšaq-šup-par120 mdSin-še-me
10 mKu-bu-bu amel bāb121 ēkalli122 Bit-mdSin-še-me
mŠi-ta-ri-ḫa kšaq123 Bit-mdSin-še-me
mTa-qi-šu mār mKi-in-pi124,4 Šamaš
kša-kin bu-ši Bit-mdSin-še-me
mA-tu²-ū mār mKi-diš(daš) kbarū125 Bit-mdSin-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-nâşir, 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 Kîn-pî-Shamash,
the administrator of the property of Bit-Sin-sheme,
Atu’u, son of Kidish, the seer of Bit-Sin-sheme,
15 mRi-mut₄-Gu-la bēl paḫāti₆ Bēl₉-Sin-še-me
    mdNabû₁₀-Sin-še-me
    te-me ḍlu Dūr-Rîm¹₂-Sin Bēl₉-Sin-še-me
    Ṣaš-šu-ū tup-šar nisak¹₂ Bēl₉-Sin-še-me
    Ṣin-zēr-ib-ni ḫa-za-an ḍlu Dūr-Rîm¹₂-Sin
20 Bēl₉-Sin-še-me mPir²₀-šā ḫnāgir¹²¹ Bēl₉-Sin-še-me
    mAmel ḍlu I-ši-in mār ḫu-un-na
    Ṣaš-šu-ū mār ḫu-un-na
    Ṣu-la-zēr-īqša¹²²(-ša) mār ḫu-un-na
    ū mdNabû₁₀-zēr-līšir¹²³ mār mArdi₄ E-a
25 ḫzatu XVI ḫaN Nabû-kudurri-ūšur¹²⁴ šarru.

¹²⁶ EN.NAM.
¹²⁷ dAG.
¹²⁸ AM.
¹²⁹ NISAG.GA.
¹³⁰ ul, tu, tam.
¹³¹ LIGIR, see Br. 6966.
¹³² BA-ša.
¹³³ SI.DI.
¹³⁴ dAG.ŠA-DU.ŠEŠ.
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
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.*, 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: nīš(MU) ṣEn-lil ṣNIN.IB ṣNusku ṣKu-ri-gal-zu šarru (LUGALE) mūḫāriš (UR.BI) itmapū (IN.PAD.DE.ES), 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 *כָּבַד* (Clay, B. E., X, pp. XVIII, 8), for which Prof. Clay offers the ingenious explanation: ṣen-waštu = ṣen-maštu = ṣen-martu, i.e., “Lord of the West Land” (cf. J. A. O. S., July, 1907).

*MU.NE = MU.NI = šūm-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 stonemason adapted it to the space at his disposal. The correct drawing would have been as follows:

IV UŠ = 240 GAR

III UŠ 55 GAR = 235 GAR

II UŠ 10 GAR = 120 GAR

I UŠ = 60 GAR

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. 477 ff., and Z. A., XI, p. 422; Thureau-Dangin, R. A., IV, pp. 18 ff.; 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 GAR, 1 GAN = 1,800 GAR, we obtain the following result:

\[
\begin{align*}
900 : 22475 \text{ GAR}^2 &= 24 \text{ GUR} \\
1800 &\quad \\
4475 &\quad \\
3600 &\quad \\
3 : 875 &= 291\frac{3}{2} \text{ QA}
\end{align*}
\]

This sum, 24 GUR, 291\frac{3}{2} 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 GAR\(^2\) we would come much nearer to the 22 (gur) 168\(\frac{2}{3}\) (qa) 5 (gin), the result of the measurement of the surveyors (Col. III, 7), for we would obtain on that basis 22 (gur) 158\(\frac{1}{3}\) (qa), which differs only by 10\(\frac{1}{3}\) 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 \(\frac{1}{5}\) GAN (according to Oppert, 1 GAN), while AŠ denotes 30 qa of seed, used to seed \(\frac{1}{5}\) GAN. Hence Thureau-Dangin explains the whole expression as meaning “\(\frac{1}{5}\) GAN is reckoned at 30 qa of seed and equal to one ammatu rabītu.” The latter is 32,400 \(\mathcal{U}\) = 100 GAR (DU)\(^2\) = \(\frac{1}{5}\) 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 \(\mathcal{U}-GAL(-tum)\) is now certain from the stone of Agabtaha (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 (ištānu) by the royal canal and on the southwest (ṣūtu) by the Tigris. All the references to the “Royal Canal” point to Northern Babylonia. The Semitic name \(nār šarri\) appears first in the
Cassite period. The boundary stone of Nazi-Maruttash informs us that the city of Pilari, in the government of Ḫudādi (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'-'Amurru (Col. I, 3–6) and the town Shalḥi, 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 mušēbirī), which joined the canal Rāṭi-Anzan with the canal of the royal province (nār piḫāti ša šarri, Col. III, 1–3). Another inscription of Meli-Shipak (London, 101) locates the town Shaluluni, in the government of Bit-Pir'-'Amurru, at the royal canal (Col. I, 5, 6). The royal canal is also most likely meant by the kisūd 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 Shamūa and Shami (C. T., IX, pls. 4, 5), the district Bit-šiš-Ma-zi (or perhaps better Bit-šiš-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-Šir-appili and Bit-Suḫur-Gal-du in its immediate vicinity. It also shows that the land was bordered on its southeastern side (šūtu) 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-ahē-erba (O. B. I., 149,
Col. I, 6, 11) the canal nār (ālu) Sa-šar-riḵi 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 (ugāru) 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. Strassmaier, Nbn., 483, refers to tithe (ešṭū), the property of Shamash, of the tenth year of King Nabû-na'id. In the text occurs this passage: a-di ālu Za-za-an-nu 50 gur ulti muḫ-ḫi nār šarri a-di muḫ-ḫi nāra ʾIḏiqlat (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 nār šarri in a broken passage. Cyrus 181:11, suluppā GS.BAR ša muḫ-ḫi nār 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-ḫ-tim maḫritim(-tim) ša 1½ ma-na kaspi ša a-na dūl-li ša nār šarri ša mātu ʾElamti nadna(SE-na). Finally one of the Murashū 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 šētušamašammu zūtī šarri ša ina uz-ša-ri ša šarri ša ina muḫ-ḫi nār šarri ša ina pāni Ṣrimut-ʾd.NIN.IB aplu ša Mu-rašū-ū. 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 emēdu; Belser (B. A., II, p. 135)
"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. 4,593), 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 יָנָא שֶם בֵּל, i.e., Ellil-šum(w)-iddin (cf. B. E., IX, 66a), which proves that the god "En-lil is not to be pronounced Bēl, but Ellil. This is corroborated by the equation, Il-lil = "En-lil in V R. 37 : 21 and the transliteration "Ịlil of Damascius.

Many of the titles applied in this hymn to Ellil are in other hymns transferred to other gods. Etīl šamē u irṣiti is applied to Shamash by Agu-kakrime, 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 ilabbinā. The same phrase is applied to the Igigi before Nabû, Rm. III, 15 ([ina ilu]-ti-šu ka-biṣ-ti Igigi ap-pi i-lab-bi-

The verb ú-taq-qu-ú stands here in parallelism with appa ʾilabbinā, 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 ʾīlā or ʾālā (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 Sᵈ 24 ú-te-ku-ú follows še-mu-ú), and with pu-uq-qu (ʾālā) 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: īlāni šu-ut šāme ʾu ʾirṣiti pa-al-ḥi-ʾiš ú-tak-ku-šu ka-am-su ʾiz-za-za mah-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 utaqqû with a verb taqû, which corresponds to the Arabic ʾaṭtī, “to fear god,” which in turn is the eighth form of ʾāṭṭī, “to fear or reverence God.” Accordingly utaqqû is the Piel (II, 1) of ʾālā, and means “to show reverence or obedience.” If this explanation is correct, the phrase utaqqû palḥiš is not absolutely synonymous with appa ʾilabbinā, 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., īlāni rabûti ʾālāni I-gi-gu ša ša-me-e ʾālāni A-nun-na-ku ša ʾirṣiti). The meaning of the Sumerian A.NUN.NA is given (K. 4,829, Rev. 5f. = Hrozný, Mythen, pp. 18, 19) as rihût rubê, i.e., “offspring of the great,” namely “abyss.” Compare with this DAM.GAL.NUN.NA, “the

I, 8. šuḥarrurū and nazuzzū are both permansives, 3d pl., nazuzzū = nazuzū = nazzuzū = nanuzū, IV, 1 of n. The metrical accent has caused the form nazzuzzū instead of nanuzū. The parallelism and metrical form of ll. 6 and 8 are evident. They are as follows:

áppa ilábinū, utáqqū pálhiš
ašriš šuḥarrurū, nazuzzū šáhtiš.

I, 9. be-el bēlū(m), the singular bēlū(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 َلاس "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-ah-lu-uq-ti i-ma-nu-u, 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-ši-i mur-ši šum-si-ki hi-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, rig-ma šum-sa-ku si-mat u ḫa-da-a ša balāti 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(-û) ša pi-i dan-ni-te šu-a-tu la ū-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 ū-šam-sa-ku ilu aišumma, “his command no god can set aside.” V R. 66b, 11, ina qibtî-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 aišumma, 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-šu-te . . . ša bilat-su-nu ū 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 liš-bi-šu mu-us-su-kat, “what is kept back in one’s heart.”

I, 11. rašubbi ʾAnunnakkû, literally “one who fills the Anunnakkû 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 嫄 is unknown. It is the simple form of which Br. 2,706 is the double. As the noun melammû is frequently joined with the verb saḫāpu, e.g., a-na ša-a-ri ir-bit-ti me-lam-me saḫ-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 saḫāpu, or at least a synonym.
I, 14. *ka-la si-hi-ip ša-ma-me*. The rendering of the word *si-hi-ip* has caused translators considerable difficulty. It occurs: Aššurb. (Smith) 285, 7; 274, 28, *si-hi-ip màti ka-la-mu a-na si-hir-ti-šu um-da-al-lu ana pāṭ gim-ri-ša*. To this passage corresponds V R. 9, 44, 45, *nap-ḥar màti-ia um-dal-lu-ū ana pāṭ gim-ri-ša*. In the first passage Delitzsch (H. W., p. 494a) is inclined to see in *si-hi-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-hi-ip màtāti*, and again Col. III, 41, *kal si-hi-ip da-ad-me*. The former passage is translated by Gray: “Thy brilliancy fills and overwhelms countries,” taking *si-hi-ip* evidently as equivalent to *sāhīp* (cf. I, 40). But there can be little question that *sāhīp* in these passages is the construct of *sīhp* and means “extent.” The fundamental meaning of *sāhāpu* 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 sihīp šamāme* is in parallelism to *napḥar 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 *sāhīp* actually exchanges with *napḥar*.

Namarrirī ša’nu 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 puluḫ]-tu li-šu ma-lī-šu pār-tašu, King, Magic, No. III, 11; cf. II, 13, and ta-liš ša-qum-ma-ta ša li-šu nam-ri-ri, King, Magic, No. 46:15, pl. 61. There are also Hebrew parallels to this thought, compare especially Hab. 3:3, 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-lu-um-ma-tu, but there are frequent cases in which we find the writing ša-qu-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 Nabu-na'id, p. 127, sub rugummu; Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 57, note.² (4) The meaning of šaqummatu appears from the explanation of its ideogram SU.ZI as puluḫtu, "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-qu-um-ma-tu at-bu-uk, "terror I poured out."

¹This 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.
²Cf. also sin-nis-tum šag-gum(LUM)-ma, Reisner, Hymnen, 115:24; be-el-šu iš-gum(LUM)-ma, Reisner, Hymnen, 62, 17.
For the discussion of Jensen, who makes the original meaning of בקע, “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.”

κατάθη, permans. 3 pl. fem., agreeing with μάταιτι. A thought parallel is: puluhti melammeka bit 4Enlil kima summer, iktum, which is said of NIN.IB, cf. Hrozný, Mythen, p. 10, Obv. 30.

um-daŠ-ša-lu, II, 2 pres. of mašālu. For other examples of this form see King, Seven Tablets of Creation, III, 86; II, 24, and Muss-Arnolt, Dict., 605a. This same idea is also found in the O. T., 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. ilu-su = ilu-us-su = ištiti-su, cf. Delitzsch, Gr., § 51.

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

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 Dict., p. 1137a.
billudāšu (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. Bölkenrücker, 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 mātāti. 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 utlia nišē mātu Šumērim u Akkadīm ukitl. The various meanings of לוה 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 ippalisma.

ina BIR.ŠI.MEŠ. In view of the parallelism which characterizes this hymn, we should expect, corresponding to būnisu namrūti, a noun followed by an adjective, so that BIR.ŠI would be the ideogram of a word synonymous with būnu. This synonym might be žimū, for it occurs in parallelism with būnu in V R. 61, Col. IV, 43–46, ina bu-nī-šu nam-ru-ti zi-me-šu ru-uš-šu-ti damqāti inā(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 būnisū namrūti. Over against these considerations we have the
expression in the O. T., Prov. 16:15, המלך המלך דודו דודו; 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: Ina nūr panāšū damqūti. This reading I regard as preferable in view of the Hebrew expression quoted above, and the absence of any evidence that BIR.ŚI is an ideogram for zīmu.

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

II, 3. ŚA.SAG is certainly a scribal error for ŚA.DUG (cf. II, 8). It is a new form of the usual ideogram for satukku ŚA.DUG, cf. Delitzsch, H. W., 513. The ideogram is artificial, having the appearance of a Sumerian word, but satukku is no doubt Semitic, corresponding to Arabic صدق, “poor tax,” Talmudical וכרוב and South Arabic şadaqat. See Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 274, and Leander, Ueber die Sumerischen Lehnwörter im Assyriscen, p. 31.


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

II, 7. ú-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. ina igionē, the singular, is here again used as a substitute for the plural, cf. I, 9.

The adjective ḫabšūti 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 igionē with the adjective raḇūti (Délégation en Perse, II, 123), ba-bi-il i-igioni-e ra-be-ù-tim, Col. I, 10, or with summuḫu, cf. E. H., II, 37, i-igion-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 su-um-[ru].

The word na-kin-ti appears now in four different forms: bit 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 már bēli is also applied to Marduk and Nebo in an inscription of Sargon, a-na īlu Bēl īlumārī (it ought to be mārī īlu) Bēl ū-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 šaḥaratu, "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. 13ª. 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 = napištu, ŠAG = libbu, GAL = bašū, hence "breath being in the heart." It is a synonym of išribu, 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 pašti apaš, 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 (l. 6) in the right-hand (or Semitic) column by the remark ša-šu, i.e., “the same.” For this use of šu see, e.g., Hommel, Geographie, p. 281. Or we should at least expect, following the analogy of UH.ME.ŠIK.BAR.RA = šu-ša-šu-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 anointes himself with the water of the apsû, perhaps a large basin standing in the temple,” see Morgenstern, M. V. A. G., Vol. X (1905), p. 117 1.


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

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1 This “ditto” note can hardly refer to the preceding word in the Semitic column, for that is zer-ma-ti-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.EN.LIL* *DUR.AN.KI*; *Laws of Hammurabi*, I, 59, where we should not translate “Dûrîlu,” as Nippur precedes immediately. For other passages see Hommel, *Geographie*, 351

II, 15. To ana,šarri rêʾi kîni 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-shumu-iddina.

II, 16. ut-ni-ni-šu is inf. II, 2 of ṣ[N]; it ought to be written utninnu, cf. Delitzsch, H. W., 101b.

II, 17. Bau-šum-iddina, son of Ḥunna, the governor (ṣaknu) of Bīt-Sin-šeme, was no doubt identical with Bau-šum-iddina, son of Ḥunna, the governor (ṣaknu) 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. The same forms occur R. M. III, 105, na-an-za-az maḥ-ri-šu; see Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 256, 11; also Nabû-shum-ishkun, Edge 7, īlānī mala ina eli narî annī šuršudū 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 pān šarri, D. E. P., II, 97, 13. maḥ-ḥar is an unusual writing for ma-ḥar, perhaps due to the accent.

1 Prof. Hilprecht, however, informs me that he prefers to explain nanzaz as a faʿāl 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 šangû = šā naqû, "the man of sacrifice," and šabrû = ša barû, "the man of sight," so Jensen, Z. A., VII, 174. In V R. 55, 3, this title is placed alongside of isšakku (P.A.T.E.SI) qardu, while in our inscription the king is distinctly called nisakku (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 qirubû compare the Aramaic נרבע, "an area that can be plowed in a day," from נר, "to plow." In view of qir-bi-tum, pl. qir-ba-a-ti and ga-ar-ba-a-ti, the root must be נר in Assyrian. For a discussion of the word see Streck, Z. A., XVIII, 174.

II, 26. With bu-tuq-ti compare Talmudical נרבע, "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 كُربٍ.
lā innimmedu). For the earliest occurrence of šapāku compare the stele of Narâm-Sin from Diarbeikr, O. B. I., 120, III, 3-4, KI.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-ib-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-ḫur-Gal-du is most probably a Cassite god. The same name occurs in the Cassite tablets from Nippur, e.g., Ha-aš-mar-Gal-du (Clay, B. E., XV, 154: 30); cf. also Clay, B. E., XIV, Introduction, p. 43.

III, 5. _bel 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 hazannu 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-līshir 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 (Agum-
kakrime, I, 14), great-grandson (Adad-nirari, Obv. 27), or descendan-
t in general; so hesitatingly Delitzsch, Lesestücke, 27, No. 224, and
Winckler, Forschungen, II, 20, 23.

III, 15. ša-kin te-me. The name of this official is not ša te-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 hŠA-in =
šakin(-in) te-me. Inasmuch as šakānu ṭemu means always "to
have, to hold a command" (Delitzsch, H. W., 297b), I prefer to
translate hšakin ṭemu "commander" instead of "councillor."

III, 17. Most of the boundary stones begin the section of the
curses with mâtima. 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 arkû(-ū), C. T., X, pl.
VII, 32. A stone of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (IV R. 3, 38) leaves out
the line with mâtima altogether and starts at once with the enum-
eration of the officials (lu aklu lu laputtu, etc., IV R. 3, 38, III, 1).
Finally the smaller charter of Nebuchadrezzar (C. T., IX, pl. 5, 31)
opens this section with ša.

The phrase ana ūmē is most frequently used, but ina arkāt
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, III, we find ina ar-ka-ti
šami(-mî) and on V. A. 208, Rev. 43, ina (ar)-kat ūmā(-ma).

III, 18. To ana aḫrāt nīši apāti corresponds a-na ni-ši aḫ-ra-a-ṭi
on London 101, II, 13. Nīšē 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 niṣē a-pa-a-ti*. An etymology for *apāti* is offered by Zimmern, Z. A., VIII, 84, from the root *ירד*, “to unite,” to which also *šutapū*, “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. 191. A similar phrase occurs in the new stone of Meli-Shipak (Susa 3), Col. III, 59ff., *ša ilāni rabūti inambūšuma ana rē’ūt māti inaṣṣūšu*, “whom the great gods will call and to the rule (shepherding) of the land will raise.”


III, 20. *ṣa-ar-qi eqlu šu-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 ri’-ti*. Thus I would read the somewhat broken signs of this line. The *ki* might possibly be *di* and the *i* perhaps *bi* or *ib*, 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 *lībēnu* (II, 10) = *labānu*, *hi-ri-e* (III, 25) = *ḥārā*, “to dig,” and *limēnu* (from which

III, 24. After the word *limutti*-ti appears the trace of a little wedge, but it is no doubt an erasure, due to a small hole which the scribe wished to avoid.


III, 26. The verb *baqânu* occurs also on Susa 3, III, 13, 14, šammē eqlišu la ba-qa-ni. It is a variant of *baqânu*, a synonym of *qašâsu*, "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 ḫpa-nu-ū ḫšānū(?), ḫṣu-hi-li, while V R. 55, 51, 52, shows plainly that kallū is also an official, kal-li-e šarringu ša-kin mātu-Namar ḫnāγiru. The juxtaposition of šakín mātu-Namar with kallē šarri 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 (kallē nāri); hence the cutting of plants must refer to the other group of officials. This leads to the natural conclusion that the noun tabālu means land, and is in that case related to the Hebrew הָבָר, "the world." In this sense tabālu is evidently a synonym of nabālu, "the dry land."1

III, 27. The verb following uš-aš-šu-ū and introducing ik-ki-mu of the next line is probably u-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. 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 (ekēmu) preceded by a legal action.


III, 32. As Bau-shum-iddina is the subject of the dependent clause, and is followed by a-na māt[Nusku ibni mar U☆☆☆ir-Nusku] 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-ū]. For the repetition of iqabbū 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, šar-ri-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-gal-lu-ú (V, 1) not i-gal-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, 4681. 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 tābu i-za-ar-ri-qu immeri niqê ip-pu-šu rikkē 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 ُبَعَل, “to throw into the fire” (cf. Martin, Textes religieux Assyriens et Babyloniens, p. 97).

Like this curse was perhaps London, 101, III, 9, "A-nu-um a-bi ilāni [ag-giš li-tal(?)-li]k-šu or [li-ḫal]-lik-šu.

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

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

IV, 5. The title mušīm štimāti is also applied to other gods, e.g., to Anu, Monolith of Aššur-nāṣir-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-ēl-me-na, an m formation from the root ēl. The m has become n under the influence of the labial (Barth’s law, see Delitzsch, Gr. 174).

Both lubná and nelmená are fem. pl.

IV, 8. li-γi-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; ū-sa-ar-sa-an-ni, II, 19. The meaning of nagāšu in this passage is, like the Hebrew בָּלָם, “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 נון. 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-šu-ma, II, 1, pret. of לעון, “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 Ramman 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 Ramman 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, Aufsätzte, 270; Ranke, Personal Names, 206.1.

IV, 16. With the nominal sentence lu mulammenu īgirre-šu sunuma compare the heading of this inscription, IV, 26; B. E., X, 94: 14, 15; 119: 10, 11; and Amos 7: 13, כ נמקות מלך הוה.

IV, 17. kitti u mêšari, 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 (יוֹר) and judgment (לְשׁוֹן) are the foundation of thy throne, mercy (רָחֵם) and truth (תְּמַלְכוּת) go before thee,” Ps. 89: 15; Ps. 97: 2.

IV, 20. simma can hardly be connected with the Aramaic הַסִּים 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-zā. Jäger derives it from lā às (sa), asa = assa = asia, “healing,” from asū, “to heal,” cf. B. A., II, 288. It is also derived from ašū, 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 הָלָל.

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-zā (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-zā me-liki (Labartu, III, a, 54; b, 4, 14), and to heat, umma(NE) la-az-zā
(Labartu, I, a, 21; cf. Z. A., XVI, 156). As to the meaning the Arabic "evil," and the verb "to follow one persistently, to press upon," supply a satisfactory etymology. As it 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 šarqu means "bright red blood," cf. the Sumerian BE.UD and the Arabic šic, "bright red, fox color," it refers perhaps to the blood of the arteries, in which case dāmu would mean the darker blood of the veins.

As to the derivation of rūb in ša ru-ub-ša a-bu-bu, there are two possibilities. It may be derived from or . 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 ša e-zis-su a-bu-bu. (2) The verb ra'ābu, "to rage," is applied to Ishtar, e.g., in the new hymn to Ishtar, Rev. 94 (King, Seven Tablets of Creation), a-di màti "Bêltî-ia ra'-ba-ti-ma uz-za-za-at kab-ta-at-ki. (3) The writing of the 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-û and ta-û (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, guttural verbs, and verbs having the same meaning, may have existed side by side. Cf. Hebrew and , and , and the nouns , "poison," and , "the pit."

In favor of a derivation from may be urged that this verb is also applied to Ishtar. mu-rib-bat šamē mu-nar-ri-ṭa-at
irṣitīm, Sm. 954, Obv. 45, 46 (Del., H. W., 615α), and M. I. Hussey, Some Sumerian-Babylonian Hymns of the Berlin Collections, A. J. S. L., XXIII (1907), p. 170.

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 יָשָׁן, 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 Babylonien, 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.² 26, No. 3; Craig, Religious Texts, I, pls. 35, 36. For translations and discussion see Jastrow, l.c., I, 485-88.

The title a-ri-ru is also applied to the fire god GIŠ.BAR; cf. Craig, Religious Texts, I, 40, 13, ⁴GIŠ.BAR a-ri-ru bu-kur ⁴A-num; cf. also 41, 40. A similar title of Nusku is īlu qar-du qa-mu-ū šlimnūṭi, Craig, Religious Texts, I, 35, 4.

IV, 26. The sign ban in ban-nu-ū-a is No. 145 in Amiaud and Méchinau, Tableau comparé; bannua = bānua. The phrase īlu 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 Nabû-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 Nbk. 198 : 9; 283 : 19; 368 : 8, and on Assyrian inscriptions, Pudi-ili, ll. 5, 6; Adad-nirari, Rev. 14; Tiglathpil., VIII, 63.

IV, 29. ŚIL.MEŠ stands probably for a verb. The parallel passages suggest nakāru, abātu or našā, V. A. 2663, V, 28, ū-na-ka-ru ina sub-ti-šu; Nabû-shum-ishkun, IV, 18, ina abni ubbatu; I R. 70, II, 24, abunara anna ū-sha-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 išlipitti (LIBIT) i-pi-ḫu-ū should be compared Susa 3, V, 52-54: i-na qaqa-ra it-te-mi-ir, i-na lipitti (LIBIT) it-te-ši (N₂, I, 2) i-na i-ga-ra i-p-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 lipitti (Br. 11,193), which forms with agurru, "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-[ū] lu i-na i-ga-ri i-p[i-ḫu-ū].

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 ḫalâqu; see V R. 56, 60, zēra-šu li-ilq; 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 pē nīše lihaliqû (HA.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 HA.A.ME = lihaliqû.

With these curses compare the interesting passage in the history of the Arabic historian Maṣûdi, Kitâb Marâj 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  ',// 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 ḵšu-par-šaq, "the commander." This reading has long been maintained by Guyard, Notes de lexicographic Assyrienne, Paris, 1883, § 33, and Winckler, Forschungen, I, 476 2. 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 סדרמה instead of the unintelligible סדרמה, 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 juṭaṭu formations on p. 29 of the same work; cf. also Ranke, Personal Names, p. 21 1.

1 See also Tallquist, in O. L. Z., Vol. IX (1906), p. 467.
The interchange of the title amel bāb ēkalli with amēlu ša bāb ēkalli (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 ʾŚī-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 Mil-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-mut-š-Gu-la, usually regarded as an abbreviated name, but in view of the fact that ʾirîm (pret. I of rāmu) is always used on the boundary stones of the “granting” of land, and also the noun ri-mut 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-mut-Gula means “the gift of Gula.”

V, 16. A-hi, abbreviated perhaps from A-ḫi-ba-ni (Clay, B. E., XV, 26a), Aḫu-iddina (Clay, B. E., X) or a similar name.

V, 18. With ʾšašša the name ʾšaš-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-ziₕ-Marduk mār Shad-dak-me, V R. 56, 12; Ka-šak-ti-ia-an-zi, III R. 43, II, 10; Mi-li-Ḥar-be, III R. 43, II, 14, 18; Šar-biₕ-Enlil, O. B. I., 149, I, 19. NISAG.GA is here used instead of the usual NISAG, cf. Br. 6710.

V, 20. If the reading Pîr-ša is correct we may compare Pîr(-ir)-šamaš, D. E. P., II, 93, of which it is perhaps an abbreviation; cf. the remarks of Prof. Hilprecht in Ranke’s Personal Names,
p. 19⁹, calling attention to the Palmyrene name Ṣūlān, transcribed in Greek ἀναφθερανοῦ; see Lidzbarski, Handbuch., p. 223.

⁹Nôgiru, 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-balātu. 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-ahē-erba belongs evidently to the second Isin (PA.SHE) dynasty. This appears not only from the fact that there is no room for Marduk-ahē-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), */ḥa* (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
can all be found in them. As to the exceptions, it is difficult to say whether they are due to the idiosyncreasy of the scribe or to his inexperience in engraving inscriptions. The signs for īl (II, 5), īš (I, 15, 20; II, 19), sar 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 gab (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 īr (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 īr (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-āňē-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 $\text{šēvu} - \text{zēru}$ $\frac{1}{2} - \text{GAN I ammatu rabītu(-tu)}$
\( \text{a-di II $\text{šēvu} - \text{zēru}$ ri-mut} \)
\( \text{mdŠin-bēl-īlāni}^{\text{pl.}} \)
\( \text{mār $\text{mKa-an-di ša-kin Bīt-$\text{mPir}'-d Amurru}^2$} \)
5 ugar $\text{dhuŠā-šar-ri} \ \text{ki ḫa-ar-ri}$
\( \text{dhuŠā-sa-na \text{ki} kišād nār $\text{dhuŠa-šar-ri}^k$} \)
\( \text{šiddu ēlū īltānu UŠ.SA.DU} \)
\( \text{Bīt-}$\text{mŠum-ili-a-šip-ū-uḫ} \)
\( \text{šiddu šaplū šūtu ba-ba-at} \)
10 ḫar-ri $\text{dhuŠā-sa-na} \ \text{ki Bīt-$\text{mPir}'-d Amurru}^2$
\( \text{pūtu ēlū kišād nāri Šā-šar-ri}^k \)
\( \text{pūtu šaplū ti-ib $\text{dhuŠā-sa-na}^k$} \)
\( \text{Bīt-}$\text{mPir}'-d Amurru \)
\( \text{šā $\text{mdMarduk-ahē}^{\text{pl.-erba}^2} \text{šarru}^k$} \)
15 $\text{mdNabû[-eriš]}^k{-(-iš)} \text{mār $\text{mArdī-}^d\text{E-a}$}$
\( \text{tup-šar ū $\text{dBēl-mu-šal-lim} \text{ḥārū}^k$} \)
\( \text{tup-šar ša-kin Bīt-$\text{mPir}'-d Amurru}^2$ \)
\( \text{mKaš-šá-a $\text{ḥakin}^k{-(-in)} \text{[!]}\text{e-mi} \)
\( \text{ū $\text{mŠar-bi-}^d \text{En-lîl ḥa-za-an-na} \)
20 iš-pu-ru-ma rēš$ egli iš-šū-ma
\( \text{mKu-dur-ra mār $\text{mHî(?)-ri-šū-ru}$} \)
\( \text{Ḥa-bir-ai arad-su i-ri-mu.} \)

Col. II

Ma-te-[ma a]-na ar-ka[t ūmi(-mi)]

1 BE.  
2 KUR.GAL.  
3 SU.  
4 LUGAL.E.  
5 PIN erased.  
6 EN.
TRANSLATION.

Col. I

XII (gur) of seedfield 1/3 GAN (reckoned) at 30 qa (of seed),
(equivalent to) one large cubit,
including II (gur) of seedfield, a gift of Sin-bēl-ilāni,
son of Kandi, governor of Bit-Pir'-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-ilī-āšipush,
lower length, south, the sluices of
10 the canal of Shasana, in Bit-Pir'-d-Amurru,
upper width, the bank of the canal of Sha-sharri,
lower width, the approach of Shasana
in Bit-Pir'-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-Pir'-d-Amurru
Kashšā, the commander,
and Sharbi-d-Ellil, 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-ù ša-kin lu-ù bêl paḫâti\textsuperscript{10}
lu-ù ha-za-an-nu lu-ù kšakin\textsuperscript{8}(-in) te-mi
lu-ù isšakku\textsuperscript{11} lu-ù ai-um-ma
5 sá Bût-\textsuperscript{\textdagger}·Piř\textsuperscript{-}·Amurr\textsuperscript{2} sá il-lam-ma
i-na muḫ-ḫi eqli šû-a-tu i-da-bu-bu
ú-šad-ba-bu eqlu ul ni-dî-it-tî šarri-mi
i-qa-bu-ù ù abnu\textsuperscript{12}naru\textsuperscript{12} an-na-a
là šemâ\textsuperscript{12} sa-ak-la sa-ak-ka
10 sa-ma-a ú-qar-ra-bu-ma ú-šá-aš-šû-ma
a-na mē\textsuperscript{pl-14} i-nam-du-ù
i-na i-šâ-ti i-qal-lu-ù
eqlu la a-ma-ri i-te-mi-ru
ilâni\textsuperscript{pl-1} rabûtu\textsuperscript{pl-15}(-tu) ma-la i-na abnu\textsuperscript{12}naru\textsuperscript{12}
15 an-ni-i šûm-šû-nu za-ak-ru
ar-rat la na-ap-šû-ri li-mul-la
li-ri-ru-šû.
\textsuperscript{\textdagger}·A-nu \textsuperscript{\textdagger}·En-lîl \textsuperscript{\textdagger}·E-o
iz-zî-îš lik-kil-mûšû-ma na-p[i-iš-ta-šû]
20 aplē\textsuperscript{pl-18} zéri-šû li-[hak]-li-[qu]
\textsuperscript{\textdagger}·Marduk bêl\textsuperscript{e} lip-te-ti [na(?)-ra(?)-a(?)-t]e-šû
li-iš-kir-ma \textsuperscript{\textdagger}·Šar-pa-ni-[tum bêltu] rabûtu(-tum)
i-gir-ra-[šû?] l[i-la]m-man.

Col. III
\textsuperscript{\textdagger}·NI[N.I]B ù \textsuperscript{\textdagger}·Gu-la bêl\textsuperscript{e} mi-iš-ri
ù ku-ð[ur]-ri an-ni-i
si-im-ma la-[az-za i-n]a zu-um-ri-šû
li-šub-šû-ma ūm[ba]-[f]u da-ma ú šar-ka
5 ki-[ma] mē\textsuperscript{pl-14} li-ir-muq
\textsuperscript{\textdagger}·Sin\textsuperscript{17} in\textsuperscript{18}(-in) šamē(-e) ù irṣītim(-tim) iš-ru-ba-a

\textsuperscript{10} EN.NAM.
\textsuperscript{11} PA.TE.SI.
\textsuperscript{12} ŠILNUTUK.
\textsuperscript{13} A.MEŠ.
\textsuperscript{14} 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'-d'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

i-na zu-um-ri-šú li-šab-šú-ma
i-na ka-mat álì⁻²⁻šú aî ir-bi-iš
ilâni⁻¹⁻ ka-li-šú-nu ma-la šùm-šú-nu
10 za-ak-ru ki-i ištèn ūmi(-mi) la balât⁻²⁻su
    liq-bu-ú.

⁻¹² ER.KI. ʳ⁰ 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 Gandasdiš, the first king of the Cassite dynasty.

For the deity dKUR.GAL, equivalent to dAmurru, see Clay, B. E., X, p. 71.

I, 5. The word harri, “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 dHar-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 dHar-šar-ri ki.

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 tēl(l)u, “mound of ruins.”

I, 15. The sentence beginning with Nabû-erish I take to be a relative sentence with the ša understood, hence the overhanging u vowel in the verbs is-pu-ru-ma (I, 20) and i-ri-mu (I, 22). Another possibility would be to take Nabû-erish and Bēl-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 šá-a-tum iš-šú-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 Becherwahrungsagenungen, 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 uš (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-qal-lu-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-zi-iš (on which see above p. 189) may throw some light on London, 103, VI, 3, 4, 4Sin 4Šamaš 4Rammān 4Marduk išid-su GAB-šu. Peiser (K. B., III, 1, 162) takes GAB here as the ideogram of pahû (Br. 4486) and renders liphu(šu) “may they loosen(?) his foundation,” but as GAB has the same form as zi in iz-zi-iš (which is undoubtedly zi), and as ZI-šu is the ideogram of nasâhu, used in connection with išid-su (cf. Neb. Nippur, V, 7; IV, 19 and I R. 70, III, 12; III R. 43, III, 27) I propose reading išid-su lišsuḫa in London, 103, VI, 4.


II, 21. Marduk bēl 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 li-ta-at qatā-ia (Sargon, Bullinscr., 101), cf. especially li-pi-it ga-tim 4Marduk, “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 šariq mērišti mukīn isrāti (from esēru, to enclose), bānū šam u qē muṣēti urqūti, “giver of vegetation, establishment 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 nārāte ina ki-rib ša-di-i mu-paṭ-tu-u bu-ur kup-pi ina ki-rib ĥur-sa-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-šu lis-ki-ra compare the following passages from other boundary stones: III R. 45, No. 2, 8, nāri-šu a-na la sa-ka-ri, “not to close his canal”; Susa 16, V, 5–8,
MARDUK-AHE-ERBA.

199.

lu-ū ša-ki-i-ik-ki dal[ti] u a-šar mi-ši-ni 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-šu du-ul-li báb nār šarri lu-ū ša si-ki-e-ri lu-ū 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, nārā-te-šu i-na na-ak-bi-im li-is-ki-ir, “May he (Ea) dam up his rivers at the sources.”


III, 4. ūm [bal]-tu. The last part of bal is clearly visible. The form of ītu, not given by Amiaud et Méchinonau, Tableau comparé, No. 275, is found Susa 3, VI, 52; VII, 23–25, in the identical phrase, a-di ūm(-um) bal-ītu šar-ka u da-ma ki-ma me-e li-ir-mu-uk.

III, 6. With the title of Sin ʾin(-in) šamē(-e) u iršitim(-tim) compare the personal name ʾSin-i-na-ma-tim, Tallquist Namenbuch, p. 274; and ʾŠamaš-in(Šīl)-āli-šu, l.c., p. 281.

III, 8. In view of the fact that the other parallel passages (cf. p. 64ff.) and Susa 16, VI, 17, i-na ka-mat āli-šu li-šar-bi-šu-šū-ma, contain the positive statement that the criminal shall lie outside of the wall of his city, i-na ka-mat āli-šū ai ir-bi-is 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.

\[\text{Ai} = d\text{GAL.}\]
\[\text{Bēl} = d\text{EN.}\]
\[\text{Bēlit} = d\text{GAŠAN.}\]
\[\text{Bunene} = d\text{LIAR.}\]
\[\text{Ellil} = d\text{EN.LIL.}\]
\[\text{Ellil} = d\text{L.}\]
\[\text{Ištar} = d\text{RI.}\]
\[\text{Mār-bīti} = d\text{TUR.E.}\]
\[\text{Marduk} = d\text{AMAR.UD.}\]
\[\text{Nabū} = d\text{AG.}\]
\[\text{Nabû} = d\text{PA.}\]
\[\text{Nergal} = d\text{UUGUR.}\]
\[\text{Nusku} = d\text{PA+KU.}\]
\[\text{Rammēn} = d\text{IM.}\]
\[\text{Šibitti} = d\text{VII – BI.}\]
\[\text{Sin} = d\text{XXX.}\]
\[\text{Šamaš} = d\text{UD.}\]

I. NAMES OF PERSONS.

**Ab-ba-ّ (hypocor., cf. Ab-ba-tum, Ibb-\text{ba-tum}, Ranke, P. N.)**
\[f.\text{ of Bu-ru-sha, London, 102, I, 28.}\]
\[\text{Abullu(KA.GAL)-ta-ta-par(?)-a-a-û} mār šarrī, III R. 43, II, 26.\]
\[\text{A-da (hypocor., cf. Ranke, P. N.)} in Bit-mA-da III R. 43, I, 3, 15, 17, 21; II, 23, 25; III, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14; edge IV, 1, 4, 6; III R. 45, No. 2, 4, 7.\]
\[\text{A-dal-la-lî (cf. A-da-lāl-lum, Ranke, P. N.)}\]
\[f.\text{ of Is-kul(?)-da-a, London, 103, I, 41.}\]

**A-ga-ab-ta-ّ (hypocor., cf. Ha-li-gal-ba-tu-û, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 1, 8.**
\[\text{Aḫē(SES.MES)-šul-lim (abbrev., cf. Šamaī-aḫē-sul-lim)}\]
\[1. \text{b. of dMār-bīti-šum-ib-ni, London, 102, I, 23; IV, 32.}\]
\[2. \text{V. A. 2663, IV, 16.}\]
\[\text{A-ḫi (abbreviated)}\]
\[f.\text{ of dNabû-un-na, Neb. Nippur, III, 15; V, 16.}\]
\[\text{Aḫu(SES)-at-tu-û-a, “My brother(?)” Neb. Nippur, II, 27; III, 8.}\]
\[\text{Aḫu-bēnī† (KAK-î) (hypocor., as indi-}\]

* Compare with this name the opening stanza of a hymn addressed to Marduk (Craig, Religious Texts, pl. 29: a-dal-lî zî-kir-ka dMarduk.
† Not Nusku-na'id as Scheil translates, because SES.KAK is not preceded by the determinative ilu. For the correct reading see Tallquist, N. B., p. 4.
Aḫu-ba-nu-ú(ni-ı)
 of ıššir-šum-iddina, Susa, 16, II, 25; III, 2.
Aḫu-da-rú-u(ri-i), (cf. Šamaš-lu-da-ri).
 s. of dEllil-ki-di-ni, London, 103, IV, 12, 20, 40; V, 7, 13.
Aḫu-er-ba (abbreviated)
 s. of Ḥab-ba, ḫa-šu, C. T., X, pl. III, 26.
Aḫu-iddina
 s. of Mu-šal-šim-aplu, V. A. 2663, IV, 12.
Aḫu-ni-e-a (hypocor.) s. of Daian-Šu-Marduk, Susa 16, I, 13; II, 15, 31; IV, 10.
 dAi(GAL)-bēl-šumātī(MUMES)
 s. of Ra-šaq, V. A. 209, IV, 16.
 dAi(GAL)-mu-tak-kil, "Ai gives strength.
 s. of dNabû-iddina, V. A. 209, V, 19.
Amel-šEllil
 s. of Ḥa-an-bi, III R. 41, I, 10, 28.
Amel-E-ul-maš
 s. of Sam-(U)-eš-ša-la, III R. 43, I, 19; II, 19.
Amel-šBal-ši-in
Amel-ššakkēl(PARTESI,MEŠ)-ša-Us-tim*
Amel-dNabû
Am-me-en-na (cf. Am-men-ni, Tall-
 quist, N.B.) hšaq, London, 102, VI, 16.
dAmurri†(KUR.GAL)-e-a (hypocor.)
Anu-bēl-aḫē-šu (better than Ilu-bēl-
aḫē-šu)
dA-num-nāṣir(PAP)
s. of Nūr-dSin, V. A. 209, II, 14; V. 15.
Apil(TUR.US)-ia
 f. of Muṣabī-išu, III R. 43, II, 16.
A-qar-dNabû, "Nabû is dear.
 1. f. of Ak-na-ši, C. T., X, pl. III, 2.
Arddu†-dE-a (written dBE in No. 18)
 1. f. of Igša(-ša)-dBa-u, London, 101, II, 8; Susa, 16, III, 22; D.
 5. f. of ḪE-a-ku-dur-ri-ib-ni, III R.
 7. f. of Iz-šu-dNabû, Susa 16, II, 3.
 8. f. of Šu-zib-dMarduk, Susa 16, II, 8.
 10. f. of Zēr-ib-ni, 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: ḫšaq šap-par, ḫRē'-a ḫḫātī, ḫKa-nik-bābī and perhaps ḫBēl-bašmē, unless the latter is abbreviated.
† For this rendering of the ideogram dKUR.GAL see Clay, B. E., X, p. 8, and the hypocoristicon Amurri-ia, which exchanges with dKUR.GAL-ēriš in Peiser, Urkunden aus der Zeit der dritten babylonischen Dynastie, Berlin, 1905, p. 41.
‡ The most common writing is Ar-dI-dBēl, cf. Tallquist, N. B., p. 12, although the form Ar-du-dNusku also occurs. See Clay, B. E., XV, 27, note 5.

Ardi-d-Gu-la
s. of Kal-bi, V R. 56, 21.

Ardi-d-Istar(RI)

Ardi-d-Marduk(SU)

Ardi-d-Nabu
s. of Ardi-d-E-a, London, 102, VI, 20.

Ardi-d-Na-na-a
s. of Mudammiq(-iq)-d-Rammān, I R. 66, II, 13; V R. 56, 13; Stone of Amrān II [1].


Ardi-d-Sibitti
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)-ilăn-i-damqati (BIR,ME).
s. of dNabu-ile’i(DA), V. A. 2663, V, 10.

Ar-ra-ku-tu
f. of Ina-ekē-ēṭir, V. A. 209, I, 4.

f. of dNabu-aḫu-ni, V. A. 208, 51.
in Bit-MA-ša-ri-du, V. A. 208, 45.

dAššur(HI)-aḫ-iddina
dAššur-bān(KAK)-apl(u)(A)
šar kiššati, C. T., X, pl. IV, 11.

At-na-ai
f. of dNabu-apal-iddina, C. T., X, pl. III, 1, 10, 20, 22.

At-rat-taš
f. of Ardi-d-Sibitti, London, 102, I, 11, 15, 19, 31, 32; III, 6, 21; IV, 15, 31, 37; VI, 2, 7.

At-ta-ilu-ma

At-tu-št-ši
s. of Ki-diš(dāš), Neb. Nippur, V, 14.

Ba-bi-la-ai-št-ši
s. of dSin-lišir, I R. 66, II, 8; III R. 43, II, 1.

Ba-laš-su (abbreviated, cf. dBēl-balāṣu-ibī, Talquist, N. B.)
s. of It-tab-ši, V. A. 209, II, 21.

Ba-ni-ia (hypocor.)
1. s. of E-ṭi-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-ēš)*
s. of Ulûlai, V. A., 209, II, 18.

Ba-ri-ki-šu (cf. Hebr. בִּרְיָה)
C. T., X, pl. VI, 21.

Ba-ša-ah-iddina(-na)

Ba-šu-šum-iddina(-na)

* Thus according to a suggestion of Dr. Ungnad.
Ba-zi (cf. city Baṣ.)
3. in Bit-ma-zi, D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 14; and perhaps in C. T., IX, pl. V, 24, instead of Bit-ma-zi.
Be-la-ni (abbreviated, cf. Bel-bel-a-ni, Strassaer, Neb., 135, 15)
f. of Ri-mu-ti and Tab-nu-ti, London, 103, II, 16; III, 3, 10, 12, 32, 44.
Bel-ah-e-erba (SU)
ḫa-ku Bēbili, V. A. 2663, III, 36; IV, 50; V, 34.
Bēl-am-ma
mār ṭiṣṣarī, V. A. 2663, IV, 29.
Bēl-aman-ti-šu (abbrev. from perhaps Bēl-ama-māti-šu-utir)
V. A. 2663, III, 44.
s. of Šamaš-eṣīrāt(PIN), V. A. 208, 50.
s. of Ardi-DE-a, Susa 16, III, 4.
Bel-i-pal(KAK-wi)
V. A. 208, 22.
Bel-er-ba
s. of Ku-ri-gal-zu, V. A. 208, 27.
Bel-ididina(-na)
1. s. of Ši-gu-a-a, C. T., X, pl. VII, 50.
2. s. of Nābū-zēr-ididdina(-na), V. A. 208, 1, 14, 18, 49.
Bel-ilē-i(DA)-kalāmi(KAK.A.BI), “Bēl is all powerful.”
s. of E-saq-il-a-a, C. T., X, pl. VII, 48.
Bel(?)-ili-ia
ḫa-pīn ekallā, C. T., X, pl. VII, 43.
Bel-mu-šal-lum
ḫabrū, O. B. I., 149, I, 16.
Bel-šum-iskun(SA-un)
in Bit-ma-Bēl-šum-iskun, V. A. 209, III, 6, 21.
Bēl-ū-sa-tu, “Bēl is help.”
s. of I-bu-nu, V. A. 209, II, 15; IV, 2, 19, 13.
Bēl-ū-sip-pi, “Bēl I implored.”
mār ṭiṣṣarī, V. A. 209, V, 18.
Bēl-ushabī(GAL-ti), “Bēl has called into existence.”
Bi-e-a
s. of Ši-ša-a, V. A. 209, IV, 9.
Bi-ra-a (cf. Bi-ri-i-a, Clay, B. E., XV)
s. of Ardi-DE-a, D. E. P., 44, I, 43.
Bit-dar(?)-da-ri-ib-nu
Bit-di-bi-na
šarru, D. E. P., 93, II, 5.
Bur-ra-Bu-ri-aš (Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-as)
Bu-ru-a (cf. Bu, ywh.)
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-bi (abbrev., cf. Da-bi-bi-ni-ir)
f. of La-ba-ši-Marduk, V. A. 2663, V, 8.
Daian(DI.KUD)-Marduk
1. f. of A-šu-ni-e-a, Susa 16, I, 14; II, 15; IV, 11.
Da-ku-ru (cf. Mār-Da-ku-ru, Bezdov, Catalogue V, 1994).
f. of Nabū-mušallim(GI), C. T., X, pl. V, 10; VII, 45.
Dāmiq(ŠI.BIR-iq)-Rammān
in ʾalu ša ʾmDāmiq-dRammān, Susa 3, II, 24.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

 đuDur šarru-kēn-ai-īti
d. of Šīr-uṣur, I R. 70, I, 14.

E-a-iddīna

E-a-ku-dur-ri-ib-ni
s. of Ardi-DE-a, III R. 43, II, 3.

E-a-ma-lik
knangaru, in Bīt-mdE-a-ma-lik, Susa 3, I, 22.

E-an-na-ellu(AZAG.GAL)

E-an-na-sum-iddīna(na)
E-gi-bi (cf. Tallquist, N. B., p. 57)
f. of Ku-dur-ru, V. A. 2663, IV, 12.

Ešalla-ai
s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I, 14.

E-kar-ra-iqīša(BA-ša)

Ellīl-iddīna(SE-na)

Ellīl-ki-di-ni

Ellīl-mušallim(GL)-aplū, “Bēl has preserved a son.”
s. of ḫaq-šup-par, III R. 43, II, 5.

Ellīl-nādin-aplu
šarru, O. B. I., 83, I, 9, 18.

Ellīl-nādin-šumu
2. s. of Ša-zu-ū-tî, III R. 43, II, 11.
3. s. of Ḥab-ban, V. R. 56, 23.

Ellīl-šum-ib-ni

Ellīl-šum-im-bi
perhaps s. of Daš[n]-DE Marduk, London, 103, I, 16; III, 6, 25, 34, 37.

ḫbārū, V. R. 56, 25.

Ellīl-zēr-ke-ni, “O Ellīl, establish the seed.”

Erba (abbreviated)
1. s. of Na-na-šu, V. A. 208, 10.
2. s. of Im-bu-pānī-ia, V. A. 209, III, 24.

Er-ba-DE Marduk
1. šar Bēbīli, V. A. 2663, II, 43; III, 52.
2. s. of Ardi-DE-a, C. T., X, pl. III, 29.

E-sag-ila-ai

E-sag-ila-bu-nu-ū-a

E-sag-ila-zērū (identical with Ina-E- sag-ila-zērū)
f. of Ṭāb-āšāb-DE Marduk, V. R. 56, 22;
cf. also I R. 70, I, 15, 19; I R. 66, II, 12.

E-tī-ru(rī)
s. of Ba-ni-ia, ḫāangu DA-e, V. A. 209, IV, 4, 26; V, 17.

E-ul-maš-nāṣir
s. of Tu-na-mis-šaḥ, London, 102, VI, 19.

E-ul-maš-šurqī(ŠA-ki)-iddīna
s. of Ba-zi, III R. 43, I, 29.

GUL.KI.SAR

Gu-la-zēr-iqīša(BA-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.
In Bit-mHa-ra-ḫu, C. T., X, pl. V, 12, 16; pl. VI, 29.

Hab-ba (cf. Han-bi)
4. in Bit-mHab-ban (Hab-ba-an), V R. 56, 50; I R. 70, I, 3, 10, 12; II, 5.

Ha-li-e
in Bit-mHa-li-e, C. T., X, pl. VI, 18.

Ha-an-bi
2. in Bit-mHa-an-bi, III R. 41, I, 2, 3, 7, 34.

Har-ra
V. A. 209, III, 5.

Ha-sar-du
1. s. of Su-me-e, ḫṣukkal mu-ni-ri, 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-šu-ru

4. f. of dGu-la-zēr-īqiša, prob. same as Nos. 2 and 3, Neb. Nippur, V, 23.

Ina-E-sag-ila-zēnu
1. f. of Mardu-kl-naphari (DUL), ḫṣukkalu, III R. 43, I, 9; Edge IV, 4, 5.
2. f. of Tāb-ša-bal-Mardu, I R. 70, I, 16, 19; I R. 66, II, 12; Stone of Amran, II, 1; cf. also V R. 56, 22.

Ina-eš-ēṭīr (KAR-īr), "From destruction he has delivered."


† Zimmermann (Beiträge, p. 60) suggests the reading duHarrān-šaddā.

Ina-ki-bi-\textsuperscript{d}EN.AB*  
\(\text{khaizen Babilu, V. A. 2663, V, 5.}\)

In-nu-\textit{u}-a (hypocor.)  
f. of Šarr-a-ni, V. A. 209, II, 36; III, 8.

Igša\textsuperscript{(BA-ša-a)} (cf. Clay, B. E., X, 19, \textit{špr}x).
s. of Šum-ukin, V. A. 209, II, 19.

Igša\textsuperscript{(BA-ša-ša-a)}-\textit{Ba-û}  
s. of Ardi-\textsuperscript{d}E-a, London, 101, II, 8;  
Susa 16, III, 21; D. E. P., VI, 43, II, 16.

Igša\textsuperscript{(BA-ša-ša-a)}-\textit{Marduk}  
apil karri, V. A. 2663, IV, 57.


Is-ba-\textit{d}Rammān(\textit{IM})  
in Bīt-\textit{m}Is-ba-\textit{d}Rammān, Susa 3, I, 18.

I-sin-na-\textit{ai}  
f. of Ū-bal-li, V. A. 209, III, 10.

Is-kal(?-\textit{da}-a  

\textit{dI-šum-ba-\textit{n}}  
s. of Sin-ka-rab-\textit{iš-me}, V. A. 2663, V, 12.

\textit{It-tab-ši} (abbrev., cf. \textit{It-tab-ši-lišir},  
"May that which has been created prosper!")

1. 1. of Ba-la\textit{š}-su, V. A. 209, II, 21;  
IV, 11.

2. s. of \textit{d}Nabu-\textit{ša-a\textit{d}[u-nu(?)]}, V. A. 202, 25.

\textit{Itt}-\textit{d}Marduk-balâtu (TI.LA)  
1. f. of \textit{d}Nabu-zēr-lišir, Neb. Nippur,  
III, 14.

2. f. of Sāpiku, III R, 41, I, 13  
(identical with No. 1).


Iz-\textit{ku}-\textit{d}Nabu  
s. of Ardi-\textit{d}E-a, Susa 16, II, 3.

Kāl-bi (abbrev., cf. Kalbi-d\textit{Sin})  
f. of Ardi-\textit{d}Gu-la, V. R. 56, 21.

Kan-dar-šam(\textit{U})-\textit{ši}  
f. of Ba-ni-ia, V. A. 208, 29.

Kā-an-\textit{di}  
f. of \textit{d}Sin-bēl-ilāni, B. O. I, 149, I, 4.

Kā-nik-bāhī, "notary."  
f. of Mar-duk, V. A. 2663, IV, 27.

Kā-\textit{ri}-e-a (hypocor., cf. \textit{d}Nabû-\textit{ina-kārī-lāmur}, Nk. 402, 18)  
f. of \textit{d}Nabû-ga-mil V. A. 2663, IV, 8.

Kār-zi-ia-\textit{ab-ku}  
1. f. of (\textit{d}Šu-)ga-na-\textit{nu-apal-iddina},  
London, 102, IV, 6.

2. f. of Zēr-ukin (perhaps-identical  
with No. 1), London 102, IV, 15,  
28, 33.

3. f. of Ellil-\textit{i}-\textit{zu} ..., D. E. P., VI,  
44, I, 6.

4. in Bīt-\textit{m}Kar-\textit{zi-ia-\textit{ab-ku}, V. R. 55,  
25, 35, 45; 56, 4, 30.

5. f. of Rit-\textit{t} Marduk, V. R. 56, 8.

Kā-ša-\textit{ti-ia-an-zī}  

Kā-ša-\textit{ti-Šu-gab} (Cassite)  
s. of Aḫu-bānī(-\textit{ š}), Susa 2, II, 30;  
Med. I, 2.

Kāš-\textit{ka-a}  
\(\text{kšakin(-\textit{i})} \text{te-mi}, O. B. I., 149, I, 18.

Kāš-\textit{ka-ai}  
s. of At-\textit{rat-taš}, London, 102, I, 12;  
III, 16; IV, 31.

Kāš-\textit{ku-û}  

2. s. of Ḥu-un-na, Neb. Nippur, V,  
22.

\textit{Kāš-šu-ū-makin-aplu}  
s. of Ba-zī, London, 102, VI, 17.

\textit{Kāš-šu-ū-nādīn-âhē}  
s. of At-\textit{rat-taš}, London, 102, I, 13;  
IV, 46.

\textit{Kāš-šu-ū-šum-iddina(-na)}  
s. of Na-\textit{zi-\textit{d}Marduk, London, 102,  
VI, 18.

* Perhaps intended for Ina-ki-bi-\textsuperscript{d}EN.ZU.AB = Ea; or AB might be a title,  
for the name \textsuperscript{m}Ina-ki-bi-\textsuperscript{d}Bēl occurs; cf. Nd. 753, 16.
Ki-bušik-nu
V. A. 209, III, 18, 22.
Ki-di-ni (hypocor., cf. Ki-din-d-Marduk)
s. of đBēl-iddina, V. A. 208, 2, 6, 21, 32.
Ki-din-Dupliaš(AB. NUN. NAŠ)
V. A. 211, II, 13.
Ki-din-d-Marduk, “The client of Marduk.”
Ki-din-d-NIN.IB
1. s. of Nam-ri, Susa 16, II, 5, 21.
Ki-diš(dasš)
Ki-in-pi(KA)-šamaš (cf. I-ku-un-bi-Sin, Ranke, P. N., p. 98)
1. 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
Ku-du-ru-na (hypocor., cf. Ranke, P.
N., p. 13)
s. of đBēl...., London, 103, I, 21.
Ku-dur-ru
s. of E-ge-bi, V. A. 2663, IV, 11.
Ku-ri-Gal-zi
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 đMarduk-apal-iddina
I, IV R.² 38, I, 25.
4. s. of đBēl-erba, V. A. 208, 27.

Kur-zu-bu
s. of Su-me-e-a, D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 14.
La-ba-ši-Marduk (cf. Lā-tu-ba-ša-ni-
ṭānu, Ps. 25 : 2; Tallquist, N. B.,
p. 308)
s. of Da-bi-bi, V. A. 2663, V, 8.
La-ba-šu (abbreviated)
2. s. of Ra-ḥaš, V. A. 209, IV, 16.
3. La-ra-ṣer-ibni(KAK!)
s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I, 12.
La-ri-i(?)
V. A. 208, 40.
Li-bur-za-nin-E-kur, “May the restorer
of Ekur be strong.”
ḫaṣāq, London, 101, II, 6; Susa 16,
III, 17.
/Li-ki-im-ma-ai
V. A. 209 IV, 12.
Lūša(UD.DU)-a-na nár-ā-Marduk
Lūša(UD.DA)-ṭū. . .
Mār-biti(TUR.E)-aḫi-iddina(-na)
mār šarrī, London, 102, IV, 44.
Mār-biti(TUR.E)-ša-li-ti
s. of Me-li-Ha-la, London, 102, IV, 45.
Mār-biti(TUR.E)-šum-ibni(KAK)
s. of Ardi-d-Sibiti, London, 102, I, 19,
25 [35], III, 18; IV, 18, 19, 28,
32.
Mar-duk
1. s. of Ka-nik-bābi, V. A. 2663, IV,
26, 41.
2. s. of đSin-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.² 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.
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1. šarru, O. B. I., 149, I, 14.

2. [Me]-li-Ḫa-la, s. of Zu-me-d-[a], D. E. P., II, 112, 8; VI, 44; I, 2 (?) .

Me-li-Ši-pak


f. of Marduk-apal-iddina I., Susa 2, Med. 2, I, 3.


Mi-li-Ḫar-be


Mudammiq(SI.BIR-ig)-dRammān


Muk-kut-is-saḥ (cf. perhaps Tu-na-mi-ša-su-ah, IV R. 38, I, 14)

1. s. of Ša-(za)-ap-ri, V R. 56, 16.

2. in Bit-muk-kut-is-saḥ, Susa 2, I, 12, 18.

Mu-un-na-bit-tu(ti), “fugitive.”

s. of Šubu(DUG.GA)-me-tu-ri, Susa 16, I, 6; II, 11, 19, 32; III, 9, 13.

Mu-ra-nu

s. of Še-kib-zi-bar, . . . . , V A. 208, 42.

Mušabī(TUK)-ilu

s. of Apli-ia, III R. 43, II, 15.

Mu-šal-li-mu (abbrev., cf. dNabā mušallim)

s. of dSin-apal-iddina, V A. 208, 23.

Mu-šal-lim-aplu


Mu-šal-lim-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 bī-za-an-na, V A. 208, 41.
Nabû-apal-iddina

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.

Nabû-ahu-ni(!)*
s. of Ašab-šu, V. A. 208, 51.

Nabû-balûš(TIN)-su-îiq-bi
V. A. 2663, V, 4.

Nabû-šumâti(MU.MES)
s. of Iš-ia, C. T., X, pl. VII, 47.

Nabû-bêl-ur-šîr
kša-kin, C. T., X, pl. VII, 42.

Nabû-ga-mil
1. s. of Ka-ri-e-a, V. A. 2663, IV, 7.
2. mûr ñanangaru, V. A. 208, 9.

Nabû[erîš]-îaš (cf. Šamaḫ-erîš of this list)
s. of Ardi-dEa, O. B. I, 149, I, 15.

Nabû-ḫa-mat-u-a, “Nabû is my help” (?)

Nabû-iddina(SE-na)
1. f. of Ai(GAL)-mu-tak-kîl, V. A. 209, V, 19.

Nabû-îleḫi(DA)
1. s. of Arktû-italû-ûmâti, V. A. 2663, V, 10.
2. s. of Nûr-ûSin, V. A. 209, I, 3, 17, 20, 26; II, 35; III, 9, 23; IV, 1, 6, 15, 18, 31, 34, 38.

Nabû-iqša(BA-ša)

Nabû-kur-di-urûgur(SA.DU.SEŠ)

Nabû-mukin(GL.NA)-aplu
šarru, London, 102, I, 10, 18; II, 37; III, 9, 12, 22; IV, 1, 12, 14.

Nabû-mušallim(GL)
s. of Da-ku-ru, C. T., X, pl. V, 10, 11; VII, 45.

Nabû-nûdûnumûd
1. s. of Nam-ri, I R. 66, II, 15.
2. IV R. 38, I, 32.

Nabû-na-šê-ir
s. of Na-zi-ûMarduk, IV R. 38, II, 34.

Nabû-nûmû-ûd-ûbû
hušarru, V. A. 2663, V, 14.

Nabû-rû-ûmû-zûru
s. of Ardi-dEa, I R. 66, II, 14.

Nabû-rîm-an-nî
C. T., X, pl. VII, 43.

Nabû-sa-du-mûnu(?)†
f. of It-tab-šî, V. A. 208, 25.

Nabû-sa-kin(âkin-in)-ûmû
1. s. of Ardi-dEa, IV R. 38, II, 36.

Nabû-saqû(IM)-mu-mûti

Nabû-ûmû-ûd-ûnûa
1. s. of Su-zûb-ûMarduk, Susa 16, II, 7.
2. ùnûa dApsû(ENGUR), O. E. I., 83, I, 15.

Nabû-tab-ûn-ûl(û)-ûlît
London, 102, VI, 20.

s. of A-û, Neb. Nippur, III, 15; V, 16.

Nabû-ûû-ûrû-sû (â Nabû-ûû-ûshû-sû), II R. 67, 15
s. of dNabû-ûû-ûdûnûa, V. A. 208, 19.

br. of Mûrû-bûû-ûmû-ûnûa, London, 102, I, 22.

Nabûûû-ûrû-ûnûa
s. of Bût-ûri(?)-dû-ûrû-ûnûa, V. A. 209, II, 23.

* Dr. Ungnad regards the last nu as a scribal error for ir and accordingly reads the name dNabû-nûšûr(-ir).
† Read dNabû-sûkûn-su[nu] by Ungnad; see Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmâler, Vol. I, p. vii, 13; but compare the name dSin-ša-du-nûa of this list.
dNabú-zēr-iddina(-na)
1. f. of dBel-iddina, V. A. 208, 1, 14,
   18, 20, 32, 49.
2. f. of dNabû-ūšib-si (identical
   with No. 1), V. A. 208, 20.
3. dNabû-zēr-līšir(SI.DI)
   1. s. of Ardi-dEu, Neb. Nippur, V
   24.
   2. s. of Ilti-dMarduk-balatù, Neb.
      Nippur, III, 13.
Nam-gar(SA)-dûr-dEllīti*
   London, 103, III, 23.
Nam-mu-ū-u
   apil šangû dRammân, V. A. 2663, IV,
   39.
Namri (cf. Nam-rū, Clay, B. E., XV,
   "shining")
1. f. of Ki-din-dNIN.JB, Susa 16, II,
   5.
2. f. of dNabû-nādīn-aḫē, I R. 66, II,
   15.
Na-na-šu
   f. of Er-ba, V. A. 208, 10.
Na-šī-bi-štu
   in Bit-mNa-šī-bi-ilu, C. T., X, pl. VI,
   20.
Na-zi.d . . . .
   f. of Nim-gi-ra-bi-dMar[duk], D.E.P.,
   II, 93, 1, 10.
Na-zi.dEllīti
   f. of dNIN.JB-bēl-šu-nu, V. A. 2663,
   V, 1.
Na-zi-dMarduk
   1. s. of Šad-dak-me, V R. 56, 12.
   2. s. of Zēri-i-a, London, 102, IV, 4.
   3. f. of dNabû-na-šī-ir, IV R. 38, II,
      35.
   4. f. of dKaš-su-ū-shūm-iddina-(na),
      London, 102, VI, 18.
   5. in Bit-mNa-zi-dMarduk, IV R. 38,
      I, 10.
Nazi-Marut-taš
   s. of Ku-rī-Gal-ju, Susa 2, I, 1; II, 26.
dNergal-apal-uṣur
   V. A. 211, II, 5.
4. dNergal(UGUR)-ašaridu(SAG.KAL)
   s. of dSin-šar-bi-isme, C. T., X, pl.
   VII, 49.
5. dNergal-ēpuš(KAK-UŠ)
   V. A. 209, IV, 29.
6. dNergal-pi-šu-ū-u
   bēši-kīn PAŠ.EŠ, V. A. 211, II, 1.
7. dNergal-ūšib-si (ušib-si(IG-ši))
   1. s. of Tu[am]-ma-šad(la)-dar, C
      T., X, pl. III, 27.
   2. V. A. 211, II, 8.
Ni-bi-Si-pak
   f. of Šu-ḫu-li-Šu-gab, Susa 2, Med. 2,
   8.
Ni-ča-zi
   Nim-ta(!)-ra-bi dMar[duk]
8. dNIN.JB-apal-iddina
   1. s. of dRammân-na-ši-ir, IV R. 38,
      II, 31.
   2. s. of At-rat-taš, London, 102, I,
      13.
9. dNIN.JB(BAR)-bēl-šu-nu
   s. of Na-zi-dEllīti, V. A. 2663, V, 1.
   dNIN.JB-ladurri-uṣur (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.
   dNIN.JB-nādīn(SES)-šumu
   London, 102, IV, 47.
   dNIN.JB-nāṣir(PAP-ir)
   London, 103, I, 27.
   dNIN.JB . . . tu-ū
   f. of Ta-kil-a-na-ši-šu, London, 103,
      II, 2.
   Nu-ur-ahē-šu (abbreviated)
   in alu ša Mu-ur-ahē-šu, Susa 3, I, 17.
   Nūr(LAḪ)-Buennē(HAR)
   f. of Šal-man-la-ti-ku, London, 102,
      IV, 9.
   Nūr-e-a (hypocor.)
   in Bit-mNūr-e-a, C. T., X, pl. VI, 24,
      29.

* This name occurs as the name of a canal in the Murashû texts, cf. B. E.,
  Vol. X, p. 79.
Núr-dE-a
Núr-lúkîr(SL.DI)
  f. of Samu'a and Samaš, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 2; V, 29.
Núr-dMarduk
  f. of Ilu-ama-adammiq(-i), London, 102, VI, 22.
Núr-dSin (XXX)
  1. f. of dNabû-lētī, V. A. 209, I, 3; III, 9, 23; IV, 1, 18.
  2. f. of Sā-ba-ia, V. A. 209, II, 13, 14; V, 14.
  3. f. of dA-num-nāgīr, V. A. 209, II, 14; V, 15 (perhaps all three identical).
Nusku(PA+KU)-ib-ni

Pîr-dAmurru(KUR.GAL)
  1. in Bit-mPîr-dAmurru, O. B. L., 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-Pîr(?)-dAmurru(MAR.TU), London, 101, I, 6, 7, 12.
Pîr(UD)-ša (cf. perhaps Pîr(UD)-ša-ti, Clay, B. E., XV, 49, or abbreviated from Pîr-dSamaš, see p. 186f.)
Pîr-ib-Samaš
  s. of Šu-ma-at(?)-dSamaš, D. E. P., II, 93, I, 14.

Rabâ(GAL-a)-ša-dMarduk

Ra-ḥaṣ
  f. of La-ba-šu, V. A. 209, IV, 17, 35, 36.
Rûmân(IM)-bēl-ka-la
Rûmân-ib-ni
  s. of Mušešib-dMarduk, C. T., X, pl. V, 14; VI, 31.

Rûmân-da-an
  ḫusukku, C. T., X, pl. VII, 42.
Rûmân-na-ṣi-ir
  f. of dNIN.IB-apal-iddina, IV R.2 38, II, 32.
Rûmân-šum-erīš
  s. of dSin-apal-iddina, V. A. 208, 22.
Rûmân-šum-iddina
  šarru, London, 103, I, 2, 4, 18, 24, 37; VI, 29.
Rûmân-šum-ūṣur (or perhaps nādin-aḫu)
  šarru, London, 103, I, 40, 45; II, 17; III, 2, 39; IV, 5, 31; VI, 30; D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 18.
šārat šarrī, D. E. P., II, 97, 8.
Rûmân-zēr-igīša(BA-ša)
  III R. 43, I, 6, 12; Edge IV, 3.
Mēšē-ni-pāḫōti
  f. of To-ki-ša-Šēšit, III R. 43, II, 8.
Rī-ha-ru
Rī-ha-ša-ilani, "The seed of the gods."
mār šarrī, London, 102, IV, 43.
Rī-me-ni-dMarduk, "Merciful is Marduk."
  f. of dNabû-na-din-aḫe, IV R.2 38, I, 34.
Rī-mu-la(ti) (abbreviated)
Rī-mu-lat-Gula
Rit-ti-dMarduk, "My hand (= help) is Marduk."
  bēl biti ša Bit-mKar-zi-ab-ku, V R. 55, 25; 35, 45; VI, 7.
Rī-ti-in-ni

Sa-a-mi-pa(?)
Ša-ga...
  D. E. P., II, 93, 9.

* For this reading see Tallquist, Namenbuch, p. 173a.
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\[ \text{dSAG-mudannig(SIBIR-ig)-šar-be} \]
\[ \text{d. of Ardi-dSibitti, London, 101, I, 16, 27, 34.} \]
\[ \text{Sa-mi-du (cf. Clay, B. E., XIV, p. 51; XV, p. 41)} \]
\[ \text{s. of dMarduk-e-a, III R. 43, II, 21.} \]
\[ \text{dSin(XXX)-aḫē-erba(SU)} \]
\[ \text{s. of Ra-as, V. A. 209, IV, 16.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-apal-iddina} \]
\[ \text{f. of Mu-sal-li-mu, V. A. 208, 23.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-ašaridu (SAG.KAL) (abbreviated, cf. dSin-aša-rid and dŠamaš-aša-ša-ri-il-il(VIN))}; \text{ see Tallquist, N. B.; cf. also Hilprecht in Rankes P. N., p. 129, under Nammar-SAG-KAL.} \]
\[ \text{1. O. B. I., 150, I, 2, 3, 4.} \]
\[ \text{2. in Bit-mdSin-ašaridu, Susa 2, II, 14; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 22.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-bēll(BE)-ilāni} \]
\[ \text{s. of Ka-an-di, O. B. I., 149, I, 3.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-ib-nu} \]
\[ \text{hnuhatimmu(MU), V. A. 209, II, 16.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-ka-rab-ša-me} \]
\[ \text{f. of dŠum-ba-ni, V. A. 2663, V, 12.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-karabī(GAZ,GAZ)-iš-me} \]
\[ \text{f. of dNergal-ašaridu, C. T., X, pl. VII, 49.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-lišir(SLI,DI)} \]
\[ \text{f. of Ba-bi-la-ai(-a), I-R. 66, II, 8; III R. 43, II, 2.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-ma-gir} \]
\[ \text{in Bit-mdSin-ma-gir, Susa 2, I, 28; O. B. I., 83, I, 11, 12; II, 4, 6, 13.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-mu-šal-lim} \]
\[ \text{s. of Bu-ru-ša, London, 102, VI, 15.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-ša-du-nu} \]
\[ \text{f. of dMarduk-zēr-ibni, C. T., X, pl. VII, 46.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-ši-me} \]
\[ \text{in Bit-mdSin-ši-me, Neb. Nippur, II, 20, 28; III, 1, 8, 9, 16 [30]; V, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-zēr-ib-ni} \]
\[ \text{ḫa-za-an-nu, Neb. Nippur, V, 19.} \]
\[ \text{dSin-tab-ni (abbreviated, cf. Sin-tab-ni-uṣur)} \]
\[ \text{f. of Mar-duk, V. A. 209, II, 12.} \]
\[ \text{Su-ḫur-Gal-du (cf. p. 174)} \]
\[ \text{in Bit-mdSu-ḫur-Gal-du, Neb. Nippur, Heading 9; III, 3.} \]
\[ \text{Su-me-e} \]
\[ \text{f. of Ḥa-sar-du, London, 101, I, 15.} \]
\[ \text{Su-me-e-a} \]
\[ \text{f. of Kur-za-bu, D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 14.} \]
\[ \text{Ša-ba-ia*} \]
\[ \text{s. of Nār-dSin, V. A. 209, II, 13; V, 14.} \]
\[ \text{Šad-dak-me†} \]
\[ \text{f. of Na-zi-Marduk,V R. 56, 12.} \]
\[ \text{Ša-ga-rak-tum (abbrev., cf. Šagarakti-Šuriaš) } \]
\[ \text{ḫa-kin te-me mòt duIr-ri-ša, D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 11.} \]
\[ \text{Šal-manša-ti-šu...} \]
\[ \text{s. of Nār-dBunene, London, 102, IV, 8.} \]
\[ \text{Ša-ma-ai} \]
\[ \text{s. of Ša-mu-ú-a, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 1, 17; pl. V, 29.} \]
\[ \text{Ša-mar-di} \]
\[ \text{br. of dMār-bitti-šum-ibni, London, 102, I, 22.} \]
\[ \text{dŠamaš(UT)-ēriš(PIN)} \]
\[ \text{f. of dBēl-iddina, V. A. 208, 50.} \]
\[ \text{dŠamaš-iddina (abbreviated) } \]
\[ \text{ḫa-za-an-nu Ḫa-ni, London, 101, I, 18.} \]
\[ \text{dŠamaš-nādin-šumu} \]
\[ \text{1. s. of Ardi-nu-bat-ti, Susa 3, I, 30.} \]
\[ \text{2. s. of At-ta-ilu-ma, V R. 56, 17.} \]
\[ \text{3. s. of Bu-ru-ša, London, 102, I, 17, 27, 36; IV, 30.} \]
\[ \text{dŠamaš-nāšir(SES) (abbreviated, see Tallquist, N. B., 142, under dNabû-nāšir) } \]
\[ \text{ḫaq-šup-par, Neb. Nippur, V, 9.} \]

* Cf. the names Ša-bu-ú-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-ilu, Susa, 3, I, 33.
šarru, C. T., X, pl. V, 7; VI, 29; VII, 51.
Šam(U)-es-Ḫa-la
Ša-mu-ū-a
s. of Nār-lišir, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 1, 17; pl. V, 28.
Šāpik (DUB-ik)-aḫru* (abbreviated)
f. of Iddinā, V. A. 208, 34, 37, 54.
Ša-pi-šu (abbreviated)
s. of Itti-Ḫaruduk-balatu, III R. 41, I, 13
mŠag-šup-por (cf. p. 201*)
Sūr-a-ni (abbrev., cf. dBēl-šar-a-ni, Tallquist, N. B.)
s. of In-nu-ū-a, V. A. 209, II, 35; III, 8.
Šar-bi Ellil†
ḫazzuna, O. B. I., 149, I, 19.
šarru-ukin (DU)(aḫ-in)
šarru, C. T., X, pl. IV, 12; V. A. 209, II, 28; V, 4.
Ša-za-ū-li
Še-kiš-ša-bar, . . .
f. of Mu-ra-nu, V. A. 208, 42.
Še-li-bi
in ḫlu ša Mār-mŠe-li-bi, Susa 3, I, 44.
ŠES-a-pa, . . .
in Bit-mŠES-a-pa, . . ., London, 103, III, 48.
Ši-gu-ū-a (cf. Še-gu-su, Nk. 305, 14, and kēgā, lamentation)
f. of dBēl-iddina(-na), C. T., X, pl. VII, 50.
Ši-ta-ri-ša, “She has increased” (cf. p. 186).
Šū-ul-hu
C. T., X, pl. IV, 6.
Šu-šu-ri-Šu-gab
s. of Ni-bi-Ši-pak, Susa 2, Med. 2, 7.
Šū-la-a (cf. perhaps Šul-la-ū-a, Tallquist, N. B.)
f. of Bi-e-a, V. A. 209, IV, 9.
Šu-li-[š]
D. E. P., VI, 43, III, 2.
Šul-ma-šu-narišin (MAS)
šar mašir Anšur, V. A. 209, I, 1.
Šu-ma-ša
1. s. of Er-ba, V. A. 209, III, 24.
2. s. of dMarduk-šār-[ilāni(?)], C. T., X, pl. VI, 25.
Šu-ma-at(?)-dŠamaš
Šum-il-ša-ši-šu-ši, “The name of the god is his diviner.”
O. B. I., 149, I, 8.
Šum-ukin (GI.NA)
f. of Iqṣa (BA-ša-a), V. A. 209, II, 19.
Šu-qa-mu-na-ḫu-iddina
s. of Mi-li-Ḫar-be, III R. 43, II, 13.
(Su)-qa-mu-na-apal-iddina(-na)
s. of Kar-zi-ab-ku, London, 102, IV, 5.
Šu-zib-Marduk
s. of Ardi-dEa, Susa 16, II, 8.
Ša-ap-ri (cf. Za-ap-ru(m), ri), in Clay, B. E., XIV, p. 55. Probably abbreviated, a derivation of šaparu, to call
dŠi-r-ap-pi-li, perhaps “O Shir, answer.”
in Bit-mši-r-ap-pi-li, Neb. Nippur, Heading 5; III, 1.
dši-r-šu-iddina(-na)
s. of Aḫu-ba-nu-a, Susa 16, II, 24; III, 1.
dši-r-šu-ur (SEŠ)
s. of Ḥab-ba, 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.)

ḥazanni, V. A. 209, V. 16.

Tab-nu-ta(ti)

Ta-kil-a-na-il-i-šu, "He is trusting in his god."

1. ḫbārā, London 103, I, 5, 7, 28, 39, 42; II, 1, 7, 10, 15; III, 43; IV, 9, 22, 32, 41; V, 22, 30, 33.

2. Bit-maTa-kil-a-na-il-i-šu, London, 103, I, 1, 5, 36, 42; II, 7; III, 43; V, 30, 33.

Ta-gi-ša-taBelile(G.A.SAN)
s. of mRê-a-piḫâti, III, 43, II, 7.

Ta-gi-šu (abbreviated)
s. of Ki-in-pi-šŠamaš, Neb. Nippur, V, 12.

Tu(tam)-ma-šad(lad)-dar

Tu-na-mi-is-sa-aḫ(sah)

2. in Bit-maTu-na-mi-is-sa-aḫ(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.)

šMUK, V. A. 209, II, 17; IV, 44.

Ta-ab-a-shab-marduk, "Good is the dwelling of Marduk." (cf. Clay, B. E., XV, 44, note 2).*

s. of (Ina)-E-sug-ilâ-zerû, V R. 56, 22; I R. 70, I, 15, 18; I R. 66, II, 11;
Stone of Amrân, II, 1.

Ṭēbu(DUG.GA)-me-lu-a
f. of Mu-un-na-bit-tu, Susa 16, I, 7; III, 10.

Ṭōbu(DUG-mi-li-e

Ṭu-bi-ia-en-na
kṣaqû, V R. 56, 15.

U-bal-liš-su (abbreviated)

Ubalîš(T.I.LA)-su-4Gu-la
s. of Ardi-šĒa, V R. 56, 19.

Ū-bal-liš-su-4Marduk
f. of Ri-me-ni-šMarduk, IV R. 38, II, 2.

Ul-tu-tu (abbreviated)
f. of 4Šamaš-šum-lišir, Susa 3, I, 34.

m arhuUlûla-ai
f. of dŠamitr-ērê, V. A. 209, II, 18, 32.

Upâḫhîr(KIL)-dNûskû, "Nûskû gave strength" (cf. dNamû-upâḫhîr (NIGIN-ir)).

f. of dNûskû-ibni, Neb. Nippur, II, 13; III, 10,[31].

Up-pa...


Ur-dBelîš-muballîtat (T I N) - mitûti (BAD-ga)†
br. of Ta-kil-a-na-il-i-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.


2. s. of I-sin-na-ai, V. A. 209, III, 10.

Uš-bu-la
in Bit-mUš-bu-la, Neb. Nippur, III, 5.

Uź-bi-d...


Ū-ziḇ-dEllîl
kṣukallu, 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,' asābu, 'to dwell.' In view of Sum-il-ia-sip-ū-uš it is not impossible that the scribe mixed the ideograms for asābu and asūpu (the latter also pronounced asābu in Babylonian), so that the old translation, 'Good is the exorcism (asābu=asūpu) of Marduk,' would stand after all.

† The goddess Gula is meant, cf. her name dNIN.TIN.BAD-ga=bellum muballītat mītī, see Br. 11084.

( KA.DINGIR.RA ki ) 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. L., 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.

( KA.DINGIR ) V. A. 2663, III, 52.

(Băbi-lî ) V. A. 2663, I, 26.

( DUG ) V. R. 55 : 3.

( ŠU.AN.NA ki ) C. T., X, pl. IV, 16; V. A. 2663, V, 33; picture, I, 2.

Bar-sipki
V. A. 2663, III, 25; V, II; C. T., X, pl. VII, 47.

Ba-ṣi (the town Baṣ in the name of the canal naru[ar-ri-Baṣi])
Susa 3, I, 24.

( KuBit-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.

Bit-a-ṣar-nak-kān-di

Bit-a-ṣa-ni-
V. A. 2663, IV, 9.

Bit-mA-ṣa-ri-ku
V. A. 208, 45.

Bit-mAt-na-i

Bit-mAt-rat-taṣ
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-mdBēl-sum-lēkun(ŠA-un)
V. A. 209, III, 6, 21.
Bit-mdE-a-ma-lik, bnuangaru
Susa 3, I, 22.
Bit-mdEllī-il-il-ī
London, 103, IV, 29.
āluBit-mHa-ra-ḫu
C. T., X, pl. V, 12, 16; VI, 29.
Bit-mHab-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-e ...
C. T., X, pl. VI, 17.
Bit-mHi-ma-gu
Susa 16, I, 20.
Bit-mIm-bi-ia-li
III R. 41, I, 5.
Bit-mNa-ē-tē-tir
V. A. 209, I, 34.
Bit-mIr-ri-qa
Susa 3, I, 13.
Bit-mIs-ba-dRammān
Susa 3, I, 22.
Bit-mIs-kur-dNabā
Susa 16, II, 3.
Bit-mKar-zi-ia-ab-ku
Bit-mMuq-gutt-is-sah
Susa 2, I, 12, 18.
Bit-mNa-zi-bi-ilu
C. T., X, pl. VI, 20.
Bit-mNa-zi-dMarduk
IV R. 38, I, 10.
Bit-mNūr-e-a
C. T., X, pl. VI, 24, 29.
Bit-mPir'-dAmurrū (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(?)-dAmurrū (MAR.TU), London, 101, I, 6, 7, 12.
āluBit-Sik-ka-mi-du
Susa 3, II, 23.
Bit-mdSin-ašaritu(SAG.KAL)
Susa 2, II, 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, I, 8, 9, 16 [30]; V, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20.
Bit-mSu-ḫur-Gal-du
Neb. Nippur, Heading l. 9; III, 3.
Bit-mdStr-ap-pi-li
Neb. Nippur, Heading l. 5; III, 1.
āluBit-dŠamaš
V R. 56, 1.
Bit-mŠES-a-pa...
Bit-mŠum-il-la-šip-ū-šū
O. B. I., 149, I, 8.
Bit-mTu-kil-na-il-li-šu
London, 103, I, 1, 5, 36, 42; II, 7; III, 43; V, 30, 33.
Bit-mṬi...
London, 103, III, 50.
Bit-mTu-na-miš-saḫ(sa-ah)
Susa 3, I, 45; I R. 70, I, 8; IV R. 38, I, 14.
Bit-mUš-bu-la
āluša mDāmiq(-iq)-dRammān
Susa 3, II, 24.
āluDēr (not Dūr-iluki, see references below and Delitzsch, Lesestücke, p. 15')
āluDi-ri, V. A. 209, IV, 7.
āluDUR.AN.KI, V. A. 209, I, 2; II, 25, 31; III, 2, 18; IV, 25.
ālu[Di-]-e-ri, O. B. I., 83, I, 2.
āluDi-e-ir maḫāz dAnum, V. R 55, 14, 49.
Dīl-batīkī
V. A. 208, 2, 29, 49.
alúDi-in-du-bítu (alúDum-tu-bítu)
III R. 43, I, 27.

alúDi-in-sarru
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 3, 18.

alúDul-lum
D. E. P., II, 97, 2.

alúDun-ni-edini (Hommel, Geographie, p. 286)
V. A. 2663, IV, 21, 45.

Dúp-lí-ia-aš (not Um-ší-ia-aš; see also Hommel, Geographie, p. 296)
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.)

alúDúr-Ku-ri-gal-zu (Hommel, Geographie, p. 344)
Susa 3, I, 20.

alúDúr-šerigal
Susa 2, II, 7.

alúDúr-šerip-sukal (Hommel, l.c., p. 295)
Susa 2, I, 37.

alúDúr-Rim-Sin

alúDúr-šamash-ila-báni (KAK)
Susa 2, II, 12.

alúDúr-sarru (Hommel, l.c., p. 296)
Susa 2, I, 33.

alúDúr-sarru-ukin
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 20.

alúDúr-zí-ziši
IV R. 38, I, 3, 19.

alúDu-ul-tu

matuÈlamtuki
V R. 35, 41, 43; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 3, 9, 10.

only in personal name, cf. E-an-na-kum-iddina.

E-kur (the temple of Ellil in Nippur)

E-sag-ila (the temple of Marduk in Babylon, cf. Code of Hamm., 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-shar-ra (the temple of Ninib in Aršur, cf. the name Tukulti-apili-E-shar-ra and Gula is called: kal-lat E-shar-ra)

E-ul-maš (the temple of Anunit in Akkad, cf. Code of Hamm., IV, 49-51)
D. E. P., VI, 47, 15.

E-zi-da (the temple of Nebo in Bor-sippa, cf. Code of Hamm., III, 12-15)
IV R. 38, II, 14; D. E. P., VI, 46, IV, 3; V. A., 2663, II, 3.

alúGur-dlštar (NINNI) (Hommel, Geogr., 289)
IV R. 38, I, 5, 11, 18; II, 33.

Ha-ni

alú ša Ha-neki, D. E. P., II, 97, 6.

Hal-man (Hommel, Geogr., 295)
V R. 36, 22.

alúHu-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.

Hu-da-di, Susa 16, I, 28, 30.

piḫát màt alúHu-da-di(!), Susa 2, II, 4.

alúHar-ri-Ka-ri-e (cf. alúKa-ri-e)
D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 3.

alúHu-us-si
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 14, 22.

alúIr-ri-e-a (cf. alúIr-ri-ia, III R. 4, 3)
D. E. P., 44, I, 7, 10.

mat álIr-ri-ḫa
D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 12.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

\( \ddot{a}lu\-\ddot{a}h-\ddot{a}h-r_{\dot{a}}\ddot{u} \) (Ni-\ddot{a}h-in)
PA.ŠEki, V. A. 211, II, 2.
\( \ddot{a}lu\-\dot{i}k-u-nu-nak \)
I R. 66, II, 3.

\( m\ddot{a}tu\)Kal-du
\( \ddot{a}lu\)Kar-\(d\)Bélit
D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 2.
\( m\ddot{a}tu\)Kar-\(d\)Du-\(ni\)-ia-aš
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 5.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)Kar-\(d\)Nabû (Delitzsch, Paradies, 206)
I R. 70, I, 2.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)Ka-\(ri\)-\(c\) (in the district of Upl)
Susa 2, II, 17.
Kûtû(\(G\ddot{U}.\)DU.\(A\ddot{k}\)š)
V. A. 2663, V, 13.

\( \ddot{a}lu\)La-ba-\(š\)a\(\ddot{b}\)it-\(ja\)-\(ki\)\(š\)?
C.T., X, pl. VI, 27.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)La-\(ra\)k (only in personal name, cf.
\( m\) \( \ddot{a}lu\)La-\(ra\)k-\(z\ddot{e}r\)\(ib\)-\(ni\))
London, 102, I, 12.
\( m\ddot{a}tu\)Lul-\(lu\)-\(bi\)-\(i\)
V R. 55, 9.

\( \ddot{a}lu\)Man-\(du\)-\(u\)
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a\(\ddot{m}\)\(ā\ddot{h}-\(at\)-\(tu\)-\(u\)-\(a\)
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a\(\ddot{m}\)\(ā\ddot{h}\)-\(\ddot{m}\)\(še\)-\(li\)-\(bi\)
Susa 3, I, 44.

\( \ddot{a}lu\)Na-ba-\(ti\)(tu) (also in Neo-Babyl.
Names, see Tallquist, N. B., 293)
V. A. 2663, IV, 17, 19.
\( m\ddot{a}tu\)Na-ma-r
V R. 55, 47, 48, 51, 52, 55; V R. 56, 6, 8, 10, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 48.
Na-\(ra\)-\(ni\)-\(e\)
D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 7, 11.

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.
\( p\ddot{i}h\)at Nippur, London, 103, III, 42.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a\(\ddot{m}\)\(nu\)-\(ur\)-\(ah\)-\(hu\)
Susa 3, I, 17.

\( \ddot{a}lu\)Pa-da-an
D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 6.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)Parak(BAR)-\(m\ddot{a}\r(i(TUR)\(k\ddot{i}\)
\( \ddot{a}lu\)Pi-la-ri-i
Susa 2, II, 2.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)Pur-ra-taš
D. E. P., VI, 44, I, 8.

\( \ddot{a}lu\)Ra-i-\(zi\)-\(ni\) (at the banks of the canal
\( Su\)-\(ri\)-\(rab\)û)
Susa 2, I, 21.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a Raš-\(š\)a-\(gi\)-\(di\)kî
D. E. P., II, 93, I, 2.

\( Sip\)-\(par\)îkî
V. A. 2663, II, 8; III, 12.
\( Su\)-\(ba\)[\(r\)-\(tu\)] (=Mesopotamia, Winekler,
\( Forschungen\), I, 154f.)
D. E. P., II, 93, I, 5.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a-ha-ne\(k\)î
D. E. P., II, 97, 6.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a-ak-na-na-a
Susa 16, I, 2, 23.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a \(Ša\)\(l\)-\(h\)î ("Rampart city")
Susa 3, I, 47.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a-\(lu\)-\(lu\)-\(ni\) (at the Royal Canal)
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a-an-ba-\(š\)a
V R. 56, 1.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a-\(sa\)-\(i\)kî
Susa 2, I, 30.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)a-\(sa\)-\(na\)-\(ki\)
O. B. I., 149, I, 6, 10, 12.
\( \ddot{a}lu\)\(š\)ap-\(pi\)\(š\)a \(m\)\(Sa\)\(2\).
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-rî.

Ar-ra-ra
Susa 16, I, 34.

A-ta-da-dašar (cf. Delitzsch, Paradies, 192)
III R. 43, I, 16.

Be-dar(?) (cf. Hommel, Geographie, p. 267, and B. E., XV, 102, 12)
III R. 41, I, 2, 9.

Du-ú-tu (nár aluDu-ú-tu)
V. A. 209, IV, 25, 28.

Ha-ar-ri-Ba-ši, "The canal of (the city) Baš" (cf. Hommel, Geographie, p. 345).
Susa 3, I, 24.

Idiglat (MAŠ.TIK.KAR)
IV R.² 38, I, 4, 7; D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 4, 17; O. B. I., 83, I, 2; Neb.
Nippur, Heading, II, 28; III, 6.

Kan(Sum)-di-ri
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 23.

Ki-ba-a-ti
Susa 3, I, 50.

Ma-š-e-e
C. T., X, pl. III, 18.

Susa 16, I, 3, 24; I R. 70, I, 3.

Mi-ga-ti (=nár migati, see Hommel, Geographie, p. 296)
Susa 2, II, 8.

Min(NIS)-ga-ti-rabiti(GAL-ti)
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 21.

Min(Nis)-ga-ti-rim-ri
London, 102, I, 3.

Nár šarri

Ni-ni-na
London, 103, IV, 2; also Nin[-ni]-na
London, 103, III, 42.

* Every name is preceded by the determinative nár.u.


Susa 16, V, 18; also in the personal names \textit{dAi(GAL)-bēl-NAME}, \textit{dAi-mutakkil}.


V. A. 209, IV, 27.


Only in personal names, as \textit{dAmurri-e-a}, \textit{Pir'-dAmurru(dKUR.GAL)} and \textit{Pir(?)-dAmurru (dMAR.-TU)}.

Anu (AN), IV R. 38, III, 26; III R. 43, IV, 30; V. A. 299, 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-nâgîr.


dApsû (ENGUR) (a personification of the primeval ocean, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T., 492; the mother of Ea, IV R. 1, II, 36; for the reading cf. C. T., XII, 26, Rev. 17 f., and Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 263 f.).

O. B. L., 83, I, 16; II, 14, 15.


Susa 2, IV, 9.


Only in the personal name dAšur-(HI)-aḫu-iddina.

dAT.GI.MAH (a deity belonging to the court of Shamash, placed after Bunene and before Kettu and Misharu, perhaps, with Scheil, to be read: Malku širu for AT.GI = ma-lik, see Br. 4170).

Susa 16, V, 20.


London, 103, VI, 5; Susa 16, V, 27; D. E. P., VI, 47, [1].

dBel(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.

dBu-ne-ne (the charioteer of Shamash, cf. V R. 65, 33b, forming with Ai, Kettu, Misharu 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-"Bunene(dHAR).

dBu-ri-ia-à (the Cassite god Ubirsch, identified with Ramman, cf. Cassite Vocabulary, Obv. 6).

Only in the personal name Bu-ra-Bu-ri-ia-à.


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
count Quot, D.A.M.GAL.NUN.NA,
cf. Code of Hamm. II, I, 17, 18. She was also called D.A.M.
Susa 2, IV, 6; London, 103, V, 48;
London, 101, III, 11; Susa 3,
VI, 18; IV R. 35, III, 36;
Susa 16, V, 14; Neb. Nippur,
IV, 9; O. B. I, 83, I, 22; II, 17;
III R. 41, II, 13; I R. 70, III, 9;
III R. 43, III, 26; O. B. I, 149,
II, 18; London, 102, I, 38; V. A.
2663, III, 4; V. A. 209, II, 8;
IV, 7; C. T., X, pl. VII, 38.

dNIN.IDZI.AZAG (=dE-a śa ni-me-
ki, II R. 45, 55b), 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).

Susa 2, IV, 4; Susa 3, VI, 17; VII, 44;
London, 103, V, 48; London, 101,
III, 10; IV R. 38, III, 26; Susa 16,
V, 13; Neb. Nippur, I, 1; II, 11,
13, 15; III, 11, IV, 5; III R. 41,
II, 13; I R. 70, III, 39; IV, 2;
III R. 43, III, 26; O. B. I, 149, II,
18; London, 102, I [37]; V. A.
209, II, 8; V, 7; C. T., X, pl.
VII, 38. dNINNÚ, V. A. 2663,
V, 36.

dEr-ia (an Elamite deity, not identical
with the goddess Erùa, for
dEr-ia was a male deity (cf. pa-
ni-šu ušad-gil, C. T., IX, pl. V,
41) and his image was permanently
located in the town Śu-šu, not in Babylon, I.e., pl.
IV, 15).

C. T., IX, pl. IV, 2, 11, 13, 18, 25;
pl. V, 30, 40.

dErúa (dA.EDIN.NA) (this goddess,
placed alongside of Marduk, is
no doubt identical with dA.
RÚ:U:A = dE-rú-ú-a, men-
tioned in the Bilinguis of Šama-
šum-ukin, I. 8. She was the
goddess of pregnancy, also called
Śērūa, bélit nabatàti, cf. Leh-
mann, Šamašumukan, II, 36f.
Both are names of Šārpanišum
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. 44, 54).

Only in the personal name Su-hur-
Gal-du.

gGESTIN.NAM (dGESTIN) is identified
with dBélit šērī, the scribe of
the underworld, II R. 59, Rev.
10c. A temple of dAMA-
GESTIN is mentioned by Uru-
kagina, 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.A.NA; cf. Thureau-Dan-
gin, I.e., 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, Hy-
menen, 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.

gGirru (BIL.GI) (the fire god par excellence,
see Zimmern, K. A. T.,
417f.).

Susa, 2, IV, 19.

gGU.LA (the consort of NIN.JB, III R.
43, IV, 15. That dGU.LA is
Sumerian is shown by Reisner,
Hymenen, IV, 49, 50, where
AMA dGU.LA is rendered um-
mu ra-bi-tum, hence her titles
ru-ba-a-ti gi-ir-ti, cf. Nebuch.,
13, II, 44, and bi-er-ti ra-bi-ti,
cf. Nebuch., 13, II, 48, see
Langdon, Building Inscriptions,
p. 106. On this question see Zimmern, K. A. T.3, 410. Her sacred animal was the dog, cf. p. 121.)


Ha-la (a Cassite goddess identified with Ĝula, cf. Delitzsch, Lesestücke, p. 136, 6).

In the personal name Me-li-Ha-la; and perhaps in Šam-(U)-ēs-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.3, 452-453).


dI-Ilat (for the ideogram cf. Br. 4466, perhaps to be read dIarrōn-šadā, as suggested by Zimmern, Bei-träge, p. 60, for the title dāluš šešē elštā is applied to this deity, cf. Shurpu, VIII, 22).

Only in the name m din-aila-i.

dInin-ni (thus the doubtful signs of IV R.3 38, II, 8, are read by Peiser and others. Being placed alongside of Nabū it is at all events a name of Nanā, the consort of Nabū, cf. Shurpu, II, 156).

IV R.3 38, II, 8.


Susa 2, IV, 8; D. E. E., VI, 45, IV, 8; III R. 43, IV, 28.


dI-šum (a fire and pest god and as such the messenger (sukkalûtu) of Nergal, IV R. 21, No. 1, Obv. 43ff. His most common titles are: na-gir ra-bu-u ra-bi-ṣi ṣi-ri ša ilāni, C. T., XVI, 46, 179; na-gir su-zi ša-qu-un-mi, C. T., XVI, 15, V, 22; na-gir mu-su-ši, C. T., XVI, 49, 305. His consort was dSu-ba-la(l), IV R. 26, No. 1, 9).

Susa 16, VI, 1; also in the name dI-šum-ba-ni.

especially by Dungi, cf. Lc., 330, 7, as the goddess of Där (Där-šu). On one of the boundary stones of Marduk-apal-iddina I. (Susa 16) she is placed alongside of Tēḥu, most likely her husband. She is closely associated with the serpent goddess душ (Susa 2, IV, 23). In Babylon Қә.دі was worshipped as one of "the daughters of Esagila," cf. Reisner, Hymnen, p. 146, 44, and Zimmern, K. A. T.1, 505).

Susa 2, IV, 23; Susa 16, VI, 4.

қә-šu-і (the highest god among the Cassites, as Delitzsch has made probable, cf. Delitzsch, Kossäer, p. 51).

In the personal names, Қә-šu-і-mukin-aplu, Қә-šu-і-nadin-aše and Қә-šu-і-nadin-šumu.

қі (NIN.GI.NA) (an attendant of Shamash at Sippar, the personification of justice, cf. Zimmern, Ritualtafeln, p. 104, ll. 133, 144; K. 2613, Obv. II, 15, see B. A., V, 701).

Susa 16, V, 22.


V. A. 208, 3, 16, 26, 33.

қә-ә (the consort of Nergal, worshipped in the temple 蜑S.I.T.LAM at Kutha, Nebuch., 9, II, 36, 37, see Langdon, Building Inscriptions, p. 86).

Susa 16, V, 34.

LIL (placed alongside of 蜑N.I.B.A.D, "the mistress of the dead," Susa 16, VI, 4. 蜑N.I.B.A.D.NA is said to be the wife of 蜑LUGAL.-A.B.BA, cf. III R. 68, 73a; but 蜑LUGAL.A.B.BA is one of the titles of Nergal, cf. II R. 59, 37, 38e, hence ққ 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. 38, II, 9.


Susa 2, IV, 24.


Susa 16, VI, 2.
dUGAL.Giš.A.TU.GAB.LIŠ (the
god of the city Baṣ, cf. V R. 34,
II, 29, 30. A form of Nergal,
V R. 46, 18cd. The name is to
be read Bēl-garē, cf. Nebuch., 1,
II, 29; 13, II, 60, and Nebuch.,
9, II, 48, see Langdon, Building
Inscriptions, pp. 64, 86, 106.
His consort was dMa-mi-tum,
cf. Shurpu, VIII, 14; Susa, 16,
VI, 3. In Craig, Religious
Texts, I, 56, 16, he is spoken of
as ra-kīb nār i-li).
Susa 16, VI, 3.

dUGAL.UR.UR (one of the personi-
ified weapons of NIN.IIB, held in
his right hand, the companion of
LUGAL.GAZ (or Sar-gaz),
G. Hrozný, Mythen, p. 12, 1. 20.
For his stellar character see
Jensen, Kosmologie, 145).
Susa 2, IV, 24.

dMa'-me-tum (the consort of LUGAL.
Giš.A.TU.GAB.LIŠ or Bēl-
garē, the god of Baṣ, cf. K.
2866, 13. But also regarded as
the consort of Nergal, cf. Bollen-
rücher, Gebete an Nergal, p. 20,
No. III, 8, and Gilgamesh Epos,
X, 6, 37).
Susa 16, VI, 3.

dMār-biti (TUR.E) (a god worshipped
in Borsippa, where Nebuchad-
rezzar II. built him a temple, cf.
I R. 55, IV, 49, which was not
far from the gate of Ramman, cf.
Strassm., Dar., 367, 1, 4.
His title mušabbir kukki nakirîa
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-biti-ahê-iddina, dMār-biti-
ša-li-tî, etc.

dMarduk (AMAR.UD) (the chief god
of Babylon, worshipped in the
temple E.SAGILA, the consor-
t of Šarpaniûtum, cf. Langdon,
Building Inscriptions, Nebuch.,
13, I, 27-30).
Susa 2, I, 9, 15; III, 30; London,
103, VI, 3; London, 101, III,
13; Susa 3, III, 47; V, 2, 24, 35;
VI, 29; IV R' 38, III, 42; D.
E. P., II, 113, 4; D. E. P., II, 112,
1; Susa 14, III, 14; Susa 16, V, 23,
III, R, 43, III, 31; III R, 41, II,
25; V R, 55, 11, 12; I R. 70, III,
13; Q. B. I., 149, II, 21; London,
102, I [39]; V. A. 2663, I, 1; II,
1, III, 9; V, 21, 40; C. T., X, pl.
IV, 8, 14.

Marut-tash (a Cassite god identified
with NIN.IB, cf. Cassite Vocabulary,
Obv. 8).

Only in the name Nazi-Maruttash,

dMēaru(NIN.SI) (an attendant of
Shamash at Sippur, together with
Kittu and Daianu, cf. V R. 65, 29b. The personification
of righteousness. Also asso-
ciated with Ramman and Shala,
cf. Craig, Religious Texts, I, 57,
22; 58, 24).
Susa 16, V, 22, 32 (dMi-šar-ra); D.
E. P., VI, 46, III, 2, written
dMi-ša-ra.

dNabû (the chief god of Borsippa, wor-
shipped in the temple E.ZLDA.
His consort Nanâ (cf. Nebuch.,
9, II, 18-25, see Langdon,
Building Inscriptions, I, 84) or
Tashmûtu, 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.
\[dPA = dNabû³, \text{ V. A. 2663, II, 1;}\]
\[\text{III, 8.}\]
\[dNa-na-a \text{ (the goddess of Erech, worshipped in the temple \textit{E.A.N.NA}, cf. Code of Ham., II, 43-47, also at Borsippa as the consort of Nabû, cf. \textit{Shurpu}, II, 156).}\]
\[V \text{ R. 56, 48; Susa 16, V, 29.}\]
\[dNannaru (d\textit{SES.KI-ru!}) \text{ ("The luminary" (rt. 𒀀𒈹) an epithet of the moon god Sin of Ur; cf. Zimmern, K. A. T.², 362).}\]
\[\text{Susa 14, III, 7; V. A. 209, V, 9 (d\textit{SES.KI-na-ru); cf. I R. 70, III, 8.}\]
\[dNergal \text{ (the god of Kutha, worshipped in the temple \textit{ESIT.LAM}, cf. Nebuch., 9, II, 36, 37, see Langdon, \textit{Building Inscriptions}, I, 86; his consort was Laṣ (Susa 16, V, 33) or Mamētum (see above) or Ereshkigal (Allatu), cf. II R. 59, 33f.).}\]
\[dUGUR, \text{ London, 101, IV, 2; V R. 56, 48; III R. 43, IV, 21; London, 102, II, 3.}\]
\[dNE.URU.GAL, \text{ Susa 16, V, 33.}\]
\[dGIR = Br. 9189; Susa I² (see fig. 24²).}\]
\[dNinâ \text{ (originally the goddess of Ninâ, one of the component parts of Shurpurla, cf. brick of Eannatum, see Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 46, III, 1, 2. Her temple was built by Ur-Ninâ, cf. Thureau-Dangin, l.c., 13, I, 6. On the boundary stones she appears as the daughter of Ea, cf. O. B. I., 83, I, 22, and as the goddess of Dêr, cf. O. B. I., 83, I, 4, 16).}\]
\[O. B. I., 83, I, 4, 16, 22; II, 14, 15.}\]
\[dNIN.BAD \text{ ("The mistress of the dead," a title of Allatu, the consort of Nergal, see above under \textit{dLIL}).}\]
\[Susa 16, VI, 4.}\]
\[dNIN.GAL \text{ ("The great mistress," the consort of Nannar (Sin) of Ur, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 282d, II, 7; V R. 64, II, 38, 39, and \textit{Shurpu}, III, 141. Her Semitic name was probably \textit{Sarratu}, V R. 51, 24b. Her Sumerian name was later pronounced Nikkal, hence the }\text{ in the Nérâb inscription, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T.², 363).}\]
\[\text{Susa 16, V, 17.}\]
\[dNIN.GIR.SU \text{ (originally the chief god of Giru, later of Shurpurla, whose temple \textit{E-NINNU} was built by Urukagina, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 70, IV, 8, and Gudea Cyl. A, Col. V, 18. He was a god of fertility, hence his title }bēl\textit{ me-rišt-ti, Shurpu, IV, 80. Later identified with NIN.IB, II R. 57, 74c. His consort was Bau, cf. Cyl. A of Gudea XXIV, 5, 6).}\]
\[London 103, VI, 5.}\]
\[dNIN.E.GAL \text{ (a goddess, the consort of }dIB \text{ (dUraš), worshipped in the temple }E-\textit{in-bi-4A-num (E.I.-NE.A.NUM) in Dilbat, cf. Peiser, }Acten-Stücke\text{, VII, 2; IX, 2, 3; also Reisner, }Hymnen\text{, No. 47, Rev. 7, 8, add. p. 154).}\]
\[London, 103, VI, 13; Susa 16, VI, 6; Susa 14, IV, 10; D. E. P., VI, 43, IV, 1; D. E. P., VI, 47, 5.}\]
\[dNIN.HAR.SAG.GA \text{ ("The mistress of the mountain," a title of the }bēlît\text{ of Nippur. Her temple in Nippur was }E-KI.URU\text{, cf. }Shurpu\text{, II, 145, 146; also Clay, B. E., XIV, 148, Obv. 2; in Babylon }E.MAH\text{, Nebuch., 15, IV, 14, see Langdon, }Building Inscriptions\text{, 126).}\]
\[Susa 3, VI, 19; Susa 16, V, 15.\]
\[dNIN.IB \text{ ("The lofty son of Ellil," I R. 70, IV, 2, worshipped chiefly} \]
at Nippur, in the temple E.SU-MEDU, 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 Shirpurla 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 îlami, Sargon, Cyl. 48 (K. B., II, 47), usually applied to Ishtar, cf. Zimmer, K. A. T. 1, 360f. 3, but also to dNIN.MAH and Aruru, cf. Zimmer, l.c., 429f.).

V. A. 2663, II, 52, called bānit îlami.


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 (sukkallû 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-su'kkal (occurs on boundary stones only once after Zama, and is no doubt identical with the god Pap-su'kkal of Kish, "who dwells in E-ak-ki-il," cf. Craig, *Religious Texts*, I, 58, 10, and Hommel, *Geographie*, 251, 387).

III R. 43, IV, 25; also in the place name Dur-dPap-su'kkal, Susa 2, I, 37.


Susa 2, IV, 17; London, 103, VI, 3, 9; London, 101, I, 3; IV, 1; Susa 16, V, 31; Susa 14, III, 9; D. E. P., II, 113, 8; D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 1; D. E. P., VI, 47, 7; V R. 55, 40; 56, 41, 45; Neb. Nippur, IV, 15; III R. 41, II, 32; I R. 70, IV, 9; III R. 43, IV, 3; London, 102, II [11].


Susa 16, VI, 5.


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-ši-tum ("The one shining (as silver)," a name of the consort of Marduk, cf. Reisner, *Hymnen*,

Susa 16, V, 23; O. B. I., 149, II, 22; London, 102, I, 42.


Susa 2, IV, 23; V R. 56, 49; I R. 70, I, 21.

dša-la (a goddess, the consort of Ramman, 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, Ū-uzu-ub-ši-pak, Me-li-ši-pak.

dšıtı̄lam.ta.ē (or perhaps mes.-lam.ta.ē, 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 his female counterpart, cf. Susa 16, VI, 2. Compare the parallel forms dAl-mu and dA-la-mu kar-ri ši-bit-ē, IV R. 21, No. 1, A, Obv. 45; V R. 46, Obv. 21, 22b; perhaps "young man" (ušarru) and "young woman" (ušarratu), 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-gab (a Cassite god identified with Nergal, cf. Cassite Vocabulary, Obv. 12).

Only in personal names, e.g., šu-šu-lišu-gab, Kašak-ti-šu-gab.

šul-ma-nu (a west Semitic deity or śulmanu, representing perhaps a form of NIN.IB, cf. Zimmern, K. A. T. 3, 474f.).

Only in the personal name šul-ma-nu-aša-ri-du.
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遒人 (or DUN.PA.E, literally "the hero (SUL = edlu) that is brilliant") (PA.E = šarpā), 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 bēlit ḫānī, cf. III R. 67, Obv. 14cd,ff.).

Susa 2, IV, 7.

uencia (a Cassite goddess, "the lady of the shining (snowclad) mountains," V R. 56, 46. Her name is also written Sī-i-ma-li-ia, V R. 44, IV, 36. The consort of Šu-ga-su-na, IV R. 159, 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.


Susa 16, V, 24.

Tiš-šu (a form of NIN.IB; cf. III R. 67, 67cd, = dNIN.IB ša ram-ku-šu; the god of Duplish, cf. Thureau-Dangin, I. S. A., 248, 3, 2. Placed alongside of KAD, implying most likely that he was her husband at some place, cf. Susa 16, VI, 4. For the pronunciation of his name see Ranke, 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 $dMarduk$ ($dAM.UD$); (2) a goddess, seated, inscribed $dG[u-la]$; (3) an eight-pointed star, inscription effaced, but representing Ishtar (cf. p. 88); (4) the crescent, the symbol of Sin; (5) a lamp, inscribed $dNusku$; (6) a goatfish ($su-[hur-ma]-šù$, cf. Susa, 2, IV, 5) with a shrine, inscribed $dE-a$, 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 $dBa-\[u]$; (9) a solar disk, inscription effaced, but representing Shamash; (10) a mace with a square top, inscribed $d[Su-qal]-mu-na$; (11) a mace with twin lion heads, having a round knob between them, inscription effaced, but representing NIN.IB (cf. p. 871); (12) a mace with a lion head, inscribed $dNergal$ ($GIR$); (13) a serpent, inscribed $[a-\bar{s}a]-ri-tu$; (14) a mace with a vulture head, inscribed $dZa-mà-mà$; (15) a scorpion, inscription effaced, but representing Ishhara (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 Ishhara; (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, 1217); (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 Rannīan, placed on the back of a crouching ox; (17) the serpent, the symbol of Siru.

The gods mentioned in the curses are: Anu, Ellil, Ea, SHUL.PA.È, Ishhara, Aruru, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Rammān, Girru (BIL.-GI), Nusku, Shuqamuna, Shumalīa, Siru, KAD.Î, LUGAL.-UR.UR, LUGAL.GAZ, SHIT.-LAM.TA.È.

3. Susa IX.—Reign of Bitilliashu (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. 1219); (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-
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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 Sirû, coiled on top.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anum, Ellil, Ea, Shamash, Marduk, Nabû, Anumîtum, NIN.IB, NIN.KAR.RA.AG = Gula, Rammân, Nergal, Shuqamuna, 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 Rammān; (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 Šīru; (24) the scorpion of Ishḫara.

The gods mentioned in the curses:
Anum, Ellil, Ea, NIN.HAR.-SAG.GA, Marduk, Sin, NIN.IB, Gula.

7. London 99 (IV R. 43).—Reign of Marduk-apal-id dinna I. (fig. 6, p. 17).

(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 Rammān; (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 Rammān, 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 Šīru, coiled on top.

The gods mentioned in the curses:
Anum, Ellil, Ea, NIN.HAR.-SAG, Sin and NIN.GAL, Shamash and Ai, Bunene, AT.GI.-MAH, SHE.RU.SHISH, Kittu and Mēsharu, Marduk and Zaranittum, Nabû and Tashmētum.
NIN.IB and NIN.KAR.RA.AG, Zamama and Bau, DA.MU, GESHTIN.NAM, Ishtar, Nannâ and Anunitum, Rammân and Shala, Mi-shar-ru, Nergal and Laš, Ishum and Shubula, LUGAL.GIR.RA and SHIT.IAM.-TA.È, LUGAL.GISH.A.TU.-GAB.LISH (=Bél-šarbi) and Maʾmétum, LIL and NIN.BAD, Tishhū 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 ʾdGu-la, and (2) her dog at her feet; (3) the walking bird of Bau; (4) the scorpion of Ishhara; (5) apparently a priest standing before the goddess.

The gods mentioned in the curses: [Anu, Ellil, Ea], Shamash, [Sin], Rammân, 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, Nergal; (6) the scorpion of Ishhara; (7) the lamp of Nusku; (8-9) two shrines with tiaras, symbols of Anu and Ellil; (10) the spearhead of Marduk; (11) the lighting fork of Rammân; (12) a centaur shooting a bow (sagitarius); (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 ʾalām ša NIT.AH ʾdMarduk, 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 Rammân standing on a wild ox (rīmu, cf. fig. 94 in Jeremias, 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 Nabû; (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 Ishhara; (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.

(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. 1412); (7, 10) the goddess Gula with her dog; (8) the lamp of Nusku; (9) the scorpion of Ishhara; (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 *d*Marduk īlu rabû; (4) the symbol of Ramman, broken off except the name *d*Ramman.

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 Ishhara; (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, Shumalina, Ramman again, Nergal, Nanà, Śrú, Sin and the Bēlit 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 Rammân; (17) a pedestal with a censer(?); (18) a tortoise; (19) a bird perched on a pole; (20) the serpent, the symbol of Šîru.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, Ellil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Rammân, 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 Rammân; (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 Šîru.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, Ellil, Ea, NIN.MAH, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Marduk, NIN.IB, Gula, Rammân, 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 Rammân; (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, Rammân, 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 Rammân; (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 Nabû; (19) the serpent winding around the symbols, representing Sîru.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, Ellil, Ea, Marduk, Nabû, Rammân, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Gula, NIN.IB, Nergal, Zamama, Papsukkal, Išiḫara, Anu rabû.

27. Boundary Stone of 'Amrân (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 Išiḫara; (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 Nabû; (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 Rammân; (12) the goddess Gula, with uplifted hands; (13) the lamp of Nusku; (14) the serpent of Sîru.

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 Nabû; (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 Nabû-mukîn-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 Rammân; (17) the walking bird of Bau; (18) the scorpion of Ishšara; (19) the serpent winding alongside of the symbols.

The gods mentioned in the curses: Anu, [Ellil], Ea, Marduk, Zarpanitu, Nabû, Sin, Shamash, Nergal, Zamama, [Rammân], 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 Rammân; (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” (*ilānī mala ina eli nori anni šurüdu nanazu*, 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 Rammân.

The inscription contains no curses.

35. Berlin, V. A. 208.—Reign of Marduk-shum-iddina (symbols pub-
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.IB; (4) a shrine, the lion(?)-headed dragon; (5) the dog of Gula; (6) a shrine with the lightning fork of Rammân; (7) the crescent; (8) the solar disk; (9) the star of Ishtar.

The inscription contains no curses.

36. **Berlin, V. A. 209.**—Reign of Sargon (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. 41 (crouching animal, perhaps lion or dog); fig. 42 (crouching animal, supporting circular object); fig. 241 (crouching animal, with a shrine on its back and a vase on its head); Susa 103 (fig. 44) (perhaps a hare); London 103 (animal with two straight horns, two curled horns or ears and a forked tongue).

**Arrow standing erect—*Sagittarius*.**

Fig. 121; fig. 131; fig. 141; London 1021.

**Bird.**

Fig. 41; fig. 49 (perhaps a flying bird); fig. 111 (bird looking backwards); fig. 301 (bird looking backwards); fig. 311 (flying bird).

**Bird, perched on pole—Aruru(?).**

Fig. 61; fig. 101; fig. 111; fig. 121; fig. 131; fig. 141; fig. 231; fig. 281; fig. 291; fig. 491; London 101; London 102; O. B. I., 1491.

**Bird walking—Ba[-d].**

Fig. 41; fig. 61; fig. 81; fig. 101; fig. 111; fig. 121; fig. 131; fig. 141; fig. 231; fig. 281; fig. 291; fig. 491; London 101; London 102; O. B. I., 1491.

*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.
NEBUCHADREZZAR I.

11²⁶; fig. 12⁴; fig. 13¹⁸; fig. 14¹⁷; fig. 18¹⁹; fig. 24⁴; fig. 40²; 44(1)²; London 102¹⁷; Susa 20⁸ (fig. 16).

Censer(?)—perhaps kinânu.*
Fig. 47²⁴ (placed on pedestal).

Centaur—Sagittarius.
Fig. 23²³ (centaur holding bow and arrow); London 101¹ (see fig. 32).

Chisel, standing on a shrine.†
Fig. 11¹⁷ (before the shrine is a crouching ram).

Crescent—Sin.
Fig. 2²; fig. 6¹; fig. 8²; fig. 10¹; fig. 11¹; fig. 12²; fig. 13³; fig. 14¹¹; fig. 15⁵; fig. 17¹; fig. 19¹; fig. 21²; fig. 23¹; fig. 24⁴; fig. 27¹; fig. 29²; fig. 30⁸; fig. 31¹; fig. 47¹¹; fig. 49⁵; London 101³; London 102⁴; London 103³; Susa 6²; V. A. 208⁷; O. B. I., 149³; O. B. I., 150⁴.

Curved object.
London 103⁸ (compare perhaps yoke).

Dagger.
Fig. 31²⁸ (cf. fig. 11¹).

Dog of Gula (substitute for the godess)—perhaps Leo.
Fig. 6¹; fig. 8¹¹; fig. 10⁷; fig. 12⁷; fig. 13³³; fig. 14⁴; fig. 21²; fig. 23¹ (uncertain); fig. 31¹; fig. 44(1)¹; fig. 47¹⁴; London 101²; Susa 10³ (fig. 44(2); V. A. 208³).

Dragon.
Fig. 2⁸ (with a shrine which bears a pyramid-shaped object, perhaps some rows of bricks); fig. 18⁸ (crouching before the spearhead of Marduk); fig. 23²⁶, ²⁷ (with a shrine on its back); fig. 23²³, ²⁴ (also with a shrine).

* For the star kinânu, 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. 11¹⁶, ¹⁷).
‡ For the “fox star” (kakkab šēliši (LUL.A), see II R. 49, 8d; III R. 53, 66, and Hommel, Aufsätze, p. 423.

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Dragon, winged.
Fig. 6¹⁸ (walking along the body of a serpent); fig. 8³⁸ (with a shrine); fig. 11⁸ (a double-headed mace standing on its back, perhaps twin lion heads); fig. 11¹² (crouching before lion-headed mace); fig. 23¹⁸ (crouching); fig. 30⁸ (crouching); London 103⁸.

Fans (or fly flaps).
Fig. 31³⁸, ²¹, ²⁷.

Fox.‡
London 103⁷.

Goatfish (with ram’s head) Ea—Capricorn.
Fig. 2⁸ (with a shrine on the goatfish); fig. 6²⁷ (with a ram’s head over the goatfish); fig. 8³ (goatfish crouching before a shrine with a ram’s head); fig. 11²⁸ (idem); fig. 12²⁴ (idem); fig. 13³ (goatfish and shrine); fig. 19³ (goatfish with shrine and ram’s head); fig. 23³⁵, ³⁶, ³⁷ (idem); fig. 24³ (idem, shrine inscribed”).

Gods.
Fig. 5¹; fig. 31²³ (holding reins of dragon); fig. 31³⁴ (hands uplifted); fig. 31³⁵ (with a lion(? crouching at his side); Susa 6⁸ (see fig. 38), the god Ea standing on a goat, holding a cup against his breast, from which flow two streams); London 103³⁴ (holding a mace against his breast with
the left hand and in the right hand a gamlu).

Goddess.

London 101⁵ (holding a cup in the right and an object with a thin handle in the left hand); London 101⁴ (winged).

Goddess Gula—perhaps Virgo.

Fig. 11⁴ (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. 24⁴ (seated on a shrine, inscribed dG[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. 40¹ (the goddess with the dog and the accompanying inscription dGu-la); fig. 49⁴ (on a shrine, with her dog beside her); Susa ⁷ (see fig. 21); Susa ⁸ (fig. 21 only partly preserved); Susa ¹¹ (fig. 44, with dog, partly effaced); O. B. I., 149⁷; London 102⁶.

Horse head.*

Fig. 49² (standing on a table, enclosed in a shrine).

Indistinct figures.

Fig. ⁴; fig. 23²; fig. 44(1)²; Susa ¹¹ (fig. 44); Susa ¹² (fig. 44).

Lamp of Nusku.

Fig. ⁶; fig. ⁸ (on pedestal); fig. ¹⁰; fig. ¹¹; fig. ¹²; fig. ¹³; fig. ¹⁴; fig. ¹⁵; fig. ¹⁶; fig. ¹⁷; fig. ¹⁸; fig. ¹⁹; fig. ²⁰ (on a pedestal); London ⁷⁷; London ⁷⁸; London ⁷⁹ (mounted on a tripod); Susa ⁶; Susa ²⁰ (see fig. ⁶); O. B. I., ¹⁴⁹.

Lightning fork of Rammán.

Fig. ⁶² (standing on a crouching ox); fig. ⁸⁶; fig. ⁹⁴; fig. ¹⁰⁴ (on a crouching ox); fig. ¹¹⁸ (standing on a shrine borne by crouching ox); fig. ¹²¹; fig. ¹³⁹; fig. ¹⁴⁰; fig. ¹⁴¹; fig. ¹⁴²; fig. ¹⁴³ (held by the god Rammán who is standing on the wild ox); fig. ²⁸⁸ (standing on the crouching ox); fig. ³¹⁷; fig. ³⁹⁴ (symbol broken off, only the name dRammán (dIM) preserved); fig. ⁴⁷⁸; fig. ⁴⁹⁴ (on crouching ox); London ¹⁰¹²; London ¹⁰²⁸; London ¹⁰³⁸; O. B. I., ¹⁴⁹⁴; V. A. ²⁰⁸⁴.

Lion, standing erect.†

Fig. ²¹⁴ (Susa ⁹) (holding daggers in front paws); fig. ⁴⁴ (Susa ¹⁰) (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. ¹²⁷; fig. ¹⁴¹; fig. ³¹ⁱ; London ¹⁰¹³; V. A. ²¹¹³.

Mace, with lion head—Nergal (cf. p. ⁸⁷⁷).

Fig. ⁴ (doubtful); fig. ⁶⁷; fig. ⁹⁷; fig. ¹⁰⁹; fig. ¹¹¹; fig. ¹³¹; fig. ²³⁴; fig. ²⁴²; fig. ²⁵⁷; fig. ²⁶⁷; fig. ²⁷⁸; fig. ²⁸⁹; fig. ²⁹⁰; fig. ³⁰⁸; fig. ³⁰⁹; fig. ³¹⁰; fig. ³⁷⁸; London ¹⁰¹³; London ¹⁰²¹; O. B. I., ¹⁴⁹⁶; V. A. ²⁰⁸⁴ (shrine with the head of a dragon, perhaps = lion).

Mace, with square top—Shuqamuna.

Fig. ²⁴⁹ (inscribed d[Shu-qa]-mu-

Mace, with twin lion heads—NIN.IB (cf. pp. ⁸⁷⁷, ⁸⁸²) =Gemini(?)

Fig. ¹⁰² (projecting knob between the two heads); fig. ¹¹⁸ (mace standing on a winged dragon,

* For the "horse star" see V R. ⁴⁶, ²⁰⁶b, 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. 2812 (the same); fig. 3013, 14 (winged dragon before the mace with the lion head = twin lion heads*) (cf. fig. 115); 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. 65; fig. 66; fig. 1095; fig. 119; fig. 1315; fig. 2314; fig. 2414 (inscribed "Za-ma-ma"); fig. 2813; fig. 2913; fig. 3012; fig. 3112; fig. 477; fig. 4915; O. B. I., 1497; London 10215; V. A. 2116.

Plow.

Fig. 411; fig. 1111; fig. 2318 (doubtful).

Priest.

Fig. 172 (standing before the spear-

head of Marduk in the act of anointing it, inscribed šalmu ša zikari (NITAH) "Marduk"); fig. 404 (standing before the goddess Gula).

Satyr.

London 1018 (the upper part of the body is human, the lower that of a horse with a short tail; he holds a long thick staff in both hands).

Scepter.

Fig. 477, 8, 9 (three scepters with knobs on top and animal heads in the center).

Scorpion—Ishhara.

Fig. 412; fig. 62; fig. 812; fig. 1013; fig. 1113; fig. 122; fig. 1313; fig. 141; fig. 181; fig. 191; fig. 2318; fig. 2413; fig. 271; fig. 3111; fig. 401; fig. 4711; fig. 4911; Susa 10 (cf. fig. 44(2)); Susa 2018 (cf. fig. 16); London

* This identification is established by a comparison of Susa No. 3 (fig. 11) with Susa No. 20 (fig. 30). The arrangement of the symbols on these two stones is almost identical. The first four symbols of fig. 30 (Anu, Ellil, Ea and Nin-Qarsag) correspond to the first section of fig. 11, the next three symbols of fig. 30 (Marduk, Nabû, Gula) correspond to the third section of fig. 11, repeating even the curious bust of Gula on a shrine (fig. 1113 and 301) which is found only here. The next six symbols of fig. 30 (winged dragon, Nergal, bird looking backwards, Zababa, winged lion, followed by the mace with the lion head) correspond exactly to section 2 of fig. 11, where we find instead of the last two symbols the winged lion with the twin-headed mace standing on its back. This shows that the winged lion, followed by the lion-headed mace, exchanges with the winged lion having the twin lion heads on its back. The last three symbols of Susa No. 20 are separated from the rest and are found on fig. 16, first view. They are the lamp, the scorpion and the walking bird, which correspond to Nos. 18, 20, 24 on Susa No. 3 (fig. 11). This remarkable similarity of Susa No. 3 (a stone of Meli-Shipak) and Susa No. 20 (an uninscribed boundary stone) cannot be accidental. The latter (Susa No. 20) belongs undoubtedly to the reign of the same king and was made perhaps by the same sculptor. It may also explain why this stone (Susa No. 20) is not inscribed. Perhaps before the inscription could be engraved the invasion of Sutruk-nahunte took place, by which most likely all the boundary stones found by the French at Susa were carried away, for it should be noted that the inscription which this Elamite king put on another monument (see fig. No. 5) states distinctly: "the land of Qarîn. . . . I took and the stèle of Me-li-[Shi-pak] I found," see Scheil, D. E. P., IV, p. 146, B. 6, 7.
101\textsuperscript{2}; London 102\textsuperscript{18}; London 103\textsuperscript{5}; O. B. I., 149\textsuperscript{16}.

Scorpion-man—\textit{Sagittarius}.

Fig. 49\textsuperscript{9} (having a human head and breast, a body and tail of a scorpion, holding in his hands a bow and arrow); London 103\textsuperscript{8} (having a man's head, wings, a scorpion's body and tail, and a lion's legs).

Serpent—\textit{Shru}.

Fig. 43; fig. 6\textsuperscript{4} (horned serpent); fig. 8; fig. 10\textsuperscript{18} (serpent coiled on top); fig. 11\textsuperscript{21}; fig. 12\textsuperscript{18} (winding along lower edge of symbols); fig. 13\textsuperscript{17} (winding across top); fig. 14\textsuperscript{24}; fig. 15; fig. 18; fig. 19; fig. 24\textsuperscript{10} (inscribed \textit{a-ra-ri-di}); fig. 28\textsuperscript{17}; fig. 29\textsuperscript{15}; fig. 30\textsuperscript{14} (coiled on top); fig. 31\textsuperscript{1}; fig. 47\textsuperscript{20}; fig. 49\textsuperscript{26}; Susa 6\textsuperscript{6} (coiled on top); Susa 7\textsuperscript{2} (cf. fig. 21); London 101\textsuperscript{19} (coiled on top); London 102\textsuperscript{21}; London 103\textsuperscript{5}; O. B. I., 149\textsuperscript{4}; V. A. 211\textsuperscript{2}.

Shrine, with sea shell.

Fig. 11\textsuperscript{22}.

Shrine, with two staves—\textit{Nabû}.

Fig. 9\textsuperscript{1} (two staves, joined in the center, standing on a shrine, cf. fig. 26\textsuperscript{19}).

Shrines with tiaras—\textit{Anu}, \textit{Ellil} (\textit{Ea}).

Fig. 24\textsuperscript{1}, 3; fig. 8\textsuperscript{14}, 15; fig. 9\textsuperscript{1}, 5; fig. 10\textsuperscript{14}, 5; fig. 11\textsuperscript{1}, 5; fig. 12\textsuperscript{14}, 5; fig. 13\textsuperscript{14}, 5; fig. 14\textsuperscript{11}, 17; fig. 19\textsuperscript{7}; fig. 23\textsuperscript{8}, 5; fig. 28\textsuperscript{17}, 8; fig. 29\textsuperscript{14}, 8; fig. 30\textsuperscript{17}; fig. 31\textsuperscript{12}, 14; fig. 39\textsuperscript{1}, 2 (tiaras broken off); fig. 47\textsuperscript{1}, 8; fig. 49\textsuperscript{1}, 8 (\textit{Anu}, \textit{Ellil}, \textit{Ea}); London 103\textsuperscript{9} (a crouching animal alongside of the shrine); London 103\textsuperscript{9} (a winged bull alongside of the shrine); London 102\textsuperscript{5}; V. A. 211\textsuperscript{2}; O. B. I., 149\textsuperscript{5} (shrine with dragon); O. B. I., 149\textsuperscript{5} (shrine without dragon).

Shrines with indistinct objects.

Fig. 29\textsuperscript{6}; Susa 11\textsuperscript{1} (cf. fig. 44, 3)

Shrines with various figures.

Fig. 2\textsuperscript{9} (a shrine with a round figure having two horns, perhaps a substitute for the yoke); fig. 2\textsuperscript{10} (a dragon with a shrine, having a square object (brick?) on it, marked with two wedges); fig. 4\textsuperscript{10} (a shrine with a border on top, formed by two corner pieces and three knobs in the center).

Solar disk—\textit{Shamash}.

Fig. 2\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 6\textsuperscript{1}; fig. 8\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 10\textsuperscript{1}; fig. 11\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 12\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 13\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 14\textsuperscript{15}; fig. 15\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 19\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 21\textsuperscript{2} (Susa 9); fig. 23\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 24\textsuperscript{8}; fig. 27\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 29\textsuperscript{8}; fig. 30\textsuperscript{12}; fig. 31\textsuperscript{1}; fig. 47\textsuperscript{15}; fig. 49\textsuperscript{2}; Susa 6\textsuperscript{5}; London 101\textsuperscript{16}; London 102\textsuperscript{12}; London 103\textsuperscript{5}; O. B. I., 149\textsuperscript{4}; O. B. I., 150\textsuperscript{2}; V. A. 208\textsuperscript{5}.

Spearhead of Marduk—perhaps \textit{taurus}.

Fig. 2\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 4\textsuperscript{1} (crouching dragon with a spearhead (?) on its back); fig. 6\textsuperscript{2} (spearhead standing on a dragon); fig. 8\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 9\textsuperscript{1} (standing on a shrine); fig. 10\textsuperscript{1}; fig. 11\textsuperscript{2}; fig. 12\textsuperscript{15} (standing on a shrine flanked by a dragon); fig. 13\textsuperscript{4} (\textit{idem}); fig. 14\textsuperscript{1} (\textit{idem}); fig. 15\textsuperscript{1} (\textit{idem}); fig. 17\textsuperscript{2} (priest standing before spearhead); fig. 23\textsuperscript{10}; fig. 24\textsuperscript{1} (inscribed \textit{Marduk} (AM. UD)); fig. 28\textsuperscript{11}; fig. 29\textsuperscript{16}; fig. 30\textsuperscript{1} (standing on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 31\textsuperscript{1} (\textit{idem}); fig. 39\textsuperscript{2} (on a shrine with a dragon, inscribed \textit{Marduk ilu rubû}); fig. 47\textsuperscript{1} (standing on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 49\textsuperscript{2} (\textit{idem}); London 103\textsuperscript{17}; London 102\textsuperscript{4}; V. A. 208\textsuperscript{2}.

Staff.

Susa 11\textsuperscript{4} (cf. fig. 44, a staff with an indistinct object on top, partly broken off); Susa 11\textsuperscript{4} (a staff, whose top is broken off); London 101\textsuperscript{18} (a staff with the head of some animal on top).
Star of Ishtar—Venus.

Fig. 2; fig. 6 (eight-pointed); fig. 8 (idem); fig. 102 (idem); fig. 11; fig. 12 (idem); fig. 13; fig. 14 (idem); fig. 15 (idem); fig. 18 (idem); fig. 19; fig. 21 (Susa 9) (six-pointed); fig. 23 (idem); fig. 24 (eight-pointed); fig. 27 (idem); fig. 29 (idem); fig. 30 (seven-pointed); fig. 31 (idem); fig. 47 (five-pointed); fig. 49 (eight-pointed); London 101; London 102; London 103; O. B. I., 149; O. B. I., 150; V. A. 208.

Stars—Sibitti.

Fig. 31 (seven stars, probably representing the seven planets).

Stylus (substitute for wedge)—Nabû.

Fig. 8 (on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 15 (idem).

Table.

London 101 (the corners ornamented with lion heads, a tiara on the table, perhaps a substitute for the shrine with the tiara).

Tortoise.

Fig. 6; fig. 14 (placed over shrine); fig. 29 (doubtful, but cf. fig. 14); fig. 47; fig. 49; O. B. I., 149; London 102.

Wedge (and bricks)—Nabû—perhaps aries.

Fig. 2 (a dragon bearing a shrine with a pyramid-shaped object, perhaps bricks); fig. 4 (a crouching dragon with a wedge?) on its back); fig. 6 (wedge on the back of a dragon, crouching before a stage tower); fig. 101 (a horned dragon before a shrine with four rows of bricks); fig. 11 (a dragon carrying a shrine with a brick and a wedge); fig. 12 (a wedge on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 13 (idem); fig. 14 (idem); fig. 19 (idem); fig. 30 (a dragon before a shrine on which are three rows of bricks); fig. 31 (wedge on a shrine with a dragon); fig. 47 (wedge alone, standing upright); fig. 49 (dragon with shrine and wedge); V. A. 208; V. A. 211; London 102; Susa 6 (shrine with wedge lying on it); Susa 7 (cf. fig. 21, wedge on shrine with dragon).

Yoke (perhaps plaits of hair*)—Ninher-sag (cf. fig. 48).

Fig. 6 (standing on a shrine); fig. 8 (idem); fig. 11 (shrine with nail (dagger?) and reversed yoke on top); fig. 12 (yoke alone); fig. 13 (on shrine); fig. 14 (yoke alone); fig. 25 (on shrine); fig. 30 (on shrine, yoke reversed); fig. 31 (yoke alone); fig. 47 (shrine with yoke reversed); fig. 49 (idem); Susa 11 (cf. fig. 44, shrine with reversed yoke, partly broken off); London 102 (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 Hat-hor, which, according to him, play an important part in Egyptian mythology.
GLOSSARY.

abu, father.

abûbu, storm flood.

abûbu, be clean.

1, 1 pret., a-i-bi-ib, III R. 41, II, 17.
2, 2 i-na kišitta-(ta)ša im-gut-ma i-ta[bak-ma] i-na pän . . . šarri . . . di-na lu-ša-(ad)-bub-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.
Nin-ib be-el ab-li šu-šu-šu ku-dur-ri, Susa 3, VII, 6; na-sîr ku-dur-ri-ti mu-kin-nu ab-li-e, V R.


abulli, city gate.

abulli(KA.GAL)-idi-šu, Susa, 16, VI, 16.


ubânu, finger.

ubâni(ŠU-S1)-šu a-na limutti i-tar-rà-sù, Neb. Nippur, III, 24.

abâsu, break (cf. napâsu).

II, 1 pres., i-na ab-ni ub-ba-šu, Susa, 16, V, 2.

abqallu, wise man, leader.
(Marduk) abqal(NUN,ME) ilôni, London, 101, III, 13; abqal šâmê u iršîti, Susa, 14, III, 14; abqal kiš-šat šâmê(-e) u iršîti(-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.

abšēnu, pass over.
III, 1 part., mē ša mu-še-bi-ri, the waters of the connecting canal, Susa, 3, III, 1.

abšēnu(A.B.SIM) la šu-zu-za-at-


abātu, destroy (Hebr. abātu).
I, 2 pres., i-ta-ba-at uš-tal-liš, Susa, 3, V, 56.

II, 1 pret., i-ga-ru 'u-a-bit-ma 'u-ge-
pi, Susa, 2, Med., II, 6; pres., i-na abni ub-ba-tu, III R, 41, II, 11; I R, 70, III, 3; III R, 43, I, 34; London, 102, V, 2; ši-pir ni-kil-


IV, 1 pret., in-na-bi-tu-ma, he fled, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 3; in-na-bi-
tu-nim-ma, they fled, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 6; part., mu-un-na-bi-it-
tum, a fugitive, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 1.

abtu, fallen, dilapidated.
būta(E.MES) abuṭati(GUL.MES)

agū, crown.
(Sin) bēl aqē(MIR) na-me-ru-ti,

aggu, anger.
i-na ag-gi lēbbi-šu-nu, London, 103,
VI, 1.

aggiš, angrily, in anger.
ag-giš li-ru-ru-šu, V R, 56, 38;

igigallu, open-minded, wise.
(Marduk) igī(SI)-gal(IJ) ilānī, V.
A., 2663, I, 3.

agalatillū, dropsy.
a-ga-lā(NU)-til-la ša ri-ki-šu-su la
ša p-pat-su, Susa, 3, II, 44; III R, 41, II, 25; a-ga-lā-til-la(-a) ri-ki-
us-su la pa-še-ra, I R, 70, III, 13;
III R, 43, III, 31; London, 102, I, 41; a-gal-la-til-la-li ša-si-šu
šu-šu-ma, Susa, 16, VI, 20; a-ga-
lā-til-la-li ša-si-šu-ma, V. A., 2663, V, 43; [ina zumri-šu li-

igisū, gift.
in a igisū(SI.DI) ḫab-šu-ud-ti, Neb.
Nippur, II, 9.

igirru, plan.
lu mu-šam-me-nu i-gir-ri šu šu
nu-ma, Neb. Nippur, IV, 17; i-gir-
ra-šu ll[l]-la-m-man, O. B. I.,
149, II, 23.

igaruwa, wall.
i-na i-ga-ri ip-te-ši, Susa, 3, V, 54;
i-na i-ga-ri i-pi-šu, D. E. P.,
II, 113, 17.

ugaru, communal land.
ugārāli, Susa, 2, I, 21, 24, 30, 33;
II, 2, 7, 12, 17; London, 101, I, 5;
London, 103, III, 41; Susa,
3, I, 4; IV R, 38, I, 3, [19];
Susa, 16, I, 2; D. E. P., VI, 42,
I, [2]; D. E. P., VI, 46, I, 2; Neb.
Nippur, II, 27; III, 8; C. T., IX,
pl. IV, 20, 22; O. B. I., 83, I, [2];
I R, 70, I, 2; III R, 43, I, 2; O. B.
I., 149, I, 5; London, 102, I, 2;
V. A. 2663, IV, 19, 21, 45; u-ga-
ri-šu, D. E. P., II, 113, 9; ugār-
šu, D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 3;
ugār qān appari, C. T., IX, pl.
IV, 19; ugāru ša-nam-ma, Susa,
3, III, 10; ugār-šu li-ir-ši-ša-ma,

.udū, a single one.
ma-am-ma e-di-i, Susa, 3, II, 46;
e-du amelu la i-zib-ma, V. A.,
2663, III 26.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

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חַנֵה, adi, unto, including.

א-דַי IV alānî, Susa, 2, I, 13; א-דַי
ti-tur(!)-ri, Susa, 14, I, 3; א-דַי
ûm(-um) bal-tu, Susa, 3, VI, 52;
VII, 23; V R. 56, 59; London,
102, II, 22; א-דַיûm(-um) bal-du,
Susa, 16, VI, 18; א-דַי šamē ʿi
irṣiti ba-ši-û-i, V R. 56, 60; א-דַי
ûm(-um) ga-ā-ti, I R. 70, IV, 25;
א-דַי dNabû-ku-dur-ri-uṣur, O. B.
I., 83, I, 7; א-דַי XII ta-a-āmi-ta-
nap-pal, V. A. 208, 47; V. A.,
209, II, 5; London, 102, IV, 40;
א-דַי egli-šu, C. T., X, pl. V, 16;
א-דַי šitēn(-en) šubûtu KUR.RA.
V. A., 209, IV, 33.

חָלָה, edlu, man.
ed-li gar-di, V R. 55, 21; ed-lu bēl
šarrakabû, the charioteer, V R.
55, 34; ed-lu dan-nu, V. A.,
2663, II, 33.

חַדְמָע, admanû, dwelling.
bēl ad-ma-ni, D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 5.
dadmu, dwelling.
kal da-ad-me, Neb. Nippur, I, 15;
ma-ša-az da-[d]-me, Neb. Nippur,
II, 2; da-ad-mi, D. E. P.,
VI, 45, IV, 9; dū-lārara bēlî lē-
da-ad-ma, III R. 43, IV, 28;
gi-mir kal da-ad-me, V. A., 2663,
I, 23; nīšē da-ad-ma sappā-
ti(BIR.ME), V. A., 2663, II, 28.

I. חָלָה, adbaru, fear.

I, I pret., la i-dur-ma tahāzi, V R. 55,
38; pres., li id-dar dan-na-at
eqlî, V R. 55, 24; part., la a-dî-ru
 tahāzi, V R. 55, 8.

II. חָלָה, adbaru, be dark.

IV, I perm., na'-du-ru pēn dšam-
ski(-ši), the face of the sun was
observed, V R. 55, 31.

דרָמָע, weeds.

kî-mu ur-kiti id-ra-nu, III R. 41,
II, 33; kî-mu-û mē id-ra-na,
London, 102, II, 13; eqliliti-ši
id-ra-[nu] li-ša-âs-ši-ma, Susa,
14, III, 10.

חָצָר, edšu, be new.

II, I inf., a-na ud-du-uš eš-rît, to
renew the sanctuaries, Neb.
Nippur, II, 2; a-na ud-dušu
[es]-rît, V. A., 2663, II, 22; part.,
u-mu-ad-diš ka-šiš aqrâti(AS.ME).
V. A. 2663, II, 6.

כָשָע, new.
	na-ra-a ša abnî eš-ša, Susa, 2,
Med., II, 9; dul-la eš-ša, Susa, 3,
III, 28; i-na eš-ši il-la-a, shall
raise up anew, Susa, 3, III, 39;
i-na muḫ-ḫi näši eš-šit, V. A.,
209, I, 11.

חָל, úd, and, passim.
lu-ú-ù, either—or, Susa, 2, III,
8; ú lu-ú, or, London, 103, V,
46; London, 102, I, 31, etc.

חָל, ishu, few.

a-di ṣim(-mi) i-šu-ti ša bal-ta, IV
R. 38, III, 40.

חָל, urru, light.

ur-ra u mu-ša, III R. 41, II, 23; V
R. 56, 44.

חָל, ezēbu, to leave, spare.

I, I pret., i-zi-ib, Susa, 3, III, 54;
i-zi-bu, Susa, 3, IV, 10; e-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-ši,
Susa, 16, VI, 27; la i-zi-bu ar-
[i]-r, C. T., X, pl. V, 7; i-zi-
bu-û-ni, Susa, 3, IV, 25; prec.,
u ar-ki lu zi-bu, C. T., X, pl.
V, 9.

azugallatu, great (lady) physician.

(dGula) a-zu-gal-la-tu rabîtim, Susa,
14, IV, 5; a-zu-gal-la-tu be-el-tu
rabîtim(-tu), III R. 41, II, 29.

חָל, uzzu, wrath, anger.

na-az-par-ta-ša ša uz-zi, III R. 41,
II, 22.

uzzatu, anger.

i-na uz-za-at libbi(-bi), V R. 56, 51.

izzu, terrible.

(dGirru)(BIL.GI) ij-zi, Susa, 2, IV,
18; (dSin) be-lum ij-zi, Susa, 3,
aḥames, each other, both.
iti aḥa-mes, London, 103, IV, 18, 37; a-na aḥa-mes ul i-raq-gu-mu, they will not see each other, London, 102, IV, 35; V. A. 209, I, 30; II, 40; III, 16, 28; V. 2.

aḥu, side.
a'i ir-šu-u ni-da ǎ-hi, Susa, 2, III, 29.

aḥānu, another.

aḥū, hostile, strange.

aḥāzu, aṭāzu, take.

III, 2, pu-us-ra uš-ta-ḥi-iz, Susa, 3, V, 44.


aḥru, future.
aḥrātaš, adv., in future.
iš-ti aḥ-[ra]-taš, a late descendant, C. T., X, pl. IV, 14.

aḥartis, forever.
a-ḥar-ti-ši i-ri-mu, London, 101, I,

aḥatu, sister.
a-na aḥaṭ(NIN)-ia a-nam-din, London, 102, I, 24; a-na aḥat(NIN)-ša, London, 102, I, 36.

aḥquat, brotherhood.
15; a-šar-ti-iš i-rim-šu, IV R.38, II, 29.

אנה, etū, be dark.

II, 1 bu-ni-šu liš-te-šu-ma, may he darken his face, Neb. Nippur, IV, 14.
eṭemmū, shade, departed spirit.

[etemmū-šu] a-na eṭemmī, Susa, 16, VI, 22.

אנה, aṭru, support (cf. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 5, l. 4).
a-na aṭ-ri ā-ša-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.

aimmā, any one.

u lu ai-um-ma, London, 101, II, 15;
lu ai-am-[ma], IV R. 38, III, 13;
ai-um-ma, Susa, 16, IV, 11;
šakkanakki ai-um-[ma], O. B. I.,
83, II, 12;
ai-um-ma ki-pu, III R. 41, I, 33;
Susa 3, II, 39;
lu-ša ai-um-ma, I R. 70, II, 6;
O. B. I., 149, II, 4; ilu ai-um-ma,
Neb. Nippur, I, 10;
ai-um-ma ša...
ku-pu-šu liummuta, V A.,
211, III, 1.

א, o, indeed.


אא, aibu, enemy.

אא, ia'nu, there was not.
i-šu mē saḫḫ-ḫi, there was no water of cisterns, V R. 55, 19.

אא, ima, eye.
qu-pu-šu i-na i-ni-šu, V R. 56, 54;

דסינ ini(-in) šāmē(e) ʿir šītim(-tim), O. B. I., 149, III, 6;
[דסינ ini] šamē(e) ʿir šītim(-tim), London, 102, I, 46;
tur-tu inā(SP) sa-kak uzna(SP), V A.,
2663, V, 38.

אא, aru, go forth.

II, 2, ū-ta-šir-šu-ma šar ḫānī, sent him forth the king of the gods
(perhaps = um-ta-'ir), V R. 55, 12.

urru, command.

ur-ta ū-ma-'ir šū-nu ti-ma, O. B. I., 83, II, 8; na-dan ur-ti-šu,
Neb. Nippur, I, 5; kiš-šat nisē
u-kam-ni-su a-na ur-ti-šu, V A.,

Airu, the month Iyyar.


iku, ditch of irrigation.
i-ku la kap-ku, Neb. Nippur, II, 29;
i-ka mi-is-ra ʿu ku-dur-ra, Susa,
3, II, 12; i-ka mi-is-ra ti-ti-ku,
Susa, 16, IV, 18.

וד-ке.

ui-ke-e bi-lam-ma, London, 102, IV, 21 (or does the original read
ui-di(-l)e, vessels?).

אא, ekdu, powerful.

bu-ru ek-du, Susa, 2, IV, 17; ik(?)-
dí-e a-ma-ti, London, 103, IV, 46.

אא, aki, instead of.

a-ki ša MA.AMA kaspi, V A., 209,
IV, 5; a-ki kaspi-ka bītā-ta...
... pa-ni-ka lid-gu-la, V A.,
209, IV, 7.

אא, akālu, consume.

III, 1 šētēt(NE) ū-ša-ka-lu, O. B. I.,
150, II, 4.

iklu, have usufruct (cf. p. 176).

I, 1 inf., a-na i-ki-ti ri-ti, Neb.
Nippur, III, 21.
aklu, secretary, agent (cf. p. 176).
aklu, Neb. Nippur, III, 19; III R.
41, I, 31; III R. 43, III, 14;
aklu(P A), D. E. P., II, 97, 11;
Susa, 16, III, 27; IV R. 38; III, 1; O. B. I., 83, II, 12.

ekallu, palace.


ekēitu, darkness.

bīt ik-ki-ti, IV R. 38, III, 7.

ekēmu, take.


ekurru, 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.


ilutu, deity.


elu, rise up.

I, 1 pres., i-na eš-ši il-la-a, Susa, 3, III, 39; 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 illamma(DUL.DU-ma); V.


II, 1 inf., ul-šu ša šaš ša-raš(NUN)-uš-su, to elevate his lordship, V. A., 2663, I, 30.


eli, over, above.

eli šarrī a-lih maḫ-ri, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; eli ili šarrī, before god, London, 101, IV, 12; a-na eli, on, London, 102, IV, 22; eli ša pa-ši, more than before, V. A., 2663, III, 29; i-na eli, against, Susa, 2, III, 11; London, 101, II, 16, etc.; i-na eli na-ri-a-an-ni-i, upon that stone, Susa, 2, III, 17; Susa, 2, Med., II, 5, etc.

dišš, above.

elēš(AN.TA) ša šapliš(KI), IV R. 38, I, 31.

diš, upper.

in the phrases šiddu elu, and pašu elu, passim; pl. fem., bel e-la-ti, lord of that which is above, V. A., 2663, I, 10.

ullu, distant.


cēnū, upper.

pa-na-at iškiri e-li-ni-i, before the upper orchard, V. A., 2663, IV, 34.

telitu, crop, revenue.


alū, city, town.

su-ši-ilu šaš, Susa, 3, VI, 39; abulli šaš, Susa, 16, VI, 16; ka-ša-mat šaš, Susa, 16, VI, 17; O. B. I., 149, III, 8; V. A., 209,
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יִלָּק, aláku, go, march.

I. 1 pret., il-lik, London, 103, I, 3; a-na ḥur-ša-an la il-lik, London, 103, V, 4; ălikku(DU-ku), Susa, 16, II, 28; a-na mătu Elamiti il-ši-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-la a-na măBu-[ru-ša idin(?)], London, 102, VI, 10; part., eli šarrī a-lik măh-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. 2, 38, II, 30; ălik(DU)pāni, London, 102, IV, 23; a-lik ki-ši-ir-ri ilāni aḫ-šē, III R. 43, IV, 26; a-lik ar-ki, the younger, Susa, 16, I, 18.

I, 2, ša ina tu-kul-ti ilāni rabūti it-tal-la-ku-ma, who marches about, V. A. 2663, II, 27.


alākātu, ways.
alāku, messenger.
gir-gi-la al-la-ku ša ăEn-lîl, Susa, 2, IV, 3.
ilku, tax, service (cf. p. 177).

יָלָק, alāku, throw down (syn. magōtu).

I. יָלָק, allu, basket.
za-kūtum(?) i-na al(-lu) du-up-ši-ki, freedom from the baskets of forced labor, III R. 45, No. 2, 2.

allu, powerful.
d Manduk a-li-lu, Susa, 2, III, 30.

II. יָלָק, ulālu, imbecile.

III. יָלָק, elu, shining.

IV. יָלָק, alālu, rejoicing, hilarity.
a-la-la ū-a-ba, London, 103, VI, 6.
alpu, ox.
ul-lap(b) (cf. יָלָק, II, 1 pres., join?) șa-kara-a-ti ul-lap(b), V R. 55, 24.

יָלָק, elēšu, rejoice.

יָלָק, tālītū, despair.
di-tar ... ta-li-tum liq-pur-șu-ma, III R. 41, II, 21.
ultu, from, after.
ul-tu a-na-šu ši-iq-rî-ku, London, 103, IV, 27; ul-tu ... i-mu-tu, London, 103, IV, 11; V, 7; ul-tu būtî, London, 103, IV, 43; ul-tu ăli-šu, Susa, 3, II, 41; ul-tu

iltānu, north.
ideogram IM.SI.DI, passim.

ema, while, with.
 e-ma dšamaš u dMarduk i-sa-as-su-u, IV R.² 38, III, 42; e-ma purûmû šēri li-ir-pu-ud, Susa, 14, IV, 3.

emēdu, stand.
I, 2, i-te-mid kiršu, fate overtook him, V. R. 55, 41, ef. kuruši.

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-[i]-nu li-đmi-is-su, London, 101, III, 10.

IV, 1, in-nin-du-ma šarrāni, the kings stood up, i.e., gathered, V. R. 55, 29.

amū, speak.
I, 1 pret., i-mu šar[ru], D. E. P., II, 93, II, 14.

III, 2, šarru iš uš-tim(?)-mi-e-su, the king caused him to swear by god, C. T., X, pl. V, 14.

amātu, word.
la še-ma ša a-ma-ti, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 21; estr., a-mat ki-bi-li-šu-nu, Susa, 3, VI, 21; ina a-ma-at dEn-lil, Susa, 3, VII, 43; ina amāṭ(KA) šarrī, because of the prayer of the king, Neb. Nippur, II, 12; a-mat niššu 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 šu-tu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 24; a-ma-at ša i-na abi,mari an-ni-i aš-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-qu-ma, his word was weighty, Neb. Nippur, II, 19; li-ma-zi-da at-mišu, may she multiply his words, cries(?), III R. 41, II, 23.

U.MUK, title of an official.
V. A., 209, II, 17.

amelu, man.

amelitu(SAL), woman.
mār mārī amelitu(SAL) ša Bilt-ma-kīl-a-na-ili-šu, London, 103, I, 42.

ummu, mother.

umma, thus, as follows.
ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma-a, London, 102, IV, 20; i-qab[u]-u-[u] um-ma-a, London, 102, I, 32; [iq-bi] um-ma-a, London, 102, I, 20; be-el šu u[š-]d-ma um-ma, C. T., X, pl. III, Obv. 3; i-qabbu-u um-ma, V. A., 208, 46; i-qabbu-u um-ma-a, London, 102 IV 38; ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma,
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umâmu, animal.

ü-ma-am ši-ri, Sussa, 3, VII, 1; ü-ma-am šeri, D. E. P., VI, 47, 16.

ummânu, army.

ummân (ZAB) nakru (PAP'), the army of the enemy, V. A., 2663, III, 16.

ammatu, cubit.

ìnà ammatu (I) raqštu (GAL-tu(m), passim; i-na am-ma-ti ra-bi-ti-ti, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 5.

ÎN, emûqu, strength.

ša a-na e-piš taḫâzi kit-pu-da e-muqa-šu, whose resources are devoted to battle, V. R. 55, 7; i-na e-muq d-Bēl (EN), V. A., 2663, II, 37; šarru ša a-na e-muq d-Nabû u d-Marduk [u-ka-šu], C. T., X, pl. IV, 14.

nimequ, wisdom.

ni-me-ki ša d-Nabû, IV R.3 38, II, 7; ni-me-ki d-Nabû u d-Marduk, C. T., X, pl. IV, 8; ina ni-me-ki ip-še-ti-šu, V. A., 2663, III, 2.

ÎN, amâru, see.

I, I pret., i-mu-ur-ši-[ma] i-ri-im-šu, D. E. P., II, 93, I, 7; šarru bēl-šu 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.3 38, III, 6; Sussa, 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; eqšu 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 eqšu la a-ma-ri i-tam-mi-ru, V. R. 56, 36; a-šar la a-(ma!)-ri pu-

uz-ri [i-tam-mi-ru], C. T., X, pl.

VII, 37.

amâru, construct.


imêru, ass.


imêru, a measure of capacity = râj.-pu-šu-uk(g) u imêrê burâši, V. R. 55, 56, 57; IV imêrê, London, 102, III, 11; I imêru, London, 102, III, 14, 16, 17.

amûrrû (IM.MAR.TU), west, passim.

imêru, lamb.


anu, condition.

an ba-bit-ta, a serious condition, Sussa, 16, VI, 14.

ana, 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 liḇbi of; i-na muḫ-ḫi, against, occur often.

inu, time.

i-rušu, at that time, V. A., 2663, I, 43; C. T., X, pl. V, 10; i-rušu when, V. A., 2663, I, 1; e-rušu ma, when, D. E. P., VI, 113, 15; D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 8; V. R. 55, 1.

enûtu, lordship.

NANU, nannabu, offspring, descendant. 

unūtu, vessel, property.

ENU, enû, to annul.

I, 2, sū-ši la i-te-ni ū la im-taš, he does not annul and does not disregard, Susa, 3, V, 8; inf., t-la-te-ši i-ba-ši ma, annulment he asked for, O. B. I., 83, II, 9.

IV, 1, ša ki-bit pi-ši la in-ni-en-nu-ši, the command of whose mouth cannot be annulled, Susa, 3, VII, 40; la in-nin-nu-ši ki-bit-su, V. A., 2663, I, 16.

TIN, tānišu, sighing.

ananu, I.
London, 103, IV, 27; Susa, 3, IV, 11; London, 102, I, 21.

annu, this.
Frequently in the phrase nar tanni, London, 101, IV, 5; Susa, 3, IV, 41, 60; V, 23, etc.; or naran na-ša-a, O. B. I., 149, II, 8;


annu, be gracious.
anu, grace.
an-na-ši ki-inu, Susa, 3, VII, 47.
unninu, suppletion.
inanna, now.

APP, appu, face.

ES, asṣatu, wife.

London, 102, I, 36.

aṣṣūtu, marriage.
a-na aš-sū-ti il-qi, London, 102, VI, 4.

ES, tēnīšetti, mankind.
us(s)u, confines, limits.
  u-sa mi-is-ra  ḫu dur-ra, I R. 70, II, 13; u-sa mi-is-ra  ḫu dur-
  ra-šu, III R. 43, III, 20; IV, 1; u-sa mi-šir-šu  ḫu dur-ra-šu,
  I R. 70, IV, 3.

asū, physician.


a-na bit a-ša-ki a-kār(!) la a-ma-ri, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 17.

II, 1 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-ru, Susa, 3, V, 19; ša is-ki ma-ḫir, London,
102, III, 11, 14, 15; is-qu bit dLa-ga-ma-āl, income of the
temple of L., V. A., 208, 3; pl., us-siq is-ki-e-tu, V. A., 2663, III,
35; pl., ana tabalī ṣeqēti(GIS-
RUBA.MES) ka-ši-na, V. A.,
211, III, 5.

usqaru, the crescent (cf. asqaru, Del., H. W., 717b).

us-qa-ru bu-gi-na ma-qur-ru ša ḫu ṣin, Susa, 2, IV, 10.

esiru, street(?).


mēṣiru, bond.

mēṣir(UU) maqātī (= Br. 10,873)

apālu, pay, restore.

1, 1 perm., maḫ-ru ap-šu za-ku-ū, London, 102, IV, 34; ma-ḫir
a-ši, za-ku, V. A., 209, I, 27;
II, 39; III, 14, 26.

1, 3, a-di XII ta-an-šu-na-ap-pal, restore, V. A., 208, 48; London,
102, IV, 40; V. A., 209, II, 5.

aplu, son.

ap-la-šu na-aq mē li-ki-im-šu-ma,
Susa, 3, VII, 9; ap-šu na-qa
mē-šu li-še-li, III R. 43, IV, 20;
aplu ū [na-a]q mē ai u-šar-ši-šu,
London, 102, II, 18.

apsu, abyss, ocean.


epiru, dust.

i-na e-pi-ri u-ša-at-ma-ru, London,
103, V, 46; i-na e-pi-ri i-tam-
me-ru, Neb. Nippur, IV, 29; III
R. 43, I, 33; i-na epirē(IS.-ZUN)
i-tam-mi-ru, I R. 70, III,
2; V. A., 2603, V, 29; i-na
epirē(IS) i-te-mi-ru, O. B. L.,
150, II, 3.

epiru, support.

la e-pi-ri su-ū-ug ĝi-šu li-is-sa-
ah-gar, without being fed may
he wander through the streets
of his city, Susa, 3, VI, 38.

uprū, perhaps = epiru, cover.

I ṣubītu up-ru-ū, III R. 41, I, 25.
apparu, thicket.

gan(GI) apparī(SUK), reed thicket,
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 19.

epēšu, do, make.

I, 1 pret., e-pu-ši-ma (1st pers.).
Susa, 3, IV, 18; pres., ip-pu-ši
tahāzi, they offer battle, V. R.
55, 29; ip-pu-šu (relative sen-
tence), Susa, 3, III, 35; bitu ip-
pu-šu li-bi-er ša-nu-um-ma, V.
R. 56, 53; ina mātu Akkaddi
ip-pu-šu be-lu-tū, V. A., 2603, V,
22; inf., ip-pu-ši, decreed, Neb.
Nippur, I, 9; ti-tur-ra la e-pi-ši,
V. R. 56, 2; la e-pi-šu du-ul-li,
Susa, 3, II, 28; dul-la šu-a-tu lu
e-pi-ši, Susa, 3, III, 41; a-na
e-pi-šu tahāzi, V. R. 55, 7; II
bitāti bitāti 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; bitu šu-a-tu šu na-ga-ru u
e-pi-šu, V. A., 209, IV, 23; part.,
e-piš ku-um-mu ki-iš-ši u si-ma-ku, V. A., 2663, II, 11.
I, 2, ki-i pi-i rabši ma-li-ki-šu . . .
la i-te-pu-uš-ma, Susa, 3, V, 12.

ipsu, built.
bītu ip-šu, a built-up plot, V. A.,
208, 12.

epištu, deed.
pl., i-na ni-me-ki ip-še-ti-šu, with
the wisdom of his deeds, V. A.,
2663, III, 3.

šēn, meditate (cf. Hebr. šēn and
Hilprecht, B. E., XX, 1, p.
xii).

itpešu, prudent.
ma-al-ku it-pi-šu, V. A., 2663, II,
47; [šar] ilāni it-pi-šu rim-nu-u,
C. T., X, pl. IV, 15.

gšu, isu, wood.
Used frequently as determinative;
lû-ù iše lu-ù šamme, Susa, 3, II,
48.

gšu, eqlu, field.
Used frequently in the phrases
eqlu šu-a-tum, IV R.² 38, III, 3,
15; Susa, 16, I, 11; II, 10, etc.;
eqàš an-na-a, III R. 43, III, 18;
III R. 43; edge IV, 2, 5; eqlu
ša-a-šu, London, 102, II, 33; bēl
eqil, Susa, 2, III, 31; IV R.² 38,
III, 15; ba-ab eqšu, Susa, 16, II,
18; eqil mu-li-qi, I R. 70, I, 4,
eqil eqšu, I R. 70, II,
eqil eqšu, I R. 70, II,
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eqil eqšu, I R. 70, II,
eqil eqšu, I R. 70, II,
urū, horse.


arāku, arāku, be long.


arāru, arāru, victory.


išitu, išitu, earth, land.


arāru, arāru, curse.


I, 2, li-te₂-ir-ru₂-šu₂, Susa, 16, VI, 12.

arratu, curse.


arāru, burn.


arratu, drought.

ši₂-su₂-gi₂-e ʿu ar-ra₂-ti, III R. 41, II, 34.

arurutu, drought.

ši₂-su₂-gi₂-e ʿu ar-ra₂-ti, III R. 41, II, 34.

irrū, bitterness.

i-na(-i) ur-ri₂-i im₂-[mu₂]-u, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 16.

erēšu, erēšu, plant.

ši₂-su₂-gi₂-e ʿu ar-ra₂-ti, III R. 41, II, 34.

irīšu, farmer, cultivator.

ši₂-su₂-gi₂-e ʿu ar-ra₂-ti, III R. 41, II, 34.

mērišu, cultivation (cf. p. 174).


išatu, fire.


išdu, foundation.

iš, esṭu, disturbance, revolution.

ušak, misfortune (cf. Hebr. עָשָׁק and Jensen on osakku, K. B., VI, 4335).
iškaru, a span of horses.
ušumgalu, sovereign.
ušumgal(GAL. USU) dIgigē, V. A., 2663, I, 5.

aššamatu, hurricane.
aš-ša-ša-šu is-ṣa-nun-da, a hurri-
cane sweeps along, V R. 55, 32.
ašnān, grain.
li-ša-am-mi dAš-na-an aš u-stē-ṣi ur-ki-ti, Susa, 14, III, 12.

UŠ.SA.DU, adjoining (cf. p. 160).
London, 103, III, 48, 50; London, 101, I, 7, 9, 12; IV R. 3, 38, I, 9, 13, 17; Susa, 16, I, 20, 22, 26, 29; II, 2; III R. 41, I, 3, 5, 7, 9; I R. 70, I, 5, 7, 10, 12; III R. 43, I, 15, 17, 19, 21; O. B. I., 149, I, 7; C. T., X, pl. VI, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28; V. A., 208, 9, 10, 11, 14; C. T., X, pl. III, 12, 14; London, 102, I, 4, 6, 7, 9; V. A., 2663, III, 44, 47, 54; IV, 26, 28, 35, 38. UŠ.SA.DU, neighbor, Susa, 16, IV, 5; Susa, 14, II, 5; UŠ.SA.DU-šu, its adjoining (field), V. A., 209, I, 8, 18.
išparu, weaver.
mBEL(EN)-am-ma apil išpari(UŠ -BAR), V. A., 2663, IV, 29.
išpartu, female weaver.
London, 102, IV, 23.

uš, ašru, place.
aširtum, sanctuary.
aš-ši-ir-tum rabitum(GAL), Susa, 2, IV, 6; pl. muš-te'-u aš-ra-lišu, Neb. Nippur, I, 24; pl. estr., aš-rat dNabū(PA) u dMarduk,
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF


ešrēti, sanctuaries.


ašaridu, first.


iššakkū, prince, representative.

ištu, from, since.

ištēn, one.
ašma(-ma) iš-tin, London, 101, IV, 7; ki-i ištēn umi(-mi) la bālt[su liq-šu-ū, O. B. I., 149, III, 10.

ištēniš, in the same manner.
šihrā u rabā(-a) ki-i ištēniš(I-iš) u-ša-as-bit-ma, V. A., 2663, III, 28.

ištaru, goddess.

atū, see.
II, 1, min-ma ut-tu-ū a-na hur-ri pi-šu la i-kāš-išad, whatsoever he seeks for his throat may he not secure it, I R. 70, IV, 19; gi-mir kal da-dd-me ki-nīš ut-tu-ū-ma, he paid careful attention, V. A., 2663, I, 24.

ițū, oversee(?).laputtū lu-û i-tu-û, I R. 70, II, 6.

ițū, boundary.
30 (gur) i-te-e Bit-ma-zi nār šarrī, C. T., IX, pl. V, 24; e te-ti-iq i-ta-[a], O. B. I., 83, II, 22.

etellu, lord.
amicu ši-û lu-û etellu(BE) lu-û rabū ma-liš šarrī, Susa, 3, VI, 1; e-tîl kamē(e) u ṣērīti, Neb. Nippur, I, 1; (Nebuchadrezzar I.) e-tîl šarrāni, V R. 55, 2; fem., (Gula) e-tîl-li-iš ka-la be-li-e-ti, Susa, 3, VI, 16.
bēltu, mistress.


bēlūtu, lordship, rule.


ba'ālati, kingdoms.

ka-bit māṭāti mut-tar-ru-šu ba'-a-flat, Neb. Nippur, I, 12.

bēlu, weapon.


bā'aru, catch.

I, 1 part., bā'aru (Sū HA), C. T., X, pl. III, 13.

būru, well.

a-na būri(PU) i-na-as-su-ku, III R. 41, II, 11; a-na būri(PU) i-(na)-as-su-ku, London, 102, V, 2.

bātu, pass night.

I, 2, ki-ma kalbi li-ib-ta'-ti i-na ri-bi-it ḍili-šu, III R. 41, II, 24.

bābu, gate.

du-ul-li bāb nār šarrī, Susa, 3, II,

Bābīlū, the Babylonian.  
*Bābīlū (TIN.TIR ki ME), V. A., 2063, III, 45, 48; Bābīlū (TIN.-TIR-ū), V R. 56, 3.

bubūtu, hunger.  

bugina, basket.  
us-qa-ru bu-gi-na maqur-ru ša 4Sin, Susa, 2, IV, 10.

bālu, cattle.  
bu-ul barri ša-kin, Susa, 3, III, 15.

būru, ox.  
bu-ru ek-du ša 4Rammān, Susa, 2, IV, 17.

būšu, buḫalu, stallion.  
XXX sīš XXV bu-ḫa-lu V lurāte (ʾsīšā), III R. 43, edge IV, 2.

baṭalu, cease.  

bašu, bašu, give.  

bašu, bitu, house, passim.

bašu, balu, perish; II, 1, destroy.


belu, ragged garment (Hebr. ʾšālu).  
II šubatu ellitu be-lu-šu, III R. 41, I, 23.

billudū, command.  

bāluṭu, live.

I, 1 perm., a-di um-(um) bal-ṭu, Susa, 3, VI, 52; VII, 23; V R. 56, 59; London, 102, II, 23; um [b]al-ṭu, O. B. I, 149, III, 4; a-di um-(um) bal-du, Susa, 16, VI, 18 a-di ṣum-um (mi) i-ṣu-ti ša bal-ṭa, IV R. 38, III, 41.

bālāṭu, life.


bāluṭu, riches.  
nu-uš ū ḫe-gal a-di ba-lu-tu, Susa, 3, V, 19.

banū, do, make, create.


būnu, face, features.  

nabnilu, birth.

baqanu, cut off (cf. p. 177).

nibrētu, hunger.

baru, see.
I 1 pret., ib-ri-e-ma kul-la-tan nīšē i-ḫi-ḫi, he looked around and everywhere he examined men, V. A., 2663, I, 20.

bārū, seer.
bārū (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).

birit, prep., between.

bīrū, luxuriant growth, pasture.

bīrūtu, luxuriant pasture.

barrušu, luxuriant.
zur-šu bar-ru-šu, V. A., 2663, II, 16.

barāmu, seal.
I, 1 inf., i-na ša-a-me ša-ja-ri à ba-ra-me, London, 102, IV, 41; perm., ṣup-pi bar-mu, the tablet has been sealed, V. A., 2663, V, 50.

barīrītu, rise of the stars.
(Ištar) išat ba-ri-ta, III R. 41, II, 22 (cf., however, Delitzsch, H. W., 188a).

burrurgum, shining (Zimmern).

cassu, cypress.
imēr burāšī (ŠIM.LI) la na-da-ni, V R. 55, 56.

baṣū, baṣū, be.


busū, property.
i-na eli bušī (SA.SU) u-šī-ū-ma, London, 102, VI, 13.

bithūlu, riding horse.
batāqu, cut off.
II, 1 perm., bu-ut-tu-qu maš-šu-u, the drinking places were cut off, V R. 55, 19.

butuqtu, inundation (Talm. סער). ša-a-na bu-tuq-ti šaknu(-nu), Neb.
Nippur, II, 26.

gabbu, entire, total.
i-na i-li̇k mētu Na-mar gab-bi-šu, V R. 55, 51.

gabarū, gabrū, copy.
a-ra-a ša abi eš-ša ga-ba-ri-e la-
bi-ri-šu iš-šur, Susa, 2, Med.,
II, 10; ki ga-ba-[ri-]-li(GIS.LI),
D. E. P., II, 93, II, 8, 11; a-su-
mi-it-tu an-ni-i-tu ga-ba-ri-e ša-
lal-li, London, 103, VI, 27;
gabrū(GAB.RI) kunuk šarrī, I R.
66, II, 51.

guggallu, regent, chief.
gū-gal-lu ša pihāt Bit-MPir-
Amurr, Susa, 3, VI, 11; (Ram-
mān) gū-gal ilāni, D. E. P., II,
113, 8; (Rammān) gū-gal šamē-e
u 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;
lu mu-še-ri-šu ša gū-gal-lu, III
R. 41, I, 33.

šēl, gimillu, preservation.
a-na tur-ri gi-mil-li, to avenge, V
R. 55, 13.

šēl, gamāru, complete.
I, 1 pret., pa-gu-mi a-na Bi-ti-li-ia-a-
ši ig-mu-ur-ma, D. E. P., II,
pl. 20, 5; part., ga-mir šu-luh-ši, the
most perfect commander, V. A.,
2663, I, 7.

gamrutu, completion, fulness.
šim-šu gam-rutu, its full price,
V. A., 209, II, 37; III, 13, 26;
V šqūlu kaspi šim gam-rutu, V.
A., 209, IV, 34.

gimru, totality.
(Marduk) šar gi-im-ri, V. A.,
2663, I, 4; (Ellil) bēl gim-ri
Neb. Nippur, I, 2; šar(?)? gim(?)-
ri, London, 101, III, 10; gi-mir
la-ni-šu, III R. 41, II, 17;
gi-mir kal da-šam-e, V. A., 2663,
I, 23; gi-mir e-kur-er, V. A., 2663,
II, 5.

GAN, a surface measure.
11 GAN 30 qa I ammatu rabītu,
Susa, 2, 1, 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.

GŪ.EN.NA, title of an official.
London, 103, I, 20, 48; III, 7, 26,
35, 37.

girgilu, a symbol of Ellil.
gir-gi-lu al-la-ku ša aEn-lil, Susa, 2,
IV, 3.

girru, road.
pl., tu . . . ša gir-ri-e-tu, V R. 55,
18.

gurru, measure of area, Hebr. יבִי
gur še'asēru, passim.

GIŠ.BAR, rent.
London, 103, III, 19, 20; III R. 41,
I, 21, 22; London, 102, IV, 25.

gişhabbu, rascal.
u-nu a giš-hab-ba, III R. 41, II, 9.

gişimmaru, date palm.
eqlu eğişimmaru zaq-ku, a field
planted with date palms, V. A.,
208, 35, eğiʃirû(SAR) gişim-
maru, V. A., 2663, IV, 21; C. T.,
X, pl. VI, 24; eğişimmaru šadi,
V. A., 209, II, 30; III, 1; eğiʃirû
eğişimmarû 40 gişimmarû ina
bili(GU.UN) ina liš-šu, the
date palm grove in which are
forty date palms with fruit, V.
Nebuchadrezzar I.

ガシュ, gašru, strong.


ガーストゥ, strength, power.

ša ina dun-ni u [gaš]-ru-tu la [i]-šū u tam-šil-su, V. A., 2663, II, 32.

gutaku, title of an official.

gu-la-ku ša Bit-mA-da, III R. 43, III, 12.

Dūzu, month of Tammuz.

V R. 55, 16; V, 2663, V, 16.

才干, da'ummatu, darkness.


迦巴卜, dababbu, raise a claim.


III, 1 pret., di-na lu-ša-(ad)-bu-ba, London, 102, VI, 8; pres., ū-ša-ah-ba-zu ū-šad-ba-bu ū-šat-ba-ba


dibbu, lawsuit.

di-id-bi tap-qir-ta ū ru-gu-um-ma-a, Susa, 3, II, 15.

deda, dagalu, see.


daddu, child.

a[f] i-zi-bu da-ad-da-šu, Susa, 16, VI, 27.

dūru, wall.

dūru ša ša Bit-mA-Samaš, V R. 56, 1.

dāru, everlastinf.

a-na da-ra-a-ti, forever, Susa, 3, V, 39.

dāriš, forever.


דָּהְדָּה, daḥdāu, be abundant.


duḥdu, plenty.

šanāte duḥ-di, Susa, 3, V, 18.

dailu (=dailu), title of official.

a-liš da-i-li ša-a-tim, IV R², 38, II, 30.

דָּנָה, dānu, 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-ud-in kul dini(DI)-šu, may he decree the denial(?) of his right, I R, 70, III, 16; lu-ud-in(–in) kul dini(DI)-šu-ma, III R, 43, IV, 11.

dinu, right, lawsuit.


dainu (=daianu), judge.


דָּקוּ, dāku, overthrew.

I, 2, šu-šu id-di-ki-ma i-na aš-ri-im ša-ni-im-ša ki-i limutti(ti) ilt-ka-an, Susa, 3, V, 40.

דָּקֵו, dikū, 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.

dikū, levymaster.


dikūtu, levy, inscription.


דָּלָה, dalū, door.

dal-[ti] u ahar(KI) mi-il-ki nāri-šu i-si-il-ki-ru-ma, the sluice, the place of filling his canal, Susa, 16, V, 6.

דָּלוּ, dullu, work.


dāmu, blood.


דָּמָאָו, damāqū, be merciful.

II, 1 inf., at-riš 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.

damuq, gracious.
ina nūr pānū(SI.MEŠ)-šu damqūtī(SI.BIR.MEŠ), Neb. Nippur, I, 22.

damqis, graciously.
[damqis] lip-pal-su-šu-ma, Susa, 3, V, 16.

damiqtu, favor.
š-ass [šab ši]-bi u da[migti ši]-pur, Susa, 16, I, 10.

[i2], danānu, force.

dannu, powerful, mighty.

dannatu, difficulty.

dunnu, strength.

dannu, document (cf. dannitu),
a-na šarrri da-an(-an)-ni iq-bi-ma, III R. 43, I, 10; da-an(-an) [-ni] ka-ni-ki, the document was sealed, III R. 43, I, 23.

[i2], dirktu, diminution (cf. dirku, small).
i-na di-ri-ik-ti mé, at the low water level, Susa, 3, II, 54.

[i2], dišu, widely extended.
nišš(U.N) di-ša-a-ti, people far and near, III R. 41, II, 39.

[i2], ādu, inform.
III, I pret., šarru uš-id-ma it-ti a-ḫa-
meš i-šal-ša-nu-ti-ma, London, 103, IV, 18; šarru . . . uš-id-ma, Susa, 16, II, 21; šarru beli-šu . . . uš-id-ma, V R. 55, 49; šarru be-er-šu uš-[š-i]-šu um-[ma], C. T., X, pl. III, 3.

721, abalu, 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.

bīltu, (1) tribute, (2) fruit.
(1) tribute, bilaltu(GUN)-su kabītim(DUGUD-tim), V. A., 2663, II, 14; (2) fruit, XL iqm-gišimmāru ina biltu(GU.UN), V. A., 209, IV, 24.

v1, ādu, fix, appoint.

ādu, law.
a-na la a-di-šu-nu, contrary to their law, V R. 55, 48.

[i2], alādu, beget.
I, 1 inf., a-la-ad a-me-lu-ti alpē 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.

ilītu, child, offspring.
i-li-ti mEr-ba-md Marduk, V. A., 2663, II, 43.

[i2], asumittu, a sculptured and engraved stele.
a-su-mi-it-tu an-ni-i-tu, London, 103, VI, 26.

simtu, decoration.
pl., simāti, ina es-ši ma-ša-zī ilānī rabāti iš-tak-ka-nu si-ma-tu, works of art, V. A., 2663, II, 47.
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شدد, šùpû, brilliant.
(Sin) šà i-na idUser rabûti šu-pu-u,
Susa, 3, VI, 43; 2šûrusu šu-pu-ù màr bîtî šà uthu Di-e-šir, V, R.,
56, 49.

memset, dwelling.
pl., nisê a-pa-ti, Neb. Nippur, III,
18; a-pa-ti i-na náp-hur šal-

memset, go forth.
I, 1 pret., ai u-ši ina u-ša-ki, Neb.
Nippur, IV, 23; pres., ana și-ši
ta uš-ši, C, T, X, pl, III, 8;
inf., mé la a-zi-im-ma, Susa, 3,
III, 7.

II, 2, i-na gât MDanduk-zákîr-kumû
$ zérî-šu uthu-šu, IV R, 38,
III, 22.

III, 1, ai u-ši-ši ur-ki-tî, Susa, 14,
III, 13; lu-ú a-na nášu(ZIGA)
$-šu-ši-šu, I R, 70, II, 11; i-na
zu-um-ri-šu li-še-ši, Susa, 14,
IV, 9; inf., tu-ši di-šu la šu-zi-
im-ma, Susa, 3, II, 42.

šatu, that which goes forth.
ši-ši, command, Susa, 3, VI,
30; šà ši-šu la uš-te-pi-šu,
V, A., 2663, I, 14; ış-bi ina ši-ši
pi-šu, V, A., 2663, I, 31, ši-ši
Bâbîlî, offsprings of B, V R, 55,
2; ši-ši țah[ra]-laš, late off-
spring, C, T, X, pl, IV, 14;
a-na ši-ši lu uš-ši, may he not
let go out (of my hands), C, T,
X, pl, III, 8.

šatu, eternity.
a-di üm(-um) ša-a-ti, I R, 70, IV, 25;
a-na ümë șa-a-ti, Neb. Nippur,
III, 12; I R, 66, II, 4; a-na
üm(-um) șa-a-ti, London, 103,
V, 26; Susa, 16, III, 25; I R, 70,
I, 17; London, 102, I, 29; C, T,
X, pl, IV, 16; a-na üm(-me)
șa-a-tu, V, A., 2663, IV, 55; C,
T, X, pl, VI, 30; a-na ümë șa-ti,
III, R, 43, edge IV, 6; a-na
üm(-mu) șa-ti, V, R, 56, 9; a-na
șa-a-at ümë(-mi), Susa, 3, VII,
39; a-na șa-a-ti, Susa, 3, III, 55;

memset, go down.
I, 2, ut-la-rad a-na knakris, V R, 55,
38.

memset, lead.
I, 2 part., mut-tar-u ëm-ši-la-ti,
ruler of kingdoms, Neb. Nippur,
I, 12.
II, 1 part., mu-iru, captain, Susa,
16, IV, 4; Susa 14, II, 3.
III, 2, mut-ša-la-rû Sip-parrî,

memset, month.
šerî ša ši-ša-ra-da, months that
hasten, IV R, 38, II, 21.

memset, afterwards.
ar-ki, . . . țq-bi-ma, III R, 43,
edge IV, 3; ar-ki, London, 103,
I, 34; II, 5; șa ar-ki-šu, his
successor, Susa, 16, II, 26.

arku, a later one.
bêl bîtî ša Bit-ma-da ar-ku-šu, III
R, 43, III, 8; edge IV, 1; man-
du arku(EGIR-ù), V, A., 2663,
V, 18; C, T, X, pl, VII, 32;
D, E, P, II, 97, 10; țuppu bîtî
ar-ku-šu ëmah-ru-šu, V, A., 209,
I, 24; u ar-ki-šu lu-zi-šu, C, T,
X, pl, V, 9; la și-bi ar-[ki]-šu,
C, T, X, pl, V, 7; pl., arkûti,
ki-pu-tu ša Bit-ma-da ar-ku-tu,
III R, 43, III, 15; III R, 45,
No, 2, 4; pl, fem., arkušu, future,
a-na arkuštî ümë, Susa, 2, III, 2;
London, 101, II, 12; D, E, P,
VI, 45, V, 8; London, 102, IV,
36; a-na ar-ku ümë(-mi), Lon-
don, 103, V, 27; V, R, 56, 26;
O, B, I, 83, III, 11; III R, 41, I,
31; i-na ar-ku ümë, Susa, 3, III,
29; i-na arku(EGIR) ümë, D,
E, P, II, 112, 10; V, A., 209, I,
31; I R, 70, II, 1; London, 102,
I, 29; i-na (ar-ku) ümë(-ma),
V, A., 208, 43; i-na ar-ka-ti
āmi(-mi), III R. 43, III, 1; likkīšu arkat(EGIR)-su, V. A., 2663, V, 47.

arkānu, adv., later.

arkāniš.

ปาvu, urqitu, green herbs.

כְּב, asābu, dwell.

III, I inf., šu-šu-[ub ma]-ha-zi, the preservation of cities, V. A., 2663, II, 23.

šubtu, seat.

נִּי, aššiš, submissively.

ני, atâru, exceed.
III, I, u-ša-tir šum-šu, he magnified his name, Neb. Nippur, II, 7; e-nu-us-su u-ša-ti-ru, V. A., 2663, I, 41; elî ša pa-ni u-ša-tir-ma, he enlarged more than it was before, V. A., 2663, III, 30.

atu, earnest money.
ki-i pi-i atru(DIR) lud-dak-ka, as earnest money I will give thee, V. A., 209, I, 15, 21; ki-i pi-at-ru, V. A., 209, IV, 33; šiqlu ḫurāṣi atru(DIR), Susa, 14, I, 14.

ašriš, exceedingly.

ata, powerfully.
-i-te-ru-ub a-tar-ta, V R. 55, 39.

ata, that which has been added, property.
a-tar-ta eqī Bit-mIr-ri-ga, Susa, 3, I, 12; a-tar-ta eqī ʾālu ša . . . , Susa, 3, I, 16.

יו, zâzu, divide.
I, I pret., šup-pi zittì ša . . . a-na mārī-šu i-zu-zu, the tablet of the share which N. assigned to his son, V. A., 208, 3.

zu’uztu, allotment.

zuţu, blindness.
zu-ut pa-ni ša-ka-ak uz-ni, Susa, 14, III, 4.

י, zar, hate.
I, I, imp., limunta(la) zi-ir-ma kit-ta ru-[am], O. B. I., 83, II, 24.

גו, zakû, be free.
I, I pret., 4 Mar-duk-kudur-usur iz-kam-ma, London, 103, V, 18; Zēr-ukin iz-kam-ma, London, 102, IV, 17; perm., ša ina šarrî po-na za-ku-ma, which under a former king had been freed, V R. 55, 48; maḥ-ru ap-lu za-ku-û, London, 102, IV, 34; ma-ḥir a-pîl 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.

II, 1 pret., a-na úm(-um) ša-ti u-zakki, forever he freed, V R. 56, 31; u-zak-ku-u, I R. 66, I, 5; u-za-kšu-nu-ti-ša, he freed them, C. T., IX, pl. V, 39; inf., zu-uk-ki ša álùBit-Sik-ka-mi-du, the safety of . . . . ., Susa, 3, II, 22; perm., ra-ša-a ul zak-ki, the creditor has not been satisfied, London, 102, IV, 39.

zakūtu, freedom.

I. زئ, zakāru, name, mention.

II, 1 um-ma-šu la za-uk-ku-ru-[af], London, 103, I, 31.

zikru, name, naming.
zi-kir ápšu 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-dam-me-eg zi-kir a-bi, V A., 2663, II, 42.

ΠΠ, zikru, hero.

יו, zamū, 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 "As-na-an, may he keep back the grain, Susa, 14, III, 12.

יו, zumru, body.

א, zanānu, preserve.
II, 1 prec., li-za-ni-ma ha-zi-ni-šu, O. B. I., 80, 1.

חח, zumnu, rain.
(Rammân) bēl naq-bi ú zu-un-ni, V R. 56, 41.

חח, zaqpu, cultivated.
a-di šuṭukir šaq-pi, V. A., 208, 8; eqlu šuṭugišimmaru šaq-pu, V. A., 208, 35; šuṭukir ṣuṭugišimmaru šaq-pu u pi-i šul-pi, C. T., X, pl. VI, 24.

חח, tizzaru, sublime.

א, zarū, beget, create.

זצ, zérū, (1) seedfield.
šu-üzérū, passim.
(2) seed, offspring.


zârâbu, to press (cf. p. 170).


zûr-ṣu, abundance, plenty.

zur-ṣu ba-ru-ḥu, V. A., 2663, II, 16.

ZI.SAG-GAL-li, supplication (cf. p. 170).


zittu, share.

ṭupp-ṣi zittu (HA.LA), V. A., 208, 1; a-na zittu (HA.[LA]) u-tir-am-ma, to the (original) possession (owners) he returned them, V. A., 2663, III, 23; zi-ittu ma-na-[ma], no share, C. T., X, pl. V, 13.

ḥâbasu, be abundant.


ḥâbšu, rich (cf. p. 169).


Ḫabirai, the Habirean.


ḫegallu, affluence.


ḥadû, to rejoice.

II, I inf., lûbbî be-li-ṣu ... ḫu-ud-di-i, to gladden the heart of his lord, IV R. 38, II, 19; i-na ḫu-ud lûbbî(-bi)-ṣu, V. A., 209, I, 23; i-na li-ti u ḫu-ud lûbbî(-bi), V R. 55, 44.

ḫâdiš, joyfully.


mahâzu, city.


ḫâzanû, magistrate.


ḫatṭu, scepter.

iḫuḫatṭu i-sar-ti, V. A., 2663, I, 34.

ḫatu, inspect, examine.

I, I pret., kul-la-tan nîšê i-ḫi-ḫi, V.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

A., 2663, I, 21; L šiqlu kašpi ša i-ḥi-ṣ-ta-ma id-da-aš-šu-nu, V. A., 209, IV, 32; V šiqlu kašpi šim gam-ru-tu ša ... i-ḥi-ṣ-ta-ma ... id-din, V. A., 209, IV, 35.

ḥiru, ḫırtu, consort.

Gu-la  bél-tu rabšu(-tu)  ḫı-rat
NIN.IB, III R. 43, IV, 15; ḫı-rat
Šamaš-Galšu(UD.GAL.LU), I R. 70, IV, 5.

naḥlaptu, mantle.

IX su-b[u] naḥlaptu(TIK.UD.DU)
III R. 41, I, 24.

ḥalāqu, destroy.


II, 2 (ahu-naru) i-ta-bat uḫ-tal-liq, Susa, 3, V, 56.

I, 3, 4, 5, ḫamātu, hasten.

I, 1 inf., a-na aṭ-ri ḫa-ma-af, V R. 56, 10, for the support (cf. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, p. 51, note 3).


ḫantiš, quickly.

ḫa-an-ši-iš li-ik-ša-sa na-ap-šat-[su], V R. 56, 57.

II, 5, 6, ḫamātu, be hot.


ḫaḫaḫu, grow up in abundance.


ḫasāsu, think, remember.

I, 2, a-na limmu(ti) li-ih-ta-as-su-[ma], V R. 56, 52.

ḫasisu, understanding.

ḫa-si-sa pal-ka, V., 2663, III, 6.

ḪAPU, ḫapū, break, destroy.


ḪABU, ḫasu, terra cotta (cf. p. 21*).

na-ra-a ša ḫa-aš-bi, Susa, 2; Med., I, 3.

ḫišu, wealth.

ḫi-šiḫ tam-tim rapaštim (DAGAL-tim), V. A., 2663, II, 15.

ḪAZINU, ḫazinnu, axe.

li-za-nin-ma ḫa-zin-šu, O. B. I., 80, 1.

ḪISSATU, ḫissatu, enclosure, dyke.


ḪIRU, ḫirū, dig.


ḫirū, canal.


hirātu, digging, excavation.
hi-ru-ut nār šarrī la hi-ri-e, Susa, 3, II, 32.

hirītu, canal.
lu a-na na-ri i-na[-ad-du-u] lu a-na hi-ri-ti i-na[-as-su-ku], D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 15.

harrānu, road.

hrāšu, gold.
šim M.A.NA ša hrāši, London, 103, III, 21; šīgī šuragī, Susa, 14, I, 12, 14; šušu(KU) hrāši(AZAG. GI), London, 102, IV, 25.

ḥarru, canal.

ḫurrū, hole.
ḫur-ri pi-šu, his throat, I R. 70, IV, 19.

ḫursānu, compromise(?).

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ḥūšaḥhu, famine, want.

ḥāṭu, defeat.

ḥēmu, ṭemu, report, command.

ḥēṣu, ṭābu, be good.
I, I pret., i-na elī buši u-tib-u-ma, regarding the property they made good, London, 102, VI, 13; inf., i-na li-mu-ut-ti u la ṭāb(DUG-ub) šērī, in misery and discomfort of body, IV R.² 38, III, 39; i-na [ṭib lā]-bi u da[mgiši iš]-pur, Susa, 16, I, 9.

ṭābu, good.

ṭābtu, prosperity.
a-na limutti(t)-i tā la ṭābtu(DUG-ti) li-ir-te-id-du-šu, III R. 41, II, 37.

ḥāru, ṭiḫu, approach.
A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF

Suk, mire.

 götür-ši ti-ša li-ru-ba, V R. 56, 58; ni-is-hi ša ti-i-ti, extract of the clay (tablet), C. T., IX, pl. V, 42.

ṭuppā, tablet.

ṭuškku, forced labor.

ṭušārru, scribe (Hebr. יִשָּׁב).


Ṭaradu, drive away.

I, 2, úmi(-mi) ša na-ka-da ar-ši ša ši-ša-ru-da, days that pass quickly(?), months that hurry on(?), IV R.³ 38, II, 21.

IV, 1 prec., abulli alšu ka-meš liṭ-ša-ru-rid, may he be driven away, Susa, 16, VI, 16; ina pānišu lim-niš it-ta-ra-du, V. A., 2663, II, 36.

Ṭ, idu, side.
a-na i-di li-mu-ti iz-za-az-su-ma, III R. 41, II, 1; a-na i-di ram-nil-su-nu u-ti-ran-ku-ma, they turned them (the fields) to their own use, C. T., X, pl. V, 5; a-na i-di ram-nil-su u-tar-ku-ma, C. T., X, pl. VI, 34.

X, idū, to know.


Mūdu, intelligent.

Diʿ, úmu, day, passim.

úmišamma, daily.
úmi(-mi)-šam-ma, I R. 70, III, 23.
imittu, right hand.

šuru, form, sculpture.

ušurtu, picture, bas relief.

ia-aši, me.
šu-ši ia-aši la u-qal-la-la, Susa, 3, IV, 28.

išu, have.

išaru, to be right.
išaru, righteousness.
mēšaru, righteousnessness.

kabābu, burn.
I, I pres., išu-hattu(PA) išar-ti, V R. 55, 17

kabāsu, tread, walk.


kabtu, heavy, mighty.
kabittu, mind.

KAD, title of an official.
kidūde, temples, shrines.
a-nu ud-du-šu [ēš]-šiša ... u šul-um ki-du-di-e, V A., 2663, II, 24.

kidin, protection.
gōbē ki-di-nu, clients, V A., 2663, III, 11, 24, 32.
kudurru, boundary stone.
null

kišam, thus.

kima, as.
ki-ma me-e, Susa, 3, VII, 25; D. E. P., IV, pl. 16, II, 4; III R. 43, IV, 18; London, 102, II, 23; Neb. Nippur, IV, 21; Susa, 2, III, 34; III R. 41, II, 31; ki-ma ši-ti-ir šamē(e), IV R. 38, II, 27; ki-ma šu-ba-ti, Susa, 3, VI, 49; ki-ma ū-ma-am ū-ri, Susa, 3, VII, 1; ki-ma imērputinì, III R. 41, II, 18; V. A., 209, V, 11; ki-ma lu-ba-ri, III R. 43, IV, 8; ki-ma ili, V. A., 2663, III, 41; šu-pur kima (GIM) abnu/kunukki(DUB)-šu, V. A., 205, 55; V. A., 209, II, 27.

kašku, weapon.

kallu, kalbu, dog.
ki-ma kalbi(UR.KU), III R. 41, II, 24.

kallu, kalû, drive forward(?).

Kisilimu, Kislev, ninth month.
V. A., 208, 53.

Kaspu, silver.

Kisurru, boundary.

Kapādu, plan, devise.
I, 1 pres., mim-ma a-na-at limutt[i]-iti

I, 2, ša a-na epē taḫḏi 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.

Kisṣu, dwelling, temple.

Kirū, garden.

Ikribu, prayer.

Karūbu, powerful.
karū, undertake.

I, 1 pres., i-kir-ru-ma ip-pu-sū ú lu-ú du-ul-la . . . i-na eš-ši il-la-a, Susa, 3, III, 34.

KUR.RA, a kind of garment.

a-di itīn subātu KUR.RA, V. A., 209, IV, 33.

I. šaru, kar(a)su, body, mind.


II. šaru, kursu (= karāšu), ruin.


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, 1, 5, 24, 50, 54; IV R.² 38, I, 4; Susa, 16, I, 3, 24; C. T., IX, pl. IV, 21, 23; III R. 41, I, 2, 9; I R. 70, I, 3; London, 102, I, 2, C. T., X, pl. III, 17; V. A., 2663, IV, 16, 22, 23, 31, 46, etc.

(2) nek, patru i-na kišādu (TIK)-šu, V R. 56, 54.

kašādu, reach, overtake.


I, 2, ik-la-šad a-na kišād nāruš-la-a, V R. 55, 28.

kišitu, property.

i-na kišita (KUR-ta) ša im-gut-ma, because of the property which he claimed, London, 102, VI, 5.

kištu, grove.


kaškaššu, most powerful.


kiširru, perhaps support.


kušši-ri.


kušartu, preservation.


Kaššu, the Cassite.


kiššatu, universe, world.

(. Nazi-Maruttash) šar kiššati (KIŠ), Susa, 2, I, 2; (ŠAR.RA), Susa, 2, II, 27; (Marduk-apal-iddina I.), Susa, 2; Med., II, 3; IV R.² 38, I, 21; D. E. P., VI, 42, I, 24; (Rammān-šum-usur), D. E. P., II, 97, 8; (Meli-Shipak), London, 101, I, 13; (Nebukudurri-usur), Neb. Nippur, II, 23; (Nabū-mukin-aplu), London, 102, IV, 2, 12; C. T., X, pl. IV, 10, 11, 12; rēšu kiššat, D. E. P., VI, 46, IV, 5; abkal kiššat šamē(e) u iršītim(-tim), V. A., 2663, I, 8; purussu (ES.BAR) kiššat niššu, V. A., 2663, I, 38.

ki-ta-a-ti.


katamū, cover.

I, 1 perm., ša-gum-mat-su måtti ka-at-ma, Neb. Nippur, I, 16.

kuttinnu, younger (cf. Hebr. יְנָע).
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 rabī(-i) and māri-šu šal-ša-ai, London, 102, IV, 32.

lā, not, passim.

li′u, tablet (cf. p. 10).

li ( )-u ʿu ṭuppi eqgli, Susa, 16, III, 11; i-na ka-na-ak ǔ ( )-u ʿu ṭup-pi eqgli, Susa, 16, III, 15;
i-na ka-nak ǔ ( )-u šu-a-tu, Neb. Nippur, V, 8; isūli′u(LI), D. E. P., II, 93, II, 9, 12.

litū, power, victory.


libbi, heart.


libbu, young(?).


labānu, libēnu, throw down, prostrate.


lubnu, calamity.


labāru, become old.

I, I inf., a-na la-bar ʾumi(-mi), to distant days, Susa, 16, III, 26; umē la-ba-ri, old age, O. B. I., 83, II, 19.

labiru, old.

gabara-ri-e la-birīšu, a copy of its original, Susa, 2; Med., II, 10; ul-tu la-bi-ri, from of old, Susa, 3, III, 37; bit abi(MA) la-bi-ri ma-ši-ra-zi[-t], C. T., X, pl. V, 12; ki i-na la-bi-ri, as was of old, V R. 55, 50; pl., parstit(BAR.- SUD) la-bi-ru-ti, Susa, 16, II, 27; fem., eqglīt mārē Bābiliški la-bi-rat, V. A., 2663, III, 15; eqglīti bit abē-e-a labirītī(Š.RA.-ME), C. T., X, pl. V, 2.

lubāru, garment.

iš-ru-ba-a ki-i lu-ba-ri, I R. 70, III, 19; īrubā(a)-a ki-ma lu-ba-ri, III R. 43, IV, 8; iš-ru-ba-a ki-
labšu, cloth.

tališu, garment.

₃, lu, (1) adv., truly.
Neb. Nippur, IV, 16, 26; Susa, 2, IV, 31, etc.
(2) conj., either, or.
lu-ū ... ū, Susa, 2, III, 4; lu-ū ... lu-ū, London, 102, V, 1, 2, 3; London, 101, II, 13-15; III, 3, 6, etc.
lazzu, destructive, evil (cf. p. 181).

₃, lipu, descendant.
ilu, laughter (?), merriment (?).
lamānu, limēnu, be evil.
I, 1 inf., lu-ub-nu ma-ku-ū u li-mi-nu, distress, frailty and evil, V R. 56, 44.
limēnu, evil.

limnīš, miserably, with evil intent.
limuttu, the evil.
lamassu, tutelary deity.
ilu šarri ʾa lamassu(KAL) šarri, Susa, 16, VI, 8.
lānu, body.

līiptu, work, construction (cf. p.198).

lipittu, enclosure (cf. p. 184).
i-na lipittu(LIBIT) it-te-'i, Susa, 3, V, 53; ina išu lipittu(LIBIT)
i-pi-ḫu-uu, Neb. Nippur, V, 2.

la(u)puttû, chief (cf. p. 171).
lu-pu-u-tu-ū, III R. 43, III, 13;
NU.TUR, London, 101, II, 14;
IV R.² 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.

läqû, seize, take.
1, I prec., ni-is-so-tu li-ilqi(SU.TI)-
šû, Neb. Nippur, IV, 12; a-na aš-šu-ti [il-qi], London, 102,
VI, 4; pres., ša ultu lûbbi nûr
piḫâti ša šarrî išqqa-aa, Susa,
3, I, 52.
1, 2, eqiu bit abi-[ia al-ti]-ki, C. T., X,
pl. III, 4.

laqātû, snatch away.
1, 1 prec., i-na zêri-šu lî-lqû, London,
101, 17; zêri-šu lî-lqû-tum,
IV R.² 38, III, 37; [zêri-šu] li-il-
ku-tum, Susa, 16, VI, 26.

ma, part. of emphasis, passim.
mi, na-din-mi, London, 101, III, 1;
London, 103, V, 38; šarrî-mi,
O. B. I., 149, II, 7; šû-mi, Susa,
16, II, 32; ma-ši-ir-mi, Neb.
Nippur, IV, 2.

mu,[ma]-la ib-ši-mu, C. T., X, pl. VII,
40; ši-me-emu, V. A., 209, I, 17;
i-tur-ru-mu, V. A., 209, II, 39;
III, 27; ik-nu-ku-û-mu, V. A.,
209, IV, 37.

mê, water.
a-na mê i-nam-du-û, 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.² 38, III, 18; London,
103, V, 45; London, 101, III, 3;
Neb. Nippur, V, 1; C. T., X,
pl. VII, 36; ki-i mê li-im-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 mê
lit-ku-uk, Susa, 2, III, 34; mê
šaḫ-šî, V R. 55, 19; apîl-šu na-qâ
mê-šû, III R. 43, IV, 20; aplu
[na-aq mê, London, 102, II, 19;
na-ag mê, Susa, 3, VII, 10;
D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 10; ki-mu-û
mê id-ra-na, London, 102, II,
13; mê ša mu-še-bi-ri, Susa, 3,
III, 1; mê när ši-qi-ti-šû, Susa,
3, III, 4; mê la a-zi-im-ma,
Susa, 3, III, 7.

mašû, mašádu, be much.
1, 1 prec., li-ma’-i-da at-mi-šû, may be multiply his words;
III R. 41, II, 23.

mašû, much.
ümî(-mi) ma’-du-di, many days,
Susa, 3, V, 17.

manu, mašarû, send.
1, 1 pret., me-gir-ši u-ma-ir-ma,
Neb. Nippur, II, 21; u-ma’-ši-
rû-ûti, 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-ru-û-ma, III R.
43, I, 32; part., mu-ma’-ši-
šamê(-e) u iršîl, Neb. Nippur,
I, 20.

II, 2 pret., la mu-da-a um-la’-šir-ma,
Susa, 3, V, 50.

mârû, son, passim.
mârtu, daughter.
mɔrtû(TUR.SAL)-šu aššati(DAM)-
šû ša, London, 102, I, 17; a-na
mûrtišu id-di-nu, London, 102,
I, 21.

mêru, child.
dûrû it-zi me-rû ša \*Nusku,
Susa, 2, IV, 19; dûrû me-rû ša
KA.DI, Susa, 2, IV, 23.
mēšu, disregard.

1, 1 pret., a-ma-ta iš-tu-ru-ma . . . a-na-ku la e-mi-ešu, Susa, 3, IV, 26.

1, 2, šu-ū la i-te-ni ū la im-taš, Susa, 3, V, 9.

gānu, magāru, be gracious.

migru, favorite.


mitgurutu, agreement.

i-na mi-tur-ti-ša, London, 103, III, 16.

madādu, measure.


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 máti(BAD-ti) an ka-bit-ta, Susa, 16, VI, 14.

meḫu, storm.

i-na-er me-ḫu-û, a storm rages, V R. 55, 32; i-na me-ḫi-e ta-ḫa-zig-šu-nu, V R. 55, 33.

muḫḫu, 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 muḫ-ḫi nāri eḫ-šīt, in, V. A., 200, I, 10; i-na muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu, in their behalf, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 8; a-na muḫ-ḫi, to, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 4; D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 2.

māhāšu, smite, break.


1, 2 part. pl., mu-naḫ-šu-ti, warriors, V R. 55, 46.

II, 1 perm., ku-dur-ri-ši-na nu-uk-ku-ru-ma la mu-uh-ḫu-ša, their boundary stones were changed, but not broken, V. A., 2663, III, 22.

māhāru, receive.


maḥru, before.


maḥrū, former.

miḫru, bulwark.
mi-ih-ri ram-ba-[i], Susa, 3, II, 19.

maḫiṟu, front.
eqlāti ša maḫišti (ŠI-ti) ātu Bābili, opposite, Susa, 2, I, 7.

maḫiṟu, price.

maḫaṟūtu.

AMUK, title of an official.
London, 102, I, 17, 28, 35, 37; II, 32; IV, 29, 30; VI, 3, 7; V. A., 209, II, 33.

mākur, frailty.

makkaltu, perhaps enclosure or hedge.
[ma]-ak-kal-ti šu ṭiškīre la na-ka-śi, 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).

mākus, tax-gatherer.

I.  모습, mikēru, irrigate.
I, I inf., la mi-ki-e-ri, Susa, 3, III, 11.

II.  모습, makkūru, possession.
i-ta-lal 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, 14, II, 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., 102, 2, 38; III, 32; V, 24, 45; C. T., X, pl. VII, 40.

mālu, be full.
I, I, lu i-na(?) ir-ri-i im-[tu]-u, D. E. P., VI, 45, V, 16.


mīltu, filling.
dal-[t]i ašar mi-il-ti nārī-šu, Susa, 16, V, 6.

tamiltu, terrace.
pūtu šaplä šar III US.SA.DU ta[m]-li-ta-p, V. A., 2663, IV, 1.

muli(u)gu, dowry.

mēlultu, pleasure, happiness.
me-ul(la)? ni-me-ki ša ṣu[Nabû, IV R. 38, II, 7.

melak, counsel.
I, I part., ma-li-ku ram-ni-šu, V. A., 2663, II, 51; ma-li-ki-ia, Susa, 3, IV, 14; ma-li-ki-šu, Susa, 3, IV, 35; V, 10; ma-li šarrī, Susa, 3, VI, 2; ma-li a-bi-šu,

1, 2 part., mun-tal-ku, the wise, V. A., 2663, I, 45.

malku, prince.
ma-al-ku it-pi-šu, V. A., 2663, II, 47; ina pu-lur šu-ut ma-al-ku (= malku), V. A., 2663, I, 42.

milku, counsel.
mili-lik mašušume-ri u Akkadi, V. A., 2663, I, 37; mi-likiš-su-nu, O. B. I., 80, 2.

melammu, splendor.

mu-um.
mu-um u su-lur-ma-šu ... ša dE-a, Susa, 2, IV, 5.

mummu, prototype.

mum, count.

minutu, number.
mii-nu-ut šanoti, D. E. P., VI, 46, IV, 7.

manu, mine.

mu-ne.
sisē mu-ne(MUN.E), III R, 43, edge IV, 1.

mamma, anyone.

mammâna, anyone.

manâma, anyone.

mamman, anyone.

mammanâma, anyone whatsoever.

mimma, anyone whatsoever.
lutu mim-ma mašši-ta, any harvest, Susa, 3, II, 50; mim-mu id-di-nu-su, whatever he gave him, Susa, 3, III, 45; mim-ma ša i-na abnu-nari-su ša-tu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 8; u mim-ma a-ma-at limulti(ti), Susa, 16, V, 9; a-na mim-ma la baše-e li-ša-li-ku-su, London, 103, VI, 24; ina mim-ma šumi-su ma-la ba-šu-u, V. A., 2663, V, 23.

mannu, whoever.
mam-nu arkâ-(u), V. A., 2663, V, 18.

mu-nir.

masabu, censer (Zimmern).
masab rubati, Susa, 2, IV, 26.

masaku, set aside, annul (cf. p. 163).

masu-ušše-e.
30 ugar Darrurr-utšm ma-su-ušše-e, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 20.

maz, find, gain.
I, I pret., ma-la lišbušu imšu, he gained all that was in his heart, V. A., 2663, II, 39.
miṣru, boundary.


maqاغu, fasten.

I, 1 prec., ma-ki-i qâl-su lim-gu-ug, may frailty fasten its grip, V R. 56, 45.

maqurru, ship (Zimmern).

ma-qur-ru ša ˹Šin, Susa, 2, IV, 11.

I. ṣap, maqatu, fall down.

I, 1 perm., ša ul-ut lu-bi-ri i-na qa-ti ma-ag-tu-ma, which from of old had completely fallen down, Susa, 3, III, 38.


miqṭu, fall.

mi-iq-ta la ta-bo-a, a fall without rising, Susa, 14, IV, 7.

II. ṣap, maqatu, claim(?)

I, 1 pret., i-na kišitta(-ta) ša im- qut-ma, London, 102, VI, 5.

Maṣ. GAL, title of an official.


I. ṣap, marāṣu, be sick.


marṣu, sick.


marṣu, sickness.


II. ṣap, namraṣu, difficulty.


marâq, pay in full (Aram. ṛḥ finish).


marâru, be bitter.

I, 1 prec., i-na ar-rat lim-ri-ru, Susa, 14, IV, 17.

maruṣu, maruṣu, evil.


MAŠDA. MEŠ.

I R. 66, I, 4.

I. ṣap, mašā, forget.


II. ṣap, mašu, night.


mašāhu, measure.

I, 1 pret., eglš ši-a-tum im-šu-šu-ma,

mašihānu, surveyor.


II, 2, la um-daš-ša-lu ilu-su, whose divinity cannot be equaled, Neb. Nippur, I, 17.

tamsilu, equal.

la [i]-ši-u tam-ši-li, V. A., 2663, II, 33; (kunukku) ša la tam-ši (the royal seal), which has no like, V. A., 2663, V, 49; abnu-ku-nukku šarru-û-ši ša la tam-ši-li, C. T., X, pl. V, 8; VI, 30.

maštūtu, harvest(?).

lu-û tilnu(IN.NU) lu-û SE.BAR û lu-û mim-ma maš-ši-ta, Susa, 3, II, 50.

mātū, land, passim.

matima, whenever.


nādu, lofty, sublime.


nāru, river.


I. 8,22, nābu, call.


II. 8,22, namba'u, inundation.


222, nābatū, light up.

II, 1, ʿum-i(-mi)-is nu-ub-bu-ši, lit up like day, IV R. 38, II, 16.

222, nablu, flame.


8,22, nīgu, be light.

nágiru, commander.

nangu, carpenter.
Susa, 3, I, 22; V. A., 208, 9.

šá, nagášu, oppress, overwhelm.

innu, nadú, throw, overthrow.

I, 2, a-na me-e ù ištáti il-ta-di, Susa, 3, V, 51.


nidú, throwing down.
zér-šú a-na šú-ši-ši išur-šú-ú ni-da a-ži, throwing down of side, i.e., rest may he not have, Susa, 2, III, 29.

šá, nadánu, give.

2, arad-su ... i-ta-ad-di-nu, III, R. 43, edge IV, 6; it-ta-din, London, 102, IV, 14; šarru it-ta-din, C. T., X, pl. III, 6.

nadinānu, seller.

nidintu, nidittu, gift.

nudunnū, dowry.
it(!)-ti mu-lu-gi ʿu nu-dun-ni-e, London, 102, I, 16.

Na-ḫas-si-pa-ni.
Susa, 16, I, 32.

Naḫāšu, be full.
1, 1, na-ḫa-ša ha-ba-ša li-kim-šu-ma, Neb. Nippur, IV, 10.

nuḫšu, abundance.
šanage duḫ-idi nu-ub-šī ʿu ṣegallē (HÉ.GAL), Susa, 3, V, 18.

Naḫāšu, be full.
1, 1, na-ḫa-ša ha-ba-ša li-kim-šu-ma, Neb. Nippur, IV, 10.

nuḫšu, abundance.
šanage duḫ-idi nu-ub-šī ʿu ṣegallē (HÉ.GAL), Susa, 3, V, 18.

Naḫāšu, be full.
1, 1, na-ḫa-ša ha-ba-ša li-kim-šu-ma, Neb. Nippur, IV, 10.

nuḫšu, abundance.
šanage duḫ-idi nu-ub-šī ʿu ṣegallē (HÉ.GAL), Susa, 3, V, 18.
nakādu, pass quickly(?).

nakālu, be skillful, wonderful.

naklu, skillful.

nikīltu, cleverness, mischief.

nakīntu, treasure (cf. p. 170).

nakāsu, cut off.
I, 1 prec., lik-ki-ša na-ap-šat-[su], V R. 56, 57; inf., ṣu-ki-ri šu-sag-gulāni la na-ka-si, V R. 55, 60.
II, 1 prec., lunakkiša (TAR.ME) arkat(EGIR)-su, V. A., 2663, V, 47.

nakāru, change.


nakaru, enemy.
a-ka-ra a-ha-a la mu-da-a u-ma'-a-ra-ma, I R. 70, II, 22; a-ha-am na-ka-ra . . . um-la'-ir-ra, Susa, 3, V, 48; lu na-ka(-ra) lu a-ha, IV R.² 38, III, 10.

nakiru, enemy.

nakri, hostile, enemy.

namāru, shine.

namru, shining.

namrutu, splendor.

numru, gladness.

namrir(ru), glory.

nannaru, lamp.

nīṣu, depart, move away.
I, 1 pres., i-ni-īsu-šu 3660 kaṣ-šu i-na e-muq ʾBēl(EN), V. A., 2663, II, 36.
Nisaba, grain.

ki-mu ḌNisaba(SE.ELTEG) pu-
li-ik-mu-ūh, I R. 70, IV, 12.

nasাহu, tear out.

I, 1 prec., ku-dur-ra-[šu] li-is-su-ūh, 
IV R. 38, III, 36; ku-dur-ra-šu 
li-is-su-ūh, I R. 70, IV, 4; III R. 
41, II, 27; li-is-suḥ, London, 
102, II, 16; kudurra-šu li-
suḥ(Zi-ūh), Neb. Nippur, IV, 
19; isid-su li-is-su-ūh, I R. 70, 
III, 12; e-is-su li-is-su-ūh, 
III R. 43, III, 27; isid-su 
li-suḥ(Zi-ūh), Neb. Nippur, 
V, 7; [isid-su] li-iz-zi-ūh, Susa, 
16, VI, 25; pi-ri-šu li-is-su-ūh-
ūh, III R. 43, III, 29; pi'-šu 
li-is-su-ūh, D. E. P., IV, pl. 
16, II, 10; li-su-ūh-su-ma, D. E. P., 
II, 115, 7; li-su-ūh-su-ma, D. E. 
P., II, 113, 22; inf., na-sâh ku-
dur-ri an-nī, I R. 70, II, 8.

nîṣhu, extract.
a-na pi-i ni-is-hi ša ti-ī-ši, C. T., 
IX, pl. V, 42.

nasâku, appoint, put.

I, 1 prec., a-na nāri i-na-su-ku (relat.), 
V R. 56, 36; a-na bāri i-na-as-
su-ku, III R. 41, II, 11; London, 
102, V, 2; part., na-sîk šarrâni, 
V R. 55, 11.

nisakkû, priest.
nisak(NU.AB) ili bēl biti, London, 
103, I, 47; nisak(NU.AB) ḌEn-
lil, Neb. Nippur, II, 13; ina 
amât šarrî nisakkû, Neb. Nippur, 
II, 12; mKaš-šu-ū ūt-paš šar nisak 
(NISAG.GA) Bit.mdd Šu-ma-me, 

Nisannu, first Babylonian month.
C. T., X, pl. III, 30.

nisatu, lamentation.

ni-is-sa-tu li-ilqi(SU.TI)-šu Neb. 
Nippur, IV, 12.
пу, naquru, destroy.

I, 1 prec., ku-dur-ra-šu li-na-qir,
London, 103, VI, 12; pres.,
ša-na-aq-qa-ru i-na-aq-qa-ru, IV
R.3 38, III, 17; īna abni i-na-aq-
qa-ru, V R. 56, 35; inf., II bitāti
abâtiti(GUL.MES) ša na-qa-ra u
e-pi-šu, V A., 209, III, 17;
bītu ša-a-tu ša na-qa-ru u e-pi-šu,
V A., 209, IV, 23.

I, 2, it-ta-qar i-ta-bat uth-tal-līq, Susa,
3, V, 55.

III, 1 pres., 7-ša-aq-qa-ru, London,
103, V, 42; IV R. 38, III, 16.

narū, inscribed stone.

na-ri-i, 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; īna abnūNA.RŪ.A, Lon-
don, 101, IV, 5; Susa, 3, III, 51;
IV, 9; VII, 28; IV R. 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, head-
ing 1; IV, 28; V, 5; abnūRŪ.A,
Susa, 3, IV, 9, 41, 60; V, 22, 34,
46; C. T., X, pl. VII, 36.

nurzu.

nu-ur-uzu kisād nār šarri, V A.,
2663, IV, 31.

nišu, spirit.

ni-ši ilāni rabâti is-qur, I R. 70, I
21.

nišu, people.

pl., nišē, a-na ni-ši aš-ra-a-ti
London, 101, II, 13;4 E-a-pa-li-
a-na ni-ši-šu aš iš-ši, Susa, 16,
VI, 19; mu-šam-ši-šu ni-ši-šu,
V R. 55, 4; nišē(UN.MES)
a-pa-ti, Neb. Nippur, III, 18;
a-mat nišē li-gi-so-šu, Neb.
Nippur, IV, 8; nišē di-ša-a-ti,
III R. 41, II, 39; (Samaq) kak-
kaš nišē, III R. 43, IV, 10; ina
pi nišē li-ša-liq, London, 102,
II, 17; V A., 2663, V, 47; nišē
(UN.ME) i-ši-ši, V A., 2663,
I, 21; ši-bir-ru mu-šal-ši nāšē
(UN.ME), V A., 2663, I, 36;
kiš-šat nišē, V A., 2663, I, 39;
nišē da-ad-me sapâlti(BIR.ME),
V A., 2663, I, 28.

našū, take up.

I, 1 pret., ri-eš eqli ša-a-tum ša-šu-
ma, Susa, 16, III, 6; reš(SAG) eqli
ša-šu-ma, O. B. I., 149, I, 20;
reš(SAG) eqli ša-a-tu (ši)-ši-
ma, London, 103, II, 46; reš(SAG)
eqlâti ša Bīt-šin-ma-gir . . .
ša-ši-ma, O. B. I., 83, I, 13;
Er-ša it-ti dBEL (EN) a-na Bōbi-
līš ša-a (Dual), C. T., IX, pl.
IV, 12; mārē-šu ša mBe-la-ni
ša-ša-am-ma (Dual), they
brought, London, 103, III, 13;
pres., i-na-aš-šu-a na-ra ri-šu-
māt, they raised him, Susa, 3,
III, 60; inf., imēri-šu ú amēli-šu
la na-aše-e, Susa, 3, II, 53; a-na
la na-še-e ša māt Al-ši-ri-e-a,
III R. 45, No. 2, 3; a-na našē
(ZIGA) uše-is-su-u, I R. 70,
II, 11; part., na-ša šeqaš ti iz-
zi-ti, V R. 55, 8; ilāni na-ša-šu,
the gods urging him on, V R.
55, 22; la na-še-šu-nu, I R. 66,
I, 8.

III. I, ša-aš-ša-ma, London, 101,
III, 7; Susa, 16, IV, 30; Neb.
Nippur, V, 3; London, 102, V,
5; III R. 41, II, 10; O. B. I., 149,
II, 10; šu-aš-ša-šu, III R. 43, I,
32; Neb. Nippur, III, 27; I R.
70, II, 24; prec., ri-ši-is-su la

III, 2, uš-šaš-šu-ma a-na me-e u isšati it-ta-di, Susa, 3, V, 13.


IV, 3, eglu ki-mu it-ta-na-aššum-sa, Susa, 3, V, 32.

nišutu, nišutu, relatives, family.

aḫe mārē nišutu(IM.RI.A) u sa-la-ti, London, 103, V, 29; i-na kimi(IM.RI.A) nišutu(IM.RI.-A) u salati(IM.RI.A), III R. 43, III, 3; London, 102, I, 30; IV, 37, V, A., 209, I, 33; kimi(IM.RI.A) ni-su-ti u sa-la-ti, I R. 70, II, 3; ni-su-ta u sa-la-ti, V. A., 208, 44.

nišru, diminution.
est., [ni]-ši-er she'uzēru is-zu-usma, O. B. I., 83, I, 14.

ני, niširtu, diminution.

nušurrū, diminution.
nu-šur-ra-a la ša-ka-ni, Susa, 3, III, 5.

nuširu, loss (?)
nu-šir-ti, London, 102, III, 20; [nu]-šir-ti-šu-nu ultu šatti y'kan

adī šatti 24, kan, London, 102, III, 12.

hSA, probably a worker in leather.

D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 8 (cf. ālu ša) hSAMES, B. E., IX, 70, 7; 97, 4, 6; etc.).

סבשע, sabasū, turn away, be angry.


סעוד, sugū, want.


סאדער, sadarū, set in order.


סונ, sūn, thigh.

ēr tah-ši-e šir sāni(UR), V. A., 208, 5.

סוק, sūqu, street.

su-u-ug ālā-šu, Susa, 3, VI, 39; itti sūqi(SILA) kad-ni, V. A., 208, 13; itti sūqi(SILA) u btti, V. A., 208, 16, 17.

סאול, saḥū, destroy.


II, 2, mi-sir-ša ul us-saḥ-[h], O. B. I., 83, II, 1; mi-sir-ša us-saḥ-ši, O. B. I., 83, II, 5.


סחמש, saḥmaštu, revolt.

סיפ, sīpu, extent (cf. p. 165).


סער, saharū, turn.

I, 2, su-u-ug ālī-šu li-is-so-aš-šar, Susa, 3, VI, 40.
III, 2, ut-te-is-tree limutte(-te) lu ana šar mātu Elamti, he caused dis-aster to enclose the king of Elam, V R. 55, 41.

sujur-ma, goatfish (Zimmern).
mu-um u su-ḫur-ma-ba a-ši-ir-tum rabitum ša Ɛ-E, Susa, 2, IV, 5.

ra, rage.
I, 1 pres., i-sa-ar me-ḫu-ū, V R. 55, 32.

sakku, stop up.

sakku, deaf.

sukkumu, a deaf man.

sakike, sakike, mud.

saklu, fool.

sukku, minister.

si-kil-lla.
mar-ka su rabūti ša bit si-kil-lla (Zimmern suggests that it may stand for E-sag-ila), Susa, 2, IV, 28.

sakāpu, throw down.
I, 1 pret., is-kiš-su-ma, D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 6.

sakaru, sikēru, stop up, dam.

salimu, favor.

salatu, household.
ništiti u sa-la-ti, London, 103, V, 29; ni-su-ti u sa-la-ti, I R. 70, II, 3; ni-su-ta u sa-la-ti, V. A., 208, 44; kimti (IM.R.I.A) ništiti
(IM.RI.A) u salati(IM.RI.A), III R. 43, III, 4; London, 102, I, 30; IV, 37; V. A., 209, I, 33.

םמ, samû, blind.

םמק, simaku, shrine.
e-piš ku-um-mu ki-iš-si u si-ma-ku, V. A., 2663, II, 12.

ח"מ, simmu, sickness (cf. p. 181).

םן, sanáqu, press.
I, 1 pret., rit-ti-šu ai is-ni-iq, Susa, 16, VI, 22; prec., a-di ūm(-um) bal-du lit(!)-niq (= lišniq?) ma-a-ta, Susa, 16, VI, 18.

ם"ס, sisû, horse.

ם"ס, sapçu, scattered.
mu-pa-ä-hi-ru sapkoti(BIR.ME), i.e., nisi, V. A., 2663, I, 33; nisiš da-ad-me sapkoti, V. A., 2663, II, 29.

םע, suppu.
ina su-up-pu irtim(-tim) išu-gišimmaru šadî, V. A., 209, II, 30.

םעפ, saqâru, swear (perhaps = 垕). I, 1 pret., ni-iš ilâni rabûti . . . . is-qur, I R. 70, I, 22.

םר, surtu, wickedness (Aram. לְקָיָה).

םניק, satukku, temple dues, tithes.

םל, III, 1 pref., a-na-ku la e-nu-ni ū la uš-pi-lu, I have not annulled, have not revoked, Susa, 3, IV, 12; ša ši-it pi-šû šum ša-ši ma-am-ša la uš-pi-el-lum, Susa, 3, VI, 32; uš-pi-lum, O. B. I., 150, II, 1.


םג, pagumu, object made of leather.

םג, pagu, body.
iš-ru-ba-a . . . pa-ga-ar-šu li-la-bi-is-ša, Susa, 3, VI, 50.

פ"ט, pütu, front.

פ"ז, puzru, concealment.

I, 黑恶, pišû, enclose.
I, 1 pres., ina šulipiti(LIBIT) i-pi-šû-u, (relat.), Neb. Nippur, V, 2; i-na i-ga-ri i-p[i]-šu-u], D. E. P., II, 113, 17.
I, 2 i-na i-ga-ri še-te-hi, Susa, 3, V, 54.

II, 黑恶, paḫatu, provincial disrict.
bêl paḫatu(EN.NAM),governor,Susa, 16, III, 23; IV, 1; Neb. Nippur, V, 15; V R. 56, 19; I R. 66, II
pīḥātu, district, province.

pi-ḫat sarri, V. A., 2663, IV, 14, 49; ana pi-ḫat i-man-nu-ü, C. T., X, pl. VII, 34; pīḥātu(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. 38, I, 5; Susa, 16, I, 4; IV, 6; Neb. Nippur, II, 28; III, 1, 8; O. B. I., 83, I, 15; O. B. L., 83, II, edge; III R, 41, II, 2; III R. 43, II, 23.

rho, pāḫāru, gather, collect.


puḫru, assembly.
in a pu-ḫur šu-ut ma-alt-ku, V. A., 2663, I, 42.

napḫaru, totality, all.

rēš, pāḫāru, break, free.


IV, 1, ša ri-ki-is-su la ip-pat-ța-ru Susa, 3, VI, 46; III R. 41, II, 26

pāṭru, dagger.

ul-tu pāṭu ina kisādi-šu, V. R. 56, 54.

š, pū, mouth.

ṣi-ṭi pi-šu, command, Susa, 3, VI, 30; ṣi-ṭi pi-šu, V. A., 2663, I, 14, 31; qi-bit pi-šu, Susa, 3, VII, 45; i-piš pi-šu, Neb. Nippur, I, 9 ki-l i-pi, 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-š ni-ša-hi, according to the extract, C. T., IX, pl. V, 42; i-na pi-š nišē li-hal-li-qi, from the mouth of men, III R. 41, II, 39; London, 102, II, 17; V. A., 2663, V, 47; iš-bu ṣi-pi, the holding of the mouth, i.e., dullness, Susa, 3, VII, 38; ša pi-š nāršal-ma-ni, the mouth of the river Š., I R. 66, II, 2.

pi-ši.
in the phrase pi-ši šul-ul-pi, V. A., 208, 36, uncultivated or pasture land; the opposite is eqīlu zaq-pu, cf. V. A., 208, 7, 8, 35, 36; tušikušu ti-gišmarē zaq-pu u pi-[šul-pi], C. T., X, pl. VI, 24.

רֵלָן, palū, reign.
i-na palēt(BAL-e) dMarduk-apal-idīna, Susa, 2, Med., II, 1; ina ūme(-me) palē-š[u], C. T., X, pl. IV, 15.

רֵלָן, palāḥu, fear.


1, 2, ša-ša la ip-ta-la-ah-ma, Susa, 3, V, 27; ša i-na ˹abnu˼ ša-at-ra ip-ta-la-ah-ma, Susa, 3, V, 47; šarru u ilāni-šu la ip-tal-ḫu-ma (relat.), V R. 56, 32.

palḫiš, reverently.

 Tud, palakū, fix limits.

pilku, plot.

pulukku, boundary.

pu-šu-uk(g), perhaps a measure.
pu-šu-uk(g) u imér u buršiti, V R. 55, 56.

fiša, palkū, wide, comprehensive.

Yd, palásu, look.

pānu.
(1) face, zu-ut pa-ni, blindness, Susa, 14, III, 4; la na-ul ša pāni-(ST)-ša, V. A., 2663, V, 26; pa-nišu lim-ḫas-ma, III R. 41, II 19; pān dŠumši-šiš, V R. 55, 31; (2) presence, pān, 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 ilânu (šātu, amurrē, šadâ), towards north, etc., London, 103, III, 47, 49; IV, I, 3, 4; London, 101, I, 7, 8, 10, 11; Susa, 14, I, 2, 7; D. E. P., II, 112, 2, 6; with the verb dagalû, cf. pān-šu u šad-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, ultu umi-(mi) pa-na, from former days, Neb. Nippur, II, 29; šarru pa-na, a former king, V R. 55, 48; cf. šarru aš-šiš pa-ni-a, 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(ST) ekalli, C. T., X, pl. VII, 43.

pānātu, in front of, before.
tap-tu-u pa-na-at šawkirū, V. A., 2663, IV, 33; a-di tap-te-e ša pa-na-at šawkirū, V. A., 2663, IV, 44.

pānū, title of an official.
paqaru, raise a claim.
I, 1 pret., šarru ip-qir-ma a-na qatî . . . id-din, the king reclaimed (the field) and gave it to . . ., London, 103, III, 4; pres., i-paqqi-ru u-šap qa-ru, reclaims, III R. 41, I, 36; inf., ku-nu-ak šarru ša la pa qa-ru, C. T., pl. V, 7; ša la tam-ši-li u la pa qa-ra, C. T., pl. V, 9; VI, 30; ša la tam-šil u la pa qa-ri, V. A., 2663, V, 49; a-na e-li u pa-ki-ri, for the purpose of opposing and reclaiming, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 9.
III, 1 pres., i-paqqi-ru u-šap qa-ru, III R. 41, I, 36.

paqru, reclamation.
a-na paq-ri la raš-e-e, I R. 70, I, 20;
aiš-šu paq-ri la raš-e-e, London, 102, II, 34; a-na paq-ri la bašé(IG), V. A., 2663, IV, 52; [pa]-ak(-?)-ri isu-širi id-šu-um-ma Susa, 16, II, 17.

tappiru, claim.
tap-qa-ta u ru-šu-um-ma-a, Susa, 3, II, 15.

piru, offspring.

parganiš, undisturbed(?).
par-qa-niš bašé(e) a-šu-ú-ti, V. A., 2663, III, 18.

purdu, leg.

piru, offspring.

paraku, lock, bolt.

parku, barred.
har Ra-an-na pa-ri-ik-ta (fem.) li-š-e-iš-bi-su, may he cause him to take a road that is barred, III R. 43, IV, 31.

pariktu, violence.
ina pa-ri-ti li-šši-su, with violence proceed against him, I R. 70, III, 16; i-na pa-ar(-ik)-ti li-šši-su, III R. 43, IV, 11.
narm, cease.

IV, 1, la na-par-ka-a, without fail, IV R.² 38, II, 23.

purimu, wild ass.
e-ma intāpurinē šēri li-ir-pu-ud, Susa, 14, IV, 3; ki-ma intāpurinēmi(EDIN.NA), III R. 41, II, 18; V. A., 209, V, 11; ki-i purinē(-mi), I R. 70, III, 20; London, 102, I, 47.

parasu, decide.

parsu, decision.

parsū, decide, judge.
šarru parsē(BAR.SUD.MES)iš-salma, the king asked the judges, V R. 55, 50; parsē(BAR.SUD) la-bi-ru-šu ilikū šarru . . iš-sal-sa-nu-ti-ma, Susa, 16, II, 27; par-su-su nak-su, skillful arbitrator, V. A., 2663, II, 48.

purussū, judgment, decision.
pa-ri-is purussē(EŠ.BAR.MES), Susa, 14, III, 7; di-in-šu u purussē(EŠ.BAR)-šu aš ip-ru-us, London, 102, II, 2; purussē (EŠ.BAR) kiš-šat nisē, V. A., 2663, I, 38; bēlē purussē, C. T., X, pl. VII, 39.

parasu, decide.

parsu, command.
a-na paras(GARZA) šarru, Susa, 3, II, 43; paras ša-kin, Susa, 3, II, 44; paras ma-am-ma, Susa, 3, II, 45.

pašatu, efface.
I, 1 pres., ša-mi ša-at-ra i-pa-aš-ši-tu

(relat.), Susa, 16, V, 4; šum šat-ru i-pa-aš-ši-tu, V. A., 2663, V, 32.
I, 2, šu-mi šat-ru ip-ta-ši-it, Susa, 3, V, 57.

pašaru, loosen.
I, 1 inf., ar-rat la pa-ša-ri, IV R.² 38, III, 33.


pitu, open.

patanu, keep off.

patinnu, some kind of dress.

patāqu, make, create.

pitqu, building.

šēnu, sheep.

šānu, fill.
I, 1 prec., li-ša-an ka-ra-as-su, III R.

IL, șērū, field.
ā-ma-am șī-ri, Susa, VII, 1; ā-ma-am șērī (EDIN), D. E. P., VI, 47, 11; șī-ra li-ir-pu-ud, Susa, 2, VII, 2; pa-an șērī (EDIN), Susa, 16, I, 25; purīmē șērī, Susa, 14, IV, 4; i-na ăli ș șērī, V R. 56, 5.

șērū, lofty.
bīlūdū (GARZA)-šū șī-ra, Neb. Nippur, I, 18; șēnū bēkallu șī-ra, III R. 41, II, 34; I R. 70, IV, 16; III R. 43, IV, 1; (Ninib) mār ēn-lull șī-ri; pl. (Samaš and Rammān) daianē șīrīti (MAJ MES), Neb. Nippur, IV, 16.

IL, șābū, soldier.

IL, șūmbu, wagon.
šēnū gūmū (MARGIDA)-šū šēnū gīmēti (LAL)-šū, Susa, 3, II, 51.

IL, șăbū, desire, want.
I, 1 pret., a-na ma-ta iš-bi-i, IV R. 38, II, 28.

IL, šabātu, seize.


šibtu, holding, increase.
(1) și-bit pi-i, holding of the mouth (size durness), Susa, 3, VII, 38; (2) revenue, increase, šibit (BIR) alpē și-e-nī, V R. 55, 55; ina šibit și-en-nū (gēnī) III R. 45, No. 2, 9.

șubātu, garment.

șabitānu, captor.

IL, šādu, chase.

șuḫili, title of an official.
ḫuḫi-li, C. T., IX, pl. V, 34.

IL, şēhēru, be little.
I, 1, ul-tu a-na-ku și-ḫi-ri-ku, since I was little, London, 103, IV, 27.
şhūrī, little.
ištu și-ḫir ra-bi, great or small, V R. 56, 29, șhūra (TUR) u ṭabā-(a), V A., 2663, III, 27.

IL, šiltu, war.

IL, šillu, protection.
שם, protecion.

1. יָלָם, salmu, picture.

II. יָלָם, salmu, black.

שלום, šimittu, team.
isumbi(MAR.GID.DA)-ṣu isumbit(LAL)-ṣu, Susa, 3, II, 51.

שְֽׁפַפְּּתִּי, orchards.

שַֽׁפְּרּוּ, špru, finger-nail.

שַֽׁרְנּוּ, šarru, opponent, enemy.

שִֽׁרְנּוּ, širru, opponent.

שִֽׁירְרִית, scepter.

שִֽׁורְרָה, šurr, heart, mind.
šur-ru šad-lu, of broad mind, V. A., 2663, II, 49.

חַבֲּב, qabū, speak.


קִבְּטָה, qibitu, command.
ša a-mat qi-bi-ti-ši-nu, Susa, 3, VI, 21; ša qi-bit pi-i-ši, Susa, 3, VII, 45; ša in-nu-ū qi-bi-su, D. E. P., II, 115, 7; i-na qibitu(KA) 4štarr, V R. 55, 40; la in-nin-nu-u qi-bit-su, V. A., 2663, I, 16.

חַבְּלֵנּו, qablu, midst, battle.

חַבְּלְמַה, qabaltu, midst.
in a qabal-ti ali, V. A., 208, 12.

חַבְּבָרּו, qabbaru, bury.
IV, 1 pret., [salamta]-ši a1 iq-qi-bir,
D. E. P., VI, 43, III, 14; ša-lam-
ta-ši i-na iršiti aì iq-qi-bir,
Susa, 16, VI, 21.
qiburu, grave.
qi-bi-ra aì [u-šar-ši-šu], London,
102, II, 25.
qipu, official.
qi-pu aì-um-ma, Susa, 3, II, 39;
aì-um-ma qi-pu, III R. 41, I, 33;
qi-i-pi ša E-sug-ila, C. T., X,
pl. VII, 44; qi-i-pu lu-ù šak-nu,
V. A., 2663, V, 19; pl., qi-pu-ti-
tim ša qaq-qa-ra-tim, Susa, 2,
III, 8; qi-pu-ta ša Bit-MA-da
ar-ku-tu, III R. 43, III, 14; qi-
pu-ta lu-ù ša-za-an-nu Bit-MA-da
ar-ku-tu, III R. 45, No. 2, 4, 5;
qi-pu-ut mātu Na-mar, V R. 56,
29 (cf. "The Képu," A. J. S. L.,
XXII (1905), pp. 81-88).
qasu, present.
I, 1 pret., ša dE-a · · · i-qi-šu-šu, V.
A., 2663, III, 6; qi-ša-a-tu i-qis-
u-nu-ti-ma, V. A., 2663, III, 34.
qistu, present.
pl., ir-ba u qi-ša-a-ti, V, A., 2663,
II, 17; qi-ša-a-ta i-qis-su-nu-ti-
ma, V. A., 2663, III, 34.
qalwa, burn.
I, 1 pres., i-na šaṭṭī ([sq]-ša-ti) i-qal-lu-ù,
Neb. Nippur, V. 1; O. B. I, 149,
II, 12; London, 102, V, 3; C. T.
X, pl. VII, 37; i-na šaṭṭī(NE)
iqallu(SU-AŠ-šu), V. A., 2663,
V, 29; i-na i-ša-ti i-qa-ša-šu,
III R. 43, I, 34.
III, 1 šaṭṭī u-šaq-šu, V R. 56, 36;
i-ša-ta u-ša-aqqa-[lu], London,
103, V, 44.
qaltu, despise.
II, 1 pres., ša-ši in-a-ši la u-qal-la-la,
Susa, 3, IV, 29.
quullutu, wrongdoing.
qu-ul-šu-ul-la iz-xi-ir, Susa, 3, IV,
54; V, 21.

qamȗ, burn.
II, 1 pres., li qa-an-ma šer-ši-šu,
Neb. Nippur, IV, 27.
qanȗ, perhaps acquire.
II, 1 pres., li qa-an-ni-ma, D. E. P.,
VI, 43, III, 8.
qanȗ, reed.
qan(GI) aprpar(SUK), reed thicket,
C. T., IX, pl. IV, 19.
qinnu, habitation, family.
(1) habitation, naq-šar qin-ni-e u
kal da-ad-me, Neb. Nippur, I, 15;
(2) family, qin-ni mAHU-ni-e-a,
Susa, 16, IV, 9; qin-ni, D. E. P.,
46, IV, 11.
kanakû, seal.
I, 1 pret., ik-nu-uk-ma, London, 103,
III, 36; IV, 6, 34, V, 23; Susa,
16, II, 13; III, 12; C. T., IX, pl.
IV, 16; V. A., 209, I, 25; IV, 14;
C. T., X, pl. VI, 30; V. A., 2663,
IV, 54; ik-nu-uk, D. E. P., VI, 42,
I, 24; i-ik-nu-uk-ma, III R. 43;
edge IV, 5; ik-nu-ka-ma, Lon-
don, 102, I, 15, 26, 34; ik-nu-
ku-ma, London, 102, I, 21; ik-
nuk-u-ma, V. A., 209, IV, 37;
pres., a-kam-nak-ma, London,
102, I, 24; imper., ūppa-šu
ku-nu-uk-ma bi-in-ni, V. A.,
209, I, 14; inf., i-na ka-nak
tišši ki-a-tu, I R. 66, II, 5;
V. A., 209, II, 11; V, 13; C. T.
X, pl. VII, 41; V. A., 2663, IV,
56; C. T., X, pl. III, 23; i-na ka-
nak li ľ ľ -u ū ūppi eqši, Susa,
16, III 14; i-na ka-nak ūppi
šu-ma-tu (?) (so Dr. Ungnad),
V. A., 208, 48; i-na ka-nak kan-
gi šu-a-tu, London, 102, VI, 14;
i-na ka-nak li ľ ľ -u ši-a-tu,
Neb. Nippur, V, 8; perm., kunuk-
ku ul ka-nik-ma i-qa-bu-šu, III R.
43, III, 7; kunukku ul ka-ni-ki
i-qa-bu-šu, III R. 43, III, 17;
dan(an)[-ni] ka-ni-ši, III R. 43,
I, 23; ul ka-nik-ka, D. E. P.,
VI, 42, I, 22.

kān(i)ku, document.
ka-nik di-ni, Susa, 16, III, 11;
i-na ka-nak kon-gī šu-a-tu, Lon-
don, 102, VI, 14; ka-nik di-nim,
London, 103, VI, 28.

kunukku, seal.
ku-nu-uk šimi eqši, London, 103,
III, 9; abnu kunuk(DUB) di-ni
šu-a-tum, Susa, 16, III, 16;
kun-ku-uk šarrī, C. T., X, pl.
III, 32, V, 7; abnu kunuk šarru-
ū-tī-šu, C. T., X, pl. V, 8; VI,
30; i-na abnu kunuk(DUB) šarrī,
ša šip-ri-e-ti, V. A., 2663, V, 48;
I R. 66, II, 19; kunukku ul ka-
nik-ma i-qa-bu-ū, III R. 43, III,
7; kunukku ul ka-ni-ki i-qa-bu-ū,
III R. 43, III, 17; kimā abnu-
ku-nukki-šu, V., 208, 55; V. A., 209,
II, 27; abnu kunukku šī-tī šumu-
šu ik-nu-uk-ma, V. A., 2663,
IV, 53.

qrippu, poniard, knife.
ul-tu paš-ru i-na kišši-šu u qripp-
pu-u i-na i-ni-šu, V R. 50, 54.

qrippu, cut off.
I, 1 pret., [ni(i)]-er šešé-šuru ig-zu-uz-
ma, O. B. I., 83, I, 14.

qiṣṣatu, curtailment.
i-ni-šī-ra qi-ša-ta i-šak-ka-nu, Susa,
2, III, 14; ni-ši-ir-ta u qi-ša-ta
la ša-ka-ni, Susa, 3, II, 10; ni-
šī-ra qi-ša-ta, Susa, 16, IV,
16; ni-šī-ra qi-ša-ta i-na
ši-bī-bi-i šak-ka-nu, I R. 70,
II, 15; III R. 43, III, 21; ni-ši-
ir-ta qi-ša-ta u ṣdu-[a], C. T.,
X, pl. VII, 34; qi-ša-ta u ni-
(ši)-šīr-tu, Susa, 3, V, 29; qi-ša-
ta ni-šī-ra i-šak-ka-nu, III
R. 41, II, 6.

qaqqadu, head.
qaqqad(SAG)-su li-šam-rī-šu-šu,
Susa, 14, IV, 12; qaqqadu(SAG)
[mar(?)-zi-ma ... li-ik-mi-[šu];

D. E. P., II, 113, 18; šal-mat
qaqqadi, the blackheaded, Neb.
Nippur, I, 11; V. A., 2663, I, 22;
II, 55.

qaqqar, piece of land.
i-na qaqqar-it-te-mi-ir, Susa, 3, V,
52; i-na qaqqar-it-ta-im-me-ru,
Susa, 16, IV, 33; qaqqar maštu Na-
mar, V R. 55, 47; 56, 8; qaqqar-
ku, I R. 66, I, 11; qaqqar-
ku šu-ū, V. A., 209, I, 5;
um-ma qaqqar-ku i-ša-arši, V.
A., 209, I, 7; qaqqar ša i-na
gātā(ŠU) mIddina-[Nabû an-
šu-ru, V. A., 209, I, 12; pl. gipu-
u-ša-tim ša qaqqar-ša-ši-ma, Susa,
2, III, 9.

qarabu, approach.
I, 1 perm., a-na alšu-ši ... la qir-
bu, London, 103, I, 29; IV, 42.

II, 1, pres., i-qar-ar-bu-ša i-ša-arši-
msa, O. B. I., 149, II, 10; perm.,
a-na alšu-ši ... ul qu-ru-šub,
London, 103, IV, 26; qu-ru-šub
išši(-e), London, 103, III, 20.

qirbu, midst.
a-na ki-rib Bâ[bili i-tur-ma], C. T.,
X, pl. IV, 16; ša ki-rib Dērki
V. A., 209, II, 31; III, 2, 15; IV,
25.

qirbû, arable land (Aram.
eqlu qir-ru-ba-a ša a-na bu-tuq-ti

qarbatî, plowed fields.
qar-ba-ti kudurri(SA.DU)-ši-na
nu-uk-ku-ru-ma, V. A., 2663,
III, 21.

qardu, strong, powerful.
ti-iz-qa-ru qar-du, D. E. P., II, 115,
5; išakku qar-du, V R. 55, 3;
zi-ik-ru qar-du, V R. 55, 7;
ed-li qar-di, V R. 55, 21; dA-
mān ... mār dA-num qar-du
I R. 70, IV, 10.
qarratum, torch (?) (Zimmern).

qastu, bow.


qattu, complete, end.

I, 1 prec., u-me(m)-i i-su-ti ša bal-ta lāq-ti-ma, IV R. 38, III, 41; lāq-ta-a zimur(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.

qattinu, a class of farmers.

I, 1 inf., ša a-laššu lu-ṣu qa-at-ti-mi lu-ṣu a-šib a-liš, Susa, 3, II, 35 (cf. B. E., XV, 37: 1).

rebītu, street.

I, 1 inf., šamme-la ri'-e, Susa, 3, III, 21.

rer'u, shepherd.


rer'utu, rule.

a-na rer'-u-ut mātu-Su-me-ri u Akkadiši, Neb. Nippur, II, 1; ri'-u-ut ma-ti, Susa, 3, III, 59; a-na rer'u-ut šal-ma(g) qagqaddi, V, A., 2663, II, 54; ina la rer'-u-ti, in the rulerless time, V, A., 2663, III, 17.

ril'tu, rittu, pasture.


ramu, (1) love, (2) present, give.

I, 1 (1) love, imper., kit-ta ra-[am], O. B. I., 83, II, 24.


rimūtu, grant, gift.

II še-uzēru ri-mu ndSin-bél-ilāni, O. B. I., 149, I, 2; a-na ta-bal eqi ri-mu dMarduk-apal-iddina ... uznā-šu i-šak-ka-nu, V. A., 2663, V, 33.

rimū, merciful.


narāmu, beloved.


rubū, prince.

(pl., a-na ûmé ru-qu-ši, Susa, 3, III, 56.

rubū, resu, (1) head, (2) boundary stone.

(1) head, amētu ša rēši(SAG) ša mātāti, III R. 43, II, 2.


rubu, lordship.

(pl., "Simulia) a-ši-bat ri-še-e-ti, V. R. 56, 47.

rubtū, first.


rubū, great, prince.

daianu rubū, Susa, 2, IV, 13; Susa, 14, III, 3; rubu ma-liš šarrī, Susa, 3, VI, 2; "Simalia) rub šamē(-e) u īršiti(-ti), III R. 43, 20

IV, 10; Anu rabū bēlu rabū, III R. 43, IV, 30; mar-ka-surabātu(-u), Susa, 2, IV, 27; mar-šu rabī(-t), London, 102, IV, 31; īstitu ši-hir ra-bi, V. R. 56, 29; rubū u-ri-e, master of the horse, V. R. 55, 53; fem., rabītu, a-ši-ir-tum rabītu ša dE-a, Susa, 2, IV, 6; a-zu-gal-la-tu rabītu. Susa, 14, IV, 6; šē-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 abātu, Neb. Nippur, IV, 20; be-el-tu abātu(-tu), III R. 41, II, 29; "Nīna mērat dE-a abāti(-ti), O. B. I., 83, I, 22; pl., ilāni rabūtī, Susa, 2, III, 16; IV, 30; Susa, 14, III, 3; London, 103, VI, 1, etc.

rubūtu, lordship.


šurbū, sublime, glorious.

I., "Gu-la bēltu(-tu) šur-bu-tum, Susa, 3, VII, 15.

rābašu, crouch.

I, 1 pret., i-na ka-mat aši šu aši īr-bē-īš, O. B. I., 149, III, 8.

III, 1 prec., li-šur-bi-šu-šu-ma, Susa, 16, VI, 17.
rabišu, demon.

tarbašu, court.

rañmu, raise a claim.

III, 1 pres., i-šar-ga-mu, London, 103, V, 35; Susa, 14, II, 11.

rugummū, reclamation.

1. ṭū, ridū, march.
I, 1 pres., ili-lak šarru . . . i-rid-di

II: ṭū, ridū, drive, lead.


ridū, leader, captain (cf. p. 176).

ridūtu, government.
B.Bu(Tu-na-mi-ša-uša-ah ša ri-dü-ti, IV R.² 38, I, 15.

bull, II, 1 inf., ša ra-šu ša a-bu-bu, whose destruction (or perhaps anger, 2N) is a stormflood, Neb. Nippur, IV, 22 (cf. p. 182).

rešu, helper.

raḫšu, flood.

riḫu, remaining.

rakkabu, saddle(?)
rak-kab sisē, III R. 41, I, 16; rak-kab imēru amurrē, III R. 41, I, 18.

narkabtu, chariot.

rakṣu, hitch up, attach.

rikṣu, bond, hold.

markasu, band.
marka-su rabu(-u), Susa, 2, IV, 27.

ramāku, pour out.
I, 1 prec., ki-ma me li-ir-mu-uk, Susa, 3, VII, 25; ki-ma me li-ir-muk,


ramānu, ramnu, self.


iču, rinmu, whining.


rādu, rapādu, lie down.

I, 1 prec., ki-ma ū-ma-am ǧi-ri ǧi-ra li-ir-pu-ud, Susa, 3, VII, 2; e-ma purimē ǧēri li-ir-pu-ud, Susa, 14, IV, 4.


rēbē, rapēšu, wide.


riqqu, gardener.

kriqqu ša ili rābi, V. A., 209, IV, 17. (For the ideogr. cf. Clay, B. E., XIV, List of Signs, No. 129.)

rasānu, rasābhu, powerful.


rasē, rasē, take possession, have.

I, 1 pret., ai īr-šē-ū ni-da a-ḫi, may he not have a resting place, Susa, 2, III, 27; pi-ri ai īr-šē, Susa, 14, IV, 17; ir-ša-śa-si-li-me (relat.), granted favor, V. A., 2663, I, 19; inf., a-na paq-ri la ra-šē-e, not to make reclamation, I R. 70, I, 20; ru-umu ma-la ra-šē-e, Susa, 3, II, 17; aš-šu paq-ri la ra-šē-e, London, 102, II, 34.

III, I pret., še-eṣēra u pi-īr-a ai ušar-ši-šu, may he not let him have, Susa, 3, VII, 13; na-aq mē [ai u]-šar-šu, D. E. P., VI, 45, IV, 11; ai u-[šar]-šu-[u], D. E. P., VI, 46, III, 4, 7; šumu ai ušar-šu-šu, D. E. P., VI, 47, 3; (na)aṣu mē ai ušar-ši-šu, London, 102, II, 19.

rāṣu, creditor.

mZēr-ukin mār mKar-zi-ab-ku rašu, London, 102, IV, 33; raša-ša u ʾl zak-ki, the creditor has not been satisfied, London, 102, IV, 39.

rittu, hand.

[efēmmi-šu] a-na efēmmi rit-ti-šu ai is-ni-iq, Susa, 16, VI, 22.

ša, (1) who, (2) of, passim.

sāšu, that, he.


šu'atu, that, passim.

\(\text{šatu}, \text{šattu}\), eternity.

\(a-na \ șat-ti\), forever, Neb. Nippur, I, 22.

\(še’u\), seed.

Only found as a determinative for \(še’užeru\), seedfield, Susa, 2, I, 14; Neb. Nippur, II, 25, III, 7, etc., and in \(še’u\)BAR, London, 103, III, 18, 19, etc.

\(\text{še’u}, \text{šē’u}\), to see.

1, 2 pret., \(a-k-rat \ d^\text{Nabû} u d^\text{Marduk} \ iš-te-e-ma\), he looked after (cared for) the sanctuaries, V. A., 2663, III, 10; \(iš-te’-u-ma\) [ur-?]ti bēl ilani, he paid attention to the law of the lord of the gods, V. A., 2663, II, 19; part., \(muš-te’-u\) aš-ra-ti-šu, Neb. Nippur, I, 24.

\(\text{ša’alu}, \text{ša’alu}\), ask.


šītulū, decision.


\(\text{šaru}, \text{šarū}\), cardinal point.

\(šaru(IM)\) I, V. A., 2663, III, 44; IV, 15, 23, 35; \(šaru(IM)\) II, V. A., 2663, III, 47; IV, 14, 25, 36; \(šaru(IM)\) III, V. A., 2663, III, 54; IV, 11, 30, 41; \(šaru(IM)\) IV, V. A., 2663, III, 50, IV, 6, 28, 38.

\(\text{širu}\), 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) laḫ-kub(ub) šir, ill health of body.

IV R. 38, III, 39; ina ši-ḫat širi, with the bloating of the body, V. A. 2663, V, 44.

\(\text{širtu}, \text{šurtu}\), punishment.

\(bu-bu-ta \ še-ir-tu-šu \ ra-bi-ḫ-ta\), Susa, 3, VI, 33; še-rīt-su kabīttu (DUGUD-tu) a-ga-la-tīl-la-a šīš (GA.TU)-šu-šu-ma, V. A., 2663, V, 42.

\(\text{šitu}, \text{šētu}\), leave, escape.

1, 1 pres., \(ar-ra-a-tum \ an-na-a-tum \ . . . \ la \ iš-ši-lā-šu \ li-ik-šu-dašu\), may these curses not miss him, but overtake him, Susa, 3, VII, 50.

Šabātu, the month Shebat.

I R. 66, I, 2; II, 17; V. A., 208, 30.

ŠA.BAL.BAL, grandson, descendant.

Neb. Nippur, III, 14; Susa, 2, I, 3; IV R. 38, I, 25; II, 3; C. T., X, pl. IV, 12 (cf. p. 174f.).

\(\text{šābūru}\), break.


šībīrū, purchase price (Hebr. "עָבֵר", buy).

V šīgw šībīrū(AZAG.PAD.DU) mahāri(KI.LAM) im-bi-ma, V. A., 209, III, 25.

šībirū, staff.

šī-bir-ru muš-šal-lim nišē, V. A.,

2663, I, 35.

ŠE.BAR, barley.

The meaning of this word is definitely determined by the rendering "\(\text{ṣagulū}\) pl., which found in the Aramaic endorsements of the Murashū tablets, according to Prof. Clay), London, 103, III, 18, 19; Susa, 3, II, 49; London, 102, IV, 27.

šaggulu, palm grove(?).


\(\text{š̄agaru}, \text{š̄igaru}\), lock, gate.

\(mu-dah-ḫi-īd ši-garu-šu-nu\), who fills
with plenty their gates, V. A., 2663, II, 4.

šādādu, draw, drag.


šiddu, side of a field, passim.

šiddu(U.S) elu and šiddu(U.S) šaplū.

šādū, (1) mountain.

šādu-li-ia be-lit šadē(KUR-MES) el-lu-ti, mistress of the shining (i.e., snow clad) mountains, V R. 56, 46.

(2) east, passim.

šadū(IM.KUR.RA).

šadu, wide.


šumdu, magnificent.


šu, he.

šu-ma, he is, Neb. Nippur, IV, 26; šu-mi (emph. mi), Susa, 16, II, 32; šu-ū, he, Susa, 3, IV, 28; V, 8; used as adv., amelu šu-ū, Susa, 3, IV, 52; V, 20; VI, 1; qaqa-ru šu-ū, V. A., 209, I, 5; pl., eqati 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.

be-el ab-li šu-ū-mi ú ku-dur-ri, Susa, 3, VII, 7.

šēpu, foot.


šepitu, foot end.

še-pi-il zu'-uz-tu, V. A., 2663, III, 51.

raš, mašaru, wheel.


šuṭu, south, passim.

šuṭu(IM.ER.LU).

šūṭ, genitive particle, of.


šī-hē.

ittī(DA) šī-hē ša d4B (Peiser proposes the reading papaḫi-(ḫi), which cannot be substantiated thus far), V. A., 208, 39.

šētlu, march.

ši-ih-ša ši-ta-ka-an, a march he made, V R. 55, 15; šiš(?)-ša ša muḫ-hē-šu-nu i-pu-uš-ma, an expedition (?) he made in their behalf, C. T., IX, pl. IV, 7.

šahtu, fear, reverence.

I, 1 pret., bēl ilāni [i]-ḫu-ṭu (cf. the adj. ša-ah-ṭu, Delitzsch, H. W., 651a), V. A. 2663, II, 21.

šahtū, submissively.


šuḥarrūru, tremble.


šāṭaru, write.

I, 1 pret., ši-fur-ma, Susa, 2; Med., I, 4; II, 11; ši-ur-ma, Susa, 3, III, 51; iš-tu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 10, 24; aš-tu-ru-ma, Susa, 3, IV, 42; V, 1; V, 23, 34; il-tu-ra-aš-šu- nu-zi-ma, London, 103, IV, 39; il-tu-ur-u-ma, D. E. P., II, pl. 20, 7; il-tu-ra-aš-šu-um-ma, London, 103, V, 16; pres., ša-nam-ma iš-ša-fa-ru, I R. 70, III, 6; inf., i-na ša-a-me ša-fa-ru i ba-ra-me, London, 102, IV, 41; part., šṭup-šar ša-šir abnūfupp, V. A., 208, 28, 52; V. A., 209,


II, 1 pres., tu a-na ili tu a-na rubī(?), u-ša-ta-ra-ma, IV R. 38, III, 25.

šiṭru, writing.
ki-ma ki-ti-ir šamē(-e), IV R. 38, II, 27; ānu-kunuk ši-ti-ši šumi-kī ik-nu-uk-ma, V. A., 2663, IV, 53.

šiṭu, floating(?).
inā ši-bašt širī liq-ta-a zumur(-SU)-šu, V. A., 2663, V, 44.

šamu, fix, determine (cf. Hebr. šām).


šimtu, fate.

tasimtu, wisdom.

II. šām, šamū, pay (cf. Talm. שמה).

I, 1 pret., šim ši-mu-ga-ma-rutu, he paid its full price, V. A., 209, II, 37; III, 13, 26; ša ... ša-a-mu, C. T., X, pl. III, 16; inf., i-na ša-a-me ša-ta-a-ri u ba-ra-me, during the paying of the price, writing and sealing, London, 102, IV, 41.

šimu, price.

šai(a)manu, taxer, valuer.

šakku, law.

šakānu.
I, 1 pret., za-ku-us-su ki-a-om īš-kun, its freedom he thus established, Susa, 3, II, 8; za-ku-tu īš-ku-mu, Susa, 3, IV, 5, 21; za-ku-tu aš-ku-nu, Susa, 3, IV, 32, 57; za-ku-tu āš-ku-nu, Susa, 3, III, 46; šarru te-e-ma īš-kun-ši-ma, the king gave him a command, London, 103, III, 8; īš-kun-ma, London, 102, IV, 18; prec., ši-im-ma la-az ... i-na zu-um-ri-šu īš-ku-un-ma, Susa, 3, VII, 22; i-na zu-ri-šu li-šik-kun-ma, may she put into his body, III R. 43, IV, 17; i-na

II, 1 pres., a-šar la a-ma-ri ša-nam-ma uša-ka-nu, O. B. I., 150, II, 5; prec., a-na iš-ki-šu li-ša-kin-nu, as his portion may they appoint, Susa, 3, V, 19.

III, 1 pres., iš-ša-nuši-ma a-šar la a-ma-ri ušakkanu(ŠA-nu), London, 101, III, 7; prec., i-na pa-an šarri ū rašti liša-ša-as!-ki-nuši, before king and princes may they cause him to stand, London, 103, VI, 17.

IV, 1 pret., bel biti . . . ša iša-ša-kin-nu-ma, (who) has been appointed, III R. 43, edge IV, 1; III R. 45, No. 2, 6; cf. III R. 43, III, 15; London, 102, I, 32; V R. 56, 28; pres., iša-ša-ša-nu-ma, (who) will be appointed, III R. 41, I, 34; Susa, 3, III, 18, 26, 33; IV, 46; VI, 6; Susa, 16, IV, 8.

šaknu, governor.

ša-ša-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, 29; 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-ša-kin lu-ša bel paḫti, O. B. I., 149,

šak(i)nûtu, government.

šakkakak(k)u, potentate.

II, 1 inf., a-na ša-ša-li-i a[ir-šu-u ni-da a-qi, for reposing(? he shall not have a resting place, Susa, 2, III, 27.

šuluḫu, command, commander.
ša-mir ša-luḫ-ki, the most perfect commander, V. A., 2663, I, 7.

šaluḫu, spoil.
I, 2 pret., i-iš-ta-laš makkûra(SA.-GA)-ša, he carried off as spoil its possessions, V R. 55, 43.

šalamu, be whole.

šalamtu, corpse.

šalpu.
in pi-šu-ul-pi, uncultivated or pasture land, V. A., 208, 7, 36; C. T., X, pl. VI [24]. Its opposite is eqû zuq-pu, q.e.

šâšai, third in order.
mârī-šu šal-ša-ai, following mārí-šu rabî(-i) and mārī-šu kut-lin-nu, London, 102, IV, 32.

šalaltu, three.

šumu, name, passim.
The most common phrases are: šûm abnutart an-ni-ni, Neb. Nippur, heading 1; šumu(-mi) na-ri-e, Susa, 2, IV, 33; šûm ku-du[r]-ri an-ni-i, London, 101, I, 1; cf. III R. 41, I, 3; šûm-šûnu 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-um ilī u šarrī,
V R. 56, 33; li-šal-liq šumi-šu,
London, 101, III, 12; cf. Susa,
16, VI, 24; III R. 41, II, 38;
London, 102, II, 16; šu-ši šat-ra,
Susa, 3, V, 57; Susa, 16, VI, 3;
Susa, 14, IV, 16; šumu la šīšu(-u),
relat., London, 103, IV,
23; cf. London, 103, I, 3;
II, 9; šumi-šu(MU.NI),
London, 101, IV, 8; šumi-šu(MU.-
NE), Neb. Nippur, heading, 2.

šemū, hear.
I, 1 pret., iš-me-e-mu, V. A., 209, I,
17; iš-mešu-nu-ti-ma, V. A.,
209, IV, 31; iš-mi-ma, Susa, 14,
I, 15; ai iš(-1)-mušu, IV R. 38,
III, 44; pres., la iš-mi-šu, III R.
43, IV, 29.

III, 1 pret., uš-še-ša-ma, he an-
nounced, London, 103, III,
35.

šemū, intelligent.
lā šem-a la na-ti ša pani-ša, an
imprudent man, V. A., 2663, V,
26; rāk-lā la šem-a, London,
102, V, 4; III R. 43, I, 31; la
šem-a ša a-ma-ti, D. E. P., VI,
45, V, 21; lā 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; lā
šemā(SI.NU.GALLA), I R. 70,
II, 22.

šemū, heaven, passim.
šamānu, heaven.
ku-la ši-ši-šu ša-ma-me, Neb. Nippur,
I, 14.

šamānu, be prosperous, luxuriant.
I, 1 prec., *Nisaba li-hal-li-qa pu-
qat-tu li-išmu-uh, may thorn
grow luxuriantly, I R. 70, IV, 13.

II, 1 part., mušammi-šu niši-šu,
who makes prosperous his peo-
ple, V R. 55, 4.

šamnu, plant, herb.
lu-ù izē lu-ù šammē(SAM.MES),
Susa, 3, II, 48; šammē eqīšu,
Susa, 3, III, 13; šammē la riš-i-e,
Susa, 3, III, 21; ba-qa-an šam-

šumma, it.
Susa, 3, IV, 52; V, 20.

šamnu, oil.
40 (qa) šammē(NI), III R. 41, I, 22.

šamu, sun.
pān šamē(-ši), V R. 55, 31;
dšamū mātimišu, V R. 55, 4.

šāt, year.
i-na šatt(i(MU.A.N.A) ša-a-ši,
London, 103, V, 5; ina šatti rešet,
Susa, 16, II, 13; šānāt šu-ša-aq-
ši, London, 101, IV, 10; šānāt
dub-dii, Susa, 3, V, 18; šattu, 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-šam, IV R. 38, II, 22;

šangū, priest.
šangū(EMAS) dEr-ia, C. T., IX,
pl. IV, 2, 18; V, 30; šangū
dENGUR u dNinā, O. B. I., 83,
I, 16; šangū dMarduk, V. A.,
52; kEMAS dA-e, V. A., 209,
IV, 27; kšangū(SID) dRammān,
V. A., 2663, IV, 40.

šanū, change.
I, 1 pret., pu-šu-uk-ka-ša-un iš-

II, 1 pres., ša ni-din-ta šu-ša-
an-nu-ši, C. T., X, pl. VII, 33;
ku-dur-ru ša-an-nu-ši, I R. 70,

šanū, the second.

ḫšanū (cf. Br. 4821), Susa, 16, III, 18; C. T., IX, pl. V, 34; and perhaps also I R. 66, I, 4.

šanū, the other one.

šā-na-a ša it-ti-šu, the companion that was with him, V R. 55, 34.

šanamma, any other one.


šanimma, any other.

ša-ni-im-ma, Susa, 3, V, 41.

šanumma, another, any other.


šen, šanānu, be equal.

I, 1 part., lā iša-aššu-ū ilu ša-nin-šu, Neb. Nippur, I, 4; šānī-nu(GAR.RI) ša šāša(NU.TUK), V R. 55, 23; inf., šarru la šā-na-an, the king without equal, IV R. 38, I, 26; šarru la ša-na-an, C. T., X, pl. IV, 11.

IV, 1, be-lut-su la ša-ša-nu-ū, whose rule will not be equaled, Neb. Nippur, I, 17.

šēš, šasū, call.

I, 1 pret., a-na ma-ḫar šarrī il-su-ma, C. T., X, pl. V, 10; pres., e-ma iša-na-su-ū, when he calls, IV R. 38, III, 43.

šēš, šapāku, throw up.

I, 1 perm., i-ku la šap-ku, a ditch had not been thrown up, Neb. Nippur, II, 29.

šapāku, lower.

in the phrases šiddu šapālu(KI.TA) and pātu šapālu, passim; pl. fem., bēl e-la-ti u šap-la-a-ti, lord of all that is above and below, V A., 2663, I, 11.

šapili, below.


šēš, šaprū, send.


šipru, work.


šāpiru, scribe (cf. p. 176).


šēpītu, disposition, gift.


našpartu, message.


ūšš, šaqū, lofty.

bēl ša-ṣu-ū, Neb. Nippur, IV, 5; šaqū(SAG), Neb. Nippur, V,
šaqitu, irrigation.
la mi-ki-e-ri i la ša-[qi-e] hammē eqišu, Susa, 3, III, 12.

šiqītu, irrigation.

mašqū, drinking place.
bu-ut-tu-qa maš-šu-ù, the drinking place was cut off, V R. 55, 19.

mašqitu, place of irrigation.
ina nāri maš-qi-ti-šu, Susa, 3, III, 6.

šiqū, shekel.
Susa, 14, I, 12; London, 102, III, 25; IV, 23, 25, 26; V. A., 209, I, 6, 15, 21; IV, 5, 19, 20, 32, 33.

šaqummatu, majesty (cf. p. 166).

šuquzu, cap(?) (Zimmern).
kub-tum u šu-ku-su ša A-num, Susa, 2, IV, 1.

šaqāsu, destroy.
1, 1-prec., i-na taḫūzi-šu līš-gi-is-su, London, 102, II, 5.

šaqāstu, destruction.

šiqītu, bloodshed.
in ši-qi-ri-šu it-ba-lu-ma, with bloodshed they had taken away, V. A., 2663, III, 16.

širuš, vegetation.

širiš, fruitful.

mešrēti, limbs.

šuribtu, terror.
pl., xuš ši-ri-pat ša ilāni rabūti, Susa, 2, IV, 29.

šarābu, be exceedingly large.
1, 2 perm., par(?)-su-šu ši-ru-šu, whose law is powerful, Neb. Nippur, I, 18.
11, 1 pret., ba-ništ ilāni u-šar-ri-šu nab-niš-su, (Bēlit) the creator of the gods made glorious his birth, V. A., 2663, II, 53.

šarāpu, burn.
1, 1 pres., i-na šišiši(NE) i-šar-ru-pu, I R. 70, III, 4.

šarāq, present, give.
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šarqu, gift.

šeriqti, gift.

šarqu, bright red blood (cf. p. 182).

טונ, šarru, king, passim.

šarrûtu, kingdom.

šârûru, glory.

טאר, šurus, root.

šusšu, a sose, sixty.
šûšû(I SÛ) še'uzûru, Susa, 2, II, 1; šûšû(KU) hurûšî, London, 102, IV, 25.

şatammu, a title of an official, perhaps overseer.

טי'ûtu, equipment(?).
I šu-narka'tu a-di ti'-u-ti-ša, III R. 41, I, 15.

תונ, tâmû, tâmû, see.
ša-la-la tâmû(A.A.B.B.A) ša la mu-du-a, Susa, 14, II, 16; ina

8TU bitī, a title of a class of priests.


Nān, tēbu, tābū, come out, rise.

I, 1 part., si-im-ma la te-e-ba-a, Susa, 3, VII, 20; iš-ru-a-la te-ba-a, III R. 41, II, 16; mi-iq-ta la ta-ba-a, a fall without rising, Susa, 14, IV, 7.

III, 1 pret., ušat-ba-a isukkâk-ki, he caused him to draw his weapons, V R. 55, 13.

tibû, approach.

pātu šapšā ti-ib ālu Ša-sa-naši, O. B. I., 149, I, 12.

tibû, tib-da-a a-na la e-ri-ši, III R. 45, No. 2, 10.

nān, tabâku, pour out.

I, 1 precc., ki-ma mê lit-bu-uk, Susa, 2, III, 35.

tabku, poured out, perhaps stored.


nān, tabālu, take away.

I, 1 pret., at-ba-lu (relat.), Susa, 3, IV, 4, 20; ina ši-gil-ti it-ba-lu-ma, V. A., 2663, III, 17; pres., equl . . . la i-tab-ba-lu ušat-ba-lu (relat.), Susa, 16, IV, 15; III R. 41, I, 37; inf., la tab-bal eqgli-šu, Susa, 3 II, 6; III, 42; a-na tab-bal eqgli-šu, I R. 70, II, 7; a-na tab-bal eqgli-ani-


I, 2 pres., equl a-na zēri-ia aš-ru-ku la it-ta-bal; Susa, 3, IV, 56; V, 28.


tabalu, land (Hebr. 727) (cf. p. 178).


nān, tibnu, straw.

lu-ú tibnu (IN, N, Nu) lu-ú ŠE.BAR, Susa, 3, II, 49.

nān, tāru, return.


I, 2, ša ed-di qar-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 piḫāti u-te-ir, to the crown he returned, O. B. I., 83, I, 15; te-im-šu u-tir-ma, his
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tahāzu, battle.


tahšū, ram (Hebr. ʾāḥa).

šīr(UZU) tahšū-e šīr šanī(UK), mutton, V. A., 208, 5.
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Taptu, cultivated field (?) (perhaps from Ṛḫē, to open, cultivate).

Tap-tu-ū pa-na-at iškīrâ, V. A., 2663, IV, 33; a-di tap-te-e ša pa-na-at iškīrâ, V. A., 2663, IV, 44.

Taqû, pay homage (cf. p. 162).


Turpu’tu, tumult.


Tarušu, stretch out.

I, 1 pres., ubâni-šu a-na limutti(-ti)


Taršu, direction.


Tiršu, stretching (of the hand).


Turru, blindness.


Tašritu, the month Tishri.

London, 102, IV, 11.

Titurruru, bridge.

Ḫarrâna ū ti-tur-ra . . . la a-ma-ri,

Susa, 3, III, 22; a-di ti-tur(!)-ri mi-ti-iq-ti šarrâ, 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 lillamman read lillammin. "Br. 9946, MIN has the same phonetic value also in Assyrian, which is required grammatically in the above passage. Cf. also Delitzsch, A. G. 3, p. 40" (Prof. Hilprecht). The same correction also on p. 66, l. 16; p. 192, II, 23; p. 199, II. 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
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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.

p. 105, last line. Franz X. Kugler in his excellent work, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst 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 U.R.G.U.L.A (evidently also a play on the name of the goddess), is identical with leu, the zodiacal sign of the month Abu; 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 Kugler on p. 229 the zodiacal sign for the month Ulâlu is either called A.B.SIM(šer'atu) or S.U.PA(namru), which is identical with spica or a virginitis (Kugler, 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 Ulâlu is evident from the list of months with their patron deities, where we read: 𒂗𒃏Urû Li-tar be-lit.

p. 106, l. 13. For NIN.IB read Nergal.

p. 106, l. 14. For Nergal read NIN.IB. The investigations of Kugler (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-[ērîš][-i], Prof. Hilprecht suggests Nabû-[gu]-miš as the preceding name. The form Nabû-[ērîš][-i] had been chosen in view of Išu-éris(PIN-i), Rammân-ēris(PIN-i), Sin-ēris(PIN-i), Samaâ-târîš(PIN-i), etc., found in Clay, B. E., Vols. XIV, XV.

p. 213, Col. II. Instead of Ṣîr-ap-pi-li, Prof. Hilprecht suggests the reading Ṣîr-ap-pî-LI(SUB) as a possibility. LI is ideogram for ello, therefore probably also for alûtu, "to be shining"; hence "O Șîr, make my face shining," i.e., "joyful."


p. 248, l. 6 from below. For drânu read idrânu.


p. 277, Col. II, after l. 5 insert:
kâlu, magician, priest.

kâ-šu, C. T., X, pl. III, 26; kâ-šu, V R. 56, 12.

p. 277, Col. II, after kalâtu insert:

kâlu

p. 295, Col. II, l. 22. For ṣâku-pa-gu-mu read ṣâku-pa-gu-mu.

p. 299, Col. II, after pašû insert:

pâtu(bitu?), in the phrase p(b)û ti i-miš-ti karrû, 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 ḫâdû, mountain, and ḫâdû, east, which I owe to Prof. Hilprecht, he remarks: "(1) Cf. Hebr. uerdo, (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 šu-li-i differently. "In view of the fact that elā in the contract literature is also used of the 'emporschiessen, aufgehen, wachsen,' of plants (ina qaqqarī) and of fruit on trees (ina gišimmarrē), I propose to translate šūlā, standing here in connection with zēru, as Inf. III, 1 of elā: "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 .panûšu read pûnûšu.
p. 182, l. 6. For "consumptoin" read consumption.
p. 184, l. 11. For ū-ša-aš-ša-ma read ū-ša-aš-šu-ma.
p. 281, Col. I, l. 11 from below. For ūlu read lillu.
p. 283, Col. I, l. 7 from below. For ṭū read ṭūū.
p. 308, Col. II, l. 12 from below. "is" has dropped out.
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