



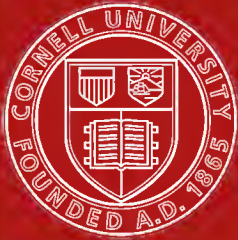
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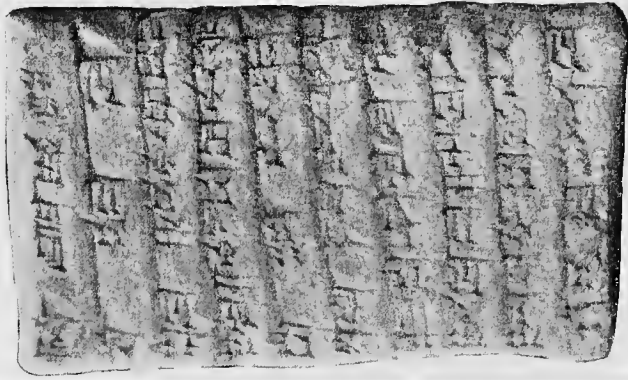
THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF  
HAMMURABI,

KING OF BABYLON, ABOUT B.C. 2200.





I.



Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam, mentioning Inuhsamar (Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople).

II.



Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam, mentioning Inuhsamar (Brit. Mus., No. 15,348).

THE  
LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS  
OF

HAMMURABI,

KING OF BABYLON, ABOUT B.C. 2200,

TO WHICH ARE ADDED A SERIES OF LETTERS OF OTHER  
KINGS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

THE ORIGINAL BABYLONIAN TEXTS, EDITED FROM TABLETS IN THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS,  
SUMMARIES OF CONTENTS, ETC.

BY

<sup>revised</sup>  
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ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOL. I.

*INTRODUCTION AND THE BABYLONIAN TEXTS.*

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## Preface.

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The texts published in the present volume belong to a period of Babylonian history of which little is definitely known. Our information concerning this period was, until recently, derived solely from a limited number of votive and historical texts, but during recent years, thanks to the important finds which have been made in Southern Babylonia, a considerable number of letters and legal and commercial documents have been recovered; from these it is now possible to obtain a more accurate view of the internal condition of the Babylonian empire at this very remote period.

However important legal and commercial documents may be to the student, they must always lack the general interest which attaches to the historical texts and to the epistolary compositions which refer to historical events. Hitherto only five letters written by kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon have been

published. Of these three are preserved at Constantinople, one in the Louvre, and one in the British Museum. Quite recently the attention of the learned world was drawn to the consideration of the contents of these letters and, in common with other students, I began to investigate the sources of the history of this period. The result of my own investigations has been the identification of fifty-two unpublished letters and despatches of some of the earliest known Semitic kings of Babylonia; all these are in the British Museum.

The object of the present work is to give the texts of this group of the oldest Babylonian despatches now known, together with transliterations in English characters, translations where possible, and summaries of the contents, etc. When we remember that these despatches were written five hundred years before the letters found at Tell el-Amarna, and at least two thousand years before the birth of Christ, their general importance is incontestable. Specifically they are important in that they form a set of compositions which are of the greatest use for making linguistic, grammatical, historical and other comparisons, not only with the letters from Tell el-Amarna, but with those that were written during the subsequent periods of the later Assyrian and Babylonian empires. Moreover they reveal the machinery by which the early Babylonian kings ruled the various provinces of their empire, and much of the administrative details con-

cerning the movements of troops, the food supply of the capital, and the administration of justice.

The text of the letters and despatches, and of the historical inscriptions of the period which I have added, have occupied more space than was originally contemplated. It has therefore been decided to give the translation and the necessary notes upon grammar and history in a second volume, which it is hoped will appear early next year.

It will be remembered that during the last two or three years an attempt has been made to identify the names of Chedorlaomer, Tidal and Arioch, whose deeds are recorded in the xivth chapter of Genesis, on two or three fragments of Babylonian tablets which are not older than the fourth century before Christ. From the very beginning the attempt was, in my opinion, doomed to failure, for various reasons, which I have stated in the Introduction (see pp. XLIX ff.). The proposed identification seemed to receive further support from the publication of a letter of Ḥammurabi by the Rev. Father Scheil in October, 1896. This scholar declared that he had found the name Chedorlaomer written syllabically in characters, the readings of which were not only certain, but obvious. In the course of my official work I found a number of similar letters of Ḥammurabi, and a careful examination of them led me to doubt the accuracy of Father Scheil's published copies; for the group of signs which he read as "the day of the defeat

of Chedorlaomer," I suspected, from certain passages in other letters, that we should read "the troops under the command of Inuḥsamar," an officer in the service of Ḥammurabi, whom I already knew from Brit. Mus. No. 15,348. I next asked Dr. Wallis Budge if it would be possible for him to obtain for me a photograph of the Constantinople tablet, and as a result of his application to his friend O. Hamdi Bey, Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, I received through him excellent photographs of the tablet which Father Scheil had published. A comparison of these with the Brit. Mus. tablets Nos. 12,816; 12,863; 15,348; and 23,159, confirmed my doubts as to the accuracy of Father Scheil's readings, and it was at once clear to me that the identification of the name of Chedorlaomer was based on a misreading of the text by him. It followed as a matter of course that the theories based upon this identification fell to the ground, and that the evidence brought forward by Father Scheil, Prof. Hommel and others had, in fact, no foundation.

I have neither the wish nor the necessary knowledge to discuss the questions connected with the historical character of the Pentateuch, and I have no desire to appear as a follower of the "higher criticism." In the interests of truth, and in view of the importance attached to the letter which Father Scheil published, I have, however, thought it right to give in the

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Introduction to the present volume a new translation of the tablet, and an explanation of the circumstances under which it was written.

My thanks are due to O. Hamdi Bey, Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, for the photographs of the Constantinople tablet; to M. Léon Heuzey for his kindness in allowing me to copy the inscriptions of Hammurabi in the Louvre; and to Dr. Wallis Budge for his help during the progress of the work.

L. W. KING.

LONDON, October 12th, 1898.



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## Introduction.

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Hammurabi, 𒂗 𒀭 𒂊 𒂗 𒂊 𒂗 𒂊, king of Babylon, whose despatches and inscriptions form the principal contents of the present volume, was one of the earliest and one of the greatest rulers of his country. Before his reign the Semites in Babylonia, though they had gained a foothold in many cities throughout the land, had not succeeded in founding a permanent empire. That Sargon I., 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗, who reigned as early as 3800 B.C., had extended his influence throughout, and even beyond, the limits of Babylonia, may be inferred from his own inscriptions and the legends which afterwards gathered round his name. It has been suggested recently that Lugalzaggisi, 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗, was a Semite; but whether he was or not, he certainly founded an extensive kingdom in Western Asia before the time of Sargon. But neither Sargon nor Lugalzaggisi succeeded in absorbing their opponents, and both Gishban, 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗, and Agade, 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗, the capital cities of their empires, soon sank into comparative obscurity. It was not until about 2200 B.C. that a united Semitic kingdom was founded by Hammurabi, who made Babylon his capital; his

The period of Hammurabi, king of Babylon.

letters, now published for the first time, throw considerable light on the means he employed in consolidating his empire.

The historical value of Old Babylonian letters and despatches.

The letters and despatches of important royal and official personages serve to supplement and explain the bald facts concerning this early period of Babylonian history that can be gathered from formal records and monumental inscriptions. In them we see the facts of history in the making. These letters of Hammurabi, addressed by a king to his vassal or subordinate officer, were composed with no intention of instructing posterity, but were despatched to carry commands or supply information at the moment; and they thus, to a greater or less extent, served in themselves to mould the course of history. It is frequently difficult to realize the circumstances under which such letters and despatches were written, but where the circumstances can be explained their value as evidence is both unimpeachable and unique. The letters of private persons, written at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, are often hard to understand, but, in so far as they are capable of explanation, they give a contemporary picture of the social life of the period.

Up to the present time but few Old Babylonian letters have been published. Until within recent years few inscriptions of any kind belonging to this early period had been recovered from Babylonia, and those that were known belonged to the class of commercial documents to which the term "contract" is usually applied. It is true that as early as the year 1854, William Kennett Loftus, while conducting excavations in Southern Babylonia, unearthed at Tell

Sifr, *تل صفر*, a small though fine collection of Old Babylonian "case-tablets."<sup>1</sup> These were examined at the time by the late Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., who recognized their date and the general nature of their contents. The dates upon sixty-nine of them were published in the fourth volume of *Inscriptions from Western Asia*,<sup>2</sup> but, in spite of their unique importance, the texts themselves remained for nearly thirty years unstudied. Their publication by Dr. Strassmaier in the Transactions of the Fifth Oriental Congress<sup>3</sup> at Berlin, may be regarded as the first important step in our knowledge of the social and economic conditions of the country during the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon. His paper exhausted the inscriptions of the period that were then known, and it was not till some years later that fresh material was brought to Europe.

The earliest  
"find" of  
tablets of the  
First Dy-  
nasty.

<sup>1</sup> See Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London, 1857), Chap. XXI., pp. 263 ff. The tablets found by Loftus are for the most part in excellent preservation, which is accounted for by the fact that he found them in the record-chamber where they had originally been stored. They were arranged carefully in piles, supported by bricks, and covered with reed-matting. The tablets, after being inscribed and baked, had been surrounded with an envelope of unbaked clay, on which the contract was inscribed in duplicate; hence their usual designation, "case-tablets."

<sup>2</sup> IV R, pl. 36 f. These dates had been previously discussed by George Smith in the *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. I., pp. 53 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Abhandlungen des fünften internationalen orientalisten-Congresses* (Berlin, 1881), Erste Hälfte, pp. 315 ff. The tablets are preserved in the British Museum, and, with the fragments belonging to the same collection, are numbered Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,158-33,327.

The Budge  
collections  
of Old  
Babylonian  
tablets.

In the year 1888 Dr. Wallis Budge, who was sent to Babylonia on official business by the Trustees of the British Museum, acquired for them a collection of about 800 tablets, the majority being contracts belonging to this early period.<sup>1</sup> Three years later, in 1891, when engaged on a further mission in Babylonia, Dr. Budge procured a collection of about 2,000 tablets belonging to the same period. These two collections were, with the exception of those found at Tell Şifr, almost the first of their class to be brought to Europe,<sup>2</sup> and they still form the largest and most important set of documents of this early period that have yet been obtained. The collection of tablets purchased by the Berlin Museum about 1889 belongs to the same "find." Other tablets of this period are preserved in Constantinople, and some have been purchased in America.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Budge described the collection in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. III. (1888), pp. 211 ff., and also published a few of the tablets as specimens. He referred to the novel way in which many of the tablets were sealed, remarking that the seals "were impressed on a three-sided clay cone, in the top of which a piece of reed was inserted; the other end of the reed was stuck into the clay tablet, and thus the seal hung from the document in much the same way that seals hang from ancient charters." See also Pognon's, paper *Découverte de contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie de Babylone* in the *Journal asiatique*, 8me sér., Vol. XI. (1888), pp. 543 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Before this time, in 1881 and the following years, a few similar tablets were brought to the British Museum with collections of tablets of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

<sup>3</sup> See Prof. R. F. Harper's papers in *Hebraica*, Vol. V., No. 1 (Oct., 1888), p. 76 f., and Vol. VI., No. 1 (Oct., 1889), p. 52 f., in which he describes two collections of tablets purchased for the University of Pennsylvania.

As by far the greater number of the tablets in these collections are contracts, it is natural that they should have been the first to receive attention. Moreover the frequent repetitions of the set formulæ which they contain offered a sure base for their classification. Dr. Meissner's *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, which appeared in 1893, made a still further advance on Dr. Strassmaier's previous publication, and now that the British Museum collections are being systematically published by the Trustees in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (printed by order of the Trustees, 1896, etc.), our knowledge of old Babylonian law will soon be considerable.

In addition to the commercial and legal documents which have been referred to, the collections of Old Babylonian tablets contain a number of letters and despatches which for some time attracted small attention. It was not until after the discovery of the Tell el-Amarna letters that an attempt was made to find among the Old Babylonian collections any epistolary documents of a similar nature. In 1889, however, Dr. Winckler announced that in the collection of tablets at Berlin were five letters of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon.<sup>1</sup> He further pointed out that the formula employed at the beginning of these letters differed from those met with in letters of the later Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, but was identical with the formula found in the letters from Tell el-Amarna. Dr. Winckler did not publish these

Previous  
publications  
of Old  
Babylonian  
letters.

<sup>1</sup> *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 133. The tablets are numbered V.A. Th. 574-578.

Previous  
publications  
of Old  
Babylonian  
letters.

tablets, but in 1893 Dr. Meissner, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II., No. 3, pp. 557 ff., gave the text with translations of four of the letters at Berlin.<sup>1</sup> In 1894 the Turkish Government made excavations at Abu Habbah, and among the tablets that were brought thence to Constantinople were a number of Old Babylonian letters, two of which were published by Father Scheil in the *Recueil de travaux*, Vol. XVI. (1894), p. 189 f.<sup>2</sup> Some two years later the same scholar published three more letters<sup>3</sup> from the collections at

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Meissner published two of the letters mentioned by Dr. Winckler (V.A. Th. 574 and 575), and two others numbered V.A. Th. 793 and 809. The writers of these letters and their correspondents were all private persons. V.A. Th. 809 is a letter written by Adaiatim to Ili-išmeani, complaining that his order for some special qualities of silver has not been carried out correctly, and stating that he is returning the silver that was sent him. V.A. Th. 574 was written by Mennā to the lady Akatia, asking her to send him certain garments, rings, etc., and offering to send her his steward (?) if she wants him. V.A. Th. 575 is a letter from Šulmu-annu (?) to Mār-Ištar, complaining that certain slaves of the Šubarū have not been sent, though he has paid for them, nor has the purchase money been returned. The fourth letter, V.A. Th. 793, was written by Aštamar-Rammānu to Amelim-ša-Marduk-uballaṭušu, but the subject matter of the letter is not very clear.

<sup>2</sup> The letters published by Father Scheil give an interesting glimpse of the domestic side of Old Babylonian life. One was written by an official stationed at Dūr-Sin, to his father, to say that he cannot procure food where he is now living. He therefore sends one-third of a shekel by the messenger who bears the letter, with the request that his father should buy him some good fish and other provisions. The other letter is from Gimil-Marduk to a lady named Bibeia, stating that he is in Babylon and is anxiously awaiting news that she has set out to come to him. Father Scheil describes it as "de nature toute sentimentale."

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil de travaux*, Vol. XIX., p. 40 ff.

Constantinople, and one in the Louvre was published this year by M. Thureau Danjin;<sup>1</sup> these were letters of Hammurabi, and will be referred to later.<sup>2</sup> From the collections in the British Museum, one royal letter of this period and some private Babylonian letters have been published.<sup>3</sup>

Previous  
publications  
of Old  
Babylonian  
letters.

From the above brief sketch it will be seen that the study of the letters of the Old Babylonian period is still in its infancy. Up to the present time the

<sup>1</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. IV., No. III., Plate XXXI., No. 84.

<sup>2</sup> See below pp. xxvii and lxii. It may also be added that two tablets of the Kuyunjik Collection, K. 3045 and K. 2641, are inscribed with late Assyrian copies of letters written by two early Babylonian and Assyrian kings. K. 3045 is a fragment of a copy of a letter written by Rammān-šum-nāšir, king of Babylon, to Ašurnarara and Nabūdaian, kings of Assyria. This letter was published in III R., Plate 4, No. 5; for other references, see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 499. K. 2641 is a fragment of a letter written by a king of Assyria to his father, the king of Babylon. Both of the names are broken, but as the usual "official note" of Ašurbanipal's librarian was scratched upon the reverse, George Smith concluded that the letter was written by Ašurbanipal to his father Esarhaddon, and, on this supposition, published it in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 12 f. From the use of the Old Babylonian letter-formula, however, it is clearly a late copy of a letter written by an early though unknown Assyrian king to his father, the king of Babylon (see Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 133 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Their registration-numbers are Bu. 88-5-12, 184, 200, 207, 212, 278, 323, 329, 342, 581, 607, 621, 638; Bu. 91-5-9, 290, 294, 315, 325, 354, 370, 383, 413, 468, 534, 585, 587, 790, 1154, 2185, 2187, 2197 (see *Cuneiform Texts*, 1886-1888). Of these one is a letter of Ammiditana, king of Babylon, and it is republished in the present volume. The list here given does not include such tablets as Bu. 88-5-12, 5, 19, 505, 568, 602; Bu. 91-5-9, 418, 604, and 579A, which consist of communications and documents of an epistolary nature where the regular letter-formula is not employed.

texts of some forty letters in all have been published, of which only five are royal letters, the remainder having been written by private persons and officials.

The contents  
of the present  
volume.

In Part I. of the present volume are collected fifty-six letters; fifty-four of these were written by kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The letters include a series of forty-six despatches sent by Hammurabi to Sinidinnam, of which forty-four are here published for the first time; one letter of Samsuiluna, five of Ammizaduga, and two of Ammiditana, which, with one exception, have not previously been published; one of Sinidinnam, who is probably to be identified with Hammurabi's correspondent; and one letter written to Ahatim, the wife of Sinidinnam, who is therein described as Governor of *Martu*,<sup>1</sup> or the "Western Land." In Part II. are given the historical and votive inscriptions of Hammurabi. Since Menant's *Inscriptions de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone* (Paris, 1863), some important historical inscriptions of Hammurabi have been discovered, though in two cases the actual text has not hitherto been published.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If this Sinidinnam is to be identified with the king of Larsam, the fact that he is described as *Gal Martu*, "Governor of *Martu*," might be cited in favour of the suggestion that *Martu* in the phrase *Adda Martu* (and here in the phrase *Gal Martu*) is merely a synonym of Yamutbal (*cf.* Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 124). Sinidinnam, however, was a common name at this period, and it would be rash to assert positively that every high official or ruler of this name is identical with the king of Larsam. Men bearing the name Sinidinnam, held high office, for instance, under Hammurabi's successors, Samsuiluna and Abēšu'.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription on the broken statue of Hammurabi, of which Amiaud published a Neo-Assyrian transcript and a facsimile of part of the fourth column, is here published in full. The text of Rīmūt-



These are here given together with Hammurabi's other historical and votive inscriptions. For references to previous publications the reader is referred to the *List of Letters and Inscriptions* which follows the Introduction. In an Appendix are given three inscriptions referring to Hammurabi, an unpublished inscription of Ammizaduga, and an unpublished inscription of Marduk-šāpik-zērim, king of Babylon about 1100 B.C., from a Neo-Babylonian copy made in the fifteenth year of Kandalanu, *i.e.*, in 633 B.C.

The con-  
tents of the  
present  
volume.

There are not wanting signs that the general interest in the letters of the Old Babylonian period has been growing. Most of the letters hitherto published represent private correspondence, but they throw considerable light on the social and commercial conditions of the period; they also add a number of new forms to the grammar and new words to the lexicon. At first the interest in them was, from the nature of the case, confined chiefly to students of Babylonian literature, and it is probable that outside this comparatively narrow circle little notice would have been taken of tablets of this class, had not Father Scheil announced a sensational discovery. One of the tablets which he examined in the Imperial

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Gula's copy of an inscription of Hammurabi, of which Jensen has published a translation, is here given for the first time. Of the Sumerian cylinder-inscription of Hammurabi I have found two additional duplicates, and of the Semitic cylinder-inscription four additional duplicates; all the ten cylinders have been thoroughly cleaned and a complete list of variant forms of characters is now given. Since the plates have been lithographed, I have been enabled, through the kindness of M. Léon Heuzey, to collate the two votive inscriptions of Hammurabi in the Louvre; these will be included in the second volume.

The discovery of Chedorlaomer's name in a letter of Hammurabi.

Ottoman Museum at Constantinople was a letter written by Hammurabi to Sinidinnam, and, according to Father Scheil's interpretation, it contained a mention of Chedorlaomer; this document was at once regarded by him as a remarkable confirmation of the historical character of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. Hammurabi's letter has been used as a weapon by certain opponents of the critical school of Old Testament exegesis, and has been much discussed. My own interpretation of the letter, the text of which is published in the present volume, differs considerably from that of Father Scheil; and, although I reserve the translation and discussion of the texts for the second volume, it may be well to give some account of it here.

Father Scheil's publication of his discovery.

Father Scheil's discovery was first published in the *Revue Biblique*, Vol. V. (October, 1896), p. 600 f., in a paper entitled "Chedorlahomer dans les inscriptions Chaldéennes"; here he gave a transliteration and translation of the document, identifying Sinidinnam, to whom it was addressed, with the well-known king of Larsam. According to Father Scheil's translation of this letter, Hammurabi gave to Sinidinnam, "as a reward for his valour in the day of the defeat of Chedorlaomer," some figures of Elamite goddesses, which formed part of the spoil captured by the Babylonians from the Elamites. In Gen. xiv., 1-11, Chedorlaomer is described as a king of Elam, who for twelve years had held sway in Canaan. In the thirteenth year the kings who were subject to him rebelled, but in the fourteenth year Chedorlaomer, with the help of his allies, succeeded in defeating them. Amraphel, king of Shinar, is mentioned in

Genesis as one of Chedorlaomer's allies, and as, according to Father Scheil, Chedorlaomer would be Hammurabi's contemporary, the identification of Amraphel with Hammurabi, which had been already suggested, would be confirmed. It is true that in Genesis Amraphel is Chedorlaomer's ally, while Hammurabi in his letter, according to Father Scheil, is Chedorlaomer's foe, but the inconsistency is capable of explanation. Hammurabi is already known, from the date on a Babylonian contract,<sup>1</sup> to have succeeded in defeating the Elamites in the course of his reign, and this fact would not be inconsistent with his having been Chedorlaomer's ally during the earlier part of his reign, to which period the narrative in Gen. xiv. would, on this assumption, be referred. This letter of Hammurabi, therefore, if correctly published by Father Scheil, would, by the mere mention of Chedorlaomer's name, give a very remarkable confirmation of the historical character of the events narrated in Gen. xiv., 1-11.

Some few months after his first paper in the *Revue Biblique*, Father Scheil republished Hammurabi's letter, together with two others, in the *Recueil de travaux*, Vol. XIX., pp. 40 ff., in a paper entitled "Correspondence de Hammurabi, roi de Babylone, avec Sinidinnam, roi de Larsa, où il est question de Codorlahomer"; here he repeated in a more technical form the substance of his earlier paper. His views were adopted in certain quarters, and especially by

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<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus., No. 33221 (= B. 64). See Jensen in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. III., Part I., p. 126 f.

Acceptance  
of Father  
Scheil's dis-  
covery by  
Prof. Hom-  
mel and  
others.

Prof. Hommel,<sup>1</sup> who accepted unconditionally Father Scheil's reading of the signs which he considered to represent the name Chedorlaomer. He says (*Ancient Heb. Trad.*, p. 44), "In conclusion, Scheil " has recently discovered among the early Babylonian " documents a letter from Khammurabi to a certain " Sin-idinam of Yamutbal, in which mention is made " of the overthrow of Kudur-Lagamar." He further bases several of his theories upon it. Thus on p. 173 of his work he speaks of Father Scheil's "sensational discovery," and gives a fresh translation of the letter (p. 177 f.), which does not differ essentially from that of Father Scheil. He then discusses at some length the circumstances under which it was written and the inferences that may be drawn from it. Mr. T. G. Pinches has made Father Scheil's "discovery" support some of his own views on the subject of Chedorlaomer, and has republished the letter.<sup>2</sup> It has also been reprinted in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*.<sup>3</sup>

The value  
of Father  
Scheil's  
"discovery."

We have before admitted that if the name Chedorlaomer occurs on the tablet published by Father Scheil, the document may be considered a most important witness to the historical accuracy of Gen. xiv., 1-11; but if the name does not occur

<sup>1</sup> In his work *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung* (1897), which has been translated by the S.P.C.K. under the title, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition as illustrated by the Monuments: a protest against the modern school of Old Testament criticism*.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Vol. XXIX. (1897), pp. 69-72.

P.S.B.A., Vol. XX. (1898), p. 150 f.

on it, then the tablet is worthless for purposes of confirmation of the Old Testament narrative, and every argument based upon it falls to the ground. I have now to state that Father Scheil has misread and misunderstood the signs which he considers to represent the name of Chedorlaomer, and that as a matter of fact the name of Chedorlaomer occurs neither on this tablet nor on any other of the same class that has yet been studied.

The following is the text of the tablet as published by Father Scheil<sup>1</sup> :—

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿  
 𐏀 𐏁 𐏂 𐏃 𐏄 𐏅 𐏆 𐏇 𐏈 𐏉 𐏊 𐏋 𐏌 𐏍 𐏎 𐏏 𐏐 𐏑 𐏒 𐏓 𐏔 𐏕 𐏖 𐏗 𐏘 𐏙 𐏚 𐏛 𐏜 𐏝 𐏞 𐏟 𐏠 𐏡 𐏢 𐏣 𐏤 𐏥 𐏦 𐏧 𐏨 𐏩 𐏪 𐏫 𐏬 𐏭 𐏮 𐏯 𐏰 𐏱 𐏲 𐏳 𐏴 𐏵 𐏶 𐏷 𐏸 𐏹 𐏺 𐏻 𐏼 𐏽 𐏾 𐏿  
 𐐀 𐐁 𐐂 𐐃 𐐄 𐐅 𐐆 𐐇 𐐈 𐐉 𐐊 𐐋 𐐌 𐐍 𐐎 𐐏 𐐐 𐐑 𐐒 𐐓 𐐔 𐐕 𐐖 𐐗 𐐘 𐐙 𐐚 𐐛 𐐜 𐐝 𐐞 𐐟 𐐠 𐐡 𐐢 𐐣 𐐤 𐐥 𐐦 𐐧 𐐨 𐐩 𐐪 𐐫 𐐬 𐐭 𐐮 𐐯 𐐰 𐐱 𐐲 𐐳 𐐴 𐐵 𐐶 𐐷 𐐸 𐐹 𐐺 𐐻 𐐼 𐐽 𐐾 𐐿  
 5 𐑀 𐑁 𐑂 𐑃 𐑄 𐑅 𐑆 𐑇 𐑈 𐑉 𐑊 𐑋 𐑌 𐑍 𐑎 𐑏 𐑐 𐑑 𐑒 𐑓 𐑔 𐑕 𐑖 𐑗 𐑘 𐑙 𐑚 𐑛 𐑜 𐑝 𐑞 𐑟 𐑠 𐑡 𐑢 𐑣 𐑤 𐑥 𐑦 𐑧 𐑨 𐑩 𐑪 𐑫 𐑬 𐑭 𐑮 𐑯 𐑰 𐑱 𐑲 𐑳 𐑴 𐑵 𐑶 𐑷 𐑸 𐑹 𐑺 𐑻 𐑼 𐑽 𐑾 𐑿  
 𐒀 𐒁 𐒂 𐒃 𐒄 𐒅 𐒆 𐒇 𐒈 𐒉 𐒊 𐒋 𐒌 𐒍 𐒎 𐒏 𐒐 𐒑 𐒒 𐒓 𐒔 𐒕 𐒖 𐒗 𐒘 𐒙 𐒚 𐒛 𐒜 𐒝 𐒞 𐒟 𐒠 𐒡 𐒢 𐒣 𐒤 𐒥 𐒦 𐒧 𐒨 𐒩 𐒪 𐒫 𐒬 𐒭 𐒮 𐒯 𐒰 𐒱 𐒲 𐒳 𐒴 𐒵 𐒶 𐒷 𐒸 𐒹 𐒺 𐒻 𐒼 𐒽 𐒾 𐒿  
 𐓀 𐓁 𐓂 𐓃 𐓄 𐓅 𐓆 𐓇 𐓈 𐓉 𐓊 𐓋 𐓌 𐓍 𐓎 𐓏 𐓐 𐓑 𐓒 𐓓 𐓔 𐓕 𐓖 𐓗 𐓘 𐓙 𐓚 𐓛 𐓜 𐓝 𐓞 𐓟 𐓠 𐓡 𐓢 𐓣 𐓤 𐓥 𐓦 𐓧 𐓨 𐓩 𐓪 𐓫 𐓬 𐓭 𐓮 𐓯 𐓰 𐓱 𐓲 𐓳 𐓴 𐓵 𐓶 𐓷 𐓸 𐓹 𐓺 𐓻 𐓼 𐓽 𐓾 𐓿  
 10 𐔀 𐔁 𐔂 𐔃 𐔄 𐔅 𐔆 𐔇 𐔈 𐔉 𐔊 𐔋 𐔌 𐔍 𐔎 𐔏 𐔐 𐔑 𐔒 𐔓 𐔔 𐔕 𐔖 𐔗 𐔘 𐔙 𐔚 𐔛 𐔜 𐔝 𐔞 𐔟 𐔠 𐔡 𐔢 𐔣 𐔤 𐔥 𐔦 𐔧 𐔨 𐔩 𐔪 𐔫 𐔬 𐔭 𐔮 𐔯 𐔰 𐔱 𐔲 𐔳 𐔴 𐔵 𐔶 𐔷 𐔸 𐔹 𐔺 𐔻 𐔼 𐔽 𐔾 𐔿  
 𐕀 𐕁 𐕂 𐕃 𐕄 𐕅 𐕆 𐕇 𐕈 𐕉 𐕊 𐕋 𐕌 𐕍 𐕎 𐕏 𐕐 𐕑 𐕒 𐕓 𐕔 𐕕 𐕖 𐕗 𐕘 𐕙 𐕚 𐕛 𐕜 𐕝 𐕞 𐕟 𐕠 𐕡 𐕢 𐕣 𐕤 𐕥 𐕦 𐕧 𐕨 𐕩 𐕪 𐕫 𐕬 𐕭 𐕮 𐕯 𐕰 𐕱 𐕲 𐕳 𐕴 𐕵 𐕶 𐕷 𐕸 𐕹 𐕺 𐕻 𐕼 𐕽 𐕾 𐕿  
 𐖀 𐖁 𐖂 𐖃 𐖄 𐖅 𐖆 𐖇 𐖈 𐖉 𐖊 𐖋 𐖌 𐖍 𐖎 𐖏 𐖐 𐖑 𐖒 𐖓 𐖔 𐖕 𐖖 𐖗 𐖘 𐖙 𐖚 𐖛 𐖜 𐖝 𐖞 𐖟 𐖠 𐖡 𐖢 𐖣 𐖤 𐖥 𐖦 𐖧 𐖨 𐖩 𐖪 𐖫 𐖬 𐖭 𐖮 𐖯 𐖰 𐖱 𐖲 𐖳 𐖴 𐖵 𐖶 𐖷 𐖸 𐖹 𐖺 𐖻 𐖼 𐖽 𐖾 𐖿

The text of the tablet as published by Father Scheil.

In order to indicate clearly the signs on the tablet that have been misread, we must print the transliterations and translations of the tablet that have been proposed by Father Scheil and Prof. Hommel. Prof.

<sup>1</sup> *Rec. de trav.*, XIX., p. 40 f.

Hommel's rendering differs in some points from that of Father Scheil, so that for purposes of comparison their versions are here printed together.<sup>2</sup>

Father  
Scheil's  
and Prof.  
Hommel's  
transliterations  
compared.

It will be noted that the two transliterations of the tablet that are given on the opposite page are almost identical. Prof. Hommel takes the four signs in l. 5 as one word in place of the two words of Father Scheil, and in l. 8 he selects the second of Father Scheil's alternative readings; with these two exceptions the transliterations tally. Mainly by a different punctuation, however, Prof. Hommel produces a different translation. Instead of breaking the letter up into two halves with a full stop at the end of l. 7, he makes the whole letter into one rather unwieldy sentence, in which ll. 6 and 7 form a parenthesis. These differences may be seen on p. xxxii., where the translations are quoted.

<sup>2</sup> The different systems of transliteration employed by Father Scheil and Prof. Hommel are here assimilated. Where the translations given by Father Schiel differ from each other, that in the *Recueil de travaux*, as being the more recent, has been followed. His actual translations are as follows:—(1) *Rev. Bibl.*, V., p. 601, "A Sin-idin-nam soit dit de Hammurabi: Les déesses du pays d'Emutbalim, je te les ai données comme prix de ta vaillance, au jour de la défaite de Kodorlahomor. Puisque le dieu ton Créateur s'en offense, avec les troupes qui sont sous ta main, détruis leurs gens, et que les déesses restent sauvées dans leur sanctuaire." (2) *Rec. de trav.*, XIX., p. 41, "A Sin-idinnam Hammurabi: je te donne les déesses du pays d'Emutbalim comme prix de ta vaillance, au jour de (la défaite de) Kudurlagamar. Si elles se courroucent contre toi" [or, as suggested in a footnote, possibly, "si ton dieu créateur s'en offense"], "avec les troupes dont tu disposes, exterme leurs gens, et qu'on remette sauvées les déesses dans leur (ancienne) demeure!" Prof. Hommel's translation is taken from *Anc. Hebr. Trad.*, p. 177 f.



## FATHER SCHEIL.

Father  
Scheil's  
and Prof.  
Hommel's  
translations  
compared.

To Sin-idinam  
from Hammurabi :  
the goddesses of the land of Emutbalim,  
5 as a reward for thy valour  
on the day of (the defeat of) Kudurlagamar,  
I give to thee.  
If they become angered with thee,  
[or If the god, thy creator, is angered thereat,]  
with the troops at thy command  
10 destroy their people  
and the goddesses  
let them restore in safety to their (former) dwelling !

## PROF. HOMMEL.

To Sin-idinam  
give the following order  
from Khammurabi :  
the goddesses of Emutbal,  
5 thy mistresses,  
on the day in which Kudur-luggamar  
shall allow thee to return scatheless,  
when they (the goddesses) are angry with the god,  
thy creator,  
with the warriors which are in thy hand  
10 destroy thou the warriors (of the enemy),  
and they (the warriors) shall then the goddesses  
bring back to their abode again scatheless.



The principal differences in the two translations will be found in four lines (5-8). According to Father Scheil, Hammurabi is writing to Sinidinnam, the well known king of Larsam, whom he has restored to his throne after defeating Chedorlaomer and the Elamites. As a reward for Sinidinnam's valour in the fight, he has bestowed on him the figures of some Elamite goddesses which have been captured in the battle. In the event of the goddesses being angry with their captor, Sinidinnam is warned by Hammurabi to restore them to their shrines after taking his vengeance on the Elamites. According to Prof. Hommel, the Sinidinnam of the letter was the grandson of the famous king of Larsam, and had been captured and held a prisoner by the Elamites for many years. Hammurabi has now defeated Chedorlaomer, and has forced him to release Sinidinnam, to whom he at once sends the letter under discussion. The goddesses therein mentioned, Prof. Hommel thinks, are Babylonian goddesses which had previously been carried as spoil to Elam and were angry with Sinidinnam's patron deity, the god Shamash of Larsam, for having permitted their captivity. Hammurabi therefore writes to him the moment he is free, telling him that he must secure their return to Babylonia, employing force if necessary. In spite of the differences in these two interpretations, their authors agree in holding that Chedorlaomer's name occurs on the tablet, and is mentioned in such a way as to imply that he is a powerful king of Elam, and the contemporary of Hammurabi.

Father Scheil's and Prof. Hommel's explanations of the letter.

Chedorlaomer's name is made to occur in the sixth

line of the letter, which both scholars transliterate as follows :—

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
*um (-um) ša Ku-dur-nu - uḫ - ga - mar*

Suggested  
 corrections  
 of the text.

Father Scheil's suggested rendering of the phrase as "the day of Chedorlaomer," in the sense of "the day of the defeat of Chedorlaomer," would be a most unusual form of expression in Assyrian. Prof. Hommel justly claims that his rendering, "on the day in which Chedorlaomer," is grammatically more correct, though it necessitates his making lines 6 and 7 parenthetical. As a matter of fact, this difficult expression does not occur upon the tablet, but is due to a misreading of the text by Father Scheil. I was first led to doubt the reading of the name Chedorlaomer by the fact that it necessitated the rendering of 𐎶 as the relative, a use for which this sign is rarely, if ever, employed at the time of the First Dynasty. In inscriptions of this period the relative *ša* is expressed by the sign 𐎶𐎵, and it is only at a later period that the two signs are employed indiscriminately for the relative. In Old Babylonian inscriptions, however, 𐎶 is met with in ideograms, and in letters of this period its most frequent use is in the ideogram 𐎶 𐎶. It appeared therefore more than probable that the sign which Father Scheil read as 𐎶, *Ku*, the first syllable of the name Chedorlaomer, was really 𐎶, the second half of the ideogram 𐎶 𐎶. Other difficulties in the letter disappeared at once, if slight alterations were made in Father Scheil's copy of the text. Thus by substituting 𐎶𐎵 for 𐎶𐎵 (l. 5) and 𐎶 for 𐎶 (l. 6) the difficult expressions, on which

Father Scheil and Prof. Hommel had expended their ingenuity, at once became simple. Now on the tablet, Brit. Mus., No. 15,348,<sup>1</sup> I had already found the name Inuhsamar (𐎠 𐎢𐎺 𐎧 𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *I-nu-uh-sa-mar*) as that of an official or high officer. It then occurred to me that Father Scheil had on the tablet at Constantinople mistaken this name for that of Chedorlaomer, misreading 𐎢𐎺 as 𐎢𐎺𐎠 and 𐎠𐎢𐎺 as 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠. By making these corrections we could read ll. 5 and 6 as (5) *ša li-ti-ka* (6) *šābum(um) bušū Inuhsamar*.

It now remained to see if Father Schiel had or had not misread these signs. Soon after, Dr. Wallis Budge procured photographs of the tablet at Constantinople from O. Hamdi Bey, the Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, and there remained no doubt that the lines were to be read as I had imagined. It is easy to see from the photograph of the obverse how the misreading of 𐎠𐎢𐎺 as 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 came about; the surface of the tablet at the end of the sign appears to have been scratched by some sharp instrument, accidentally or otherwise. This photograph has also cleared up the only other obscure passage in the letter by proving that in l. 8 we should read 𐎠𐎢 for 𐎠𐎢𐎺.

Evidence of  
the photo-  
graph.

With these emendations the letter at Constantinople may be transliterated and translated as follows:—

Transliteration  
and  
translation  
of the letter.

#### TRANSLITERATION.

<i>a - na</i>	<i>il<sup>m</sup> Sin - i - din - nam</i>
<i>ki -</i>	<i>bi - ma</i>
<i>um - ma</i>	<i>Ha - am - mu - ra - bi - ma</i>

<sup>1</sup> Published below, No. 26.

*i - la - a - tim    ša    E - mu - ut - ba - lim*  
 5 *ša                    li -            ti            ka*  
*šābum(um)    bušū    I - nu - uḫ - sa - mar*  
*u            ša -    al -    la -    ma - ak - ḫu*  
*i - nu - ma    iz - za - an - ku - ni - ik - ḫu*  
*i    na    šābim(im)    ša    ga    ti - ka*  
 10 *šābam(am)            lu - pu    ut    ma*  
*i -            la -            a            tim*  
*a    na                    šu - ub - ti    ši    na*  
*li -            ša -            al -            li -            mu*

## TRANSLATION.

To Sinidinnam  
 from Ḥammurabi.  
 The goddesses of Emutbalim,  
 5 which are assigned to thee,  
 the troops under the command of Inuḫsamar  
 will bring to thee in safety.  
 When they reach thee,  
 with the troops that are in thy hand  
 10 destroy the people, and  
 the goddesses  
 to their dwellings  
 let them bring in safety.

Explanation  
of the letter.

For purposes of comparison with the translations of  
 Father Scheil and Prof. Hommel, it will be best to ex-  
 plain the letter without reference to another letter from  
 Ḥammurabi to Sinidinnam (Brit. Mus., No. 23,131,  
 see below, No. 34), which contains directions for the  
 careful conveyance of the figures of certain Elamite  
 goddesses to Babylon. It is unlikely that the two  
 letters refer to different groups of goddesses, and the  
 probable connection between them will be referred to  
 later. The most probable view of the circumstances

under which the Constantinople letter was written is as follows :—Ḥammurabi's forces, possibly under the command of Inuḥsamar, have secured a victory over Elam, and have carried off a number of images of Elamite goddesses among the spoil. Inuḥsamar has reported his success to Ḥammurabi at Babylon, and the king immediately writes a letter to Sinidinnam, who is in command of another section of the Babylonian army, and is posted on the Elamite frontier. Ḥammurabi does not wish to retain the goddesses in Babylonia, but is anxious to restore them to their shrines. He will not, however, merely hand them back to the Elamites, for that might be interpreted as an indication of fear, or as an admission of weakness. They must be restored to their shrines by his own people, and to do this it is necessary for Sinidinnam to enter Elamite territory, to overcome any opposition which may be offered to him, and to superintend their restoration in person. The advantage of this plan is obvious, for, while securing the favour of the goddesses by restoring them to their shrines, he, at the same time, would impress his authority on the Elamites in a most practical manner.

Such appears to be the most probable explanation of the letter at Constantinople *taken by itself*. But as the letter in the British Museum, No. 23,131, is also concerned with certain Elamite goddesses, it is not unnatural to assume that the two groups of captive goddesses mentioned in the letters are identical. If this be the case, Brit. Mus., No. 23,131 must have been written before the letter at Constantinople, and by combining the two letters in this order we can extend and slightly modify the explanation already

The connection between the letter at Constantinople and Brit. Mus., No. 23,131.

given. As before, we may imagine Hammurabi in Babylon, directing by despatches the general plan of the campaign, while Sinidinnam is in actual command of the Babylonian forces on the frontier, or possibly within the territory of Elam. The Babylonian army has gained a victory over the Elamites, and has carried off a number of Elamite goddesses from their shrines. On the receipt of Sinidinnam's despatch announcing his success, we may assume that Hammurabi wrote the letter now in the British Museum, which contains detailed instructions for the careful conveyance of the goddesses to Babylon, accompanied by the *kizrēti*, or female attendants attached to their service. It may be concluded that Hammurabi's instructions were carried out, and that in due time the images of the goddesses with their attendants arrived safely in Babylon. The next reference to the goddesses is contained in the Constantinople letter, which arranges for their return to Elam. This letter of Hammurabi, however, gives no indication of the reason for their removal from his capital; but it is not difficult to explain his *motive*, when we remember the views concerning the powers of national deities entertained by the Babylonians and Assyrians. It is not improbable that soon after the arrival of the goddesses in Babylon misfortune overtook the Babylonian arms in Elam. Hammurabi and his priests would attribute this defeat to the anger of the Elamite goddesses at being detained in Babylon, and would at once arrange for their return to their own country. The king, therefore, despatches them to the frontier under the care of Inuhsamar, and sends forward a courier with the letter now at Con-

The letter  
Brit. Mus.,  
23,131.

The Con-  
stantinople  
letter.

stantinople telling Sinidinnam to expect their arrival. As the goddesses are returning to their shrines, Sinidinnam need no longer fear defeat at the hand of the Elamites. He may invade Elam with confidence, and, having secured a victory, he will completely appease the goddesses by restoring them to the temples from which they had been carried off.

This is not a fanciful interpretation, for there is abundant evidence to show that the Babylonians and Assyrians credited the gods of the nations with the power of exercising more than a merely local influence, which was confined to their own country and to their own people. A deity of his own free will might leave his country and sojourn for a time with a friendly nation for whose benefit he would exercise his power, provided he received due worship and honour. On the other hand a god, while still staying in his own country, could employ foreign powers either for the benefit or for the punishment of his own worshippers. In the fifteenth century B.C. we know that a statue of the goddess Ištār was carried with great pomp and ceremony from Babylonia to Egypt, the two countries being on friendly terms at the time. Amenophis III. requested Tušratta, king of Mitani, to send the goddess Ištār of Nineveh to Egypt, and Tušratta consented, and sent a letter with the goddess; this letter was one of those found at Tell el-Amarna, and is now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> In it the

Probability of the suggested interpretation of the letter.

The power of deities in foreign countries: Ištār in Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> See Budge and Bezold, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. 24 f.; Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, p. 13; and Winckler in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. V., p. 48 f.

goddess Ištār herself is made to declare her intention of going to Egypt: "Thus saith Ištār of Nineveh, the lady of all lands: 'Unto Egypt, into the land which I love, I will go.'"<sup>1</sup> Tušratta, after stating that he is sending the goddess, exhorts Amenophis to honour her duly and to send her back, saying: "Verily now have I sent (her) and she is gone. Indeed, in the time of my father, the lady Ištār went into that land; and, just as she dwelt (there) formerly and they honoured her, so now may my brother honour her ten times more than before. May my brother honour her, may he allow her to return with joy."<sup>2</sup> From this passage we gather that it was not the first time Ištār had visited Egypt. The custom was probably not uncommon, for a deity, while stopping in a foreign country with his own consent, would, if properly treated, no doubt exert his influence in favour of the land in which he was staying.

The power  
of deities  
over  
foreigners:  
Marduk and  
Esarhaddon.

It was believed moreover that a god could employ the power of a foreigner to bring either prosperity or misfortune upon his own people; the following historical examples prove this. Esarhaddon, when restoring the temples in Babylon, states that he does so at Marduk's express command. The misfortunes that for eleven years had fallen on the city he attributes to Marduk's anger at an act of impiety committed by the Babylonians under a former king; but when his anger was appeased the god employed the Assyrian king to restore the fortunes of the capital.<sup>3</sup> Again,

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 16-25.

<sup>3</sup> See I R., 49, ll. 7 ff.



Cyrus attributed his successful invasion of Babylonia and the defeat of Nabonidus to the direct intervention of Marduk, who was angered at the attempt Nabonidus had made to take the Babylonian gods from their local shrines and concentrate their worship in Babylon. In the inscription on his cylinder<sup>1</sup> he says: "He (*i.e.*, "Marduk) sought out a righteous prince after his own heart whom he might take by the hand; "Cyrus, king of Anšan, he called by name, he "proclaimed his title for empire over the whole "world . . . . He commanded him to go to his "city of Babylon, he caused him to take the road "to Babylon, like a friend and helper he went at his "side . . . . Nabonidus, the king who did not fear "him, he delivered into his hand."<sup>2</sup> The offence of Nabonidus in removing the local Babylonian goddesses from their shrines is referred to by Cyrus further on in the same inscription: "And the gods of Sumer "and Akkad, whom Nabonidus had brought into "Babylon to the anger of the lord of the gods, at "the word of the great lord Marduk one and all in "their own shrines I caused to take up the habitation "of (their) hearts' delight."<sup>3</sup> The misfortune that fell on Nabonidus as the result of his removal of local deities from their shrines is the nearest parallel we can find in Babylonian history to the circumstances which may have induced Hammurabi to order the restoration of the Elamite goddesses. The two cases

Marduk and  
Cyrus.

<sup>1</sup> See V R., pl. 35, and Hagen and Delitzsch, *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, II, pp. 205 ff.

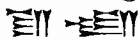
<sup>2</sup> Ll. 12, 15, and 17.

<sup>3</sup> L. 33 f.

are not exactly similar, for the goddesses in Hammurabi's case were not those of his country. An exactly parallel case, however, may be seen in Hebrew history, when the Philistines sent back the ark of the covenant, which they had captured at Aphek, in order to save their own god Dagon from destruction, and their land from plague.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that Hammurabi had some similar motive in sending back the captured goddesses to Elam; and it has been already suggested that the misfortune in his case may have taken the form of a defeat at the hands of the Elamites.

Having discussed the circumstances which attended the writing of Hammurabi's letter, it remains to consider some of the phrases that occur in it, and to justify the renderings which have been given on p. xxxvi. The expressions that call for discussion are *ša li-ti-ka* in l. 5, *bušū* in l. 6, *u-ša-al-la-ma-ak-ku* in l. 7, and *iz-za-an-ku-ni-ik-ku* in l. 8.

Discussion  
of phrases in  
Hammurabi's  
letter i—  
(1) *litu*,  
"jurisdiction,  
control."

The substantive *litu* has the general meaning "strength, might, power"; in the phrase  *ša li-ti-ka*, which is a not uncommon expression in Old Babylonian letters, it is used with the special meaning "authority, jurisdiction, control." Hammurabi frequently writes to Sinidinnam giving instructions about men or matters described as *ša li-ti-ka*, a phrase which in itself indicates the reason of the letter; it is because the subject of the letter falls within Sinidinnam's jurisdiction that Hammurabi writes to him. No 42 contains a good example of the use of *ša li-ti-ka*; this letter enumerates

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. v. and vi.



officials attached to the temple would naturally be under Sinidinnam's control, though they could not be described as belonging to his fighting force. In No. 15 Hammurabi tells Sinidinnam he is sending him Sinaiabarum and other officials [*a-na*] *za-la-tim*<sup>1</sup> *ša li-ti-ka* (l. 6), *i.e.*, to form members of his court or household. On their arrival Sinidinnam is told to go with them and inspect the cattle and sheep, *ša li-ti-ka*, "that are under thy control." We are justified therefore in translating *i-la-a-tim ša E-mu-ut-ba-lim ša li-ti-ka*, "the goddesses of Emutbalim which are assigned to thee," *i.e.*, "under thy control." The phrase implies that Hammurabi had entrusted Sinidinnam with the task of restoring the goddesses to their shrines.

(2.) *bušū*,  
"under the  
command  
of."

The sign-group  $\nabla \Xi$ , which is of frequent occurrence in Old Babylonian letters, is probably to be regarded as an ideogram for the substantive *bušū*. The fact that both  $\nabla \Xi$  and  $\nabla \lambda$  are found in the later Assyrian inscriptions interchanging with *bušū* (written phonetically) has led some scholars to regard  $\nabla \Xi$  and  $\nabla \lambda$  as phonetic renderings of a substantive *šašu* with a meaning similar to *bušū*, "property, possession."<sup>2</sup> It is probable however that  $\nabla \Xi$  is an ideogram, of which  $\nabla \lambda$  is a later variant form. In Old Babylonian letters the ideogram occurs under the form  $\nabla \Xi$ , and is probably to be transliterated *bušū*; the meaning "property, possession," however, does not suit many of the passages in which the word occurs. The context of these passages suggests

<sup>1</sup> *za-la-tim* I take as = *sa-la-tim*.

<sup>2</sup> See Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 694.

that the word is employed to indicate "control" <sup>*bušū*,</sup> rather than actual "possession"; and the renderings <sup>"under the command of."</sup> "under the command of," "in subordination to," would suit the majority of cases. It is true that in No. 49, l. 6 f., we find *še-am a-na na-kam-tim ša bīt i<sup>lu</sup> Šamaš ša Larsam<sup>KI</sup>*, "the corn for the treasury of the temple of Šamaš of Larsam," described as *bušū Ig-mil-i<sup>lu</sup> Sin*, where the ideogram might plausibly be translated "property of." Similarly where a single individual is described as *bušū* to another, it might be possible to regard the former as a slave, and hence "the possession" of his master; thus in No. 9. l. 7 f., *Li-bi-it-Ištar* is described as *bušū Ta-ri-ba-tum*, and in No. 35, l. 5 f., *Ili-ma-ti-mu* is described as *bušū A-bil-i<sup>lu</sup> Šamaš*. In No. 23, l. 4 f., however, 240 men are described as *bušū i<sup>lu</sup> Nannar-iddina*, where the context suggests that warriors and not slaves are referred to. Moreover in No. 43, l. 3, *i<sup>lu</sup> Sin-ilu*, a *patesi*, is described as *bušū Ta-ri-ba-tum*; it is unlikely that a *patesi* would be described as the property of another man, though he might well be his subordinate officer. These last two passages suggest for *bušū* the rendering "under the command of," and that *bušū* had this meaning is definitely proved by Nos. 3 and 26. In No. 3, l. 9 f., *bušū A-bil-i<sup>lu</sup> Šamaš u Na-ra-am-i<sup>lu</sup> Sin* corresponds to *ša ga-ti-ni*, which occurs in l. 6 in Naram-Sin's report in the first person. Similarly in No. 26, *bušū* in l. 19 corresponds to *ša ga-ti-ia* in l. 6. The phrase *ša ga-ti*, "who is (or are) in the hand of," is not employed to describe the relation of a slave to his master, but that of an official to his superior, or of a body of troops to the officer in command. We are justified



<i>a la kam</i>	<i>li - pu - šu</i>	<i>nim ma</i>	<i>sanāku,</i>
<i>i na li</i>	<i>ib bu</i>	<i>II u - mi</i>	"to arrive,
<i>li - is -</i>	<i>ni - ku -</i>	<i>nim</i>	to reach."

"Let them set out and within two days let them arrive." A similar use of the verb occurs in No. 32, l. 11, *ar-ḫi-iš li-is-ni-ga-am*. More commonly, however, *sanāku* is employed in conjunction with the preposition *ana*. In No. 39 Ḥammurabi sends Sinidinnam instructions that certain officers of the temple of Šamaš at Larsam are to be despatched to Babylon without delay; the letter concludes:—

<i>[m]u - ši</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ri</i>
<i>[a - l]a - kam</i>	<i>li - pu</i>	<i>šu</i>	<i>nim ma</i>
<i>[i na]</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>ib bu</i>	<i>II n mi</i>
<i>[a - n]a</i>			<i>Bābili<sup>KI</sup></i>
<i>[l]i</i>	<i>is -</i>	<i>ni -</i>	<i>ku - nim</i>

"Let them travel night and day; within two days let them reach Babylon." In No. 34, which has been already referred to,<sup>1</sup> Ḥammurabi gives instructions for the transport of the figures of certain goddesses to Babylon. After directions concerning the method of their conveyance, the letter concludes:—

<i>iš - ta - ra - a</i>	<i>tim</i>	<i>a - na</i>	<i>Bābili<sup>KI</sup></i>
<i>li - ša -</i>	<i>al -</i>	<i>li -</i>	<i>mu - nim</i>
<i>la</i>	<i>u - la -</i>	<i>ap - pa - ta</i>	<i>nim</i>
<i>ar - ḫi - iš</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Bābili<sup>KI</sup></i>
<i>li</i>	<i>is -</i>	<i>ni -</i>	<i>ga am</i>

"Let them bring the goddesses to Babylon in safety. Let them not delay,<sup>2</sup> but quickly reach

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xxxvii f.

<sup>2</sup> The Piel of *lapātu* at this period appears to have had the intransitive meaning "to delay, to tarry."

*sanāḫu*,  
"to arrive,  
to reach."

Babylon." In No. 50 Ammizaduga writes to Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduknāšir, and concludes his letter with the words :—

<i>a - na</i>	<i>Bābili<sup>KI</sup></i>	<i>al - kam</i>
<i>la</i>	<i>t[u - la] -</i>	<i>ap - pa - tu</i>
<i>i - na</i>	<i>arḫu Addari</i>	<i>ūmi</i> <i>ḲAN</i>
<i>a - na</i>		<i>Bābili<sup>KI</sup></i>
<i>zi -</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>ga - am</i>

"Come to Babylon, do not delay, on the first of Adar reach Babylon." The same phrase also occurs at the end of No. 51, [*a-na*] *Bābili<sup>KI</sup>* [*z*]*i-in-ga-am*. In No. 40, ll. 13 ff. we read :—

<i>i - na</i>	<i>arḫu Addari</i>	<i>ūmi</i>	<i>XXX<sup>KAN</sup></i>
<i>a - na</i>			<i>Bābili<sup>KI</sup></i>
<i>li -</i>	<i>is -</i>	<i>ni -</i>	<i>ku nim</i>

"Let them reach Babylon on the 30th of Adar." Compare also l. 8 of the same tablet, *a-na Bābili<sup>KI</sup>* *za-na-ki-im*. In the six passages just cited *sanāḫu* is employed with the preposition *ana*; in the Constantinople letter, however, the verb is not used with the preposition, but takes the pronominal suffix. No. 15 contains a precisely similar use of the word, while the context of the passage admits of no other meaning than "to reach." In this letter Hammurabi informs Sinidinnam that he has despatched Sinaiabaram and certain officials to form part of his household; in ll. 9 ff. he continues :—

<i>i - na</i>	<i>arḫu Araḫsamna</i>	<i>ūmi</i>	<i>XII<sup>KAN</sup></i>
<i>i - sa - an - ni - ku - ni - ik</i>			<i>ḫu</i>
<i>i - nu - ma</i>	<i>iz - za - an - ku - ni - ik - ḫu</i>		
<i>it ti - šu - nu</i>	<i>a li - ik</i>	<i>ma</i>	



“ On the 12th day of Marcheswan they will reach thee. When they reach thee, go with them,” *etc.* We could not have a more instructive passage for explaining the use of the word ; this passage by itself would suffice to justify the suggested rendering of *i-nu-ma iz-za-an-ku-ni-ik-ku* in the letter at Constantinople.

The passages cited in the preceding paragraphs will justify the translation of the Constantinople letter on p. xxxvi. Before leaving the subject, however, there is still one other point that calls for discussion, and that is the alleged occurrence of the name of Chedorlaomer in some fragments of tablets of the Persian period. We have seen that Father Scheil’s “discovery” is valueless in as much as his reading of the text was faulty ; his “discovery” has, nevertheless, been employed to support a statement to the effect that the Elamite king’s name has been found on these late Babylonian fragments. It remains to enquire what degree of credibility is attached to these other “discoveries” of the name of Chedorlaomer.

At the Church Congress held at Norwich in the early part of October, 1895, it was stated that a tablet had been found containing the names of three of the kings mentioned in Gen. xiv., viz., *Kudur-Lagamar* or Chedorlaomer, *Eri-aku* or Arioch, and *Tudkhal* or Tidal.<sup>1</sup> It soon, however, became evident that considerable doubt existed as to the reading of the signs which formed the names. The names and a few extracts from the fragments were copied

Another  
discovery of  
the name of  
Chedor-  
laomer.

<sup>1</sup> See Official Report, p. 187.

by Mr. T. G. Pinches and sent to Prof. Schrader, who published them at the end of October of that year.<sup>1</sup> From these extracts it was clear that the transliteration of the three names was extremely problematical, while the context of the passages in which they occurred was so broken that it was impossible to ascertain with accuracy the general nature of the tablets. For two years nothing more was heard of the matter, and the "discovery" only obtained a new lease of life<sup>2</sup> after Father Scheil's alleged discovery of Chedorlaomer's name in the letter of Hammurabi in Constantinople.

The fragments of tablets on which the discovery was made.

The fragments on which the discovery was made do not date from a period earlier than the fourth century B.C.; they are preserved in the British Museum, with many other fragments of the same period, and are numbered Sp. III. 2, Sp. II. 987, and Sp. 158 + Sp. II. 962. The fragment on which the three names which have been read as Chedorlaomer, Arioch and Tidal occur, is Sp. III. 2.<sup>3</sup> Of the other fragments Sp. II. 987 contains what have been considered variants of the names Chedorlaomer and Arioch, while Sp. 158 + Sp. II. 962 contains what is claimed to be a still further variant form of the name Chedorlaomer. The following are the passages from the three fragments in which the names are said to occur, the signs alleged to represent

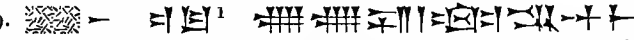
<sup>1</sup> In the *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe*, 1895, pp. 961 ff. (No. XLI.).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xxviii, note 2.

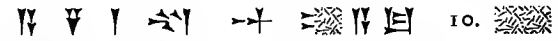

<sup>3</sup> A photograph of this tablet was published in 1895 by the Trustees of the British Museum.

the names Arioch, Tidal, and Chedorlaomer being transliterated in capitals :—


I. Sp. III. 2, Obv., l. 9 f.



9.    
 ... *ina kukki u - šam - kit<sup>m</sup> Dūr - šir - ilāni<sup>21</sup>*   
 ... by force of arms he overthrew. Dūr-sir-ilāni

Extracts alleged to contain the names of Arioch, Tidal, and Chedorlaomer.


 10.    
*aplu ša<sup>m</sup> ERI<sup>uu</sup> ... - A - KU* .....   
 son of ERI ... - A - KU .....

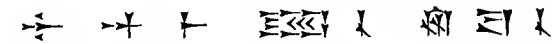
II. Sp. III. 2, Obv., l. 13 f.

13.    
 ..... *u šiḫra ik - ki - is<sup>m</sup> TU - UD - HUL - A*   
 ..... and small he cut off. TU - UD - HUL - A

 14.    
*mār<sup>m</sup> Gaz* .....   
 son of Gaz .....

III. Sp. III. 2, Rev., l. 3 f.

3.    
 ..... *- ik - lu<sup>m</sup> KU - KU - KU - MAL māru - šu ina*   
 ..... KU - KU - KU - MAL his son with

   
*patri parzilli ḫabli - šu lib - ba - šu*   
 the iron dagger of his waist his heart





 4.    
*it ta* .....   
 he .....

<sup>21</sup> These first three signs are very rubbed, but quite certain.








Extracts  
alleged to  
contain the  
names of  
Chedorlao-  
mer and  
Arioch.










## IV. Sp. II. 987, Obv., l. 6.








—          
*ina mil ki-šu-nu ki-nim ana* <sup>m</sup> KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL  
 through their sure counsel to KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL

     
*šar matu E la- . . . . .*  
 king of E la- . . . . .











## V. Sp. II. 987, Obv., l. 19 f.





19.         
 . . . . . *Dūr* *šir - ilāni* <sup>n</sup> *māru* *ša*  
 . . . . . Dūr-šir-ilāni son of

          
<sup>m</sup> ERI E KU - A *ša* *šal - lat* . . . . .  
 ERI E KU - A who the spoil . . . . .

20.         
 . . . . <sup>isu</sup> *kussī* *šarru-tu* *u* *ši* *ib - ma . .*  
 . . [on] the throne of the kingdom sat and . .

## VI. Sp. 158 + Sp. II. 962, Rev., l. 21.

           
*ai - u* <sup>m</sup> KU - KU - KU - KU - . . . . . [e] *piš*  
 who (is) KU - KU - KU - KU - . . . . ., the doer

     
*lim ni e tum*  
 of evil ?

These six extracts are the only passages in which the names under discussion have been found. The tablets are so broken that the passages lose little by being taken from their context; in fact they can

hardly be said to possess a context at all. A glance through the list will suffice to show on what slender evidence the identification of the names with those in Gen. xiv. rests.


The name identified as Tidal occurs once, in <sup>Tidal.</sup> Extract II., where a certain " *Tu-ud-hul-a*, the son of *Gaz . . .*," is mentioned. There is no evidence to show that Tudhula was a royal personage, for he is not termed "king," nor do we know in what connection he is mentioned on the fragment. Even if it were admitted that the two names *Tu-ud-hul-a* and Tidal are identical, there would still be no reason for identifying the *Tu-ud-hul-a* of the Babylonian fragment with the Tidal, king of Goiim, mentioned in Gen. xiv., 1 and 9.





It was long ago suggested that  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒍪} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ , <sup>Arioch.</sup> *Rim-Sin*, the king of Larsam and a contemporary of Hammurabi, was the Arioch of Gen. xiv., for his name can also be read as *Eri-Aku*, "servant of the Moon-god." If the name  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒍪} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ , *Eri-Aku*, occurred on the fragment Sp. III., 2, its occurrence might be cited in support of the other two identifications. As a matter of fact the name *Eri-Aku* does not occur. A name occurs in Extracts I. and V. under the forms of *Eri-[E]aku* and *Eri-Ekua*, but there is no reason for identifying this man with Rim-Sin (or *Eri-Aku*), the king of Larsam. It is possible that in Extract V. the words "[on] the throne of the kingdom sat" refer to *Dur-šir-ilāni*, the son of *Eri-Ekua*," who is mentioned in the previous line. It is not clear, however, to whom these words do refer, nor is the name of the kingdom mentioned; moreover in neither passage is *Eri-Eaku* or *Eri-Ekua* given

the title of king. It will be seen, therefore, that even if the name *Eri-Aku* occurred on the fragments in place of *Eri-Ekua* and *Eri-Eaku*, there would be small justification for supposing him to be identical with the well known Rim-Sin or *Eri-Aku*, king of Larsam, or even for concluding that the personage mentioned was a king at all.

Chedor-  
laomer.

The third identification, that of Chedorlaomer's name, is the one that most concerns us. It is stated that the name occurs in the passages cited above as Extracts III., IV. and VI., where we find the names—

- (1) KU-KU-KU-MAL  
 (2) KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL  
 and (3) KU-KU-KU-KU-.

The three names are said to be identical and to be a "fanciful way" of writing Chedorlaomer. Assuming that (3) is to be restored from (2), which is by no means certain, we get two forms of the name, one beginning with , KU, written three times, the other with it written four times. As  has also the value *dur*, and *Kudur* is a well known component of Elamite names, the second  in each name is probably to be transliterated *dur*, so that we can reduce the names to *Ku-dur-ku-mal* and *Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal*. In order to get the names more like that of Chedorlaomer, it was suggested by Mr. Pinches that  had the value *lah* or *laḡ*, and the names were transliterated by him as *Ku-dur-laḡ-mal* and *Ku-dur-laḡ-gu-mal*, the former being described as "defectively written." *Ku-dur-laḡ-gu-mal* was then compared with Father Scheil's

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, Vol. XXIX., p. 67.

*Ku-dur-nu-uh-ga-mar* (or *Ku-dur-la-aḡ-ga-mar*) and the two were declared to agree very closely.<sup>1</sup> But it has been shown in the course of this Introduction that Father Scheil's *Ku-dur-nu-uh-ga-mar* does not exist but is based on a misreading of the text, so that the principal support to the identification disappears. Moreover, there is little justification for assigning the new value *lah* or *laḡ* to 𐎶; and, though *Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal* is styled a king of Elam,<sup>2</sup> there is no reason for supposing he was a contemporary of Hammurabi. He might have occupied the throne at any period before the fourth century B.C.

Although Chedorlaomer's name has not yet been Conclusion. identified in any Babylonian inscription, there is no reason at all why it should not be found in one. The name 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺𐎠 or 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠, Chedorlaomer, is a purely Elamite name, *Kudur-Lagamar*. The first part of the name, *Kudur*, occurs in the names of the Elamite kings 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠, *Ku-du-ur-mab-uk*, *Kudur-mabuk*,<sup>3</sup> 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠, *Ku-dur-na-an-hu-un-di*, *Kudur-nanḥundi*,<sup>4</sup> and 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠, *Kudur-<sup>itu</sup>Na-hu-un-du*, *Kudur-Naḥundu*<sup>5</sup>; of these three names the last two are variant forms of the same name, and correspond to the Old Susian form 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75; cf. also Dr. Lehmann in the *Zeits. für Assyriol.*, XI., (Jan., 1897), p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> In Extract IV. the name of the country is probably to be restored 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠, *māt<sup>tu</sup>E-la-[mat]*, Elam.

<sup>3</sup> See I R., Plate 2, No. III., l. 3; and Plate 5, No. XVI., l. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See III R., Plate 38, No. 1, l. 12.

<sup>5</sup> See I R., Plate 40, l. 70.

Conclusion. <sup>m</sup>*Ku-tir-<sup>an</sup>Nah-ku-un-te*, Kutir-Nahhunte.<sup>1</sup> *Lagamar*, the second half of the name Chedorlaomer, was the name of an Elamite deity, who is mentioned under the form 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎥 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, <sup>in</sup>*La-ga-ma-ru*, among the deities captured by Asurbanipal at the taking of Susa<sup>2</sup>; the name of this deity also occurs in an inscription of Kutir Nahhunte under the form 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎥 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, <sup>an</sup>*La-ga-ma-ri*.<sup>3</sup> So far as the composition of the name is concerned, therefore, there is no reason why the inscriptions should not contain a reference to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Moreover, Elam at the period of the First Dynasty was the chief foe of Babylonia, and, until finally defeated by Hammurabi, had for many years been the predominant power in Western Asia. The state of affairs at this period, therefore, may without difficulty be harmonized with the events described in Gen. xiv., and it would not be surprising if the name of *Kudur-Lagamar*, or Chedorlaomer, should be found as that of a king of Elam in an inscription of the Old Babylonian period. Up to the present time, however, no such discovery has been made.

<sup>1</sup> See Weissbach, *Anzanische Inschriften*, Plate III. f., in the *Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe*, Vol. XII. (1891).

<sup>2</sup> See V R., Plate 6, l. 33.

<sup>3</sup> See Weissbach, *Anzanische Inschriften*, p. 143, and Plate III., B, l. 3.



## List of Letters and Inscriptions.

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- | No. | Registration No.        | Description.  |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 1.  | Brit. Mus., No. 12,812. | Complete tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 13 + 1 + 13 + 1 lines. Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sinidinnam.                 |
| 2.  | Brit. Mus., No. 12,815. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{5}{8}$ in.; 11 + 4 lines. Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sinidinnam.                   |
| 3.  | Brit. Mus., No. 12,816. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.; 14 + 1 + 2 lines. Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sinidinnam.  |
| 4.  | Brit. Mus., No. 12,817. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 14 + 12 lines. Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sinidinnam.    |
| 5.  | Brit. Mus., No. 12,818. | Tablet of baked clay, a portion of the obverse damaged; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 13 + 6 lines. Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sinidinnam. |
| 6.  | Brit. Mus., No. 12,821. | Portion of tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.; 13 + 2 + 7 lines. Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sinidinnam.       |

No.	Registration No.	Description.
7.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,825	Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 11 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
8.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,826.	Upper portion of tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 16 + 10 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
9.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,827.	Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 13 + 8 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
10.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,828.	Tablet of baked clay, reverse much damaged; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 11 + 1 + 10 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
11.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,829.	Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.; 13 + 13 + 3 + 2 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
12.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,830.	Tablet of baked clay, obverse much damaged; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 13 + 8 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
13.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,832.	Tablet of baked clay, obverse much damaged; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 12 + 2 + 6 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
14.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,835.	Tablet of baked clay, upper edge broken; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 11 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.
15.	Brit. Mus., No. 12,837.	Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{5}{8}$ in.; 16 + 17 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.

- | No. | Registration No.        | Description.  |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 16. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,838. | Tablet of baked clay, obverse damaged in places; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 11 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.        |
| 17. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,840. | Lower portion of tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 10 + 10 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.             |
| 18. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,841. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 10 + 8 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam. |
| 19. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,846. | Complete tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{8}$ in.; 11 + 2 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.                      |
| 20. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,849. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.; 9 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.                   |
| 21. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,852. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 9 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.                   |
| 22. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,855. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 10 + 8 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.              |
| 23. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,863. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 8 + 7 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.               |
| 24. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,864. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. $\times$ $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.; 12 + 4 lines. Letter from Hammurabi to Sinidinnam.  |

- | No. | Registration No.        | Description.  |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 25. | Brit. Mus., No. 15,329. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2½ in. × 3½ in. ; 13 + 8 lines.<br>Letter from Ḫammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.                                    |
| 26. | Brit. Mus., No. 15,348. | Complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2½ in. × 3¾ in. ; 14 + 1 + 7<br>lines. Letter from Ḫammurabi to<br>Sinidinnam.   |
| 27. | Brit. Mus., No. 15,862. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay ;<br>2 in. × 3¼ in. ; 13 + 8 lines.<br>Letter from Ḫammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.                                    |
| 28. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,120. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2 in. × 3¾ in. ; 15 + 1 + 14<br>lines. Letter from Ḫammurabi to<br>Sinidinnam.                                  |
| 29. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,122. | Tablet of baked clay, damaged in<br>places ; 2¼ in. × 4 in. ; 21 + 3<br>+ 19 lines. Letter from Ḫammu-<br>rabi to Sinidinnam.                             |
| 30. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,123. | Tablet of baked clay, obverse and<br>reverse much damaged ; 2¼ in. ×<br>3¾ in. ; 15 + 3 + traces of 8 lines.<br>Letter from Ḫammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam. |
| 31. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,127. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2½ in. × 3¾ in. ; 9 lines. Letter<br>from Ḫammurabi to Sinidinnam.  |
| 32. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,129. | Tablet of baked clay, obverse much<br>damaged ; 2 in. × 3¾ in. ; 11 lines.<br>Letter from Ḫammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.                                   |
| 33. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,130. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2½ in. × 3¾ in. ; 14 + 2 + 15 +<br>2 + 1 lines. Letter from Ḫammu-<br>rabi to Sinidinnam.                       |

- | No. | Registration No.        | Description.  |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 34. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,131. | Complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>$2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. ; 14 + 13 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.         |
| 35. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,136. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; 10 + 1 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.                |
| 36. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,144. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; 13 + 2 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.                |
| 37. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,145. | Complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>$1\frac{7}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. ; 11 + 3 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.          |
| 38. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,147. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay ;<br>$2\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; 12 + 15 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam. |
| 39. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,148. | Tablet of baked clay, left side broken ;<br>2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; 11 + 9 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.              |
| 40. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,152. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; 12 + 10 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.               |
| 41. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,153. | Tablet of baked clay, obverse much<br>damaged ; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; 12 + 7<br>lines. Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to<br>Sinidinnam.            |
| 42. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,154. | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ;<br>2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; 17 + 16 lines.<br>Letter from $\text{H}$ ammurabi to Sini-<br>dinnam.               |

- | No. | Registration No.                  | Description.   |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| 43. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,159.           | Tablet of baked clay, part of obverse damaged: $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 13 + 1 + 14 + 2 lines. Letter from $\text{Ḫammurabi}$ to Sinidinnam.  |
| 44. | Brit. Mus., No. 23,337.           | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 13 lines. Letter from $\text{Ḫammurabi}$ to Sinidinnam.   |
| 45. | I.O.M. [Imperial Ottoman Museum]. | Complete tablet of baked clay; 10 + 3 lines. Letter from $\text{Ḫammurabi}$ to Sinidinnam. A Neo-Assyrian transcript of the text with a translation has been given by Scheil, <i>Rec. de trav.</i> , XIX. (1897), pp. 40 ff.; translations of the text have been given by Scheil, <i>Rev. Bibl.</i> , V. (1896), p. 600 f.; Hommel, <i>Anc. Heb. Trad.</i> (1897), p. 177 f.; Pinches, <i>Trans. Vict. Inst.</i> , XXIX. (1897), pp. 69 ff.; and Oxford, P.S.B.A., XX. (1898), p. 150 f. |
| 46. | L. [Louvre].                      | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; 11 lines. Letter from $\text{Ḫammurabi}$ to Sinidinnam. The text has been published by F. Thureau Danjin, <i>Rev. d'Assyr.</i> , Vol. IV., No. 3 (1897), Plate XXXI., and translated by him in the <i>Zeits. für Assyr.</i> , Vol. XII. (December, 1897), p. 273.  |
| 47. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,868.           | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. $\times$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 8 lines. Letter from Sinidinnam to the <i>rabiānu</i> of the city of Kutalla.  |
| 48. | Bu. 91-5-9, 1018.                 | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.; 8 + 2 + 8 + 3 lines. Letter from Tabbiwadi and Mār-Šamaš to Aḫatim, the wife of Sinidinnam, ruler of <i>Martu</i> .  |

- | No. | Registration No.        | Description.  |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 49. | Brit. Mus., No. 13,936. | Complete tablet of baked clay ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. ; 15 lines. Letter from Samsuiluna to Sinilu, Biturabi and Niḫ-Sin.  |
| 50. | Brit. Mus., No. 17,298. | Tablet of baked clay, much broken ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. ; 16 + 3 lines. Letter from Ammizaduga to Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduknāšir.  |
| 51. | Brit. Mus., No. 17,334. | Tablet of baked clay, much broken ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. ; 12 + 4 lines. Letter from Ammizaduga to Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduknāšir.  |
| 52. | Brit. Mus., No. 17,416. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. ; 11 lines. Letter from Ammizaduga to [ . . . . nā]šir.  |
| 53. | Brit. Mus., No. 17,531. | Upper portion of tablet of baked clay ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. ; 6 lines. Letter from Ammizaduga to Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduknāšir.   |
| 54. | Bu. 91-5-9, 329.        | Tablet of baked clay, much broken ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. ; 18 + 1 lines. Letter from Ammizaduga to Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduknāšir.  |
| 55. | Bu. 91-5-9, 325.        | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay ; $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. ; 18 + 5 lines. Letter from Ammiditana to an official of Sippara. A fragment of the envelope still adheres to the bottom edge of the tablet. The text has been published in <i>Cuneiform Texts</i> , Part II. (1896). |
| 56. | Bu. 91-5-9, 340.        | Tablet of baked clay, the bottom right-hand corner broken ; $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ 4 in. ; 17 + 1 + 9 lines. Letter from Ammiditana to Mardukmušalim, Sinnidinnam and Apil-Sin.  |

- | No. | Registration No.                                 | Description.  |
|-----|--|---|
| 57. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,216.<br>[A.H. 82-7-14, 1027.] | Cylinder of baked clay in the form of a truncated cone; length $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., diameter $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. tapering to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., 23 + 23 lines. Inscription of Ḫammurabi in Semitic Babylonian, recording his building operations at Sippara. The text has been published by Strassmaier, <i>Zeits. für Assyriol.</i> , Vol. II. (1897), p. 174 f., and translated by Winckler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 118 f., and by Jensen in the <i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek</i> , Vol. III., Part I. (1892), pp. 117 ff. Duplicates of the inscription are: Brit. Mus., Nos. 12,214 [A. H. 82-7-14, 1037], 12,215 [A. H. 82-3-23, 191], 12,220 [Bu. 91-5-9, 2548], 12,221 [Bu. 91-5-9, 2549], and 12,223 [Bu. 91-5-9, 2551]. |
| 58. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,212.<br>[A.H. 82-7-14, 1031.] | Cylinder of baked clay in the form of a truncated cone; length $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. tapering to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 20 + 20 lines. Inscription of Ḫammurabi in Sumerian recording his building operations at Sippara. The text has been published by Strassmaier, <i>Zeits. für Assyriol.</i> , Vol. II., p. 175 f., and translated by Winckler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 120 f., and by Jensen, K.B., Vol. III., Pt. I., pp. 116 ff. Duplicates of the inscription are: Brit. Mus., Nos. 12,213 [A.H. 82-3-23, 190], 12,222 [Bu. 91-5-9, 2550], and Bu. 88-5-12, 111.   |
| 59. | 81-8-30, 9.                                      | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 13 + 15 lines. Neo-Babylonian copy of an inscrip-  |



- | No.                                       | Registration No. | Description.  |
|---|------------------|---|
|   |                  | tion of Hāmmurabi recording the erection of a granary in Babylon. A translation of the text, from copies made by Bezold and Meissner, has been given by Jensen, K.B., Vol. III., Pt. I., pp. 120 ff.  |
| 60. Brit. Mus., No. 85.<br>[77-11-16, 1]. |                  | Broken statue of black basalt, engraved with part of an inscription; area covered by the inscription $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $18\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 24 + 21 + 12 + 20 lines. Bilingual inscription of Hāmmurabi, written in double columns in Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian. Amiaud has published a copy of part of Col. IV. in the <i>Rec. de trav.</i> , Vol. I. (1870), plate, and a Neo-Assyrian transcript of the text with a translation in the <i>Rev. d'Assyr.</i> , II., No. I. (1888), pp. 4 ff.; a translation has also been given by Jensen, K.B., Vol. III., Pt. I., pp. 110 ff.                                       |
| 61. Brit. Mus., No. 12,068.               |                  | Tablet of limestone; $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. $\times$ $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 20 + 20 lines. Inscription of Hāmmurabi in Sumerian, recording the building of a temple of the goddess Ninna. The text has been published I R., plate 4, No. XV., 1, and by Menant, <i>Inscriptions de Hammourabi</i> (1863), pl. 4 f. Translations of the inscription have been given by Menant, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 72 ff.; Oppert, <i>Expédition en Mésopotamie</i> (1863), Vol. I., p. 270; George Smith, T.S.B.A., I. (1872), p. 60 and <i>Records of the Past</i> , V. (1875), p. 74; Lenormant, <i>Études Accadiennes</i> , Vol. II. (1874), pp. 356 ff.; |

- | No. | Registration No.                           | Description.   |
|-----|--|--|
|     |  | Menant, <i>Babylone et la Chaldée</i> (1875), p. 109; Amiaud, <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , Vol. XX. (1882), pp. 236 ff.; and Jensen, K.B., Vol. III., Pt. I., pp. 106 ff.  |
| 62. | Brit. Mus., No. 12,219.                    | Tablet of limestone, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ $6\frac{3}{8}$ in.; 19 + 20 lines. Inscription of Hammurabi in Sumerian, recording the building of the temple of Šamaš in Larsam.   |
| 63. | Brit. Mus., No. 121.                       | Brick of baked clay, stamped with inscription; size of inscription $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 12 lines. Inscription of Hammurabi in Sumerian, recording the building of the temple of Šamaš in Larsam. The text has been published I R., plate 4, No. XV., 2, and by Menant, <i>Inscriptions</i> , pl. 6. Translations of the inscription have been given by Menant, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 68 f.; Oppert, E.M., I, p. 267; George Smith, T.S.B.A., I, p. 60 f., and R.P., V., p. 75; Lenormant, <i>Ét. Acc.</i> , II., p. 355 f.; Menant <i>Bab. et. Chald.</i> , p. 110, and <i>Manuel de la langue Assyrienne</i> (1880), p. 313; and Jensen. K.B., Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 110 f. Duplicates of the text are: Brit. Mus., Nos. 137 (brick) and 764 (brick). |
| 64. | Brit. Mus., No. 22,455.<br>[51-10-9, 146.] | Bronze knob engraved with the words "Palace of Hammurabi"; height $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., diameter in centre $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The text has has been published I R., plate 4, No. XV., 3, and by Menant, <i>Inscriptions</i> , pl. 6.   |

- | No. | Registration No.                     | Description.   |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|
| 65. | Brit. Mus., No. 22,456.<br>[N. 615.] | Bronze knob engraved with the words "Palace of Hāmmurabi"; height $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., diameter in centre $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. A drawing of the knob is published by Layard, <i>Nineveh and Babylon</i> (1853), p. 477.   |
| 66. | Brit. Mus., No. 22,454.              | Portion of a limestone slab, $14\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ in., on which is sculptured in relief a draped and bearded figure; to the right of the slab are parts of two columns of an inscription, measuring 5 in. $\times$ $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $6\frac{3}{8}$ in.; 10 + 10 lines. Inscription referring to Hāmmurabi, king of <i>Mar[tu]</i> . The text has been published by Winckler, <i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> , II. (1894), plate 1 f., and referred to by him, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 145 f. |
| 67. | N. 1667.                             | Fragment of black basalt, 2 in. $\times$ $3\frac{7}{8}$ in., engraved with part of an inscription referring to Hāmmurabi; 11 lines. The text has been published by Lenormant, <i>Choix de textes cunéiformes</i> (1873), p. 9, No. 7.  |
| 68. | 80-11-12, 329.                       | Portion of tablet of baked clay; 3 in $\times$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 6 + 8 lines. Neo-Babylonian copy of an Old Babylonian inscription, referring to Sumulailu, Samsuiluna, and Hāmmurabi. The text has been published by Winckler, <i>Altor. Forsch.</i> , II., Plate 4.  |
| 69. | Bu. 88-5-12, 48.                     | Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 19 + 1 + 14  |

LXVIII LIST OF LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

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No.	Registration No.	Description.
		lines. Inscription engraved by Gimil-Marduk, the judge, the son of Mini-Šamaš, in honour of the god Šamaš, for the life of Ammizaduga.
<b>70.</b>	Brit. Mus., No. 26,295.	Nearly complete tablet of baked clay; $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. $\times$ $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 14 + 11 lines. Neo-Babylonian copy of an inscription of Mardukšāpikzērim; according to the colophon the copy was made in the 15th year of Kandalanu, <i>i.e.</i> , in 633 B.C.





The  
Babylonian Texts.

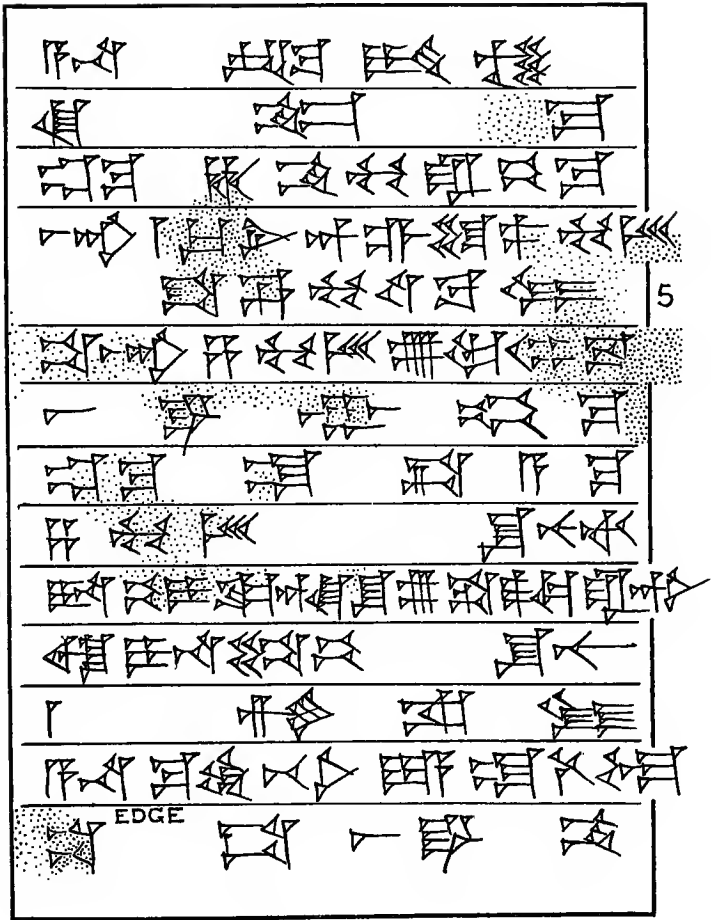




No. 1.

[BRIT MUS., No. 12812]

OBVERSE

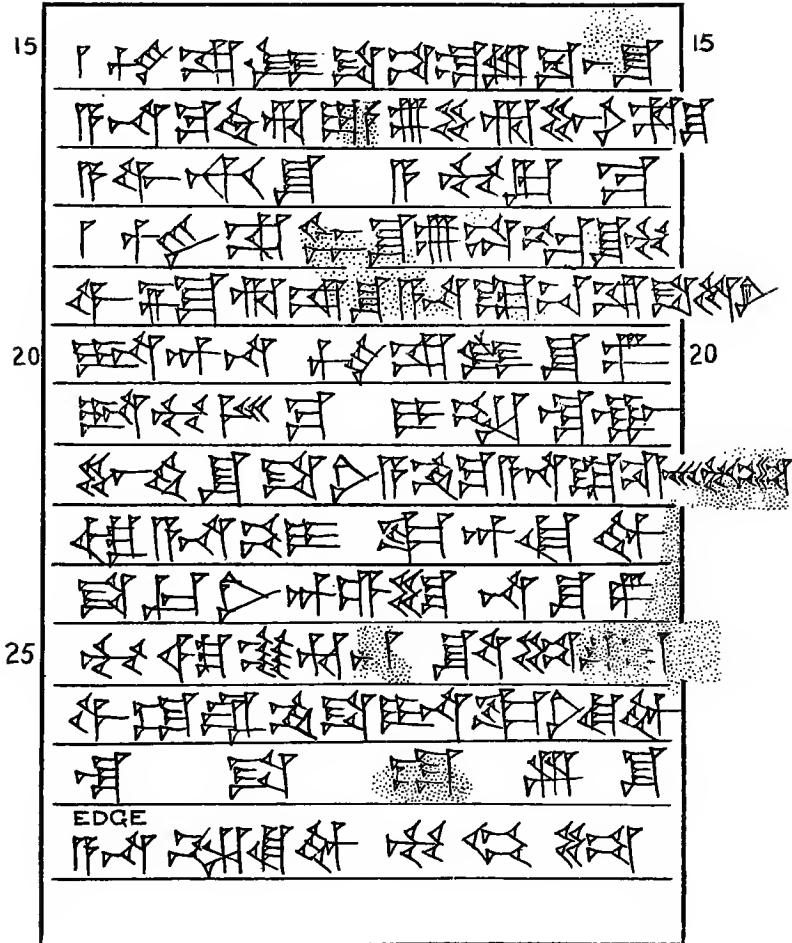




No. 1.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12612.]

REVERSE.

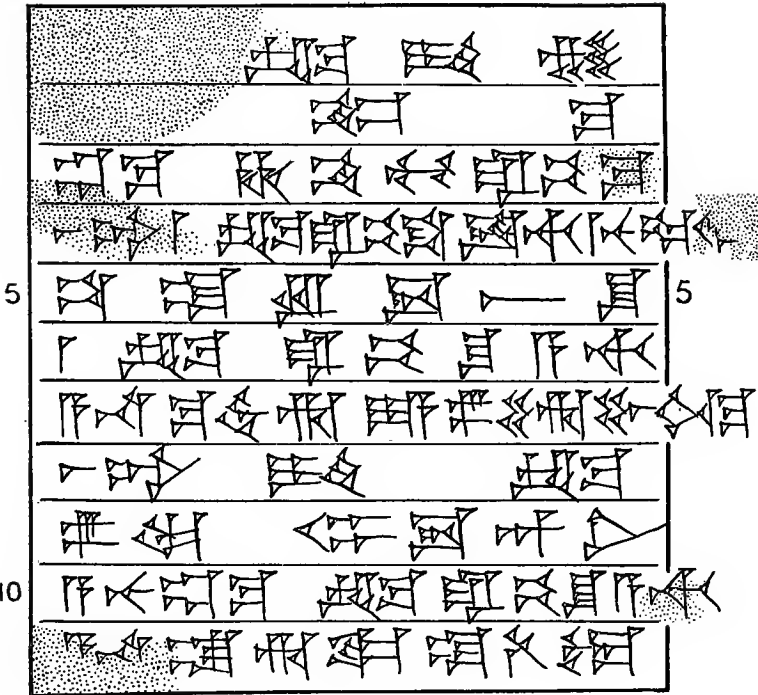




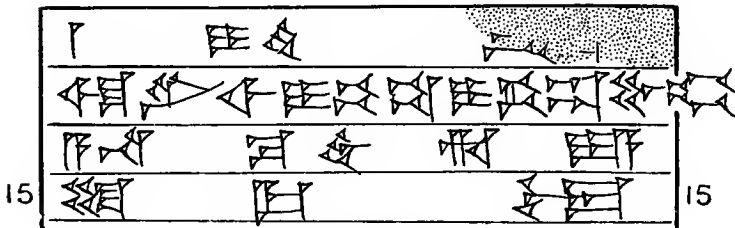
No. 2.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12815.]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



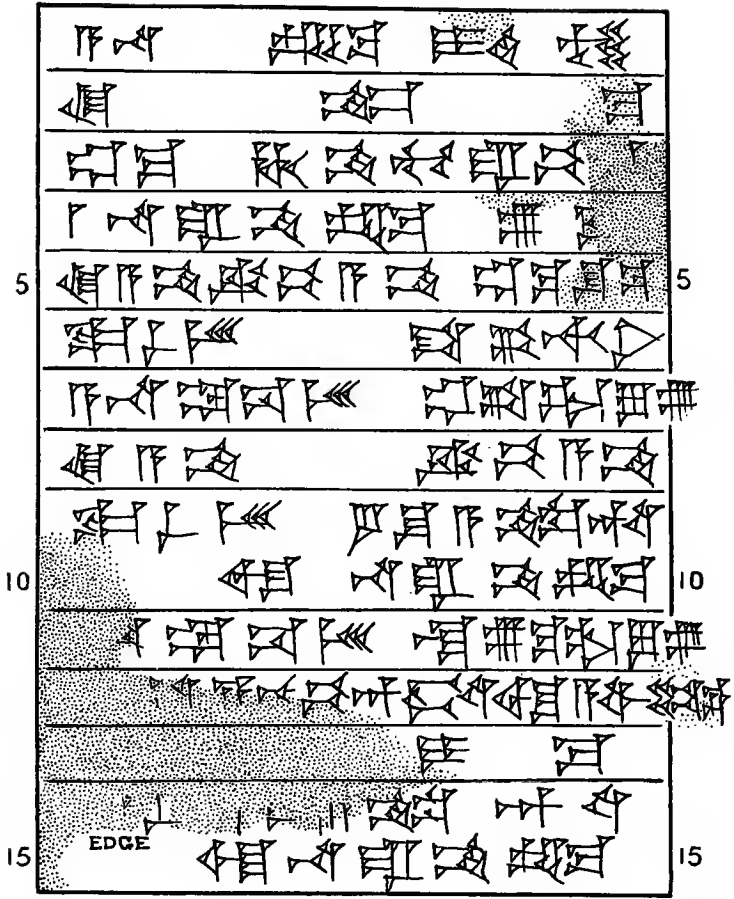
The rest of the reverse is unscribed.



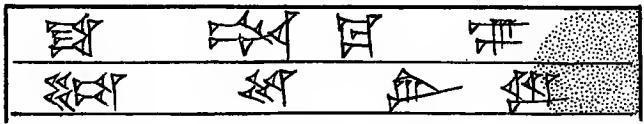
No. 3.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12816]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



The rest of the reverse is uninscribed.

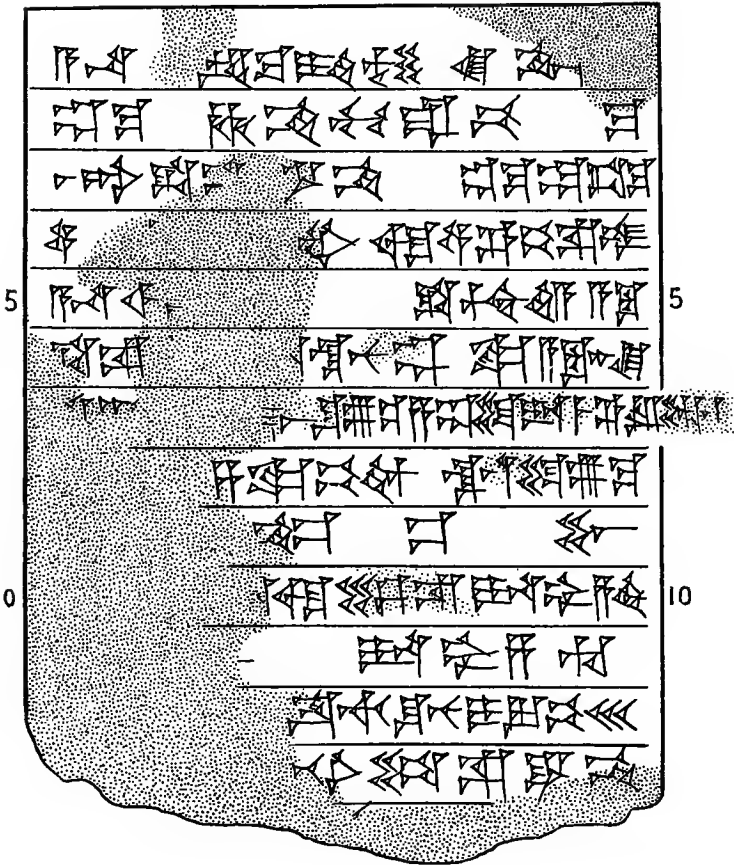




No. 4.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12817.]

OBVERSE.

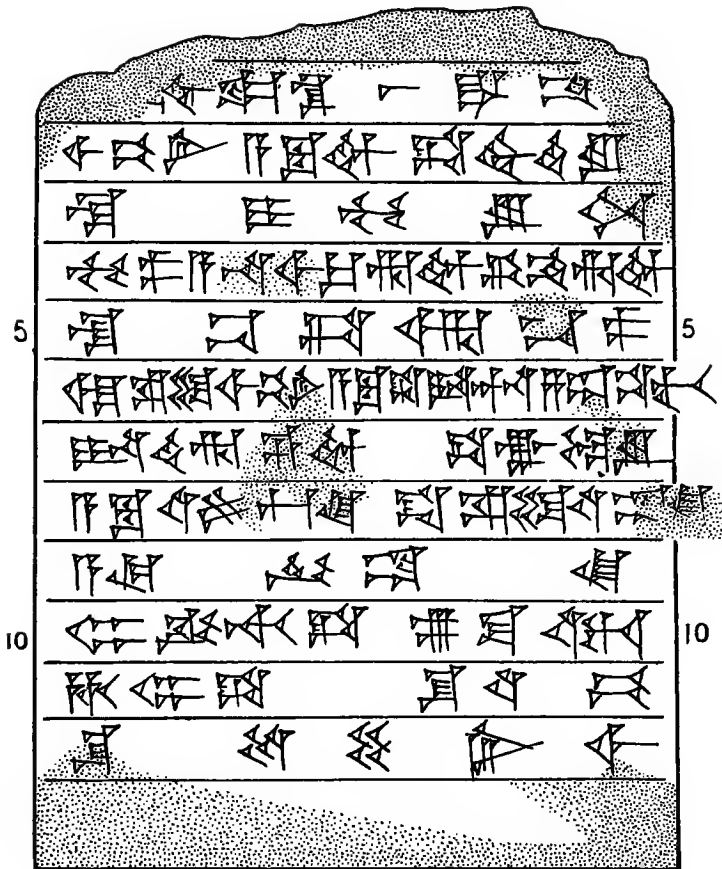




No. 4.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 12817.]

REVERSE.

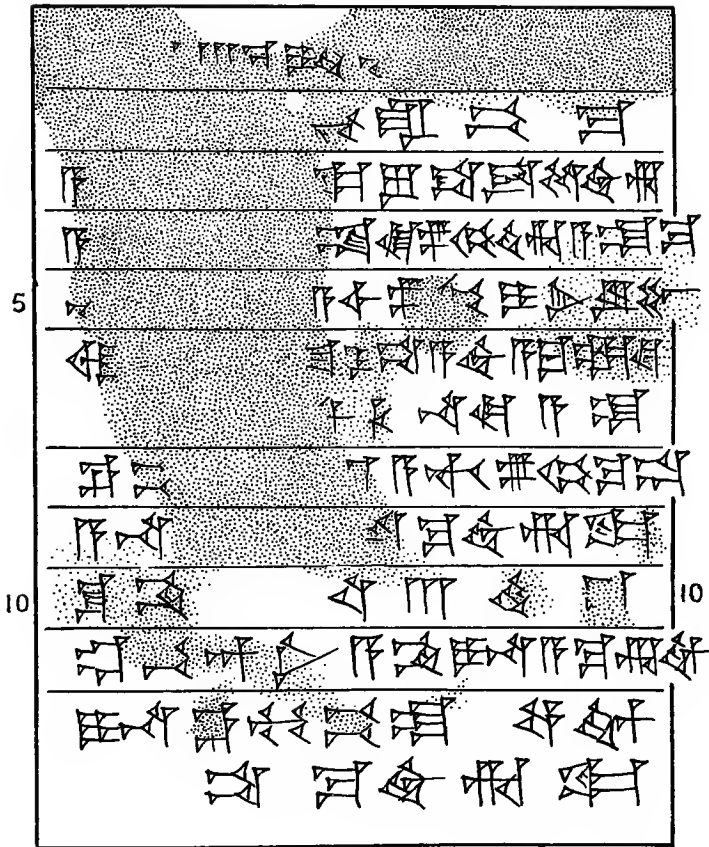




No. 5.

[BRIT. MUS. No. 12818.]

OBVERSE.

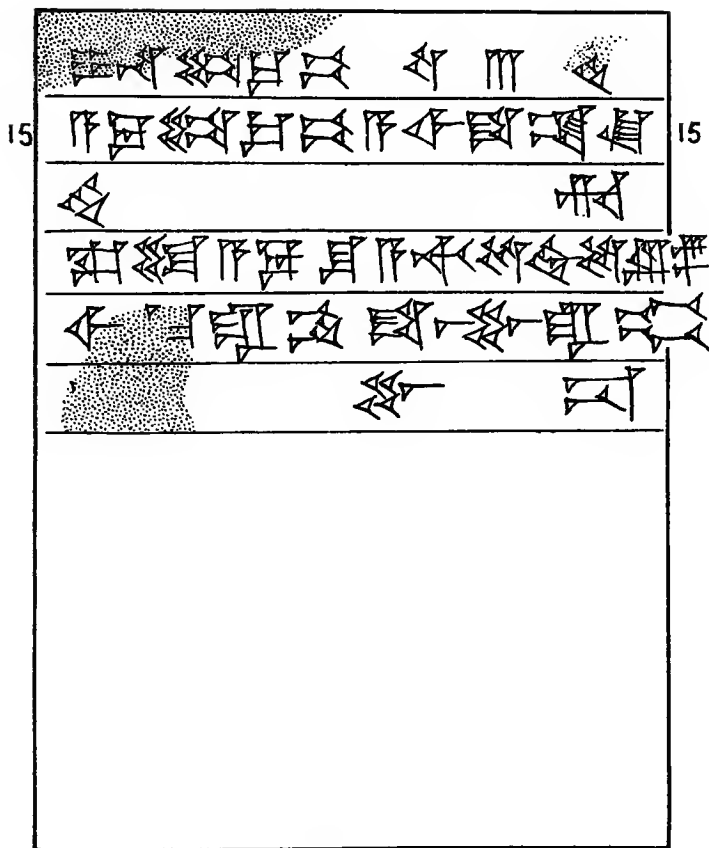




No. 5.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 12818.]

REVERSE



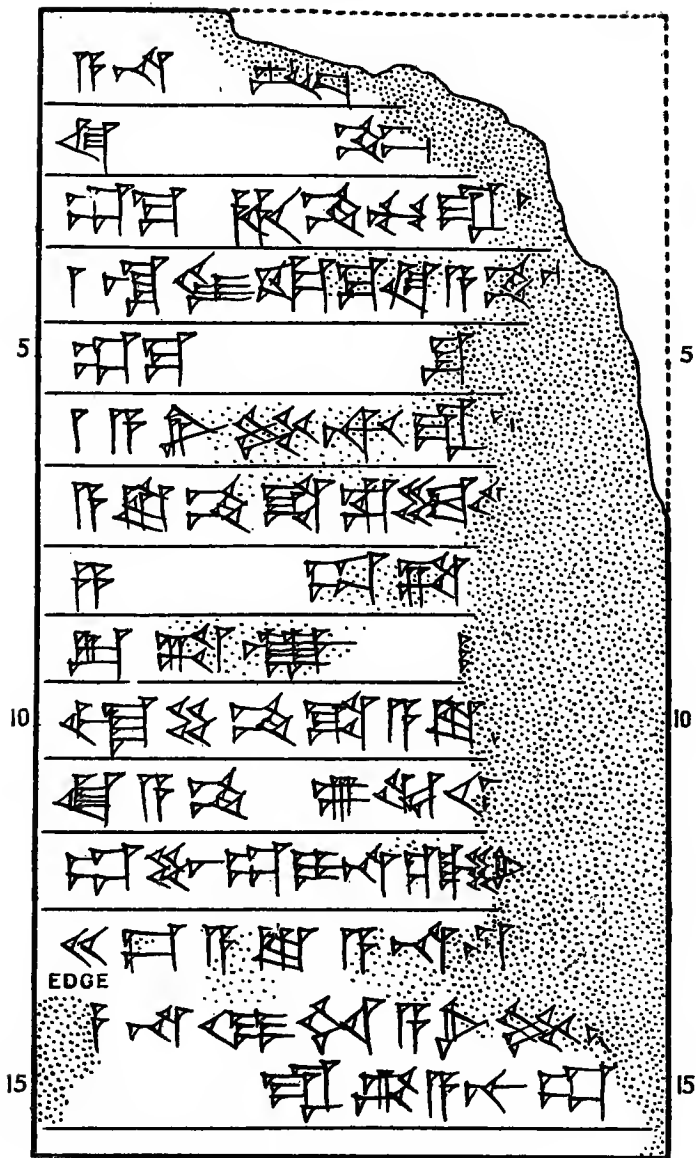




No. 6.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12821]

OBVERSE.

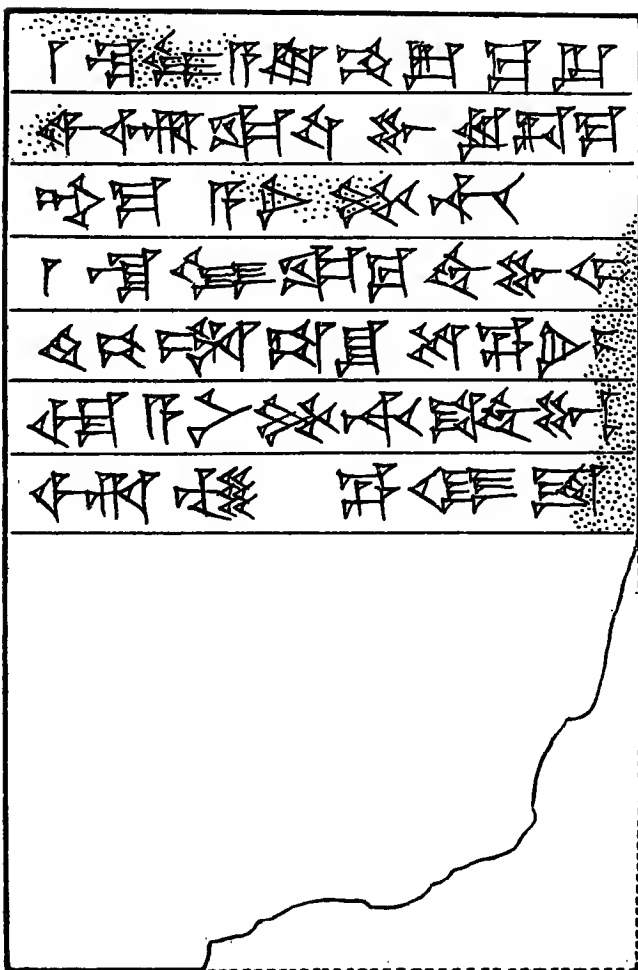




No. 6.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12821.]

REVERSE.

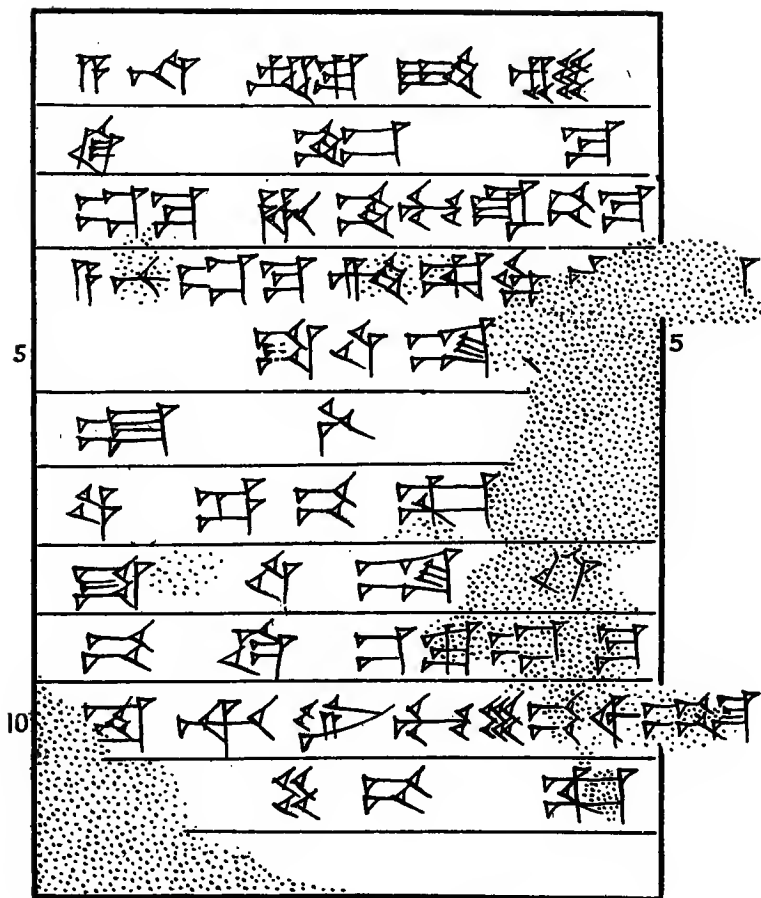




No. 7.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12B25.]

OBVERSE.



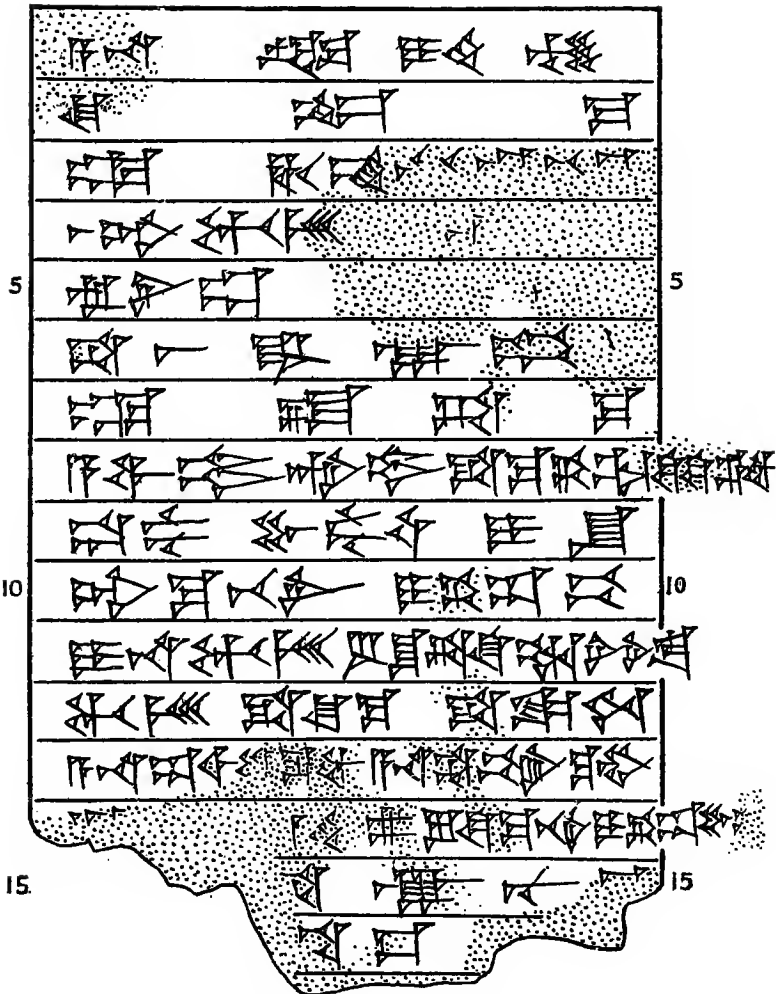
The reverse of the tablet is uninscribed.



No. 8.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12626]

OBVERSE.



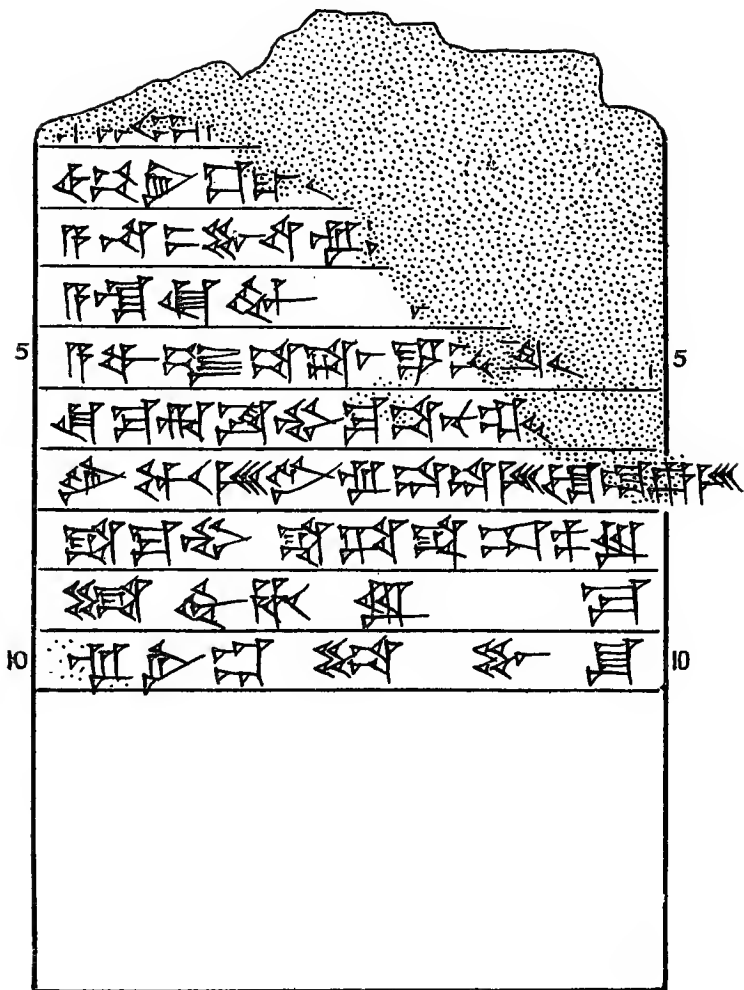




No. 8.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12826.]

REVERSE.





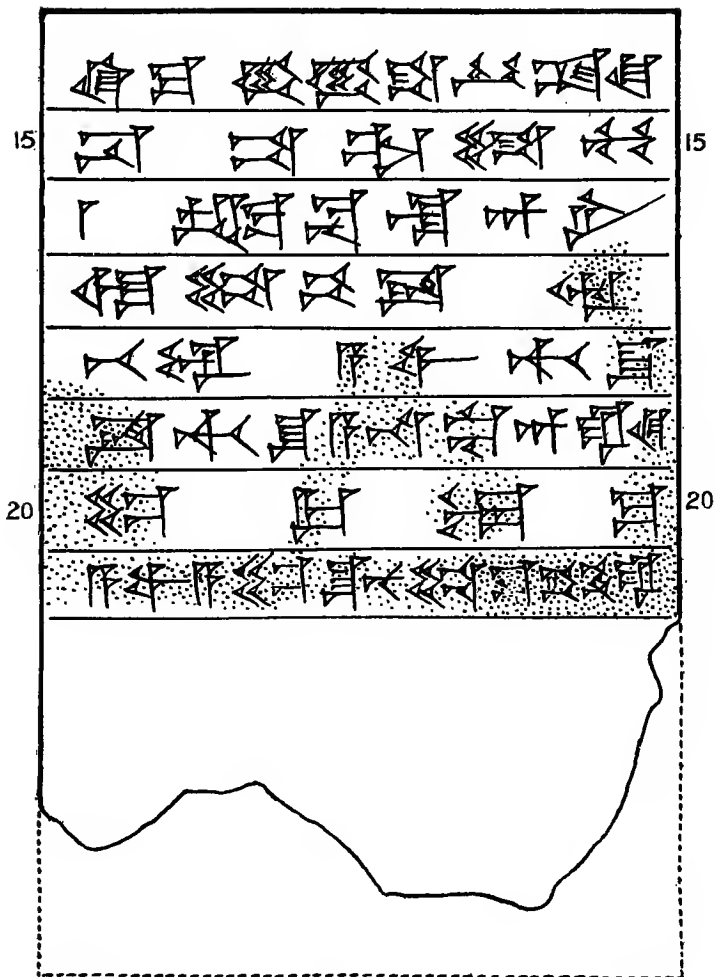


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No. 9.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12827.]

REVERSE.

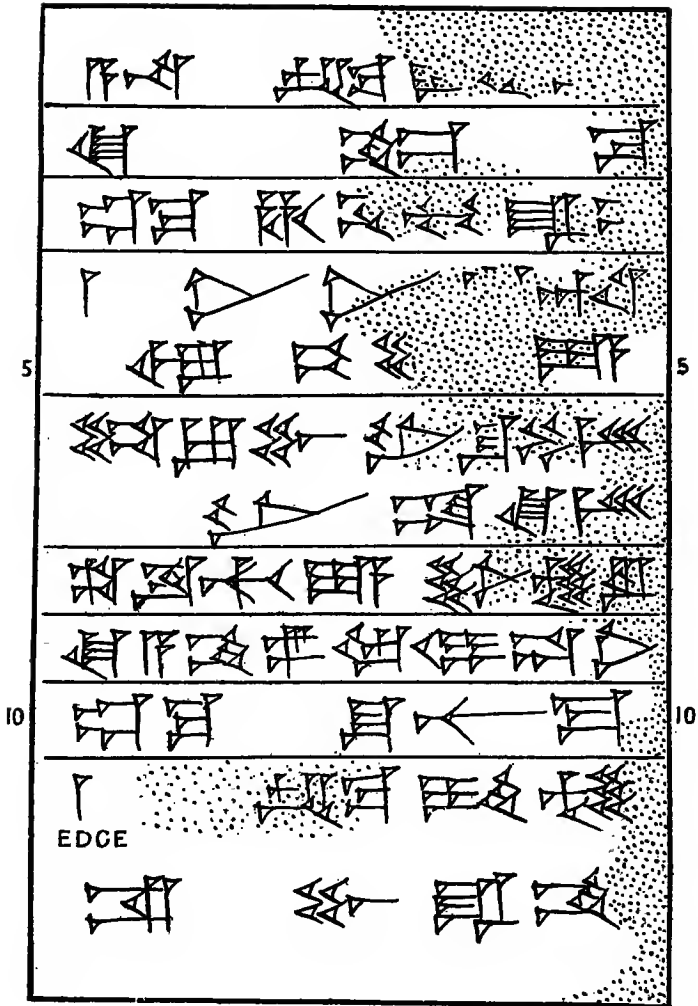




No. 10.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 12828.]

OBVERSE.



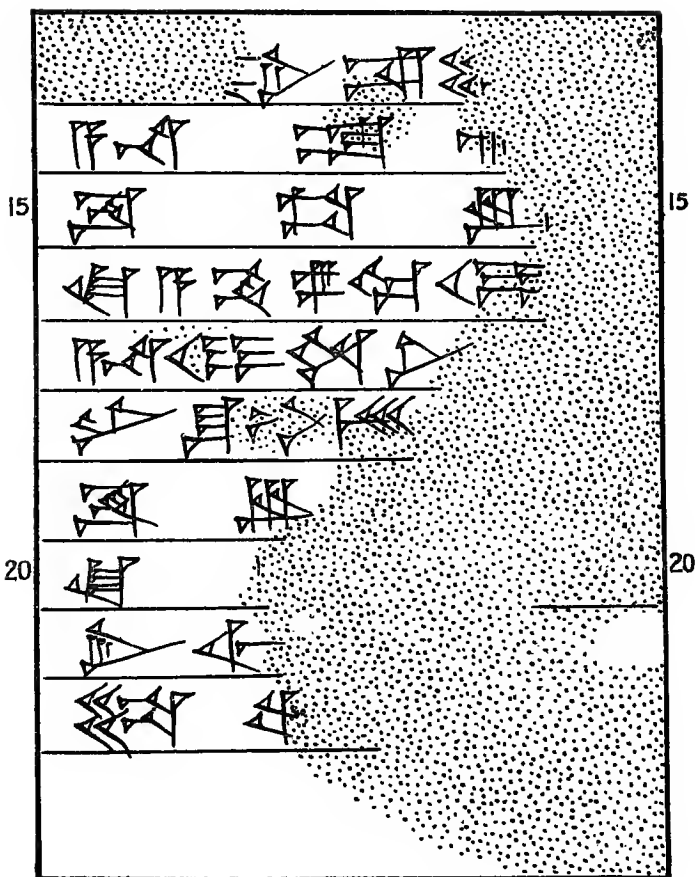




No. 10.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12828.]

REVERSE.

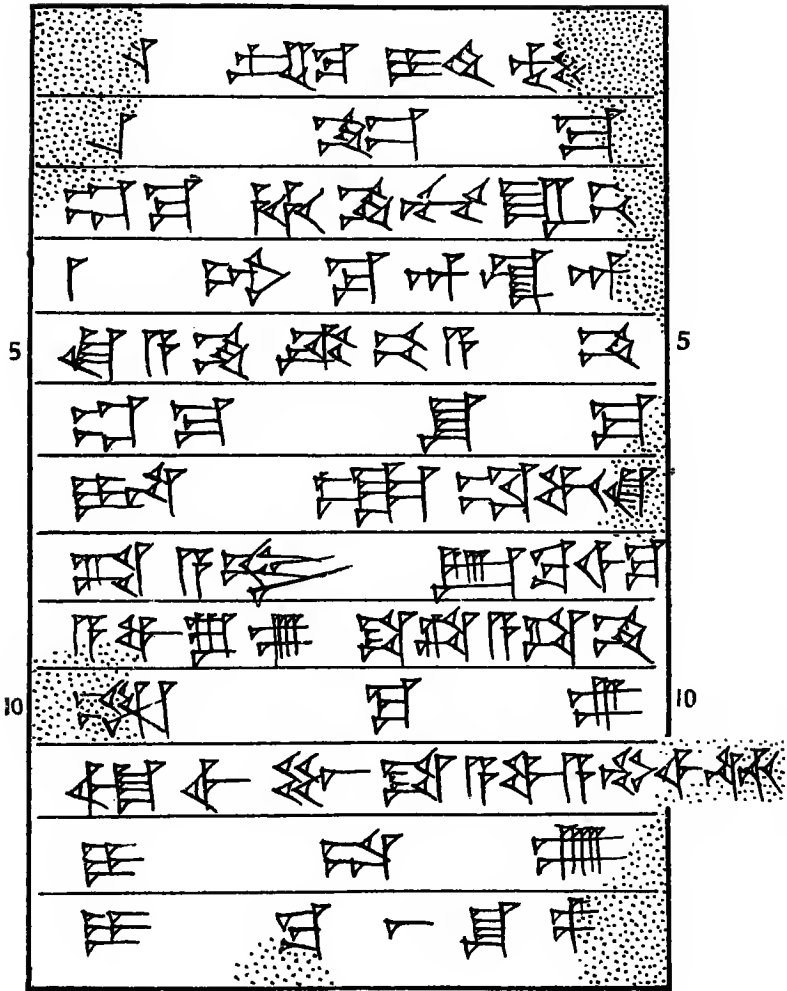




No. 11.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12829.]

OBVERSE.



LEFT SIDE.





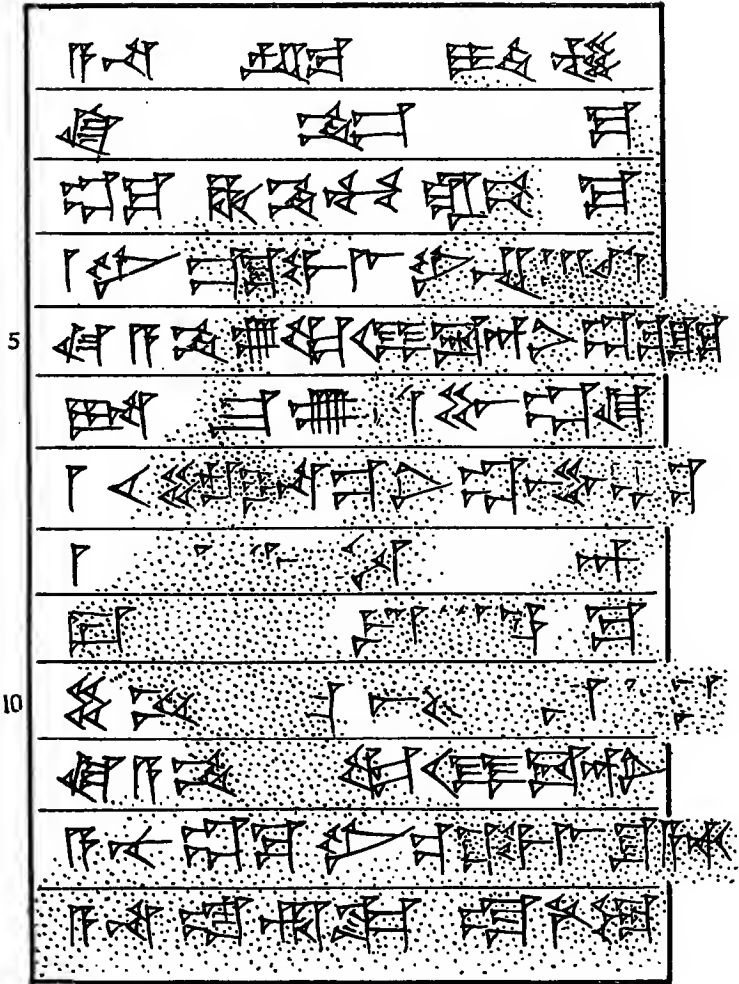




No. 12.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12830]

OBVERSE.



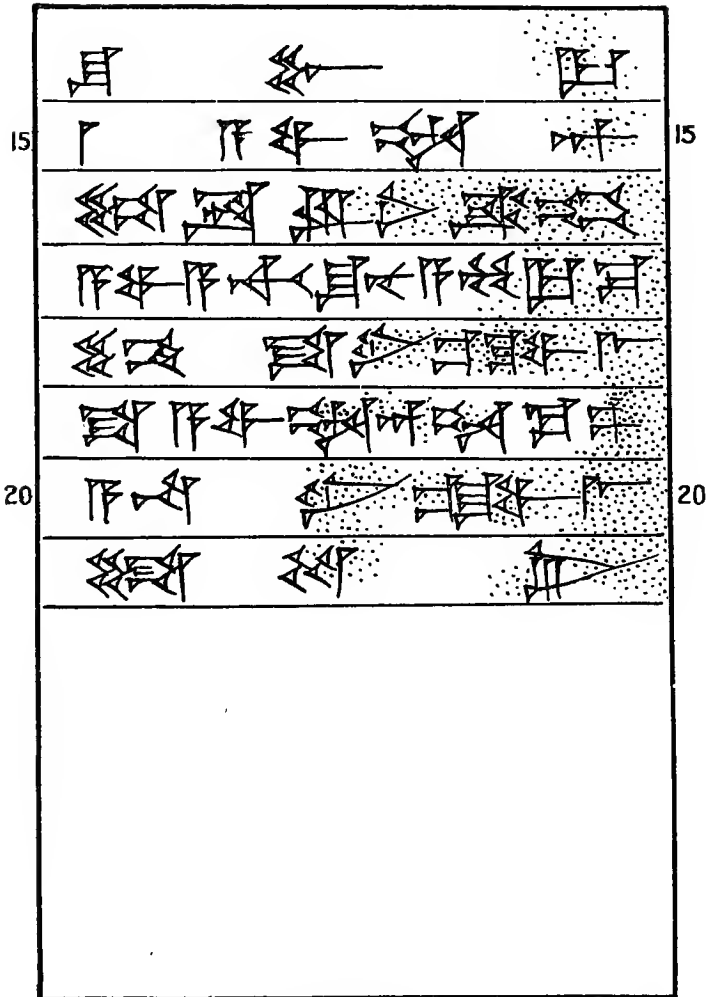




No. 12.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12830.]

REVERSE.

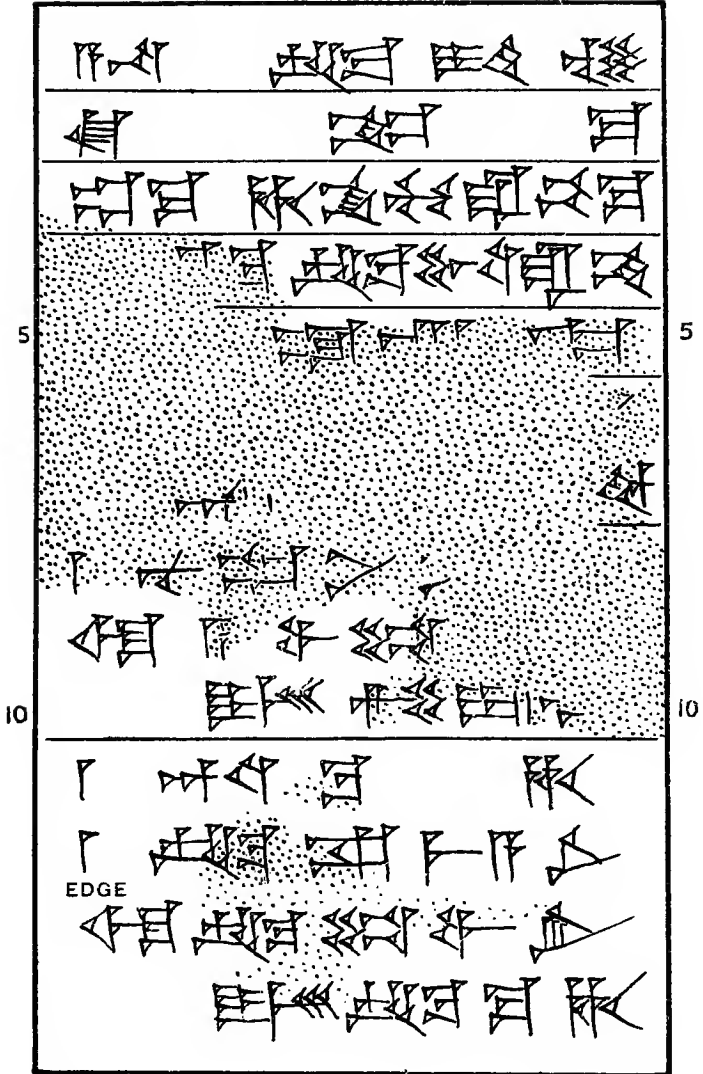




No. 13.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12832.]

OBVERSE.

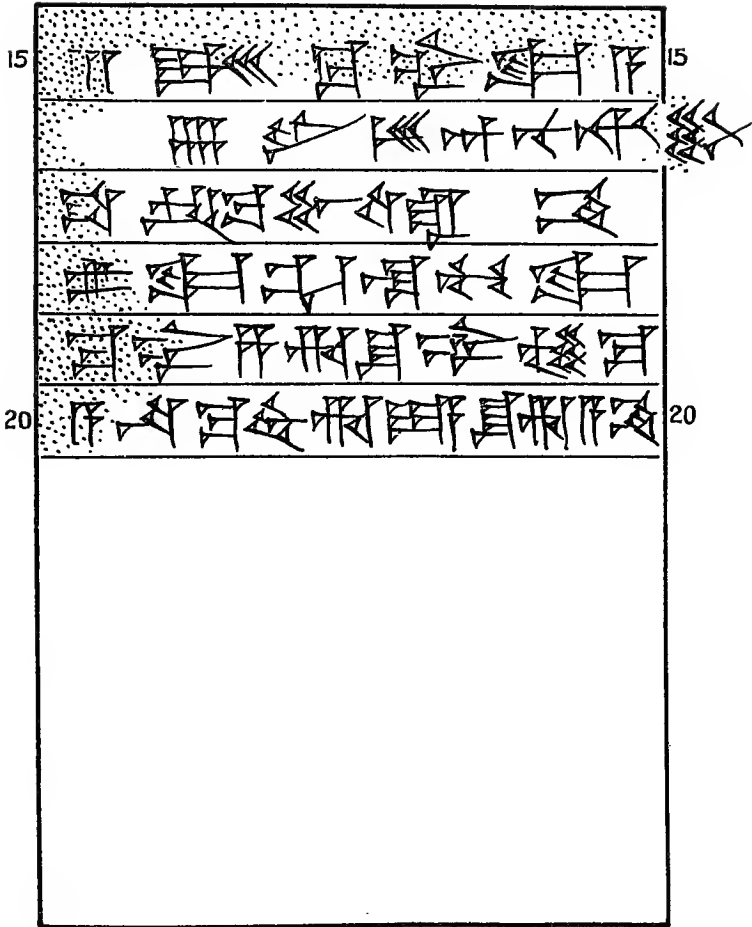




No. 13.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12832 ]

REVERSE.

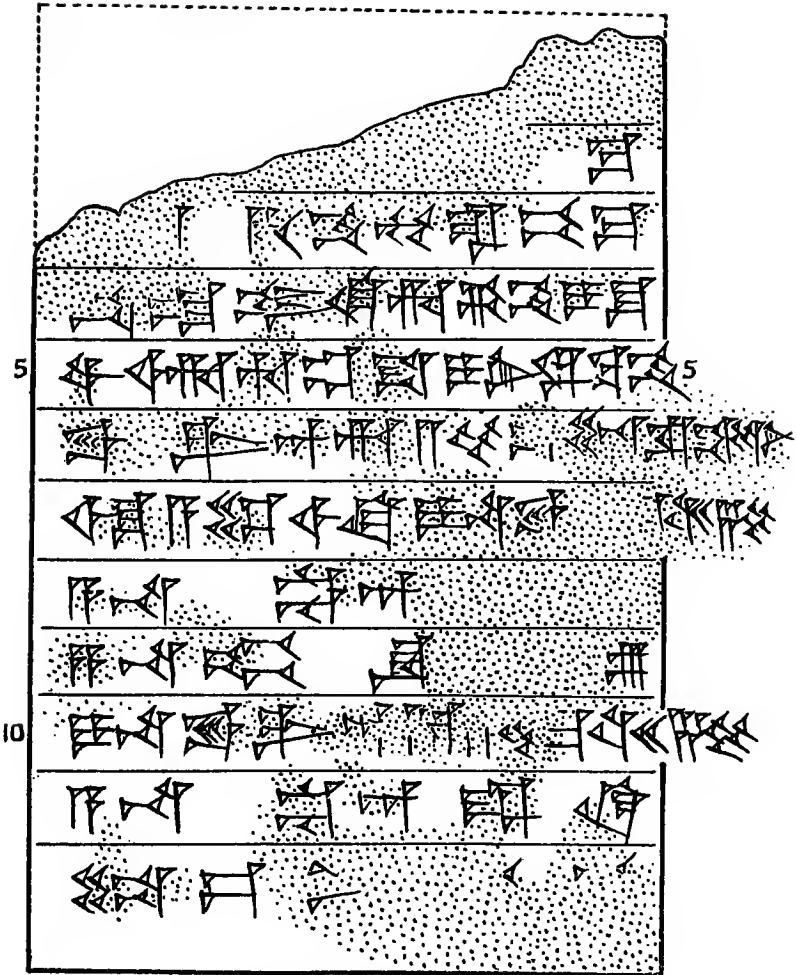




No. 14.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12835.]

OBVERSE.



The reverse of the tablet is unscribed.





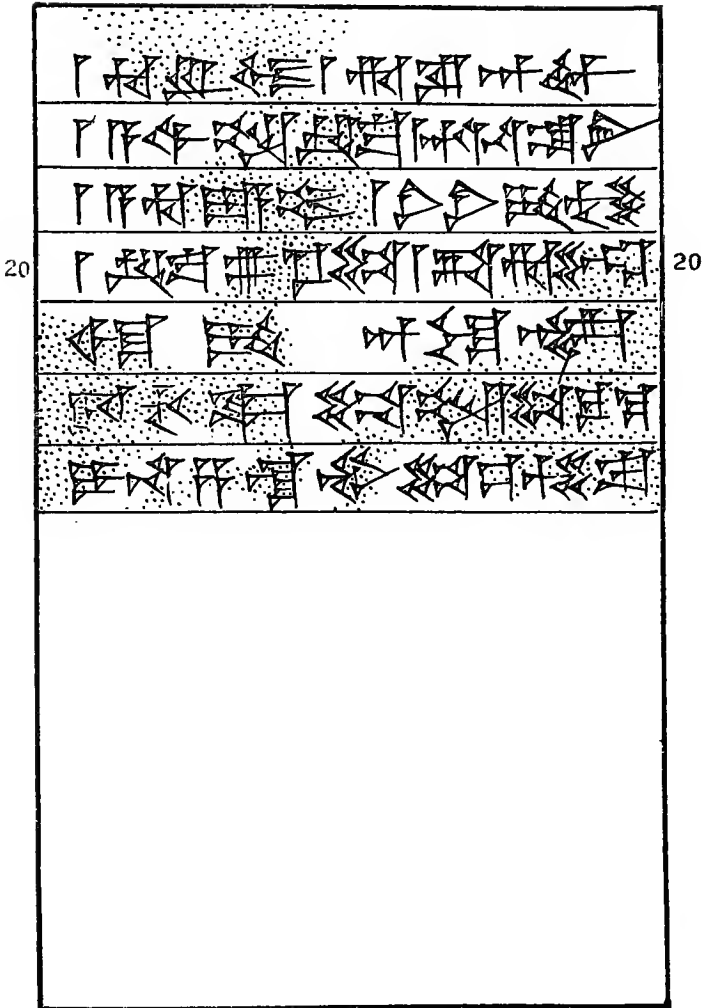




No. 15.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12837.]

REVERSE.

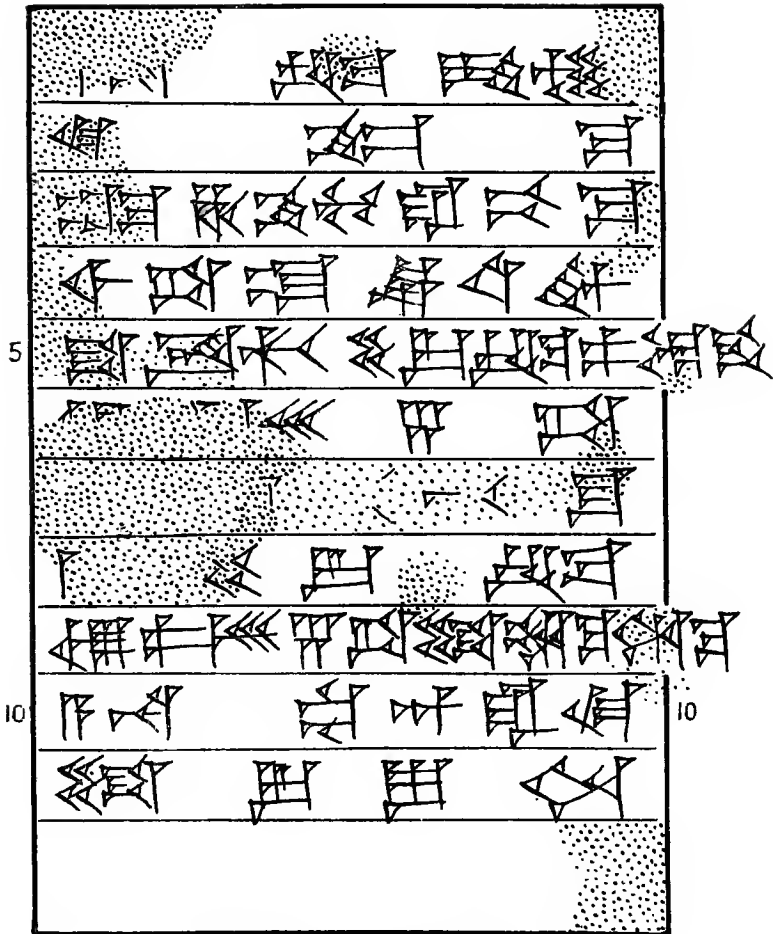




## No. 16.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12838]

OBVERSE.



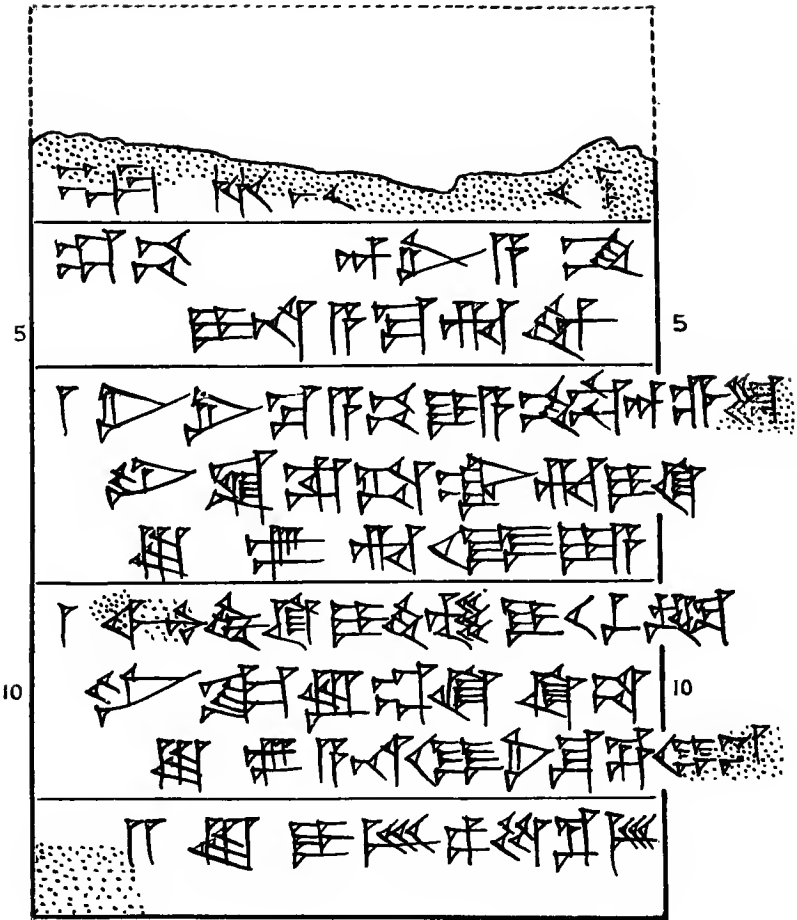
The reverse of the tablet is  
uninscribed.



No. 17.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12840.]

OBVERSE.



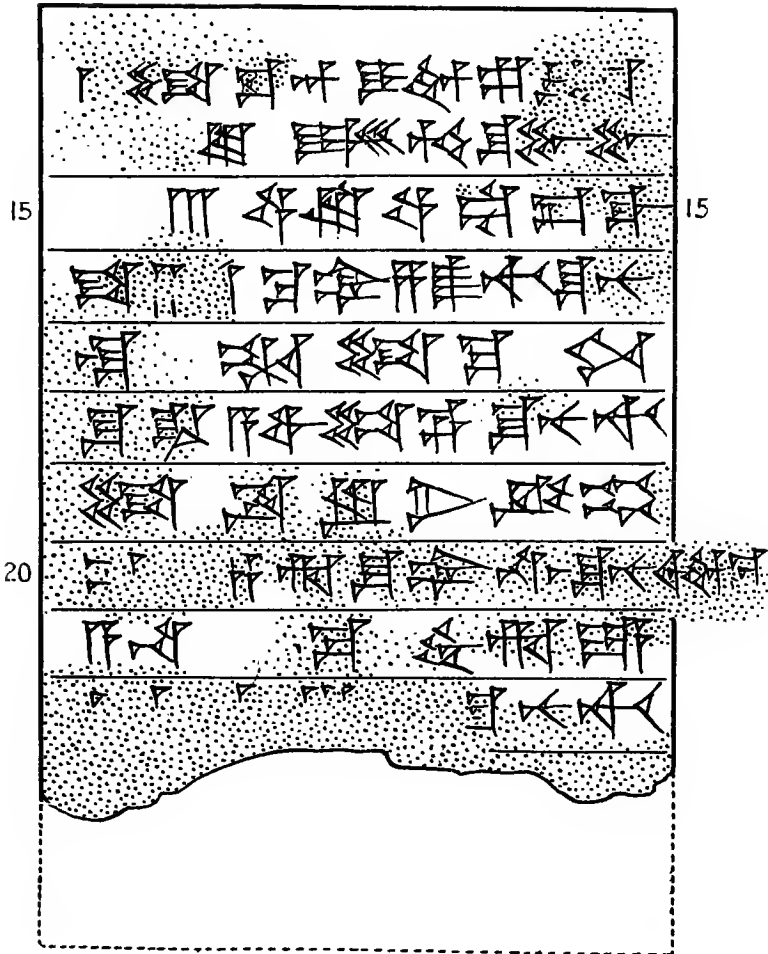




No. 17.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12840.]

REVERSE.

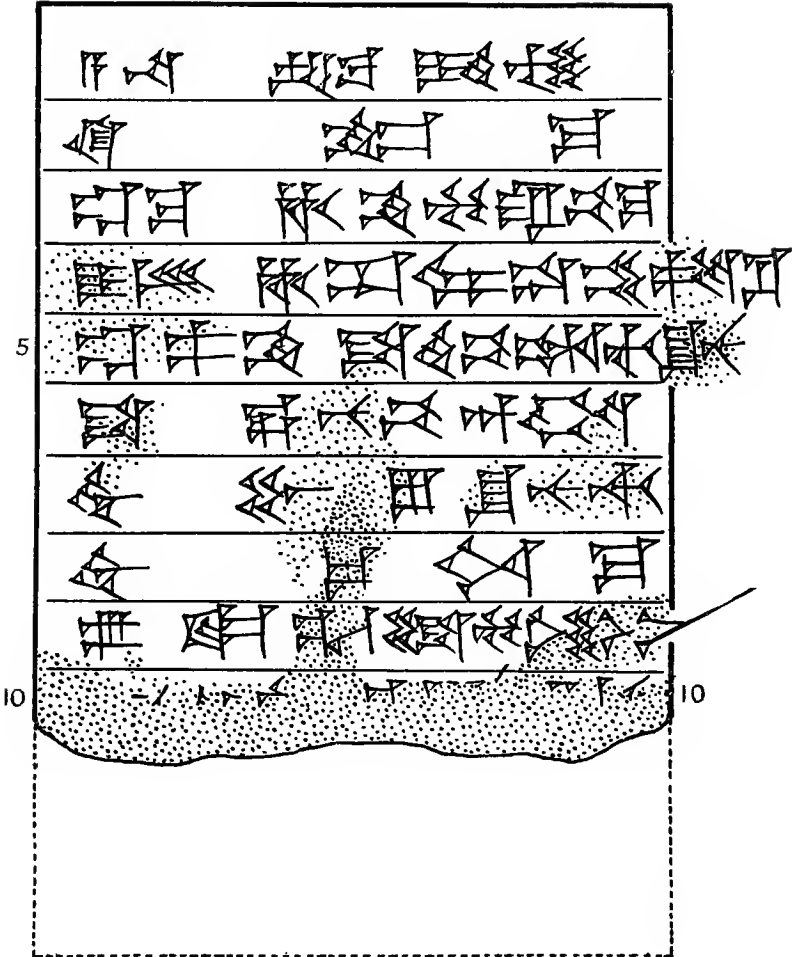




No. 18.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12841.]

OBVERSE.

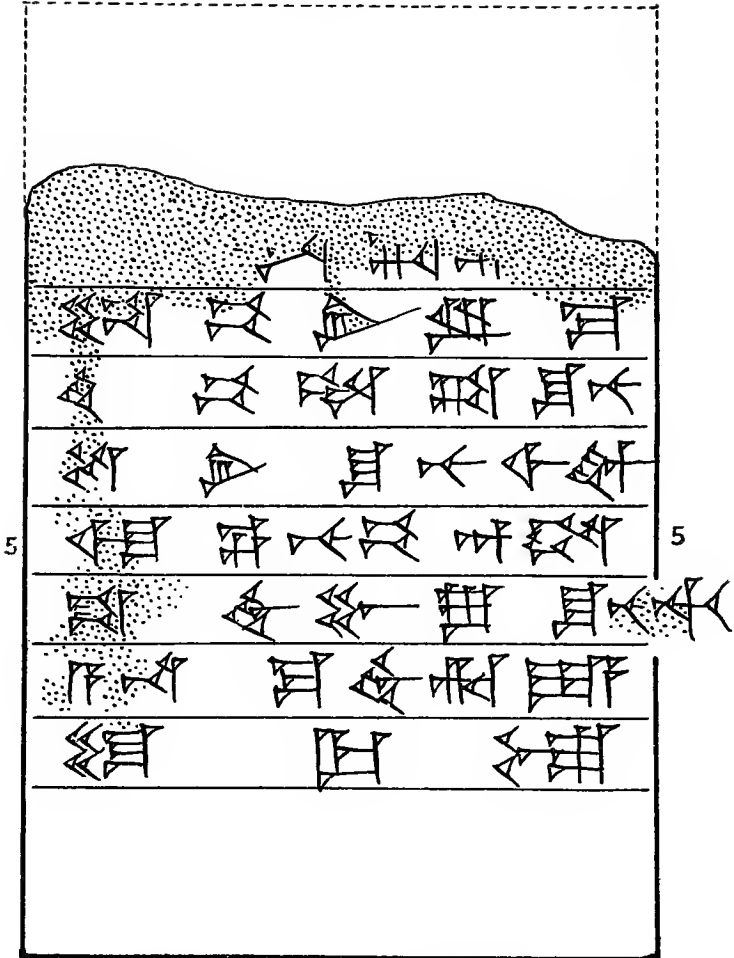




No. 18.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12841]

REVERSE.

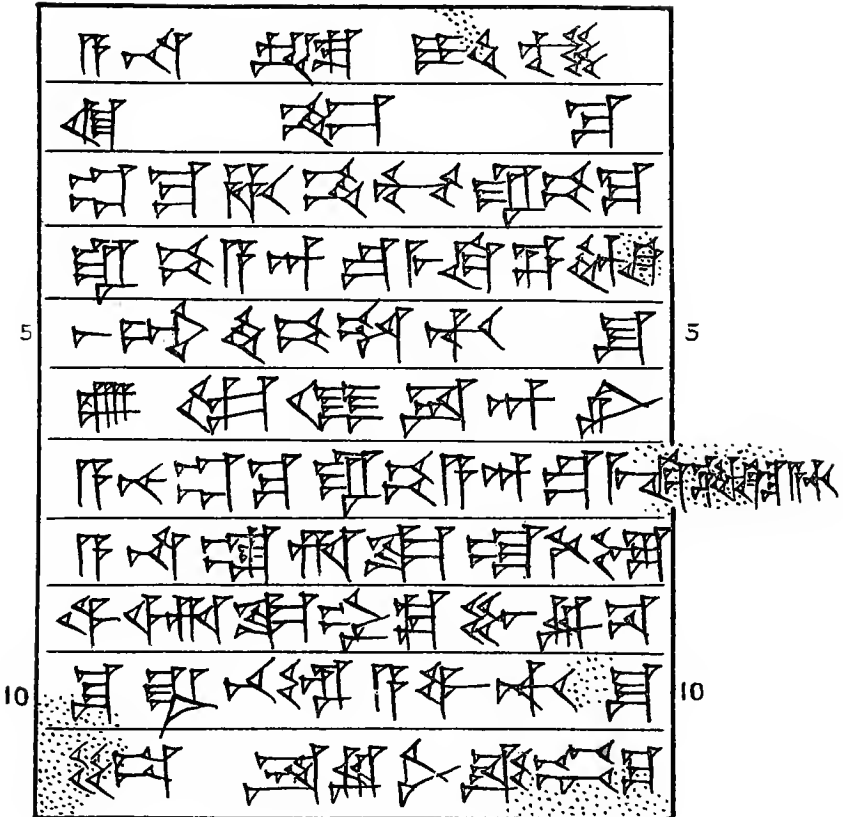




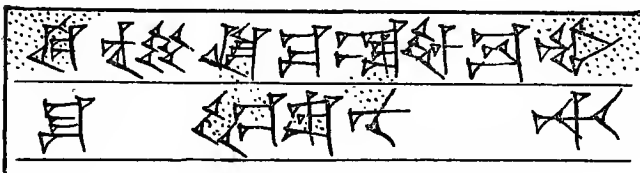
No. 19.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12846.]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



The rest of the reverse is uninscribed.

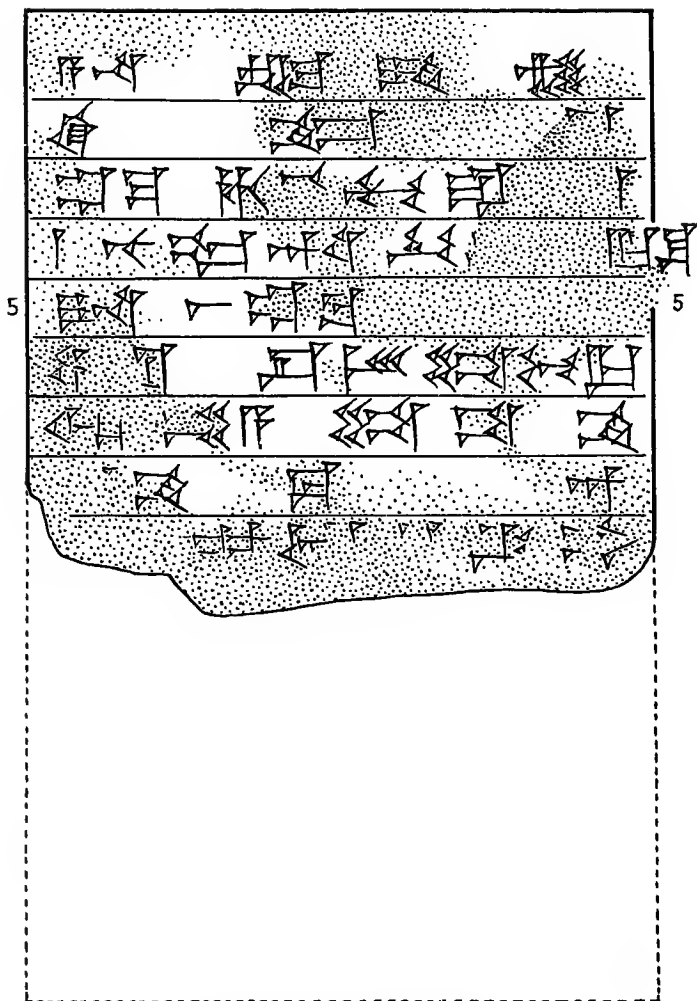




## No. 20.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12849.]

OBVERSE.



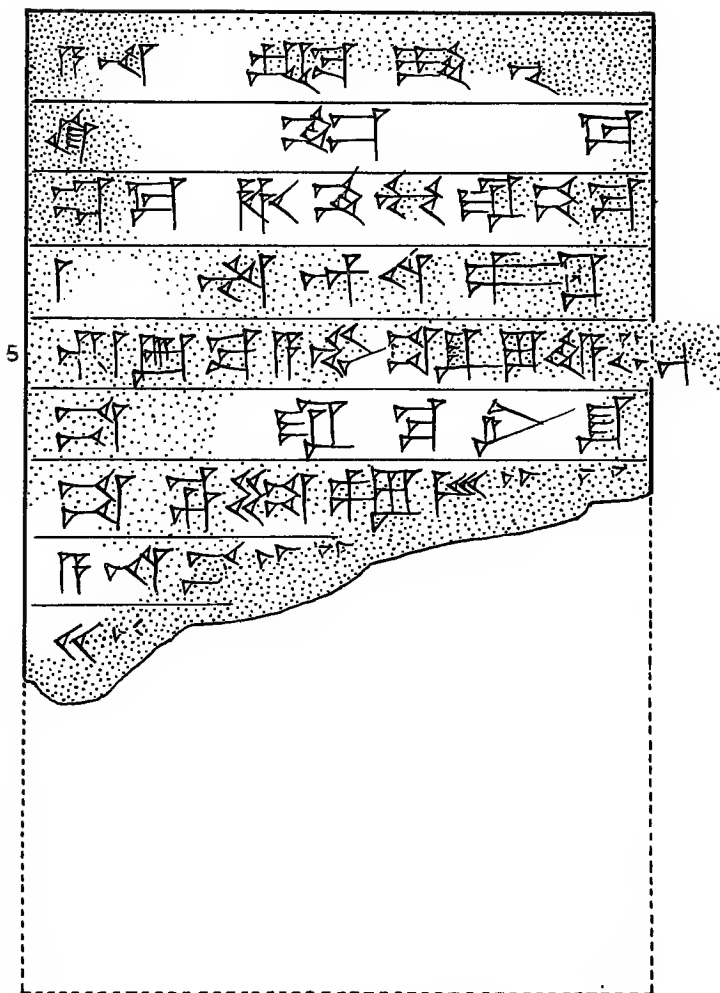
The reverse of the tablet is  
uninscribed.



No. 21.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12862.]

OBVERSE.



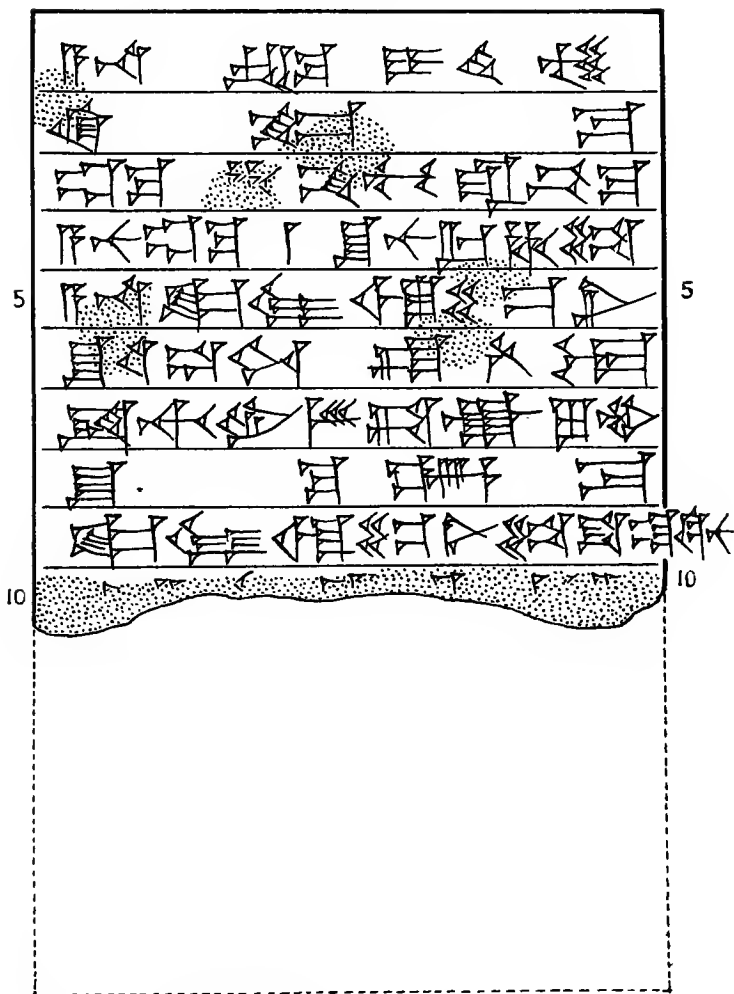
The reverse of the tablet is  
uninscribed.



No. 22.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12955.]

OBVERSE.

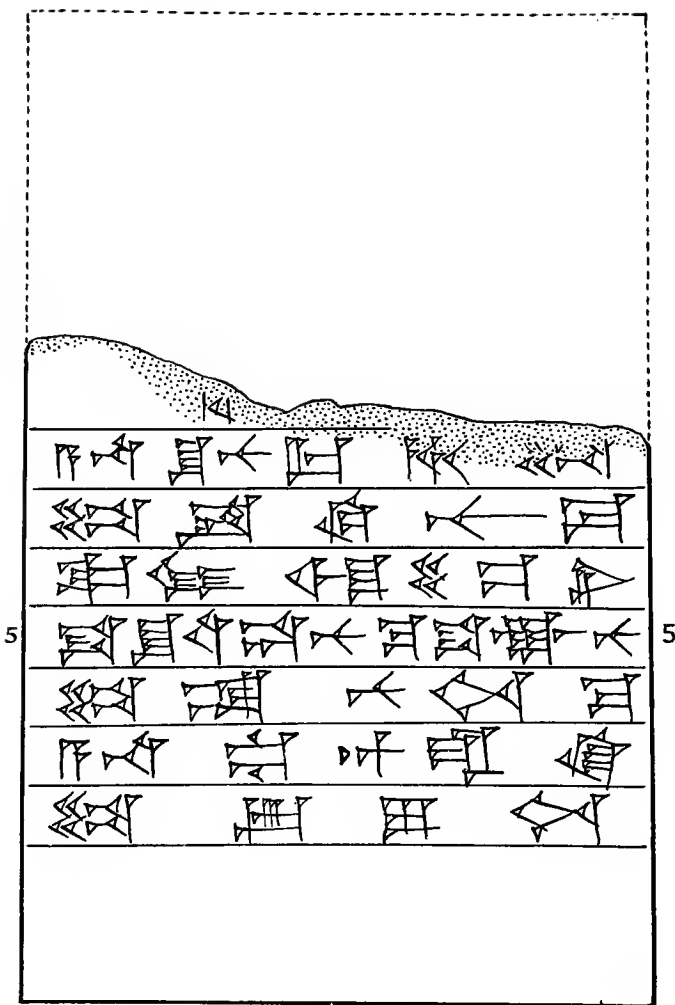




No. 22.

[BRIT. MUS., No 12855.]

REVERSE.



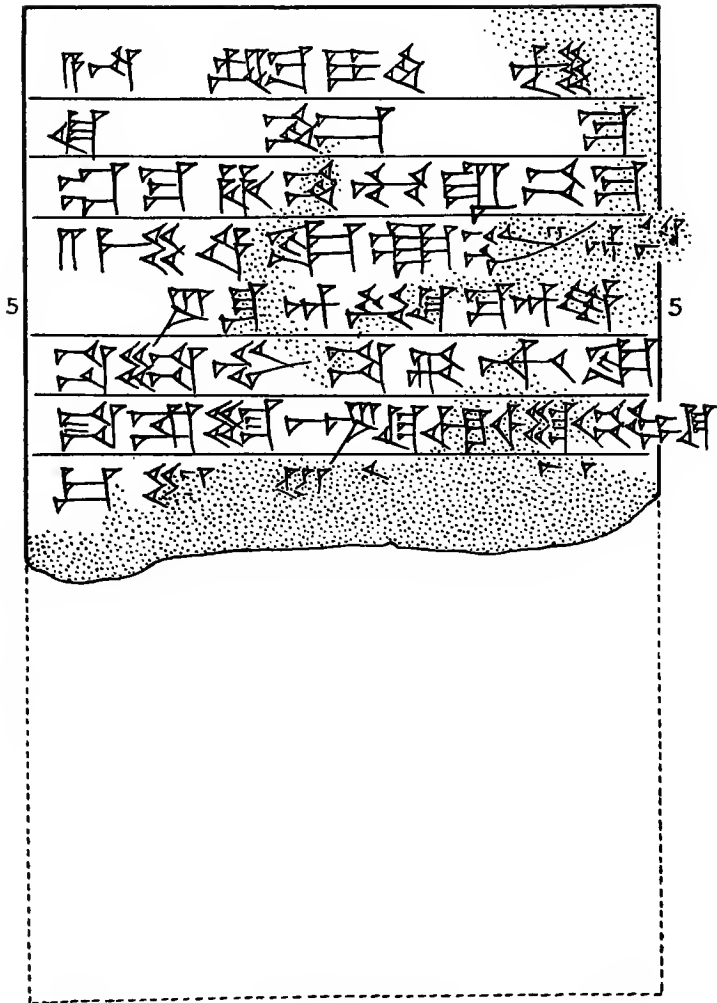




No. 23.

[BRIT. Mus., No 12863]

OBVERSE.

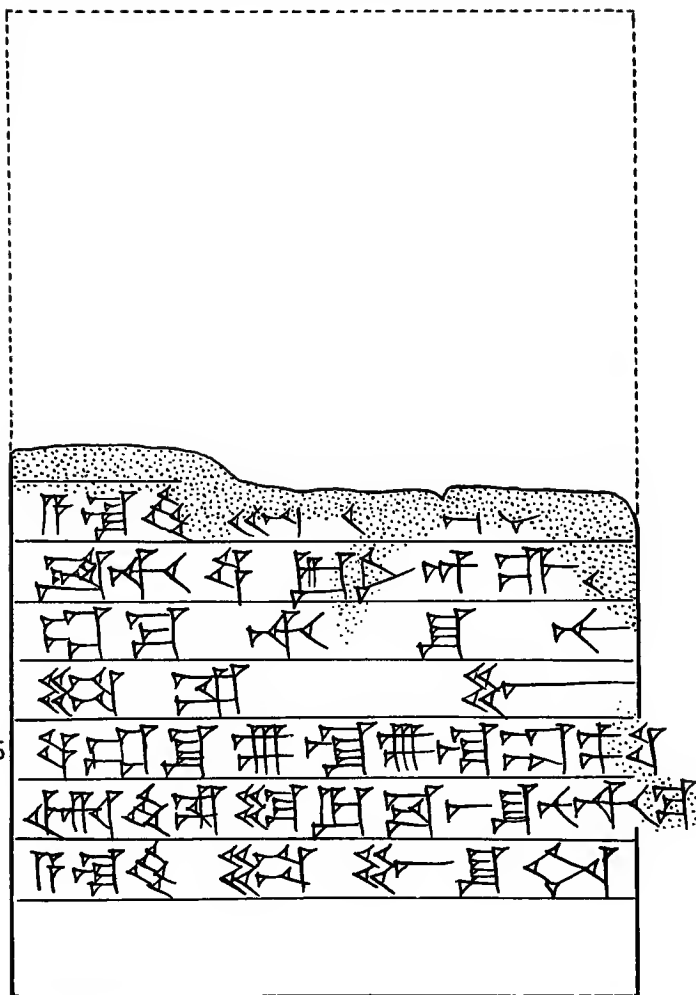




No. 23.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12863.]

REVERSE.

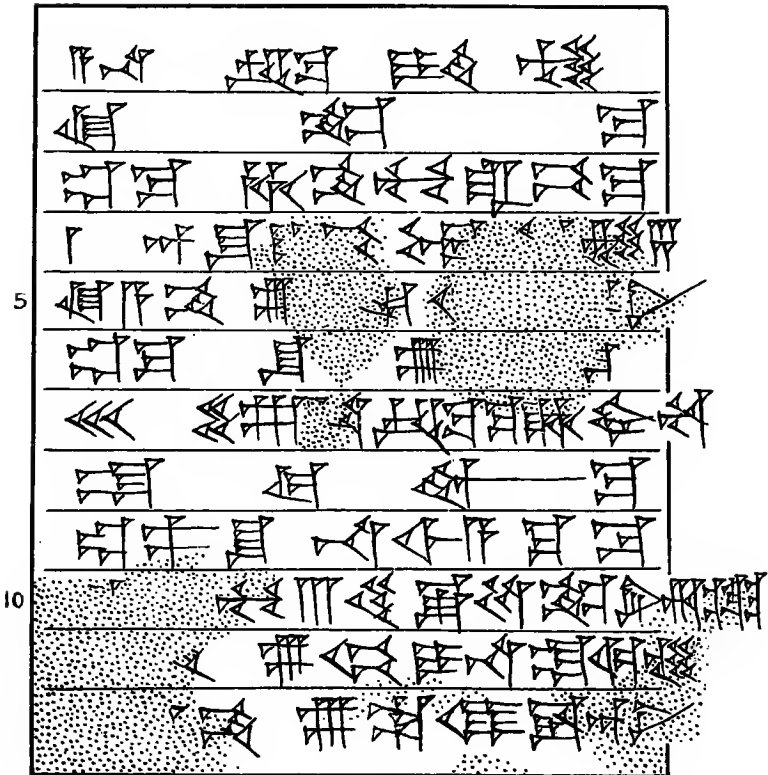




No. 24.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12864 ]

OBVERSE.

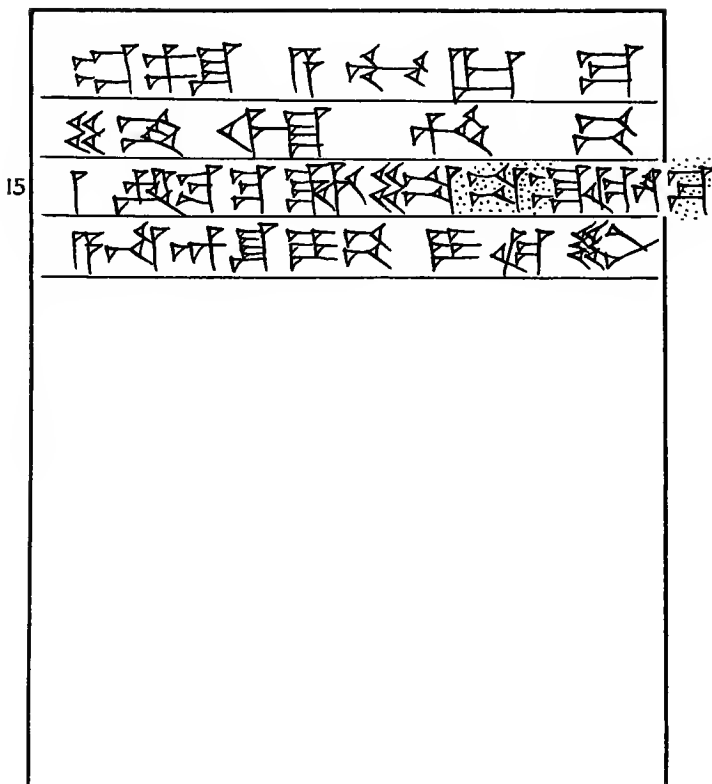




No. 24.

[Brit. Mus., No 12864.]

REVERSE



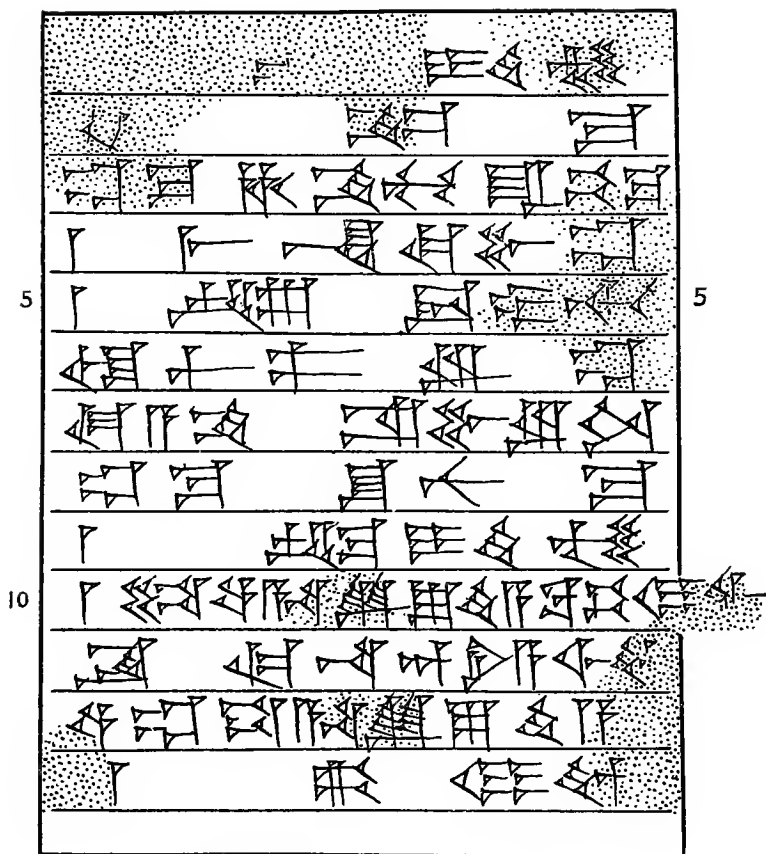




No. 25.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 15329 ]

OBVERSE.

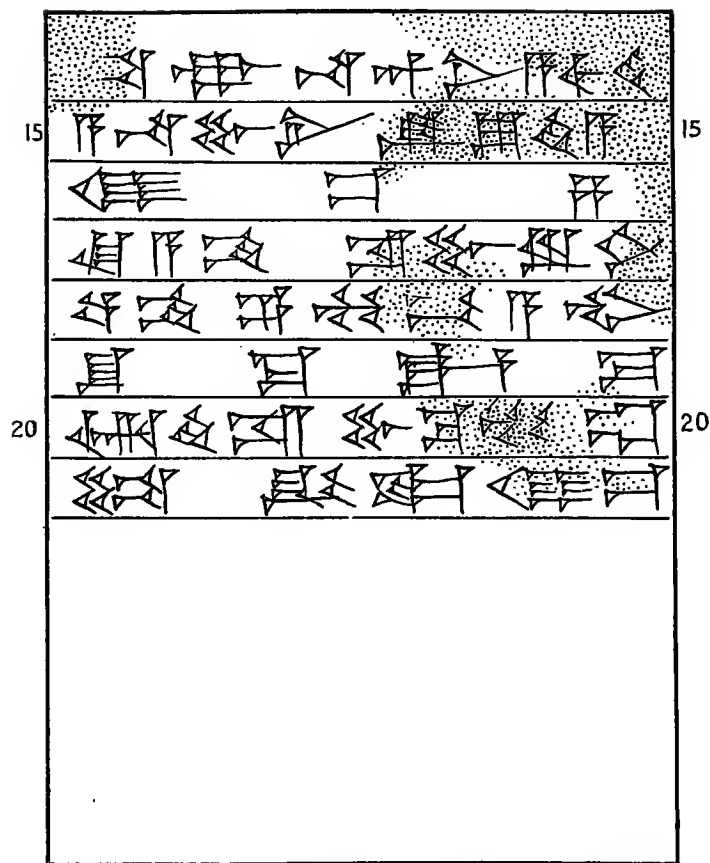




No. 25.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 16329.]

REVERSE.

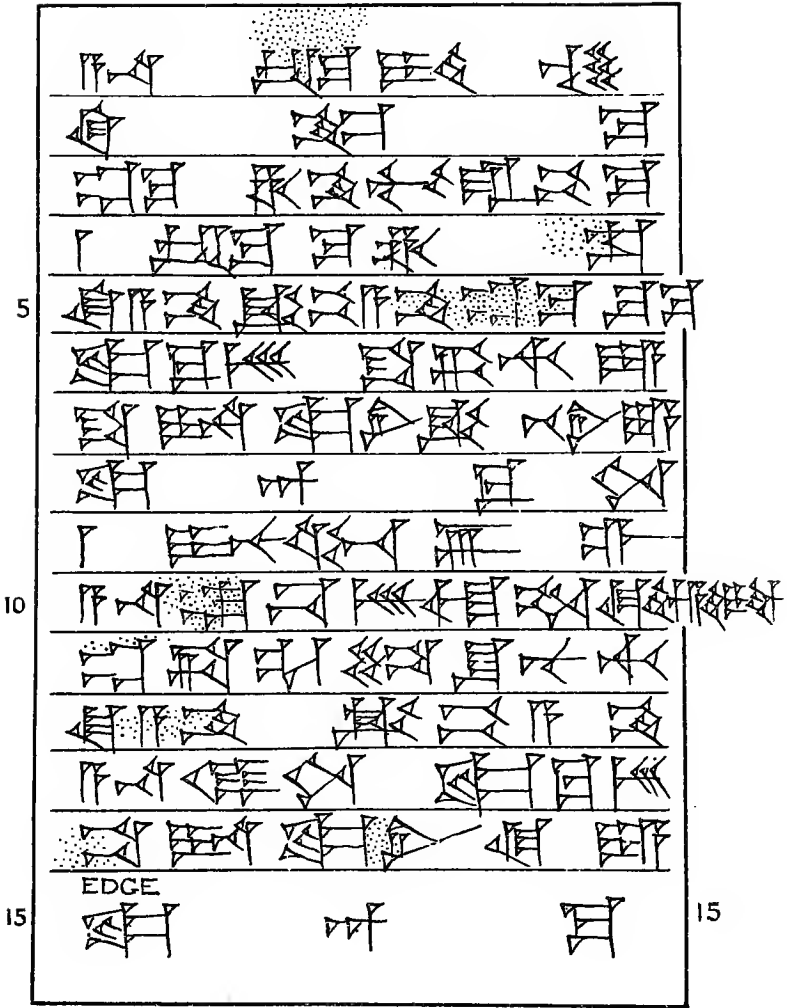




No. 26.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 15842.]

OBVERSE.

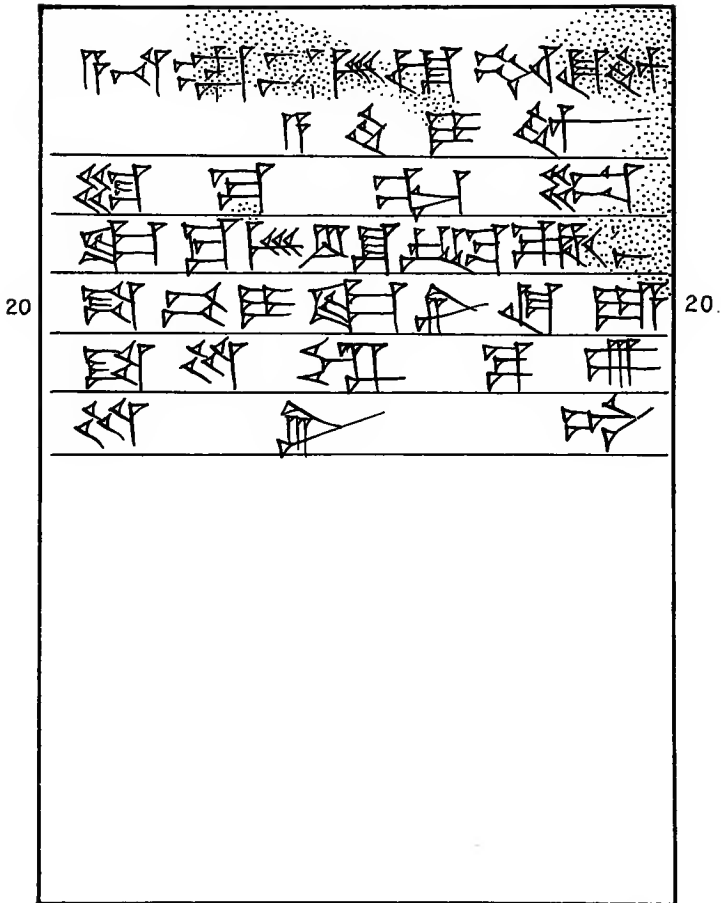




No. 26.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 16348.]

REVERSE.



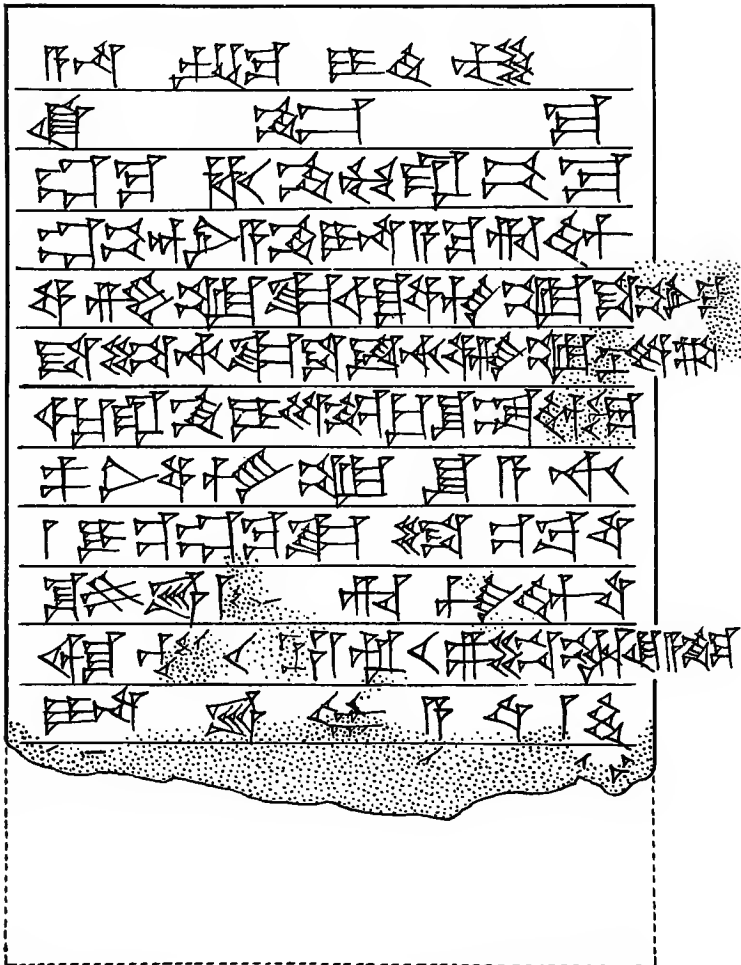




No. 27.

[BRIT Mus., No. 15862.]

OBVERSE.

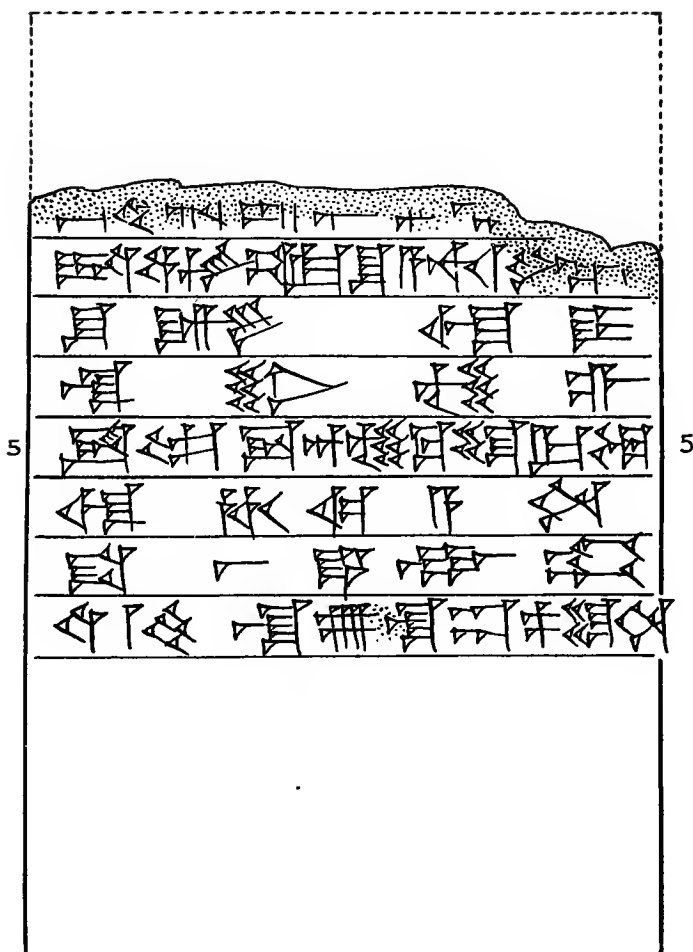




No. 27.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 15882.]

REVERSE.

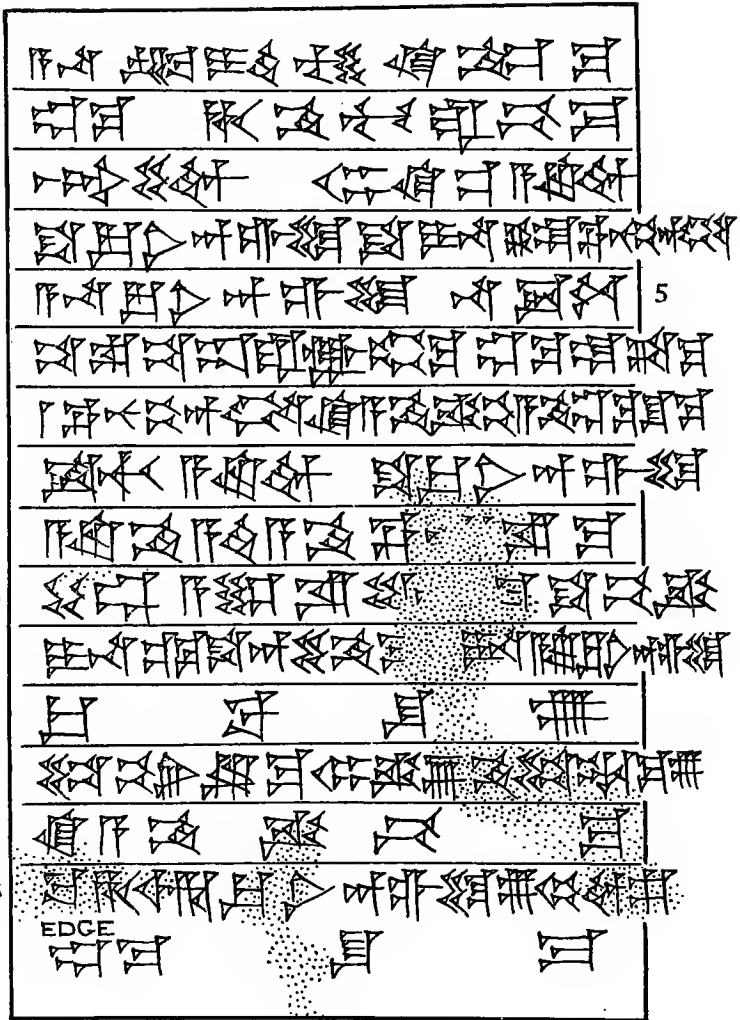




No. 28.

[Brit. Mus., No. 28120.]

OBVERSE.







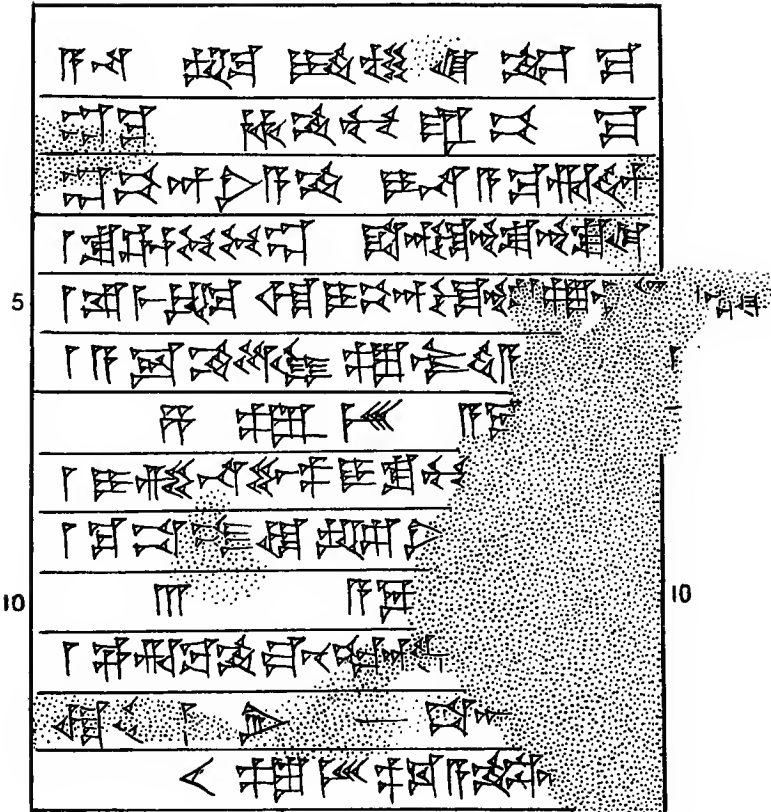




No. 29.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 29122.]

OBVERSE.

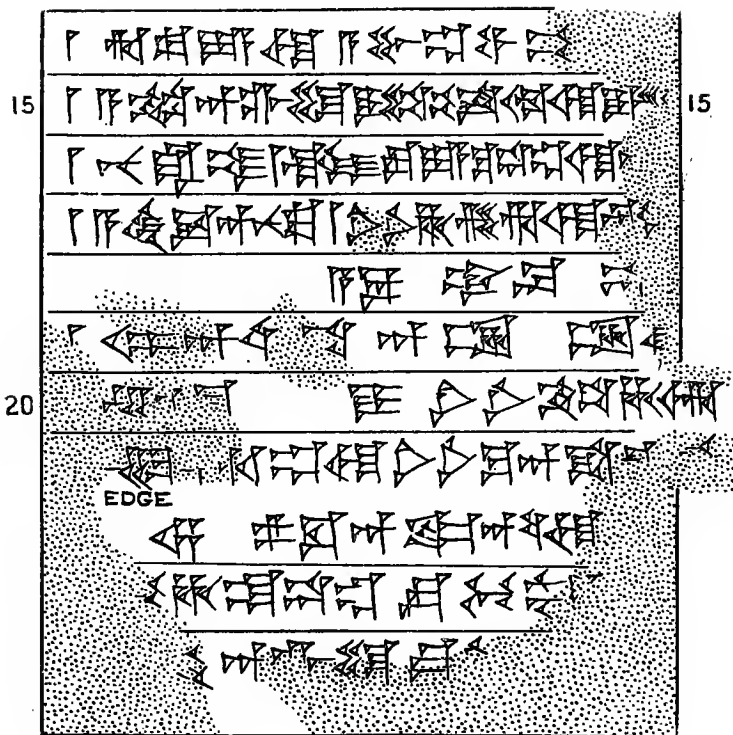




No. 29.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23122.]

OBVERSE (cont.).

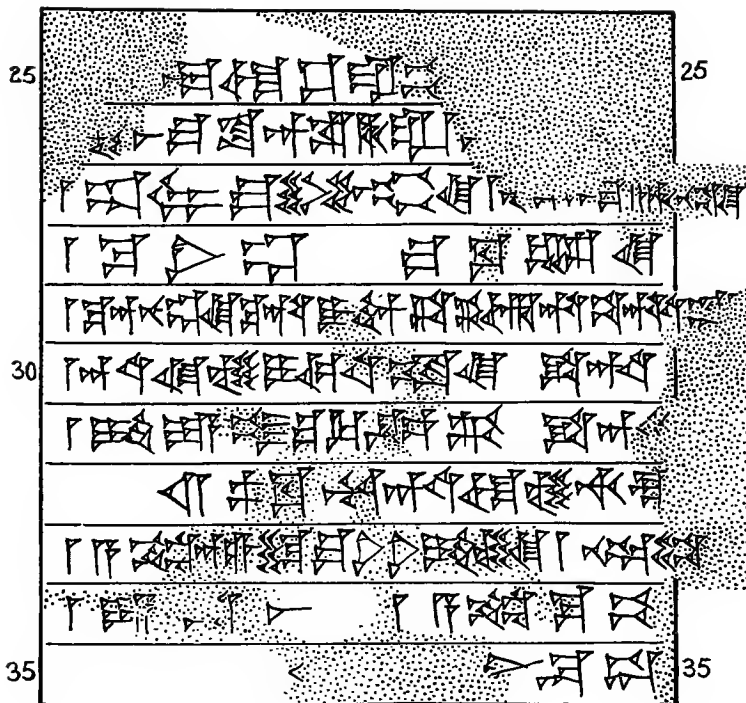




No. 29.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23122.]

REVERSE.



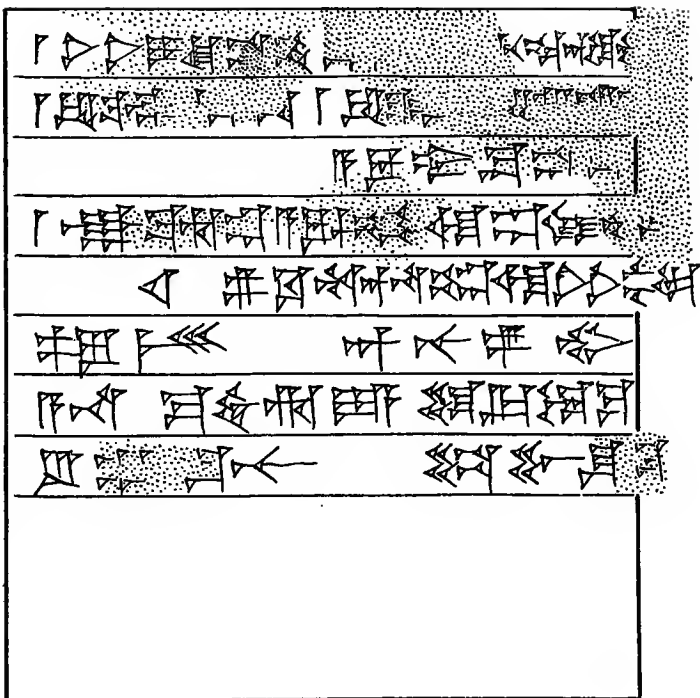


No. 29.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23122]

REVERSE (cont.).

40







No. 30.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23123.]

OBVERSE.

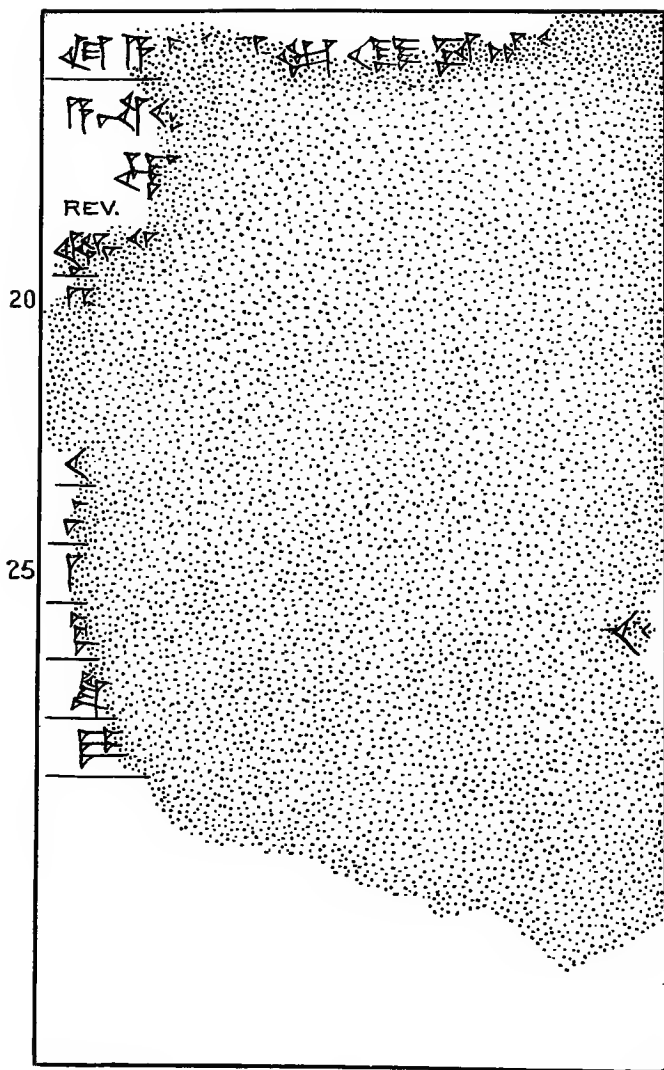
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 15 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫      𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫



No. 30.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 29123.]

EDGE & REVERSE.

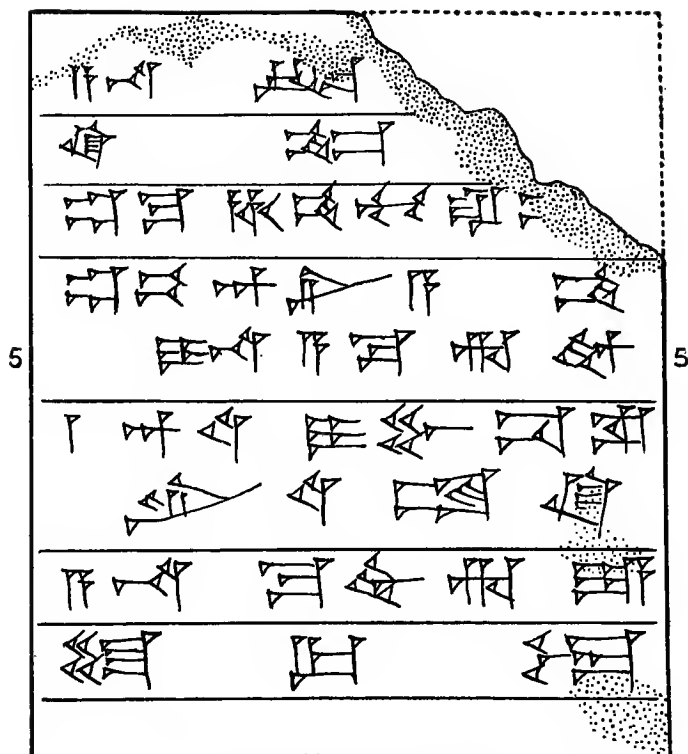




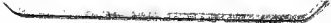
No. 31.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23127.]

OBVERSE.



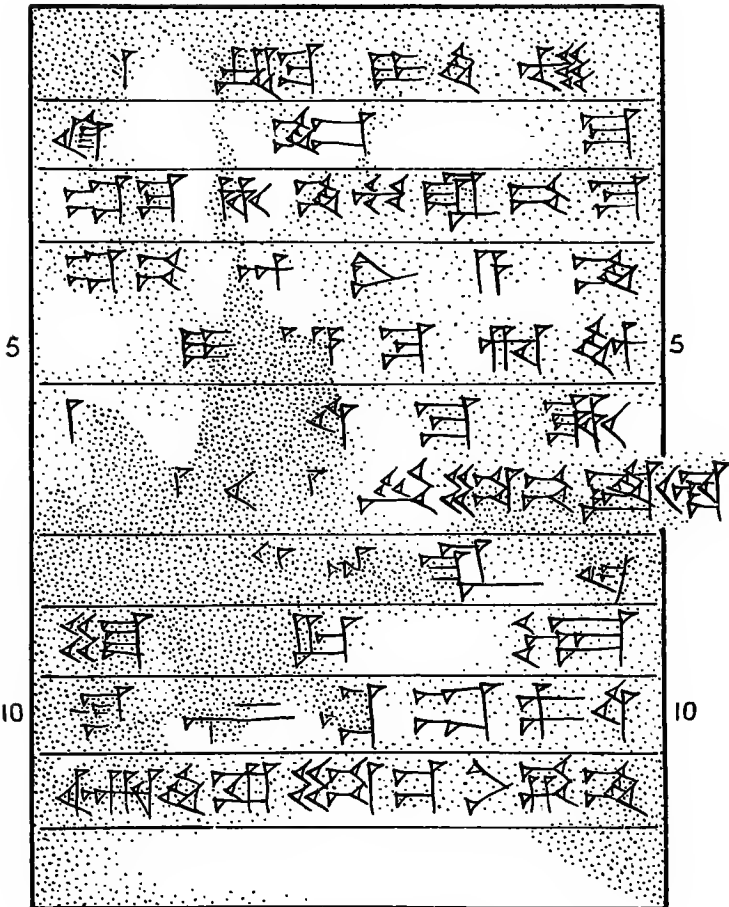
The reverse of the tablet is  
uninscribed.



No. 32.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 23129.]

OBVERSE.



The reverse of the tablet is unscratched.

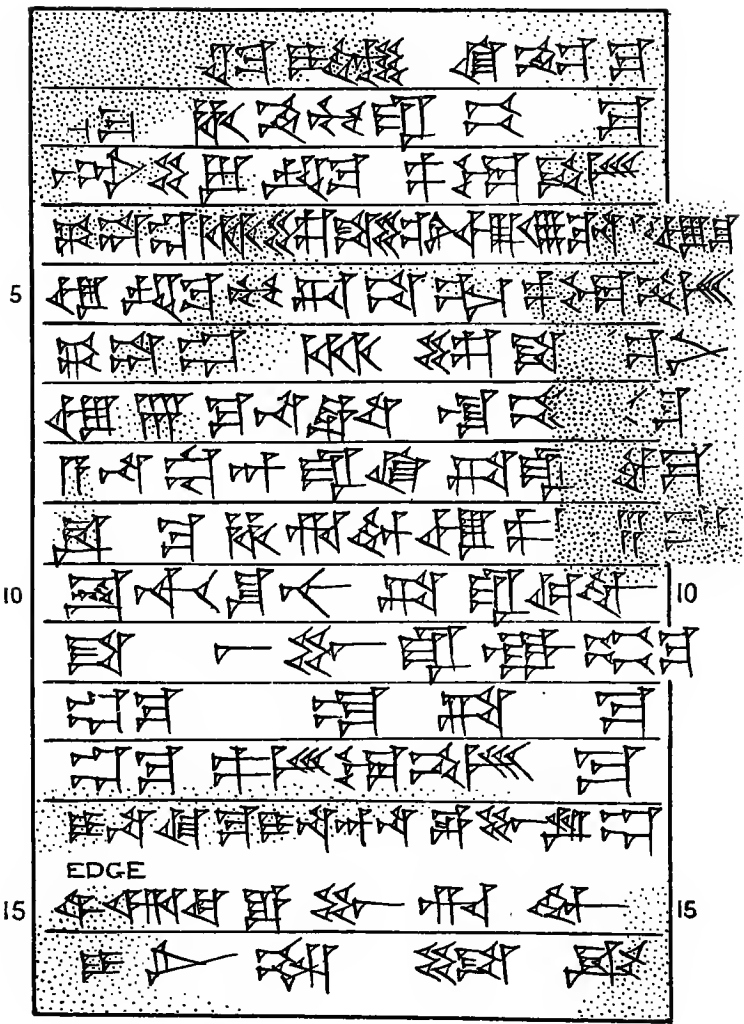




No. 33.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23130.]

OBVERSE.

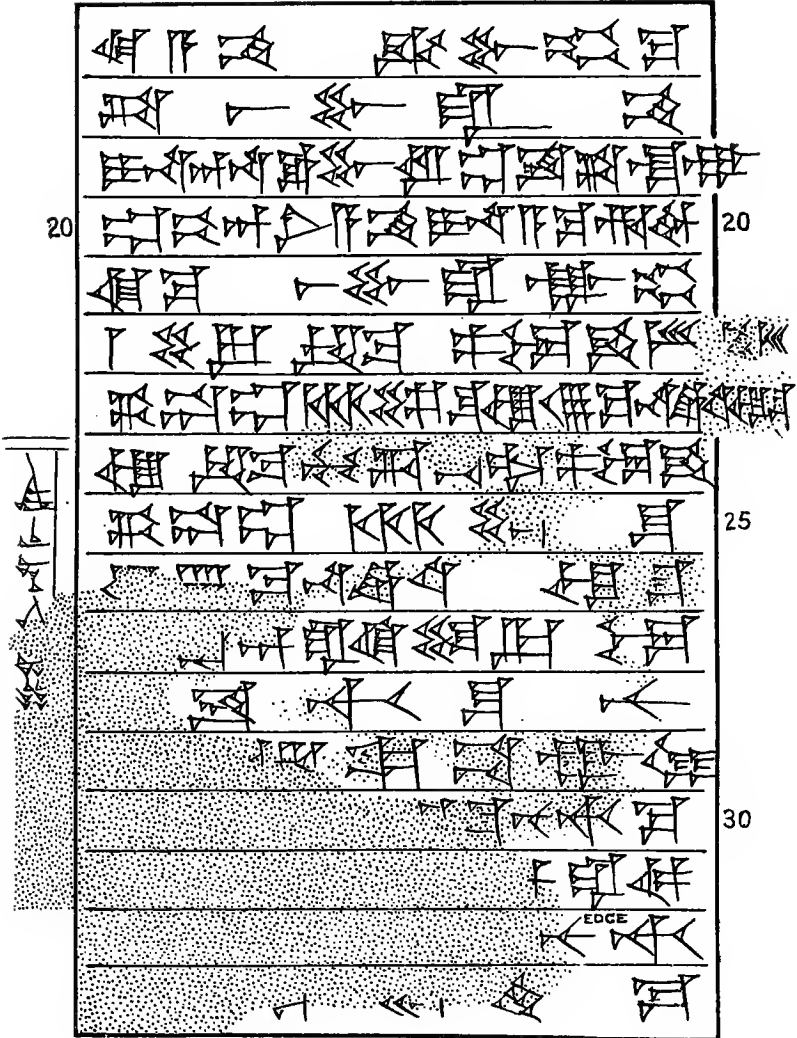




No. 33.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23130.]

REVERSE.

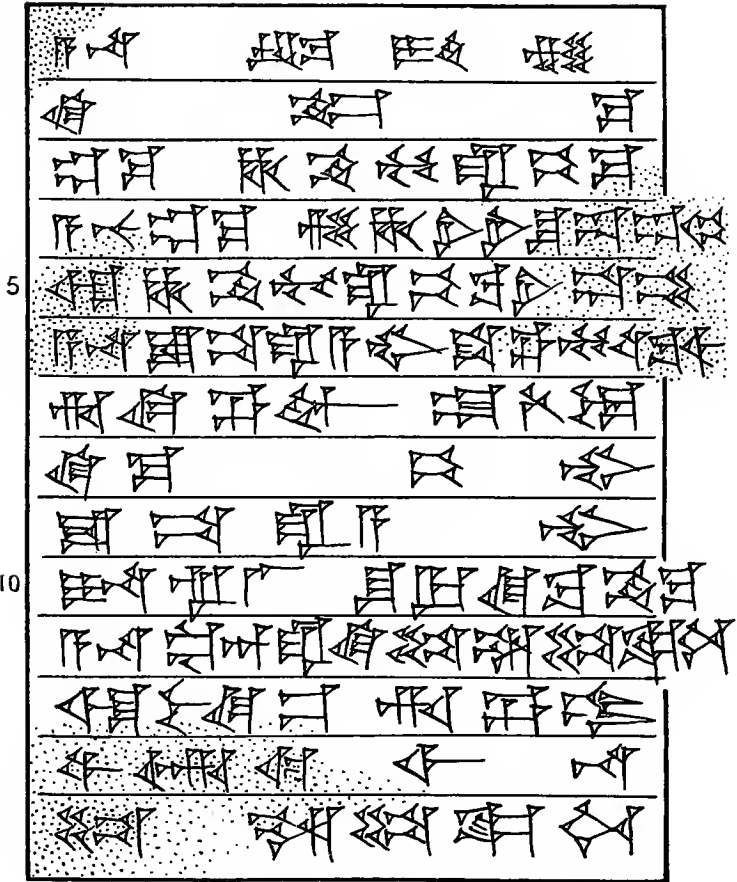




No. 34.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23131.]

OBVERSE.

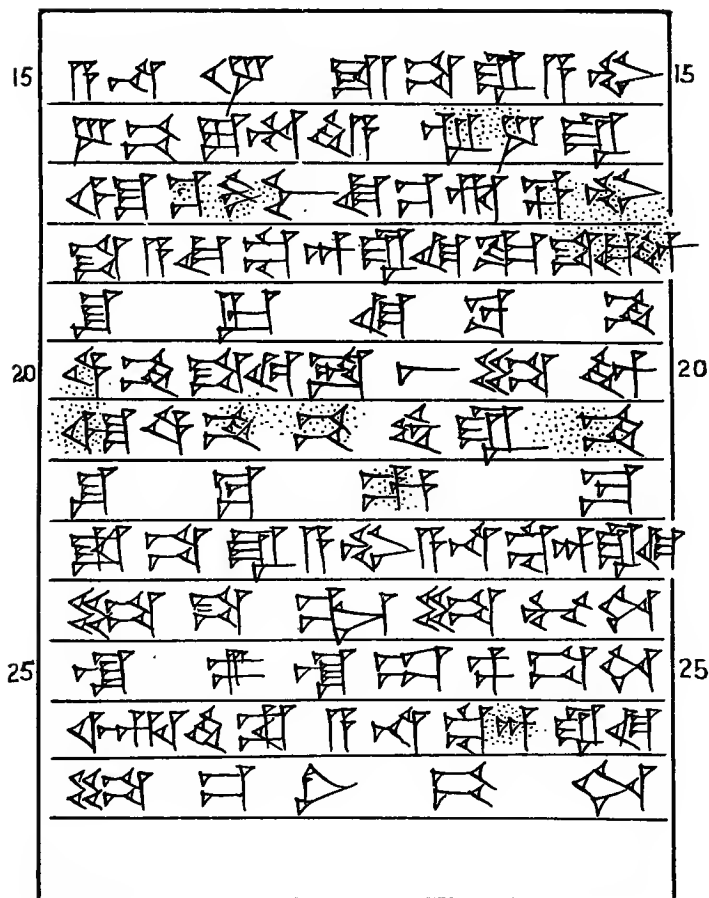




No. 34.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23131.]

REVERSE.



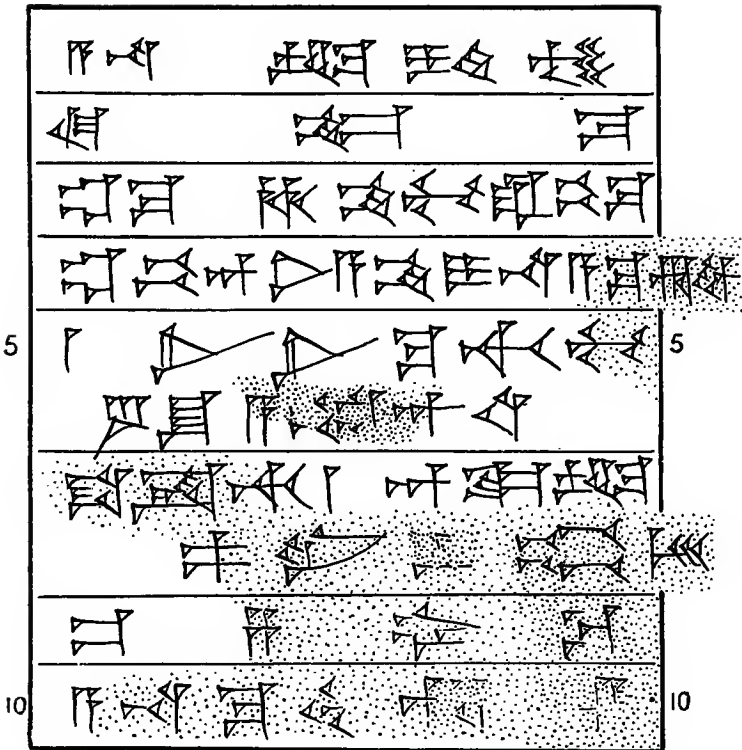




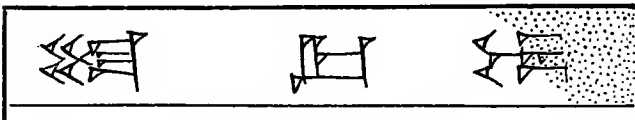
No. 35.

[Brit. Mus., No 23136]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



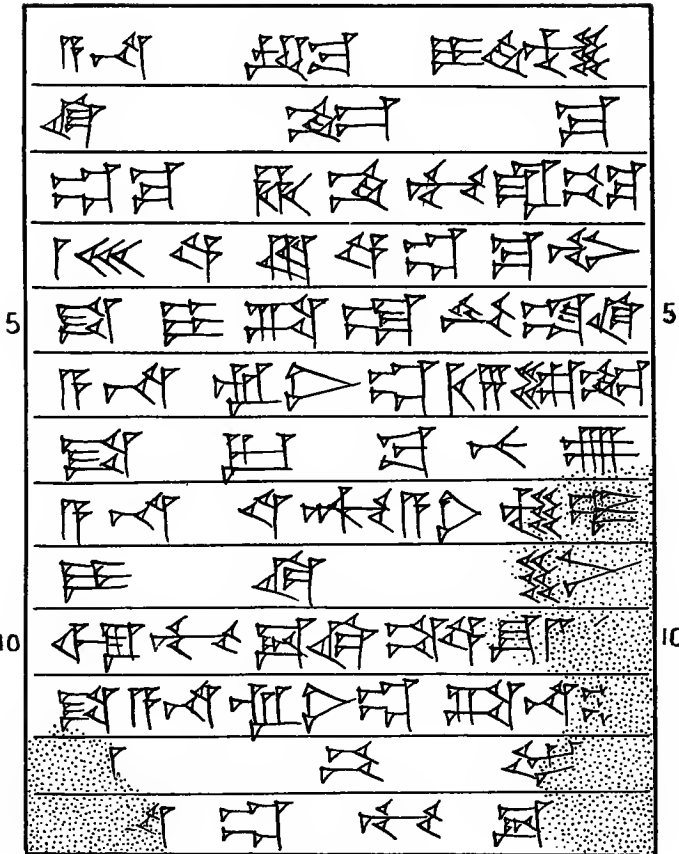
The rest of the reverse is unscribed.



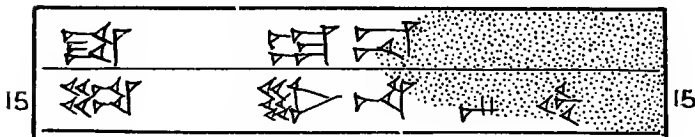
No. 36.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23144.]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



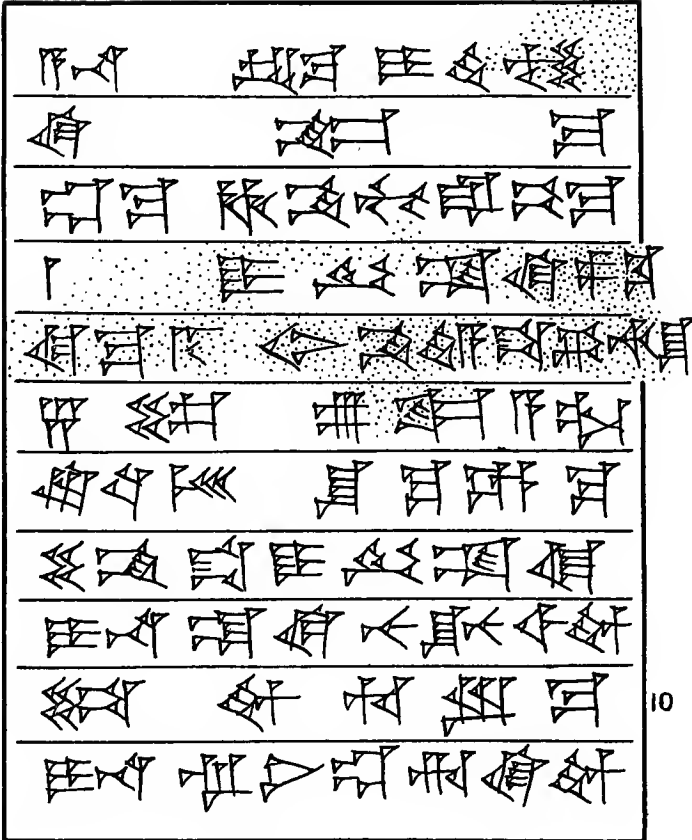
The rest of the reverse is  
uninscribed.



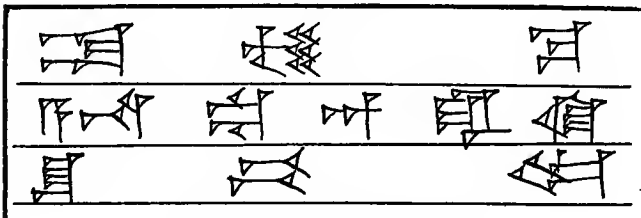
No. 37.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23145]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



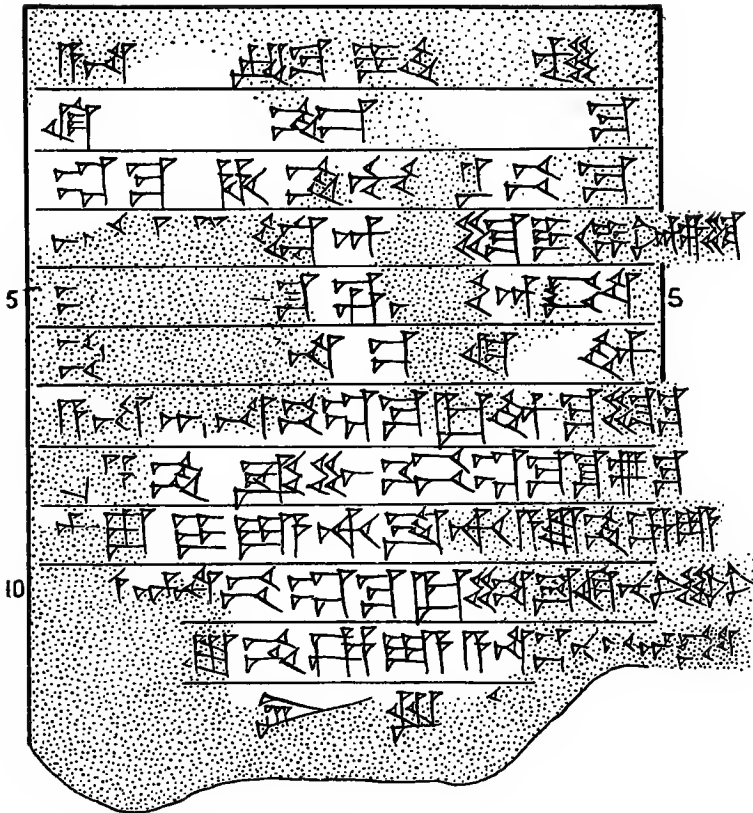
The rest of the reverse is unscribed.



No. 38.

[Brit. Mus. No. 25147.]

OBVERSE.



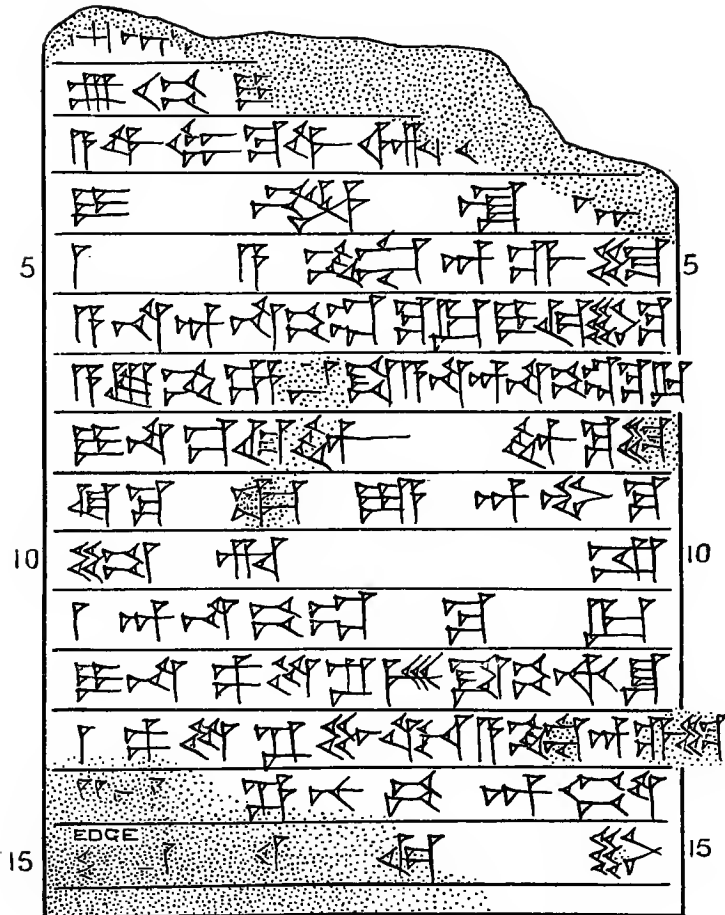




No. 38.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23147.]

REVERSE.

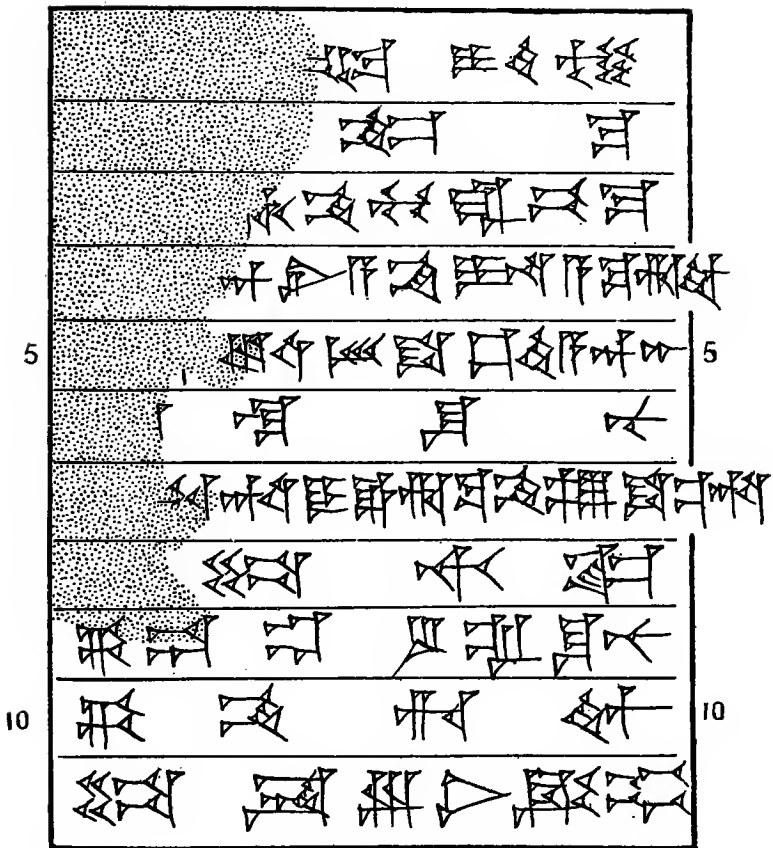




No. 39.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23146]

OBVERSE.

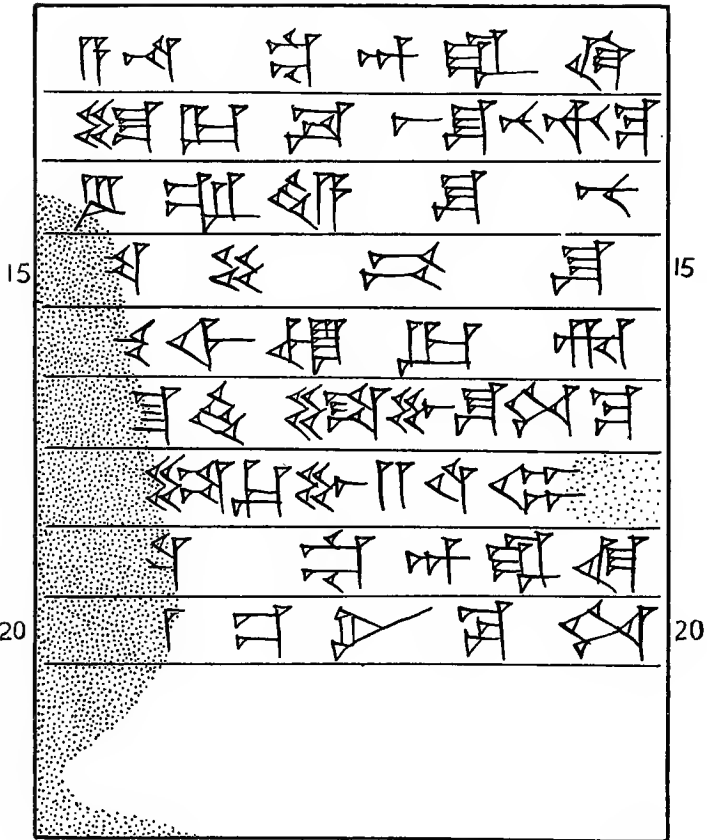




No. 39.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23148.]

REVERSE.

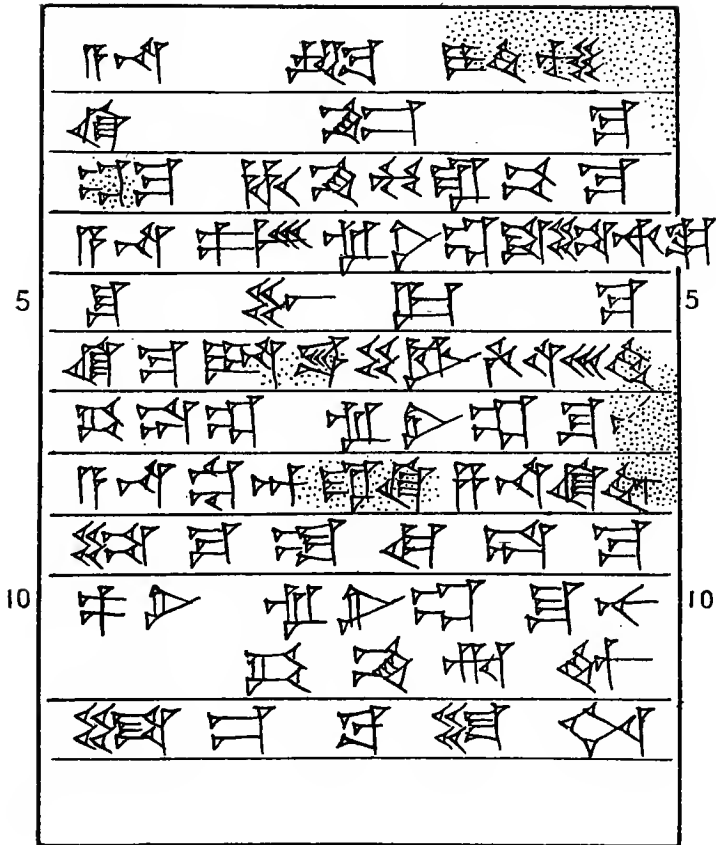




No. 40.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23152]

OBVERSE.



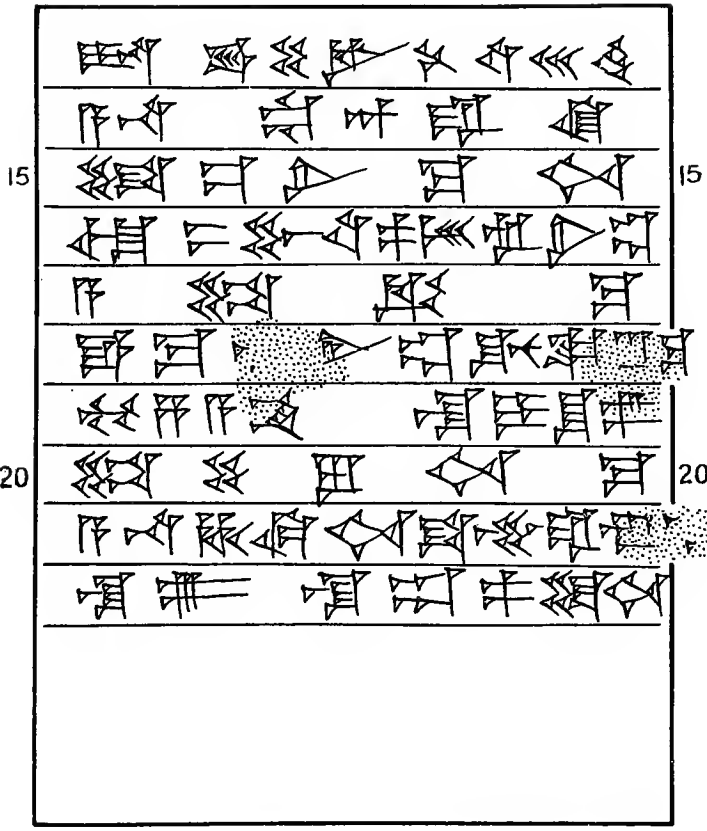




No. 40.

[BRIT Mus. No. 23152.]

REVERSE.

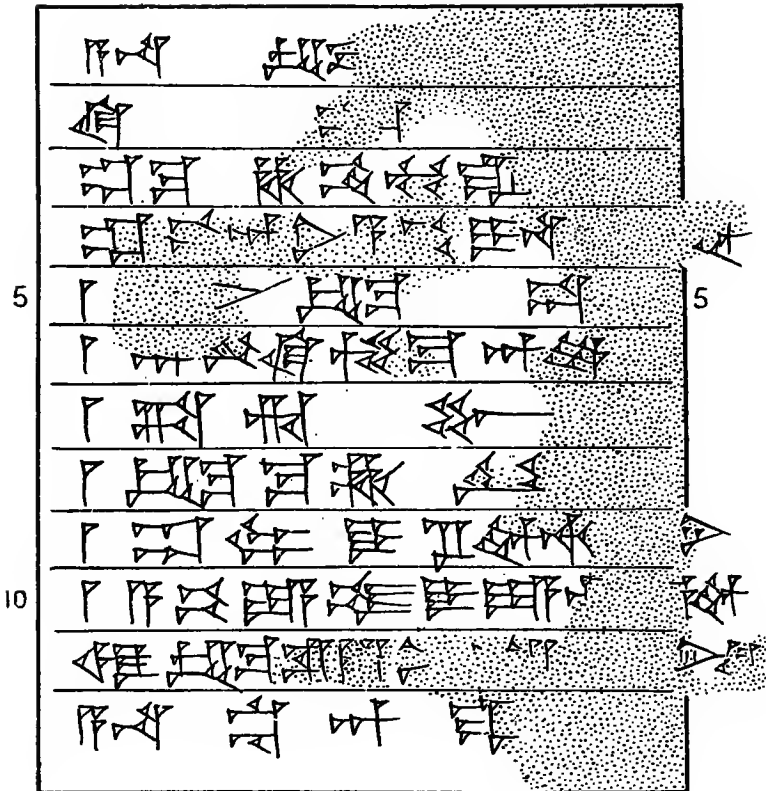




No. 41.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23153.]

OBVERSE.

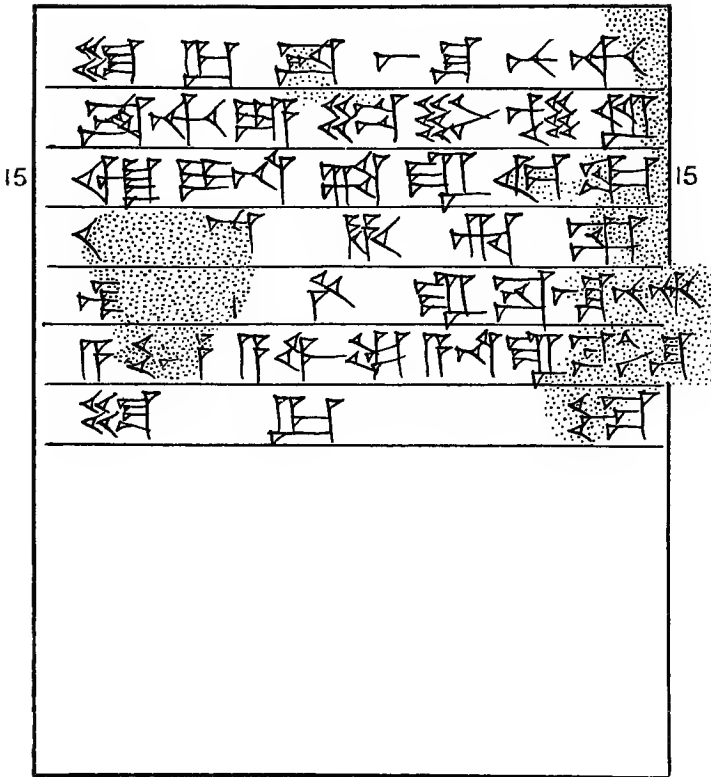




No. 41.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 23153.]

REVERSE.

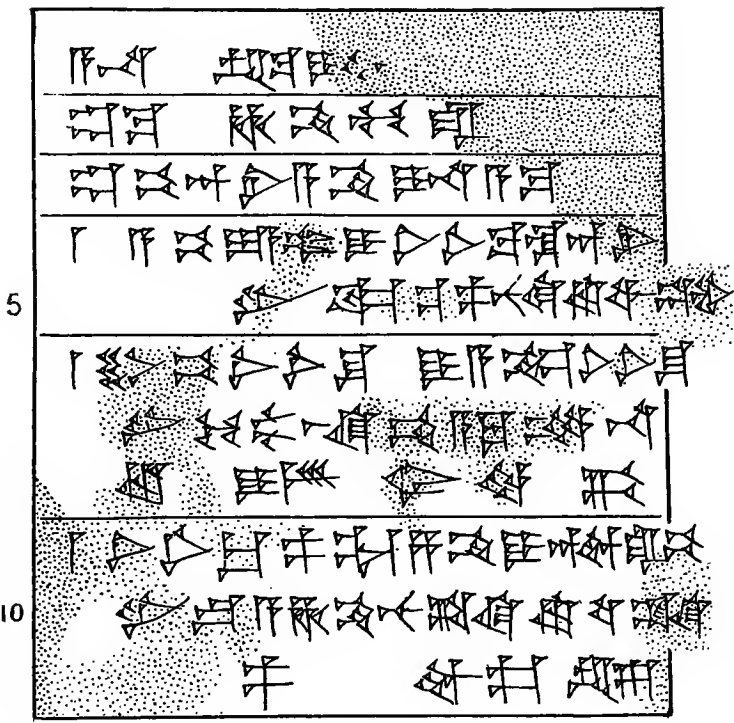




No. 42.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23154.]

OBVERSE.







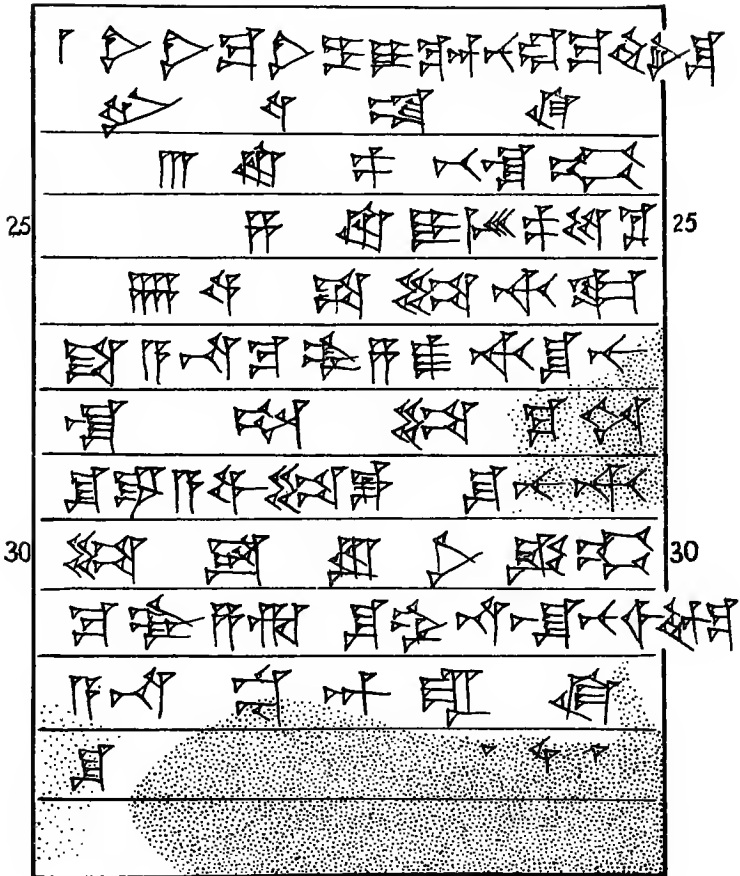




No. 42.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23154.]

REVERSE (cont.).





No. 43.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23159.]

OBVERSE.

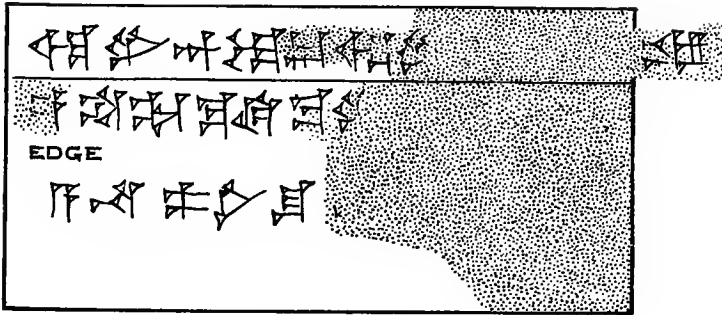
1 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 2 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 3 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 4 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 5 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 6 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 7 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 8 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 9 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 10 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵



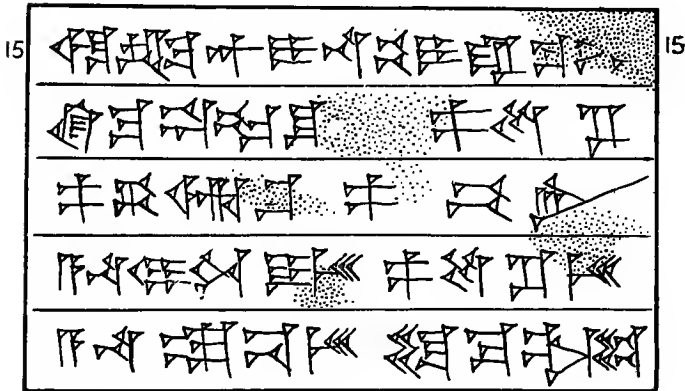
No. 43.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 23159]

OBVERSE (cont.).



REVERSE.



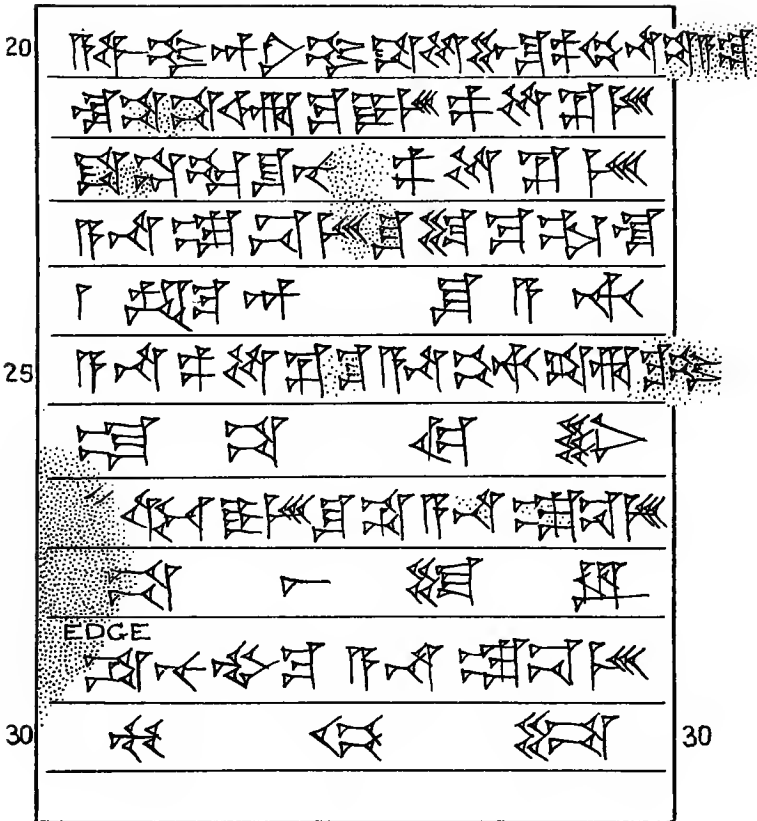




No. 43.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23159.]

REVERSE (cont.).

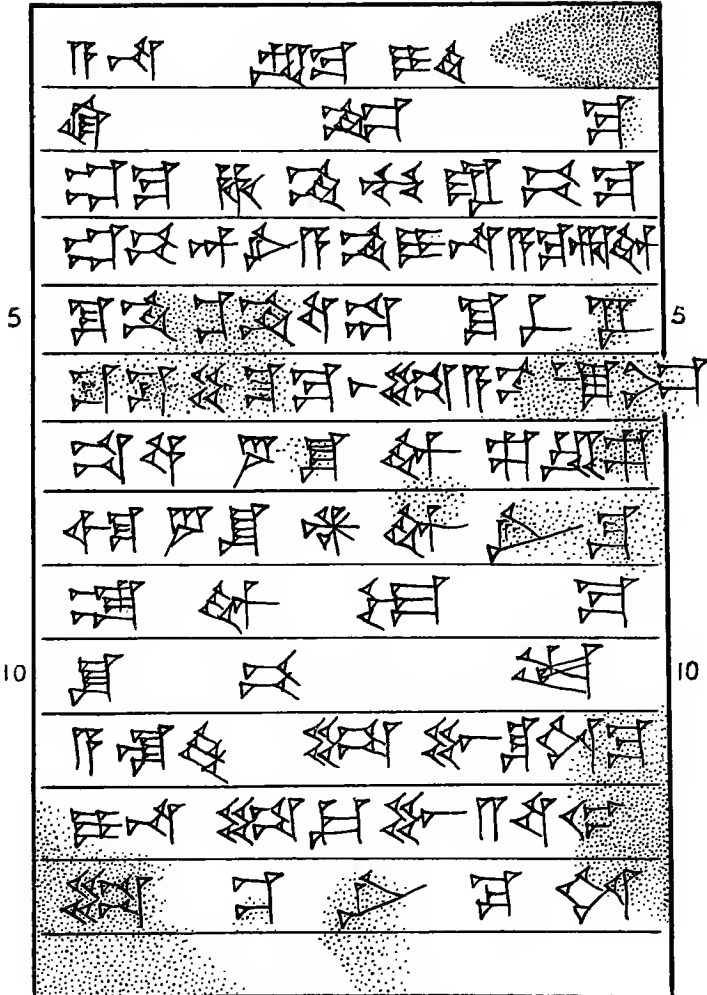




No. 44.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 28337.]

OBVERSE.



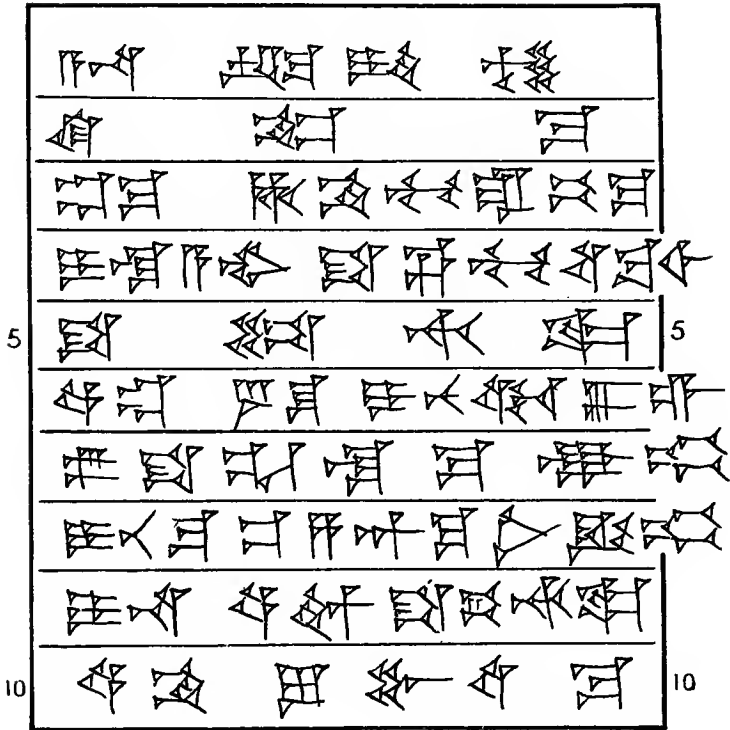
The reverse of the tablet is uninscribed.



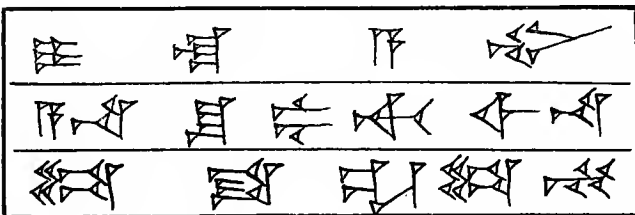
No. 45.

[i. o. m.]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



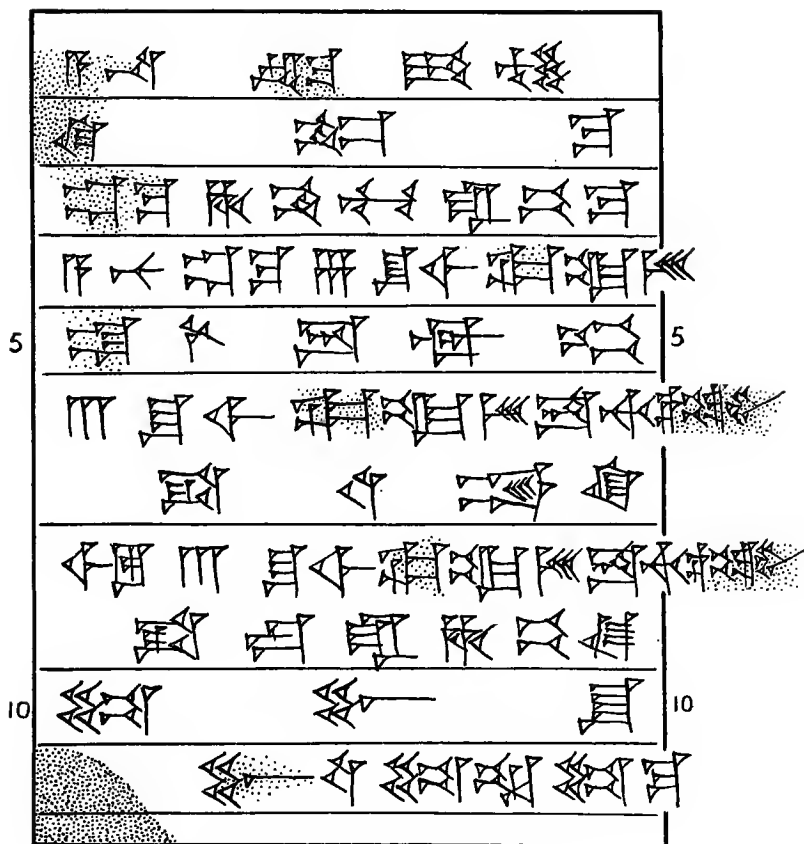
The rest of the reverse is  
uninscribed.



No. 46.

[L.]

OBVERSE.



The reverse of the tablet is  
uninscribed.

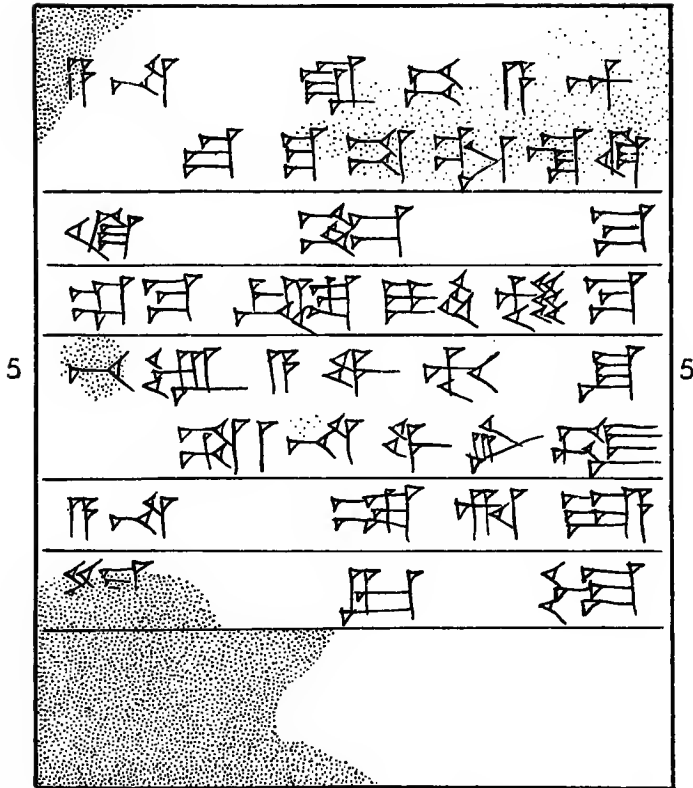




No. 47.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12888]

OBVERSE.



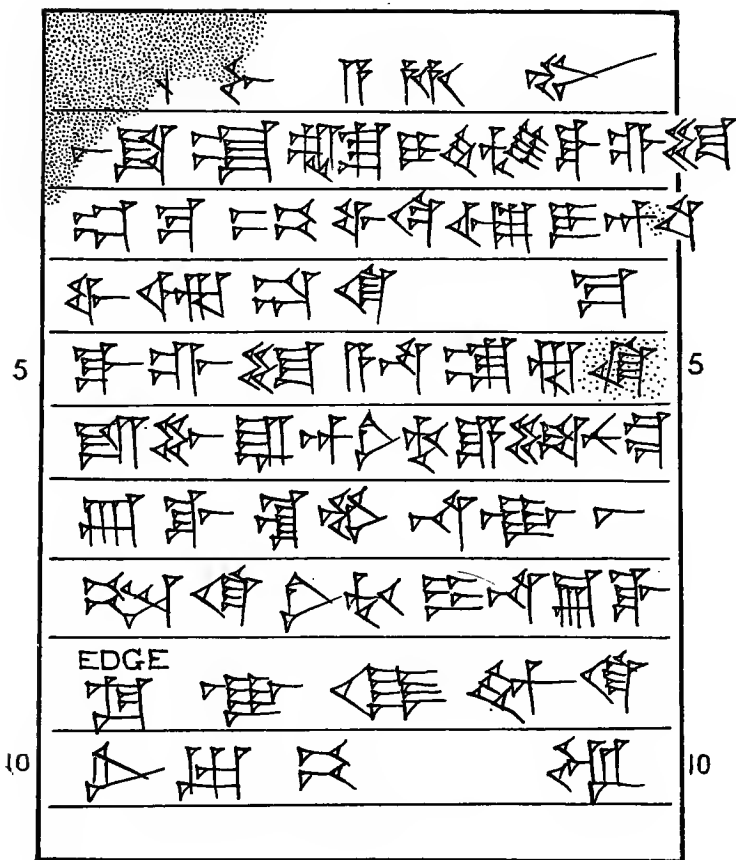
The reverse of the tablet is unscratched.



No. 48.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 1018.]

OBVERSE.

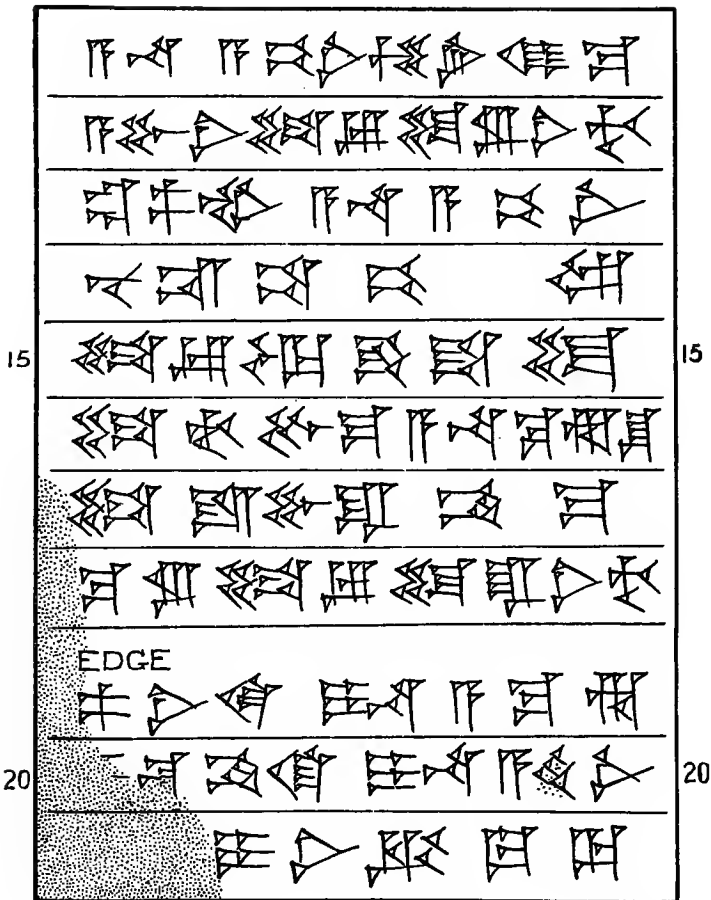




No. 48.

[Bu. 91-6-9, 101B.]

REVERSE

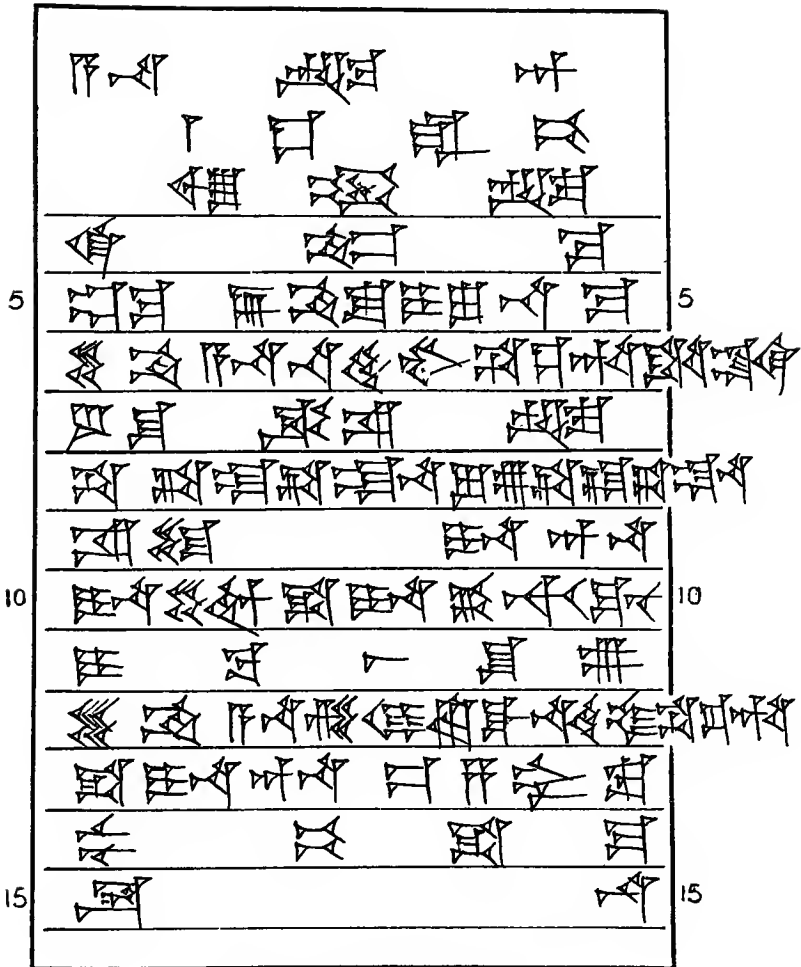




No. 49.

[Brit. Mus., No. 13936.]

OBVERSE.



The reverse of the tablet is uninscribed.

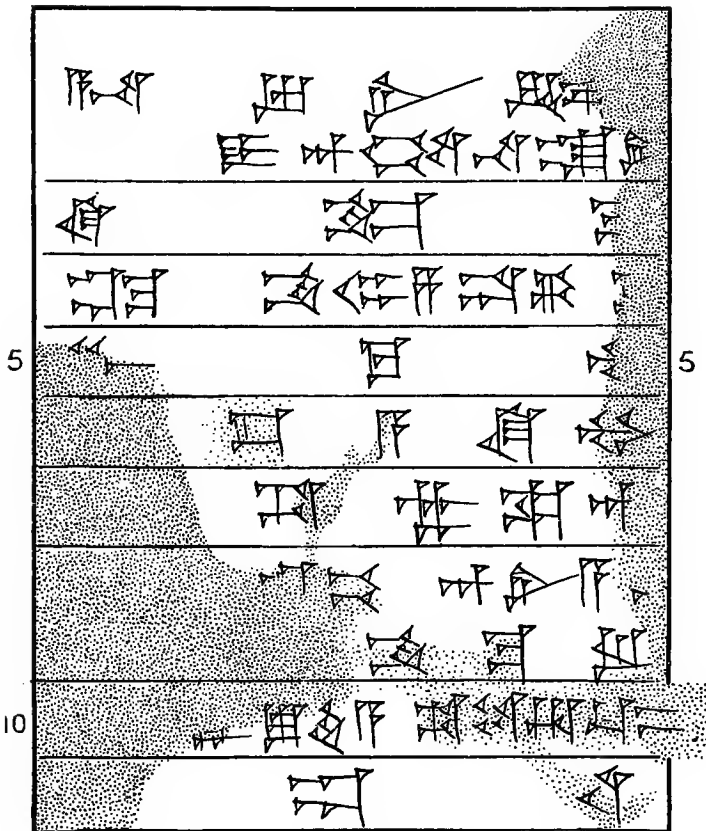




No. 50.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 17298.]

OBVERSE.

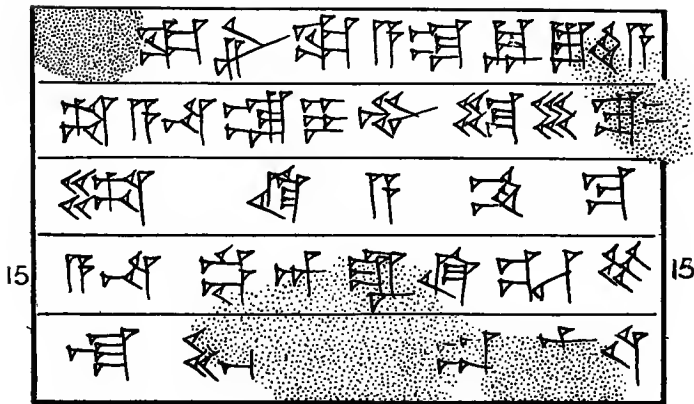




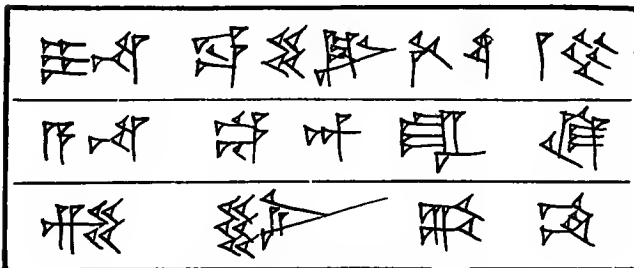
No. 50.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 17298.]

OBVERSE (cont.).



REVERSE.



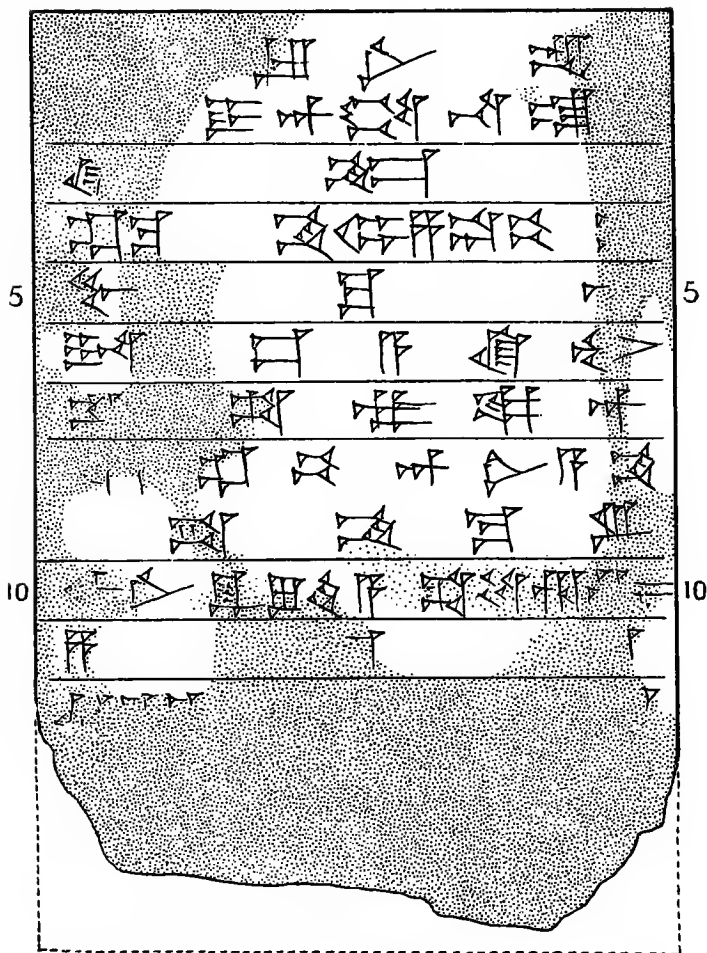
The rest of the reverse is unscribed.



No. 51.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 17334.]

OBVERSE.

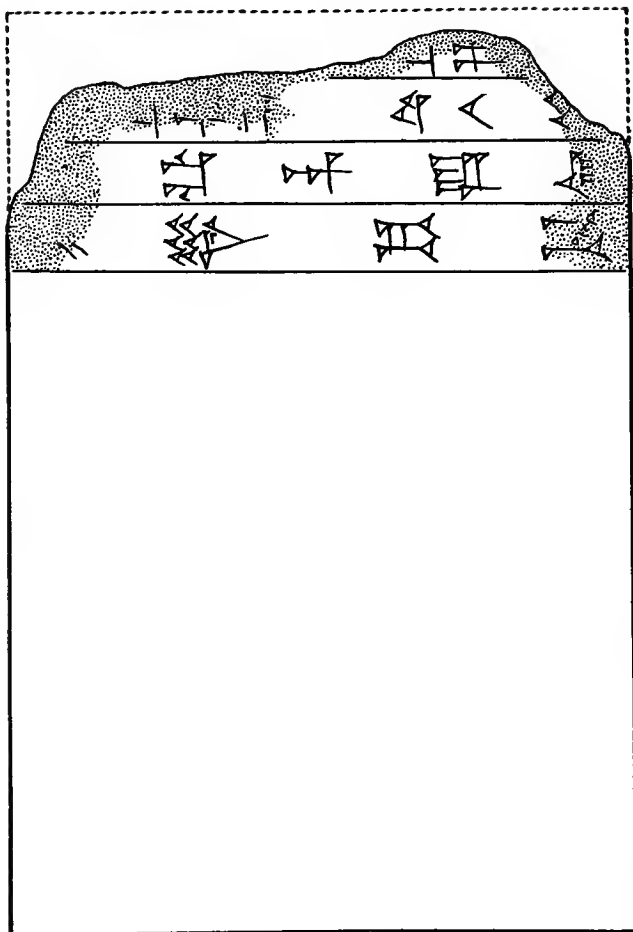




No. 51.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 17334.]

REVERSE.



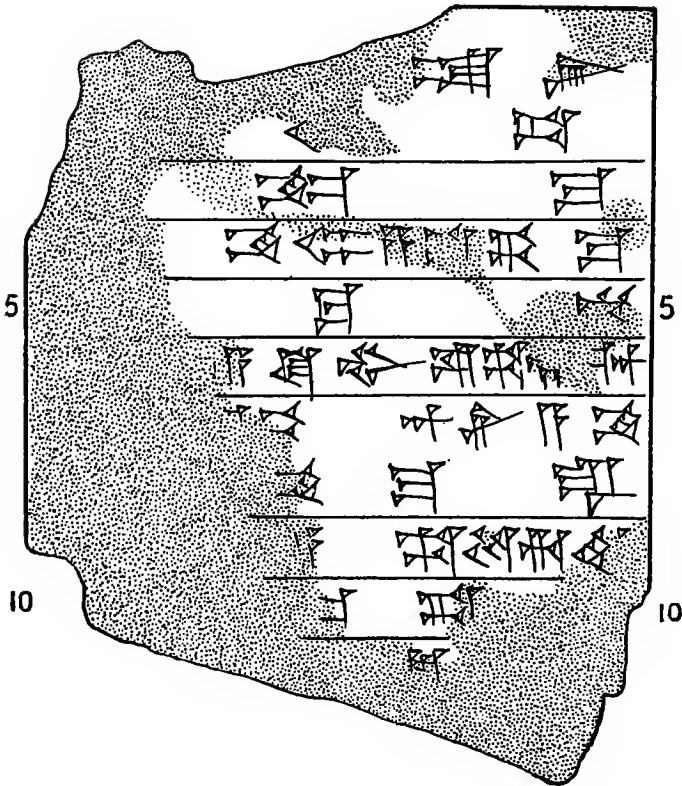




## No. 52.

[Brit Mus., No. 17416]

OBVERSE.



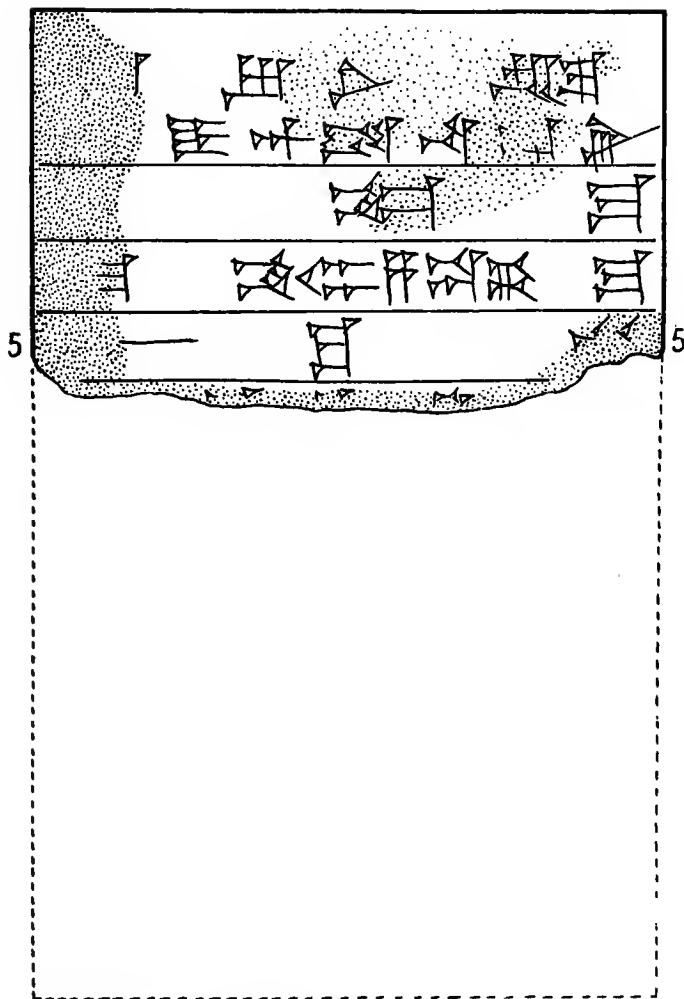
The reverse of the fragment is  
uninscribed.



No. 53.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 17531.]

OBVERSE.



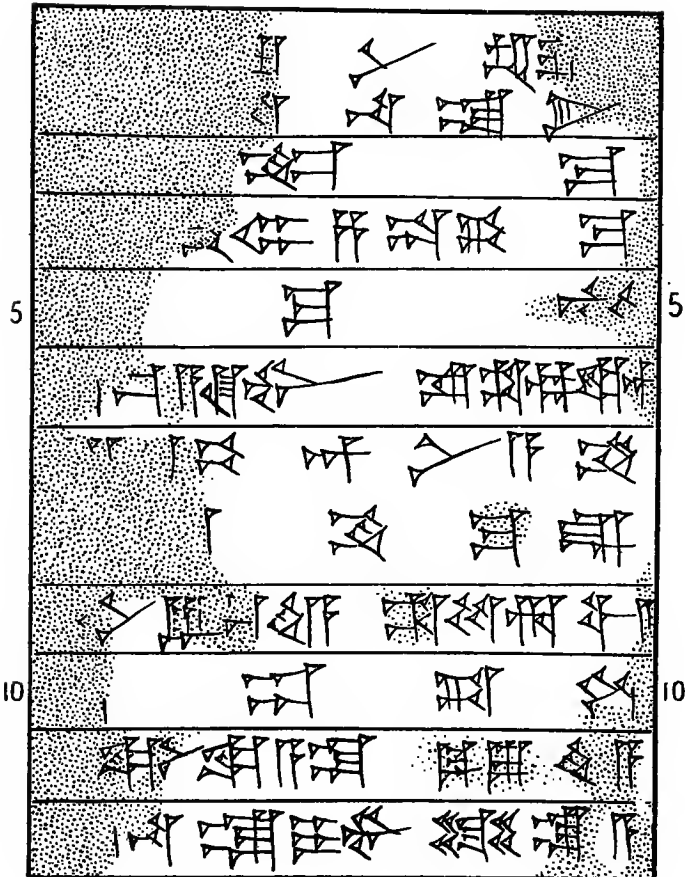
The reverse of the fragment is  
uninscribed.



No. 54.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 329.]

OBVERSE.

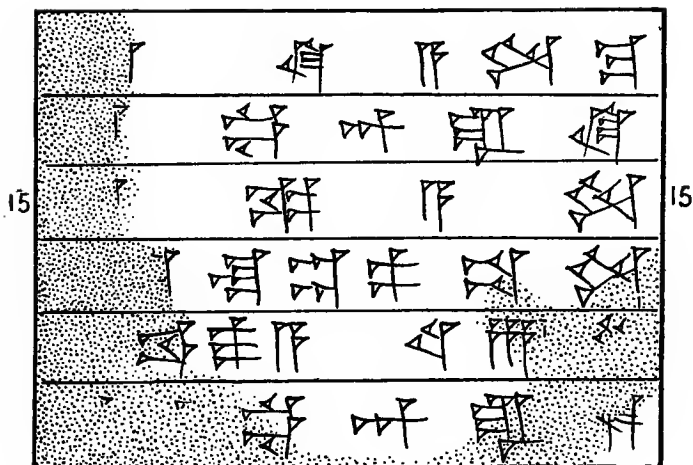




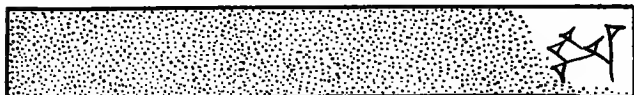
No. 54.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 329.]

OBVERSE (cont.).



REVERSE.



The rest of the reverse is broken.





No. 55.

[Bu. 91-5-B. 325.]

OBVERSE.

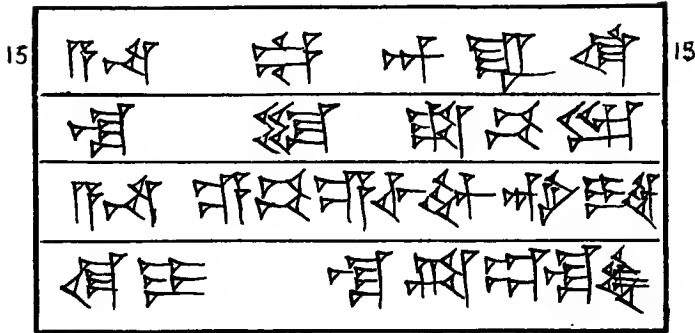
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤 𐎠𐎥	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
5	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	5
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
10	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	10
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	
	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	



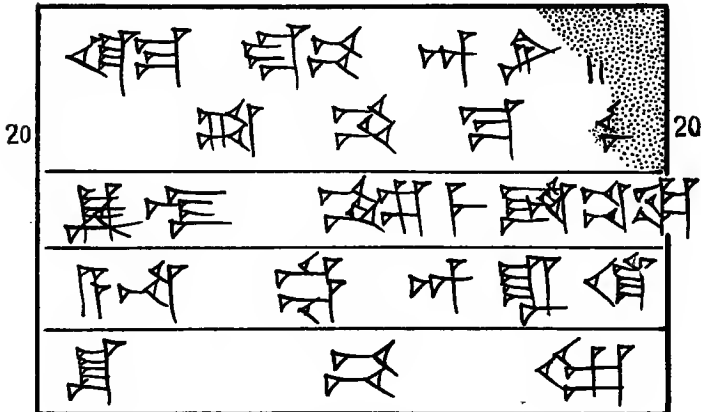
No. 55.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 325.]

OBVERSE (cont.)



REVERSE.



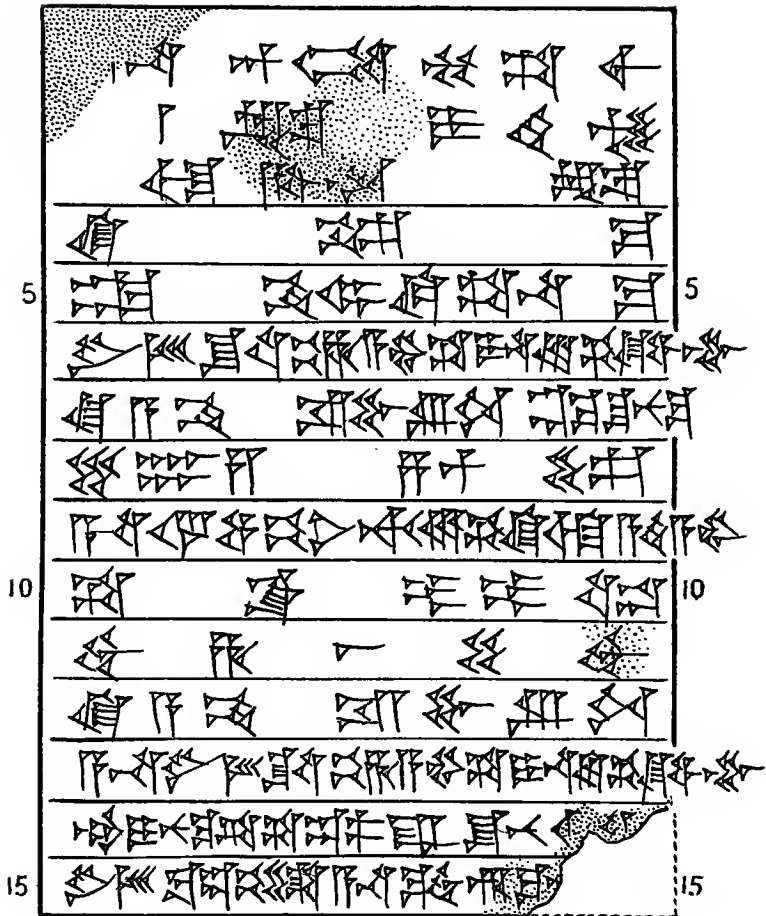
The rest of the reverse is unscribed.



No. 56.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 340.]

OBVERSE.

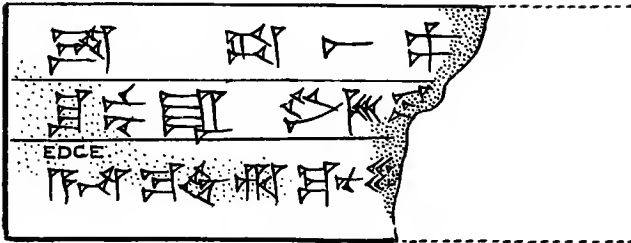




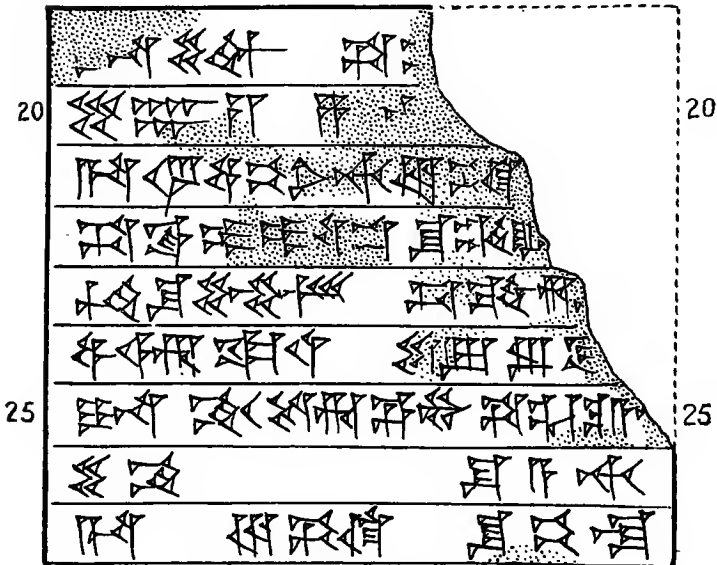
No. 56.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 840]

OBVERSE (cont.).



REVERSE.



The rest of the reverse is  
uninscribed.

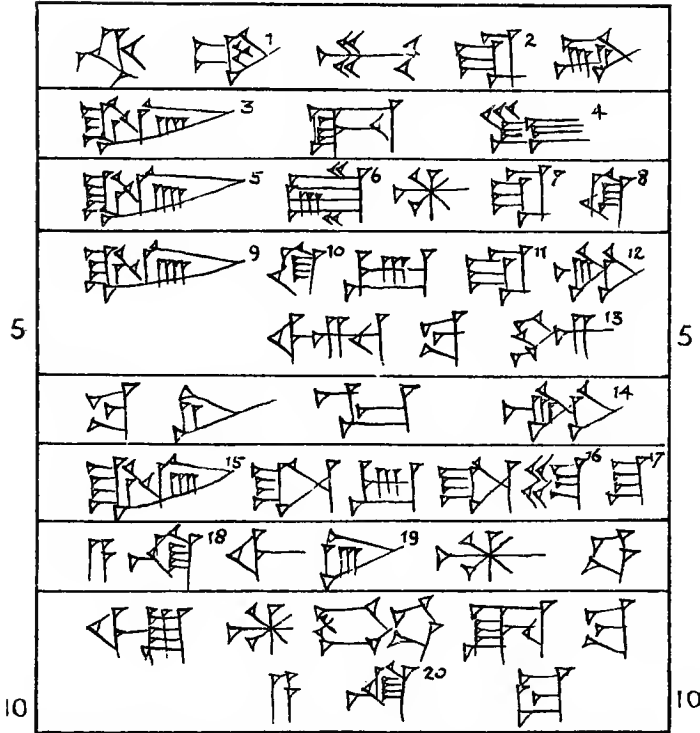




No. 57.

[Brit Mus., No. 12216]

COL. I.



Duplicates: B = Brit. Mus., No. 12215; C = Brit. Mus., No. 12214; D = Brit. Mus., No. 12220; E = Brit. Mus., No. 12221; F = Brit. Mus., No. 12225

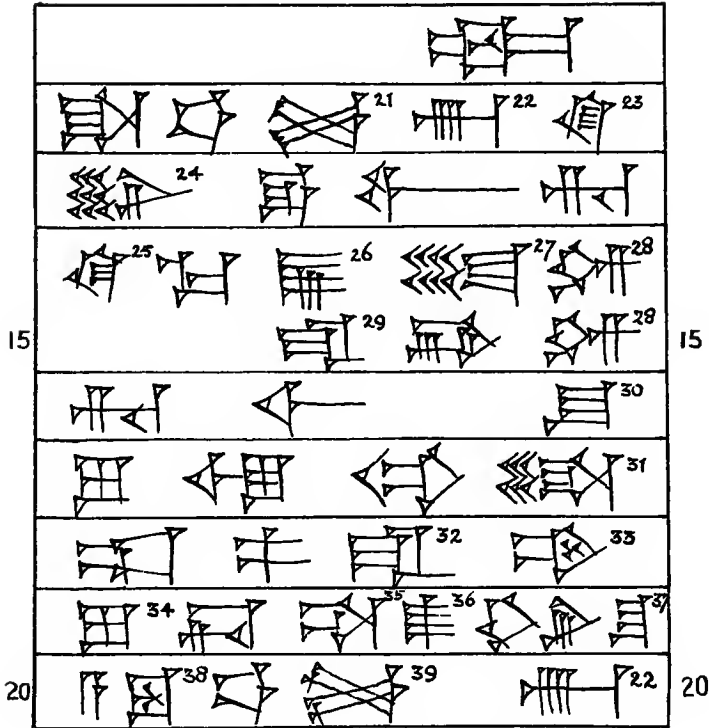
Variants: 1. BE D . - 2. B C DE . - 3. B C D E F . - 4. Partly effaced; D . - 5. D ; BCEF as in n. 3. - 6. So DF; B C . 7. Partly effaced; BCD as in n. 2. - 8. B . - 9. BCEF as in n. 3; D as in n. 5. - 10. B as in n. 9. - 11. BCD as in n. 2. - 12. B C D . - 13. read by B, DF . - 14. So DF; B C E . - 15. E ; BCDF as in n. 3. - 16. CEF D . - 17. CD . - 18. BF . - 19. CDEF . - 20. BE .



No. 57.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12216.]

COL. I. (cont.).



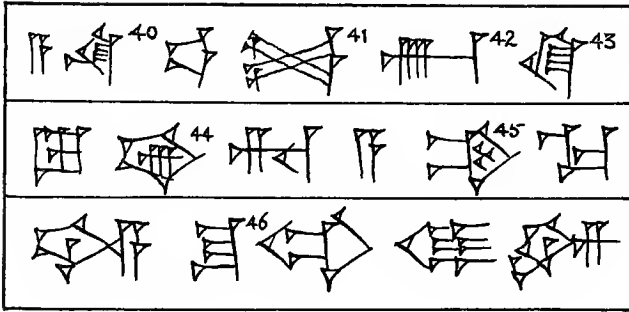
21. So F; BCE . - 22. So E; BCDF . - 23. B  
EF . - 24. B , C , D . - 25. So EF; BC  
D . - 26. E . - 27. B . - 28. B ; CDEF  
. - 29. BD ; E . - 30. DE . - 31. B ,  
C . - 32. BC as in n. 2. - 33. BDE as in n. 1. - 34.  
After C inserts . - 35. E . - 36. EF . - 37. D  
. - 38. C , D , EF . - 39. So F; BCDE .



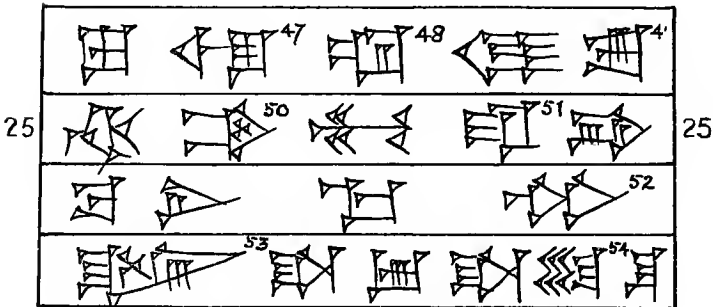
No. 57.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12216.]

COL. I. (cont.).



COL. II.



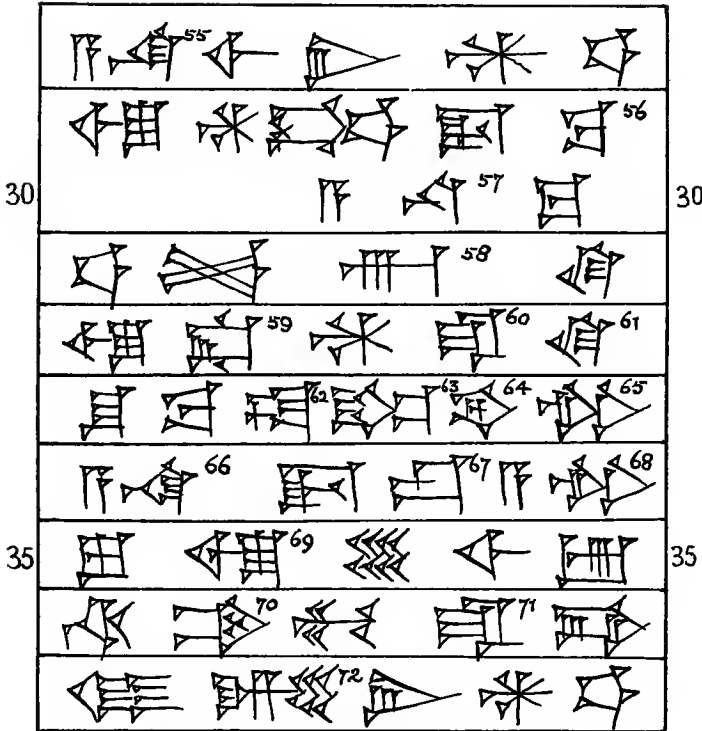
40. C 𐎶, F 𐎶. — 41. So F; BCDE as in n. 39. — 42. So E; BCDF as in n. 22. — 43. BF 𐎶. — 44. CE 𐎶. — 45. B E as in n. 1. — 46. DE 𐎶. — 47. For 𐎶 BCE read 𐎶. — 48. B 𐎶, C 𐎶, D 𐎶, E 𐎶, F 𐎶. — 49. B 𐎶, C 𐎶, DE 𐎶. — 50. BD as in n. 1. — 51. D 𐎶, BCE as in n. 2. — 52. B 𐎶, C 𐎶, D 𐎶, F 𐎶. E as in n. 14. — 53. BCDF as in n. 3. — 54. BD 𐎶, F 𐎶.



No. 57.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12216-J]

COL II. (cont.).



55. B A , F A . - 56. here end in l. 9, in CE is written in the same line as . - 57. BE A , D A . - 58. DE . - 59. BC as in n. 6, , E , F . - 60. CE as in n. 3. - 61. F . - 62. C , E . - 63. DF . - 64. CDE , F . - 65. C , D . - 66. D , E , F . - 67. B , C , D , E , F . - 68. C , D , E , F . - 69. BCE . - 70. DE as in n. 1. - 71. BCE as in n. 2. - 72. BC , D , E , F .

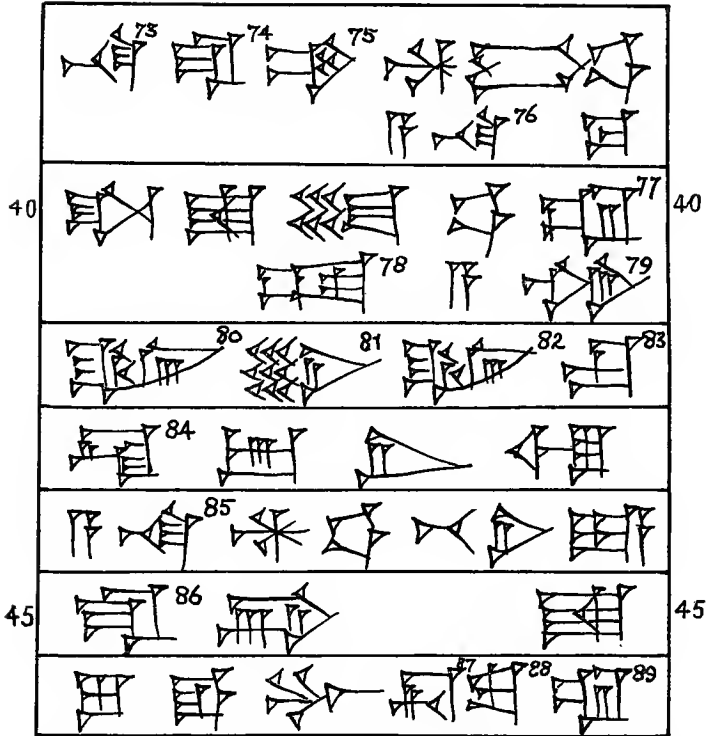




No. 57.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12216.]

COL. II. (cont.).



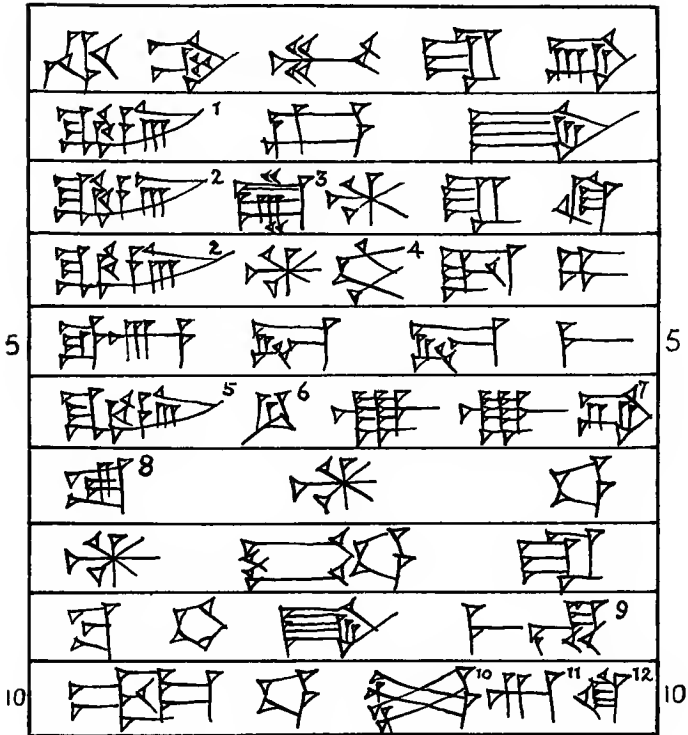
73. C , D , F . - 74. D ; CE as in n. 2.  
 75. E as in n. 1. - 76. CD . - 77. B , CF ,  
 D , E ; in DE is written in the follow-  
 ing line. - 78. CDF . - 79. B , CF ,  
 D , E . - 80. C , D ; BEF as  
 in n. 3. - 81. CE . - 82. C , I ; BEF  
 as in n. 3. - 83. B , C , D , E , F . -  
 84. D . - 85. C , EF . - 86. CD as in n. 2. -  
 87. Omitted by F. - 88. B , C , D , E , F .  
 89. BCD as in n. 48; EF .
















No. 58.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12212.]

COL. I.



Duplicates: B = Brit. Mus., No. 12213; C = Bu. 88-5.12 111; D = Brit. Mus., No. 12222.

Variants: 1. C , D . - 2. CD as in n. 1. - 3. B , CD . - 4. B . 5. B , CD as in n. 1. - 6. C . - 7. C . - 8. D . - 9. C . - 10. BCD . - 11. B . - 12. B .



No. 58.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12212.]

COL. I. (cont.).

			13
	14	15	16
15			
			17
		17	18
			19
			20
			21
20			

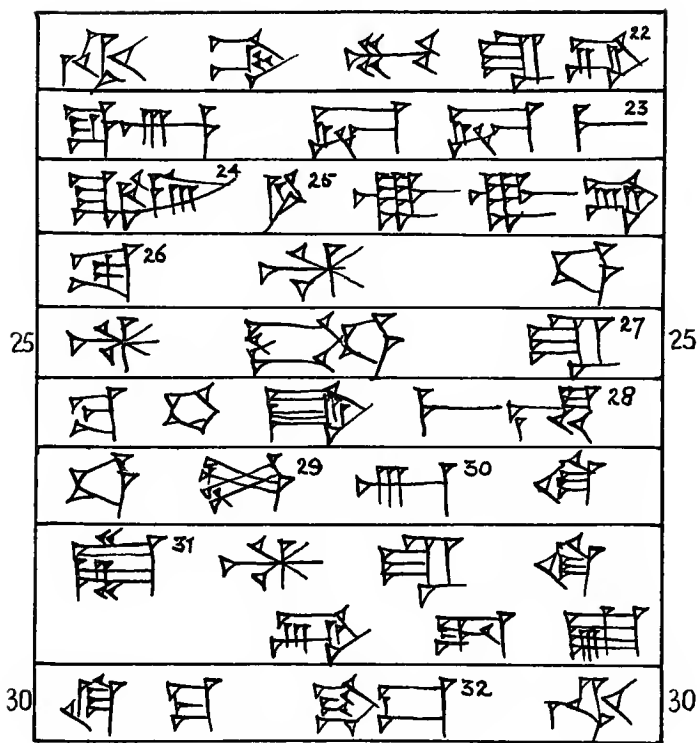
13. C . — 14. B . — 15. CD here insert . — 16. Ll. 13 and 14 form one line in B. — 17. SoCD; Bas in n. 10. — 18. B . — 19. B . — 20. BC — 21. B .



No. 58.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12212.]

COL. II.



22. BC 𐎶, D 𐎶. — 23. B omits 𐎶. — 24. BCD as  
in n. 5. — 25. C 𐎶. — 26. C 𐎶. — 27. C 𐎶. — 28. C  
𐎶. — 29. S. C: BD as in n. 10. — 30. D 𐎶. — 31.  
BC 𐎶, D 𐎶. — 32. C 𐎶.

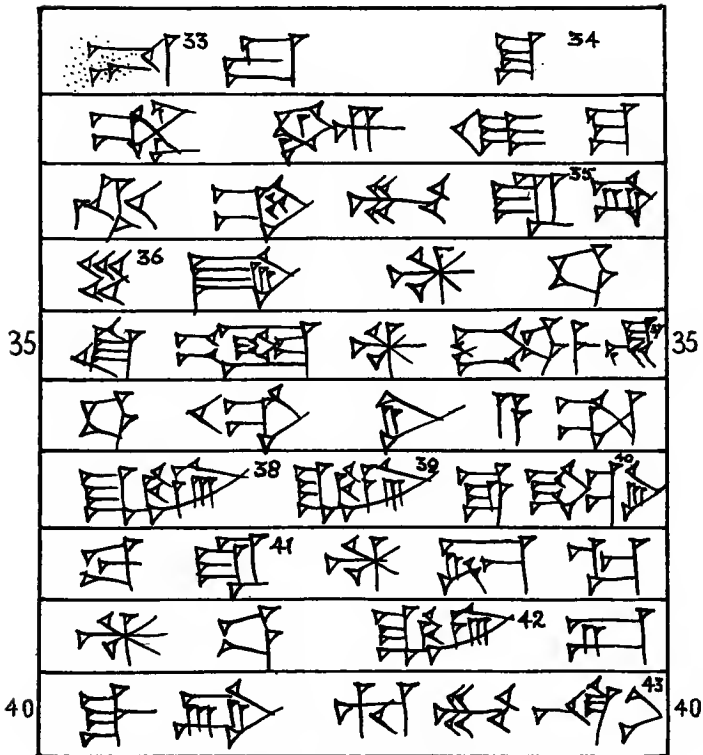















No. 58.

[BRIT MUS., No. 12212]

COL. II. (cont.).



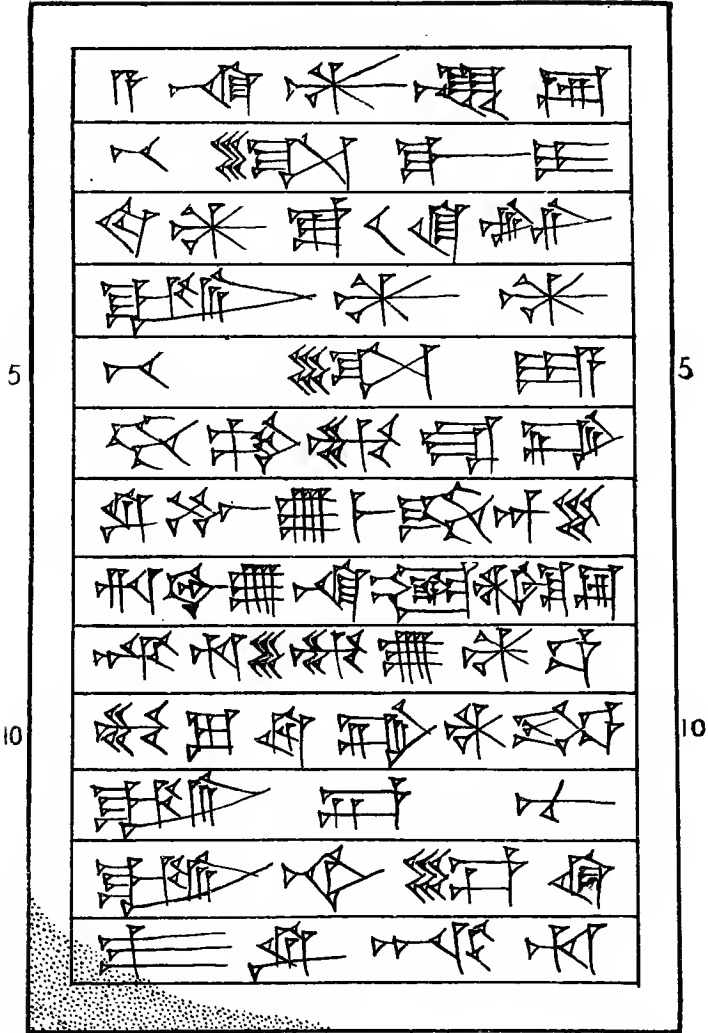
33. C. , D. . — 34. L. 31 is omitted by B. —  
 35. B. . — 36. C. . — 37. C. . — 38. BC  
 as in n. 5. — 39. B. ; CD as in n. 1. — 40. BCD  
. — 41. BC . — 42. BCD as in n. 5. — 43. B  
, C. , D. .



No. 59.

[81-8-30, 9.]

OBVERSE.

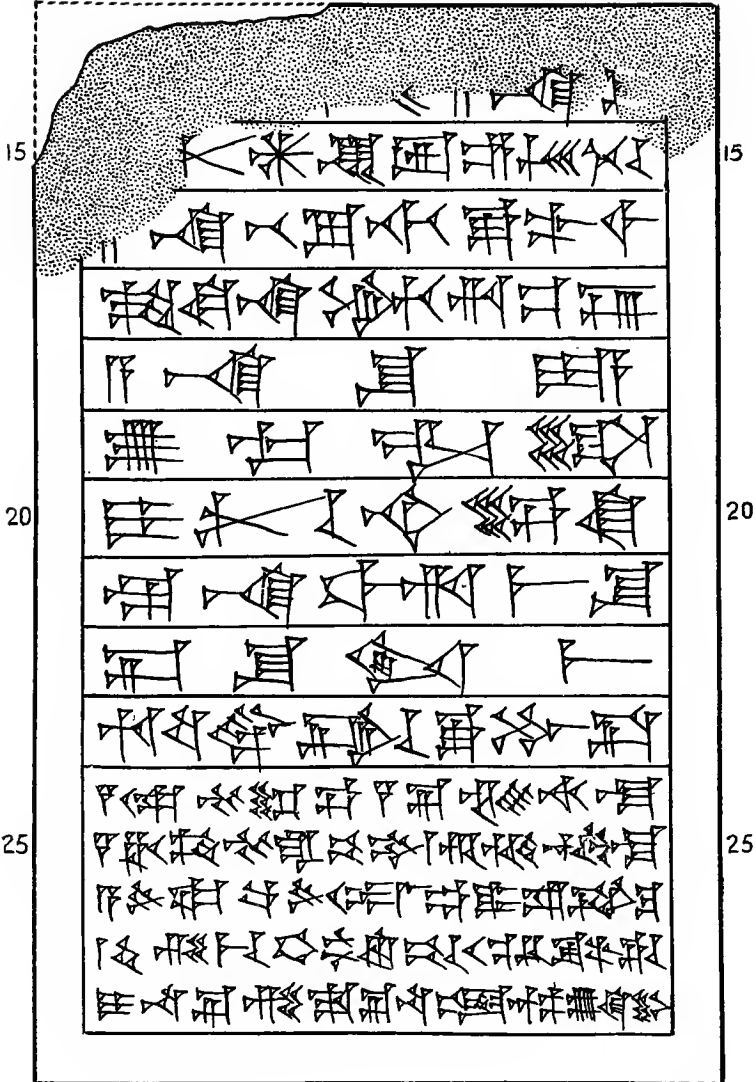




No. 59.

[81-8-30, 9.]

REVERSE.

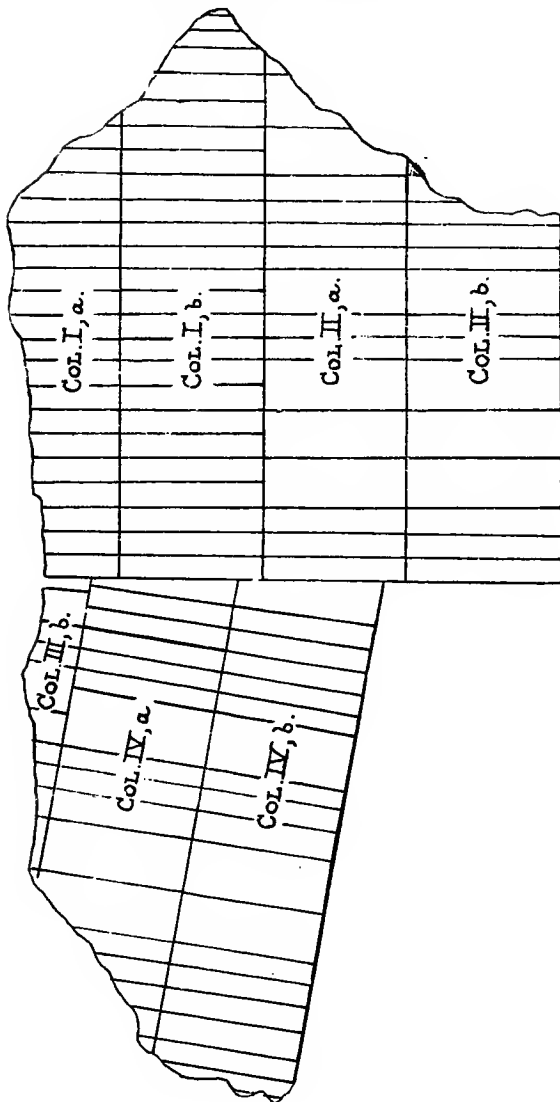




No. 60.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 85.]

PLAN OF THE INSCRIPTION.



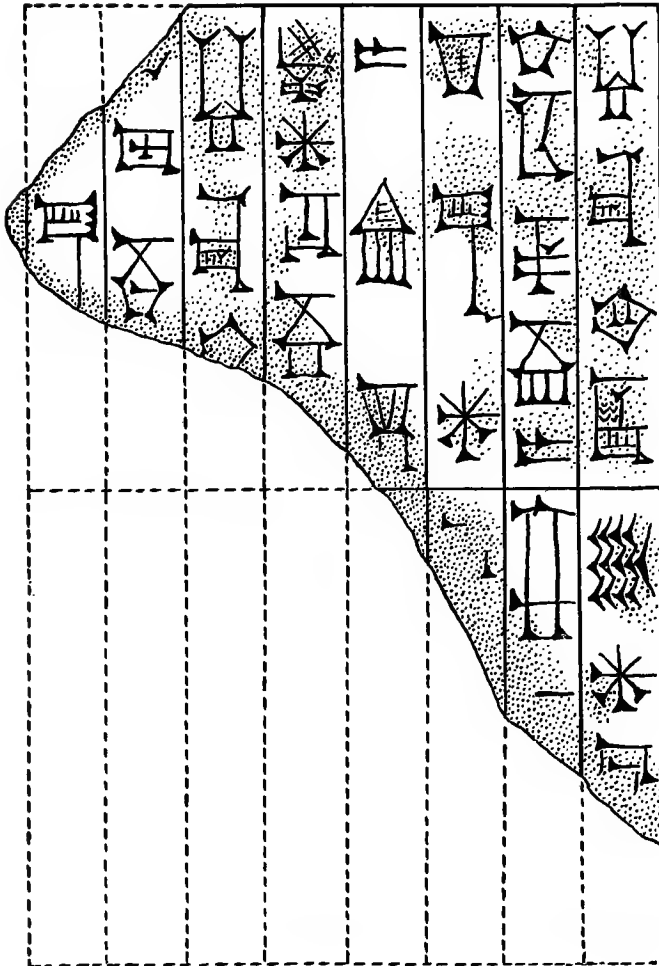




No. 60.

[BRIT. MUS., No 85.]

COL. 1., *a* and *b*.

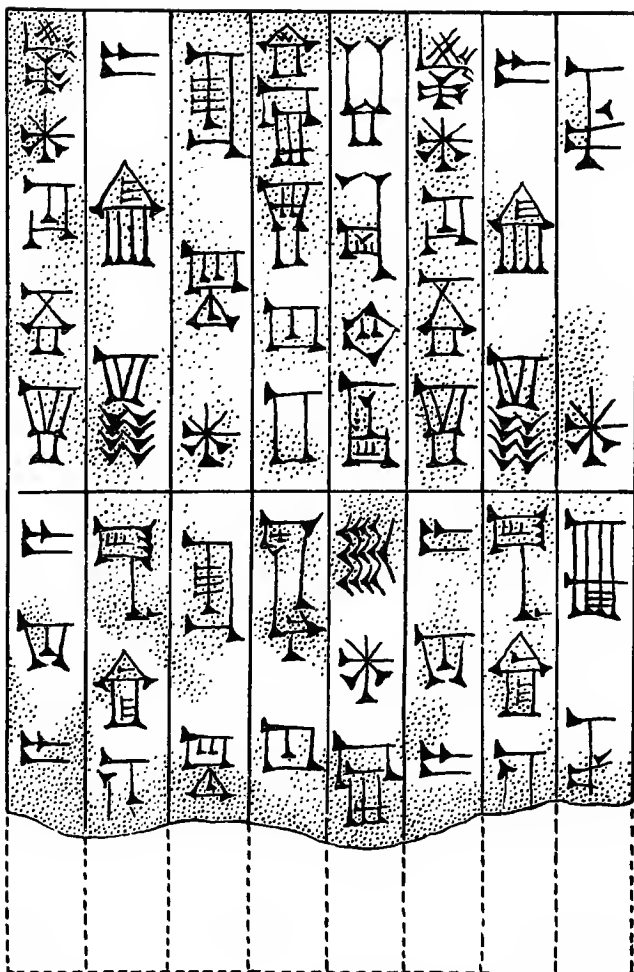




No. 60.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 85.]

COL. I., a and b (cont.)

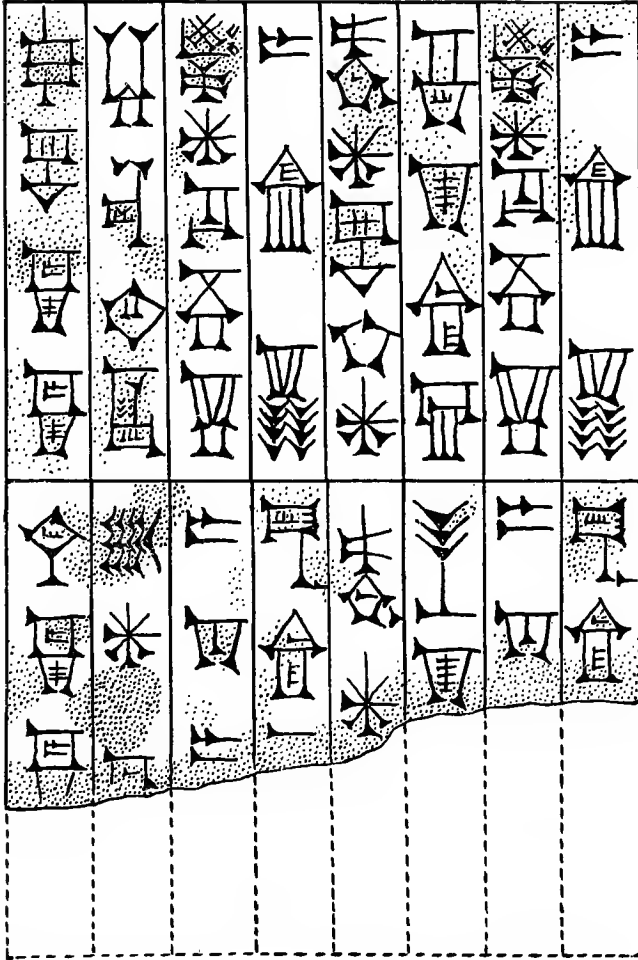




No. 60.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 85.]

COL. I., a and b (cont.).

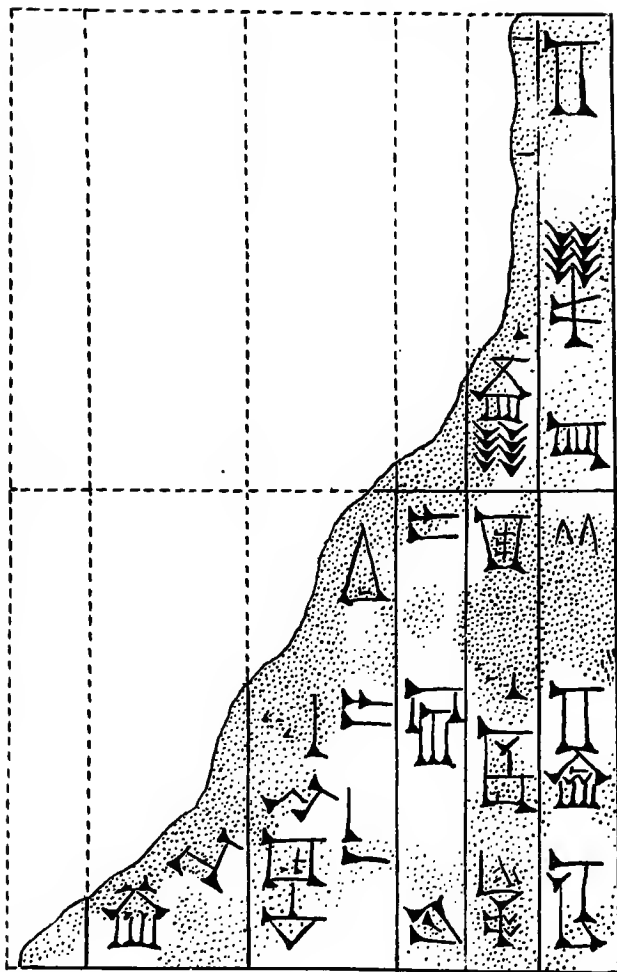




No. 60.

[BRIT Mus., No. 85.]

COL. II., *a* and *b*.







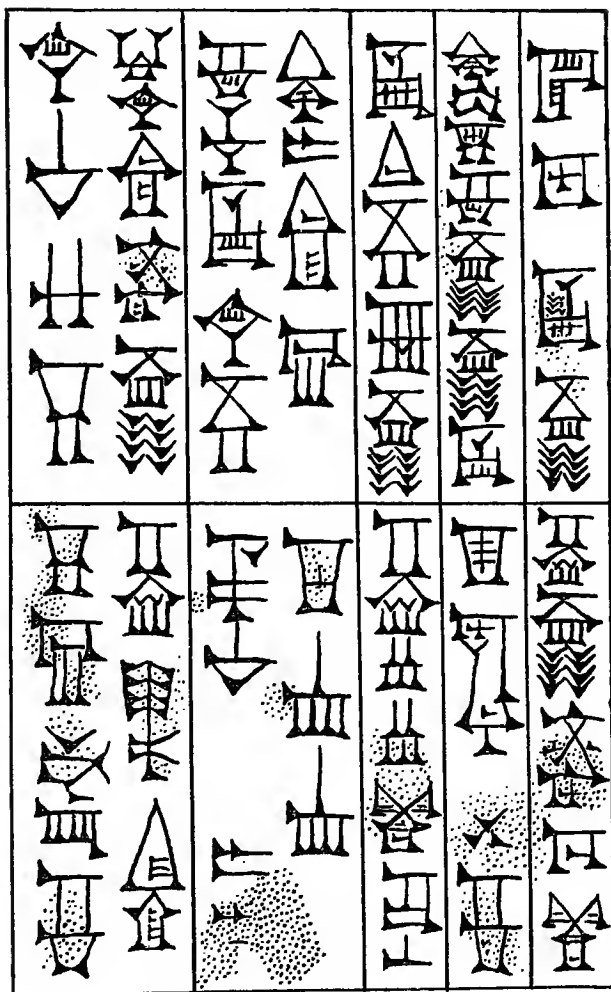




No. 60.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 85.]

COL. II., a and b (cont.).





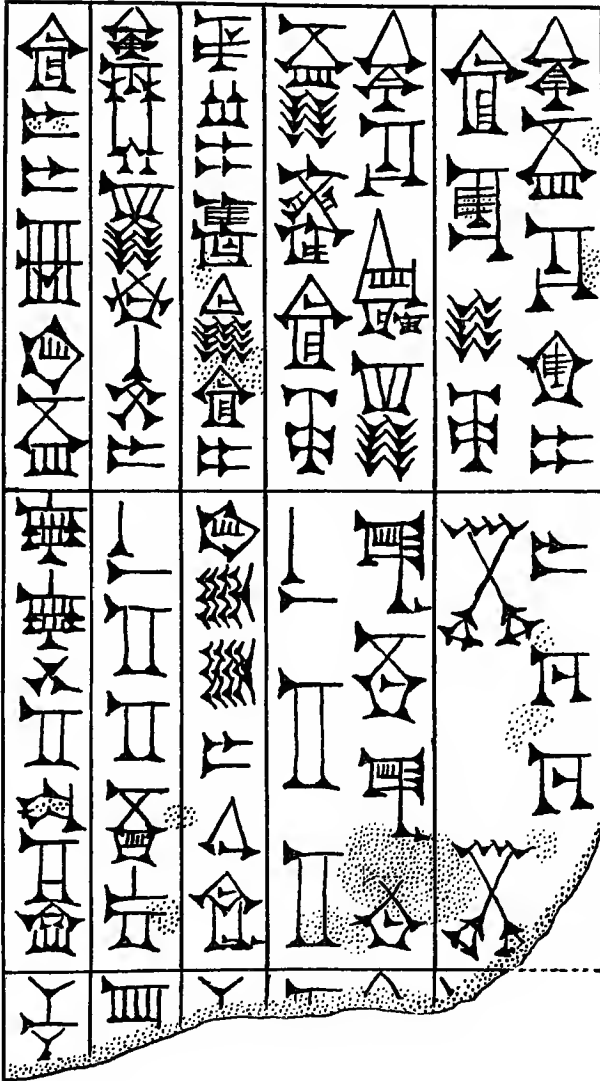




No. 60.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 85.]

COL. III., *b* (cont.); and COL. IV., *a* and *b* (cont.)



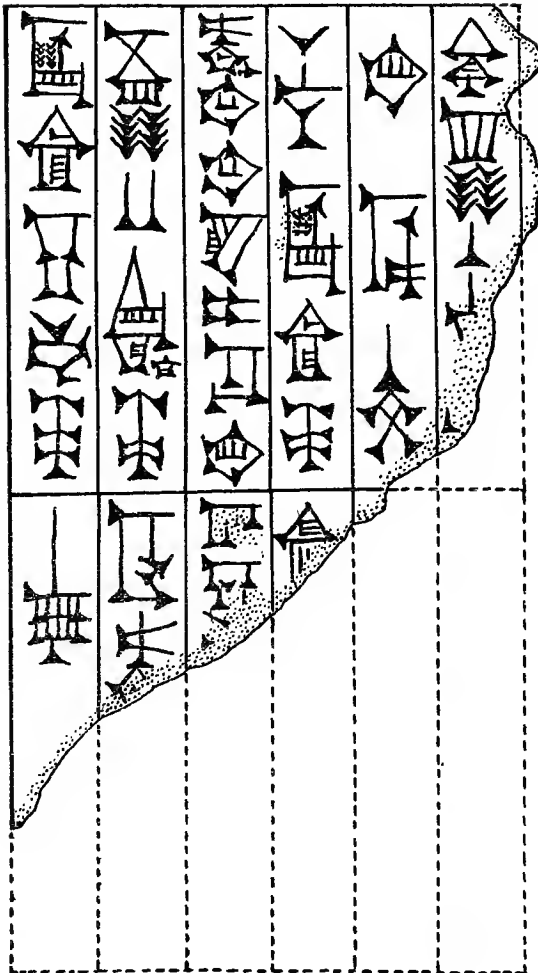




No. 60.

[BRIT. MUS., No 85.]

COL. IV., *a* and *b* (cont.).

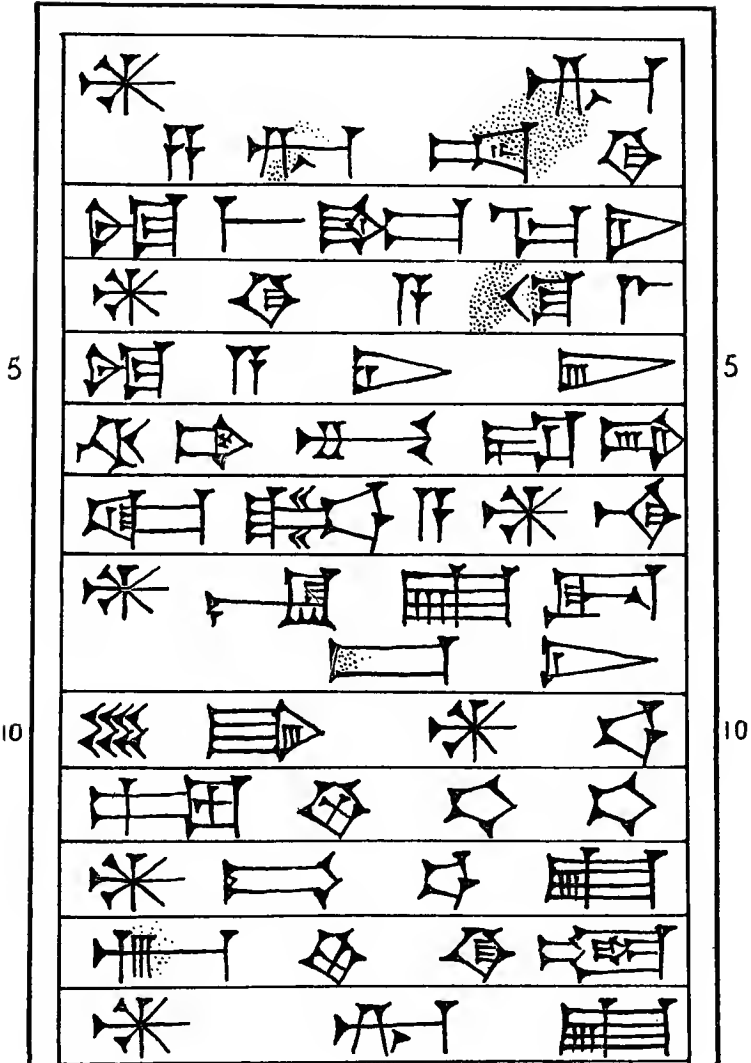




No. 61.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12066.]

OBVERSE.

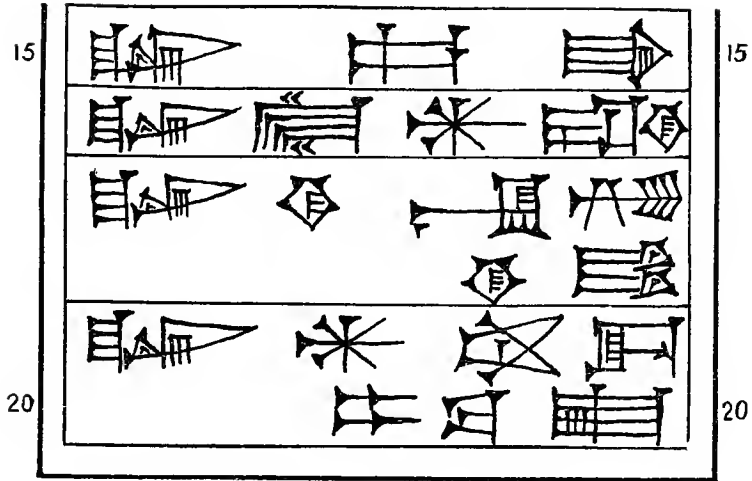




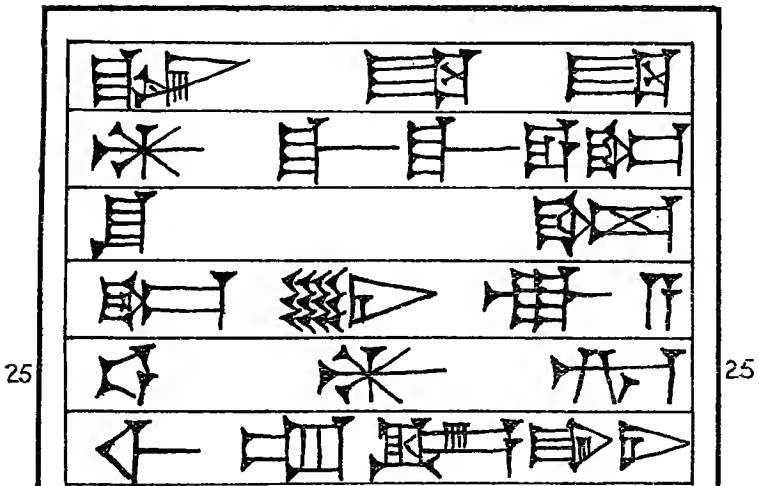
No. 61.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12068.]

OBVERSE (cont.).



REVERSE.

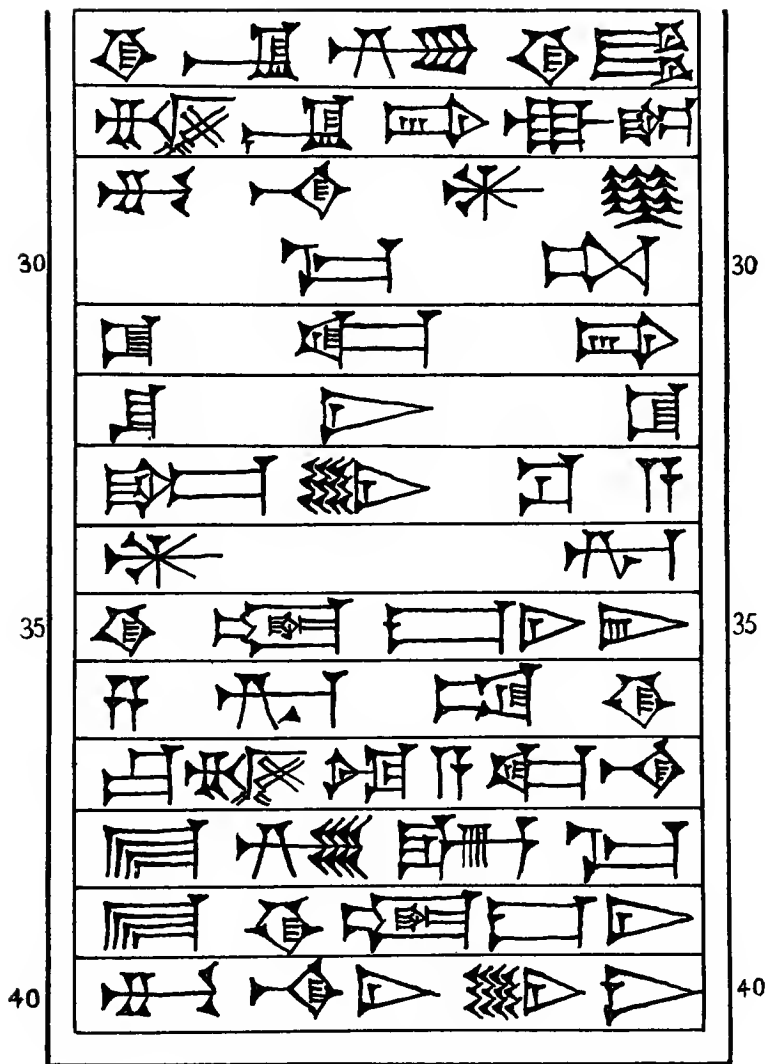




No. 61.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12068.]

REVERSE (cont.).



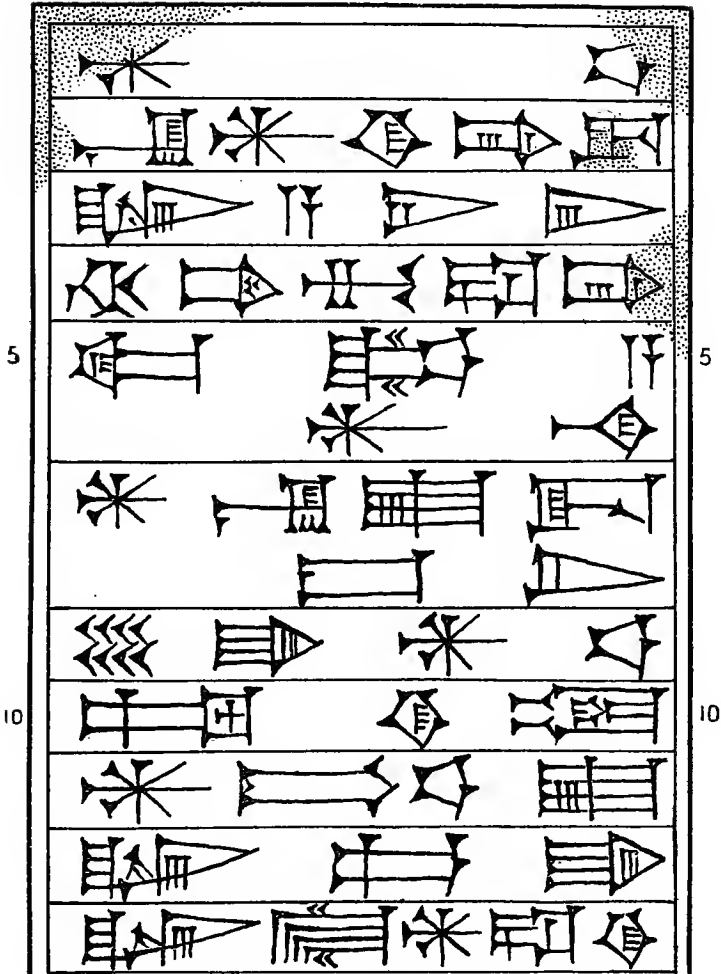




No 62.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12219.]

OBVERSE.

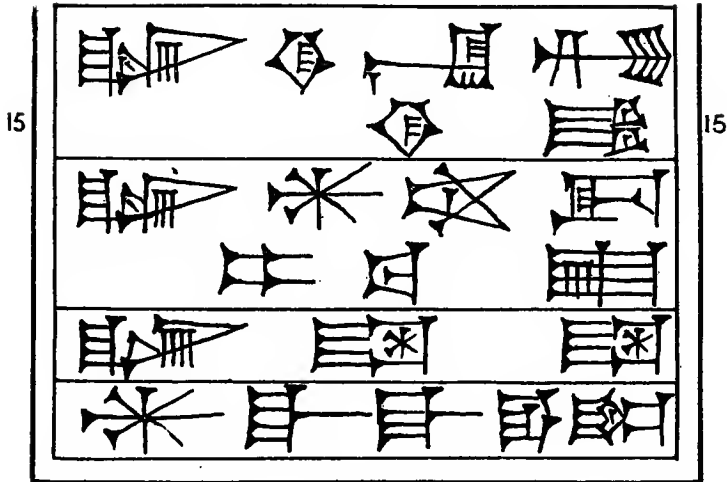




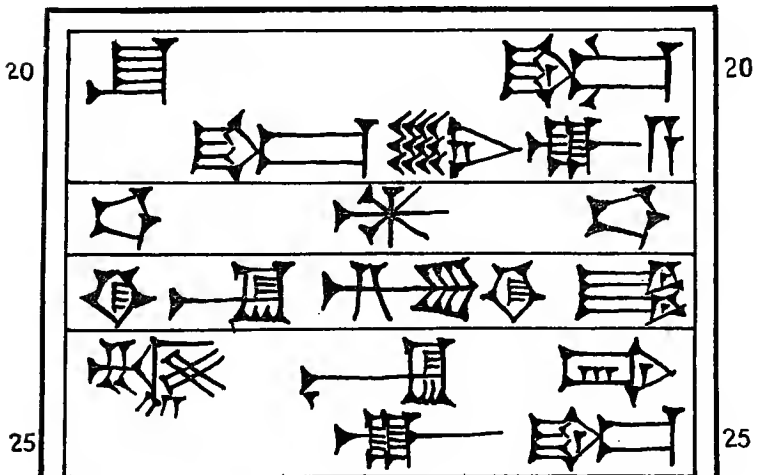
No. 62.

[BRIT. Mus., No. 12219.]

OBVERSE (cont.).



REVERSE.

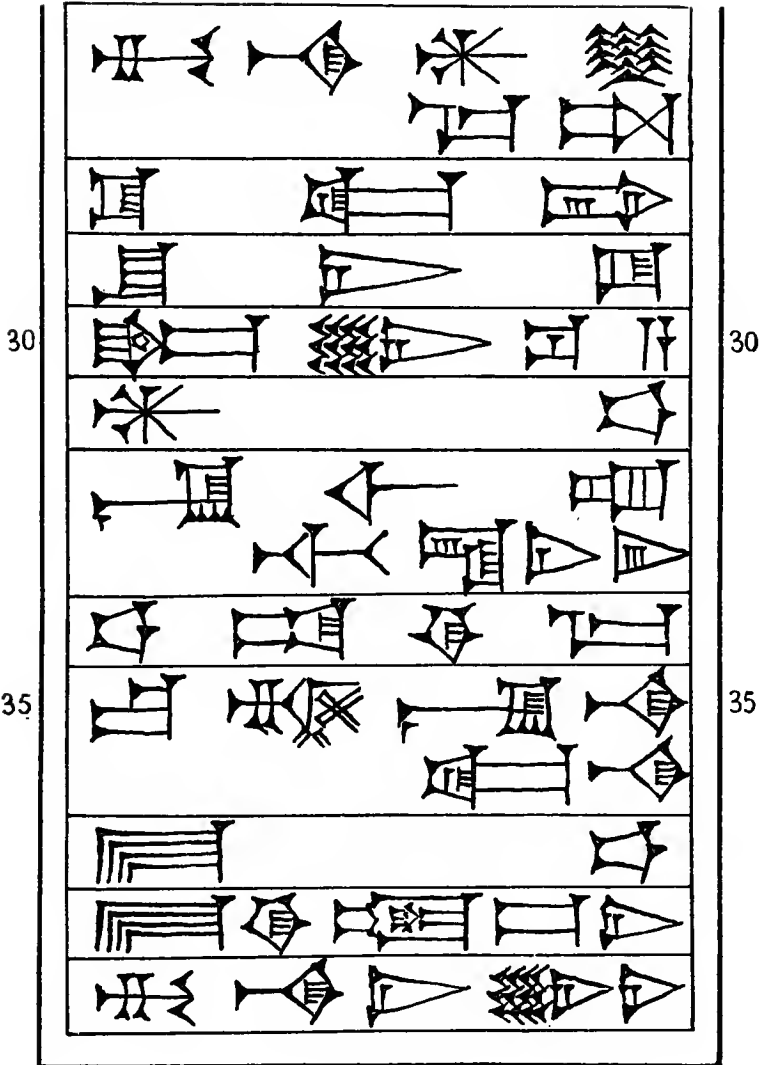




No. 62.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 12219.]

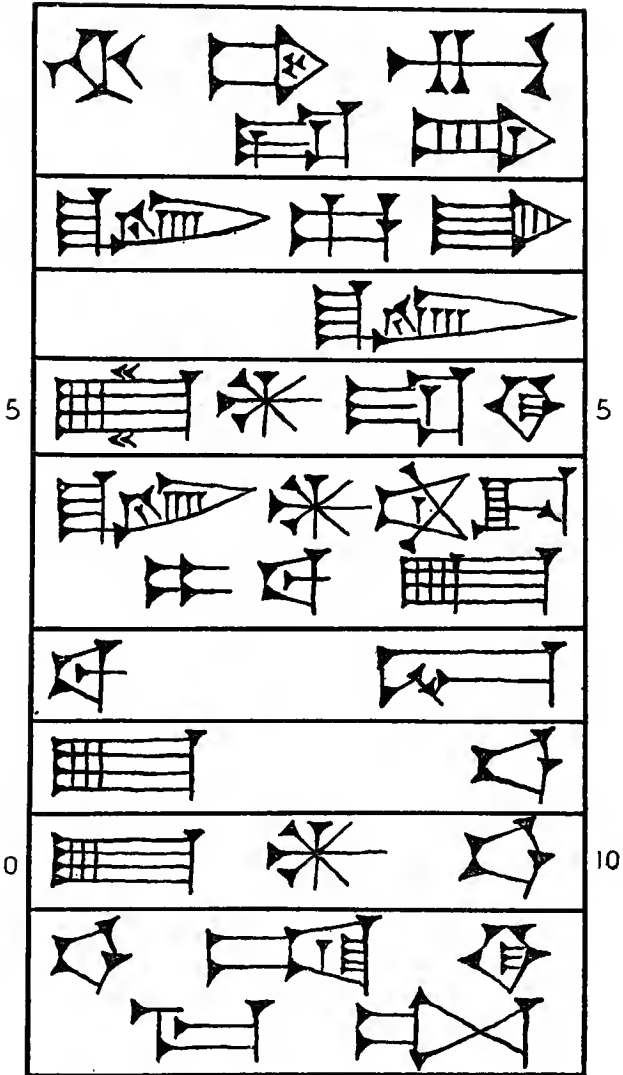
REVERSE (cont.).





No. 63.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 121.]







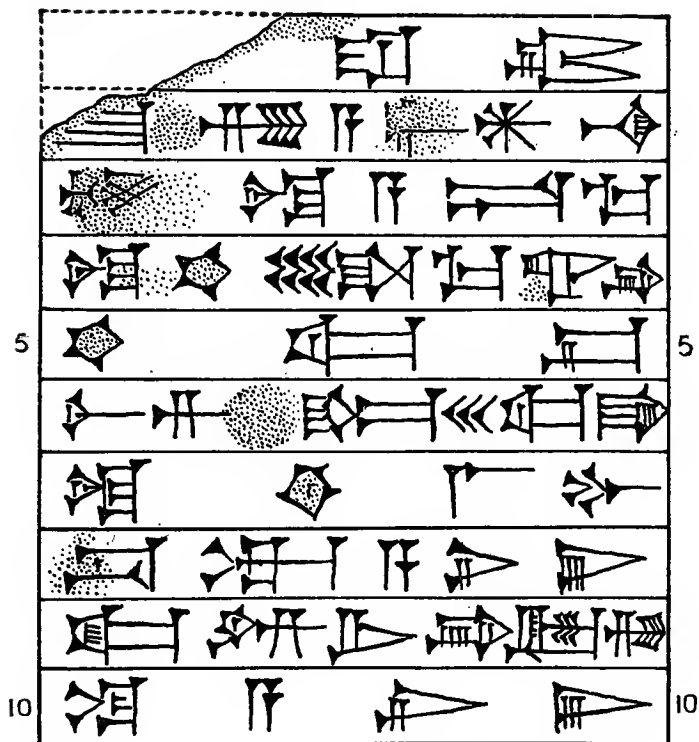




No. 66.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 22454.]

COL. I.

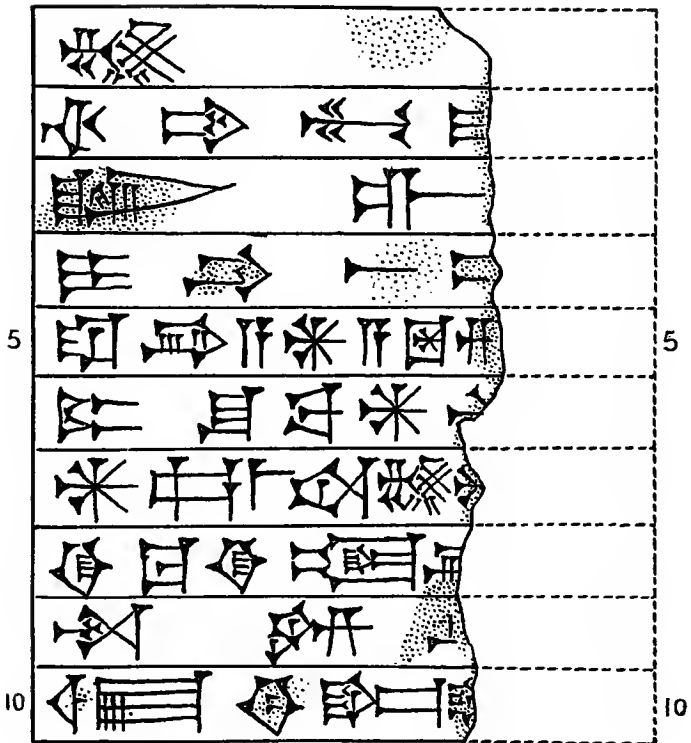




No. 66.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 22454.]

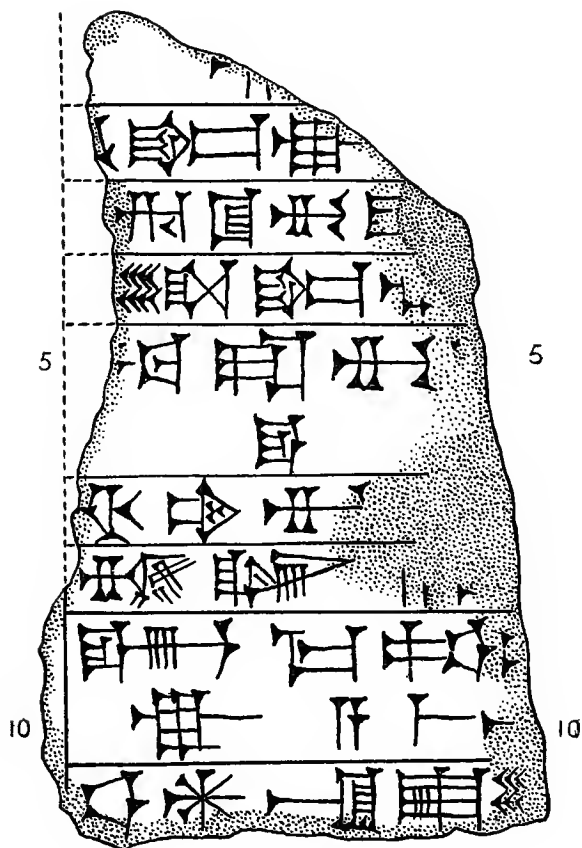
COL. II.





No. 67.

[BRIT. MUS., N. 1667.]



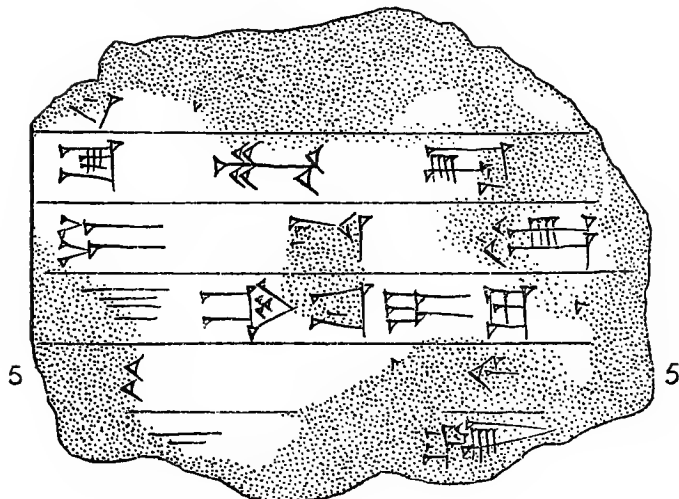




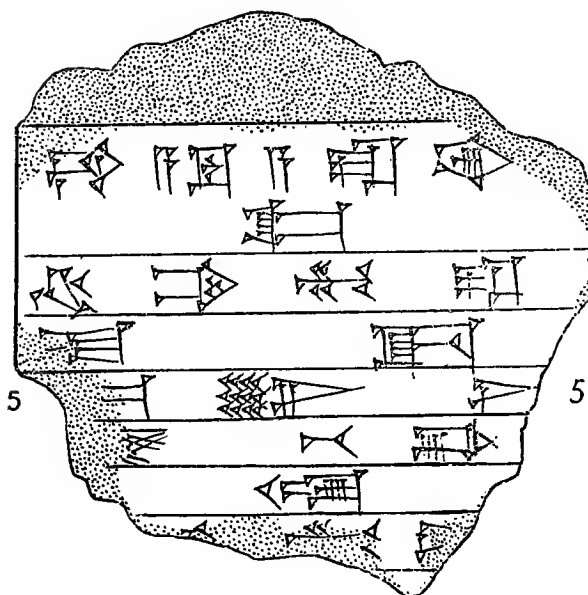
No 68.

[80-11-12, 329.]

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

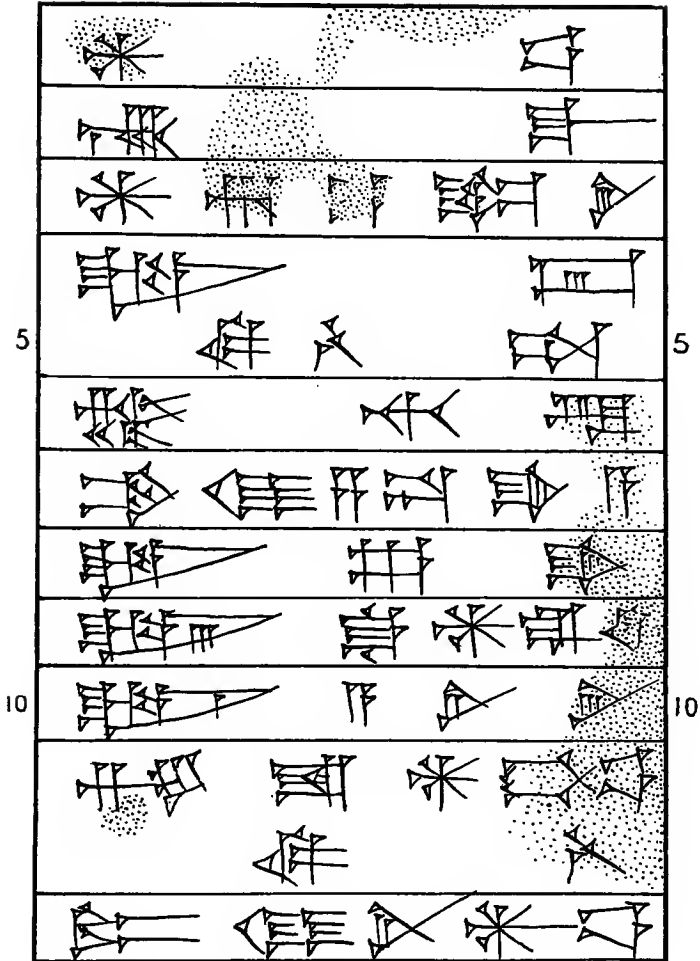




No. 69.

[Bu. 88-5-12, 48.]

OBVERSE.

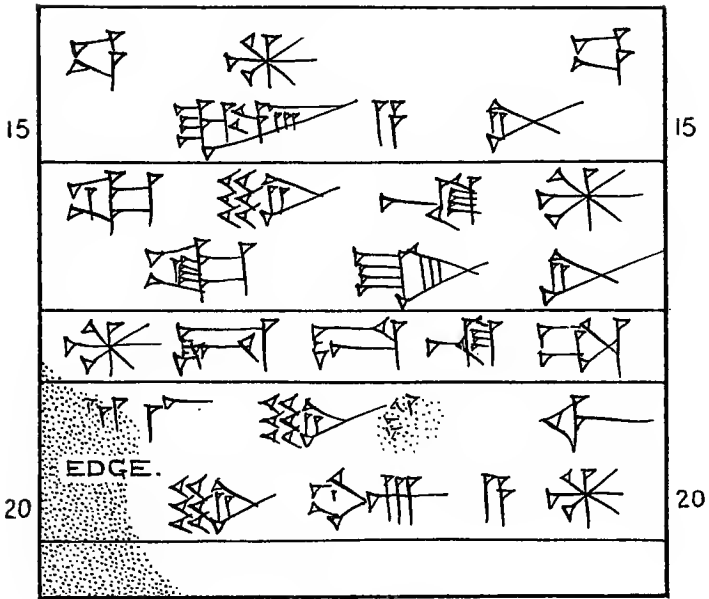




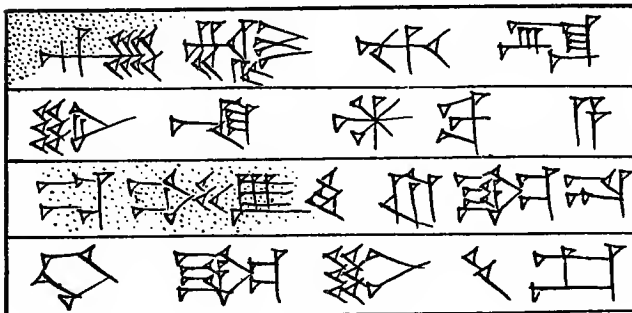
No. 69.

[Bu. 88-5-12, 48.]

OBVERSE (cont.).



REVERSE.

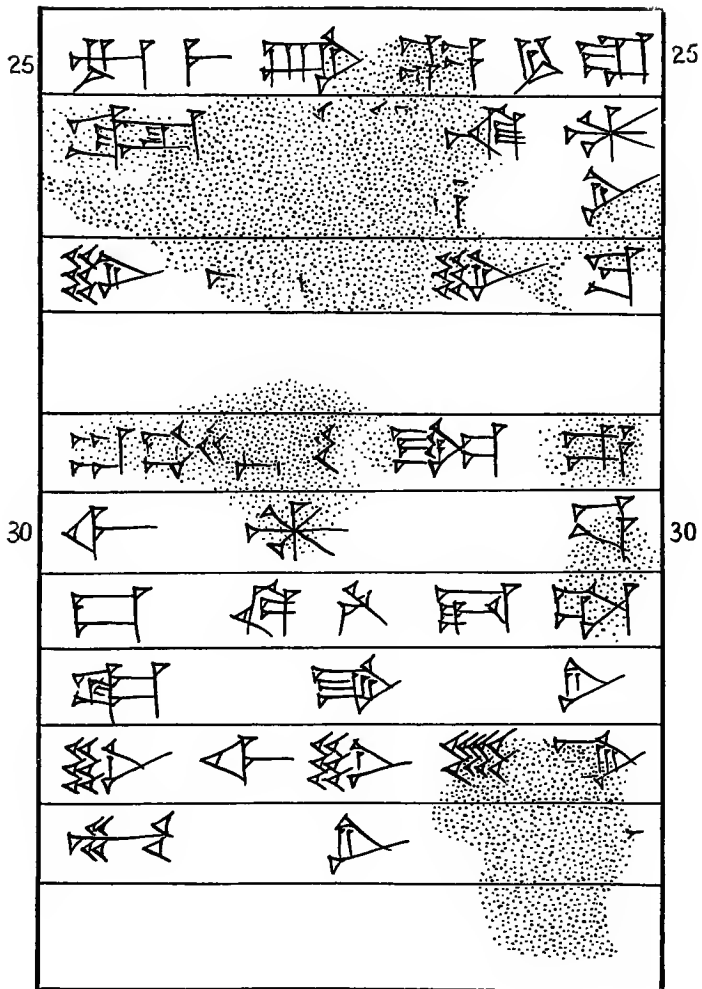




No. 69.

[Bu. 88-5-12, 48.]

REVERSE (cont.).



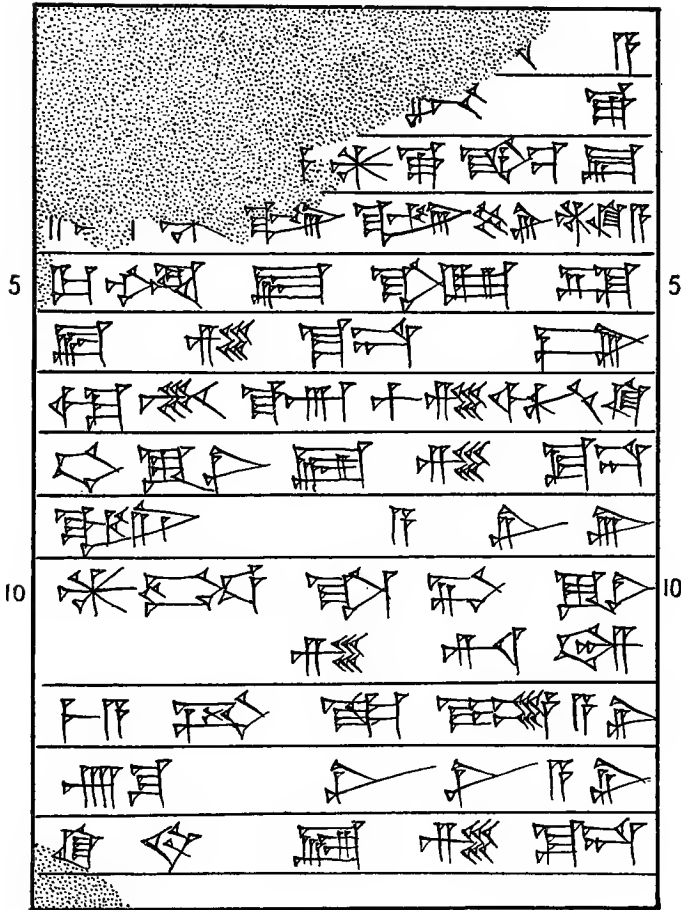




No. 70.

[BRIT. MUS., No. 26295.]

OBVERSE.

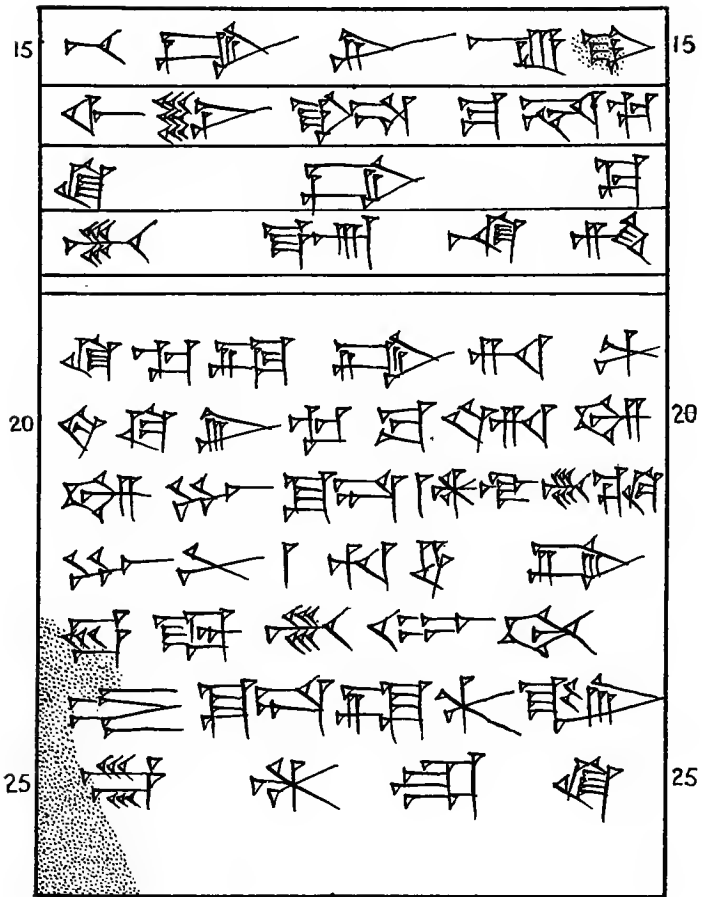




No. 70.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26295.]

REVERSE.





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