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THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF
HAMMURABI,

KING OF BABYLON, ABOUT B.C. 2200.



Portrait Sculpture of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, about B.C. 2200.
(Brit. Mus., No. 22,454.)

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

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VOL. III.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

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Preface.

IN the first volume of this work the hope was expressed that the transliterations and translations of the texts printed therein would be issued at no remote date, and had the scope of the work been kept within the limits originally contemplated these would have seen the light without any undue delay. But, in the course of my examination of the tablets in the British Museum belonging to the period of the reign of Ḥammurabi, I found, after the publication of my first volume, a number of documents which were of prime importance for the history of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Among these may be specially mentioned a duplicate of the Semitic inscription of Samsu-iluna, a duplicate of the Sumerian inscription of the same king, and a text similar to that found on the famous "Chronicle of the Kings of the First Dynasty," and a number of unpublished letters of Ḥammurabi, Samsu-iluna, and Abēšu'. A little consideration convinced me that, as these recently discovered texts supplied new material and corrected

and supplemented the documents of the same class already known, it was absolutely necessary to incorporate in the manuscript of my second volume such recently acquired facts and information. In matters of cuneiform research all statements of new facts ought to be supported, as far as possible, by reproductions of the texts on which they are based, and, after consultation with my publisher, I decided to make the new and interesting texts available to students in an additional volume. The supplementary collection of texts has been made the second volume of this work, and the present volume, which contains transliterations, translations, notes, introduction, vocabularies, etc., therefore becomes the third. I believe that the student will, in view of the reason, forgive the delay in the appearance of the concluding portion of this work.

The total number of royal letters edited and translated in the following pages is eighty-one ; they are arranged under the names of their writers and grouped according to subject-matter. From these we derive a considerable amount of information about the administration of Babylonia at a very early period when the government seems to have been purely personal. No matter was too small to come under the royal cognizance, and the great mind of Hammurabi was as well able to superintend the conduct of

a campaign as to note that his woodcutters in the forest were sending him dead or decayed wood instead of sound trunks. In like manner Samsu-iluna in the intervals of directing state affairs occupied himself in settling a dispute between fishermen from rival villages, etc. It is quite clear that at this period the Babylonians lived after an exceedingly primitive fashion, and that their pursuits were chiefly pastoral and agricultural; their religious ideas and beliefs were, of course, characteristic of the grade of civilization to which they had attained.

In the notes and commentary attached to the translations an attempt has been made to describe the circumstances under which each letter was written, and in the introduction I have given a brief summary of the principal facts which may be deduced from a general study of the letters. The texts found on the "Chronicle of the Kings of the First Dynasty" and its duplicate supply new and important information concerning the history and chronology of the period; they furnish also a list of the great events by which documents were dated in that early period, and from them the order of the dates inscribed upon legal and commercial tablets can be accurately ascertained. I have therefore given in the notes to the translation the date-formulæ found upon contract-tablets, wherefrom I have also been able to restore the text of the

Chronicle in many places. It will be remembered that the longer document was obtained by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge in Babylonia in 1891, and its text has already been published; but the recently discovered duplicate, which supplements and continues it, has made a new edition necessary.

Complete vocabularies of Babylonian and Sumerian words and a general index have been added.

My thanks are due to Dr. Wallis Budge for his help during the progress of the work.

L. W. KING.

LONDON, September 1st, 1900.

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Introduction.

THE royal letters translated in this volume have a peculiar interest as they exhibit the methods by which the kings of the First Dynasty administered their empire and maintained an effective control over the cities and districts of Babylonia which were situated at a considerable distance from the capital. During the earlier periods of Babylonian history when each city had its independent life and system of government, the need for close or frequent communication between them was not apparent. From time to time the king of a city would rise and conquer his neighbours, and would hold them in subjection and exact tribute from them at the point of the sword; but the rule of such a conqueror rarely lasted for long. The connection between a group of cities so confederated was the result of external forces, and was supported only by the military power of the conqueror. As soon as this was withdrawn each city resumed its old life and system of government, and its people remained independent until they again fell victims to some more powerful and more ambitious neighbour. The city of Babylon, however, is the exception to the rule, for it was raised

Letters of
Kings of the
First Dynasty
of Babylon.

by the kings of the First Dynasty to a position of pre-eminence in the country, from which it was not deposed during the long and varied course of Babylonian history. The empire founded by Sumu-abu and consolidated by Ḫammurabi did not share the fate which befell the confederations made by earlier rulers, and the secret of its duration may perhaps be learned from the letters of Ḫammurabi and his successors which have come down to us.

Ḫammurabi's
portrait from
his letters.

By his letters Ḫammurabi is proved to have been not only a soldier and a conqueror, but also an able administrator. He was not content merely to capture a city and exact tribute from its inhabitants, but he straightway organized its government, and appointed his own officers for its control, and he planned its administration on the lines already adopted by himself at Babylon. Even then, however, he did not leave his agents to their own devices, but established a regular system of communication with the capital, by means of which he received reports from his local governors and sent them detailed instructions in return. From his letters we gather that he improved the irrigation of the land by repairing the old canals and by cutting new ones; and that he organized the food-supply throughout the country and superintended the administration of justice. By these and similar acts Ḫammurabi succeeded in welding into a united whole the scattered cities and provinces of the land, and if an example of his skill in absorbing

cities into his empire be required, we may quote the city of Larsam as typical of his method of government and of its results.

It is clear that communication between the different cities of Babylonia must have existed in an imperfect form from a very remote period. Already in the time of Sargon of Agade, at about B.C. 3800, we have reason to believe that a system of convoys had been established between the cities of Agade and Širpurla. Along with the thousands of clay tablets discovered at Tell Loh several lumps of clay have been found bearing the seal-impressions of Sargon I and of his son Narām-sin, which were evidently used as seals and labels upon bundles of various objects that had been despatched from Argade to Širpurla. On the underside of the lumps of clay may still be seen the marks of the cords with which the bundles were tied up, while on their upper surface beside the seal-impressions are written the names of the men to whom the bundles were addressed.¹ It is not, however, until the time of the First Dynasty, i.e. about fifteen hundred years later, that we first find evidence of the existence of letters in the proper sense of the term. The private letters of this period which actually passed between friends and relatives, merchants, and traders, and which dealt with incidents

The post in Babylonia.

¹ See Heuzey, *Revue d'assyriologie*, iv, pp. 1 ff.

of domestic life and commercial transactions,¹ prove that the sending of a letter was no extraordinary or uncommon occurrence and suggest that a regular post was at this time established in Babylonia. We may conjecture that the post was organized by the king who no doubt perceived that a system of communication throughout Babylonia would effectively assist him in his design of consolidating his empire. The letters were probably carried from city to city by *mārē šipri*, or "messengers," and a special service of swift runners was no doubt established for bearing the royal letters and despatches from one place to another.

Letter-tablets
and envelopes.

The letters of Hammurabi and his successors which have come down to us are written on small clay tablets oblong in shape and measuring some two to three inches in breadth, some three to four inches in length, and about an inch in thickness. Though rather larger than the letters of the later Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, they were not too large to be conveniently carried on the person. After the tablets were inscribed they were carefully enclosed in envelopes of clay which insured the privacy of their contents, and at the same time preserved the inscription from defacement. Both the tablet and the envelope were baked, and the former was prevented from permanently sticking to the latter by powdering it with dry clay. On the outside of the envelope was

¹ See Vol. I, pp. xxi ff.

written the address, i.e. the name of the official or other person for whom the document was intended. When the letter was delivered its recipient broke the clay envelope and usually threw it away; but in some tablets small pieces of the envelope still adhere to the letter. A good example of a private letter with its envelope complete is preserved in the British Museum, where it bears the number 93,018.¹ The fact that when found its envelope was unbroken seems to show that the letter for some reason was never sent or opened.

The writing found upon early Babylonian letters is of a cursive character, and though many of the signs retain in some degree the complicated forms of the Sumerian period, it is evident that they were written rapidly. In order to keep his rows of characters level the scribe ruled with his stylus a number of horizontal lines across the tablet, and when writing he impressed the heads of his characters upon the ruled line above them. No king appears to have employed more than one scribe for writing his letters and despatches, for all of Hammurabi's letters are in the same bold hand, whilst those of Abēšu' are in a rather smaller but quite distinctive character. The style of composition employed in the letters is somewhat brief and abrupt, and forms a striking contrast to the verbose phraseology

Writing and style of composition of the letters.

¹ See *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London, 1900, p. 114.

The Tell el-Amarna letters compared.

of the letters from Tell el-Amarna. This may be explained by the fact that they are not diplomatic communications but the letters of kings to their subordinate officers containing their commands or requests for information. A king, naturally, wasted no time in paying empty compliments to his subordinates.

Epistolary formulæ.

To the same reason may also be ascribed the absence of greetings and formulæ of blessing at the beginning of each letter. In the Tell el-Amarna tablets a considerable portion of each letter is taken up with these preliminary compliments before the substance of the letter is reached, and even in private letters of this earlier period the writer usually begins by invoking the blessings of two deities upon his correspondent at greater or lesser length.¹ All such

¹ Šamaš and Marduk are the deities most commonly invoked. The shortest formulæ for blessing read: *šmaš u marduk li-ba-al-li-tu-ka*, "May Šamaš and Marduk grant thee life!" or *šmaš u marduk da-ri-iš u-mi* (or *ina šu-mi-ia*) *li-ba-al-li-tu-ka*, "May Š. and M. for ever (or, through my name) grant thee life!" To these blessings are sometimes added one or more of the following phrases: *lu ša-al-ma-ta lu ba-al-ša-ta ilu na-ši-ir-ka ri-eš-ka a-na da-mi-iḫ-tim* (or *ri-eš da-mi-iḫ-ti-ka*) *li-ki-il a-na šu-ul-mi-ka aš-pu-ra-am šu-lum-ka ma-ḥar šmaš u marduk lu da-ri*, "Mayest thou be well and live! May the god who protecteth thee uphold thy head for prosperity (or, uphold the head of thy prosperity, i.e. make thee prosperous)! I have written to greet thee. May thy well-being before Šamaš and Marduk endure!" Minor variants to these formulæ are common, and of course the gender and number of the pronominal suffixes

phrases are absent from the royal letters which begin with the bare formula containing the name of the man addressed and that of the sender of the letter. The formula which was in general use at this time was also employed during the period in which the Tell el-Amarna letters were written, and may be rendered thus:—"Unto A. say. Thus saith B." ¹; then follows what B. has to say to A. The phrase has possibly descended from a time when verbal messages and not written letters were in vogue.

change. In place of Šamaš and Marduk, the writer sometimes invokes Šamaš alone, or Šamaš and "Ai, the bride," or Šamaš and Bēl, or Šamaš and Ašur, etc.; in other letters no deities are mentioned by name, but invocations are made to *bēli u bēlti*, "my god and my goddess," or *bēlika u bēltika*, "thy god and thy goddess." Šamaš and Marduk are the gods most frequently invoked in the oath-formulæ upon contract-tablets, and the reigning king is there generally associated with them. In the formulæ of blessing upon private letters, however, the reigning king is but very rarely associated with them; such an invocation would probably only have been employed by a high officer of state.

¹ That is, *a-na . . . ki-bi-ma um-ma . . . -ma*. That *ḫibi* is not a permansive form but the 2nd m. s. of the imperative may be taken as certain for the following reasons:— (1) If *ḫibi* were a permansive, we should expect the plural *ḫibūma* when the letter is from two or more people; as a matter of fact the form *ḫibi* is invariably found, whether the letter is from one or from a number of correspondents; (2) The form of the permansive of *ḫibū*, or *ḫabū*, which is elsewhere found is not *ḫibi* but *ḫabi*; (3) The imperative *ḫibi*, in the sense of "say," is found in letters of this period followed by the enclitic *ma* introducing direct speech; (4) The elision of the verb in the second phrase *umma . . . -ma* occurs elsewhere in letters, especially in introducing quotations from previous letters or reports.

With some such words a man would begin a communication to a messenger whose duty it was to store the words in his memory and deliver them by word of mouth. When the written letter took the place of the spoken message we may suppose that the old formula was still retained.

Ḫammurabi's
correspondent,
Sin-idinam.

All the letters of Ḫammurabi here published are addressed to the same man, a certain Sin-idinam, whose name occurs at the head of each letter without a title of any sort. Each letter begins "Unto Sin-idinam say. Thus saith Ḫammurabi," and in seeking to determine the position held by Sin-idinam we are entirely dependent on the internal evidence furnished by the letters themselves. The fact that he should have carried on a correspondence with the king in itself proves that his position was one of great importance, and there are several indications in the letters which point to the city of Larsam in southern Babylonia as the centre of his authority. For instance, in one letter Ḫammurabi writes to him to send a certain man of the city of Larsam into his presence¹; in another he orders him to despatch two men to him, whether they are dwelling in Larsam or in its neighbourhood²; in announcing the despatch of certain workmen Ḫammurabi orders that half of them are to

¹ No. XLII, p. 89; cf. also No. LV, pp. 114 ff., in which three out of the eight officials summoned to Babylon are from Larsam or its neighbourhood.

² No. XLIII, p. 90 f.

be set to labour with the workmen of Larsam¹; and in another he orders Sin-idinnam to deliver certain workmen of Larsam into the hands of an overseer whom he had despatched to take charge of them.² From such indications it may fairly be assumed that Sin-idinnam was a high official in Larsam and probably the governor of the city.

It would be tempting to identify Ḫammurabi's ^{Sin-idinnam's rank.} correspondent with the Sin-idinnam who, as we know from two of his inscriptions which have come down to us, was an early king of the city of Larsam, and ruler also of the city of Ur. From one of the inscriptions of this king, several copies of which are found on bricks now in the British Museum, we learn that he cut a great canal for supplying his land with water, and that he restored a temple of Nannar, the Moon-god, in the city of Ur³; from his other inscription, found upon a clay cone, we gather that he also rebuilt E-babbar, the temple of the Sun-god.⁴ Very little is known about this ruler, and we might assume that he was a contemporary of Ḫammurabi, by whom, after the defeat of Rim-sin, he was established on the throne of Larsam as a vassal prince. Against the identification of Ḫammurabi's correspondent with Sin-idinnam, king of Larsam, may be urged the fact that

¹ No. XXXVII, p. 82.

² No. XXXVI, p. 81.

³ See *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. i, pl. 5, No. xx.

⁴ See Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i, pp. 301 ff.

the latter styles himself on both of his inscriptions "king of Sumer and Akkad," a title which is perhaps hardly consistent with the dependent position occupied by the recipient of Ḥammurabi's letters. Ḥammurabi's letters are those of a ruler to one of his officers rather than part of a correspondence between two closely allied kings.

Extent of Sin-idin-
nam's
jurisdiction.

It is hardly likely that Sin-idin-
nam was a vassal king, but he certainly occupied a higher position than his namesake of Sippar who is mentioned at the head of several of Abēšu's letters ; for Ḥammurabi addresses his commands solely to Sin-idin-
nam, while the Sin-idin-
nam of Abēšu's letters is usually associated with the judges of Sippar. Moreover, the Sin-idin-
nam of Ḥammurabi's letters enjoyed an authority which extended beyond the limits of the city in which he dwelt. Erech was probably within his jurisdiction, for he is rebuked by Ḥammurabi for sending certain men of Erech before him,¹ and in another letter he is ordered to see to the repair of a canal in that city.² The city of Ur too was also under his control, for we find Ḥammurabi entrusting him with the arrangements for the transport of troops stationed in the neighbourhood of Ur,³ and ordering him to keep clear the channel of the Euphrates between Larsam and

¹ No. XLVII, p. 96 f.

² No. VI, p. 16 f.

³ No. XXIX, p. 67.

Ur.¹ It would therefore appear that, while Sin-idinnam was normally the ruler or governor of Larsam, his authority was acknowledged in the neighbouring cities of Erech and Ur and probably extended over a considerable tract in the extreme south of Babylonia.

Speaking generally Hammurabi's letters and those of the other kings of Babylon here published throw more light on the internal administration of Babylonia during the period in which they were written than on historical events, such as the capture of cities or the prosecution of military campaigns. This is naturally the case inasmuch as they are addressed to governors of Babylonian cities and other high civil officials and not to generals in the field nor to the heads of friendly or allied states. It is true that at least one of Hammurabi's letters may be termed a military despatch, as it gives directions concerning the destination of "two hundred and forty men of the King's Company" who have departed from Assyria,² but the references to military matters in the other letters are not numerous. In one letter we hear of certain troops stationed in the neighbourhood of Ur³; another

General character of Hammurabi's letters.

References to military affairs.

¹ No. VII, p. 18 f. In No. XII, p. 29 f., Sin-idinnam is ordered to see that certain corn is restored to a native of Nippur, but this does not prove that Nippur was within his jurisdiction. The man who had taken the corn may have been a native of Larsam, or Unabum, where the corn had been stored, may have lain in its neighbourhood.

² No. I, pp. 3 ff.

³ See preceding page, n. 3.

contains directions for the supply of raiment and oil for certain men who may have belonged to the Babylonian forces¹; a body of troops was to be told off to escort to Babylon certain Elamite goddesses which had been taken as spoil in a campaign²; a body of troops under Inuḥsamar's command escorted the same goddesses from Babylon to the frontier, and, finally, Sin-idinnam is ordered to inflict a blow upon the Elamites with the troops under his command before restoring the goddesses to their shrines.³ It is clear that for some period of his life Sin-idinnam took the field at the head of a Babylonian army, but the majority of Ḥammurabi's letters which have been recovered were written to him during times of peace when he was dwelling in Larsam and acting as governor of that city and administrator of the surrounding districts.

The goddesses
from Elam.

The two letters which deal with the capture of the Elamite goddesses and their return to their native shrines are the only ones of the series that can be regarded as referring to foreign affairs. They were probably written by Ḥammurabi before the thirtieth or thirty-first year of his reign, for we know from the "Chronicle" that it was at about this time that he brought the war with Elam to a successful close.⁴

¹ No. XXV, p. 58 f.

² No. II, pp. 6 ff.

³ No. III, p. 10 f.

⁴ See below, p. 236 f., and cf. n. 66.

These two letters have already been discussed at some length in the introduction to Vol. I,¹ and it will not be necessary to go over the same ground again. Perhaps the most interesting point which they illustrate is the fact that foreign deities, even when captured from a hostile race, were treated by the Babylonians with as much respect as was paid by them to their own native gods and goddesses. Hammurabi gave instructions that the Elamite goddesses were to be conveyed "as in a shrine" to Babylon, that is to say, with no less pomp than was accorded by Samsu-iluna to the native Babylonian goddess Annunitum when he arranged that she should undertake a journey to Sippar-edina²; sheep were to be supplied for sacrifice before the goddesses upon the journey, and they were to be attended by their own temple-women or priestesses. By such acts of worship Hammurabi no doubt hoped to secure the favour of the goddesses. His action finds an interesting parallel in the favour shown by Nebuchadnezzar I to an Elamite priest and his son during their sojourn in Babylonia.³

The worship of foreign deities.

¹ Vol. I, pp. xxxvi ff.

² See p. 117 f.

³ Šamūa and Šamai, priests of the Elamite god Eria, when fugitives from their country, were assisted by Nebuchadnezzar I, who invaded Elam on their behalf. He afterwards settled the two priests and their god in Babylonia and assigned them revenues from certain lands. See Meissner, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, p. 259 f., and Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii (1), p. 172 f.

Care for the
worship of the
gods.

The care shown by Ḥammurabi and the other kings of the First Dynasty in fostering the worship of the principal Babylonian deities is perhaps most strikingly seen in the titles which they gave to the years of their reigns.¹ From these we gather that not only were they constantly building or rebuilding temples for the gods, but they also beautified their shrines by making costly crowns and thrones and images in their honour.² From his letters too we see that in smaller matters Ḥammurabi displayed the same care for the interests of their worship, for there is abundant evidence that he superintended the collection of the temple-revenues and received the reports of the herdsmen and shepherds attached to the service of the gods; while one of the letters of his son Samsu-iluna contains directions for the prompt supply of corn for the storehouse of the temple of Šamaš.³ Ḥammurabi also cared for the due observance of religious rites and ceremonies, and on one occasion he postponed the hearing of a case at law concerning the disputed possession of certain land because it would have interfered with the holding of a festival at Ur. Ili-ippalzam, the plaintiff in the suit, was chief of the temple-bakers, and Ḥammurabi had entrusted him

¹ The titles were employed for dating documents; in describing the Chronicle (see below), this system of dating is more fully discussed.

² For references, cf. the Index.

³ See p. 119 f.

with superintending certain offerings in the city of Ur. As the hearing of his case would have interfered with the performance of this duty Hammurabi arranged that the trial should be postponed.¹ In addition to collecting the temple-revenues, the king at this period exercised an active control over the priesthood itself, and received reports from the chief priests concerning members of their own class. In one of his letters, for instance, Abēšu' quotes from a report which he had received from Sin-mušalim, the *durmahu* or chief priest of the goddess Annunitum, concerning a priest of Annunitum of Sippar-amnanu who was also one of the *patesi* of Annunitum.² The *bārūti*, or guild of "soothsayers," were an important body at this period, and were also under the king's direct control, for Hammurabi makes mention of one of them who was an official of the Palace Gate,³ and in another letter ordering the arrest of eight officials who had not gone to their duties, one of them is stated to have belonged to the company of soothsayers.⁴ The duty of the *bārū*, or soothsayer, is well illustrated by a letter of Ammiditana to three officials who were probably connected with the city of Sippar. Ammiditana wrote to inform them that there was a scarcity of corn in the city of Šagga, and he directed them to send a

The making of offerings.

The priesthood and the guild of "soothsayers."

¹ See pp. 42 ff.

² Abēšu', No. IX, p. 147 f.

³ See p. 112 f.

⁴ No. LV, pp. 114 ff.

Observation of
omens.

supply to make up the deficiency. But before bringing the corn into the city, they were to let the soothsayers who were under their control "divine the future," in order that the corn might be brought into Šagga under favourable omens.¹ It is not improbable that the scarcity of corn was attributed to the anger of some local deity or spirit; hence the necessity for carefully observing the omens in order that the measures they were taking should not bring about further disaster.

Regulation of
the calendar.

The practice of astrology and astronomy, which was probably in the hands of the priesthood, was also carried on under the control of the king, and the calendar was doubtless regulated by the royal astronomers in Babylon. During the period of the later Assyrian kings the astronomers and astrologers in different parts of the country sent to the king regular reports of their observations, several hundreds of which have come down to us;² and although we do not possess any similar documents of the period of the First Dynasty it is not improbable that such were sent to the king from time to time. In any case we know that the king regulated the calendar, and it was probably on the advice of his astronomers that he inserted intercalary months when necessary. That

¹ See pp. 157 ff.

² See R. Campbell Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1900.

the king undertook this duty we know from one of Hammurabi's letters,¹ in which he informs Sin-idinam of his intention to insert a second Elul in the calendar ; he wrote : " Since the year (i.e. the calendar) hath ^{Insertion of intercalary months.} " a deficiency, let the month which is (now) beginning " be registered as a second Elul." There is evidence that at this period both a second Adar and a second Nisan were also inserted as intercalary months,² and it is probable that when one was to be inserted the king wrote to the governors of the principal cities to inform them of the intended alteration in the calendar. The names of the months at this period are usually written ideographically. It is probable that the majority of them corresponded to the names employed in the later periods of Babylonian and Assyrian history ; by their side, however, other names written syllabically are sometimes met with.³

¹ No. IV, p. 12 f.

² See p. 13, n. 1.

³ The ideograms commonly used for the months at this period are : (1) *arḫu* BAR-ZAG-GAR, (2) *arḫu* GUD-SI-DI, (3) *arḫu* MURGU-A, (4) *arḫu* ŠU-KUL-A, (5) *arḫu* NE-NE-GAR, (6) *arḫu* KIN-*ilū* NINNI, (7) *arḫu* DUL-AZAG, (8) *arḫu* APIN-GAB-A, (9) *arḫu* KAN-KAN-UD-DU, (10) *arḫu* AB-UD-DU, (11) *arḫu* AŠ-A, (12) *arḫu* ŠI-KIN-KUD, (13) *arḫu* DIR-ŠI-KIN-KUD, (14) *arḫu* KIN-*ilū* NINNI-II-KAM-MA, and (15) *arḫu* BAR-ZAG-GAR-II-KAM-MA. It will be noted that the ideograms for Nos. 1-13 correspond in the main with the list of ideograms of the months given in *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. v, pl. 29, No. 1, ll. 1-13, though the ideograms for six of the months, i.e. the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, offer slight variants. The ideograms given in the above list are not invariably met with, for other forms are sometimes found, e.g. *arḫu* KIN-NINNI and *arḫu* KIN-AN-NA for the

Repair of
canals.

Among letters which may be regarded as referring to public works are those which deal with the repair and cleaning out of the canals in Babylonia. Almost every king of the First Dynasty extended the system of canals which he had inherited, and the great

6th month, ^{arbu} GIŠ-APIN-GAR-A for the 8th month, ^{arbu} KAN-KAN-UD-DU-A, ^{arbu} KAN-UD-DU-A and ^{arbu} KAN-KAN for the 9th month, ^{arbu} AB-UD-DU-A for the 10th month, while the 4th month is found written as ^{arbu} *itu* DUMU-ZI and ^{arbu} DUMU-ZI upon V.A.Th. 1468, l. 33, and V.A.Th. 990, l. 16 (see Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, Nos. 49 and 58). Since the ideograms in use at this period correspond in the main to those employed in abbreviated forms in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, it is not unreasonable to assume that the names for the months also corresponded. In support of this view the fact may be cited that the 2nd month is found written syllabically as Airu, e.g. ^{arbu} A-ia-ri (Bu. 88-5-12, 636), ^{arbu} A-ia-ri-im (Bu. 91-5-9, 2477), ^{arbu} A-ia-ru-um (Bu. 91-5-9, 374), and ^{arbu} A-ia-rum (V.A.Th. 1026, cf. Meissner, *W.Z.K.M.*, p. 181). It should be noted, however, that the 6th month at this time was not named *Ululu* but *Elulu* (which resembles more nearly the form borrowed by the Hebrews, *Ēlūl*), for it occurs written syllabically as ^{arbu} E-lu-li (Bu. 88-5-12, 151; Bu. 91-5-9, 605 and 1081) and as [^{arbu}]E-lu-lu (Bu. 91-5-9, 410). Moreover, names for the months other than those employed in the later periods are found, e.g. the months *Elunu*, *Tiru*, *Kinunu*, *Nabru*, *Sibutu*, *Sandutu* or *Šaddutu*, *Rabutu*, *Dūr-Rammānu*, *Dūr-abi*, *Ĥumtu*. and *Sēpi*[. . .]. These names are found written syllabically as follows:—^{arbu} E-lu-nim (Bu. 88-5-12, 711 and Bu. 91-5-9, 2515), ^{arbu} E-lu-nu-um (Bu. 91-5-9, 2498; V.A.Th. 707 probably reads ^{arbu} E-lu-nu-um, not ^{arbu} Su-lu-nu-um as Meissner, *W.Z.K.M.*, v, p. 180); ^{arbu} Ti-ri-um (Bu. 88-5-12, 43 and Bu. 91-5-9, 475), ^{arbu} Ti-ri-im (Bu. 91-5-9, 2486); ^{arbu} Ki-nu-nu (Bu. 91-5-9, 1020); ^{arbu} Na-ab-ri (Bu. 91-5-9, 318); ^{arbu} Si-bu-ti (Bu. 91-5-9, 907), ^{arbu} Zi-bu-tim (V.A.Th. 707, cf. *W.Z.K.M.*, v, p. 180); ^{arbu} Sa-an-du-tim, ^{arbu} Ša-du-tim, ^{arbu} Sa-ad-du-tim (V.A.Th., 804, 1104, 782, and 933, cf. Meissner, *Altbab.*

importance in which this work was held is attested ^{Repair of canals.} by the number of years which take their titles from the construction of new canals.¹ The draining of the marshes of the Babylonian plain in the neighbourhood of the rivers and the irrigation of the outlying districts could only be adequately carried out by a careful and continuous supervision of the canals and water-ways, and it is interesting to find that Hammurabi gave very definite instructions on this point. In one of his letters he orders Sin-idinnam to summon "the men " who hold lands along the banks of the Damanum- " canal " in order that they should clear out the bed of the canal ;² and from this letter it may be inferred that the inhabitants of each village on or near a canal were held responsible for keeping their section of the

Priv., Nos. 24, 8, 17, and p. 106); *arbu* Ra-bu-tim (= *arbu* BAR-ZAG-GAR on outer case, V.A.Th. 646 f., cf. *W.Z.K.M.*, v, p. 181); *arbu* Dür-Rammānu (Bu. 88-5-12, 318, Bu. 91-5-9, 938); *arbu* Dür-a-bi [or ga] (Bu. 91-5-9, 1051); *arbu* Hu-um-tum (V.A.Th. 844, cf. Meissner, *Altbab. Priv.*, p. 135); *arbu* Še-pi-[. . .] (Bu. 88-5-12, 61); mention may also be made of the names *arbu* SI-A-GA (Bu. 88-5-12, 13, and V.A.Th. 700, cf. *W.Z.K.M.*, v, p. 180) and *arbu* ŠU-GAR-GI-NA (Bu. 88-5-12, 273). Of the above names the month *Sibutu*, under the form *arbu* Si-bu-ti, occurs in the date on the "Bellino Cylinder" of Sennacherib (see George Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, p. 12). For the ideograms employed for the months in periods previous to the First Dynasty of Babylon, i.e. during the Second Dynasty of Ur and at the time of Sargon I, see Thureau Danguin, *Journal asiatique*, 9me sér., vol. vii (1896), pp. 339 ff., and *Revue d'assyriologie*, iv, p. 83 f.

¹ See the Chronicle, pp. 214 ff.

² No. V, p. 14 f.

canal in good order, as is the case in certain parts of India and Egypt at the present day. Another letter¹ refers to the clearing out of a canal at Erech. The process of dredging out the canal had not been carried out thoroughly, and, in consequence, boats were unable to enter the city; Ḫammurabi gives orders that the obstruction is to be removed and the work completed within three days. In another letter dealing with the repair of water-ways Ḫammurabi gives directions for the clearing out of a portion of the stream of the Euphrates, which had become choked.²

Damage from
flood.

In spite of the care expended on irrigation damage from flood during the winter rains was not infrequent, and we learn from the "Chronicle" that disastrous floods took place in the twenty-sixth and thirty-eighth years of Ḫammurabi's reign. The sudden rise of such a flood on the Irnina-canal is graphically described in one of Abēšu's letters.³ The king's palace was being built in the city Kār-Irnina on the banks of this canal, and one year, when little more than a third of the year's work had been accomplished, the building operations were stopped by the inundation, and the authorities wrote to the king reporting that the flood had come, and that the waters of the Irnina-canal had risen to the wall of the town. The duty of

¹ No. VI, p. 16 f.

² No. VII, p. 18 f.

³ Abēšu', No. I, pp. 130 ff.

making good any damage to the banks of the canals, as we have seen, fell to the lot of the inhabitants of villages upon their banks, and the work was doubtless far from light; but a letter of Samsu-iluna¹ seems to show that the villagers received some compensation for their labour by the strict preservation of their fishing-rights in the rivers and canals which it was their duty to repair.

Preservation of fishing-rights.

Many of Hammurabi's letters deal with the administration of justice in Babylonia, and indicate the very active supervision which he exercised not only over cases tried at Babylon, but also over the decisions of the courts in the other great Babylonian cities. It appears that it was possible for any private citizen to make a direct appeal to the king for justice, and from Hammurabi's correspondence it would seem that such appeals were always treated with consideration. In his letters Hammurabi appears as an impartial judge who would tolerate no corruption on the part of his subordinate officials. When a case of bribery was reported to have taken place in the city of Dūr-gurgurri, he immediately forwarded the report to Sin-idinnam with instructions that he should investigate the affair and send the guilty parties to Babylon for punishment;² while the fact that Hammurabi supported a merchant's claim against a *šakkanakku*, or

The administration of justice.

Suppression of bribery.

¹ Samsu-iluna, No. III, pp. 121 ff.

² No. VIII, pp. 20 ff.

“governor,” for the repayment of a loan¹ proves that the king was no respecter of persons. It may be assumed that the king himself tried the majority of cases that were brought before him, and took steps to see that his judgment was carried out. In settling disputes between men who lived at a distance from the capital such a course would be inconvenient, if not impossible, and in these cases Hammurabi communicated his decision to the governor of the district in which the disputants dwelt; the trial of some cases which he forwarded he left entirely to the local governors.²

Extortions of
money-lenders.

Some of the disputes brought before the king arose from the extortions of money-lenders, who had laid claim to the possession of certain lands which they had received in pledge as security for seed-corn advanced by them. One such case Hammurabi partly examined himself, and then forwarded the matter to Sin-idinnam with instructions to punish the money-lender if he should find that the alleged injustice had been done.³ In another letter he summons a money-lender to Babylon for punishment, as he had refused

¹ No. XIII, p. 31 f.

² It is probable that the king in Babylon and the governors of the principal cities confined their attention as a rule to the trial of cases of appeal. The local courts attached to the temples were competent to decide the majority of cases and to deal with the ordinary legal business of the day; see Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 5 f.

³ No. IX, pp. 23 ff.

to part with certain mortgaged property, although the mortgage had been redeemed.¹ On another occasion he informs Sin-idinnam of the award he has given in a dispute concerning the ownership of certain land, bidding him restore it to its rightful owner, whose claim to the property was fully proved.² Other cases brought before Hammurabi refer to the disputed ownership of corn. In one letter Hammurabi forwards a case to Sin-idinnam for trial in which a man complained that certain corn had been stolen from his granary;³ in another he orders Sin-idinnam to see that a loan of corn is repaid together with the interest thereon;⁴ while in a third letter he settles a protracted dispute concerning the rent of certain land to be paid out of the corn which formed its crop.⁵ In one instance, when forwarding a case to Sin-idinnam for trial, Hammurabi states the nature of the punishment which he desired should be inflicted on the man who should be found guilty; he bids Sin-idinnam deliver "judgment according to the yoke," that is to say, the guilty party should be put to hard labour in the king's service.⁶ Other letters merely direct the transfer of a case to Babylon,⁷ or the postponement

Disputes concerning land and corn.

¹ No. X, p. 26 f.

² No. XI, p. 28.

³ No. XII, p. 29 f.

⁴ No. XIII, p. 31 f.

⁵ No. XIV, pp. 33 ff.

⁶ No. XVI, p. 38 f.

⁷ No. XVII, p. 40 f.

of its trial.¹ There is evidence that Ḥammurabi's example as an impartial administrator of the law was followed by his successors on the throne, for when two men appealed to Abēšu' stating that they could not get justice done them in Sippar, the king immediately ordered the trial of their case at Babylon.² From another of Abēšu's letters we gather that not only private citizens but judges themselves made their complaints to the king, for during a quarrel between the local judges of Sippar-iaḥrurum and the central court of Sippar, the former body appealed to the king, who forwarded their complaint to Sippar and asked for further information.³

The summon-
ing of witnesses
and others.

It will be obvious that in the course of administering justice it was frequently necessary to summon to the court the witnesses or other parties implicated in a suit, and it is probably in this connection that many of the letters of Ḥammurabi which summon men to Babylon are to be explained. In No. XLI,⁴ for instance, Sin-idinnam is told to send certain men separately to Babylon, which may perhaps be explained by supposing that the men were required as witnesses in a case, and that the king's object in giving the order was to prevent collusion; other letters of Ḥammurabi which simply give the names and descriptions of men

¹ No. XVIII, pp. 42 ff.

² Abēšu', No. III, p. 135 f.

³ Abēšu', No. XI, pp. 150 ff.

⁴ See p. 87 f.

whom he desires to be sent to him at Babylon may be explained in the same way.¹ The two officials who are summoned from Larsam in No. XLIII² had probably incurred the king's wrath, for he gives directions to prevent their escape, and orders Sin-idinnam to send them to Babylon in the company of a man in whom he had confidence. So, too, the urgent summons of Enubi-Marduk to Babylon in No. XLVI³ was probably sent in consequence of some offence which he had committed, or in order that he might answer some charge which had been brought against him. Three of Hammurabi's letters order the arrest of certain men, and contain directions to Sin-idinnam to place the men under guard and send them to Babylon. One of the letters orders the arrest of eight officials who, Hammurabi adds, "have not gone to their posts," that is to say, who have proved insubordinate and disobeyed the king's orders.⁴ In the other two letters,⁵ however, the offence committed by the officials and others to be arrested is not stated.

Orders for
arrest.

Another subject dealt with in the letters in this volume is the collection of revenue and tribute. It is clear that the king exacted certain revenue from the various provinces of his empire, and that the

The collection
of revenue.

¹ Nos. XLII, XLIV, and XLV, pp. 89, 92 f.

² See p. 90 f.

³ See p. 94 f.

⁴ No. LV, pp. 114 ff.

⁵ Nos. LIII and LIV, pp. 110 ff.

Tribute from
the great cities.

Temple-
revenues.

governors of cities and other local authorities were held responsible for its collection. In one of his letters, for instance, Ḫammurabi refers to certain tribute paid by Larsam to the king.¹ The main object of the letter is to inform Sin-idinnam that an intercalary month is to be inserted in the calendar, but it shows incidentally that the tribute from Larsam was paid at regular intervals, for Ḫammurabi points out that the change in the calendar will not affect the actual day on which the tribute will become due. There is abundant evidence that the king also controlled the collection of the revenues of the great temples,² and the collectors of both secular and religious tribute alike made their reports to him. It is interesting to note that if a revenue-collector was, for some reason or other, unable to collect his full dues, he was forced to make up the deficit himself. Thus we find Ḫammurabi forwarding to Sin-idinnam a complaint from a revenue-collector who had been prevented from collecting the revenue in certain districts but from whom "the palace" had exacted the full amount.³ It is not surprising, therefore, that the collectors should have been anxious to avoid returning to Babylon, and we find Ḫammurabi, in a letter to Sin-idinnam,⁴ urgently summoning to his

¹ No. IV, p. 12 f.

² See pp. 74 and 76, n. 2.

³ No. XXI, pp. 49 ff.

⁴ No. XIX, pp. 45 ff.

presence two collectors who had excused themselves from coming to the capital. When previously summoned they had put off their journey till after harvest, and now that the harvest was passed they had failed to carry out their promise. The duty of these two collectors was to gather the tax on sesame-seed, and they would in any case be due to arrive in Babylon after the harvest with the revenue which they had collected.

Collection of
revenue after
harvest.

Several of Abēšu's letters also throw light on the methods of collecting revenue at this period. From these it would seem that a certain official styled the *mušaddinu*, that is, "collector" or "assessor," was placed over each of the chief revenue departments, and it was his duty to report to the king any deficit that might occur in the revenue-accounts under his control; the king would then write to the officials concerned with the deficit, bidding them to pay the tribute due forthwith. One of Abēšu's letters, written in consequence of a report from the *mušaddin buḥadē*, "the assessor of the flocks and herds," is addressed to a high official in Sippar, and bids him send at once to Babylon the young oxen that are due as tribute;¹ and another of Abēšu's letters, written to the officials of Sippar-amnanu, is couched in similar terms, with the additional threat that if the tribute is not sent they will be fined.² A letter of Ammiditana dealing

Assessors of
revenue.

¹ Abēšu', No. VI, p. 141 f.

² Abēšu', No. VII, p. 143 f.

with tribute that is overdue, was also written in consequence of a report which the king had received from an assessor of tribute.¹ One of Abēšu's letters is addressed to the authorities of Kār-Šamaš, and bids them send a certain merchant to Sippar that he might pay the tax that was due from him;² and on another occasion the same king wrote to the merchants of Sippar ordering them to hand over certain tribute which was owing. Abēšu' directed that the merchants "who are rulers of the district" should see that the tribute was paid, and he also directed that if they were unable to obtain it the defaulting merchants were to be sent into his presence.³ The class of letters dealing with the collection of tribute is a relatively large one, and this fact suggests that the payment of taxes was no more popular among the ancient Babylonians than among the subjects of His Majesty the Sultan at the present day.

The royal
flocks and
herds.

The king and the priesthood, however, were not entirely dependent for their revenues on what the tax-collector could wring from the unwilling farmer and merchant, for both the king himself and the principal temples of the land possessed great wealth in the shape of flocks and herds. In the first instance these were doubtless derived from taxation, and they were being constantly increased from the same source,

¹ Ammiditana, No. II, p. 160 f.

² Abēšu', No. V, p. 139 f.

³ Abēšu', No. XII, p. 153 f.

but they yielded a considerable revenue themselves. The sheep and cattle were placed in charge of a large body of shepherds and herdsmen, and were distributed throughout the country. The governors of the larger cities were probably responsible for the flocks and herds which were pastured within their districts, for in one of his letters Hammurabi informs Sin-idinnam that he is despatching certain of his officials to Larsam in order that they may accompany Sin-idinnam when he goes to make his inspection of the cattle and sheep that were under his charge.¹ Hammurabi's object in appointing these officials was doubtless that he might receive from them an independent report.

Arrangements
for their in-
spection.

This was not the only control which the king exercised over the revenue derived from his flocks and herds, for in other letters he summons the shepherds and herdsmen themselves to Babylon that they may render their accounts to him in person ; an instance of this is found in No. XXXI,² wherein we read that the king commands forty-seven shepherds to come to Babylon for this purpose. The flocks in charge of the shepherds mentioned in this letter are arranged in separate groups under chief-shepherds, and many of them are distributed along the banks of rivers and canals, which would naturally afford good pasturage. It is interesting to note that several of

The audit of
accounts.

¹ No. XXX, p. 68 f.

² See pp. 70 ff.

Shepherds in
the service of
the temples.

the shepherds are described as attached to the service of different deities, e.g., to the god Ningirsu of the city of Girsu, to the goddess Ninā of the city of Ninā, to the Sun-god of the city of Larsam, etc.; and the fact that the royal and priestly herds are not clearly separated from each other, but are frequently placed under the same chief-shepherd, shows that the collection of the temple revenues was under the king's control. It is in accordance with this fact that in another letter Hammurabi summons from Larsam "the shepherd of the temple of Šamaš," together with certain overseers of cattle, that he might render his accounts to him.¹ That the king took an active interest in pastoral pursuits is clear from another letter in which he bids Sin-idinnam appoint additional sheep-shearers to assist certain shepherds in his employ,² and two others of his letters, though very broken, give directions to Sin-idinnam concerning cattle and sheep.³ The primitive conditions of life at this period and the pastoral pursuits in which the king engaged are still more clearly indicated in the series of five letters of Ammizaduga.⁴ They consist of summonses to attend the sheep-shearing at Babylon, and they were sent out in different years, inasmuch as four out of the five are written to the same man. In each letter it is

The sheep-
shearing at
Babylon.

¹ No. XXXII, p. 75 f.

² No. XXXIII, p. 77 f.

³ Nos. XXXIV and XXXV, p. 79 f.

⁴ See below, pp. 162 ff.

stated that the sheep-shearing is to be held in the *bit akiti*, or "House of the Feast of the New Year," and the date is given at which the man addressed to arrive with his sheep at Babylon in order to take part in the festival. It would seem that the Babylonians of the First Dynasty still retained usages and customs which had come down to them from a time when they were essentially a pastoral and nomadic people, and had no settled habitations.

Several of Hammurabi's letters refer to the regulation of supplies. On one occasion he ordered Sinitinnam to make arrangements for a supply of *abba*-wood for the use of the metal-workers in Dür-gururri. In this letter Hammurabi goes into details and gives the exact sizes into which the pieces of wood are to be cut; and it is evident that his woodcutters in the forest had been supplying him with inferior material, for he orders that they are not to send in dead wood, which was more easily cut, but only vigorous trunks.¹ In another letter he arranges for a supply of dates and sesame-seed which was needed at Babylon; Sinitinnam is told to put the matter in the hands of "trustworthy men," who are to collect the necessary supplies and hand them over to the king's agent for transport to the capital.² On another occasion Hammurabi needed corn for Babylon, and he therefore

Supplies of
wood, dates,
seed, and corn.

¹ No. XXII, p. 52 f.

² No. XXIII, p. 54 f.

gave instructions that a supply of corn in a certain Mār-Uru's charge was to be loaded up and sent to him.¹

Transport by
water.

These letters throw an interesting light on the method of transport commonly employed at this period, for they prove that considerable use was made of the rivers and canals for conveying supplies in bulk by water. A portion of the *abba*-wood mentioned above was to be brought to Babylon "in a ship";² the corn in Mār-Uru's charge was to be loaded "into an empty ship" and brought to Babylon;³ and in the letter concerning the dates and sesame-seed the verb used for "loading" implies that the produce was to be loaded into barges.⁴ In one of Abēšu's letters the size of a vessel required for transport is specified, for he arranges that a ship of sixty GUR capacity is to be brought to Babylon to convey corn for the palace,⁵ and Ḥammurabi makes mention of ships of ten GUR⁶ and of seventy-five GUR capacity.⁷ This method of reckoning the size of ships or barges was doubtless based on the amount of grain measured by the GUR which they were capable of carrying, and there is evidence that, in addition to the two classes of ships

The sizes of
ships.

¹ No. XXIV, p. 56 f.

² See p. 53.

³ See p. 57.

⁴ See p. 55, n. 3.

⁵ Abēšu', No. XIII, p. 155 f.

⁶ No. XXXVIII, p. 83 f.

⁷ No. XXIX, p. 67.

mentioned above, vessels of sixty, fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, fifteen, and five GUR were also employed.¹

It is clear that Hammurabi must have required numerous vessels for the transport of his supplies, and one of his letters was evidently written when he wanted a large number of vessels in an emergency.

He gives orders that the captains of ships under Sin-idinnam's control are to forthwith take command of all their vessels and proceed to Babylon; the summons is urgent, for they are to embark their crews at once and to arrive at Babylon by a fixed date.²

The transport by water was carefully regulated, and it is probable that officers were placed in charge of separate districts or sections of the rivers and canals for which they were held responsible. This may be inferred from a letter in which Hammurabi orders Sin-idinnam to hand over certain crews of ships to Taribatum, and threatens that if his orders are not carried out he will make Sin-idinnam responsible for Taribatum's "district"; that is to say, in addition to his own duties he will have to arrange the transport for which Taribatum was usually responsible.³

The extensive building operations undertaken by the kings of the First Dynasty necessitated the employment of large bodies of serfs and labourers, and it is not surprising that some of Hammurabi's letters

¹ See below, pp. 66, n. 1, and 84, n. 4.

² No. XXVI, p. 60 f.

³ No. XXVII, pp. 62 ff.

relate to the transport of gangs of slaves and to the transfer of large bodies of workmen from one place to another. In one letter he states that he is sending two officials to take over the charge of a gang of labourers from Larsam ;¹ another he wrote when despatching three hundred and sixty labourers to Sinidinnam, half of them to be employed at Larsam and half at Raḥabu ;² and in a third letter he gives instructions concerning the yoking together and the transport of slaves.³ The lowest class of labourers were the public slaves, whose ranks were supplied from prisoners of war and also probably from men of the native population who had been condemned to various periods of hard labour in the king's service. That forced labour was employed as a punishment may be inferred from a letter of Ḥammurabi in which he deals with the case of certain men who had refused to do their work, and orders that they are not to be punished by being put to forced labour.⁴ Moreover, "hard labour" was the penalty enforced by law for various offences,⁵ and four of Ḥammurabi's letters deal with appeals made to him on behalf of men of various classes and occupations who appear to have been handed over unjustly to the

Public slaves.

¹ No. XXXVI, p. 81.

² No. XXXVII, p. 82.

³ No. XXXVIII, p. 83 f.

⁴ No. XXXIX, p. 85.

⁵ See above, p. xli, and below, p. 39.

directors of the public slaves.¹ A great amount of labour must have been required for the cutting of new canals, and the building of temples and palaces, and the strengthening of walls and fortifications; and it must have taxed the ingenuity of governors and other officials to supply the demand. It is true that in one of Hammurabi's letters we find the king making arrangements for the hire of labourers,² but it is probable that the great building operations of the time were carried out by means of the public slaves. These men were on a far lower footing than the slaves of private Babylonians, who were frequently regarded as members of their masters' households, and were treated with kindness and consideration. To this latter class belonged the female slave of Hallu, who, for some reason not stated, escaped to the town of Sippar-amnanu, but was recaptured and ordered by Abēšu' to be brought back to Babylon.³

In addition to the fifty-five letters of Hammurabi there are included in this work twenty-six letters from other kings of the First Dynasty. Of these six were written by Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son and successor; thirteen by Abēšu', Samsu-iluna's son and successor; two by Ammiditana, Abēšu's son and successor; and five by Ammizaduga, Ammiditana's son and successor. The correspondence thus extends

¹ Nos. XLVIII-LI, pp. 98 ff.

² No. XL, p. 86.

³ Abēšu', No. II, p. 133 f.

over five successive generations of the Babylonian monarchy. Ḥammurabi's letters were all addressed to the same correspondent, but this is not the case with the letters of the other kings which have been found.

Letters of
Samsu-iluna.

Of Samsu-iluna's letters three¹ are written "to Sin-idinam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar," and one² to Ibni-Marduk, Sin-idinam, and the Judges of Sippar; the Sin-idinam here mentioned is not to be identified with Ḥammurabi's correspondent, as the latter was governor of Larsam, while the former, like Ibni-Marduk, who is associated with him, was a high official, probably a judge, of Sippar. Another of Samsu-iluna's letters³ is written to Sin-ilu, Bītu-rabi, and Nīk-Sin, who, to judge from the contents of the letter, were probably high officials and superintended the collection of revenue in the district of Larsam; while Ḥaiab[. . .], to whom Sin-idinam gave instructions concerning the transport of an image of the goddess Annunitum, was probably the governor of the city in which the image of Annunitum happened to be at the time.⁴ With one exception Abēšu's letters are addressed to officials of the city of Sippar and its neighbourhood,⁵ and in five of them we again come across a high official styled

Letters of
Abēšu'.

¹ Nos. III, IV, and V, pp. 121 ff.

² No. VI, p. 128 f.

³ No. II, p. 119 f.

⁴ No. I, p. 117 f.

⁵ See p. 131, n. 1.

Sin-idinnam, whom we may well identify with Samsuiluna's correspondent of that name; the remaining letter of Abēšu'¹ is written to certain men who appear to have been officials of the city of Kār-Šamaš. One of Ammiditana's letters² is written to "the scribe of the merchants of Sippar-iaḥrurum," and it is quite possible that Marduk-mušalim, Sin-idinnam, and Apil-Sin, to whom his other letter³ is written, were also officials living in Sippar or its neighbourhood. Of Ammizaduga's letters⁴ four are addressed to Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduk-našir, and one to a man of whose name only [. . .]-našir has been preserved, but the letters give no indication of their rank, nor of the name of the city in which they dwelt. These royal letters in style and subject-matter strongly resemble Hammurabi's letters, and as the more important of them have already been cited under the description of Hammurabi's letters, further reference to them is needless.

Of the two letters other than royal ones which are included in the volume, one consists of a despatch from a certain Sin-idinnam to the President of the Court in the city of Kutalla summoning the party to a suit which he is trying,⁵ and the other is a petition for pardon addressed by two suppliants to Aḥatim, the wife of Sin-idinnam, governor of

¹ No. V, p. 139 f.

³ No. I, pp. 157 ff.

⁵ See p. 168.

² No. II, p. 160 f.

⁴ See pp. 162-167.

Martu.¹ It is not improbable that the former of these two officials bearing the name of Sin-idinnam is to be identified with the governor of Larsam, to whom Hammurabi's letters are addressed.

Inscriptions of Hammurabi and his successors.

In addition to the letters already described the volume contains translations of a collection of inscriptions of Hammurabi and of other kings of the First Dynasty ;² it also gives a new edition of the "Chronicle of the Kings of the First Dynasty," which furnishes valuable information concerning the principal events of their reigns.³ Most of the inscriptions of Hammurabi and of his successors are votive in character, and record the building and restoration of temples and fortifications, the cutting of a canal, the construction of a granary, and the like. The principal facts which they record are cited in the following paragraphs, and it will be unnecessary to refer to them here in greater detail. Before summarizing the events recorded in the "Chronicle," however, a short description may be given of the general character of this document.

The Chronicle of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

The Chronicle is not a chronicle in the strict sense of the term ; that is to say, it does not give a continuous narrative of events. It consists of a list of the titles given to the separate years during the period of the First Dynasty, but, as these titles in themselves commemorate events, the term "Chronicle" as applied

¹ See pp. 169 ff.

² See pp. 172 ff.

³ See pp. 212 ff.

to the document is not a misnomer. The system of dating documents which was in vogue during the First Dynasty, and which the Semitic Babylonians had inherited from their Sumerian predecessors in the land, was not a very convenient one. They did not reckon dates by the years of the reigning king, as did the later Babylonians, but they cited each year by the event of the greatest importance which took place in it; for instance, the 13th year of Sumu-abu was described as "The year in which the city of Kaşallu was laid waste." The disadvantages of such a system of dating are obvious. In the first place, an event which might seem of great importance in one city might appear of but little moment in a district at some distance from it. Thus it happened that the same event was not employed universally throughout the country for designating a particular year, and there is evidence that different systems of dating were in use in different parts of the country.¹ In the second place, it must have required a very good memory to grasp the exact period of a document by a mere reference to an event which took place during the year in which it was drawn up, especially when the system had been in use a considerable period, and when the number of events to be committed to memory had become formidable. It is not difficult to understand that this unwieldy system should in

Method of dating documents at this period.

¹ See pp. 220, n. 16, and 228 f., n. 39.

course of time have been given up for the simpler method of reckoning by the years of the reigning king, and the only cause for surprise is that it should have been retained for so long. While it lasted it doubtless proved a source of annoyance and of some confusion to the scribes, but it has been the means of furnishing us with considerable information concerning the history of the period which we should otherwise have been without.

Lists of years. In order the more readily to fix the date of ancient documents, the scribes compiled lists of the titles of the years, and it is from two of such lists that the "Chronicle" here published and translated has been made up. The first of these lists covers the reigns of Sumu-abu, Sumula-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, Sin-muballiṭ, Ḫammurabi, and Samsu-iluna, and extends over a period of one hundred and eighty-three years.¹ The second list² is more imperfect; when complete it covered the reigns of Ḫammurabi, Samsu-iluna, Abēšu', Ammiditana, and the first ten years of Ammizaduga's reign, and extended over a period of some one hundred and fifty-six years.³ Together the two lists relate to

¹ The text of this list, which is numbered Bu. 91-5-9, 284, has been previously published in *Cuneiform Texts*, pt. vi; an English translation of it has been given by Professor Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xxi, pp. 11 ff.

² Brit. Mus., No. 16,924.

³ Possibly 166 years. In the summary at the end of the tablet the number giving the years of Abēšu's reign is broken and reads []VIII; this should probably be restored as [XX]VIII, but [XXX]VIII is possible.

a period of some two hundred and fifty-eight years. The events from which the years took their names are of a varied character, consisting of the capture of cities, the destruction and rebuilding of their walls, the founding and restoration of temples, the cutting of canals, the setting up of royal and sacred images, the making of thrones and crowns for the gods, etc. Apart from its use in settling the dates upon contract-tablets, the Chronicle thus forms a valuable source of information concerning the public works undertaken in Babylonia during this period, and it furnishes glimpses of the history of military expeditions and of foreign invasions of Babylonia. We may give a brief summary of such events, supplemented by the facts obtained from a study of the votive inscriptions already referred to.

Taking the kings in chronological order, the following are the principal buildings erected by them during their reigns:—

Building
operations
undertaken
by:—

Sumu-abu built a wall or fortress in his 3rd year; ¹ (1) Sumu-abu. a temple to Nin-sinna in his 4th year; a temple to Nannar, the Moon-god, in his 5th year, to which three years later he added a great door of cedar; the wall of the city of Dilbat in his 9th year; and in his 12th year he laid out a "plantation of the gods."

From Samsu-iluna's inscriptions we learn the names (2) Sumula-ilu.

¹ Possibly referred to as "the wall of Sumu-abu" in a tablet which is dated by the destruction of this wall; see p. 214, n. 5.

of six fortresses, or walled places, which Sumula-ilu built, viz., Dūr-Zakar in Nippur, Dūr-padda, Dūr-lagaba, Dūr-Iabugani, Dūr-Gula-duru, and Dūr-ušiana-Urra.¹ From the Chronicle we gather that he built the great wall of Babylon in his 5th year, a temple to Rammān in his 7th year, the wall of Sippar in his 29th year, and that he undertook other building operations in the 30th and 31st years of his reign.

(3) Zabum. On his great cylinder from Ur, Nabonidus states that E-babbar and E-ulbar, the temples of Šamaš and of the goddess Anunitum at Sippar, had been falling into decay since the time of Zabum ;² this passage implies that Zabum restored E-babbar and E-ulbar, and we now know from the Chronicle that the restoration of the former temple was carried out in his 8th year. In his 9th and 10th years work was undertaken in a temple the name of which is broken, and also in the temple E-sagil in Babylon.

(4) Apil-Sin. Apil-Sin built the wall of Barzi in his 1st year, and the wall of Babylon in his 2nd year. In the course of his reign he built Dūr-mūti and he rebuilt the temple of Ištar of Babylon,³ and, to judge from its name, he was also the builder of Kār-dūr-Apil-Sin, which is mentioned in a historical inscription from

¹ See p. 205.

² See *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. i, pl. 69, col. iii, ll. 27-30.

³ See p. 222, n. 26.

Kuyunjik.¹ Building operations were also carried on during his 5th, 6th, 11th, 14th, and 16th years.

All of Sin-muballiṭ's buildings consisted of fortifications. In his 1st year he built the wall of Rubatum, in his 7th year the wall of Zakar-dada, in his 10th year the wall of Sin-muballiṭ,² in his 11th year the wall of Muru, in his 12th year the wall of Marad, and in his 15th year the wall of Ereš.³

Ḫammurabi's votive inscriptions supply information concerning his building operations in somewhat fuller detail. He increased the height of the wall of Sippar and surrounded it with a swamp, or broad shallow ditch, for protection,⁴ and, according to the Chronicle, this took place in the 25th year of his reign. In his 28th year he rebuilt E-namḫe, the temple of Rammān at Babylon, in his 34th year he restored the temple of E-tur-kalama, and in his 6th and 35th years he built a wall and a fortress. We also know that he restored E-babbar, the temple of Šamaš at Larsam,⁵ and the temple E-zida in Borsippa;⁶ he built E-zikalama, the temple of the goddess Ninni in Ḫallab,⁷

¹ See *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. iii, pl. 38, No. 2, Rev., l. 64.

² Perhaps read *Dūr-Sin-muballiṭ*.

³ In his 18th year the wall of some city was either rebuilt or destroyed.

⁴ See pp. 177 ff.

⁵ See pp. 180 ff.

⁶ See p. 186 f.

⁷ See p. 184 f.

and restored the temples E-me-te-ur-sag and Igi-e-nir-kidur-maḥ.¹ He built a wall or fortress at the head of the Nuḥuš-niši canal, which he called Dūr-Sin-muballit-abim-walidia,² and he built the wall of Rabiḫu, and the wall of Kār-Šamaš on the Tigris;³ he erected a building on the river Araḥ[. . . .];⁴ and he built a granary⁵ at Babylon, and a palace⁶ which was also probably in the capital.

(7) Samsu-iluna.

Samsu-iluna built the walls of Ur and Erech in his 11th year, and the wall of the god Dadi in his 16th year. He rebuilt the temple E-babbar in Sippar in his 18th year, and the temple Igi-e-nir-kidur-maḥ in his 22nd year; and he built a palace in his 34th year. Moreover, he restored the six fortresses which Sumulailu had founded,⁷ and he also rebuilt the wall of the city of Isin.⁸

(8) Abēšu',
Ammiditana,
and Ammi-
zaduga.

The Chronicle gives no information concerning Abēšu's buildings, but from one of his letters we learn that he erected a palace at Kār-Irnina on the Irnina-canal,⁹ and some contracts are dated by a fortress or wall which he built.¹⁰ Ammiditana built the wall of Iškun-Marduk in his 32nd year, and Dūr-Ammiditana and Dūr-Ammi in his 35th and 36th years; and a broken inscription of his records the

¹ See p. 241, n. 72.

² See p. 240, n. 72.

³ See p. 192 f.

⁷ See above, p. lix f.

⁹ See pp. 130 ff.

² See pp. 188 ff.

⁴ See p. 198.

⁶ See p. 194.

⁸ See p. 245, n. 86.

¹⁰ E.g., Bu. 91-5-9, 320.

building of another wall or fortress.¹ From dates upon contract-tablets² we know that Ammizaduga built Dūr-Ammizaduga at the mouth of the Euphrates.

Such are the principal building operations of which we have evidence during this period. In addition to the actual building and restoration of the temples the Chronicle makes it clear that the kings of the First Dynasty expended much energy in enriching the sacred shrines by the making of thrones and the setting up of images of the gods therein, inasmuch as The making of thrones and images. many years take their titles from such events; from the same source we also know that the kings had images of themselves sculptured and set up in their palaces.³ The Chronicle also furnishes us with the names of the principal canals which were cut during

¹ See p. 207 f.

² E.g., Bu. 88-5-12, 12; Bu. 91-5-9, 270 and 460.

³ To such an image of Ḫammurabi belonged the fragment of black basalt on which his long bilingual inscription was cut; see pp. 172 ff. The sculpture portrait of Ḫammurabi, which forms the frontispiece to the present volume, was not set up by himself, but was cut in his honour by Ibirum, a high official in his service (see p. 195 f.). That we may see in this figure a representation of Ḫammurabi is probable for the following reasons:—The figure can only be one of three personages, viz., a god, or Ibirum, or Ḫammurabi. It is not the figure of a god, for the hand is raised in an attitude of adoration; moreover, the slab is dedicated to a goddess. It must therefore be either Ibirum or Ḫammurabi, and as Ibirum's object in setting up the inscription was evidently to find favour with the king, he would be more likely to achieve his purpose by cutting a figure of Ḫammurabi, rather than one of himself, upon the slab.

Canals cut
during the
First Dynasty.

this period. These are given in the following list together with the dates of their construction :—

Name of canal.	Date of construction.
Šamaš-ḥegallu-canal	1st year of Sumula-ilu
Sumula-ilu-canal	12th „ „
Sumula-ilu-canal ¹	32nd „ „
Šamaš (?) -canal	4th „ Apil-Sin
Apil-Sin-ḥegallu-canal	8th „ „
Sin-muballiṭ-canal	2nd „ Sin-muballiṭ
Ai-ḥegallu-canal	8th „ „
Tutu-ḥegallu-canal	13th „ „
Nuḥuš-niši-canal ²	9th „ Ḥammurabi
Tišid-Bēl-canal ²	33rd „ „
Nagab-nuḥuš-niši-canal or Nagab-nuḥši-canal } 3rd „ Samsu-iluna	
Ḥegallu-canal	4th „ „
Ammiditana-canal	22nd „ Ammiditana
Ammizaduga-nuḥuš-niši-canal ³	reign of Ammizaduga

We also know that the mouth of the Euphrates was dug out in the 12th year of Apil-Sin, and that a canal was cut by Samsu-iluna in his 32nd year. From the

¹ If this is the same canal as is recorded to have been cut in the 12th year of Sumula-ilu's reign, we must suppose that it was repaired or extended during his 32nd year.

² See p. 232 f., n. 49.

³ The cutting of this canal is referred to in dates upon contracts of the reign of Ammizaduga, e.g. Bu. 88-5-12, 57, 186, 327, and 532.

date upon a contract¹ we may infer that the usurper Immerum cut the Ašuh-canal, and from dates upon two other contracts we learn that Rim-Sin, the Elamite king of Larsam, who was overthrown by Hammurabi, dug out a portion of the bed of the Euphrates² and widened the channel of the Tigris at its mouth.³

The Chronicle does not throw light on the means by which Sumu-abu established himself as king in Babylon, and we are, therefore, still without definite information concerning the origin of the First Dynasty.⁴

Campaigns of
the First
Dynasty.

¹ Bu. 88-5-12, 346; the date reads MU (ID)A-šū-uḫ Im-me-ri-um iḫ-ru-u, "The year Immerum dug the Ašuh-canal."

² Brit. Mus., No. 33,206 (B. 49), a tablet inscribed in Rim-Sin's reign, is dated MU (ID)BURANUNU MU-BA-LA, "The year in which the Euphrates was dug out."

³ Brit. Mus., No. 33,205 (B. 48), a tablet of Rim-Sin's reign, is dated MU (ID)IDIGNA MU-BA-AL, "The year in which the Tigris was dug out," the "case" of the same tablet giving the fuller formula MU (ID)[IDIGNA] ID DINGIR-RI-E-NE ZAG A-AB-BA-KU MU-UN-BA-LA, "The year in which the Tigris, the river of the gods, was dug out to the ocean."

⁴ The Semitic origin of the kings of the First Dynasty has long been recognized; it was Pognon who further suggested that the dynasty might be Arab or Aramean. He based his conjecture on the peculiar forms of some of the royal names of the dynasty, e.g. Samsu-iluna, lit. "the sun is our god," in which *na*, the pron. suffix of the 1st pers. plur. is not Babylonian, but Arabic. He further pointed out that the word *hammu*, or *ammi*, which occurred in the names Hammu-rabi, Ammi-ditana, and Ammi-zaduga, did not occur in the inscriptions and was probably not of Babylonian origin; and the second part of the name Ammi-zaduga (which is explained as *kit-tum*, "just," in *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. v, pl. 44, col. i, l. 22) he compared with the Syr. *zadiḫā*, Arab. *ṣādīḫ*,

The titles for the first two years of Sumu-abu's reign are entirely missing, but those that are preserved from the 3rd to the 12th year suggest the picture of a nation at peace, engaged in building walls for its cities and temples for its gods. If, therefore, the founding of this Semitic dynasty at Babylon was the result of a conquest of the country, we must set back the conflict before the year in which Sumu-abu ascended the throne in Babylon and assumed the reins of government. It must not be supposed, however, that these early Semitic kings of Babylon succeeded during one campaign in finally subjugating the principal cities of Babylonia, for there are not lacking indications that revolts were constantly occurring, and we find records of the same city having been conquered by them more than once.

Conquest of
Kaşallu and
Kiš.

During the earlier period of the dynasty the cities of Kaşallu and Kiš appear to have given some trouble. In the 13th year of Sumu-abu Kaşallu was laid waste,

Eth. *şēdūḳ*, and Hebr. *şaddīḳ*; see *Journal asiatique*, 8me sér., vol. xi, pp. 544 ff. *Ḥammu* and *Ammi* in these proper names are clearly variant forms of the same word, for on Bu. 88-5-12, 199, Rev., l. 1, we find the name of Ḥammurabi written as *Am-mu-ra-bi*. The word is probably the name of a deity, for in the date upon Brit. Mus., No. 33,212, Ḥammurabi's name is written with the determinative for deity, ⁱⁱⁱ *Ḥu-am-mu-ra-bi*, and in Brit. Mus., No. 33,223, Rev., l. 5, it is written with the mimation at the end of the word Ḥammu, *Ḥa-am-mu-um-ra-bi*; Ḥammurabi's name therefore signifies "Great is the god Ḥammu." The god's name occurs also in that of the place or fortress Dūr-Ammi, which was built by Ammiditana; see p. 253 f.

but in the 18th year of Sumula-ilu it revolted under Iaḥar-zīr-ilu, who led an expedition against Babylon. In the 20th year of his reign Sumula-ilu captured Kaşallu and slew the inhabitants thereof, but it was not until the 25th year of his reign that Iaḥar-zīr-ilu, who had led the revolt, was slain. Even then, however, the city was not finally subdued, for it would seem that in the 12th year of Zabum its wall was again destroyed. The taking of the city of Kiş in the 13th year of Sumula-ilu was evidently an important event, for five years were dated by it. The revolt of Kaşallu, however, evidently inspired it with hopes of regaining its independence, for, before dealing with Kaşallu, Sumula-ilu subdued Kiş once more and destroyed a fortress in the city. These were Sumula-ilu's principal campaigns, though he undertook others of less importance in his 3rd year, and also towards the end of his reign. In the 14th year of Sin-muballit the Chronicle states that "the people of Ur were slain by the sword," but the principal military event of this reign was the capture of the city of Isin, inasmuch as it formed an epoch for dating tablets in some parts of Babylonia.¹

Conquest of
Isin.

Of Ḥammurabi's earlier campaigns we know little

Ḥammurabi's
campaigns.

¹ It is not improbable that "the taking of Isin," by which many tablets of Rim-Sin's reign are dated, may be referred to the capture of this city by Sin-muballit (see p. 228 f., n. 39); it is possible, however, that the dates in question refer to a capture of the city by Rim-Sin.

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except that in his 4th year he destroyed the walls of Malgā and Maer, and that in his 21st year he probably captured the city of Baṣu. Although the Chronicle does not refer to the Elamites until the 30th year of his reign, it is probable that up to this time he had had considerable trouble from that quarter; the mere fact that no years received their titles from victories against Elam during this period may perhaps be taken as evidence that no great success attended the Babylonian arms.¹ In the 30th year of his reign, however, Ḥammurabi signally defeated the Elamite army² and overthrew Rim-Sin; and in the following year he added the land of Emutbal to his dominions. This was the chief event of Ḥammurabi's reign, for his victory freed Babylon from her most powerful enemy. There is evidence that during his reign Ḥammurabi stationed troops in Assyria, and possibly included that country in his dominions,³ but his other campaigns of which we have evidence⁴ do not appear to have been of great importance.

The defeat of
the Elamites
and the capture
of Emutbal.

¹ Rim-Sin's opposition to "the evil foe," which is referred to in dates upon tablets of his reign, probably commemorates some success of his against the Babylonians; cf. the dates upon Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,162, 33,196, 33,208, etc. The date upon another contract of his reign records the taking of the city of Dūr-ilu; cf. Brit. Mus., No. 33,201.

² For a discussion of the evidence of the historical character of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, who is mentioned in Gen. xiv, see Vol. I, pp. XLIX ff.

³ See p. 5.

⁴ See p. 237, n. 71 and 72.

With the disappearance of Elam from the horizon of Babylonian politics it might be supposed that a period of peaceful development for Babylonia would follow. This was not the case, however, for already the Kassites, who eventually overran the country and founded a dynasty at Babylon, were beginning to make their pressure felt. In the 9th year of Samsu-iluna the Kassites invaded Babylonia, and although they were doubtless defeated and driven out by the Babylonians, this raid was only the first of many which were to take place and which were to finally succeed. We may perhaps trace to the feeling of unrest, produced by these early Kassite raids, the revolt of cities which had been previously subjugated. Thus in his 15th year Samsu-iluna had to reduce Isin to subjection, and in his 24th year he had to reconquer the city of Kiš.

Invasion of the
Kassites.

The chronology of this period is only approximately fixed, and any attempt to definitely settle the various problems it presents and to assign the accession of each king of the First Dynasty to a particular year must be regarded as purely provisional. If the List of Kings were perfectly preserved this would not be the case; as it is, the principal evidence by which the general date of this dynasty is fixed consists of two passages in cylinders of Nabonidus. From one of these we learn that Burna-Buriaš lived 700 years after Hammurabi, and from the other that Šagašalti-Buriaš

Chronology of
the First
Dynasty :
Evidence of
general date.

lived 800 years before Nabonidus.¹ Since Burna-Buriaš and Šagašalti-Buriaš are both kings of the Third, or Kassite, Dynasty, these two references enable us to roughly fix the date of Ḥammurabi at 2200 B.C. ; only roughly, however, for the period which separated Burna-Buriaš and Šagašalti-Buriaš is a matter for conjecture, and in the two passages referred to Nabonidus is obviously speaking in round numbers.²

The Chronicle
and the List of
Kings.

With regard to the years of the reigns of the kings of the First Dynasty we have two sources of information, viz. the List of Kings³ and the Chronicle of the First Dynasty. The following table will show how far these documents agree⁴ :—

Name.	List of Kings.	Chronicle.
Sumu-abu ...	15 years	14 years
Sumula-ilu	35 „	36 „
Zabum	14 „	14 „
Apil-Sin	18 „	18 „

¹ See Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii (2), pp. 90 f. and 106 f.

² Corroborative evidence as to the general date of the First Dynasty is furnished by Ašur-bani-pal's reference to the invasion of the Elamite king Kudur-Nanḫundi, which he tells us took place 1635 years before his own conquest of Susa; cf. Schrader's *Keilins. Bibl.*, ii, p. 208 f.

³ See Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 145.

⁴ It may be noted that both documents omit Immerum, Bungunila (cf. p. 220, n. 16), Rim-Anum, and Rim-Sin (cf. p. 228 f., n. 39), whose names occur as those of rulers in oath-formulæ and in dates upon contract-tablets of this period.

Name.	List of Kings.	Chronicle.
Sin-muballiṭ ...	30 years	20 years
Ḫammurabi ...	55 ,,	43 ,,
Samsu-iluna ...	35 ,,	38 ,,
Abēšu' ...	25 ,,	□8 ¹ ,,
Ammiditana ...	25 ,,	37 ,,
Ammizaduga ...	22 ² ,,	10 [unfinished]
Samsuditana ...	31 ,,	

It will be noticed that out of the first nine kings of the dynasty in only two cases do the documents agree as to the length of their reigns. In cases of disagreement the Chronicle is doubtless to be followed, since it is based upon two contemporary documents, whereas the List of Kings was compiled in the Neo-Babylonian period. The general accuracy of the List of Kings is not, however, on this account to be impugned, for although it differs from the Chronicle in details, the total number of years it assigns to the first nine kings corresponds very nearly with that given in the Chronicle. On the other hand, the differences exhibited by these two authorities further illustrate the fact that no system of chronology can be more than approximately correct for the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Value of the
Chronicle and
the List of
Kings.

¹ Probably [2]8, but [3]8 is possible; see above, p. lviii, n. 3.

² Possibly 21.

Transliterations

and

Translations.

I.
LETTERS FROM ḤAMMURABI TO
SIN-IDINNAM.

I.
MILITARY DESPATCH CONCERNING THE
MOVEMENT OF TROOPS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,863; pl. 37, No. 23.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{im} *Sin* *i* *din - nam*
ki - *bi -* *ma*
um - ma Ḥ*a - am - mu* *ra* *bi* *ma*
240 *šāb* *kišir* *šarri*
5 *bušū* ^{im} *Nannar -* *iddina* 5
ša *li* *tim* *ša* *ga* *ti* *ka*
ša *iš - tu* *Aššur*^{KI} *u* *Ši - tu - ul - lum*^{KI}
iḫ *tu -* *r[u] -* *n[im* *m]a*
[.]

[There are several lines missing at the end of the Obverse and
at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [.]
a - la *kam* *l[i]* *p[u] - š[u] - n[im - ma]*
it - ti *šābi* *Ib* *ni -* ^{im} *Mar - t[u]*
um - *ma -* *ti -* *šu -* *nu*
li - *iš -* . *bu*
5 *šābum(um)* *šu - u* *la* *u* *la - ap - pa - tu* 5
ar - ḫi - iš *tu - ur - da - aš - šu - nu - ti - ma*
a - la - kam *li* *pu - šu - nim*

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Two hundred and
 “ forty men of the King’s Company,¹ under the
 “ command of Nannar-iddina, who are of the
 “ force that is in thy hand and who have left the
 “ country of Aššur, and the district of Šitullum,
 “ and”

REV. “. . . . let them set out that together with the
 “ troops of Ibni-Martu their force may be com-
 “ pleted.² Let not these troops delay. Despatch
 “ them in all haste that they may make the
 “ march.”

This military despatch of Ḥammurabi is of great interest, as it contains the earliest known reference to

¹ In Old Babylonian contracts the ideogram KA-SAR (*kišru*) is employed in the sense of “hire,” both of labourers and of property. In this passage, however, the word is clearly used in a military sense, met with at a later period in the military title *rab kišir*. The title *kišir šarri* must have been borne by one of the finest companies in Ḥammurabi’s army. The traces of two characters after *šarri* are due to an erasure by the scribe. It is possible that ŠAB, here and elsewhere in the letters, should be transliterated as *ummānu*.

² The fact that fully half the despatch is missing renders the translation of *li-iš-bu* uncertain. If the verb is to be taken as the Prec. from *šebū* “to be satisfied,” we may perhaps render it, as suggested above, in the metaphorical sense of “to be completed”; it could only have its literal meaning on the assumption that the Babylonian forces in Assyria were disbanded in consequence of a want of food in that district. It is hardly possible to regard the verb as a contracted form of the Prec. from *ašābu*, which would give the better sense, “that their force may take up its quarters with the troops of Ibni-Martu.”

Assyria. The oldest of the *patesi*, or “governors,” of Assyria whose dates are known are Išme-Dagan and his son Šamši-Rammān; these flourished about B.C. 1840 and B.C. 1820 respectively.³ The names of two other early Assyrian *patesi* are found in brick-inscriptions in the British Museum,⁴ viz. Samsi-Rammān, the son of Igurkapkapu, and Irišum, the son of Ḫallu. No definite dates have been assigned to them, as their names are not mentioned in the later historical inscriptions; but, from the fact that they both bore the title of *patesi*, they are usually associated with Išme-Dagan and his son, and assigned to about the same period, i.e. B.C. 1800, or later. In view of this despatch of Ḫammurabi, it is possible that they ruled at a considerably earlier date than Išme-Dagan. In any case, we may conclude that at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Assyria had been colonized by Semitic inhabitants from the south, and probably formed an integral part of Ḫammurabi’s dominions. As Šitullum is coupled with Assyria, it may be inferred that it was a district which also lay to the north of Babylonia.

³ In recording the restoration of a temple to the gods Anu and Rammān, Tiglath-pileser I states that in former times it was built by Šamši-Rammān, the son of Išme-Dagan; that 641 years later it was pulled down by Ashur-dān; and that it had remained in this condition for 60 years until he himself restored it. This reference enables us to fix the dates of Išme-Dagan and Šamši-Rammān (see *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. i, pl. 15, ll. 60–70).

⁴ The bricks were found at Ḳal’at Sherḳāt, the site of the ancient city of Ašur, and they record the building or rebuilding of temples to the god Ašur in that city; see *op. cit.*, vol. i, pl. 6, Nos. 1 and 2.

II.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE CONVEYANCE OF
CERTAIN ELAMITE GODDESSES TO BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,131; pl. 59, No. 34.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^u Sin i dīn - nam
 ki - bi ma
 um - ma Ḫa am - mu - ra - bi - ma
 a - nu - um - ma Zi - kir - il - šu AB - AB - UL
 5 u Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi ba - ni DU - GAB 5
 a - na iš - ta - ra - a - tim ša E - mu - ut - ba - lim
 ri - di - e - im at - tar - dam
 ki - ma bi - tim
 iš - ta ra - a tim
 10 i - na malallī šu - ur - ki - ba - am - ma 10
 a na Bābili^{K1} li - il - li - ka - nim
 u ^r ki - iz - ri - e - tim
 wa - ar - ki - ši - na
 li - il - li - ka - nim
 REV. a - na kurmati iš - ta - ra - a - tim 15
 GAR - BI immerē[#] MA - GAR - RA
 u ŠU KASKAL ^r ki - iz - ri - e - tim
 ša a - di Bābili^{K1} ka - ša di im
 šu - ur - ki - ba - am
 20 šābam(am) ša di - id aš - li - im 20
 u šābam(am) bi - iḫ ra - am
 šu ku - un - ma
 iš - ta - ra - a - tim a - na Bābili^{K1}
 li - ša - al - li - mu - nim
 25 la u - la - ap - pa - ta - nim 25
 ar - ḫi - iš a - na Bābili^{K1}
 li - is - ni ga - am

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinmam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Behold I am now
 “ despatching (unto thee) Zikir-ilišu, the . . .
 “ -officer, and Ḥammurabi-bani, the DUGAB-
 “ officer,¹ that they may bring (hither) the
 “ goddesses of (the country of) Emutbalum.
 “ Thou shalt cause the goddesses to travel in
 “ a processional boat² as in a shrine,³ that they

¹ From Ḥammurabi-bani's name we may perhaps infer that he was a near relative or great favourite of the king. The post of DU-GAB which he held was an important one, and the duties with which officials of this class were entrusted were of a very varied nature. Thus in No. 81, l. 7, Samsu-iluna states that he is sending a DU-GAB to superintend the transport of the goddess Annunitum to Sippar-edinna; in No. 11, l. 16, Ḥammurabi tells Sin-idinmam that he is sending a DU-GAB and another official to see his instructions carried out with regard to the confiscation of a bribe; in No. 89, l. 13, Abēšu' states that he is despatching a DU-GAB to Sippar to bring back a runaway female slave; in No. 79, Rev., l. 5, mention is made of a DU-GAB whom Samsu-iluna has sent to Sippar to receive three head of cattle and half a maneh of silver; in No. 93, l. 17, Abēšu' states that he has sent a DU-GAB to Marduk-nāšir and the Judges of Sippar-amnanu, since they have not rendered the full number of young from the flocks that are due from them as tribute; in No. 41, l. 5, a DU-GAB is mentioned first in a list of seven men to be sent separately to Babylon; and for other passages in which the title occurs, see No. 78, l. 7; No. 18, Obv., l. 4; Bu. 88-5-12, 37 (Meissner, No. 100), l. 33, etc. The title was previously employed by the Sumerians, for it is found upon tablets from Tell Loh.

² The ideogram MA-LAL occurs in explanatory lists with the equivalent *malallū* (cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 3,701), but its meaning is not clearly indicated. In *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. v, pl. 26, l. 14, GIŠ-RIN MA-LAL is explained as (*gišrinnu*) *ša ma-lal-li-e*, which in the list follows (*gišrinnu*) *ša bi-lat* and

“ may come to Babylon. And the temple-
 “ women shall follow after them. For the food
 “ of the goddesses thou shalt provide ⁴ . . .
 “ sheep, and thou shalt take on board provisions
 “ for the maintenance of the temple-women on
 “ the journey⁵ until they reach Babylon. And

(*gišrinnu*) *ša zi-ba-ni-tim*; *gišrinnu* *ša zibanitim* certainly means “the beam of a balance,” and we should expect that the other two phrases had similar or kindred meanings; *biltu* and *malallū* are again coupled together (*ibid.*, pl. 32, l. 41 f.), the ideograms GI MA-LAL (*ka-an ma-lal-li-e*) and GI MA-DA-LAL (*ka-an be-la-ti*) being equated to the same broken synonym; but neither of these passages indicate the meaning of the word. In the present letter the word can only have one of two meanings, namely, a conveyance for transporting the goddesses by land, or a ship for conveying them by water. On the sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III are representations of gods and goddesses being carried on the shoulders of men (see Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 65), and, if *malallū* signified “a litter,” the phrase *gišrinnu ša mallatū* might conceivably be one of the poles by which the litter was carried. Against this rendering may be urged the fact that only one *mallatū* is mentioned, while the occurrence of MA, “a ship,” in the first half of the ideogram certainly favours the second alternative. Moreover, we know that ships were employed, at any rate at a later period, for the transport of deities in religious processions.

³ The same phrase, *ki-ma bi-tim*, “as in a shrine,” is employed by Samsu-iluna in his instructions concerning the transport of Annunitum to Sippār-edinna (see No. 81, l. 8).

⁴ The group MA-GAR-RA is perhaps to be regarded as a compound ideogram (MA + GAR) for a verb parallel to *šu-ur-ki-ba-am* in l. 19.

⁵ From the context of the passages in which the word ŠU-KASKAL occurs, it may be inferred that it had some such meaning as “provision for a journey.” We may explain the ideogram as made up of ŠU = *emūku*, “might, strength” (cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 7,069), and KASKAL = *ḫarranu*, “a journey.”

“ thou shalt appoint men to draw the rope
 “ (i.e. to tow the boat), and chosen soldiers,⁶
 “ that they may bring the goddesses to Babylon
 “ in safety. Let them not delay, but speedily
 “ reach Babylon.”

The circumstances under which this letter was written have already been discussed in the Introduction to Vol. I, p. xxxvii f. It will suffice here to state that the goddesses were probably captured in Elam by the Babylonian forces during a campaign against that country; and that Ḥammurabi's letter was written in answer to a despatch received from Sin-idinnam acquainting him with the fact. The route followed by Zikir-ilišu and Ḥammurabi-bani, when escorting the goddesses to Babylon, must have lain across Babylonia from east to west; it was rendered possible by the system of canals by which the country was intersected.⁷

⁶ Of the two classes of men whom Sin-idinnam is to appoint to accompany the goddesses, the *šābam šādid ašlim*, “men who draw the rope,” were clearly those who looked after the actual work of transport, possibly towing the vessel along the canals; the *šābam biḥram* may have formed a military guard; for *biḥru* in the latter phrase compare Hebr. *bāḥar*, “to choose,” and its derivative *bāḥūr*, “chosen,” applied to picked troops.

⁷ At a later time Sennacherib in his sixth campaign conveyed the gods, which he had captured in Elam, in ships across the head of the Persian Gulf on their way to Assyria (see *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. i, pl. 40, ll. 21-32). This incident, however, cannot be cited as a parallel to the present case, for the district of Emutbal was probably inland at a considerable distance from the coast.

III.

ORDER FOR THE RETURN OF THE ELAMITE
GODDESSES TO THEIR SHRINES.

[I.O.M., pl. 79, No. 45.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>	^u <i>Sin</i> -	<i>i</i> -	<i>din</i> -	<i>nam</i>
	<i>ki</i> -		<i>bi</i> -			<i>ma</i>
	<i>um</i> -	<i>ma</i>	<i>Ḫa</i>	<i>am</i> -	<i>mu</i> -	<i>ra</i> - <i>bi</i> <i>ma</i>
	<i>i</i> -	<i>la</i> -	<i>a</i> -	<i>tim</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>E</i> - <i>mu</i> - <i>ut</i> - <i>ba</i> - <i>lin</i>
5	<i>ša</i>		<i>li</i> -		<i>ti</i> -	<i>ka</i> 5
	<i>ša</i> <i>bum</i> (<i>um</i>)		<i>bušū</i>		<i>I</i> - <i>nu</i> -	<i>uḫ</i> - <i>ša</i> - <i>mar</i>
	<i>u</i> -	<i>ša</i> -	<i>al</i> -	<i>la</i> -	<i>ma</i> -	<i>aḫ</i> - <i>ḫu</i>
	<i>i</i> -	<i>nu</i> -	<i>ma</i>	<i>iz</i> -	<i>za</i> -	<i>an</i> - <i>ku</i> <i>ni</i> - <i>ik</i> - <i>ḫu</i>
	<i>i</i> -	<i>na</i>	<i>ša</i> <i>bim</i> (<i>im</i>)		<i>ša</i>	<i>ga</i> - <i>ti</i> - <i>ka</i>
10	<i>ša</i> <i>bam</i> (<i>am</i>)		<i>lu</i>		<i>pu</i> -	<i>ut</i> - <i>ma</i> 10
REV.	<i>i</i> -		<i>la</i>		<i>a</i> -	<i>tim</i>
	<i>a</i> -	<i>na</i>		<i>šu</i> -	<i>uḫ</i> -	<i>ti</i> - <i>ši</i> - <i>na</i>
	<i>li</i>	<i>ša</i>		<i>al</i> -	<i>li</i> -	<i>mu</i>

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. The goddesses of
“ Emutbalum, which are assigned unto thee,

“ the troops under the command of Inuḥsamar¹
“ will bring unto thee in safety. When they
“ shall reach thee, thou shalt destroy the people
“ with the troops that are in thy hand, and they
“ shall safely bring back the goddesses unto their
“ own dwellings.”

The goddesses here referred to are evidently to be identified with those mentioned in the preceding letter. It is not improbable that, after they had been removed to Babylon in accordance with Ḥammurabi's instructions, the Babylonian forces were defeated by the Elamites, and that this misfortune was attributed by them to the wrath of the goddesses at having been taken from their shrines. We may suppose that it was to appease their anger that Ḥammurabi decided to send them back to their own country ; he entrusted Inuḥsamar with the task of conveying them to the frontier, and the present letter was despatched to warn Sin-idinnam of their approach. We may assume that Ḥammurabi's plan was successful, for we know from other sources that he succeeded in defeating the Elamites during the later years of his reign. For a fuller discussion of this letter and its connection with the one that precedes it, see the Introduction to Vol. I, pp. xxv ff.

¹ The officer Inuḥsamar, though in Ḥammurabi's service, held a post which was connected with the city of Larsam, and he was to some extent under Sin-idinnam's control. In No. 26, when a complaint had been brought to Ḥammurabi against him, the king refers the case to Sin-idinnam, with directions to put the matter right.

This letter proves that the calendar was regulated by the royal astronomers in Babylon, and that the king published any alteration therein by writing to the governors of the principal cities throughout the country. There is evidence that at the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon both a second Elul and a second Adar were employed as intercalary months for the correction of the calendar;¹ the use of intercalary months was borrowed from the Sumerians, but it may be noted that, with two exceptions, the Babylonians did not retain the Sumerian names for the months.² With regard to the tribute the king is careful to point out that the alteration in the calendar will not justify Sin-idinnam in postponing payment.

¹ The tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 12 is dated on the 23rd day of the second Elul in the year in which Ammizaduga the king built Dūr-Ammizaduga at the mouth of the Euphrates; and the tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 508 is dated on the 13th day of a second Elul. From Bu. 88-5-12, 739 we know that a second Adar was inserted in the calendar in the year in which the canal of Ḫammurabi named Nuḫuš-niši was dug, while from the dates upon other tablets it is clear that a second Adar was employed as an intercalary month in the reigns of Abēšu', Ammiditana, and Ammizaduga. (Cf. Bu. 88-5-12, 454; Bu. 91-5-9, 729, 734, etc.) From the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 320 (a tablet of the reign of Abēšu'), it would seem that a second Nisan was sometimes employed, probably instead of a second Adar.

² At this period the series of ideograms most commonly used for the months is nearly identical with that given in *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. v, pl. 29, No. 1, ll. 1-13; other names are sometimes found, see above, Introduction.

V.

ORDERS TO CLEAR OUT THE DAMANUM-CANAL.

[Brit. Mus., No. 25,071 ; pl. 137, No. 71.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{sin} Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
 amēlēst ša i - na a - aḥst Da - ma - nu - um
 5 eklēst ša - ab - tu 5
 di - ki - e - ma
 st Da - ma - nu - um li - iḥ - ru
 i - na li - ib - bu wa - ar - ḥi - im an - ni - i - im
 st Da ma - nu - um
 10 i - na ḥi - ri - e - im 10
 li - ig - mi - lu

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Thou shalt call out
 “ the men who hold lands along the banks
 “ of the Damanum-canal that they may clear
 “ out¹ the Damanum-canal. Within the present
 “ month shall they complete the work of clearing
 “ out the Damanum-canal.”

¹ The verb employed is *ḥarū*, “to dig,” but the phrase obviously cannot refer to the digging of a new canal but to the cleaning out of an old one, as the men who are to do the work already hold land upon its banks.

From the above text it is clear that the canals and water-ways of Babylonia were cleaned out at certain intervals, and that this work was done under the orders of the government and within a specified time. It is well known that in all the low-lying countries of the East, which are subject to periodic inundations when the great rivers are in flood, the inhabitants of each village on or near the canals are responsible for the maintenance of their banks in sound condition, and for clearing out the muddy deposit from their bottoms when the river has fallen to its normal level. The reason for the interference of the government is obvious: the crops cannot grow without a sufficient supply of water, and the village which has a poor harvest cannot pay its full amount of taxes to the temple or to the Royal Treasury.² Moreover, as the canals formed the great highways for the transport of grain, merchandise, etc., any obstruction to the flow of water would increase the deposit on the bed of the canal and eventually block up the channel, and so prevent the passage of boats and barges. This letter furnishes us with one of the earliest examples of the use of the *corvée*.

² The importance of the canals for purposes of irrigation is referred to by Hammurabi in one of his inscriptions (No. 7), in which he commemorates the cutting of the Nuḫuš-niši canal. He there says (ll. 17 ff.): "I dug out the Hammurabi-canal (named) Nuḫuš-niši, which bringeth abundance of water unto the land of Sumer and Akkad. Both the banks thereof I changed to fields for cultivation, and I garnered piles of grain, and I procured unfailing water for the land of Sumer and Akkad."

VI.

ORDER TO FINISH CLEARING OUT A CANAL
IN THE CITY OF ERECH.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,818; pl. 7, No. 5.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na ^u S]in - i - din - n[am ki - bi - ma]
 [um - ma Ґa - am - m]u - ra - ba - ma
 [nāru] - ka - lu ša it - te - iḫ - ri
 a - [na a - lim ša] Uruk^{KI} u - ul ḫi - ri - a - at - ma
 5 [.] a - lim u - ul i - ir - ru - bu 5
 u [.] ša a - aḫ nār Dūru^{KI}
 [.] na - ti - a - at
 e - bi - [iš^v - tum š^v]u - a - ti u - ul ma - du
 a - na [šābim(im) š]a ma - aḫ - ri - ka
 IO ūmu 3 ^{KAM} - m[a] IO
 dub - bi an ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri - im
 i - na e - mu - ga at šābim(im)
 ša ma - aḫ - ri - ka
 REV. i - na li - ib - bi ūmi 3 ^{KAM}
 15 nāra li - ib bi a - lim ša Uruk^{KI} 15
 ḫi ri
 iš^v - tu nāra šu - a ti te iḫ - te - ru - u
 šī - ip - ra - am ša aš - pu - ra - ra - ḫu
 [e] - pu - uš

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. The canal [. . . .]
 “ which hath been cleared out,¹ hath not been
 “ cleared out as far as the city of Erech, and
 “ therefore [boats?] cannot enter the city.
 “ Moreover [. . . .], which is on the bank
 “ of the canal of the city of Dūru, [. . . .]
 “ is possible. This work is not too great for
 “ the men that are at thy disposal [. . . .]
 “ the third day. When, therefore, thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet, with the company of men
 “ at thy disposal thou shalt clear out the canal
 “ within the city of Erech in three days. After
 “ thou hast cleared out that canal, thou shalt
 “ do the work concerning which I have written
 “ unto thee.”

The first part of the letter is broken, but it would appear that Hammurabi was not satisfied with the progress made in cleaning out the canal at Erech. He asserts that the work is not too great for the men whom Sin-idinnam can employ, and orders that it must now be finished within three days, so that other work of which he had previously written may be taken in hand.

¹ As in the preceding letter, the verb employed is *ḫarū*, “to dig.” If the letter referred to the construction of a new canal, it would be strange for the king to set a limit of three days for its completion; whereas such a time limit would not be unnatural for the cleaning out of a canal, or for the repair of its banks if they had fallen in.

VII.

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION
AND REPAIR OF CANALS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,817; pl. 5, No. 4.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a na* ^{inu} *Sin - i - din nam ki - b[i - ma]*
um - ma Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
aš - šum ša ta - [aš] - pur - am um - ma at - ta - ma
šāb [.] - tim u šāb e - bi - iš - tum
5 *a - na ši - [bi - ir] ša KUN²¹ nāri 5*
ša iš - [tu] - la - nu - um pī ^{nāru} Ḫal - ki
[.] - aš - šu - u iṣ - ša - ab - tu i - na mi - e ru - us - [.]
[.] za - ka - bi - im la na - tu - u - ma
[.] - ne - iz - bu
10 *[.] u 5 GAN epiri i - na - az - za - aḫ 10*
[.] i - na - az za - ḫu
[.] it - ti - šu - nu i - ib - bi - eš
[.] be - li li - iš - pur - am
[.]

[Several lines are missing at the end of the Obverse and
at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. *[.]*
[.] ka la aš - pur - am
ši - bi - ir nārim(im) ša aḫ - ḫi - ru (?)
la i mu - ru - nim
mu - u a - na ši - ip ri - im ga am - ri - im
5 *la uš - ta ar - d[u] u 5*

u iš-tu ši-bi-ir nāri ša i-na-an-na ša-ab-ta-ti
i - na hi - ri - e - im ta - ag - dam - ru
nāru Purattu ša iš - tu Larsam^{KI}
a - di Uru^{KI}
 IO *mi - ik - ti - ša u - su uḥ* IO
ha - mi - ša šu - ut - bi
šu - te - še - ir - ši

SUMMARY.

Sin-idinnam had written to Ḥammurabi reporting difficulties that had been met with in the course of his work on the canals in his district. He had asked for instructions from Ḥammurabi, who wrote this letter in reply. The text of the tablet is so imperfect, especially on the obverse, that restoration is uncertain. The concluding lines of the letter contain directions for the clearing of the stream of the Euphrates between Larsam and Ur, which Sin-idinnam is to undertake as soon as he shall have finished the work on which he is now engaged.

Perhaps *miktaša usuh* should be translated "thou shalt remove its state of ruin," i.e. repair its banks; but both *miktu* and *hamu* are names of water-plants (cf. *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. ii, pl. 41, No. 5, ll. 30 and 33; No. 9, ll. 48, 50, and 51), and it is possible to take the verb *šu-ut-bi*, as III, 1, from *ṭibū*. If this explanation is correct we may suppose that Ḥammurabi gives directions for the clearing away of the reeds and water-plants with which the stream of the Euphrates had become choked.

VIII.

ORDER FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF
A CHARGE OF BRIBERY AND FOR THE
CONFISCATION OF THE BRIBE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,829; pl. 18, No. 11.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - n]a ⁱⁿ Sin - i - din - na[m]
 [k]i - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi - [ma]
 m Šum - ma - an - la - ilu
 5 ki - a - am iḫ - bi - a - am 5
 um - ma šu - ma
 i na Dūr - gurgurri^{K1}
 ta - a - tum ib - ba - šī - ma
 a - me - lu - u ša ta - a - ta - am
 10 il - ku - u 10
 u ši - bu ša a - wa - a - tim ši - na - ti
 i - du - u
 i - ba - aš - šu - u
 REV. ki a - am iḫ - bi - a - am
 15 a - nu - um - ma Šum - ma - la - ilu šu - a - ti 15
 I DU - GAB u I [.]
 a - na ši - [ri] - ka
 at - [tar -] dam
 dub - bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri - im
 20 wa - ar - ka - tu pu - ru - uš - ma 20
 šum - ma ta - a - tum ib - ba - š[i]
 kaspā u mi - im - ma
 ša i - na ta - a - tim [.]
 ku-un-kam-ma a-na ma-aḫ-ri-i[a š]u-b[i-l]am

	25 a - me - li - e		ša		ta - a - tu	25
	il -		ku -		u	
EDGE.	u ši - bi	s[a]	a - wa - a - t	[im ši - na - ti]		
	i - du	u	ša	Šum - ma - an - l	[a - ilu]	
	u -	ka -	al -	la -	mu	
SIDE.	[a -	na	ši -	]	ri -	ia 30
	[šu -	ri] -	a -		am	

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Šumman-la-ilu hath
 “ reported (unto me), saying, ‘ Bribery’ hath
 “ ‘ taken place in Dūr-gurgurri,² and the man
 “ ‘ who took the bribe, and the witness who
 “ ‘ hath knowledge of these matters, are here.’
 “ In this wise hath he reported. Now this
 “ same Šumma(n)-la-ilu, and one DUGAB-officer

¹ The word *ta-a-tum*, which is also written *ta-a-tu* (l. 25), *ta-a-tim* (l. 23), and *ta-a-ta-am* (l. 9), seems to be the equivalent of the later *da'ātu*, *dātu*, which is always written with the *d*; it will be noted that dentals as well as sibilants were not very carefully distinguished in writing at this period.

² Dūr-gurgurri, “the town of the metal-workers,” was a place of some importance during the First Dynasty of Babylon. The town was probably situated on or near the Tigris in Southern Babylonia, and in No. 30, l. 7, it is mentioned with the Tigris in connection with the payment of certain revenue. At the time of Ḥammurabi the name of the place had not lost its original significance, for from No. 72 we learn that it was the principal settlement of the guild of *gurgurrē* or “metal-workers.” The town is mentioned again in No. 76, a letter in which Ḥammurabi supports the claim of a certain Ea-lū-bani to some land situated in its neighbourhood.

“ and one . . . -officer, I am despatching
 “ unto thee. When thou shalt behold this
 “ tablet, thou shalt examine into the matter,³
 “ and, if bribery hath taken place, set a seal⁴
 “ upon the money or upon whatsoever was
 “ offered as the bribe, and cause it to be
 “ brought unto me. And the men who took
 “ the bribe and the witness who hath knowledge
 “ of these matters, whom Šumman-la-ilu will
 “ point out unto thee, shalt thou send unto me.”

From this letter it seems that Ḫammurabi was anxious to remove corruption from among his officials. Moreover, the successful recovery of any bribe which had been given tended to fill the royal coffers, as we may see from the fact that instructions are given for the bribe to be confiscated and despatched to Ḫammurabi under seal.

³ The phrase *puruš warkātu* is the formula usually employed in these letters in directions for the investigation of a case, cf. No. 6, l. 17, *wa-ar-ka-tu pu-ru-uš-ma*, and No. 19, l. 9, *wa-ar-ka-as-su pu-ru-uš*; in No. 43, l. 11, Ḫammurabi states that he himself has investigated a case (*wa-ar-ka-su ap-ru-u[š]*). With the verb *parāšu*, cf. Hebr. *pāraš*, Syr. *pēraš*.

⁴ Bundles of objects, done up in cloth and corded, could be effectively sealed with pieces of clay, and we may assume that the bribe mentioned in the letter was packed in this manner and despatched to the king. Pieces of clay, bearing on their upper surface seal impressions and on their lower surface the marks made by cloth and cords, have frequently been found in the mounds which cover the sites of old Babylonian cities.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. Lalum, the KADUR,¹
 “ hath informed me, saying, ‘ Ani-ellati, the
 “ ‘ *ragānu*, hath laid claim to certain land which
 “ ‘ I have held from [days of old],² and the crop
 “ ‘ of the land [he hath taken].’ After this
 “ manner hath he informed me. Now a tablet
 “ hath been found in the palace, and [it
 “ ascribeth] two GAN of land unto Lalum.
 “ Thou shalt examine into the matter, and, if
 “ Ani-ellati took (the land) on pledge³ from
 “ Lalum the KADUR, thou shalt return his pledge
 “ unto him, and thou shalt punish Ani-ellati,
 “ who took (the land) on pledge.”

¹ KA-DUR is evidently the name of a class, or an official title ; it should possibly be rendered in Semitic under the form *kadurru*. The word *kadurru* has the meaning “forced labour,” and it perhaps also signified one who was liable to render forced service.

² The traces of the character after *iš-tu* suggest UD ; the restoration *iš-tu* [*ūmē mā dūti*] is therefore possible.

³ In this letter it would be possible to assign to the verb *ḫabālu* its usual meaning, “to wrong, to damage,” and to the substantive *ḫībiltu* the meaning “wrong, damage” ; if we give these meanings to the words the end of the letter may be rendered, “and, if Ani-ellati hath wronged Lalum, thou shalt make good unto him the wrong he hath suffered, and thou shalt punish Ani-ellati who committed the wrong.” This indefinite meaning, however, does not suit other passages in which the words occur ; and it is preferable to assign to *ḫabālu* the meaning “to receive a pledge from” (Hebr. *ḫābhal*), and to *ḫībiltu* the meaning “pledge” (Hebr. *ḫābhāl*, *ḫābhōlā*) ; the same root appears in the substantive *ḫubullu*, “interest.”

Under the Sumerians we know that regular surveys of districts in Southern Babylonia were undertaken, and from this letter it may perhaps be inferred that a similar practice was in vogue during the First Babylonian Dynasty. We may suppose that the landed property of the inhabitants was tabulated in registers, and that such records, which served the purpose of our manor-house rolls, were kept safely in the king's palace at Babylon and in the temples, and that they were available for inspection on appeal.⁴ The object of this arrangement was to ensure the regular payment of the full amount of tax due to the king or temple from the owners of estates, and incidentally it protected the interests of the owners. Ani-ellati, who was probably a clever usurer, seems to have advanced to Lalum more money to buy seed-corn than he would ordinarily have done, because he intended to foreclose on the mortgage and seize the crop. On the appeal of Lalum, Hammurabi annuls the contract, and the defendant Ani-ellati is condemned to lose the money which he advanced on the crop⁵ and to receive punishment.

⁴ It is possible that the tablet found in the palace was a copy of Lalum's own title deed to his land. In No. 76 (p. 28) Hammurabi decides another suit, concerning the disputed possession of some land, on the evidence of "a tablet."

⁵ The order that the mortgaged land should be restored probably implies that the loan was no longer recoverable.

X.

DECREE FOR THE RESTORATION OF PROPERTY
ILLEGALLY CLAIMED BY A MONEY-LENDER.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,841 ; pl. 30, No. 18.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{tin} Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um ma Ḥa - am - mu - ra bi - ma
 mārē²¹ ḥa - ab - lum DU - GAB PA - TE - SI
 5 dup - pa - am ša ḥi - bi - il - ti - šu - nu 5
 ša E - nu - bi - ^{tin} Marduk
 iḥ - bu - lu - šu - nu - ti
 iḥ - p[u]¹ - nim - ma
 u - ka - al - li - mu ni - in - ni
 [.]

[Two or three lines are missing at the end of the Obverse
and at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [.]
 li - bi - ir - ru - ma
 ḥi - bi - il - ta - šu - nu
 te - ir - šu - nu - ši - im
 u E nu - bi - ^{tin} Marduk
 5 ša iḥ - bu - lu - šu - nu ti 5
 a - na ma - aḥ - ri - ia
 tu - ur - dam

¹ The traces of this sign on the tablet admit of the reading pú.

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. The debtors (?)² to
 “ the DUGAB of the PATESI³ have cancelled the
 “ deed of their pledge,⁴ which Enubi-Marduk⁵
 “ received from them, and they have informed
 “ me, [saying]

REV. “ [.] let them award, and thou
 “ shalt restore their pledge unto them. And
 “ Enubi-Marduk, who received the pledge from
 “ them, shalt thou send into my presence.”

Judging from the context, we may assume that the missing portion of the text described the offence which Enubi-Marduk had committed in connection with a mortgage on certain property, and which necessitated his despatch to Babylon. It is probable that he laid claim to the property and refused to part with it, although the mortgage had been redeemed.

² It is possible that *Ḫa-ab-lum* should be taken as a proper name to which the title DU-GAB PA-TE-SI would then refer. For the rendering of the phrase *mārē ḫablum* in the translation, cf. the similar expression *amēlē ḫabiltu* in No. XV; this use of *māru* is suggested by the similar use of *bēn* in Hebrew.

³ For the duties of the DU-GAB, see p. 7.

⁴ The *dup-pa-am ša ḫi-bi-il-ti-šū-nu* was evidently the tablet given by the plaintiffs to Enubi-Marduk as a receipt for a loan, which was secured by certain property they had pledged to him; on *ḫabālu* see above, p. 24.

⁵ Enubi-Marduk was a person of some importance; his name occurs in several of Ḫammurabi's letters.

XI.

DECREE FOR THE RESTORATION OF CERTAIN
LAND TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNER.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,773; pl. 146, No. 76.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a -	na	^{iu} Sin -	i -	din -	nam
ki -			bi -		ma
um -	ma	Ḥa -	am -	mu -	ra -
			bi -		ma
I GAN		ugāri	eḫli	ḤA -	PA
5		ša		Dūr -	gurgurri ^{KI} 5
ši -	bi -	is -	su	la -	bi -
				rum	
ša		^{iu} Ea -		lū -	bani
i -	na	dūb -	bi -	im	a -
				na	šu -
ša -		te -		ir -	a -
				šum	ši -
IO eḫlam(am)				šu -	a -
				ti	10
a -	na	^{iu} Ea -		lū -	bani -
					ma
REV. i -			di -		in

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. In the matter of the
 “ GAN of . . . land in the district of the town
 “ of Dūr-gurgurri, the ownership of the land by
 “ Ea-lū-bani¹ is ancient, for on a tablet is it
 “ assigned unto him. Thou shalt therefore give
 “ this land unto Ea-lū-bani.”

¹ The rendering of ^{iu}Ea-ḤE-U-TU as ^{iu}Ea lū-bani is conjectural; see Brunnow, *Classified List*, No. 1,071, and *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. iv, No. 2, Rev., l. 3 f. (ḤE-PAD = lū tamāti), and compare MA-AN-SUM (= iddina) in proper names.

XII.

ORDER FOR THE RESTORATION OF CERTAIN
CORN TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNER.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,830 ; pl. 20, No. 12.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{uu} *Sin - i - din - nam*
 ki - *bi -* *ma*
 un - ma *Ha - am - mu* *ra - bi - ma*
 ^m *Amēlu - tummumu* *amēl* *Nippur*^{K1}
 5 *ki-a-am* *u-lam-mi-da-an-ni* *um-ma* *šu-ma* 5
 i *na* ^{uu} *U - na - bu - um*^{K1}
 70 GUR¹ *i - na* E - NI UM *aš - pu - uk - ma*
 ^m [A] - *p[i - i]l - ili*
 E - [NI - UM] *ip - t[e] - e - ma*
 10 *še - am* [.] 10
 ki - a am [u] - *lam - mi - da - an - ni*
 a nu un - ma *Amēlu - tummumu* *šu - a - ti*
 a - na *ši - ri - ka* *at - tar - dam*
 REV. *šu* *pu -* *ur*
 15 ^m *A -* *pi -* *il -* *ili* 15
 li *it -* *ru -* *ni -* *ik -* *ku*
 a - wa - a - ti - šu - nu *a - mu - ur - ma*
 še - am *ša* *Amēlu - tummumu*
 ša *A* *pi - il - ili* *il - ku - u*
 20 *a - na* *Amēlu - tummumu* 20
 li - *te -* *ir*

¹ The amount is to be read as 70 GUR, not 600 GUR, as the two wedges at the beginning of the line are clearly separated and do not form one sign.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Amēlu-ṭummumu,²
 “ the man of Nippur, hath informed me, saying,
 “ ‘ In the city of Unabum I stored up seventy
 “ ‘ GUR of corn in a granary,³ but Apil-ili hath
 “ ‘ broken into the granary and [hath taken]
 “ ‘ the corn.’ After this fashion hath he
 “ informed me. Behold, I am now despatching
 “ this same Amēlu-ṭummumu unto thee. Thou
 “ shalt send for Apil-ili and see that they bring
 “ him unto thee. Thou shalt examine into their
 “ case, and the corn, which belongeth to Amēlu-
 “ ṭummumu and which Apil-ili hath taken, unto
 “ Amēlu-ṭummumu shall he restore.”

It is worthy of note that the plaintiff in this suit, who was a native of Nippur, appealed for justice to the king at Babylon. The fact that Ḥammurabi referred the case to Sin-idinnam for judgment may be explained on the supposition that Apil-ili, the defendant, was a native of Larsam, or, at any rate, lived within the district under Sin-idinnam's control.

² A strange proper name, signifying “ the deaf man.”

³ The context suggests that some such meaning as “ granary ” should be assigned to E-NI-UM; the second part of the ideogram occurs in MA-NI-UM, the common word for ships employed for transport at this period.

XIII.

ORDER FOR THE REPAYMENT OF A LOAN OF
CORN WITH INTEREST THEREON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,864; pl. 39, No. 24.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ⁱⁱⁱ *Sin - i din nam*
 ki - *bi ma*
 um - ma *Ĥa am mu ra bi ma*
 ^m *Ili - šu - i [b]i damk[ar P]A - NAM - 5*¹
 5 *ki a - am u lam mi da - an - ni* 5
 um - ma *šu - u - ma*
 30 GUR *[a] na* ⁱⁱⁱ *Sin - ma gir šakkanakki*
 ad di - in - ma
 dup pa - šu na - ši - a - ku - ma
 10 *[iš - tu] šatti 3^{KAM} e - te - ne - ir - ri - is - su - ma*
 [še] - am u - ul i na - ad - di - nam
 [ki - a] - am u - lam - mi - da - an ni
 REV. *dup - pa - šu a - mu - ur - ma*
 še - am u šibta - šu
 15 ^m ⁱⁱⁱ *Sin - ma gir li ša - ad - di - na - ma*
 a - na Ili - šu - i - bi i - di - in

¹ On a tablet of the reign of Samsu-iluna, Brit. Mus., No. 33,240 (B. 85), Obv., l. 8, mention is made of a certain Nidin-Ištar, who is there termed PA-NAM-5, a title similar to that borne by Ilišu-ibi.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Ilišu-ibi, the -
 “ merchant, hath informed me, saying, ‘ I lent
 “ ‘ thirty GUR of corn to Sin-magir,² the governor,
 “ ‘ and I hold his receipt for the same ; for
 “ ‘ three years I have besought him and he
 “ ‘ will not repay the corn.’ After this manner
 “ hath he informed me. I have beheld³ his
 “ tablet, and Sin-magir shall pay the corn and
 “ the interest thereon, and thou shalt give it
 “ unto Ilišu-ibi.”

This tablet proves that Ḥammurabi did not countenance any laxity on the part of his officials, and that he administered the law impartially. The position of the *šakkanakku*, or “governor,” here referred to, seems not to have been of great importance, for the title is not followed by the name of the city or district to which he belonged.

² The Sin-magir here mentioned is probably not to be identified with the man of the same name referred to in Nos. 13 (liii) and 41 (xii).

³ Possibly *a-mu-ur-ma* should be taken as the imperative, in which case we must translate the passage “look at his tablet” ; the phrase would then be similar to *puruš warkātu*, the formula employed upon other tablets in which orders are given for cases to be investigated (see above, p. 22). According to this rendering Sin-idinnam, before carrying out his king’s instructions, is to satisfy himself as to the justice of the case.

XIV.

ORDER FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE RENT
OF CERTAIN LAND.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,120; pl. 47, No. 28.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{itu} *Sin - i din - nam ki - bi - ma*
um - ma *Ha - am - mu - ra - bi - ma*
aš - šum še - im mi - ki - is eḫlim(im)
ša Ib-ni-^{itu} Mar-tu ša i-na ga-at E-nu-bi-^{itu} Marduk
 5 *a - na Ib - ni -^{itu} Mar - tu na - da - nim* 5
ša iš - ta - ap - ra - ak - ku - ma um - ma at - ta - ma
m E-nu-bi-^{itu} Marduk ki-a-am iḫ-bi-a-am um-ma šu-ma
it - ti eḫlim(im) ša Ib - ni -^{itu} Mar - tu
eḫlam(am) a - ḫi - a - am e - [.] - iš - ma
 10 *še - um a - šar iš - te - [.] - šu ša - bi - ik*
i-na E-KU-ŠA-AN še-am m[a-la]i-na eḫli Ib-ni-^{itu} Mar-tu
ib - ba - šu - u
li - bi - ir - ru - ma mi - ik - sa - am li - il - ku - u
ki - a - am iḫ - bi - ma
 15 *ma - ḫa - ar Ib - ni -^{itu} Mar - tu u - ul im - gur* 15
 EDGE. *um - ma šu - ma*
 REV. *ba - lum Ib - ni -^{itu} Mar - tu u - ul [.]*
ki - a am iḫ - bi - ma
it - ta - la - ak
 20 *še - am ma - la i - na eḫli - šu ib - ba - šu - u* 20
i - na E-KU-ŠA-AN u - ba - ar - ru - ma
mi - ik - sa - am i - na - ad - di - nu - šum
ša ta - aš - pur - am
ki - ma ta - aš - pur - am
 25 *še - am ma - la i - na eḫli Ib - ni -^{itu} Mar - tu* 25
ib - šu - u

<i>i - na</i>	E-KU-ŠA-AN	<i>li bi - ir - ru - u - ma</i>	
<i>še - am</i>	<i>mi - ki - is</i>	<i>eḫli - šu</i>	
<i>m</i>	<i>Ib -</i>	<i>ni -</i>	<i>Mar - tu</i>
30 <i>a -</i>	<i>pu -</i>		<i>ul 30</i>

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. In the matter of the
 “ handing over unto Ibni-Martu of the corn, that
 “ is to say, the rent¹ of the field of Ibni-Martu,
 “ which is in the hand of Enubi-Marduk. Con-
 “ cerning this matter I have already written unto
 “ thee, and thou didst reply : ‘ Enubi-Marduk
 “ ‘ hath informed (me), saying, “ Together with
 “ ‘ the field of Ibni-Martu, he hath [. . .] a
 “ ‘ different field, and the corn in the place which
 “ ‘ he hath [. . .] is garnered. Let them
 “ ‘ therefore in the house of . . . give their
 “ ‘ award upon² all the corn that is in the field
 “ ‘ of Ibni-Martu, and let them take the rent.”
 “ ‘ In this wise Enubi-Marduk spake, but the
 “ ‘ thing was not good in the sight of Ibni-
 “ ‘ Martu. And (Enubi-Marduk) said, “ Without
 “ ‘ the consent of Ibni-Martu [we can do]

¹ Cf. Hebrew *mekhes*, “tribute.” As the portion of the crop which forms the *miksu* is to be paid to Ibni-Martu, the owner of the field, it seems that *miksu* is employed in the sense of “rent.”

² The verb *li-bi-ir-ru-ma* cannot here have the meanings “to award to” or “to receive as an award,” which it appears to have in contracts of the period (see Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 128).

“ ‘nothing.’ So he spake and he went his
“ ‘way. Shall they, then, in the house of
“ ‘give their award upon all the corn that is in
“ ‘his field, and give him the rent?’ These
“ words didst thou write unto me. In ac-
“ cordance with that which thou didst write,
“ let them in the house of give their
“ award upon all the corn that is in the field of
“ Ibni-Martu, and the corn which formeth the
“ rent of his field shalt thou pay unto Ibni-Martu.”

From the above letter it is clear that the matter about which Hammurabi writes had already been the subject of correspondence between him and Sin-idinnam. He had previously directed Sin-idinnam to hand over a certain portion of the crop of some land to Ibni-Martu,³ to whom it was due as rent. When Sin-idinnam had attempted to carry out the order he had found that Enubi-Marduk,⁴ the present occupier of the land, and Ibni-Martu, the owner, could not agree as to the amount of land on which rent was to be paid. He had, therefore, written to Hammurabi for instructions, and in reply he received the present letter confirming his suggestions as to the course of conduct he should pursue. /

³ Ibni-Martu, the owner of the land, may perhaps be identified with the military commander mentioned in No. 23 (I), or with “the scribe of the bakers of Emutbalum” referred to in No. 1 (L), both of whom bore the name of Ibni-Martu.

⁴ Enubi-Marduk’s name occurs in another letter (see above, p. 26) in connection with a dispute concerning land.

XV.

ORDER FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF THE
AFFAIRS OF CERTAIN OFFICIALS OF THE
PALACE GATE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 86,284; pl. 235, No. 103.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	<i>a -</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ṣin -</i>	<i>i -</i>	<i>din -</i>	<i>nam</i>	
	<i>ki -</i>		<i>bi</i>			<i>ma</i>	
	<i>um</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>Ḥa -</i>	<i>am -</i>	<i>mu -</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>bi - ma</i>
	<i>i -</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ṣāb</i>		<i>bāb</i>		<i>eḫalli</i>
5	<i>bušū</i>		<i>E -</i>		<i>ri -</i>	<i>ša</i>	5
	<i>a -</i>	<i>me -</i>		<i>li -</i>		<i>e</i>	
	<i>ša</i>	<i>ḫi -</i>	<i>bi</i>		<i>il -</i>	<i>tu</i>	
	<i>i -</i>	<i>šu -</i>		<i>u -</i>		<i>ma</i>	
	<i>m</i>	<i>E -</i>		<i>r[i] -</i>		<i>š[a]</i>	
EDGE.	<i>i -</i>	<i>ri -</i>	<i>id -</i>	<i>dī -</i>	<i>a -</i>	<i>a[k -</i>	<i>ḫu]</i> 10
REV.	<i>wa -</i>	<i>ar -</i>	<i>ka -</i>	<i>as -</i>	<i>su -</i>	<i>nu</i>	
	<i>pu -</i>		<i>ru -</i>			<i>uš</i>	
	<i>ḫi -</i>	<i>bi -</i>	<i>il -</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>šu -</i>	<i>nu</i>	
	<i>a -</i>	<i>pu -</i>	<i>ul -</i>	<i>šu -</i>	<i>nu -</i>	<i>ti -</i>	<i>ma</i>
15	<i>la</i>	<i>u -</i>	<i>da -</i>	<i>ab -</i>	<i>ba -</i>	<i>bu</i>	15

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Among the officials
 “ of the Palace Gate,¹ who are under the control
 “ of Eriša, there are certain men who are

¹ The title *ṣāb bāb eḫalli* was a general one, and could be held by men of different professions. Thus, in No. 17 (LIV) two men of

“cumbered with pledges,² and Eriša is going
 “unto thee. Thou shalt examine into their
 “affairs, and thou shalt return their pledges
 “unto them, that they be not involved in
 “actions at law.”

The circumstances under which this letter was written are not very clearly indicated, but it would appear that the king was anxious that the officials of the Palace Gate should not be involved in litigation. If the rendering of *hibiltu* as “pledge” be correct, we may suppose that certain of the officials under Eriša’s control had contracted debts, which Sin-idinnam is here directed to cancel or to pay off; but it is not clear why the king should write to Sin-idinnam to free these men from the obligations which they had incurred. From l. 10 we may perhaps conclude that Eriša was the bearer of this letter.

the company of the *palesi* and a member of the company of the soothsayers are all described as “Officials of the Palace Gate.” It is possible that the title implied that the men who held it were, or had been, in the personal service of the king.

² On the meaning of *hibiltu*, see above, p. 24. To the majority of passages in texts of the Old Babylonian period in which the word occurs the meaning “pledge” seems most appropriate. It may be noted that *hibiltu* is rarely found in Neo-Babylonian contracts, and in passages where it does occur it appears to have a somewhat different meaning: e.g., 83-1-18, 678 (a tablet of accounts of the 15th year of Nabonidus), at the end of a list of various sums of money paid away occurs the summary *naphar 3 ma-na 13 šiklu kaspi ultu kaspi ša hi-bil-tum ša amētu šangū Sip-par^{K1}*; and 82-9-18, 407, a receipt given in the 12th year of Nabonidus for two manehs of silver, which are described as *hi-bil-tum ša amētu* [. . .]. See Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus*, Nos. 689 and 940; and Tallqvist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nâ'idis*, p. 71.

XVI.

ORDER FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF AN
APPEAL TO THE KING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,846; pl. 32, No. 19.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{sin} *Sin - i - din nam*
ki - *bi - ma*
um - ma *Ḥa am mu - ra bi ma*
ra - bi - a - an ^{sin} *Me di - e im^{K1}*
5 *aš - šum* *ḥi - bi - il - ti šu 5*
u - lam - mi - da - an ni
a-nu-um-ma ra-bi-a-an ^{sin} *Me-di-e-im^{K1}* *šū-a-ti*
a - na *ši - ri - ka at tar - dam*
wa - ar - ka - as - su pu - ru - uš
10 *šu - pur be - el a - wa - ti - šu 10*
li - it - ru - ni - ik - ku - ma
REV. *di - nam ki - ma ši - im - da - tim*
šu ḥi is - su - nu - ti

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. The *rabiānu*-official¹
“ of the city of Medēm hath informed me con-
“ cerning his pledge. Now I am despatching

¹ The title *rabiānu* occurs again in No. 47, a letter written by Sin-idinnam to the *rabiānu* of the city of Kutalla; as in the present letter, the name of the official is not given. The stone slab No. 66 was dedicated on Ḥammurabi's behalf by a *rabiānu* of the

“ this *rabiānu* of the city of Medēm unto thee.
 “ Thou shalt examine into his case. Thou
 “ shalt send for the party to his suit,² and shalt
 “ cause them to bring him unto thee, and thou
 “ shalt give them judgment ‘according to the
 “ yoke.’ ”

By the words “according to the yoke” we are probably to understand that the penalty to be inflicted was a severe one. They may indicate that the guilty party or parties were to be punished “according to the utmost rigour of the law,” by which we may understand the performance of hard labour in the king’s service.³

district of a river. The title is also frequently met with in contracts of this period, after the names of men who head the lists of witnesses, e.g., Ilāni-ippalzam, Abi-lumur, Sin-imguranni, Kišti-Urra (see Strassmaier, *Die altbabylonischen Verträge aus Warka*, p. 357). The title appears to interchange with that of *rabi zikati*, for Kišti-Urra is styled *mār ra-bi zi-ka-ti* in B. 71 (ibid., pl. 86) and *ra-bi zi-ka-ti* in B. 68 (ibid., pl. 75). From the position of the *rabiānu* at the head of the witnesses in contract tablets, Meissner (*Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 129) suggests that it had some such meaning as “president of the court.”

² That *bēl amāti* signifies “the party to a suit” is clearly shown by No. 9 (XVIII). It is there stated that Ili-ippalzam had brought an action against Sin-gimlanni and Libit-Ištar, who at the end of the letter are described as *be-el a-wa-ti-šu*.

³ The fuller form of the expression is *kīma šimdat šarri*, which is of frequent occurrence upon contract-tablets (cf. Meissner, op. cit., p. 97). The phrase *kīma šimdat šarri nazāzu*, “to stand for the king’s yoke,” was the penalty for various breaches of agreement, etc., and probably implied a term of compulsory labour.

XVII.

ORDER FOR THE TRIAL OF A CASE BEFORE
THE KING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,815; pl. 3, No. 2.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na] ^{itu} Sin - i - din - nam
 [ki] - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
 aš-šum ^m ^{itu} Sin-ra-bi ša it-ti ^m Nu-ur-Ištar
 5 ta - at - ru - da - aš - šu 5
^m ^{itu} Sin - ra - bi šu - a - ti
 a - na ma - aḥ - ri - ia u - še - ri - bu - nim - ma
 aš - šum I - din - ^{itu} Sin
 u - lam - mi - da - an - ni
 10 a - nu - um ma ^{itu} Sin - ra - bi šu a - ti 10
 a - na ši - ri - ka at - tar - dam
 REV. ^m I - din - ^{itu} Si[n]
 u ^{amzitu} ši - i - bi ša i - ga - ab - bu - ḫu
 a - na ma - aḥ - ri - ia
 15 tu - ur - dam 15

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say:—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. In the matter of
 “ Sin-rabi, whom thou didst send (unto me) in
 “ the company of Nūr-Ištar. They have brought
 “ this Sin-rabi into my presence, and he hath
 “ informed me concerning Idin-Sin. I am now
 “ despatching this same Sin-rabi unto thee.

“ Idin-Sin, and the witnesses of whom he will
“ tell thee, thou shalt send into my presence.”

From the above we see that Sin-idinnam had sent Sin-rabi to the king¹ with information concerning a case which had come before him, but which, for some reason not stated, he had been unable to decide. We may infer that the case was brought by Sin-rabi against Idin-Sin, and that the king, having heard the report of the latter, sent him back to Larsam with an order to transfer the case for trial to Babylon.

This letter and those which precede it make it clear that Hammurabi exercised a very active control over the administration of justice in Babylonia. The king himself was of easy access to his subjects, and applicants for justice frequently applied to him at Babylon before presenting petitions to their local courts. Thus, in Nos. IX, XIII, and XVI we find plaintiffs appealing to the king direct, and in No. XII a plaintiff who has so appealed is described as a man of Nippur. These letters, like Nos. X, XI, and XIV, also illustrate the supervision which Hammurabi exercised over cases tried at Larsam; not only did the king send cases to Sin-idinnam for trial, but he frequently made an examination of the case himself and suggested the verdict which should be given.

¹ It is probable that Nūr-Ištar, with whom Sin-rabi travelled to Babylon, had no connection with his case.

XVIII.

POSTPONEMENT OF THE HEARING OF
A CASE TO ALLOW OF THE OBSERVANCE OF
A FESTIVAL.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,827; pl. 14, No. 9.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na ^{sin}Si]n - i - di[n - nam]
 [ki -] bi - [ma]
 um - ma Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi - [ma]
 aš - šum ^mIli ip - pa - al - za - [am]
 5 ša it - ti ^{m sin}Sin - gim la - an - [ni] 5
 māṛ Bītu - ra bi [.]
 u Li - bi - it - Ištar māṛ giš - dub - ba ša [.]
 bušū Ta - ri - ba - tum
 eḫlam(am) bi it - ku - ru - n[im]
 10 ša aš pu ra - am 10
 a - nu - um - ma Ili - ip - pa - al - za - am akil MU²¹
 a - na niḫē ša Uru^{K1}
 u ma - e - ra - am - ma at - tar - dam
 REV. ki - ma niḫē ša Uru^{K1}
 15 uš - ta - al - li - mu 15
 ^{m sin}Sin - gim - 'la - an - ni
 u Li - bi - it - Ištar
 be el a - wa - ti šu
 it - ti - šu a - na Bābīlī^{K1}
 20 tu - ur - dam - ma 20
 a - wa - a - tu - šu - nu li - i[g] - ga - am - ra

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Concerning Ili-
 “ ippalzam,¹ who hath brought an action in the
 “ matter of certain land against Sin-gimlanni,
 “ the son of Bītu-rabi,² the [. . .], and Libit-
 “ Ištar, one of the company of the *gišdubbā*³
 “ of [. . .], who is attached to the service
 “ of Taribatatum,⁴ of which matter I have already
 “ written unto thee. Behold, I have appointed
 “ Ili-ippalzam, who is scribe of the temple-bakers,⁵

¹ Two men bearing this name are mentioned in No. 42 as natives of the city of Aḥamnuta near Larsam; the name was not an uncommon one.

² That *Bītu-ra-bi* is to be taken as a proper name is proved by No. 29, l. 25, where a shepherd in Ḥammurabi's service bears this name, and by No. 49, l. 2, where a certain *m Bītu-ra-bi* is mentioned as one of the recipients of a letter from Samsu-iluna.

³ *giš-dub-ba* is the name of the class or profession to which Libit-Ištar belonged. The phrase occurs again in No. 27, where Ḥammurabi gives instructions for 1 *mār giš-dub-ba-ka* to take command of a company of workmen. In No. 78 two men are described as DU-GAB-officials and also as *mārē giš-dub-ba-a*.

⁴ Taribatatum was an official of some importance. From No. 75 we gather that he had control of a district, and that part of his duties consisted in the regulation of transport on the canals. From No. 43 we further learn that at least one *patesi* was attached to his household.

⁵ The title is met with again in No. 1, where Ibni-Martu is stated to be the “scribe of the bakers of Emutbalum.” The meaning “baker” was suggested for the ideogram MU by Zimmern in his paper *Über Bäcker und Mundschenk im Altsemitischen* (Z.D.M.G., 1899, pp. 155 ff.). In Rm. 338, col. iii (Rev.), l. 16, MU E-UZU is explained as *nu-ḥa-tim bit na-aṣ-ri*; and in 82-8-16, 1,

“ to (prepare) the offerings in the city of Ur, and
 “ I am now despatching him (to do so). When
 “ the offerings of Ur shall be completed, thou
 “ shalt send with him unto Babylon Sin-gimlanni
 “ and Libit-Ištar, the parties to his suit, that
 “ their case may be concluded.”

From the above it appears that the plaintiff Ili-ippalzam was a temple baker who had just been appointed by Ḥammurabi to the service of the offerings in one of the temples of Ur. But as his presence during the hearing of the case in Babylon would have interfered with the execution of his duties at Ur, the king tells Sin-idinnam that he has decided to postpone the trial, and that he wishes him to send both the plaintiff and the two defendants to Babylon later on.

Obv., l. 12 (cf. S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, pl. 25, l. 24), EN-ME MU is explained as $\text{š}u : nu\text{-}\dot{h}a\text{-}[tim]$, the restoration *tim* being taken from the traces in the preceding line. These two passages establish the equation $MU = nu\text{-}\dot{h}a\text{-}tim$. For the meaning of the word *nuḥatimmu*, Zimmern cites the Aramaic *naḥtōma*, “a baker,” which may well have been borrowed from the Assyrian. In K. 4395 + Sm. 56, col. v (Rev.), l. 31, occurs the title *amēlu* MU *bīt-ilī*, “a temple baker,” and it is evidently to this class of officials that Ili-ippalzam belonged. That bakers were attached to the various temples is clear from K. 382, in which two witnesses are termed *amēlu* MU *bīt šu Ninib* (Rev., l. 14) and *amēlu* MU *bīt ilī ša bīt šu Nabū* (l. 17), i.e. bakers attached to the temples of Ninib and Nabū (cf. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, p. 493); the expression *amēlu* MU *ša šu Šamaš* upon Neo-Babylonian contracts (see Tallqvist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabū-nā'idis*, p. 90; and Demuth, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iii, p. 420) refers to similar officials in the service of the Sun-god.

XIX.

SUMMONS OF TWO REVENUE-COLLECTORS
TO BABYLON AFTER HARVEST.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,130; pl. 57, No. 33.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na ⁱⁱⁱ S]in - i - din - nam ki - bi - ma
 [um] ma Ha - am - mu - ra bi - ma
 aš - šum Še - ib - ⁱⁱⁱ Sin akil damḡarē^{pi}
 ga-du um 1800 GUR ša šamaššammu u 19 ma-na [kaspi]U-šu
 5 u ⁱⁱⁱ Sin - mu - uš - ta - al akil damḡarē^{pi} 5
 ga - du - um 1800 GUR ša [šam]aššammu
 u 7 ma - na kaspi la [.] - šu
 a - na Bābili^{ki} ta - ra - [di] - im - ma
 ma - ḡa - ri - im u [.]
 10 it ti - šu - nu ta - ra - di - im 10
 ša aš - pu - ra - ak - ḡu - ma
 um - ma at - ta - ma
 um - ma aklē^{pi} damḡarē^{pi} - ma
 i na ki ma i - na - an - na e bu - ru - um

EDGE. wa - ar - ki e - bu - ri - im 15
 i ni il - li - ik

REV. ki - a - am ik - bu - ḡu - ma
 ta - aš - pu ra - an
 i - na - an - na e - bu - ru - um it - ta - la - ak
 20 dub - bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri - im 20
 ki - ma aš - pu - ra - ak - ḡu
^m Še - ib - ⁱⁱⁱ Sin akil damḡarē^{pi}
 ga-du-um 1800 GUR-šu u 19 ma-na kaspi U-šu
 u ⁱⁱⁱ Sin mu - uš - ta - al akil damḡari

25	ga -	du -	um		1800 GUR	šu	25
	u	7	ma	na	kaspi	U -	šu
	[a -	na	B]ābili ^{KI}		tu -	ur -	dam
	[u	]	it -	ti -	šu -	nu	
	[.] -	ar -	ka	ta -	aḳ -	lum	
30	[.] -	šu	nu -	ti -	ma		30
	[.] -	ra -	di				
	[.] -	šu	nu -	ti			
	[li -	i]l -	[l]i -	kam -	ma		
	[it -	ti	ia]	li - [i]n	na	me -	ir

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. In the matter of the
 “ sending unto Babylon of Šeb-Sin,¹ the scribe
 “ of the merchants, together with eighteen
 “ hundred GUR of sesame-seed and nineteen
 “ manehs of silver as its . . . ; and also of
 “ Sin-muštal,² the scribe of the merchants,

¹ Šeb-Sin, the scribe of the merchants, is mentioned in this letter and in the two that follow it. In this letter Sin-idinnam is told to send him to Babylon with a large amount of seed ; in No. 16 instructions are given for his despatch to Babylon with certain money that is in his possession ; and in No. 30 mention is made of his complaint that he has not been able to collect certain monies due to the temple Bit-il-kittim, and that he has had to make up the deficit himself. It is therefore clear that he was a revenue-collector, and that as scribe of the merchants his duties consisted in collecting the taxes in the districts assigned to him.

² Sin-muštal occupied a similar position to Šeb-Sin ; it may be noted that the same amount of revenue had to be collected by each of them.

“ together with eighteen hundred GUR of sesame-
 “ seed and seven manehs of silver as its . . . ;
 “ and in the matter of sending with them the
 “ . . . and the [. . .], of which matters
 “ I have already written unto thee, thou didst
 “ reply : ‘ The scribes of the merchants say,
 “ “ Since it is now the time of harvest, we will
 “ ‘ come after the harvest is over.’ ’ After this
 “ fashion spake they unto thee, and thou didst
 “ write (to tell me of it). Behold, the harvest is
 “ now past. When, therefore, thou shalt behold
 “ this tablet, even as I wrote aforetime unto
 “ thee, thou shalt send unto Babylon Šeb-Sin,
 “ the scribe of the merchants, together with his
 “ eighteen hundred GUR and nineteen manehs of
 “ silver as its . . . , and also Sin-muštał, the
 “ scribe of the merchants, together with his
 “ eighteen hundred GUR and seven manehs of
 “ silver as its . . . , and with them a trustworthy
 “ [officer] of thine³ [.] let him
 “ come that he may appear before me.⁴ ”

³ It would seem that, as Šeb-Sin and Sin-muštał had already excused themselves from coming to Babylon, the king wished to ensure their safe arrival. Compare the somewhat similar request in No. 78, l. 15 ; and the parallel phrase *amēlērst ta-ak-lu-tim* in No. 22, Obv., l. 7.

⁴ The restoration of this line is taken from No. 41, Rev., l. 15, where Sin-idinnam is told to send seven men to Babylon, that they might appear “ with ” Ḫammurabi (*ił-ti-ia li-in-nam-ru*), i.e. before him. This use of the prep. *ilti* is unusual.

XX.

LETTER CONCERNING THE DESPATCH OF
MONIES TO BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,838; pl. 27, No. 16.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{itu} *Sin - i - din - nam*
 ki - *bi -* *ma*
 um - ma *Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma*
 ši - ta - at *kašpim(im)*
 5 *ša it - ti* *Še - ib -* ^{itu} *Sin* *akil damḡari* 5
 u [ak]lēst - *ḡamilita(ta)¹*
 [*ša* *g]a - [t]i - šu²*
 ^m *Še* *ib* ^{itu} *Sin*
 u aklēst - ḡamilita(ta) *li il - ku - nim - ma*
 10 *a na* *Bābili^{K1}* 10
 li *ib - lu - nim*

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say:—

“The of the money which is with Šeb-
 “Sin, the scribe of the merchants, and the
 “scribes of that are under his control,
 “let Šeb-Sin and the scribes of . . . take and
 “bring unto Babylon.”

¹ This rendering is conjectural; cf. the Assyrian title *amēlu rab-10-le*. A somewhat similar title, PA-NAM-5, occurs in No. 24 (XIII); see above, p. 31.

² The traces on the tablet admit of this restoration.

XXI.

ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE
MISAPPROPRIATION OF TEMPLE REVENUES.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,123; pl. 53, No. 30.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{itu} Sin i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
 m Še - ib - ^{itu} Sin akil damkarēst
 5 ki-a-am u-lam-mi-da-an-ni um-ma šu-u-ma 5
 a - na kaspi Bīt - il - ki - it - tim
 ša Dūr - gurgurri^{KI} u nāru Idiglat
 m E - nu - bi - ^{itu} Marduk ip - ta - na - ar - ri - kam - ma
 kaspa ga - am - ra - am u - ul u - ša - ad - di - in
 10 u a - na kaspi Bīt - il - ki - it - tim 10
 ša ^{itu} Ra - ḫa - bu^{KI} u na - we - e - šu
 m Gi - miḷ - ^{itu} Marduk ip - ri - kam - ma
 kaspa ga-am-r[a-a]m u-ul i[i]-t[a-]
 ia - ti kaspa ga am ra - am
 15 eḫallu uš - ta - aš - ki - la - a[n - n]i 15
 EDGE. ki - a - a[m u] - lam - mi - da - an - n[i]
 a - na m[i - nim]
 u [.]

[On the Reverse of the tablet only traces of characters
are visible.]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. Šeb-Sin, the scribe
 “ of the merchants, hath reported unto me,
 “ saying : ‘ Enubi - Marduk hath laid hands
 “ ‘ upon ¹ the money for the temple Bīt-il-kittim,²
 “ ‘ which is due from the city of Dūr-gurgurri³
 “ ‘ and from the (region round about the) Tigris,
 “ ‘ and he hath not rendered the full sum ; and
 “ ‘ Gimil - Marduk hath laid hands upon the
 “ ‘ money for the temple Bīt-il-kittim, which is
 “ ‘ due from the city of Raḫabu⁴ and from the
 “ ‘ region round about that city, and he hath not
 “ ‘ [paid] the full amount. But the palace hath
 “ ‘ exacted the full sum from me.’ After this
 “ fashion hath he reported unto me. Why [. .
 “].”

In another letter of Ḫammurabi—No. 18 (X), see above, p. 26—we find a complaint that Enubi-Marduk had laid claim to certain property on which he had

¹ The verb [*parāku*], with this meaning, usually occurs in III 1, and is followed by *ina pān* or *ana pān*; it is here followed by the preposition *ana* only.

² As *il kitti*, “the god of justice,” was a title of Šamaš, we may probably see in *bīt-il-kittim* a name for the great temple of the Sun-god at Larsam. The phrase also occurs in the proper name *Apil-il-kittum*.

³ For the city of Dūr-gurgurri, see above, p. 21, note 2.

⁴ The town of *Raḫabu* is mentioned in No. 46 (XXXVII), where orders are given that one hundred and eighty labourers are to be sent to assist the workmen there. The town was probably situated not far from the city of Larsam.

held a mortgage, although the mortgage had been redeemed. From the present letter it may perhaps be inferred that he had also lent money on the security of land near Dūr-gurgurri and in the district of the Tigris ; that he had possessed himself of the crops in settlement of his claims ; and that he had refused to pay the taxes that were due upon the land.⁵ Gimil-Marduk's action with regard to the taxes due from Raḥabu may be explained in a similar way. How Ḥammurabi dealt with these two men cannot be gathered from the letter, as the Reverse of the tablet which contained his instructions is broken. It is probable, however, that they were condemned to pay the taxes and to appear before the king for punishment.

According to the explanation of the title *Bīt-il-kittim* suggested above, this letter furnishes evidence of the control exercised by Ḥammurabi over the revenues of the great temples. The Sumerian rulers of Babylonia had exercised a similar control, and it is probable that the practice was maintained down to the latest periods of Babylonian history.⁶

⁵ It is also possible that Enubi-Marduk and Gimil-Marduk were collectors of revenue in certain districts, and that it was their duty to hand over the amounts they collected to Seb-Sin, their superior officer.

⁶ The great storehouses at Sippar during the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II, Nabonidus, and their Persian successors were all probably under the control of E-babbara, the temple of the Sun-god ; the names of two of them, the *Bīt bušū nidiniš šarri* and the *Bīt šutummu šarri* indicate the close connection of the temple revenues with those of the king. See Tallqvist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nâ'id's*, pp. 14 ff.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. The *abba*-wood for
 “ the¹ for the metal-workers in the city
 “ of Dūr-gurgurri,² and wheresoever they may
 “ be, let them find for thee. And see that they
 “ cut seven thousand two hundred pieces of
 “ *abba*-wood, that is well-grown, each piece
 “ consisting of one-third, or one-half, to one *ka*
 “ of wood, and measuring in length from two
 “ ells, or three ells, to four ells. And three
 “ hundred pieces of *abba*-wood in a ship³
 “ unto Babylon let them bring. Now
 “ look to it that among the *abba*-trees, which
 “ they shall cut down in the forest, there be
 “ not any tree which is dead ;⁴ (only) vigorous
 “ trunks⁵ shall they cut down. And see that
 “ they bring these pieces of *abba*-wood speedily,
 “ that the metal-workers be not delayed.”

¹ It is possible that *ši-ki-ir* is to be identified with the word *GAM* = *ši-ik-ru* (Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 1,216); in 83-1-18, 1,330, Obv., col. ii, l. 20 (cf. Bezold, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Dec., 1888, plate i; and Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 661), *GAM* occurs again with the explanation *ši-ik-ru m ša paṣri*, “The *š.* of a dagger.” It is therefore possible that the *abba*-wood was required by the metal-workers for the fittings of weapons.

² For the city of Dūr-gurgurri, see above, p. 21, note 2. Ll. 6 and 7 probably refer to the metal-workers, and not to the *abba*-trees.

³ *MA-NI-UM* is the ideogram commonly used at this period for ships of transport, or barges.

⁴ Literally, “let them not cut down a tree which is dead in its forest.”

⁵ Literally, “green wood.”

XXIII.

ORDER FOR THE TRANSPORT OF
DATES AND SESAME-SEED TO BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,855; pl. 35, No. 22.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ⁱⁿ Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḫa - am - mu ra - bi - ma
 a - nu - um - ma ^m Šu nu - ur ḫa - li
 5 a - na suluppa u šamaššamma 5
 šu - ud - du - nim at - tar - dam
 it - ti amēlēst ta ak - lu - tim
 šu - ku un - ma
 suluppa u šamaššamma li - ša - ad - di - nu

[Several lines are missing at the end of the Obverse and
at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV.
 a - na Šu - nu - ur - ḫa - li
 li - id - di nu - ma
 suluppa u šamaššamma
 ša šu - ud - du - nu - ma ša - ak - nu
 5 li ši - nu - nim - ma 5
 a na Bābīlī^{ki}
 li - ib - lu - nim

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Behold, I am now
 “ sending Šunurḫali to collect dates and sesame-
 “ seed. Place the matter in the hands of ¹ trust-
 “ worthy men and see that they collect the
 “ dates and sesame-seed [.]

REV. “ [.]
 “ let them give (it) unto Šunurḫali. And the
 “ dates and the sesame-seed, which shall have
 “ been collected and placed ready,² let them
 “ load³ and bring unto Babylon.”

Little more than half the tablet has been preserved, so that it is difficult to gather the circumstances which attended its despatch, and to which reference was probably made at the end of the Obverse. It would seem, however, that the letter does not refer to the collection of revenue, but to a supply of dates and sesame-seed required by the king for a special purpose. The men appointed by Sin-idinnam would therefore have to procure the supplies by purchase, or by drawing from the royal storehouses in different districts under Sin-idinnam's control.

¹ The expression *šakāntu itti*, “to place with,” is here used in the sense of “to entrust to, to commission.”

² Or “stored.”

³ The same verb is employed in the following letter for loading grain into an empty ship or barge.

XXIV.

AN ORDER FOR THE DESPATCH OF CORN
TO BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,145 ; pl. 63, No. 37.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	<i>a - na</i>	ⁱⁱⁱ <i>Sin - i -</i>	<i>din - nam</i>
	<i>ki -</i>	<i>bi -</i>	<i>ma</i>
	<i>um - ma</i>	<i>Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma</i>	
	^m <i>Mār -</i>	<i>Uru</i> ^{K1}	<i>utullu</i>
5	<i>ḳi - ma</i>	LID - GUD ^{pt}	<i>ša ga - ti - šu</i>
	300 GUR	<i>u - ka - a - al</i>	
	ŠA - UD ^{pt}	<i>šu ku un - ma</i>	
	<i>še - am</i>	<i>ša Mār - Uru</i> ^{K1}	
	<i>i - na - ad</i>	<i>di nu - šu - nu - ši im</i>	
10	<i>li - im -</i>	<i>ḫu - ru - ma</i>	10
	<i>i - na</i>	MA - NI UM	<i>ri - ki - im</i>
REV.	<i>ši -</i>	<i>nam -</i>	<i>ma</i>
	<i>a - na</i>		<i>Bābili</i> ^{K1}
	<i>šu -</i>	<i>bi -</i>	<i>lam</i>

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Mār - Uru,¹ the
“ herdsman,² holdeth three hundred GUR of corn

¹ It is preferable to take these signs as a proper name, rather than to translate them as “ a man of the city of Ur.”

² The ideogram U-TUL, which is rendered in Semitic as *utullu* (cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 6,081), appears to be used in these letters in two senses. In No. 29 (XXXI) the word is employed several times for “ flock,” the meaning which *utullu* has at later

“ for the of the cattle which are under
 “ his charge. Thou shalt depute certain
 “ overseers of cattle³ and let them⁴ hand over
 “ Mār-Uru's corn unto them. They shall
 “ receive it, and thou shalt load it into an empty
 “ ship and cause it to be brought unto Babylon.”

It may be inferred that Mār-Uru was in the royal service, and that the corn and the cattle which were in his charge were the property of the king.

periods. In other passages it is used for the name of a class of men: e.g., in No. 3 (XLIX) reference is made to Narām-Sin, an *utullu* who had lodged a complaint with the king; in No. 83 (a letter of Abēšu') the ideogram occurs in a list of officials beside *rē'ē*, “shepherds,” and *daianē*, “judges”; and in No. 85 (another letter of Abēšu') it is coupled with *mārē šipri*, “messengers.” In the present letter we find an *utuḷlu* in charge of cattle, and in the fragment No. 21 (XXXIV) Arad-Samaš, an *utullu*, is mentioned in connection with shepherds, and as himself possessing sheep. It may be conjectured, therefore, that the word in these passages has some such meaning as “herdsman” or “drover.”

³ In No. 83, l. 12, certain ŠA-UD^{3'} are mentioned in close connection with *utullē*, or “herdsmen” (cf. preceding note), and an indication that their duties were connected with cattle and sheep may be seen in the fact that certain of them were among the officials despatched by Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam that they might accompany him during an inspection of the royal flocks and herds in his charge. Moreover, No. 39 (XXXII) contains directions for the ŠA-UD^{3'} of the temples to set out for Babylon with Arad-Samaš, the shepherd of the temple of Samaš, that they might render their accounts to the king. It is not improbable, therefore, that the word should be rendered by some such phrase as “overseers of cattle.”

⁴ I.e., the men who are under the authority of Mār-Uru shall hand over to the inspectors whom Sin-idinnam shall appoint the corn originally intended for the cattle.

XXV.

ORDER FOR THE DESPATCH OF CERTAIN
RAIMENT AND OIL.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,337; pl. 78, No. 44.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{itu} Sin - i - din - [nam]
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḥa - am - mu ra - bi - ma
 dub bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri - im
 5 ^{subātu} TIG ^{subātu} naḥlapta ^{subātu} parsiga 5
 ^{subātu} e - bu - šu ma - aš - li - a - am u šamma
 ' ša šāb bušū Im - gur - ^{itu} Bēl
 u bušū ^{itu} Rammānu - ir - šu
 šī im - dam ma
 10 šu - bi - lam 10
 a - la - kam li - pu - šu - nim - ma
 i - na li - ib bu 2 u - mi
 li - is - ni - ku - nim

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet, thou shalt pack up and
 “ send the . . . -garments,¹ and the apparel,²

¹ Possibly wrappers for the neck.² See Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 3,293.

“ and the head-bands,³ and the *ebushu*-raiment,
 “ and the⁴ and the oil, for⁵ the men
 “ under the command of Imgur-Bēl,⁶ and under
 “ the command of Rammānu-iršu. See that (the
 “ bearers) set out upon the journey (speedily),
 “ and let them arrive within two days.”

The men for whom these garments, etc., were intended were possibly workmen employed on public works, or troops under the command of their officers Imgur-Bēl and Rammānu-iršu; the latter appears more probable.⁷ It may be conjectured that the garments and oil were not their private property, but supplies which had been ordered for their use; and it is not unlikely that Ḫammurabi wrote this letter to Sin-idinnam in consequence of complaints which had reached him from Imgur-Bēl and Rammānu-iršu that their supplies had not been forwarded.⁸

³ Cf. the phrase *par-si-gi* (var. *par-si-gu*) *ša kaḫ-ka-di* in *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. iv, pl. 44 [51], col. v, l. 33.

⁴ The substantive *ma-aš-li-a-am* is perhaps to be identified with the word *maš-la-'-u* in Brünnow, op. cit., Nos. 8,112 and 8,116.

⁵ The genitive particle *ša* may here be rendered “which are intended for,” rather than “which belong to.”

⁶ Imgur-Bēl is mentioned in another letter of Ḫammurabi, No. 42 (LV).

⁷ For similar examples of the use of *bušū*, see above, pp. 3 and 10; and for a discussion of the word, see vol. i, pp. xlv ff.

⁸ Ḫammurabi wrote from Babylon, but the men to whom the supplies were to be sent were probably stationed in a different part of the country.

XXVI.

ORDER FOR SHIP-CAPTAINS TO PROCEED TO
BABYLON WITH THEIR SHIPS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,152 ; pl. 68, No. 40.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{4u} Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
 a - na aklē²¹ MA - NI - UM ša li - ti - ka
 5 šu - pu - ur - ma 5
 ki - ma i - na ^{ar^{2u}} Addaru ūmu 30 ^{KAM}
 ga - du - um MA - NI - UM - šu - nu
 a - na Bābili^{KI} za - na - ki - im
 li - ma - ad - di - du - ma
 10 pa - ni MA - NI - UM - šu nu 10
 ga - am - ri - im
 li - iṣ - ba - tu - nim
 REV. i - na ^{ar^{2u}} Addaru ūmu 30 ^{KAM}
 a - na Bābili^{KI}
 15 li - is - ni - ku - nim 15
 u taṣ - pu - ut aklē²¹ MA - NI - UM
 a - li - ik - ma
 e - ma [MA] - NI - UM - šu - nu ka - l[u] - ma
 mu - ša - a am la i - šu - u
 20 li še - lu - nim - ma 20
 a - na ḥa - di - nim ša aš - pu - ra - ak - [ku]
 la u - la - aṣ - pu - tu - nim

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Thou shalt send
 “ word unto the captains of ships¹ that are
 “ under thy control, and shalt bid them² arrive
 “ in Babylon, together with their ships, on the
 “ thirtieth day of the month Adar. Let them
 “ measure (their cargoes) and take command of
 “ all their ships. On the thirtieth day of the
 “ month Adar shall they arrive in Babylon. And
 “ the crews of the ships, that is to say, the men
 “ who travel in their ships and go not forth,³
 “ shall they (straightway) cause to embark, so
 “ that they delay not for the . . . ,⁴ of which
 “ I wrote unto thee.”

For evidence of the system by which transport on the canals was regulated, see the following letter (No. XXVII).

¹ I.e., ships of transport, or barges.

² The sentence is broken up in the translation; literally it reads “and, that they may arrive . . . , let them measure”

³ Ll. 17-19 I take as participial expressions in apposition to *tappūt aklē* MA-NI-UM (see below, p. 64) in l. 16. The phrase translated literally reads “one who goeth, and in their ships is shut, and hath not an exit”; *ka-lu* is probably not *kalū* “all,” but (like *a-li-ik* and *i-šu-u*) is to be taken as a verb, i.e., the participle I 1 of *kalū* “to shut in, bolt, restrain.” The phrase seems to refer to the sailors who worked the ships, as distinguished from the porters who were employed to load the cargoes and left the ships when they weighed anchor.

⁴ The same word, under the form *ḥa-ḏi-a-nim*, occurs in No. 27, Rev., l. 6.

XXVII.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PROVIDING CREWS FOR
SHIPS OF TRANSPORT.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,288 ; pl. 144, No. 75.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - n[a* ⁱⁿ *Si]*n - i - din - nam *ki bi - ma*
 um - ma *Ḥa - am - nu - ra - bi - ma*
 ^m *Ta ri - ba - tum* *ki - a - am* *iḳ - bi a - am*
 um ma *šu ma*
 5 *ṣāb* MA - NI UM ^{pt} *ša be - li i - si ḥa - am* 5
 a - di - ni *u ul* *id - di nu - nim ma*
 MA-NI-UM ^{pt} *u-ul* *e-pu-uš* *ki-a-am* *iḳ-bi-a-am*
 a-na ṣābam(am?) MA-NI-UM-ka [.]
 i na *ki ma* *i - na - an na* MA - NI - UM ^{pt}
 10 *u ul* *in ne pu uš* 10
 i na *ma - ti ma* *in - ne - ip - pu uš*
 u um *dub bi* *an ni a am*
 ta *am* *ma* *ru*
 REV. *ṣāb* MA - NI UM ^{pt} *Ta ri ba - tum*
 15 *a* *pu* *ul* *ma* 15
 MA NI - UM ^{pt} *ša* *ga ti - šu*
 li *pu* *uš*
 ar ḥi iš *ṣāb* MA NI UM ^{pt}
 u ul *ta ap pa* *al šu - ma*
 20 *bi - ḥa tim* *ši - i* *i - na* *mu - ul* *ḥi ka* 20

is' ša ak ka an
u šābam(am) ma - la a na MA NI - UM^{2t}
ta - ad di nu
u i - na - an na ta - na - ad - di - nu
25 *šū - me - ša - am [. - š']a - am 25*
[š]u ud - ra an ma šu bi - lam

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. Taribatum¹ hath
 “ spoken (unto me), saying, ‘ The crews of the
 “ ‘ ships which my lord hath desired (?) they
 “ ‘ have not given unto us ; therefore I could not
 “ ‘ put the ships in commission.’² In this wise
 “ hath he spoken (unto me). Unto the crew of
 “ thy ship [.]. Since the
 “ ships have not yet been commissioned, when
 “ will they be commissioned ? On the day on
 “ which thou shalt behold this tablet thou shalt
 “ hand back the crews of the ships of Taribatum
 “ that he may commission the ships that are in
 “ his hand. If thou dost not speedily restore
 “ the crews of the ships unto him, that district
 “ shall be appointed unto thee. Therefore, all
 “ the men thou hast already assigned unto the

¹ For other references to Taribatum, see above, p. 43.

² It would appear that at this time the phrase MA-NI-UM *epēšu* had the meaning “to man a ship,” or “to place one in commission,” while the verb *banū* was employed with the meaning “to build a ship.” At a later period both verbs are used in the latter sense.

“ ships, and those whom thou shalt now assign,
 “ thou shalt [. . . .], (and) thou
 “ shalt give the command and cause them to be
 “ brought (unto him).”

It is preferable to refer this letter to the manning rather than to the building of ships, and in accordance with this rendering the phrase *ṣāb MA-NI-UM*³ has been translated “crews.”³ We may conjecture that Ḫammurabi had ordered Taribatum to prepare certain ships for transport, and that Taribatum had stated he was unable to carry out the order, as Sin-idinnam had requisitioned the men he usually employed. Ḫammurabi's threat to Sin-idinnam seems to imply that if he refuses to return Taribatum's crews to him he will be held responsible for the transport in Taribatum's district. It may therefore be inferred from this letter that transport on the canals in Babylonia was carefully regulated, and that officers were placed in charge of separate districts or sections of the canals, for which they were held responsible.

³ With the *ṣāb MA-NI-UM*³ may be compared the phrase *tappū-ut aklē*³ MA-NI-UM, which occurs in the preceding letter (see p. 60). That the *aklē MA-NI-UM* were not “inspectors of ships,” but “captains” of vessels, is proved by ll. 10 ff. of the same letter, where orders are given for these men to take command of their ships; it follows that the *tappūt aklē MA-NI-UM*, literally “the help (i.e. helpers) of the captains of the ships,” were the crews of the vessels. The phrase *ṣāb MA-NI-UM*, “men of the ship,” was evidently an alternative expression for a ship's crew.

XXVIII.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING WORKMEN AND
SAILORS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,826 ; pl. 12, No. 8.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{tu} *Sin* *i - din* *nam*
ki *bi - ma*
um - ma *Ḥa - am* *m[u]* *r[a] - b[i] - m[a]*
aš - šum *naggarē^{pt}* [.]
5 MA - NI - UM [.] 5
ša *aš - pur - ak - ku - [ma]*
um - ma *at - ta - ma*
a-wa-tum *an-ni-tum* *ša* *ma-ga-al* (P) *di-ki-e-im*
du - ub - bu - ub - tu *i* *šu*
10 *šum - ma* *be - li* *i - ga - ab - bi* 10
i - na *naggarē^{pt}* *bušū* *Ta - ki - il - ili - su*
naggarē^{pt} *ša* *ki* *ma* *ša - ka - nim*
a-na *ab-ši-[. . . .]-im* *a-na* *ša-bi-ir* *ma-tim*
[.] *-lu-di-ma* *be-li* *i-ga-ab-bu-u[m]*
15 [. *š*] *a - ak - nu* *m[a]* 15
[. *š*] *a* *e[kalli]*
[.]

[Some lines are missing at the end of the Obverse
and at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [.]
[.] - *mi* - [.]
ši - bi - ir *ekalli*[.]

a na taḫ-pu-ut MA [NI UM¹]
a la-ki-im [.]
 5 *a-wa-tum ša ta-aš-pur-am* [i]d-[.] 5
ki-ma ri-it-tim-ma ša-nu-um [.]
 ^{amētu} *naggārē*^{pt} ^{amētu} *malaḫē*^{pt} u AD KAL^{pt}
ša ma-tim ša ta-ša-ap pa ru
li-ih ha-ru ma
 IO MA NI UM li pu- šu IO

SUMMARY.

Hammurabi had written to Sin-idinnam concerning certain workmen who appear to have been employed upon the building or repair of a ship, and Sin-idinnam had replied stating the difficulties that had arisen and suggesting certain measures which he will carry out if Hammurabi approves. The present letter was written in answer to Sin-idinnam's request for instructions, and though the greater part of Hammurabi's orders are missing, it is clear that he arranges for the completion of the work and gives instructions with regard to the crew of the ship when she should be ready to be placed in commission.

¹ The phrase *taḫ-pu-ut* MA-NI-UM is evidently a parallel expression to *taḫ-pu-ut akle*^{pt} MA-NI-UM (see above, p. 60), and is used with the meaning "the crew of the ship"; with the phrase ^{amētu} *malaḫē*^{pt}, "sailors," in Rev., l. 7, may be compared the *šāb* MA-NI-UM^{pt}, or "men of the ship" (see above, p. 64, note 3). The ideogram MA-NI-UM is frequently employed for barges, or ships of transport, as distinguished from fishing-vessels, and sometimes the capacity of a vessel is stated, e.g. in the following letter, where a ship of 75 GUR (this is preferable to reading 900 GUR) is mentioned. A list of ships of different capacities, varying from 60 to 5 GUR, is given in *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. ii, pl. 62, No. 2, ll. 44-51; see further, p. 84, note 4.

XXIX.

ORDER FOR THE DESPATCH OF A SHIP
WITH TROOPS FROM THE CITY OF UR.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,144; pl. 62, No. 36.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ⁱⁿ *Sin - i - din - nam*
 ki *bi - ma*
 um ma *Ĥa - am mu - ra - bi ma*
 90 *ṣāb libbi* ^{ṣābu} *um - ma - tim*
 5 *ša* *i - ta at* *Uru*^{KI} 5
 a - na MA NI - UM 75 *ŠE - GUR - NE*
 ša *ib - ba - nu - u*
 a - na UD - PAL A - NI NAM - ĤE (?)
 i - *di - in*
 10 *u mu - da - di* *ša ṣābu* *šu - a - [ti]* 10
 ša a - na MA - NI UM *ta - na ad - [di in]*
 [*š*] *u -* *bi lam* [*ma*]
 [*ga - d*] *u - um* *mu - da - [di]*
 REV. *ša* UKU UŠ [.]
 15 *li in* *na - [s]i - iḥ* 15

SUMMARY.

In this letter Ḥammurabi directs Sin-idinnam to take "ninety men from the troops round about the city of Ur" and assign them to a ship of seventy-five GUR capacity, the building of which has been completed. The end of the letter contains additional instructions with regard to the transport of the troops.

XXX.

ORDER FOR THE INSPECTION OF THE ROYAL
FLOCKS AND HERDS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,837; pl. 25, No. 15.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a* *na* ^{itu} *Sin* - *i* - *din* *nam*
 ki - *bi* - *ma*
 um - *ma* Ḫ*a* - *am* *mu* - *ra* - *bi* - *ma*
 a nu - *um* *ma* ^m ^{itu} *Sin* - *a* - *ia* - *ba* - *rum*
 5 1 *guzalū* *u* Š*A* UD^{pi} 5
 [*a* - *na*] *za* - *la* - *tim* *ša* *li* - *ti* - *ka*
 u - *ma* - *e* - *r*[*a*] - *am* - *ma*
 at - *tar* - *dam*
 i - *na* ^{arbu} *Arašsamna* *ūmu* 12 ^{KAN}
 10 *i* *sa* - *an* - *ni* - *ku* *ni* - *ik* - *ku* 10
 i - *nu* - *ma* *iz* - *za* - *an* - *ku* - *ni* - *ik* - *ku*
 it - *ti* - *šu* - *nu* *a* - *li* - *ik* - *ma*
 LID-GUD^{pi} *u* *šēnē*^{pi}
 ša *li* *ti* *ka* *bi* - *ki* - *id*
 15 *u* ^m ^{itu} *Na* - *bi* - *um* - *ma* - *lik* 15
 ^m ^{itu} *Nannar* - [.] ^m ^{itu} *Šamaš* - *mu* - *ša* - *lim*
 REV. ^m *Ḫu* - *ru* - *šu* ^m *Ri* - *iš* ^{itu} *Rammānu*
 ^m *A* - *pi* - *il* - ^{itu} *Sin* ^m ^{itu} *Šamaš* - *na* - *ši* - *ir*
 ^m *A* - *ḫu* - *ia* - *tum* ^m *Ili* - *i* *din* - *nam*
 20 ^m ^{itu} *Sin* *u* *si* - *li* ^m *Ta* - *ri* *bu* *um* 20
 u *I* *din* - ^{itu} *Nin* - *šaḫ*
 it - *ti* *ka* *li* - *il* - *li* - *ku* - *ma*
 i - *na* *za* - *la* - *tim* *li* - *iz* *zi* - *zu*

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. Behold, I have com-
 “ missioned Sin-aiabarum, one ‘throne-bearer,’¹
 “ and the overseers of cattle² to form part of
 “ thine household, and I am now despatching
 “ them (to thee). They will reach thee on the
 “ twelfth day of the month Marcheswan. When
 “ they shall reach thee, thou shalt go with them,
 “ and thou shalt make an inspection³ of the
 “ cattle and sheep that are in thy charge. And
 “ let Nabium-malik,⁴ and Nannar-[. . .],
 “ and Šamaš-mušalim, and Ḫuruṣu, and Rīš-
 “ Rammānu, and Apil-Sin, and Šamaš-našir,
 “ and Aḫuiatum, and Ili-idinnam, and Sin-usili,
 “ and Taribum,⁵ and Idin-Ninšaḫ go with thee,
 “ and let them become members of thy house-
 “ hold.”

¹ The *guzatū*, or “throne-bearer,” was a title which had probably lost its original significance, and was now borne by a court official of high rank.

² For the phrase ŠA-UD²¹, which is provisionally rendered as “overseers of cattle,” see above, p. 57, note 3.

³ Such appears to be the meaning of *paḫādu* in this passage.

⁴ Nabium-malik is mentioned in another letter of Ḫammurabi, No. 38 (LII), in connection with the transfer of a *patesi* to his service from that of Enubi-Marduk.

⁵ Another letter of Ḫammurabi, No. 41 (XLI), contains orders that Taribum should be sent with certain other officials to Babylon into the king’s presence.

XXXI.

ORDER FOR THE DESPATCH OF FORTY-SEVEN
SHEPHERDS AND FOR THE PRODUCTION
OF THEIR ACCOUNTS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,122 ; pl. 49, No. 29.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{itu} *Sin - i - din - nam* *ki - bi - ma*
 um - ma Ḫa *am - mu - ra* *bi ma*
 dub - bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri im
 ^m *Su-un-gu-gu-um* *ša* ^{itu} *Nin-gir-su* *Gir-su* ^{KI}
 5 ^m *Iš-me-^{itu} Sin u I-bi-^{itu} Nin-gir-su* *rē'ū* [.] -*la* ^{KI}
 ^m *A-da-am-te-lum* *rē'ū* *Imērē* ^{pl} [.]
 4 *rē'ē* ^{pl} *nār^u* [.]
 ^m *I - zi - na - bu - u* *mār* *Su - mu -* [.]
 ^m *Ma - ša - tum* *u* ^{itu} *Bēl - i* [*li* -]
 10 3 *nār^u* [.] 10
 ^m *E-ri-ba-am* ^{itu} *Nu-ur-^{itu} Rammānu* [.]
 u [.] - *ir* - [.] *ša* ^{itu} [.]
 10 *rē'ē* ^{pl} *utulli* *A-pil* - [^{itu}]
 ^m *Ri-zu-ia* *u* *A-bu-um-wa-ga* - [.]
 15 ^m *A-pil-^{itu} Mar-tu* *mār* *Li-bi-it-Ištar* *u* *Mārē* ^{pl} - [.]
 ^m *Nu-ra-tum* ^m *La-lum-ali-ia-ma-du-um* *u* [.]
 ^m *A-mur-da-an-nu-su* ^m *Ili-ḫa-zi-ri* *u* *L[a]* - [*um*]
 ^{nār^u} UG - GIM - DU
 ^m *Šilli -* ^{itu} *Šamaš* *ša* ^{itu} *Ninā* *Ninā* ^{KI}
 20 ^m ^{itu} *Si* [*n* -] *mār* *Ili - am - ta - ḫa - ar* 20
 [^m ^{itu}] *Sin* - [.] - *ḫu-um* *u* *Ili-ma-^{itu} Ša* - [.]

- EDGE. 14 *utulli Ilu-ka* ^{itu} Šamas' u [. . . .]
 [^m M]u - ḥa - ad - du - um ^{atu} Gu - ub - [. . . .]
 [^m I - d]in - ^{itu} Mar - tu ^{atu} [.]
- REV. [^m]-dam u Bītu-ra-bi [.] 25
 [^m Na]m-rum ^{atu} Til-^{itu} Iṣ-ḥa-ra ^m [.]
^m Ap-lum ^{atu} In-bu-ḫu ^{KI} ^m Nu-[.] ^{atu} A-ḥa-nu-ta ^{KI}
^m Ma - ni um ^{atu} Būr - ^{itu} Bēl ^{KI}
^m Ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-^{itu} Šamas' mār Im-ta-ga-ar-
^{itu} Šamas' ša ^{itu} Šamas' Lars[am ^{KI}]
- 30 ^m ^{itu} Šamas'-ki-nam-i-di Larsam ^{KI} ša ^{itu} Šamas' 30
^m I-ḫi (?) -ia-tum ^{atu} Ur-šag-ga ša ^{itu} [.]
 12 *utulli Arad-^{itu} Šamas' u Balātu-*[.]
^m A-pil-^{itu} Mar-tu ^{atu} Ili-i-din-nam ^{KI} ^m Nu-ur-li-[.]
^m Ia - [š]a - rum ^m A pil - ma - ga - [.]
- 35 [^{nāru} U]G - GIM - DU 35
^m Ili-i-ki-ša-am m[ār] ^m Nu-ur-^{itu} Nin-g[ir-su]
^m ^{itu} Sin-la-[.] ^m ^{itu} Sin-[.] ^m ^{itu} Sin-[.]
^{nāru} UG GIM - DU [.]
^m Ak-ba-ḫu-um ^{nāru} Idiglat u Ap-lum [.]
- 40 11 *utulli Arad-^{itu} Na-bi-um u Ili-ub-lam*
rē'ē' ²¹ an nu u tim
 a - na ma - aḫ ri - ia tu ur - dam - ma
 nikasa - šu - nu li pu šu

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet (thou shalt send before me
 “ the following men) :—

“ Sungugum, who is attached to the service
 “ of the god Ningirsu at the city of Girsu ;
 “ Išme-Sin, and Ibi-Ningirsu, the shepherd of
 “ the city of [. . . .]la ; (and) Adamtelum, the
 “ shepherd of the city of Imērē-[. . . .] ; that
 “ is to say, four shepherds from the district of
 “ the river [. . . .] .

“ Izinabū, the son of Sumu[. . . .] ;
 “ Mašatum, and Bēl-ili[. . . .] ; that is to
 “ say, three shepherds from the district of the
 “ river [. . . .] .

“ Eribam¹ of the city of Nūr-Rammānu ;
 “ [. . . .] ; and [. . . .] ir [. . . .] , who is
 “ attached to the service of the god [. . . .] .

“ In all, ten shepherds from the flock² of
 “ Apil-[. . . .] .³

“ Rizuia and Abum-waga[. . . .] ; Apil-
 “ Martu, the son of Libit - Ištar, and Mārē-
 “ [. . . .] ; Nuratum, Lalum-alia-mādum, and
 “ [. . . .] ; Amūr-dannusu, Ili-ḥaziri, and
 “ Lalum ; all of them shepherds from the district
 “ of the river [. . . .] .

“ Šilli-Šamaš, who is attached to the service

¹ The shepherd here mentioned is probably not to be identified with the father of Arad-Šamaš (see l. 32), who also bore the name of Eribam (cf. No. XXXII).

² In this letter *utullu* is clearly used with the meaning of “flock” ; for another use of the word, see above, p. 56 f.

³ The name should perhaps be restored as Apil-Šamaš, cf. No. 3 (XLIX).

“ of the goddess Ninā at the city of Ninā ;
 “ Sin-[. . . .], the son of Ili-amtaḥar ; Sin-
 “ [. . . .]ḥum, and Ilima-Ša[. . . .].

“ In all, fourteen shepherds from the flock of
 “ Iluka-Šamaš and [. . . .].

“ Muḥaddum of the city of Gub[. . . .] ;
 “ Idin - Martu of the city of [. . . .] ;
 “ [. . . .]dam, and Bītu-rabi⁴ [. . . .] ;
 “ Namrum of the city of Til-Išhara ; [. . . .] ;
 “ Aplum of the city of Inbuḫu ; Nu[. . . .]
 “ of the city of Aḥanuta⁵ ; Manium of the city
 “ of Būr-Bēl ; Mannum-kīma-Šamaš, the son of
 “ Imtagar-Šamaš, who is attached to the service
 “ of the god Šamaš at the city of Larsam ;
 “ Šamaš-kīnam-idi of the city of Larsam, who
 “ is attached to the service of the god Šamaš ;
 “ Iḫiatum of the city of Uršagga, who is attached
 “ to the service of the god [. . . .].

“ In all, twelve shepherds from the flock of
 “ Arad-Šamaš⁶ and Balātu-[. . . .].

“ Apil-Martu of the city of Ili-idinnam ;
 “ Nūr-li[. . . .] ; Iašarum ; (and) Apil-maga-
 “ [. . . .] ; all of them shepherds from the
 “ district of the river

⁴ On the name *Bitu-rabi*, see above, p. 43, note 2.

⁵ It is probable that the city here referred to is the same as that styled *A-ḫa-am-nu-ta* in No. 42 (LV).

⁶ From No. 39 (XXXII) we learn that Arad-Šamaš was a shepherd of the temple of the Sun-god at Larsam. From the present letter it may be inferred that he and Balātu-[. . . .] were placed in charge of a number of the flocks owned by the temple.

“ Ili - ikišam, the son of [. . . .] ; Nūr-
 “ Ningirsu ; Sin-la[. . . .] ; Sin-[. . . .] ;
 “ (and) Sin-[. . . .] ; all of them shepherds
 “ from the district of the river

“ Akbaḥum from the Tigris ; and Aplum of
 “ the city of [. . . .].⁷

“ In all, eleven shepherds from the flock of
 “ Arad-Nabium and Ili-ublām.

“ These shepherds shalt thou send into my
 “ presence that they may render their accounts.”

From this letter we gather that the shepherds who were in charge of the flocks owned by the great temples in the land rendered their accounts direct to the king, who administered the sacred revenues ;⁸ for among the shepherds who are to be sent to Babylon are those who had charge of the flocks belonging to the temples of the god Ningirsu at the city of Girsu, of the goddess Ninā at the city of Ninā, of the Sun-god at the city of Larsam, etc. It may be noted that the various flocks were distributed in districts along the banks of the principal rivers, which naturally afforded them the best pasturage.

⁷ The name of the city may perhaps be restored as G[ir-su^{KZ}].

⁸ A great part of the sacred and royal revenues was doubtless obtained from flocks and herds, which were placed in the charge of shepherds and herdsmen and were distributed throughout the country. From No. XXX (see above, p. 68) it may be inferred that the governors of the larger cities were held responsible for those cattle and sheep which were pastured in the districts under their control.

XXXII.

SUMMONS OF TEMPLE-OFFICIALS TO BABYLON
THAT THEY MAY RENDER THEIR ACCOUNTS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,148; pl. 66, No. 39.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na] ^{itu} Sin - i din nam
 [ki] - bi - ma
 [um ma] Ḫa - am - mu ra bi - ma
 [dub-bi] an-ni-a-am i-na a-ma-ri-im
 5 [.] ŠA - UD^{pt} ša bītāti^{pt} ilāni^{pt} 5
 [ka] - la šu - nu
 [u] Arad-^{itu} Šamaš mār E-ri-ba-am rē'u ša bīt ^{itu} Šamaš
 [ša] li ti ka
 ga du - um nikasi - šu nu
 10 ga - am - ri - im 10
 li - it - ru - ni - ik - ku
 REV. a na Bābili^{KT}
 tu ur da - aš šu - nu - ti - ma
 nikasē^{pt} šu - nu
 15 li - še - bi - šu 15
 [m]u - ši u ur - ri
 [a - l]a - kam li - pu - šu - nim - ma
 [i - na] li - ib - bu 2 u - mi
 [a - n]a Bābili^{KT}
 20 [l]i - is - ni - ku - nim 20

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet, thou shalt cause them to
 “ bring unto thee [. . .] all the overseers of
 “ cattle¹ attached to the temples of the gods, and
 “ Arad-Šamaš, the son of Eribam, the shepherd
 “ of the temple of Šamaš, who is under thy
 “ control, together with all their accounts. And
 “ thou shalt despatch them unto Babylon that
 “ they may render their accounts. See that
 “ they travel by night and by day, and reach
 “ Babylon within two days.”

In the preceding letter (No. XXXI) there were indications that the king himself controlled the revenues of the great temples of the land, and the present letter furnishes additional proof that this was the case.²

¹ For a discussion of the rendering of this title, see above, p. 57.

² Not only were the flocks and herds of the temples under the control of the king, but the revenue from the temple-lands was also administered by him ; this is clear from a letter of Samsu-iluna (No. 49) which deals with the corn for the temple of the Sun-god at Larsam, and from a letter of Ḫammurabi (XXI) concerning the misappropriation of temple revenues (see above, p. 51). It is clear that the shepherds and herdsmen in charge of the royal stock had to render their accounts in person to the king at Babylon, but the task of inspecting the cattle and sheep was carried out by the governors of districts. From No. XXX it appears that the king used to appoint some of his own officers to accompany the governors on their tours of inspection, and he was thus enabled to control the accounts which the shepherds and herdsmen presented to him from time to time.

XXXIII.

ORDER FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF
ADDITIONAL SHEEP-SHEARERS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 15,329; pl. 41, No. 25.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na ^{iu} Sin] - i - din nam
 [k̄]i - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
^m Me - en - di - bu - um
 5 ^m ^{iu} Bēl - da - [.] 5
 u Maš - pa - ru - um
 ki - a - am iš - pu - ru - nim
 um - ma šu - nu - ma
^m ^{iu} Sin - i - din - nam

10 I LI šābi a - na šēnēst ba - ga - mi - im
 id - di - na - an - ni - a - ši - im
 šābum(um) ša a - na šēnēst
 [b]a - ga - mi - im

REV. [š]a - ak - na - an - ni - a - ši - i[m]
 15 a - na bu - ni šēnēst 15
 mi - iš - ša
 ki - a - am iš pu - ru - nim
 šābam(am) e - mu - ga - a - tim
 šu - ku - un - ma
 20 ar - hi - iš bu - ku mu - um 20
 li - ik - ka - mi - is

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. Mendibum, Bēl-
 “ da[. . .], and Mašparum have written,
 “ saying, ‘ Sin - idinnam hath given us one
 “ ‘ company (?) of men for the sheep-shearing.¹
 “ ‘ But the men who have been appointed unto
 “ ‘ us for the sheep-shearing are too few for the
 “ ‘ sheep.’ After this fashion have they written.
 “ Thou shalt therefore appoint a strong body of
 “ men, that the shearing may be speedily
 “ finished.²”

An important part of the royal revenue consisted of wool, and it is not surprising that we should find Ḫammurabi making detailed arrangements for the sheep-shearing ; from the letters of Ammizaduga, moreover, it may be inferred that the sheep-shearing at Babylon was a function of some importance and was attended by the governors of other cities. The present letter deals with a complaint brought by certain shepherds against Sin-idinnam, who had not sent them sufficient shearers for their flocks ; it furnishes an additional proof of the readiness with which Ḫammurabi received and remedied the complaints of subordinate officers in his service.

¹ The verb *baḫāmu*, “to tear off, to tear (the beard),” etc., is here used with the meaning “to shear” sheep. Its derivative *buḫumu*, “sheep-shearing,” is also found in several letters of Ammizaduga (cf. Nos. 50–54).

² It is clear from the context that the meaning “to be finished, to be completed,” is to be assigned to the Nifal of *kaṁāsu*.

XXXIV.

PART OF A LETTER CONCERNING ARAD-ŠAMAŠ
AND HIS SHEEP.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,852 ; pl. 34, No. 21.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a na* ^{itu} *Sin - i - din - n[am]*
k₂ - *bi -* *ma*
um ma *Ha - am - mu - ra - bi - ma*
^m *Arad -* ^{itu} *Šamaš* *utullu*
5 *ri - ib - ba - a - tim* *ša* *šēnēst* [.] 5
ša *ra - ma - ni - šu*
ša *e - li* *rē'ēst* [.]
a na [.]
[.]

[The rest of the letter is missing.]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. Arad-Šamaš, the
“ herdsman,¹ [hath] the fourth part of
“ the sheep, which belong to him, unto the
“ shepherds for [. . . .].”

The few lines of this letter which are preserved do not indicate the nature of Hammurabi's instructions with regard to Arad-Šamaš and his sheep.

¹ For this rendering of *utullu*, see above, p. 56 f. As Arad-Šamaš is styled an *utullu*, he is probably not to be identified with the *rē'ū*, or “ shepherd,” of Larsam mentioned in Nos. XXXI f.

XXXV.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE TENDING OF CATTLE
AND SHEEP.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,260 ; pl. 142, No. 74.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	[a - na]	^{the} Sin -	i -	din -	nam	
	[ki] -		bi -		ma	
	[um] -	Ḥa -	am -	mu -	ra -	bi - ma
	LID -	GUD st		u		šēnē st
5	ša[.] -	ma -		ra -	aš	5
	[.] -	ba -	ši	ka -	li -	a
	[.] -			hi -	e	
	[.] -			ra -	aš	
	[.] -				mu	
10	a -	d[i]				10
	ša	LID -	[GUD st	u	šēnē st	ši - n] a - ti
	i	ma -	[.]			
EDGE.	[.]					
REV.	a - na	UKU -	UŠ ¹	[.]		
	bi -	ki -		id -		ma
	li -	iz -		zu -		ru
	LID -	GUD st		u	šēnē st	ši - na - ti
5	la	i -	ši -	iḥ -	hi -	ra 5

SUMMARY.

In this letter Ḥammurabi gives instructions to Sin-idinnam with regard to certain cattle and sheep. Only a few words of the letter have been preserved, but it is clear from the reverse of the tablet that Sin-idinnam is directed to see that they are properly cared for, "that the cattle and sheep may not be diminished."

¹ For the ideogram UKU-UŠ, see below.

XXXVI.

ORDER FOR THE TRANSFER OF A COMPANY
OF WORKMEN FROM THE CITY OF LARSAM.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,825; pl. 11, No. 7.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ⁱⁿ *Sin* *i - din - nam*
ki *bi - ma*
um - ma *Ĥa* *am mu ra - bi - ma*
a - nu - um - ma *Gi - mil - lum* [. . . .]
5 *ša* *Larsam* [^{KI}] 5
at - tar - [dam]
šāb *e - bi - iš* [*tum*]
ša *Larsam*^{KI}.
bi - ki - is - su - um - ma
10 *it ti* ^{amēlu} *mu še bi ši* *tab - bi - šu*
[*li*] - *še* *bi* *iš*

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ĥammurabi. Behold, I am now
“ despatching Gimillum the [. . . .] of the
“ city of Larsam (unto thee). Thou shalt
“ deliver unto him the workmen from the
“ city of Larsam, that he may set them to
“ labour under the overseer¹ who beareth him
“ company.”

¹ Here and in No. 77 (XXXIX) the participle of the Šafel of *epēšu* is employed with the determinative *amēlu* in the sense of a “taskmaster,” or “overseer” of labourers.

XXXVIII.

PART OF A LETTER CONCERNING THE
TRANSPORT OF SLAVES.

[Brit. Mus., No. 15,862; pl. 45, No. 27.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{tu} *Sin - i - din - nam*
ki - bi - ma
um - ma *Ha - am - mu - ra - bi - ma*
dub - bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri - im
5 *šāb dupšikki-ka u šāb dupšikki ša bi-ir-[. . .]*
ša li-ti-ka ša it-ti šāb dupšikki EDIN (?) - TA
ši - ip - ra - am i - te - ne - ip - šu ši - im - dam
pa - ni šāb dupšikki šu - a - ti
I *mār giš - dub - ba - ka*¹ *li - iṣ - ba - tu*
IO ŠU - KASKAL² *arḫi* I *ri - gi - im - tu* IO
u NAM - IO - e I elip IO GUR li-il-ki-a-am-ma
i na ^{arḫu} *Simānu* *ūnu* I ^{KAM}
[.]

[Some lines are missing at the end of the Obverse and
at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [*m*] *a - aḫ - ri - i* [*a*]
i - na šāb dupšikki šu - a - ti I ^{amētu} [*.*]
ŠU - GE *u* TUR
la in - nam - mar
5 *id - lam da - an - nam - ma tu - ur - dam* 5
u ḫa - di - a - nim
ša aš - pur - ak - ku
ūnu I ^{KAM} *la u - la - ap - pa - tu - nim*

¹ Other references to this class of officer are given on p. 43,
note 3.² For an explanation of this ideogram, see above, p. 8, note 5.

SUMMARY.

In this letter Ḫammurabi bids Sin-idinnam send him certain of the slaves³ that are under his control. He is to take them from the work on which they have been engaged, yoke them together, and place them under the command of one of his officers, who is to arrange for their transport in a ship, or ships, of ten GUR capacity.⁴ They are to arrive at their destination on the first day of the month Sivan, but the name of the place to which they are to be taken was contained in the portion of the letter which is now missing. The letter ends with the request that Sin-idinnam shall send Ḫammurabi "a strong man," and shall carry out his other instructions without delaying a single day.

³ The *šāb dupšikki* were among the lowest class of labourers; they were compelled to do forced service for the king, and from the present letter it is clear that they were yoked together in companies for transport.

⁴ For this method of reckoning the size and capacity of ships, see above, p. 66, note 1. Their capacity was reckoned by the GUR, that is to say, by the amount of grain measured by the GUR which they were capable of carrying. In the present letter the usual ideogram MA is employed, as in the list of ships referred to on p. 66; from that list we learn that a ship of 60 GUR was termed *e-lip šu-uš-šu* (or *šu-uš-še*); one of 50 GUR, *e-lip ḫa-an-ša-a*; one of 40 GUR, *e-lip ir-ba'-ia* (or *ir-ba-a*); one of 30 GUR, *e-lip še-la-ša-a*; one of 20 GUR, *e-lip eš-ra-a*; one of 15 GUR, *e-lip ḫa-mēš-še-rit gur-ri* (or *gur-rum*); one of 10 GUR, *e-lip e-še-rit gur-ri*; and one of 5 GUR, *e-lip ḫa-mil-ti gur-ri*.

XXXIX.

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE PROPER
TREATMENT OF LABOURERS.

[I.O.M., No. 1,109; pl. 147, No. 77.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{iu} *Sin - i - din - nam*
ki - *bi -* *ma*
um - ma *Ha - am - mu ra - bi - ma*
^{amzu} A - *ši -* GAB ^{si}

5 *ša a - na ši - ip - ri - im e - bi - ši - im* 5
is - ku - ni - ik - ku
mī - im - ma ku - dur - ra - am
la tu - še - ib - bi - is - su - nu - ti
šu - bu - šu - um - ma li - še - bi - šu

10 *u i - na [. . .] GAR - GA* 10
ša ^{amzu} *mu - še - bi - ši - šu - nu*
u - su - uḫ - šu - nu - ti

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. The watchmen¹
 “ who have refused to do the work for thee
 “ shalt thou put to no forced labour. They
 “ shall do the work that was assigned unto
 “ them, and then shalt thou remove them from
 “ the [. .] . . . of the overseer who hath
 “ charge of them.”

¹ For a discussion of the meaning of this title, see Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Bd. iv, p. 91 f.

XL.

PART OF A LETTER CONCERNING THE HIRE
OF LABOURERS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,849; pl. 33, No. 20.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{sin} Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḫa - am - mu - ra - [bi - m]a
^mNu - ur - ^{sin}Šamaš aḫi [. . . .] - šu
 5 i - na AŠ - DUB - BA [.] 5
 ^{šābu}agrūti²1 li - gu - ur
 u GAB - A li - ša - am
 [ma] - am - ma - an
 [. . . .] ka - a[r r]i - ik [š]um
 10 [.] 10

[The remainder of the text is wanting.]

SUMMARY.

In the above letter Ḫammurabi gives instructions to Sin-idinnam with regard to the supply of hired labourers. The king arranges that the labourers he requires shall be hired by Nūr-Šamaš; the purpose for which they were wanted, and the name of the district to which they were to be sent, were doubtless given on the missing portion of the tablet.²

¹ Cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 10,605.

² It is clear from this letter that the supply of forced labour was not sufficient for the works undertaken by the king. The *ēpišūti* (see above, p. 82) were possibly workmen who had been hired for the king's service.

XLI.

AN ORDER FOR THE SEPARATE DESPATCH
OF SEVEN MEN TO BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,153; pl. 70, No. 41.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a na* ^{itu} *Sin* [*i - din - nam*]
ki - *b*[*i - ma*]
um - ma *Ha - am - mu - ra -* [*bi - ma*]
dub - bi an - ni - a - am i - na [*a - ma - ri - i*] *m*
 5 ^m [*Amē*] ^{itu} *Sin* DU - [*GAB*] 5
^m ^{itu} *Nannar -* *napišti -* *iddina*
^m *Ta - ri - bu -* [*um*]
^m ^{itu} *Sin - ma - gir aḫu -* [*šu*]
^m *Ap lum mār Si - im - ti -* [. . . .] - *ni*
 10 ^m *A - bi - ia - tum mār Ia - a*[*k - ri -*] *e - im*
u ^{itu} *Sin - iš - me - a - ni* [.] *ir* ^{ki}
a - na *Bābi* [*li* ^{ki}]
 REV. *tu - ur - da - aš - šu - nu - ti*
it - ti - ia li - in - nam - ru
 15 *u i - na ta ra - di ka* 15
m[*i - i*] *t - ḫa - ri - iš*
l[*a ta*] - *tar - ra - da - aš - šu - nu - ti*
a- [. . . .] *a - me - lam a - na ra - ma - ni - šu*
tu - ur - dam

¹ The restoration ^m [*Mi - n*] *i -* ^{itu} *Sin* is also possible.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet thou shalt send unto
 “ Babylon Amēl-Sin the DUGAB-officer,² Nannar-
 “ napišti - iddina, Taribum,³ Sin magir⁴ his
 “ brother, Aplum⁵ the son of Simti[. . . .]ni,
 “ Abiatum the son of Iaḳrēm, and Sin-išmeani
 “ the man of the city of [. . . .]ir, that they
 “ may appear before me.⁶ And when thou
 “ shalt send them thou shalt not send them
 “ together, but each man shalt thou despatch
 “ by himself.”

Ḥammurabi does not state his reason for wishing these seven men to be despatched separately to Babylon, so that the circumstances under which the letter was written cannot be determined. The king's object in giving the order for their separate despatch may have been to avoid attracting attention, or, if the men were required as witnesses in a case, to prevent collusion.

² For a discussion of the duties of the DU-GAB-officer, see above, p. 7, note 1.

³ In No. 15, Taribum is mentioned among the men appointed by Ḥammurabi to accompany Sin-idinnam during his inspection of the royal flocks and herds; thus it would appear that he held a post of some importance among the officials at Larsam.

⁴ For another mention of Sin-magir and Sin-išmeani, see No. 13 (LIII).

⁵ The shepherd named Aplum, who is mentioned on No. 29, l. 27, is probably not to be identified with the Aplum of this letter.

⁶ Literally, “that they may appear (or be seen) with me.” For what was probably another instance of this use of the prep. *itti*, see above, p. 46 f.; see also, p. 96 f.

XLII.

LETTER SUMMONING A MAN FROM LARSAM
BEFORE THE KING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,127; pl. 55, No. 31.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{the} *Sin -* [*i - din - nam*]
ki - *bi -* [*ma*]
um ma *Ha am mu - ra - b*[*i - ma*]
dub - bi *an - ni - a - am*
 5 *i na a - ma - ri - im* 5
*m the Šamaš - i - pu - uš - iš*¹
amēl *Larsam*^{KI}
a na ma - aḥ ri - ia
tu ur - dam

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet, thou shalt send Šamaš-
 “ ipušiš, the man of the city of Larsam, into
 “ my presence.”

¹ The final syllable, if correctly transliterated, must represent a shortened form of the suffix; cf. the proper name Sin-magiriš in No. 26 (XLVIII). In both cases, however, it is possibly not part of the name, but an ideogram for a title following the name.

XLIII.

LETTER SUMMONING TWO MEN FROM LARSAM
TO BABYLON.

[I.O.M. ; pl. 148, No. 78.]

TRANSLITERATION.

a - na ^{itu} *Sin - i - din - nam*
ki - *bi - ma*
um - ma Ḫa - am - mu ra - bi - ma
dub - bi an ni - a - am
5 *i na a - ma - ri - im* 5
^m *Mi -* *ni -* ^{itu} *Šamaš*¹
u Nu - ur - ^{itu} *Nin - [. . .]* DU - GAB²
 *mārē*² *giš - dub - ba - a*
šum - ma *i - na* *Larsam*^{KI}
10 *šum - ma* *i - na* *na we - e - im* 10
 ša *Larsam*^{KI}
ka - liš *wa - aš - bu*
šu - pur *li - it - ru - ni - ik - ku - ma*
 *šu - nu - ti - ma*³
15 *iš - te - en* *ta - ki - il - ka* 15
li - il - ki - a - aš - šu - nu - ti - ma
a - na *Bābili*^{KI}
li - ir - di - a - aš - šu - nu - ti

¹ The name *Mi-ni-^{itu} Šamaš* also occurs in No. 92, a letter of Abēšu'.² This is probably the reading of the tablet.³ This use of the particle *ma* is unusual; as *šunuti* is placed after the verb that governs it, the particle attached to the verb is repeated.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet, thou shalt send for Mini-
 “ Šamaš and Nūr-Nin[. . .],⁴ the DUGAB-
 “ officers⁵ and members of the company of the
 “ *gišdubbā*,⁶ wheresoever they may be dwelling,
 “ whether it be in the city of Larsam or in the
 “ neighbourhood thereof. Look to it that they
 “ bring these men unto thee, and let a man,
 “ in whom thou hast confidence, take them and
 “ bring them to Babylon.”

It would seem that the two men, whom Ḥammurabi in this letter summons to Babylon, had in some way incurred the wrath of the king, for he gives directions to prevent their escape; Sin-idinnam is to put them in the charge of an officer on whom he can rely. Another letter of Ḥammurabi, No. 33 (XIX), contains a similar request made in very similar circumstances; when summoning to Babylon two revenue-collectors who had already excused themselves from appearing before him, Ḥammurabi requests Sin-idinnam to send a trustworthy officer in their company. From the fact that the two men in the present letter are termed DUGAB-officers, it is clear that they were people of some importance.

⁴ The name is perhaps to be restored as *Nūr-Nin[ib]*, or *Nūr-Nin[giṣsu]*; the latter name occurs as that of a shepherd in No. 29, l. 36.

⁵ For the duties of the DUGAB-officer, see above, p. 7.

⁶ For the phrase *mār gišdubbā*, see above, p. 43.

XLIV.

A SUMMONS TO BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,129; pl. 56, No. 32.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - n]a ^{iu} Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ḥa - am - mu ra - bi - ma
 dub - bi an - ni - a - am
 5 i - [n]a a - ma - ri - im 5
^m [^{iu}] Šamaš - ma - gir
 [.] aḥi Li - bi it Ištar
 [a - na Bāb]ili^{K1}
 tu - ur - dam
 10 la u - la - ap - pa - tu 10
 ar ḥi - iš^r li - is - ni - ga - am

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say:—

“Thus saith Ḥammurabi. When thou shalt
 “behold this tablet, thou shalt send Šamaš-
 “magir¹ [. . . .], the brother of Libit-Ištar,²
 “unto Babylon. See that he delay not, and
 “that he speedily arrive there.”

¹ In No. 13 (LIII) a Šamaš-magir is mentioned as one of the sons of Sin-magir and the brother of Sin-lipir and of Sin-išmeani.

² In No. 9 (XVIII) a Libit-Ištar is described as an official under the control of Taribatam (see p. 43), and in No. 29 (XXXI) a man of the same name is mentioned as the father of Apil-Martu, a shepherd.

XLV.

A SUMMONS BEFORE THE KING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,136 ; pl. 61, No. 35.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{iu} *Sin - i - din - nam*
ki - bi - ma
um - ma *Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma*
dub - bi an - ni - a am i - na a - ma - ri - im
5 ^m *Ili - ma - ti* MU¹ 5
bušū *A - pil - iu Šamaš*
ša it - ti ^m *Ilu - ka - iu Sin*
akil ^{amziu} [. . .] - KU²
iz - za - az - z[u]
10 *a - na ma - aḥ - ri - i*a 10
tu - ur - dam

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet, thou shalt send before me
 “ Ili-mati, the baker, who is in the service of
 “ Apil-Šamaš,² and who is at present assisting
 “ Iluka-Sin, the scribe of the company of the
 “ [. . . .].”

¹ For the explanation of the title MU (= *nuḫatimmu*), “ a baker,” see above, p. 43 f., note 5.

² The Apil-Šamaš mentioned on No. 3 (XLIX) is probably to be identified with the man here referred to.

XLVI.

AN URGENT SUMMONS BEFORE THE KING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,250; pl. 140, No. 73.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na ^{itu} S]in - i - din - [nam]
 [k̄]i - bi - [ma]
 [u]m - ma Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi - [ma]
 [aš] - šum ^mE - nu - bi - ^{itu}Marduk
 5 [a] - na ma - aḥ - ri - ia t[a - ra] - di - [im] 5
 [aš] - pur - ak - ku
 [a - na] mi - nim l[a ta - at - ru - da - aš - šu]
 duḥ bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri - im
 ^mE - nu - bi - ^{itu}Marduk
 10 a - na ma - aḥ - ri - i[a] 10
 tu - ur - [dam]
 [.]¹
 REV. m[u - ši u ur - ri]
 a - la - kam li - pu - š[a - am]
 ar - ḥi - iš
 li - še - is - ni - ga - am

¹ It is possible that nothing is missing from the text, and that the space at the end of the obverse was left blank.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. I wrote unto thee
 “ bidding thee send Enubi-Marduk into my
 “ presence. Wherefore, then, hast thou not
 “ sent him? When thou shalt behold this
 “ tablet, thou shalt send Enubi-Marduk into my
 “ presence [. . .]. Look to it that he travel
 “ night and day, and that he arrive speedily.”

Another letter from Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam contains directions that Enubi-Marduk shall be sent into the king's presence. On that occasion certain men had complained to Hammurabi that Enubi-Marduk, who had held certain property of theirs in pledge, had laid claim to it, although their pledge had been redeemed; and Hammurabi instructed Sin-idinnam to put the matter right, and to send Enubi-Marduk to Babylon for punishment.² He is mentioned in another letter, No. 30 (XXI), and here also with reference to a complaint. Šeb-Sin, the revenue-collector, had been unable to collect his full amount of revenue, and when the Palace exacted the full sum from him, he complained to the king that his deficit was due to the dishonesty of Enubi-Marduk and another.³ It is probable, therefore, that his summons to Babylon in the present letter was in reference to some charge which had been brought against him.

² See above, p. 26 f.

³ See above, pp. 49 ff.

XLVII.

REBUKE FOR SENDING TWO MEN OF ERECH
TO THE KING AT BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,828 ; pl. 16, No. 10.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a* - *na* ^{iu} *Sin* - *i* - *di*[*n* - *nam*]
ki - *bi* - *ma*
um - *ma* *Ḫa* - *am* - *mu* *ra* - *b*[*i* - *ma*]
^m *Ilu* - [*ka*] - ^{iu} *Šamaš*
 5 *u* *Bi* - *l*[*i*] - *ia* 5
li - *ib* - *bu* ^{amēlu} *ŠU* - *BAB* - *BAB*^{pl}
^{amēlu} *UNUG* - *KI*^{pl}
ša *it* - *ti* - *ia* *in* - *nam* - *ru*
ki - *a* *am* *u* - *lam* *mi* - *du* - *ni*
 10 *um* - *ma* *šu* - *nu* - *ma* 10
^m ^{iu} *Sin* - *i* - *din* - *nam*
 EDGE. *iš* - *pu* - *ra* - *am* - [*ma*]
 REV. [.] - *ni* *iš* - *i*[*u*]
a - *na* *ši* - *ri* - [*ka*]
 15 *it* - *ta* - *ru* - [*nim*] 15
ki - *a* - *am* *u* - *lam* - *mi* - [*du* - *ni*]
a - *na* *mi* - *nim* *I*[*lu* - ^{iu} *Šamaš* *u* *Bi* - *li* *ia*]
^{amēlu} *ŠU* - *BAB* - *BAB*^{pl} [^{amēlu} *UNUG* *KI*^{pl}]
it - *ru* [*ni* - *in* - *ni*]
 20 *ki* - [.] 20
ir - *ši* - [.]
li - *l*[*i* -]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Iluka-Šamaš¹ and
 “ Bilia, of the guardians of the wall² and men
 “ of the city of Erech, have appeared before me,³
 “ and have made a report, saying, ‘ Sin-idinnam
 “ ‘ hath sent and they have brought our [. . . .]
 “ ‘ from [. . . .] unto thee.’ After this
 “ fashion have they reported. Why have they
 “ brought Iluka-Šamaš and Bilia, guardians of
 “ the wall and men of Erech, (unto me)? Let
 “ them [.] .”

As the report made to Ḥammurabi by Iluka-Šamaš and Bilia is imperfect, and as the last three lines of the letter containing the king's instructions are broken, it is not clear for what reason these men had been sent to Babylon. It may be conjectured, however, that the king ordered their return, and it is not improbable that they accompanied the bearer of this letter to Sin-idinnam.

¹ The name *Iluka-Šamaš* (written AN-ka-^{am}Šamaš) occurs in No. 29, l. 22, as the name of one of Ḥammurabi's chief shepherds (see above, p. 71).

² The title ^{am}ŠU-BAB-BAB is explained in a list by the phrase *ša u-ma-ši*, i.e. “(officer or guardian) of the wall” (cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 7,092); for the form of the expression cf. the Assyrian title ^{am}ša-riš.

³ See above, p. 47, note 4, and p. 88, note 6.

XLVIII.

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE RESTORATION
OF CERTAIN MEN TO THEIR FORMER
EMPLOYERS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 15,848 ; pl. 43, No. 26.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{iu} Sin i - din - nam
 ki bi - ma
 um - ma Җa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
^{m iu} Sin - ma gir - iš
 5 ki - a - am iḱ - bi - a - am um - ma šu - ma 5
 KA DUR^{pt} ša ga - ti - ia
 ša i - na ka - ni - ik be - li - ia
 ka - an - ku - nim
^m I nu - uḱ - sa - mar
 10 a - na rīdūti^{pt} u il - ki - im a - ḥi - i - im
 um - ta - al - li - šu nu - ti
 ki - a - am iḱ - bi - a - am
 a na mi - nim KA - DUR^{pt}
 ša i - na ka - ni - ki - ia
 EDGE. ka - an - ku 15
 REV. a na rīdūti^{pt} u il - ki im
 a - ḥi i - im
 tu - ma - al - li
 KA - DUR^{pt} bušū ^{iu} Sin - ma - gir - i[š]
 20 ša bi - i ka - ni - ki - ia 20
 ša te - el - ku - u
 te - ir - šum

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. Sin-magiriš¹ hath
 “ reported (unto me), saying, ‘ The KADUR² who
 “ ‘ are in my hand, and who were assigned
 “ ‘ (unto me) under my lord’s seal,³ hath Inuḥ-
 “ ‘ samar⁴ handed over unto the *riḏūti*⁵ and
 “ ‘ unto different control.’ After this fashion
 “ hath he made his report. Why hast thou
 “ handed over unto the *riḏūti* and unto different
 “ control the KADUR who were assigned (unto
 “ Sin-magiriš) under my seal? The KADUR who
 “ are under the control of Sin-magiriš by the
 “ authority of my seal, and whom thou hast
 “ taken, shalt thou restore unto him.”

¹ On the name Sin-magiriš, see above, p. 89.

² The fact that the men styled KA-DUR²¹ had been assigned under the king’s seal to Sin-magiriš indicates that they occupied a subordinate position, and it is possible that they were employed on manual labour; see above, p. 24, note 1.

³ The word *kaniku*, both in this letter and in No. L, probably has the meaning “ seal ” or “ sealed document. ” In contract-tablets of this period it is frequently employed with these meanings, being used as a synonym of *kurukku*; cf. Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 101 f.

⁴ The officer Inuḥsamar is mentioned again by Hammurabi in one of the letters referring to the goddesses of Emutbalum. He must have held an important position, for he was selected by the king to convey the goddesses to Sin-idinnam from Babylon; see above, p. 11.

⁵ The ideogram UKU-UŠ is met with in contracts as a title following a proper name. In a list of words it is explained as

This letter, and the three which follow it, deal with complaints which have been made to the king that men of various classes and occupations have been wrongly handed over by Sin-idinnam to the *rīdūti*. It is suggested below (note 5) that the *rīdūti* were taskmasters, or directors of the public slaves. The numerous public works undertaken at this time throughout the country, such as the cutting and repair of canals, the building of walls and fortifications; etc., must have required an enormous amount of labour. It is not surprising, therefore, that the governors of cities and high officials, when in need of labour for the public works, should have been only too ready to avail themselves of any excuse to swell the ranks of the public slaves.

*ri-du-u ša sābē*²¹ (cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 6,960); *ri-du-u* we may take as the verb *riḏū*, "to drive, to rule," and in that case the title UKU-UŠ would be the participle of the verb (*rīdū*, constr. st. *riḏ*), and would imply a captain of troops or a driver of slaves. Of these two renderings the latter is preferable, as it may be compared to the expressions *riḏ* (i.e. ^{amēlu} uš) *alpi*, "a drover of oxen," *riḏ gammadē*, "a camel-driver," etc. (see Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 613). A further indication that UKU-UŠ or *rīdū* indicated a taskmaster or director of the public slaves, may be seen in a legal document, Bu. 91-5-9, 419 (see *Cun. Texts*, part vi); this document is concerned with the employment of a slave named Arad-Bunene, and it is clear that he had no desire to serve under the *rīdūti* (cf. l. 12 f., *el-li-ta ab-bu-ut-ta-ka gu-ub-la-ba-at ta-al-la-ak i-na rīdūti*²¹, and Arad-Bunene's answer in l. 17 f., *i-na rīdūti*²¹ *u-ul a-al-la-ak il-ka ša bīl a-bi-ia a-al-la-ak*). We may therefore connect the title with public slavery rather than with military service.

XLIX.DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE RESTORATION
OF CERTAIN MEN TO THEIR FORMER
EMPLOYERS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,816; pl. 4, No. 3.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{iu} *Sin - i - din - nam*
ki *bi* *ma*
um - ma *Ha am - mu - ra bi* [*m*]*a*
^m *Na - ra am - iu Sin utull*[*u*]
 5 *ki - a - am ik - bi - a - 'am um ma šu - ma* 5
 KA - BARst *ša ga - ti - ni*
a na rīdūtist um - ta - al lu - u
ki - a - am ik - bi - a - am
 KA - BARst *bušū A - pil - iu Šamaš*
 10 *u Na - ra - am - iu Sin* 10
 [*a - n*]*a rīdūtist la u - ma - al - lu - u*
 [.] *E-nu-bi-^{iu} Marduk u a-me-li-e*
 [.] - *i - ma*¹
 [KA - B]AR [st *ša*] *A - pil - iu Šamaš*
 15 *u Na - ra - am - iu Sin* 15
ša il - ku - u
li - te - ir - ru

¹ These two lines should possibly be restored [*i-na-an-na*]
E-nu-bi-^{iu} Marduk u a-me-li-e [*di-ki*]-*i-ma*.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. Narām - Sin, the
 “ herdsman,² hath reported (unto me), saying,
 “ “ The KABAR³ who were in our hands have
 “ “ they handed over unto the *rīdūti*.⁴” After
 “ this fashion hath he made his report. Let
 “ them not hand over unto the *rīdūti* the KABAR
 “ that are under the control of Apil-Šamaš⁵
 “ and Narām - Sin. Thou shalt [summon]
 “ Enubi-Marduk⁶ and the men,⁷ and the KABAR
 “ of Apil-Šamaš and Narām-Šin, whom they
 “ have taken, shall they restore (unto them).”

As in the preceding letter, Ḫammurabi does not discuss the reasons which Sin-idinnam may have had for transferring these men to the *rīdūti*. He merely orders their restoration to their former employment.

² For a discussion of the ideogram U-ṬUL (= *utullu*), see above, p. 56 f.

³ The KA-BAR^{pl} evidently refer to a body of men who were working under the orders of Narām-Sin and Apil-Šamaš; the word does not seem to be connected with the ideogram KA-BAR-RA (= *pū pitū* and *pū uššuru*, cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, Nos. 609 f.).

⁴ On the *rīdūti*, see above, p. 99 f., note 5.

⁵ Apil-Šamaš is probably to be identified with the man of the same name mentioned in No. XLV, l. 6.

⁶ From this passage it may perhaps be assumed that Enubi-Marduk, who is mentioned elsewhere in Ḫammurabi's letters (see above, pp. 26 f., 49 ff., and 94 f.), was, in addition to being a money-lender, one of the *rīdūti*, or directors of public slaves.

⁷ It is possible that in place of *a-me-li-e* we should read *A-me-li-e*, a proper name.

L.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE RESTORATION OF A
BAKER TO THE POST FORMERLY HELD
BY HIM.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,812; pl. 1, No. 1.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{iu} Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Ĥa - am - mu - ra - bi - ma
 aš - šum ^m Ib - ni - ^{iu} Mar - tu akil MU^{pt}

5 ša E - mu - ut - ba - lum 5
 ša aš - šum 4 MU^{pt} u - lam - mi - da - [an - ni]
 aš - pur - ak - ḫu - ma
 um ma at - ta - a - ma
 4 MU^{pt} šu - nu - ti

10 i-na bi-i ka-an-ki-šu u-ša-aš-ṭi-ra-an-ni 10
 u i - na li - bi - šu - nu
^m Gi - mil - lum
 a - na ma - ḫar be - li - ia at - tar - dam

EDGE. ša ta - aš - pur - am

REV. ^m Gi - mil - lum ša ta - at - ru - da - aš - šu 15
 a na ma - aḫ - ri - ia u - še - ri - bu - ni - iš - šu
 a wa - ti šu a mu ur ma
^m Gi - mil - lum šu - u du - ur - šu MU
 wa - at - ri - iš - šu a - na rīdī iš - ša te - ir

20 *i - na - an na* *Gi - mil - lum* *šu - u* 20
 i na MUst *ma* *i - il* *la ak*
 pu-ḫi-šu *ša-ni-a-am-ma* *a-na* *riḏūti*st *mu-ul-li*
 u *a - na* *bi - i* *ka - an - ki im*
 ša *Ib - ni* th*Mar* *tu* *na* *šu u*
 25 MU *u* *daḫ-ḫu*-[.] *šu-ut-li*-[.]
 wa - at - ra - am *ša* *i - na* *ka - ni - ki im*
 la *ša -* *at -* *ru* *šu*
 EDGE. *a na* *il -* *ki - im* *mu - ul - li*

SUMMARY.

In this letter Ḫammurabi orders the restoration of a baker¹ of Emutbalum, named Gimillum, who had been removed from his post by Sin-idinnam and assigned to the *riḏūti*. The king begins his letter with the words: "I wrote unto thee concerning; Ibni-
 " Martu, the scribe of the bakers of Emutbalum, who
 " had made a report unto me with regard to four
 " bakers. And thou didst reply, saying, 'Those four
 " 'bakers he hath assigned unto me under the
 " 'authority of his seal,² and from among them I am
 " 'sending Gimillum into the presence of my lord.'
 " These are the words which thou didst write (unto
 " me). Now Gimillum, whom thou didst send, they
 " have brought into my presence." Ḫammurabi goes
 on to say that he has examined into the matter, and
 then gives his decision. Gimillum is to retain his
 position among the bakers, and Sin-idinnam is to
 assign to the *riḏūti* some other man in his stead.

¹ For a discussion of the ideogram MU (= *nuḫatimmu*, "a baker"), see above, p. 43 f., note 5.

² On the use of *kaniku*, "a seal," see above, p. 99.

LI.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE RESTORATION OF
A PATESI TO HIS FORMER POSITION.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,159; pl. 75, No. 43.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{itu} *Sin - i - din nam ki - bi - ma*
um ma *Ha am mu - ra bi ma*
aš-šum^{m itū} *Sin-ilu PA-TE-SI bušū Ta-ri-ba-tum*
ša a - na rīdūti^{pt} *ta - aš - tu - ru - šu*
5 *a na PA - TE - SI a - na ga - ti*^m *Ta - ri - ba - tum* 5
na-da-nim aš-pur-ak-ku-ma um-ma at-ta-ma
mārē^{pt} *šu ta-ar-zu-ma a-na rīdūti*^{pt} *aš-tu-ur-šu-nu-ti*
ki - a - am ta aš - pur - am
u^{itu} *Sin-ilu šu-a-ti a-na ma-ak-ri-ia ta-at-ru-dam*
10 ^{m itū} *Sin-ilu šu-a-ti a-n[a ma-ak-ri-ia u-š]e-ri-bu-nim*
wa - ar - ka - su ap - ru - u[s' PA - TE] - SI
u Amēl -^{itu} *Nin - iḅ u Amēl - [.]*
[š]ābu ša al-ma-di ba-l[um]

EDGE. *a - na pa - ni - šu [.]*

REV. *u*^{itu} *Sin-ilu i-na bi-i ra-ma-n[i-šu]* 15
ki - ma du ur - šu PA - TE SI
u ga - ar - šu u bi - ir
a - na mi - nim mārē^{pt} *PA TE SI*^{pt}
a na rīdūti^{pt} *tu - ma al li*
20 *a-wa-tum an-ni-tum ša te-pu-šu u-ul na-ta-a-at*

la ta - ta - ar - ma mārē²¹ PA TE - SI²¹
ša du - ur - šu - nu PA - TE - SI²¹
a - na rīdūti²¹ la tu - ma - al - la
m²⁴ Sin ilu šu - a - ti
 25 *a - na PA - TE - SI - šu a - na ga - ti Ta - ri - ba - tum*
at - ta - di - in
[pu] uḫ mārē²¹ - šu ša a - na rīdūti²¹
ta - aš² - tu - ru
 EDGE. *ša nu tim - ma a na rīdūti²¹*
 30 *mu ul - li 30*

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḫammurabi. I wrote unto thee
 “ that Sin-ilu, the *patesi*, who was under the
 “ control of Taribatam,¹ but whom thou hadst
 “ assigned unto the *rīdūti*,² should be restored
 “ as a *patesi* to the hands of Taribatam. And
 “ thou didst reply, saying, ‘ His sons are ,
 “ ‘ and I have assigned them unto the *rīdūti*.’
 “ After this fashion didst thou write, and thou
 “ didst send this Sin-ilu before me. Behold,
 “ they have brought him into my presence, and
 “ I have examined into his affair [. . . .]
 “ and Amēl-Ninib and Amēl-[. . . .]
 “ [. . . .]. Moreover, Sin-ilu, by his own
 “ testimony, in accordance with his remaining

¹ For other references to Taribatam, see above, p. 43.

² On the *rīdūti*, see above, p. 99 f., note 5.

" a *patesi*,³ hath . . . his district. Wherefore
 " hast thou handed over members of the
 " company of the *patesi* unto the *ridūti*? This
 " thing which thou hast done is of no avail.
 " Thou shalt not again⁴ assign unto the *ridūti*
 " members of the company of the *patesi* who
 " remain *patesi*. Now I have given this Sin-ilu
 " into the hands of Taribatum as his *patesi*.
 " Thou shalt hand over unto the *ridūti* other
 " men in the stead of his sons whom thou didst
 " assign unto the *ridūti*."

It would appear that the case of the *patesi* Sin-ilu had already formed the subject of correspondence between Sin-idinnam and the king. We may assume that Taribatum had complained to Hammurabi that Sin-ilu had been taken from his service and handed over to the *ridūti*, and from the present letter we learn that the king had written to Sin-idinnam ordering him to restore Sin-ilu to his former position. Sin-idinnam's reply to this request was to send Sin-ilu to Babylon, while he handed Sin-ilu's sons over to the *ridūti*. It is probable that Sin-idinnam was assured of the justice of his own case, but the present letter, in which he is reprovved for what he has done, makes it clear that Hammurabi would not have his orders disobeyed.

³ Cf. l. 22; and for a similar expression, see No. L, l. 18, *Gi-mil-lum šu-u du-ur-šu* MU.

⁴ For this use of *tāru* with another verb to express the idea of repetition, cf. the similar use of *šūbh* in Hebrew.

LII.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE TRANSFER OF A *PATESI*
TO THE SERVICE OF ANOTHER OFFICIAL.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,147; pl. 64, No. 38.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a* - *na* ^{itu} *Sin* - *i* - *din* *nam*
 ki *bi* *ma*
 um ma *Ḥa* *am* *mu* - [*r*]*a* *bi* *ma*
 aš-š[um^m A]-pil-^{itu} [Mar]-tu mār Mi-ni-^{itu} Mar-tu
 5 P[A - TE - SI *bū*]*šū* *E* - *n*[*u* *b*]*i* - ^{itu} *Marduk* 5
 š[a *ekli* - *šu* *i*]*na* *E* *KI* *IM*
 a - na ^{itu} *Na - bi - um - ma* *lik* *im - ku - tu* *ma*
 [*k*]*i - a* *am* *ik - bu* *ku* *um - ma* *šu* *u - ma*
 [.] *i - ia - ti* *it - ti* *ekli* *bilti - ia*
 10 [*a-na*] ^{itu} *Na-bi-um-ma-lik* *li-id-di-nu-ni-in-ni*
 [. *ek*]*li* *bilti-ia* *a-na* *E-nu-bi-^{itu} Marduk*
 [.] *ir - ru* [.]
 [.]

[Some lines are missing at the end of the Obverse and
at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [.]
 u *ul* *i* [.]
 a - me - lum - ma *wa - ar - k*[*i*]
 i - *il -* *la -* *ak*
 5 ^m *A* *pil -* ^{itu} *Mar -* *tu* 5
 a - na ^{itu} *Na - bi* *um - ma* *lik* *i* *di - in - ma*

eḫil bilti-š[u] ša a-na^{im} Na-bi-um-ma-lik
i na E - KI IM im ku tu
ki ma ka - ia - an tim - ma
 IO *li - ri iš* IO
^{m im} Na - bi - um - ma - lik
i - na PA - TE SI^{pi} ša ga - ti - šu
 I PA - TE - SI *pu uḫ A - pil - ^{im} Mar - tu*
 [a - na] *E nu - bi - ^{im} Marduk*
 EDGE. [*li id*] *di in* 15

SUMMARY.

Apil-Martu, the son of Mini-Martu, a *patesi* in the service of Enubi-Marduk,¹ had appealed to Sin-idinnam to order his transfer to the service of Nabium-Malik.² Sin-idinnam had referred the matter to Ḫammurabi for his decision, which he gives in the above letter. Ḫammurabi sanctions the transfer,³ but adds that Nabium-Malik must assign to Enubi-Marduk a *patesi* from his own service in the place of Apil-Martu.

¹ For other references to Enubi-Marduk, see above, p. 26 f., 49 ff., and 94 f.

² Nabium-malik is mentioned in another letter of Ḫammurabi, No. 15 (XXX); see above, p. 68 f. His name occurs in a list of officials whom the king sent to Sin-idinnam with instructions that they should become members of his household, and should accompany him during an inspection of the royal flocks and herds.

³ It would appear that Nabium-malik, in addition to receiving the services of Apil-Martu, was also assigned the care of his *eḫil bilti*, or "hired field" (see Obv., l. 9 f., and Rev., ll. 7 ff.).

LIII.

WARRANT FOR THE ARREST OF EIGHT MEN
AND LETTER OF AUTHORITY FOR BRINGING
THEM BEFORE THE KING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,832; pl. 22, No. 13.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{itu} *Sin - i - din nam*
ki bi ma
um ma Ḥa am mu ra bi ma
 [*a - nu - u*] *m ma* ^{itu} *Sin - pu - ut - ra - am*
 5 [*a na*] *ṣi - r* [*i - k*] *a* 5
 [*at - tar - dam*]
 [*dub - bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - ri*] - *in*
^m *Nu ur ili [ṣu]*
u A me - li [. . .]
 10 *mārē*²¹ *Zi ia - [tum]* 10
^m ^{itu} *Šamas*^ṣ *ma gir*
^m ^{itu} *Sin iṣ me - a - ni*
 EDGE. *u* ^{itu} *Sin li - pi ir*
*mārē*²¹ ^{itu} *Sin ma - gir*
 REV. III *mārē*²¹ *ku - uk - ka - a* 15
 VIII *amēlē*²¹ *an - nu - ti in*
ša ^{itu} *Sin pu - ut - ra - am*
u - ka al - la mu ka
ma aṣ ṣa ri ṣu - uk nam ma
 20 *a na ma aḷ - ri - ia ṣu - ri a - am* 20

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. Behold, I am
 “ despatching Sin-putram unto thee. When
 “ thou shalt behold this tablet, thou shalt place
 “ under ward and send into my presence Nūr-
 “ ilišu and Amēli[. . .], sons of Zia[tum] ;
 “ Šamaš-magir, Sin-išmeani,¹ and Sin-lipir, sons
 “ of Sin-magir ; and three members of the guild
 “ of the *kukkā*² ; in all eight men, whom Sin-
 “ putram shall indicate unto thee.”

From the above we may assume that Sin-putram was the actual bearer of the letter, and it seems as if Ḥammurabi sent it by his hands in order to convince Sin-idinnam of the *bona fides* of his mission. The offence of which the men were guilty must have been of a serious character, and probably consisted of treason or of disobedience to the royal commands.

¹ In tablet No. 41, in a list of men who are to be sent to Babylon, we meet the names of Sin-magir and Sin-išmeani. The present letter indicates that they were father and son. The šakkanakku referred to in No. 24 is probably a different person from the Sin-magir mentioned above.

² It is possible that *ku-uk-ka-a* is a proper name and that l. 15 should be translated “the three sons of Kukkā.” On the other hand, officials are not infrequently referred to by their titles only: for the use of *māru* in the sense of “a member of a guild or class,” cf. the phrases *mārē patesi*, “members of the patesi-class”; *mārē bārī*, “members of the guild or company of the soothsayers”; *mārē manzaz pani*, “members of the class of those who stand in the presence,” etc.

LIV.

WARRANT FOR THE ARREST OF TWO
GOVERNORS AND A SOOTHSAYER WHO WERE
OFFICIALS OF THE PALACE GATE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,840; pl. 28, No. 17.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na ⁱⁱⁱ Sin - i - din - nam]
 [ki - bi ma]
 um ma Ḫa - a[m mu - ra b]i - m[a]
 dub - bi an ni a am
 5 i - na a - ma - ri im 5
^m Ili ma - a - bi mār A pil - ⁱⁱⁱ Mar - tu
 amēl Til Iš ta aš - ri - i^{ki}
 libbi U Ri - mi - ia
^m Ši - ḫal - ḫar^{ki} (?) - i - din - nam mār U - bar - ⁱⁱⁱ Sin
 10 amēl Ka - ru - um^{ki} - šaplīta(ta) 10
 libbi U A - na - mi - ni šu - e - mi - i[d]
 2 libbi mārē^{pt} PA - TE - SI^{pt}
 REV. ^m Li - tul - ilu mār Im - gur - ⁱⁱⁱ Sin
 libbi mārē^{pt} bārē
 15 3 šāb libbi šāb bāb eḫalli 15
 ša a - [n]a ma - aš - ṣa - aš - ti - šu - nu
 la il - li - ku nim
 šu - pur a - me - li e šu - nu ti
 li - it - ru - ni ik - ku
 20 m[a - aš] - ṣa - ri šu - uk - na - aš - šu - nu - ši - im - ma
 a - na ma - aḫ - ri ia
 [šu - ri - a - aš'] šu - nu - ti

[It is possible that two lines are here missing.]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Ḥammurabi. When thou shalt
 “ behold this tablet (thou shalt send for the
 “ following men) :—

“ Ilima-abi, the son of Apil-Martu, a man of
 “ the city of Til-Ištašrī, from the¹ of
 “ Rimia ;

“ Šiḥalḥar - idinnam, the son of Ubar - Sin,
 “ a man of the city of Karum-šaplīta, from the
 “ of Ana-minišu-emid — that is to say,
 “ two men from the company of the *patesi* ;

“ Liṭul - ilu, the son of Imgur - Sin, who
 “ belongeth to the company of the soothsayers.²

“ Now all three men are officials of the Palace
 “ Gate.³

“ Send for these men, and see that they bring
 “ them unto thee. Place them under ward,⁴ and
 “ despatch them into my presence.”

¹ The ideogram *u* occurs again in l. 11, and probably also in the following letter.

² In a letter of Ammiditana (text No. 56) we find directions for certain of the *bārūti*, or “soothsayers,” to perform their normal duty of examining the portents, in order that some corn might be delivered to a district under favourable omens.

³ For another reference to officials of this class, see above, p. 36 f.

⁴ It is not improbable that the two *patesi* and the soothsayer, whose arrest Ḥammurabi here orders, had been guilty of the same offence as the eight officials mentioned in the following letter. We may suppose that they had shown insubordination in not carrying out the royal commands.

LV.

WARRANT FOR THE ARREST OF EIGHT
INSUBORDINATE OFFICIALS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 23,154 ; pl. 72, No. 42.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ⁱⁱⁱ *Sin - i - din - n*[*am* *ki bi - ma*]
um ma *Ḥa am - mu ra -* [*bi ma*]
dub - bi an - ni - a - am i - na a - ma - [*ri - im*]
^m *A bi - ia - tum mār Ili - gim - la - an - ni*
5 *amēl Ka -* [*a*]*p - pa - nu* ^{KI} *libbi wa - du - tim*
^m *In bi - ili šu mār A pil ili - šu*
amēl Gu - ub - rum ^{KI} *kišād* ^{nār} *Edin - na*
libbi mārē ^{pl} *manzaz pāni*
^m *Ili - ip - pa - al - za - am mār* ⁱⁱⁱ *Rammānu - ra - bi*
10 *amēl* ^{ah} *A - ḥa - am - nu - ta* ^{KI} *libbi Larsam* ^{KI}
[*libbi*] U *Im - gur -* ⁱⁱⁱ *Bēl*
^m *Ili - ip - pa - al - za - am mār Mi - ni -* ⁱⁱⁱ *Mar - tu*
amēl ^{ah} *A - ḥa - am - nu - ta libbi Larsam* ^{KI}
libbi *mārē* ^{pl} *bārī*
15 ^m *E - nu - ka - Ištār mār* ⁱⁱⁱ *Sin - i tu - ra - am* 15
amēl *Za - gi - nu - um* ^{KI}
libbi U *Na - bi -* ⁱⁱⁱ *Sin*
REV. ^m *Ili - e - ri - ba - am mār Mi - ni -* ⁱⁱⁱ *Mar - tu*
amēl ^{ah} *GIR - NI - NI - ŠAG* ^{KI}
20 ^m *In bi - ili - šu mār* *Ḥi su - um* 20
amēl ⁱⁱⁱ *Bēl -* *šakin* ^{KI}

m Ili - ba - ni - i mār Ma - an - nu - um - ma - ši - ir - šu
amēl Larsam^{K1}
3 *libbi U Til - la - ku*
25 4 *libbi mārē² PA - TE - SI 25*
8 *šābum ša li - ti - ka*
ša a - na ma - aš - ša - aš - ti - šu - nu
la il - li - ku - nim
šu - pur a - me - li - e šu - nu - ti
30 *li - it - ru - ni - ik - ku 30*
ma - aš - ša - ri šu - uk - na - aš - šu - nu - ši - im - ma
a - na Bābili^{K1}
šu - [ri a - aš šu - nu - ti]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say :—

“ Thus saith Hammurabi. When thou shalt
“ behold this tablet (thou shalt send for the
“ following men) :—

“ Abiatum, the son of Ili-gimlanni, a man of
“ the city of Kappanu, a captain¹ ;

“ Inbi-ilišu, the son of Apil-ilišu, a man of the
“ city of Gubrum, which is on the banks of the
“ river Edina,² who belongeth to the company
“ of those who stand in the presence³ ;

¹ The word *wa-du-tim* may be taken as the plural of *adū*, a synonym of *alik mahri* (see Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 1,654 f.).

² This river or canal perhaps gave its name to Sippar-Edina (see below, p. 118).

³ The *mārē manzaz pāni* were evidently court-officials of some importance.

“ Ili-ippalzam, the son of Rammānu-rabi,
 “ a man of the town of Aḥamnuta, which
 “ formeth part of⁴ the city of Larsam, from the
 “⁵ of Imgur-Bēl⁶;

“ Ili-ippalzam, the son of Mini-Martu, a man
 “ of the town of Aḥamnuta, which formeth part
 “ of the city of Larsam, who belongeth to the
 “ company of the soothsayers;

“ Enuka-Ištar, the son of Sin-ituram, a man
 “ of the city of Zaginum, from the of
 “ Nabi-Sin;

“ Ili-eribam, the son of Mini-Martu, a man of
 “ the city of;

“ Inbi-ilišu, the son of Ḥisum, a man of the
 “ city of Bēl-šakin;

“ Ili-banī, the son of Mannum-maḥiršu, a man
 “ of the city of Larsam;—the last three men
 “ from the of Tillaku, while four of the
 “ men belong to the company of the *patesi*.

“ These eight men, who are under thy
 “ control but who have not gone to their posts,
 “ shalt thou send for, and thou shalt see that
 “ they bring them unto thee. Thou shalt (then)
 “ place them under ward and despatch them to
 “ Babylon.”

⁴ *libbi* perhaps refers to Ili-ippalzam; so also in l. 13.

⁵ This ideogram, which occurs again in ll. 17 and 24, is probably not to be read as PA, but U, as in the preceding letter.

⁶ A man bearing the name of Imgur-Bēl is mentioned in another letter of Ḥammurabi.

II.

LETTERS OF SAMSU-ILUNA, KING OF BABYLON.

I.

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE TRANSPORT OF AN IMAGE OF THE GODDESS ANNUNITUM.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 606 ; pl. 153, No. 81.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	a - na	Ha	ia - ab	[. . . .]
	ki -		bi -	m[a]
	um - ma	Sa - am - su - i - lu -	[n]a - m[a]	
	aš - šum	An	nu	ni - tum
5	[a - na]	Sippar ^{KI} -	edin -	na 5
	a -	la -	ki -	im
DU -	GAB	aš -	pu -	ra - am
	ki -	ma	bi	tim
	An -	nu -	ni -	tum
10	a - na	Sippar ^{KI}	edin - ¹	[na] 10
	li -	il -	l[i -	ku]

TRANSLATION.

Unto H[aiab[. . . .] say :—

“ Thus saith Samsu-iluna. I have sent a DUGAB-
“ officer ¹ (unto thee) to superintend the journey
“ of the goddess Annunitum unto the city of

¹ On the duties of this officer, see above, p. 7.

“ Sippar-edina.² See to it that the goddess
 “ Annunitum travel as in a shrine³ unto the
 “ city of Sippar-edina.”

The name of the man to whom this letter is addressed does not occur elsewhere on these tablets, but from the instructions here given him it may be inferred that he was a high official in the king's service. He was not improbably the governor of the city in which was the image of the goddess Annunitum, and from which she was about to set out upon her journey to Sippar-edina. There are several points of resemblance between this letter and one of Hammurabi in which directions are given for the conveyance of the Elamite goddesses to Babylon (see pp. 6 ff.). In both letters it is stated that a DUGAB-officer is being sent to make the arrangements for the journey, and the same expression is used in both letters with regard to the method by which the goddesses are to be conveyed.

² The name of the city of Sippar occurs in the names of two or three places at this period, e.g. Sippar-iaḥrurum and Sippar-amnanu (see below), and it is probable that these places were situated within a short distance of Sippar. Mention is also made of a *Sippar-rabū*, “Sippar the great” (cf. Bu. 91-5-9, 333), a title which was perhaps used for the central city to distinguish it from the surrounding towns and districts to which it had given its name. It is possible that Sippar-edina took the second half of its name from the river, or canal, Edina (see above, p. 115).

³ The same phrase is employed by Hammurabi when giving directions for the transport to Babylon of the goddesses of Emut-balum. If the reading *kīma bītim* be correct, its meaning would seem to be, let the goddess travel “with the same dignity and comfort as if she were in her own temple.”

“ storehouse of the temple of Šamaš in the city
 “ of Larsam, which ye are bound to deliver,
 “ ye shall deliver. Henceforth, from the corn
 “ which is in your hand, the corn for the supply
 “ of the storehouse of the temple of Šamaš,
 “ which is now standing over,³ shall ye procure
 “ and deliver.”

Sin-ilu, Bītu-rabi, and Niḫ-Sin, to whom this letter is addressed, were probably high officials who looked after the collection of revenue in the district of Larsam. That they were something more than revenue-collectors may be inferred from the fact that the king writes to them personally ; for the other royal letters in this volume are all addressed to officials of high rank. They are here ordered to hand over certain corn for the temple of the Sun-god, the delivery of which had been delayed.

The *nakamtū ša bīt Šamaš*, or “ Storehouse of the temple of Šamaš,” was probably one of the great storehouses into which the revenues of the land were collected. The king himself controlled the collection of both the royal and the sacred revenues, a fact which is proved by letters from Ḥammurabi to Sin-idinnam,⁴ in which instructions are given for officers attached to the service of the temples to proceed to Babylon to render their accounts to the king.

³ I.e., which now remains unpaid.

⁴ See Nos. XXXI and XXXII, pp. 70 ff.

III.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE
OF FISHING RIGHTS.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,269; pl. 151, No. 80.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{itu} *S[in] - i - [din nam]*
 Kār - Sipp[ar^{KT}]
 u [daia]nēst Sipp[ar^{KT}]
 ki - bi - ma
 5 *um - ma Sa - am su - i - lu na - m[a] 5*
 ki - ma a - na ugar Ra - bi - [i] - i[m]
 u ugar Ša - am - ka - nim
 elippēst bā'irūtist
 it - ta na - ar - ra - d[u - ma]
 10 *nūnēst i - ba - ar - ru - [nim] 10*
 iḫ - bu - [nim]
 I *amēl. bāb e[kalli]*
 at - tar - dam
 ki ma iz - za - an - ga - a[k - ḫu]
 15 *elippēst bā'irūtist 15*
 ša i - na ugar Ra - bi i im
 EDGE. *u [ugar Ša - am - ka - nim]*
 REV. [.]
 [.]
 20 *u la [ta] - ta - ar - ma 20*
 elippēst bā'irūtist
 [a - n]a ugar Ra - bi - i - im
 u ugar Ša - am ka - [nim]
 [t]u - ur - ra - ad

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam,¹ Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar² say :—

“ Thus saith Samsu-iluna. They have reported
 “ (unto me) that the ships³ of the fishermen
 “ go down unto the district of Rabīm and the
 “ district of Šakanim and catch fish. I am
 “ therefore sending (unto thee) an official of the

¹ The Sin-idinnam addressed in this letter and in those which follow it was evidently a high official in the city of Sippar, and is therefore not to be identified with the Sin-idinnam of Larsam, to whom Ḥammurabi's letters are addressed. On the other hand, we may well identify him with the Sin-idinnam whose name occurs in six of the letters of Abēšu' (Nos. I–VI).

² Two (perhaps three) of Samsu-iluna's letters (Nos. III–V) and eight letters of Abēšu' (Nos. I–IV and VIII–XI) are addressed, not only to one or more of the high officials of Sippar (Sin-idinnam, Ibni-Šamaš, Marduk-našir, etc.), but also “to Kār-Sippar and the Judges of Sippar”; and in one of the letters of Abēšu' (No. VII), in place of “the Judges of Sippar” we find “the Judges of Sippar-amnanu.” The fact that in all these letters *Kār-Sippar*, lit. “the wall of Sippar,” is coupled with *daiānē*, “the Judges,” indicates that the phrase is used with a special and technical meaning. What this meaning is may be seen from one of the letters already referred to (Abēšu', No. III), in which we learn that two brothers had appealed to the king, since they had not obtained justice, although for two years they had been before the Kār-Sippar (*ištu šatti 2^{KAM} maḥar Kār-Sippar^{KI} ništanakhanma ul ušēšerūniati*). In this passage *Kār-Sippar* might well be rendered by some such phrase as “the Court of Sippar,” and the coupling of the phrase in other passages with “the Judges of Sippar” may be cited in favour of this explanation.

³ It may be noted that the ideogram MA is here used for fishing-vessels, while MA-NI-UM is employed for barges, or ships of transport (see above, p. 66).

“ Palace Gate.⁴ When he shall reach thee, the
 “ ships of the fishermen which are in the district
 “ of Rabīm and the district of Šakanim [shalt
 “ thou⁵], and thou shalt not
 “ again⁶ send the ships of the fishermen down
 “ unto the district of Rabīm and the district
 “ of Šakanim.”

The case which is here brought to the notice of the judicial authorities of Sippar concerns a complaint made to the king by the inhabitants of Rabīm and Šakanim, to the effect that men from Sippar had been fishing in their waters. Samsu-iluna probably ordered the recall of the men, and at the end of his letter he tells the authorities of Sippar to put a stop to such encroachments. The letter is of interest as it proves that the inhabitants of different districts had the exclusive right of fishing in home waters. It has already been inferred (see above, p. 14 f.) that the duty of repairing the banks of rivers and canals and of clearing the waterways fell upon the owners of property along their banks, and it was no doubt as a compensation for this enforced service that the fishing in these waters was preserved.

⁴ The traces of the first character of the ideogram are those of KA (*bābu*), not DU; otherwise the title might be restored as *amēlu* DU-GAB.

⁵ From the opening lines of the letter the use of the plural might be expected; as the singular is used, we may suppose that the king addresses his remonstrance particularly to Sin-idinnam.

⁶ For this use of *tāru*, see above, p. 107, note 4.

IV.

LETTER CONCERNING THE PAYMENT OF
TAXES.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,268 ; pl. 149, No. 79.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{iu} Sin - i din nam
 Kār - Sippar u daianē²¹ Sippar^{K1}
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Sa am su - i - lu na - ma
 5 ^{m iu} Sin - e - ri - ba - am mu - uz - za - az bābi 5
 ki a - am u - lam mi - da - an - ni
 um - ma šu - ma
 mārē²¹ šu-nu ma-an ša a-na še-im ri-ib-ba-ti-šu-nu
 šu ud - du - nim na - ad - nu - nim
 10 e - si - ir - ma 10
 ki - a - am ik - bu nim um - ma šu - nu - ma
 [3 LID - GUD²¹] u $\frac{1}{2}$ ma - na kaspi
 [.]

[A few lines are missing at the end of the Obverse
and at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [.]
 3 LID - GUD²¹ [u $\frac{1}{2}$ ma na kaspi]
 a - na [.] - ^{iu} Mar - [tu]
 a - na ma - aš - ša - ri - ti [m li - i] p - ki - du
 3 LID - GUD²¹ šu - nu - ti u $\frac{1}{2}$ ma - na kaspi
 5 a - na DU - GAB ša at - ru - [d] a - aš - šu 5
 id - na - a - ma
 a - na Bābili^{K1} li - ib - lam

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Unto Sin-idinam, Kār-Sippar,¹ and the Judges of Sippar say :—

“ Thus saith Samsu-iluna. Sin-eribam, the
 “ officer of the Gate,² hath informed me, saying,
 “ ‘ Those townsmen³ who were adjudged to
 “ ‘ contribute a fourth part of their grain, I have
 “ ‘ arrested, but they have spoken unto me,
 “ ‘ saying, “ Three head of cattle and half
 “ ‘ a maneh of silver [. . . .]’]’

REV. “ [.]. Let them deliver unto
 “ [. . . .]-Martu the three head of cattle and
 “ half a maneh of silver for safe keeping,⁴ and
 “ thou shalt hand over those three head of cattle
 “ and the half maneh of silver unto the DUGAB-
 “ officer,⁵ whom I have sent (unto thee), that
 “ he may bring (them) to Babylon.”

It would appear from what remains of the letter, that the men to whom Sin-eribam refers compounded for the corn which they owed by offering to pay three head of cattle and half a maneh of silver.

¹ For the explanation of this expression, see the preceding letter.

² It is possible that the office of the *muzzaz bābi* was similar to that of “an official of the Palace Gate” (see above, p. 36 f.).

³ *mārē* may perhaps refer to certain “members” of the official class to which Sin-eribam belonged; for this use of *māru*, cf. the expressions *mārē PATESI*, *mārē bārūti*, etc. 1

⁴ *ana maššarti nadūnu* (or *šakānu*) was the expression used in legal documents of this period for “depositing” money with anyone; see Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 118.

⁵ See above, p. 7.

V.

LETTER CONCERNING THE STRENGTHENING
OF THE WALL OF SIPPAR-AMNANU.

[Brit. Mus., No. 86,287 ; pl. 237, No. 104.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na ^{itu} Sin - i - din - nam]
 [Kār - Sippar^{KI}]
 [u daianēst Sippar^{KI}]
 [ki] bi - ma
 5 [um - ma Sa - am - s]u - i - lu - na - ma 5
stabū KALAM - ILA bušū ^{itu} Nannar - apil - iddi[na]
 a - na dūra ša Sippar^{KI} - am - na - nu
 ku - uš - šu - ri - im
 a - na Sippar^{KI} i il - la - ku - ni[m]

10 NIM (?) MA Sippar^{KI} 10
 a - na stabū KALAM - ILA šu - a - ti na - ša - ri - im
 u - ki - in
 [.] Sippar^{KI} [.]
stabū [.] - im - [.]

15 li - [.] 15

REV. [.] - a - [m]u
 [.] Sippar^{KI}
 [. - a]l - li - mu
 [.] u - ka - aš^v - ša - ru
 20 [.] - nu stabū KALAM - ILA šu - a - [t]i
 [. - i]z - zu - ru

SUMMARY.

The beginning of the letter, containing the names of those to whom it was addressed, is broken; as, however, at least three lines are missing, it may be assumed that it resembled Nos. III and IV, and was written by the king to Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar. The letter begins with the announcement that certain men, styled the KALAM-ILA,¹ are going to the city of Sippar. They are stated to be under the command of Nannar-apil-iddina, and are coming "to strengthen² the wall of Sippar-amnanu."³ Samsu-iluna then states that he has appointed the authorities of Sippar to safely guard the men on their arrival. Of the rest of the letter only the ends of lines are preserved.⁴

¹ The ideogram ^{𒌦𒀭} KALAM-ILA occurs as the name of a garment with the Semitic equivalent *na-ra-mu* (see Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 5,916). In this letter ^{𒌦𒀭} KALAM-ILA refers to a body of men under the command of Nannar-apil-iddina, and, as Samsu-iluna takes measures for guarding them on their arrival at Sippar, it may be inferred that they were slaves or men who performed forced labour. It is possible that we should read KALAM-ILA in place of SAG-ILA in the letter of Ḥammurabi, No. 46 (XXXVII); see above, p. 82, note 1.

² The Inf. *kuššuru* and the Pres. *uḫaššarū* in l. 19 are probably to be taken from a root *ḳšr*; cf. Hebr. *ḫāšar*, "to bind." The meaning "to strengthen" is here suggested for the word, and if this explanation is correct we may assume that the men were to be employed in work upon the fortifications of the city.

³ On Sippar-amnanu, see above, p. 118.

⁴ This letter has been made up from two fragments in the same collection. The fragment joined to Brit. Mus., No. 86,287, is No. 86,294.

VI.

PART OF A LETTER TO IBNI-MARDUK,
SIN-IDINNAM, AND THE JUDGES OF SIPPAR.

[Brit. Mus., No. 86,275; pl. 239, No. 105.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na Ib - n]i ^{iu} *Marduk*
 [^{iu} *Si*]n - i - di[n] - nam
 [.]^{pt} *Sip*[pa]^{KI}
 [u] *daianē*^{pt} [S]ⁱ*ippar*^{KI}
 5 [ki] - bi - ma 5
 [um - ma] *Sa - am - su - i - lu - na ma*
 [aš - šum] *ša ta - aš pu - ra - [ni]m*
 [um - ma] *at - tu - nu - ma*
 [.]^{pt} *ra - bu - tum*
 10 *pa - ni be - li - ni* [.] 10
a - na d[i] - n[a -]
i [i]n - [.]
it - ti be - l[i]
i ni - in - [.]
 15 [ki - a am t]a - aš - pu - r[a - nim] 15
 REV. *ki - ma i - na - an - na e - ri - šum*
[i n]a ga - ba - al e - ri - ši i - im
[a - n]a Bābili^{KI}
[tā] al - la - ka - nim
 20 [.] *e-ri-ša-am ša ak-ša-[.]*
 [.] - *al - ka - nim - ma*
 [.] - *na - an - me - ra*

SUMMARY.

This letter was written by Samsu-iluna in consequence of a report which he had received from Ibni-Marduk, Sin-idinnam, and the Judges of Sippar.¹ Ibni-Martu is not mentioned in other letters of Samsu-iluna, but from the fact that his name occurs first in the address at the head of the letter, it may be inferred that he was in high authority in the city. On the obverse of the tablet the king quotes an extract from their report, and on the reverse he gives his own instructions. The text is very broken, but it is clear that the king summons to Babylon those to whom the letter was addressed, for the first four lines of the reverse are well preserved, and read, "Since now it is seed-time,² during the seed-time "unto Babylon shall ye come." It was no doubt unusual to summon such high officials in a body to the capital, and we may perhaps see in Samsu-iluna's reference to the time of year an excuse for the issue of the order; as it was seed-time and not harvest their absence from Sippar would be possible without inconvenience.

¹ It may be noted that some ideogram in the plural, "the [. . .] of Sippar," is here coupled with "the Judges of Sippar," and that the usual expression *Kār-Sippar* (see above, p. 122, note 2) is omitted.

² With this expression compare the following passage from one of Hammurabi's letters, No. XIX, ll. 14-16, *i-na ki-ma i-na-an-na e-bu-ru-um wa-ar-ki e-bu-ri-im i ni-il-li-ik*, "Since now it is the time of harvest, we will come after the harvest."

III.

LETTERS OF ABĒŠU', KING OF BABYLON.

I.

DIRECTIONS FOR DEALING WITH A FLOOD ON THE IRNINA-CANAL.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,970; pl. 168, No. 88.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a* - *na* th *Si*[*n* - *i*] - *din* - *nam*
 Kār - *Sippar*^{KI} *u* *daianē*^{pt} *Sippar*^{KI}
 ki - *bi* - *ma*
 [*um*] *ma* *A* - *bi* *e* - *šu* - ' - *ma*
5 *aš-šum* *ša* *ta-aš-pu-ra-nim* *um-ma* *at-tu-nu-ma* 5
 i - *na* *Kār* - ^{nāru} *Ir* - *ni* - *na*
2 *šu-ši* UŠ *ša-at-ti-ša-am* *eḫallu* *i-ib-bi-eš*
44 UŠ *ni* - *nu* *ni* - *ib* - *bi* - *eš*
 i - *na* - *an* - *na* *mi* *lum* *il* - *li* - *kam* - *ma*
10 ^{nāru} *Ir* - *ni* - *na* *a* - *na* *dūr* *kāri* *iz-za-[a]z*
 ša *ta* - *aš* - *pu* - *ra* - *nim*
 [*a-na am*]ēlē^{pt} *šu-ut bi-ḫa-a-tim* *ša i-na Sippar*^{KI} *wa-aš-bu*
 [*li* - *it*] - *ta* - *aš* - *pa* - *ar*
 [. . . .] *šāb* *bi-ir-tim* *ša i-na Sippar*^{KI} *wa-aš-bu*
15 [.] *ša-ka-nim* *i-ša-ak-ka-nu-ma* 15
 [.] -*tim* *Kār*-^{nāru} *Ir-ni-na*
 [. *u*] - *da* - *an* - *na* - *nu*
 [.]^{pt} *kāri* *ša nā*[*ru*]
 [.]

[Some lines are missing at the end of the Obverse and
at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [.]
 [.] *an* [.] *ik* [.]
 [.] *ša - bi - it a -* [.]
 [.] *k*] *i* *i* [*b*]
 5 [.] *bi* - [.] - *tim* 5
 [.] *š*] *a* ^{*nāru*} *Purattu* [.]
 [.] - *bi* - *ku*

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar¹ say :—

“ Thus saith Abēšu’. Concerning the matter
 “ about which ye wrote unto me, saying, ‘ Of
 “ ‘ the palace in Kār-Irnina, one hundred and
 “ ‘ twenty measures have been built every year,
 “ ‘ but (this year) forty-four measures (only)
 “ ‘ have we built, and now the flood hath come

¹ The thirteen letters of Abēšu’ here published are, with one exception, written to men in authority in the city of Sippar, and they are here arranged according to the names of those to whom they are addressed. Nos. I-III are written to Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar; No. IV to Ibni-Samaš, Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar, i.e. to the same men as those addressed in Nos. I-III, with the addition of Ibni-Samaš; No. V is addressed to five men who were probably rulers of the city of Kār-Samaš, and it is placed after Nos. I-IV as it was written in consequence of a report received by the king from Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar. No. VI is addressed to Sin-idinnam, whom we may identify with the Sin-idinnam of Nos. I-V. Nos. VII-X are written to Marduk-našir, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar. No. XI is addressed to [.], Samaš-šumu [.], Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar; and No. XIII to [.]šu-Sin, who, to judge from the contents of the letter, was probably a high official in the same city. For an explanation of the phrase “ Kār-Sippar and the Judges of Sippar,” see above, p. 122.

“ ‘and the Irnina-canal² reacheth right up to
 “ ‘the wall of the town.’ These were the
 “ words which ye wrote (unto me). Let word
 “ be sent unto the men of the province³ who
 “ dwell in the city of Sippar, [and] men
 “ of the citadel⁴ who dwell in Sippar they will
 “ appoint for making [. . . .], and they will
 “ strengthen the [. . . .] of Kār - Irnina
 “ [.]”

[The rest of the letter is broken.]

This letter was written by Abēšu' in consequence of a report which he had received from the authorities of Sippar, stating that work on the palace in course of construction at Kār-Irnina had had to be stopped. He had been informed that little more than a third of the ordinary year's work had been done, when the building operations were interrupted by the rise of the Irnina-canal. His instructions, which are given in the second half of the letter, are very broken, but it is clear that Sin-idinnam is to send workmen from Sippar to strengthen the walls of Kār - Irnina and render secure the work which had already been done.

² The Irnina-canal is mentioned in a list of canals, K. 4,337 (see *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. ii, pl. 50, l. 15), where it is stated that its Sumerian name was ID-EGA-GAL-GAL-LA, “the canal of the great stream.” From the above letter it is clear that its ancient name was not ill-chosen. By the Semitic Babylonians the canal was renamed after the god Irnina.

³ With this title cf. the expression *be-el bi-ḥa-tim* applied by Abēšu' in one of his letters (No. XII) to certain merchants of Sippar.

⁴ This rendering of *ṣāb bi-ir-tim* is provisional.

II.

ORDER FOR THE RETURN OF AN ESCAPED
FEMALE SLAVE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,248; pl. 170, No. 89.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - n]a ^{4u} S[in - i - dīn - nam]
Kār - Sippar^{KI} u *daianē* [^{2t} *Sippar*^{KI}]
ki - bi - ma
um - ma A - bi e - šu ' - m[a]
5 ^{amētu} *ga - ab - ba - u - u[m]* 5
ki - a - am iš - pu - ra - [am]
um - ma šu - m[a]
SAG - AMAT - URU *Ha - al - l[u]*
[^s]*a la ma - ša - ni i[m -]*
10 *i - na Sippar*^{KI} - *am - na - [nu]* 10
i - ba - aš š[i]
ki - a - am iš - pu - ra - [am]
I DU - GAB
u amētu ga - ab - ba [u]
15 *at - tar - da[m]* 15
REV. [*k*]*i - ma iz - za - an - ku - ni - [i]k - [k]u - nu - ši*
SAG - AMAT - ARAD *ša amētu ga - ab - ba - u*
u - k[a] - al - la - mu
a - na DU - GAB ša at - ru - dam bi - [ki - id]
20 *a - na Bābili*^{KI} 20
li - ir - di - a - am - ma
[.] *li* [.]
[.]

[The bottom half of the tablet is broken.]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar say:—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. The *gabba'u*-officer¹ hath
 “ written (unto me), saying, ‘ The female slave²
 “ ‘ of Ḫallu, whom we could not find, [is found].
 “ ‘ She is in Sippar - amnanu.³’ After this
 “ fashion hath he written (unto me). Now
 “ I am sending (unto you) a DUGAB-officer⁴ and
 “ the *gabba'u*-officer. When they reach you,
 “ ye shall hand over unto the DUGAB-officer,
 “ whom I have sent, the female slave, whom
 “ the *gabba'u*-officer will point out (unto you),
 “ (and) he shall conduct her to Babylon, and
 “ [.].”

It is probable that the female slave referred to in this letter was the private property of Ḫallu, who, after her escape, had appealed to the authorities to help him in his search. The king had received word that the slave was in Sippar-amnanu, and he therefore sent this letter to Sin-idinnam and the Judges of Sippar ordering her removal to Babylon.

¹ With this title cf. the somewhat similar one, *amzīn ga-aḫ-ba-ḫu-u*, in the letter of Abēšu', No. XI.

² In the combination SAG-AMAT-URU, URU seems to be employed as a general word for “slave,” while AMAT indicates the gender; for the explanation of SAG, see Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 92.

³ On Sippar-amnanu, see above, p. 118, note 2.

⁴ See above, p. 7.

III.

ORDER FOR THE HEARING OF A CASE AT
BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,266; pl. 177, No. 92.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{itu} Sin - i - din - nam
 Kār - Sippār^{KI}
 u daianē^{PI} Sippār^{KI}
 [ki] - bi - ma
 5 [um - ma A] - bi - e - šu ' - ma 5
 ^m ^{itu} B[u - n]e - [n]e - na ši - ir
 u Mi - ni - [^{itu}] Šamaš
 mārē^{PI} Ri [iš^š - ^{itu}]
 ki - a - am u - lam - n₂[i - du] - ni - in - n[i]
 10 um - ma šu - nu - ma 10
 ^m Ili - i - din - nam a - hu ni ra - bu - [u]
 ha - ab - la - an - ni - a - ti
 iš^š - tu šatti 2 ^{KAM}
 m[a-h]ar K[ār]-Sippār^{KI} ni-iš-ta-na-ak-ka-an-[m]a
 15 u ul uš^š - te - eš^š - še - ru - ni - a - ti 15
 ki - a - am u - lam - mi - du - ni - in - ni
 EDGE. dub - bi an - ni - a - a[m] i na a - ma - r[i - im]
 REV. ^m Ili - i - din - nam šu - a [ti]
 u ši - bi mu - di - e a - w[a - ti - š^š]u
 20 [š^š]a ^{itu} Bu - ne - n[e] - na - ši - ir 20
 [u] Mi - ni - [^{itu}] [Šamaš]
 mārē^{PI} Ri - iš^š - ^{itu} [. . . .]
 u - ka - al - la - mu - ku - n[u - š^š]i
 a - na Bābili^{KI}
 25 tu - ur - da - ni[m - ma] 25
 a - wa a - tu - šu n[u li - ig - ga - a]m - r[a]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar say :—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. Bunene-našir and Mini-Šamaš, the sons of Riš-[. . . .], have informed me, saying, ‘ Ili-idinnam, our elder brother, hath held us in pledge.¹ For two years have we laid (our petition) before the Court of Sippar,² but they (i.e. the judges) have not done us justice.’ After this fashion have they informed me. When ye shall behold this tablet, ye shall send unto Babylon this Ili-idinnam and the witnesses who have knowledge of his case, whom Bunene-našir and Mini-Šamaš, the sons of Rīš-[. . . .], will point out unto you, in order that their case may be concluded.”

It is interesting to note from this letter that, if a litigant were unable to obtain justice from his local court, it was open to him to appeal to the king at Babylon³

¹ For this meaning of the verb *ḫabālu*, see above, p. 24, note 3. As in the letter of Ḫammurabi there referred to (No. IX), it would be possible here also to assign to *ḫabālu* its usual meaning, “to wrong, damage”; Bunene-našir and Mini-Šamaš would then begin their appeal with the words “Ili-idinnam, our elder brother, hath wronged us. For two years,” etc. On the whole, however, it is preferable to assign to the word the meaning which it has elsewhere in these letters.

² The *Kār-Sippar* appears to have had some such meaning; see further, p. 122, note 2.

³ Cf. also p. 41.

IV.

LETTER ANNOUNCING THE DESPATCH OF
CERTAIN MESSENGERS, ETC.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,961 ; pl. 161, No. 85.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na Ib - ni - ^{itu} [Ša]mas^š
^m ^{itu} Sin - i - din - nam
 Kār - Sippar^{KI} u daianē^{PI} Sippar^{KI}
 [k]i - bi - ma
 5 um - ma A - bi e - šu - ' - m[a] 5
 mārē^{PI} šī ip - ri u utullē^{PI} [.]
 iš-tu Bābili^{KI} a-na Sippar^{KI} [ia-aḫ-ru-rum] i-il-la-ku
 i - na ^{arḫu} Tišritu ūmu 24^{KAM}
 i - sa - an - ni - ku - ni - ik - ku - nu - šī - im
 10 duḅ - bi an - ni - a - am i - na a ma - ri - im 10
 5 šu šī BI u - pa - ka ni (?)
 i-na ga-ti^{amēlu} TUK-NA^{PI} ša Sippar-am-na-nu li-ki-a-ma
 ri - ša - am li - ki - il - lu
 i - nu - ma i - ša - aḫ - pa - ru - ni - ik - ku - nu - šī - im
 15 [.]^{PI} a-na Sippar^{KI} -ia-aḫ-ru-rum šu-bi-la
 EDGE. u [.] ^{amēlu} TUK NA^{PI}
 [.] ša ta - aš - p[u r]a - nim
 REV. [i - n]a TA - AG - GA (?)
 še - am i - na Sippar^{KI}
 20 a - na ^{amēlu} TUK - NA^{PI} 20
 i - nu ad - di - nu

SUMMARY.

This letter is addressed by Abēšu' to "Ibni-Šamaš,¹ "Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar." In it Abēšu' states that some messengers, herdsmen,² and others are setting out from Babylon on their way to Sippar-iaḥrurum,³ and he states the day of the month on which they will probably arrive. The letter begins with the words: "Thus saith Abēšu'. The "messengers, and the herdsmen, [and . . .] "are going from Babylon unto Sippar-iaḥrurum, and "on the twenty-fourth day of the month Tisri they "will reach you." The letter was sent by Abēšu' to prepare the authorities of Sippar for their arrival, and with regard to certain grain in the city the king adds instructions which they are to carry out on the receipt of his letter. It is possible that the messengers mentioned by Abēšu' were the actual bearers of the letter, in which case the document must have been intended to serve as their credentials, while at the same time it informed the authorities at Sippar of the object of their journey.

¹ One of the letters of Samsu-iluna is addressed to Ibni-Marduk, Sin-idinnam, and the Judges of Sippar (see above, p. 128). It has already been suggested that the Sin-idinnam mentioned in Samsu-iluna's letters is to be identified with Abēšu's correspondent of the same name; and it would be tempting to restore the name in the first line of this letter as Ibni-Marduk. The space on the tablet, however, suggests the restoration of Šamaš, rather than Marduk, as the second half of the name.

² For this rendering of the ideogram U-ṬUL (= *utullu*), see above, p. 56 f.

³ On Sippar-iaḥrurum, see above, p. 118, note 2.

V.

ORDER FOR THE PAYMENT OF TRIBUTE
WHICH IS OVERDUE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,249; pl. 172, No. 90.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* S[a - a]m - su - i - lu - na - nu - u[r - . . .]
^m [A - p]i - il - ^{iu} Na b[i um]
^m Ta - ri - ba - tum
^m Ib - ni - ^{iu} Marduk
 5 u Ri - iš ^{iu} Šamaš 5
ki - bi - [ma]
um - ma A - bi - e šu - ' ma
^{m iu} Sin-i-din-nam Kār-Sippar^{KI} u [daianē^{pl} Sippar^{KI}]
ki-a-am iš-pu-ru-nim um-ma šu-n[um-ma]

IO *a - na* [I] - din - Ištar damḡaru amēl Sippar^{KI}
ša i - na Kār - ^{iu} Šamaš^{KI} wa - aš - bu
aš - šum 2 šubātē^{pl} ne - me - it - ti - šu
li - ki - e - im - ma
[a - n]a Sippar^{KI} a la ki im

I5 [ni] - iš - pu - ur - šum - ma I5
 [šubātē^{pl}] ne - me - it - ta - šu

EDGE. [u ul il kē]i - a - am - ma
 [a na Sip]par^{KI} u - ul il - li - kam

REV. [ki - a - am] iš - pu - ru - ni[m]
 20 [ki - ma d]ub - bi an - ni - a - am ta - am - ma - ra 20
 [I] - din - Ištar damḡaru amēl Sippar^{KI}
 [ga - du] - um šubātē^{pl} ne - me - it - t[i - šu]
 [a - na] Sippar^{KI}
 [t]u ur - da - nim - ma
 25 šubātē^{pl} ne - me - it - ta - šu 25
 li - pu - ul

TRANSLATION.

Unto Samsu-iluna-nūr[. . .], Apil-Nabium, Taribatum, Ibni-Marduk, and Riš-Šamaš¹ say :—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. Sin-idinnam, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar have written unto me, saying, ‘ Unto Idin-Ištar, the merchant, who cometh from Sippar, but dwelleth in Kār-Šamaš, we wrote bidding him take² two changes of raiment³ which are due from him and come (with them) unto Sippar. But the changes of raiment which are due from him he hath not taken, and he hath not come unto Sippar.’ After this fashion have they written (unto me). When, therefore, ye shall behold this tablet ye shall send unto Sippar Idin-Ištar, the merchant of Sippar, together with the changes of raiment which are due from him, that he may hand over the changes of raiment which are due from him.”

Although Idin-Ištar had taken up his abode in Kār-Šamaš, it may be inferred from this letter that he was still liable to pay taxes to Sippar, his native city.

¹ The five men addressed were clearly men in authority in the city of Kār-Šamaš.

² It is possible that this passage should be translated “we wrote that we might receive two changes of raiment, etc., and that he should come unto Sippar”; in that case l. 17 should be restored [*la ni-il-k*]*i-a-am-ma*.

³ The ideogram is more clearly written in ll. 22 and 25; it seems to be 𒌦 (i.e. *šubātu*), not *buhadu*, as in Nos. VI and VII. It is possible to read the numeral as 120.

VI.

ORDER FOR THE BRINGING OF TRIBUTE TO
THE PALACE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,251; pl. 154, No. 82.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a] - na ^{sin} Sin - i din - nam
 ki - bi - ma
 um ma A - bi - e - šu ' ma
^m Ni - id - na - at - ^{sin} Sin mu - ša - ad - di - in buḫadēst
 5 ki - ma buḫadēst ne - me it - ta - ka 5
 a - na eḫalli la tu - ub - lam
 iḫ - bi - a - am
 a - na mi nin a di i - na - an na
 buḫadēst ne - me - it - ta - ka
 10 a na eḫalli la tu ub lam 10
 a - na e - bi šī - im an - ni - i - im
 ki - i la ta - ap la - [aḫ]
 [.]
 REV. [.]
 15 buḫa[dēst] ne - me - it - ta - k[a] 15
 šī - [im - da]m ma a na Bābilist
 šu - bi - lam

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinnam say:—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. Nidnat-Sin, the assessor
 “ of the flocks and herds,¹ hath reported that

¹ The ideogram is not very clearly written, but appears to be *buḫadu*, as in the following letter. The duties of this official evidently consisted in assessing and collecting tribute.

“ thou hast not brought unto the Palace the
 “ young of the herds which are due from thee.
 “ Wherefore hast thou not yet brought unto the
 “ Palace the young which are due from thee?
 “ In that thou didst not fear to do this thing,
 “ [.] thou shalt yoke²
 “ the young oxen that are due from thee and
 “ bring them to Babylon.”

The Sin-idinnam to whom this letter is addressed is clearly to be identified with the man of this name who is mentioned at the head of other letters of Abēšu' (Nos. I-IV);³ and, as he is there coupled with the Judges of Sippar, he must have occupied a high official post in the city. It is not improbable that he superintended the collection of tribute in Sippar, and in ordering him to pay the tribute that was due from him, we may suppose that Abēšu' referred to the public tribute under his control, and not to any tax for the payment of which he was personally liable. We may suppose that regular tribute was levied on all the great cities in Babylonia,⁴ and, in the event of any delay in the payment of the same, the king would naturally rebuke the governor of the city or some highly placed official.

² If the verb is correctly restored as *ši-[im-da]m-ma* it is clear that *buḥadē* refers to the young of the herds, not to the young of the flocks.

³ See above, p. 131, note 1.

⁴ In one of his letters to Sin-idinnam Ḥammurabi refers to the tribute which was paid by Larsam to Babylon; see above, p. 12 f.

VII.

ORDER FOR THE PAYMENT OF TRIBUTE
WHICH IS OVERDUE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,745 ; pl. 180, No. 93.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na* ^{am} *Marduk - na -* [*ši - ir Kār - Sippar*^{K1} 1]
u daianē^{pl} *Sippar*^{K1} - *am - na - nu*
ki - *bi -* *ma*
um - ma A bi - e - šu ' - ma
5 *ki - ma* 30 *buḥadē*^{pl} 5
ne - me - it - ta ku - [nu]
a - na Bābili^{K1} *la tu - ub la - nim*
^{am} *mu - ša - ad - di in buḥadē*^{pl}
iḳ bi - a - am
10 *a - na mi - nim a - di i - na - an - n[a]* 10
30 *buḥadē*^{pl}
ne - me it - ta - ku - nu
a - na Bābili^{K1}
la tu - ub - la - nim
15 *a - na e - bi - ši - im an - ni - i - im* 15
ki - i la taḫ - la ḥa - [nim]
I DU GAB
a[t - ṭ]ar - d[a - a]m
REV. [.]

¹ As the letter is addressed to the Judges of Sippar-amnanu and not to those of Sippar, it is possible that *Kār-Sippar*^{K1} should not be restored.

20 [.] 20
 [.] - m[a]
 [a - na Bābili^{KI} š̄]u - b[i] la - n[im]
 30 buḥadē^{PI} ne - me - it - ta - [ku - nu]
 a na Bābili^{KI}
 25 u ul tu - ub ba - la n[im] - ma 25
 a - na I bu[ḥadē] I šiklu ka[spi]
 u - ša - aš - ga - lu ku - nu - [ši]

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Unto Marduk-našir, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar-amnanu say :—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. The assessor of the flocks
 “ and herds hath reported that ye have not
 “ brought unto Babylon the thirty young which
 “ are due from you. Wherefore have ye not
 “ brought unto Babylon the thirty young which
 “ are due from you? Since ye did not fear to
 “ do this thing, I am sending a DUGAB-officer²
 “ (unto you)

REV. “ . . . and ye shall send (them) unto
 “ Babylon. But if ye do not bring unto
 “ Babylon the thirty young which are due from
 “ you, for each one shall they cause you to pay
 “ one shekel of silver.³”

² On the various duties of this official, see above, p. 7.

³ The restoration of this line, as suggested above, is not quite certain; the traces of I before GIN and of UD at the end of the line are not very clear.

VIII.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE HARVESTING OF
CERTAIN CORN.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,960 ; pl. 159, No. 84.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na ^{itu} Marduk - na - ši ir
 Kār - Sippar^{KI} u daianē^{pt} Sippar^{KI}
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma A - bi e - šu ' ma
 5 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ šiklu E-GAL Sippar^{KI}-am-na-nu u na-we-šu
 u 4 SAG-URU^{pt} ša mārē^{pt} Ri-iš-^{itu} Šamaš daiani
 m Sin - i - ri - ba am u aḫē^{pt} - šu
 a-na še-im ša eḫil bilti ^{itu} Sin-mu-š[a]-l[im]
 GAL [Dūr -]
 10 e - ši - di - im u [.] 10
 ki - ma dub - bi an - ni - a - [am]
 ta - am - [ma ru]
 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ šiklu E-GAL Sippar^{KI}-am-na-nu u [na-we-šu]
 u 4 SAG-URU^{pt} ša mārē^{pt} Ri-iš-^{itu} Šamaš daiani
 15 m ^{itu} Sin - i - ri ba am u aḫē^{pt} - šu
 ga - du - um ŠU - KASKAL ši - im [.]
 a-na eḫil bilti ^{itu} Sin-mu-ša-lim GAL Dū[r-]
 tu - ur - da - a [am]
 še - am [š^r]a eḫil bilti - [š^ru]
 EDGE. e - ma u - ka - al - l[a - mu] 20
 REV. li - ši - d[u]
 u li - še - lu - [u].

TRANSLATION.

Unto Marduk-našir, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar say:—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. Sixteen and two-thirds
 “ shekels of from Sippar-amnanu¹
 “ and the neighbourhood thereof, and four male
 “ slaves, the property of the sons of Rīš-Šamaš,
 “ the judge, and of Sin-iribam and his brethren,
 “ [. . . .] to harvest the corn in the
 “ hired field of Sin-mušalim, the governor² of
 “ Dūr-[. . . .] and [.].
 “ When ye shall behold this tablet, sixteen and
 “ two-thirds shekels of from Sippar-
 “ amnanu and the neighbourhood thereof, and
 “ four male slaves, the property of the sons of
 “ Rīš-Šamaš, the judge, and of Sin-iribam and
 “ his brethren, together with provisions for the
 “ journey,³ . . . [. . .] shall ye send
 “ unto the hired field of Sin - mušalim, the
 “ governor of Dūr-[. . . .]. And the
 “ corn which is in his hired field, in the place
 “ where he will show (you), let them harvest
 “ and carry.”

¹ On Sippar-amnanu, see above, p. 118, note 2.

² With this title compare that of *Gal Martu*, applied to a certain Sin-idinnam in letter No. 48 (Miscellaneous Letters, No. II). It is possible that the signs which followed GAL did not give the name of a town, but formed part of Sin-mušalim's title, of which GAL was the first syllable.

³ For this explanation of the ideogram ŠU-KASKAL, see above, p. 8, note 5.

IX.

ORDER FOR THE DESPATCH OF A CERTAIN
PRIEST AND OTHERS TO BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 27,254 ; pl. 175, No. 91.]

TRANSLITERATION.

[a na ^{itū} Mar]duk - na - ši ir
 [K]ār - Sippar^{KI} u duianē^{PI} Sippar^{KI}
 [ki] - bi ma
 [um] ma A - bi e - šu ' ma
 5 [m] ^{itū} Sin-mu-ša-lim ^{zīkaru} durmaḥ An-nu-ni-tum
 [ki] a am u - lam - mi da an ni
 [um - m]a šu - ma
 [Nu]-ur- ^{itū} . . . -ga I šangū An-nu-ni-tum
 Sippar^{KI} - [am na] nu - um
 10 [. . . .] libbi PA-TE-SI^{PI} ša An-nu-ni-[tu]m
 [e] te - ne - [i]r - ri [šū]
 [. . . .] a-na a-me-li-[e] ir-[. . .]
 [. . . . t]a-na-ad-d[i -]
 [.] ekil bil[ti]
 15 [.] - ik - ki - [.] 15
 [.] ni [.]
 [.]

[Some lines are missing at the end of the Obverse and
at the beginning of the Reverse.]

REV. [.]
 [.] ir [.]
 [e - te] ne - [i]r - ri šu

[. . . *bīl*] *ša* ^{iu} *Šamaš* E-DI-TAR-KALAM-[MA]
 5 [.] - ^{iu} *Nergal* 5
 [*ša* ^{iu} *Sin-m*] *u-ša-lim* ^{sikaru} *durmaḥ* *An-nu-ni-tu[m]*
 [*u - ka - a*] *l - la - m[u] - šu - nu - ti*
 [*a - na Bāb*] *i[li]* ^{KI} *tu [ur - d]a - nim - ma*
 [*wa - ar*] - *ka - tum li - ip pa - ri i[s']*

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Unto Marduk-našir, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar say :—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. Sin-mušalim, the chief “ priest¹ of the goddess Annunitum, hath “ informed me, saying, ‘Nūr-[. . .]ga, “ ‘ a priest of the goddess Annunitum of Sippar- “ ‘ amnanu, one of the *patesi* of Annunitum, “ ‘ hath’

REV. “ of the temple of Šamaš, (which “ is called) E-ditar-kalama, and [. . . .]- “ Nergal, whom Sin-mušalim, the chief priest “ of the goddess Annunitum will point out, shall “ ye send unto Babylon that the matter may “ be investigated.²”

¹ The *durmaḥu* was evidently a priest of high rank; for the reading of the ideogram, see Brünnow, *Classified List*, Nos. 5,072 and 10,577.

² The verb should possibly be read *li-ip-pa-ri-i[s]*; cf. Letter I of Ammiditana (No. 56), l. 24, *wa-ar-ka-tu l[i]-ip-ru-s[u-ma]*. In that case the reason for sending the priest to Babylon would be that the future might be divined.

X.

PART OF A LETTER TO MARDUK-NAŠIR AND
THE JUDGES OF SIPPAR.

[Brit. Mus., No. 86,369 ; pl. 241, No. 106.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a] - na ^{uu} Marduk - na - ši ir
 [Kār - S]iṣṣar^{KI} u daianē^{PI}] Sippar^{KI}
 [ki] - bi - ma
 [um ma A] - bi e - šu ' ma
 5 [.] - tum amēl [] 5
 [.]

[The rest of the text is wanting.]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Marduk-našir, Kār-Sippar, and the Judges of
Sippar say :—

“ Thus saith Abēšu’. [. . . .]tum, a man¹
 “ [of the city of]”

Like Nos. VII, VIII, and IX, this letter of Abēšu’
is written to Marduk - našir, Kār - Sippar, and the
Judges of Sippar, but little more than the address
has been preserved.

¹ It is possible that *amēlu* should be taken as a determinative
before a title.

XI.

LETTER TO THE JUDGES OF SIPPAR
CONCERNING A CASE WHICH THEY HAVE
INVESTIGATED.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,959; pl. 156, No. 83.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a na]
^{m itu} Šamaš'-šū mu - [.]
 Kār - Sippar^{KI} u dai[anē^{PI} Sippar^{KI}]
 um - ma A - bi - e š[u ' - ma]
^{m itu} Marduk - mu ša - lim [.]
 5 [u] daianē^{PI} Sippar^{KI} - ia - aḫ - ru r[um] 5
 [k]i-a-an iš-pu-ru-nim um-ma šu-nu-ma
 [bīt] Mārat - Dun - gi
 [. u]gar ša bīt ^{itu} Šamaš
 [.] - ia - ma - nim
 10 [. ṣ]i - bu ut eḫalli 10
 [.] ib - bi - it - tu - u
 [. S]ippar^{KI} utullē^{PI} ŠA-UD^{PI}
 [.] - im apsē (P)^{PI}
 [. ^{am^{itu}}] ga - ab - ba ḫu - u
 15 [.] bīt ^{itu} Šamaš 15
 [.] - bu - ma
 [.] ib - bi - it - tu - u

[.]
 EDGE. [.]
 20 [.] ^{3th} Sin - i - din - nam daianu 20
 mār ^{3th} Nannar - [.]
 REV. Kār - Sippar^{KI} u daianē^{PI} S[ippar^{KI}]
 bīt Mārat - Dun - gi
 ip - tu - u - ma
 25 ša i - pu - šu u - ul ni - di - [i] 25
 u ni - a - ti u ul is - su - ni - a - t[i]
 u - ul ni iz - zi - iz
 ki - a - am iš pu - ru - nin
 a - na ši - bu - ut ekalli - a ia - i - tim
 30 ba - lum re'ē^{PI} daianē^{PI} utullē^{PI} ŠA - UD^{PI} 30
 e - ri - ib ekalli su - [.]
 u ^{anzu} ga - ab - ba hi i
 bīt Mārat - Dun - gi k[i] - še - ib - ti - [.]
 te - ma am šu - up - ra - nin

SUMMARY.

The letter begins with the words: "To [. . . .
 ". . . .] Šamaš-šumu[. . . .], Kār-Sippar,
 "and the Judges of Sippar say:—Thus saith Abēšu'.
 "Marduk-mušalim, [. . . .], and the Judges
 "of Sippar-iaḥrurum¹ have written (unto me), saying,
 "'The house of Mārat-Dungi,² [which is in] the

¹ On Sippar-iaḥrurum, see above, p. 118, note 2.

² It is preferable to take this as a proper name rather than to translate "the daughter of Dungi"; for other instances of the use of royal names as component parts of proper names, see above, pp. 6 and 139.

“ ‘district of the temple of Šamaš,’ ”
 On the rest of the reverse Abēšu' continues to quote from the report which he had received from Marduk-mušalim and the Judges of Sippar-iaḥrurum. Only the ends of lines are preserved, from which it is not possible to restore the text with certainty; it would appear, however, that the report refers to a claim put forward by the officials of the Palace to the house of Mārat-Dungi or to some of its contents. In their investigation of the case the local judges of Sippar-iaḥrurum had been interfered with by the judges of the supreme court of Sippar,³ who had investigated the case independently, and they close their report to Abēšu' with a complaint to this effect, saying: “Sin-idinnam, the judge, the son of “Nannar-[. . .], Kār-Sippar, and the Judges “of Sippar opened the house of Mārat-Dungi, but “we knew not what they did, neither did they tell “us of it. We took no part in the matter.”⁴ Abēšu', therefore, forwards this report to the supreme court of Sippar, and ends his letter with a request for further information.

³ For this explanation of the phrase *Kār-Sippar^{K1} u daianē^{K1} Sippar^{K1}*, see above, p. 122. It would appear from this letter that the Court of Sippar claimed jurisdiction over the neighbouring towns and villages.

⁴ This seems to be the meaning of the expression *u-ul ni-iš-zi-iš*; perhaps translate “we were not present (at the investigation).” The local judges of Sippar-iaḥrurum clearly resented the action of the Court of Sippar.

XII.

ORDER FOR THE PAYMENT OF TAXES BY
CERTAIN MERCHANTS OF SIPPAR.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,962; pl. 163, No. 86.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na damḫa]rē^{pt} Sippar^{kt} ki bi - ma
 [um - ma A bi - e - š]u - ' - ma
 [aš - šum ša t]a - aš pu - ra - nim
 [um - ma a]t - tu - nu - ma
 5 [.] S[ippar]r^{kt} 5
 [.] m[a] ša - a[m]
 [. b]i [.] ba - l[u]
 u - u[l] ti [.] - k[u] - nim - ma
 u [.]
 10 [.] be - el [. - b]i 10
 " [.] ki [.] - ma
 [.] damḫarē^{pt} amēlē^{pt} Sippar^{kt}
 š[a] ma - ad [.]
 l[i] - ni [. - m]a
 15 l[i - i]l - k[i] - a - am 15
 š[a t]a - aš pu - ra - nim
 [. i]l - la - ak
 u - [d]a - ab - ba - ab
 REV. a - na Ištar - iš - me - šu ša bi - i[r -]
 20 aš - šum kaspā igisī damḫarē^{pt} šu - nu i[i] 20
 [.] - im - ma
 a - na Bābili^{kt} šu bu li [im]
 [i]t - ta aš - pa - ar
 u at - tu nu damḫarē^{pt} be - el bi - ha - tim

25 *kaspa igisē. damḫarē^{pt} šu - nu - [ti]* 25
li - iṣ - mi - du - ma
li il - ku - ni - ik - ku nu - ši im
šum - ma kaspa igisā - šu - nu la uš - ta - b[i - lu]
damḫarē^{pt} šu - nu - ti a - na ma - a[h - ri - ia]
30 *li - ir - du - [nim]* 30

TRANSLATION.

Unto the merchants of Sippar say :—

“ Thus saith Abēšu'. Concerning the matter
“ about which ye wrote, saying, ‘ [. . . .] of
“ ‘ Sippar [.], the merchants,
“ ‘ men of Sippar, [.], and let
“ ‘ him receive (it).’ These were the words
“ which ye wrote (unto me). [. . . .]
“ Unto Ištar-išmešu, who [. . . .], instructions
“ have been sent that he [. . . .] and bring
“ unto Babylon the silver which is due as
“ revenue¹ from those merchants. And ye
“ merchants, who are rulers of the district,²
“ see to it that they pack the silver which
“ is due as revenue from those merchants, and
“ let them take it to you. But if those
“ merchants bring not the money, which is
“ due from them as revenue, let them hale
“ them into my presence.”

¹ For this reading of the ideogram, see Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 9,384; for another instance of its use, see above, p. 12.

² Cf. the similar expression *amēlē^{pt} šu-ut bi-ḫa-a-tim* in Letter I of Abēšu', l. 12; see above, p. 130.

XIII.

ORDER FOR THE DESPATCH OF A SHIP TO
BRING CORN FOR THE PALACE.

[Brit. Mus., No. 26,969 ; pl. 166, No. 87.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a - na [.]u - ^{the} Sin
 ki - [b]i - ma
 um - ma A b[i - e] - šu - ' - ma
 MA NI - UM 60 GUR ne - me - it ti
 5 akil malaḥi Sippar^{KI} - am - n[a - ni]m 5
 a - na še - im ša eḫalli [. . . . - i]m
 i - si - ḫ[u -]
 ki - ma dub bi an - ni a - am
 ta am - ma - ru
 10 MA - NI - UM 60 GUR ne me it - ti 10
 akil malaḥi Sippar^{KI} - am na nin
 [.] - ad - di - di mārē^{PI} - [. . . .]
 [.] - tim
 [.]
 REV. [.] 15
 u M[A - NI - UM 60 GUR ne - me - it - ti]
 [i - n]a ^{arḫu} Simānu ūmu 25 ^{KAM}
 a - na Bābili^{KI}
 li is - ni - ga - am

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Unto [. . . .]šū-Sin say :—

“ Thus saith AbĒšu'. The chief captain¹ of
 “ Sippar-amnanu requireth (?) a ship of sixty
 “ GUR capacity² to [convey] the corn for the
 “ palace. When thou shalt behold this tablet,
 “ let the chief captain of Sippar - amnanu
 “ [. . . .] a ship of sixty GUR capacity
 “ ”

REV. “ And thou shalt see that the ship
 “ of sixty GUR capacity arrive at Babylon on
 “ the twenty-fifth day of the month Sivan.”

As the letter is imperfect, the exact nature of the king's instructions is not apparent. From the reverse of the tablet, however, it is clear that AbĒšu' required a ship of sixty GUR capacity to be sent to Babylon, and from l. 6 of the obverse it may be inferred that the ship was wanted in connection with certain corn for the palace. The restoration suggested in the translation, to the effect that the vessel was required for carrying corn to the palace, is therefore not improbable.

¹ Another expression for a “captain of a ship” is *akil* MA-NI-UM; see above, pp. 60 f. and 64.

² For the system of measuring the capacity of vessels employed for transport, see above, p. 84. In other passages where the size of ships is given the ideogram MA-NI-UM is followed simply by the number of GUR which formed the vessel's capacity. In this letter the substantive *ne-me-ù-ti* is probably to be taken with the preceding phrase MA-NI-UM 60 GUR, and rendered by some such word as “capacity” or “rating.”

IV.
LETTERS OF AMMIDITANA, KING
OF BABYLON.

I.

ORDER FOR THE DESPATCH OF CORN WHEN
THE OMENS ARE FAVOURABLE.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 340; pl. 95, No. 56.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a] - na ⁱⁱⁱ Marduk - mu ša - lim
^m Sin - i - din - nam
u A - pi - il - ⁱⁱⁱ Sin
ki bi - ma
5 um - ma Am mi - di - ta - na - ma 5
amēlēst šu-ut bi-ḥa-a-tim ša i-na Šag-ga^{KI} wa-aš-bu
ki - a - am iš - pu - ru - nim um - mu šu - nu - ma
57 GUR 184½ KA
a-na kurmat šābi bi-ir-ti Šag-ga^{KI} u a-ḥi-a-tim
10 ša ^{arḥu} Kislimu 10
iḥ ḥa aš - še - iḥ
ki - a - am iš pu ru - nim
a-na amēlēst šu-ut bi-ḥa-a-tim ša i-na Šag-ga^{KI} wa-aš-bu
aš-šum i-nu-ma ta-ša-ap-ḫa-ra-šu-nu-s[ⁱ⁻ⁱ]m
15 amēlēst Ba-ab-bi-lī a-na ma-aḥ-ri-ku-n[u] 15

it - ta - aš - pa - [ru nim]
u up - ra amēlē²¹ Ba - [ab - bi - li]
 EDGE. *a-na ma-aḥ-ri-ku-nu l[i-il-li-ku-nim-ma]*
 REV. *[i] - na še - im ša g[a ti - šu - nu]*
 20 57 GUR 184½ KA 20
a-na kurmat šābi bi-ir-ti Šag-ga^{K1} [u a-ḥi-a-tim]
ša^{ar^{hu}} Kislimu šu - um - ḥi ra - [am - mā]
bārūti²² ša ma - aḥ - ri - [ku - nu]
wa - ar ka - tu l[i] - ip - ru - s[u - ma]
 25 *i - na šim^u te - ri - e - tim ša - al - ma - a - t[im]* 25
še - am šu - a - ti
a na Šag - ga^{K1} šu - bi la

TRANSLATION.

Unto Marduk-mušalim, Sin-idinnam, and Apil-Sin say :—

“ Thus saith Ammiditana. The men of the
 “ province¹ who dwell in the city of Šagga have
 “ written unto me, saying, ‘ Fifty-seven GUR and
 “ ‘ one hundred and eighty-four and a half KA
 “ ‘ of corn, for the food of the men of the
 “ ‘ citadel² in the city of Šagga, and in the
 “ ‘ district round about during the month Kisley,
 “ ‘ are lacking.’ In this fashion have they
 “ written unto me. Inasmuch as at the time
 “ when ye shall write unto the men of the
 “ province who dwell in the city of Šagga,

¹ For another reference to certain “ men of the province,” in a letter of Abēšu’, see above, p. 132.

² See above, p. 132, note 4.

“ men of Babylon will have been sent unto
 “ you, ye shall send for the men of Babylon
 “ that they may come into your presence. And
 “ from the corn which is in their hands shall
 “ ye take fifty-seven GUR and one hundred and
 “ eighty-four and a half KA as food for the men
 “ of the citadel in the city of Šagga and the
 “ district round about for the month Kislev.
 “ And let the soothsayers who are in your
 “ presence³ divine the future, and (then) with
 “ favourable omens shall ye bring this corn
 “ into the city of Šagga.”

As the following letter of Ammiditana is addressed to a high official of Sippar, it is not improbable that Marduk-mušalim, Sin-idinnam, and Apil-Sin, to whom the present letter is written, also held posts in that city. In that case the city of Šagga probably lay in the neighbourhood of Sippar, and the authorities of that city would naturally be entrusted with the task of arranging the supply of corn for its needs. The chief point of interest in the letter lies in the last five lines of the reverse, in which the king gives instructions for the *bārūti*, or “soothsayers,”⁴ to examine the portents in order that the corn should be brought into Šagga under favourable auspices.

³ For this restoration, cf. Letter V of Ḥammurabi (No. 6), l. 12 f., *i-na e-mu-ga-at šābim(im) ša ma-aḥ-ri-ka*.

⁴ For another reference to “the company of the soothsayers,” see above, p. 112 f.

II.

ORDER FOR THE PAYMENT OF TRIBUTE
WHICH IS OVERDUE.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 325; pl. 93, No. 55.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *a - na akil damḡari Sippar^{KI} - ia - [aḡ - ru - rum]*
ki - bi - ma
um - ma Am - mi di ta - na - ma
^{amēlu} mu - ša ad - di - in šipāti (P)
 5 *ki-a-am u-lam-mi-da-an-ni um-ma šu-ma* 5
a-na akil damḡari Sippar^{KI}-ia-aḡ-ru-rum
aš - šum šipāti ne - me - it - ti - šu
a - na Bābili^{KI}
šu - bu - li - im
 10 *aš - ta - na - ap - pa - ar - ma* 10
šipāta ne - me - it - ta - šu
u - ul u - ša - bi - lam
ki a - am u - lam - mi - da an - ni
a - na mi - nim šipāta ne - me - it - ta ka
 15 *a - na Bābili^{KI}* 15
la tu - ša - bi - lam
a - na e - bi - e - ši - im an - ni - i - im
ki - i la ta - ap - la - aḡ
 REV. *ki - ma dub - bi an ni - a - [am]*
 20 *ta - am - ma - r[u]* 20
šipāta ne - me - it - ta - ka
a na Bābili^{KI}
šu - bi - lam

TRANSLATION.

Unto the scribe of the merchants¹ of Sippar-iaḥrurum say :—

“ Thus saith Ammiditana. The assessor of
 “ wool² hath informed me, saying, ‘ I wrote
 “ ‘ unto the scribe of the merchants of Sippar-
 “ ‘ iaḥrurum bidding him bring the wool that
 “ ‘ is due from him unto Babylon, but he hath
 “ ‘ not brought the wool that is due from him.’
 “ After this fashion hath he informed me.
 “ Wherefore hast thou not brought unto
 “ Babylon the wool that is due from thee?
 “ Since thou hast not feared to do this thing,
 “ when thou shalt behold this tablet the wool
 “ that is due from thee shalt thou (forthwith)
 “ bring unto Babylon.”

Three letters written by Abēšu’ (Nos. V, VI, and VII) bear a very close resemblance to the present letter, for they deal with the collection of tribute which is overdue, and in each case the form of the letter is the same. In them, as in the present letter, the king writes in consequence of a report he has received to the effect that certain tribute which is due has not been delivered; and in each case he gives an abrupt order that it shall be promptly paid.³

¹ One of the duties of this official was probably to collect the revenue from the merchants in his district.

² The reading of *šipātu* in ll. 4, 7, 11, 14, and 21 is conjectural.

³ Letters No. IV of Samsu-iluna and XII of Abēšu’ also deal with the collection of taxes which are overdue.

V.
LETTERS OF AMMIZADUGA, KING
OF BABYLON.

I.

SUMMONS TO A SHEEP-SHEARING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 17,298; pl. 85, No. 50.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a -	na	Ib -	ni -	^{iu} Si[n]
	mār	^{iu} Marduk	- na	ṣi ir
	ki -		bi -	m[a]
	um ma	Am	mi - za - du	ga m[a]
5	[b]u -		ku -	m[u] 5
	[i - na]	bīt	a - ki -	tim
	[iš]	ša -	ak -	ka - an
	[ki - ma	d]ub -	bi an - ni	a - [am]
	[	ta] -	am -	ma - ru
10	[. . .]	ṣēnē ²¹	ša te - ri -	[. . .]
	[ṣa] -		ab -	tu
	[u]	ka	ni - ka - a	at ṣēnē ²¹
	ša	a - na	ṣi i tim	tu - še - zu - [u]
	li -	ki -	a -	am - ma
15	a -	na	Bābili ^{K1}	al - kam 15
	la	t[u -	la] -	ap - p[a] - tu
REV. i	na	^{arbu} Addaru		ūmu 1 ^{KAM}
	a -	na		Bābili ^{K1}
	zi	in		ga am

TRANSLATION.

Unto Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduk-našir, say :—

“ Thus saith Ammizaduga. A sheep-shearing¹
 “ will take place in the House of the Feast of
 “ the New Year. When thou shalt behold this
 “ tablet, [. . . .] the sheep which [. . . .]
 “ have taken, and those of the sheep which are
 “ marked² and which thou shalt bring forth,
 “ shalt thou take (with thee) and come to
 “ Babylon. Thou shalt not delay, but shalt
 “ arrive at Babylon on the first day of the
 “ month Adar.”

All five letters of Ammizaduga, which are here published, are on the same subject; they consist of a series of summonses to attend the sheep-shearing at Babylon. Nos. I–IV are addressed to Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduk-našir, and were evidently written in different years. It will be noticed that the date of the sheep-shearing varied slightly. Thus, in the present letter Ibni-Sin is told to reach Babylon on the first day of the month Adar; in No. II he is told to arrive on the tenth day of the month Sebat, and in No. III on the eighth day of that month; in Nos. IV and V the dates are wanting. As Nos. II and III are practically duplicates of the present letter, with the exception of l. 17 containing the date, the translation given above has not been repeated.

¹ On *bukumu*, see above, p. 78, note 1.

² Literally, “sealed”; it is possible to translate, “which were assigned (unto thee) under seal.”

II.

SUMMONS TO A SHEEP-SHEARING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 17,334; pl. 87, No. 51.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na] Ib - ni - ^{ih} S[in]
 mār ^{ih} Marduk - na - ši - [ir]
 ki - bi - ma
 um - ma Am - mi - za - du - ga - m[a]
 5 bu - ku m[u] 5
 i - na bīt a - ki - tim
 iš - ša - ak - ka - an
 [ki - ma] dub - bi an - ni - a - am
 ta - am - ma - ru
 10 [. . . .] šēnēst ša te - ri [. . . .] 10
 ša - [a]b - [ī]u
 [u ka - ni - ka a - at šēnēst]
 [ša a na ši - i - tim tu - še - zu u]
 [lī - kī - a - am ma]
 15 [a - na Bābili^{KI} al - kam] 15
 REV. [la tu - la a]p - p[a - tu]
 [i - na ^{arhu} Šabā]tu ūmu 10 [KAM]
 [a - na] Bābili^{KI}
 [š]i - in - ga - am

With the exception of l. 17 this letter is a duplicate of No. I; for the translation see the preceding page.

III.

SUMMONS TO A SHEEP-SHEARING.

[Bu. 91-5-9, 329; pl. 91, No. 54.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. [a - na I]b - ni - ^{III}Si[n]
 [mār ^{III}Mardu]k - na - ši - ir
 [ki] bi - ma
 [um - ma A]m mi - za - du - ga - ma
 5 [bu] - ku - mu 5
 [i - n]a bīt a - ki - tim iš - ša - ak - ka - an
 [ki - ma du]b - bi an - ni - a - am
 [t]a - am - ma - ra
 [. . . .] šēnē²¹ ša te - ri - . . [. . . .]
 10 [š]a - ab - ta - nim 10
 [u] ka - ni - ka - a - at šēnē²¹
 [ša a] - na ši - i - tim tu - še - ši - a
 [l]i - ki a - nim - ma
 [a - n]a Bābili^{K1}
 15 [al] - ka - a - nim 15
 [la tu] - la - ap - pa - ta - nim
 [i - na] ^{arbu}Šabātu ūmu 8 [^{KAM}]
 [a - na] Bābili^{K1}
 REV. [zi - in - ga] - nim

With the exception of the date this letter is a duplicate of No. I; for the translation, see p. 163.

IV.

SUMMONS TO A SHEEP-SHEARING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 17,531; pl. 90, No. 53.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	[a -	n]a	.	Ib -	ni	^{iu} Sin
	mār		^{iu} Marduk -	na	[ṣ]i -	ir
	[ki] -		bi -			ma
	[um - m]a		Am - mi	za - du -	ga	ma
5	[b]u		ku			m[u] 5
	[i -	na	bī]t	[a] -	k[i -	tim]
	[iś -	ša -	aḱ -	ka -		an]
	[.]

[The rest of the text is missing.]

TRANSLATION.

Unto Ibni-Sin, the son of Marduk-naṣir, say :—

“ Thus saith Ammizaduga. A sheep-shearing
 “ will take place in the House of the Feast of
 “ the New Year ”

The portion of the text which is missing may probably be restored from No. 50 (I), ll. 8-19, with the exception of the date in l. 17; see above, p. 162. The letter which follows (No. V) was probably not addressed to Ibni-Sin, as there is not sufficient room for the restoration of his name in the first line.

V.

SUMMONS TO A SHEEP-SHEARING.

[Brit. Mus., No. 17,416; pl. 89, No. 52.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV [a - na - na] - ši ir
 [.] - ta
 [ki] bi - ma
 [um - ma] Am - mi - za du ga ma
 5 [bu] - ku mu 5
 [i - na bit] a - ki - tim iš ša - a[k - k]a - an
 [ki - ma du]b - bi an - ni - a - am
 [ta] - am - ma - ru
 [. šēnēst] ša te - ri - [.]
 10 [ša - a]b - ta - [nim] 10
 [.]

[The rest of the text is missing.]

TRANSLATION.

Unto [. . . .]-našir, the [. . . .], say :—
 “ Thus saith Ammizaduga. A sheep-shearing
 “ will take place in the House of the Feast of
 “ the New Year. When thou shalt behold this
 “ tablet, [. . . .] the sheep which [. . . .]
 “ have taken”

The missing portion of the text may probably be restored from No. 54 (III), ll. 11-19, with the exception of the date in l. 17.

VI.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

I.

LETTER FROM SIN-IDINNAM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COURT IN KUTALLA.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,868; pl. 81, No. 47.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. a -	na	ra -	bi -	a -	an
	^{abu} Ku -	ta -	al -	la ^{KI}	
	ki -	bi		ma	
	um -	^{tu} Sin -	i -	din -	nam -
5	be -	el	a -	wa	ti -
	ša	Na -	me -	ir -	tum 5
	a -	na	ši -	ri -	ia
	tu -		ur -		dam

TRANSLATION.

Unto the President of the Court¹ in the city of
Kutalla² say :—

“ Thus saith Sin-idinnam.³ Thou shalt send
“ unto me the man who is party to the suit⁴
“ of Namertum.”

¹ For this meaning of the title *rabiānu*, see above, p. 38 f. It is possible that the action mentioned in the letter had come before the court of Kutalla, and had been referred to Sin-idinnam for settlement.

² The name of this city was also written *Ku-ta-la*.

³ The writer of this letter may probably be identified with the Sin-idinnam of Larsam, to whom Ḥammurabi's letters are addressed.

⁴ On the rendering of the phrase *bēl amāti*, see above, p. 39, note 2.

TRANSLATION.

Unto Aḫatim, the wife of Sin-idinnam, the governor of Martu,² (say):—

“ Thus say Tabbiwadi and Mār-Šamaš, thy
 “ servants.³ The governor of Martu hath sent
 “ us unto thee. Unto us⁴ palaces are strange,
 “ but one hath taken us into the palace. Thy
 “ do we possess. Unto our father⁵
 “ mayest thou that our father may
 “ free us. We have brought the tablets unto
 “ our father. With regard to that
 “ may he show favour, and may he write unto
 “ his son, that his son (also) may free us.
 “ When we shall behold thy countenance, may
 “ we remove thine [anger (?)] towards⁶ us.”

Tabbiwadi and Mār-Šamaš had in some way incurred the wrath of Sin-idinnam, and of his son

² It is quite possible that *Martu* in the phrase *Gal Martu* had a local significance, and merely referred to a district in Babylonia. On the other hand, it has been suggested that it refers, not to the country of Martu, but to men from that country, the title of *Gal Martu* being held by an official who was set over the slaves or workmen from Martu. (Cf. F. Thureau Dangin, *Revue critique*, 1899, No. 32, p. 106.)

³ The singular is here used collectively.

⁴ The word *e-li-nu-um* is taken in the translation as the preposition *eli* with the 1 pl. suffix and the mimation; this seems preferable to regarding the word as an adverb, with the meaning “formerly, hitherto.”

⁵ The expression “our father” is probably not to be taken literally, but to be regarded as referring to Sin-idinnam.

⁶ In the phrase *i-na a-ḫi-ni*, *aḫu* clearly has the meaning “side.”

and wife. Sin-idinnam had not dealt with the case himself, but had sent the two men to his wife. They had arrived at the palace, and they now presented to Aḥatim this petition for pardon. They first refer to their want of knowledge of the ways of the court, perhaps to excuse the unusual nature of their petition. They then throw themselves on Aḥatim's mercy, seeking her intervention on their behalf with the governor and his son,⁷ and ending with the request that they may secure her favour when they are brought into her presence. Some expressions in the letter are obscure, and it is possible that the writers were foreigners who had settled in Babylonia.⁸

⁷ If the expression "our father" in ll. 11, 12, and 13 refers to Sin-idinnam, it follows that *ma-ri-šū* in l. 16 is Sin-idinnam's son.

⁸ This may perhaps be inferred from the unusual form of the pronominal suffix of the 1st pers. plur. attached to the verbs in ll. 6, 8, 12, and 18. In contract-tablets of this period there is abundant evidence that foreigners settled in Babylonia and traded there.

VII. INSCRIPTIONS OF ḤAMMURABI.

I.

BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION CELEBRATING THE GREATNESS OF ḤAMMURABI'S REIGN.

[Brit. Mus., No. 85 ; pl. 112, No. 60.]

TRANSLITERATION.

SUMERIAN VERSION.	SEMITIC VERSION.
COL. I, a. [.] ¹ [(DINGIR) EN - LIL] [NAM - NIR - RA] [BA - RA - AN SUM] [ZA - E A - BA - A] 5 [GIR - NE - GUB - BI - EN] ² [(DINGIR) EN - Z]U [NAM SAG] - LIG [BA - R]A - AN - SUM [ZA - E] A BA - A 10 [GIR - NE] - GUB - BI - EN [(DINGIR)] NIN - IB [GIŠ] - KU MAḤ	COL. I, b. [.] [^{inu}] Bē[l] [e -] te - lu i[u] [id] - di - ik - ku [at] - ta ma - an nam 5 [^t u - ga - a ^{inu} Sin a - ša - ri - du - tu id - di - ik - ku at - ta ma - an nam 10 tu - ga - a ^{inu} Nin - ib kakka ši - ra - am

¹ It is not certain how much of the inscription is missing ; it is possible that more than one double column is wanting before both Col. i and Col. iii. The original length of the columns, which are only partly preserved, is also uncertain.

² For the restoration of the beginning of this line, on the basis of *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. iv, pl. 23, No. 2, Obv., l. 7 f., see Amiaud, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, ii, p. 11.

SUMERIAN VERSION.				SEMITIC VERSION.			
	[BA]	- RA - AN	SUM		<i>id - di - ik - ku</i>		
	[ZA E]	A - BA	A		<i>at - ta ma - an nam</i>		
15	[GIR - NE]	- GUB - BI - EN		15	<i>tu ga - a</i>		
	[DINGIR]	MUŠ - GE ¹			<i>u Ištar</i>		
	[ME]	ŠUN - ŠUN - NA			<i>ḫabla u taḫasa</i>		
	[BA R]A - AN - SUM				<i>id - di - ik - ku</i>		
	[ZA E]	A - BA - A			<i>at - ta ma - an - nam</i>		
20	[GIR - NE - GU]B	BI - EN		20	<i>tu - ga - a</i>		
	[(DINGIR)UTU] (DINGIR)MER				<i>u Šamaš u u Rammānu</i>		
	[MAŠKIM] - ZU - MEŠ				<i>ra bi zu - ka</i>		
	[ZA E A] - BA - A				<i>at - ta ma - an - nam</i>		
	[GIR - NE GUB] - BI - EN				<i>tu - ga - a</i>		
COL. II, a.				COL. II, b.			
	[.]				[.]		
	N[E -]				[.]		
	Š[UL (?) -]				[.]		
	U - Š[UL (?)]				[.]		
5	LA - A - NI			5	[.]		
	GAR - RA - A				[.]		
	NAM - A - [GAL] ZU ²				<i>li - [i - ti - ka]</i>		
	GUB - NE - [I]B				<i>šu - zi - iz</i>		
	UB - DA TAB TAB - BA				<i>i na ki ib ra - at</i>		
10	[AN] AN [.] -			10	<i>[i]r - bi - tin</i>		

¹ On this form of the name of the goddess NINNI or *Ištar*, cf. Amiaud, op. cit., p. 12; and for the value MUŠ (= *zīmu*), see 83-1-18, 1,338, col. iii, l. 30 (published by Bezold, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Dec., 1888, pl. ii, and cited by Jensen in Schrader's *Keilins. Bibl.*, Bd. iii, 1, p. 112).

² For this restoration, cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 6,567; since A-GAL = *li'ū*, "strong," it may be inferred that NAM-A-GAL = *litu*, "strength."

SUMERIAN VERSION.				SEMITIC VERSION.			
		IL -	BI ¹	UD	li	li -	ma
MU - ZU	ḤE -	PAD	DE	šum - ka	li - iz -	za - ki	ir
UKU		DAGAL	LA	ni šu	ra ap	ša tum	
GU -	ḤA	RA -	AB -	li	iš -	te -	mi
15	ŠAG -	ŠAG -	GI - NE	15	ga -		ku
KA	ŠU -	ḤA -	RA - AB -		ap -	pa -	ši - na
	TAG -	GI -	NE		li	il - bi	na - ku
A -	A -		AR		ta -	na da -	ti - ka
	GAL	GAL -	ZU			ra - bi -	a tim
20	ME - UR -	ḤE - I - I	NE	20	li -	iš - ta	ni da
GU -	SIL -	MAḤ -	ZU		da - li -	li - ka	ši - ru - tim
ḤE -	SI -	IL -	LI - NE		li -	id -	lu la
COL. III, a.				COL. III, b.			
		[Wanting.]			¹ [. . . .]-im, ² [. . . .]-šu		
					³ [. . . .]-mi, ⁴ [. . . .]-GE		
					⁵ [. . . .]-ti, ⁶ [. . . .]-šu		
					⁷ [. . . .]-ti, ⁸ [. . . .]-šu		
COL. IV, a.				COL. IV, b.			
NE -	IN -		GUB	uš -	zi		iz
NAM-MAḤ	NAM-LIG-GA-NI			na - ar	bi du	ni -	šu
A GA	UD DA		KU	a na	ap - ri	a -	at
PA - NE -	IN UD -		DU	u - mi	u -	še -	bi
5	Ḥa - am	mu	ra - bi	5	Ḥa - am -	mu -	ra - bi
LUGAL		UR -	SAG		šar - ru - um		kar - ra - du - um
	LIG -		GA			da an	nu - um
ERIM	GIŠ -	ḤAŠ -	AG - AG		ša - ki -	iz	ai - bi

¹ The meaning of this phrase is not clear. Amiaud rendered the Semitic version as *ūmi li-li-ma*, "day and night," ignoring the Sumerian version; Jensen confines himself to the Sumerian version, and, as AN = "high" and IL = "to be high" and "to raise," he conjecturally renders the whole sentence "may thy name be loudly proclaimed."

SUMERIAN VERSION.				SEMITIC VERSION.				
	MAR	URU	GIŠ - GIŠ	LAL		<i>a - bu - ub</i>	<i>tu - ku</i>	<i>ma - tim</i>
10	GU	RU - A	SI - SI - KI		10	<i>za - bi - in</i>	<i>māt¹</i>	<i>za - i ri</i>
	GIŠ		GIŠ	LAL		<i>mu -</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>il - li</i>
	T[E] -	EN -	TE -	EN		<i>tu -</i>	<i>uḳ -</i>	<i>ma - tim</i>
	(GU + GU) ² -		(GU + GU)			<i>mu -</i>	<i>še -</i>	<i>ib - bi</i>
		SI -	SI -	A		<i>za -</i>	<i>aḥ -</i>	<i>ma - ša - tim</i>
15	[. ³]			AG	15	<i>mu -</i>	<i>ḥa -</i>	<i>aḅ - bi it</i>
	[ALAM		I]MI -	GIM		<i>mu</i>	<i>uḳ -</i>	<i>tab li</i>
	[. ⁴ -GUL]-GUL-LA					<i>ki - ma</i>	<i>ša - lam</i>	<i>ṭi - ṭi - im</i>
	[.]			GA		<i>mu -</i>	<i>bi -</i>	<i>it - ti</i>
	[.]					<i>pu</i>	<i>uš</i>	<i>ki</i>
20	[.]				20	[šadē	w]a	aš tu tim
	[.]					[.]		

TRANSLATION.

COL. I.

Bēl hath bestowed lordly rank upon thee.

For whom, then, dost thou wait ?

Sin hath invested thee with princely power.

For whom, then, dost thou wait ?

Ninib hath given thee a noble weapon.

For whom, then, dost thou wait ?

Ištar hath granted thee the contest and the battle.

For whom, then, dost thou wait ?

¹ There is no equivalent for *māt* (KALAM) in the Sumerian version.

² The value of this sign is uncertain.

³ Jensen suggests the restoration [ME (= *taḥazu*)] -AG, literally "the maker of war," as the equivalent of *muḫtabli*.

⁴ Two signs at least are wanting at the beginning of the line, which may perhaps be restored [MU-UN-GUL]-GUL-LA; *mu'abbīt* (ii, 1, *abātu*) might be expected in the Semitic version rather than *muḥabbīt* (ii, 1, *ḥabātu*), and it is possible that *ḥa* is here employed merely for the breathing.

Šamaš and Rammān are thy guardians.
For whom, then, dost thou wait?

COL. II.

Establish thy might.
In the four quarters of the world . . .
May thy name be proclaimed.
May mankind in its myriads
Address supplication unto thee.
May they bow down their faces
In reverence before thee.
Let them celebrate
Thy great glory.
Let them tender their obedience
Unto thy supremacy.

COL. III.

[Only the ends of a few lines of the Semitic Version have been preserved.]

COL. IV.

He hath established.¹
He hath made glorious for future days
The greatness of his power—
Hammurabi, the king, the strong warrior,
The destroyer of his foes.
He is the hurricane of the battle,
He casteth down the land of his enemy.
He bringeth opposition to nought,
And he putteth an end to insurrection.
He destroyeth the warrior
Like an image of clay.
And he breaketh through the barrier
Of impassable mountains.

¹ The beginning of this sentence occurred at the end of Col. III.

II.

BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION RECORDING
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITY OF SIPPAR.

TRANSLITERATION.

SUMERIAN VERSION.				SEMITIC VERSION.			
[Brit. Mus., No. 12,212; pl. 102, No. 58.]				[Brit. Mus., No. 12,216; pl. 97, No. 57.]			
COL. I.				COL. I.			
<i>Ha</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>ra bi</i>	<i>Ḥa</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>ra bi</i>
LUGAL		LIG	GA	<i>šarru</i>		<i>da</i>	<i>num</i>
LUGAL	KA-DINGIR-RA(KI)			<i>šar</i>			<i>Bābili</i> ^{KI}
LUGAL	(AN)UB-DA	TAB-TAB		<i>šar</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ib</i>	<i>ra tim</i>
				5	<i>ar -</i>	<i>ba -</i>	<i>im</i>
5 KALAMA	DIM - DIM	ME		<i>ba -</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>tim</i>
LUGAL	NIG AG AG	BI		<i>šarru</i>	<i>ša ip -</i>	<i>ša - tu -</i>	<i>šu</i>
SU	(DINGIR)	UTU		<i>a - na</i>	<i>ši ir</i>	<i>Šamaš</i> ^{III}	
(DINGIR)	<i>Marduk</i>	RA		<i>u</i>	<i>Šamaš</i> ^{III}	<i>ta -</i>	<i>ba</i>
BA - DUG - GA		ME - EN		10	<i>a -</i>	<i>na -</i>	<i>ku</i>
10 BAD		ZIMBIR(KI)					<i>dūru</i>
					<i>ša</i>		<i>Sippar</i> ^{KI}
SAḤAR -		TA		<i>in</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>pi -</i>	<i>ri</i>
ḤAR - SAG - GAL - GIM				<i>ki -</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>sa -</i>	<i>tu - im</i>
				15	<i>ra -</i>	<i>bi -</i>	<i>im</i>
SAG -		BI		<i>ri -</i>		<i>ši -</i>	<i>šu</i>
ḤE -	MI -	IL ¹		<i>lu -</i>	<i>u -</i>	<i>ul -</i>	<i>li</i>
15 SUG ² -RA	ḤU-MU-NI-NIGIN ³			<i>ap -</i>	<i>pa -</i>	<i>ra -</i>	<i>am</i>

¹ Var. ḤE-IM-MI-IL.² Jensen (*Keilins. Bibl.*, iii, 1, p. 118) suggests the reading APPAR for the sign.³ Cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, Nos. 10,328 and 10,339.

SUMERIAN VERSION.				SEMITIC VERSION.			
					<i>lu - uš - ta - aš hi - ir - šu</i> ¹		
(ID)	UD - KIB	NUN	20	^{nāru} UD -	KIB -	NUN	
ZIMBIR(KI)		KU		<i>a na</i>		<i>Sippar</i> ^{KI}	
ḪU -	MU	BA - AL		<i>lu uḫ ri - a - am ma</i>			
KAR	SILIM	MA GE		<i>kār šu - ul - mi - im</i>			
20	ḪU -	MU NI - UŠ		COL. II.			
COL. II.				<i>lu - u - um mi su</i>			
	<i>Ḫa - am mu - ra - bi</i>		25	<i>Ḫa - am mu - ra - bi</i>			
KALAMA	DIM - DIM - ME	²		<i>ba - ni ma - tim</i>			
LUGAL	NIG - AG - AG - BI			<i>šarru ša ip - ša - tu - šu</i>			
SU	(DINGIR) UTU			<i>a - na ši - ir</i> ^{itu} <i>Šamaš</i>			
25	(DINGIR) <i>Marduk</i> - RA			<i>u</i> ^{itu} <i>Marduk ta - ba</i>			
BA - DUG - GA	ME - EN		30	<i>a - na - ku</i>			
ZIMBIR	(KI)			<i>Sippar</i>			
KA	DINGIR - RA (KI) -			<i>u</i>		<i>Bābilu</i> ^{KI}	
	BI - DA - GE	³					
30	KI DUR	NE - ḪA		<i>šu ba - at ne iḫ - tim</i>			
DU -	URU -	KU	⁴	<i>a - na dārātim(a - tim)</i>			
ḪE -	IM - MI	DUR		35 <i>lu - u še - ši - ib</i>			
<i>Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi</i>				<i>Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi</i>			
ŠE - GA	(DINGIR) UTU			<i>mi - gi - ir</i> ^{itu} <i>Šamaš</i>			
35	KI-AG (DINGIR) <i>Marduk</i> ME-EN			<i>na ra - am</i> ^{itu} <i>Marduk</i>			
				<i>a - na - ku</i>			
UD -	UL - LI - A - TA		40	<i>ša iš - tu u - um</i>			
				<i>ši - a - tim</i>			

¹ Var. *lu-u-uš-ta-aš-hi-ir-šu*.

² Var. DIM-DIM.

³ There is nothing wanting at the beginning of this line; the copula BI-DA-GE joins ZIMBIR(KI) and KA-DINGIR-RA(KI).

⁴ One duplicate omits this line.

SUMERIAN VERSION.				SEMITIC VERSION.			
LUGAL	LUGAL - E	NE - IR		<i>šarru</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>šarri</i>	<i>ali</i> ¹
BA - RA	AN	DIM - MA		<i>la</i>	<i>ib</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>u</i>
(DINGIR)	UTU	LUGAL-MA		<i>a na</i>	ⁱⁱⁱ <i>Šamaš</i>	<i>be - li</i>	<i>ia</i>
40 GAL	BI	ĤU - MU - NA - RU	45	<i>ru</i>		<i>bi</i>	<i>iš</i>
				<i>lu</i>	<i>e - pu - uš - su - un</i>		

TRANSLATION.

Ĥammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of the four quarters, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds are well-pleasing unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk, am I.

The summit of the wall of Sippar I have raised with earth like unto a great mountain. I have compassed it about with a swamp. I have digged out the Euphrates² unto Sippar, and I have set up a wall of safety for it.

Ĥammurabi, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds are well-pleasing unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk, am I. I have caused Sippar and Babylon to dwell continuously in a peaceful habitation. Ĥammurabi, the darling of Šamaš, the beloved of Marduk, am I. That which from days of old no king had built for the king of the city,³ for Šamaš my lord I have gloriously accomplished.

¹ The sign URU (*ali*) is read by all the duplicates.

² (ID)UD-KIB-NUN is probably an abbreviation of (ID)UD-KIB-NUN-KI, the Euphrates.

³ That is, "for his city-god"; the Sumerian version reads LUGAL-E-NE-IR, "for his kings," i.e. his gods.

III.

SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION RECORDING THE
BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN-GOD
IN LARSAM.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,219; pl. 121, No. 62.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. (DINGIR)			UTU
EN	AN -	KI	BI - DA
LUGAL -	A	NI	IR
<i>Ha</i> -	<i>am</i> -	<i>mu</i>	<i>ra</i> - <i>bi</i>
5 GU -		DE -	A 5
		AN -	NA
(DINGIR)	EN	LIL	DA -
		GA	NI
ŠE -	GA	(DINGIR)	UTU
10 SIBA		KI -	AG 10
(DINGIR)		<i>Marduk</i>	GE
LUGAL		LIG -	GA
LUGAL	KA	DINGIR - RA	(KI)
LUGAL		KI -	EN - GI
15		(KI)	URDU 15
LUGAL	(AN)	UB	DA
	TAB	TAB -	BA - GE

	LUGAL		BARA -	BARA	
	DINGIR -	GAL	GAL -	E -	NE
REV. ŠU -					GI 20
		NE -	IN -	AG -	A
UD		(DINGIR)			UTU
KI -	EN -	GI	(KI)		URDU
NAM -		EN -			BI
25			AG -		NE 25
MU	NA		AN		SUM -
			MA		TA
DUR			KA -		BI
ŠU			NI		KU
30 NE -	IN -		SI -		A ¹ 30
	(DINGIR)				UTU
EN			ŠI +		UM ²
	TI		LA -	NI -	IR
ARARMA			(KI)		MA
35 URU		NAM	EN	NA	35
			KA -		NA
E -					BABBAR
E -	KI -	AG -	GA -		NI
MU	NA -	NI -	IN		RU

¹ It is possible that SI-A should be taken as a single sign; cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 3,739.

² The value of the sign šī + UM is unknown; here and in No. 61, l. 26, it is probably the equivalent of *tukultu*, "help" (i.e. "helper, protector"), in which sense the sign occurs in proper names.

TRANSLATION.

For Šamaš, the lord of heaven and earth, his king, Ḥammurabi, the minister of Anu, the servant³ of Bēl, the beloved of Šamaš, the shepherd who delighteth Marduk's heart, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumēr and Akkad, the king of the four quarters of the world, the king who hath built anew the shrines of the great gods,—when Šamaš gave unto him Sumēr and Akkad to rule, and entrusted their sceptre⁴ to his hands, then did (Ḥammurabi) build for Šamaš, the lord who is the protector of his life, the temple E-babbar, his beloved temple, in Larsam, the city of his rule.

³ Three of the phrases in ll. 5-11 correspond to those in the Semitic inscription No. 94, ll. 10-17, which read: *na-bi-u An-nim* [. . .]-*mu* ^{itu} *Bēl* [*mi*]-*gi-ir* ^{itu} *Samaš rē'ū na-ra-am* ^{itu} *Marduk*. It is therefore probable that the remaining phrase (DINGIR) EN-LIL DA-GA-NI = [. . .]-*mu* ^{itu} *Bēl*, which may perhaps be restored as [*še*]-*mu* ^{itu} *Bēl* (see below, *sub* No. 94).

⁴ DUR-KA is the Sumerian equivalent of *širratu* (No. 94, l. 28, and No. 95, l. 14); the exact meaning of the word is uncertain, though it is clearly either an object, or a symbol, of power.

IV.

SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION UPON BRICKS FROM
THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN-GOD IN THE
CITY OF LARSAM.

[Brit. Mus., No. 121; pl. 124, No. 63.]

TRANSLITERATION.

<i>Ha</i> -	<i>am</i> -	<i>mu</i>
	<i>ra</i>	<i>bi</i>
LUGAL	LIG	GA
		LUGAL
5 KA	DINGIR - RA	(KI) 5
LUGAL	(AN)	UB - DA
	TAB TAB -	BA GE
BA -		DIM
E		BABBAR
10 E	(DINGIR)	UTU 10
ARARMA		(KI)
	MA	TA

TRANSLATION.

Ḥammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of the four quarters of the world, hath built E-babbar, the temple of Šamaš, in the city of Larsam.¹

¹ The preceding inscription, which also records the building of E-babbar by Ḥammurabi, was probably deposited in the temple. The bricks on which the above inscription is found were built into its walls.

V.

SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION RECORDING THE
BUILDING OF A TEMPLE TO THE GODDESS
NINNI.

[Brit. Mus., No. 12,068 ; pl. 118, No. 61.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. (DINGIR)				NINNI
	ZA -	RI	UNU	(KI)
NIN	ME	LAM -	MA	NI
AN	KI -	A	DUL -	LA
5 NIN	A	NI	IR	5
<i>Ĥa -</i>	<i>am -</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>ra -</i>	<i>bi</i>
GU	DE -	A	AN	NA
(DINGIR)	EN -	LIL	DA	
		GA -	NI	
10 ŠE -	GA	(DINGIR)	UTU	10
SIBA	ŠAG -	DUG -	DUG	
(DINGIR)		<i>Marduk -</i>	GE	
NUN	ŠAG -	KI	AG	
(DINGIR)		NINNI	GE	
15 LUGAL		LIG -	GA	15
LUGAL	KA	DINGIR	RA	(KI)
LUGAL		KI	EN -	GI
		(KI)	URDU	
LUGAL	(AN)	UB -	DA	
20	TAB -	TAB -	BA -	GE 20
REV. LUGAL		BARA	BARA	
DINGIR	GAL -	GAL -	E	NE
ŠU -			GI	
NE	IN -	AG	A	
25 UD	(DINGIR)		NINNI	25

	ŠI	+	UM ¹	ŠAG -	GA	NI	
	KI		EN	GI(KI)		URDU	
	NAM -		EN	BI	AG -	NE	
	MU		NA	AN -		SUM	
30				MA -		TA	30
	DUR			KA -		BI	
	ŠU -			NI -		KU	
	NE		IN		SI	A	
	(DINGIR)					NINNI	
35	KI -		AG -	GA -	NI	IR	35
	ZA -		RI	UNU		(KI)	
	URU		NAM	NIN	A	KA	NA
	E		ZI	KALAM		MA	
	E		KI	AG -	GA	NI	
40	MU		NA -	NI -	IN	RU	40

TRANSLATION.

For Ninni of the city of Ḫallab, the lady whose splendour covereth² heaven and earth, his lady, Ḫammurabi, the minister of Anu, the servant³ of Bēl, the beloved of Šamaš, the shepherd who delighteth Marduk's heart, the prince who is dear to the heart of Ninni, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumēr and Akkad, the king of the four quarters of the world, the king who hath built anew the shrines of the great gods,—when Ninni, the protector of his prosperity, gave unto him Sumēr and Akkad to rule, and entrusted their sceptre to his hands, then did (Ḫammurabi) build for Ninni, who is beloved by him, the temple E-zi-kalama, the temple, which she loveth, in Ḫallab, the city of her sway.

¹ For the meaning of this sign, see above, p. 181, note 2.

² The sign is clearly DUL (= *katāmu*).

³ See above, p. 182, note 3.

VI.

INSCRIPTION RECORDING THE BUILDING OF
THE TEMPLE E-ZIDA.

[L. (Louvre) ; pl. 182, No. 94.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	a -	na		^{itu} Marduk	
	be -		li -	im	
			ra -	bi -	im
	na -	di -	in	ḫegalli	
5	a -	na		ili	5
	be -	el	E	sag -	il
	u		E -	zi -	da
	be -		li -	šu	
	Ḥa -	am -	mu -	ra -	bi
10	na		bi	u	10
			An -	nim	
	[šé] -			mu	
				^{itu} Bēl	
	[mi]		gi -	ir	
15	^{itu} rē'ū		na -	ra -	am
	^{itu} šarru			Marduk	
			da -	num	
REV.	šar			māt	
20		Šu -	me -	ri -	im
	u	Ak -	ka -	di -	im
	šar	ki -	ib -	ra -	tim
	ar -		ba -	im	
	ni	nu		^{itu} Bēl	
25	māta		u	ni -	šim
	a -	na	be -	li -	im

	<i>id</i>	<i>di -</i>	<i>nu -</i>	<i>šum</i>
	<i>ši</i>	<i>ir -</i>	<i>ra -</i>	<i>zi - na</i>
	<i>a -</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ga -</i>	<i>ti - šu</i>
30	<i>u</i>	<i>ma -</i>	<i>al -</i>	<i>lu - u</i> 30
	<i>a -</i>	<i>na</i>		^{itu} <i>Marduk</i>
	<i>ili</i>	<i>ba -</i>	<i>ni -</i>	<i>šu</i>
	<i>in</i>	<i>Bar -</i>	<i>zi -</i>	<i>pa</i> ^{KI}
	<i>ali</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ra -</i>	<i>mi - šu</i>
35	<i>E -</i>		<i>zi</i>	<i>da</i> 35
	<i>parakka -</i>	<i>šu</i>	<i>el -</i>	<i>lam</i>
	<i>ib -</i>		<i>ni -</i>	<i>šum</i>

TRANSLATION.

For Marduk, the great lord, the giver of abundance, for the god who is lord of E-sagil and E-zida, for his own lord, Ḥammurabi, the minister of Anu, the servant¹ of Bēl, the darling of Šamaš, the shepherd who is beloved of Marduk, the mighty king, the king of the land of Sumēr and Akkad, the king of the four quarters of the world,—when Bēl gave him the land and the people to rule, and entrusted their sceptre to his hands, for Marduk, the god who begat him, did he build E-zida, his bright temple, in Borsippa, the city which is beloved of him.

¹ In ll. 10-17 Ḥammurabi describes his relations to the four gods Anu, Bēl, Šamaš, and Marduk, and in No. 59, ll. 7-10, he describes his relations to Bēl, Ninib, Šamaš, and Marduk. Of the expressions employed in the two passages, *mi-gir*^{itu} *Bēl* (No. 59) corresponds to *mi-gi-ir*^{itu} *Šamaš*, and *ri²-u na-ram*^{itu} *Nin-iḅ* (No. 59) corresponds to *rē²ū na-ra-am*^{itu} *Marduk*. It is therefore not unlikely that *še-mu-u*^{itu} *Šamaš* (No. 59) corresponds to [. . .]-*mu*^{itu} *Bēl*. Moreover, the break at the beginning of the line only admits of the restoration of a small character such as *še*.

VII.

INSCRIPTION RECORDING THE CUTTING OF
THE NUḤUŠ-NIŠI CANAL.

[L. (Louvre); pl. 185, No. 95.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi
 šarru da - num
 šar Bābīlī^{KI}
 šarru mu - uš - te - eš - mi
 5 ki - ib ra - tim ar - ba - im 5
 ka - ši - id ir - ni - ti
 ^{III} Marduk
 rē'ū mu ti - ib
 li - ib - bi šu a - na - ku
 10 ni nu Anu u ^{III}Bēl 10
 māt Šu me - er - im
 u Ak - ka di - im
 a - na be - li - im id - di - nu nim
 ši ir - ra - zi - na
 15 a - na ga ti - i a 15
 u - ma - al - lu - u
 nār Ḥa - am mu ra - bi
 Nu - ḥu - uš ni - ši

ba - bi - la - at me - e ħegalli
 20 a na māt Šu - me - er - im 20
 u Ak - ka - di - im
 lu aḥ - ri
 ki ša - di ša ki - la - li - en
 a - na me - ri - šim lu u - te - ir
 25 ka - ri - e aš na an 25
 lu aš taḥ pa ak
 me - e da - ru tim
 a - na māt Šu - me - er - im
 u Ak ka di im
 30 lu aš - ku - un 30
 REV. māt Šu - me er - im
 u Ak ka - di - im
 ni ši - šu nu sa - ap - ḥa - tim
 lu - u pa - aḥ - ḥi ir
 35 mi - ri tu u ma - aš - ki - tu 35
 lu aš ku un ši na ši - im
 in nu uḥ šim u ħegalli
 lu e - ri - ši na - ti
 šu ba - at ne - iḥ - tim
 40 lu u - še - ši - ib - ši - na - ti 40
 i - nu mi šu
 Ḥa - am - mu ra - bi
 šarru da - num
 mi gir ilāni rabūti a - na - ku
 45 in e - mu - ki - in 45

ga - aš ra - im
 ša ^{inu} Marduk id - di nam
 dūra ši ra - am
 in e - bi ri ra bu tim
 50 ša r[i] ša - šu nu 50
 ki ma sa - tu im e li - a
 in rēš nār Ḥa - am mu ra - bi
 Nu - lu - uš ni ši
 lu e - pu uš
 55 dūra šu a - ti 55
 Dūr - ^{inu} Sin mu ba li iṭ^{KI}
 a bi im wa li - di - ia
 a - na šu - mi - im lu ab - bi
 zi - kir ^{inu} Sin - mu ba li iṭ
 60 a - bi im wa - li - di ia 60
 in ki ib - ra tim
 lu u s'[e] - s'[ib]

TRANSLATION.

Ḥammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king who hath brought to subjection the four quarters of the world, who hath brought about the triumph of Marduk, the shepherd who delighteth his heart, am I.

When Anu and Bēl gave (me) the land of Sumēr and Akkad to rule and entrusted their sceptre to my hands, I dug out the Ḥammurabi-canal (named)

Nuḥuš-niši,¹ which bringeth abundance of water unto the land of Sumēr and Akkad. Both the banks thereof I changed² to fields for cultivation, and I garnered piles of grain, and I procured unfailing water for the land of Sumēr and Akkad.

As for the land of Sumēr and Akkad, I collected the scattered peoples thereof, and I procured food and drink for them. In abundance and plenty I pastured them, and I caused them to dwell in a peaceful habitation.

At that time I, Ḥammurabi, the mighty king, the beloved of the great gods, through the great power which Marduk had bestowed (upon me), built a lofty fortress,³ at the head of the Ḥammurabi-canal (named) Nuḥuš-niši, with much earth, the top of which reacheth on high like unto a mountain. This fortress I named Dūr-Sin-muballiṭ-abim-walidia, (and thus) did I cause the name of Sin-muballiṭ, the father who begat me, to dwell in the (four) quarters of the world.

¹ That is, "The abundance of the people."

² The verb probably implies "to change, to convert," not "to restore, to turn back into."

³ Or "wall."

VIII.

INSCRIPTION RECORDING THE BUILDING OF
A GRANARY IN BABYLON.

[Brit. Mus., No. 81-8-30, 9; pl. 106, No. 59.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	a -	na			^{itu} Bēl
	be -	li			rabī(i)
	ša	šamē(e)	u		iršitū(tim)
	šar				ilāni
5	be -		li -		ia 5
	Ḥa -	am	mu -	ra -	bi
	ru	bu - u	me - gir		^{itu} Bēl
	ri	' u	na - ram		^{itu} Nin ib
	pal - ḥu	še - mu - u			^{itu} Šamaš
10	mu -	tib	lib - bi		^{itu} Marduk 10
	šarru		dan -		nu
	šar				Bābili ^{KI}
	aš	ru		pal -	ḥu
REV.	[.]			a - na -	k[u]
15	[ni n]u	^{itu} Bēl	nišē ^{PI}	māti	šu 15
	a - na	be - lu	ti	e - pi -	ši
	id - di -	na	šir -	ri - is -	sa
	a	na		ḫāti	ia
	u -	ma		al -	li
20	i -	nu	šu		Bābili ^{KI} 20
	alī	na -	ar -	me -	šu
	bīt		šu	tum	me

ḫu ud lib - bi - šu e pu uš

ša eli musarē(e) ' ša E nam - ti - la
 25 *ša Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi šarri^m Ri-mut^{iu} Gu-la* 25
apil^{amēiu} SAG-ŠAB^{amēiu} ŠAGAN-LAL-NAB-TUR iš-ṭur-ma
a-na balāṭ napšāti^{p1}-šu ṭub(ub) lib-bi-šu u šemī su-pi-e-šu
i-na E-zi-da bīt na-ram^{iu} Nabū u-ki-in

TRANSLATION.

For Bēl, the great lord of heaven and earth, king of the gods, my lord, I, Ḫammurabi, the prince in whom Bēl taketh delight, the beloved shepherd of Ninib, the reverent one who showeth obedience unto Šamaš and maketh glad the heart of Marduk, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the humble and reverent one [. . .],—when Bēl gave (me) the peoples of his land to rule and set the sceptre thereof within my hands, I made (in) Babylon, his beloved city, a granary to rejoice his heart.

(This copy¹ of an inscription), which (was engraved) upon a tablet in the temple of E-namtila by Ḫammurabi, the king, Rīmūt-Gula, son of a captain of the host, a . . . , hath written and hath placed it in E-zida, the beloved temple of Nabū, in the hope that his life may be preserved, and that his heart may be made glad, and that his prayers may be answered.

¹ The copy is on clay, and was made in the Neo-Babylonian period.

IX.

INSCRIPTION FROM THE PALACE OF
ḤAMMURABI.

[Brit. Mus., Nos. 22,455 and 22,456; pl. 125, Nos. 64 and 65.]

TRANSLITERATION.

ekal Ḥa - am - mu - ra - bi

TRANSLATION.

Palace of Ḥammurabi.

X.

FRAGMENT OF AN INSCRIPTION.

[Brit. Mus., No. 36,255; pl. 190, No. 96.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV., COL. I. [Wanting.]

COL. II. *Ḥa am - mu - ra - bi*
šarru da - num

REV., COL. III. [Wanting.]

COL. IV.

¹[. . . .] - *bi*, ²[. . . .] - *ku*³[. . . .] - *bi*, ⁴[. . . .] - *ku*

.

TRANSLATION.

. . . . Ḥammurabi, the mighty king,¹

¹ The text is inscribed upon a clay tablet, and was copied from an ancient inscription which was probably engraved upon stone and must have resembled the stone tablets of Samsu-iluna (see below, p. 199). The original from which the copy was made was in bad condition, for the scribe has left his third column blank with the exception of two notes in smaller characters, *ḥi-b[i]* and *ḥi-bu-u*, i.e. "broken, destroyed." Like No. VIII the copy was made in the Neo-Babylonian period.

VIII.
INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO
HAMMURABI.

I.

VOTIVE INSCRIPTION IN SUMERIAN.

[Brit. Mus., No. 22,454; pl. 126, No. 66.]

TRANSLITERATION.

COL. I.	[.]	<i>ra -</i>	<i>tum</i>
	E - GI - A ¹	AN	NA
	NAM - NIN A	TUM -	MA
	NIN HI LI	MA AZ -	BI
5	HAR	SAG -	GA 5
	SAL z[I] - DE EŠ	DUG	GA
	NIN ŠAG -	LAL -	SUD
	NITA DAM A	NI	IR
	INIM IM TUK - BI	ŠAG -	GI
10	NIN - A	NI	IR 10
COL. II.	NAM -	[TI(L)]	
	<i>Ha - am - mu - r[a - bi]</i>		
	LUGAL	MAR -	[TU]
	<i>l bi - rum</i> [.]		
15	<i>ra - bi - a - an</i> (ID) [.]	15	
	DU ŠU BA AN - [.]		
	ALAD ME-TE NAM-DIN	[GIR-RA-NI]	
	KI - DUR KI AG	G[A NI KU]	
	URU - IM - [.]		
20	IGI - E - DI - NE	N[E - GIN GIN] 20	

¹ There is probably no sign wanting after A; if the marks are traces of a character, DINGIR is possible, though Anu's name is usually written without the determinative.

TRANSLATION.

For [. . .]ratum,¹ the bride of Anu, who hath attained to (?) dominion, the lady of strength and abundance,² (the lady of ?) the mountain,³ (whose worship) is carefully tended, the merciful lady, who for her spouse maketh favourable her exalted word, for his lady, on behalf of the life of Ḫammurabi, the king of Martu, Ibirum[. . . .], the *rabianu* of the (district of the) river [. . . .], the son of Šuban[. . . .], hath marvellously fashioned⁴ a guardian image⁵ worthy of her divinity, for her service (?) within the dwelling which is beloved of her.

¹ We should expect here the name of the deity in whose honour the inscription was set up, and who from l. 2 is clearly the goddess Anatu. If the name or title is Semitic, as its form suggests, it may possibly be restored as [*šar*]-*ra-tum*, "queen"; the preposition *ana* is necessarily absent, as the inscription itself is Sumerian, and the postposition *IR* occurs in l. 10.

² In Semitic *bēlīt kuzbi u ulši*.

³ It is not clear whether ḪAR-SAG GA is to be taken by itself or with the lines which precede or follow it; perhaps it should be translated "my mountain," a phrase descriptive of the goddess's strength.

⁴ In Semitic *ana tabrāti ušālik*.

⁵ It may be inferred that the flat slab on which the inscription is engraved did not form part of the ALAD, or "guardian image," but was set up in the temple of the goddess as a record of Ibirum's piety. On the slab beside the inscription is a figure in relief, a photograph of which has been reproduced as the frontispiece to the present volume; we may probably see in this figure a representation of Ḫammurabi (see above, Introduction).

II.

FRAGMENT OF A SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION.

[Brit. Mus., No. N. 1,667; pl. 128, No. 67.]

TRANSLITERATION.

[.]
 [. . .] - NE - AG - [. . .]
 [A]R - KU - MU - [. . . .]
 [. . .] - LI - NE - A[G -]
 5 [. . .] BA - RA - MU - [. . .] 5
 E - [. . . .]
Ha - *am* - *mu* - [*ra* - *bi*]
 NAM LUGAL - [A]
 KALAM - MA PA UD - D[U]
 IO AG - A - ME - E[N] IO
 UD (DINGIR)EN - LIL - [. . . .]
 [.]

[Both the beginning and the end of the column are wanting.]

SUMMARY.

These few words from an inscription referring to Hammurabi are engraved upon a fragment of basalt. The fragment is some three inches in thickness, and probably formed part of a statue. It is possible that we should translate ll. 7 ff. as "I, Hammurabi, am the creator of the kingdom and the land," in which case we may conclude that the fragment is part of a statue of Hammurabi himself.

III.

FRAGMENT OF A SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION.

[Brit. Mus., No. 80-11-12, 329; pl. 129, No. 68.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.
Su - mu la - [ilu]
 DU [. . .] - DUN - [. . .]
Sa - am - su - i lu n[a]
 5 [. . .] [.] 5
 [NAM] - LUGAL - [.]

REV.
 TIG (ID) *A - ra - ah - [. . .]*
 KA - [.]
Ḥa - am - mu ra - [bi]
 AD - DA [.]
 5 [N]E - IN RU - [.] 5
 [NA]M - TIL - BI - [KU]
 [.] - GUL - [.]
 [. M]U R[U]

TRANSLATION.

OBV. Sumula-ilu, the son of [. . .]dun[. . .],
 Samsu-iluna [.] the kingdom

REV. on the bank of the river Araḥ[.],
 did Ḥammurabi, the *adda* [.], build for
 the preservation of his own life¹

¹ The text is inscribed upon a clay tablet, and is probably a Neo-Babylonian copy made from an older original. So little has been preserved that it is not clear in what connection Sumula-ilu and Samsu-iluna are mentioned on the obverse. The reverse refers to the building of a wall, or fortress, on the banks of a river; from l. 6 it may be inferred that the building was dedicated to a god or goddess.

IX.
INSCRIPTIONS OF OTHER KINGS
OF THE FIRST DYNASTY.

I.

BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF SAMSU-ILUNA
RECORDING HIS BUILDING OPERATIONS.

TRANSLITERATION.

SUMERIAN VERSION.

[Brit. Mus., Nos. 22,507 and
91,083; pl. 199 ff., Nos. 98 and 99.¹]

COL. I.

UD ANA (DINGIR) EN-LIL

LUGAL AN - KI - BI - DA - GE

(DINGIR) *Marduk* DU-SAG

(DINGIR) EN - KI - KA - RA

5 ŠI - HUL LA - NE³ - NE A

IN - ŠI IN - BAR RI - EŠ - A

SEMITIC VERSION.

[Brit. Mus., No. 38,402; pl. 191,
No. 97.²]

COL. I.

[*Ni nu Anu* ⁱⁱⁱ*Bē*] *l*

[*šarru ša šamē u*] *iršiti*

[*a - na* ⁱⁱⁱ*Mar*] *duk*

[*māri ri - eš - ti*] - *im*

5 [*ša* ⁱⁱⁱ*E*] *a*

[*ha - di - iš ip*] *pa*

[*al - su*] - *šum*⁴

¹ The Sumerian version is taken from No. 99, with restorations from No. 98; the variant readings of No. 98 are given in the footnotes.

² The variant readings and most of the restorations in the Semitic version are taken from the tablet in Berlin, published by Winckler, *Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte*, pl. 29; some restorations are based on the Sumerian version.

³ Var. NI.

⁴ Var. *ip-pal-su-šum*.

SUMERIAN VERSION.		SEMITIC VERSION.	
NAM-EN UB-DA TAB-TAB-BA		[<i>be lu - ut ki</i>] - <i>ib - ra - at</i>	
		[<i>ar - b</i>] <i>a - im</i>	
MU - NA - AN - SUM - MU - UŠ - A	IO	[<i>i - ti</i>] <i>nu - šum</i>	
(DINGIR) A - NUN - NA - GE - NE - IR		[<i>in^{iu}</i>] <i>A nun - na - ki</i>	
IO MU MAḤ A MI - NI -		[<i>šu - ma - a</i>] <i>m ši ra - am</i>	
IN - SA - EŠ - A		[<i>i - b</i>] <i>i - u - šu</i>	
KA - DINGIR RA(KI)		[<i>Bābil</i>] <i>u^{Kr} išda - šu</i>	
GIRI - BI AN KI - GIM	15	[<i>ki - ma šamē</i>] <i>u iršiti</i>	
MU - NA - AN -		[<i>u - ki - i</i>] <i>n - nu šum</i>	
15 GI - NI - EŠ - A			
UD - BA (DINGIR) <i>Marduk</i>		[<i>i - nu - šu</i>] <i>^{iu} Marduk</i>	
(DINGIR) EN - LIL		[<i>^{iu} Bē</i>] <i>l ma - ti - šu</i>	
KALAM - MA NA			
AN NAM - AZAG - ZU		[. ¹] <i>ne - me - ki - im</i>	
20 AN DIM - DIM - ME - A			
<i>Sa am - su - i - lu na</i>	20	[<i>a - na Sa - a</i>] <i>m - su - i - lu - na</i>	
LUGAL LA - LA - NI		[<i>šar la - l</i>] <i>i - šu ia - ti²</i>	
NI - ME - EN - NA - T[A]			
KUR - KUR - NIGIN BA ³ - BI		[<i>naphar ma - ta - tim a - n</i>] <i>a ri - ia - im</i>	
25 NAM - SIBA - BI AG NE			
COL. II.			
MA - AN SUM		[<i>i - d</i>] <i>in - nam</i>	
KALAM - MA - NI		[<i>u māt - su⁴ a</i>] - <i>bur - ri -</i>	

¹ Winckler gives the reading of the Berlin tablet as . . . -*pi-ir*, which, if correct, may possibly be restored as [*a*]-*pi-ir*. Although the restoration of the word is uncertain, the general meaning of the phrase is clear.

² Var. *ia-a-ti*.

³ No. 98 inserts A.

⁴ This is possibly the reading of the Berlin tablet; cf. *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. iv, pl. 12, Obv., l. 19 f., KALAM-MA-A-NI U-SAL-LA NA-DA = *māt-su a-bur-riš šur-bu-ši*.

SUMERIAN VERSION.		SEMITIC VERSION.	
U	SAL - LA NA - NE ¹	25	[iš šu - ur - b]u - ša - am
UKU	DAGAL LA - NI		[ni - ši - im ra - a]p - ša - tim
30	SILIM - MA DU URU - KU		[in šu - ul] - mi - im
	TUM - TUM - MU - NE		[a-na da-ar ²] -ra-am
A -	GAL		[ra - bi - iš lu u] - wa -
	ĤU - MU - DA - AN - AG	30	[e - ra an - n]i
	Sa - am - su - i lu - na		[Sa - am - su - i - lu - na]
COL. II.			
35	LUGAL LIG - GA		šarru da - nam
	LUGAL KA-DINGIR-RA(KI)		šar Bābili ^{KI}
	LUGAL (AN)UB-DA TAB-TAB-BA		šarru mu uš - te - eš - mi
	GU - UR - A	35	ki - ib - ra - at
	NE-IN - SIG - GA - ME - EN		ar - ba - im a - na - ku
40	A - KAL - IM - GA		in e - mu uk ³
	ŠI - IG - GAL - MU - TA		ra - ma - ni - ia
	BAD - (DINGIR) ZA - KAR		in birit uzni - ia
	(DINGIR) EN-LIL-[LA(KI)]	40	ra - bi - im
	(DINGIR) NIN-ĤAR-SAG-GA		Dūr - ^{III} Za - kar Nippuri ^{KI}
45	DAGAL IN - DIM - EN - NA - UŠ		a - na ^{III} Nin - maḥ
	BAD PAD - [DA(KI)]		ummi ba - ni - ti ia
	(DINGIR) MER ID-DAĤ-[MU-GE]	45	Dūr - pad - da ^{KI}
	BAD LA - GA - B[A(KI)]		a - na ^{III} Ranmanu
	(DINGIR) URU - KI		ri - ši - [ia]
			Dūr - la - ga - ba ^{KI}
			a - na ^{III} Si[n]

¹ Var. NA-U-NE.² Possibly restore as [ša-pa]-ra-am, "to rule"; cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 4,899.³ So also the Berlin tablet.

SUMERIAN VERSION.		SEMITIC VERSION.	
50 DINGIR SAG - DU - MU - KU ¹		<i>ili</i>	<i>ba - ni - ia</i>
COL. III.			
BAD - (URU) IA - BU - [GA - NI (KI)]	50	<i>Dūr - ^{aiu} Ia - bu - [ga - ni^{KI}]</i>	
(DINGIR) LUGAL - DIRI ² - TU - GAB		<i>a - na ^{aiu} Lugal - diri - t [u - gab]</i>	
MU - NAM - LUGAL - LA - [MU - UM]		<i>mu - šar - bi³ šar - ru - i [i - ia]</i>	
NE - IB - GU - UL - LA - AŠ			
55 BAD - (URU) GU - LA - BAD (KI)		<i>Dūr - ^{aiu} Gu - la - dūr [u^{4KI} u]</i>	
U BAD - u ši		<i>Dūr - u - ši - a - na - Ur⁴ - r [a^{KI}]</i>	
a na UR - RA (KI)			
(DINGIR) NER URU - GAL	55	<i>a - na ^{aiu} Ner [gal]</i>	
UT - TUN ⁵ MUL - ERIM - MU - UM		<i>ha - ti⁶ ai b [i ia]</i>	
60 NE - IN AG - A - AŠ			
VI BAD - GAL - GAL - LA ⁷ - BI	6	<i>dūrāni rab [ūti]</i>	
		<i>šu - nu [ti]</i>	
<i>Su - mu - la - ilu</i>		<i>ša Su mu - [la - ilu]</i>	
A - A - GU - LA - MU	60	<i>[a bi ra - bi - um]</i>	
COL. III.			
SIG - GI - GA V - KAM - MA - MU		<i>a - [bi a - bi ia]</i>	
65 MI - NI IN RU - A		<i>ha - [am - šum e - pu - šu]</i>	
NAM - SUN - BA IM - TE - A -		<i>in [la - bi - ru - ti - šu nu]</i>	
NE - NE - A		<i>in ra - ma - ni [šu - nu]</i>	
NI - ŠUB - ŠUB - BU - UŠ - A - AN ⁸	65	<i>up - ta - az - z [i zu ma⁹]</i>	

¹ Cf. Brünnow, No. 3,580.

² The sign is clearly written in No. 97, and seems to be DIRI, though this character is usually written SI + A (e.g. l. 79).

³ Var. *mu - šar - bi - u*.

⁴ So also the Berlin tablet.

⁵ I.e. Brünnow, No. 2,697; cf. No. 7,848.

⁶ A closer rendering of the Sumerian would be *ēpiš* (or *šākin*) *tuhtā*.

⁷ LA is omitted by No. 98.

⁸ Cf. *šUB = maḫātu* (Brünnow, No. 1,432).

⁹ II 2, *pasāsu*. The last sign but one in the line is clearly *zu*, not *su*, on the Berlin tablet.

SUMERIAN VERSION.
 ŠAG - ITU - II - KAM - MA - TA
 70 GAR BI MI - NI DU
 GAL BI IM - MI - RU
 SAG-NE-NE ҒAR-SAG-GIM
 MI - NI IL
 NIGIN KUR - KUR RA - GE
 75 GIRI - BI MI - NI - GI - EN

COL. IV.

KA DINGIR - RA(KI)
 MU BI ҒU MU NI-MAҒ
 (AN)UB - DA TAB - TAB - BA
 ҒE - NE - DIRI
 80 NI ME - LAM
 NAM - LUGAL - LA - MU⁵
 ZAG AN - KI - GE
 ҒE - EN - DUL
 ҒAR⁷ - KU - A - AN
 85 DINGIR - GAL GAL - E NE
 ŠIG - GA - NE NE - A

ҒU - MU - ŠI IN
 BAR RI EŠ

SEMITIC VERSION.
in li ib - bu [*arḫu* 2^{KAM}]
libitta - šu - nu al - [*bi in*]
ra - bi iš' e - [*pu us'*]
ra s₁ - šu - [*nu¹*]
 70 *ki - ma sa -* [*tu - im*]
u - ul - [*li*]
*naphar mātātī*² [*išda-ši-na*³]
u - ki - [*in*]

Bābil[*i* ^{KI}]
 75 *šum šu lu - u - ši - ir*
in ki - ib ra - at
ar - ba - im
*lu u ša - tir*⁴
pu - luḫ ti mclam
 80 *šar - ru - ti - ia*
*pa - aṭ ša - me - e*⁶
u ir - ši tim
lu ik - tum
a-na šu-a-ti ilāni rabūti
 85 *in bu - ni - šu - nu na -*
me - ru - tim

COL. IV.

[*lu ip - pa al -*]
 [*su - n*]im

¹ Var. *ri-ši-šu-nu*.² Var. *ma-ta-tim*.³ The Berlin tablet reads *i-šid-si-na*.⁴ Var. *lu-u-ša-tir-šu*.⁵ Var. *NAM-LUGAL-LA-MU-UM*.⁶ Var. *šamē*.⁷ Possibly *TU*.

SUMERIAN VERSION.		SEMITIC VERSION.	
NAM-TI-LA (DINGIR)URU-KI-GIM		[<i>ba - la - ʔam ʃa</i>]	<i>ki - ma</i>
		'90 [^{uu}	S]in
90 ITU-ITU-DA SAR-SAR-DA ¹		[<i>wa - ar - ʔi ʃ</i>]	<i>a - am</i>
		[<i>u - te - i</i>]	<i>d - di - ʃu</i>
NAM-SIBA UB-[D]A ² TAB-TAB-BA		[<i>ri - ia - ut</i>]	<i>ki - ib -</i>
		[<i>ra - tim</i>]	<i>ar ba - im</i>
SILIM - MA DU - URU - KU	95	[<i>in ʃu - u</i>]	<i>l mi - im</i>
AG - DA		[<i>a - na da</i>]	<i>- ar e - bi -</i>
		[<i>ʃa -</i>	<i>am</i>
ŠAG - KUR - ZID DA - MU		[<i>ni - is - m</i>]	<i>a - at</i>
		[<i>li - i</i>]	<i>b - bi ia</i>
95 [DIN]GIR - GIM DI - DI - DA	100	[<i>ki - ma</i>]	<i>ili</i>
		[<i>ka - ʃa</i>]	<i>- dam</i>
UD - ŠU - KU SAG - IL - LA		[<i>u - mi - ʃ</i>]	<i>a - am</i>
		[<i>in ri</i>]	<i>- si - in³</i>
		[<i>e - li</i>]	<i>- a - tim</i>
ASILAL - ŠAG - ʔUL LA - TA	105	[<i>in ri - ʃa</i>]	<i>- a - tim</i>
		[<i>u ʔu - ud l</i>]	<i>i - ib - bi - in</i>
GIN - GIN - DA		[<i>a - ta - a</i>]	<i>l - lu - kam</i>
SAG - E - KU ʔU - MU -		[<i>a - na ʃe - ri</i>]	<i>i ʔ - tim</i>
100 PA - KAB - DU ⁴ - EŠ		[<i>lu is^v r</i>]	<i>u ku - nim⁵</i>

¹ Var. SAR-SAR-DAM.

² Var. (AN)UB-TA.

³ Var. *ri-ʃi-in*.

⁴ PA-KAB-DU, i.e. Brünnow, No. 5,655.

⁵ The colophon to No. 97, of which only a few signs are preserved (see pl. 198), probably described the tablet from which the copy was made, and gave the name of the scribe who made it.

TRANSLATION.

When Anu and Bēl, the king of heaven and earth, looked with joy upon Marduk, the first-born son of Ea, and gave unto him the dominion over the four quarters of the world and called him by an exalted name among the Anunnaki, and established for him the foundation of Babylon like unto heaven and earth, then Marduk, the lord of his land, who is endowed (?) with wisdom, unto me, Samsu-iluna, the king of his abundance, granted the whole of the world to rule, and with majesty he commanded me to settle his own land in security, and to rule the scattered peoples in prosperity for ever.

Samsu-iluna, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king who hath brought to subjection the four quarters of the world, am I. With mine own power and in my great wisdom (I restored) the fortress of Dūr-Zakar in Nippur for the goddess Nin-maḥ,¹ the mother who bore me; the fortress of Dūr-padda for Rammān, my helper; the fortress Dūr-lagaba for Sin, the god who begat me; the fortress Dūr-Iabugani for Lugal-diri-tugab, who hath increased my kingdom; the fortresses of Dūr-Gula-dūru and Dūr-uṣi-ana-Urra for Nergal, who hath overthrown² mine enemies. These six strong fortresses, which Sumula-ilu, my mighty father, the fifth father of my father, had built,

¹ The Sumerian version reads "for the goddess Nin-ḥar-sag."

² The Sumerian version reads "who hath brought about the overthrow of."

in their old age through their own accord had fallen into ruins. In two months I rebuilt their brickwork, I constructed them majestically, I raised their summits like unto a mountain.¹

I have firmly stablished the foundations of all lands, I have exalted the name of Babylon, I have made it great in the four quarters of the world. The fear of the majesty of my kingdom hath covered the bounds of heaven and earth. The great gods with their bright regard beheld this thing, and they bestowed these gifts upon me : (to live) a life which is renewed month by month like the Moon-god ; to wield for ever a peaceful sway over the four quarters of the world ; to attain the desire of my heart like unto a god ; and to walk each day with head raised in joy and gladness of heart.

¹ It is possible that these six *durāmi* were walls, and not fortresses in the strict sense of the term.

II.

SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION OF AMMIDITANA.

[Brit. Mus., No. 38,303 ; pl. 215, No. 100.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. *Am - mi - di - [ta - na]*
 LUGAL LIG - [GA]
 LUGAL KA - DINGIR - RA[(KI)]
 LUGAL KIŠ (KI)
 5 LUGAL KI - EN - GI (KI) U[RDU] 5
 LUGAL DA - GA - M[U]
 (KUR) MAR-TU (KI) A-ME-EN
 (*hi - bi eš - šu*) ŠAG - PAL - [PAL]
 Su - mu - la - ilu - [. . .]
 10 DU UR - SAG - G[A] 10
 A - bi - e - šu - ' A ME EN
 ŠE - G[A] (DINGIR) EN - LIL - LA
 KI - [. . .] AN - [. . .]
 [.]
 REV. [.]
 [. . .] BI [.]
 [. . .] KI-DUR . . .¹ -LAL-[. . .]
 [. . .] NE - NI - DUR - RU

 BAD - BI
 5 (DINGIR) ASARU - MUL - ŠAR² 5

¹ The sign before LAL is that given in Brünnow, No. 4,401.² I.e. Marduk.

MUL-IM-A	NE-IN-BUR-RU-DA-A	
IM KI-A	ḪA RA-AB-GA-GA	
MU-	BI-	I[M]

ša^m i^{tu} Bēl u ša-al li im
 10 *apil^m [. . .] - bi^{amtu} a-ši-pu* 10

SUMMARY.

The inscription is broken, but from what remains of the reverse it may be inferred that it recorded the building of a wall or fortress. The obverse contains the name and titles of Ammiditana, and may be translated as follows:—“Ammiditana, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumēr and Akkad, the king of the . . . of Martu, am I. The [. . .] descendant of Sumula-ilu, the valiant son of Abēšu’, am I. One who tendereth obedience unto Bēl [. . . am I].” The colophon states that the clay tablet on which the text is written was “(the property) of Bēl-ušallim, the son of [. . .]bi, the magician.” The tablet was written in the Neo-Babylonian period, but the text was copied from an older original.¹

¹ The scribe has noted that the first half of l. 8 of the obverse was missing in the original, in consequence of “a recent break” (*hi-bi eš-šu*).

III.

SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION REFERRING TO
AMMIZADUGA.

[Bu. 88-5-12, 48; pl. 130, No. 69.]

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV. (DINGIR)				UTU
EN				GAL
DINGIR -	RI -	E -	NE -	IR
LUGAL				E -
5	DI -		KUD -	TA 5
NAM -			TI -	LA
<i>Am - mi - za</i>			<i>du - ga - a</i>	
LUGAL			LIG -	GA
LUGAL	KA -	DINGIR -	RA(KI)	
10 LUGAL -	A -		NI -	IR 10
<i>Gi -</i>	<i>mil -</i>		<i>in Marduk</i>	
			DI -	KUD
DU	<i>Mi -</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>in Šamaš</i>	
UD	(DINGIR)			UTU
15	LUGAL -		A -	NI 15
SAG	IN -		NA	AN
	DUG -		GA	NI
AN -	DA ¹ -	DU	NA ;	TA
[M]A(?)	LAL		IN	ŠI
20	IN -	SUD -	A -	AN 20
REV. ZI		NAM	TI -	LA
IN -	NA -	AN -	BA -	A
DUB - BI -	NA (?) ²		ŠAG -	NE - DU

¹ Possibly GIM.² Here and in l. 29 the signs are not clearly written; for BI-NA (?) perhaps read ALAM.

ŠAR - NE - IN GAM - GUR
 25 SUKUŠ-ME-BI [. . . .]-GAR-RA 25
¹ [.]-NA-AN
 [.] - A - NI
 IN [.] IN - BA

DUB - BI - NA (?) NE - E
 30 IGI (DINGIR) UTU 30
 E - DI KUD - DA TA
 DUG - GA - NI
 IN - ŠI - IN - ŠE - GA
 MU NI - [. . . .]

SUMMARY.

This is a votive inscription containing a dedication to the Sun-god, who is described in the opening words of the text as "Šamaš, the great lord of the gods, the king of the temple E-dikud." The inscription was made by order of "Gimil-Marduk the judge, the son of Mini-Šamaš," for the preservation of the life of "Ammizaduga, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, his king." The text, which is on a clay tablet, is not written in the usual cursive hand, but in the more complex and careful character employed in inscriptions upon stone. It probably formed the rough draft used by the engraver when preparing the stone tablet which was intended by Gimil-Marduk to be placed before Šamaš in E-dikud, his temple in Babylon.

¹ I.e. Brünnow, No. 821.

X.

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF
THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

[A: Bu. 91-5-9, 284 (pl. 217, No. 101). B: Brit. Mus., No. 16,924
(pl. 228, No. 102).]

TRANSLITERATION.

I. REIGN OF SUMU-ABU.

YEAR.	A, COL. I.
1. [MU <i>Su-mu-a-bu</i> LUGAL-E] ¹	
2. [MU]	
3. MU BAD ² [.](KI) B[A - RU]	
4. MU E (DINGIR)NIN - SI IN NA BA [RU]	
5. MU E MAḤ (DINGIR)URU KI BA - [RU] (5)	
6. MU UŠ-SA E-MAḤ (DINGIR)URU-KI BA-RU	
7. MU UŠ-SA UŠ-SA-BI E-MAḤ (DINGIR)URU-KI BA-RU	
8. MU GIŠ-GAL ERIN GU-LA E (DINGIR)URU-KI-RA MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA	
9. MU BAD DIL - BAT(KI) BA - RU	
10. MU AGA (DINGIR)NI KIŠ(KI) MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA ³ (10)	
11. MU UŠ-SA AGA (DINGIR)NI KIŠ(KI) MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA	

¹ As Sumu-abu founded the dynasty it is possible that the usual formula was not employed for his first year.

² The word BAD (Semitic *dūru*), literally "wall," means also "fortress," and it is sometimes difficult to decide in which sense it is used. Whichever translation is employed, however, the meaning is not essentially altered, as the fortifications of ancient Babylonian cities consisted of huge walls of earth faced with sun-dried bricks.

³ The first sign in the line is AGA, not BAD as in l. 34. If this rendering of the line be correct, the city of Kiš must have been allied with, or subject to, Babylon at this time. This was not the case during the reign of Sumula-ilu, in whose thirteenth year Kiš was captured and destroyed.

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

[A: Bu. 91-5-9, 284 (pl. 217, No. 101). B: Brit. Mus., No. 16,924
(pl. 228, No. 102).]

TRANSLATION.

I. REIGN OF SUMU-ABU.

YEAR.

1. [The year in which Sumu-abu became king
.].¹
2. [The year in which].
3. The year in which the wall² of [. . . .]
was built.
4. The year in which the temple of Nin-sinna was
built.
5. The year in which the great temple of Nannar
was built.
6. The year after that in which the great temple of
Nannar was built.
7. The second year after that in which the great
temple of Nannar was built.
8. The year in which the great door of cedar was
made for the temple of Nannar.
9. The year in which the wall of the city of Dilbat
was built.
10. The year in which the crown of the god NI of the
city of Kiš was made.³
11. The year after that in which the crown of the god
NI of the city of Kiš was made.

YEAR.	A, COL. I.
12. MU GIŠ-ḪIR DINGIR-RI-E-NE-GE MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA	
13. MU <i>Ka ṣal lu</i> (KI) BA - ḪUL ⁴	
14. MU UŠ - SA <i>Ka - ṣal - lu</i> (KI) BA - ḪUL ⁵	
XIV MU <i>Su - [mu] - a - bu</i> LUGAL - E ⁶ (15)	

II. REIGN OF SUMULA-ILU.

1. MU *Su-mu-la-ilu* LUGAL-E (ID)(DINGIR)ŪTU-ḪE-GAL
MU-UN-BA-AL⁷
2. MU UŠ-SA (ID)(DINGIR)ŪTU-ḪE-GAL MU-UN-BA-AL
3. MU ḪA LAM - BU U GIŠ - KU BA SIG
4. MU UŠ-SA ḪA-LAM-BU-U [GIŠ-KU B]A-SIG
5. MU BAD - GAL KA - DINGIR - RA(KI) [B]A - RU (20)
6. MU UŠ-SA BAD-GAL [KA-DINGIR-RA(KI) B]A-RU
7. MU E (DINGIR)MER - RI [BA] - RU⁸

⁴ Nearly fifteen hundred years before the time of Sumu-abu, the city of Kašallu was in conflict with the Semitic population of Babylonia. At that time Kaštubila, of the city of Kašallu, revolted against Sargon of Agade, but the latter marched against the rebels and defeated them. The "Omens of Sargon" relate that "he overthrew their mighty host, and he turned Kašallu into mounds of dust, and he left not so much thereof that the birds of heaven could roost upon it." See *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. iv, pl. 34, No. 1, Obv., ll. 31 f.

⁵ The tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 475, is dated MU I-ZI *Su-mu-a-bu-um* BA-TIL, "The year in which the wall of Sumu-abu was destroyed"; this year is probably not to be referred to the reign of Sumu-abu, but to some subsequent period.

⁶ The List of Kings assigns fifteen years to the reign of Sumu-abu.

⁷ It is probable that the "Sumula-ilu-canal," mentioned under the 12th and 32nd years of this reign, is the same canal as that

YEAR.

12. The year in which the plantation of the gods was made.
13. The year in which the city of Kašallu was laid waste.⁴
14. The year after that in which the city of Kašallu was laid waste.⁵
The fourteen years of Sumu-abū, the king.⁶

II. REIGN OF SUMULA-ILU.

1. The year in which Sumula-ilu became king, and the canal Šamaš-ḫegallu was dug.⁷
2. The year after that in which the canal Šamaš-ḫegallu was dug.
3. The year in which Ḫalambū was slain with the sword.
4. The year after that in which Ḫalambū was slain with the sword.
5. The year in which the great wall of Babylon was built.
6. The year after that in which the great wall of Babylon was built.
7. The year in which the temple of Rammān was built.⁸

termed the Šamaš-ḫegallu-canal in this line. If this be so, it may be inferred that the canal was repaired, or perhaps extended, in the 12th and 32nd years.

⁸ A very similar formula was employed for the 28th year of Ḫammurabi.

YEAR.	A, COL. I.			
8. MU	UŠ - SA	E	(DINGIR)M	[ER - RI BA - RU]
9. MU	UŠ-SA	UŠ-SA-BI	[E (DINGIR)MER-RI	BA-RU]
10. MU	NU - DU - UM - M	[A]	(25)	
11. MU	<i>Su - m[u - la - ilu . . . - N]</i>	AM - [.]		
12. MU	ID	<i>Su mu - la - ilu</i>	M	[U - BA - AL]
13. MU	KIŠ(KI)		[BA	ḪUL] ⁹
14. MU	UŠ - SA	KIŠ(KI)	B	[A - ḪUL]
15. MU	UŠ - SA	UŠ - SA - BI	KIŠ(KI)	BA - ḪUL (30)
16. MU	IV - KAM - MA	KIŠ(KI)	BA -	ḪUL ¹⁰
17. MU	V - KAM	MA	KIŠ(KI)	BA - ḪUL
18. MU	<i>Ia-ḫar-zi-ir-ili</i>	ŠAG- <i>Ka-ṣal-lu</i> -TA	BA-RA-UD-DU ¹¹	
19. MU	BAD	(DINGIR)NI	KIŠ(KI)	BA-GUL ¹²
20. MU	BAD <i>Ka-ṣal-lu</i> (KI)	BA-GUL U	ŠAB-BI GIŠ-KU	BA-SIG (35)
21. MU	UŠ-SA	BAD <i>Ka-ṣal-lu</i> (KI)	BA-GUL U	ŠAB-BI GIŠ-KU BA-SIG

⁹ The capture of the city of Kiš was evidently regarded as a most important event, inasmuch as it gave the official title to five years of Sumula-ilu's reign.

¹⁰ The Babylonians named this year "the fourth year" of the taking of Kiš, as they included in their reckoning the year in which the city was taken.

¹¹ This line probably refers to a revolt of the city of Kašallu, which had been captured in the 13th year of Sumu-abu; the formula implies that Iaḫar-zīr-ili, the leader of the revolt, went forth from the city and took the offensive against Babylon. Two years later (see the 20th year) the revolt was crushed by the destruction of the wall of Kašallu and the massacre of the inhabitants. Iaḫar-zīr-ili must have made his escape from the city, for it was not till five years later (see the 25th year) that the Babylonians succeeded in defeating the remainder of his forces and in slaying him.

YEAR.

8. The year after that in which the temple of Rammān was built.
9. The second year after the temple of Rammān was built.
10. The year in which . . . [.].
11. The year in which Sumula-ilu [.].
12. The year in which the canal of Sumula-ilu was dug.
13. The year in which the city of Kiš was destroyed.⁹
14. The year after that in which the city of Kiš was destroyed.
15. The second year after that in which the city of Kiš was destroyed.
16. The third year after that in which the city of Kiš was destroyed.¹⁰
17. The fourth year after that in which the city of Kiš was destroyed.
18. The year in which Iaḥar-zīr-ili went forth from Kašallu.¹¹
19. The year in which the fortress of the god NI of the city of Kiš was destroyed.¹²
20. The year in which the wall of Kašallu was destroyed, and the inhabitants thereof slain with the sword.
21. The year after that in which the wall of Kašallu was destroyed and the inhabitants thereof slain with the sword.

¹² Fortresses, or walls erected for purposes of defence, were frequently dedicated to a god; cf. the six *durāni*, or "fortresses," which Sumula-ilu founded and which Samsu-iluna repaired (see above, pp. 201 ff.).

- YEAR. A, Col. I.
22. MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-MAḤ GUŠKIN-KU-BABBAR-TA
 ŠU-UL-A (DINGIR)*Marduk*-RA MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA
23. MU UŠ-SA GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-MAḤ GUŠKIN-KU-
 BABBAR - TA ŠU - UL (DINGIR)*Marduk* - RA
 MU - UN NA - DIM MA (40)
24. MU ALAM (DINGIR)*Šar-pa-ni-tum* MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA
25. MU *Ia ḥar - zi - ir - ili* GIŠ KU BA - SIG
26. [M]U ALAM (DINGIR)NINNI U (DINGIR)NA-NA-A
 MU - UN DIM - MA
27. [MU . . .]-GAB-A¹³ U (DINGIR)ZA-KAR¹⁴ IB-KU BA-RU
28. [MU *Su-mu-l*]a-ilu ŠAG BAR-ZI(KI)¹⁵ I-NI-IN-TU-RA (45)
29. [MU BAD ZI]MBIR(KI) BA - RU
30. [MU] URU - SAG BA - RU
31. [MU] UZ(KI) BA - RU
32. [MU]-GA MU-UN-SI-IG U ID *Su-mu-la-ilu*
 MU-BA-AL
33. [MU UŠ-SA -G]A MU-UN-SI-IG U ID
Su-mu-la-ilu MU-BA-AL (50)
34. [MU GIŠ K]U BA SIG

¹³ These two signs are probably not to be taken as part of the ideogram for *Kuṭū*, the city of Cuthah, as the determinative KI is absent.

¹⁴ From inscriptions of Samsu-iluna we know that a fortress, or wall, was built by Sumula-ilu in the city of Nippur, and named by him *Dūr-Zakar* after this god. In the course of time it fell into decay, but was restored by Samsu-iluna, who dedicated it to the goddess Nin-ḥar-sag (see above, p. 201).

YEAR.

22. The year in which the throne of the great shrine was completed with gold and silver, and was made (ready) for Marduk.
23. The year after that in which the throne of the great shrine was completed with gold and silver, and was made (ready) for Marduk.
24. The year in which the image of the goddess Šarpanitum was made.
25. The year in which Iaḥar-zīr-ili was slain with the sword.
26. The year in which the images of the goddesses Ištar and Nanā were made.
27. The year in which [. . . .]¹³ and of the god Zakar¹⁴ were made.
28. The year in which Sumula-ilu entered the city of Barzi.¹⁵
29. The year in which the wall of Sippar was built.
30. The year in which [. . . .]-ḳarradu was built.
31. The year in which [. . . .]uz was built.
32. The year in which [. . . .] was slain, and the canal of Sumula-ilu was dug.
33. The year after that in which [. . . .] was slain, and the canal of Sumula-ilu was dug.
34. The year in which [. . . .] was slain with the sword.

¹⁵ It is improbable that BAR-ZI(ΚΙ) is an abbreviation for *Barziḫa*, Borsippa.

YEAR.			A, COL. I.
35.	[MU]	RA	TU - RA
36.	[MU UŠ - SA]	RA	TU RA
	[XXXVI MU <i>Su-mu-la-ilu</i> LUGAL-E]		¹⁶

III. REIGN OF ZABUM.

1.	[MU <i>Za - bu um</i> LUGAL E]	¹⁷
2.	[MU UŠ SA <i>Za bu um</i> LUGAL - E]	¹⁸
	[The text for years 3-6 is wanting.]	A, COL. II.
7.	MU [.]	
8.	MU E - BABBAR [.]	
9.	MU E - I - GA [.]	
10.	MU E - SAG - IL [.]	¹⁹
11.	MU ALAM <i>Za - bu um</i> [.]	²⁰ (5)
12.	MU BAD <i>Ka - šal - l[u</i> BA - GUL]	²¹

¹⁶ In the List of Kings the length of Sumula-ilu's reign is given as 35 years. The tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 2,184, is of interest, for it proves that during the reign of Sumula-ilu a vassal-king named Bungunila held sway over some portion of Babylonia; the tablet is dated MU GAR BU-UN-GU(?) - UN-I-LA LUGAL-E, and the names of Sumula-ilu and Bungunila are associated in the oath-formula. This tablet also proves that the date-formulæ given in the Chronicle were not universally employed throughout the country, and in support of this fact the dates upon the contracts, Brit. Mus., No. 92,636 (Bu. 91-5-9, 2,172) and Bu. 91-5-9, 318, may be cited; both these tablets belong to the reign of Sumula-ilu, but their date-formulæ do not correspond to any in the Chronicle.

¹⁷ This year is cited under a Semitic formula upon a tablet in Berlin (V.A.Th., 706, see Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, No. 79) as follows: *šattu Za-bu-um a-na bit a-bi-šu i-ru-bu*, "The year in which Zabum entered into his father's house," i.e. ascended the throne.

¹⁹ The restoration of this line is taken from the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,524, which reads: MU UŠ(-SA) *Za-bi-um* LUGAL-E.

YEAR.

35. The year in which [. . . .] entered [. . . .].
 36. The year after that in which [. . . .] entered
 [. . . .].
 The thirty-six years of Sumula-ilu, the king.¹⁶

III. REIGN OF ZABUM.

1. The year in which Zabum became king.¹⁷
2. The year after that in which Zabum became king.¹⁸
 [The text for years 3-6 is wanting.]
7. The year in which [.].
8. The year in which the temple E-babbar [. . . .
 was built].
9. The year in which the temple E-iga[. . . .
 was built].
10. The year in which the temple E-sagil [. . . .
 was built].¹⁹
11. The year in which the image of Zabum [. . . .
 was made].²⁰
12. The year in which the wall of Kaşallu was
 destroyed [. . . .].²¹

¹⁹ The formula for this year occurs in an abbreviated form upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,480, which is dated MU E-SAG-IL.

²⁰ The tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 2,189, is dated in this year; the formula there reads MU ALAM *Za-bi-um* BA-DIM-MA, "The year in which the image of Zabum was made."

²¹ The reading of the name Kaşallu is quite clear upon the tablet. This date, in an abbreviated form, is found upon the tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 2,463, where the year is cited as MU BAD *Ka-şal-lu*(KI). The restoration of the end of the line as BA-GUL is uncertain, the verb upon the "case" of Bu. 91-5-9, 2,463, beginning NE-[. . .]. From the spacing of the signs which are preserved, it would seem that some such additional phrase is missing as is given under the 21st year of Sumula-ilu.

- YEAR. A, COL. II.
 13. MU E A-AB-[BA ḪE-GAL M]U-U[N- . . .]²²
 14. MU UŠ-SA E A-[AB-BA ḪE]-GAL MU-UN-[. . .]
 XIV MU [Za - bu - u]m LUGAL - E²³

IV. REIGN OF APIL-SIN.

1. M[U A] - *pi*[L] - ^{iu} Sin LUGAL [E BA]D
 BAR z[I](KI) BA-RU²⁴ (10)
2. M[U BAD . . .] KA-DINGIR-RA(KI) [. . .] BA-RU²⁵
3. M[U GIŠ-GU-ZA BA]RA-MAḪ GUŠKIN-KU-BABBAR-TA
 ŠU-UL-A (DINGIR)UTU (DINGIR)[.]
 MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA
4. M[U (ID) . . .] UTU(P) MU UN - BA - AL
5. [MU] BA - RU²⁶
6. M[U] M[U] UN GI (15)
7. M[U²⁷] M[U - U]N GI
8. M[U (ID) *A-pil*]-^{iu} *Si*[n-ḪE-GAL] MU-UN-BA-AL²⁸

²² This date occurs in an abbreviated form upon the tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 43, where it is given as MU E A-AB-BA ḪE-GAL.

²³ This estimate of the length of Zabum's reign agrees with that given in the List of Kings.

²⁴ Upon Brit. Mus., No. 92,660 (Bu. 91-5-9, 2,498), this year is cited under the following Semitic formula: *šattu A-pil-Sin a-na bi-it a-bi-šu i-ru-bu*, "The year in which Apil-Sin entered into his father's house"; cf. p. 220, note 17.

²⁵ Partly restored from the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,421, which reads MU BAD MAḪ GI KA-DINGIR-RA(KI) *A-pil*-^{iu} Sin BA-RU, "The year in which Apil-Sin built anew the great wall of Babylon."

²⁶ The formula for the 5th, 11th, or 14th year should perhaps be restored from the date upon Brit. Mus., No. 92,583 (Bu. 88-5-12, 711), which reads: MU *A-pil*-^{iu} Sin LUGAL-E BAD *Du-ur-mu-ti*(KI) BA-RU, "The year in which Apil-Sin the king built the fortress of Dūr-mūti." It is also possible that to one of these three years

YEAR.

13. The year in which the gulf of the ocean [gave] abundance [. . . .].²²
14. The year after that in which the gulf of the ocean [gave] abundance [. . . .].
The fourteen years of Zabum, the king.²³

IV. REIGN OF APIL-SIN.

1. The year in which Apil-Sin became king and the wall of Barzi was built.²⁴
2. The year in which the wall [. . . .] of Babylon [. . . .] was built.²⁵
3. The year in which the throne of the great shrine was completed with gold and silver and made (ready) for Šamaš and [. . . .].
4. The year in which the canal of Šamaš(?) was dug.
5. The year in which [. . . .] was built.²⁶
6. The year in which [. . . .] was restored.
7. The year in which²⁷ [. . . .] was restored.
8. The year in which the canal (named) Apil-Sin-hegallu was dug.²⁸

(or to the 6th year) the building, or repair, of the temple of Ištar of Babylon should be assigned. This event is referred to under a Semitic formula in the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,477, which reads: *šattu šubat* ^{4u}*Ištar* [*ša B*] *ābil* ^{KI} [*A-pil*]-*Sin i-pu-šu*, "The year in which Apil-Sin built the dwelling of Ištar of Babylon"; cf. the date upon Bu. 88-5-12, 38.

²⁷ Possibly read MU UŠ-SA . . . , "The year after that in which"

²⁸ Restored from Bu. 91-5-9, 586, which gives the date in the abbreviated form MU (ID)*A-pil-Sin-HE-GAL*.

YEAR.

A, COL. II.

9. M[U MA]Ḫ (DINGIR)UTU-RA MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA
 10. [MU] KI [.] - TA ŠU - UL - A
 [.] UḪU KALAM-MA MU-NA-DIM-MA
 11. MU[.] BA RU (20)
 12. MU[. . . (ID)]BURANU[NU . . .]-BI KA-BI
 13. MU[.] KALAM - M[A]
 14. MU[. BA] - RU
 15. MU[.]
 16. MU KA-[GA]L[. . . .](KI) (DINGIR)UTU-UD-DU
 BA-RU (25)
 17. MU GIŠ GU - ZA BARA - MAḪ (DINGIR)UTU
 KA-DINGIR-RA(KI) MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA
 18. MU UŠ-SA GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-MAḪ (DINGIR)UTU
 KA-DINGIR-RA(KI) MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA²⁹
 XVIII MU *A-pil^{itu} Sin* LUGAL-E³⁰

V. REIGN OF SIN-MUBALLIṬ.

1. MU^{itu} *Sin-mu-ba-li-iṭ* LUGAL-E BAD *Ru-ba-tum*³¹ BA-RU
 2. MU ID ^{itu} *Sin - mu - ba - li - iṭ* MU - UN - BA - AL (30)
 3. MU ŠU-[. . . .]-KIŠ (DAK)IGI-ŠID-TA (DINGIR)UTU
 (DINGIR)ŠU-NIR-DA-RA MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA

²⁹ It is possible that this year is referred to under an alternative formula upon Bu. 88-5-12, 265, which is dated MU UŠ-SA *ša-ka-ra-am a-na^{itu} Šamaš A-bi-il-Sin re'ū* (?), "The year after that in which Apil-Sin, the Shepherd, (poured out) the drink-offering (?) to Šamaš." If this be the case, the alternative formula refers to the religious ceremonies which accompanied the inauguration of the throne of the Sun-god, and we may perhaps assign to the 17th year the tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 2,484, which is dated *šattu A-pil-Sin u-ra-am-mi-ku*, "The year in which Apil-Sin poured out (the libation)."

YEAR.

9. The year in which the great [. . . .] was made for Šamaš.
10. The year in which [. . . .] was completed [. . . .] of the land was made.
11. The year in which [. . . .] was built.
12. The year in which [. . . .] the Euphrates [. . . .] its mouth.
13. The year in which [. . . .] the land [. . . .].
14. The year in which [. . . .] was built.
15. The year in which [. . . .].
16. The year in which the great gate of the city [. . . .] was built on the east side (thereof).
17. The year in which the throne of the great shrine was made for Šamaš in Babylon.
18. The year after that in which the throne of the great shrine was made for Šamaš in Babylon.²⁹
The eighteen years of Apil-Sin, the king.³⁰

V. REIGN OF SIN-MUBALLIṬ.

1. The year in which Sin-muballiṭ became king, and the wall of Rubatum³¹ was built.
2. The year in which the canal of Sin-muballiṭ was dug.
3. The year in which [. . . .] of . . . -stone were made for Šamaš and Šunirda.

³⁰ This estimate of the length of Apil-Sin's reign agrees with that given in the List of Kings.

³¹ The reading *Lib-ba-tum* is possible.

YEAR.	A, COL. II.
4. MU UŠ-SA [ŠU-]-KIŠ (DAK)IGI-ŠID-TA (DINGIR)UTU (DINGIR)ŠU-NIR-DA-RA	
5. MU [. . .] (DINGIR)I[GĪ]-DA-DA MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA	
6. MU UŠ - SA [. . . .] (DINGIR)IGĪ - DA - DA MU - UN - NA - DIM - MA	
7. MU BAD (DINGIR)ZA - KAR - DA - DA BA - RU ³² (35)	
8. MU (ID)(DINGIR)AI ĤE - GAL MU - UN - BA - AL ³³	
9. MU UŠ-SA (ID)(DINGIR)AI-ĤE-GAL MU-UN-BA-AL	
10. MU BAD ^{the} Sin - mu - ba - li it BA RU ³⁴	
11. MU BAD MURU(KI) BA RU ³⁵	
12. MU BAD MARAD - DA(KI) BA - RU (40)	
13. MU (ID)(DINGIR)TU-TU-ĤE-GAL MU-UN-BA-AL ³⁶	
14. MU ŠAB URU(KI) GIŠ - KU BA - S[IG]	
15. MU BAD EREŠ(KI) BA [RU] ³⁷	
16. MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-MAĤ [(DINGIR) MU UN NA DIM - MA] ³⁸	

³² The formula for this year is abbreviated on contracts to MU BAD (DINGIR)ZA-KAR-DA-DA, see Bu. 88-5-12, 256, and Bu. 91-5-9, 280. The Berlin tablet V.A.Th. 733 is also to be assigned to this year; see the traces of the date given by Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, pl. 48, No. 101.

³³ Brit. Mus., No. 92,655 (Bu. 91-5-9, 2,455), is dated in this year; the formula is there abbreviated to MU (ID) (DINGIR)AI-ĤE-GAL.

³⁴ To this year the tablet Brit. Mus., No. 92,654 (Bu. 91-5-9, 2,451) is to be assigned; the date-formula there employed agrees with that given in the text.

³⁵ This date is found in the abbreviated form MU BAD MURU(KI) upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,504.

³⁶ Upon contract-tablets the formula for this year is generally abbreviated to MU (ID) TU-TU-ĤE-GAL: see Bu. 88-5-12, 31, 46, 60, 341, 404, 721; Bu. 91-5-9, 1,021; V.A.Th. 782 (Meissner, No: 17), etc.

YEAR.

4. The year after that in which [. . . .] of . . . -stone (were made) for Šamaš and Šunirda.
5. The year in which the [. . . .] of Igidada was made.
6. The year after that in which the [. . . .] of Igidada was made.
7. The year in which the wall of Zakar-dada was built.³²
8. The year in which the canal (named) Ai-ḫegallu was dug.³³
9. The year after that in which the canal (named) Ai-ḫegallu was dug.
10. The year in which the wall of Sin-muballiṭ was built.³⁴
11. The year in which the wall of Muru was built.³⁵
12. The year in which the wall of Marad was built.
13. The year in which the canal (named) Tutu-ḫegallu was dug.³⁶
14. The year in which the people of Ur were slain with the sword.
15. The year in which the wall of Ereš was built.³⁷
16. The year in which the throne of the great shrine was made for [. . . .].³⁸

³⁷ The tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 285, is dated in this year under the abbreviated formula MU BAD EREŠ(KI).

³⁸ It is probable that Brit. Mus., No. 92,637 (Bu. 91-5-9, 2,173), should be assigned to this year; it is dated MU GIŠ-GU-[ZA] (DINGIR)AL-MU (?), but the name of the god is not clearly written. The Berlin tablet V.A.Th. 905 (Meissner, No. 88) is dated MU

YEAR.		A, COL. II.
17. MU	I - SI IN [	IN - DIB - BA] ³⁹ (45)
18. MU	BAD [.]	
19. MU	(DINGIR)UTU [(DINGIR)MER]	⁴⁰
20. MU	[.]	⁴¹
	XX [MU ⁴² <i>Sin-mu-ba-li-iš</i> LUGAL-E]	

VI. REIGN OF ḤAMMURABI.

		A, COL. III.
1. [M]U	<i>Ḥa - am - mu - r[a - bi</i>	LUGAL - E] ⁴³
2. [M]U	NIG - SI DI [.]	⁴⁴

GU-ZA (DINGIR)URU-KI, and, according to Meissner's copy of the reverse, this tablet should be assigned to the reign of Sin-muballiṭ (cf. the oath-formula in l. 12 f.). If this were the case, it would be possible to restore the name of the god in the formula for the 16th year of Sin-muballiṭ as (DINGIR)URU-KI, i.e. Nannar. But the 3rd year of Ḥammurabi takes its title from the making of a throne for Nannar, and it is unlikely that the same date-formula would have been used twice within a period of eight years. It is therefore preferable to suppose that the traces of the royal name in V.A.Th. 905, l. 13, should be read [. . . -a]m-mu-[. . .], i.e. [*Ḥa-a*]m-mu-[*ra-bi*], in place of Meissner's reading *Sin-mu*-[. . .], i.e. *Sin-mu*-[*ba-li-iš*].

³⁹ This line is restored from Bu. 88-5-12, 290, which is dated MU I-SI-IN(KI) IN-DIB-[BA]. In the abbreviated form MU I-SI-IN-NA(KI) the date is found upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,466; and the name of Isin, with the first syllable written as I instead of NI, occurs in the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 447, which reads [. . .] I-SI-NA(KI) IN-DIB. The capture of the city of Isin in this year formed an epoch for dating tablets in some parts of Babylonia; this is proved by the dates upon many of the contracts of Rim-Sin which were found at Tell Šifr. Thus, Brit. Mus., No. 33,204 (B. 47), is dated MU UŠ-SA V-KAM I-SI-IN-[NA(KI)] BA-AN-DIB, "The fifth year of the taking of Isin"; Brit. Mus., No. 33,195 (B. 38), is dated in the sixth year of the same epoch, No. 33,207 (B. 50) in the seventh year, No. 33,163 in the eighth year, No. 33,280 (B. 123) in the

YEAR.

17. The year in which the city of Isin was taken.³⁹
 18. The year in which the wall of [. . . .].
 19. The year in which the gods Šamaš and Rammān
 [. . . .].⁴⁰
 20. The year in which [.].⁴¹
 The twenty years of Sin-muballiṭ, the king.⁴²

VI. REIGN OF ḤAMMURABI.

1. The year in which Ḥammurabi became king.⁴³
 2. The year in which righteousness [. . . . was
 established].⁴⁴

ninth year, No. 33,197 (B. 40) in the thirteenth year, No. 33,194 (B. 37) in the eighteenth year, and No. 33,202 (B. 45) in the twenty-eighth year. A tablet at Constantinople, in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, is even dated in the thirtieth year of the taking of Isin (see Scheil, *Recueil de travaux*, xxi, 1899, p. 125); this year would correspond to the 26th year of Ḥammurabi.

⁴⁰ The formula for this year has been partially restored from the dates upon Bu. 88-5-12, 157, and Bu. 91-5-9, 332, which read: MU (DINGIR)UTU (DINGIR)MER.

⁴¹ This line should possibly be restored from Bu. 91-5-9, 2,181, which is dated MU UMMAN ARARMA(KI), "The year in which the people of Larsam (. . . .)"; it is also possible that the tablet should be assigned to the fourteenth year, when the inhabitants of Larsam may have shared the fate of the people of Ur.

⁴² In their estimates of the length of Sin-muballiṭ's reign, there is a considerable discrepancy between this chronicle and the List of Kings; the latter assigns thirty years to Sin-muballiṭ.

⁴³ The accession-year of Ḥammurabi is referred to in the dates upon Bu. 91-5-9, 1,058 (MU Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL-E), and Bu. 91-5-9, 2,467 (MU Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL); the still shorter form MU Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi occurs upon Bu. 88-5-12, 110, and Bu. 91-5-9, 2,502.

⁴⁴ This date is cited on Bu. 88-5-12, 33, in the abbreviated form

YEAR.					A, COL. III.
3.	[MU]	GIŠ	GU - ZA	(DINGIR)URU -	[KI] ⁴⁵
4.	MU	BAD	MAL - GI - A	[BA	GUL] ⁴⁶
5.	MU	[. . . .]	DINGIR-RA	[.]	(5)
6.	MU	BAD	(DINGIR)[.]	
7.	MU	[. . . .]	I-SI-IN	[. . . .]	⁴⁷
8.	MU	[. . . .]	TIG (ID)	<i>Nu-ḫu-</i>	<i>[uš-ni-šī]</i> ⁴⁸

MU *Ḫa-mu-ra-bi* NIG-SI-DI GAR-RA, "The year in which Ḫammurabi established righteousness." The fuller formula upon V.A.Th. 1,468 f. (Meissner, No. 49) is probably a variant of the same date; it reads MU *Ḫa-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL-E ŠAG-GA KALAM-MA NAM-SI-DI, "The year in which Ḫammurabi (established) the heart of the land in righteousness." We may perhaps see in the title of this year a reference to the reforms undertaken by Ḫammurabi at the beginning of his reign.

⁴⁵ To judge from the spacing of the signs and from the similar formulæ for the 12th, 14th, and 16th years, it may be concluded that the verb MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA was omitted at the end of the line. This date in the abbreviated form MU GU-ZA (DINGIR)URU-KI occurs upon Bu. 88-5-12, 220, 744 (Brit. Mus., No. 92,594), and V.A.Th. 905 (see above, p. 227 f., n. 38). On V.A.Th. 755 (Meissner, No. 16) occurs the longer formula MU (GIŠ)GU-ZA (DINGIR)URU-KI KA-DINGIR-RA, "The year in which the throne of Nannar (was made) in Babylon."

⁴⁶ In addition to the destruction of Malgā, Ḫammurabi also destroyed the fortress of Maer in this year of his reign, and the two events are sometimes coupled together in the dates upon tablets inscribed during the year. Thus, Bu. 91-5-9, 44, is dated MU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL-E INIM (DINGIR)ANA (DINGIR)EN-LIL-TA BAD MA-ER(KI) U MA-AL-GE-A(KI) MU-UN-GUL, "The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which at the word of Anu and Bēl the wall(s) of Maer and of Malgā were destroyed." An almost identical form of the same date occurs on Brit. Mus., No. 33,227 (B. 70), which reads MU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL-E [case INIM ANA (DINGIR)EN-LIL-LA-TA] BAD MA-ER(KI) U BAD MA-AL-KA-A BA-AN-GUL-LA; a similar formula also occurs on Brit. Mus., No. 33,215 (B. 58). Some tablets are dated by reference to the destruction of

YEAR.

3. The year in which the throne of Nannar (was made).⁴⁵
4. The year in which the wall of Malgā was destroyed.⁴⁶
5. The year in which [. . .] of the god [. . .].
6. The year in which the fortress of the god [. . . (was built)].
7. The year in which the [. . .] of Isin [was . . .].⁴⁷
8. The year in which [. . .] on the bank of the canal (named) Nuḥus-niši.⁴⁸

Maer only, e.g. V.A.Th. 762 (Meissner, No. 105), MU BAD MA-ER(KI) BA-GUL-LA; and Bu. 88-5-12, 363, MU BAD MA-ER(KI). The tablets Bu. 91-5-9, 2,192, and Bu. 88-5-12, 166, are probably not to be assigned to this year, as their dates seem to refer to the building, or repair, of the fortresses of MAL-GE-A and of MA-ER(KI) respectively.

⁴⁷ It is possible that the sign at the beginning of the line is BAD, but the traces appear to be those of two characters. We may conclude that the formula did not refer to the capture or destruction of Isin, in view of its previous subjugation under Sin-muballiṭ; since tablets would not have been dated for thirty years by that event if the city had again revolted in that period and had been again destroyed. Moreover, the era of the taking of Isin must date from the 17th year of Sin-muballiṭ, and not from the 7th year of Ḥammurabi, for a tablet of Rim-Sin is dated in the 27th year after its destruction, and we know that Rim-Sin was defeated and deposed by Ḥammurabi in the 31st year of his reign (see below, p. 236, n. 66).

⁴⁸ For the canal named Nuḥus-niši, see the following note. It is strange that the bank of this canal should be mentioned before the year in which its construction by Ḥammurabi is recorded, but

YEAR.		A, COL. III.
9. MU	ID <i>Ha-am-mu-ra-bi</i> [. . . .] ⁴⁹	
10. MU	ṢAB I[D- . . . -NI]M MA-AL-GI [. . . .] (IO)	
11. MU	[.](KI)	
12. MU	GIŠ - GU - ZA [<i>Ṣa</i>]r - pa - ni - tum ⁵⁰	
13. MU	SU[.] - GAB MAḤ - BI	
		B, COL. I.
14. MU	GIŠ-GU-ZA [NINNI] KA-DINGIR-RA(KI) ⁵¹	
15. MU	ALAM - [ALAM] VII NA ⁵² A (15)	

it is possible that the 8th year was occupied with preliminary work on the canal which was completed in the 9th year, or the king may have merely deepened and improved an old canal.

⁴⁹ Reference is made to the digging of canals by Ḥammurabi in the formulæ both for this year and for the 33rd year of his reign. Many contract-tablets are dated MU ID *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi*, "The year of the Ḥammurabi-canal," e.g. Bu. 88-5-12, 137, 175, 176; Bu. 91-5-9, 2,464; V.A.Th. 856 (Meissner, No. 106), 1,109 (Meissner, No. 12); Bu. 91-5-9, 712 (MU ID-DA *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi*), etc.; and the tablets so dated may be referred to either of these years. The name of the most important of the canals of Ḥammurabi we know from inscription No. VII (see above, pp. 188 ff.) to have been Nuḥuš-niši, "The abundance of the people," and this name is also referred to in the formulæ upon dated contracts, e.g., Bu. 91-5-9, 3, MU ID *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi Nu-ḥu-uš-ni-ši*, and Bu. 88-5-12, 147 and 188, MU (ID)*Nu-ḥu-uš-ni-ši*. From the cone-inscriptions of Ḥammurabi we learn that in addition to the Nuḥuš-niši Canal he also dug out a channel from the Euphrates to supply Sippar with water (see above, pp. 177 ff.), and it is not improbable that this canal bore the name of Tišid-Bēl, which is mentioned upon some dated contracts, e.g., Bu. 88-5-12, 211, and Bu. 91-5-9, 2,474, both of which are dated MU (ID) *Ti-ši-id-(DINGIR)Bēl*, "The year of the Tišid-Bēl Canal." The Tišid-Bēl Canal is mentioned with the Euphrates in the date upon Bu. 88-5-12, 143, which reads MU (ID)*Ti-ši-i[d-(DINGIR)Bēl]* u (ID)BURANUNU; and the date upon the "case" of V.A.Th. 842 f. (Meissner, No. 110) gives the still fuller formula MU (ID) *T'[i-ši-i]d-(DINGIR)Bēl* (ID)BURANUNU MU-UN-BA-AL-LA, "The

YEAR.

9. The year in which the canal of Ḥammurabi
[. . . .].⁴⁹
10. The year in which the inhabitants [. . . .]
of Malgi [. . . .].
11. The year in which [. . . .] of the city of
[. . . .].
12. The year in which the throne of Ṣarpanitum (was
made).⁵⁰
13. The year in which [. . . .] exceedingly.
14. The year in which the throne of Iṣtar of Babylon
(was made).⁵¹
15. The year in which the seven images (were made).⁵²

year in which the canal Tišid-Bēl was dug out to the Euphrates," the tablet itself giving the abbreviated formula MU (ID)Ti-ši-īd-(DINGIR)Bēl. There is no evidence as to what years to assign the construction of these two canals, but, in view of the reference to the Nuḫuš-niši Canal in the formula for the 8th year, we may provisionally assign the completion of that canal to the 9th year, and the cutting of the Tišid-Bēl Canal to the 33rd year of Ḥammurabi's reign, or to one of those years for which the formulæ are partly, or entirely, wanting.

⁵⁰ To this year belong the contracts Brit. Mus., No. 92,501 (82-9-18, 220), which is dated MU GU-ZA (DINGIR)Ṣar-pa-ni-tum, and Bu. 91-5-9, 374, which is dated MU GIŠ-GU-ZA, etc.

⁵¹ The restoration of this line is taken from the dates upon Bu. 88-5-12, 227, and Bu. 91-5-9, 334, which read MU GU-ZA (DINGIR)NINNI KA-DINGIR-RA(KI). V.A.Th. 828 (Meissner, No. 13) is dated MU GU-ZA (DINGIR)NINNI KA-DINGIR-RA, and the date occurs in more abbreviated forms upon Bu. 88-5-12, 169 and 322 (MU GIŠ-GU-ZA (DINGIR)NINNI), and Bu. 91-5-9, 773 (MU GU-ZA NINNI).

⁵² B reads [. . . .] V[II]-A-AN; the date is found upon Brit. Mus., No. 92,584 (Bu. 88-5-12, 713), and Bu. 91-5-9, 2,178, under the form MU ALAM VII-BI; cf. also Bu. 91-5-9, 780.

YEAR.	A, COL. III ; B, COL. I.		
16. MU	GIŠ - GU - ZA	(DINGIR)	<i>Na - bi - um</i> ⁵³
17. [MU]	ALAM (DINGIR)[. . .]-KI (DINGIR)[. . .]-KI		
18. [MU]	(DINGIR)EN - LIL - RA	B (5)	
19. [MU E]N	IGI - ḤAR - SAG - GA	⁵⁴	
20. [MU GIŠ GU - Z]A	(DINGIR)MER	RI ⁵⁵	A (20)
21. [MU BAD]	<i>Ba - šu</i>	(KI)	⁵⁶
22. [MU H]a	<i>am - mu - ra - bi</i> ⁵⁷		
23. [MU]		(KI)	⁵⁸ B (10)
24. [MU]	(DINGIR)EN-LIL (P)-RA	⁵⁹	
25. [MU BAD Z]IMBIR(KI)	BA - RU	⁶⁰	A (25)
26. [MU A]-	GAL - LA	⁶¹	

⁵³ Bu. 88-5-12, 488, and Bu. 91-5-9, 2,341, are to be assigned to this year, their dates reading MU GU-ZA (DINGIR)*Na-bi-um*.

⁵⁴ The date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 364, reads MU UŠ-SA E-IGI-ḤAR-SAG-GA, which may perhaps be regarded as an alternative formula for the 20th year; the first sign in the formula for the 19th year preserved by B, however, appears to be EN, not E.

⁵⁵ The restoration is certain, as part of the sign ZA is preserved by B; the date also occurs upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,337, under the form MU GU-ZA (DINGIR)MER.

⁵⁶ For *Ba-šu*, A gives the variant reading [*B*]a-zi; the restoration of the line is taken from the date upon Brit. Mus., No. 92,590 (Bu. 88-5-12, 746); the "case" of this tablet, and Brit. Mus., No. 92,595 (Bu. 88-5-12, 241), are dated MU BAD (URU) *Ba-šu*(KI).

⁵⁷ The reference in this line is possibly to the cutting of a canal by Ḥammurabi (as in the formulæ for the 9th and 33rd years), or perhaps to the making of an image of the king.

⁵⁸ The traces of the last character but one in this line on both A and B suggest NUN; it is therefore possible that the name of Sippar should be restored.

⁵⁹ The restoration of the name of Enlil is taken from B, col. I, l. 12. The reckoning of the two tablets appears to differ at this point, B inserting an additional year [MU ZIMBIR(KI)-RA in l. 11] between the 23rd and 24th years of A. It is possible,

YEAR.

16. The year in which the throne of Nabū (was made).⁵³
17. The year in which the image of [. . . .].
18. The year in which [. . . .] for Bēl (was made).
19. The year in which [. . . .] of the mountain.⁵⁴
20. The year in which the throne of Rammān (was made).⁵⁵
21. The year in which the wall of Baṣu (was).⁵⁶
22. The year in which the [. . . .] of Ḥammurabi (was).⁵⁷
23. The year in which the [. . . .] of the city of [. . . .] (was).⁵⁸
24. The year in which [. . . .] for Bēl (was made).⁵⁹
25. The year in which the wall of Sippar was built.⁶⁰
26. The year in which [. . . .] (was destroyed) by flood.⁶¹

however, that ll. 11 and 12 of B form a double line, and that both refer to the 24th year.

⁶⁰ The verb BA-RU is omitted by A, and the restoration of the name of Sippar is taken from B. BAD may be restored with some probability at the beginning of the line, as some contracts of the reign of Ḥammurabi are dated by the building of the wall of Sippar, e.g. Bu. 88-5-12, 185, MU PIN BAD ZIMBIR(KI), "The year of the foundation of the wall of Sippar"; cf. also the date upon Brit. Mus., No. 92,575 (Bu. 88-5-12, 645), MU BAD-GAL ZIMBIR(KI), "The year of the great wall of Sippar." The contract Bu. 91-5-9, 1,024, is dated simply MU ZIMBIR(KI), "The year of Sippar," and may also refer to this year.

⁶¹ The traces of the character before GAL upon B suggest the character A; if this reading be correct, it is possible that the destruction of Umliaš by flood should be assigned to this year and not to the 38th year of Ḥammurabi (see below, p. 238, note 71).

YEAR.	A, COL. III; B, COL. I.	
27. [MU]-MAḪ [.]-A ⁶² B (15)		
28. [MU E] - NAM - ḪE ⁶³		
29. [MU AL]AM (DINGIR)Ša - Ia ⁶⁴		
30. MU UMMAN ELAM - MA ⁶⁵ A (30)		
31. MU MA - DA E - mu - ut - ba - lum ⁶⁶		
32. MU UMMAN [.] ⁶⁷		
33. MU ID Ḫa - mu - ra - b[i] ⁶⁸		
34. MU ANA (DINGIR)NIN[NI (DINGIR)NA-NA-A] ⁶⁹		

⁶² In A the line ends at MAḪ; perhaps the building of the temple Igi-e-nir-kidur-maḫ should be assigned to this year (see below, p. 241, note 72 (4)).

⁶³ The restoration of ḪE is taken from B. The date is found upon Bu. 91-5-9, 824, under the form MU E-NAM-ḪE E (DINGIR) MĒR-RA, "The year of E-namḫe, the temple of Rammān," and upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,460, under the form MU E-ḪE (DINGIR)MĒR. A tablet found at Abu-ḫabbah is also to be assigned to this year, as it is dated MU E-NAM-ḪE (DINGIR)MĒR (see Scheil, *Recueil de travaux*, xvii, 1895, p. 36). E-namḫe, "the House of Abundance," was the name of the temple of Rammān at Babylon; cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 2,168.

⁶⁴ The name of the goddess Šala is restored from B. The date occurs upon Bu. 88-5-12, 624, under the same formula as that given in the text.

⁶⁵ This year is cited upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,425, under the form MU ŠAB-UMMAN ELAM-MA [case ELAM-MA(KI)], and upon Brit. Mus., No. 92,650 (Bu. 91-5-9, 2,440), under the form MU UMMAN ELAM-MA(KI); the "case" of the latter tablet inserts Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL-E after MU.

⁶⁶ The dates upon Bu. 88-5-12, 339 (MU MA-DA Ia-mu-ut-ba-lum), and upon Bu. 88-5-12, 48 (MU MA-DA E-mu-ut-ba-lum), probably refer to this year. A fuller formula for the same year occurs on Brit. Mus., No. 33,221 (B. 64); the date of this tablet reads MU Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL IT (?) -TI ANA (DINGIR)EN-LIL-BI-TA ŠIG-NA BA-NI-GIN-NA-A MA-DA Ia-mu-ut-ba-lum (case inserts determinative

YEAR.

27. The year in which [.].⁶²
 28. The year in which the temple E-namḫe (was built).⁶³
 29. The year in which the image of the goddess Šala (was made).⁶⁴
 30. The year in which the army of Elam (. . . .).⁶⁵
 31. The year in which the land of Emutbal (. . . .).⁶⁶
 32. The year in which the army of [. . . .].⁶⁷
 33. The year in which the canal of Ḫammurabi [. . . .].⁶⁸
 34. The year in which Anu, Ištar, and Nanā (. . . .).⁶⁹

KI U LUGAL *Ri-im-*(DINGIR)*Sin* ŠU-NI KI NE-DUG (case NE-IN-[DUG]), "The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which with the help of Anu and Bēl he established his good fortune, and his hand cast to the earth the land of Iamutbal and Rim-Sin the king"; cf. Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, pt. 1, p. 126 f. The date upon Brit. Mus., No. 33,210 (B. 53), gives the first part of this formula down to the first verb, which reads NI-GIN-NA-A.

⁶⁷ Perhaps restore the line MU UMMAN [EŠ-NUN-NA(KI)], "The year in which the men of Umliaš (were slain with the sword)"; see below, p. 238 f., n. 71.

⁶⁸ For the canals cut by Ḫammurabi, see above, p. 232 f., note 49.

⁶⁹ This line is restored from the date upon Brit. Mus., No. 33,222 (B. 65); Bu. 88-5-12, 318, gives the slightly variant form MU ANA (DINGIR)NINNI U (DINGIR)NA-NA-A. A fuller form of the same date is found upon the "case" of Brit. Mus., No. 33,230 (B. 73), which reads MU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL-E ANA (DINGIR)NINNI (DINGIR)NA-NA-A MU-UN-DIM-MA (on the tablet the signs UN and DIM are transposed through a scribal error), "The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which for Anu, Ištar, and Nanā was built (. . . .)." The name of the temple which was built, or repaired, during this year in honour of these deities is supplied

YEAR.		A, COL. III.
35 MU	BAD [.]	⁷⁰ A (35)
36. MU	[.]	
37. MU	[.]	
38. MU	[EŠ - NUN - NA(KI) A - GAL] - GAL - LA	⁷¹
39. M[U	. . . . . ]	- BI
	[The text for the 40th and 41st years is wanting.]	
42. [MU	. . . . . ]	(KI) ⁷²

by the following formula from Brit. Mus., No. 33,219 (B. 62): MU *Ḥa-am-mu-ra bi* LUGAL-E ANA (DINGIR)NINNI (DINGIR)NA-NA-A-A-E-NE-BI-TA E-TUR-KALAM-MA MU-UN-GI-A-AN, "The year of Ḥammurabi the king in which for Anu, Ištar, and Nanā the temple E-tur-kalama was restored." The date upon V.A.Th. 817 (Meissner, No. 82) gives the first part of the preceding formula; it reads MU ANA (DINGIR)NINNI U (DINGIR)NA-NA-A-E-[NE]-BI-TA.

⁷⁰ Perhaps restore MU BAD [GAL *Kār-ra-^{itu} Šamaš*], "The year in which the great wall (named) *Kāra-Šamaš* (was built)"; see below, p. 239 f., note 72.

⁷¹ This line is restored from Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,232 (B. 75) and 33,234 (B. 77), which are dated MU EŠ-NUN-NA(KI) A-GAL-GAL-LA MU-UN-GUL, the "case" of No. 33,232 giving the slightly fuller formula MU *Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL EŠ-NUN-NA(KI) A-GAL-GAL-LA MU-UN-GUL-LA; some slight variants occur in the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 410, which reads [MU E]Š-NUN-NA A-GAL-GAL MU-UN-GUL-LA, while the verb is omitted in the date upon V.A.Th. 752 (Meissner, No. 87), MU EŠ-NUN-NA(KI) A-GAL-GAL-LA. A tablet found at Abu-ḥabbah, and now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, is dated MU EŠ NUN-NA(KI) *me* GAL-GAL-LA (see Scheil, *Recueil de travaux*, xvii, p. 35), but it is possible that the sign read as *me* is a carelessly-written A. The contract-tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 1,155, is dated [MU] UMMAN EŠ-NUN-[NA(KI)], "The year in which the men of Umliaš (. . .)," and Bu. 91-5-9, 691, is dated MU ŠAB EŠ-NUN-NA(KI) GIŠ-KU BA-SIG, "The year in which the men of Umliaš were slain with the sword." It is, therefore, conceivable that the flood mentioned in the previously cited formulæ should be treated as a metaphorical description of the capture of the city

YEAR.

35. The year in which the wall of [. . . .].⁷⁰
 36. The year in which [.].
 37. The year in which [.].
 38. The year in which the city of Umliaš (was destroyed) by flood.⁷¹
 39. The year in which [. . . .] its [. . . .].
 [The text for years 40 and 41 is wanting.]
 42. The year in which [. . .] the city of [. . .]
 (was . . .).⁷²

by Ḫammurabi; it appears to me more probable, however, that the destruction of Umliaš by flood is to be taken literally, and the capture of the city to be referred to another occasion; (see above, p. 237, note 67). The "case" of Brit. Mus., No. 33,225 (B. 68), is dated MU EŠ-NUN-NA(KI) A-GAL-GAL-E MU-UN-GUL-E, but the tablet is dated by quite a different formula, which reads MU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL UMMAN *Tu-ru-uk-ku Ka-ak-mu-um*(KI) U *Su-bi-e* (KI)-BI-TA, "The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which the people in Turukku, Kakmum, and Subē (. . . .)." These two dates are evidently alternative formulæ for the 38th year, and we may perhaps assign to this year Bu. 88-5-12, 471, dated MU UMMAN (?) *Tu-ru-ku*, and V.A.Th. 766 (Meissner, No. 70), dated MU [. . .] MUL *Tu-ru-ku*.

⁷² The formulæ for several years of Ḫammurabi's reign are entirely missing, or the traces of characters are so incomplete as to render their restoration from dates upon contract-tablets uncertain. Among the dates upon tablets belonging to Ḫammurabi's reign which have not been identified, the following may be mentioned:—
 (1) Bu. 91-5-9, 2,480, is dated MU (URU)*Ra-bi-ku*(KI), "The year of the city of Rabiḫu," a date which occurs without either determinative, under the form MU *Ra-bi-ku*, upon Bu. 91-5-9, 831. This date is probably explained on Bu. 91-5-9, 2,515, by the fuller formula MU *Ra-bi-ku*(KI) ^m*I-bi-ik-siu Rammān* BA-DIB, "The year in which Ibi-Rammān captured the city of Rabiḫu."
 (2) The city of Rabiḫu is also mentioned in the formula for another year upon Bu. 88-5-12, 636, MU BAD GAL *Kār-siu Šamaš*(KI)

YEAR. A, COL. III.
 43. [MU] URU UL [. . .]⁷⁸
 [XL]III [M]U *Ħa-am-mu-r[a-bi* LUGAL-E]⁷⁴

VII. REIGN OF SAMSU-ILUNA.

A, COL. III.

I. [M]U [*Sa - am - s*]u - *i - lu na* LUGAL - E⁷⁵ (45)

U BAD *Ra-bi-ħu*(KI); cf. also the date upon V.A.Th. 743 (Meissner, No. 62), where we should probably read *Ra-bi-ħu*(KI) in the second line of the date-formula. That this formula refers to the building, and not to the destruction of the walls of Kār-Šamaš and Rabiħu, is proved by the dates upon Brit. Mus., No. 33,228 (B. 71), MU BAD GAL *Kar-ra-^{iu} Šamaš* MU-UN-RU-A, and Brit. Mus., No. 33,233 (B. 76), MU *Ħa-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL BAD GAL *Kar-ra-^{iu} Šamaš* MU-UN-RU-A, "The year of Ħammurabi the king in which the great wall of Kāra-Šamaš was built," and by the still fuller formula on Brit. Mus., No. 33,212 (B. 55), MU ^{iu}*Ħa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL-E BAD GAL TIG (ID)ĪDIGNA SAG-BI ĦAR-SAG-GIM MU-UN-IL *Kar-ra-^{iu} Šamaš* MU-BI NE-IN-SA MU-UN-RU-A, "The year in which Ħammurabi the king built on the bank of the Tigris a great wall, whose summit he made high like unto a mountain, and whose name he called Kāra-Šamaš." V.A.Th. 1,075 (Meissner, No. 51), gives the abbreviated formula MU BAD GAL *Kār-^{iu} Šamaš*(KI), which also occurs, with the end of the line imperfectly preserved, on Bu. 91-5-9, 1,137; cf. also the dates upon Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,179 (B. 22) and 33,187 (B. 30), which possibly also refer to this year. In the majority of the formulæ cited the wall of the city of Rabiħu is not mentioned; it is clear, therefore, that the construction of the wall of Kār-Šamaš was regarded as the more important event of the two. (3) Another date-formula not uncommonly met with is MU (DINGIR)*Taš-me-tum*, "The year of Tašmetum," which occurs upon Bu. 88-5-12, 39, Bu. 91-5-9, 686, and Brit. Mus., No. 33,211 (B. 54). This date is given more fully upon Brit. Mus., No. 33,214 (B. 57), and upon the "cases" of Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,217 (B. 60), 33,220 (B. 63), 33,223 (B. 66), 33,229 (B. 72), and 33,323 (B. 166), which read MU *Ħa-am-mu[-um]-ra-bi* LUGAL[-E] (DINGIR)*Taš-me-tum* INIM-ŠAG-ŠAG-

YEAR.

43. The year in which [.].⁷³
 The forty-three years of Ḫammurabi, the king.⁷⁴

VII. REIGN OF SAMSU-ILUNA.

1. The year in which Samsu-iluna became king.⁷⁵

GA[-A]-NI, "The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which the goddess Tašmetum made favourable her word." The same formula, with the omission of Ḫammurabi's name, occurs also on Bu. 91-5-9, 2,465, and on the "case" of Brit. Mus., No. 33,224 (B. 67). (4) Other contracts of Ḫammurabi's reign, e.g., Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,213 (B. 56), 33,218 (B. 61), 33,226 (B. 69), and 33,231 (B. 74), are dated MU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL[-E] E-ME-TE-UR-SAG MU-UN-GI-A, "The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which the temple E-me-te-ur-sag was restored." From the dates upon the "cases" of Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,209 (B. 52) and 33,218 (B. 61) we learn that the temple Igi-e-nir-kidur-maḫ was built in the same year; the formula reads MU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL-E E-ME-TE-UR-SAG-GA [B. 61 omits GA] MU-UN-GI-LAL [B. 61 MU-UN-GI-A] IGI-E-NIR-KIDUR-MAḪ (DINGIR)ZA-MA-MA (DINGIR)NINNI [B. 61 adds -GE] SAG-BI AN-GIM IL-LA MU-UN-RU-A, "The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which the temple E-me-te-ur-sag was restored, and the temple Igi-e-nir-kidur-maḫ was built for Zamama and Ninni (Ištar), and its summit made high like the heavens." The tablet of No. 33,209 gives the slightly abbreviated formula MU E-ME-TE-UR-SAG-GA MU-UN-GI-LAL E-IGI(sic)-NIR-KIDUR-MAḪ (DINGIR)ZA-MA-MA (DINGIR)NINNI. The "case"-fragment Brit. Mus., No. 33,278 (B. 121) is also dated in this year.

⁷³ It is possible that this line should be restored from the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,369, which reads MU IŠI ZIMBIR(KI) URU UL (DINGIR)UTU-GE.

⁷⁴ The List of Kings assigns fifty-five years to the reign of Ḫammurabi; B agrees with A.

⁷⁵ Among tablets dated by the formula MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL[-E], may be mentioned Bu. 88-5-12, 182, Bu. 91-5-9, 846, 938, 2,179, and 2,519.

YEAR.	A, COL. III ; B, COL. II.			
2. [M]U	[DAGAL A]R	GI	KI - EN - GI(KI)	⁷⁶
3. MU	ID <i>Sa - am - su - i - lu - na</i>	[<i>Na</i>]	- <i>ga - ab - nu - uḫ</i>	<i>šī</i> ⁷⁷
4. MU	ID <i>Sa - am - su - i - lu na</i>	ḪE - GAL	⁷⁸	
5. MU	GIŠ GU - ZA	[BA]RA - GE	⁷⁹	B (5)
6. MU	A[LA]M(?)	[. . . .]	- G[I]	A, COL. IV.
7. MU	GIŠ - KU -	[Š]U -	NIR	⁸⁰
8. MU	[.]	(ID)[. . . .]		
9. MU	UMMAN	<i>Ka - aš - šu - u</i>	⁸¹	

⁷⁶ This date occurs upon Bu. 88-5-12, 37, under the form MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL DAGAL AR-GI I-NI-GAR-RA; upon Bu. 91-5-9, 511, MU DAGAL AR-GI KI-EN-GI(KI); and upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,444, MU DAGAL AR-GE, the "case" of the last-named tablet giving the fuller formula MU DAGAL AR-GE KI-EN-GI(KI) URDU. It is probable that V.A.Th. 1,246 (Meissner, No. 33) should also be assigned to this year.

⁷⁷ The scribe of A has omitted the second *na* by mistake. A fuller form of the name of this canal is given on Bu. 91-5-9, 2,458, in the date-formula MU ID *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na Na-ga-ab-nu-ḫu-uš-ni-ši* MU-BA-AL, "The year in which the canal of Samsu-iluna (named) Nagab-nuḫuš-niši was dug." The date occurs also upon Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,246 (B. 92) and 33,256 (B. 99) under the form MU [*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL] ID *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na Na-ga-ab-nu-uḫ-ši* MU-UN-BA-LA, and upon Bu. 88-5-12, 332, and V.A.Th. 787 (Meissner, No. 59) under the form MU ID *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* [LUGAL-E] *Na-ga-ab-nu-uḫ-ši*; the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2,485, is partly covered by fragments of the "case," but gives the same formula. It is probably the third year of Samsu-iluna, which is referred to on Bu. 88-5-12, 617, under the alternative formula MU UŠ-SA UŠ *Sa-am-su-i-lu-[na]*.

⁷⁸ This date occurs on Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,237 (B. 80), 33,238 (B. 81), 33,242 (B. 85), 33,243 (B. 86), and 33,252 (B. 95), under the form MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL[-E] ID[-DA] *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*

YEAR.

2. The year in which the . . . in the land of Sumēr.⁷⁶
3. The year in which the canal of Samsu-iluna (named) Nagab-nuḥši (was dug).⁷⁷
4. The year in which the canal of Samsu-iluna named Ḥegallu (was dug).⁷⁸
5. The year in which the throne of the shrine (was made).⁷⁹
6. The year in which the image (?) of [. . . .] (was made).
7. The year in which⁸⁰
8. The year in which [. . . .] the river [. . . .].
9. The year in which the army of the Kassites (. . . .).⁸¹

ḤE-GAL MU-UN-BA[-AL]-LA. Brit. Mus., No. 33,259 (B. 102), is dated MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-n*[a LUGAL-E] (ID)ḤE-GAL [. . . .]; upon Brit. Mus., No. 33,245 (B. 88), the canal is termed simply "the Samsu-iluna-Canal" in the date-formula MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL-E ID *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* MU-UN-BA-AL-LA, the "case" reading ID *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* ḤE-GAL; while the abbreviated formula given in the text is found upon V.A.Th. 841 (Meissner, No. 83), l. 3.

⁷⁹ Bu. 91-5-9, 272 and 439, are dated by the formula for this year as given in the text; the date upon V.A.Th. 841 (Meissner, No. 83) reads MU GU-ZA BARA-GE; and Brit. Mus., No. 33,235 (B. 78) gives the fuller formula MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-GE MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA. The dates upon Brit. Mus., No. 33,257 (B. 100), V.A.Th. 643 (Meissner, No. 55), and I.O.M., No. 183 (see Scheil, *Recueil*, xix, p. 57), probably also refer to this year.

⁸⁰ Cf. Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 10,623. To this year belong Brit. Mus., Nos. 33,161 (B. 4), 33,240 (B. 83), and 33,269 (B. 112); in its fuller form the date refers to the restoration of the temples E-me-te-ur-sag and E-sagil.

⁸¹ This early reference to an invasion of Babylonia by the

YEAR.					A, COL. IV; B, COL. II.
10. MU	UMMAN	I	DA	MA	RA - AZ ⁸² B (10)
11. MU	BAD		URU(KI)		UNUG(KI) ⁸³ A (5)
12. MU		KUR -	AM -	SI -	A ⁸⁴
13. MU	KI - ŠUR	RA	U	TAB - BU - BI - DA - GE(?)	
14. MU	LUGAL - IM - GI		KAR [. . .]		RA ⁸⁵
15. MU	BAD I - SI - IN		NA(KI)	BA - GUL - LA	⁸⁶ B (15)
16. MU	BAD		(DINGIR)DA - [DI]		A ⁸⁷ A (10)
17. MU	BAD - ḪAL		GAL	GAL - LA	
18. MU	E - BABBAR	(DINGIR)	UTU	UD - KIB - RA(KI)	⁸⁸
19. MU	GIŠ-GU-ZA [. . .]		GUŠKIN II-NA-[. . .]		⁸⁹
20. MU		KUR		NU - ŠE - GA	NE
21. M[U G]IŠ-GU-ZA [. . . .] - MU [. . . .]					A (15)

Kassites during the period of the First Dynasty is of great interest. The contract Bu. 88-5-12, 114, is dated in this year under the same abbreviated formula MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL-E UMMAN *Ka-aš-šu-u*, "The year of Samsu-iluna the king in which the army of the Kassites (. . . .)."

⁸² Brit. Mus., No. 33,248, Bu. 88-5-12, 715, and Bu. 91-5-9, 396, are dated in this year; in the formula upon the two last-mentioned tablets UMMAN is expressed by the sign ṢAB.

⁸³ From the abbreviated formula given in the text it is not clear whether the walls of Ur and Erech were built or destroyed in this year; that the former was the case may perhaps be assumed from the date upon a contract in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, No. 642, which reads MU ⁸⁴ *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* BAD URU(KI) U UNUG(KI) MU-UN-NA-DIM, "The year of Samsu-iluna in which the wall(s) of Ur and Erech were built" (see Scheil, *Recueil*, xix, p. 60).

⁸⁴ The tablet Brit. Mus., No. 92,663 (Bu. 91-5-9, 2,518), is dated in this year according to the formula in the text; its "case" gives the fuller formula MU KUR AM-SI-A AN-GA-A.

⁸⁵ Bu. 88-5-12, 194, which is dated MU LUGAL IM-[. . .], may probably be assigned to this year.

YEAR.

10. The year in which the army⁸²
11. The year in which the wall(s) of the cities of Ur and Erech (were built).⁸³
12. The year in which the land⁸⁴
13. The year in which and
14. The year in which the king [. . . .].⁸⁵
15. The year in which the wall of Isin was destroyed.⁸⁶
16. The year in which the wall of the god Dadi (was made).⁸⁷
17. The year in which the great walls (?) (were made).
18. The year in which the temple E-babbar (was built) for Šamaš in the city of Sippar(?).⁸⁸
19. The year in which the throne [. . . .] of gold [. . . .] (was made).⁸⁹
20. The year in which the land had ill fortune.
21. The year in which the throne [. . . .] (was made).

⁸⁶ B gives the variant reading I (i.e. NI)-SI-IN[. . . .]. For a similar formula employed during the reign of Sin-muballit, see above, p. 228 f., and cf. note 39. It may be noted that some contracts of Samsu-iluna's reign are dated by the restoration of the wall of Isin, e.g. Bu. 88-5-12, 153 and 707, which give the formula MU [*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL] BAD I-SI-IN[-NA](KI) KI-BI-KU NE-IN-GE-A, "The year of Samsu-iluna the king in which the wall of Isin was restored to its place."

⁸⁷ The restoration is taken from the formulæ upon Bu. 88-5-12, 225 and 706, both of which are dated in this year, and from which it would appear that the wall in question was built at Sippar.

⁸⁸ B. reads MU E-BABBAR E[(DINGIR) UTU].

⁸⁹ It is possible that Bu. 91-5-9, 545 and 1,016, are dated in this year.

YEAR.	A, COL. IV.		
22. MU	IGI - E	NIR - KI - DUR - MAḤ ⁹⁰	
23. MU	A - KAL	[.]	
24. MU	BAD	KIŠ [(KI)]	
25. MU	ALAM	[.]	
26. MU	ḤAR - SAG	[.] ⁹¹	A (20)
27. [MU	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
28. [MU	ID] AG	[GA (DINGIR)EN LIL]	
29. MU	[UŠ - S]A	ID - AG - G[A (DINGIR)EN - LIL] ⁹²	
30. MU	UŠ - SA - UŠ - SA	ID - AG - G[A (DINGIR)EN - LIL]	
31. MU	ALAM - A - NI	GIŠ - NIM MU - [UN - DIM - MA(P)]	A (25)
32. MU (ID)	[.]		
33. MU (URU)	<i>Ka</i>	[.] - <i>ra - tum</i>	
34. M[U]	E - GAL	NAM - NUN - NA	
35. MU	A - MA - AL(KI)	IGI - NUN - ŠU - UM(KI)	
36. MU	ŠAB	MAR - TU - A	A (30)
37. MU	M[A - D]A	KI - URI - A	
38. MU	[.]	NU - [.] - LA	
	XXXVIII MU <i>Sa-am-su-i-lu-na</i> LUGAL - E ⁹³		

⁹⁰ Bu. 88-5-12, 685, 687, and 699, are all dated in this year by the formula given in the text.

⁹¹ The date upon the tablet No. 174 in the Ottoman Museum (see Scheil, *Recueil*, xix, p. 57) possibly gives a variant formula for this year.

⁹² The date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 330, which refers to this year reads, MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL - E UŠ - SA ID - AG - GA (DINGIR)EN - LIL - LA; cf. also Bu. 88-5-12, 135.

⁹³ B agrees with A in assigning thirty-eight years to Samsu-iluna; the List of Kings assigns thirty-five years to his reign. A, which ends with Samsu-iluna's reign, is dated in the reign of Ammizaduga, but of the second line of the formula only traces of characters remain.

YEAR.

22. The year in which Igi-e-nir-kidur-maḥ (was built).⁹⁰
 23. The year in which the might of [. . .].
 24. The year in which the wall of Kiš (was destroyed).
 25. The year in which the image of [. . .] (was made).
 26. The year in which the mountain [. . .].⁹¹
 27. The year in which [. . .].
 28. The year in which the oracle of Bēl (was given).
 29. The year after that in which the oracle of Bēl (was given).⁹²
 30. The second year after that in which the oracle of Bēl (was given).
 31. The year in which his image was made of . . . -wood.
 32. The year in which the canal [. . .].
 33. The year in which the city of . . . (was . . .).
 34. The year in which the palace of dominion (was built).
 35. The year in which the cities of . . . (were . . .).
 36. The year in which the men of Martu (were . . .).
 37. The year the land
 38. The year in which [. . .] did not
- The thirty-eight years of Samsu-iluna, the king.⁹³

VIII. REIGN OF ABĒŠU'.⁹⁴

YEAR.	B, COL. III.
[.]	
MU I [.]	
MU SILIM M[U]	(5)
[.]	

IX. REIGN OF AMMIDITANA.

	B, COL. IV.
[.]	⁹⁵
MU [.]	
[. . .] - [G]I - [.]	⁹⁶
MU SIBA IM TUK [ŠE - GA (DINGIR)UTU]	⁹⁷
MU EŠ - BAR - MAḤ - [TA DINGIR - GAL - GAL - LA]	
NAM A [GAL (DINGIR) <i>Marduk</i>]	⁹⁸
MU GI [.]	

⁹⁴ The few signs preserved of Col. III of B, to judge from their position on the tablet, probably refer to the early years of the reign of Abēšu'.

⁹⁵ What remains of Col. IV of B refers to the early years of Ammiditana's reign.

⁹⁶ The formula for this year should possibly be restored from the dates upon Bu. 91-5-9, 355, 397, and 419, which read MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL-E AD-GI-A GU-LA (DINGIR)UTU (DINGIR)*Marduk*-BI-DA(-GE), "The year of Ammiditana the king in which through the mighty counsel of Šamaš and Marduk (. . . .)." This was perhaps the first year of Ammiditana's reign.

⁹⁷ The line has been restored from the date upon Bu. 88-5-12, 281, which reads MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL-E SIBA IM-TUK ŠE-GA (DINGIR)UTU, and that upon Bu. 88-5-12, 271, MU *Am-mi-di-t*[*a-na* LUGAL-E] SIBA IM-TUK ŠE-G[A (DINGIR)UTU] BI-DA-[GE]. The date occurs upon Bu. 88-5-12, 197, in the abbreviated form MU *Am-mi-te-ta-na* LUGAL SIBA IM-TUK ŠE-GA.

VIII. REIGN OF ABĒŠU'.⁹⁴

YEAR.

[.].
 The year in which [.].
 The year in which prosperity [.].
 [.].

IX. REIGN OF AMMIDITANA.

[.].⁹⁵
 The year in which [.].
 [.].⁹⁶
 The year in which the illustrious shepherd and
 darling of Šamaš (. . . .).⁹⁷
 The year in which through the exalted decision
 of the great gods the might of Marduk
 (. . . .).⁹⁸
 The year in which [. . . .] was restored.

⁹⁸ These two lines have been restored from V.A.Th. 799 (Meissner, No. 19), which is dated MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL-E EŠ-BAR-TA DINGIR-GAL-GAL-LA SAG-DU-A-NI AN-LA-AL NAM-A-GAL (DINGIR)*Marduk-GE*(?), "The year of Ammiditana the king in which by the decision of the great gods he raised (?) his head and the might of Marduk (. . . .)"; the date occurs on Bu. 91-5-9, 393, in the abbreviated form MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL EŠ-BAR-MAḤ-A DINGIR-GAL-GAL, "The year of Ammiditana the king in which through the exalted decisions of the great gods (. . . .)." It is possible that we may see a variant of this formula in the date upon Bu. 88-5-12, 218, which reads MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL-E NAM-A-GAL-LA (DINGIR)*Marduk-GE*(?) IN-NE-EN-GAR-RA-TA(?), "The year of Ammiditana the king in which the might of Marduk was established"; cf. also the dates upon Bu. 88-5-12, 263 and 330, and Bu. 91-5-9, 357 and 363.

YEAR.	B, COL. IV.
MU ALAM [.] ⁹⁹	
M[U E] ¹⁰⁰	
[A gap occurs here of not more than fifteen years.]	
	B, COL. V.
22. MU [.]	
ID <i>Am - mi - di - ta - na</i> [.]	
23. MU [. . .] ALAM-A-NI U (DINGIR)[. . . .]	
24. MU SAG (P) - [.] - GA (P)	
25. MU [.] GIŠ - KU [.] (5)	
26. MU ALAM - A - NI U [.] ¹⁰¹	
27. MU (DINGIR)URU UR-SAG-GAL [.] ¹⁰²	
28. MU ALAM - A - NI [.] - A	
29. MU ALAD - ALAD A - [.] - BU - UM ¹⁰³	
30. MU ALAM - A - NI NAM - NUN - NA - NI - MA ¹⁰⁴ (10)	
31. MU (DINGIR)NI[N-I]B(P) [. . .] - SAG [. . . .] - A - NI - [. . .] ¹⁰⁵	
32. MU BAD [<i>Iš - ku - un</i> (P)] - (DINGIR) <i>Marduk</i> (KI) ¹⁰⁶	

⁹⁹ The making of images is also referred to in the formulæ for the 23rd, 26th, 28th, and 30th years, and several contracts of Ammiditana's reign are also dated by similar events; but few of the formulæ on the contracts correspond to the traces of characters in the text.

¹⁰⁰ The reading E is not certain.

¹⁰¹ The tablets Bu. 91-5-9, 496 and 734, are probably to be assigned to this year.

¹⁰² The date upon Bu. 88-5-12, 522, refers to this year; it reads MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL-E (DINGIR)URU UR-SAG-GAL-[. . .].

¹⁰³ Bu. 91-5-9, 736, 781, and 852, are dated in this year.

¹⁰⁴ This formula is found with slight variants in the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 369, which reads MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL-E ALAM NAM-NUN-NA-NI; from the fuller formula upon Bu. 88-5-12, 10, it may be inferred that an image of Samsu-iluna was also set up

YEAR.

- The year in which the image [. . . .].⁹⁹
 The year in which the temple [. . . . (was built)].¹⁰⁰
- [A gap occurs here of not more than fifteen years.]
22. The year in which [. . . .] the canal of Ammiditana [. . . .].
23. The year in which [. . . .] his image and [. . . .].
24. The year in which [.].
25. The year in which [. . . .] the sword [. . . .].
26. The year in which his image and [. . . .].¹⁰¹
27. The year in which Nabū the mighty hero [. . . .].¹⁰²
28. The year in which his image [.].
29. The year in which the colossi . . [. . . .].¹⁰³
30. The year in which his princely image (was made).¹⁰⁴
31. The year in which Ninib . . [. . . .].¹⁰⁵
32. The year in which the wall of Iškun(?) - Marduk (was built).¹⁰⁶

in this year. The date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 471, reads MU *Am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL - E ALAM NAM - LUGAL - LA - NA ALAM GUŠKIN - [. . .] - GA ŠU-NE-IN-GAB-A, and is perhaps a variant form of this date; cf. also the shorter formula on Bu. 88-5-12, 635.

¹⁰⁵ If the reading of the god's name as Ninib is correct, the tablets Bu. 91-5-9, 359 and 895, are to be assigned to this year.

¹⁰⁶ Some tablets of Ammiditana's reign are dated by the building of the wall of Iškun (sometimes written Iskun) - Marduk (cf. Bu. 88-5-12, 49, 302, and 305, and Bu. 91-5-9, 764), and the suggested restoration of the text is taken from them.

YEAR.

B, COL. V.

33. MU [.] - GI BAD - SIBA(?)
 34. MU [.]
 35. MU *Dū[r] - Am - mi - di - ta - na*(KI)¹⁰⁷ (15)
 36. MU GI - [. . .] *Dūr - Am mi*(KI)
 37. MU BAD [. . .] BAD KI - [.]
 XXXVII MU *Am-mi-d[i]-t[a-n]a* [LUGAL-E]¹⁰⁸

X. REIGN OF AMMIZADUGA.

[Seven or eight years of Ammizaduga's reign are wanting.]

B, COL. VI.

[MU SIBA - ZI] ŠE - GA (DINGIR)[UTU
 (DINGIR)*Marduk*]¹⁰⁹

[MU] - MA - NA [.]
 [.] - IN - GAB - A
 X MU *Am - mi - za - du - ga* LUGAL¹¹⁰

XI. SUMMARY FROM CHRONICLE B.

XLIII MU *Ha - am - mu - ra - bi*¹¹¹ (5)
 XXXVIII MU *Sa - am - su - i - lu na*¹¹²
 []VIII MU *A - bi - e - šu - '* ¹¹³
 [X]XXVII MU *Am - mi di - ta - na*¹¹⁴
 [X] MU *Am - mi - za - du - ga*

¹⁰⁷ The tablets Bu. 88-5-12, 435 and 864, and Bu. 91-5-9, 1,203, are dated in this year; cf. also the dates upon Bu. 91-5-9, 352 and 608.

¹⁰⁸ The List of Kings assigns twenty-five years to the reign of Ammiditana.

¹⁰⁹ The restoration of this line is taken from the dates upon Bu. 88-5-12, 158, 215, and 283, and Bu. 91-5-9, 753, which read MU *Am - mi - za - du - ga* LUGAL - E SIBA - ZI ŠE - GA (DINGIR)UTU (DINGIR)MARDUK - BI - DA[-GE].

YEAR.

33. The year in which [. . . .] the wall
was restored.
34. The year in which [.].
35. The year in which Dūr-Ammitana (was built).¹⁰⁷
36. The year in which Dūr-Ammi was restored.
37. The year in which the wall [.].
The thirty-seven years of Ammiditana, the king.¹⁰⁸

X. REIGN OF AMMIZADUGA.

[Seven or eight years of Ammizaduga's reign are wanting.]

The year in which the true shepherd, the darling
of Šamaš and Marduk (. . . .).¹⁰⁹

The year in which [.].
[.].

The ten years of Ammizaduga, the king.¹¹⁰

XI. SUMMARY FROM CHRONICLE B.

The forty-three years of Ḥammurabi.¹¹¹

The thirty-eight years of Samsu-iluna.¹¹²

The [. . .]-eight years of Abēšu'.¹¹³

The thirty-seven years of Ammiditana.¹¹⁴

The ten years of Ammizaduga.

¹¹⁰ B was clearly compiled in the tenth year of Ammizaduga's reign. The List of Kings assigns him twenty-two years.

¹¹¹ This estimate agrees with A; see above, p. 240 f.

¹¹² A also assigns thirty-eight years to Samsu-iluna; see above, p. 246 f.

¹¹³ The List of Kings assigns twenty-five years to Abēšu'; B's reading should perhaps be restored as [twenty]-eight.

¹¹⁴ The restoration of the number is taken from B, Col. V, l. 18; see the preceding page.

APPENDIX.

I. INSCRIPTION OF MARDUK - ŠĀPIK - ZĒRIM, KING OF BABYLON ABOUT B.C. 1100 (Brit. Mus., No. 26,295).— This inscription, the text of which was included in Vol. I (see pl. 133, No. 70), is a copy¹ on clay of an older inscription made in the fifteenth year of Kandalanu, B.C. 633. The following is a transliteration of the text :—

TRANSLITERATION.

OBV.	[.] - A	
	[.] - GU - E	
	[.] DINGIR - E - NE - GE	
	[. . .] (DINGIR)LUGAL LUGAL-HE-IR-AN-KI-A	
5	UR - MAḤ	E - [SAG] IL - LA 5
	E -	ZI - DA - BI
	U MU - UN	BAR - ZI - PA(KI)
	ḤI - GAL	E - ZI - DA
	LUGAL -	A - NI - IR
10	(DINGIR) <i>Marduk</i> -	<i>ša bi ik</i> - 10
		<i>zi - ri im</i>
	ME - A TIG	GU - DE - A - NI
	NUN - ŠU	DU DU - A NI
	KI - GAR	E ZI - DA
REV.	SUN - BI	NI - DIRI - GA 15
	ŠI - IN - GI - KU - DIM	MA
	KI -	BI - KU
	MU - UN	NA - GI
<i>ki - ma la - bi - ri - nu</i>		

¹ Though the text was doubtless taken from an inscription of Marduk-šāpik-zērīm, the copy is not a facsimile of the inscription, for many of the characters are archaistic, and not genuinely archaic, in form.

20	ša -	ti	ir -	ma	ba -	ar -	im	20
	IM	GID -	DA	^m Nabū -	šum -	lišir		
	bu	kur		^m Ħu -	za -	bi		
	^{ar} Nisannu			šattu			15	^{KAM}
	Kan -	da -	la	nu		šarri		
25	Bābili							^{KI} 25

TRANSLATION.

[For Nabū the messenger] of the gods, [the] of Marduk² the king of heaven and earth, the lion of E-sagila and E-zida, his king, hath Marduk-šāpik-zērim, his minister, , increased the structure of E-zida in its old age, and hath built it anew, and hath set it up in its place.

Written and revised according to its original. The tablet³ of Nabū-šum-lišir, the first-born son of Ħuzabi. The month Nisan, the fifteenth year of Kandalanu, king of Babylon.

II. PLAN OF BĪT-SIPPAR-IAHRURUM, MADE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON (Brit. Mus., No. 86,394).—A copy of this plan is published as an Appendix to the texts in Vol. II (see pl. 242, No. 107). The plan is sketched upon the obverse of the tablet, while the reverse gives the following description and date: *u-zu-ur-ti Bīt-Sippar^{KI}-ia-ah-ru-rum. ^{ar} Simānu ūmu I^{KAM} MU UŠ-SA SIBA KI-AG (DINGIR)EN-LIL-LA, "Plan⁴*

² For LUGAL, or Šarru, as a title of the god Marduk, see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 145.

³ The ideogram IM-GID-DA occurs with this meaning in contracts of the Neo-Babylonian period.

⁴ That the meaning "plan" is to be assigned to *u-zu-ur-ti* (= *ušurti*) is clear. The word is probably to be connected with *ušurtu*, "enclosure," rather than with *ušurtu*, "sculpture, bas-relief."

of Bit⁵-Sippar-iaḥrurum. The first day of the month Sivan, the year after that in which the beloved shepherd of Bēl (. . . .).” The sketch on the obverse represents the ground-plan of a building with eleven principal chambers; the area occupied by the rooms is in the form of a rough square, with one corner missing. The building faces the SILA-DAGAL (Sem. *sūku rapšu*), “the main street,” which is marked along the side parallel to the top of the tablet. Looking towards the street we see that the three chambers on the extreme right probably did not form part of the original building, inasmuch as they break the symmetry of the plan. The building consisted of two long, narrow chambers, each divided by a partition; they are flanked by three chambers on each side, the three additional chambers on the right having possibly been added at a later period. Twelve doorways are marked in the walls, giving access from room to room; it is noticeable that no doorways are marked in the walls of two small chambers in the front of the building on the right. The innermost portion of the central chamber farthest from the street is labelled *e-ši-ir-tum*, which may perhaps be rendered “shrine,” while two of the chambers on the extreme right and left are labelled PA-LUL, a phrase which also occurs on a plan published by Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'assyriologie*, vol. iv, p. 23), and which he translates as “(chamber of) the chief musician.”⁶ The Bit-Sippar-iaḥrurum may well have been a building under the control of the priests of the Temple of the Sun-god in Sippar, and some of its chambers may have been employed for storing the tithes and taxes collected in Sippar-iaḥrurum.⁷

⁵ It is preferable to take *Bit* as part of the title of the building, rather than to render the phrase as *bit Sippar-iaḥrurum*, “a house of Sippar-iaḥrurum.”

⁶ The Semitic form of the title would be *akil zammeri*; this rendering, however, is far from certain.

⁷ For Sippar-iaḥrurum, see above, p. 118, note 2.

Vocabularies
and
Indices.

I.

BABYLONIAN VOCABULARY.

[N.B.—The figures in heavy type refer to the numbers of the texts in Vols. I and II; the pages within parentheses refer to the transliterations in Vol. III.]

N

i, cohortative particle, employed with 1st pers. plur. Pret. : **33**
(p. 45), 16; **48** (p. 169), 21.

u, copula, "and."

aibu, "enemy, foe" : *ai-bi* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV*b*, 8; *ai-bi-ia* **97** (p. 199), 56.

iāti, personal pronoun, "me" : *ia-ti* **30** (p. 49), 14, **97** (p. 199), 21
(var. *ia-a-ti*); (*i*)*ia-ti* **38** (p. 108), Obv. 9.

abu, "father" : *a-bi-ni* **48** (p. 169), 11, 13; *a-bu-ni* **48** (p. 169), 12;
a-bi-im **95** (p. 188), 60; *a-bi* **97** (p. 199), 60; *a-bi*
a-bi-ia **97** (p. 199), 61.

abūbu, "deluge, hurricane" : *a-bu-ub* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV, 9.

abālu, I 1, "to bring" : Pres. *tu-ub-ba-la-n[im]-ma* **93** (p. 143), 25;
Pret. *tu-ub-la-nim* **93** (p. 143), 7, 14; Prec. *li-ib-lam* **79**
(p. 124), Rev. 7; *li-ib-lu-nim* **16** (p. 48), 11, **22** (p. 54),
Rev. 7, **72** (p. 52), 17; *li-ib-lu-nim-ma* **72** (p. 52), 24.

III 1, "to cause to bring, to bring" : Pret. *u-ša-bi-lam* **55**
(p. 160), 12; *tu-ša-bi-lam* **55** (p. 160), 16; Imper.
šu-bi-lam **11** (p. 20), 24, **37** (p. 56), 14, **44** (p. 58), 10,
55 (p. 160), 23, **75** (p. 62), 26, **82** (p. 141), 17;
[š]*u-bi-lam-[ma]* **36** (p. 67), 12; *šu-bi-la* **56** (p. 157),
27; [š]*u-b[ī]-la-n[im]* **93** (p. 143), 22; Inf. *šu-bu-li-im*
55 (p. 160), 9, **86** (p. 153), 22.

III 2, "to cause to bring, to bring" : Pret. *nu-uš-ta-bi lam*
48 (p. 169), 14; *uš-ta-b[i-lu?]* **86** (p. 153), 28.

biltu, "tribute, hire"; see **eḫlu**.

ebūru, "harvest" : *e-bu-ru-um* **33** (p. 45), 14, 19; *e-bu-ri-im* **33**
(p. 45), 15.

aburriš, "in security" : *a-bur-ri-[iš]* **97** (p. 199), 24 f.

igisū, "tribute" : *igisī* **14** (p. 12), 7, **86** (p. 153), 20, 25; *igisā-*
šu-nu **86** (p. 153), 28.

- agāru, "to hire": Prec. *li-gu-ur* 20 (p. 86), 6.
 agru, "hired labourer": *sābu agrūti*st 20 (p. 86), 6.
- ngaru, "district, neighbourhood": *u-ga-ar-šu* 43 (p. 105), 17;
ugar 80 (p. 121), 6, 7, 16, 17, 22, 23, 83 (p. 150), 8;
ugari 76 (p. 28), 4.
- adi, "to, up to": *a-di* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 9, 34 (p. 6), 18, 72 (p. 52),
 10, 11, 74 (p. 80), Obv. 10; *a-di-ni* 75 (p. 62), 6; see
 also *inanna*.
- adū, "captain": *wa-du-tim* 42 (p. 114), 5.
- idū, "to know": *i-du-u* 11 (p. 20), 12, 28; *ni-di-[i]* 83 (p. 150), 25.
 mūdū, "knowing, having knowledge of": *mu-di-e* 92
 (p. 135), 19.
- idlu, "man": *id-lam* 27 (p. 83), Rev. 5.
- edēšu, I 1, "to be new."
 II 2, "to be renewed, to renew oneself": Inf. *u-te-id-di-šu*
 97 (p. 199), 92.
- eššu, "new, recent": *eš-šu* 100 (p. 207), Obv. 8.
- uznu, "ear"; see *birtu* (sub *barū*).
- aḥu, "brother": *aḥi* 32 (p. 92), 7; *a-ḥu-ni* 92 (p. 135), 11;
aḥu-[-šu] 41 (p. 87), 8; *aḥē*st-*šu* 84 (p. 145), 7, 15.
- aḥu, "side, bank": *a-aḥ* 5 (p. 16), 6, 71 (p. 14), 4; *a-ḥi-ni* 48
 (p. 169), 20.
aḥātu, "side, neighbouring district": *a-ḥi-a-tim* 56 (p. 157),
 9, 21.
- aḥū, "hostile, strange, different": *a-ḥi-a-am* 28 (p. 33), 9; *a-ḥi-i-im*
 26 (p. 98), 10, 17.
- aḥāzu, I 1, "to take, to hold."
 III 1, "to cause to receive (judgment)": *šu-ḥi-is-su-nu-ti*
 19 (p. 38), 13.
- aḥru, "future"; f. plur. *aḥrātu*, "the future": *aḥ-ri-a-at* 60
 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 3.
- akālu, "to eat."
ukullū, "food, food-supply": *ukullī* 49 (p. 119), 12.
- ekallu, "palace": *ekallu* 30 (p. 49), 15, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 7;
ekalli 6 (p. 23), 12, 8 (p. 65), Obv. 16, Rev. 2, 17
 (p. 112), 15, 48 (p. 169), 8, 82 (p. 141), 6, 10, 83
 (p. 150), 10, 31, 87 (p. 155), 6; *ekalli-a* 83 (p. 150), 29;
ekal 64 (p. 194), 1, 65 (p. 194), 1; *e-kal-la-tim* 48
 (p. 169), 7.

- aklu**, c.st. *akil*, "scribe, secretary": *aklêst-hamilta(ta)* 16 (p. 48), 6, 9; *akil^{anmê}* [. . .]-*kust* 35 (p. 93), 8; see also **elippu**, **damçaru**, **malahu**, **nuhatimmu**.
- akîtu**, festival of the New Year; *bîl akîti*, "the House of the Feast of the New Year": *bîl a-ki-tim* 50 (p. 162), 6, 51 (p. 164), 6, 52 (p. 167), 6, 53 (p. 166), 6, 54 (p. 165), 6.
- ul**, negative, "not": *u-ul* 5 (p. 16), 4, 5, 8, 24 (p. 31), 11, 28 (p. 33), 15, 17, 30 (p. 49), 9, 13, 38 (p. 108), Rev. 2, 43 (p. 105), 20, 55 (p. 160), 12, 75 (p. 62), 6, 7, 10, 19, 83 (p. 150), 25, 26, 27, 86 (p. 153), 8, 90 (p. 139), 18, 92 (p. 135), 15, 93 (p. 143), 25.
- alu**, "city": *a-lim* 5 (p. 16), 5, 15; *ali* 57 (p. 177), 42, 59 (p. 192), 21, 94 (p. 186), 34.
- elû**, I 1, "to be high": *e-li-a* 95 (p. 188), 51; *e-li-a-tim* 97 (p. 199), 104.
- II 1, "to raise": *u-ul-li* 97 (p. 199), 71; *lu-u-ul-li* 57 (p. 177), 17.
- III 1, "to 'cause to go up, to cause to embark, to carry": *li-še-lu-nim-ma* 40 (p. 60), 20; *li-še-lu-[u]* 84 (p. 145), 22.
- eli**, "upon, to": *e-li* 21 (p. 79), 7; *e-li-nu-um* 48 (p. 169), 6; *eli* 59 (p. 192), 24.
- ilu**, "god": *ili* 94 (p. 186), 5, 32, 97 (p. 199), 49, 100; *ilānist* 39 (p. 75), 5; *ilāni* 59 (p. 192), 4, 95 (p. 188), 44, 97 (p. 199), 84.
- iltu**, "goddess": *i-la-a-tim* 45 (p. 10), 4, 11.
- alādu**, "to beget": *wa-li-di-ia* 95 (p. 188), 60.
- alāku**, I 1, "to go": Pres. *i-il-la-ak* 1 (p. 103), 21, 38 (p. 108), Rev. 4; [. . .]-*il-la-ak* 86 (p. 153), 17; *i-il-la-ku* 85 (p. 137), 7; Pret. *il-li-kam* 90 (p. 139), 18; *il-li-kam-ma* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 9; *il-li-ku-nim* 17 (p. 112), 17, 42 (p. 114), 28; *ni-il-li-ik* 33 (p. 45), 16; Prec. *li-il-li-ku* (?) 46 (p. 82), 11; *li-il-l[i-ku]* 81 (p. 117), 11; *li-il-li-ku-ma* 15 (p. 68), 22; *li-il-li-ka-nim* 34 (p. 6), 11, 14; *l[i-il-li-ku-nim-ma]* 56 (p. 157), 18; [*li-i*]*l-[l]i-kam-ma* 33 (p. 45), 33; Imper. *a-li-ik-ma* 15 (p. 68), 12; *al-kam* 50 (p. 162), 15, 51 (p. 164), 15; [*al*]-*ka-a-nim* 54 (p. 165), 15; Part. *a-li-ik-ma* 40 (p. 60), 17; Inf. *a-la-ki-im* 8 (p. 65), Rev. 4, 81 (p. 117), 6, 90 (p. 139),

- 14; Inf. employed as subs. "journey, march," *a-la-kam* 23 (p. 3), Rev. 1, 7, 39 (p. 75), 17, 44 (p. 58), 11, 73 (p. 94), 14.
- I 2, "to walk, to go one's way, to pass (of an event)": Pret. *it-ta-la-ak* 28 (p. 33), 19, 33 (p. 45), 19; Inf. *a-ta-al-lu-kam* 97 (p. 199), 107.
- ilku, "command, rule, control": *il-ki-im* 1 (p. 103), 28, 26 (p. 98), 10, 16.
- ellu, "bright": *el-lam* 94 (p. 186), 36.
- alpu, "ox," in plur. "cattle": LID-GUD² 15 (p. 68), 13, 37 (p. 56), 5, 74 (p. 80), Obv. 4, 11, Rev. 4, 79 (p. 124), Obv. 12, Rev. 1, 4.
- elippu, "ship": *elippē*² 80 (p. 121), 8, 15, 21; *elip* 10 GUR, "a ship of ten GUR capacity," 27 (p. 83), Obv. 11; MA-NI-UM, "ship for transport," 8 (p. 65), Obv. 5, Rev. 3, 10, 36 (p. 67), 11, 37 (p. 56), 11, 72 (p. 52), 14; MA-NI-UM² 75 (p. 62), 7, 9, 16, 22; MA-NI-UM-*šu-nu* 40 (p. 60), 7, 10, 18; MA-NI-UM 60 GUR *ne-me-it-ti*, "a ship of sixty GUR capacity," 87 (p. 155), 4, 10, 16; MA-NI-UM 75 ŠE-GUR-NE, "a ship of seventy-five GUR capacity," 36 (p. 67), 6; *šāb* MA-NI-UM², "crews of ships," 75 (p. 62), 5, 14, 18; *šābam(am?)* MA-NI-UM-*ka* 75 (p. 62), 8; *aklē*² MA-NI-UM, "captains of ships," 40 (p. 60), 4, 16.
- ema, "in, within; where, wherever": *e-ma* 40 (p. 60), 18, 72 (p. 52), 7, 84 (p. 145), 20.
- ūmu, "day": *ūmu* 5 (p. 16), 10, 14 (p. 12), 7, 10, 15 (p. 68), 9, 27 (p. 83), Obv. 12, Rev. 8, 40 (p. 60), 6, 13, 50 (p. 162), 17, 51 (p. 164), 17, 54 (p. 165), 17, 85 (p. 137), 8, 87 (p. 155), 17, 107 (p. 255), Rev. 3; *ūmi* 5 (p. 16), 14; *u-um* 57 (p. 177), 40, 75 (p. 62), 12; *u-mi* 39 (p. 75), 18, 44 (p. 58), 12, 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 4.
- ūmišam, adv., "daily": *u-mi-ša-am* 97 (p. 199), 102.
- emēdu, I 1, "to set up, to place upon"; with *arnu*, "to visit an offence upon, to punish": Imper. *e-mi-id* 6 (p. 23), 22.
- II 1, "to set up": *lu-u-um-mi-su* 57 (p. 177), 24.
- nemittu, "that which is imposed, tax, tribute; the register or capacity of a ship": *ne-mi-it-ti-šu* 55 (p. 160), 7; *ne-me-*

- it-ti-šu* 90 (p. 139), 12, 22; *ne-me-it-ta-šu* 55 (p. 160), 11, 90 (p. 139), 16, 25; *ne-me-it-ta-ka* 55 (p. 160), 14, 21, 82 (p. 141), 5, 9, 15; *ne-me-it-ta-ku-nu* 93 (p. 143), 6, 12, 23; *ne-me-it-ti* (see *elippu*) 87 (p. 155), 4, 10, 16.
- amēlu**, "man": *amēl* 17 (p. 112), 7, 10, 31 (p. 89), 7, 42 (p. 114), 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 21, 23, 80 (p. 121), 12, 90 (p. 139), 10, 21; *a-me-lam* 41 (p. 87), 18; *a-me-lu-u* 11 (p. 20), 9; *a-me-lum-ma* 38 (p. 108), Rev. 3; *a-me-li-e* 3 (p. 101), 12, 11 (p. 20), 25, 17 (p. 112), 18, 42 (p. 114), 29, 91 (p. 147), Obv. 12; *amēlē^{pi}* 13 (p. 110), 16, 22 (p. 54), Obv. 7, 56 (p. 157), 6, 13, 15, 17, 71 (p. 14), 4, 86 (p. 153), 12, 88 (p. 130), 12.
- umma**, "thus, as follows," introducing direct speech; in letter-formula, passim; introduces quotation from a previous letter or report: *um-ma* 33 (p. 45), 13; *um-ma šu-ma* 3 (p. 101), 5, 6 (p. 23), 5, 11 (p. 20), 6, 12 (p. 29), 5, 26 (p. 98), 5, 28 (p. 33), 7, 16, 55 (p. 160), 5, 75 (p. 62), 4, 79 (p. 124), Obv. 7, 89 (p. 133), 7, 91 (p. 147), Obv. 7; *um-ma šu-u-ma* 24 (p. 31), 6, 30 (p. 49), 5, 38 (p. 108), Obv. 8; *um-ma at-ta-ma* 4 (p. 18), Obv. 3, 8 (p. 65), Obv. 7, 28 (p. 33), 6, 33 (p. 45), 12, 43 (p. 105), 6; *um-ma at-ta-a-ma* 1 (p. 103), 8; *um-ma šu-nu-ma* 10 (p. 96), 10, 25 (p. 77), 8, 56 (p. 157), 7, 79 (p. 124), 11, 83 (p. 150), 6, 90 (p. 139), 9, 92 (p. 135), 10; *um-ma at-tu-nu-ma* 86 (p. 153), 4, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 5.
- ummu**, "mother": *ummi* 97 (p. 199), 43.
- ummatu**, "troops": *um-ma-ti-šu-nu* 23 (p. 3), Rev. 3; *vāhu um-ma-tim* 36 (p. 67), 4.
- [**emēku**], III 2, "to supplicate": Prec. *li-iš-te-mi-ga-ku* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 14 f.
- emūku**, "strength, power, might": *e-mu-uk* 97 (p. 199), 37; *e-mu-ki-in* 95 (p. 188), 45; *e-mu-ga-at* 5 (p. 16), 12; *e-mu-ga-a-tim* 25 (p. 77), 18.
- nēmeku**, "wisdom": *ne-me-ki-im* 97 (p. 199), 19.
- amāru**, I 1, "to see, to behold, to examine, to find": Pres. *ta-am-ma-ru* 50 (p. 162), 9, 51 (p. 164), 9, 52 (p. 167), 8, 54 (p. 165), 8, 55 (p. 160), 20, 75 (p. 62), 13, 84 (p. 145), 12, 87 (p. 155), 9; *ta-am-ma-ra* 90 (p. 139), 20; Pret.

i-mu-ru-nim 4 (p. 18) Rev. 3; Pret. (or Imper.) *a-mu-ur-ma* 1 (p. 103), 17, 24 (p. 31), 13; Prec. *li-mu-ru-ni-ik-ku-ma* 72 (p. 52), 8; Imper. *a-mu-ur-ma* 12 (p. 29), 17; Inf. *a-ma-ri* 48 (p. 169), 19; *a-ma-ri-im* 5 (p. 16), 11, 11 (p. 20), 19, 17 (p. 112), 5, 27 (p. 83), Obv. 4, 29 (p. 70), 3, 31 (p. 89), 5, 32 (p. 92), 5, 33 (p. 45), 20, 35 (p. 93), 4, 39 (p. 75), 4, 41 (p. 87), 4, 42 (p. 114), 3, 44 (p. 58), 4, 73 (p. 94), 8, 78 (p. 90), 5, 85 (p. 137), 10, 92 (p. 135), 17.

IV 1, "to be seen, to be found, to appear": Pres. *in-nam-mar* 27 (p. 83), Rev. 4; Pret. *in-[na-mi-ir-ma (?)]* 6 (p. 23), 12; *in-nam-ru* 10 (p. 96), 8; Prec. *li-[i]n-nam-me-ir* 33 (p. 45), 34; *li-in-nam-ru* 41 (p. 87), 14.

immeru, "sheep": *immerē[#]* 34 (p. 6), 16.

amātu } "word; thing, matter; case, suit": *a-wa-tum* 8 (p. 65),
awātu } Obv. 8, Rev. 5, 43 (p. 105), 20; *a-wa-ti-šu* 1 (p. 103),
17, 9 (p. 42), 18, 19 (p. 38), 10, 47 (p. 168), 5, 92
(p. 135), 19; *a-wa-a-tu-šu-nu* 9 (p. 42), 21, 92 (p. 135),
26; *a-wa-a-ti-šu-nu* 12 (p. 29), 17; *a-wa-a-tim* 11
(p. 20), 11, 27.

amtu, "female slave": SAG-AMAT-URU 89 (p. 133), 8, 17.

ana, prep., "to, for," written *a-na*; also employed in combination with *māru*, *mīnu*, *pānu*, *šīru*, *zīmu* (qq.v.).

ina, prep., "in, by, among, with," written *i-na*, the form *in* occurring in Nos. 57 (p. 177), 94 (p. 186), 95 (p. 188), and 97 (p. 199), also employed in combination with *libbu*, *muḥḥu*, *mati* (qq.v.).

inu, "time"; *inušu*, "at that time": *i-nu-šu* 59 (p. 192), 20, 97 (p. 190), 17.

inuma, "when": *i-nu-ma* 15 (p. 68), 11, 45 (p. 10), 8, 56 (p. 157), 14, 85 (p. 137), 14.

anāku, personal pronoun, "I": *a-na-ku* 57 (p. 177), 10, 30, 39, 59 (p. 192), 14, 95 (p. 188), 9, 44, 97 (p. 199), 36.

anumma, "now": *a-nu-um-ma* 2 (p. 40), 10, 7 (p. 81), 4, 9 (p. 42), 11, 11 (p. 20), 15, 12 (p. 29), 12, 13 (p. 110), 4, 15 (p. 68), 4, 19 (p. 38), 7, 22 (p. 54), Obv. 4, 34 (p. 6), 4, 46 (p. 82), 4.

inūmišu, "at that time": *i-nu-mi-šu* 95 (p. 188), 41.

- inanna**, "now": *i-na-an-na* **1** (p. 103), 20, **4** (p. 18), Rev. 6, **33** (p. 45), 14, 19, **49** (p. 119), 13, **75** (p. 62), 9, 24, **88** (p. 130), Obv. 9; *a-di i-na-an-na*, "hitherto," **82** (p. 141), 8, **93** (p. 143), 10; *iš-tu i-na-an-na*, "henceforth," **49** (p. 119), 9.
- annū**, demonstrative pronoun, "this": *an-ni-a-am* **5** (p. 16), 11, **11** (p. 20), 19, **17** (p. 112), 4, **27** (p. 83), Obv. 4, **29** (p. 70), 3, **31** (p. 89), 4, **32** (p. 92), 4, **33** (p. 45), 20, **35** (p. 93), 4, **39** (p. 75), 4, **41** (p. 87), 4, **42** (p. 114), 3, **44** (p. 58), 4, **50** (p. 162), 8, **51** (p. 164), 8, **52** (p. 167), 7, **54** (p. 165), 7, **55** (p. 160), 19, **73** (p. 94), 8, **75** (p. 62), 12, **78** (p. 90), 4, **84** (p. 145), 11, **85** (p. 137), 10, **87** (p. 155), 8, **90** (p. 139), 20, **92** (p. 135), 17; *an-ni-i-im* **55** (p. 160), 17, **71** (p. 14), 8, **82** (p. 141), 11, **93** (p. 143), 15; *an-ni-tum* **8** (p. 65), Obv. 8, **43** (p. 105), 20; *an-nu-u-tim* **29** (p. 70), 41; *an-nu-ti-in* **13** (p. 110), 16.
- esēru**, "to enclose, to imprison, to arrest": Pret. *e-si-ir-ma* **79** (p. 124), 10.
- [**apū**], III 1, "to make glorious": Pret. *u-še-bi* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV *b*, 4.
- apālu**, "to give back, to pay back, to pay": Pres. *ta-ap-pa-al-šu-ma* **75** (p. 62), 19; Prec. *li-pu-ul* **90** (p. 139), 26; Imper. *a-pu-ul* **28** (p. 33), 30; *a-pu-ul-ma* **75** (p. 62), 15.
- aplu**, c.st. *apil*, "son": *apil* **59** (p. 192), 26, **100** (p. 207), Rev. 10.
- appu** (for *anpu*), "countenance": *ap-pa-ši-na* **60** (p. 172), Col. II *b*, 16.
- epiru**, "earth": *epiri* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 10; *e-pi-ri* **57** (p. 177), 13; *e-bi-ri* **95** (p. 188), 49.
- epēšu**, I 1, "to do, to make, to build": Pret. *e-pu-šu* **97** (p. 199), 62; *te-pu-šu* **43** (p. 105), 20; *e-pu-uš* **59** (p. 192), 23, **75** (p. 62), 7, **95** (p. 188), 54, **97** (p. 199), 68; *e-pu-uš-su-um* **57** (p. 177), 46; *i-pu-šu* **83** (p. 150), 25; *i-ib-bi-eš* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 12; *ni-ib-bi-eš* **88** (p. 130), 8; Prec. *li-pu-uš* **75** (p. 62), 17; *li-pu* š[*a-am*] **73** (p. 94), 14; *li-pu-šu* **8** (p. 65), Rev. 10, **29** (p. 70), 43; **46** (p. 82), 10; *li-pu-šu-nim* **23** (p. 3), Rev. 7; *li-pu-šu-nim-ma* **23** (p. 3), Rev. 1, **39** (p. 75), 17, **44** (p. 58), 11; Imper. [*e*]-*pu-uš* **5** (p. 16), 19; Part. *e-bi-zu-tim* **46** (p. 82),

6, 8; Perm.(?) *i-ib-bi-eš* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 7; Inf. *e-bi-e-ši-im* 55 (p. 160), 17; *e-bi-ši-im* 77 (p. 85), 5, 82 (p. 141), 11, 93 (p. 143), 15; *e-pi-ši* 59 (p. 192), 16; *e-bi-ša-am* 97 (p. 199), 96 f.

I 3, "to make, to do": Pret. *i-te-ne-ip-šu* 27 (p. 83), Obv. 7.

III 1, "to cause to do, to cause to work, to render (accounts)": Pres. *tu-še-ib-bi-is-su-nu-ti* 77 (p. 85), 8; Prec. [*i*]-*še-bi-iš* 7 (p. 81), 11; *li-še-bi-šu* 39 (p. 75), 15, 77 (p. 85), 9; Inf. *šu-bu-šu-um-ma* 77 (p. 85), 9; Part., with determinative *amēlu*, "overseer, taskmaster," *amēlu mu-še-bi-ši* 7 (p. 81), 10; *amēlu mu-še-bi-ši-šu-nu* 77 (p. 85), 11.

IV 1, "to be made, to be made ready": Pres. *in-ne-ip-pu-uš* 75 (p. 62), 11; Pret. *in-ne-pu-uš* 75 (p. 62), 10.

epištu, "work, deed": *e-bi-[iš-tum]* 5 (p. 16), 8; *šāb e-bi-iš-tum*, "workmen," 4 (p. 18), Obv. 4, 7 (p. 81), 7; *ip-ša-tu-šu* 57 (p. 177), 7, 27.

[*epēšu*], II 1, "to procure, to take possession of, to purchase": Imper. *ub-bi-ša-ma* 49 (p. 119), 14.

ašū, I 1, "to go out."

III 1, "to cause to go out, to bring out": Pres. *tu-še-zu-[u]* 50 (p. 162), 13, 51 (p. 164), 13; *tu-še-ši-a* 54 (p. 165), 12.

šātu, "eternity": *ši-a-tim* 57 (p. 177), 41.

šītu, "exit": *ši-i-tim* 50 (p. 162), 13, 51 (p. 164), 13, 54 (p. 165) 12.

mūšū, "exit": *mu-ša-a-am* 40 (p. 60), 19.

išu, "wood": *iša* 72 (p. 52), 20, 22; *iši* 72 (p. 52), 10.

ešēdu, "to harvest": Prec. *li-ši-d[u]* 84 (p. 145), 21; Inf. *e-ši-di-im* 84 (p. 145), 10.

uṣurtu, "plan": *u-zu-ur-ti* 107 (p. 255), Rev. 1.

eḫlu, "field": *eḫli* 6 (p. 23), 10, 13, 28 (p. 33), 11, 25; *eḫlim(im)* 28 (p. 33), 3, 8; *eḫlam(am)* 6 (p. 23), 7, 16, 9 (p. 42), 9, 28 (p. 33), 9, 76 (p. 28), 10; *eḫli-šu* 28 (p. 33), 20, 28; *eḫlē²¹* 71 (p. 14), 5; *eḫil bilti*, "hired field," 84 (p. 145), 8, 17, 91 (p. 147), Obv. 14; *eḫil bilti-šu* 38 (p. 108), Rev. 7, 84 (p. 145), 19; *eḫli bilti-ia* 38 (p. 108), Obv. 9, 11.

- arū, I 1, "to bring, to carry off."
- III 1, "to cause to bring, to hand over, to send": Imper. *šū-ri-a-am* 13 (p. 110), 20; [*šū-ri*]-*a-am* 11 (p. 20), 31; *šū*-[*ri-a-aš-šū-nu-ti*] 42 (p. 114), 33; [*šū-ri-a-aš*]-*šū-nu-ti* 17 (p. 112), 22.
- erēbu, I 1, "to enter": Pres. *i-ir-ru-ba-am* 14 (p. 12), 5; *i-ir-ru-bu* 5 (p. 16), 5.
- III 1, "to bring in": [*u-š*]-*e-ri-bu-nim* 43 (p. 105), 10; *u-še-ri-bu-nim-ma* 2 (p. 40), 7; *u-še-ri-bu-ni-iš-šū* 1 (p. 103), 16.
- erbu, "revenue": *e-ri-iš* 83 (p. 150), 31.
- arba'u, f. *irbitti*, "four": *ar-ba-im* 57 (p. 177), 5, 94 (p. 186), 23, 95 (p. 188), 5, 97 (p. 199), 9, 36, 77, 94; [*i*]-*r-bi-tim* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 10.
- arādu, I 1, "to go down."
- I 3, "to go down": Pres. *it-ta-na-ar-ra-d[u-ma]* 80 (p. 121), 9.
- II 1, "to send down": Pres. [*i*]-*u-ur-ra-ad* 80 (p. 121), 24.
- ardu, "male slave, servant": *wa-ar-du-ki-ma* 48 (p. 169), 4; SAG-URU²¹ 84 (p. 145), 6, 14.
- arḥu, "month": *wa-ar-ḥu-um* 14 (p. 12), 5; *wa-ar-ḥi-im* 71 (p. 14), 8; *arḥu* 97 (p. 199), 66; *arḥi* 27 (p. 83), Obv. 10.
- arḥišam, adv., "monthly": *wa-ar-ḥi-ša-am* 97 (p. 199), 91.
- arḥiš, "swiftly, speedily": *ar-ḥi-iš* 23 (p. 3), Rev. 6, 25 (p. 77), 20, 32 (p. 92), 11, 34 (p. 6), 26, 72 (p. 52), 23, 73 (p. 94), 15, 75 (p. 62), 18.
- arāku, "to be long, to be delayed": Pres. *i-ri-ik-ku* 72 (p. 52), 25.
- mūraku, "length": *mūrak*(?)*-šū* 72 (p. 52), 11.
- arkū, "behind"; f. plur. *arkātu*, "future," *arkāta parāšu* (q.v.), "to examine into a matter": *wa-ar-ka-tu* 6 (p. 23), 17, 11 (p. 20), 20, 56 (p. 157), 24; [*wa-ar*]-*ka-tum* 91 (p. 147), Rev. 8; *wa-ar-ka-as-su* 19 (p. 38), 9; *wa-ar-ka-su* 43 (p. 105), 11.
- arki, "after": *wa-ar-ki* 33 (p. 45), 15; *wa-ar-ki-ši-na* 34 (p. 6), 13; *wa-ar-ki*[*i*- . . .] 38 (p. 108), Rev. 3.
- arnu, "offence": *ar-nam* 6 (p. 23), 22.
- irnittu, "triumph": *ir-ni-ti* 95 (p. 188), 6.

- iršitu, "earth": *ir-ši-tim* 97 (p. 199), 82; *iršiti* 97 (p. 199), 2, 15; *iršitim(tim)* 59 (p. 192), 3.
- arķu, "green": *wa-ar-ga-am-ma* 72 (p. 52), 22.
- urru, "day, daylight": *ur-ri* 39 (p. 75), 16, 73 (p. 94), 13.
- erēšu, I 1, "to ask for, to request": Prec. *li-ri-iš* 38 (p. 108), Rev. 10.
 I 3, "to request, to beseech for": Pret. *e-te-ne-ir-ri-is-su-ma* 24 (p. 31), 10; [*e*]-*te-ne-[i]r-ri-[šu]* 91 (p. 147), Obv. 11; [*e-te*]-*ne-[i]r-ri-šu* 91 (p. 147), Rev. 2.
- erēšu, "to plant."
 mērišu, "planting, cultivation": *me-ri-šim* 95 (p. 188), 24.
- išū, "to have, to be": *i-šu* 8 (p. 65), Obv. 9, 14 (p. 12), 4; *i-šu-u* 40 (p. 60), 19; Prec. *li-ša-am* 20 (p. 86), 7.
- ašābu, I 1, "to dwell": Perm *wa-aš-bu* (3rd sing.) 90 (p. 139), 11; *wa-aš-bu* (3rd plur.) 56 (p. 157), 6, 13, 78 (p. 90), 12, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 12, 14.
 III 1, "to cause to dwell, to settle": Pret. (with particle of emphasis) *lu-u-še-ši-ib* 57 (p. 177), 35; *lu-u-š[e]-š[ib]* 95 (p. 188), 62; *lu-u-še-ši-ib-ši-na-ti* 95 (p. 188), 40.
- šubtu, "dwelling, habitation": *šu-ba-at* 57 (p. 177), 33, 95 (p. 188), 39; *šu-ub-ti-ši-na* 45 (p. 10), 12.
- išdu, "foundation": *išda-šu* 97 (p. 199), 14; *išda-ši-na* (var. *i-šid-si-na*) 97 (p. 199), 72.
- aštu, "difficult, impassable": [*w*]*a-aš-tu-tim* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 20.
- ašlu, "rope": *aš-li-im* 34 (p. 6), 20.
- ašnan, "grain": *aš-na-an* 95 (p. 188), 25.
- āšipu, "magician": *amziu a-ši-pu* 100 (p. 207), Rev. 10.
- ašar, prep., "where": *a-šar* 28 (p. 33), 10; conj., "instead of": *a-šar* 14 (p. 12), 7.
- [ešēru], I 1, "to be straight."
 III 1, "to direct": Imper. *šu-te-še-ir-ši* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 12.
 III 2, "to set right, to do justice to": Pret. *uš-te-eš-še-ru-ni-a-ti* 92 (p. 135), 15.
- ašaridūtu, "princely power": *a-ša-ri-du-tu* 60 (p. 172), Col. I b, 7.
- ašru, "humble": *aš-ru* 59 (p. 192), 13.
- eširtu, "shrine (?)": *e-ši-ir-tum* 107 (p. 255), Obverse.

aššum, prep., "concerning": *aš-šum* **1** (p. 103), 4, 6, **2** (p. 40), 4, 8, **4** (p. 18). Obv. 3, **8** (p. 65), Obv. 4, **9** (p. 42), 4, **19** (p. 38), 5, **28** (p. 33), 3, **33** (p. 45), 3, **38** (p. 108), Obv. 4, **43** (p. 105), 3, **73** (p. 94), 4, **86** (p. 153), 3, **88** (p. 130), 5; "in order that," followed by the Inf., *aš-šum* **55** (p. 160), 7, **81** (p. 117), 4, **86** (p. 153), 20, **90** (p. 139), 12.

conj., "since": *aš-šum* **56** (p. 157), 14.

aššatu, "wife": *aš-ša-at* **48** (p. 169), 2.

ištu, prep., "from": *iš-tu* **4** (p. 18), Rev. 8, **10** (p. 96), 13, **23** (p. 3), Obv. 7, **72** (p. 52), 10, 11, **85** (p. 137), 7; "since (of time)," *iš-tu* **6** (p. 23), 7, **92** (p. 135), 13; see also **inanna**.

conj., "after": **4** (p. 18), Rev. 6, **5** (p. 16), 17.

ištēn, "one": *iš-te-en* **78** (p. 90), 15.

ištar, "goddess": *iš-ta-ra-a-tim* **34** (p. 6), 6, 9, 15, 23.

etellūtu, "lordship, lordly power": [*e*]-*te-lu-t[u]* **60** (p. 172), Col. I *b*, 2.

utullu, "flock": *utulli* **29** (p. 70), 13, 22, 32, 40; "herdsman": *utullu* **3** (p. 101), 4, **21** (p. 79), 4, **37** (p. 56), 4; *utullē*²¹ **83** (p. 150), 12, 30, **85** (p. 137), 6.

[**atāru**], I 1, "to be in excess."

III 1, "to make great": Pret. (with particle of emphasis), *lu-u-ša-tir* **97** (p. 199), 78.

atru: *wa-at-ra-am* **1** (p. 103), 26; *wa-at-ri-iš-šu* **1** (p. 103), 19.

atta, personal pronoun, "thou": *at-ia* **60** (p. 172), Col. I *b*, 4, 9, 14, 19, 23; *at-ta-ma* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 3, **8** (p. 65), Obv. 7, **28** (p. 33), 6, **33** (p. 45), 12, **43** (p. 105), 6; *at-ta-a-ma* **1** (p. 103), 8; plur. *attunu*, "ye," *at-tu-nu* **86** (p. 153), 24; *at-tu-nu-ma* **86** (p. 153), 4, **88** (p. 130), Obv. 5.

itti, "with": *it-ti* **2** (p. 40), 4, **7** (p. 81), 10, **9** (p. 42), 5, **16** (p. 48), 5, **22** (p. 54), Obv. 7, **23** (p. 3), Rev. 2, **27** (p. 83), Obv. 6, **28** (p. 33), 8, **35** (p. 93), 7, **38** (p. 108), Obv. 9, **46** (p. 82), 6, 8; *it-ti-šu* **9** (p. 42), 19; *it-ti-ka* **15** (p. 68), 22; *it-ti-ia* **10** (p. 96), 8, **33** (p. 45), 34, **41** (p. 87), 14; *it-ti-šu-nu* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 12, **15** (p. 68), 12, **33** (p. 45), 10, 28.

[**ittu**], plur. *idāti*, "troops": *i-ta-at* **36** (p. 67), 5.

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- ba'āru, "to hunt, to catch (fish)": Pres. *i-ba-ar-ru-[nim]*, **80** (p. 121), 10; Part. *bā'irūti*st **80** (p. 121), 8, 15, 21.
- bābu, "gate": *ṣāb bāb ekalli* **17** (p. 112), 15; *amēl bāb e[kalli]* **80** (p. 121), 12; *mu-uz-za-az bābi* **79** (p. 124), 5.
- babālu, "to bring": Perm. *ba-bi-la-at* **95** (p. 188), 19.
- buhādu, "young (of flocks and herds)": *buhādē*st **82** (p. 141), 4, 5, 9, 15, **93** (p. 143), 5, 8, 11, 23.
- biḥru, "chosen, picked (of troops)": *bi-iḥ-ra-am* **34** (p. 6), 21.
- bukru, "firstborn": *bu-kur* **70** (p. 254), 22.
- [balū], II 1, "to destroy, to bring to nought": Part. *mu-bi-il-li* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV b, 11.
- balu, "without, without the consent of": *ba-lum* **28** (p. 33), 17, **83** (p. 150), 30.
- bēlu, "to possess, to take possession of, to rule": Pres. *ni-iḥ-bi-el* **48** (p. 169), 10; Inf. *be-li-im* **94** (p. 186), 26, **95** (p. 188), 13.
- bēlu, "lord": *be-el* **86** (p. 153), 10, **94** (p. 186), 6; *be-li* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 13, **8** (p. 65), Obv. 10, 14, **59** (p. 192), 2, **75** (p. 62), 5; *be-li-im* **94** (p. 186), 2; *be-li-šu* **94** (p. 186), 8; *be-li-ia* I (p. 103), 13, **26** (p. 98), 7, **57** (p. 177), 44, **59** (p. 192), 5; *bēl amāti*, "party to a suit," *be-el a-wa-ti-su* **9** (p. 42), 18, **19** (p. 38), 10, **47** (p. 168), 5; *bēl piḥāti*, "ruler of a district," *be-el bi-ḥa-tim* **86** (p. 153), 24.
- bēlūtu, "lordship": *be-lu-ut* **97** (p. 199), 8; *be-lu-ti* **59** (p. 192), 16.
- balāṣu, "life": *ba-la-ṣam* **97** (p. 199), 89; *balāṣ* **59** (p. 192), 27.
- banū, I 1, "to make, to build, to create, to beget, to bear": Pret. **57** (p. 177), 43; *iḥ-ni-ṣum* **94** (p. 186), 37; Part. *ba-ni* **57** (p. 177), 6, 26; *ba-ni-šu* **94** (p. 186), 32; *ba-ni-ia* **97** (p. 199), 49; *ba-ni-ti-ia* **97** (p. 199), 43.
- IV 1, "to be built": Pret. *iḥ-ba-nu-u* **36** (p. 67), 7.
- būnu, "form, appearance, regard": *bu-ni-šu-nu* **97** (p. 199), 85; *ana būni*, "for, in respect of," *a-na bu-ni* **25** (p. 77), 15.
- baḳāmu, "to shear (sheep)": Inf. *ba-ga-mi-im* **25** (p. 77), 10, 13.

- buḫumu**, "sheep-shearing": *bu-ku-m[u]* 51 (p. 164), 5; [*b*] *u-ku-m[u]* 50 (p. 162), 5, 53 (p. 166), 5; [*bu*] *-ku-mu* 52 (p. 167), 5, 54 (p. 165), 5; *bu-ku-mu-um* 25 (p. 77), 20.
- [**bāru**], II 1, "to award to, to give an award upon": Pres. *u-ba-ar-ru-ma* 28 (p. 33), 21; Prec. *li-bi-ir-ru-u-ma* 28 (p. 33), 27; *li-bi-ir-ru-ma* 18 (p. 26), Rev. 2, 28 (p. 33), 13.
- barū**, "to see, to examine, to revise": Perm. *ba-ar-im* 70 (p. 254), 20.
- bārū**, "seer, magician": *mārē^{pl} bārī* 17 (p. 112), 14, 42 (p. 114), 14; *bārūti^{pl}* 56 (p. 157), 23.
- bīrtu**, "look, glance"; *bīrit uzni*, "wisdom": *bīrit uzni-ia* 97 (p. 199), 39.
- bīrtu**, "citadel"; *šāb bīrti*, "men of the citadel": *šābi bi-ir-ti* 56 (p. 157), 9, 21; *šāb bi-ir-tim* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 14.
- bašū**, I 1, "to be": Pres. *i-ba-aš-š[i]* 89 (p. 133), 11; *i-ba-aš-šu-u* 11 (p. 20), 13, 49 (p. 119), 11, 72 (p. 52), 7; *ib-ba-šu-u* 28 (p. 33), 12, 20; [. . .] *-ba-ši* 74 (p. 80), 6; Pret. *ib-šu-u* 28 (p. 33), 26.
- IV 1, "to be made; to take place": Pret. *ib-ba-š[i]* 11 (p. 20), 21; *ib-ba-ši-ma* 11 (p. 20), 8.
- bušū**, "possession; under the control of": *bušū* 3 (p. 101), 9, 8 (p. 65), Obv. 11, 9 (p. 42), 8, 23 (p. 3), Obv. 5, 26 (p. 98), 19, 35 (p. 93), 6, 38 (p. 108), Obv. 5, 43 (p. 105), 3, 44 (p. 58), 7, 8, 45 (p. 10), 6, 49 (p. 119), 7.
- bītu**, "house, temple": *bi-tim* 34 (p. 6), 8, 81 (p. 117), 8; *bīt* 59 (p. 192), 28, 83 (p. 150), 7, 23, 33; *bīt^{iu} Šamaš* 39 (p. 75), 7, 49 (p. 119), 6, 12, 83 (p. 150), 8, 15; *bītūti^{pl} ilāni^{pl}* 39 (p. 75), 5; see also *akītu*, *šutummu*.
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- gabba'u**, official title: *amēlu ga-ab-ba-u* 89 (p. 133), 14, 17; *amēlu ga-ab-ba-u-u[m]* 89 (p. 133), 5.
- gabbahū**, official title: [*amēlu*] *ga-ab-ba-ḫu-u* 83 (p. 150), 14; *amēlu ga-ab-ba-ḫi-i* 83 (p. 150), 32.
- gādu**, "together with": *ga-du-um* 33 (p. 45), 4, 6, 23, 25, 36 (p. 67), 13, 39 (p. 75), 9, 40 (p. 60), 7, 84 (p. 145), 16, 90 (p. 139), 22.

- guzalū, official title, "throne-bearer": *guzalū* 15 (p. 68), 5.
 gamālu, "to complete": Prec. *li-ig-mi-lu* 71 (p. 14), 11.
 gamāru, I 1, "to complete."
 I 2, "to complete": Pres. *ta-ag-dam-ru* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 7.
 IV 1, "to be completed, to be concluded": Prec. *li-i[g]-ga-am-ra* 9 (p. 42), 21; [*li-ig-ga-a*]m-r[a] 92 (p. 135), 26.
 gamru, "all": *ga-am-ra-am* 30 (p. 49), 9, 13, 14; *ga-am-ri-im* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 4, 39 (p. 75), 10, 40 (p. 60), 11.
 gurgurru, "smith, metal-worker": *gurgurrē*st 72 (p. 52), 5, 25.
 gašru, "strong, great": *ga-aš-ra-tim* 95 (p. 188), 46.

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- dabābu, I 1, "to speak"; II 1, Pres. *u-[d]a-ab-ba-ab* 86 (p. 153), 18.
 dubbutu, *du-ub-bu-ub-tu* 8 (p. 65), Obv. 9.
 dikū, "to summon": Imper. *di-ki-e-ma* 71 (p. 14), 6.
 dalālu, "to tender obedience to": Prec. *li-id-lu-la* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 22.
 dalīlu, "obedience, submissiveness": *da-li-li-ka* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 21.
 damkaru, "merchant": *damkaru* 90 (p. 139), 10, 21; *damkarē*st 86 (p. 153), 1, 12, 20, 24, 25, 29; *damk[ar P]A-NAM-5* 24 (p. 31), 4; *akil damkari* 16 (p. 48), 5, 55 (p. 160), 1, 6; *akil damkarē*st 30 (p. 49), 4, 33 (p. 45), 3, 5, 22; *aklē*st *damkarē*st 33 (p. 45), 13.
 dānu, "to judge."
 dīnu, "judgment": *di-nam* 19 (p. 38), 12.
 daianu, "judge": *daianu* 83 (p. 150), 20; *daiani* 84 (p. 145), 6, 14; *daianē*st 79 (p. 124), Obv. 2, 80 (p. 121), 3, 83 (p. 150), 3, 5, 22, 30, 84 (p. 145), 2, 85 (p. 137), 3, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 2, 89 (p. 133), 2, 90 (p. 139), 8, 92 (p. 135), 3, 93 (p. 143), 2.
 danānu, I 1, "to be strong."
 II 1, "to strengthen": Pres. [*u*]-*da-an-na-nu* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 17.
 dannu, "strong": *da-an-nam-ma* 27 (p. 83), Rev. 5, *da-an-nu-um* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 7; *dan-nu* 59 (p. 192), 11; *da-num* 57 (p. 177), 2, 94 (p. 186), 18, 95 (p. 188), 2, 43, 96 (p. 194), Col. II, 2, 97 (p. 199), 32.
 dunnu, "power": *du-ni-šu* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 2.

- duppu**, "tablet": *dub-bu-um* 6 (p. 23), 12; *dup-pa-am* 18 (p. 26), Obv. 5; *dub-bi-im* 76 (p. 28), 8; *dub-bi* 5 (p. 16), 11, 11 (p. 20), 19, 17 (p. 112), 4, 27 (p. 83), Obv. 4, 29 (p. 70), 3, 31 (p. 89), 4, 32 (p. 92), 4, 33 (p. 45), 20, 35 (p. 93), 4, 39 (p. 75), 4, 41 (p. 87), 4, 42 (p. 114), 3, 44 (p. 58), 4, 50 (p. 162), 8, 51 (p. 164), 8, 52 (p. 167), 7, 54 (p. 165), 7, 55 (p. 160), 19, 73 (p. 94), 8, 75 (p. 62), 12, 78 (p. 90), 4, 84 (p. 145), 11, 85 (p. 137), 10, 87 (p. 155), 8, 90 (p. 139), 20, 92 (p. 135), 17; *dup-pa-šu* 24 (p. 31), 9, 13; *dup-pa-tim* 48 (p. 169), 13.
- dupšikku**, "forced labour": *šāb dupšikki* 27 (p. 83), Obv. 5, 6, 8, Rev. 2; *šāb dupšikki-ka* 27 (p. 83), Obv. 5.
- dāru**, "eternity": *a-na da-ar* 97 (p. 199), 28, 96.
- dārū**, "eternal, continuous": *da-ru-tim* 95 (p. 188), 27; f. plur. *dārāti*, "eternity": *a-na dārātīm(a-tīm)* 57 (p. 177), 34.
- dūru**, "duration, continuance": *du-ur-šu* 1 (p. 103), 18, 43 (p. 105), 16, *du-ur-šu-nu* 43 (p. 105), 22.
- dūru**, "wall, fortress": *dūr* 88 (p. 130), 10; *dūru* 57 (p. 177), 11; *dūra* 95 (p. 188), 48, 55, *dūrāni* 97 (p. 199), 57.
- durmaḥu**, a priestly title of high rank: ^{zikkaru} *durmaḥ An-nu-ni-tum* 91 (p. 147), Obv. 5, Rev. 5.
- dātu, da'ātu**, "bribe, bribery": *ta-a-tu* 11 (p. 20), 25; *ta-a-tum* 11 (p. 20), 8, 21; *ta-a-ta-am* 11 (p. 20), 9; *ta-a-tim* 11 (p. 20), 23.

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- zabālu**, "to carry"; Part. *zābilu*, "labourer": *zābilūti*²¹ 46 (p. 82), 4, 6, 8.
- zakāru**, I 1, "to name, to call, to proclaim."
IV 1, "to be proclaimed": Prec. *li-iz-za-ki-ir* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 12.
- zikru**, "name": *zi-kir* 95 (p. 188), 59.
- zīmu**, "appearance, countenance"; *a-na zi-mi*, "for": 49 (p. 119), 12.
- zakāpu**, "to set up": Inf. *za-ka-bi-im* 4 (p. 18), Obv. 8.
- [**zāru**], "to hate"; Part. *zā'iru*, "enemy, opponent": *za-i-ri* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 10.
- [**zarāmu**?], Imper. *zi-ir-mi-ma* 48 (p. 169), 11.

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- ḫabālu**, "to pledge, to receive a pledge from": Pret. *iḫ-bu-u*[*l*] 6 (p. 23), 19; *iḫ-bu-lu* 6 (p. 23), 21; *iḫ-bu-lu-šu-nu-ti* 18 (p. 26), Obv. 7, Rev. 6; Perm. *ḫa-ab-la-an-ni-a-ti* 92 (p. 135), 12.
- ḫibiltu**, "pledge, mortgage": *ḫi-bi-il-ta-šu* 6 (p. 23), 20; *ḫi-bi-il-ti-šu* 19 (p. 38), 5; *ḫi-bi-il-ta-šu-nu* 18 (p. 26), Rev. 3; *ḫi-bi-il-ti-šu-nu* 18 (p. 26), Obv. 5.
- ḫablu**, "pledge (?)": *ḫa-ab-lum* 18 (p. 26), Obv. 4.
- ḫabātu**, I 1, "to plunder, to carry off."
 II 1, "to destroy": Part. *mu-ḫa-ab-bi-it* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV *b*, 15.
- ḫegallu**, "abundance": *ḫegalli* 94 (p. 186), 4, 95 (p. 188), 19, 37.
- ḫadū**, I 1, "to rejoice."
 II 1, "to delight, to make glad": Inf. *ḫuddu*, "joy": *ḫu-ud li-iḫ-bi-im* 97 (p. 199), 106; *ḫu-ud lib-bi-šu* 59 (p. 192), 23.
- ḫadiš**, "joyfully": *ḫa-di-iš* 97 (p. 199), 6.
- ḫadianu**, **ḫadinu** (?), *ḫa-di-a-nim* 27 (p. 83), Rev. 6; *ḫa-di-nim* 40 (p. 60), 21.
- ḫalāpu**, "to cover oneself, to be clothed."
naḫlaptu, "mantle, apparel": *subātu naḫlaptu* 44 (p. 58), 5.
- ḫamu**, a water-plant (?): *ḫa-mi-ša* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 11.
- ḫamšu**, "fifth": *ḫa-a[m]-šum* 97 (p. 199), 62.
- ḫipū**, "to break; to cancel (a pledge)": Pret. *iḫ-p[u]-nim-ma* 18 (p. 26), Obv. 8; Inf. employed as substantive, "break (in a text)," *ḫi-bi eš-šu* 100 (p. 207), 8; *ḫi-b[i]*, *ḫi-bu-u* 96 (p. 194), Col. III.
- ḫarū**, **ḫirū**, I 1, "to dig, to clear out (a canal)": Pret. with particle of emphasis, *lu aḫ-ri* 95 (p. 188), 22; *lu-uḫ-ri-a-am-ma* 57 (p. 177), 22; Prec. *li-iḫ-ru* 71 (p. 14), 7; Imper. *ḫi-ri* 5 (p. 16), 16; Perm. *ḫi-ri-a-at-ma* 5 (p. 16), 4; Inf. *ḫi-ri-e-im* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 7, 71 (p. 14), 10.
 I 2, "to dig, to clear out (a canal)": Pret. *te-iḫ-te-ru-u* 5 (p. 16), 17.
 IV 2, "to be dug, to be cleared out": Pret. *it-te-iḫ-ri* 5 (p. 16), 3.

hašāḫu, I 1, "to want, to desire."

IV 1, "to be wanting, to be lacking": *iḫ-ḫa-aš-še-iḫ* 56 (p. 157), 11.

ḫatū, "to overcome, to overthrow": Part. *ḫa-ti* 97 (p. 199), 56.

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tābu, I 1, "to be good, to be favourable": Prec. *li-ti-bu-ma* 48 (p. 169), 16; Perm. *ḫa-ba* 57 (p. 177), 9, 29.

II 1, "to delight, to make glad": Part. *mu-ti-iḫ* 95 (p. 188), 8; *mu-ḫib* 59 (p. 192), 10; Inf. *ḫubbu* employed as substantive, constr. st. *ḫub*: *ḫub(ub) lib-bi-šu* 59 (p. 192), 27.

tibū, I 1, "to sink."

III 1, "to cause to sink": Imper. *šu-ut-bi* (poss. *šu-ut-bi*, fr. *tibū*) 4 (p. 18), Rev. 11.

tīṭu, "clay": *ḫi-ḫi-im* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 17.

tēmu, "information, news": *te-ma-am* 83 (p. 150), 34.

ṭarādu, I 1, "to despatch": Pres. [*ta*]-*tar-ra-da-aš-šu-nu-ti* 41 (p. 87), 17; Pret. *ta-at-ru-dam* 43 (p. 105), 9; *ta-at-ru-da-aš-šu* 1 (p. 103), 15, 2 (p. 40), 5; *at-ru-dam* 89 (p. 133), 19; *at-ru-[d]a-aš-šu* 79 (p. 124), Rev. 5; Imper. *tu-ur-dam* 2 (p. 40), 15, 18 (p. 26), Rev. 8, 27 (p. 83), Rev. 5, 31 (p. 89), 9, 32 (p. 92), 9, 33 (p. 45), 28, 35 (p. 93), 11, 41 (p. 87), 19, 47 (p. 168), 8, 73 (p. 94), 11; *tu-ur-dam-ma* 9 (p. 42), 20, 29 (p. 70), 42; *tu-ur-da-a-[am?]* 84 (p. 145), 18; *tu-ur-da-nim-ma* 90 (p. 139), 24, 91 (p. 147), Rev. 7, 92 (p. 135), 25; *tu-ur-da-aš-šu-nu-ti* 41 (p. 87), 13; *tu-ur-da-aš-šu-nu-ti-ma* 23 (p. 3), Rev. 6, 39 (p. 75), 13; Inf. *ta-ra-di-im* 33 (p. 45), 10, 73 (p. 94), 5; *ta-ra-[di]-im-ma* 33 (p. 45), 8; *ta-ra-di-ka* 41 (p. 87), 15.

I 2, "to despatch": *at-tar-dam* 1 (p. 103), 13, 2 (p. 40), 11, 7 (p. 81), 6, 9 (p. 42), 13, 11 (p. 20), 18, 12 (p. 29), 13, 15 (p. 68), 8, 19 (p. 38), 8, 22 (p. 54), Obv. 6, 34 (p. 6), 7, 80 (p. 121), 13, 89 (p. 133), 15; *a[ḫ-t]ar-d[a-a]m* 93 (p. 143), 18; *at-tar-da-ak-ḫu* 46 (p. 82), 5.

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kī, "since": *ki* 14 (p. 12), 4; *ki-i* 55 (p. 160), 18, 82 (p. 141), 12, 93 (p. 143), 16.

kīam, "thus": *ki-a-am* 3 (p. 101), 5, 8, 6 (p. 23), 4, 11, 10

(p. 96), 9, 16, **11** (p. 20), 5, 14, **12** (p. 29), 5, 11, **24** (p. 31), 5, 12, **25** (p. 77), 7, 17, **26** (p. 98), 5, 12, **28** (p. 33), 7, 14, 18, **30** (p. 49), 5, 16, **33** (p. 45), 17, **38** (p. 108), Obv. 8, **43** (p. 105), 8, **55** (p. 160), 5, 13, **56** (p. 157), 7, 12, **75** (p. 62), 3, 7, **79** (p. 124), Obv. 6, 11, **83** (p. 150), 6, 28, **89** (p. 133), 6, 12, **90** (p. 139), 9, 19, **91** (p. 147), Obv. 6, **92** (p. 135), 9, 16.

kīma, "like, as, corresponding to, according to": **8** (p. 65), Obv. 12, Rev. 6, **19** (p. 38), 12, **34** (p. 6), 8, **37** (p. 56), 5, **38** (p. 108), Rev. 9, **43** (p. 105), 16, **70** (p. 254), 19, **81** (p. 117), 8, **95** (p. 188), 51, **97** (p. 199), 15, 70, 89, 100; *ki-ma i-na-an-na* **33** (p. 45), 14, **75** (p. 62), 9; introduces indirect speech, "how, to the effect that," *ki-ma* **80** (p. 121), 6, **82** (p. 141), 5, **93** (p. 143), 5; followed by Inf., "in accordance with," i.e. "in order that," *ki-ma* **40** (p. 60), 6; "as, even as," *ki-ma* **28** (p. 33), 24, **33** (p. 45), 21; "when," *ki-ma* **9** (p. 42), 14, **50** (p. 162), 8, **51** (p. 164), 8, **52** (p. 167), 7, **54** (p. 165), 7, **55** (p. 160), 19, **80** (p. 121), 14, **84** (p. 145), 11, **87** (p. 155), 8, **89** (p. 133), 16, **90** (p. 139), 20.

kibratu, "quarter of heaven, quarter of the world": *ki-ib-ra-at* **60** (p. 172), Col. II *b*, 9, **97** (p. 199), 8, 35, 76; *ki-ib-ra-tim* **57** (p. 177), 4, **94** (p. 186), 22, **95** (p. 188), 5, 61, **97** (p. 199), 93 f.

kudurru, "forced labour": *ku-dur-ra-am* **77** (p. 85), 7.

kizrītu, plur. *kizrēti*, "temple-woman, priestess": *ki-iz-ri-e-tim* **34** (p. 6), 12, 17.

kakku, "weapon, sword": *kakka* **60** (p. 172), Col. I *b*, 12.

kukkā, name of class, or official title (possibly geographical name): *mārē²¹ ku-uk-ka-a* **13** (p. 110), 15.

[**kālu**], II 1, "to hold": Pres. *u-ka-a-al* **37** (p. 56), 6; Prec. *li-ki-il-lu* **85** (p. 137), 13.

kalū, "to shut in, to restrain": Part. *ka-l[u]-ma* **40** (p. 60), 18.

kalū, "all, everyone": *ka-li-a* **74** (p. 80), Obv. 6; [*ka*]-*la-šu-nu* **39** (p. 75), 6.

kališ, "altogether, at all": *ka-liš* **78** (p. 90), 12.

kilallēn, "on both sides": *ki-la-li-en* **95** (p. 188), 23.

[*kalāmu*], II 1, "to point out to, to inform concerning": Pres. *u-ka-al-la-mu* **84** (p. 145), 20, **89** (p. 133), 18; *u-ka-al-la-mu-ka* **13** (p. 110), 18; *u-ka-al-la-mu-ku-n[u-š]i* **92** (p. 135), 23; [*u-ka-a*]l-la-m[*u*]š^u-nu-ti **91** (p. 147), Rev. 6; Pret. *u-ka-al-li-mu-ni-in-ni* **18** (p. 26), Obv. 9.

kamāsu, I 1, "to bow down."

IV 1, "to be finished": Prec. *li-ik-ka-mi-is* **25** (p. 77), 21.

kānu, I 1, "to be firm, to stand fast."

II 1, "to set, to place, to establish": Pret. *u-ki-in* **59** (p. 192), 28, **97** (p. 199), 73; *u-ki-in-nu-šum* **97** (p. 199), 16.

kaianu, "enduring": *ka-ia-an-tim-ma* **38** (p. 108), Rev. 9.

kanāku, "to seal, to assign under seal to": Imp. *ku-un-kam-ma* **11** (p. 20), 24; Part. *ka-ni-ka-a-at* **50** (p. 162), 12, **51** (p. 164), 12, **54** (p. 165), 11; Perm. *ka-an-ku* **26** (p. 98), 15; *ka-an-ku-nim* **26** (p. 98), 8.

kaniku, *kanku*, "seal; notary, secretary": *i-na ka-ni-ki-im* **1** (p. 103), 26; *i-na ka-ni-ki-ia* **26** (p. 98), 14; *bi-i ka-ni-ki-ia* **26** (p. 98), 20; *i-na ka-ni-ik be-li-ia* **26** (p. 98), 7; *a-na bi-i ka-an-ki-im* **1** (p. 103), 23; *i-na bi-i ka-an-ki-šu* **1** (p. 103), 10.

kaspu, "silver, money": *kaspa* **11** (p. 20), 22, **30** (p. 49), 9, 13, 14, **86** (p. 153), 20, 25, 28; *kaspi* **30** (p. 49), 6, 10, **33** (p. 45), 4, 7, 23, 26, **79** (p. 124), Obv. 12, Rev. 1, 4, *kaspim(im)* **16** (p. 48), 4.

kišru, "company, battalion": *kišir šarri* **23** (p. 3), Obv. 4.

kāru, "wall": *kāri* **88** (p. 130), Obv. 10, 18; *kār* **57** (p. 177), 23.

karū, "pile, heap, weight": *ka-ri-e aš-na-an* **95** (p. 188), 25.

kurmatu, "food": *kurmati* **34** (p. 6), 15; *kurmat* **56** (p. 157), 9, 21.

kašādu, "to attain to, to reach, to bring about": Part. *ka-ši-id* **95** (p. 188), 6; Inf. *ka-ša-di-im* **34** (p. 6), 18; *ka-ša-dam* **97** (p. 199), 101.

kišādu, "bank (of a river or canal)": *ki-ša-di-ša* **95** (p. 188), 23, *kišād* **42** (p. 114), 7.

kištu, "wood": *i-na kišti-šu* **72** (p. 52), 20.

katāmu, "to cover": Pret. *lu ik-tum* **97** (p. 199), 83.

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- lā**, negative, "not": *la* **1** (p. 103), 27, **3** (p. 101), 11, **4** (p. 18), Obv. 8, Rev. 3, 5, **17** (p. 112), 17, **23** (p. 3), Rev. 5, **27** (p. 83), Rev. 4, 8, **32** (p. 92), 10, **34** (p. 6), 25, **40** (p. 60), 19, 22, **41** (p. 87), 17, **42** (p. 114), 28, **43** (p. 105), 21, **50** (p. 162), 16, **51** (p. 164), 16, **54** (p. 165), 16, **55** (p. 160), 16, 18, **57** (p. 177), 43, **72** (p. 52), 21, 25, **74** (p. 80), Rev. 5, **77** (p. 85), 8, **80** (p. 121), 20, **82** (p. 141), 6, 10, 12, **86** (p. 153), 28, **89** (p. 133), 9, **90** (p. 139), 17, **93** (p. 143), 7, 14, 16.
- li'ū**, "strong, mighty."
- lītu**, "strength, might, force, power, control": *li*-[*i-ti-ka*] **60** (p. 172), Col. II *b*, 7; *ša li-tim ša ga-ti-ka* **23** (p. 3), Obv. 6; *ša li-ti-ka* **15** (p. 68), 6, 14, **27** (p. 83), Obv. 6, **39** (p. 75), 8, **40** (p. 60), 4, **42** (p. 114), 26, **45** (p. 10), 5.
- lū**, precative particle: *lu-u* **49** (p. 119), 8.
- lū**, particle of emphasis: *lu* **57** (p. 177), 46, **95** (p. 188), 22, 26, 30, 36, 38, 54, 58, **97** (p. 199), 83, 87, 109.
- libbu**, "heart": *lib-bi* **59** (p. 192), 10; *li-ib-bi-im* **97** (p. 199), 106; *li-ib-bi-ia* **97** (p. 199), 99; *li-ib-bi-šu* **95** (p. 188), 9; *lib-bi-šu* **59** (p. 192), 23, 27; *lib*, *libbi*, *libbu*, *ina libbi*, *ina libbu*, "within, in, from among, of," *li-ib* **48** (p. 169), 15; *li-ib-bi* **5** (p. 16), 15; *libbi* **17** (p. 112), 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, **36** (p. 67), 4, **42** (p. 114), 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 17, 24, 25, **91** (p. 147), Obv. 10; *li-ib-bu* **10** (p. 96), 6; *i-na li-ib-bi* **5** (p. 16), 14; *i-na li-bi-šu-nu* **1** (p. 103), 11; *i-na li-ib-bu* **39** (p. 75), 18, **44** (p. 58), 12, **71** (p. 14), 8; *in li-ib-bu* **97** (p. 199), 66.
- labānu**, "to bow down (the countenance)": Prec. *li-il-bi-na-ku* **60** (p. 172), Col. II *b*, 17.
- labānu**, "to build": Pret. *al-bi-in* **97** (p. 199), 67.
- libittu**, "brickwork": *libitta-šu-nu* **97** (p. 199), 67.
- labāru**, "to be old, to be ancient," Perm. *la-bi-rum* **76** (p. 28), 6.
- labirinu**, "original, prototype": *la-bi-ri-nu* **70** (p. 254), 19.
- labirūtu**, "old age": [*la-bi*]-*ru-ti-šu-nu* **97** (p. 199), 63.
- lalū**, "abundance": *la-li-šu* **97** (p. 199), 21.
- lamādu**, I 1, "to learn."
- II 1, "to inform": Pret. *u-lam-mi-da-an-ni* **1** (p. 103), 6, **2** (p. 40), 9, **6** (p. 23), 4, 11, **12** (p. 29), 5, 11, **19** (p. 38), 6,

24 (p. 31), 5, 12; **30** (p. 49), 5, 16, **55** (p. 160), 5, 13, **79** (p. 124), Obv. 6, **91** (p. 147), Obv. 6; *u-lam-mi-du-ni* **10** (p. 96), 9, 16; *u-lam-mi-du-ni-in-ni* **92** (p. 135), 9, 16.

lapātu, I 1, "to overthrow, to destroy": Imper. *lu-pu-ut-ma* **45** (p. 10), 10.

II 1, "to delay, to tarry": Pres. *u-la-ap-pa-tu* **23** (p. 3), Rev. 5, **32** (p. 92), 10; *tu-la-ap-pa-tu* **50** (p. 162), 16, **51** (p. 164), 16; *u-la-ap-pa-tu-nim* **27** (p. 83), Rev. 8, **40** (p. 60), 22; *u-la-ap-pa-ta-nim* **34** (p. 6), 25; *tu-la-ap-pa-ta-nim* **54** (p. 165), 16.

likū, "to take, to receive": Pret. [*il-k*]i-a-am-ma **90** (p. 139), 17, *il-ku-u* **3** (p. 101), 16, **11** (p. 20), 10, 26, **12** (p. 29), 19; *te-el-ku-u* **26** (p. 98), 21; *il-ki-ni-ti* **48** (p. 169), 8; Prec. l[i-i]l-k[i]-a-am **86** (p. 153), 15; *li-il-ki-a-am-ma* **27** (p. 83), Obv. 11; *li-il-ku-u* **28** (p. 33), 13; *li-il-ku-nim-ma* **16** (p. 48), 9; *li-il-ki-a-aš-šu-nu-ti-ma* **78** (p. 90), 16; *li-il-ku-ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im* **86** (p. 153), 27; Imper. *li-ki-a-am-ma* **50** (p. 162), 14, **51** (p. 164), 14; *li-ki-a-ma* **85** (p. 137), 12; [*li*]-ki-a-nim-ma **54** (p. 165), 13; Inf. *li-ki-e-im-ma* **90** (p. 139), 13.

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ma, copula, "and," attached to verbs.

ma, enclitic particle; employed before direct speech, (1) in letter-formula attached to *kibi* and to the proper name after *umma*, (2) attached to personal pronoun, or substantive, after *umma* introducing a quotation; attached to a word for emphasis: **1** (p. 103), 21, **5** (p. 16), 10, **8** (p. 65), Rev. 6, **14** (p. 12), 6, 10, **27** (p. 83), Rev. 5, **38** (p. 108), Rev. 3, 9, **72** (p. 52), 22, **76** (p. 28), 11, **77** (p. 85), 9; gives indefiniteness to a word: *ša-ni-a-am-ma* **1** (p. 103), 22; *ša-nu-tim-ma* **43** (p. 105), 29.

mū, plur. *mē*, "water": *mu-u* **4** (p. 18), Rev. 4; *mi-e* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 7, **95** (p. 188), 19, 27.

magāru, "to find favour, to be pleasing to": Pret. *im-gur* **28** (p. 33), 15.

migru, "darling": *mi-gi-ir* **57** (p. 177), 37, **94** (p. 186), 14; *mi-gir* **95** (p. 188), 44; *me-gir* **59** (p. 192), 7.

maggaru, *ma-ag-ga-ri* **72** (p. 52), 4.

mādu, "much, great": *ma-du* **5** (p. 16), 8.

madādu, I 1, "to measure."

II 1, "to measure": Prec. *li-ma-ad-di-du-ma* **40** (p. 60), 9.

mudadu, *mu-da-di* **36** (p. 67), 10, 13.

muhhu, *ina muhhi*, "upon, unto": *i-na mu-uḫ-ḫi-ka* **75** (p. 62), 20.

maḥāru, I 1, "to receive": Prec. *li-im-ḫu-ru-ma* **37** (p. 56), 10; Inf. *ma-ḫa-ri-im* **33** (p. 45), 9.

III 1, "to take": Imper. *ṣu-um-ḫi-ra-[am-ma]* **56** (p. 157), 22.

maḥru, c.st. *maḥar*, "front"; *maḥar*, *maḥri*, "before, in the sight of, in the presence of": *ma-ḫa-ar* **28** (p. 33), 15; *m[a-ḫ]ar* **92** (p. 135), 14; *ma-aḫ-ri-ka* **5** (p. 16), 9, 13; [*m*]*a-aḫ-ri-i[a]* **27** (p. 83), Rev. 1; *ma-aḫ-ri-[ku-nu]* **56** (p. 157), 23; *ana maḥar*, *ana maḥri*, "before, into the presence of": *a-na ma-ḫar* **1** (p. 103), 13; *a-na ma-aḫ-ri-ia* **1** (p. 103), 16, **2** (p. 40), 7, 14, **11** (p. 20), 24, **13** (p. 110), 20, **17** (p. 112), 21, **18** (p. 26), Rev. 7, **29** (p. 70), 42, **31** (p. 89), 8, **35** (p. 93), 10, **43** (p. 105), 9, 10, **73** (p. 94), 5, 10, **86** (p. 153), 29; *a-na ma-aḫ-ri-ku-nu* **56** (p. 157), 15, 18.

mithariš, "together": *m[i-i]t-ḫa-ri-iš* **41** (p. 87), 16.

miksu, "rent": *mi-ki-is* **28** (p. 33), 3, 28; *mi-ik-sa-am* **28** (p. 33), 13, 22.

malū, I 1, "to fill, to be full."

II 1, "to hand over, to entrust to," with *ana*, *ana ḫāti*: Pres. *tu-ma-al-li* **26** (p. 98), 18, **43** (p. 105), 19; *tu-ma-al-la* **43** (p. 105), 23; *u-ma-al-lu-u* **3** (p. 101), 11; Pret. *u-ma-al-li* **59** (p. 192), 19; *u-ma-al-li-u* **94** (p. 186), 30; *u-ma-al-lu-u* **95** (p. 188), 16; Imper. *mu-ul-li* **1** (p. 103), 22, 28, **43** (p. 105), 30.

II 2, "to hand over to," with *ana*: Pret. *um-ta-al-lu-u* **3** (p. 101), 7; *um-ta-al-li-ṣu-nu-ti* **26** (p. 98), 11.

mala, "as much as, as many as": *ma-la* **28** (p. 33), 11, 20, 25, **75** (p. 62), 22.

mīlu, "flood": *mi-lum* **88** (p. 130), Obv. 9.

malaḫu, "sailor": *amēlu malaḫē^{pl}* **8** (p. 65), Rev. 7; *akil malaḫi*, "captain," **87** (p. 155), 5, 11.

- malallū**, "processional boat (?)": *malalli* **34** (p. 6), 10.
- melammu**, c.st. *melam*, "splendour, majesty": *melam* **97** (p. 199), 79.
- mamman**, indefinite pronoun, "anyone": [*ma*]-*am-ma-an* **20** (p. 86), 8.
- mimma**, indefinite pronoun, "anything": *mi-im-ma* **11** (p. 20), 22; followed by negative, **77** (p. 85), 7.
- minū**, interrogative pronoun, "what?"; *a-na mi-nim*, "why?": **6** (p. 23), 14, **10** (p. 96), 17, **26** (p. 98), 13, **30** (p. 49), 17, **43** (p. 105), 18, **55** (p. 160), 14, **73** (p. 94), 7, **82** (p. 141), 8, **93** (p. 143), 10.
- mannu**, interrogative pronoun, "who? whom?": *ma-an-nam* **60** (p. 172), Col. I b, 4, 9, 14, 19, 23; indefinite pronoun, *mānnu ša*, "whosoever": *ma-an ša* **79** (p. 124), Obv. 8.
- musarū**, "tablet": *musarē(e)* **59** (p. 192), 24.
- mašū**, "to find": Perm. *ma-ša-ni* **89** (p. 133), 9.
- mīšu**, "to be little, to be few": Perm. *mi-iš-ša* **25** (p. 77), 16.
- maššaru**, "guard": *ma-aš-ša-ri* **13** (p. 110), 19, **17** (p. 112), 20, **42** (p. 114), 31.
- maššarītu**, "guarding, safe custody": *ma-aš-ša-ri-ti[m]* **79** (p. 124), Rev. 3.
- maššaštu**, or **mazzaštu** (fr. rt. *nazāzu*), "post": *ma-aš-ša-aš-ti-šu-nu* **17** (p. 112), 16, **42** (p. 114), 27.
- makātu**, Pret. *im-ku-tu* **38** (p. 108), Rev. 8; *im-ku-tu-ma* **38** (p. 108), Obv. 7.
- miqtu**, a water-plant (?): *mi-iq-ti-ša* **4** (p. 18), Rev. 10.
- māru**, I 1, "to send."
II 1, "to send, to commission, to order": Pret. *u-ma-e-ra-am-ma* **9** (p. 42), 13, **15** (p. 68), 7; *lu-u-ma-e-ra-an-ni* **97** (p. 199), 29 f.
- māru**, "son": *ma-ru* **48** (p. 169), 18; *mār* **9** (p. 42), 6, **17** (p. 112), 6, 9, 13, **29** (p. 70), 8, 15, 20, 29, 36, **38** (p. 108), Obv. 4, **39** (p. 75), 7, **41** (p. 87), 9, 10, **42** (p. 114), 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 20, 22, **50** (p. 162), 2, **51** (p. 164), 2, **53** (p. 166), 2, **54** (p. 165), 2, **83** (p. 150), 21; *māri* **97** (p. 199), 4; *ma-ri-šu* **48** (p. 169), 16; *mārē^{pl}* **13** (p. 110), 10, 14, **79** (p. 124), 8, **84** (p. 145), 6, 14, **92** (p. 135), 8, 22; *mārē^{pl}-šu* **43** (p. 105), 7, 27; *mārē^{pl}-[. . .]* **87**

- (p. 155), 12; "member" of a class, or guild: *mār* 9 (p. 42), 7, 27 (p. 83), Obv. 9; *mārē^{pl}* 13 (p. 110), 15, 17 (p. 112), 12, 14, 42 (p. 114), 8, 14, 25, 43 (p. 105), 18, 21, 78 (p. 90), 8; *mārē^{pl} ha-ab-lum*, "debtors (?)," 18 (p. 26), Obv. 4; *mārē^{pl} ši-ip-ri*, "messengers," 85 (p. 137), 6.
- marāšu*, "to be sick": [. . .]-*ma-ra-aš* 74 (p. 80), Obv. 5; [. . .]-*ra-aš* 74 (p. 80), Obv. 8.
- mūšu*, "night": *mu-ši* 39 (p. 75), 16, 73 (p. 94), 13.
- mašlū*, *ma-aš-li-a-am* 44 (p. 58), 6.
- mati*, "when?": *i-na ma-ti-ma*, "when?" 75 (p. 62), 11.
- mātu*, "land": *ma-tim* 8 (p. 65), Obv. 13, Rev. 8, 57 (p. 177), 6, 26; *māt* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 10, 94 (p. 186), 19, 95 (p. 188), 11, 20, 28, 31; *māta* 94 (p. 186), 25; *māt-su* 97 (p. 199), 24; *ma-ti-šu* 97 (p. 199), 18; *māti-šu* 59 (p. 192), 15; *ma-ta-tim* 97 (p. 199), 22; *mātāti* (var. *ma-ta-tim*) 97 (p. 199), 72.
- [*mātu*], "to die": Perm. *mi-tu* 72 (p. 52), 20.

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- nī*, enclitic particle, attached to verbs in the 3rd pers. plur.
- niāti*, personal pronoun, "us": *ni-a-ti* 83 (p. 150), 26.
- nabū*, "to name": Pret. *i-bi-u-šu* 97 (p. 199), 13; *ab-bi* 95 (p. 188), 58.
- nabiu*, "minister": 94 (p. 186), 10.
- naggaru*, "workman, smith (?)": ^{*amziu*} *naggarē^{pl}* 8 (p. 65), Rev. 7; *naggarē^{pl}* 8 (p. 65), Obv. 4, 11, 12.
- nādu*, I 1, "to raise, to be high."
III 2, "to praise, to celebrate": Prec. *li-iš-ta-ni-da* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 20.
- tanattu*, plur. *tanādātu*, "glory": *ta-na-da-ti-ka* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 18.
- nadū*, I 1, "to cast."
I 2, "to cast": ? *i-ta-ad-di*-[. . .] 72 (p. 52), 14.
- nadānu*, I 1, "to give, to give to, to lend, to pay": Pres. *i-na-ad-di-nam* 24 (p. 31), 11; *ta-na-ad-[di-in]* 36 (p. 67), 11; *ta-na-ad-di-nu* 75 (p. 62), 24; [*t*]*a-na-ad-d[i-* . . .] 91 (p. 147), 13; *i-na-ad-di-nu* 85

(p. 137), 21; *i-na-ad-di-nu-šum* **28** (p. 33), 22; *i-na-ad-di-nu-šu-nu-ši-im* **37** (p. 56), 9; Pret. *id-di-na* **59** (p. 192), 17; *id-di-nam* 95 (p. 188), 47; *i-din-nam* **97** (p. 199), 23; *ta-ad-di-nu* **75** (p. 62), 23; *ad-di-im-ma* **24** (p. 31), 8; *id-di-nu-nim* **95** (p. 188), 13; *id-di-nu-nim-ma* **75** (p. 62), 6; *id-di-nu-šum* **94** (p. 186), 27; *i-ti-nu-šum* **97** (p. 199), 10; *id-di-ik-ku* **60** (p. 172), Col. I *b*, 3, 8, 13, 18; *id-di-na-an-ni-a-ši-im* **25** (p. 77), 11; Prec. *li-id-di-in* **38** (p. 108), Rev. 15; *li-id-di-nu-ma* **22** (p. 54), Rev. 2; *li-id-di-nu-ni-in-ni* **38** (p. 108), Obv. 10; Imper. *i-di-in* **24** (p. 31), 16, **36** (p. 67), 9, **76** (p. 28), 12; *i-di-in-ma* **38** (p. 108), Rev. 6; *id-na* **49** (p. 119), 15; *id-na-a-ma* **79** (p. 124), Rev. 6; Perm. *na-ad-nu-nim* **79** (p. 124), Obv. 9; Part. *na-di-in* **94** (p. 186), 4; Inf. *na-da-nim* **28** (p. 33), 5, **43** (p. 105), 6.

I 2, "to give, to hand over": Pres. *ta-at-ta-ad-na* **49** (p. 119), 8; Pret. *at-ta-di-in* **43** (p. 105), 26; Prec. *lu-u ta-at-ta-ad-na* **49** (p. 119), 8.

III 1, "to cause to give, to procure, to render, to pay": Pret. *u-ša-ad-di-in* **30** (p. 49), 9; Prec. *li-ša-ad-di-na-ma* **24** (p. 31), 15; *li-ša-ad-di-nu* **22** (p. 54), Obv. 9; Perm. *šu-ud-du-nu-ma* **22** (p. 54), Rev. 4; Inf. *šu-ud-du-nim* **22** (p. 54), Obv. 6; **79** (p. 124), Obv. 9; Part. employed as substantive, "assessor": *mu-ša-ad-di-in* **82** (p. 141), 4; ^{amētu} *mu-ša-ad-di-in* **55** (p. 160), 4, **93** (p. 143), 8.

nazāzu, I 1, "to stand": Pres. *iz-za-[a]z* **88** (p. 130), Obv. 10; *iz-za-az-zu* **35** (p. 93), 9, **49** (p. 119), 13; Pret. *ni-iz-zi-iz* **83** (p. 150), 27; Prec. *li-iz-zi-zu* **15** (p. 68), 23.

III 1, "to establish": Pret. *uš-zi-iz* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV *b*, 1; Imper. *šu-zi-iz* **60** (p. 172), Col. II *b*, 8.

manzazu, "place, position": *mār^z manzaz pāni*, "those who stand in the presence," an official title, **42** (p. 114), 8.

muzzazu, *mu-uz-za-az bābi*, an official title, **79** (p. 124), 5.

nīhu, fem. *nīhtu*, "peaceful, restful": *ne-iḫ-tim* **57** (p. 177), 33, **95** (p. 188), 39.

nuḫšu, "plenty, abundance": *nu-uḫ-šim* **95** (p. 188), 37.

nuḫatimmu, "baker": MU (= *nuḫatimmu*) **1** (p. 103), 18, 25, **35** (p. 93), 5; MU^z **1** (p. 103), 6, 9, 21; *akil* MU^z **1** (p. 103), 4, **9** (p. 42), 11.

- naṭū**, "to be possible, to be valid": Perm. *na-la-a-at* 43 (p. 105), 20; *na-ṭi-a-at* 5 (p. 16), 7; *na-tu-u-ma* 4 (p. 18), Obv. 8.
- nakamtu**, "store, storehouse": *na-kam-tum* 49 (p. 119), 12; *na-kam-tim* 49 (p. 119), 6.
- nakāsu**, "to cut, to cut down": Pres. *i-na-ak-ki su* 72 (p. 52), 19, 21; Prec. *li-ik-ki-su* 72 (p. 52), 22; *li-ik-ki-su-ni-ik-ḫu-ma* 72 (p. 52), 12.
- nikasu**, "property"; *nikasa epēšu*, "to render an account": *nikasa-šu-nu* 29 (p. 70), 43; *nikasi-šu-nu* 39 (p. 75), 9; *nikasē^{pl}-šu-nu* 39 (p. 75), 14.
- nakāru**, "to be different, to be strange, to be hostile": Perm. *na-ak-ru* 48 (p. 169), 7.
- namū, nawū**, "neighbourhood": *na-we-e-im* 78 (p. 90), 10; *nā-we-e-šu* 30 (p. 49), 11; *na-we-šu* 84 (p. 145), 5, 13.
- namāru**, "to be bright": Part., used as adj., *na-me-ru-tim* 97 (p. 199), 85 f.
- nīnu**, personal pronoun, "we": *ni-nu* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 8.
- nīnu**, "when": *ni-nu* (perhaps read *i-nu*) 59 (p. 192), 15, 94 (p. 186), 24, 95 (p. 188), 10, 97 (p. 199), 1.
- nūnu**, "fish": *nūnē^{pl}* 80 (p. 121), 10.
- nasāḫu**, I 1, "to take away, to remove": Pres. *i-na-az-za-aḫ* 4 (p. 18), Obv. 10; *i-na-az-za-ḫu* 4 (p. 18), Obv. 11; Imper. *u-su-uḫ* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 10; *u-su-uḫ-šu-nu-ti* 77 (p. 85), 12.
- IV 1, "to be removed": Prec. *li-in-na-[s]i-iḫ* 36 (p. 67), 15.
- nismatu**, "will, desire": *ni-is-ma-at li-iḫ-bi-ia* 97 (p. 199), 98 f.
- napištu**, "life": *napsāti^{pl}-šu* 59 (p. 192), 27.
- našāru**, "to guard, to protect": Prec. *li-iz-zu-ru* 74 (p. 80), Rev. 3.
- niḫū**, "offering": *niḫē* 9 (p. 42), 12, 14.
- naḫāru**, "to destroy, to annul": Pret. *ni-ik-ku-ur* 48 (p. 169), 21.
- nāru**, "river, canal": *nār* 5 (p. 16), 6; *nāra* 5 (p. 16), 15, 17; *nāri* 4 (p. 18), Obv. 5, Rev. 6.
- našū**, "to raise, to bear": *na-šu-u* 1 (p. 103), 24; *na-ši-a-ku-ma* 24 (p. 31), 9.
- nišu**, "people; mankind": *ni-šu* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 13; *ni-ši-im* 97 (p. 199), 26; *ni-šim* 94 (p. 186), 25; *ni-ši-šu-nu* 95 (p. 188), 33; *nišē^{pl}* 59 (p. 192), 15.

D

[sāḥu], "to desire (?)": Pret. *i-si-ḥa-am* 75 (p. 62), 5; *i-si-ḥ[u- . . .]* 87 (p. 155), 7.

[saḥū], "to refuse"; Pret. *is-ḥu-ni-ik-ku* 77 (p. 85), 6.

saḥmaštu, plur. *saḥmašātu*, "insurrection": *za-aḥ-ma-ša-tim* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 14.

saḥāru, I 1, "to turn."

III 2, "to cause to surround, to surround with": Pret., with particle of emphasis, *lu-uš-ta-aš-ḥi-ir-šu* (var. *lu-u-uš-ta-aš-ḥi-ir-šu*) 57 (p. 177), 19.

salatu, "household": *za-la-tim* 15 (p. 68), 6, 23.

suluppu, "date": *suluppa* 22 (p. 54), Obv. 5, 9, Rev. 3.

sanaḥku, I 1, "to reach, to arrive": Pres. *i-sa-an-ni-ku-ni-ik-ku* 15 (p. 68), 10; *i-sa-an-ni-ku-ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im* 85 (p. 137), 9; *iz-za-an-ga-a[k-ku]* (poss. I 2, Pres.) 80 (p. 121), 14; *iz-za-an-ku-ni-ik-ku* (poss. I 2, Pres.) 15 (p. 68), 11, 45 (p. 10), 8; *iz-za-an-ku-ni-[i]k-[k]u-nu-ši* (poss. I 2, Pres.) 89 (p. 133), 16; Prec. *li-is-ni-ga-am* 32 (p. 92), 11, 14 (p. 12), 12, 87 (p. 155), 19; *li-is-ni-ku-nim* 39 (p. 75), 20, 40 (p. 60), 15, 44 (p. 58), 13; *li-is-ni-ga-nim* 34 (p. 6), 27; Imper. *zi-in-ga-am* 50 (p. 162), 19, 51 (p. 164), 19; [*zi-in-ga*]-nim 54 (p. 165), 19; Inf. *za-na-ku* 14 (p. 12), 9; *za-na-ki-im* 40 (p. 60), 8.

III 1, "to cause to reach, to reach, to arrive": Prec. *lu-še-is-ni-ga-am* 73 (p. 94), 16.

supū, "prayer": *su-pi-e-šu* 59 (p. 192), 27.

saphu, "scattered": *sa-ap-ḥa-tim* 95 (p. 188), 33.

sapānu, "to cast down": Part. *za-bi-in* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 10.

D

pū, "mouth": *bi-i* 1 (p. 103), 10, 23, 26 (p. 98), 20, 43 (p. 105), 15; *pī* 4 (p. 18), Obv. 6.

paḥāru, I 1, "to collect" (intransitive).

II 1, "to collect" (transitive): Pret. with particle of emphasis, *lu-u-pa-aḥ-ḥi-ir* 95 (p. 188), 34.

napharu, "the whole, all": *naphar* 97 (p. 199), 22, 72.

piḥātu, "district": *bi-ḥa-tum* 75 (p. 62), 20; *be-el bi-ḥa-tim* 86 (p. 153), 24; *amēlest šu-ut bi-ḥa-a-tim* 56 (p. 157), 6, 13, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 12.

- puḥḥu**, c.st. *puḥ*, employed as prep., "instead of, in place of":
pu-ḥi-šu 1 (p. 103), 22; *pu-uḥ* 38 (p. 108), Rev. 13, 43
 (p. 105), 27.
- pāṭu**, "boundary, realm": *pa-aṭ* 97 (p. 199), 81.
- paṭāru**, "to disband, to depart from; to loose, to set free": Pret.
ip-tu-r[u]-n[im-m]a 23 (p. 3), Obv. 8; Prec. *li-ip-tu-ru-ni-ti* 48 (p. 169), 12; *li-ip-tu-ra-ni-ti* 48 (p. 169), 18.
- palāḥu**, "to fear": Pret. *ta-ap-la-aḥ* 55 (p. 160), 18, 82 (p. 141),
 12; *taḥ-la-ḥa-[nim]* 93 (p. 143), 16.
- palḥu**, "reverent": *pal-ḥu* 59 (p. 192), 9, 13.
- puluḥtu**, "fear": *pu-luḥ-ti* 97 (p. 199), 79.
- [**palāsu**], IV 1, Inf. *naphusu*, "to look upon, to behold": Pret.
ip-pa-al-su-šum 97 (p. 199), 6 f.; *lu ip-pa-al-su-nim* 97
 (p. 199), 87 f.
- pānu**, "face, countenance, front": *pa-ni* 27 (p. 83), Obv. 8, 40
 (p. 60), 10; *pa-ni-ki* 48 (p. 169), 19; *a-na pa-ni-šu* 43
 (p. 105), 14; see also **manzazu**.
- pasāsu**, I 1, "to destroy."
 II 2, "to be destroyed, to fall into ruin": Pret. *up-ta-az-zi-zu-ma* 97 (p. 199), 65.
- paḥādu**, "to inspect; to deliver to (with double acc., and with acc. and *ana*)": Prec. [*li-i*] *p-ki-du* 79 (p. 124), Rev. 3; Imper. *bi-ki-id* 15 (p. 68), 14, 89 (p. 133), 19; *bi-ki-id-ma* 74 (p. 80), 15; *bi-ki-is-su-um-ma* 7 (p. 81), 9.
- paḥāru**, I 1, "to bring a suit for recovery, to lay claim to, to claim from," with double acc.: Pret. *ip-ku-ur* 6 (p. 23), 16.
 I 2, do., followed by acc., and by acc. and *itti*: Pret. *ip-ta-aḥ-r[a-am]* 6 (p. 23), 9; Perm. *bi-it-ku-ru-n[im]* 9 (p. 42), 9.
- [**parāku**], I 1, "to lay hands upon, to seize," with prep. *ana*: Pret. *ip-ri-kam-ma* 30 (p. 49), 12.
 I 3, do., with prep. *ana*: Pret. *ip-ta-na-ar-ri-kam-ma* 30 (p. 49), 8.
- parakku**, "shrine, temple": *parakka-šu* 94 (p. 186), 36.
- parāsu**, I 1, "to decide, to divine": Prec. [*i*]-*ip-ru-s[u-ma]* 56 (p. 157), 24.
- parsigu**, "head-band": *subānu parsiga* 44 (p. 58), 5.
- parāšu**, I 1, "to investigate, to decide"; *warkarta parāšu*, "to

examine into a matter, to investigate a cause of dispute": Pret. *ap-ru-u[š]* **43** (p. 105), 11; Imper. *pu-ru-uš* **19** (p. 38), 9; *pu-ru-uš-ma* **6** (p. 23), 17, **11** (p. 20), 20.

IV 1, "to be investigated": Prec. *li-ip-pa-ri-i[š]* **91** (p. 147), Rev. 8.

pušku, "difficulty, barrier": *pu-uš-ki* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV *b*, 19.

pitū, I 1, "to open, to break into": *ip-t[e]-e-ma* **12** (p. 29), 9; *ip-tu-u-ma* **83** (p. 150), 24.

II 1, "to make a way through, to break through": Part. *mu-bi-it-ti* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV *b*, 18.

IV 1, "to be opened": *ib-bi-it-tu-u* **83** (p. 150), 11, 17.

š

šābu, "man, warrior"; used collectively, "men, troops": *šābu* **36** (p. 67), 10; *šābum* **42** (p. 114), 26; *šābum(um)* **23** (p. 3), Rev. 5, **25** (p. 77), 12, **45** (p. 10), 6; *šābi* **23** (p. 3), Rev. 2, **56** (p. 157), 9, 21; *šābim(im)* **5** (p. 16), 12, **45** (p. 10), 9; *šābam(am)* **25** (p. 77), 18, **34** (p. 6), 20, 21, **45** (p. 10), 10, **75** (p. 62), 8, 22; *šāb* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 4 (bis), **7** (p. 81), 7, **17** (p. 112), 15 (bis), **23** (p. 3), Obv. 4, **27** (p. 83), Obv. 5 (bis), 6, 8, Rev. 2, **36** (p. 67), 4, **44** (p. 58), 7, **75** (p. 62), 5, 14, 18, **88** (p. 130), Obv. 14.

šabātu, I 1, "to take, to seize, to undertake, to hold, to possess"; *pāni šabātu*, "to take command of": Prec. *pa-ni* *li-iš-ba-tu* **27** (p. 83), Obv. 9; *pa-ni* *li-iš-ba-tu-nim* **40** (p. 60), 12; Imper. [*ša*]-*ab-tu* **50** (p. 162), 11; *ša-[a]b-[t]u* **51** (p. 164), 11; [*ša*-*a*]-*b-ta-[nim]* **52** (p. 167), 10; [*š*]-*a-ab-ta-nim* **54** (p. 165), 10; Perm. *ša-bi-it* **88** (p. 130), Rev. 3; *ša-ab-ta-ti* **4** (p. 18), Rev. 6; *ša-ab-ta-[ku]* **6** (p. 23), 8; *ša-ab-tu* **71** (p. 14), 5.

I 2, "to take": Pret. *iš-ša-ab-tu* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 7.

šibittu, "possession, title to possession": *ši-bi-iš-su* **76** (p. 28), 6.

šibuttu, "possession, property": *ši-bu-ut* **83** (p. 150), 10, 29.

šibtu, "interest": *šibta-šu* **24** (p. 31), 14.

šubātu, "garment": *šubātē* **90** (p. 139), 12, 16, 22, 25.

- ṣihīru**, "to be small, to be diminished": Pres. *i-ṣi-iḫ-ḫi-ra* **74** (p. 80), 18.
- salmu**, "image": *ša-lam* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV *b*, 17.
- ṣamādu**, "to yoke; to pack (for transport)": Pres. *li-iṣ-mi-du-ma* **86** (p. 153), 26; Imper. *ṣi-im-dam* **27** (p. 83), Obv. 7; *ṣi-im-dam-ma* **44** (p. 58), 9, **82** (p. 141), 16; *ṣi-im-*[. . .] **84** (p. 145), 16.
- ṣimittu**, plur. *ṣimdāti*, "yoke": *di-nam ki-ma ṣi-im-da-tim* **19** (p. 38), 12.
- ṣēnu**, "sheep": *ṣēnē*²¹ **15** (p. 68), 13, **21** (p. 79), 5, **25** (p. 77), 10, 12, 15, **50** (p. 162), 10, 12, **51** (p. 164), 10, 12, **52** (p. 167), 9, **54** (p. 165), 9, 11, **74** (p. 80), 4, 17.
- [**ṣēnu**], "to fill up, to pack": Prec. *li-ṣi-nu-nim-ma* **22** (p. 54), Rev. 6; Imper. *ṣi-nam-ma* **37** (p. 56), 12.
- [**ṣēru**], I 1, "to be high."
II 1, "to exalt": Pret., with particle of emphasis, *lu-u-ṣi-ir* **97** (p. 199), 75.
- ṣīru**, with prep. *ana*, "to, unto": *a-na ṣi-ri-ka* **2** (p. 40), 11, **10** (p. 96), 14, **11** (p. 20), 17, **12** (p. 29), 13, **13** (p. 110), 5, **19** (p. 38), 8; *a-na ṣi-ri-ki* **48** (p. 169), 5; [*a-na ṣi-ri-ia* **11** (p. 20), 30; **47** (p. 168), 7.
- ṣīru**, "high, lofty, exalted, noble": *ṣi-ra-am* **60** (p. 172), Col. I *b*, 12, **95** (p. 188), 48, **97** (p. 199), 12; *ṣi-ru-tim* **60** (p. 172), Col. II *b*, 21.
- ṣirratu**, **sirritu**, "sceptre": *ṣir-ri-is-sa* **59** (p. 192), 17; *ṣi-ir-ra-zi-na* **94** (p. 186), 28, **95** (p. 188), 14.

P

- [**kā'u**], II 1, "to wait for, to count upon, to have need of": Pres. *tu-ga-a* **60** (p. 172), Col. I *b*, 5, 10, 15, 20, 24.
- kibū**, "to speak, to tell, to say, to command": Pres. *i-ga-ab-bi* **8** (p. 65), Obv. 10; *i-ga-ab-bu-u*[*m*] **8** (p. 65), Obv. 14; *i-ga-ab-bu-ku* **2** (p. 40), 13; Pret. *iḫ-bi-a-am* **3** (p. 101), 5, 8, **11** (p. 20), 5, 14, **26** (p. 98), 5, 12, **28** (p. 33), 7, **75** (p. 62), 3, 7, **82** (p. 141), 7, **93** (p. 143), 9; *iḫ-bi-ma* **28** (p. 33), 14, 18; *iḫ-bu-nim* **79** (p. 124), Obv. 11, **80** (p. 121), 11, *iḫ-bu-ku* **38** (p. 108), Obv. 8; *iḫ-bu-ku-ma* **33** (p. 45), 17; Imper. *ki-bi-ma*, in the formula at the beginning of each letter.

[**kābālu**], I 2, Part. *muḫtablu*, "warrior": *mu-uk-tab-li* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 16.

kāblu, "battle, contest": *ḫabla* 60 (p. 172), Col. I b, 17.

ḫarradu, "warrior, hero": *ḫar-ra-du-um* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 6.

ḫātu, "hand": *a-na ga-at* 72 (p. 52), 5; *a-na ga-ti* 43 (p. 105), 5, 25; *a-na ga-ti-šu* 94 (p. 186), 29; *a-na gu-ti-i-a* 95 (p. 188), 15; *a-na ḫāti-ia* 59 (p. 192), 18; *i-na ga-at* 28 (p. 33), 4; *i-na ga-ti* 85 (p. 137), 12; *i-na ga-ti-ku-nu* 49 (p. 119), 10; *ša ga-ti-šu* 37 (p. 56), 5, 38 (p. 108), Rev. 12, 75 (p. 62), 16; *ša ga-ti-ka* 23 (p. 3), Obv. 6, 45 (p. 10), 9; *ša ga-ti-ia* 26 (p. 98), 6; *ša g[a-ti-šu-nu]* 56 (p. 157), 19; *ša ga-ti-ni* 3 (p. 101), 6.

7

rē'u, "to pasture, to shepherd": Pret. *e-ri-ši-na-ti* 95 (p. 188), 38; Inf. *ri-ia-im* 97 (p. 199), 22.

rē'ū, **rī'ū**, "shepherd": *ri'-u* 59 (p. 192), 8; *rē'ū* 29 (p. 70), 5, 6, 39 (p. 75), 7, 94 (p. 186), 16, 95 (p. 188), 8; *rē'ū^h* 21 (p. 79), 7, 29 (p. 70), 7, 13, 41, 83 (p. 150), 30.

rī'ūtu, "shepherding, rule": *ri-ia-ut* 97 (p. 199), 93.

mirītu, "pasturage, food": *mi-ri-tu* 95 (p. 188), 35.

rabū, I 1, "to be great."

III 1, "to make great": Part. *mu-šar-bi* (var. *mu-šar-bi-u*) 97 (p. 199), 52.

rabū, "great; elder": *ra-bu-[u]* 92 (p. 135), 11; *ra-bi-um* 97 (p. 199), 60; *ra-bi-im* 57 (p. 177), 15, 94 (p. 186), 3, 97 (p. 199), 40; *rabī(i)* 59 (p. 192), 2; *ra-bu-tim* 95 (p. 188), 49; *rabūti* 95 (p. 188), 44, 97 (p. 199), 57, 84; *ra-bi-a-tim* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 19.

rabiš, "majestically": *ra-bi-iš* 57 (p. 177), 45; 97 (p. 199), 29, 68.

rubū, "prince": *ru-bu-u* 59 (p. 192), 7.

rabīānu, official title, "president of a court": *ra-bi-a-an* 19 (p. 38), 4, 7; 47 (p. 168), 1, 66 (p. 195), 15.

narbū, "greatness": *na-ar-bi* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 2.

ribū, "fourth"; fem. plur. *ribātu*, "fourth part": *ri-ib-ba-a-tim* 21 (p. 79), 5; *ri-ib-ba-ti-šu-nu* 79 (p. 124), Obv. 8.

rabāṣu, I 1, "to lie down."

III 1, "to cause to dwell, to settle": Inf. *šu-ur-bu-ša-am* 97 (p. 199), 25.

rabiṣu, "watchman, guardian": *ra-bi-zu-ka* 60 (p. 172), Col. I b, 22.

rigimtu, *ri-gi-im-tu*, 27 (p. 83), Obv. 10.

ragānu, name of class, or official title: *ra-ga-a-nu-um* 6 (p. 23), 6, 15.

[radū], I 1, "to go."

III 2, "to cause to go": *uš-ta-ar-d[u]-u* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 5.

ridū, "to drive, to conduct": Prec. *li-ir-di-a-am-ma* 89 (p. 133), 21; *li-ir-du-[nim]* 86 (p. 153), 30; *li-ir-di-a-aš-šu-nu-ti* 78 (p. 90), 18; Inf. *ri-di-e-im* 34 (p. 6), 7; Part. *rīdū* (ideogram UKU-UŠ), "slave-driver (?)," *rīdī* (UKU-UŠ) 1 (p. 103), 19, 36 (p. 67), 14, 74 (p. 80), 14; *rīdūti^{pl}* (UKU-UŠ^{pl}) 1 (p. 103), 22, 3 (p. 101), 7, 11, 26 (p. 98), 10, 16, 43 (p. 105), 4, 7, 19, 23; 27, 29.

rakābu, I 1, "to ride."

III 1, "to cause to ride, to cause to embark": Imper. *šu-ur-ki-ba-am* 34 (p. 6), 19: *šu-ur-ki-ba-am-ma* 34 (p. 6), 10.

rāmu, "to love."

narāmu, "beloved": *na-ra-am* 57 (p. 177), 38, 94 (p. 186), 16; *na-ram* 59 (p. 192), 8, 28; *na-ra-mi-šu* 94 (p. 186), 34; *na-ar-me-šu* 59 (p. 192), 21.

ramānu, "self": *ra-ma-ni-ia* 97 (p. 199), 38; *ša ra-ma-ni-šu* 21 (p. 79), 6; *a-na ra-ma-ni-šu*, "by himself, separately," 41 (p. 87), 18; *i-na bi-i ra-ma-n[i-šu]*, "by his own testimony," 43 (p. 105), 15; *in ra-ma-ni-šu-nu*, "of their own accord," 97 (p. 199), 64.

rapšu, "wide-spreading, scattered": *ra-ap-ša-tum* 60 (p. 172), Col. II b, 13; *ra-ap-ša-tim* 97 (p. 199), 26.

rīṣu, "helper": *ri-ṣi-ia* 97 (p. 199), 46.

rīku, "to be empty"; Inf. employed as subs., "gap, deficiency": *ri-ga-am* 14 (p. 12), 4.

rīku, "empty": *ri-ki-im* 37 (p. 56), 11.

rēšu, "head, summit": *ri-ša-am* 85 (p. 137), 13; *ri-ši-šu* 57 (p. 177), 16; *r[i]-ša-šu-nu* 95 (p. 188), 50; *ra-si-šu-nu* (var. *ri-ši-šu-nu*) 97 (p. 199), 69; *ri-si-in* (var. *ri-ši-in*) 97 (p. 199), 103; *rēš* 95 (p. 188), 52.

rēštū, "pre-eminent, first-born": *ri-ēš-ti-im* 97 (p. 199), 4.
 rīšātu, "joy": *ri-ša-a-tim* 97 (p. 199), 105.
 rittu, *ri-it-tim-ma* 8 (p. 65), Rev. 6.

𒍪

ša, relative pronoun, "who, which"; genitive particle.

šeū, "corn, grain": *še-um* 28 (p. 33), 10; *še-am* 6 (p. 23), 10, 12 (p. 29), 10, 18, 24 (p. 31), 11, 14, 28 (p. 33), 11, 20, 25, 28, 37 (p. 56), 8, 49 (p. 119), 6, 12, 56 (p. 157), 26, 84 (p. 145), 19, 85 (p. 137), 19; *še-im* 28 (p. 33), 3, 49 (p. 119), 10, 56 (p. 157), 19, 79 (p. 124), Obv. 8, 84 (p. 145), 8, 87 (p. 155), 6.

šū, personal pronoun, "he"; plur. *šunu*, "they": *šu-ma* 3 (p. 101), 5, 6 (p. 23), 5, 11 (p. 20), 6, 12 (p. 29), 5, 26 (p. 98), 5, 28 (p. 33), 7, 16, 55 (p. 160), 5, 75 (p. 62), 4, 79 (p. 124), Obv. 7, 89 (p. 133), 7, 91 (p. 147), Obv. 7; *šu-u-ma* 24 (p. 31), 6, 30 (p. 49), 5, 38 (p. 108), Obv. 8; *šu-nu-ma* 10 (p. 96), 10, 25 (p. 77), 8, 56 (p. 157), 7, 79 (p. 124), Obv. 11, 83 (p. 150), 6, 90 (p. 139), 9, 92 (p. 135), 10.

šū, fem. *šī*, plur. masc. *šūnu*, *šunūti*, fem. *šināti*, "that": *šu-u* 1 (p. 103), 18, 20, 23 (p. 3), Rev. 5; *šī-i* 75 (p. 62), 20; *šu-nu* 79 (p. 124), Obv. 8; *šu-nu-ti* 1 (p. 103), 9, 17 (p. 112), 18, 42 (p. 114), 29, 72 (p. 52), 23, 79 (p. 124), Rev. 4, 86 (p. 153), 20, 25, 29; 97 (p. 199), 58; *šu-nu-ti-ma* 78 (p. 90), 14; *šī-na-ti* 11 (p. 20), 11, 27, 74 (p. 80), 17.

šību, "witness": *šī-bu* 11 (p. 20), 11; *šī-bi* 11 (p. 20), 27, 92 (p. 135), 19; *amziu šī-i-bi* 2 (p. 40), 13.

šebū, I 1, "to be satisfied; to be completed (?)": Prec. *li-iš-bu* 23 (p. 3), Rev. 4.

II 1, "to satisfy, to conciliate": Part. *mu-še-ib-bi* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 13.

šadū, "mountain": *sa-tu-im* 57 (p. 177), 14, 95 (p. 188), 51, 97 (p. 199), 70; *šadē* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 20.

šadādu, "to draw, to drag": Part. *ša-di-id* 34 (p. 6), 20.

šadāru, "to command": Imper. [*š*] *u-ud-ra-am-ma* 75 (p. 62), 26.

šīhu, "well-grown": *šī-ḥu-tim* 72 (p. 52), 9.

- šaṭāru**, I 1, "to write, to inscribe, to register, to assign to": Pret. *iš-tur-ma* 59 (p. 192), 26, *ta-aš-tu-ru* 43 (p. 105), 28; *ta-aš-tu-ru-šu* 43 (p. 105), 4; *aš-tu-ur-šu-nu-ti* 43 (p. 105), 7; Perm. *ša-ti-ir-ma* 70 (p. 254), 20; *ša-te-ir-šum* 76 (p. 28), 9; *ša-aṭ-ru-šu* 1 (p. 103), 27.
- III 1, "to assign to": Pret. *u-ša-aš-ti-ra-an-ni* 1 (p. 103), 10.
- IV 1, "to be registered, to be assigned to": Pret. *iš-ša-te-ir* 1 (p. 103), 19; Prec. [*l*]i-iš-ša-te-ir 14 (p. 12), 6.
- šakānu**, I 1, "to set, to place, to appoint, to establish, to procure for"; with *itti*, "to enjoin, to place an order with": Pres. *i-ša-ak-ka-nu-ma* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 15; Pret. *aš-ku-un* 95 (p. 188), 30; *aš-ku-un-ši-na-ši-im* 95 (p. 188), 36; Imper. *šu-ku-un-ma* 22 (p. 54), Obv. 8, 25 (p. 77), 19, 34 (p. 6), 22, 37 (p. 56), 7; *šu-uk-nam-ma* 13 (p. 110), 19; *šu-uk-na-aš-šu-nu-ši-im-ma* 17 (p. 112), 20, 42 (p. 114), 31; Perm. *ša-ak-nu* 22 (p. 54), Rev. 5; [*š*]a-ak-na-an-ni-a-ši-i[m] 25 (p. 77), 14; [. . . š]a-ak-nu-m[a] 8 (p. 65), Obv. 15; Inf. *ša-ka-nim* 8 (p. 65), Obv. 12, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 15.
- I 3, "to file a petition": Pret. *ni-iš-ta-na-ak-ka-an-[m]a* 92 (p. 135), 14.
- IV 1, "to be placed, to be appointed; to take place": Pres. *iš-ša-ak-ka-an* 50 (p. 162), 7, 51 (p. 164), 7, 52 (p. 167), 6, 53 (p. 166), 7, 54 (p. 165), 6, 75 (p. 62), 21.
- šakkanakku**, "governor": *šakkanakki* 24 (p. 31), 7.
- šikru**, constr. st. *šikir*: *ši-ki-ir* 72 (p. 52), 4.
- šalāmu**, I 1, "to be complete, to be prosperous."
- II 1, "to convey safely to": Pres. *u-ša-al-la-ma-ak-ku* 45 (p. 10), 7; Prec. *li-ša-al-li-mu* 45 (p. 10), 13; *li-ša-al-li-mu-nim* 34 (p. 6), 24.
- II 2, "to be finished, to be completed": Pret. *uš-ta-al-li-mu* 9 (p. 42), 15.
- šalmu**, "favourable, lucky": *ša-al-ma-a-t[im]* 56 (p. 157), 25.
- šulmu**, "peace, prosperity, safety": *šu-ul-mi-im* 58 (p. 177), 23, 97 (p. 199), 27, 95.
- šamū**, plur. *šamē*, "heaven": *ša-me-e* (var. *šamē*) 97 (p. 199), 81; *šamē(e)* 59 (p. 192), 3; *šamē* 97 (p. 199), 2, 15.

šemū, I 1, "to hear": Inf. *šemī* 59 (p. 192), 27.

III 2, "to bring into subjection": Part. *mu-uš-te-eš-mi* 95 (p. 188), 4, 97 (p. 199), 34.

šēmū, "obedient": *še-mu-u* 59 (p. 192), 9; [*še*]-*mu* 94 (p. 186), 12.

šumu, "name": *šu-ma-am* 97 (p. 199), 12; *šu-mi-im* 95 (p. 188), 58; *šum-šu* 97 (p. 199), 75; *šum-ka* 60 (p. 172), Col. II 6, 12.

šumma, "if": *šum-ma* 6 (p. 23), 18, 8 (p. 65), Obv. 10, 11 (p. 20), 21, 86 (p. 153), 28; *šum-ma* . . . *šum-ma* . . . , "whether . . . or . . . ," 78 (p. 90), 9 f.

šamnu, "oil": *šamna* 44 (p. 58), 6.

šamaššammu, "sesame-seed": *šamaššammu* 33 (p. 45), 4, 6; *šamaššamma* 22 (p. 54), Obv. 5, 9, Rev. 4.

šanū, "another": *ša-nu-um* 8 (p. 65), Rev. 6; *ša-ni-a-am-ma* 1 (p. 103), 22; *ša-nu-tim-ma* 43 (p. 105), 29.

šangū, "priest": *šangū* 91 (p. 147), Obv. 8.

šasū, "to speak, to tell": Pret. *is-su-ni-a-t[i]* 83 (p. 150), 26.

šapāku, I 1, "to heap up, to garner, to store": Pret. *aš-pu-uk-ma* 12 (p. 29), 7; Perm. *ša-bi-ik* 28 (p. 33), 10.

I 2, "to heap up, to garner": Pret. *aš-iṣ-pa-ak* 95 (p. 188), 26.

šapāru, I 1, "to send, to send a letter, to write; to rule": Pres. *ta-ša-ap-pa-ru* 8 (p. 65), Rev. 8; *i-ša-ap-pa-ru-ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im* 85 (p. 137), 14; *ta-ša-ap-pa-ra-šu-nu-š[i-i]m* 56 (p. 157), 14; Pret. *iš-pu-ra-[am]* 89 (p. 133), 6, 12; *iš-pu-ra-am-[ma]* 10 (p. 96), 12; *iš-pu-ra-an-ni-ti* 48 (p. 169), 6; *ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 33 (p. 45), 18; *ta-aš-pur-am* 1 (p. 103), 14, 4 (p. 18), Obv. 3, 8 (p. 65), Rev. 5, 28 (p. 33), 23, 24, 43 (p. 105), 8; *aš-pu-ra-am* 9 (p. 42), 10, 81 (p. 117), 7; *aš-pur-am* 4 (p. 18), Rev. 1; *aš-pu-ra-ku* 5 (p. 16), 18; *aš-pu-ra-ak-ku* 33 (p. 45), 21, 41 (p. 60), 21; *aš-pur-ak-ku* 27 (p. 83), Rev. 7; *aš-pu-ra-ak-ku-ma* 33 (p. 45), 11; *aš-pur-ak-ku-ma* 1 (p. 103), 7, 8 (p. 65), Obv. 6, 43 (p. 105), 6; *iš-pu-ru-nim* 25 (p. 77), 7, 17, 56 (p. 157), 7, 12, 83 (p. 150), 6, 28, 90 (p. 139), 9, 19; *ta-aš-pu-ra-nim* 85 (p. 137), 17, 86 (p. 153), 3, 16, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 5, 11; [*ni*]-*iš-pu-ur-šum-ma* 90 (p. 139), 15; Prec. *li-iš-pur-am* 4 (p. 18),

- Obv. 13; *li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma* **48** (p. 169), 17; Imper. *šu-pu-ur* **12** (p. 29), 14; *šu-pur* **17** (p. 112), 18, **19** (p. 38), 10, **42** (p. 114), 29, **78** (p. 90), 13; *šu-pu-ur-ma* **40** (p. 60), 5; *šu-up-ra* **56** (p. 157), 17; *šu-up-ra-nim* **83** (p. 150), 34; Inf. (?) [. . .]-*ra-am* **97** (p. 199), 28.
- I 2, "to write": Pret. (3 sing.) *iš-ta-ap-ra-ak-ku-ma* **28** (p. 33), 6.
- I 3, "to write": Pret. *aš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar-ma* **55** (p. 160), 10.
- IV 2, "to be sent, to be written": Pret. [*i*]-*t-ta-aš-pa-ar* **86** (p. 153), 23; *i-t-ta-aš-pa-[ru-nim]* **56** (p. 157), 16; Prec. [*li-i*]-*t-ta-aš-pa-ar* **88** (p. 130), Obv. 13.
- šāpiru*, "ruler"; *šāpir māti*, an official title: *ša-bi-ir ma-tim* **8** (p. 65), Obv. 13.
- šīru*, "message; matter, work": *ši-ip-ra-am* **5** (p. 16), 18, **27** (p. 83), Obv. 7; *ši-ip-ri-im* **4** (p. 18), Rev. 4, **77** (p. 85), 5; *ši-bi-ir* **4** (p. 18), Obv. 5, Rev. 2, 6, **8** (p. 65), Rev. 2; *mārē² ši-ip-ri*, "messengers," **85** (p. 137), 6.
- šipātu*, "wool": *šipāti* (?) **55** (p. 160), 4, 7; *šipāta* (?) **55** (p. 160), 11, 14, 21.
- šakū*, "to drink."
- maškitu*, "drink": *ma-aš-ki-tu* **95** (p. 188), 35.
- šakālu*, I 1, "to weigh, to pay."
- III 2, "to cause to pay": Pret. *uš-ta-aš-ki-la-a[n-n]* **30** (p. 49), 15.
- šiklu*, "shekel": *šiklu* **84** (p. 145), 5, 13.
- šakāšu*, "to destroy": Part. *ša-ki-iš* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV b, 8.
- šīru*, "flesh, heart": *ši-ir* **57** (p. 177), 8, 28.
- šarāku*, "to present, to bestow upon": Pret. *iš-ru-ku-nim* **97** (p. 199), 109.
- širiktu*, "gift": *še-ri-iḫ-tim* **97** (p. 199), 108.
- šarru*, "king": *šar-ru-um* **60** (p. 172), Col. IV b, 6; *šarru* **57** (p. 177), 2, 7, 27, 42, **59** (p. 192), 11, **94** (p. 186), 18, **95** (p. 188), 2, 4, 43, **96** (p. 194), Col. II, 2, **97** (p. 199), 2, 32, 34; *šarri* **23** (p. 3), 4, **57** (p. 177), 42, **59** (p. 192), 25, **70** (p. 254), 24; *šar* **57** (p. 177), 3, 4, **59** (p. 192), 4, 12, **94** (p. 186), 19, 22, **95** (p. 188), 3, **97** (p. 199), 21, 33.

- šarrūtu, "kingdom": *šar-ru-ti-ia* 97 (p. 199), 52, 80.
- šāšu, šuašu, personal pronoun, "him": *a-na šu-a-ši-im* 76 (p. 28), 8.
- šušu, "sixty": 2 *šu-ši* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 7; 3 *šu-ši* 46 (p. 82), 6, 8;
5 *šu-ši* 85 (p. 137), 11; 5 *šu-ši-um* 72 (p. 52), 13;
6 *šu-ši* 46 (p. 82), 4.
- šātu, šuatu, demonstrative pronoun, "that": *ša-tu* 48 (p. 169), 15;
šu-a-ti 2 (p. 40), 6, 10, 5 (p. 16), 8, 17, 11 (p. 20), 15,
12 (p. 29), 12, 19 (p. 38), 7, 27 (p. 83), Obv. 8, Rev. 2,
36 (p. 67), 10, 43 (p. 105), 9, 10, 24, 56 (p. 157), 26,
76 (p. 28), 10, 92 (p. 135), 18, 95 (p. 188), 55, 97
(p. 199), 84.
- šūt, genitive particle: *šu-ut* 56 (p. 157), 6, 13, 88 (p. 130), Obv. 12.
- šutummu, "granary": *bīl šu-tum-mē* 59 (p. 192), 22.
- šattu, "year": [*š*] *a-at-tum* 14 (p. 12), 4: *šattu* 70 (p. 254), 23;
šatti 24 (p. 31), 10, 92 (p. 135), 13.
- šattišam, "yearly": *ša-at-ti-ša-am* 88 (p. 130), Obv. 7.
- [šittu], *ši-ta-at* 16 (p. 48), 4.

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- taḥaza, "battle": *taḥaza* 60 (p. 172), Col. I b, 17.
- takālu, "to trust in."
- takilu, taklu, "trustworthy": *ta-ki-il-ka* 78 (p. 90), 15; *ta-ak-lum* 33 (p. 45), 29; *ta-ak-lu-tim* 22 (p. 54), Obv. 7.
- [talāmu], III 1, "to offer, to entrust to": (?) Imper. *šu-ut-li-* [. . .] 1 (p. 103), 25.
- tappū, "companion": *tab-bi-šu* 7 (p. 81), 10.
- tappūtu, companionship, help"; *tap-pu-ut* MA-[NI-UM] 8 (p. 65), Rev. 3; *tap-pu-ut aklē** MA-NI-UM 40 (p. 60), 16.
- tuḫumtu, tuḫmatu, plur. *tuḫumāti*, "opposition, battle": *tu-uḫ-ma-tim* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 12; *tu-ḫu-ma-tim* 60 (p. 172), Col. IV b, 9.
- tāru, I 1, "to turn"; followed by *ma* and another verb, "to repeat, to do again": Pres. *ta-ta-ar-ma* 43 (p. 105), 21, 80 (p. 121), 20.
- II 1, "to bring back, to restore, to make good; to change to": Pret. with particle of emphasis, *lu-u-te-ir* 95 (p. 188), 24: Prec. *li-te-ir* 12 (p. 29), 21; *li-te-ir-ru*

- 3** (p. 101), 17; Imper. *te-ir-šum* **26** (p. 98), 22; *te-e-ir-š[um]* **6** (p. 23), 20; *te-ir-šu-nu-ši-im* **18** (p. 26), Rev. 4.
- tarū**, I 1, "to bring": Pret. *it-ru-[ni-in-ni]* **10** (p. 96), 19; Prec. *li-it-ru-ni-ik-ku* **12** (p. 29), 16, **17** (p. 112), 19, **39** (p. 75), 11, **42** (p. 114), 30; *li-it-ru-ni-ik-ku-ma* **19** (p. 38), 11; *li-it-ru-ni-ik-ku-ma* **78** (p. 90), 13.
- I 2, "to bring": Pret. *it-ta-ru-[nim]* **10** (p. 96), 15.
- tarāšu**, "to be available (?)": Perm. *ta-ar-zu-ma* **43** (p. 105), 7.
- tērtu**, "oracle, omen": *šuru te-ri-e-tim* **56** (p. 157), 25.

II.

SUMERIAN VOCABULARY.

[N. B.—The figures in heavy type refer to the numbers of the texts in Vols. I and II; the pages within parentheses refer to the transliterations in Vol. III.]

A.

- A**, "water": **101** (p. 212), Col. III, 38, **102** (p. 212), Col. I, 14.
A, postposition, "to, for, by."
A-A, "father": **99** (p. 199), 63.
A-AB-A, "ocean": **101** (p. 212), Col. II, 7, 8.
A-BA-A, interrogative pronoun, "who? whom?": **60** (p. 172),
Col. I a, 4, 9, 14, 19, 23.
AB-AB-UL, official title: **34** (p. 6), 4.
AB-BA, a wood: ¹⁰⁰ **AB-BA** ²¹ **72** (p. 52), 4, 9, 13, 18, 23.
AD-DA, title of Hammurabi: **68** (p. 198), Rev. 4.
AD-KAL, name of class, or official title: **AD-KAL** ²¹ **8** (p. 65), Rev. 7.
AG, "to build, to make, to do": **AG-DA** (*e-bi-ša-am*) **99** (p. 199),
93; **AG-NE** **61** (p. 184), 28, **62** (p. 180), 25, **99** (p. 199),
25; **NE-IN-AG-A** **61** (p. 184), 24, **62** (p. 180), 21;
[. . .] **AG** **67** (p. 197), 10.
AG, "to command, order": **ĜU-MU-DA-AN-AG** (*ġu-u-ma-e-ra-an-ni*)
99 (p. 199), 33.
A-GA, "future": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV a, 3.
AGA, "crown": **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 10, 11.
A-GAL, "majestically": **99** (p. 199), 32.
A-KAL, "power, strength, might": **99** (p. 199), 40, **101** (p. 212),
Col. IV, 17.
ALAD, "guardian image, colossus": **66** (p. 195), 17, **102** (p. 212),
Col. V, 9.
ALAM, "image": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV a, 16, **101** (p. 212), Col. I,
41, 43, Col. II, 5, Col. III, 15, 17, 29, Col. IV, 19, 25;
102 (p. 212), Col. II, 6, Col. IV, 7, Col. V, 3, 6, 8, 10.
AN, "heaven": **61** (p. 184), 4, **62** (p. 180), 2, **70** (p. 254), 4, **99**
(p. 199), 2, 13, 82.
AR, "glory": **60** (p. 172), Col. II, 18.

ASILAL, "joy": **99** (p. 199), 97.

A-ŠI-GAB, "watchman": ^{amtu} A-ŠI-GAB^{tu} **77** (p. 85), 4.

B.

BA, pron. suffix of 3rd pers. sing. and plur.

BA, "to bestow": IN-NA-AN-BA-A **69** (p. 209), 22.

BAD, "wall, fortress": **58** (p. 177), 10, **99** (p. 199), 61, **100** (p. 207), Rev. 4, **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 3, 9, 20, 21, 34, 35, 36, 46, Col. II, 6, 10, 11, 29, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 46, Col. III, 4, 6, 21, 25, 35, Col. IV, 11, 18, **102** (p. 212), Col. II, 11, 15, 16, 17, Col. V, 12, 13, 17 (bis).

BAL, "to dig": HU-MU-BA-AL (*lu-uḫ-ri-a-am-ma*) **58** (p. 177), 18; MU-UN-BA-AL **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 16, 17, Col. II, 13, 17, 30, 36, 37, 41; MU-BA-AL **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 27, 49, 50.

BA-RA, negative, "not": **58** (p. 177), 38.

BARA, "shrine": **61** (p. 184), 21, **62** (p. 180), 18, **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 37, 39, Col. II, 12, 26, 27, 44, **102** (p. 212), Col. II, 5.

BI, pron. suffix of 3rd pers., m. and f., sing. and plur.

BI, demonstrative pronoun, "that, those."

BI, copula, "and."

BI-DA, copula, "and."

BI-DA-GE, copula, "and."

BUR-RU-DA, NE-IN-BUR-RU-DA-A **100** (p. 207), Rev. 6.

D.

DA, postposition, "in."

DAGAL, "mother": **99** (p. 199), 45.

DAGAL, "broad, wide-spreading": **60** (p. 172), Col. II, 13, **99** (p. 199), 29, **107** (p. 255), Obv.

DA-GA-MU, DA-GA-M[U] **100** (p. 207), Obv. 6.

DA-GA(-NI), "obedient to, servant of(?)": **61** (p. 184), 8 f., **62** (p. 180), 7 f.

DIB, "to take, to seize": IN-DIB-BA **101** (p. 212), Col. II, 45.

DI-DI, "to attain to": DI-DI-DA (*ka-ša-dam*) **99** (p. 199), 95.

DI-KUD, "judge": **69** (p. 209), 12.

- DIM**, “to possess, to be endowed with (?)”: AN-DIM-DIM-ME-A **99** (p. 199), 20.
- DIM**, “to make, to build; to create; to bear, to beget”: DIM-DIM-ME, var. DIM-DIM (*ba-ni*) **58** (p. 177), 5, 22; BA-RA-AN-DIM-MA (*la iḅ-ni-u*) **58** (p. 177), 38; IN-DIM-EN-NA-UŠ (*ba-ni-ti-ia*) **99** (p. 199), 45; BA-DIM **63** (p. 183), 8; MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 8, 10, 11, 12, 38, 40, 41, Col. II, 12, 18, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34, 44, Col. IV, 25; MU-UN-DIM-MA **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 43; MU-NA-DIM-MA **101** (p. 212), Col. II, 19.
- DINGIR**, “god”: **61** (p. 184), 22, **62** (p. 180), 19, **69** (p. 209), 3, **70** (p. 254), 3, **99** (p. 199), 50, 85, 95, **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 12, Col. III, 5, **102** (p. 212), Col. IV, 4.
- DIRI**, “to make great”: ĤE-NE-DIRI (*lu-u-ša-tir* [-*šu*]) **99** (p. 199), 79; NI-DIRI-GA **70** (p. 254), 15.
- DU**, “son”: **66** (p. 195), 16, **68** (p. 198), Obv. 3, **69** (p. 209), 13, **99** (p. 199), 3, **100** (p. 207), Obv. 10.
- DU**, “to build”: MI-NI-DU (*al-bi-in*) **99** (p. 199), 70.
- DUG**, “to be good”: BA-DUG-GA (*ta-ba*) **58** (p. 177), 9, 26; DUG-DUG, “to please, to delight”: **61** (p. 184), 11.
- DUG**, IN-NA-AN-DUG-GA-NI **69** (p. 209), 17; DUG-GA-NI, **69** (p. 209), 32.
- DUG-GA**, “to tend carefully”: **66** (p. 195), 6.
- DU-GAB**, official title: **11** (p. 20), 16, **18** (p. 26), Obv. 4, **34** (p. 6), 5, **41** (p. 87), 5, **78** (p. 90), 7, **79** (p. 124), Rev. 5, **81** (p. 117), 7, **89** (p. 133), 13, 19, **93** (p. 143), 17.
- DUL**, “to cover”: ĤE-EN-DUL (*lu ik-tum*) **99** (p. 199), 83; DUL-LA **61** (p. 184), 4.
- DUR**, “to dwell; to cause to dwell”: ĤE-IM-MI-DUR (*lu-u-še-ši-iḅ*) **58** (p. 177), 32; [. . .]-NE-NI-DUR-RU **100** (p. 207), Rev. 3.
- DUR-KA**, “sceptre”: **61** (p. 184), 31, **62** (p. 180), 28.
- DU-URU**, “eternity”: **58** (p. 177), 31, **99** (p. 199), 30, 92.

E.

- E**, “temple”: **61** (p. 184), 39, **62** (p. 180), 38, **63** (p. 183), 10, **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 22, 23, 24, **102** (p. 212), Col. IV, 8.

- E**, "hollow, gulf": 101 (p. 212), Col. II, 6, 7.
E-GAL, "palace": 101 (p. 212), Col. IV, 28.
E-GAL, 84 (p. 145), 5, 13.
E-GI-A, "bride": 66 (p. 195), 2.
E-KI-IM, 38 (p. 108), Obv. 6, Rev. 8.
E-KU-ŠA-AN, 28 (p. 33), 11, 21, 27.
EN, "lord": 62 (p. 180), 2, 32, 69 (p. 209), 2.
E-NE, suffix of plural.
E-NI-UM, "granary": 12 (p. 29), 7, 9.
ERIM, "enemy, foe": 60 (p. 172), Col. IV, 8, 99 (p. 199), 59.
ERIN, "cedar": 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 8.
EŠ-A, pron. suffix of 3rd pers. sing., attached to verbs.
EŠ-BAR, "decision": 102 (p. 212), Col. IV, 4.

G.

- GA**, pron. suffix of 1st pers. sing.
GAB-A, official title(?): 20 (p. 86), 7.
GAB-BI, "majestically": 99 (p. 199), 71.
GA-GA, 𒄠-RA-AB-GA-GA 100 (p. 207), Rev. 7.
GAL, "great": 58 (p. 177), 12, 60 (p. 172), Col. II, 19, 61
 (p. 184), 22, 62 (p. 180), 19, 69 (p. 209), 2, 99 (p. 199),
 41, 61, 85, 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 20, 21, Col. II, 25,
 Col. III, 38, Col. IV, 11, 102 (p. 212), Col. I, 14,
 Col. IV, 4, Col. V, 7.
GAL, official title, "governor": 48 (p. 169), 2, 5, 84 (p. 145), 9, 17.
GAL-BI, "gloriously": 58 (p. 177), 40.
GAR, "to place, establish": GAR-RA-A 60 (p. 172), Col. II, 6.
GAR, "brickwork": 99 (p. 199), 70.
GE, suffix of genitive.
GI, "to establish": MU-UN-NA-GI 70 (p. 254), 18; MU-NA-AN-GI-
 NI-EŠ-A (*u-ki-in-nu-šum*) 99 (p. 199), 14 f.; MI-NI-GI-EN
 (*u-ki-in*) 99 (p. 199), 75.
GI, "to restore": 70 (p. 254), 16, 101 (p. 207), Col. II, 15, 16.
GIM, postposition, "like."
GIN, "to go, to walk": GIN-GIN-DA (*a-ta-al-lu-kam*) 99 (p. 199), 98.
GIN-GIN, "to cause to become, to make" (i.e. *šūluku*): N[E-GIN-
 GIN] 66 (p. 195), 20.

- GIR-GUB**, "to wait for": [GIR-NE]-GUB-BI-EN (*lu-ga-a*) **60**
(p. 172), Col. I a, 5, 10, 15, 20, 24.
- GIRI**, "foundation": **99** (p. 199), 13, 75.
- GIŠ-GAL**, "door": **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 8.
- GIŠ-GIŠ-LAL**, "opposition, battle": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV, 9, 11.
- GIŠ-GU-ZA**, "throne": **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 37, 39, Col. II, 12, 26,
27, 44, Col. III, 3, 12, 14, 16, 20, Col. IV, 13, 15, **102**
(p. 212), Col. I, 7, Col. II, 5.
- GIŠ-ḪAŠ-AG-AG**, "to destroy": GIŠ-ḪAŠ-AG-AG (*ša-ki-iš*) **60**
(p. 172), Col. IV a, 8.
- GIŠ-ḪIR**, "plantation": **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 12.
- GIŠ-KU**, "weapon, sword": **60** (p. 172), Col. I a, 12, **101** (p. 212),
Col. I, 18, 19, 35, 36, 42, 51, Col. II, 42, **102** (p. 212),
Col. V, 5.
- GIŠ-NIM**, a word: **101** (p. 212), Col. IV, 25.
- GUB**, "to stand, to establish": NE-IN-GUB (*uš-zi-iš*) **60** (p. 172),
Col. IV a, 1; GUB-NE-IB (*šū-zi-iš*) **60** (p. 172), Col. II a, 8.
- GU-DE-A**, "minister": **61** (p. 184), 7, **62** (p. 180), 5, **70** (p. 254), 12.
(GU + GU)-(GU + GU), "insurrection": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV a, 13.
- GUL**, "to destroy": BA-GUL-LA **101** (p. 212), Col. IV, 9, BA-GUL
101 (p. 212), Col. I, 34, 35, 36, Col. II, 6, Col. III, 4.
- GULA**, "to be great; to make great": NE-IB-GU-UL-LA-AŠ (*mu-šar-
bi, mu-šar-bi-u*) **99** (p. 199), 54.
- GULA**, "great": **99** (p. 199), 63, **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 8.
- GUL-GUL**, "to destroy": [. . . -GUL]-GUL-A (*mu-ḫa-ab-bi-iš*)
60 (p. 172), Col. IV a, 17.
- GU-RU-A**, "enemy, opponent": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV a, 10.
- GU-SIL**, "obedience, submissiveness": **60** (p. 172), Col. II, 21.
- GU-ŠAG-ŠAG**, "to supplicate": GU-ḪA-RA-AB-ŠAG-ŠAG-GI-NE (*li-iš-
te-mi-ga-ḫu*) **60** (p. 172), Col. II, 14 f.
- GUŠKIN**, "gold": **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 37, 39, Col. II, 12,
Col. IV, 13.
- GU-UR-A**, see SIG-GA.

Ḫ.

ḪA-PA, **76** (p. 28), 4.

HAR (poss. ṬU), "that": **99** (p. 199), 84.

- ĦAR-SAG**, "mountain": 58 (p. 177), 12, 66 (p. 195), 5, 99 (p. 199), 72, 101 (p. 212), Col. III, 19, Col. IV, 20, 102 (p. 212), Col. I, 6.
ĦE-GAL, "abundance": 101 (p. 212), Col. II, 7, 8.
ĦI-LI, "strength": 66 (p. 195), 4.
ĦUL, "to rejoice": ŠAG-ĦUL-LA (*ĥu-ud li-iĥ-bi-im*) 99 (p. 199), 97.
ĦUL, "to destroy": BA-ĦUL 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 13, 14, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

I.

- ID**, "canal": 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 27, 49, 50, Col. II, 13, 17, 30, Col. III, 9, 33, 102 (p. 212), Col. II, 2, 4, Col. V, 2.
ID-AG-GA, "oracle": 101 (p. 212), Col. IV, 22, 23, 24.
ID-DAĦ, "helper": 99 (p. 199), 47.
IGI, "before": 69 (p. 209), 30.
IGI-E-DI, "marvel, wonder": 66 (p. 195), 20.
IGI-ŠID, a stone: (DAK) IGI-ŠID 101 (p. 212), Col. II, 31, 32.
IL, "to be high, to raise": MI-NI-IL (*u-ul-li*) 99 (p. 199), 73; ĦE-MI-IL, var. ĦE-IM-MI-IL (*lu-u-ul-li*) 58 (p. 177), 14; IL-LA 99 (p. 199), 96.
IM, "self": 99 (p. 199), 40.
IM-GID-DA, "tablet": 70 (p. 254), 21.
IMI, "clay": 60 (p. 172), Col. IV a, 16.
IM-KI-A, 100 (p. 207), Rev. 7.
IM-TE, "self": 99 (p. 199), 66.
IM-TUK, "exalted": 66 (p. 195), 9, 102 (p. 212), Col. IV, 3.
INIM, "word": 66 (p. 195), 9.
IR, postposition, "for."
ITU, "month": 99 (p. 199), 69; ITU-ITU-DA, "monthly," 99 (p. 199), 90.

K.

- KA**, postposition, "in; upon."
KA, "mouth": 101 (p. 212), Col. II, 21.
KA, "gate": 101 (p. 212), Col. II, 25.
KA-BAR, name of class: 3 (p. 101), 6, 9, 14.

- KA-DUR**, name of class: **6** (p. 23), 4, 19, **26** (p. 98), 6, 13, 19.
KALAMA, "land": **58** (p. 177), 5, 22, **67** (p. 197), 9, **99** (p. 199),
 18, 27, **101** (p. 212), Col. II, 19, 22.
KAR, "wall": **58** (p. 177), 19.
KA-ŠU-TAG, "to bow down the face": KA-ŠU-ĤA-RA-AR-TAG-GI-
 NE (*ap-pa-ši-na li-il-bi-na-ku*) **60** (p. 172), Col. II a, 16 f.
KI, "earth": **61** (p. 184), 4, **62** (p. 180), 2, **70** (p. 254), 4, **99**
 (p. 199), 2, 13, 82.
KI, "place": **70** (p. 254), 17.
KI-AG, "beloved": **58** (p. 177), 35, **61** (p. 184), 13, 35, 39, **62**
 (p. 180), 10, 38, **66** (p. 195), 18, **107** (p. 255), Rev. 2.
KI-DUR, "dwelling, habitation": **58** (p. 177), 30, **66** (p. 195), 18,
100 (p. 207), Rev. 2.
KI-GAR, "building, structure": **70** (p. 254), 14.
KU, postposition, "to, in."
KU-BABBAR, "silver": **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 37, 39, Col. II, 12.
KUN, 4 (p. 18), Obv. 5.
KUR, "land": **99** (p. 199), 24, 74, **101** (p. 212), Col. IV, 14, **102**
 (p. 212), Col. II, 12.
KUR-ZID-DA, "will, desire": **99** (p. 199), 94.

L.

- LA-LA**, "abundance": **99** (p. 199), 22.
LI, **25** (p. 77), 10.
LID-GUD, in plur. "cattle"; see above, p. 262, sub *alpu*.
LIG-GA, "strong": **58** (p. 177), 2, **60** (p. 172), Col. IV a, 7, **61**
 (p. 184), 15, **62** (p. 180), 12, **63** (p. 183), 3, **69** (p. 209),
 8, **99** (p. 199), 35, **100** (p. 207), Obv. 2.
LUGAL, "king": **58** (p. 177), 2, 3, 4, 6, 23, 37 (bis), **60** (p. 172),
 Col. IV a, 6, **61** (p. 184), 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, **62** (p. 180),
 3, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, **63** (p. 183), 3, 4, 6, **66** (p. 195),
 13, **69** (p. 209), 4, 8, 9, 10, 15, **70** (p. 254), 4, 9, **99**
 (p. 199), 2, 22, 35, 36, 37, **100** (p. 207), Obv. 2, 3, 4, 5,
 6, **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 1, 15, 16, 54, Col. II, beginning
 (bis), 9, 10, 28, 29, 49, Col. III, 1, 44, 45, Col. IV, 33,
102 (p. 212), Col. II, 14, Col. V, 18, Col. VI, 4.
LUGAL, "lord": **58** (p. 177), 39.

M.

- MA**, pron. suffix of 1st pers. sing.
- MA-AZ**, "abundance": **66** (p. 195), 4.
- MA-DA**, "land": **101** (p. 212), Col. III, 31, Col. IV, 31.
- MA-GAR**, "to embark (?)," trans.: **MA-GAR-RA 34** (p. 6), 16.
- MAḪ**, "to be high; to exalt": **ḪU-MU-NI-MAḪ** (*lu-u-ṣi-ir*) **99** (p. 199), 77.
- MAḪ**, "lofty, great, exalted, noble": **60** (p. 172), Col. I a, 12, Col. II a, 21, **99** (p. 199), 10, **101** (p. 212), Col. I, 5, 6, 7, 37, 39, Col. II, 12, 18, 26, 27, 44, **102** (p. 212), Col. IV, 4.
- MAḪ-BI**, "exceedingly": **101** (p. 212), Col. III, 13.
- MA-LAL**, [M]A(?)**-LAL 69** (p. 209), 19.
- MA-NI-UM**, "ship for transport"; see above, p. 262, sub *elippu*.
- MAR-URU**, "deluge, hurricane": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV a, 9.
- MASKIM**, "watchman, guardian": **60** (p. 172), Col. I a, 22.
- ME**, "battle": **60** (p. 172), Col. I a, 17.
- ME-EN**, personal pronoun, "I, me": **58** (p. 177), 9, 26, 35, **67** (p. 197), 10, **99** (p. 199), 23, 39, **100** (p. 207), 7, 11.
- ME-LAM**, "splendour, majesty": **61** (p. 184), 3, **99** (p. 199), 88.
- MEŠ**, suffix of plural.
- ME-TE**, "pomp, display": **66** (p. 195), 17.
- ME-UR-I**, "to praise, to celebrate": **ME-UR-ḪE-I-I-NE** (*li-iš-ta-ni-da*) **60** (p. 172), Col. II a, 20.
- MU**, pron. suffix of 1st pers. sing.
- MU**, "name": **60** (p. 172), Col. II a, 12, **99** (p. 199), 10, 77, **100** (p. 207), Rev. 8 (?).
- MU**, "year": **101** (p. 212), **102** (p. 212), passim.
- MU**, "baker"; see above, p. 283, sub *nuḫatimmu*.
- MUL-IM-A**, **100** (p. 207), Rev. 6.
- MUŠ**, "light"; **DINGIR MUŠ-GE**, "the goddess of light," i.e. Ištar: **60** (p. 172), Col. I a, 16.

N.

- NA**, pron. suffix of 3rd pers. sing.
- NA**, "to settle, to cause to dwell": **NA-NE**, var. **NA-U-NE** (*šu-ur-bu-ša-am*) **99** (p. 199), 28.

- NAM-A-GAL**, "strength, might": **60** (p. 172), Col. II *a*, 7, **102** (p. 212), Col. IV, 5.
- NAM-AZAG-ZU**, "wisdom": **99** (p. 199), 19.
- NAM-DINGIR**, "divinity": **66** (p. 195), 17.
- NAM-EN**, "lordship, dominion": **61** (p. 184), 28, **62** (p. 180), 24, 35, **99** (p. 199), 7.
- NAM-LIG-GA**, "power": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV *a*, 2.
- NAM-LUGAL**, "kingdom": **67** (p. 197), 8, **68** (p. 198), Obv. 6, **99** (p. 199), 53, 81.
- NAM-MAḪ**, "greatness": **60** (p. 172), Col. IV *a*, 2.
- NAM-NIN**, "rule, dominion": **61** (p. 184), 37; **66** (p. 195), 3.
- NAM-NIR-RA**, "lordship, lordly power": **60** (p. 172), Col. I *a*, 2.
- NAM-NUN-NA**, "princely rule, dominion": **101** (p. 212), Col. IV, 28, **102** (p. 212), Col. V, 10.
- NAM-SAG-LIG**, "power": **60** (p. 172), Col. I *a*, 7.
- NAM-SIBA**, "shepherding, rule": **99** (p. 199), 25, 91.
- NAM-SUN**, "old age": **99** (p. 199), 66.
- NAM-TIL**, "life": **NAM-TIL 68** (p. 198), Rev. 6; **NAM-TI-LA 69** (p. 209), 6, 21, **99** (p. 199), 89; **NAM-TI(L), 66** (p. 195), 11.
- NE**, postposition, "for."
- NE-E**, demonstrative pronoun, "this."
- NE-ḪA**, "restful, peaceful": **58** (p. 177), 30.
- NE-NE**, pron. suffix of 3rd pers. plur.
- NI**, pron. suffix of 3rd pers. sing.
- NI**, "fear": **99** (p. 199), 80.
- NIG-AG-AG**, "deeds": **58** (p. 177), 6, 23.
- NIGIN**, "to surround": ḪU MU-NI-NIGIN (*lu[-u]-uš-la-aš-ḫi-ir-šū*) **58** (p. 177), 15.
- NIGIN**, "all, the whole": **99** (p. 199), 24, 74.
- NIG-SI-DI**, "righteousness": **101** (p. 212), Col. III, 2.
- NIN**, "lady": **61** (p. 184), 3, 5; **66** (p. 195), 4, 7, 10.
- NITA-DAM**, "spouse, husband": **66** (p. 195), 8.
- NU**, negative, "not": **101** (p. 212), Col. IV, 14, 32.
- NUN**, "prince": **61** (p. 184), 13.

P.

- PAD**, "to name, to call, to proclaim": 𒀭-PA-D-DE (*li-iz-za-ki-ir*)
60 (p. 172), Col. II a, 12.
- PA-KAB-DU**, "to present, to bestow upon": 𒀭-U-MU-PA-KAB-DU-
EŠ (*lu iš-ru-ku-nim*) 99 (p. 199), 99 f.
- PA-LUL**, 107 (p. 255), Obv., bis.
- PA-TE-SI**, official title: 17 (p. 112), 12, 18 (p. 26), Obv. 4, 38
(p. 108), Obv. 5, Rev. 12, 13, 42 (p. 114), 25, 43
(p. 105), 3, 5, 11, 16, 18, 21, 22, 25, 91 (p. 147),
Obv. 10.
- PA-UD-DU**, "to make glorious; to create": PA-NE-IN-UD-DU
(*u-še-bi*) 60 (p. 172), Col. IV a, 4; PA-UD-D[U . . .]
67 (p. 197), 9.

R.

- RA**, postposition, "for."
- RU**, "to make. to build, to do": 𒀭-U-MU-NA-RU (*lu e-pu-uš-su-um*)
58 (p. 177), 40; MI-NI-IN-RU-A (*e-pu-šu*) 99 (p. 199),
65; IM-MI-RU (*e-pu-uš*) 99 (p. 199), 71; MU-NA-NI-IN-
RU 61 (p. 184), 40; 62 (p. 180), 39; [N]E-IN-RU-
[. . .] 68 (p. 198), Rev. 5; BA-RU 101 (p. 212),
Col. I, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 44, 46, 47, 48,
Col. II, 10, 11, 14, 20, 23, 25, 29, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43,
102 (p. 212), Col. I, 13.

S.

- SA**, "to name": MI-NI-IN-SA-EŠ-A (*i-bi-u-šu*) 99 (p. 199), 10 f.
- SAG**, "head; summit": 58 (p. 177), 13, 69 (p. 209), 16 (?), 99
(p. 199), 72, 96.
- SAG**, "pre-eminent, first-born": 99 (p. 199), 3.
- SAG**, "gift": 99 (p. 199), 99.
- SAG-AMAT-URU**, "female slave"; see above, p. 264, sub *amtu*.
- SAG-URU**, "male slave"; see above, p. 267, sub *ardu*.
- SAG-DU**, "to create": 99 (p. 199), 50.
- SAG-ŠAB**, military title, "captain": *amitu* SAG-ŠAB 59 (p. 192), 26.
- SAĦAR**, "earth": 58 (p. 177), 11.
- SAR-SAR-DA**, "to be renewed": SAR-SAR-DA, var. SAR-SAR-DAM
(*u-le-id-di-šu*), 99 (p. 199), 90.

- SI**, "to entrust to": NE-IN-SI-A 61 (p. 184), 33, 62 (p. 180), 30.
- SIBA**, "shepherd": 61 (p. 184), 11, 62 (p. 180), 10, 102 (p. 212), Col. IV, 3, Col. VI, 1; 107 (p. 255), Rev. 4.
- SIG**, "to slay; to be slain": BA-SIG 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 18, 19, 35, 36, 42, 51, Col. II, 42; MU-UN-SI-IG 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 49, 50.
- SIG-GA**, GU-UR-A NE-IN-SIG-GA (*mu-uš-te-eš-mi*), "who hath brought into subjection": 99 (p. 199), 38 f.
- SIG-GI-GA**, "ancestor(?)": SIG-GI-GA V-KAM-MA-MU (*a-bi a-[bi]-ia ħa-am-šum*) 99 (p. 199), 64.
- SI-IL**, "to tender obedience to": ĤE-SI-IL-LI-NE (*li-id-lu-la*) 60 (p. 172), Col. II a, 22
- SILA**, "street": 107 (p. 255), Obv.
- SILIM**, "safety, peace, prosperity": 58 (p. 177), 19, 99 (p. 199), 30, 92, 102 (p. 212), Col. III, 5.
- SI-SI-A**, "to satisfy, conciliate": SI-SI-A (*mu-še-iš-bi*) 60 (p. 172), Col. IV a, 14.
- SI-SI-KI**, "to cast down": SI-SI-KI (*za-bi-in*) 69 (p. 172), Col. IV a, 10.
- SU**, "flesh, heart": 58 (p. 177), 7, 24.
- SUD**, verb: IN-ŠI-IN-SUD-A-AN 69 (p. 209), 19 f.
- SUG**, "swamp": 58 (p. 177); 15.
- SUM**, "to give": BA-RA-AN-SUM (*id-di-ik-ku*) 60 (p. 172), Col. I a, 3, 8, 13, 18; MA-AN-SUM (*i-din-nam*) 99 (p. 199), 26; MU-NA-AN-SUM-MU-UŠ-A (*i-ti-nu-šum*) 99 (p. 199), 8; MU-NA-AN-SUM MA-TA 61 (p. 184), 29 f., 62 (p. 180), 26 f.
- SUN**, "old age": 70 (p. 254), 15.
- ŠAB**, "people, men": 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 35, 36, Col. II, 42, Col. III, 10, Col. IV, 30.
- ŠAG**, "heart": 61 (p. 184), 11, 13, 99 (p. 199), 94; "within; into; from within": 99 (p. 199), 67, 97; 101 (p. 212), Col. I, 33, 45.
- ŠAG**, "to be favourable; to make favourable": ŠAG-GI 66 (p. 195), 9.
- ŠAG**, "prosperity": 61 (p. 184), 26.
- ŠAGAN-LAL-NAB-TUR**, official title: *amēlu* ŠAGAN-LAL-NAB-TUR 59 (p. 192), 26.
- ŠAG-PAL-PAL**, "descendant": 100 (p. 207), Obv. 8.

- ŠAG-LAL-SUD, "merciful": 66 (p. 195), 7.
 ŠA-UD, official title, "inspector of cattle(?)": 15 (p. 68), 5, 37
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