

A Guided Tour through Babylonian History: Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Cincinnati Art Museum

WILLIAM W. HALLO

Yale University

and

DAVID B. WEISBERG

Hebrew Union College-Jewish
Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

Contents

- I. Introduction
- II. The Neo-Sumerian Period
- III. The Old Babylonian Period
- IV. The Neo-Babylonian Period
- V. Bibliography
- VI. Catalogue
- VII. Copies

I. Introduction

In 1988, the Cincinnati Art Museum acquired five cuneiform tablets from the collections of the late Edgar J. Banks and Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Doepke (Cincinnati) respectively. The new acquisitions may serve as a stimulus for the publication of all of the Museum's cuneiform inscriptions, whose story will be reviewed here briefly.

With the exception of the new texts and of a Gudea cone acquired at auction from Christie's of London in 1984, the cuneiform texts of the Cincinnati Art Museum were all purchased in April, 1914, from Yale University. At that time Albert T. Clay was Laffan Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature at Yale and Curator of its Babylonian Collection. He had founded the Collection three years earlier, and devoted much of his time to enlarging its holdings and publishing them. But he was equally eager to spread the knowledge of Assyriology across the land by making original cuneiform documents available to other institutions—museums, libraries, and colleges. He carefully selected representative samples of inscriptions for this purpose, and it was thus that the Cincinnati Art Museum acquired a cross-section of texts.

All three major categories of cuneiform texts are represented by the Museum's collection: the monumental category by two building inscriptions (nos. 1 and 12),

the canonical by two school texts (nos. 17 and 18), and the archival by the rest.¹ That archival texts form the majority is but a reflection of their numerical preeminence among the surviving documents of Mesopotamia generally.

The twenty-three texts of the collection are also notably representative of the major periods of cuneiform documentation: ten of them date to the neo-Sumerian period (22nd to 21st centuries B.C.E.), eight to the Old Babylonian period (20th to 17th centuries), and four to the neo-Babylonian period (7th to 6th centuries). Between them they cover six dynasties and perhaps as many as fourteen different reigns (see Catalogue, below). Thus a description of the collection provides something of a guided tour through Babylonian history.²

The tablets of the collection were first studied systematically by the late Albrecht Goetze, also of Yale, who left an unpublished manuscript entitled "Notes on Mesopotamian Tablets in the Cincinnati Art Museum," and published one text in transliteration in 1950 (see no. 14).

In 1962, they were restudied by William W. Hallo when he was teaching at Hebrew Union College; he provided the descriptions for an exhibit, which was mounted at that time. He prepared copies of nos. 2-4, 6-7, 9, 14-19 and collated them on a number of subsequent visits. David B. Weisberg agreed to copy nos. 1, 5, 8, 10-13, 20-23 and to describe nos. 20-23 for this article so that the entire collection could be presented together. Throughout this long interval, we have enjoyed the patient and forbearing cooperation of the successive curators of Ancient Near Eastern and Far Eastern Art of the Museum, including Daniel S. Walker (1976-1988) and Dr. Glenn E. Markoe (since 1988); of Ellen Avril, the Associate Curator; and of Carolyn Shine, Registrar.

II. The Neo-Sumerian Period

No. 1

Civilization can be defined as that complex of human achievements which include cities, writing, and capital accumulation, together with the secondary innovations that flow from these primary inventions. Thus defined, civilization originated in Mesopotamia, or ancient Iraq, before the end of the 4th millennium B.C.E. More specifically, it began in lower Mesopotamia, in the ancient land of Sumer, part of which later came to be known as Babylonia. There, Sumerian cities, literature, and technology had already flourished for a thousand years when one city-state, Lagash, developed a particularly high level of civilization under a ruler named Gudea (ca. 2136-2121 B.C.E.).³ Gudea used the spoils of war and the fruits of an extensive foreign trade to build temples to the deities of his city-state and to fill them with statues of himself and with other votive objects. A remarkable group of such statues has survived, together with an elaborate account of the

1. For a more detailed description of these categories, see Hallo 1971: 154-56.

2. For a more detailed survey of Mesopotamian history, see Hallo 1971: 1-149.

3. All dates of Mesopotamian history are, given our present state of knowledge, approximate before the first millennium B.C.E.

building and dedication of the main temple of Lagash, which is an early masterpiece of Sumerian literature that runs to nearly 1,400 lines.⁴ In more prosaic and vastly briefer form, the same event is commemorated in ten-line inscriptions reproduced and mass-produced by the hundreds on some of the bricks with which the temple was built and the cones that were inserted in the mortar between the courses of bricks. These inscriptions have found their way into museums all over the world, beginning with the Louvre in Paris, which houses the finds of the French expedition to Lagash and has some 280 examples of this cone alone.⁵ In transliteration and translation it reads as follows:

	^d Nin-gír-su	For the divine Nin-Girsu
	ur-sag-kala-ga	the mighty warrior
	^d En-líl-lá-ra	of the divine Enlil,
	Gù-dé-a	Gudea
(5)	énsi	the ruler
	šIR.BUR.LA.KI-ke ₄	of Lagash
	níg-du ₇ -e pa mu-na-è	caused that which is seemly to appear
	é-ninnu ^d IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN-babbar ^{bar} -ra-ni	his temple called Ninnu, the white Anzu bird,
	mu-na-dù	he built for him,
(10)	ki-bi mu-na-gi ₄	its place he restored for him.

No. 2

Gudea was succeeded by his son, grandson, and two brothers-in-law, the last of whom was killed in battle by the ruler of another Sumerian city-state, Ur-Nammu of Ur, who founded a new dynasty, the Third Dynasty of Ur. His son Shulgi went on to conquer most of Mesopotamia and, in a long reign of 48 years (ca. 2093–2046 B.C.E.), to establish a flourishing economy. It was based in the first instance on a centralized direction of the irrigation system, which in turn led to abundant agricultural surpluses and a flourishing economy. The most basic staple of this agricultural economy was barley, as illustrated by the following receipts (nos. 2–6), from the archives of Umma, a particularly fertile city and province.

The first of these receipts dates to the 34th year of Shulgi (ca. 2060 B.C.E.).

	1.150 še-gur lugal	1½ royal hogsheads of barley
	Ka-ma-ri ^{KI} -ta	from the city of Kamari
	sá-du ₁₁ iti-murub ₄	as regular offering of the fourth month
	ki Ir-ta	from Ir
rev.	Lugal-pa-è	Lugal-pa ² e
	šu-ba-ti	received.
	mu An-ša-an ^{KI} ba-hul	The year Anshan was destroyed.

The basic capacity measures were the *sila*, approximately 1.75 pints (see below, at no. 6), and the royal *gur*, established as 300 *sila*'s by King Shulgi, and hence

4. For a brief description of the text, see Kramer 1963: 137–40. For the latest translation of the text, see Jacobsen 1987: 386–444; for older ones see Price 1927 or Barton 1929: 209–55.

5. Aynard 1960: 30.

roughly equivalent to 525 pints. The English hogshead, sometimes equated with 63 gallons or 504 pints, may be used as a rough translation.

No. 3

Account texts such as no. 2 were often enclosed in "envelopes," usually repeating the same text (with or without minor variants). These envelopes sometimes survive in whole or in part, as in this example which may be restored as follows:

[l.150 še-gur-lu]gal
[šá-du₁₁ ití mu]rub₄
[ki-l]r-ta
[Lugal-pa-è]₁₁
(5) [šu-ba-t]i
rev. [m]u an-ša-an^{KI}/ba-hul

The envelope typically is impressed with the cylinder seal of the recipient, featuring a design and an inscription. In this case the design is a simple "presentation scene," showing the seal owner being led before a seated deity by a lesser deity (lost in this impression). The seal inscription reads:

Lugal-pa-e₁₁
lú-bappir é-mah
dumu Ur-^dŠara

Lugal-pa²e
the brewer of the temple Emah,
son of Ur-Shara.

The temple Emah (literally, "the lofty house") was the principal sanctuary of the city of Umma, sacred to its chief deity Shara. Lugal-pa²e was clearly in the employ of the temple, and received the barley in order to brew beer with it. On an earlier seal, he is simply entitled "chief brewer."⁶

No. 4

Barley is also the subject of the next text—but in much vaster quantities.

873.200 še-gur	873 ² / ₃ gur of barley
mu Si-mu-ru-um ^{KI}	the year Simurrum
Lu-lu-bu-um ^{KI} a-rá	(and) Lullubum
10-lá-l-kam-aš ba-hul	for the 9th time were destroyed;
1140.15 šila še-gur	1140 ¹ / ₂₀ gur barley,
120 dabin _x (zíd.še)-gur	120 gur barley flour,
mu en- ^d Nanna máš-e ì-pà	the year the high priestess of the moon god was found
	on the omen,
rev. šà iti-gu- ^r la ¹ -[x]	within the "great month";
ki-Ur- ^d Šara-ta	from Ur-shara.
7	7

The reverse of this text was nearly dry before the signs were scratched in, hence they are not entirely legible. If correctly read, they may refer to the same individual

6. Hallo *apud* Buchanan 1981, no. 529. But read there also probably lú-bappir é-mah.

as nos. 2–3, but this time as disburser of barley and barley flour in sizeable quantities (though with painstaking accuracy), for each of two successive years, the 44th and 43rd of Shulgi, here listed, for some inexplicable reason, in reverse order. The significance of the month notation (and of the figure in line 10) is not clear.

No. 5

This text dates from the 46th year of Shulgi. For a better preserved example of the same(?) seal impression, see Buchanan 1981, no. 584. The seal-owner's name is read here in accordance with Civil 1984:9.

	3 gi-kaskal 20 (sìla) «1»	3 “travelling baskets” of 20 liters each
	ninda ìl-ìl-dè	for carrying bread
	ki Lú-igi-ša ₆ -ša ₆	from Lu-igishasha
	Šeš-kal-la šu-ba-ti	Shesh-kalla has received
(5)	‘iti’ sig ₄ -giš-i-šub-gá/-ra	month of placing the bricks in the brick-mold
rev.	ša-bala-a	(which is) within the period of the <i>bala</i> obligation.
	mu Ki-maš ^{KI} ba/-hul	The year Kimash was destroyed.
seal inscription:		
	Lugal-nig-lagar-e	Lugal-niglagare
	dub-sar	the scribe
	dumu Da-da	son of Dada

The *bala* obligation was a form of taxation levied on the central provinces of the Ur III empire on behalf of the national religious capital at Nippur. It was payable in kind (cattle and grain) by the governors of these provinces on a monthly basis, with wealthier provinces responsible for two or even three months a year and two or three smaller ones assuming joint responsibility for a single month. (See in detail Hallo 1960). Nippur itself was generally exempt (but see Tanret 1979). At Umma, the notation *ša-bala-a* often replaced the month-name. When, as here, it accompanied the month-name, it presumably meant that two months of the same year fell to this province (see Hallo 1960:90 and now, in detail, Archi and Pomponio 1989:42f.).

No. 6

Shulgi was followed on the throne by two of his many sons, Amar-Suen and Shu-Sin, each of whom reigned for nine years. This receipt dates from the fifth year of Shu-Sin (ca. 2032 B.C.E.). Assuming this was a year of 12 months (and not a leap year of 13 months),⁷ it provided each of the men, described in the summary as oxdrivers,⁸ with barley allotments of 3 hogsheads (*gur*) or 900 liters (*sila*).⁹ This compares favorably with a standard ration of 720 liters of barley per year for adult males generally. The notation in line 15 is translated as an ellipsis for *ki-ba/*

7. Cf. Fish 1955 for leap years at Umma.

8. Cf. CAD, s.v. *kullizu*.

9. According to Gelb 1982, one *sila* was the equivalent of 1.02 liter in neo-Sumerian times.

bi-ga /gar-ra = *pūhu*, *pihatu*.¹⁰ The verbal prefix *ib* can identify plural subjects in texts dating to the reign of Shu-Sin or earlier.¹¹

	3 še-šuku-ra gur	3 gur of barley as dependency-allotment
	Lugal-má-gur ₈ -re	(for) Lugal-magurre
	3 gur ^d Iškur-dingir- ¹ sa ₆	3 gur (for) Ishkur-dingirsha
	3 gur Lú- ^d [x]	3 gur (for) Lu-x
(5)	3 Ur- ^d E[n-l]il	3 gur (for) Ur-Enlil
	3 gur Lú- ^d I[škur]	3 gur (for) Lu-Ishkur
	3 gur Ur-lugal	3 gur (for) Ur-lugal
	3 gur Ur-àm-ma	3 gur (for) Ur-amma
	3 gur ^d En-líl-lá	3 gur (for) Enlilla
(10)	3 gur []x	3 gur (for) . . .
rev.	[3] gur ù.EZEN	[3] gur (for) U.
	[šu-nigin 30 ⁷] še-šuku-ra šà-gu ₄ gur	[Total: 30] gur of barley as dependency-allotment for the oxdrivers
	ki-ka-gur ₇ -ta	from the chief of the granary,
	kišib Lú-du ₁₀ -ga	receipt (lit.: seal) of Lu-duga.
(15)	še túg-ga ì ib-gar	They exchanged the barley for cloth and oil.
	mu-ús-sa ^d Šu- ^d EN. [zu]	The year following that when Shu-Sin
	lugal-e bàd-mar-dú mu-dù	the king built the wall of the Amorites.
seal inscription:		
	Lú-du ₁₀ -[ga]	Lu-duga
	dub-[sar]	the scribe
	dumu []	son of []

No. 7

Special rations in standardized amounts are allotted to individuals in a large group of texts from the archives of Umma. They are usually described as messenger texts on the analogy of similar texts from the contemporary archives of Lagash where some of the recipients are described as messengers going to or coming from distant points. For greater clarity, they can best be presented in tabular form. (š. = šu-nigin)

5	šila	kaš	3	šila	ninda	3	gín	sum	3	gín	ì	2	gín	naga,	<i>A-da-làl</i>
5	šila	kaš	3	šila	ninda	3	gín	sum	3	gín	ì	2	gín	[naga],	<i>Šu-^dEn-lil</i>
5	šila	kaš	3	šila	ninda	3	gín	sum	3	gín	ì	2	gín	[naga],	<i>Ur-^dEN.ZU</i>
3	šila	kaš	2	šila	ninda	3	gín	sum	3	gín	ì	2	gín	[naga],	<i>Hu-la-al</i>
3	šila	kaš	2	šila	ninda	3	gín	sum	3	gín	ì	2	gín	[naga],	<i>Puzur₄-Ma-Ma</i>
3	šila	kaš	2	šila	ninda	3	gín	sum	3	gín	ì	2	gín	[naga],	<i>Ma-ni</i>
3	šila	kaš	2	šila	ninda	3	gín	sum	3	gín	ì	2	gín	[naga],	<i>Hu-ba</i>
š. 27	šila	kaš	š. 17!	šila	ninda	š. 1/3	lgín	sum	š. 1/3	lgín	ì	š. 14	gín	naga	

u₄-26-kam iti še-kar-[ra]-gál-[la]
mu-ús-sa ^dŠu-^dEN.ZU / lugal šeŠ.AB.KI-ma-ke₄
bàd-mar-dú *mu-ri-iq / Ti-ni-ti-im / mu-dù*

5 (respectively 3) liters of beer, 3 (resp. 2) liters of bread, $\frac{3}{60}$ liters of onions $\frac{3}{60}$ liters of oil, and $\frac{2}{60}$ liters of an alkaline plant¹² to each of seven men named Adallal, Shu-Enlil, Ur-Suen, Hulal,

10. Cf. *BIN* 3, p. 84, s.v. ki.

11. Jacobsen 1939: 129f.; cf. Thomsen 1984, par. 293b; for a good example, see Hallo 1960: 106.

12. Akkadian *uhulu*, presumably used as a soap.

Puzur-Mama, Mani and Huba for totals of 27 liters beer, 17 (written 27) liters bread, $2\frac{1}{60}$ liters onions, $2\frac{1}{60}$ liters oil and $1\frac{1}{60}$ liters naga. 26th day, month of putting the barley on the quay (3rd month at Umma), year that Shu-Sin the king of Ur built the Amorite wall which keeps Tidnum at bay (Shu-Sin 5; ca. 2032 B.C.E.).

The date formula commemorates Shu-Sin's construction of the defensive wall linking the Euphrates and Tigris rivers where they come closest together with the intention of keeping the Amorites from marching downstream from their home in Tidnum in the Syrian desert. The spelling of Tidnum in this text is perhaps its most interesting feature. In 1959¹³ and again in 1964,¹⁴ Hallo called attention to this and other curious orthographies of the name, to which still more may now be added.¹⁵ Note especially a closely parallel text dated just sixteen days before ours in which the name is spelled *tit(1M)-ni*.¹⁶

No. 8

The regular offerings (sa-du₁₁, Akkadian *sattukku*) are known in Mesopotamia from the pre-Sargonic period in Lagash on, and during the neo-Sumerian period are offered to nearly all the gods except Enlil and Ninlil, as noted by Sigrist (1984a: 185 n. 16). For such offerings to the healing goddess Gula (literally, "the great goddess"), see the list compiled by Schneider 1939: 31; an especially close parallel is provided by Schneider 1932: 329:21–25, which records 8.130 gur of barley (from) Adudu as a regular offering for Gula.

46.291	sīla še-gur	46.291	gur of barley
	sá-du ₁₁ dGu-la		regular offering to the goddess Gula
	ki Gu-du-du-ta		from Gududu
rev.	kišib-aš-a-dam A/-du-du		receipt to be furnished? (by) Adudu
	mu dŠu- ^d EN.ZU lugal-e		The year Shu-Sin the king
	má-gur ₈ -mah mu-dím		fashioned the high-sea boat (Shu-Sin 8; ca. 2029 B.C.E.).
seal inscription: illegible traces			

No. 9

In addition to barley (and other crops), Sumerian agriculture featured a thriving livestock industry. This is particularly evident from the archive of Puzrish-Dagan (modern Drehem), which maintained stockyards for the needs of the religious capital at nearby Nippur. The following text dates from the eighth year of Amar-Suen (ca. 2039 B.C.E.); the transliteration and translation are arranged in tabular form to bring out the intent of the scribe.

1	áb-mu-2	ba-úš,	é-muhaldim-šè	u ₄ -7-kam
1	gu ₄	ba-úš	é-muhaldim-šè,	u ₄ -8-kam
1	gu ₄	šu-gíd	é-muhaldim,	u ₄ -12-kam

13. Hallo 1959: 236.

14. Hallo 1964: 67 and notes 13f.

15. *RG* 2 (1974), 20, s.v. Didnum.

16. Owen 1973–74: 159, no. 15. Cf. on this spelling also Steinkeller 1988: 198, n. 11.

1 sila₄ 1 lamb
 1 máš 1 goat
 u₄-[x-kam] (on) the . . . day
 mu-¹DU¹-lugal royal delivery
 rev.ki Ab-ba-ša₆-ga-tafrom Abba-shagga
^dŠul-gi-a-a-mu Šulgi-a²amu
 ì-df̄b received
 iti ki-síg-^dNin-a-zumonth of the funerary offerings of the god Ninazu,
 mu ^dAmar-^dEN.ZU / lugal-ethe year king Amar-Suen destroyed Arbela
 Ur-bí-lum/^{KI} mu-hul
 left edge: 4 left edge: 4 (total)

III. The Old Babylonian Period

No. 12

The wall that Shu-Sin erected against the Amorites (above, nos. 6–7) was breached under his son and successor, Ibbi-Sin. About 2004 B.C.E., he was captured and exiled by invading Elamites from neighboring Iran, the city of Ur was sacked, and its third dynasty was brought to a sudden end. For a century the kings of Isin ruled most of the old empire, and then various other Amorite dynasties gradually divided it among themselves as they reasserted the independence of ancient Sumerian city-states. One of these was Uruk where, about 1865 B.C.E., a new dynasty, the sixth of that city, came to power under a certain Sin-kashid, who had previously been viceroy of Durum, possibly under the kings of Isin.¹⁸ He has left many building inscriptions in innumerable copies, especially those identifying his new palace. These occur both on cones and, as here, on tablets.

	^d EN.ZU-kà-ši-id	Sin-kashid,
	nitah kala-ga	the mighty man
	lugal unu ^{KI} -ga	the king of Uruk,
	lugal am-na-nu-um	the king of the Amnanum-(tribe)
(5)	ú-a é-an-na	the provider of the Eanna-(temple)
	u ₄ é-an-na	when he had built
rev.	mu-dù-a	the Eanna-(temple),
	é-gal	his royal
	nam-lugal-la-ka-ni	palace
(10)	mu-dù	he built.

No. 13

Between Ur and Uruk lay the city of Larsa. It boasted a great if somewhat fictitious antiquity, and in the Old Babylonian period it gained its independence under a succession of Amorite dynasties, beginning, if not immediately upon the fall of Ur, at least with the reign of Zabaia (ca. 1941–1933 B.C.E.) or Gungunum (ca. 1932–1906 B.C.E.).¹⁹ Gungunum and his next three successors each appointed or selected a high-priestess of the sun-god Utu, patron-deity of the city of Larsa, and named a year after

18. Hallo 1975; Michalowski 1977a; Hallo 1991.

19. Jacobsen 1939: 71f.; cf. Weisberg 1989.

such an event. The following text could therefore theoretically date from any of these four reigns. But given its close affinities to texts unambiguously dating to the reign of Sumu-el (YOS 14: 252, 281; cf. *ibid.*, 222, 223, 226, 229), it can with considerable probability be dated to the sixth year of that monarch.

	150	(sìla)	še-giš-ì	mu-DU /	A-x-y-z-ì-lí,	URU.KI	^d En-líl-gar-ra
	10	(sìla)	še-giš-ì	mu-DU)	^d EN.ZU-li-di-iš,	URU.KI	É-a-šar
	5	sìla	(še-giš-ì)	mu-DU)	^d EN.ZU-na-ši,	URU.KI	x x x x
rev.	30	(sìla)	še-giš-ì	mu-DU)	E-te-el-lum;	URU.KI	x x x x
	kišib		ša-tam-e-ne				

iti-zíz-a

mu en-^dUtu ba-hun-gá

	150	(liters)	sesame	delivery of	A . . . -ili,	town of Enlil-garra
	10	(liters)	(sesame	delivery of)	Sin-lidish,	town of Ea-shar
	5	liters	(sesame	delivery of)	Sin-nashi,	town of . . .
rev.	30	(liters)	sesame	delivery of)	Etellum;	town of . . .
	seal of the oeconomoi					

month of emmer wheat

Year the high priest(ess?) of Utu (the Sun-deity) was installed.

No. 14

After the reign of Sumu-el, Larsa passed into the hands of yet another Amorite dynasty under Nur-Adad (ca. 1865–1850 B.C.E.), a contemporary of Sin-kashid of Uruk (above no. 12). Soon Larsa rivalled both Uruk and Isin as a power, especially in the southeastern part of the country. Under Sin-iddinam (ca. 1849–1843 B.C.E.) it produced a considerable literary output²⁰ as well as displaying an active economic life.²¹ One evidence of the latter is a group of some fifty tablets that actually constitute bullae or tags with holes through their “left” side (in fact, their top as tablets were then held and read) through which passed a string (its impression often still visible in the clay) by which the tag was suspended from a portion of the shipment it described. In one sub-group, this shipment consisted of rams and ewes delivered to certain deities. Our text belongs to this sub-group.

	3	udu!-nita ₂ é- ^d [Utu]	3 rams (for) the temple of Utu
	1	udu-nita ₂ é!-en- ^d Utu	1 ram (for) the house of the high priestess of Utu
	1	udu!-nita ₂ é- ^d Iškur!	1 ram (for) the temple of Iškur
	1	[u ₈] é- ^d Inanna	1 ewe (for) the temple of Inanna
(5)	1	u ₈ ¹ é- ^d Na-na ¹ -a	1 ewe (for) the temple of Nana
	1	udu-nita ₂ é- ^d N[e-iri ₁₁ -gal]	1 ram (for) the temple of Nergal
	8	u ₈ -udu-hi-[a]	(total:) 8 assorted ewes and rams
rev.	'ki	^d EN.ZU-ga-mi-il ¹	from Sin-gamil
	[ba]-zi		were disbursed.
(10)	'kišib	ša-tam-e-ne ¹	Receipt (lit.: seals) of the stewards.
	[iti]	ab-è u ₄ -14-k[am]	Month of the coming forth of the ab (10th month), 14th day

20. Cf. esp. Hallo 1967, 1976, 1982, and 1991.

21. Cf. esp. Goetze 1950.

mu ma-da Èš-nun^{ki}
ba-hul

Year that the land of Eshnunna
was destroyed

Note that in this group of texts, rams are usually assigned to male deities and ewes to female ones. Our translation generally follows that of Goetze,²² who dated the text to the sixth year of the king, named for the defeat of the land of Eshnunna.²³

No. 15

This text is badly weathered and difficult to read. It is entered here on the assumption that the reverse may preserve the date formula of Sin-iddinam's first year.

1 (gur) A-pil- ^d Sumuqan sipa	1 (gur) (from) Apil-Sumuqan the shepherd
260 kuš-'a' I-din-nam	260 leather x's (from) Iddinam
[x] + 20 (sila) [I]-pi-iq- ^f Ešdar ¹ sipa	200 quarts (from) Ipiq-Ishtar the shepherd . . .
(rest uncertain)	
traces	. . .
rev. 'mu ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam lugal ¹	The year that Sin-iddinam became king.

No. 16

The last and greatest ruler of Larsa was Rim-Sin, who conquered both Isin and Uruk, and maintained his throne for a full sixty years. This text, from the first year of his reign (ca. 1822 B.C.E.) attests to the continuing economic activity and prosperity of the kingdom; it is also the first of our collection to be written, at least in part, in Akkadian.

iti-š[u-numun]-a u ₄ -26-kam ba-zal	The month of seeding (4th month), the 26th day having passed,
¹ I [m-gur]-x	Imgur-x
giš-má-20-gur	the boat of 20-hogshead capacity
[q]á'-du si-ka-nu-um	(which) together with (its) rudder
(5) x u ₄ 8 sila	(at?) 8 liters a day
[i]n-hun-gá	he hired—,
upper edge 20 (sila) še	20 (liters) barley
i-di giš-má	(is) the hire of the boat
rev. i-na qá-ti-šū	at his disposal
(10) iḡi A-wi-il-ì-lí	in the presence of Awil-ili
dumu Ip-qú-Èr-ra	son of Ipqu-Erra
¹ Ta-ri-ba-tum	(and) Taribatum.
iti šū-numun-a u ₄ -25-kam	Month of seeding, the 25th day,
lower edge mu ^d Ri-im- ^d EN.ZU lugal	the year that Rim-Sin (became) king

With its network of rivers and man-made canals, Babylonia made ample use of boats for inland transport. The hiring of boats and the responsibilities of the hirer and of the owner were favorite subjects of legal theory,²⁴ as well as of contracts such as this one. The hire of a boat was always a function of its capacity. In neo-Sumerian

22. Ibid., 102. Cited by Renger, ZA 58 (1967), 123, n. 77 on the basis of Goetze.

23. For other texts of this date, cf., e.g., Hallo 1967: 95; UET V 770; YOS 14:286f., 289–91.

24. See most recently Roth 1979: 41–43, 215–24 and 242f.

times, it fluctuated between $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{2}{5}$ liter per gur (hogshead) of capacity per day²⁵ or 1 liter per gur per "double-hour"²⁶ as in a text which specifies "one boat of a capacity of twenty gur, (its hire being calculated at the rate of) one *silá*₃ per gur of capacity per each double-hour."²⁷ According to the Laws of Eshnunna,²⁸ the hire of a boat was 2 liters barley per gur per day,²⁹ but the slightly later Laws of Hammurapi fix the hire of a boat of 60 gur at $\frac{1}{6}$ shekel of silver, which, at the "normal" price of barley (1 gur of barley for 1 shekel of silver), works out to $\frac{2}{3}$ liters per gur per day.³⁰ The lower price seems to apply to our text, where a boat of 20 gur capacity is hired for 20 liters of barley.³¹ There appears to be a separate assessment for the rudder (*sik-kannu*), though the reading and translation of the phrase are not entirely certain.³²

No. 17

In his twentieth year, (ca. 1803 B.C.E.), Rim-Sin defeated Uruk and put an end to its independence. He commemorated his victory briefly in the date-formulas for his 21st year and more fully in inscriptions for temples erected to the god Ninshubur in Ur and Lagash "when Anu, Enlil (and) Enki, the great gods, had delivered Uruk, the eternal city,³³ into my hand."³⁴ (The same triad of great gods is henceforth invoked in his date-formulas.) The third and most elaborate format for the commemoration was a hymn to Ninshubur—or should have been, if long established usage was followed.³⁵ Such a hymn has not been preserved, or at least identified among the remnants of Sumerian literary texts so far recovered. But our text may represent a quotation from it, perhaps even its opening line. It reads:

ḏNin-šubur
en-gal me-kilib₃-ba
du₁₁-ga-ni nu-kám-me

Oh Ninshubur,
great Lord of all the divine attributes,
whose command is not to be altered.

The building inscription from Lagash begins similarly.

ḏNin-šubur
en-gal xx zà-íl
sag-zí du₁₁-ga-ni nu-kám!-me

Oh Ninshubur,
great lord who . . .
the one who raises his head, whose command is not to be
altered.

25. Salonen 1942: 52f.; Hallo 1981:72.

26. Cf. CAD, s.v. *bēru* A.

27. Michalowski 1977b: 292f.: 1 má 20 gur da-na 1 gur 1 sila-ta. A slightly higher rate ($\frac{1}{5}$ liter per gur per double-hour) is attested by a text dated Amar-Suen 9 and newly published by Sigrist 1984a, no. 386. Cf. Hallo 1988: 61, n. 45 and Englund 1988: 167f.

28. For this city-state, see above at no. 14.

29. ANET, 161, par. 4.

30. Ibid., 177, par. 277.

31. Cf. YOS 8:2 for a contract concerning a boat hired in the following year.

32. One hesitates to read [q]a-du mšš-ka-nu-um in spite of the near parallel cited in CAD, M/1:372c and A/1:122b.

33. For this translation of the epithet uru-ul, see Hallo 1970: 60, 65.

34. Barton 1929: 324–29, nos. 2 and 4. For the latest translations, see Kärki 1980: 149 and 163–65.

35. Frayne 1981. For examples of royal hymns and royal inscriptions dedicated to the identical deity, see ibid., 75 and 123f. (Enlil), 256 and 259 (Nanna), 397 and 425–30 (Ninurta).

It gives the name of Ninshubur's temple in Lagash as e-me-kilib₃-ba-sag-il₂, "house which lifts the head (proudly) on all the divine attributes." The building inscription from Ur begins:

^dNin-šubur
en-gal me-kilib₃-ba ág-e

Oh Ninshubur,
the great lord who "measures out" all the divine attributes.

Our text is, in fact, a school text, that is, a short extract from a longer literary text used to teach Sumerian to future scribes whose native language was Akkadian. The sign at the bottom of the obverse represents a check-mark by the instructor—an indication that he was satisfied with the pupil's effort. The reverse of the tablet is uninscribed. Given its content, the tablet probably comes from the scribal school at Larsa, or possibly at Lagash or Ur.

No. 18

After his long reign of sixty years, Rim-Sin in turn fell victim to Hammurapi of Babylon (1763 B.C.E.), and the latter reunited most of Mesopotamia almost to the imperial borders of the Ur III Dynasty. Best known for his compilation of laws (above, at no. 16), the great king was also a patron of arts and learning, and the greatest number of literary texts and school-tablets come from the great scribal school of Nippur, and date to his time and to that of his son and successor, Samsuiluna (ca. 1792–1712 B.C.E.) when control of the city passed out of the hands of the First Dynasty of Babylon³⁶ after a period of economic and social upheaval.³⁷ The school tablets used at Nippur at this time were typically round or lentil-shaped ("lenticular"), with different exercises on obverse and reverse.³⁸ Our text answers this description. It reads:

	babbar ₂ -ra ha-ra-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄	"May he turn it into daylight for you"
	9.10.9.10.9.10.9.10.9.10.9.10.9	9.10.9.10.9.10.9.10.9.10.9.10.9
rev.	¹ lugud (LAGARXŠE.SUM)	=(<i>rihūšu</i>): threshing floor for straw
	¹ suhirin (LAGARXŠE.SUM)	=(<i>šarammu</i>): grain heap
	¹ e ₁₁ (DU ₆ -DU)	=(<i>ēlū</i>): go up
	¹ e ₁₁	=(<i>warādu</i> ?): go down
	¹ kiš ₄	=(<i>muttatu</i>): half

The obverse begins with a simple verbal form, perhaps abstracted from a grammatical³⁹ or lexical⁴⁰ text or from a literary composition not otherwise identifiable.⁴¹ It continues with a simple exercise in the writing of numerals.

The reverse contains an extract from one of the standard primers of the scribal school, a syllabary listing the hundreds of cuneiform signs in a fixed order.

36. Civil, *MSL* 14 (1979), 8.

37. Stone 1977.

38. Falkowitz 1983–84.

39. Cf., e.g., *MSL* 4:125 (*OBGT* XV 25): ul-ta-am an-ku₄-ku₄ = u₄-ra-am(!) i-ru-ub. For other grammatical texts, see *MSL* 4 (passim); *UET* 7, nos. 97–102. For a general discussion, see Jacobsen 1974.

40. Cf., e.g., *MSL* 5:57 (*HAR*-ra II 88f.): ba-an-ku₄-ku₄ = [*ušer*]*rib*.

41. Perhaps the line could be read pirig₂-babbar-ra ha-ra-an ku₄-ku₄ by comparison with a hymn to the goddess Inanna whose 24th line begins: pirig-tur-hur-sag-ga har-ra-an ku₄-ku₄ "a leopard of the mountain, entering the roads" (Sjöberg, *ZA* 65:180; cf. Heimpel 1968, no. 38.7).

The student was expected to learn five or six of these signs per day—their shape, their pronunciation in Sumerian, their meaning in Akkadian and their name.

The sequence of entries on this extract is identical with lines 239–43 of Tablet I of “Syllabary b,”⁴² a late two-tablet compendium, which is itself an extract of a longer 8-tablet series beginning (and hence called) *ea* (A) = *nâqu*; in this fuller series, our entries correspond to Tablet III lines 21, 22a, 23, 24 and 53.⁴³ As an Old Babylonian forerunner to these later and fuller series, our tablet limits itself to the signs themselves, each preceded by the number “1” in the sense of “item, entry.” It does not include the pronunciation, meaning, or name of the signs, which are added in the later versions; presumably these were taught orally. A close parallel to the tablet is preserved among the school-texts from Kish.⁴⁴

No. 19

After Samsu-iluna, the First Dynasty of Babylon gradually lost its more distant provinces to rival dynasties, and its level of political and economic activity declined. The following text carries no year-date, but, to judge by one of its personal names, it may well date from this period of decline.

	[] sar 30 sig ₄	750(?) bricks
	mu Ab-ba-sag-mu-šè da[h-hu]	added(?) on behalf of Abbasagmu(?)
	gìr Bu-la-ia-tum	via Bullatatum
rev.	iti ab ² -è ²	10th(?) month
	u ₄ -15-kam	15th day

Bricks were measured by volume in neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian texts.⁴⁵ They were made from the abundant clay of the valley and baked in the sun or an oven, an activity readily performed even in periods of economic decline such as the reign of Ammi-saduqa (ca. 1646–1626) when a man named Bullatatum is known to have been active.⁴⁶

IV. The Neo-Babylonian Period

The Fall of Babylon (ca. 1595 B.C.E.) marked the end of the Old Babylonian period. The Middle Babylonian period that followed lasted by some accounts for almost a millennium, but it is less well documented than either the preceding periods or those that followed.⁴⁷ With the emergence of the last (10th) Dynasty of Babylon in the 7th century, the documentation resumes its old abundance, and the remaining texts of the collection date from this dynasty.

The neo-Babylonian period—second-best attested period in Mesopotamian antiquity after Ur III—was a time of cultural vitality and intellectual vigor. The nature of the attestation makes it possible for the modern scholar to reconstruct

42. Edited as Vokabular Sb in *MSL* 3:89–153.

43. *MSL* 14:303–5; previously Landsberger 1968: 136f.

44. *OECT* 4:51, rev. ii.

45. Dunham 1982; Neugebauer and Sachs 1945.

46. Cf. Stol 1973: 226 (D); Birot 1969, no. 64:13.

47. For a brief characterization of all of them, see Hallo 1979.

many interesting facts concerning the day-to-day life, social practice and religious institutions of that time. The texts treated below are valuable examples of this. They are contemporary records reflecting on private, public, and religious life.

The neo-Babylonian texts of the Cincinnati Art Museum were selected with a view to providing its collection with representation from four Chaldaean reigns: those of Nebuchadnezzar, Amel-Marduk, Nergal-shar-usur, and Nabonidus (for dates, see below). Kings Nabopolassar (626–605 B.C.E.) and Labashi-Marduk (556 B.C.E.) are unrepresented. The texts are given in chronological order.

No. 20

Nebuchadnezzar (“May Nabu preserve the offspring”) is the second king of that name known to us from ancient Mesopotamia. Son of Nabopolassar, he ruled from 605 to 562 B.C.E. Under Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon reached the apex of its political power and economic prosperity. He expanded Babylonia’s boundaries and sponsored many building projects. Nebuchadnezzar is known to us from biblical texts (such as 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles and Jeremiah), as well as native Babylonian records.

This Babylonian text is from a temple archive. It deals with the mythical animals stationed at the gates, presumably of the temple(s) in Uruk. The same deity in the same spelling is mentioned in the text *TCL* 13, 167:4. The figurines may be compared with the (un-deified) mad-dog allies of Tiamat in *Enuma elish* I, 142, and elsewhere (see AHw. s.v. *uridimmu*). The same types of cloth (written TÚG.KUR.RA *u* TÚG ŠÁ MURUB₄) recur together in the text published by J. N. Strassmaier, *Inscripfen von Nabuchodonosor* (1889), no. 183:6f.⁴⁸

8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 2 TÚG KUR¹².RA.MEŠ

šá *qab-lu* šá ^dUR.TIM.MU.MEŠ [šá][?]

7 KÁ.GAL-ú SUM-nu

rev. ITI.GAN UD.5.KAM MU.20.KAM

^dAG.NÍG.DU.URU₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

8 shekels of silver (and) 2 . . . pieces of cloth

(for) a waistband of the divine Ur(i)timmu's [of]

the seven gates were given over.

Month of Kislimu, 5th day, 20th year of

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

No. 21

Amel-Marduk (“Man of Marduk”) was Nebuchadnezzar’s son. Ruling from 562 to 560 B.C.E., he showed less aptitude for staying in power than his father and lost his life in a palace revolt. He is the king (English version: “Evil-merodach”) mentioned in 2 Kings 25 and Jeremiah 52 who recognized the exiled Judean ruler, Jehoiachin, and granted him an allowance.

48. We owe these references to Paul-Alain Beaulieu (who also points to a possible reading GABA.DIB = *gabadiibu*, “parapet,” instead of *qab-lu* in line 2; for parapets, see Porada 1967); see now Beaulieu 1990.

The text given here is an administrative record referring to responsibility held by a group of men for watching foodstuffs (barley, a staple commodity). The main verb *našû*, “to bear (responsibility for),” has been omitted due to a scribal error.⁴⁹ Lines 15–16 contain an unexpected note, probably having to do with the foodstuffs under discussion.

- ^{1d}*In-nin*-NUMUN.URU₃
A-šû šá ^{1d}UTU.ŠEŠ.MU
^{1d}AG.EN-šû-nu A-šû šá ¹*Bul-luṭ-a*
^{1d}*In-nin*-NUMUN.DÙ
(5) A-šû šá ^{1d}AG.ŠEŠ.MU
^{1d}AG-si-lim A-šû šá ¹*Nu-ur*
(l.o.e.) *pu-ut ma-šar-tum*
šá ŠE.BAR šá LÚ *qi-i-pi*
rev. *im-šu-hu-ú-ma*
(10) *id-du-ú (na-šu-ú)* LÚ MU.GUB
^{1d}*In-nin*-MU.URU₃
A-šû šá ¹DUMU.^dEN-dan-nu
^{1d}AG.GUB.A A-šû šá ¹É.AN.NA-^r*li-pi*¹-URU₃
LÚ ŠID ¹*Bu-na-nu* A-šû š[á ¹x x x] x
(15) (u.e.) ina 2 LIM UD.20.KAM
a-na ŠUK[?].BI [. . .]
UD.1.KAM MU. [x.KAM]
(le.e.) ¹LÚ.^dAMAR.UTU
LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI
Innin-zer-ušur
son of Shamash-ah-iddin
Nabu-belshunu son of Bulluṭa,
Innin-zer-ibni
(5) son of Nabu-ah-iddin,
Nabu-silim son of Nur,
[bear] responsibility for
guaranteeing (the performance of)
the watch over the barley which the *qipu* had measured out
(10) and deposited (on a storage pile). Witnesses:
Innin-shum-ušur
son of Mar-Bel-dannu,
Nabu-mukin-apli son of Eanna-lipi-ušur,
Scribe: Bunanu son of [. . .] X
(15) of the 2 thousand (of the) 20th day
for its? ration? [. . . month x]
Day 1, year [. . . of]
Amel-Marduk,
king of Babylon.

No. 22

After the death of Amel-Marduk, Nergal-shar-ušur (“Nergal preserve the king”), a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, began to rule. He held the throne from 559 to 556 B.C.E. The *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*⁵⁰ records a campaign undertaken

49. Cf. Pohl, *An.Or.* 8:64, where the same phrase is used.

50. Wiseman 1956: 74ff.

by Nergal-shar-ušur during his third year, to Cilicia, but aside from this interesting fact, we known little about his policies.

This text, dating from the reign of Nergal-shar-ušur, tells of the disbursement of dates to a certain man from the man's regular account.

2 6-šú Giš ma-ši-hu
 šá ZÚ.LUM.MA ina UD.ME-šú
 šá ITL.APIN ^{1d}UTU.MU.MU
 A ^{1d}AG. TIN-su-iq-bi
 (5) it-ta-ši
 rev. ITL.KIN UD.10.KAM MU.1.KAM
^dU.GUR.LUGAL.URU₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

2 (and) one-sixth measures
 of dates from "his days,"
 from the month of Arashamna, Shamash-shum-iddin
 descendant of Nabu-balassu-iqbi
 (5) carried off.
 Month of Ululu. 10th day, 1st year of
 Nergal-shar-ušur, king of Babylon.

No. 23

Nabonidus ("Nabu is extolled") was not a member of the ruling family when he came to power as a result of court intrigue in 556 B.C.E. He ruled for 17 years, until 539. His fascination with the cult of the moon god, Sin, his ten-year stay in the Arabian desert town of Teima, and his long-lived mother, Adad-guppi', are all subjects of interest for the modern historian. In an act that marked a great turning-point in the history of the ancient Near East, the Achaemenid Cyrus II entered the Babylonian capital of Nabonidus, after it had surrendered without a fight. The destiny of Nabonidus is not known.

This text is a receipt of silver (and another object, lost in the break) by a man who may be the descendant of the Babylonian king himself.

1 $\frac{2}{3}$ MA.NA 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 3 LIM X
 šá Giš šid-da-ti šá ^dUTU
¹IR-^dIn-nin A ^{1d}AG.1 ma-hi-ir
 rev. ITL.ZÍZ UD.27.KAM MU.1.KAM
^dAG.IM.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

1 mina 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver (and) 3 thousand . . .
 from the wooden chest of divine Shamash (of Larsa!)
 Arad-Innin, descendant of Nabonidus, received.
 Month of Addaru, 27th day, 1st year of
 Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

VI. Bibliography

- Archi, A. and F. Pomponio, *Tavolette Economiche Neo-Sumeriche dell'Università Pontificia Salesiana* (= Vicino Oriente 8/1, 1989).
 Aynard, J.-M., 1960. "Les clous d'argile du Musée du Louvre," *RA* 54:11-18.
 Barton, George A., 1929. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*. New Haven.
 Beaulieu, Paul-Alain, 1990. "Lion-Man: uridimmu or urdimmu?" *N.A.B.U.* no. 4:99-101.

- Biro, Maurice, 1969. *Tablettes Économiques et Administratives d'Époque Babylonienne Ancienne*. Paris.
- Buchanan, Briggs, 1981. *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. Ulla Kasten, ed. New Haven.
- Civil, Miguel, 1984. "On Some Sumerian Terms for 'bat' in Mesopotamia," *Aula Orientalis* 2:5-9.
- Dunham, Sally, 1982. "Bricks for the Temples of Šara and Ninurra," *RA* 76:27-41.
- Englund, R. K., 1988. "Administrative Timekeeping in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JESHO* 31:121-85.
- Falkowitz, Robert S., 1983-84. "Round Old Babylonian School Tablets from Nippur," *AJO* 29/30:18-45.
- Fish, Thomas, 1955. "Chronological List of Ur III Economic Texts from Umma," *MCS* 5:61-91.
- Frayne, Douglas R., 1981. *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 B.C.)*. Ph.D. Diss., Yale University.
- Gelb, Ignace J., 1982. "Measures of Dry and Liquid Capacity," *JAOS* 102:585-90.
- Goetze, Albrecht, 1950. "Sin-iddinam of Larsa: New Tablets from His Reign," *JCS* 4:83-118.
- Hallo, William W., 1959. Review of Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonien*. *Bi.Or.* 16:234-38.
- _____, 1960. "A Sumerian Amphictyony," *JCS* 14:88-114.
- _____, 1964. "The Road to Emar," *JCS* 18:57-88.
- _____, 1967. "New Texts from the Reign of Sin-iddinam," *JCS* 21:95-99.
- _____, 1970. "Antediluvian Cities," *JCS* 23:57-67.
- _____, 1971. *The Ancient Near East: A History*. New York. (With W. K. Simpson).
- _____, 1975. "The Princess and the Plea," *AOS Annual Meeting*, Columbus, Ohio (see Hallo 1991).
- _____, 1976. "The Royal Correspondence of Larsa: I. A Sumerian Prototype for the Prayer of Hezekiah?" *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, *AOAT* 25:209-24.
- _____, 1979. "God, King, and Man at Yale," *OLA* 5:99-111.
- _____, 1981. "Appendix to David Owen: Tax Payments. . .," *Acta Sum.* 3:69-76.
- _____, 1982. "The Royal Correspondence of Larsa: II. The Appeal to Utu." *F. R. Kraus Volume*: 95-109.
- _____, 1988. "Texts, Statues and the Cult of the Divine King." *VTSupp.* 40:54-66.
- _____, 1991. "The Royal Correspondence of Larsa: III. The Princess and the Plea," *Études . . . Paul Garelli*: 377-88.
- Heimpel, Wolfgang, 1968. *Tierbilder in der Sumerischen Literatur* (= *Studia Pohl* 2).
- Jacobsen, Thorkild, 1939. *The Sumerian King List*, *AS* 11.
- _____, 1974. "Very Ancient Linguistics(!): Babylonian Grammatical Texts," in Dell Hymes, ed., *Studies in the History of Linguistics: Traditions and Paradigms*. Indiana U. Studies in the History and Theory of Linguistics: 41-62.
- _____, 1987. *The Harps That Once . . . : Sumerian Poetry in Translation*. New Haven.
- Jones, T. B., and J. Snyder, 1961. *Sumerian Economic Texts*. Minneapolis.
- Kärki, Ilmari, 1980. *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften der Altbabylonischen Zeit: I. Isin, Larsa, Uruk, St.Or.* 49.
- Kramer, Samuel Noah, 1963. *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character*. Chicago.
- Landsberger, Benno, 1915. *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, *LSS* 6/1-2.
- _____, 1968. "The Third Tablet of the Series Ea A Nāqu," *JAOS* 88 (= *AOS* 53):133-47.
- Michalowski, Piotr, 1977a. "Durum and Uruk during the Ur III period," *Mesopotamia* 12:83-96.
- _____, 1977b. "Ur III Topographical Names," *Or.Ant.* 16:287-96.
- Neugebauer, Otto, and Abraham Sachs, 1945. *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts* (= *AOS* 29).
- Owen, David I., 1973-74. "Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of Professor Norman Totten," *Mesopotamia* 8-9:145-66.
- Porada, Edith, 1967. "Battlements in . . . the Ancient Near East," *Essays . . . R. Wittkower*: 1-12.
- Price, Ira Maurice, 1927. *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea II*, *Assyriologische Bibliothek* 26.
- Roth, Martha T., 1979. *Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law: A Study of FLP 1287*. Ph.D. Diss., U. of Pennsylvania, 1979.
- Salonen, Armas, 1942. *Nautica Babyloniaca*, *St.Or.* 11/1.
- Schneider, Nicholas, 1932. *Die Drehem- und Djoha-Texte . . .*, *An.Or.* 7.
- _____, 1939. *Die Götternamen von Ur III*, *An.Or.* 19.
- Sigrist, Marcel, 1984a. *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum*. Andrews University Cuneiform Texts, 1.
- _____, 1984b. *Les sattukku dans l'Ešumeša durant la période d'Isin et Larsa*, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 11.

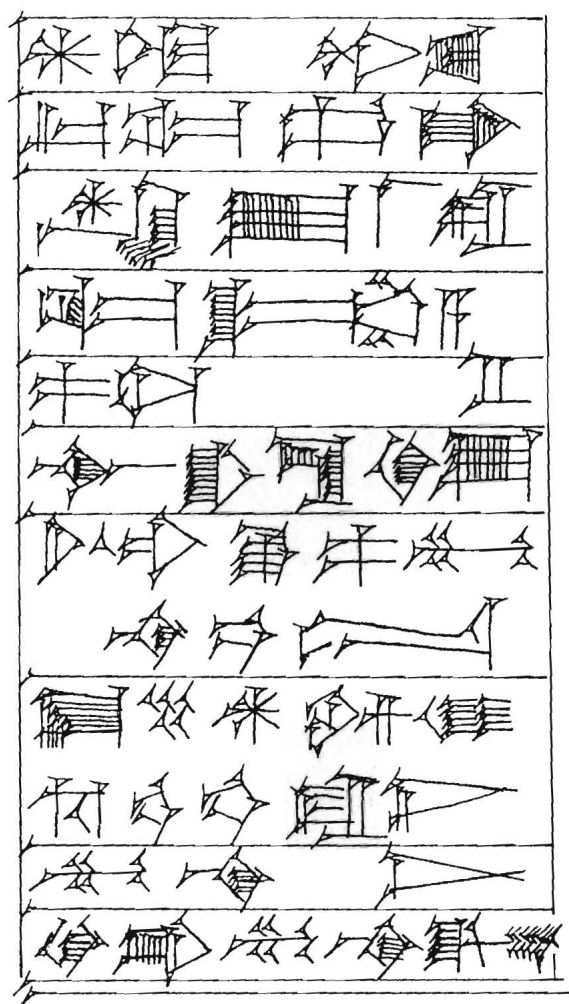
- Sjöberg, Ake W., 1975. "in-nin ša-gur₄-ra. A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna," *ZA* 65: 161–253.
- Steinkeller, Piotr, 1988. "On the Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(A)," *JAOS* 108:197–202.
- Stol, Marten, 1973. Review of *YOS* 13, *JCS* 25:215–33.
- Stone, Elizabeth C., 1977. "Economic Crisis and Social Upheaval in Old Babylonian Nippur," *BM* 7:267–89.
- Tanret, M. "Nouvelles données à propos de l'amphicyonie neo-sumérienne," *Akkadica* 13 (1979) 28–45.
- Thomsen, Marie-Louise, 1984. *The Sumerian Language*, Mesopotamia 10.
- Weisberg, David B., 1989. "Zabaya, an Early King of the Larsa Dynasty," *JCS* 41:194–98.
- Wiseman, Donald J., 1956. *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626–556 B.C.) in the British Museum*. London.

VI. Catalogue

Text # in this Edition	CAM Accession Number	Form	Function	Date
1	1985.15	Cone	Building Inscription	Lagash II
2	1914.682	Tablet	Receipt	Ur III
3	1914.681	Envelope	Receipt	Ur III
4	1914.684	Tablet	Receipt	Ur III
5	1988.264	Tablet	Receipt	Ur III
6	1914.686	Tablet	Receipt	Ur III
7	1914.683	Tablet	Rations List	Ur III
8	1988.267	Tablet	Record of offerings	Ur III
9	1914.685	Tablet	Record of offerings	Ur III
10	1988.265	Tablet	Receipt	Ur III
11	1988.268	Tablet	Receipt	Ur III
12	1914.692	Tablet	Building inscription	Old Babylonian
13	1988.266	Unopened Envelope	Receipt	Old Babylonian
14	1914.687	Tablet	Receipt	Old Babylonian
15	1914.691	Tablet	Receipt(?)	Old Babylonian
16	1914.688	Tablet	Contract	Old Babylonian
17	1914.690	Tablet	School Text	Old Babylonian
18	1914.680	Tablet	School Text	Old Babylonian
19	1914.689	Tablet	Account Text	Old Babylonian
20	1914.693	Tablet	Record of disbursements	Neo-Babylonian
21	1914.696	Tablet	Admin. memorandum	Neo-Babylonian
22	1914.695	Tablet	Record of disbursements	Neo-Babylonian
23	1914.694	Tablet	Receipt	Neo-Babylonian

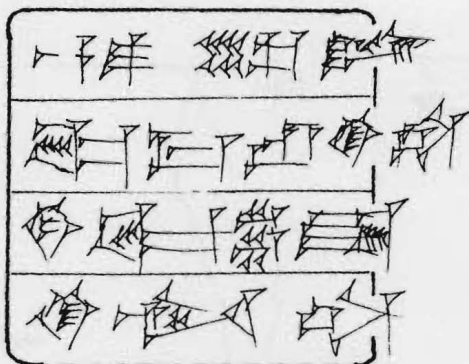
VII. Copies

I

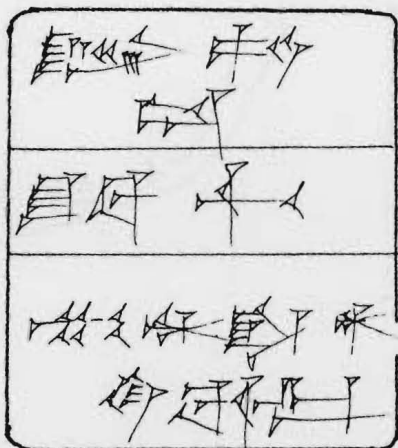


2

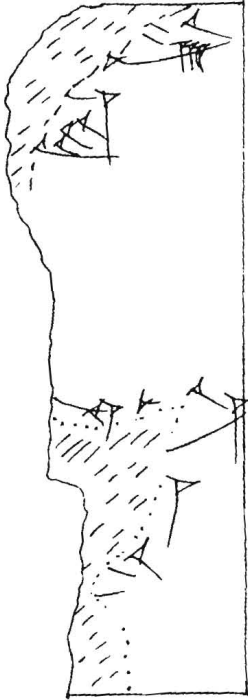
Obv.



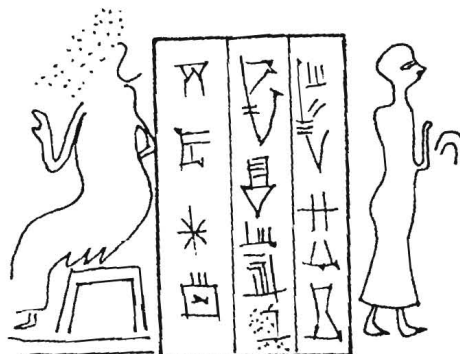
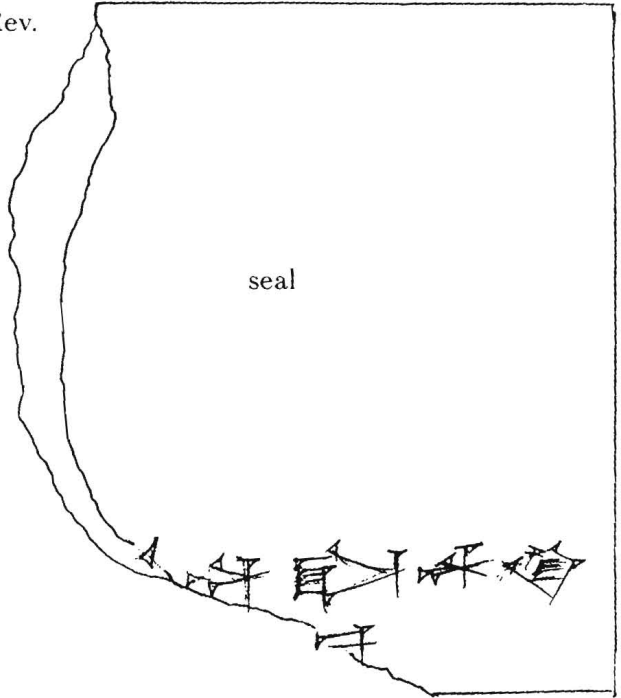
Rev.



Obv.

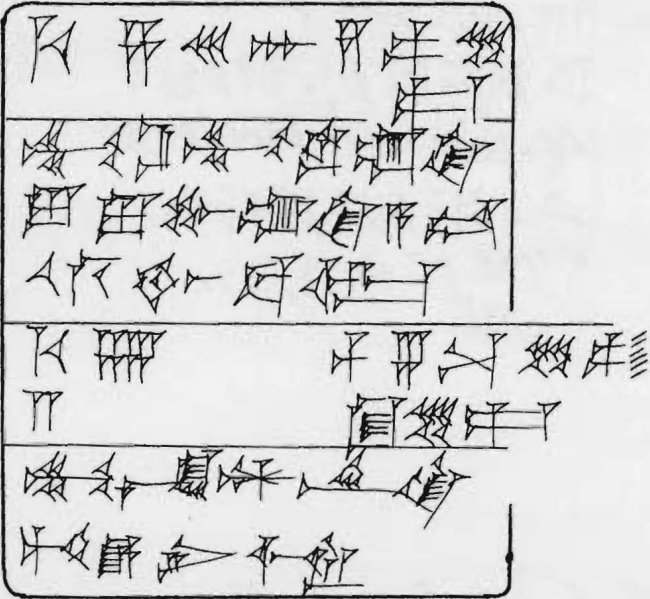


Rev.

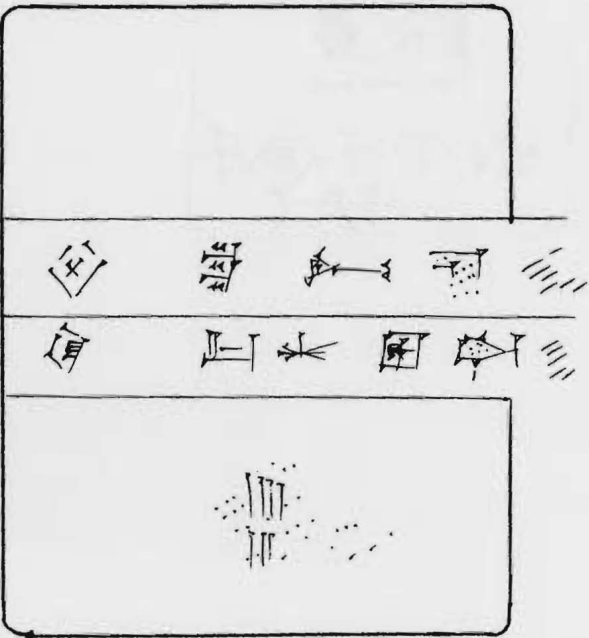


4

Obv.

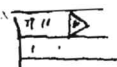
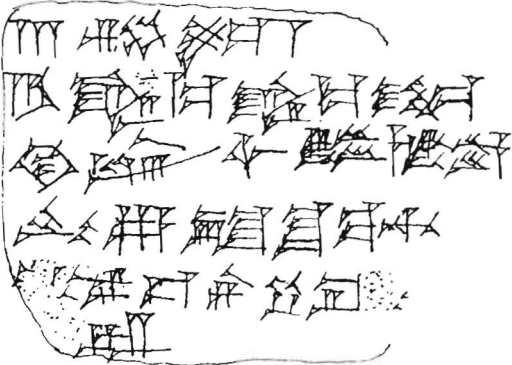


Rev.

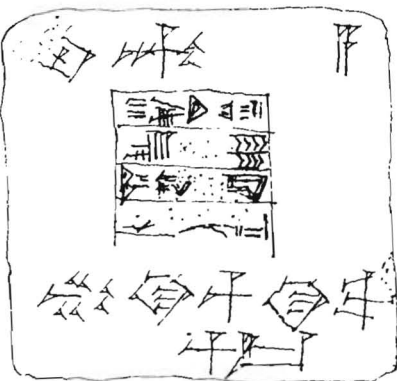


5

Obv.



Rev.

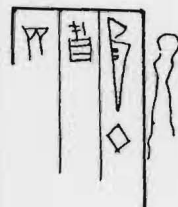
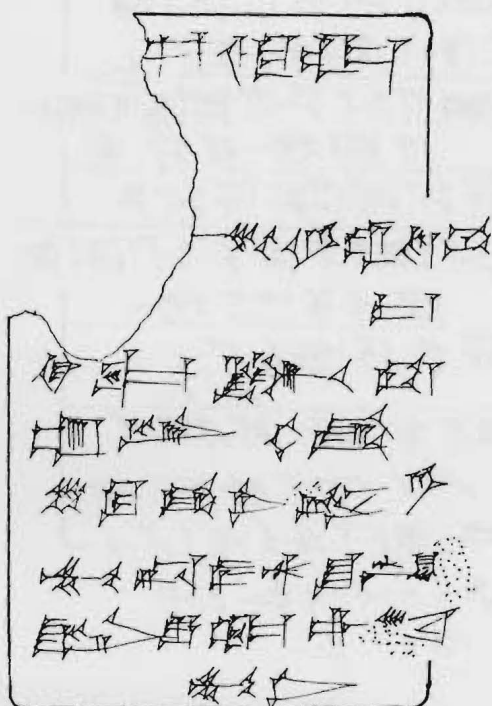


6

Obv.

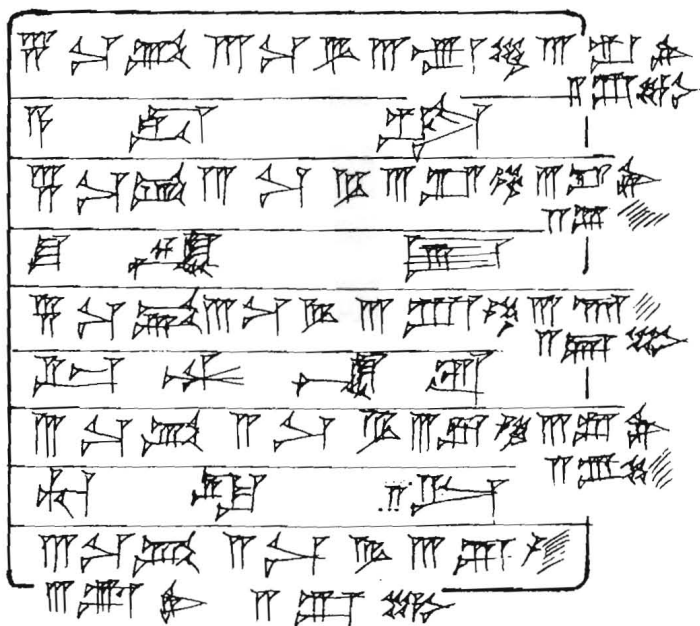


Rev.

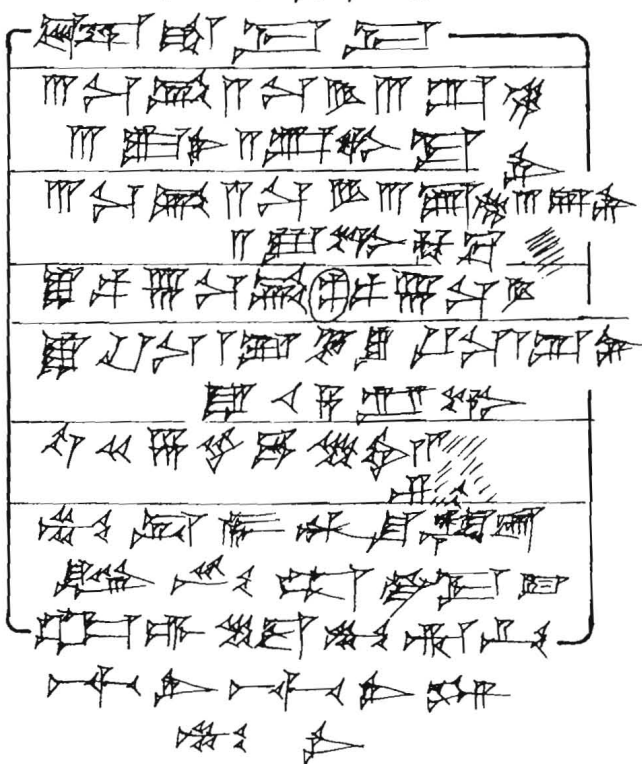


7

Obv.



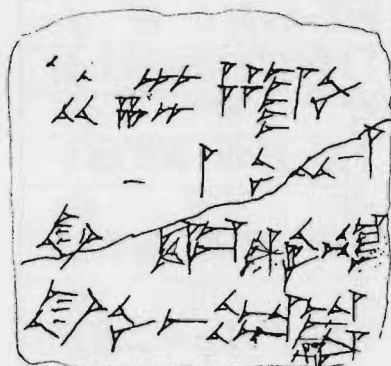
Rev.



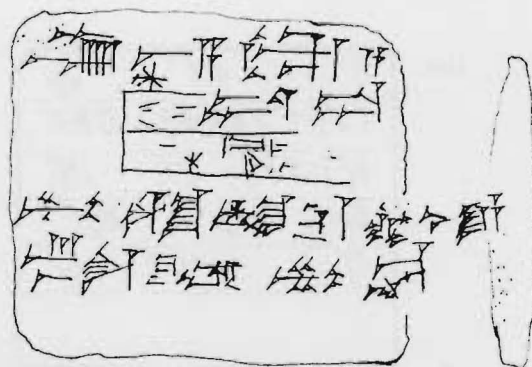
sic

8

Obv.



Rev.

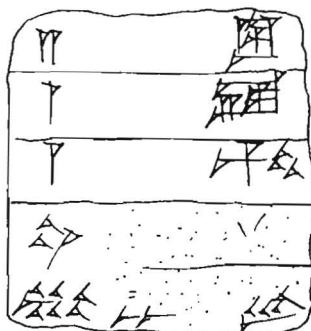


10



II

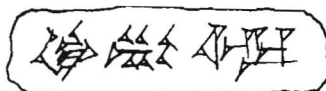
Obv.



Rev.

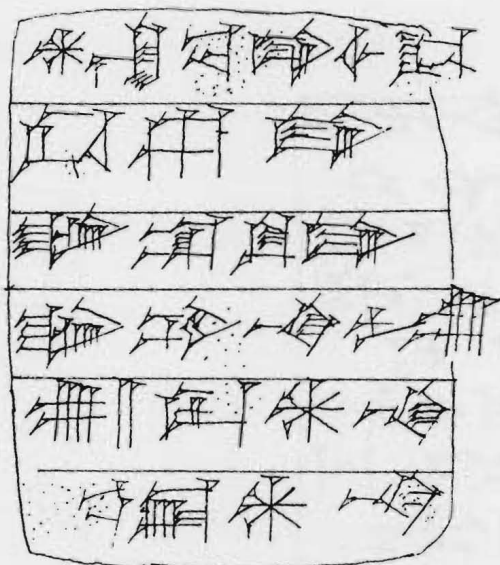


Lo.E.

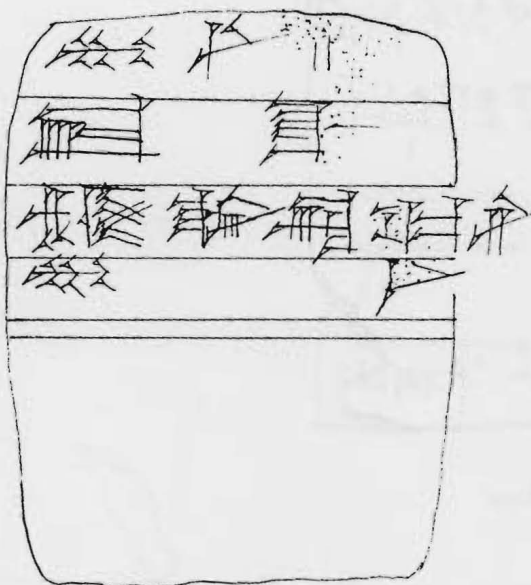


12

Obv.



Rev.



Obv.



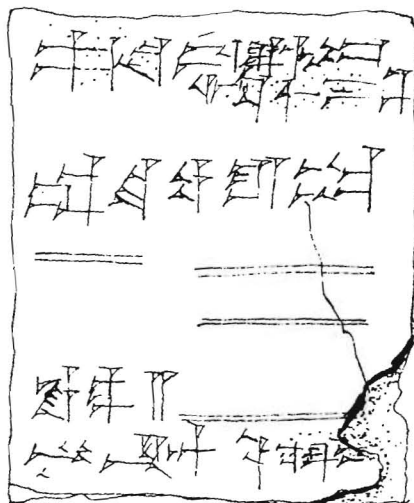
U. E.



Lo. E.



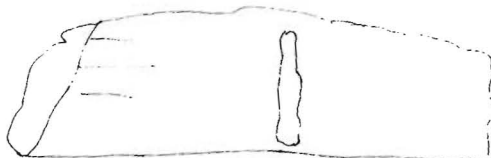
Rev.



R. E.



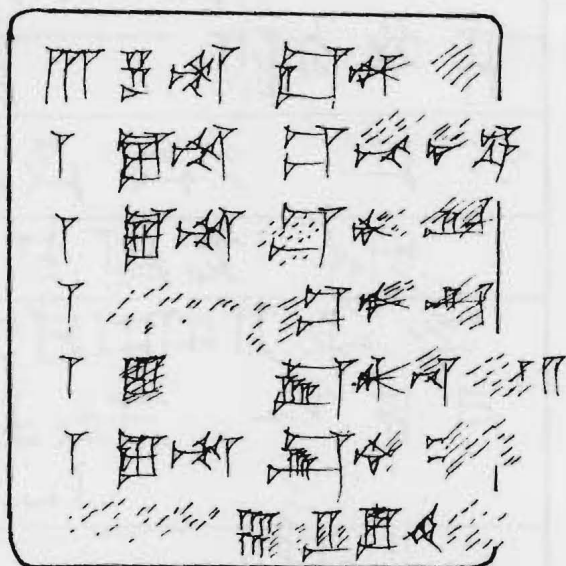
L. E.



Envelope

14

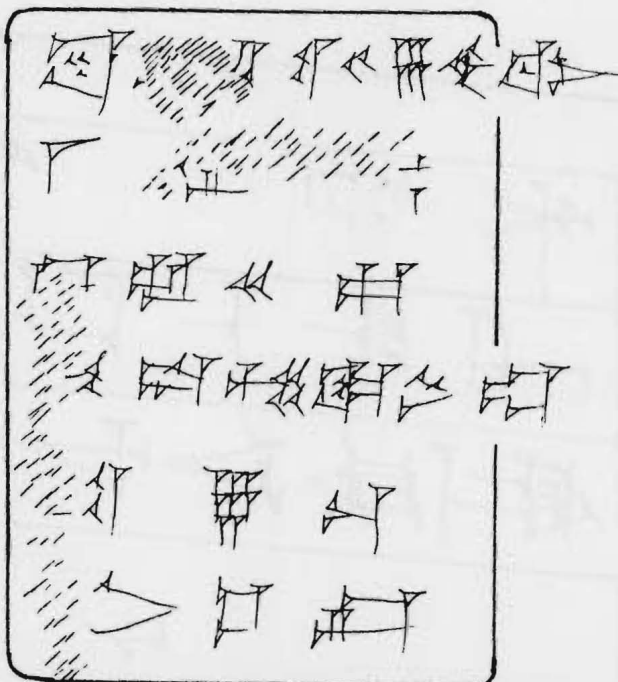
Obv.



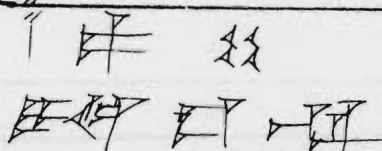
Rev.



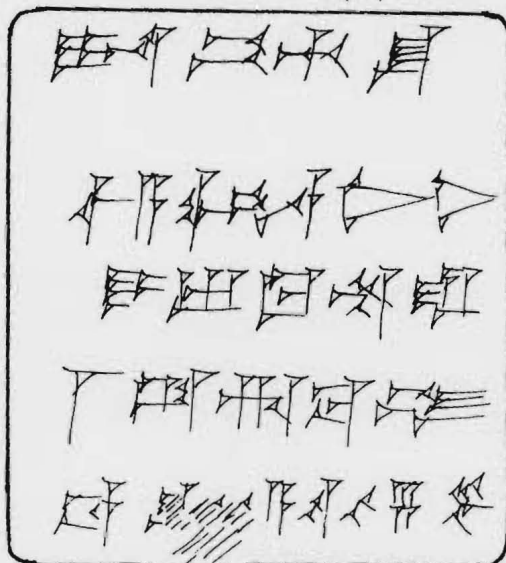
Obv.



U.E.



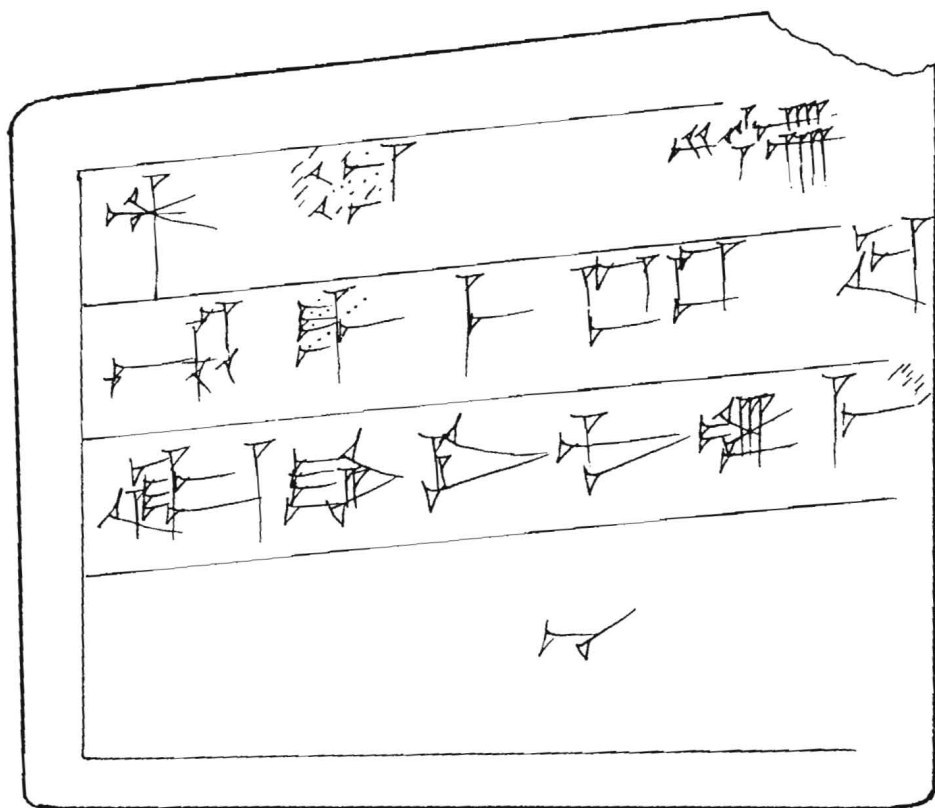
Rev.



Lo.E.

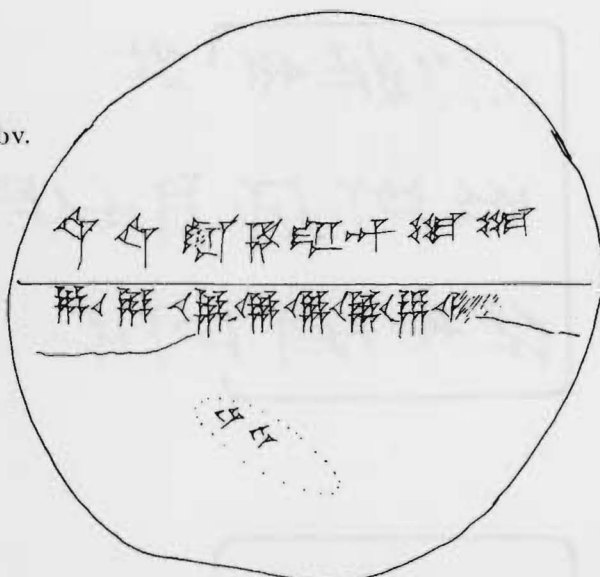


Obv.

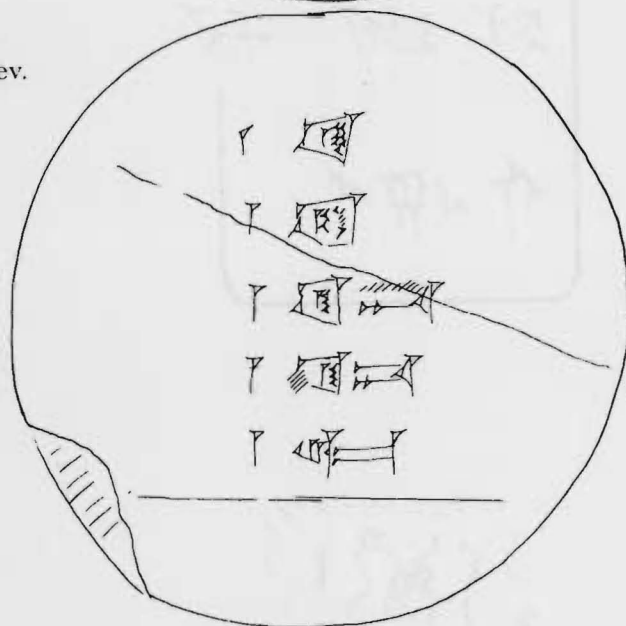


18

Obv.

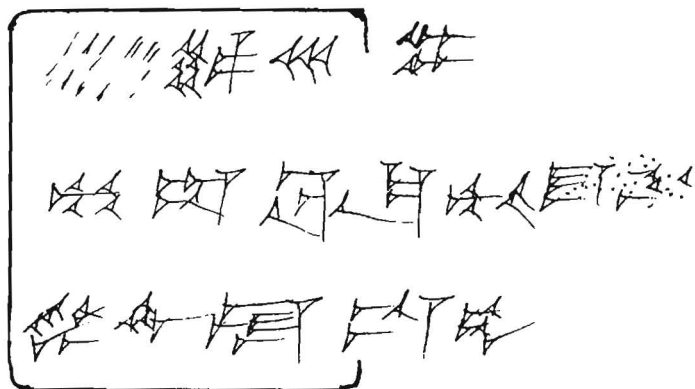


Rev.

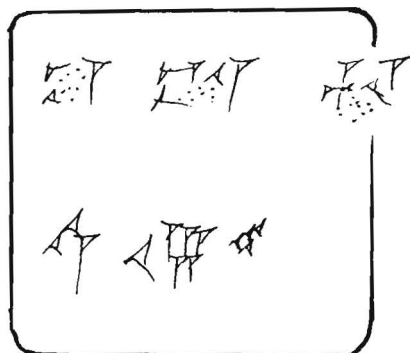


19

Obv.

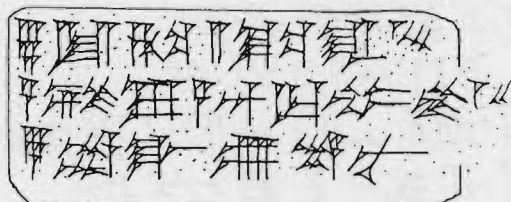


Rev.

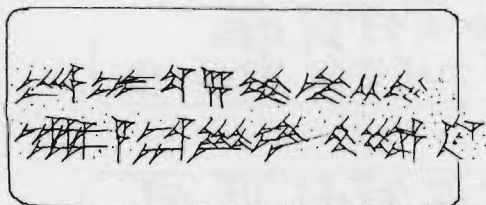


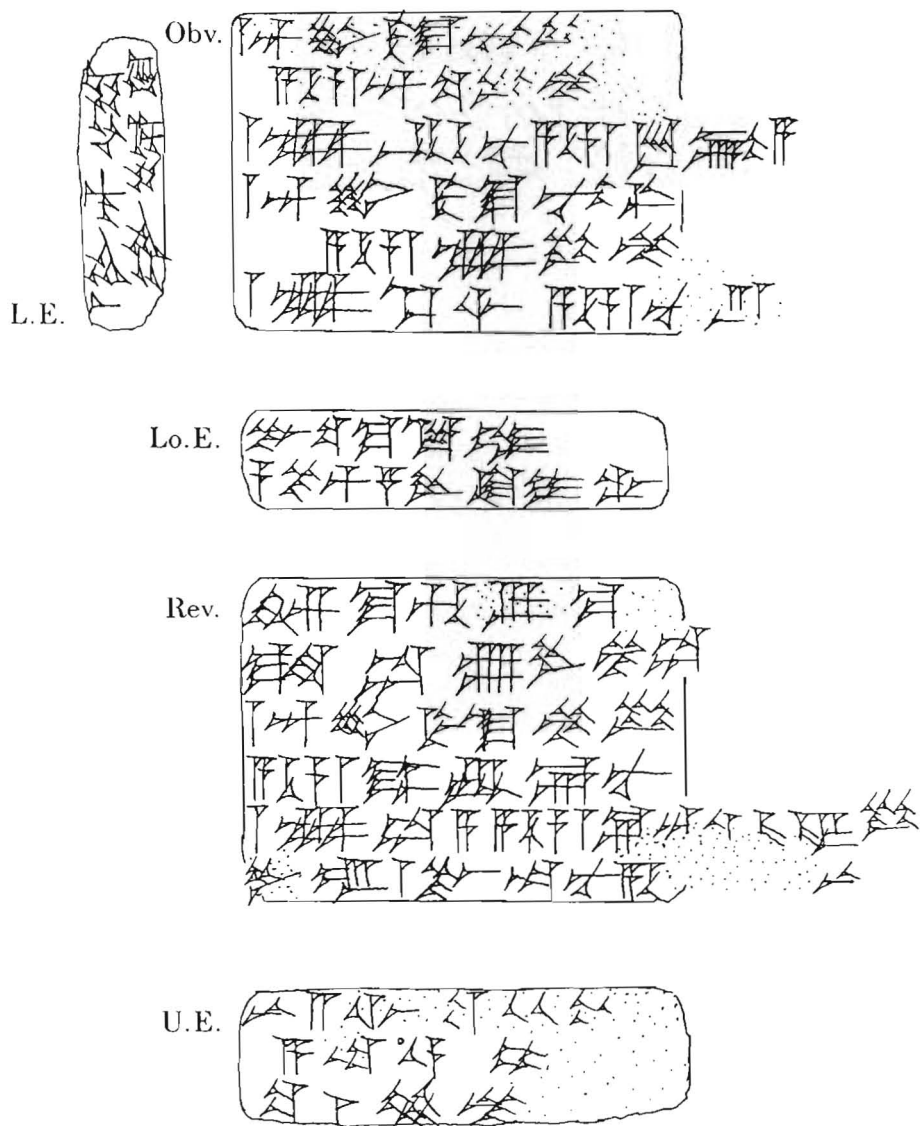
20

Obv.

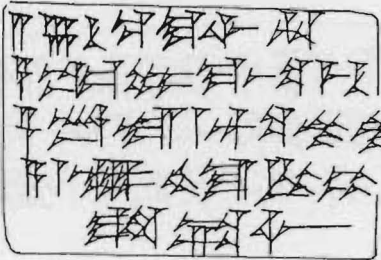


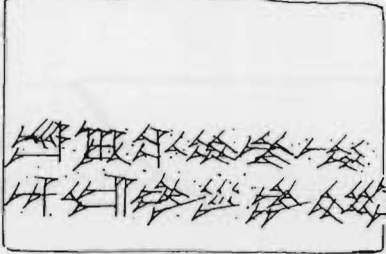
Rev.



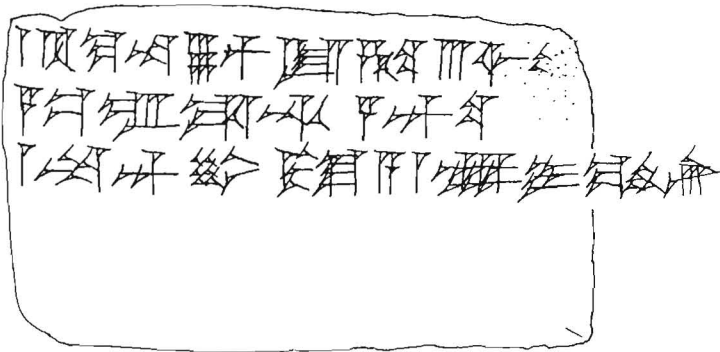


°Wedges from KAM (next line) intrude here.

Obv. 

Rev. 

Obv.



Rev.

