Annual Review

of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project

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The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia

Greater accessibility to primary sources has long been a *desideratum* in Assyriology. It is the purpose of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project to locate, collate, edit, and publish in standard format all known royal inscriptions from ancient Mesopotamia.

Thousands of tablets preserving many kinds of literature are housed in institutions scattered around the world. The fraction of these that have been published often prove difficult to find. Of particular interest for historical studies are the inscriptions of the Mesopotamian kings. These texts commemorate the accomplishments of the ancient rulers.

The work of the RIM Project is being carried out by an international team of scholars who are pooling their expertise to produce a multi-volume work of lasting value. After two years of propaedeutic work, the Project began in earnest on 1 July 1981 with funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, with additional support provided by the University of Toronto.

Director's Report

The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project has been in gestation for many years; the appearance of this publication is a fitting indicator that it is now fully born. Indeed, officially it began in the spring of 1981 with the award of a major editorial grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to the University of Toronto for this project. A general description of the project and its purpose will be found elsewhere in this publication. It is the purpose of this report to bring readers up to date year by year on the progress of RIM.

Since this is the first issue of the Annual Review of the RIM Project it is most appropriate here to express our thanks to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Toronto not only for funding the project but also for the constructive encouragement by officers of both institutions in creating this research endeavour. We all look forward to a long and productive association.

The research of the project has been actively under way for some time; details of the structure and methods will be found in the Editorial Manual, copies of which are available from the Project Headquarters. For the Assyrian Periods, the preliminary editions and collations for the first volume are complete and work has begun on preparation of the final editions. Preliminary editions for the first volumes to be published in both the Early Periods (volume IV: Old Babylonian) and the Babylonian Periods (volume I: Kassite) are in progress. Besides issuing regular volumes of editions in these three main series, the Project will publish an occasional series called 'Studies.' The first volume of this will contain a catalogue and edition of the royal inscriptions on clay cones from Assur now in Istanbul. This work is now ready for press.

A main prerequisite of publishing standard and complete editions of royal inscriptions is the collecting of inscriptions. For this purpose a number of cataloguing projects have been begun. The largest undertakings involve the royal inscriptions in the British Museum and the royal inscriptions from Assur. In addition the project staff has been actively cataloguing inscriptions at the Royal Ontario Museum, McGill University, the University of Laval (Quebec), the Australian Institute of Archaeology, Laurier House (Ottawa), the National Postal Museum, and the National Museum of Man. Some of these inscriptions appear in this publication. The Project's resources are at the disposal of any authorities who would value co-operation in cataloguing their holdings.

The RIM Project is using computer facilities to the full. A UNIX Computer System has been purchased and is running efficiently. Transliterations of texts are normally entered into the computer system as soon as work begins on them. Editorial changes can be made as often as required and print-outs of any edited material can be obtained at short notice. Most of us on the research staff had initial doubts about the use of the computer, but I think it is safe to say that we have all come to recognize its extreme usefulness.

With regard to publication the RIM Project now has a preliminary understanding with the University of Toronto Press. The project has purchased a Compugraphic Photocompositor, which allows it to prepare its own camera-ready copy. This procedure is not only extremely inexpensive but also highly accurate. We anticipate that the University of Toronto Press will work with the camera-ready copy as our publisher, and that the cost of books to readers will be as low as possible.

It has been a very busy and productive year and I look forward to an even more productive year in terms of publication for 1983/84.

Assistant Editors' Reports

Grant Frame

After returning from a lengthy collation trip which was intended to finish the work remaining on the Old and Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions found in museums in Baghdad, Berlin, Istanbul, and London for the first RIM volume and entering the material collected into the project's files, I began work on the inscriptions of the Babylonian Periods in collaboration with J.A. Brinkman, the editor-in-chief for this section of the project. An initial ordering of the Kassite royal inscriptions has been completed, and preliminary transliterations of many of these texts have been made. In addition to work on the manuscript, the supervision of the expansion and running of the project's archives has remained one of my responsibilities.

Douglas Frayne

Preparation of the preliminary manuscript of the royal inscriptions of the Old Babylonian period has been my major research this year. To date the preliminary work is finished in part for the Isin, Larsa, Babylon I, Old Babylonian Uruk, and Ešnunna dynasties. A collation trip covering this material as well as the early Middle Assyrian texts is scheduled for May–August 1983.

A trip to McGill University was made in August 1982 to examine the texts in the Redpath Museum as well as the McLennan Library. A transliteration of all the royal inscriptions of the collections was made and a catalogue was prepared of all the texts. Arrangements are now being made for the RIM staff to conduct further research on this collection in the fall of 1983 with the aim of publishing the entire collection.

G.J.P. McEwan

Since joining the RIM project in October 1982 my main research has been editorial work on the inscriptions of the Assyrian periods, and I have been concentrating on the texts of Ashurnasirpal II. A collation trip to Baghdad, Ankara, London, and Berlin is scheduled for the early summer of 1983.

In addition I have been occupied with editorial work on the project's Annual Review, the Bulletin of the Society for Mesopotamian Studies, and negotiations with the University of Toronto Press regarding publication arrangements for the project's monograph series.

The Building Activities of Shalmaneser I in Northern Mesopotamia

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The Middle Assyrian period reached its military height in the thirteenth century B.C. with the successive reigns of Adad-nārārī I, Shalmaneser I, and Tukultī-Ninurta I. Each of these monarchs was an energetic campaigner who consolidated and expanded Assyria's sphere of control. This period of military expansion and political stability was paralleled by, or found expression in, a proliferation of royal inscriptions attesting to the power and majesty of these sovereigns. Royal inscriptions suddenly become numerous, more detailed, and much longer. With regard to Shalmaneser I, king of Assyria from 1273 to 1244, his inscriptions tell of his defeat of eight lands and fifty-one cities in mountainous Uruatri to the north, his conquest of the city Arinu and the land of Muṣri, and his victory over Šattuara, king of Ḫanigalbat, and the latter's Hittite and Aḫlamû allies, in the west. Finally, we learn of his claim to have defeated the Qutû to the east.[1] Babylonia, to the south, was left to await the attention of his son and successor Tukultī-Ninurta I. Of course, it was Shalmaneser's victory over the remnants of the Mitannian empire that was the most important event of his reign. The Assyrian monarch states that besides capturing Šattuara's capital and nine fortified cult centres he destroyed 180 cities and conquered as far as Carchemish on the upper Euphrates.[2] Prosperity resulting from Assyria's control over this area and the trade routes running through it may have permitted or encouraged the ambitious building programme carried out in Assyria during Shalmaneser's reign, a building programme attested in the royal inscriptions. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser I were first gathered together and edited over fifty years ago;[3] the basis of this article comes from work done while re-editing these texts for the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia project.[4]

Almost all of Adad-nārārī's extensive building projects appear to have been undertaken in the city Aššur;[5] his son's, however, were more spread out through the land.

Texts from Aššur and Nineveh record Shalmaneser's work. With regard to Aššur (modern Qalat Shergat), the most important work was carried out on the Eḫursagkurkurra, the temple of the god Aššur. Shalmaneser tells how this temple had been destroyed in a fire 580 years after its previous restoration by Šamšī-Adad I. 'The temple, its sanctuary, the chapels, the shrines (?), daises, cultic chairs, stools, all the property of the temple of Aššur, my lord, burnt in the fire.' Shalmaneser had the debris cleared away and rebuilt the temple with due ritual. The forecourts of the gods Nunnamnir and Aššur were increased in size; tower-gates were constructed, as was the chapel of the divine judges. In addition, the old house of the beer vats was torn down and rebuilt. Reference is also made to work on, or the construction of, bronze doors, stair walls, and architraves with friezes.[6] A number of these restorations can be identified archaeologically.[7]

The temple of the Assyrian Ištar was also the recipient of attention by Shalmaneser. It had previously been built/rebuilt by Ilu-šuma, Sargon I, Puzur-Aššur III, and Adad-nārārī I, and Shalmaneser merely restored its weaker portions.[8] In this temple were found gold and silver tablets of Shalmaneser I and Tukultī-Ninurta I recording work on the ancient temple of Ninuaittu/Nunaittu ('The Ninevite Goddess'). Tukultī-Ninurta claims to have finished the work begun by his father, by completing the wall, installing the beams and doors, and erecting the dais.[9]

Shalmaneser may also have built a temple to the god Nabû in Aššur. The evidence for this is a statement by the king Sîn-šarra-iškun, who reigned about six and a half centuries later, that the temple of Nabû there had been built by a ruler by the name of Shalmaneser who had reigned, presumably, before Ashurnasirpal II.[10] Since Shalmaneser II who reigned in the eleventh century is practically a nonentity, it seems likely that Shalmaneser I was meant.

1 Grayson, ARI 1, §§527–32.
2 Ibid., §§530–1.
3 Weidner, IAK.
4 A project sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
5 Of Adad-nārārī's royal inscriptions, only two deal with construction work at a site other than Aššur. These two refer to activity at the town of Taidu (Grayson, ARI 1, §§394 and 398), which may have been located on the upper Habur River (see Nashef, Rép.

Géogr. 5, pp. 256–7); both inscriptions, however, were found at Aššur.
6 Grayson, ARI 1, §§534–5, 544, 550, and 557–8. Work on the temple of Enlil described ibid., §572, may well refer to work carried out on a part of the temple of Aššur (see Borger, EAK 1, p. 16). See also Grayson, ARI 1, §631, which refers to structures in a courtyard which would have lain in or near the temple of Aššur (see Menzel, Tempel, p. 51).
7 Among others, see van Driel, Aššur, pp. 15–19.
8 Grayson, ARI 1, §585.
9 Ibid., §§591 and 757.
10 Böhl, Leiden Coll. 3, p. 35 lines 22–24 and see Menzel, Tempel, p. 74.

EŞ . 9512

With regard to secular architecture at Aššur, Shalmaneser states that he rebuilt part of his father's palace.[11] Numerous bricks from Aššur bear inscriptions assigning them to the palace of Shalmaneser;[12] perhaps the same structure was meant. Shalmaneser also reconstructed the Libūr-šalhu gate which had become dilapidated.[13]

At Nineveh (ancient Ninua), Shalmaneser's attention was directed to the Emašmaš, the temple of the goddess Ištar, the Lady-of-Nineveh. The temple and its ziggurat were in ruins as the result of damage caused by an earthquake which had occurred at some point after the complex's last restoration by Aššur-uballiṭ I; Shalmaneser claims to have rebuilt both the temple and the ziggurat from top to bottom. Numerous inscribed bricks, clay cones, and bowl rims attest to this work.[14]

A third site at which Shalmaneser is supposed to have been active is Nimrud (ancient Calah). Our information, however, is second-hand. Ashurnasirpal II, when recording his elevation of the town to the position of Assyria's capital, said that the ancient city of Calah had been built by 'Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me.'[15] Again, since we know little about Shalmaneser II, it has generally been assumed that Ashurnasirpal was referring to Shalmaneser I. Textually the city is first attested in the thirteenth century, certainly in the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta and possibly earlier, in the reign of Shalmaneser. Archaeologically, remains from the Middle-Assyrian period have been identified.[16]

Thus, to the present time, we have been able to credit Shalmaneser I with activity at several sites within the city of Aššur (based upon contemporary textual evidence and supported by archaeological evidence), at the temple of Ištar at Nineveh (based upon contemporary textual evidence), and at Nimrud (based upon non-contemporary textual evidence).

Evidence for additional building projects carried out by Shalmaneser I is found on a large inscribed alabaster slab found at Aššur and now in the collection of the Ancient Orient Museum in Istanbul. The piece bears the excavation number Ass 17313 and has the museum number EŞ 9512. It measures 35.8 × 32.7 × 7.1 cm and comes from the main court of the Aššur temple (i B 3 III). The text is poorly preserved and has been heavily coated with dirt; the bottom portion of the slab is missing. Weidner identified the text from the excavation photographs (Ass 5148–5152) and used the piece as one of eighteen exemplars for the main inscription of Shalmaneser which records work on the temple of the god Aššur at Aššur.[17] He noted, however, that this exemplar had an additional passage inserted after the

record of the king's military campaigns and before a section giving the king's genealogy. Since Weidner was only working from the photographs and since the relevant passage was largely covered with dirt, he could recognize only a few words, but they were sufficient for him to determine that the passage was an additional and extensive building report.[18] The alabaster slab was located and cleaned by the authors of the present article in 1981.

The passage of interest is found on the third column (the first column of the reverse). Unfortunately, the beginning of the column is lost; when we can begin to identify signs we are already in the additional section. It is difficult to determine how much additional material is likely to be missing. If none of the main inscription was omitted there could have been room for very little more. As it is preserved, the added passage is twenty-two lines long and reads as follows:

iii Lacuna
1') x [. . . . . .]
2') i-ʳnaʼ[. . . . .]
3') ù ʳBÀD(?)ʼ-šu x [. . . . . .]
4') ᵈU.GUR EN-i[a(?) . . . . . .]
5') lu ú-ša-ši-x [x x x (x)]
6') É ᵈINNIN NIN-i[a x x x (x)]
7') ú-di-iš si-qur-r[a-ta /su (x x)]
8') É el-la šu-bat né-eh-t[i x (x)]
9') a-ʳnaʼ ᵈINNIN NIN URU.tal-m[u-še]
10') i-na qé-reb URU.tal-mu-še lu x [(x x)]
11') é-gašan-kalam-ma É ᵈINNIN NIN URU.ʳarʼ-[ba-il(?)]
12') NIN-ia ù si-qur-ra-su e-pu-uš
13') si-qur-ra-ta GAL-ta a-na ᵈaš-šur
14') EN-ia i-na qé-reb URU-ia ᵈaš-šur
15') e-pu-uš É ᵈIŠKUR šá URU.ʳka(?)ʼ-hat
16') ʳùʼ ᵈIŠKUR ša URU. i-sa-ni EN.MEŠ-ia
17') lu-ú e-pu-uš ma-ha-zi
18') É.KUR.MEŠ ša-tu-nu el šá pa-na
19') ú-ša-te-er iš-tu uš-še-šu-nu
20') a-di gaba-dib-bi-šu-nu ab-ni
21') ta-ši-la-ti-šu-nu e-pu-uš
22') ù na-ri-ia aš-ku-un re-ú ʳkiʼ-nu
etc.

1'–5') . . . . . . in . . . . . . and its wall(?) . . . the god Nergal, my(?) lord, ... I . . . . . .

5'–12') I restored . . . the temple of the goddess Ištar, my lady, . . . [I built(?) the/its] ziggurat, (. . .) the holy temple, the secure dwelling, (. . .) for the goddess Ištar, the Lady-of-Talmuššu, inside the city Talmuššu. I built Egašankalamma, the temple of the goddess Ištar, the Lady-of-Arbela(?), my lady, and its ziggurat.

11 Grayson, ARI 1, §§620 and 624.
12 Ibid., §§653 and 656.
13 Ibid., §613. The location of this gate is uncertain (see Weidner, IAK p. 151 n. 12).
14 Grayson, ARI 1, §§595, 601, 609, 668, and 671.
15 Ibid., 2, §§591, 619, 653, and 671.
16 See RLA 5, p. 320.

17 Weidner, IAK XXI, 1; EŞ 9512 (Ass 17313) is exemplar N. This exemplar apparently did not give the date of composition; other exemplars used by Weidner were dated in the month Ša sarrāte of the eponymies of Mušallim-Aššur and Aššur-nādin-šumē (see ibid., p. 126).
18 Ibid., p. xxxii sub XXI 1 N and p. 120 variant l.

13'–15') I (re)built the great ziggurat inside my city Aššur for the god Aššur, my lord.

15'–17') I built the temple of the god Adad of Kaḫat(?) and the god Adad of Isana, my lords.

17'–22') I made these sanctuaries (and) temples greater than before; I built them from top to bottom. I made them splendid and set up my stele.

22'ff.) The faithful shepherd ...

As the concluding section (lines 17'–22') makes clear, this passage is a summary account of sundry building projects which were carried out for several Mesopotamian deities in various cities of Shalmaneser's realm.

Commentary

1'–5') Very little can be read in the first five lines of the passage, but in view of the clear reference to the god Nergal in line 4', it is likely that something was being done for this god. The verb used in line 5' is different from those employed later in order to refer to the building of temples (*edēšu* in line 7' and *epēšu* in lines 12', 15', and 17'). Thus it is not clear exactly what is being described. Based upon what is preserved of the verb, one expects *ušāšib* (see Weidner, Tn. no. 13:28) or *ušaršid*; but the traces support neither reading.[19] Whatever was being described could presumably be subsumed under the final summary section (17'–22'), which deals with the building of religious edifices.

If one accepts the idea that Shalmaneser was claiming to have carried out some building project for the god Nergal, the question arises as to where any such activity would have been carried out. As one can see from Weiher's study,[20] the cult of Nergal is not well attested in Assyria. This god does receive a brief mention in one royal inscription from each of the kings Šamšī-Adad I, Adad-nārārī I, and Tukultī-Ninurta I. The last-mentioned king claims to have built a temple for several gods, including Nergal, in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, but this city was not yet in existence in the time of Shalmaneser. Beginning with Adad-nārārī II in the early Neo-Assyrian period, Nergal appears more frequently in Assyrian royal inscriptions, but usually in connection with hunting.[21] The only city in Assyria for which a real cult of Nergal is attested is Tarbiṣu, the modern Sherif-Khan, located a little up-river from

Nineveh. The earliest reference to this city is found in a chronicle dealing with the time of Arik-dēn-ili, that is at the end of the fourteenth century, but the cult of Nergal is not attested there until the reign of Shalmaneser III in the ninth century. Two inscribed mace heads state that they were dedicated to the god Nergal 'who resides in Tarbiṣu' by Shalmaneser III. An actual temple is not attested until the reign of Sennacherib, although an as yet unpublished text of that king found by the Mosul University expedition to Sherif-Khan is said to state that Sargon II had previously built a temple of Nergal there.[22] Geographically, the site of Tarbiṣu fits into the area in which Shalmaneser is known to have worked (see above). Is it thus possible that in our text Shalmaneser I was claiming to have done some work at Tarbiṣu? In view of the damaged condition of the text any such suggestion is only speculation.

5'–12') This section records work done for the goddess Ištar at two or three different sites. In lines 5'–7' reference is made to the restoration of a temple of Ištar and lines 7'–10' deal with the ziggurat of Ištar, the Lady-of-Talmuššu, at Talmuššu. The connection between these two parts is not certain. The ziggurat may have been part of the temple (complex) described in 5'–7'; if this was the case, we should probably read *si-qur-r[a-su]* 'its ziggurat' at the end of 7'.

Neo-Assyrian texts show that Talmuššu (Neo-Assyrian Talmusu)[23] was located to the north of Nineveh. On the basis of a reference in Sennacherib's inscription dealing with the construction of aqueducts to bring water to Nineveh, Jacobsen has proposed the site of modern Jerahiyah for the site of the ancient city. This town is located about twenty-five miles north of Nineveh on a tributary of the Khosr River.[24] That there was a cult of Ištar of Talmuššu is known from other sources. In Schroeder, KAV no. 72, a (Middle) Assyrian god list, Ištar of Nineveh is followed by Ištar of Talmuššu (rev. [?] 10–11). Also of interest is KUB 44 15, a Hittite ritual text, possibly dating to the fourteenth century, where we find a connection between Ištar, Nineveh, and Talmuššu; apparently Talmuššu was considered to be a relative by marriage of the goddess Ištar.[25]

The building of the temple of the goddess Ištar of Arbela and its ziggurat is described in lines 11'–12'. The reading of the city name at the end of line 11' as Arbela is supported by the fact that the name of the temple of

19 One might also consider the verb *našû* (see CAD 11/2 (N), p. 109), in which case the traces at the end of the line could be those of a pronominal suffix (-*š[u* or -*š[u-nu]*).

20 von Weiher, Nergal. See especially pp. 99–103.

21 For references, see ibid., p. 99 n. 2, and Grayson, ARI 1, §130.

22 See Curtis and Grayson, Iraq 44 (1982), pp. 87–94 and pl. III, and Menzel, Tempel pp. 125–6. To a lesser extent, cults of Nergal are attested at Nimrud, Hubšal (see the references cited Menzel, Tempel, Index p. 4), and Nuzi (see von Weiher, Nergal p. 90). A temple of Nergal dated to the reign of Ashurbanipal has recently been discovered in the Himrin basin at Tell Haddad (see Hannoun, BSMS 2 [1982] pp. 5–6).

23 For the reading of the name, see the references given in Kessler, Nordmesopotamien p. 17 n. 87 and p. 94 n. 356, and Kessler, ZA

69 (1979), p. 220. The Middle Assyrian occurrences of the name may be found in Nashef, Rép. Géogr. 5, p. 258.

24 Jacobsen, Jerwan p. 39 and fig. 9. Groneberg (Rép. Géogr. 3, p. 233) states that according to Kessler the Middle Assyrian city by this name is not identical with the Neo-Assyrian city by the same name. However, the cited work by Kessler does not deal with this matter. See also Nashef, Rép. Géogr. 5, p. 258.

25 Güterbock tentatively translates obv. 12'–14' as follows: 'Eat, oh Ištar, queen of Nineveh! But of Talmuššiya, you are the bride/daughter-in-law (SAL.É.GE₄-*aš*). You for whom the city Nineveh is father but Talmuššiya is your relative-by-marriage ...' (Private communication; this tentative interpretation is based on emendations of the apparently corrupt text. For another translation, see Archi, Oriens Antiquus 16 [1977] 304.)

Ištar at Arbela during the Neo-Assyrian period is known to have been Egašankalamma.[26] In Middle Assyrian texts, the city name could be written either *ar-ba-il* or 4-DINGIR.[27] Arbela (modern Erbil; Middle Assyrian Arba-il) is located about forty miles east of Nimrud and is mentioned in texts from as early as the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur.[28] While best known during the seventh century, the cult of Ištar of Arbela is attested already in the twelfth century, in the time of Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur.[29]

13′–15′) This section contains the first explicit claim by Shalmaneser to have done work on the ziggurat of the god Aššur at Aššur although several gold and silver discs have been found at that city which bear inscriptions stating that they were the property of the ziggurat and that they had been dedicated to the god by Shalmaneser.[30]

15′–17′) In these lines work is mentioned on the temple (temples?) of the god Adad of the city Kaḫat(?) and the god Adad of the city Isana. The city name at the end of line 15′ is likely to be read Kaḫat, although the first sign is a better SAG than KA. Kaḫat (modern Tell Barrī) is situated about seven miles north-east of Tell Brak on the east bank of the Jagjag River and was one of the important Mitannian cities conquered by Adad-nārārī I.[31] Although there is no other evidence for a cult of Adad at Kaḫat, this site was connected with the Hurrian weather-god Tešub, who could be identified with Adad.[32] Isana is attested fairly frequently in Assyrian texts and Forrer placed it to the west of the Tigris somewhere north of Aššur.[33] In his recent entry for Isana in the Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Postgate refers to an unpublished text connecting Isana with the transport of logs by river and suggests that the city may be identified with the modern town of Senn, which is located on the west bank of the Tigris opposite the confluence of the Tigris and Upper Zab rivers.[34] Apart from the text published here, Isana is first clearly attested in an economic document from the reign of Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur in the second half of the twelfth century.[35] Freydank, VAS 19 51, a text apparently dating to around the reign of Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur, mentions in the first line the *rimki ša Adad ša* URU. [x]-x-*na*.[36] The spacing would fit a restoration [*i-s*]*a-na*, but the trace preserved before the NA does not fit the end of a good SA sign.[37] There is no other evidence for a cult of Adad of/at Isana. Since lines 15′–17′ do not state
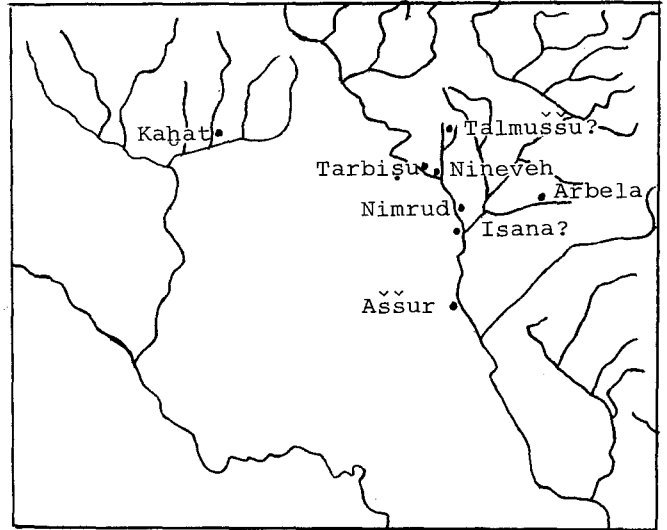
where the temple or temples being built were located, it remains uncertain whether it was at Kaḫat, Isana, both of these places, or possibly Aššur, where the previously mentioned project was carried out (lines 13′–15′).

17′–22′) It is also possible to translate this section '... the sanctuaries of these temples ...' The use of the term *maḫāzī* in this summation of the preceding lines reminds one of the epithet frequently used by Shalmaneser, *mukīn maḫāzī ellūti* 'the one who established the sacred cult centres/sanctuaries,' an epithet not used by any other Assyrian monarch.[38]

22′ff.) From this point on EŞ 9512 again duplicates the main inscription (see IAK p. 120 iii 27ff.).

This text shows that Shalmaneser's building programme was more extensive than has been previously recognized and included work at Aššur, Nineveh, Talmuššu, probably Arbela and Nimrud, and possibly Tarbiṣu, Kaḫat and Isana. Because of the damaged condition of the text, it is not clear if these cities were being mentioned in some geographical order or not; with the exception of Kaḫat, all of them were located within the Assyrian heartland. It is not surprising that Shalmaneser I, an energetic ruler, would have carried out construction work throughout his land in order to help commemorate his military successes, and we are fortunate to have numerous texts recounting his actions.

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26 See Menzel, Tempel pp. 6–7.
27 See Nashef, Rép. Géogr. 5, p. 36.
28 See Edzard and Farber, Rép. Géogr. 2, pp. 217–18.
29 Donbaz, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur pl. 18 A.3187:6.
30 Grayson, ARI 1, §§672–4.
31 For the Middle Assyrian references to this city, see Nashef, Rép. Géogr. 5, pp. 146–7.
32 See Falkner, AfO 18 (1957–8), p. 16, sub. 5 and King, CT 25, pl. 16:18.
33 Forrer, Provinz. p. 12.
34 RLA 5, p. 173.
35 Donbaz, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur pl. 1 A.113:1. The Middle Assyrian attestations of the city may be found in Nashef, Rép. Géogr. 5, pp. 139–40.

36 Reference courtesy of Kh. Nashef. For the dates of the eponym officials appearing in this text, see Saporetti, Eponimi p. 146.
37 Other possible restorations include Karana, Guzana, Sikana, and Zarana. Karana is probably to be identified with Tell al Rimah, located about forty miles south-west of Nineveh. It is attested during the reign of Shalmaneser I and may have had a temple and ziggurat dedicated to Adad (see RLA 5, pp. 405–7). The cult of Adad is also attested at Guzana and Sikana (see Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard, La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne [Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, cahier 7; Paris, 1982], pp. 61–2 and 64, and Menzel, Tempel pp. 85–6). These cities lay outside the Assyrian heartland, but within the area conquered by Shalmaneser.
38 See Seux, Épithètes p. 133. Adad-nārārī I and Shalmaneser I also used the epithet *mukīn maḫāzī* (ibid., p. 132).

A New Šulgi Text in the Royal Ontario Museum

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The tablet numbered 910x209.494 (D 1027) in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto,[1] is a rather small text, 6.2 × 9.8 × 2.3 cm, of a pink colour containing a literary text in Sumerian dealing with king Šulgi (c. 2094–2047 B.C.). The text may be dated by its script to the Old Babylonian period. It was purchased by the museum sometime before 1910, and nothing of its provenance is known.

The composition recorded on the tablet consists of thirty-six lines, which we may divide, although they were not so marked by the ancient scribe, into nine four-line stanzas. The introductory stanza of four lines is not well preserved so that a coherent translation of it is not possible. However, it is clear that it differed in pattern from the succeeding eight stanzas and served to introduce the composition as a whole. The beginning of the composition seems to read: šà-ta kù-ga x[. . .] 'pure from birth . . . ,' undoubtedly an epithet of king Šulgi. This recalls the beginning of another Šulgi hymn, A,[2] which reads: lugal-me-en šà-ta ur-sag-me-en 'I am king, from birth a hero.'

The following eight stanzas all exhibit the same basic structure, which may be summarized and translated as follows:

My king brought[3] (offerings?) to city X,
O god Y, rejoice!
Šulgi brought to city X,
O god Y, rejoice!

Each succeeding stanza substitutes a different god and city name for X and Y. The god in each case is the patron deity for the city. The sequence of gods and cities in the text is:

1) Enki in Eridu,
2) Enlil in Nippur,
3) Ninurta in Ešumeša,
4) Ninsunzigalanna, apparently an epithet of Ninḫursag,[4] in Keš,
5) Ašimbabbar in Ur,
6) Utu, named as the lapis-lazuli beard (su_6-za-gìn)[5] in Ebabbar, presumably in Larsa,
7) Ninerigal[6] in Kullab,
8) Inanna in Zabala.

Interestingly, the hymn ends abruptly after the section dealing with Inanna of Zabala with no concluding stanza to match the introductory one.

Regarding the genre of the ROM composition, it is to be noted that this text is unique in the Šulgi hymnic repertory. There is no lengthy hymnic prologue or epilogue characteristic of the other Šulgi hymns. The text contains no identifying subscript, nor are any liturgical notations found in the composition. The closest parallel to the new Šulgi text is the hymn Šulgi H published in copy by Langdon in BE 31 no. 4.[7] Unfortunately only about one-half of the tablet on which this composition is found is preserved.

A study of the tablet published by Langdon reveals that it originally contained two compositions: a short hymn to Ninlil of about twenty-five lines and a longer adab hymn of eighty-two lines[8] to Šulgi.[9] We shall restrict our comments to the second composition, here labelled Šulgi H.

As we find in the ROM composition, Šulgi H consists of a series of relatively short sections dealing with a trip Šulgi made to various cities of his realm. Unfortunately, since only about half the tablet is preserved, a com-

1 I am thankful to Professor L. Levine, curator of the Royal Ontario Museum tablet collection, for kind permission to publish this tablet and to Dr G. McEwan for pointing it out to me.
2 For Šulgi A, see Falkenstein, ZA 50 (1952), pp. 61ff.
3 Since the subject of the verb na-DU appears with the agentive -e (^dšul-gi-re) we would expect it to be transitive. For that reason I have understood the verb as na-túm 'he brought.' If we ignore the agentive -e here we could read the verb na-gin 'he went,' which would make equally good, if not better, sense.
4 This may be compared with the epithet of Ninḫursag, NIN-zi-gal-an-na, found in line 96 of the Sumerian Temple Hymn Collection (see Sjöberg, Temple Hymns p. 73) and the epithet igi-zi-gal-an-na in Enlil and Ninḫursag, Barton, MBI no. 1 XI 4.
5 For this common epithet of Utu see Sjöberg Temple Hymns p. 87, note to line 173.

6 For the reading of ^dNin-AB-gal as ^dNin-eri$_{12}$-gal see ibid., p. 90, note to line 198.
7 For collations to this text see Kramer, JAOS 60 (1940), pp. 237ff.
8 Note the number 60 + 20 + 2 (= 82) at the bottom of reverse column two of Langdon, BE 31, no. 4.
9 The tablet published by Langdon, BE 31 no. 4 ends with a three-line uru section. This means that the tablet ended with an adab hymn, since the concluding uru section is characteristic of this type of hymn. The uru section virtually always contains a three-line pattern: 1) divine epithet, 2) divine name + divine epithet of line one, 3) royal name + some wish for the king. Šulgi H is unusual in that line one of the uru section contains an epithet of Šulgi and line two the king's name and epithet. This means that here Šulgi takes the place of a divinity in a normal adab hymn. The adab hymn usually begins with an address to the divinity who

plete list of the cities is not available. The extant text mentions a trip to Enki in Eridu[10] followed by a long gap, Nanna in Ur[11] followed by a short gap, and finally trips to Utu in Larsa,[12] Ninunug in Kullab,[13] and Inanna in Zabala.[14] It is noteworthy that the sequence of cities preserved in Šulgi H matches exactly that found in the ROM text. Šulgi H has preserved accounts of cities 1, 5, 6, 7, and 8 of the ROM text. These parallels suggest that the long gap between obverse column two and reverse column one in Šulgi H may have contained an account of trips to cities 2–4 of the ROM text, that is to Nippur, Ešumeša, and Keš.

The description of the trip to the last three cities of Šulgi H is found in stereotypic four-line stanzas strongly reminiscent of those found in the ROM text. The pattern is, however, different:

šul-gi . . . x^{ki}-šè sag-íl-la mu-gin
é-i$_7$ é-engur ^{d}Y giš ki-ba ì-tag
gu-sag še-sag mumun-šè mu-gar ^{d}ašnan mu-ḫúl
^{d}Y . . .

Šulgi went proudly to city X,
At the river house and the *apsû*-house of god Y he made an
    offering[15]
He placed first quality flax and barley as seed, Ašnan rejoiced,
The god Y . . . (varies in each account)

Although the ROM text closely parallels Šulgi H in the concluding stereotypic section, the text differs in the longer treatment in Šulgi H, in the earlier trips to Eridu and Ur, as well as in the inclusion in Šulgi H of various liturgical notations such as the sa-gar-ra, giš-ki-gál-sa-gar-ra, and the concluding ^{uru}uru$_{16}$(EN) section.

Not only is there a correlation between the sequence of cities in Šulgi H and the ROM text; it occurs also between the ROM text and the compilation of the Sumerian Temple Hymns redacted by Enḫeduanna.[16] The ROM text has merely treated a selection of the more important cities and shrines in the order they appear in the hymnic cycle, namely hymns 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 13, 16, and 26. The minor cities such as Kiabrig, Gišbanda, and Gaeš are simply omitted.

While it may be demonstrated that the majority of Šulgi hymns allude to specific historical events of the king's reign, both Šulgi H and the ROM text seem to be devoid of such allusions. This fact, coupled with the dependence of both compositions on the great Enḫeduanna cycle of temple hymns, suggests that the authors of these two compositions strove not to immortalize a moment in the king's reign but rather to model a kind of

cycle of 'Temple Hymns of Šulgi.' This was done by merely putting the name of Šulgi in conjunction with brief passages dealing with the major cult centres found in the Enḫeduanna cycle of temple hymns.

While Šulgi H gives a fuller account of each royal visit, the terse account in the better preserved ROM text gives a better overview of the 'Šulgi Temple Cycle' as a whole.

In conclusion, the new Šulgi text in the ROM may give us a better idea of what may have originally been contained in the Sumerian hymn Šulgi H.

ROM 910x209.494 (D 1027)

1) [(x)] �⌈šà⌉-ta kù-ga x [. . .] UD.D[U]
2) [. . .] x kalam-ma [. . .] ki ḫúl [. . .]
3) [. . .] x x x x x x [. . .] x ki x x
4) [. . .] x du$_{11}$-ga [. . .] x na x
5) [lugal]-mu eridu^{ki}-šè na-DU
6) n[un-gal] a-a ^{d}en-ki ḫúl-⌈la-a⌉
7) ^{d}š[ul-g]i-re eridu$^{k[i]}$-šè na-DU
8) nun-gal [a]-a [^{d}e]n-ki ⌈ḫúl-la-a⌉
9) lugal-m[u E]N.LÍL^{ki}-šè na-⌈DU⌉
10) kur-gal a-⌈a⌉ [^{d}en-l]íl ḫúl-la-a
11) ^{d}šul-gi-r[e E]N.LÍL^{ki}-šè na-DU
12) kur-gal a-a ^{d}en-líl ḫúl-la-a
13) lugal-mu é-šu-[me-š]a$_4$-šè na-DU
14) en ^{d}nin-[urta]-ke$_4$ ḫúl-la-a
15) ^{d}šul-gi-r[e] é-šu-me-⌈ša⌉-šè na-DU
16) [e]n ^{d}nin-[ur]ta-ke$_4$ ḫúl-la-⌈a?⌉
17) lugal-mu k[è]š^{ki}-š[è na-DU]
18) ^{d}nin-⌈sún⌉-[z]i-gal-an-n[a ḫúl-la-a]
19) ^{d}šu[l-gi-r]e kèš$^{k[i]}$-šè na-DU]
20) ^{d}[nin-sú]n-zi-gal-an-n[a ḫúl-la-a]
21) lugal-⌈mu⌉ úri^{ki}-šè na-[DU]
22) en ^{d}[aš-i]m$_4$-babbar ḫ[úl-la-a]
23) ^{d}šul-gi-r[e úri^{ki}-šè na-DU]
24) en ^{d}aš-i[m$_4$-babbar ḫúl-la-a]
25) [lu]gal-mu é-bar$_6$-ba[r$_6$]-šè na-D[U]
26) su$_6$-[za-gîn] x x ḫúl-l[a-a]
27) ^{d}š[ul]-gi-re é-bar$_6$-bar$_6$-šè na-D[U]
28) su$_6$-za-gîn x x ḫúl-[la-a]
29) lugal-mu kul-ab$_4$$^{⌈ki⌉}$-šè ⌈na'DU⌉
30) ^{d}nin-eri$_{12}$(AB)-gal-k[e$_4$] ḫúl-la-a
31) ^{d}šul-gi-re [kul]-ab$_4$ki-šè na-DU
32) ^{d}nin-eri$_{12}$-gal-[ke$_4$] ḫúl-la-a
33) lugal-m[u ki-ZA.MÙŠ.U[NUG]^{ki}-šè na-DU
34) [. . .^{d}]inanna-ke$_4$ ḫúl-la-a
35) [^{d}šu]l-gi-re ki-ZA.MÙŠ. ⌈UNUG⌉^{ki}-šè na-DU
36) [. . . ^{d}inanna]-ke$_4$ ḫúl-la-a

figures in line two of the concluding uru section. Langdon, BE 31, no. 4 begins with an address to the goddess Ninlil. If BE 31 no. 4 contained one adab hymn we would expect a reference to Ninlil in line two of the concluding uru section. Since we do not find it we may conclude that this tablet was a Sammeltafel of two adab hymns, one to the goddess Ninlil in obverse column one and a second to Šulgi beginning at the bottom of obverse column one.

10 Langdon, BE 31, no. 4 obv. col. ii 1–10.

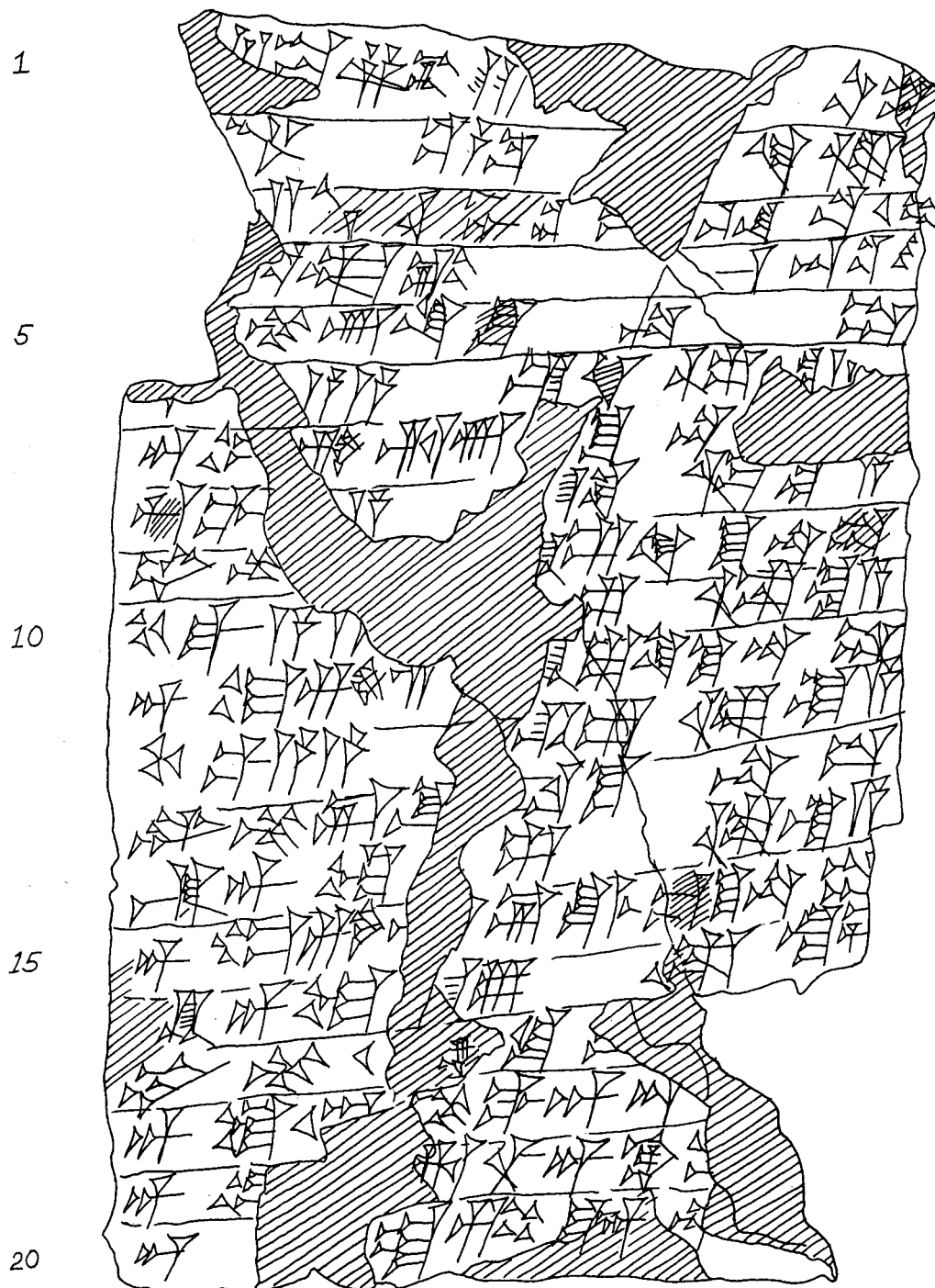11 Ibid. rev. col. i 1′–16′. Note the mention of é-kiš-nu-gál in line 10′.
12 Ibid. rev. col. ii 1′–4′.
13 Ibid. rev. col. ii 5′–8′. In line 5′ read kul-ab^{ki} following the collation of Kramer.
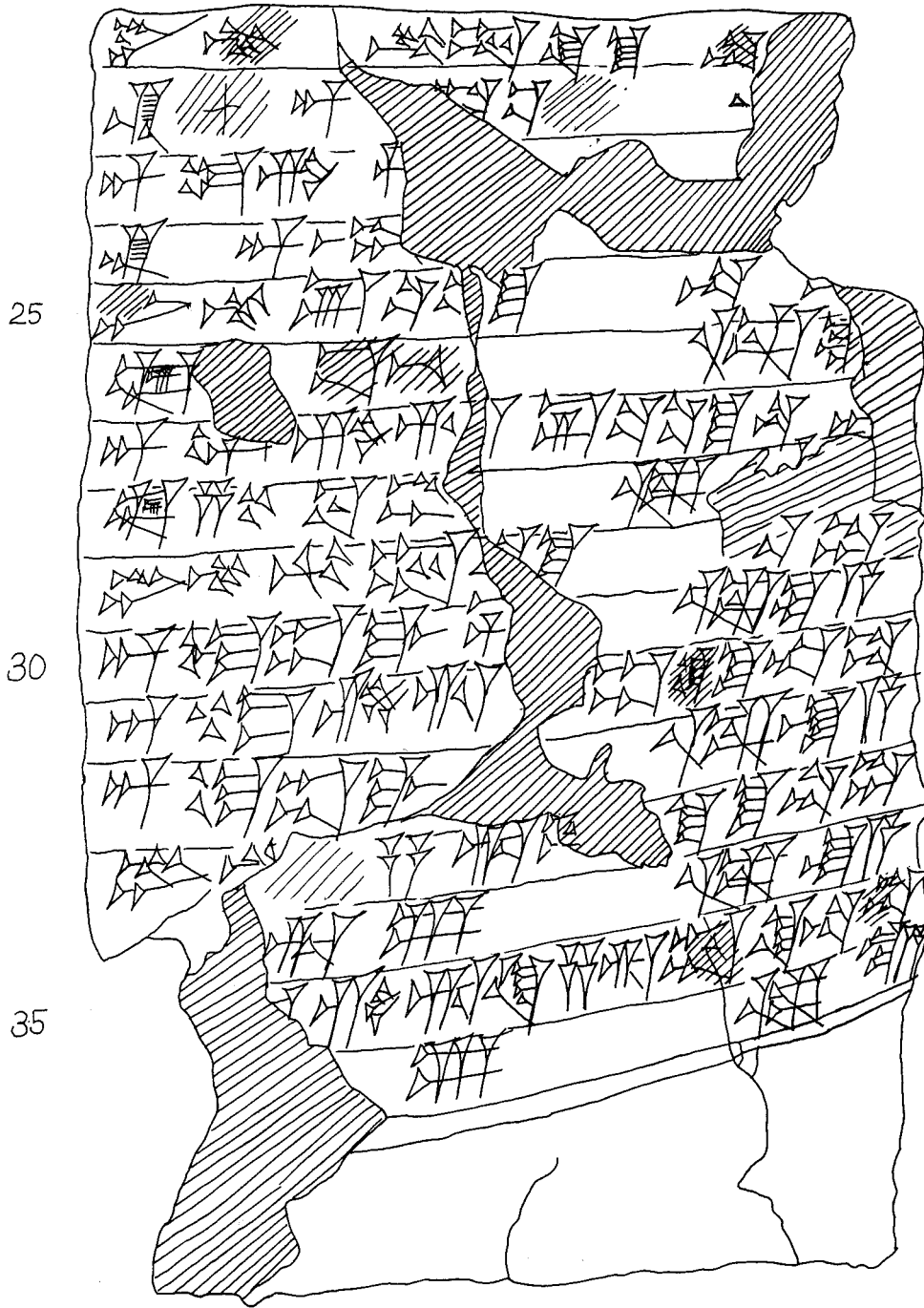14 Ibid. rev. col. ii 9′–12′.
15 The reading giš . . . tag 'to make an offering' (see Bauer, Wirtschaftstexte p. 413) follows the collation of Kramer.
16 See Sjöberg, Temple Hymns.

1) Pure from birth . . . going forth,
2) . . . in the land . . .
3) . . .
4) . . . word . . .
5) My king brought to Eridu,
6) O great prince, father Enki, rejoice!
7) Šulgi brought to Eridu,
8) O great prince, father Enki, rejoice!
9) My king brought to Nippur,
10) O great mountain, father Enlil, rejoice!

11) Šulgi brought to Nippur,
12) O great mountain, father Enlil, rejoice
13) My king brought to Ešumeša,
14) O lord Ninurta, rejoice!
15) Šulgi brought to Ešumeša,
16) O lord Ninurta, rejoice!
17) My king brought to Keš,
18) O Ninsunzigalanna, rejoice!
19) Šulgi brought to Keš,
20) O Ninsunzigalanna, rejoice!

21) My king brought to Ur,
22) O lord Ašimbabbar, rejoice!
23) Šulgi brought to Ur,
24) O lord Ašimbabbar, rejoice!
25) My king brought to Ebabbar,
26) O lapsis-lazuli beard . . . , rejoice!
27) Šulgi brought to Ebabbar,
28) O lapis-lazuli beard . . . , rejoice!
29) My king brought to Kullab,
30) O Ninerigal, rejoice!

31) Šulgi brought to Kullab,
32) O Ninerigal, rejoice!
33) My king brought to Zabala,
34) O Inanna, rejoice!
35) Šulgi brought to Zabala,
36) O Inanna, rejoice!

A Fragmentary Inscription of Adad-narari I

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The fragmentary inscription published here has an importance beyond what its modest size would suggest for it represents the first royal inscription of Adad-nārārī I (c. 1306–1274 B.C.) in which Babylonia (Karduniash) is mentioned. The stone fragment on which the text is inscribed is in the possession of a European collector who wishes to remain anonymous but who generously permitted its publication. The text was first brought to my attention by Professor W.G. Lambert.

The fragment contains the last few lines of Adad-nārārī's Standard Introduction (1'–5a' = Weidner, IAK XX, 1 = Grayson, ARI 1, LXXVI, 1:29–32) but the remainder of the text (5b'–19') is new and unique. It seems to combine descriptions both of building activity and military action, a highly unusual combination for a royal inscription. But the reference to Karduniash (11) is particularly noteworthy. That Adad-nārārī I waged war with Karduniash is known from other sources (see Grayson, Chronicles Appendix B sub Adad-nārārī I) but this is the first occurrence of the name in one of his royal inscriptions. The text from which this fragment comes must have been the king's official narration of that war. If this is so, then the apparent mention of the earlier king, Enlil-nārārī (7'), must be an allusion to his war with the same foe.

The buildings referred to are a wall (5b') and the ziggurat of Aššur (15'), which is reminiscent of another Adad-nārārī I text (Edzard, Sumer 20 [1964], pp. 49f. and pls. lf. = Grayson, ARI 1, LXXVI, 14) in which reconstruction of the wall of the Inner City, opposite the Aššur ziggurat, was described. However, in this fragment work on the ziggurat itself seems to be narrated, activity otherwise unattested for this king.
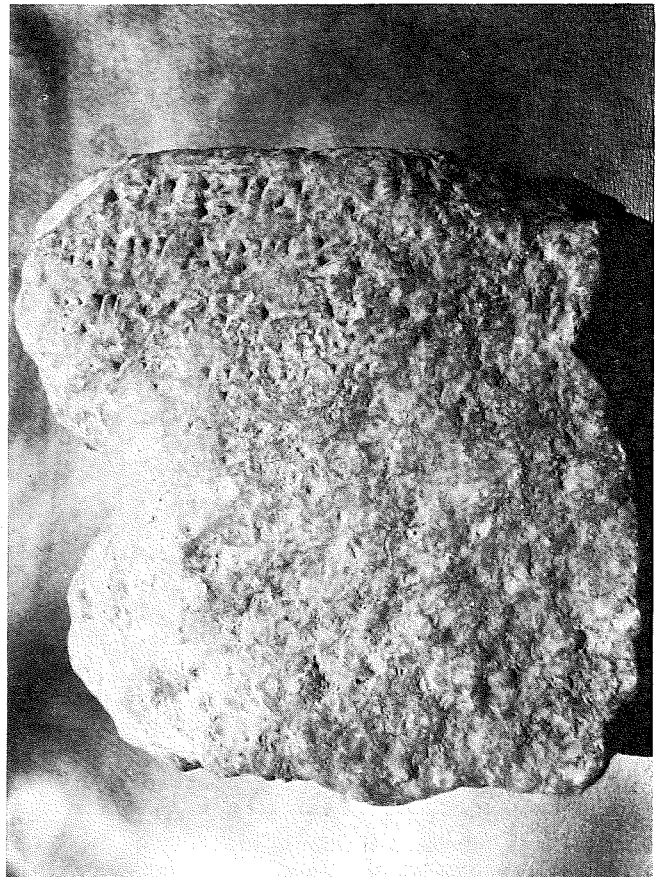
Lacuna
1') ˹i-na˺ [é-kur . . . . . .]
2') [šarru]-ti-šu a-na r[u-qa-te . . . . . .]
3') [mu-še]-ik-ni-iš KUR. [mu-uṣ-ri . . . . . .]
4') [KUR. šu-b]a-ri-i ra-pa[l-ti murappiš miṣrī u]
5') [ku-du-r]i e-nu-ma BÀD [. . . . . .]
6') [. . .] šá i-na maḫ-r[i . . . . . .]
7') [. . .] ma-ḫar enlil[BE]-nār[ārī(ERÍN.GAB?) . . . . . .]
8') [. . .] a(?) x ḫi i x [. . . . . .]
9') [ina kakkī dan]-˹nu(?)˺-te šá aš-šur E[N(?)-ia
       . . . . . .]
10') [. . . uš]-man-ni-ia it-ti x [. . . adkīma . . .]
11') [kurigalzu šar] KUR. kar-du-ni-aš i-n[a(?) kār-
       ištar(?) . . .]
12') [. . .] x-ti-x-ma am-da-' [. . . . . .]
(reverse)
13') [. . . . . .] ka-ra-ši šu-˹ú(?)˺ [. . . . . .]
14') [. . . . . .]x gaš-ru-tu ú-bi[l(?) . . . . . .]
15') [. . . ziqur]-ra-te šá aš-šur EN-ia A[N(?) . . . . . .]
16') [. . . . . .]x šá a-˹šar(?)˺-šá ˹ú(?)˺-[nekkir(?) . . . . . .]
17'–19') (traces)
Lacuna

Lacuna
1'–5a') [Adad-nārārī . . . . . . , descendant of Aššur-uballiṭ,
strong king, whose priesthood was outstanding] in [awesome
Ekur and the well-being of] his [sovereignty] was [estab-
lished] as far away [as the mountains], subduer of the land
[Muṣru, disperser of the hordes of the] extensive [land] of the
Šubaru, [extender of borders and] boundaries:

5b'–14') At that time the wall [. . . . . .] which previously
[. . . . . .] before Enlil-nār[ārī . . . . . .] . . . . . . [. . . . . with the]
mighty [weapons] of Ashur, [my] lord [. . . I mustured] my
troops with [. . . and fought against Kurigalzu, king] of
Karduniaš in [Kar-Ištar] . . . . . . [. . . . . .] that camp [. . . . . .]
mighty, I/he brought [. . . . . .]

15'f.) The ziggurat of Aššur my lord [. . . . . .] the location of
which [. . . had destroyed]
Lacuna

Commentary

9') cf. Weidner, AfO 5 (1928–29), p. 90:24–9.
11') cf. Grayson, Chronicles no. 21 i 25'
16') cf. Weidner, IAK XX, 6:40

Two British Museum Fragments, Possibly of a Royal Decree

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The inscription published here is preserved on two fragments of a stone amulet found near the Ištar Kadmuri temple at Nimrud by Hormuzd Rassam and now in the British Museum. Although the text is fragmentary and its content puzzling, it is clearly not a royal inscription, as one would expect on stone. The inscription is published courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. For their generous co-operation the authors wish to thank the museum's staff and in particular Dr Edmond Sollberger and Mr C.B.F. Walker.

Rm. 863 and 864 (copy below) are two non-joining fragments which seem certain to belong to a single limestone slab, inscribed on both faces. Rm. 863 is a piece from the lower part of the obverse and the top of the reverse, measuring ca. 31 × 7 cm; Rm. 864 must therefore come from the top of the obverse and the bottom of the reverse – it measures ca. 14 × 11 cm. Both fragments are about 6.8–7.5 cm in thickness, swelling towards the centre. Unfortunately there is no way of telling how much of the slab is missing between the two pieces, but it is clear from the curvature of the surface and from the text itself that little is missing from the right edge of Rm. 863; the estimated position of the original edge is indicated on the copy.

On the top edge of the slab (i.e. on Rm. 864), there remains a trace of a projection, which must have resembled those familiar from stone amulets designed for suspension (cf. Reiner, JNES 19 [1960], pp. 148–55), as well as from a few other clay items, e.g. the Khorsabad King List (Gelb, JNES 13 [1954], pp. 209–30 and pls. XIV–XV) and the Nimrud hemerology (Hulin, Iraq 21 [1959], pp. 42–53 and pls. XIV–XV). There is no sign of a perforation through the projection, however.

The text is written in lapidary script (e.g. the form of *lu*, cf. Grayson, Iranica Antiqua 11 [1976], p. 32), as one would expect, and in Assyrian dialect (*mugirru*, *ma-a*, *ibattuqu*, *lu tuḫalliq*, and subjunctive in -*ni*), albeit with the non-colloquial *šuatu*. Although it is obviously of Neo-Assyrian date, we cannot define any criteria which would enable us to date it more precisely.

Obverse Rm. 864

1) [...   ...] PA X [...   ]
2) [...   ...]�'*a*'-*na* ᵐᵈŠEŠ.GAL-A-[x (x x)]-x-A
3) [...   ... L]Ú.X.DU *lu-ú* LÚ.A.X
4) [...   ...]*lu-ú* DUMU.MEŠ
5) [...   ...]*lu-ú* LÚ.NAGAR *mu-gir-ri*
6) [...   ... L]Ú.ḪAL *lu* LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ *lu* LÚ.A.ᵣZUˀ
7) [...   ...]*lu* LÚ.SIMUG AN.BAR *lu* LÚ.[x x]
Lacuna

Obverse Rm. 863

1′) *lu* GAL LÚ.A.ᵣZU *lu* GAL LÚˀ.NAR *lu* [x x x x]
2′) *šá* UGU LÚ.*um-ma-ni* KUR.*aš-šur-a-a* LÚ.*e-r*[*ib-te*]
3′) LÚ.*a-lik il-ki ṭé-e-mi-šu-nu a-n*[*a* x x x]
4′) *ú-ta-ru-ni ma-a* LÚ.*um-ma-nu šá qa-*[x x x x x]
5′) ᵣ◆ᵀMAŠ-*ez-zi-iš lik-kil-mu-šú* ᵈIŠKUR[x x x x x]

Reverse Rm. 863

6′) [*in*]*a bir-qi-šú liš-ši-šú* ᵈNIN-É.GAL *kib-s*[*i-šu u*]
7′) *ta-lak-tu-šu* TA* É(*).GAL *lu tu-ḫal-li-iq*[-*šu*ˀ (x x)]
8′) EME-*šú i-bat-tu-qu a-na* EGIR UD-*me a-na* UD *ṣa-a-*[*ti /e*]
9′) *ina* ŠÀ LÚ.*um-ma-ni* KUR.*aš-šur-a-a* LÚ.*e-rib-te* LÚ.*a-*[...]
10′) *šu-a-tu* x [x x x x x]x-*pa-ra pa-nu-šu ni-*[x]
Lacuna

Reverse Rm. 864

1″) [   ]*lu ni* [
2″) [   ]EN(?) ᵣLÚˀGAR *šú*(?)[
(remainder uninscribed)

1–7) ....] to Nergal-aplu-[......] ... . whether] a ... -man, or a scribe(?), [or ......] or sons of [..., or ......] or a chariot-carpenter, [or ......], or a diviner, or an omen-reader, or a doctor, [or ......,] or an iron-smith, or a [......]
    Lacuna
1′–10′) or the chief doctor, or the chief temple-singer, or [......], who makes a report about an Assyrian master-craftsman, a member of the temple personnel(?), who performs *ilku*-service, saying: 'The master-craftsman who ... [......]' – may [Ashur and] Ninurta look angrily upon him, may Adad take away [his sight(?)] from him with his thunderbolt, may Belat-Ekalli destroy his paths and ways from the palace [(...)]. They shall cut out his tongue for eternity and forever, and ... that Assyrian master-craftsman, a member of the temple-personnel(?), ... Lacuna
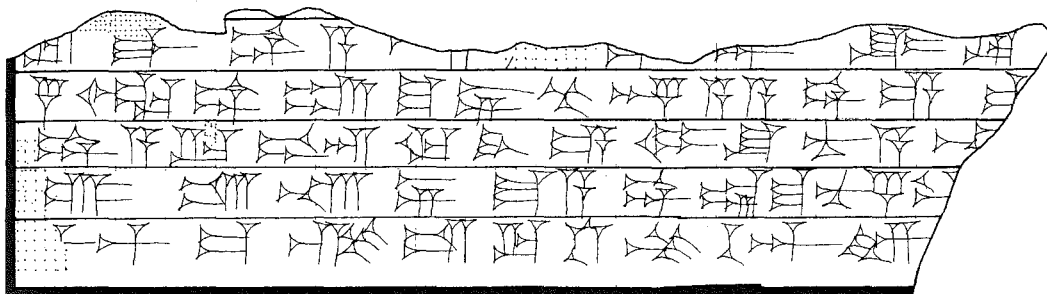
Commentary

Rm. 864

1) It would be tempting to read UGULA-*l*[*um*], but the traces do not entirely support the idea.
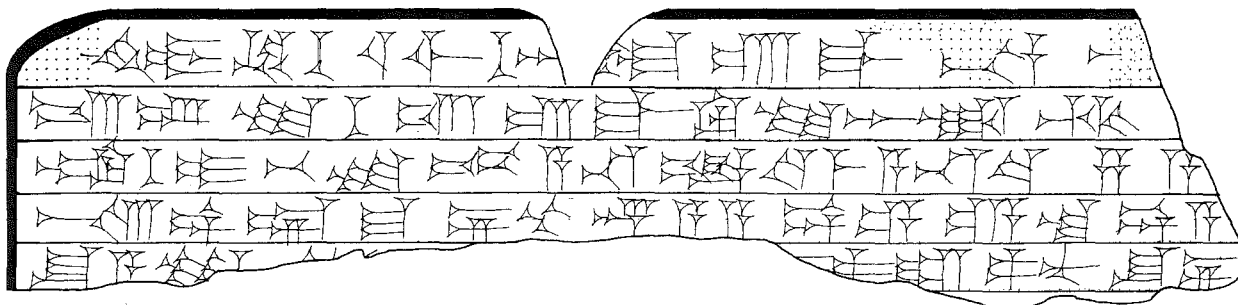
3) L]Ú.X.DU: The x is a problem. It lacks an upper horizontal needed for LAGAB. Postgate believes there may have been horizontals before it, now eroded, in which case one might read LÚ.SAR.DU (i.e. KEŠDA.DU),
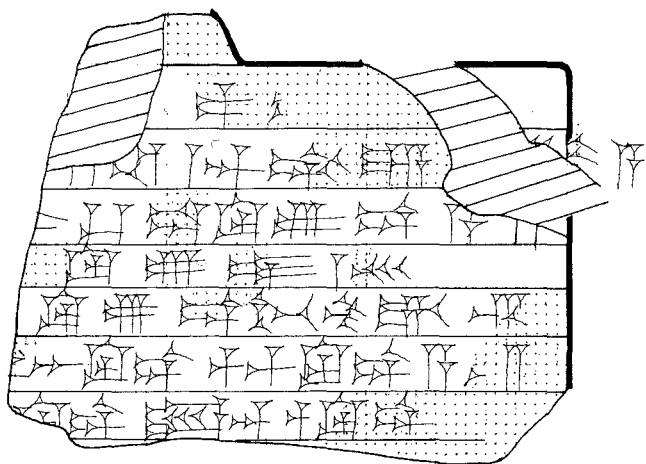
Rm. 863
Obverse

Rm. 863
Reverse
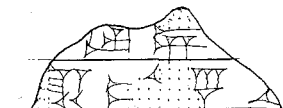
estimated
position
of right
edge

estimated
position
of right
edge

Rm. 864
Obverse

Rm. 864
Reverse

Remainder uninscribed

conceivably a writing for *rakāsu*, e.g. *raksu*. But Grayson believes there is little evidence of anything missing.

4) There may be traces of a sign missing at the end of the line ('ni' or 'LUGAL'?).

Rm. 863

2') *ummânu* in Neo-Assyrian generally means a scribe, but it could still keep the meaning of craftsman; it is not clear which is right here. We translate as a singular, despite -*šunu* in l. 3' and *ina libbi* in l. 9' because the plural should be *ummânāte*. Until we known the precise meaning of *ummânu*, we cannot translate *Aššurāyu* precisely, since 'an Assyrian scribe' can mean a scribe who writes in cuneiform rather than Aramaic. LÚ.*e-rib-te* (restored after l. 9') is apparently unknown. Our translation assumes a contraction of *ērib-bīte* 'enterer of the temple,' but this cannot be considered certain. It is equally uncertain whether the three designations (*ummânu*, *ēribte*, and *ālik-ilki*) are meant to apply to a single individual or not: we assume they are, because of the simple mention of *ummânu* in l. 4'.

3') Although the person making the report should certainly be singular, as appears clearly from ll. 5'–8', we prefer to take the -*šunu* here as referring to those officials or professionals listed above as possibly making the report. Otherwise the plural must be the recipient of the report, presumably named in the break at the end of l. 3'.

4') The complete content of the report which is envisaged, and against which the entire inscription seems to have been composed, has to have been compressed into the end of l. 4', and it is unfortunate that we cannot convincingly restore the end of the line. A sole, very tentative, suggestion: *ummânu ša qanni ēkalli šū* 'He is a craftsman from the palace quarter,' or *ša qa-[at . . . . . .*?

5') *likkilmûšu* is plural and therefore a DN must be restored at the end of 4'.

7') É(*).GAL: the scribe has mistakenly LÍL.GAL.

9') Without the verb in this sentence, it is hard to suggest the precise meaning of *ina libbi*. The easiest translation is 'from among,' but this is difficult because it seems to be a singular which follows; otherwise *ina libbi* tends to mean 'by means of' – which is conceivable, but slightly odd. At the end one expects ˡᵘ*a-[lik-ilki]* but there is not enough room unless it was written on the edge.

Conclusion

The text is now so mutilated that it is impossible to reconstruct its function with any confidence. However, we suggest the following. A high authority, quite likely the king, guarantees to Nergal-aplu- . . . (l. 2) that officials and employees of the palace (l. 7') will not be allowed to interfere in his establishment by claiming that his employees are in fact due to work for the palace. These employees are Assyrians, craftsmen, performing *ilku* services, and, if we are right, classed as persons entitled to 'enter the temple.' It is therefore likely that Nergal-aplu- . . . was a temple official, probably *šangû*, and dare we suggest that he was priest of the Ištar Kadmuri Temple? As for the presence of craftsmen performing *ilku* services for a temple, the only clear instance seems to be Johns, ADD 1, no. 640 (cf. Postgate, Taxation p. 78, l. 32 and p. 89 for comment). Nevertheless, it is entirely plausible that a king could make out a document of this kind protecting a temple from possible claims on it by the secular authorities, and this seems the most probable reconstruction at present. Thus it appears to be a kind of royal decree. Two other Assyrian royal decrees on stone are known: one of Adad-narari III published by Thompson, AAA 20 (1933), pp. 113–15 and pls. XCVIII–C, and Reade and Walker, AfO 28 (1981–2), pp. 117f. (cf. Postgate, Royal Grants pp. 115–17, and Orientalia n.s. 42, p. 444); the other known only from a fragment published by Dalley, Iraq 28 (1976), pp. 107–11.

Antiquities from Ashur:
A Brief Description of Their Fate with Special Reference to the Royal Inscriptions *

A . K I R K   G R A Y S O N
University of Toronto

It is a proverb among specialists in Ancient Mesopotamia that some of the most significant discoveries are made while excavating in museums rather than at ancient tells. Having carried out such excavation for some years I thought it would be useful to present a brief description of what information has come my way on the antiquities from the city of Ashur. I owe a great debt to the authorities and staff of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri in Istanbul, the Vorderasiatisches Museum in East Berlin, and the British Museum in London without whose generous assistance and co-operation this article could not have been written.[1]

There have been two archaeological expeditions to Ashur, the first conducted by the Germans at the beginning of this century and the second, which is still in progress, by the Iraqis. It is the earlier expedition and the antiquities discovered then that are of concern here.

In late Ottoman times the tell called Qalat Sherqat, the site of ancient Ashur, was the personal property of the reigning sultan, Abdul Hamid II, who presented the ancient mound as a gift to Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. The presentation was made so that the German authorities could turn the site over to archaeologists. Walter Andrae, sponsored by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, was commissioned to carry out the excavations there and did so from c. 1905 to 1914. The work of the expedition was then interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War, and the long years of strife followed by the socio-economic problems in Germany in the 1920s meant the end of the whole project.

Most of the discovered objects removed from the site were divided into two large lots, one becoming the property of the Sublime Porte and being shipped to Istanbul while the other became the property of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and was shipped to Berlin. Those objects which safely reached their destination in Istanbul may now be viewed and studied in the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri. Those objects which safely reached Berlin were housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum located in what is now East Berlin. More will be said about these collections in a moment. But first an unfortunate incident must be described in regard to the group shipped to Berlin.

Not all the shipments reached their destinations intact for with the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 German vessels were fair game for the British Royal Navy, and one victim was the freighter Cheruskia, out of Hamburg. This ship was carrying in its hold a large quantity of objects from Ashur which had been loaded in Basra and were destined for Berlin. After clearing the Straits of Gibraltar the captain, threatened by attack, sought refuge in the port of Lisbon, where to the owner's dismay, the vessel lingered for an entire year. At that point Portugal entered the war on the allied side and the Cheruskia's cargo, including the finds from Ashur, was immediately seized as war booty. The crates from Ashur were unloaded and eventually the Portuguese conceived the idea of creating a Museo Assyriaco with the contents. All of the boxes were hastily examined but only a few were actually unpacked, the contents being studied by two French Assyriologists present at the time, Thureau-Dangin and Contenau. Those objects that were unpacked were put on display in a small room in the University of Porto, where the remained for several years.

At the end of the First World War Andrae, the director of the Ashur excavation, began a prolonged series of tedious negotiations with the relevant German and Portuguese authorities which ultimately led to the repacking of the Ashur objects and their shipment to the museum in Berlin in 1926, twelve years after they had left Basra.[2] The ill-fated objects which finally arrived in Berlin by way of Portugal had suffered from the

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excessive handling and, in addition, the careful system followed in the original packing of the crates had been disorganized.

Not all of the antiquities discovered at Ashur reached Berlin or Istanbul, however, for a number emerged in various cities around the world over a long stretch of time. I am speaking here of objects excavated by the archaeologists and assigned excavation numbers; these are in addition to objects that had been excavated earlier by Sir Austen Henry Layard and others and smuggled antiquities that appeared on the market before and even during the German excavations. Many items from Ashur with Ashur excavation numbers were purchased by museums from private dealers some years before the expedition's close in 1914. After 1914 even more antiquities with Ashur numbers appeared on the market or, in isolated cases, in the possession of British military personnel who had been stationed in Iraq during the First World War. A number of museums, notably the British Museum and the Louvre, acquired objects from Ashur by means of purchase or donation from such sources.[3]

The task of locating all the antiquities discovered at Ashur has not yet been completed. It is known for a fact that many objects, some of great historical and cultural worth are missing. Photographs were taken of all finds at Ashur as they were unearthed, and in the early years a number of inscriptions were published on the basis of excavation photographs alone. Today some of the texts so published, such as the famous Weidner Chronicle, do not seem to be in Berlin, Istanbul, or any other public collection. Some of these missing items undoubtedly perished because of mishandling before they came into the care of responsible museum authorities. This was the fate of some of the objects from the hold of the freighter Cheruskia, which were handled several times as described earlier. The Berlin museum experienced damage and loss during the Second World War and its Ashur collection, like its other collections, suffered from this. As an illustration of the looting that took place during this time Professor H.G. Güterbock in a private communication told me of having seen a gold tablet of Tukulti-Ninurta I, which was in the Berlin Museum before the war (Ass 23553a = VAAss 994 = Schroeder, KAH 2, 52 = Grayson, ARI 1, LXXVIII, 11), in the hands of a dealer in New York in 1954. The Ashur collection that went to Istanbul was neglected for many years, the tablets simply being stacked one on top

of the other so that many crumbled to pieces before responsible curators took charge of them.[4]

The lost group of antiquities from Ashur undoubtedly extends beyond those objects known from excavation photographs to be missing, however. From the facts already outlined it is obvious that many items were removed illicitly from the site both during the excavations and during the hostilities in Iraq in 1914–18. There is good reason to believe that many such antiquities from Ashur still lie unnoticed in public institutions or private hands.

But enough has been said about the wanderings of the objects and it is time to narrate briefly the ill-fated attempts to publish the royal inscriptions since this is the chief concern of the RIM Project. At the time of the excavations, not only were photographs taken of all objects but also copies, casts, and squeezes were made of the inscriptions. As the texts appeared Andrae described them in his frequent reports from the site, the reports appearing in the Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, volumes 21 (1904) to 54 (1914). But Andrae was primarily an architect, not a philologist, so that the descriptions of the inscriptions in his reports are of very limited value to the text editor. Fortunately Andrae was able to consult Delitzsch from time to time in Germany, and Delitzsch visited the expedition in the summer of 1905. It was intended that all the royal inscriptions should be presented in full in one publication and the first volume of this work, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur: historischen Inhalts, appeared in 1911. Considering that the excavations had only begun a few years previously and were actually still in progress, this was a respectably early date of publication. However, this initial effort had suffered problems and delays as described by Delitzsch in the preface.

The work of preparing the texts had been undertaken by Delitzsch with the assistance of Messerschmidt. They prepared their copies of the cuneiform texts on the basis of the copies, casts, squeezes, and photographs made by Andrae in the field and on the basis of copies and collations done by Delitzsch during his stay at Ashur in the summer of 1905. But the fact that the originals were divided between two locations, Berlin and Istanbul, proved to be a serious obstacle. Messerschmidt was prevented from doing the necessary collations of the originals in Istanbul by a fatal illness, and his uncorrected copies were published posthumously by Delitzsch as KAH 1.

3 See excursus for details of Ashur texts in the British Museum.
4 Regarding the care and treatment of the Ashur collection in Istanbul see: Kraus, 'Die Istanbuler Tontafelsammlung' JCS 1 (1947), pp. 93–119; Çiğ and Kizilyay, 'Studies on the Assur Collection,' Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yilliği 11/12 (1964), pp. 185–7, and 'Die Arbeiten an den Keilschriftlichen Urkunden im archäologischen Museum zu Istanbul,' Unger Memorial pp. 261–9;

Çiğ, 'Neuere Studien über die keilschriftlichen Dokumente an der Tontafelsammlung des archäologischen Museums zu Istanbul,' Otten Jubilee pp. 47–51, and 'Nerere Arbeiten an der Tontafelsammlung des archäologischen Museums zu Istanbul,' Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yilliği 15/16 (1969), pp. 217–20. Further bibliography is listed by Çiğ in Otten Jubilee p. 47, n. 1.

Only one further volume in this series, Schroeder KAH 2, appeared and that was eleven years later (1922). The publication of this tome had been delayed by the First World War and the ensuing politico-economic problems in post-war Germany. By this time the original plan to publish all the royal inscriptions in full had been abandoned, 'wegen der Ungunst der Zeit' as Weber stated in the preface, and only texts of 'Bedeutung' were included. The copies were prepared by Schroeder on the basis of the originals in the case of those objects in Berlin but, in the case of objects that were to be found elsewhere, on the basis of photographs or preliminary copies by others, notably Messerschmidt and Andrae. This was not a satisfactory basis for preparing definitive copies but even worse happened. Before his work was done Schroeder left the service of the Prussian Academy so he was unable to complete his collations of even the Berlin texts before the publication of his copies in KAH 2. Thus the celebrated volumes of royal inscriptions from Ashur, KAH 1 and 2, are neither complete in scope nor reliable in detail, the serious deficiencies being not the fault of the individual scholars but of the times and circumstances in which they lived.

No further attempt was made to publish complete copies of the royal inscriptions from Ashur but in the mid-1920s Weidner, in collaboration with Böhl and Meissner, began a series (Altorientalische Bibliothek) which was to publish editions of all cuneiform texts. The one volume of this series that appeared, Die Inschriften der Altassyrischen Könige (Leipzig, 1926; edited by Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner), contained the earliest Assyrian royal inscriptions (down to Shalmaneser I) then known. Unpublished texts from Ashur were included on the basis of copies prepared by Weidner from excavation photographs, and previously published texts were collated by Weidner, as far as possible, with photographs and casts. Even this book, as useful as it is, has serious drawbacks. It is incomplete and out-of-date, and for the texts published no copies were presented. Moreover none of the originals in Istanbul was examined, with the result that there are serious misunderstandings and misreadings.

Weidner published the Ashur inscriptions of some later reigns in a number of articles in Archiv für Orientforschung and in his monograph Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger (Graz, 1959). By 1959 he could collate the originals in neither Istanbul nor Berlin and he worked exclusively with his own notes, the excavation photographs, and some copies by Messerschmidt and Köcher. During this same period a number of royal inscriptions were published in one form or another in the excavation reports of the Ashur expedition, the most important being Andrae's Die Festungswerke von Assur (Leipzig, 1913).

Before concluding this history of the attempts to publish the royal inscriptions of Ashur one fact must be emphasized. The scholars whose names are connected with this ill-fated enterprise were highly competent and dedicated Assyriologists who did the best they could

under extremely unfavourable circumstances. It was not their fault that only the longest or most interesting texts were published and that even these were often presented without consulting the originals, thus leading to misreadings and misunderstandings. These faults are particularly evident in the texts now stored in Istanbul, the various editors never having examined these in the original.

A catalogue of the inscribed objects from Ashur is being prepared by the RIM Project as part of a programme for cataloguing all royal inscriptions. The basic research is now being done by Hannes Galter, and the computer program is being prepared by Louis Levine. We would welcome any pertinent information from institutional authorities or individuals.

Excursus: Ashur texts in the British Museum

In 1911 the British Museum purchased a group of antiquities from J.E. Gejou of Paris (accession date 1911-4-8). Most of the inscriptions were published in King, CT 32 and 33. The tablets from Ashur are (for details of registration and publication see Walker, CT Index p. 36): BM 103387, 103388, 103391, 103391A, 103392, 103392A, 103393, 103393A, 103394, 103394A, 103395, 103396, 103445. An unpublished tablet, BM 103385 (1911-4-8), 75), also belongs to this group and joins VAT 13651 (LKA 107) and A 3445, the latter purchased for the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, by J.A. Breasted in 1919–20 in Baghdad (information courtesy I. Finkel).

In 1912 Thureau-Dangin published the tablet in the Louvre inscribed with Sargon's letter to Ashur (TCL 3). This tablet came from Ashur – see Weidner, AfO 12 (1937–9), pp. 144–8.

In 1914 a group of objects was purchased by the British Museum from A. Amor and this contained the following objects from Ashur:

1914-4-7, 22	= BM 108856	= Walker, CBI no. 189
—— 25	= BM 108859	= Smith, CT 37, pls. 24–32
—— 26	= BM 108860	= Smith, CT 37, pls. 24–32
—— 27	= BM 108861	= Smith, CT 37, pls. 24–32
—— 28	= BM 108862	= Leeper, CT 35, pls. 1–8

There is one BM entry from Ashur for 1919:

1919-11-10, 1 = BM 114263 = Gadd, CT 36, pls. 8–12; cf. Weidner, Tn. p. ix, no. 12 and Grayson, ARI 1, LXXVIII, 12.

In 1920 two bricks (of Adad-nārārī I) from Ashur were purchased from Colonel R.M. Baron by the British Museum. One of these bricks was not actually given a registration number until 1979:

1920-5-20, 1 = BM 114402
1979-12-20, 375 = BM 115035
See Grayson, ARI 1, LXXVI, 29; Walker, CBI no. 124; BM Guide 1922, p. 65, nos. 174 and 175.

The British Museum purchased another large group from Ashur in 1922 (accession date 1922-8-12). The Ashur objects in this group are:

BM 115687 = Ass 10557 = Grayson, ARI 1, LXXVI, 3
BM 115688 = Ass 6366 = Grayson, ARI 1, §§173–7
BM 115689 = Ass 16850 = Grayson, ARI 1, XXXIII, 7
BM 115690 = Ass 19977 = Grayson, ARI 1, XXXII, 1
BM 115691 = Ass 18601 = Grayson, ARI 1, LXXVII, 17
BM 115693 = Ass 18438 = Grayson, ARI 2, LXXXVII, 4 (Schroeder, KAH 2, 66; cf. BM Guide 1922, p. 66)
BM 115695 = Ass 19820 = Grayson, ARI 1, LXXI, 1
BM 115696 = Ass 20488 = Grayson, ARI 1, XXXII, 2
BM 115697 = Ass 13467 = Walker, CBI no. 189
BM 115702 = Ass 19521 = about two dozen potsherds have this number but only one has the trace of an inscription: [. . .] *na-din* [. . .]
BM 115703 = Ass 5286 = Inscribed door socket of Esarhaddon, duplicate of Nassouhi, MAOG III/1–2, pp. 19ff. (cf. Borger, Asarh. pp. 9f. §9)
BM 115705 = Ass 7433 = Grayson, ARI 2, C, 7; Walker, CBI no. 142
BM 115706 = Ass 7434 = Grayson, ARI 2, C, 7; Walker, CBI no. 142
BM 115708 = Ass 7408 cf. Grayson, ARI 2, C, 7; Walker, CBI no. 142
BM 116399 = Ass 9464 = Andrae, Festungswerke p. 7 and pl. C11; Schramm, EAK 2, p. 94

BM 120122 ('purchased from Mocatta') is a horse-training text similar to those published by Ebeling, Wagenpferde (text identified by D.S. Kennedy, June 1981) and therefore must have come from Ashur.

The 1922 lot also includes over a hundred items from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. There is an inscribed brick from Ashur in the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery (Walker, CBI no. 123). Another inscribed brick, 'found at Ashur by Lt. Col. P. Weir in 1918,' is now in the Ashmolean Museum (Walker, CBI no. 128).

The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia and the Computer

L . D . L E V I N E
Royal Ontario Museum

According to the original proposal for the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project submitted to the University of Toronto and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Project has three objectives:

1. To locate, edit and publish every Royal Inscription of Mesopotamia;
2. To enter all of this data into a computer; and
3. To establish the methodology in Assyriology for the publication of standard text editions.

Given the importance and scope of the project, I felt it would be useful to report on the ways in which we are integrating the use of the computer with the objectives of the project. Since my responsibility involves issues surrounding the computerization of the data and the transferring of this into some sort of manuscript suitable for publication, I will confine my remarks to issues that touch on these subjects.

From the point of view of the computer consultant, there were a number of objectives in designing the system for the RIM Project. Each of these objectives was an attempt to answer some operational problem that could be predicted in the production of the final product. Thus, one of the objectives of computerization, perhaps the primary one, was to reduce to an absolute minimum the number of times data had to be typed, for each time that the same material was retyped, there was an opportunity for the introduction of new errors into the final product. A second objective was to use the machine wherever possible to carry out tasks that were mechanical, repetitive, and basically mind-numbing, freeing the researcher for more productive pursuits. Finally, I hoped to be able to use the data that we had 'captured,' as the jargon has it, for purposes other than simple publication. These included the production of word lists, concordances, scores, and the like for research into the royal inscriptions.

Let me turn now to an actual description of the process. For this, I have chosen an example that is neither the most complex nor the simplest that we expect to encounter in the project. I should point out, however, that the procedure is the same for the simple and complex examples, which is perhaps a statement in its favour.

The editor responsible for one of the three major subject areas – Early Periods, Babylonia, or Assyria – contracts with an Assyriologist to be responsible for a group of texts. This 'author,' with the assistance of the research staff of the project, gathers all bibliographic material related to this group of texts, and assigns each text a number. For the purposes of the project, a text has been defined as 'an inscription which existed in antiquity and which may be represented in a number of exemplars which are more or less duplicates.' 'The term exemplar refers to a single actual inscription found on one object, be it clay tablet, stone mace head, etc.' (Editorial Manual, p. 3). For each text, the number of exemplars known must be ascertained. All of this work is preliminary to any contact with the computer.

At this point, the staff of the RIM Project enter one copy of each text into the computer. If a published edition of this text exists, it can be used as the manuscript for entry. Any inconsistencies with RIM conventions can be ignored at this point, as they can later be changed with what are called a set of universal commands, such as 'change all šarru to LUGAL.' If no published edition exists, the 'author' must prepare one for entry into the computer. THIS IS THE ONLY TIME THAT THE TEXT WILL BE ENTERED INTO THE COMPUTER. From this point onward, up to and including the production of the camera-ready copy of the final publication, each time the text is accessed, only corrections will be made. This procedure meets the primary objective of computerization, and will, I hope, ensure a high degree of accuracy in the final product.

A print-out of this text is then checked by the author or one of the research assistants for errors in typing, consistency in use of conventions, and the like, and these changes are made to the original file. Then each line of the text is copied by the computer a given number of times. This number is specified by the 'author,' and corresponds to the number of exemplars plus a certain margin for still unidentified exemplars. The expanded file is then saved as the 'master file' of the text, and on it each line is identified by the line number and exemplar number. A print-out is made of this material, with each page identified by king and text number, and is sent to the 'author,' who begins to collate the exemplars, entering all variants onto the print-out. As can be seen, this process saves the researcher rewriting the same text time and again, and provides him with a working manuscript from the very start of his task.

When the variants have been noted, the print-out is returned to the project office, and the 'corrections' are entered into the master file. This file now constitutes a

score of all the exemplars of the particular text, and forms the basic record for all further work. A clean print-out is now produced and checked against the original, and the author chooses the exemplar that will serve as his main text. He then prepares his list of variants, working from the score that has been produced. At the present time, this work has to be done by hand, but I hope eventually to produce programs that will do it automatically by comparing the exemplars against the main text.

The variants are treated in two groups. The first is non-orthographic variants, which will be included as an apparatus beneath each text in the published version. The second group consists of orthographic variants, which will be listed at the end of the volume. This decision was taken because it was felt that the non-orthographic variants are potentially more significant to a broad audience, and their inclusion with the orthographic variants, of which there are far more, would obscure their importance. Furthermore, separating out the two sets of variants poses much less of a typographic problem, and including the orthographic variants at the end of the volume will produce a cleaner page format and reduce the cost of publication.

The 'author' also prepares a translation of each text and commentary and notes as needed. These too are entered into the computer, print-outs made and checked, and corrections entered.

When all of this material is prepared, it is possible to move to the printer's proof stage. Computer programs that we are now preparing will automatically transform the material into the proper printed page format, which can be checked on a regular lineprinter for accuracy. Once this checking is completed, the files are output on a photocompositor, which is linked to the computer and which produces camera-ready copy. These are the same files that were entered at the beginning of the process, and adjusted at the various stages of editing and proofreading. The output of the photocompositor is then sent to the printer for printing, binding, and distribution.

A few final remarks. All of the master files that the project generates, as well as the files that contain the main exemplar, will be permanently stored in computer readable form by the project. This will allow the production of hard copy print-outs of the scores for each text, which may well be produced as microfiche and included in the publication. The machine readable data will also allow the preparation of concordances and word lists. This has not yet been done for any of our material, but is one of the tasks to which we shall turn in the not too distant future. Finally, having this corpus of texts in computer readable form will allow other scholars who are interested in the royal inscriptions access to a large and important data base, the manipulation of which is limited only by our imagination.

Clay Tablets in the Collection of
the National Postal Museum, Ottawa

CHERYL DAWN MELTZER
Claremont Graduate School

Among the small collections of clay tablets in Canada are four tablets located in the National Postal Museum, Ottawa. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor A.K. Grayson of the University of Toronto for bringing these tablets to my attention, and to Mr James Brennan of the National Postal Museum for permission to publish them. I also wish to thank Professor R.F.G. Sweet of the University of Toronto for assistance in difficult readings in the Ur-III case-tablet, and Mr Alan Hollett, Technician, Egyptian Department, Royal Ontario Museum, for his photographic expertise.

The four tablets were acquired at various times through purchase from dealers. The first, a beautifully preserved Old Assyrian letter, was published in 1930 by Julius Lewy in Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn, Berlin, no. 18. Two of the tablets, not previously published, deserve mention, but until they are properly cleaned and conserved it will be impossible to read the texts for accurate copying. The first is an undated Ur-III or early Old Babylonian list of animals, both domesticated and non-domesticated. The text is in about ten sections, each consisting of two or three lines giving various numbers of particular animals and one line giving only the total number of animals in the preceding lines. The second tablet is a Neo-Babylonian debt receipt dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

The fourth tablet in the collection is a well-preserved Ur-III receipt, dated in the fourth year of Amar-Sîn. The case measures approximately 5.5 × 4.5 × 2.5 cm, and the tablet 3.9 × 3.4 × 1.5 cm. Both are a light pinkish buff in colour. When the tablet came into my hands it was enclosed in a case, of which only a small fragment of one corner was broken away. Permission was obtained from the National Postal Museum to remove the case, and this was carried out with the greatly appreciated assistance of Professors Sweet and Grayson of the University of Toronto. Mr Alan Hollett of the Royal Ontario Museum photographed each step of this exciting process, as the little clay document was removed from its envelope for the first time in over four thousand years. The envelope, which broke away in fairly large pieces, was then partially reassembled for museum display.

The text is a receipt for offering-lambs from the city of Uruk, dated in the fourth regnal year of the king Amar-Sîn (c. 2043 B.C.; Reallexikon der Assyriologie, sub 'Datenlisten'). The case is inscribed with an exact duplicate of the tablet contents, but the surface has been considerably smoothed and distorted by sealings. The tablet itself had a small amount of salt encrustation; light brushing was sufficient to render the tablet clearly legible. The scene on the seal is a standard presentation motif, and is reproduced here only in photograph. The brief inscription, which is broken every time it occurs, reads:

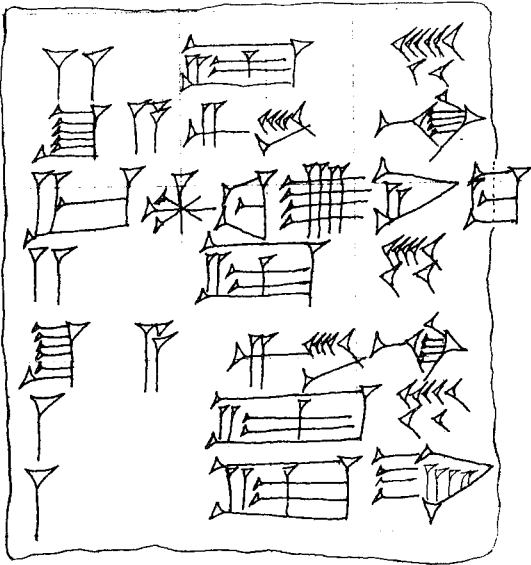|			
[a]mar-ᵈEN.ZU	lugal dingir	[. . .]	
[luga]l kala-ga	x	x	[. . .]
[lugal šE]š-AB	x x [	. . .	]
[k]i-ma	x	x x	

Amar-Sîn, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of . . .

The last two lines of the right-hand side presumably contained the name of the owner of the seal, but unfortunately are broken or too faint to read whenever they appear. The text of the tablet (and case) is as follows:

Tablet

Obverse

Reverse
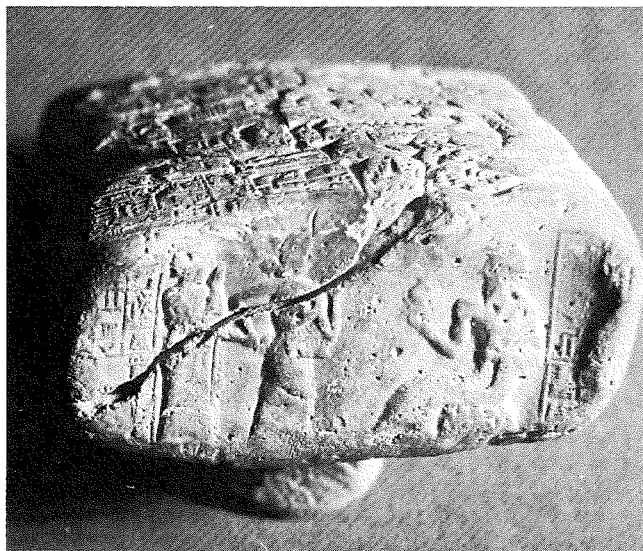
Bottom edge

1) 2 síla-niga
2) šu-a-gi-na
3) ur-⁴ba-ú ì-díb
4) 2 síla-niga
5) šu-a-gi-na
6) 1 síla-niga
7) 1 síla-ga
8) kú-dè-šè
9) nì-diri
10) a-a-kal-la ì-díb
11) sá-dug₄-lugal
12) šà tum-ma-al
13) ki en-dingir-mu-ta
14) ba-zi
15) iti ezen-maḫ ì-díb
16) mu en-maḫ-gal-an-na
17) en dingir-šeš-ki ba-ḫun

2 barley-fattened lambs
for the regular offering
Ur-bau received.
2 barley-fattened lambs
for the regular offering,
1 barley-fattened lamb,
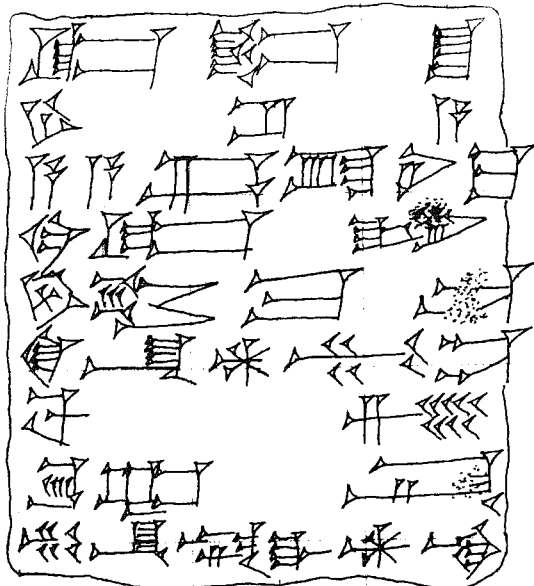1 suckling lamb
for eating,
an additional thing,
Ayya-kalla received.
The regular offering of the king
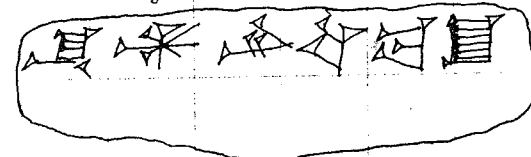in Tummal
was received
from En-dingir-mu.
In the month of 'The Great Festival' he received (it).
In the year when Enmaḫgalanna was chosen to be the entu-
priestess of Nanna.

Sumerian Tablets in the
National Museum of Man, Ottawa

R . F . G . S W E E T
University of Toronto

XXIV.H:33c
48 × 40 × 11 mm

1) an-àm
2) ab-[ba KI.SU.LU.Ú]B.GAR
3) unu[^{ki}-ga]-ke$_4$
4) dumu DIN[GIR.DINGIR-še-me]-a
5) bàd [unu^{ki}-ga]
6) nì-dím-d[ím-ma libìr]-ra
7) ^{d}GIŠ.BIL.GA.MES-ke$_4$
8) ⌜ki⌝-bi b[ì-i]n-gi$_4$-a
(Reverse)
9) [a] nigin$_2$-na-ba
10) ⌜gu⌝-nu-un-di-da-dàm
11) sig$_4$-al-ùr-ra-ta
12) mu-[na]-dù

Anam,
chief of the army
of Uruk,
son of Ilān-šemeā
– who restored
the wall of Uruk,
the ancient construction
of the divine Gilgameš –
in order that the water might rush noisily
in its (i.e. the wall's) surrounding moat
built it (i.e. the wall) for him (i.e. Gilgameš) with kiln-fired
    bricks

The text on the damaged obverse of this tablet has been known since 1893 from a stone tablet of the same size published by Hilprecht (BE 1, no. 26). But although the obverse of Hilprecht's tablet was complete, the reverse was broken. It was not until 1971 that the text of the reverse became known when R.J. Tournay published a stone tablet, purchased from an antiquities dealer in Jerusalem in 1966, which was a duplicate of the Hilprecht tablet (Albright Jubilee pp. 453–7). But although Tournay's tablet gives the full text of the reverse, more than a third of the upper part of the obverse, containing lines 1–3 of the Hilprecht tablet (and of the Ottawa tablet), is missing. The Ottawa tablet now provides a third exemplar of the inscription, with the greater part of the text preserved on both obverse and reverse. A translation of the complete text is given in Sollberger and Kupper, IRSA p. 233, text IVD6a.

Anam was king of Uruk c. 1821–1817 B.C. For the information available on this king, see Falkenstein, Bagh. Mitt. 2 (1963), pp. 35–7.

XXIV.H:34c
4.3 × 3.7 × 1.5 cm

1) 5 gú síg-gír-gul
2) sag-bi 10 ma-na
3) síg é-udu nibru^{ki}
4) a-ba-^{ᵈ}en-líl-[gi]m
5) šu-ba-ti
(Reverse)
6) gìr ur-gá-gi$_4$-a
    du[b-sar]
7) iti še-gur$_{10}$-[ku$_5$-ta]
8) iti diri ezen-^{d}me-ki-
    gál-šè
9) iti 13-kam
10) mu ^{d}šu-^{d}suen
11) lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$
12) ^{ᵈ}en-líl ^{d}nin-líl-ra
13) mu-ne-dù

5 talents of gír-gul wool
its additional weight: 10 mina's
(being) wool (from) the sheep station of Nippur,
Aba-Enlil-gim
has received.
Official responsible: Ur-gagia the scribe.
From the month Segurku
to the intercalary month Ezen-Mekigal
(a period of) 13 months.
The year: Šu-Sîn,
king of Ur,
made (a high stele)
for Enlil and Ninlil

Commentary

1) For síg-gír-gul, see Waetzoldt, Textilindustrie, pp. 53–5.

2) For sag in the sense required here, see Waetzoldt, ibid. p. 30, n. 252.

8) The month name Ezen-^{d}Me-ki-gál is distinctive of the Ur calendar. The tablet is probably from Ṣelluš-Dagān, modern Drehem near Nippur.

10–13) Šu-Sîn year 6 (c. 2032 B.C.).

Formerly published as W 10 in the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, text 112 in Jones and Snyder, Econ. Texts.

XXIV.H.35c
9.9 × 5.4 × 2 cm

  1) 1 gukkal niga
  2) 9 udu a-lum niga
  3) 1 sila$_4$
  4) sag-[^{d}ŠE]Š.KI-zu
  5) 4 udu [niga] ⌜3⌝-⌜kam⌝-ús
  6) 1 sila$_4$
  7) da-da-ga
       ensi$_2$
  8) 1 sila$_4$ nam-ha-ni
       šabra
  9) 1 sila$_4$ lu-lu-ba-a
       nu-banda$_3$
10) 1 sila$_4$ ^{d}šul-gi-
       ì-lí
11) 1 sila$_4$ ri-bí-⌜in⌝
       girim$_2$
12) 1 sila$_4$ za-zi
13)   21 udu
14) mu-túm lugal
15) ⌜šu-nigin$_2$⌝ 4 udu niga 3-kam-ús
Column ii
  1) šu-nigin$_2$ 1 guk[kal niga]
  2) šu-nigin$_2$ 9 ud[u a-lum niga]
  3) šu-nigin$_2$ ⌜7⌝ [sila$_4$]
  4)   21 [udu]
  5) šà-bi-[ta]
  6) 1 udu niga 3-[kam-ús]
  7) 2 udu a-[lum niga]
  8)   3 [udu]
  9) puzur$_4$-[^{d}en-líl ì-díb]
10)   vacat
11) 1 udu niga [3-kam-ús]
12) 3 udu a-[lum niga]
13)   [4 udu]
14) ^{d}šul-gi-[x x ì-díb]
15)   vacat
16) 1 udu niga [3-kam-ús]
17) 2 udu a-[lum niga]
18)   3 [udu]
19) a-ba-[^{d}en-líl-gim ì]-díb
20)   vacat
(Reverse)
Column iii
  1) 1 gukkal niga
  2) 1 udu a-lum niga
       2 udu
  3) ^{d}sul-gi-[si-s]á
  4)   ì-[díb]
  5) 1 udu niga 3-kam-ús
  6) 1 udu a-lum niga
       2 udu
  7) nu-úr-^{d}iškur
  8) ì-díb
  9) ⌜7⌝ sila$_4$
10)   6 (read 7) udu
11) ur-kù-nun-na
12)   ì-díb

Column iv
  1) ki-kaš-dé-a
  2) in-ta-è-
  3)   a
  4) iti ⌜ki⌝-⌜síg⌝⌜^{d}⌝nin-a-zu
  5) mu ⌜^{d}⌝i-bí-
  6) ^{d}suen lugal
Left edge
      u$_4$-2-kam gìr nu-⌜úr⌝-^{d}suen dub-sar
  1) 1 fattened fat-tailed sheep
  2) 9 fattened alu-sheep
  3) 1 lamb
  4) Sag-Nanna-zu;
  5) 4 [fattened] sheep, 3rd quality
  6) 1 lamb
  7) Dadaga
       the governor;
  8) 1 lamb, Namhani
       the director;
  9) 1 lamb, Luluba
       the overseer;
10) 1 lamb, Šulgi-ilī;
11) 1 lamb, Ribin the courier;
12) 1 lamb, Zazi;
13)   21 sheep,
14) revenue of the king.
15) Total: 4 fattened sheep, 3rd quality;
Column ii
  1) Total: 1 [fattened fat]-tailed sheep;
  2) Total: 9 [fattened alu]-sheep;
  3) Total: 7 [lambs];
  4)   21 [sheep]
  5) Therefrom
  6) 1 fattened sheep, 3rd [quality]
  7) 2 [fattened] alu-sheep
  8)   3 [sheep]
  9) Puzur-[Enlil has taken];
10)
11) 1 fattened sheep, [3rd quality]
12) 3 [fattened] alu-sheep
13)   [4 sheep]
14) Šulgi-[has taken];
15)
16) 1 fattened sheep, [3rd quality]
17) 2 [fattened] alu-sheep
18) 3 [sheep]
19) Aba-[Enlil-gim has] taken;
20)
Column iii
  1) 1 fattened fat-tailed sheep
  2) 1 fattened alu-sheep
  3)   2 sheep
  4) Šulgi-sisa has taken;
  5) 1 fattened sheep, 3rd quality
  6) 1 fattened alu-sheep
  7)   2 sheep
  8) Nur-Adad has taken;
  9) 7 lambs
10)   6 (read 7) sheep
11) Ur-Kununa has taken.

Column iv
    At the place of the beer libation.
    (Handled by) Intaea.
    Month: Kisig-Ninazu
    Year: Ibbi-Sîn became king.
    (Left edge)
    Day 2; official responsible, Nūr-Sîn the scribe.

A record of the receipt of 21 sheep, of four varieties and collectively termed 'royal revenue,' from seven persons, three of whom are high-ranking officials. The animals are totalled according to the four varieties. The document then records how the 21 animals were distributed among six other persons, none of whom is defined according to rank or office. Dated to the 2nd day of the 5th month of the accession year of Ibbi-Sîn, fifth and final king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2028 B.C.). The month name belongs to the Ur calendar, which was also used at the government cattle station at Ṣelluš-Dagān, near Nippur. The contents suggest that the tablet is from Ṣelluš-Dagān. Formerly published as W 64 in the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, in transliteration only as text 92 in Jones and Snyder, Econ. Texts.

XXIV.H:36c
11.5 × 5.5 × 2.5 cm

(one or more lines missing at beginning)
  1') 2 udu niga sig$_5$-ús 2 udu niga [
  2') a-rá 2-kam
  3') lugal ku$_4$-ra
  4') 2 udu niga 3-kam-ús a-rá 1-kam
  5') 2 udu niga 3-kam-ús a-rá 2-kam
  6') ^{d}nanna
  7') gìr ^{d}en-líl-zi-šà-gál
  8') 1 udu niga 4-kam-ús 4 zeḫ niga [sig$_5$-ú]s
  9') lugal ku$_4$-ra
  10') 1 udu niga 3-kam-ús 1 udu niga ⌜sig$_5$?⌝-⌜ús?⌝
  11') 1 zeḫ niga sig$_5$-ús gìr x [x x]
  12') 1 zeḫ? niga gìr *kàs-pu-ša* [sagi]
  13') 1 zeḫ niga gìr *a-bí-sí*-[*im*]-[*t*]*i*
  14') ^{d}na-na-a
  15') 1 udu niga 4-kam-ús ^{d}ša?-⌜u$_x$(GIŠGAL)?⌝-⌜ša?⌝
  16') gìr *kàs-pu-ša* sagi
  17') 1 udu niga sig$_5$ 1 máš-gal niga sig$_5$
  18') 1 zeḫ niga sig$_5$ siskur$_2$ ^{d}inanna? šà⌜é-gal⌝
  19') ^{d}nanna-palil sagi maškim
  20') á-gi$_6$-ba-a
  21') 2 udu niga sig$_5$-ús 4 udu niga 3-kam-ús
  22') ^{d}nanna lugal ku$_4$-ra
  23') 1 sila$_4$ niga nì-ki-x-šè?
     (x is hardly saha$_x$ (ḪA X A))
  24') ^{d}nanna-palil sagi maškim
(Reverse)
  25') 1 udu niga siskur$_2$-ra? ^{d}nanna
  26') 1 udu?-niga? a-tu$_5$-a lugal
  27') gìr á-da-a x x x x
  28') 1 udu niga x x

  29') 1 udu niga x ^{d} x
  30') 1 udu niga ^{d}nin-ḫur-sag x x
  31') 2 udu niga ^{d}nin-kù-nun-na
  32') 3 udu niga ^{d}nin-sún
  33') 3 udu niga ^{d}nin-líl?
  34') u$_4$ ⌜ezen?⌝-⌜maḫ?⌝
  35') 4 udu niga 2?-kam-ús x x x
  36') 1 udu niga x x
  37') gìr ^{d}suen-*a-bu-šu* sagi
  38') 1 udu niga sig$_5$ *a-bí*⌜*sí*⌝-⌜*im*⌝-⌜*ti*⌝
  39') [   ] niga sig$_5$ *šu*-kab-ta
  40') [   ] niga x x x gìr?
  41') [^{d}suen]-*a-bu-šu* sagi
  42') [   ] maškim
  43') [   ] *na-ap-la-núm* mar-dú
  44') [   ] x maškim
  45') [u$_4$]-5-kam
  46') [ki-] x x x-ta ba-zi
  47') [gìr   ] x x x
  48') [iti   ]
     several lines missing
(Left edge)
    55?

. . . .
  1') 2 fattened sheep, fair quality; 2 fattened sheep, [   ]
  2') second time,
  3') when the king entered (the temple);
  4') 2 fattened sheep, 3rd quality, first time
  5') 2 fattened sheep, 3rd quality, second time
  6') (for) Nanna;
  7') official responsible: Enlil-zišagal.
  8') 1 fattened sheep, 4th quality; 4 fattened kids, [fair] quality,
  9') when the king entered (the temple);
  10') 1 fattened sheep, 3rd quality; 1 fattened sheep, fair quality;
  11') 1 fattened kid, fair quality; official responsible: [   ].
  12') 1 fattened kid; official responsible: Kaspūša the cupbearer.
  13') 1 fattened kid; official responsible: Abī-simtī
  14') (for) Nanâ.
  15') 1 fattened sheep, 4th quality, (for) Šauša;
  16') official responsible: Kaspūša the cupbearer.
  17') 1 fattened sheep, good quality; 1 fattened full-grown goat, good quality
  18') 1 fattened kid, good quality, sacrifice (for) Inanna-in-the-Palace
  19') Nanna-palil the cupbearer, authorizing official
  20') (for an offering) in the middle of the night.
  21') 2 fattened sheep, fair quality; 4 fattened sheep, 3rd quality
  22') (for) Nanna, when the king entered (the temple).
  23') 1 fattened lamb, for . . .
  24') Nanna-palil the cupbearer, authorizing official.
(Reverse)
  25') 1 fattened sheep, sacrifice (for) Nanna.
  26') 1 fattened sheep (for) the king's lustration.
  27') official responsible: Ada . . .
  28') 1 fattened sheep . . .

29') 1 fattened sheep . . .
30') 1 fattened sheep (for) Ninḫursag . . .
31') 2 fattened sheep (for) Ninkununa
32') 3 fattened sheep (for) Ninsun
33') 3 fattened sheep (for) Ninlil
34') (on) the day of the high festival
35') 4 fattened sheep, 2nd quality . . .
36') 1 fattened sheep . . .
37') official responsible: Sîn-abūšu the cupbearer
38') 1 fattened sheep, good quality, Abī-sīmtī
39') [x] fattened [sheep], good quality, Šū-Kabta
40') [x] fattened [sheep] . . . official responsible
41') [Sîn]-abūšu the cupbearer
42') [   ], authorizing official
43') [   ] Naplānum the Amorite
44') [   ], authorizing official
45') [Day] 5
46') issued by [   ]
47') [Official responsible:] . . .
48') [Month   ]
      one or more lines missing
(Left edge)
      55?

Record of the expenditure of animals of various kinds (sheep, kids, lambs, a goat) and of various qualities for sacrifices to various deities (Nanna, Nanâ, Šauša, Inanna, Ninḫursag, Ninsun, Ninlil). The total number of the animals is given on the left edge (55?). The year name was given at the end of the reverse, but the relevant lines are broken away. The month name, which might indicate the provenance, probably occurs in line 34', but it is hardly legible. However, in view of the contents, the tablet is almost certainly from Ṣelluš-Dagān. Several of the personal names are familiar from documents dated to the reigns of Amar-Suen and Šu-Sîn of the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2046–2029 B.C.).

Sumerian Tablets in the Walker Collection, Laurier House, Ottawa

R . F . G . S W E E T
University of Toronto

X 73-839

65 × 45 × 19 mm

1) 6 udu-niga sá-dug$_4$ dub-lá-maḫ
2) 2 u[du-niga] sá-dug$_4$ ^{d}nin-é-gal
3) 30 + [1 udu-niga s]á-dug$_4$ ^{d}gu-la
4) 3 ud[u]-ʼniga' sá-dug$_4$ ^{d}en-ki giš-kin-
         ti-gu-la
5) 2 udu sá-dug$_4$ ^{d}en-ki nin-ul-
         gùru
6) 30 udu-niga šu-a-gi-na
7) 3 udu-niga níg-diri
8) sá-dug$_4$ •šul-gi-ra
9) 30 udu-niga šu-a-gi-na
10) 3 udu-niga níg-diri
    (Reverse)
11) sá-dug$_4$ ^{d}amar-^{d}en-zu
12) 3 udu-niga 27 udu
13) sá-dug$_4$ dumu-dumu-ne
14) 3 udu-niga gu$_4$-e-ús-sa
15) sá-dug$_4$ diri-*tum*
16) sá-dug$_4$ šu-a-gi-na u$_4$-30-kam
17) ki-na-lu$_5$-ta
18) ba-zi
19) šà ŠEŠ.AB^{ki}-ma
20) gìr *i-šar-ì-lí* dub-sar
21) iti šeš-da-kú
22) mu-ús-sa má-dàra
23) abzu ^{d}en-ki ba-ab-du$_8$
    (Left edge)
    143

1) 6 barley-fed sheep, regular payment (for presentation in) the Dubla-maḫ;
2) 2 barley-fed sheep, regular payment (for) Nin-egal;
3) 31 barley-fed sheep, regular payment (for) Gula;
4) 3 barley-fed sheep, regular payment (for) Enki, the Great Craftsman;
5) 2 barley-fed sheep, regular payment (for) Enki, Nin-ulguru;
6) 30 barley-fed sheep, regular offering,
7) 3 barley-fed sheep, additional (offering),
8) regular payment (for) the divine Šulgi;
9) 30 barley-fed sheep, regular offering,
10) 3 barley-fed sheep, additional (offering),
    (Reverse)
11) regular payment (for) the divine Amar-Suen;
12) 3 barley-fattened sheep, 27 (ordinary) sheep,

13) regular payment (for) the children;
14) 3 sheep 'followed by the oxen.'
15) regular payment (for) Watartum.
16) Regular payments and regular offerings (on the) 30th day.
17) Issued
18) by Nalu
19) in Ur.
20) Official responsible: Išar-ilī, the scribe.
21) Month Šešdaku.
22–23) The year after: The boat 'Ibex of the Absu' was caulked.
    (Left edge)
    143

Commentary

1) Dubla-maḫ: 'the high platform,' part of the temple of Nanna in Ur.

2) Nin-egal: 'lady of the palace,' daughter of Suen.

4) giš-kin-ti-gu-la, 'great craftsman,' evidently an epithet for a form of Enki, god of magic and of the subterranean waters, not known to me elsewhere.

5) nin-ul-gùru, understood as 'lord who inspires joy,' evidently another epithet for a form of Enki. I know of the epithet only once elsewhere (Oppenheim, Eames 16*), where it is read nin-UL-ga$_6$ with the suggestion that the ga$_6$ (íL) be emended to ne. But the present text shows very clearly that the sign is íL.

13) dumu-dumu-ne, 'the children.' Whose children? The deceased children of the kings just mentioned? All the payments mentioned in this text up to this point are clearly in honour of and for the benefit of the deities mentioned (even in line 1, the payment is probably for the divine genius thought to inhabit the Dubla-maḫ). In the present line the payment is therefore unlikely to be from, or offered in the name of, the children of the reigning king.

15) Watartum was the name of the wife of Ur-Nammu, founder of the Ur III dynasty, and mother of Šulgi, the second king. The offering of this line is presumably for her benefit. Note that, as with dumu-dumu-ne in line 13, the name is not preceded by the semantic indicator for deity.

17) Nalu: a well-known official whose activities are attested from the reign of Šulgi to that of Šu-Sîn (see Jones and Snyder, Econ Texts pp. 224, 236–8).

21–23) Third month of the Ur calendar, which was also used at Şelluš-Dagān. Third year of Šu-Sîn, fourth king of the Ur III dynasty, i.e. c. 2035 B.C.

    (Left edge) This total of the number of animals listed in the text permits the partly broken number in line 3 to be restored as 31.

In brief, the document is a list of expenditures of animals for offerings to various deities, including two deified former kings, in Ur on the 30th day (a day for special religious observations) of the third month of the third year of king Šu-Sîn of Ur, c. 2035 B.C.

X 73-840

94 × 47 × 25 mm, badly encrusted with salt which covers a good 50 per cent of the obverse

1) 132 u_8-bar-gál
2) 8 u_8-bar-su
3) 37 udu-bar-gál
4) 2 udu-bar-su
5) gìr [   ] $kuš_x$ (iš)
6) 120 [+ x u_8]-bar-gál
7) 3 [u_8]-bar-su
8) [x udu]-bar-gál
9) [x udu]-bar-su
10) [   ]-x $kuš_x$ (iš)
11) [vacat?   ]
12) [vacat?   ]
13) [   ] x
14) [   ] x
15) [   ] x
16) [   ] x
(Reverse)
17) 12 udu
18) 50 u_8
19) gìr ᵈnanna-ki-áka $kuš_x$ (iš)
20) udu a-[lum?] gukkal
21) 10 ùz? gìr ba-a-ba-lum $kuš_x$ (iš)
22)   3
23) a-rá 2-kam
24)   540
25) šu-gíd ki-ur-mes en_5-si
26) uru-sag-rig_7^{ki}-ta

1) 132 ewes, fleece intact
2) 8 ewes, fleece plucked
3) 37 rams, fleece intact
4) 2 rams, fleece plucked
5) Official responsible: [NN], the herdsman.
6) 120 + [x ewes], fleece intact
7) 3 [ewes], fleece plucked
8) [x rams], fleece intact
9) [x rams], fleece plucked
10) [Official responsible: NN], the herdsman.
11) [apparently blank]
12) [apparently blank]
13) [   ]
14) [   ]
15) [   ]
16) [   ]
(Reverse)
17) 12 rams
18) 50 ewes
19) Official responsible: Nanna-aka, the herdsman.
20) Fat-tailed rams?
21) 10 nanny-goats? Official responsible: Babalum, the herdsman.
22) 3
23) 2-fold
24) 594
25) General dues, from Ur-mes, governor (ensi)
26) of Urusagrig.

    The tablet has no date, but Ur-mes is known to have been the governor of Urusagrig from at least as early as the second year of Amar-Suen of Ur (c. 2046–2038 B.C.) until the sixth year of Šu-Sîn (c. 2037–2029 B.C.), see Goetze, JCS 17 (1963), p. 20. The reading of lines 20–21 is doubtful. The rationale of the mathematics in lines 22–24 is not clear. The meaning of the recurrent term bar-su is debated.

List of Abbreviations

AAA: Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, vols. 1–28 (Liverpool 1908–48)

AfK: Archiv für Keilschriftforschung, vol. 1–2 (Berlin 1923–25). (Continued by AfO)

AfO: Archiv für Orientforschung, vol. 3–   (Berlin and Graz 1926–   ). (Sequel to AfK)

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Andrae, Festungswerke: W. Andrae, Die Festungswerke von Assur (= WVDOG 23) (Leipzig 1913)

Andrae, WEA¹ or WEA²: W. Andrae, Das wiedererstandene Assur (first edition, Leipzig 1938; second edition, Munich 1977)

Bagh. Mitt.: Baghdader Mitteilungen, vol. 1– (Berlin 1960–   )

Barton, MBI: G.A. Barton, Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions. Part 1: Sumerian Religious Texts (New Haven 1918)

Bauer, Wirtschaftstexte: J. Bauer, Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch (= Studia Pohl 9) (Rome 1972)

BE: Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts, 14 vols. (Philadelphia 1893–1914)

BM Guide 1922: British Museum. A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, third edition, revised and enlarged (London 1922)

Böhl, Leiden Coll.: F.M.T. Böhl, Medeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van spijkerschrift-Inscripties, 3 vols. (Amsterdam 1933). 1. Oorkonden uit de periode der rijken van Sumer en Akkad (3000–2000 v.Chr.). 2. Oorkonden uit de periode van 2000–1200 v.Chr. 3. Assyrische en Nieuw-Babylonische oorkonden (1100–91 v.Chr.).

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Borger, EAK 1: R. Borger, Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften, Erster Teil: Das zweite Jahrtausend v.Chr. (= Handbuch der Orientalistik) (Leiden 1961)

BSMS: Bulletin of the Society for Mesopotamian Studies, vol. 1– (Toronto 1981–   )

CAD: The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago, 1956–   )

CT: Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, vols. 1–57 (London 1896–   )

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Forrer, Provinz.: E. Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches (Leipzig 1920)

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IAK: E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, and E.F. Weidner, Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige (= Altorientalische Bibliothek 1) (Leipzig 1926)

Jacobsen, Jerwan: T. Jacobsen, Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan (= OIP 24) (Chicago 1935)

JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 1– (New Haven 1893–   )

JCS: Journal of Cuneiform Studies, vol. 1– (New Haven, Cambridge 1947–   )

JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 1– (Chicago 1942–   )

Johns, ADD: C.H.W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents, Recording the Transfer of Property, Including the So-called Private Contracts, Legal Decisions and Proclamations, Preserved in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum, Chiefly of the Seventh Century B.C., 4 vols. (Cambridge 1898–1923)

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KUB: Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Heft 1– (Berlin 1921–   )

MAOG: Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, vols. 1–16 (Leipzig 1925–43)

MDOG: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, vol. 1–   (Berlin 1898–   )

Menzel, Tempel: B. Menzel, Assyrische Tempel, 2 vols. (= Studia Pohl, Series maior 10) (Rome 1982). 1. Untersuchungen zu Kult, Administration und Personal. 2. Anmerkungen, Textbuch, Tabellen und Indices.

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Oppenheim, Eames: A.L. Oppenheim, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection in the New York Public Library; Tablets of the Time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, (= AOS 32) (New Haven 1948)

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RLA: Reallexikon der Assyriologie, vol. 1–   (Berlin 1932–   )

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Sollberger and Kupper, IRSA: E. Sollberger and J.R. Kupper, Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes (Paris 1971)

Sumer: Sumer: A Journal of Archaeology (and History) in Iraq, vol. 1–   (Baghdad 1945–   )

TCL: Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales (Paris 1910–   )

Unger Memorial: In Memoriam E. Unger, Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des Alten Orients, ed. M. Lurker (Baden-Baden 1971)

VAS: Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, vol. 1–   (Leipzig and Berlin 1907–   )

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Walker, CT Index: C.B.F. Walker, CT Index to Parts I–L (London 1974)

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