A New Esarhaddon Prism Fragment
Concerning the Restoration of Babylon[1]

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The fragment of an octagonal prism published below belongs to the Hirayama Collection (Kamakura, Japan). This text is a part of Version *E* of Esarhaddon's Babylon Inscriptions.[2] Although I have not checked it with the original of BM 78225, it can be joined to BM 78225 (88–5–12,80) published in *CT* 44 6.[3] Each column of the fragment continues from BM 78225 almost directly. After the model of designations of the texts by R. Borger and J.A. Brinkman, which is presupposed here,[4] siglum E[1]a should now be assigned to BM 78225 (previously designated E[1]), and siglum E[1]b assigned to the text of the Hirayama Collection. For permission to publish the text I am deeply indebted to Professor and Mrs. I. Hirayama.

With this fragment we can now restore Episode 15 of Version *E*:

> *jâti Aššur-aḫa-iddina ardu pāliḫ ilūtīšu*
> *rabīti ana epēš Esagila u Babili* [*udd*]*uš*
> *ilāni u ištarāti* [*šuk*]*lul ešrēti* [*m*]*ukī*[*n*[5]]
> [*sat*]*tuk*[*ki puḫḫur nišīšu sapḫāti*[6] *ina*
> *karš*[*ija*] *ušabš*[*ima*] *uštābila kabattī libbī*
> *arḫuṣma epēšu aqbi*

I, Esarhaddon, the servant who reveres his great divinity, plan[ned[7]] to build Esagila and Babylon anew, [to re]new (statues of) the gods and the goddesses, [to com]plete chapels, [to es]tab[lish the re]gular offer[ings, (and) to gather the dispersed people,] considered (this) in my mind, entrusted (it) to my heart, and commanded that it be put into action.

With the exception of several simple orthographic variants, there are, in addition to the passages cited just above, some readings of the text E[1]b which differ from those of its duplicates:

Ep. 7, 3:   [*n*]*a-mu-tu* instead of *na-mu-ta* in E[2].

Ep. 8, 1:   E[1]b offers DINGIR-*šú u* [d]15-*šú* in the singular in contrast to the plural in E[2] and E[3]a.

Ep. 10, 8:   E[1]b reads *ša i-ni-nu* while E[2] has *ša i-nu-nu*.[8]

Ep. 35, 7–8:   E[1]b probably omits these two lines.

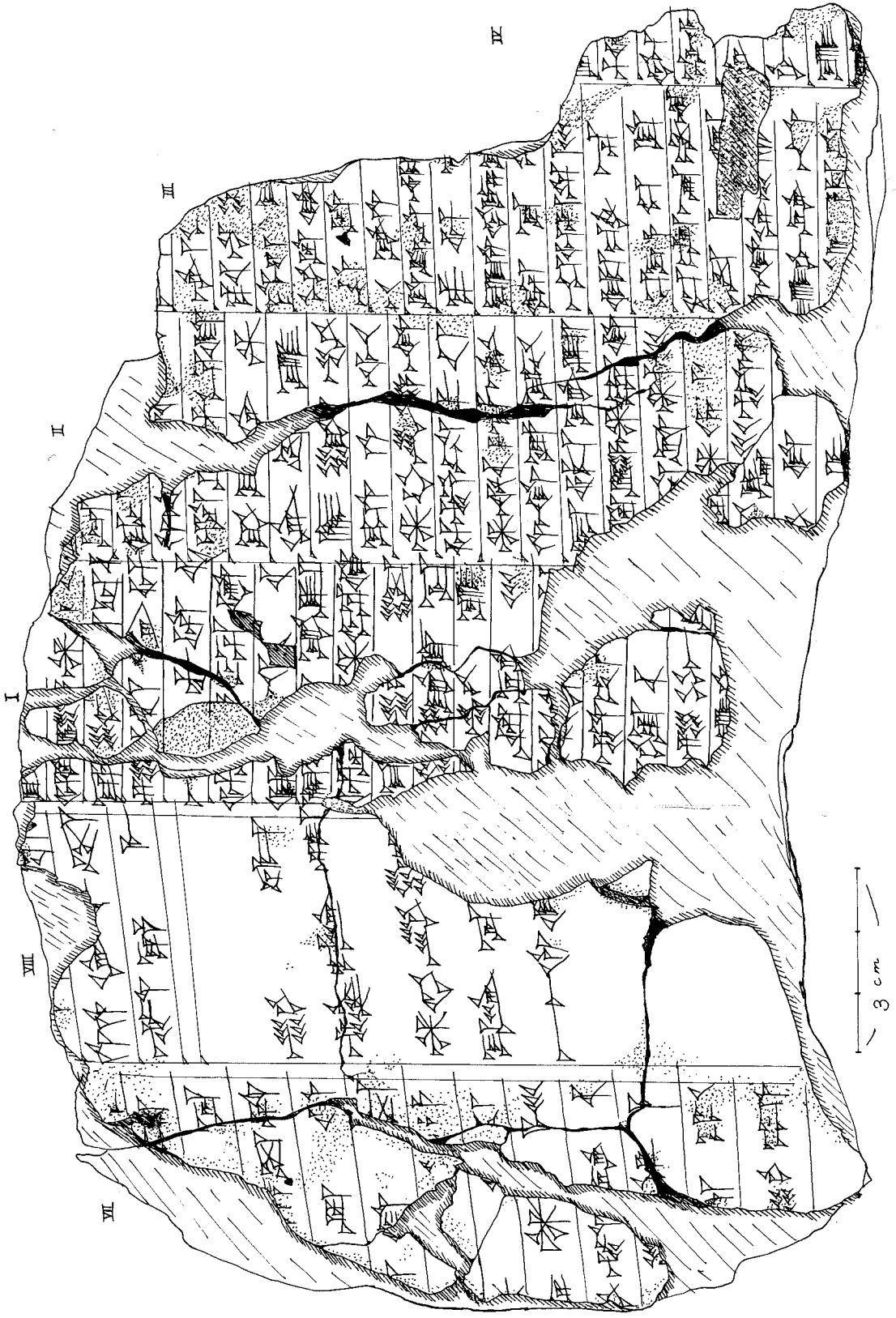Ep 41, 19:   E[1]b reads [*a-n*]*a* KI(*ašrī*)-*šu* instead of E[3]b: *a-na áš-ri-šú-nu*.

Ep. 41, 40:   E[1]b offers *re-e-me* instead of *re-e-mu* of E[2] and E[3]b.

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[2] So far for Version *E* (R. Borger, *Asarh.* [= *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien, AfO Beih.* 9, 1956] pp. 10ff) there are five duplicates of the text in six fragments. See J.A. Brinkman, 'Through a Glass Darkly: Esarhaddon's Retrospects on the Downfall of Babylon,' *JAOS* 103/1 (1983) p. 38. As for Version *E*, the texts which were published after R. Borger's standard edition are: AO 7736 (J. Nougayrol, *AfO* 18 [1957–58] pls. 21–22 and pp. 314ff), BM 42668 (= 81–7–1,430) (A.R. Millard, *AfO* 24, 1973, pl. 13 and p. 118), and BM 34899 (= Sp.2,411) (*CT* 51 no. 78). The three texts which R. Borger had edited were later published in *CT* 44 nos. 6–8 in copies made by Pinches. See also R. Borger, 'Zu den Asarhaddon-Texten aus Babylon,' *BiOr* 21 (1964) pp. 143–48.

[3] For two earlier publications see R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 10.

[4] See the table of texts and sigla in J.A. Brinkman, op. cit. p. 38.

[5] *kun* or *kunnu/kunni* is expected here. But, according to the fragment of the first sign of the line which should be read /*mu*/ and in consideration of the often attested expression *mukīn sattukki* (see *CAD* S p. 201a), the restoration of

this line and the next is plausible. Then we must take into account the possibility of a mistake in changing the infinitive into the participle. A similar mistake occurs in the case of *šuklul* and *mušaklil*, in which, though, the infinitive erroneously replaces the participle (Episodes 38(b), 39: E[3]b IV 39' // E[4] III 21, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 147).

[6] The restoration is based on Episode 38, 12–14 (E[3]b IV 43'–45' // E[4] III 25–27: *mu-pa-ḫi-ir* UN[meš]-*šu/šú sa-ap-ḫa-a-ti/*BIR[meš]).

[7] The phraseology: *ana* ... (inf.) *ina karšīja ušabši* 'I caused it to be in my heart, to (do) ...' is not known to me anywhere else. But its meaning ('I planned to (do) ...') is clear, especially by analogy with such an expression as: *ana* ... (inf.) *ina uznīja ibši* (Episode 15(a) 3–6, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 145, and further *AHw* 1448b).

[8] *AHw* (217b) registered *i-nu-nu* here and *e-ni-nu* (Ep. 10(b), 19) separately, while R. Borger expressed doubt about the separation (*BiOr* 21 p. 144). *CAD* (E) p. 164 lists both passages s.v. *enēnu* B 'to punish' for which both thematic vowels *i/i* and *u/u*

Esarhaddon's Prism in the Hirayama Collection (Japan)

In the following I give transliterations of the Episodes of Version *E* in a score form which the fragment of E¹b represents.[9] These are Episodes 5, 7, 8, 10, 15, 20, 21, 22, 35, 41, and the date, among which Episodes 20, 21, 22, and the date are entirely, and Episode 41 is partly, shared with other Versions. These Versions are referred to here in the footnotes only as far as they differ from the text of Version *E*. The line division is based on E¹.

Version E Episodes 5, 7, 8, 10, 15, 10, 21, 22, 35, 41, and the date

Text	Museum no.	Publication
E¹a =	BM 78225 (88–5–12,80)	*CT* 44 no. 6
E¹b =	Esarhaddon's Prism in the Hirayama Collection (Japan)	*ARRIM* 8
E² =	BM 78248 (88–5–12,103)	*CT* 44 no. 7[10]
E³a =	BM 78246 (88–5–12,101)	*CT* 44 no. 8
E³b =	AO 7736	*AfO* 18 pls. 21–22
E⁴ =	BM 42668 (81–7–1,430)	*AfO* 24 pl. 13
E⁵ =	BM 34899 (Sp.2,411)	*CT* 51 no. 78

Episode 5

1) E¹a I 10:   *ul-la-nu-ú-a*
2) E¹a I 11:   EN GAL ᵈAMAR.UTU
    E² I 1′:   [ᵈAMAR.UTU EN GAL]-*ú*
3) E¹a I 12:   *i-gu-ug*
    E² I 2′a: [...-*u*]*g*
4) E¹a I 13:   *i-ru-um-ma*
    E² I 2′b: *i-ru-um-ma*(!)
5) E¹a I 14:   ⌜*it-ti*⌝ É.SAG.GÍL
    = E¹b I 1′:   ⌜*it*⌝-[...]
    E² I 3′:   ⌜*it*⌝-*ti* É.SAG.GÍL
6) E¹a I 15:   [...]ᵏⁱ⁽!⁾
    = E¹b I 2′:   *ù* KÁ.DINGIR.RA[...]

7) E¹b I 3′:   *e*-[*z*]*i-iz* [*lì*]*b-ba-šú*
    E² I 5′:   *e-zi-iz* ⌜ŠÀ⌝-*šú*
8) E¹b I 4′:   *zi*-⌜*nu*⌝-*te ir-ši-šú*(?)
    E² I 6′:   *zi-nu-tu ir-ši*
9) E¹b I 5′:   *ina* [*ug*]-*gat* ŠÀ-*šú*
    E² I 7′:   *ina ug-gat* [ŠÀ]-*šú*
10) E¹b I 6′:   ⌜*ù*⌝ [*ṣ*]*a-ra-aḫ*
    E² I 8′a: *ù ṣa-ra-aḫ*
11) E¹b I 7′:   *k*[*a-bat*]-*ti-šú*
    E² I 8′b: [*ka*]-*bat-ti-šú*

Episode 7

1) E¹b I 8′:   É.[SAG].ÍLA
    E² I 9′a: É.SAG.GÍL
2) E¹b I 9′:   *ù* [KÁ].DINGIR.RAᵏⁱ
    E² I 9′b: *ù* [K[Á].DINGIR].RAᵏⁱ
3) E¹b I 10′:   [*n*]*a-mu-tu*
    E² I 10′a: *na-mu-ta*
4) E¹b I 11′:   [*i*]*l-li-ku-ma*
    E² I 10′b: *il-li-ku-ma*
5) E¹b I 12′:   [...]-*mu-ú*
    E² I 11′a: *e-mu-ú*
6) E¹b I 13′:   [...]-*šub-bé-eš*
    E² I 11′b: *qí-šub-bé-eš*
    E³a I 1′:   [...]-*bé-eš*

Episode 8

1) E¹b I 14′:   [DIN]GIR-*šú u* ⌜ᵈ⌝[15]-⌜*šú*⌝
    E² I 12′:   DINGIRᵐᵉˢ-*šú u* ᵈ15ᵐᵉˢ-*šú*
    E³a I 2′–3′:   [DINGIR]ᵐᵉˢ-*šú* [... ᵈ]15ᵐᵉˢ-*šú*
2) E¹b I 15′:   [*ip*]-*ri-du*-[*ma*]
    E² I 13′a: *ip-ri-du-ma*
    E³a I 4′:   [...]-*ri-du-ma*
    = E³b I 2′:   *i*[*p*-...]
3) E¹b I 16′:   [*k*]*i-ṣu-šú*-[*nu*]
    E² I 13′b: *ki-iṣ-ṣi-šú-nu*
    E³a I 5′:   [*k*]*i-ṣu-šú-nu*
    = E³b I 3′:   *k*[*i*-...]
4) E¹b I 17′:   [...]-*zi-bu-m*[*a*]
    E² I 14′a: *e-zi-bu-ma*
    E³a I 6′:   [...]-*zi-bu-ma*
    = E³b I 4′:   ⌜*e*⌝-[...]
5) E¹b I 18′:   [...]-*ú* ⌜*šá*⌝-[...]
    E² I 14′b: *e-lu-ú šá-ma-míš*
    E³a I 7′–8′:   [...]-*lu-ú* [...]-*ma-míš*
    = E³b I 5′:   *e*-[...] *šá*-[...]

Episode 10

1) E¹a II 12:   *lìb-bi* ᵈEN GAL-*u*
    E² I 23′a: *lìb-bi* ᵈEN GAL-*i*
2) E¹a II 13:   ᵈAMAR.UTU

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are assumed. Now, we have *i-ni-nu* as a variant to *i-nu-nu*, which makes Borger's view more probable.

⁹ For the uniqueness of Version *E* in contrast to the other Versions of the Babylon Inscription see J.A. Brinkman, op. cit. pp. 39f, and for the ideology behind Version *E* see M. Cogan, 'Omens and Ideology in the Babylon Inscription of Esarhaddon' in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld, eds., *History, Historiography, and Interpretation*, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 76ff.

¹⁰ Only E² is written in Assyrian script, while all the other texts are written in Babylonian script.

	E² I 23′b:	^{d}AMAR.UTU
3)	E¹a II 14:	*i-nu-uḫ-ma*
	E² I 24′a:	*i-nu-uḫ-ma*
4)	E¹a II 15:	[...]-*šáḫ*
	= E¹b II 1′:	*i*[*p-*...]
	E² I 24′b:	*ip-šáḫ*
5)	E¹a II 16:	[...]-*ta-šú*
	= E¹b II 2′:	*ka-*[...]
	E² I 24′c:	*ka-bat-ta-šú*
6)	E¹b II 3′:	*a-n*[*a* É].S[AG-GÍL(?)]
	E² I 25′a:	*a-na* É.SAG.GÍL
7)	E¹b II 4′:	*ù* K[Á.DI]NGIR.⌈RA⌉^{ki}
	E² I 25′b:	*u* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}
8)	E¹b II 5′:	*ša i-ni-nu*
	E² I 26′a:	*ša i-nu-nu*
9)	E¹b II 6′:	*ir-šu-ú*
	E² I 26′b:	*ir*(!)-*šu-ú*
10)	E¹b II 7′:	*sa-li-mu*
	E² I 26′c:	*sa-li-mu*

Episode 15

1)	E¹b II 8′:	*ia-a-ti*
	E² I 27′a:	*ia-a-ti*
2)	E¹b II 9′:	AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-⌈SÌ⌉-*na*
	E² I 27′b:	AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-SÌ-*na*
3)	E¹b II 10′:	*ar-du* [*p*]*a-liḫ*
	E² I 28′a:	*ar-du pa-liḫ*
4)	E¹b II 11′:	DINGIR-*ti-šú* ⌈GAL⌉-*tì*
	E² I 28′b:	DINGIR-*t*[*i-*...]-*ti*
5)	E¹b II 12′:	*a-na e-peš*
6)	E¹b II 13′:	É.SAG.ÍLA
7)	E¹b II 14′:	⌈*ù*⌉ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}
8)	E¹b II 15′:	[*ud-d*]*u-uš* DINGIR^{meš}
9)	E¹b II 16′:	⌈*ù*⌉ ^{d}⌈15^{meš}⌉
10)	E¹b II 17′:	[*šuk*]-*lul eš-re-ti*
11)	E¹b II 18′:	[*m*]*u-ki-*[*in*]
12)	E¹b II 19′:	[*sat*]-*tuk-*[*ki*]
[13]	E¹b II 20′:	*puḫḫur*]
[14]	E¹b II 21′:	UN^{meš}-*šu* BIR^{meš}][11]
15)	E¹a III 1:	*ina ka*[*r-*..]
	E³a II 1′-2′:	*i-*[*na*] *kar-š*[*i-ia*]
16)	E¹a III 2:	*ú-*[...]
	E³a II 3′:	*ú-šab-š*[*i-ma*]
17)	E¹a III 3:	*uš-*[...]
	E³a II 4′:	*uš-ta-bi-*⌈*la*⌉
18)	E¹a III 4:	*ka-*[...]
	E² II 1′:	⌈*ka-ba*(?)⌉-[...]
	E³a II 5′:	*ka-bat-ti*
19)	E¹a III 5:	*lìb-bi a*[*r-*...]
	E² II 2′a:	*lìb-bi ar-ḫu-u*[*ṣ-ma*]
	E³a II 6′-7′:	*lìb-bi ar-ḫu-uṣ-ma*

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[11] For the restoration of lines 10–14 see n. 5.

20)	E⁵ I′ 1′-2′:	[...]-*bi* [...]-⌈*ḫu*(!)⌉-*uṣ-ma*
	E¹a III 6:	*e-pe-šú* [...]
	E² II 2′b:	[...]
	E³a II 8′-9′:	*e-pe-šu aq-bi*
	E⁵ I′ 3′:	[...-*p*]*e-šú aq-bi*

Episode 20[12]

1)	E¹a III 13:	*ina* Ì.GIŠ DU$_{10}$.[GA ...]
	E² II 6′a:	*ina* Ì DU$_{10}$.GA LÀL
	E³a II 17′-19′:	*i-na* Ì DU$_{10}$.GA *diš-pu*
2)	E¹a III 14:	Ì.NUN.[NA]
	E² II 6′b:	Ì.[NUN.NA]
	E³a II 20′:	Ì.NUN.NA
3)	E¹a III 15:	KAŠ.TIN.[NAM]
	E² II 7′a:	*ku-ru-un-nu*
	E³a II 21′:	*ku-ru-un-nu*
4)	E¹a III 16:	*mu-tin-nu*[13] [...]
	E² II 7′b-8′a:	*mu-t*[*in* ...] *ši-kar*
	E³a II 21′:	*mu-t*[*in*]-*nu*
5)	E¹a III 17:	⌈KUR⌉-*e* KÙ
	E² II 8′b:	KUR-*i* KÙ
6)	E¹b III 1′:	⌈*ab*(?)⌉-[...]
	E² II 8′c:	*ab-lu*[*la*[14]]
7)	E¹b III 2′:	*ta-r*[*a-*(*aḫ*)-*ḫuš*[15]]
	E² II 8′d:	[...]
	E⁴ II 1′:	[...-*ḫ*]*u*[*š*(?)]

Episode 21[16]

1)	E¹b III 3′:	*áš-šú* DINGIR-*u*[*s-*...]
	E² II 9′a:	*áš-šú* DINGIR-*us-su*
	E⁴ II 2′:	[...]-*su*(?!)
2)	E¹b III 4′a:	⌈GAL-*te*⌉[17] U[N^{meš}]
	E² II 9′b-10′a:	GA[L-...] UN^{meš}
	E⁴ II 2′b-3′a:	⌈GAL(?)⌉-*te*(?!) [...]
3)	E¹b III 5′:	*kul-lu-mi-*[...]
	E² II 10′b:	*kul-lu-m*[*ì-*...]
	E⁴ II 3′b:	[...]-*mì-ma*[18]
4)	E¹b III 6′:	⌈*šup*⌉-*lu-*[...]
	E² II 11′a:	*šup-lu-ḫi*[19]
	E⁴ II 4′a:	[...]

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[12] Episode 20 reoccurs in Versions *A, B, C,* and *D* (see R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 143). Because A³ (VA 8420 = Assur 8000), which is the main text of Episodes 20 and 21 in Borger's edition (R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 20), is published only in his transliteration, it is cited here from his book.

[13] A³, B(a), C¹: -*ni.*

[14] A³, B(a), C¹, D: *ab-lu-la.*

[15] A³, C¹, D: *ta-ra-ḫuš*; B(a): *ta-ra-aḫ-ḫuš.*

[16] Episode 21 reoccurs in Versions *A, C,* and *D* (R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 143). For A³ see n. 11.

[17] C¹: -*tum*; A³: 'vielleicht *tu*' (R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 20).

[18] C¹: -*mì-im-ma.*

[19] C¹, C²: -*ḫu.*

5) E¹b III 7′:   *be-lut-*[…]
    E² II 11′b: *be-lu*[*t*(!)-…]
    E⁴ II 4′b: […*-l*]*ut-su*
6) E¹b III 8′:   *ku-dúr-ru ina* SA[G.DU-…]
    E² II 12′a: *ku-dúr-ru ina* SAG.DU-*i*[*a*]
    E⁴ II 5′:   [… SA]G.DU-*ia*
7) E¹b III 9′:   *áš-ši-m*[*a*]
    E² II 12′b: […]
    E⁴ II 6′:   […]*-ma*
8) E¹b III 10′:   *ú-šá-az-b*[*il*]
    E² II 13′a: *ú-šá-az-bil*
    E⁴ II 7′:   […*-bi*]*-la*
9) E¹b III 11′:   *ra-ma-n*[*i*]
    E² II 13′b: *r*[*a-*…]
    E⁴ II 8′:   […]*-ni*

Episode 22[20]

1) E¹b III 12′:   *ina* ᵍⁱˢÙ.ŠUBᵐᵉˢ
    E² II 14′:   *i-na* ᵍⁱˢÙ.Š[UBᵐᵉˢ]
    E⁴ II 9′:   [… ᵍⁱˢÙ.Š]UBᵐᵉˢ
2) E¹b III 13′:   ZÚ AM.SI
    E² II 15′a: ZÚ AM.SI
    E⁴ II 10′:   […].SI
3) E¹b III 14′:   ᵍⁱˢESI ᵍⁱˢTÚG
    E² II 15′b: ᵍⁱˢESI […]
    E⁴ II 11′:   […] ᵍⁱˢTÚG
4) E¹b III 15′:   ᵍⁱˢMES.MÁ.KAN.NA
    E² II 16′a: ᵍⁱˢMES.MÁ.KAN.NA
    E⁴ II 12′:   […].KAN.NA
5) E¹b III 16′:   AD.ME.⌈KÁR⌉
    E² II 16′b: AD.[…]
    E⁴ II 13′a: […]
6) E¹b III 17′:   ⌈*a*⌉*-na né-*⌈*ri-šá*⌉
    E² II 17′a: *a-na né-ri-šá*
    E⁴ II 13′b: [… *n*]*é-ri-šá*
7) E¹b III 18′:   *ú-šal-bi-na*
    E² II 17′b: *ú-šal-b*[*i-*…]
    E⁴ II 14′a: […]
8) E¹b III 19′:   [*l*]*i-*⌈*bit-tu-uš*²¹⌉
    E² II 17′c: […]
    E⁴ II 14′b: SIG₄

Episode 35

1) E¹b IV 1′:   K[Á.DINGIR.RAᵏⁱ …]
    E³b IV 18′–19′:   [KÁ].DINGIR.RAᵏⁱ […]*-lum*
    E⁴ III 6–7:   KÁ.DINGIR.RA⌈ᵏⁱ ᵃ⌉*-lum*
2) E¹b IV 2′:   *mas-n*[*aq-ti* …]
    E³b IV 20′–21′:   […]*-naq-ti* [DINGIR]ᵐᵉˢ
    E⁴ III 8:   *mas-naq-t*[*i*] DINGIRᵐᵉˢ

3) E¹b IV 3′:   *Im-*[…]
    E³b IV 22′a: [*Im-gu*]*r-*ᵈ*En-líl*
    E⁴ III 9:   *Im-gur-*ᵈ*En-líl*
4) E¹b IV 4′:   BÀD-[…]
    E³b IV 22′b: BÀD-*šu*
    E⁴ III 10:   BÀD-*šú*
5) E¹b IV 5′:   *Né-*[…]
    E³b IV 23′:   […]*-*ᵈ*En-lil*
    E⁴ III 11:   *Né-med-*ᵈ*En-lil*
6) E¹b IV 6′:   *šal-*[…]
    E³b IV 24′:   […]*-ḫu-šu*
    E⁴ III 12:   *šal-ḫu-šú*
7) E³b IV 25′–27′:   […]*-na* [*š*]*i-pir* [ᵈ]SIG₄
    E⁴ III 13:   *i-na ši-pir* ᵈSIG₄
8) E³b IV 28′:   […]*-siš*
    E⁴ III 14:   *eš-siš*
9) E¹b IV 7′:   *ú-*[…]
    E³b IV 29′:   […*-š*]*e-piš-ma*
    E⁴ III 15:   *ú-še-piš-ma*
10) E¹b IV 8′:   ⌈*ú*⌉*-*[…]
    E³b IV 30′:   […*-z*]*aq-qir*
    E⁴ III 16a: *ú-zaq-qir*
11) E³b IV 31′:   […]*-niš*
    E⁴ III 16b: *ḫur-šá-niš*

Episode 41

1) E¹a VII 1:   […]ᵐᵉˢ
    E² V 17′:   […]ᵐᵉˢ
    E³b VI 5′a: *a-na* EG[IRᵐᵉˢ]
    E⁴ V 23a: *a-na* ⌈EGIR⌉ᵐ[ᵉˢ]²²
2) E¹a VII 2:   [U₄]ᵐᵉˢ
    E² V 18′:   […]*-me*²³
    E³b VI 5′b: […]
    E⁴ V 23b: […]
3) E¹a VII 3:   [… U₄]ᵐᵉˢ
    E² V 19′:   […] *u₄-me*
    E³b VI 6′a: *ana u₄-m*[*e*]
    E⁴ V 24a: *ana*²⁴ *u₄-me*
4) E¹a VII 4:   [*ṣa-a*]*-tu*(!)²⁵
    E² V 20′:   […]*-ti*
    E³b VI 6′b: […]
    E⁴ V 24b: *ṣ*[*a-*…]
5) E¹a VII 5:   […]ᵐᵉˢ
    E² V 21′–22′:   [*i*]*-na* [..]*-ni*
    E³b VI 7′a: *i-na* LUGALᵐᵉˢ*-n*[*i*]
    E⁴ V 25:   *i-na* LUGAL[…]
6) E¹a VII 6:   […]*-ia*²⁶
    E² V 23′:   […]*-ia*

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²⁰ Episode 22 reoccurs in Versions *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D* (R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 143).
²¹ B(a): *li-bit-tuš*.

²² A¹: ⌈*a*⌉*-na ár-kat*, C²: *ana ár-kat*.
²³ A¹: *u₄-me*, C²: *u⁴-mu*.
²⁴ C²: *ana*.
²⁵ A¹: *ṣa-a-ti*, C²: *ṣa-a-te*.
²⁶ A¹: *-ía*.

	E³b VI 7′b:	[...]
	E⁴ V 26:	DUMU^me[š-*ia*]
7)	E¹a VII 7:	[... D]INGIR^meš
	E² V 24′:	[... DING]IR^meš
	E³b VI 8′a:	*ša*²⁷ LUGAL DINGIR[^meš]
	E⁴ V 27a:	*ša* LUGAL DI[NGIR^meš]
8)	E¹a VII 8:	[^dAM]AR.UTU
	E² V 25′:	[^dAMAR].UTU
	E³b VI 8′b:	[...]
	E⁴ V 27b:	[...]
9)	E¹a VII 9:	[...-*l*]*u-ut*
	E³b VI 9′a:	*a-na be-lu*[*t*]
	E⁴ V 28a:	*a-na be-l*[*ut*]
10)	E¹a VII 10:	[... U]N^meš
	E³b VI 9′b-10′:	[KUR] *ù*²⁸ UN[^meš]
	E⁴ V 28b-29:	[...] *ù* U[N^meš]
11)	E¹a VII 11:	[...]-*ú*
	E³b VI 11′:	*i-nam-bu*-[...]
	E⁴ V 30a:	*i-nam-b*[*u*-...]
12)	E¹a VII 12:	[...]-*šu*²⁹
	E³b VI 12′:	*zi-ki*[*r*-...]
	E⁴ V 30b:	[...]
13)	E¹a VII 13:	[...]-*ú*
	E³b VI 13′a:	*mu-šar-ú*
	E⁴ V 31a:	*mu-šar-*⌈*ú*⌉
14)	E¹b VII 1′:	[*ši-ṭi-i*]*r*(?)³⁰
	E³b VI 13′b:	[...]
	E⁴ V 31b:	[...]
15)	E¹b VII 2′:	[...-*i*]*a*
	E³b VI 14′a:	MU-*ia*
	E⁴ V 31c:	[...]
16)	E¹b VII 3′:	[*li-mur*]-*ma*³¹
	E³b VI 14′b:	*l*[*i*-...]
	E⁴ V 32:	*li*-[...]
17)	E¹b VII 4′:	[...] *li*]*p-šu-uš*
	E³b VI 15′:	ì^meš³² *li*[*p*-...]
	E⁴ V 33:	ì^meš *l*[*ip*-...]
18)	E¹b VII 5′:	[...] *liq-qí*
	E³b VI 16′:	^uduSIZKUR³³ *l*[*iq*-...]
	E⁴ V 34a:	^uduSIZKUR [...]
19)	E¹b VII 6′:	[*a-n*]*a* KI-*šu*³⁴
	E³b VI 17′a:	*a-na áš-ri-šú-nu*
	E⁴ V 34b:	[...]
20)	E¹b VII 7′:	[...]-⌈*tir*⌉
	E² VI 1′:	[...]-*tir*
	E³b VI 17′b:	[...]

	E⁴ V 35a:	*lu-ti*[*r*]
21)	E¹b VII 8′:	[^d]A[MAR.U]TU
	E² VI 2′:	^dAMAR.UTU
	E³b VI 18′a:	^dAMAR.UTU
	E⁴ V 35b:	[...]
22)	E¹b VII 9′:	[LUG]AL DINGIR^meš
	E² VI 3′:	LUGAL DINGIR^meš
	E³b VI 18′b:	LUGA[L ...]
	E⁴ V 35c:	[...]
23)	E¹b VII 10′:	[*i*]*k-ri-bi-šú*
	E² VI 4′:	*ik-ri-bi-šú*
	E³b VI 19′:	*ik-ri-bi*-[...]
	E⁴ V 36a:	*ik-r*[*i*-...]
24)	E¹b VII 11′:	[...]-⌈*še-em*⌉-*me*
	E² VI 5′:	*i-še-em-me*³⁵
	E³b VI 20′:	*i-še-em*-[*me*]
	E⁴ V 36b:	[...]
25)	E¹b VII 12′:	[...-*n*]*ak-kir*
	E² VI 6′:	*mu-nak-kir*
	E³b VI 21′:	*mu-nak*-[...]
	E⁴ V 37a:	*m*[*u*]-*na*[*k*-...]
26)	E¹b VII 13′:	[... M]U-*ia*
	E² VI 7′:	*ši-ṭir*³⁶ MU-*ia*
	E³b VI 22′:	*ši-ṭir* MU-[...]
	E⁴ V 37b:	[...]
27)	E¹a VIII 1:	*mu-saḫ-ḫu-ú*³⁷
28)	E¹a VIII 2:	*si-ma-ti-ia*
29)	E¹a VIII 3:	*pa-si-su*
	E² VI 8′:	*pa-si-su*
	E³b VI 23′a:	*pa-si-su*
	E⁴ V 38a:	*pa-si*-[*su*]
30)	E¹a VIII 4:	*e-piš-ti*
	E² VI 9′:	*e-piš-ti*
	E³b VI 23′b:	*e-piš-t*[*i*]
	E⁴ V 38b:	[...]
31)	E¹a VIII 5:	^dEN GAL-*e*
	E² VI 10′:	^dEN GAL-*ú*
	E³b VI 24′a:	^dEN GAL-*ú*
	E⁴ V 39a:	^dEN G[AL-...]
32)	E¹a VIII 6:	^dAMAR.UTU
	E² VI 11′:	^dAMAR.UTU
	E³b VI 24′b:	^dAMAR.UTU
	E⁴ V 39b:	[...]
33)	E¹a VIII 7:	*i-na nap-ḫar*
	E² VI 12′a:	*i-na nap-ḫar*
	E³b VI 25′a:	*i-na nap-ḫar*
	E⁴ V 40a:	*i-na nap*-[...]
34)	E¹a VIII 8:	*ma-li-ki*(!) (copy:-*ku*)
	E² VI 12′b:	*ma-li-ki*
	E³b VI 25′b:	*ma-li-ki*

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²⁷ A¹: *šá*.
²⁸ A¹, C²: KUR *u*.
²⁹ A¹: -*šú*.
³⁰ A¹: *ši-ṭi-ir*, C²: *ši-ṭir*.
³¹ A¹: *li-mur-ma*, C²: *li-mu*[*r*-...].
³² A¹, C²: ì.GIŠ.
³³ A¹: ^uduSIZKUR.SIZKUR.
³⁴ A¹: *áš-ri-šu*, C²: KI-*š*[*ú*].

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³⁵ C²: *i*-[*še*]*m-mi*.
³⁶ A¹: *ši-ṭi-ir*.
³⁷ E² omits lines 27–28.

	E⁴ V 40b:	[...]
35)	E¹a VIII 9:	*lik-kil-mi-šu-ma*
	E² VI 13':	*lik-kil-mu-šú-ma*
	E³b VI 26':	*lik-kil-mu-šu-ma*
	E⁴ V 41a:	*lik-ki[l-...]*
36)	E¹a VIII 10:	*šùm-šu* NUMUN-*šú*
	E² VI 14'a:	*šùm-šú* NUMUN-*šú*
	E³b VI 27':	[*š*]*ùm-šú* NUMUN-*šu*
	E⁴ V 41b:	[...]
37)	E¹a VIII 11:	*li-ḫal-liq-ma*
	E² VI 14'b–15':	*ina* KUR *lu-ḫal-liq*
	E³b VI 28':	*i*[*na* ...] *lu-ḫal-liq*
	E⁴ V 42:	*ina* KUR *l*[*i*(?)-...]
38)	E¹a VIII 12:	⌈*a-na*⌉ *ṣa-a*[*t* ...]
	= E¹b VIII 1':	[...] *u₄*-⌈*me*⌉[38]
	E² VI 16':	*a-na u₄-me ṣa-a-ti*
	E³b VI 29':	*a-*⌈*na u₄*⌉*-me ṣa-a-ti*
	E⁴ V 43:	*a-n*[*a* ...]
39)	E¹b VIII 2':	*a-a ir-*[*š*]*i-šu*
	E² VI 17':	*a-a ir-ši-šú*
	E³b VI 30':	*a-a ir-ši-šú*
40)	E¹b VIII 3':	*re-e-me*
	E² VI 18':	*re-e-mu*
	E³b VI 31':	*re-e-mu*

Date[39]

1)	E¹b VIII 4':	MU.SAG
	E³b VI 32':	MU.SAG
2)	E¹b VIII 5':	NAM.LUGAL.LA
	E³b VI 33':	NAM.LUGAL.LA
3)	E¹b VIII 6':	AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-SÌ-*n*[*a*]
	E³b VI 34':	AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-SÌ-*na*
4)	E¹b VIII 7':	LUGAL *ma-*[*at*]
	E³b VI 35'a:	LUGAL KUR
5)	E¹b VIII 8':	*Aš-šur*ᵏ[ⁱ]
	E³b VI 35'b:	*Aš-šur*ᵏⁱ

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[38] R. Borger's reading: *ṣa-*⌈*at*⌉ [*u₄-me*] (*BiOr* 21 p. 148) is now assured.

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[39] For a discussion of this date formula see S. Parpola *apud* D.I. Owen/K. Watanabe, *OrAnt* 22 (1983) pp. 37–38 n. 3 with addition on p. 47.