

**MATERIALS AND STUDIES FOR KASSITE HISTORY
VOL. I**

MATERIALS AND STUDIES FOR KASSITE HISTORY VOL. I

A CATALOGUE OF CUNEIFORM SOURCES
PERTAINING TO SPECIFIC MONARCHS
OF THE KASSITE DYNASTY

By

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THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1976

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 76-44965

The Oriental Institute, Chicago

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Published 1976. Printed in the United States of America*

To My Aunt

MARGARET LOUISE DAVIES SCOFIELD

PREFACE

In an earlier work I dealt at length with the political history of Babylonia between the fall of the Kassite dynasty (middle of the twelfth century B.C.) and the death of Shalmaneser V (722 B.C.).¹ Because there were few written sources available for reconstructing the history of those four centuries, the materials could be gathered and discussed in relatively comprehensive fashion within a few hundred pages.

The period of the Kassite dynasty, though it covers a comparable span of time,² presents different problems. Most formidable is the bulk of contemporary native documentation, which is seventy-five times larger than that for the succeeding period.³ Less than 10 percent of this enormous corpus has been published, and publications in various stages of preparation will not alter this figure appreciably.⁴ If this vast amount of unassessed material is to become available to scholars interested in the epoch, it must gradually be organized and made public. A projected series of volumes, of which this is the first, is designed to begin performing that function: to communicate researches on this corpus in small sections, as they are completed, and thus to offer scholars timely knowledge of the results as well as the opportunity to participate with projects of their own utilizing the same materials. These volumes will be, for the most part, propaedeutic to the reconstruction of the political

¹A *Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.* (AnOr XLIII; Rome, 1968).

²The hegemony of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia lasted at most for about 440 years (1595-1155 B.C.), according to the chronology accepted here, as contrasted with approximately 435 years for the Post-Kassite period. (The total length given for the Kassite dynasty in Kinglist A, which includes the monarchs ruling before Kassite ascendance over Babylon, is "576 (years) 9 months"; no indisputably authentic royal or economic inscriptions pertaining to the dynasty survive from this early pre-Babylon period.)

³In round numbers, the Kassite period offers more than 12,000 known primary documents from Babylonia, as opposed to approximately 160 for the Post-Kassite era (including documents published or discovered since *PKB* was published).

⁴In fact, excavations now going on at Nippur, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Larsa, and Isin are likely to turn up additional Kassite documents.

and socioeconomic history of the Kassites⁵ and will offer a wide range of contents: catalogues, text editions, philological analyses, archival and prosopographical studies, and preliminary syntheses of political and socioeconomic history.⁶ Such a piecemeal method of publication may necessitate substantive revision of earlier results as the series progresses, but this seems preferable to withholding all publication until such time as a definitive multivolume work might appear.

The material contained in this volume was collected over a six-year period from December 1968 to December 1974.⁷ During this time, I was fortunate in enjoying the generous scholarly cooperation of museum officials and curators of tablet collections in Asia, Europe, and North America. I wish to express my appreciation to Drs. Isa Salman, Fuad Safar, Fawzi Raschid, and Faraj Bas-machi (now retired) of the Department of Antiquities and the Iraq Museum, Baghdad; to Prof. Ezat Negahban, Teheran; to Madame Muazzez Çiğ (now retired), Mr. Veysel Donbaz, Miss Fatma Yıldız, and Mr. Mustafa Eren of the Tablet Archives, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri; to MM. Pierre Amiet and Maurice Lambert of the Louvre; to Prof. A. A. Kampman and Mr. M. Stol of the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden; to Dr. E. Sollberger and Mr. C. B. F. Walker of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum; to Dr. Vaughn Crawford of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and to Prof. Åke Sjöberg of the University Museum, Philadelphia. I am also grateful

⁵Involving principally the time of the Kassite dynasty, though earlier and later attestations of the Kassites, as well as related subjects, will also be treated.

⁶Future volumes of the series, some already partially prepared, are planned to include--among other subjects--a detailed catalogue and discussion of the texts found at Dūr-Kurigalzu by the Iraqi excavations between 1942 and 1945, an analysis of the Kassite tribal system, a text edition of the Gandaš and Agum-kakrime inscriptions, a short political history of the Kassite period, and a study of the role of foreign groups and servile laborers in the economy. Depending on the future accessibility of the necessary text materials, the series may eventually include corpora of various types of inscriptions (e.g., royal, legal, administrative, and epistolary), a name book, and a glossary.

⁷After the final editing of this manuscript (October 1974-February 1975), it has not been possible to incorporate newly found or published materials, except sporadically. Volumes whose manuscripts have been made available to me but which were still unpublished--or inaccessible to me in published form--before February 15, 1975 are therefore cited as "to be published," even if in fact they may have appeared in print before this book.

to Dr. Inez Bernhardt (Jena, now retired) and Prof. William W. Hallo (Yale) for allowing me to read through some of the Kassite materials in the collections under their charge.

Other colleagues have assisted in the compilation and presentation of this material through their additions, advice, collations, and criticism. I wish to thank especially D. Arnaud, Robert Biggs, R. Borger, J. Bottéro, J. Canby, E. Carter, G. R. Castellino, Miguel Civil, Mark E. Cohen, Raymond B. Dillard, R. H. Dyson, J. Dudkowski, Marcel Dupret, D. O. Edzard, Maria Ellis, I. J. Gelb, Gene Gragg, A. K. Grayson, O. R. Gurney, H. G. Güterbock, P. Herrero, H. Hunger, Thorkild Jacobsen, Douglas Kennedy, F. R. Kraus, M. Lambert, W. G. Lambert, Erle Leichty, Stephen J. Lieberman, Maurits van Loon, Gerhard R. Meyer, P. R. S. Moorey, William L. Moran, Martha A. Morrison, J. Oelsner, A. L. Oppenheim, David I. Owen, Herbert Petschow, Edith Porada, J. N. Postgate, E. Reiner, M. B. Rowton, and F. Vallat.

My debt to my predecessors, especially to Faisal El-Wailly⁸ and Kurt Jaritz,⁹ and through them to their respective teachers, I. J. Gelb and Ernst Weidner, is obvious. Less apparent, but of at least equal significance, is the assistance gained from the card catalogue of the Istanbul tablet collection (compiled by F. R. Kraus), which covers more than 40 percent of the unpublished Kassite texts from Nippur there. During the final stages of the preparation of the chronology section of the manuscript, I benefitted considerably from discussions with my colleague M. B. Rowton, who has read and criticized the draft; I very much appreciate his patience and generosity in sharing his wide knowledge and understanding of chronological problems, especially since our interpretations of the malleable data do not always coincide.

I am grateful to the American Schools of Oriental Research for supporting my research while I served as their annual professor in Baghdad in 1968/69. A fellowship awarded by the American Research Institute in Turkey in the summer of 1971 enabled me to make a comprehensive introductory survey of the Nippur Kassite materials in Istanbul and to catalogue some of these texts for the museum. I am also indebted to the Oriental Institute, Chicago, and to its former director, Prof. George R. Hughes, for supplementing other research funds and

⁸"Synopsis of Royal Sources of the Kassite Period," *Sumer* X (1954) 43-54.

⁹"Quellen zur Geschichte der Kassû-Dynastie," *MIO* VI (1958) 187-265.

PREFACE

making it possible for me to spend time in Berlin, London, Paris, and Philadelphia that otherwise would have been drastically curtailed.

Special thanks are due Prof. Åke Sjöberg, who has gone out of his way to make the Philadelphia Nippur materials available to me even in Chicago, and to Mr. Veysel Donbaz, with whom I have read many of the Istanbul texts and whose generous cooperation has contributed immeasurably to the completeness of these pages. My greatest debt, however, is to my wife, Monique, whom I met while doing research on this book *ina māṭ Kaššî*, with whom I have tramped the sands of Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu, and whose patience with and forbearance toward the Kassites have been unremitting.

Finally, the author would appreciate any additions or corrections to this material that are called to his attention.

J. A. Brinkman

Oriental Institute
Chicago
July 31, 1975

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
- A. siglum of antiquities in the collection of the Louvre; in this catalogue, A. 606 and A. 818-22 belong to this group
- A. siglum of tablets, etc., in the Assur collection of the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri; in this catalogue, A. 117 belongs to this group
- AAA *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool, 1908-48)
- AAT J. A. Craig. *Astrological-Astronomical Texts Copied from the Original Tablets in the British Museum* (Leipzig, 1899)
- AbB F. R. Kraus et al. *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung* (Leiden, 1964---)
- ABC A. K. Grayson. "Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles" (cited from 1967 manuscript, without later addenda)
- ABL R. F. Harper. *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the K(ouyunjik) Collection of the British Museum* (14 vols.; Chicago, 1892-1914)
- acc. accession
- ACH C. Virolleaud. *L'astrologie chaldéenne* (Paris, 1903-12)
- AfK *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* (Berlin, 1923-25)
- AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin and Graz, 1926---)
- AJ *The Antiquaries Journal* (London, etc., 1921---)
- AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*, second series (Norwood, Mass., etc., 1897---)
- AJSL *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago, 1895-1941)
- AKA E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King. *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I (London, 1902)
- AMI *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, old series (Berlin, 1929-38)
- ANET J. B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3d ed.; Princeton, 1969)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i> (Rome, 1931---)
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> (London, 1951---)
AO	siglum of objects in the collection of the Louvre
AO	<i>Der Alte Orient</i> (Leipzig, 1903-43)
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968---)
AOATS	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Sonderreihe</i> (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971---)
AOB	E. Ebeling et al., eds. <i>Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige</i> (Leipzig, 1926; only one volume issued)
AOD	siglum of objects in the collection of the Louvre
AOF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> (Leipzig, 1897-1906)
ARI	A. K. Grayson. <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, I</i> (Wiesbaden, 1972)
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientální</i> (Prague, 1929---)
AS	siglum of objects from Susa in the collection of the Louvre
AS	<i>Assyriological Studies</i> (Chicago, 1931---)
Asarhaddon	R. Borger. <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien</i> (Graz, 1956)
Asb.	M. Streck. <i>Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's</i> (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1916)
Assur	prefix of field numbers from the German excavations at Assur
AUAM	siglum of objects in the collection of the Andrews University Archaeological Museum
B.	siglum of tablets in the Babylon (Babil) collection, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri
BA	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft</i> (Leipzig, 1890-1927)
Bab.	see Photo Bab. and VA Bab.
Bagh. Mitt.	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i> (Berlin, 1960---)
BBSt	L. W. King. <i>Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum</i> (London, 1912)

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- BE** prefix of field numbers from the German excavations at Babylon
- BE** *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts* (Philadelphia, etc., 1893-1914)
- Bezold, Cat.** C. Bezold. *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (5 vols.; London, 1889-99)
- BHLT** A. K. Grayson. *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts* (Toronto, 1975)
- BIN** *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies* (New Haven, 1917---)
- BiOr** *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden, 1943---)
- Bischof** B. Landsberger. *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon* (Amsterdam, 1965)
- BM** siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum
- BMQ** *The British Museum Quarterly* (London, 1926---)
- Bo** prefix of field numbers from the German excavations at Boghazkoy
- Böhl Festschrift** M. A. Beek et al., eds. *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dicatae* (Leiden, 1973)
- BOR** *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* (London, 1887-1901)
- BRM** *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (4 vols.; New York, etc., 1912-23)
- CAD** *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago and Glückstadt, 1956---)
- CAH** *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1923---)
- Cat.** see under name of author
- CBM** see CBS
- CBS** *Catalogue of the Babylonian Section; siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBS registry book	catalogue of CBS objects in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia
CCEBK	L. W. King. <i>Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings</i> (2 vols.; London, 1907)
Chron.	Chronicle
Columbia Univ.	siglum of tablets in the collection of the Columbia University Libraries as catalogued by Mendelsohn, <i>q.v.</i>
Cornell	siglum of tablets in the collection of Cornell University
Corpus	E. Porada. <i>Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections</i> , I (New York, 1948)
CPN	A. T. Clay. <i>Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period</i> (New Haven, 1912)
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum</i> (London, 1896---)
D.	siglum of antiquities in the collection of the Louvre; in this catalogue, D. 56 is from this collection
D.	siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; in this catalogue, D. 802 and D. 946 are from this collection
Delaporte, Cat. Bibl. Natl.	L. Delaporte. <i>Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> (Paris, 1910)
Delaporte, Cat. Louvre	L. Delaporte. <i>Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental</i> (2 vols.; Paris, 1920-23)
Div.	Diversa; siglum of tablets, etc., from various sites in the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri
DK	Dūr-Kurigalzu; prefix of field numbers from the Iraqi excavations at Dūr-Kurigalzu
DŠ	Dūr-Šarrukīn; prefix of field numbers from the American excavations at Khorsabad
D.T.	Daily Telegraph; siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum

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- EA** J. A. Knudtson. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1915)
- E.A.H.** siglum of tablets in the E. A. Hoffmann Collection of the General Theological Seminary, New York (as cited in *BE*)
- EAK** R. Borger et al. *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* (Leiden, 1961---
- El-Wailly** F. El-Wailly. "Synopsis of Royal Sources of the Kassite Period," *Sumer X* (1954) 43-54
- Épithètes royales** M.-J. Seux. *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
- ES** siglum of objects in the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri (data obtained from records in Istanbul, not from personal observation of the objects)
- Figulla, Cat.** H. H. Figulla. *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1961)
- FLP** siglum of tablets in the collection of the Free Library, Philadelphia
- Fossey** C. Fossey. *Manuel d'assyriologie II* (Paris, 1926)
- Friedrich** R. von Kienle, ed. *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet* (Heidelberg, 1959)
- Festschrift**
- gen.** genitive
- Gilgamish** R. Campbell Thompson. *The Epic of Gilgamish* (Oxford, 1930)
- GN** geographical name
- H.** siglum of objects formerly in the collection of the Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago
- Harper Memorial** R. F. Harper et al., eds. *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (2 vols.; Chicago, 1908)
- HAS** prefix of field numbers from the American excavations at Hasanlu
- Heidelberger Studien** D. O. Edzard, ed. *Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient* (Wiesbaden, 1967)

<i>HKL</i>	R. Borger. <i>Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur</i> (Berlin, 1967---)
Hmr.	prefix of field numbers from the British excavations at Uhaimir
HS	Hilprecht-Sammlung; siglum of tablets in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena
HSM	siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Harvard Semitic Museum
<i>HSS</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Series</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1912---)
HTS	Hartford Theological Seminary; siglum of tablets, etc. (formerly) in the collection of the Hartford Theological Seminary
IB	prefix of field numbers from the German excavations at Isin
<i>ILN</i>	<i>The Illustrated London News</i> (London, 1842---)
IM	Iraq Museum; siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Iraq Museum
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i> (Paris, 1822---)
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i> (New York, 1968---)
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> (Boston, etc., 1843---)
Jaritz	K. Jaritz. "Quellen zur Geschichte der Kassû-Dynastie," <i>MIO VI</i> (1958) 187-265 (inscriptions cited by catalogue numbers, pp. 226-62)
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> (New Haven and Cambridge, Mass., 1947---)
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> (London, 1914---)
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> (Leiden, 1958---)
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago, 1942---)
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> (London, 1834---)
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> (Manchester, 1956---)
K	Kurigalzu

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- K. siglum of tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum
- KAH* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1911-22)
- KAJ* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1927)
- KAR* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1915-23)
- KAV* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1920)
- KB* *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1889-1915)
- KBo* *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1916----
- K-E* Kadašman-Enlil
- Kish* M. Gibson. *The City and Area of Kish* (Coconut Grove, Fla., 1972)
- Kleidertexte* J. Aro. *Mittelbabylonische Kleidertexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena* (Berlin, 1970)
- Kolophone* H. Hunger. *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968)
- KUB* *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin, 1921----
- Kultische Kalender* B. Landsberger. *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Leipzig, 1915)
- L. Lagash; siglum of tablets in the Lagash collection of the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri; all such numbers in this catalogue are between L. 39400 and L. 39500
- L. Larsa; prefix of field numbers from the French excavations at Larsa; such numbers cited in this catalogue begin with L. 69, L. 70, or L. 74, e.g., L. 7078
- L- siglum of inscribed objects in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia; cited in a form like L-29-446
- LB* siglum of tablets in the De Liagre Böhl collection, Leiden
- LBAT* A. J. Sachs, ed. *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Providence, R.I., 1955)
- Limet* H. Limet. *Les légendes des sceaux cassites* (Brussels, 1971)
- MA* Middle Assyrian
- MAH* siglum of tablets in the collection of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MAOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig, 1925-43)
MB	Middle Babylonian
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> (Berlin, 1899---)
MDP	<i>Délégation en Perse: Mémoires</i> (Paris, 1900---; with variations in the series title)
Meded.	<i>Medede(e)lingen der Koninklijke (Nederlandse) Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afde(e)ling Letterkunde</i> (Amsterdam, 1855---; with variations in the series title)
Mendelsohn, Cat.	I. Mendelsohn. <i>Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the Libraries of Columbia University</i> (New York, 1943)
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> (Berlin, 1953-72)
MJ	<i>The Museum Journal</i> (Philadelphia, 1910-35)
MLC	siglum of tablets in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library Collection
MMA	siglum of accession numbers in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MN	month name
Msk.	prefix of field numbers from the French excavations at Meskene
MSKH	J. A. Brinkman. <i>Materials and Studies for Kassite History</i> (Chicago, 1976---)
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig, 1896-1944)
N	Nippur; siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia
N	prefix of field numbers from the American excavations at Nippur beginning in 1948; preceded by the season number, e.g., 2 N 50
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NB	Neo-Babylonian
NBC	siglum of tablets, etc., in the James B. Nies Collection, Yale University
ND	prefix of field numbers from the British excavations at Nimrud, 1949-63

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- Ni. Nippur; siglum of tablets, etc., in the Nippur collection of the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri
- Nippur J. P. Peters. *Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates* (2 vols.; New York, 1897)
- NT prefix of field numbers of inscribed objects from the American excavations at Nippur beginning in 1948; preceded by the season number, e.g., 4 NT 3
- N.T. siglum of objects in a private collection, Boston
- OB Old Babylonian
- OIP *Oriental Institute Publications* (Chicago, 1924---)
- Or *Orientalia, Nova Series* (Rome, 1932---)
- P siglum of tablets formerly in the Peiser collection; published in *Urk.*
- PBS *Publications of the Babylonian Section* (Philadelphia, 1911-30)
- Petschow H. Petschow. *Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschafts-urkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena* (Berlin, 1974)
- Photo Bab. prefix of excavation photographs taken by the German expedition to Babylon
- PKB J. A. Brinkman. *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.* (Rome, 1968)
- PN personal name
- R H. C. Rawlinson et al. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (5 vols.; London, 1861-84); preceded by volume number, e.g., IV R
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1884---)
- RAI XIX P. Garelli, ed. *Le palais et la royauté* (Paris, 1974)
- RCAE L. Waterman. *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* (4 vols.; Ann Arbor, 1930-36)
- Recherches J. Ménant. *Les pierres gravées de la Haute Asie: Recherches sur la glyptique orientale* (2 vols.; Paris, 1883-86)
- RLA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928---)
- RLV *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (Berlin, 1924-32)
- Rm. Rassam; siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum

RN	royal name
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> (Paris, 1870-1923)
RWH	siglum of seals in the R. W. Hutchinson Collection, Liverpool University
Sb	prefix of field numbers from the French excavations at Susa
<i>Seal Cylinders</i>	W. H. Ward. <i>The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia</i> (Washington, 1910)
Seidl	U. Seidl. "Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs," <i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i> IV (1968) 7-220
Sm.	Smith; siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum
Sor	prefix of field numbers from the American excavations at Surkh Dum, Luristan
<i>Southesk Catalogue</i>	Lady Helena Carnegie, ed. <i>Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems Formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk, K.T.</i> (2 vols.; London, 1908)
Sp.	Spartoli; siglum of tablets, etc., in the collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum
SSS	<i>Semitic Study Series</i> (Leiden, 1902---)
Steinmetzer	F. X. Steinmetzer. <i>Die babylonischen Kudurru (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform</i> (Paderborn, 1922)
STT	O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin. <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> (2 vols.; London, 1957-64)
<i>Studies Oppenheim</i>	[R. D. Biggs and J. A. Brinkman, eds.] <i>Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim</i> (Chicago, 1964)
S.U.	Sultantepe-Urfa; prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Sultantepe in 1951/52
<i>Sumer IX</i>	O. R. Gurney. "Further Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu," <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) 21-34, with unnumbered plates
<i>Symbolae David</i>	J. A. Ankum et al., eds. <i>Symbolae iuridicae et historicae Martino David dedicatae II</i> (Leiden, 1968)
Syn. Hist.	Synchronistic History (<i>CT XXXIV</i> 38-43, etc.)
TAPS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> (Philadelphia, 1771---)
TCL	<i>Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales: Textes cunéiformes</i> (Paris, 1910---)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<i>TLB</i>	<i>Tabulae cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae</i> (Leiden, 1954---)
Tn. Epic	Tukulti-Ninurta Epic
<i>Tn. I</i>	E. Weidner. <i>Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger</i> (Graz, 1959)
Torczyner	H. Torczyner. <i>Altbabylonische Tempelrechnungen</i> (Vienna, 1913)
<i>TuM</i>	<i>Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</i> (Berlin, 1932---; with variations in series title; <i>TuM NF V</i> is cited from the unpublished manuscript by I. Bernhardt et al. [1972])
U	Ur; prefix of field numbers from the British-American excavations at Ur
<i>UE</i>	<i>Ur Excavations</i> (London, etc., 1927---)
<i>UET</i>	<i>Ur Excavations, Texts</i> (London, etc., 1928---)
UM	siglum of objects in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia
<i>UMB</i>	<i>The University Museum Bulletin</i> (Philadelphia, 1930-58)
<i>Untersuchungen</i>	H. Winckler. <i>Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte</i> (Leipzig, 1889)
<i>Urk.</i>	F. E. Peiser. <i>Urkunden aus der Zeit der dritten babylonischen Dynastie</i> (Berlin, 1905)
<i>UVB</i>	<i>Vorläufiger Bericht über . . . die Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka</i> (Berlin, 1930---; with variations in series title)
VA	Vorderasiatische Abteilung; siglum of objects in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, East Berlin
VA Bab.	VA objects from Babylon
<i>VAB</i>	<i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i> (Leipzig, 1907-16)
<i>VAS</i>	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler</i> (Leipzig, 1907-17; Berlin, 1971---)
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafel; siglum of clay tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, East Berlin
W	prefix of field numbers from the German excavations at Warka
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i> (Göttingen, 1947---)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1900---)
- WZJ* *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena* (Jena, 1951---)
- YBC* siglum of objects in the Yale Babylonian Collection
- YOS* *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts* (New Haven, 1915---)
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1886---; with variations in periodical title)
- Zwei Hauptprobleme* C. F. Lehmann. *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie und ihre Lösung* (Leipzig, 1898)

I. INTRODUCTION

More than twelve thousand documents survive from the Kassite period (ca. 1595-1155 B.C.), and less than 10 percent of them have been published. It is the purpose of the present volume to take a first step toward organizing this large body of material by dividing the dated texts, published and unpublished, into chronological groups. Further research can continue to group archives and significant text types as a prelude to meaningful historical assessment of the period.

This volume is divided into four principal parts: I. Introduction, II. Catalogue of Sources, III. Indices to the Catalogue, and IV. Publication of Miscellaneous Texts. The book concludes with four appendices, principally on chronological subjects.

In the Introduction I discuss the scope of the Catalogue (Section A), the chronology of the Kassite dynasty (Section B), the chronological, geographical, and typological distribution of the catalogued sources (Section C), and the type of history or histories of the Kassite period that may be expected to result from further studies of the available materials (Section D).

A. SCOPE OF THE CATALOGUE

The Catalogue is an attempt to list all presently known cuneiform texts that pertain to the history of the Kassite dynasty and can readily be connected with the reign of a specific monarch or monarchs.¹ In the case of inscriptions published prior to February 1975, this list is designed to be exhaustive. In the case of unpublished materials, only those items are included to which the author had access: the extensive Nippur archives in Istanbul and Philadelphia (University Museum) and the smaller ones in Baghdad, Chicago, and Jena;² the Babylon and Lagash archives in Istanbul; the $\bar{D}\bar{u}r$ -Kurigalzu archives in Baghdad;³ and miscellaneous Kassite texts in Paris, London, Philadelphia (Free Library), New Haven, and Chicago.⁴ In addition, D. Arnaud has kindly communicated to me information about texts found in recent excavations at Larsa and Meskene; and D. O. Edzard and P. Herrero have done the same for digs at Isin and Haft Tepe.

Among lacunae of which I am aware, the most obvious is the Kassite economic texts found at Babylon by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in the early years of this century.⁵ Though I have been able to examine the tablets from Babylon in the Istanbul museum, I have been unable to trace the whereabouts or to learn anything about the rest of these tablets, which might be expected to be

¹Undated materials and texts not easily related to specific kings will be dealt with in later volumes of this series.

²I have had access to the Jena economic texts from Nippur principally through the unpublished copies of Dr. I. Bernhardt (scheduled to appear as *TuM NF V*) and, at the final stage of editing this manuscript (February 1975), through the recently published transliterations in Petschow, *Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena*. Fortunately, the dates given in these editions agree in most essentials; but occasionally, where there is a slight disagreement in the reading of a day date, the variant readings are both noted in the Catalogue.

³I.e., those texts excavated between 1942 and 1945 (of which I made a preliminary catalogue in 1968/69). I have not had the opportunity to examine other texts found at the site.

⁴It should be noted that in the larger of these collections (some of which have been only cursorily catalogued) it is likely that more Kassite tablets remain to be discovered.

⁵See, *inter alia*, *WVDOG* XLVII 13, 54, 56, 58, 159, 164-65, 185, 189, 194, 205, etc.

A. SCOPE OF THE CATALOGUE

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in Berlin. Kassite period textual remains were also apparently found at Eridu and on Bahrein, but whether any of these finds would be pertinent to the present Catalogue is uncertain.⁶

⁶Eridu: see Q.5.11 in the Catalogue below. Bahrein: *KUML* 1964 103; Geoffrey Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun* (New York, 1969) p. 347.

B. A CHRONOLOGY OF THE KASSITE DYNASTY

In dealing with Babylonian chronology, one feels more than usually at the mercy of one's sources, which are often composed at a date much later than the period covered and are occasionally in conflict with less informative contemporary material. Attempts to combine refractory evidence of these kinds into a plausible, unified picture are necessarily provisional and quite liable to be corrected as new data become available.

The present chronological reconstruction is based on the following preliminary assumptions:

- (a) Babylonian absolute chronology of the Kassite period is to be calculated by comparison with contemporary Assyrian chronology, the only stable and relatively fixed scheme to which it can meaningfully be related;¹

¹The Hittite and even the Egyptian chronologies for the period are still too fluid to be used to establish absolute dates for Babylonia. The only Hittite-Babylonian royal synchronisms known are between Ḫattušili III on the one side and both Kadašman-Turgu and his son Kadašman-Enlil II on the other (*KUB* III 71; *KBo* I 10, etc.). The only certain Egyptian-Babylonian royal synchronisms are known from the Amarna letters: Kadašman-Enlil I--Amenophis III (*EA* 1-3), Burna-Buriasš II--Akhnaton (*EA* 7-8, 11), Burna-Buriasš II--Tutankhamon (*EA* 9). But at present these can be used only as rough chronological guides for the reigns involved.

Of much more potential significance is Kühne's recent argument in favor of a Burna-Buriasš II--Amenophis III synchronism, based on his collation of the traces of the Egyptian royal name in *EA* 6:1 (*AOAT* XVII 129, n. 642). This would mean that the reign of Burna-Buriasš II coincided at least partially with the reigns of Amenophis III, Akhnaton, and Tutankhamon; and, even though Burna-Buriasš had a reign at least twenty-seven years long, it should be easier to date in terms of three Egyptian reigns, once greater precision is possible on the Egyptian side. Unfortunately, however, the variety of Egyptian chronologies proposed over the past few years makes it plain that their absolute dates are no more reliable--for the Amarna age at least--than the Babylonian; and, because of the unsettled coregency question concerning Amenophis III and Akhnaton, one cannot be sure even that the whole of Akhnaton's reign would be included within the reign of Burna-Buriasš.

Some writers (e.g., Edel, *JCS* XII [1958] 130-33; Tadmor, *JNES* XVII [1958] 139-40; Rowton, *JNES* XIX [1960] 16-18 and XXV [1966] 241-49; Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* [Wiesbaden, 1964] *passim*) have attempted to determine whether the

(b) the Assyrian chronology accepted as the basis for this discussion is that followed in the third edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, I/1, and my tables in Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964) pp. 345-47, with the following adjustments:²

- (i) the length of reign for Tiglath-pileser II (king No. 97) should be 32 rather than 33 years (date: 966-935 B.C.);
- (ii) the total regnal period from Aššur-uballiṣ I (No. 73) to Adad-nirari I (No. 76),³ inclusive, should be 90 rather than 91 years.⁴

Egyptian-Hittite treaty in year 21 of Ramesses II came before or after the composition of the letter *KBo I 10*. Tadmor, Edel, Hornung, and Rowton (1960) have argued that *KBo I 10* antedates the treaty. Rowton (1966) argued that it postdates the treaty. The arguments on both sides rely heavily on inferences made from the damaged passage in *KBo I 10:55 ff.*, in which at least the first quarter of each line is missing. The section apparently deals with an incident of strained relations between Egypt and Ḫatti in the time of Ḫattušili III and Kadašman-Turgu, when the latter seems to have offered to send the former battle forces (including chariotry) in case the Hittites marched against Egypt. *KBo I 10* in its present condition says nothing about a subsequent Egyptian-Hittite treaty, much less whether such a treaty would have been made during the reign of Kadašman-Turgu or Kadašman-Enlil II. Even if one were to grant that the period of strained relations between Egypt and Ḫatti mentioned in *KBo I 10* preceded/succeeded the treaty, it is difficult to see how placing of part of Kadašman-Turgu's or of Kadašman-Enlil's throne tenure relative to year 21 of Ramesses II is crucial or even helpful for establishing a fixed Babylonian chronology. There are still too many uncertainties on the Egyptian side--including the three accession dates (1304, 1290, and 1279) currently under discussion for Ramesses II--to make an indirect Egyptian-Babylonian synchronism of much use for our purposes. See now also the recently published discussion by M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster, 1975) pp. 109-11, who considers the difficulties in using the synchronism on the Egyptian side.

²Documentation for these revisions is presented in my article, "Comments on the Nassouhi Kinglist and the Assyrian Kinglist Tradition," *Or XLII* (1973) 306-19.

³Despite its possible inaccuracy, a simplified traditional transcription of Assyrian royal names ending in -nirari is used here, even where the various dialects might call for forms such as -na'rārī, -nārārī, -nērārī, etc. The Middle Assyrian evidence is not conclusive; see Weidner, *AOB I 56*, n. 2, and Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira II* (Rome, 1970) 144 (which present contrasting evidence from various kinds of inscriptions).

⁴Other variations in the chronological tradition for the Middle Assyrian period (3 versus 4 years for the reign of Aššur-nādin-apli, and 3 versus 13 years for Ninurta-apil-Ekur) will be taken into account separately below. Use of the "13" rather than the "3" year figure for Ninurta-apil-Ekur is particularly debatable.

The skeleton for the chronology of the Kassite dynasty is traditionally taken from the summary given at the end of the dynasty in Kinglist A: "576 (years), 9 months; 36 kings." We have no independent evidence to confirm or refute this assertion;⁵ and, *faute de mieux*, it remains the starting

It must be stressed that the Middle Assyrian chronology as adopted for use here (and as in use generally) also relies on the assumption that the reigns of Assyrian kings Nos. 84-85 (Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku), who are said by the Assyrian Kinglist to have ruled for a period designated as *ṭuppišu*, are usually reckoned as zero years. While current scholarly consensus favors that opinion, it can hardly be viewed as incontrovertible; and any change in that reckoning would of course require corresponding shifts in earlier Middle Assyrian chronology as well as in the dates of the Kassite dynasty.

⁵There are several ancient *Distanzangaben* relating to the period of the dynasty, but their usefulness is limited by at least two factors. First, it is uncertain what data the scribes had available from which to draw their conclusions; and, in instances where they may have been using kinglists (e.g., *BE* I 83:6-8, which is apparently based on selected data from the Kinglist A tradition), there is no indication that they made any allowance in their calculations for the overlap of dynasties (e.g., between the Ḫammurapi, Sealānd I, and Kassite dynasties). Since there are two known dynastic overlaps with the early part of the Kassite dynasty and, as we shall see, the possibility of an overlap at the end of the dynasty, a literal interpretation of kinglist data with no attempt to take into consideration the kinglist style of listing all dynasties as consecutive (regardless of their precise chronological relationship) could be seriously misleading. Second, it is perhaps no coincidence that all known figures for *Distanzangaben* pertaining to this era in Babylonia are either multiples of six or, in the case of figures given by later royal inscriptions (Sennacherib and Nabonidus), multiples of one hundred; round numbers may be involved.

The following are the pertinent *Distanzangaben* for this time:

- (1) 700 years from Ḫammurapi to Burna-Buriaš (I/II), according to Nabonidus (*VAB* IV 238 ii 20-22; *CT* XXXIV 29 ii 1-3, dupl.: *VAB* IV 244);
- (2) 696 years from Gulkišar to Nebuchadnezzar I, according to a kudurru from the time of Enlil-nādin-apli (*BE* I 83:6-8); for the data from which this figure was probably calculated, see *PKB*, pp. 83-84;
- (3) 24 years for the length of exile of the Marduk statue in Ḫatti, according to a copy of a literary text from Ashurbanipal's library (see the Catalogue below under *D*^b.3.2);
- (4) 800 years from Šagarakti-Šuriaš to Nabonidus, according to an inscription of the latter (*VAB* IV 228 iii 27-28);
- (5) $x + 6$ years for the first exile of the Marduk statue in Assyria, according to Chronicle P (iv 12);
- (6) 600 years from the Babylonian recovery of the Šagarakti-Šuriaš seal (after its theft and re-inscribing by Tukulti-Ninurta I) till its recapture by Sennacherib, according

point for calculating the relative chronology of the dynasty. It is at present an ineluctable postulate, with all the shortcomings that such an unchallenged position implies.⁶

Because of its damaged condition, Kinglist A can fill in only about half the sequence of rulers: Nos. 1-6 and 26-36, though portions of the regnal years are preserved for Nos. 22-25.⁷ The only other kinglist that parallels part of this sequence is A. 117 (= Assur 14616c), an Assyrian synchronistic kinglist that contains some of the names of approximately the first thirteen monarchs of the dynasty.⁸ Its tradition conflicts with that of Kinglist A principally concerning the names of the fourth and fifth kings. The rest of the royal names must be filled in, where possible, from chronicles, royal inscriptions, letters, and economic texts. The following pages attempt a detailed reconstruction of the sequence of monarchs for the whole of the Kassite dynasty.

Kings 1-6

The evidence is as follows:⁹

Kinglist A	A. 117
^m Gan-dás̃	^m [Ga(?) -x-x]
^m A-gu-um IGI A-šú	^m A-[gu-um] IGI [(x)]-šú
^m [Kaš-til]-iá-ší	^m Kaš-til-[x]-šú

to a copy of Sennacherib's inscription on the seal (see the Catalogue below under V.2.8);

(7) 30 years for the exile of the Marduk statue in Elam, according to an astrological omen apodosis (III R 61, No. 2:21'-22' = Virolleaud, *ACh Sin* IV 21-22; parallel: *LBA7* 1526 rev. 1-3); for the calculation, see *PKB*, p. 108, n. 585.

⁶For general observations on the reliability and limitations of Kinglist A, see the discussion in Appendix D below.

⁷And, in some cases, small sections of the royal names.

⁸The second column of this kinglist has sometimes been cited as containing the names of the final monarchs of the dynasty (see Weidner's copy in *AfO* III [1926] 70, made from a photo). In 1971, I collated both the kinglist tablet and its excavation photos in Istanbul; these yielded no usable information pertinent to the latter part of the dynasty (nor did they confirm more than occasional minor details of Weidner's copy of this section).

⁹The readings in these two texts are based on personal collation. The regnal years listed in Kinglist A are omitted in this transliteration.

$$^m_{\{x\}}\text{-}\check{s}\check{i}\text{ A-}\check{s}\check{u}$$

$$^m_{\{A-bi\}}\text{-Rat-ta}\check{s}$$

$$^m_{\{UR-zil-U(=guru_{12})\}}\text{-ma}\check{s}$$

$$^m_{\{A-bi\}}\text{-}\{Ra\}\text{-ta}\check{s}$$

$$^m_{\{Ka\check{s}\}}\text{-til-}\{a\}\text{-}\check{s}\check{u}$$

$$^m_{\{UR-zi-g\}}\{u-r\}u\text{-}\{ma\}\text{-}\check{a}\check{s}$$

These lists agree on the names and sequence for kings 2, 3, and 6 (Agum *maḥrû*, Kaštiliašu, and Urzigurumaš),¹⁰ but disagree on the names and sequence for kings 4 and 5.¹¹ The name of the first king is not well enough preserved in A. 117 for one to judge the original reading. In addition, the Agum-kakrime text

¹⁰There is doubt about the reading of the names of some of the Kassite kings, such as URzigurumaš (Tazzigurumaš/Taššigurumaš), Kara-ḤARdaš (Kara-kindaš), Meli-Šipak (Meli-Šiḫu), and Enlil-nādin-aḫi (Enlil-šuma-ušur). To avoid excessive complication, these names have been normalized in a single consistent form throughout the text of the book (without indication of various alternate readings). Where such alternatives exist, they are discussed under the pertinent Catalogue entry for the monarch; and, where there is more than the usual doubt concerning the reading of a royal name, the name is prefixed with a single asterisk both in the heading of the Catalogue entry and in the corresponding listing in the Table of Contents.

In general, throughout the text of this volume, conservative transcriptions (reflecting the more common conventional orthography rather than contemporary pronunciation) have been adopted for the names of the Kassite kings. The only difference between this system and some of the earlier methods of transcription has been the insertion of hyphenation between the two elements of most royal names in the Kassite language, e.g., Burna-Buriaš and Šagarakti-Šuriaš (rather than Burnaburiaš and Šagaraktišuriaš); the sole exception here has been Kurigalzu, which has been viewed as too well known a conventional unit and so has not been broken down into the perhaps more correct form Kure-galzu or Kuri-galzu. Reserved for future discussions are such topics as the following:

- (a) the contemporary pronunciation of ^dEN.LÍL as Illil (or Ellil);
- (b) the evolution of the DN Burariaš to Buriaš;
- (c) the actual pronunciation of two contiguous vowels in such hypothetical forms as Marduk-apla-iddina and Zababa-šuma-iddina;
- (d) assimilation in such elements as Burna (to Bunna) and perhaps even Ulam (to Ula[b], in *Ū-la-Bu-ra-ri-ia-aš*);
- (e) the significance of vowel alternations in orthography such as -Maruttaš/-Murruttaš/-Marattaš and the common e/i variations.

Though the resolution of many problems may be impeded by the limitations of the writing system and especially by the conventional orthography (particularly the prevalent logographic writings of name elements of Sumerian or Babylonian derivation), occasional deviations--especially those in letters or even, though very rarely, in legal texts written by less conventional scribes--show unexpected syllabic and sandhi writings, which should prove a boon to students seeking to know more about the underlying spoken language.

¹¹Each places an Abi-Rattaš here, though in a different place in the sequence.

(V R 33 i 13-19, collated) preserves the following genealogy for that ruler:
 DUMU UR-š̄i-[gu-ru-maš̄] li-ip-li-i[p-pu/pi] š̄a A-bi-[x]-[x(-x)] . . . DUMU
 [Kaš-til-ia-š̄u] IBILA . . . [š̄a] A-gu-um [ra-bi-i].¹² This agrees in substance
 with the tradition of the other two lists but does not resolve the conflict re-
 garding kings 4 and 5.

Kings 7-14

This section deals with those monarchs who ruled between Urzigurumaš̄ and Kara-indaš̄ (No. ?15), exclusive. Because of the uncertainty of the place of Kara-indaš̄ in the dynasty (i.e., whether he should be reckoned as king No. 14, 15, or 16), it is possible that this group of kings may eventually prove to contain seven or nine rather than eight members.¹³

The synchronistic kinglist A. 117 is the only kinglist preserving part of the sequence for this period. (For a minor exception, see the Catalogue of Sources, I.1.1.) The pertinent section of A. 117 reads:

- (7) [m]Har-ba-[x]-x
- (8) [m]x-ib-x-[x]-[x-x]
- (9) [m]x-x-(x)
- (10) [m]Bur-na-B[ur]-[x-(x)-āš̄]
- (11)
- (12) [m]x-x] . . .¹⁴
- (13) [m]x x] [(x)]x x]

We can be relatively certain only of No. 7 (Harba-x) and No. 10 (Burna-Burias̄). The traces for No. 9 rule out a restoration ^mA-gu-um.¹⁵

Other texts that shed light on this period are:

- (a) the Synchronistic History i 5'-7', which tells of a Burna-Burias̄ who was the contemporary of Puzur-Āššur III of Assyria;

¹²For the supposed reference to Gandaš̄ in i 22, see the Catalogue under H.5.1.

¹³It is unlikely that the group contains more than nine rulers. Fewer than seven kings is possible, but this would have to result from a major error in the dynastic summary in Kinglist A or from a totally unsuspected lacuna in our knowledge of Babylonia in the late fifteenth or early fourteenth century.

¹⁴Possibly [m] [Ka]š̄-til] . . ., but very difficult to verify.

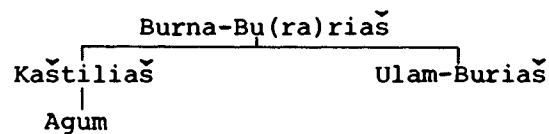
¹⁵Though the traces of the beginning of the RN might be read ^mAg-gu-l.

I. INTRODUCTION

- (b) BM 96152, the Chronicle of Early Kings, rev. 11-17, which mentions the following campaigners (neither of them with royal titles) against the Sealand: Ulam-Buraš (*sic*), brother of Kaštiliaš, and Agum, son of Kaštiliaš;
- (c) VA Bab. 645, a contemporary knob (macehead?) is inscribed with the name of Ula-Burariaš, king of the Sealand, son of Burna-Burariaš, king;
- (d) K. 4149+, a late copy of a royal inscription (the authenticity of which is sometimes called into question), is written in the name of a king Agum, usually referred to as Agum-kakrime, who claims to have restored to Babylon the Marduk statue stolen by the Hittites; according to a later literary tradition, this event took place after Marduk had been absent from the city for twenty-four years (presumably after the Hittite raid of Muršili I).¹⁶

Most of these data can be fitted into a coherent scheme, but the resultant picture is obviously quite hypothetical. It should also be stressed that this reconstruction is only one of several different schemes that could be drawn to fit the same data.

If one is willing to identify the Ula-Burariaš of the knob with the Ulam-Buraš of the chronicle (and normalize the name as Ulam-Burriaš),¹⁷ then one can construct the following genealogy:



The Burna-Burriaš could then be identified with king No. 10 in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117. Kaštiliaš, Ulam-Burriaš, and Agum may be viewed as three of his successors, perhaps either kings 11-13 or 12-14.¹⁸ But it must be remembered that Kaštiliaš and Agum are not given royal titles in the only document

¹⁶For the Meli-Šipak text sometimes assigned to this time, see the Catalogue below under S.2.3. The date of this text has been discussed most recently in *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 326.

¹⁷This identification cannot be proven; but the -Burriaš/-Burariaš alternation elsewhere places it within the realm of possibility.

¹⁸The latter alternative (i.e., 12-14) is offered principally because it could agree with one possible interpretation of the traces for king No. 12 in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117.

in which they are attested¹⁹ and that Ulam-Burias̃ is called only "King of the Sealand" in his knob inscription and not "King of Babylonia/Kardunias̃" or the like.²⁰

One of the most serious difficulties in dealing with this period is attempting to place the traditions concerning Agum-kakrime and the return of the Marduk statue in any reconstruction. The genealogy in the Agum-kakrime text makes him the son of "Uršigurumas̃" (king No. 6). If, as is customary, one identifies the great raid on Babylon by Muršili I as the occasion for both the Hittite theft of the Marduk statue and the end of the Ḫammurapi dynasty and also accepts the later traditions that the Marduk statue was returned some twenty-four years afterwards and by Agum-kakrime,²¹ it is not easy to fit all these elements into a coherent scheme. The only way to insert an Agum, or even an (Agum)-kakrime, in the synchronistic kinglist before Burna-Burias̃ (king No. 10)²² would be to suggest an unparalleled writing ^m[Ag-gu-um] for king No. 9, which is not very convincing.²³

This segment of the Kassite dynasty can be characterized only as very poorly known, and no amount of theorizing can compensate for the lack of clear and trustworthy evidence.²⁴

¹⁹The use of royal titles in this chronicle is desultory. For example, while Ḫammurapi and Samsu-iluna are specifically called king, Abi-ešuh and Samsu-ditana are not. The non-occurrence of a royal title in the case of Kaštilias̃, Ulam-Bur(i)aš, and Agum cannot be considered decisive. See further D^c.5.1 in the Catalogue below.

²⁰One must regard most of the reconstruction in this paragraph as highly tentative. For Goetze's theory that two kings named Burna-Burias̃ must be inserted before Kara-indaš, see under E^a.5.1 below in the Catalogue. For Rowton's suggestion that Ulam-Burias̃ may have been mentioned in Kinglist A but still not have been a king of Babylonia, see X.5.2 in the Catalogue.

²¹K. 2158+, recently re-edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, and D^b.3.1 in the Catalogue below.

²²It would be surprising--though not impossible--to find the son of Urzigurumas̃ (No. 6) placed after No. 10.

²³Especially unexpected because of the customary spelling ^mA-[gu-um] for Agum I earlier in the same column in A. 117. Rowton in *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 231, n. 4 now considers it more probable that Agum was the seventh king of the dynasty and that he was omitted from the kinglists. This is one of the possible ways of resolving the difficulties.

²⁴The only other recent systematic attempt to come to grips with the problems of the early Kassite dynasty has been made by Goetze in the article "The Kassites and Near Eastern Chronology," *JCS* XVIII (1964) 97-101. His restoration of the first eight kings of the dynasty is based partially on uncollated sources, but otherwise does not differ substantially from the position

Kings ?15-?21

The uncertainty in the numbering of this portion of the dynastic sequence arises from the state of the evidence:

- (a) this section of the dynasty is not preserved in any of the known kinglists;
- (b) therefore, it is uncertain whether the usurper Nazi-Bugaš was originally included in Kinglist A's enumeration of the thirty-six monarchs of the dynasty;
- (c) likewise, there is no direct evidence that the kings known from this period ruled consecutively, i.e., that there may not have been one or more minor rulers between them.

In the succeeding paragraphs, the rulers and their place in the sequence are discussed in ascending chronological order.

- ?21. Nazi-Bugaš. According to the Synchronistic History i 11'-17', he was the immediate predecessor of Kurigalzu šeḫru (king No. 22).²⁵ Since Kinglist A is destroyed at this point, it is not known whether Nazi-Bugaš was included in its canon. If he was not included, then the preceding rulers should be numbered as 16-21 rather than as ?15-?20.
- ?20. Kara-ḫardaš. According to the Synchronistic History i 8'-11', he was deposed by the revolt that brought Nazi-Bugaš to the throne.²⁶

taken here. He inserts Agum-kakrime as king No. 9, despite the evidence of the synchronistic kinglist. For Nos. 10-21, we are in serious disagreement since Goetze (a) places two kings named Burna-Buriaš, a Kurigalzu, a Meli-Šipak, an Agum, and a Kaštiliaš as Nos. 10-15 (not necessarily in that order), and (b) counts Kara-indaš and his successors as Nos. 16 ff. I have argued in detail in *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 320-27 and in E^a.5.1 below against the needless insertion of additional kings named Burna-Buriaš, Kurigalzu, and Meli-Šipak. The numbering of Kara-indaš and his successors as Nos. 16-21 (rather than as Nos. ?15-?21) is quite possible.

²⁵Chronicle P i 10'-14' preserves the same tradition, but the personal names are badly garbled. See Appendix C.

²⁶Chronicle P i 5'-10' has a parallel version (otherwise embellished). Rowton in *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 205 inserts another ruler, Kadašman-ḫarbe II, between Kara-ḫardaš and Nazi-Bugaš. For the unlikelihood of this interpretation, see the discussion in K^b.5.5 and Appendix C below.

- ?19. Burna-Burias̃ (II). It is nowhere stated that he was the father or the immediate predecessor of Kara-ḫardaš. That he ruled at this time may be inferred from the fact that he is known to have been the father of Kurigalzu II (king No. 22)²⁷ as well as the approximate contemporary of Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria (who placed Kurigalzu II on the throne).²⁸
- ?18. Kadašman-Enlil (I). He is known to have corresponded with Amenophis III of Egypt.²⁹ He is usually assumed to have been the father of Burna-Burias̃ II on the basis of filiation cited in a damaged inscription purportedly written by the latter.³⁰ These two circumstances may be interpreted as justifying his place in the sequence.
- ?17. Kurigalzu (I). There is no direct evidence that Kurigalzu was either the father or immediate predecessor of Kadašman-Enlil I. Burna-Burias̃ II (No. ?19) refers to him as his ancestor (literally "my father," *a-bi-ia*);³¹ and he thus figures in the Amarna correspondence only as a past king whose actions are cited as precedent. Although the customary historical interpretation sees him as the ancestor of both Kadašman-Enlil I and Burna-Burias̃ II and as the immediate predecessor of the former, this cannot be proven from the scanty documentation; it should be borne in mind that it is at least conceivable that Burna-Burias̃' statement could be interpreted literally and Kurigalzu viewed as his real father and not merely his ancestor. This is at present uncertain.
- ?16. Kadašman-Ḫarbe (I). He is known as the father of Kurigalzu I³² and is given the title "king" in both contemporary and later documents.³³ It is usually presumed that he was the immediate predecessor of Kurigalzu,³⁴ though this cannot at present be demonstrated.

²⁷BE I 35, etc. (references cited below in the Catalogue under E.3.2).

²⁸They both wrote Amarna letters to Akhnaton (e.g., EA 11, 16).

²⁹EA 1-3 (and possibly 4-5).

³⁰Discussed below in the Catalogue, Section J, n. 1.

³¹EA 9:19.

³²References in the Catalogue under K^a.3.

³³E.g., Ni. 3199 rev. 11'; BBSt, No. 1 i 7.

³⁴Except in the recently revised CAH I/1 chronology, where Kadašman-Ḫarbe is placed before Kara-indaš (on grounds which have since proven inconclusive). See BiOr XXVII (1970) 307. Con-

?15. Kara-indaš. He is not known to have been related to any other Kassite monarch.³⁵ The only chronological clue for his place in the dynasty is in a letter by Burna-Burias II to the effect that during the time of Kara-indaš the messenger service between Egypt and Babylonia (which culminated in the Amarna letters) was inaugurated.³⁶

Thus one can readily see that the arguments for the usually accepted sequence of rulers in this section of the dynasty are rather weak and, in many cases, circumstantial. This sequence has remained unchallenged principally because there is no direct evidence to the contrary and there has been no more convincing reconstruction proposed in its stead.

Kings 22-25

The pertinent section of Kinglist A is extensively damaged. Only the beginnings of the royal names for kings 24 and 25 are preserved (r^mKl[a-], mKa-[dāš]-[]). The regnal years are legible for kings 23 and 24 ("26" and "18" respectively), but unclear for kings 22 and 25 ("[25?]" and "[x]," respectively). The sequence is usually reconstructed as follows:

- 22. [Kurigalzu (II)]
- 23. [Nazi-Maruttaš]
- 24. K[adašman-Turgu]
- 25. Kadaš[man-Enlil (II)]

This reconstruction is reasonably certain because all of these individuals are known to have been Kassite kings,³⁷ their genealogies are easy to establish,³⁸

trary to Drower's statement in *CAH* II/1 (3d ed.) 443, there is no Kassite kinglist that gives Kara-indaš as the predecessor of Kadašman-Ḫarbe.

³⁵For a suggestion that he may have been the father of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I and the grandfather of Kurigalzu I, see the remarks concerning the supposed ancestry of the latter in Appendix C.

³⁶EA 10:8-9.

³⁷See the ample documentation in Sections J, L, Q, and U in the Catalogue below.

³⁸Kurigalzu (II) has been seen as the successor of Nazi-Bugaš (documentation in the preceding section) and is known to have been the son of Burna-Burias II (see the Catalogue under E.3.2, etc.). Nazi-Maruttaš is attested as the son of Kurigalzu (Q.3.5-Q.3.7), Kadašman-Turgu as the son of Nazi-Maruttaš (BE I 61:4), and Kadašman-Enlil (II) as the son of Kadašman-Turgu (MAOG IV [1928-29] 81:6, KBo I 10).

and the regnal years in Kinglist A do not contradict dates known from economic texts for any of these reigns.³⁹

Kings 26-36

Kinglist A preserves the following sequence:

26. Kudu[r-x]
27. Šagarakti(-Šurias̃)
28. Kaštil(iašu) (IV?)
29. Enlil-nādin-šumi
30. Kadašman-Ḥarbe (II)
31. Adad-šuma-iddina
32. Adad-šuma-ušur
33. Meli-Šipak
34. Marduk-apla-iddina (I)
35. Zababa-[šuma]-[x]
36. Enlil(?) -nādin-[x]

Kudur-Enlil may be restored as the name of king No. 26 because:

- (a) there is only one attested Kassite king whose name begins with Kudur-;
- (b) more than 180 Middle Babylonian economic texts are dated under a Kudur-Enlil;
- (c) several economic texts span the concluding year(s) of the reign of Kudur-Enlil and the beginning year(s) of the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias̃,⁴⁰ including one that lists eight years in succession: years [5], [6], 7, and 8 of Kudur-Enlil, the accession year and years 1, 2, 3 of Šagarakti-Šurias̃;⁴¹ and
- (d) according to later traditions, Kudur-Enlil was the son of Kadašman-

³⁹Kurigalzu: [25?] years (highest date in economic texts: 24); Nazi-Maruttaš: 26 (24); Kadašman-Turgu: 18 (17); the Kadašman-Enlil date is illegible in Kinglist A. Note that in each of these cases the second figure (the highest date known in economic texts) does not exceed the first (the figure given in Kinglist A).

⁴⁰Catalogue, P.3, *passim*.

⁴¹UM 29-13-661, published as Text No. 21 below.

Enlil (II), king No. 25, and the father of Šagarakti-Šūriaš, king No. 27.⁴²

The names Šagarakti-Šūriaš and Kaštiliašu are given in abbreviated form in Kinglist A, but abbreviations occur for other names in the document.⁴³

The names of the last two kings, Zababa-šuma-iddina (No. 35) and Enlil-nādin-aḫi (No. 36), may be restored from the Synchronistic History (for No. 35) and from the literary text K. 2660 (III R 38, No. 2), which relates the downfall of the dynasty (for No. 36; only the end of the name of No. 35 is preserved here); supplementary documentation for these two may also be found in Sections F and Z of the Catalogue below.

The principal difficulties raised with this section of the sequence have been centered around the time from Kaštiliašu to Adad-šuma-ušur (Nos. 28-32). Here the evidence of Chronicle P has sometimes been viewed as conflicting with that of Kinglist A.⁴⁴ In contrast to the picture of Kinglist A

28. Kaštil(iašu)	8 (years)
29. Enlil-nādin-šumi	1 year, 6 months
30. Kadašman-Ḫarbe	1 year, 6 months
31. Adad-šuma-iddina	6 (years)
32. Adad-šuma-ušur	30 (years)

Chronicle P sketches the same period as follows:

episode 1

- a. [Kaštiliašu was deposed.]
- b. Tukulti-Ninurta established his governors/officials (šaknūtīšu . . . iškun) in Karduniaš.
- c. Tukulti-Ninurta ruled (uma'ir) Karduniaš for 7 years.
- d. The important men (rabūti) of Akkad and(?) of Karduniaš revolted and placed Adad-šuma-ušur on the throne.

⁴²Kinglist A ii [5']-6' (but see below in the Catalogue under P.1.1) and VAB IV 228 iii 28-31 (Nabonidus). Even if these late genealogies are not accepted literally, the traditions can be used at least as an indication for the general sequence of Kassite rulers as viewed by Neo-Babylonian scribes.

⁴³E.g., Ea-ga(mil) in i 14', Aššur-aḫa(-iddina) in iv 20, Šamaš-šuma(-ukīn) in iv 21, Kandal(ānu) in iv 22.

⁴⁴Among others, by Tadmor, *JNES* XVII (1958) 136-37.

episode 2

In the time of Enlil-nādin-šumi, the Elamite king Kidin-
Hudrudis⁴⁵ invaded Babylonia.

episode 3

In the time of Adad-šuma-iddina, the Elamite king Kidin-
Hudrudis⁴⁵ invaded Babylonia.

The monarchs occur in this sequence in the Chronicle's narrative: (28a) Tukulti-Ninurta, (32) Adad-šuma-ušur, (29) Enlil-nādin-šumi, (31) Adad-šuma-iddina.

Chronicle P's insertion of Tukulti-Ninurta as a ruler of Babylonia is supported by the evidence of an economic text found at Nippur, which is dated in the month Addaru of Tukulti-Ninurta's accession year.⁴⁶ By contrast, the order of kings 31-32-33 is supported by their sequence in the account of a legal dispute given in a kudurru from the time of Meli-šipak.⁴⁷

Are the diverging accounts of Kinglist A and Chronicle P--and the supplementary evidence of the economic texts⁴⁸ and the kudurru--irreconcilable? Not necessarily. If one is willing to admit that the text of Chronicle P may not arrange every detail of its narrative in strict chronological order and that considerations of subject matter may occasionally dictate section divisions (especially for events that occurred relatively close together in time), then one may view the Chronicle P passage in the following light:

- (1) episode 1 treats the period of Assyrian domination as a unit and summarizes Tukulti-Ninurta's political relationship with Babylonia from beginning to end;
- (2) episodes 2 and 3, dealing with contemporary Elamite invasions of Babylonia, did not necessarily occur after the end of episode 1 (but just after its beginning).⁴⁹

⁴⁵An ancestor list in an inscription of Šiljak-Insušinak may give this king's name as [Ki]din-Ĝutran (*AfO*, Beiheft XVI, No. 48 i 45-46 [restored in No. 48b:37]).

⁴⁶Ni. 65, dated XII-7-accession year, Tukulti-Ninurta. The date section of this tablet is published as Text No. 13 below.

⁴⁷*BBSt*, No. 3.

⁴⁸Besides the Tukulti-Ninurta text, there are texts from Babylon during the reign of Enlil-nādin-šumi (catalogued under G.2.1, unpublished and not verified since the excavation report), from Nippur and Ur under Kadašman-Ĝarbe II (*K^b*.2.2), and from Ur under Adad-šuma-iddina (B.2.1).

⁴⁹The same basic solution has been accepted by Röllig, *Heidelberger Studien*, p. 183.

With these minor stylistic principles, a reasonable historical hypothesis can be constructed. Following the removal of Kaštiliašu from power, Tukulti-Ninurta became suzerain over Babylonia; and his suzerainty lasted for a period of seven or eight years until a Babylonian revolt that put Adad-šuma-ušur on the throne.⁵⁰ While Tukulti-Ninurta was overlord, economic documents in Babylonia were dated under him only during the accession year; subsequently, texts were dated in the names of kings 29-31, who served as Tukulti-Ninurta's vassals.⁵¹ At present it seems preferable to make allowance for a stylistic adjustment in the narrative of Chronicle P rather than to emend the royal

⁵⁰While it is possible to say that Tukulti-Ninurta's seven-year reign over Babylonia was succeeded in turn by the reigns of Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Ḫarbe II, and Adad-šuma-iddina, this would go against the sense of episode 1 in Chronicle P, which states that the revolt that brought Adad-šuma-ušur to the throne took place at the time of the revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta in Babylonia.

⁵¹There are several difficulties at this point in the reconstruction. No matter how one chooses to interpret Chronicle P, objections may still be raised. For example, as Rowton has pointed out in *JNES* XXV (1966) 253, if, on the one hand, Enlil-nādin-šumi and Adad-šuma-iddina were Assyrian vassals, it might be expected that there would be mention of Assyrian reaction during the Elamite attacks on Babylonia during their reigns (depending, of course, on what sort of presence Assyria maintained there at the time). But if, on the other hand, they were not Assyrian vassals--or at least contemporaneous with Tukulti-Ninurta's suzerainty in Babylonia--there would be no reason to mention Adad-šuma-ušur in the concluding section of episode 1 in Chronicle P.

One may also envisage other possibilities: that some of these kings may have reigned simultaneously in different sections of the country, that only one or two of them may have been Assyrian vassals, etc. See further Rowton, *JNES* XIX (1960) 20-21, and Munn-Rankin and Wiseman, *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 288-90 and 444.

It has occasionally been pointed out (e.g., by Tadmor in *JNES* XVII [1958] 137, by Rowton in *JNES* XIX [1960] 18, and by Munn-Rankin in *CAH* II/2 [3d ed.] 288) that it is unlikely that the *šaknūti* or "governors," which Chronicle P says were appointed by Tukulti-Ninurta in Babylonia, were identical with the supposed Assyrian vassal kings. This needs to be qualified. While the substantive *šaknu* was used in a variety of ways, including in royal epithets (e.g., *šakin Enlil*) and as part of the official title accorded provincial governors in the Kassite period (*šaknu* or *šakin māti*; see Borger, *AFO* XXIII [1970] 9-10), there seems to be no reason why it could not be translated here in some generic sense like "he appointed his officials in Karduniaš," meaning simply that Tukulti-Ninurta replaced Kaštiliašu's officialdom with his own. It is not clear that additional arguments have to be advanced for or against identifying the *šaknūti* with Kassite kings 29-31, since the semantic range of *šaknu* is extensive and whether or not royal figures are referred to in the pertinent passage is not going to be decisive in any case.

names in this section of the chronicle.⁵² This reconstruction, however, especially in the question of vassalage, must be recognized as tentative. A satisfactory solution can come only with better evidence.⁵³

With the sequence of rulers thus established to the best of our present ability, we turn to the relative chronology of the dynasty. Kinglist A gives lengths for the following reigns:

1. Gandaš	26 (years)
2. Agum maḥrû	22 (years)
3. Kaštiliaši (I)	22 (years)
22. [Kurigalzu (II)]	[25?] (years)
23. [Nazi-Maruttas]	26 (years)
24. K[adašman-Turgu]	18 (years)
26. Kudu[r-(Enlil)]	[6] (years)
27. Šagarakti(-Šurias)	13 (years)
28. Kaštil(iašu) (IV?)	8 (years)
29. Enlil-nādin-šumi	1 year, 6 months
30. Kadašman-Ḥarbe (II)	1 year, 6 months
31. Adad-šuma-iddina	6 (years)
32. Adad-šuma-ušur	30 (years)
33. Meli-Šipak	15 (years)
34. Marduk-apla-iddina (I)	13 (years)

⁵²Even though Röllig in his contribution to *Heidelberger Studien* has shown distortion of proper names in other sections of Chronicle P, relatively simple reasons can be shown for the confusion in each case (e.g., mixing up the genealogies of Kurigalzu I and Kurigalzu II, writing Adad-nirari in place of Enlil-nirari). There is no such easy explanation here.

⁵³For the possible insertion of an interval of Elamite rule between Adad-šuma-iddina and Adad-šuma-ušur, see Rowton, *JNES* XIX (1960) 19, *JNES* XXV (1966) 253, and *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 205. Note, however, that Rowton did not believe any allowance for chronological gaps in the Kinglist A tradition was needed to accommodate such an Elamite interregnum.

The evidence on which such an insertion is based (see *JNES* XIX [1960] 19) is weak. At the end of the second-last preserved line in col. iv of Chronicle P are a few traces, which Rowton restored to read [ú-]mal-'i-ir, "he ruled." Though the restoration is certainly possible, both the subject and the object of the verb are missing; and Rowton's contention that *uma'ir* would be used in this context only for the rule of a usurper or foreign conqueror is unconvincing. The verb is employed by many Assyrian and Babylonian kings to describe their own legitimate activity (see the references in *CAD* A/2 321).

35. Zababa-šuma-iddina	1 year
36. Enlil(?)-nādin-aḫi	3 (years)
total: 36 kings	576 (years), 9 months.

This evidence may be compared with the dates attested in economic texts:⁵⁴

	highest year attested
?18. Kadašman-Enlil I	15
?19. Burna-Buriaš II	27
22. Kurigalzu II	24
23. Nazi-Maruttaš	24
24. Kadašman-Turgu	17
25. Kadašman-Enlil II	8
26. Kudur-Enlil	8 (9) ⁵⁵
27. Šagarakti-Šuriaš	12 (13) ⁵⁶
28. Kaštiliašu IV	8
30. Kadašman-Ḫarbe II	1
31. Adad-šuma-iddina	accession year

⁵⁴Full documentation for the economic-text dates may be found in the Catalogue below.

⁵⁵The highest regnal year for Kudur-Enlil attested in the date of an economic text is his eighth. But it may readily be inferred from other economic texts that he had nine official regnal years and that he died in the opening days of his ninth year. The earliest text of his successor, Šagarakti-Šuriaš, is dated on the fifth day of that same year (YBC 3072, dated I-5-acc. year); and UM 29-13-661, which covers several years in succession at this same time, lists the [fifth], [sixth], seventh, and eighth years of Kudur-Enlil and then the accession, first, second, and third years of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. (The fifth entry in this series of years was referred to as the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš rather than as the ninth year of Kudur-Enlil because the latter king presumably ruled for only four days--or less--at the beginning of this year.) [See the Addenda below.]

⁵⁶Similar to the case of Kudur-Enlil (see the preceding note). The highest regnal year for Šagarakti-Šuriaš attested in the date of an economic text is his twelfth; but that he ruled thirteen official regnal years and died on one of the first two days of his thirteenth year may be inferred from the date in other economic texts. The earliest texts dated in the reign of his successor, Kaštiliašu (IV), were written on the third day of Nisan in his accession year (Ni. 5856, Ni. 6258, and possibly Ni. 11688); other texts dealing with successive years at this time make it plain by their style that the accession year of Kaštiliašu was equivalent to the thirteenth year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (Ni. 6596, Ni. 7113, etc.; for an explanation of the style, see the end of the preceding note).

32. Adad-šuma-ušur	13 ⁵⁷
33. Meli-šipak	12
34. Marduk-apla-iddina I	6

The years from Burna-Buriasš II (No. 19) year 3 through Kaštiliašu (No. 28) year 8 are abundantly covered by dated economic texts,⁵⁸ averaging more than ten texts per year for slightly more than 130 years. The reigns of the other kings listed (Nos. 18, 30-34) are not well documented by economic materials: about 40 texts covering a total of six reigns and at least 80 years, averaging about one text every two years.⁵⁹ Thus the dated texts covering kings 19 and 22-28 obviously give more detailed chronological coverage than the dated texts for kings 18 and 30-34. In fact, we may dispose of the latter group quickly for our present purposes on the ground that these texts do not conflict with the evidence of Kinglist A, and in only one case (Kadašman-Enlil I, whose date is missing in the kinglist) do they complement it.

The situation is otherwise for kings Nos. 19, 22-28. Here it will help to range the data in parallel columns:

	length of reign in Kinglist A	highest date in economic texts
19. Burna-Buriasš II	--	27
22. Kurigalzu II	{25?}	24
23. Nazi-Maruttasš	26	24
24. Kadašman-Turgu	18	17
25. Kadašman-Enlil II	{x} ⁶⁰	8
26. Kudur-Enlil	{6}	8 (9)
27. Šagarakti-Šuriasš	13	12 (13)
28. Kaštiliašu IV	8	8

⁵⁷This is the highest simple year date attested. The highest double date known is MU.9.KAM.3.KAM; it might some day have to be interpreted as "year 27," but this is uncertain at present. See Appendix A below.

⁵⁸With the exception of the Kara-ḫardaš--Nazi-Bugaš interval, which may have been very short.

⁵⁹The average is representative for the reigns of Nos. 31-34 but probably not for No. 30, Kadašman-ḫarbe II, where there are five texts to cover his accession and first(?) years, and certainly not for No. 18, Kadašman-Enlil I, whose reign spanned at least 15 years and who is represented at present by only one economic text (though see also the Catalogue under J.5.7).

⁶⁰Sometimes read as {10(+x)}. For a discussion of the reading of this figure, see the note to J.1.1 below.

The dates here coincide only in the case of the last two kings. But one should note that even in one of these instances no economic texts are actually dated in year 13 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš and that the length of his official reign is inferred from data in other economic texts, as discussed above. Thus the most frequent pattern is that the highest dated economic text is either one year (kings 22, 24, 27) or two years (king 23) lower than the date given in Kinglist A. This may be pure coincidence, and yet it might reflect a flexible or evolving method of recording accession years in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.⁶¹ Only in one case is there direct conflict: for Kudur-Enlil, Kinglist A records a length of reign that is three years too short;⁶² but the evidence of the economic texts is obviously to be preferred here. In general, the evidence of the economic texts and that of Kinglist A agree satisfactorily. For practical purposes, in cases where there is a slight difference in years between the two sources, preference will be given here to the higher figure; in all cases other than that of Kudur-Enlil (No. 26), this will mean preferring the testimony given in Kinglist A.⁶³

A further problem arises in dealing with figures given in terms of months in Kinglist A, that is, the reigns of Enlil-nādin-šumi and Kadašman-Ḫarbe II ("one year, six months" each) and the total for the dynasty ("576 years, 9 months"). I have shown elsewhere for periods after the Kassite dynasty that figures cited in months for the reigns of individual kings are to be reckoned as zero years, rather than as fractional years.⁶⁴ But month figures in dynastic totals must be regarded in a slightly different light. The later scribe who compiled these totals seems to have been unaware of (or at least he disregarded) the fact that regnal-month figures for individual kings were to be reckoned as zero; for he simply added up all the figures he had for each

⁶¹See my remarks in *WO VI* (1971) 153-56 and in Appendix A below.

⁶²Perhaps because a "9" in a damaged original (from which Kinglist A ultimately derived) had either the top or bottom row of digits obliterated. One should, however, note that the number "9" on the obverse of Kinglist A is written as three diagonal wedge-heads (i 14', ii 16'), whereas the single occurrence on the reverse (iv 14) is written as three rows of three verticals.

⁶³It must, however, be considered that the opposite solution might apply, i.e., that the economic-text dates should be preferred. This possibility will be dealt with below in the discussion of absolute chronology (n. 89).

⁶⁴*PKB*, pp. 63-67.

dynasty, including months. In the case of small dynasties that have only one month figure listed for their rulers (e.g., the Sealand II and Bazi dynasties), the discrepancy between the scribal total⁶⁵ and the actual total⁶⁶ for the dynasty (e.g., between 21 years, 5 months and 21 years) is very slight and easily compensated for. For a longer dynasty, such as the Kassite, the situation is more complex. The total for the dynasty is given as "576 (years), 9 months." But in the preserved portion of Kinglist A, the only figures given in terms of months are two reigns of "one year, six months" (kings 29 and 30), which would yield a scribal total of three years (1 1/2 + 1 1/2).⁶⁷ Thus, to justify the scribal dynastic total (x + 9 months), the unpreserved section of the dynasty must have contained at least one other reign listed in terms of months. Furthermore, the discrepancy between the scribal total and the actual total will have to be slightly higher: one year for the combined "one year, six months" reigns plus whatever regnal-month figures were given in the unpreserved section of the kinglist. This means that the actual dynastic total for the Kassites is unlikely to exceed 575 years, which has therefore been assumed as a round figure for the dynasty in the following computations.⁶⁸

Taking these data, we may propose the following chart for the relative chronology of the Kassite dynasty:

⁶⁵I.e., the sum of all the individual reigns (including regnal month figures with their literal positive numerical value as fractional years). This is the total obtained by the late compiler, who did not take into account the real significance of figures given in months.

⁶⁶I.e., the total number of years actually ruled by a dynasty (i.e., excluding regnal month figures, which are to be reckoned as zero years).

⁶⁷Or an actual total of two years (1 + 1).

⁶⁸This round figure will not affect the absolute chronology for any of the kings from the fifteenth through twelfth centuries, since the dates are calculated by dead reckoning from the end of the period. If the actual total should turn out to be less than 575 years, it seems unlikely to be more than one or two years less; and this discrepancy would affect our present computations of dates for only the first four kings of the dynasty (and these very slightly).

Professor Rowton has kindly pointed out to me that, if the compiler of Kinglist A added the Kassite regnal figures presently in the text as we have it, errors giving too low numbers for any individual reign (e.g., "6" instead of "9" for Kudur-Enlil) would affect the total for the dynasty by making it correspondingly too low. In this case, one would have to entertain the possibility of raising the dynastic total by three (or more) years. On the other hand, the scribal dynastic total for the Sealand I dynasty in Kinglist A exceeds the regnal figures presently in the text by 22 years (because one ruler has been left out); so we must realize the limitations of the source as we have it. (See also Appendix D below.)

	(years)
1. Gandaš	1-26
2. Agum <i>mahrû</i>	27-48
3. Kaštiliašu I	49-70
4-5. (uncertain) ⁶⁹	71-
6. Urzigurumaš	
7. <i>Harba-x</i>	
8-9. (uncertain) ⁷⁰	
10. Burna-Burias I	
11-14. (uncertain) ⁷¹	
?15. Kara-indaš	
?16. Kadašman- <i>Harbe</i> I	
?17. Kurigalzu I	
?18. Kadašman-Enlil I	(356)-370 ⁷²
?19. Burna-Burias II	371-397 ⁷³
?20. Kara- <i>hardaš</i>	397 ⁷⁴
?21. Nazi-Bugaš	397
22. Kurigalzu II	398-422
23. Nazi-Maruttaš	423-448
24. Kadašman-Turgu	449-466
25. Kadašman-Enlil II	467-475 ⁷⁵
26. Kudur-Enlil	476-484
27. Šagarakti-Šurias	485-497
28. Kaštiliašu IV	498-505
29. Enlil-nādin-šumi	506 ⁷⁶

⁶⁹One of these kings was named Abi-Rattaš; the other could have been a second Kaštiliašu.

⁷⁰If Agum-kakrime was an historical figure, he would presumably have to be fitted in at approximately this place in the sequence.

⁷¹Likely candidates here would include Kaštiliašu (III?), Ulam-Burias, and another Agum (III?).

⁷²Inferring a reign of at least 15 years (see the discussion in the Catalogue under J.5.3).

⁷³The latest economic text certainly from his reign is dated in year 27. The reign may have been longer.

⁷⁴A minimal length (a fraction of a year) has been calculated for the accession of Aššur-uballit's grandson, the subsequent revolt, and its suppression. This period may have to be expanded.

⁷⁵Tentatively assigning a reign of 9 years (see J.5.3 below).

⁷⁶Here "1 year, 6 months" is reckoned as "1 year" for kings 29 and 30, resulting in a to-

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27

30. Kadašman-Ḫarbe II	507
31. Adad-šuma-iddina	508-513
32. Adad-šuma-ušur	514-543
33. Meli-Šipak	544-558
34. Marduk-apla-iddina I	559-571
35. Zababa-šuma-iddina	572
36. Enlil-nādin-aḫi	573-575

These figures have several obvious difficulties, not the least of which is that half the kings of the dynasty (Nos. 29-36) would account for only 35.65% of the total number of years.⁷⁷ Kings 4-28 would then be spread over 300 years

tal of eight years for kings 29-31 (roughly comparable to the seven years that Chronicle P assigns to the period of Tukulti-Ninurta's suzerainty). This is open to revision.

⁷⁷In addition, some of the genealogies require what seem to be too many generations within too few years.

In the case of kings 24-27, there are apparently four generations who reign for a total of 49 years; and the second of these kings is known to have succeeded to the throne while still a minor (*KBo* I 10). He ruled for nine years and was succeeded first by his son (who also reigned for nine years) and then by his grandson. In this instance, the genealogies are probably at fault, since only considerably later traditions term kings 26 and 27 the son and grandson, respectively, of king 25; one should probably look for at least one case of fraternal or avuncular succession here. See also the discussion below in the Catalogue under P.5.5.

Kings 27, 28, 32, 33, and 34 are attested in contemporary documents as five successive generations (though see note O.5.6 in the Catalogue below); and yet, in our chronological reconstruction, only 87 years elapsed from the beginning of the reign of No. 27 to the end of the reign of No. 34. This is not chronologically impossible if one would assign the middle three generations an effective range of between 60 and 75 years and then view the first and fifth generations as coming to the throne late in life and dying relatively young, respectively. In fact, one can point to two close parallels in Mesopotamian history: (a) the Assyrian kings from Aššur-rēša-iši II to Tukulti-Ninurta II were five generations who ruled for 88 years; (b) the Seleucid kings from Seleucus I to Seleucus III represented five generations who ruled for 83 years (or 89 years, according to a variant in the kinglist tradition). For similar examples from other periods, see David P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (Oxford, 1974) chap. 4: "Quantification: Data v. Method." Note, however, that Henige's rejection (*ibid.*, p. 74) of the ten generations of father-son succession in Assyria between 971 and 773 B.C.--because of an average generational length of only "19.8 years" (actually 19.9, since the dates given are inclusive) over a ten-generation span and because of genealogical inaccuracies in earlier portions of the Assyrian kinglist--is not well founded. As context shows, the first reign in this period, that of Aššur-rēša-iši II, is exceptionally short (five years), probably because his

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for an average reign of 20 years.⁷⁸ But one must bear in mind that many of these figures are not based on exceptionally reliable traditions and that a few of them are to some extent hypothetical.

Although significant uncertainties remain in the reconstruction,⁷⁹ it nonetheless seems advisable to propose a tentative absolute chronology. The following direct synchronisms are attested between Assyrian and Babylonian rulers of this period:

Assyria	Babylonia	Sources
(a) 61. Puzur-Aššur III	10. Burna-Burias I	Syn. Hist.
(b) 69. Aššur-bēl-nišešu	?15. Kara-indaš	Syn. Hist.
(c) 73. Aššur-uballiṭ I	?20. Kara-ḫardaš	Chron. P., Syn. Hist. ⁸⁰
	?21. Nazi-Bugaš	
	22. Kurigalzu II	
(d) 74. Enlil-nirari	22. Kurigalzu II	Syn. Hist., cf. Tn. Epic; Chron. P: Adad-nirari ⁸¹
(e) 76. Adad-nirari I	23. Nazi-Maruttas	Syn. Hist., cf. Tn. Epic
(f) 76. [Adad-ni]rari I	24. Kadašman-Turgu	VAT 15420 ⁸²
(g) 78. Tukulti-Ninurta I	28. Kaštiliašu IV	Tn. Epic, etc.

father had an unusually long reign of 41 years. Furthermore, the tenth of these generations is not complete according to Henige's system of tabulation, since fraternal succession would add the reigns of Aššur-dan III and Aššur-nirari V to the same tenth generation. In addition, with the exception of the first and last generations, each of the cases of father-son succession within this period is attested by genealogy given in contemporary inscriptions (which is not the case for earlier inaccuracies supported by the Assyrian kinglist tradition alone). If one widens the ten generations to eleven (i.e., by including Aššur-rabi II), the generational average of 24.4 years is quite acceptable.

⁷⁸Which would be reduced to 18.75 years, if Nazi-Bugaš was not originally included in Kinglist A.

⁷⁹Especially in the length of the reigns of Nos. ?18-?21 and 25 and the period covering Nos. 29-31 (possibly plus Tukulti-Ninurta).

⁸⁰As discussed in Appendix C below.

⁸¹For the preference given to the reading Enlil-nirari, see Röllig, *Heidelberger Studien*, pp. 177-81, and my notes in *BiOr* XXVII (1970) 302-3. For a contrary opinion, see Grayson, *AS* XVI 337-39.

⁸²See the Catalogue below under L.3.7.

(h)	78. Tukulti-Ninurta I	32. Adad-šuma-ušur ⁸³	Chron. P
(i)	80. Aššur-nirari III	32. Adad-šuma-ušur	ABL 924
(j)	81. Enlil-kudurri-ušur	32. Adad-šuma-ušur	Syn. Hist., ⁸⁴ BM 27796
(k)	82. Ninurta-apil-Ekur	32. Adad-šuma-ušur	Syn. Hist.
(l)	83. [Ašš]ur-dan I	35. Zababa-šuma-iddina	Syn. Hist.

Utilizing these direct synchronisms between Kassite Babylonia⁸⁵ and the

⁸³The last year of Tukulti-Ninurta's suzerainty over Babylonia would be equivalent to Adad-šuma-ušur's accession year.

⁸⁴In the Synchronistic History, the name of Adad-šuma-ušur is mostly restored for synchronisms (j) and (k).

⁸⁵It seems preferable at present not to presume as a basis for precise chronological calculation that the Kassite and Isin II dynasties were strictly consecutive in Babylonia, i.e., that the third regnal year of Enlil-nādin-aḫi was identical with the accession year of Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu. The first three dynasties in Kinglist A, although listed one after the other, are known not to have been consecutive, but to have overlapped. There is no particular reason why the third and fourth dynasties of the kinglist, i.e., the Kassite and Isin II dynasties, could not have had a similar chronological relationship. (It should also be pointed out that the same observation could apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the short-lived dynasties following the Isin II dynasty.)

It must be stressed that there is no evidence as to the relative dates of the end of the Kassite dynasty and the beginning of the Isin II dynasty. There is literary evidence that may point to an Elamite interlude in Babylon after the removal of the last Kassite kings. Both a passage in the Kedor-laomer texts and a literary-historical text relating events at the close of the Kassite dynasty and under the early Isin dynasty (both discussed, with bibliography, in *PKB*, pp. 79-82) may be interpreted as implying Elamite control over the old capital. An astrological omen (references in n. 5 above under *Distanzangabe* No. 7) gives a figure of 30 years for the exile of the Marduk statue in Elam between the time of Enlil-nādin-aḫi and Nebuchadnezzar I, which, if interpreted literally, would imply at least a slight overlap between the two dynasties (see *PKB*, p. 108, n. 585). But such traditions were not designed to be chronological in a strict sense; and their cumulative, contradictory effect should serve to make us cautious about calculating all dates between 1350 and 1050 B.C. on an assumption about the consecutiveness of these two dynasties that is bolstered only by a literal interpretation of dynastic sequence in Kinglist A (such an interpretation is plainly at odds with the style of the kinglist in its treatment of the first three dynasties of Babylon, since their precise chronological relationship is clear from other sources).

In the present reconstruction, therefore, dates for the Kassite dynasty are calculated independently from the data for the Isin II dynasty. This is not much of a drawback, since there are twelve known Babylonian-Assyrian synchronisms from the Kassite dynasty and five from the

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relatively stable chronology in contemporary Assyria, one obtains the following results:⁸⁶

Assyria	Babylonia	
48. Bēlu-bāni	1. Gandaš	(1729-1704)
49. Libaja	2. Agum I (<i>mahrû</i>)	(1703-1682)
50. Šarma-Adad I	3. Kaštiliaš I	(1681-1660)
51. IB.TAR-Sîn	4-5. (uncertain)	(1659-)
52. Bazaja	6. Urzigurumaš	
53. Lullaja	7. Harba-x	
54. Šū-Ninua	8-9. (uncertain)	
55. Šarma-Adad II	10. Burna-Buriaš I ⁸⁷	

Isin II dynasty; the basic margin of error attaching to the absolute dates calculated from these synchronisms is ± 5 years in each case. (See also my earlier remarks on the subject in *BiOr* XXVII [1970] 305-7.)

This separate calculation of the dates for the two dynasties represents a major divergence from some of the chronological schemes proposed in recent years: Tadmor in *JNES* XVII (1958) 129-41 and in *The World History of the Jewish People*, First Series, Vol. II (Tel Aviv, 1970) chap. 5; Rowton in *JCS* XIII (1959) 1-11, *JNES* XIX (1960) 15-22, *JNES* XXV (1966) 240-58, and *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 193-239; Hornung in *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1964); Brinkman in A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964, plus various later editions) pp. 338-39. It is also worth noting that, wherever in recent years the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, Assyrian king No. 82, has been argued to be thirteen rather than three years (e.g., Tadmor in *JNES* XVII [1958] 135 and Rowton in *JNES* XXV [1966] 241-42), such proof has rested on calculations that assume the Kassite and Isin dynasties to be strictly consecutive.

⁸⁶The figures for Kassite kings 22-36 (and, depending on the approximate accuracy of the dynastic summary in Kinglist A, for Nos. 1-4) are mean figures and subject to a variation of ± 5 years; e.g., Kurigalzu II could have ruled as early as 1337-1313 or as late as 1327-1303 without disturbing attested synchronisms. The synchronism determining the upper limit in this reconstruction is that between Adad-šuma-ušur and Ninurta-apil-Ekur; that determining the lower limit is between Kurigalzu II and Aššur-uballit I. The dates for kings ?18-?21 are subject to an even wider margin of variation because of the more than usually hypothetical nature of the reconstruction of that part of the dynasty.

The principal differences between the present reconstruction and my last appraisal of the problem (*BiOr* XXVII [1970] 305-7) are in the downward revision of some of the Assyrian dates, the more precise determination of the lengths of the reigns of Kurigalzu II and Kadašman-Enlil II, and the omission here of the allowance for an interregnum between Kaštiliaš IV and Enlil-nādin-šumi.

⁸⁷Rowton in *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 207 postulates an approximate date of 1530 for the acces-

56. Erišum III		11-14. (uncertain)	
57. Šamsī-Adad II		?15. Kara-indaš	ca. 1413
58. Išme-Dagan II		?16. Kadašman-Ḫarbe I	
59. Šamsī-Adad III		?17. Kurigalzu I	
60. Aššur-nirari I		?18. Kadašman-Enlil I	(1374)-1360
61. Puzur-Aššur III		?19. Burna-Burias II	1359-1333
62. Enlil-našir I		?20. Kara-ḫardaš	1333
63. Nūr-ili		?21. Nazi-Bugaš	1333
64. Aššur-šadūni		22. Kurigalzu II	1332-1308
65. Aššur-rabi I		23. Nazi-Maruttas	1307-1282
66. Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē I		24. Kadašman-Turgu	1281-1264
67. Enlil-našir II	1430-1425	25. Kadašman-Enlil II	1263-1255
68. Aššur-nirari II	1424-1418	26. Kudur-Enlil	1254-1246
69. Aššur-bēl-nišēšu	1417-1409	27. Šagarakti-Šurias	1245-1233
70. Aššur-rā'im-nišēšu	1408-1401	28. Kaštīliašu (IV)	1232-1225
71. Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II	1400-1391	28a. Tukulti-Ninurta	1225
72. Eriša-Adad I	1390-1364	29. Enlil-nādin-šumi	1224
73. Aššur-uballiṭ I	1363-1328	30. Kadašman-Ḫarbe II	1223
74. Enlil-nirari	1327-1318	31. Adad-šuma-iddina	1222-1217
75. Arik-dēn-ili	1317-1306	32. Adad-šuma-ušur	1216-1187
76. Adad-nirari I	1305-1274	33. Meli-Šipak	1186-1172
77. Shalmaneser I	1273-1244	34. Marduk-apla-iddina I	1171-1159
78. Tukulti-Ninurta I	1243-1207	35. Zababa-šuma-iddina	1158
79. Aššur-nādin-apli	1206-1203	36. Enlil-nādin-aḫi	1157-1155
80. Aššur-nirari III	1202-1197		
81. Enlil-kudurri-ušur	1196-1192		
82. Ninurta-apil-Ekur	1191-1179		
83. Aššur-dan I	1178-1133		

sion of Burna-Burias I (and a death date ca. 1500 for his contemporary Puzur-Aššur III). The Burna-Burias I date is calculated by "average throne tenure" of three generations before Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, for whom Rowton sets an approximate accession date of 1450. The Puzur-Aššur date is also calculated by "average throne tenure" for the five generations of Assyrian kings preceding Aššur-uballiṭ I. While such approximations may be useful for general purposes, the wide variation of generational averages (for example see David P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* [Oxford, 1974] chap. 4: a five-generation sequence in selected dynasties may range anywhere between extremes of 76 to 275 years, depending on marriage and

In conclusion, several brief comments may be made upon the preceding list. First, the dates for the earliest kings are reconstructed on the basis of the total for the dynasty given in Kinglist A and stand or fall with the accuracy of that total.⁸⁸ Second, it must be stressed that the margin of ± 5 years, which attaches to the reigns of Nos. 22-36, presumes that all other factors in the reconstruction are accurate (Assyrian chronology, length of the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II, sequence of rulers after Kaštiliašu IV, etc.); but there is considerable room for doubt concerning some of these items.⁸⁹ Finally,

succession customs) renders the method as presently used of limited value as a sole means for precise calculation. (Were one able to compile data country by country and period by period and to take into account traditions of fraternal succession and the like, one might refine the method to a point where it would inspire more confidence; but statistical averages, for short-range chronological problems, are likely to remain a last resort used in default of any other evidence.)

⁸⁸The approximation given here for the beginning of the reign of Gandaš would fall just a few years after the Old Babylonian year names first mention the Kassites in the time of Samsu-iluna and Rīm-Sîn II, according to the "middle chronology."

⁸⁹Naturally any shift in these data will cause a corresponding shift in the table of Kassite rulers set up here. If, for instance, the reign of Aššur-nādin-apli (Assyrian king No. 79) should turn out to be three rather than four years (in accordance with the attested variant), all Kassite dates would have to be lowered by one year and would be subject to a variation of $-5/+6$ years. If the figure of three years (rather than thirteen) should prove to be true for Ninurta-apil-Ekur (Assyrian king No. 82), all Kassite dates would have to be lowered by ten years but would continue to have a ± 5 factor. If both these alternate figures were accepted for Assyrian kings Nos. 79 and 82, all Kassite dates should be lowered by eleven years with a variation of $-5/+6$ years. If the presently accepted interpretation of the Synchronistic History concerning the synchronism between the reigns of Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Adad-šuma-ušur should prove incorrect, then the dates for Kassite kings ?18-36 (and 1-4) should be raised by two years and would be subject to a $-7/+8$ variation. If the Assyrians used a lunar calendar without intercalary months before the calendar reform of Tiglath-pileser I (see, e.g., Rowton in *CAH* I/1 [3d ed.] 229), all Assyrian dates before 1132 would have to be lowered approximately three years per century; and Kassite dates should be set about five years lower than those in the table (e.g., Kurigalzu II at 1327-1303) with a variation of about ± 7 years. If a lunar calendar without intercalary months continued to be used even after Tiglath-pileser I, then further corresponding adjustments would have to be made. If one were to accept the highest figures given in economic texts for Kassite kings Nos. 22-24 (as opposed to the numbers in Kinglist A), then the dates for Kassite kings 25-36 (and 1-4) would have to be raised by two years, the dates for Nos. 22-24 set at 1330-1266, the dates for Nos. ?18-21 set at (1372)-1331; and all these would be subject to a variation of ± 3 years. If Kadašman-Enlil II were assigned a reign

it is worth observing that similar dates obtained for the Isin II dynasty⁹⁰ compare favorably with those reconstructed here for the final section of the Kassite dynasty. The date for the first year of the Isin II dynasty may be set at 1157 B.C. (+5), while the end of the Kassite dynasty has been set at 1155 (+5).⁹¹ This leaves room for any solution ranging from a thirteen-year overlap between the dynasties to a seven-year interregnum.

This presentation of Kassite chronology is obviously hypothetical in many particulars and will need revision as further data become available.⁹² But it has the advantage of reconciling the evidence of contemporary economic texts (especially for kings 22-28), Kinglist A, and known Babylonian-Assyrian

of fifteen years, then his reign would be set at 1266-1252; the dates for Nos. ?18-24 would be raised by three years, the dates for Nos. 26-36 (and 1-4) lowered by three years, and all Kassite dates (except for king No. ?15) subject to a variation of +8 years. If one were to give Tukulti-Ninurta a seven-year interregnum between kings Nos. 28 and 29, the interregnum would be dated 1227-1221; the dates for kings ?18-28 would be raised by three years, the dates for Nos. 29-36 (and 1-4) lowered by four years, and all these subject to a variation of -8/+9 years. None of these possibilities seems very likely at present writing, but it can at least be seen that no one of them would cause a drastic shift in the chronological table.

⁹⁰PKB, Pl. II. Because of the slight shift in contemporary Assyrian chronology (Tiglath-pileser II ruling from 966-935 rather than 967-935), the asterisked dates in the table in PKB should be lowered by one year.

⁹¹These median dates, interestingly enough, yield a figure of exactly 30 years between the last year of Enlil-nādin-aḫi and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar I, which fits well with one interpretation of *Distanzangabe* No. 7 in note 5 above. This, however, is likely to be coincidence and should not be taken too seriously.

Also worthy of note is that, in case the Kassite and Isin II dynasties should eventually be proven to have overlapped, this need not mean that there were two simultaneous pretenders to the Babylonian throne. The beginning of the reign of the first ruler of the Isin II dynasty could later simply have been calculated retroactively from the time when Marduk-kabit-ahḫešu first held an important (and perhaps eventually independent) post, e.g., the governorship of Isin, rather than from the time when he first explicitly assumed the royal title or *de facto* exercised hegemony in Babylonia. (Similar questions concerning overlaps and titularly arise in connection with the Ur III, Isin I, and Larsa dynasties at the end of the reign of Ibbi-Sîn.)

⁹²The factors causing most uneasiness about the present reconstruction are the place of the Agum-kakrime tradition (and the restoration of the Marduk statue to Babylon after "twenty-four" years of absence) in the sequence, the necessity of spreading kings 4-14 over such a long period of time, and the reign lengths estimated for kings ?18-?21 and 25.

synchronisms; and this reassessment of the materials should at least provide a frame of reference to lighten the burden for future revisers. In general, it may be said that, with the exception of possible revisions from the Assyrian side, most adjustments in dates for Babylonian events and reigns here set between 1374 and 1155 should be expected to be upward. But Mesopotamian chronology is not a very predictable field.

C. CHRONOLOGICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND TYPOLOGICAL
DISTRIBUTION OF THE CATALOGUED SOURCES

1. Chronological Distribution

The early years of the Kassite dynasty yield no clearly contemporary sources that can be linked with its monarchs. Inscriptions purportedly belonging to Gandaš (king No. 1) [H.3.1]¹ and Agum-kakrime (number unknown) [D^b.3.1] are late copies of possibly contemporary originals, but the authenticity of these texts has been doubted.² There are contemporary legal texts from the reign of Kaštiliaš(u) of Hana,³ but it is uncertain whether this ruler is to be identified with one of the early kings named Kaštiliaš(u) of the Kassite dynasty. There is also a contemporary possession inscription in the name of Ula-Burariaš [X.2.1],⁴ but it apparently gives this king only the restricted title "king of the Sealand."⁵

The first clearly contemporary sources from reigning monarchs of the dynasty are a few stereotyped building inscriptions from the reign of Kara-indaš (No. ?15) in the late fifteenth century [N.2.1-2]. The seal of Izkur-Marduk [N.2.3], son of Kara-indaš, may date from approximately the same time. The reign of the next king, Kadašman-Ḫarbe I (No. ?16), has yielded a lone economic text [K^a.2.1].⁶ The inscriptions of the next three rulers, representing the

¹Throughout Section C, references in brackets, e.g., [Q.2.3], are to entries in the "Catalogue of Sources" (Part II below). The section inevitably contains considerable repetition and overlapping as various sources and source types are discussed several times under different headings.

²In this volume, I do not wish to take a categorical position either for or against the historical genuineness of these texts. This should be studied further in each case.

³Goetze, *JCS* XI (1957) 64-65.

⁴For the terminology "possession inscription," see the typological analysis of Kassite royal inscriptions in Part I.C.3 below.

⁵The ambiguity about the person to whom the title "king of the Sealand" refers comes from the order in the phraseology of the inscription: *Ula-Burariaš mār Burna-Burariaš LUGAL LUGAL KUR A.AB.BA*. It is usually, though not necessarily, inferred that the first title (LUGAL) refers to Burna-Burariaš and the second (LUGAL KUR A.AB.BA) to Ula-Burariaš.

⁶See also the kudurru [K^b.2.1], the attribution of which is doubtful.

I. INTRODUCTION

period of maximum attested Kassite contact with Egypt, are difficult to assess since in most texts each of these kings is not always readily distinguishable from another ruler bearing the same name:

- (a) No. ?17, Kurigalzu I, who may be confused with Kurigalzu II (No. 22), who reigned 50-75 years later;
- (b) No. ?18, Kadašman-Enlil I, who may be confused with Kadašman-Enlil II (No. 25), who reigned about a century later;
- (c) No. ?19, Burna-Buriasš II, who may be confused with Burna-Buriasš I (No. 10), who reigned perhaps two centuries earlier.

In the case of the first two of these pairs, it is uncertain how to assign at least those royal inscriptions that cite no genealogy. From the reign of Kurigalzu I, we have at least two copies of a royal grant [Q.2.1] and one economic text [Q.2.115.168]; but there are approximately eighty other royal inscriptions and nine private seal texts that might be attributed to this time. From the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I, there are certainly three Amarna letters [J.2.12-14] and possibly several royal inscriptions, two more Amarna letters [J.2.15-16], a land grant [J.2.19], and an economic text [J.2.22.45]. In the case of Burna-Buriasš II, it has been customary to assign all contemporary inscriptions to him rather than to his earlier homonym;⁷ and these texts now include several royal and private votive inscriptions, the rest of the Babylonian-Egyptian Amarna letters, and the first significant number of economic documents from Nippur. Thus, in this time (kings ?15-?19), most of the principal contemporary sources from Kassite times begin to be attested: the royal inscriptions, the Nippur economic archives, and international royal correspondence.⁸

The presumably brief period of change under Kara-ḫardaš (No. ?20) and Nazi-Bugaš (No. ?21) seems to have no contemporary documentation except for a single economic text [M.2.2]⁹ and perhaps a letter in which Kara-ḫardaš may be mentioned [M.2.1].

The next seven kings, spanning slightly more than a century, account for

⁷But see the qualifications expressed in the Catalogue, Section E, n. 23 below.

⁸The earliest kudurrus may also date from this time; but, because of the homonymous monarch problem, this cannot be asserted with any degree of confidence.

⁹Dated in the accession year following the death of Burna-Buriasš II (MU.ÚS.SA RN).

the vast majority of texts of the dynasty.¹⁰ Over 90 percent of the dated texts in the Nippur economic archives fall during these years, with heaviest average concentration toward the close (Kudur-Enlil through Kaštiliašu IV, Nos. 26-28).¹¹ From this period also come the earliest MB economic texts from Ur and Dūr-Kurigalzu, the oldest certainly dated economic texts from Babylon,¹² the first definitely assignable kudurrus,¹³ the earliest MB "Luristan bronze" dagger,¹⁴ and some scraps of correspondence with the Hittite court.¹⁵ From the reign of Kurigalzu II (No. 22) date a relatively large number of small votive texts, often written on small stone objects,¹⁶ and more than 150 economic documents;¹⁷ other inscriptions that could be attributed to this reign have been noted above under Kurigalzu I (No. ?17). Texts from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23) include two building inscriptions, thirteen votive texts, one possession inscription, two kudurrus (plus one late copy of a kudurru dating from this reign), several private inscriptions, and more than 375 economic documents.¹⁸ Among the private texts are three lengthy votive texts

¹⁰In fact, the only sizeable groups of inscriptions that may fall outside this time are the many Kurigalzu texts (which could be assigned to the earlier king of that name) and numerous late Kassite kudurrus.

¹¹About 1200 dated economic texts from Nippur come from this time, as opposed to approximately 85 dated texts for the rest of the dynasty (almost all of which come from the reign of Burna-Buriaš II, No. ?19). The reigns of Kudur-Enlil, Šagarakti-Šuriaš, and Kaštiliašu IV (Nos. 26-28) average more than 15 texts per year, though the average for Kaštiliašu drops sharply after his fourth year. The reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23) averages more than 14 texts per year. Other reigns are less well represented: No. 22, Kurigalzu II (6+ texts per year); No. 24, Kadašman-Turgu (6+); No. 25, Kadašman-Enlil II (5+). Since many of the better preserved dated texts cluster in archives, this distributional pattern may represent accidental finding of specific groups rather than a measure of the rise and fall of legal or economic activity in the city.

¹²Some texts are dated under a Kurigalzu and a Kadašman-Enlil [Q.2.115.167, J.2.22.53]. Since none of these documents is published or available for consultation, it has been impossible to tell which of the rulers bearing these names is involved.

¹³An isolated kudurru comes from the reign of a Kurigalzu [Q.2.6]. Two copies of a land grant on baked-clay cones probably date from the time of a Kadašman-Enlil [J.2.19]. Three kudurrus come from the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš [U.2.17-19].

¹⁴[L.2.11].

¹⁵[J.2.17, L.2.12].

¹⁶[Q.2.60, 67, 69, 71-72, 75, 81, 92, 94, 96-99, 101].

¹⁷Most of [Q.2.115].

¹⁸[U.2], *passim*.

of officials, one in Sumerian from a *kartappu* in Uruk¹⁹ and two (one in Sumerian, one in Akkadian) from a man who served successively as *šatammu* of Eugal and *nišakku* of Enlil.²⁰ The reign of Kadašman-Turgu (No. 24) has yielded nine votive inscriptions, two brief texts (principally RN and titulary), a fragmentary letter to Ḫattušili III, and more than 110 economic texts.²¹ With Kadašman-Enlil II (No. 25), one again encounters the problem of distinguishing inscriptions of homonymous monarchs. A letter from Ḫattušili III [J.2.17] and a bead with a votive text [J.2.7] certainly pertain to this monarch; other texts that might be assigned here are sketched above under Kadašman-Enlil I (No. ?18). More than fifty economic texts--including tablets from Nippur, Ur, Babylon, and the Peiser archives--probably come from this reign.²² From Kudur-Enlil (No. 26), we have one possession inscription, one building text, and two votive inscriptions, all from Nippur, a kudurru from Larsa, and more than 190 economic texts.²³ The reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (No. 27) has yielded seven votive and about three hundred economic texts, plus a fragment of a clay pot bearing the king's name and a late copy of a seal legend (with later material added).²⁴ From the reign of Kaštiliašu IV (No. 28), there are four votive texts, two royal inscriptions dealing with grants, and more than 170 economic texts (including a number from Dūr-Kurigalzu and Ur).²⁵

The period of Assyrian suzerainty (Nos. 28a-31) has yielded very few documents from Babylonia. There is one economic text from Nippur dated under Tukulti-Ninurta (No. 28a).²⁶ Economic material from the reign of Enlil-nādin-šumi (No. 29) is said to have been found at Babylon.²⁷ The reign of Kadašman-

¹⁹[U.2.20], surviving in two copies.

²⁰[U.2.21-22].

²¹[L.2], *passim*.

²²[J.2.22], with the exception of [J.2.22.45]. The pertinent texts from Babylon have not been available for checking; so their assignment here depends solely on an assessment of the later date of the archive(s) from the Merkes quarter.

²³[P.2], *passim*.

²⁴[V.2], *passim*.

²⁵[O.2], *passim*.

²⁶[W.2.4]. There is also a late copy of an inscription added to the seal of Šagarakti-Šuriaš by Tukulti-Ninurta [W.2.2].

²⁷[G.2.1]. No texts dated under this king were found among the Babylon material in Istanbul.

Harbe II (No. 30) is represented by five economic texts and a possibly contemporary kudurru.²⁸ From the time of Adad-šuma-iddina (No. 31), we have two, or possibly three, economic texts from Ur.²⁹

For the final period of the dynasty (kings 32-36), the most important contemporary records are the kudurrus. Economic texts slow to a mere trickle.³⁰ From the time of Adad-šuma-ušur (No. 32), whose thirty-year reign is the longest thus far attested in the dynasty, we have several identical copies of a building text, two "Luristan bronze" daggers with short possession inscriptions, a kudurru, and just over a dozen economic texts; late copies survive of a royal statue inscription and a letter to the Assyrian court.³¹ The reign of Meli-šipak (No. 33) has produced two building inscriptions (one only in a late copy), a votive text, six kudurrus,³² at least ten economic documents, and an omen text.³³ From the time of Marduk-apla-iddina I (No. 34), there are a building inscription (surviving only in a later copy), six kudurrus,³⁴ and at least eight economic texts.³⁵ The one-year reign of Zababa-šuma-iddina (No. 35) has yielded no contemporary documentation; and the concluding reign of the dynasty, that of Enlil-nādin-aḫi (No. 36), is represented only by a kudurru and an economic text.³⁶

From periods after the Kassite dynasty, we have several later copies of Kassite royal inscriptions,³⁷ many of which have been noted above. The most valuable inscriptions from later times are the major kinglists and chronicles, which are the basis of our chronological treatment: Kinglist A, the synchronistic kinglist A. 117, Chronicle P, and the Synchronistic History, not all

²⁸[K^b.2].

²⁹[B.2].

³⁰In so far as known at present, approximately 35 spread over 62 years.

³¹[C.2], *passim*.

³²The heaviest concentration of kudurrus from any time between 1600 and 600 B.C. comes from the reigns of Meli-šipak and Marduk-apla-iddina I (1186-1159 B.C.).

³³[S.2], *passim*.

³⁴With another possibly from this time [R.2.9] and a copy, with contemporary postscript, of a kudurru from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš [R.2.10].

³⁵[R.2], *passim*.

³⁶[F.2.1-2].

³⁷E.g., [N.2.1.3, Q.2.11, S.2.2]. Possibly also [D^b.3.1] and [H.3.1], though this has been debated.

of them equally reliable.³⁸ Other texts of interest from the Neo-Babylonian period are a temple inventory of royal gifts³⁹ and several references in the inscriptions of Nabonidus to activities of Kassite rulers.⁴⁰

2. Geographical Distribution

The following paragraphs are concerned with delineating the places of origin,⁴¹ where known, of the various contemporary texts listed in the Catalogue.⁴² The only such texts deliberately excluded are those listed in the Catalogue Supplement (Sections AA-AF) as belonging to persons who were not monarchs.⁴³ The four principal areas, to be discussed in turn, are: (a) Babylonia, (b) Assyria, (c) Iran, and (d) the West (i.e., Syria, Egypt, Anatolia, and Greece).

Babylonia's principal sources of documentation from the Kassite period are the following sites, listed in order according to the number of texts found: Nippur, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Ur, and Babylon. Other excavated sites, namely Adab, Eridu, Isin, Kish, Larsa, Sippar, and Uruk,⁴⁴ have as yet yielded only rela-

³⁸A full list of the kinglists and chronicles utilized here appears in Appendix B.

³⁹UET IV 143, naming at least four Kassite monarchs [E.3.11, Q.3.17, R.3.1, S.3.4].

⁴⁰[E.3.12, Q.3.18, V.3.4]; cf. [P.3.13].

⁴¹Place of origin may be taken in two senses: (a) the site where an object was originally inscribed, or (b) the site where the object was found. In many cases, objects were inscribed and found in the same city or area; but, in some obvious instances (e.g., letters sent from one town or country to another or kudurrus taken as booty to neighboring lands), the two places will differ. In this section, we will consider place of origin in both senses and describe texts in their larger archeological context (when they come from controlled or adequately documented excavations) and in the setting in which they were originally written (which must sometimes be deduced from internal evidence).

⁴²Later texts are generally not included (except for later copies of Middle Babylonian inscriptions).

⁴³Or to individuals who may have been kings, though the available evidence is inadequate to support a more definite assertion.

⁴⁴In the tablet archives of the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri are tablets that are labelled as Kassite materials from Lagash. Many of these texts are not Middle Babylonian, but either earlier or later. It is obvious that some of the tablets that are Middle Babylonian are from Nippur (because of geographical names occurring and because the cast of one of these texts, L. 39432, is in the University Museum, Philadelphia, along with other casts of texts from the Nippur expedition of the late nineteenth century). In the absence of evidence to

tively small numbers of Kassite texts (either because the pertinent area has not been extensively excavated⁴⁵ or because there was no significant Kassite occupation).⁴⁶ The following places have also been the source of documents, though provenience in these instances is known either through chance finds or through internal evidence in the texts rather than through systematic excavation: Agade,⁴⁷ Baghdad, Borsippa,⁴⁸ and Dēr. There are also two areas inadequately identified: the lands of the various kudurrus and the home of the Peiser archive.

Nippur has yielded about twelve thousand inscriptions and inscribed fragments, of which more than fourteen hundred are catalogued below.⁴⁹ About 95 percent of the catalogued texts--and a somewhat larger percentage of the uncatalogued--are economic, among which administrative documents far outnumber legal inscriptions. Many of these texts come from archives, both private and official, covering the generations between the fourth year of Burna-Buriaš II (1356) and the reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (1223). Nippur has likewise been an important source for royal building inscriptions (all on bricks and written in Sumerian) and votive texts;⁵⁰ the dates of these texts range from at least Burna-Buriaš II

the contrary, it is at present difficult to be certain that any of these MB documents came originally from Lagash. (For similar problems concerning OB materials, see *AbB* V, pp. ix-x.)

⁴⁵It is hoped that ongoing excavations at Isin and Larsa may continue to yield additional Kassite material, perhaps even archives. As yet, the principal finds from these expeditions have been building inscriptions from temple areas, and it has not been determined whether these cities were flourishing urban centers or just old sites respected principally for their religious traditions at this time.

⁴⁶It is instructive to compare the list of Babylonian cities that have yielded Kassite inscriptional materials with the names of cities listed as furnishing hemerology texts to scribes in the time of Nazi-Maruttaš: Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Larsa, Ur, Uruk, and Eridu [U.3.7]. We have texts from each of these places, though as yet no Middle Babylonian hemerology texts except from Dūr-Kurigalzu, which is not mentioned in the preceding enumeration.

⁴⁷Known only from a copy of a brick inscription surviving on a sixth-century tablet [Q.2.11].

⁴⁸The site has been excavated, but the MB texts did not come from controlled excavations.

⁴⁹Most of the uncatalogued texts are undated economic texts and letters. Archival studies should eventually furnish at least approximate dates for many of these tablets.

⁵⁰[C.2.1, E.2.4-7, E.2.9, J.2.2-6, L.2.1-2, L.2.4-6, L.2.8, O.2.1-4, P.2.2-4, Q.2.12, Q.2.23-24, Q.2.53, Q.2.57-64, Q.2.67-69, Q.2.72-73, Q.2.82-86, Q.2.95, Q.2.101-3, S.2.1, U.2.4-15, V.2.1-2, V.2.6-7]. The votive texts were found mostly in a single cache, which is discussed in [E.5.5]. [P.2.1], though written on a brick, is a possession inscription.

(No. ?19) to Meli-Šipak (No. 33), with the possibility that they may also include Kurigalzu I (No. ?17) and Kadašman-Enlil I (No. ?18). Other inscriptions include a private votive text,⁵¹ a kudurru,⁵² dated extispicies,⁵³ and an omen text.⁵⁴ There are also fragments of undetermined character, possibly historical-literary narratives,⁵⁵ and a tablet listing offerings to the gods.⁵⁶ The Kassite Nippur documents come principally from the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania between 1889 and 1900, with additional texts furnished by subsequent American expeditions.⁵⁷ Most of these texts are in the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul,⁵⁸ and in the University Museum, Philadelphia;⁵⁹ but significant numbers of texts are also in the Iraq Museum, the Hilprecht Collection in Jena, the Oriental Institute in Chicago, and the British Museum;⁶⁰ a few texts are in the Louvre, the Yale Babylonian collections, and the Free Library (Philadelphia).⁶¹

⁵¹[E.2.20], supposedly found near Babylon.

⁵²[S.2.4], provenience unknown, but dealing with lawsuits in the province of Nippur. Cf. the tablet [E.2.19], which may be concerned with a land grant.

⁵³[E.2.26-27].

⁵⁴[E.2.28].

⁵⁵[E.2.30, U.2.25]; the latter is a first-millennium copy of a text apparently concerning the exploits of Nazi-Maruttas̄.

⁵⁶[E.2.29].

⁵⁷Now sponsored solely by the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Formerly co-sponsored in turn by the University Museum, Philadelphia, and by the American Schools of Oriental Research.

⁵⁸Including a few texts classified under "L." (for Lagash) in Istanbul. See note 44 above.

⁵⁹These two collections, between them, have more than eleven thousand Nippur texts from the Kassite period.

⁶⁰Some of the tablets acquired by the British Museum in the 1890's--while the Pennsylvania expedition was in progress--are clearly from Nippur, as can be seen both from prosopography and from geographical names. This includes at least some of the tablets with 94-10-13 and 96-3-28 accession dates; some of the latter have been published in *CT* LI. *CT* XLIV 67-68 (and possibly 69 as well) also come from Nippur.

⁶¹Other texts also possibly to be connected with Nippur, at least indirectly, deal with the *nišakku* of Enlil: a land grant originally made in the time of Kurigalzu I (king No. ?17) [J.2.19], a seal from the time of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22) [Q.2.106], and a prism from approximately the time of Nazi-Maruttas̄ (No. 23) [U.2.22].

Dūr-Kurigalzu has yielded about 225 inscribed objects from this period.⁶² About seventy of these are sufficiently dated to be included in the Catalogue below. More than thirty of these texts are building or votive inscriptions of one Kurigalzu or the other (king No. ?17/22);⁶³ and several statue fragments, one of which mentions a Kurigalzu, were also found.⁶⁴ Two seal inscriptions survive which were written in the name of Dūrī-Ulmaš, governor of Dūr-Kurigalzu in the time of a Kurigalzu.⁶⁵ Many economic texts were excavated on the site: about twenty from the reign of Kaštiliašu IV (king No. 28), four from the time of Marduk-apla-iddina I (No. 34), two from Kudur-Enlil (No. 26), one or two from Šagarakti-Šuriaš (No. 27), and one text that mentions both Nazi-Maruttaš and Kadašman-Turgu (Nos. 23-24) in an atypical date formula.⁶⁶ There is also a kudurru from the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23)⁶⁷ and what seems to be an international letter written to a Kadašman-Enlil (No. ?18/25).⁶⁸ The excavators at Dūr-Kurigalzu also found four brick fragments some two or three kilometers northwest of the palace area (Tell el-Abyad), and one of these bore the name of Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23).⁶⁹

From Ur there are more than fifteen building inscriptions of a Kurigalzu (king No. ?17/22), all in Sumerian and written on bricks, door sockets, and foundation tablets.⁷⁰ There is also a statue fragment bearing the inscription "Kurigalzu, king of Ur";⁷¹ but where this was found is not known. The only other possible royal inscription is a brief text on a clay pot mentioning

⁶²The inscribed objects found in the Iraqi excavations between 1942 and 1945 will be treated in a detailed catalogue, presently scheduled for publication as a later volume in this series. Additional Kassite texts have been turning up in more recent digging at the site, e.g., [Q.2.15.3, Q.2.17.2], but most of these are yet to be published and are not included in the total number listed here.

⁶³[Q.2.15-21, Q.2.40-52].

⁶⁴[Q.2.4].

⁶⁵[Q.2.108-9].

⁶⁶[O.2.7, R.2.11, P.2.6, V.2.10, *passim*, and L.2.13.27]. The numbers of texts from some of these reigns may be raised when archival studies have been completed.

⁶⁷[U.2.17].

⁶⁸[J.2.18].

⁶⁹[U.2.1].

⁷⁰[Q.2.27-37, Q.2.54-56, Q.2.65-66].

⁷¹[Q.2.3].

Šagarakti-Š[urias] (No. 27) and the god Zababa;⁷² this may be a votive text, but is badly damaged. Ur has also yielded approximately seventy-five economic texts,⁷³ almost all of them found in the residential quarter;⁷⁴ in contrast to the Nippur archives, most of these texts are legal rather than administrative documents. The dated texts among them range from the time of Kadašman-Enlil⁷⁵ to the reign of Enlil-nādin-aḫi (No. 36).⁷⁶

Excavations at Babylon have unearthed two knobs from this period (belonging to Meli-Šipak [king No. 33] and Ula-Burariaš),⁷⁷ a tablet with a copy of the text of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22) brick,⁷⁸ and an unknown number of economic texts. Excavation reports on the Merkes quarter mention the finding of tablets dating from the reigns of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22), a Kadašman-Enlil (No. ?18/25), Kadašman-Turgu (No. 24), Kudur-Enlil (No. 26), Enlil-nādin-šumi (No. 29), Meli-Šipak (No. 33), and Marduk-apla-iddina I (No. 34).⁷⁹ The Babil collection of the Istanbul tablet archives contains a few dated economic texts from the reigns of Adad-šuma-ušur, Meli-Šipak, and Marduk-apla-iddina I.⁸⁰ A kudurru from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš mentions land in the area of Babylon.⁸¹

Other excavated sites have yielded only a few documents. From Adab have come four Kurigalzu bricks with Sumerian building inscriptions and an economic

⁷²[V.2.9].

⁷³Most of them published by Gurney, *UET VII* 1-72. Additional materials are noted in *Or XXXVIII* (1969) 331-32, especially in the footnotes.

⁷⁴*Or XXXVIII* (1969) 331, n. 7.

⁷⁵Presumably Kadašman-Enlil II (No. 25). The oldest text is [J.2.22.8].

⁷⁶[F.2.2]. Also found among this group was a text from the Second Dynasty of Isin (*PKB*, p. 334, 7.2.4).

Of a later date, but referring to several Kassite kings (a Kurigalzu, a Burna-Burias, Meli-Šipak, and Marduk-apla-iddina I) is a Neo-Babylonian temple inventory from Ur, *UET IV* 143.

⁷⁷[S.2.3, x.2.1].

⁷⁸[Q.2.12]. To judge from the text, the brick itself presumably came originally from Nippur.

⁷⁹[Q.2.115.167, J.2.22.53, L.2.13.119, P.2.6.201, G.2.1, S.2.10.11, R.2.11.10].

⁸⁰[C.2.7.10-11, S.2.10.1-2, S.2.10.5, S.2.10.7, S.2.10.10, R.2.11.1]. Whether these are in part identical with the Merkes texts is uncertain. As stated above, I have been unable to learn the present whereabouts of the other texts from Babylon, though the Vorderasiatisches Museum in East Berlin might be expected to be their home.

⁸¹[U.2.19].

text dated in the fourth year of Kaštiliašu (No. 28).⁸² Possible Kassite period finds from Eridu, including a building inscription, are discussed in [Q.5.11] below. The 1973 season at Isin yielded an inscribed brick of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22).⁸³ From the Kish excavations came only an agate knob with a brief text of Kurigalzu.⁸⁴ Larsa, thanks mainly to the recent French excavations, has produced several building inscriptions⁸⁵ and two kudurrus.⁸⁶ The Sippar materials are still largely unpublished, but there are at least two bricks of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22) and a later copy of a Meli-Šipak (No. 33) brick.⁸⁷ Uruk has furnished several bricks of Kara-indaš (No. ?15) and of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22) and two matching steles of a kartappu official from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23).⁸⁸

From Agade came a Kurigalzu brick, which has survived only in a copy (on a tablet) written in the reign of Nabonidus.⁸⁹ In the last century, on the west bank of the Tigris opposite Baghdad was found a kudurru of Marduk-apla-iddina I (No. 34).⁹⁰ Borsippa may have been the source of a Kurigalzu brick⁹¹ and was, at least ultimately, the place whence came a building inscription of Marduk-

⁸²[Q.2.7-10, O.2.7.134]. The economic text is not mentioned in E. J. Banks, *Bismya* (New York, 1912); its provenience is known only from records in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

⁸³[Q.2.22].

⁸⁴[Q.2.70]. For the possibility that some Kassite texts were excavated at Ingharra, see Gibson, *Kish*, p. 10, n. 31. It may also be observed that a votive text written in the name of the šandabakku of Nippur in the time of Burna-Buriaš II (No. ?19) is said to have been erected in a temple of Ehursagkalamma (*BE* I 33:23), though whether this was identical with the well known temple in the area of Kish is debatable.

⁸⁵Of Kadasman-Enlil (No. ?18/25) [J.2.1], Burna-Buriaš II (No. ?19) [E.2.1-3], and Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23) [U.2.2].

⁸⁶From the time of Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23) [U.2.18] and Kudur-Enlil (No. 26) [P.2.5].

⁸⁷[Q.2.25-26, S.2.2]; the provenience of the latter is doubtful. A clay prism bearing a lengthy private votive inscription from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23) [U.2.22] was also supposedly found at Sippar, though the votive object is said in the text to have been erected at the town of Ħilpi (presumably nearby). In addition, Nabonidus mentions that Burna-Buriaš (No. ?19) and Šagarakti-Šuriaš (No. 27) built at Sippar [E.3.12, V.3.4].

⁸⁸[N.2.1-2, Q.2.38-39, U.2.20].

⁸⁹[Q.2.11]. Cf. [S.2.6], a kudurru mentioning Agade, and [Q.3.18], a text of Nabonidus mentioning Kurigalzu's work at Agade and supposedly citing a text of Kurigalzu.

⁹⁰[R.2.3].

⁹¹[Q.2.13], provenience according to the report of the finder.

apla-iddina I (No. 34) concerned with Ezida.⁹² Near Dēr (Badrah) was found a Kurigalzu brick with Egyptian-style designs;⁹³ two other texts may have also come from the area: a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22) kudurru bestowing land in the vicinity and a Kurigalzu scaraboid (found at Susa), dedicated to Ištārān, the patron deity of Dēr.⁹⁴

The Peiser archive, which is here defined in an expanded sense to include not only the texts formerly in Peiser's own collection⁹⁵ but also a tablet in Berlin⁹⁶ and several tablets in the Louvre,⁹⁷ is a group of legal and administrative texts concerning the descendants of Nabû-šarraḫ (principally his son Amurru-ēriš)⁹⁸ and dating from the seventh year of Kadašman-Enlil (II) through the accession year of Kaštiliašu (Nos. 25-28, ca. 1257-1233).⁹⁹ The provenience of these texts is unknown, and very few geographical names are mentioned in them.¹⁰⁰

The kudurrus come from a variety of areas, and it is difficult to ascertain whether or not any of them was found *in situ*. Several of them were discovered in Susa, whither they had been taken as booty from Elamite raids on Babylonia, possibly toward the end of the Kassite dynasty.¹⁰¹ As mentioned above, one kudurru was found near Baghdad and another excavated at Dūr-Kurigalzu.¹⁰² Another was found in western Iran near Sarpol-e Zohab, in what may well have

⁹²[R.2.1]; Borsippa is mentioned in rev. 7. See also note [R.5.3] below; and cf. *BBSt*, No. 5 [R.2.3] ii 11-16.

⁹³[Q.2.14].

⁹⁴[Q.2.6, Q.2.105].

⁹⁵Published by him in *Urk*. These tablets are now in the De Liagre Böhl Collection, Leiden.

⁹⁶VAT 4920 (published by Peiser, *ibid.*, pp. 32-33).

⁹⁷Most of which were published among *TCL IX* 47-56.

⁹⁸The theophoric element of the PN is written ^dKUR.GAL and ^dMAR.TU. The same person may also be represented by the hypocoristic form Amurria (e.g., P 114).

⁹⁹Some texts published with this group (e.g., P 120, from the reign of Burna-Burias II) do not seem to belong to the main archive. Of the approximately sixty texts noted in the Peiser, Berlin, and Louvre collections, probably at least forty belong to the main archive; but further study is needed.

¹⁰⁰E.g., URU *Bīt-Sīn-magir* (P 96:5'), URU(?) *Kar-Ši-la-nu*(?) (P 127:3). Babylon (KĀ. DINGIR.RA.KI) occurs in P 108, and *šarru* and *mār šarri* in P 100.

¹⁰¹E.g., [C.2.6, O.2.5 (cf. O.2.6), R.2.4-6, S.2.6-9, U.2.19].

¹⁰²Baghdad: [R.2.3]. Dūr-Kurigalzu: [U.2.17].

been the province of Ḫalman in the late Kassite period.¹⁰³ Many of the kudurru texts seem to be concerned with northern or (north)eastern Babylonia,¹⁰⁴ while others mention the Sealand,¹⁰⁵ Malgiu(m),¹⁰⁶ or Nippur.¹⁰⁷

Assyria, too, has yielded a number of documents that throw light on the history of the Kassite dynasty. Most of these texts are Assyrian documents that mention Babylonian contacts in passing: a synchronistic kinglist,¹⁰⁸ royal inscriptions,¹⁰⁹ a booty list,¹¹⁰ and various poetic narratives;¹¹¹ some of these are to be classified as later rather than as contemporary documents. Two small fragments of Assyro-Babylonian royal correspondence may have survived.¹¹² In one instance, a Babylonian seal seems to have been used on a Middle Assyrian tablet;¹¹³ and a late copy of the legend on a thirteenth-century Kassite royal seal (Šagarakti-Šuriaš, king No. 27), with additional text appended by Assyrian conquerors, was found in the Kuyunjik library.¹¹⁴ Babylonian royal inscriptions, both originals and late copies, have also been found in Assyria. The originals are a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22) eye stone found at Assur,¹¹⁵ a Kadašman-Enlil

¹⁰³[R.2.8].

¹⁰⁴E.g., Agade [S.2.6], Bīt-Piri'-Amurru [R.2.5, S.2.5, S.2.6], the river Daban [C.2.6, Q.2.6], Dēr [Q.2.6], Ḫudadu [R.2.4, sometimes read Bagdadu], and the river Radānu [R.2.5]. Cf. also possibly [R.2.3].

¹⁰⁵[S.2.8].

¹⁰⁶[S.2.8].

¹⁰⁷[S.2.4]. [J.2.19] is concerned with a *nišakku* of Enlil. [Q.2.1], a land grant of Kurigalzu I, mentions such place names as Adatti, Girsu, Mangissi, and Nippur (Duranki). In addition, the names of many small places (location unknown) occur in the kudurru.

¹⁰⁸A. 117, most recently published by Weidner in *Afo* III (1926) 66-77. The standard versions of the Assyrian Kinglist also refer to Babylonia in connection with Ninurta-apil-Ekur, Assyrian king No. 82 (*Afo* IV [1927] 5 rev. i 38-39, *JNES* XIII [1954] 218 iii 28-29 and 219 iii 16; *KAV* 15 rev. breaks off in the middle of the pertinent entry).

¹⁰⁹[Q.2.116, W.2.1].

¹¹⁰[W.2.3].

¹¹¹[U.2.27-28, W.2.5-6, Z.3.1 (= F.3.1)]; cf. [L.3.7, O.3.3 (= W.3.1), and Q.1.4], text fragments of undetermined character. Another possibly historical-literary text [U.2.26], known only in a copy from the Kuyunjik library, may derive from a Babylonian original of the time of Nazi-Maruttaš.

¹¹²[M.2.1 (interpretation uncertain) and C.2.5 (in late copy)].

¹¹³[L.2.14].

¹¹⁴[V.2.8].

¹¹⁵[Q.2.77].

(No. ?18/25) knob (macehead?) found at Nineveh,¹¹⁶ and a votive bead of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (No. 27) found at Nimrud.¹¹⁷ The copies are of the text of Agum-kakrime and come from the Kuyunjik library.¹¹⁸ Most of the texts found in Assyria are from either Assur or Nineveh, but Nimrud and Sultantepe have each furnished one as well.¹¹⁹

Iran, too, has yielded many datable Babylonian texts.¹²⁰ From the far north-western section of the country, Hasanlu level IV (early first millennium B.C.) has yielded a vessel bearing an inscription of a Kadašman-Enlil (No. ?18/25).¹²¹ In the central section of the Zagros near Sarpol-e Zohab, a kudurru of Marduk-apla-iddina I (No. 34) was found.¹²² Luristan might be the place of origin of daggers of Kadašman-Turgu (No. 24) and Adad-šuma-ušur (No. 32),¹²³ though one may question whether all Luristan-style bronzes actually come from Luristan. Excavations at Surkh Dum (also Luristan) uncovered several datable objects of the Kassite period: a bead of a monarch whose name is presumably to be restored as [Burna-Bur]iaš II (No. ?19), a Kurigalzu eye stone (No. ?17/22), a bead of Kurigalzu II (No. 22), and the seal of a ša rēšī official of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22).¹²⁴ In the plain south of the main section of the Zagros, Susa has furnished many Kassite inscriptions brought there as booty by Elamite rulers: kudurrus of Kaštiliašu IV (No. 28), Adad-šuma-ušur (No. 32), Meli-Šipak (No. 33), and Marduk-apla-iddina I (No. 34);¹²⁵ a later copy of a kudurru

¹¹⁶[J.2.8].

¹¹⁷[V.2.5].

¹¹⁸[D^b.3.1].

¹¹⁹Nimrud: [V.2.5]. Sultantepe: [Q.3.19]; the connection of the latter text with the Kassites is uncertain. From a purely geographical point of view, Sultantepe might better be classified with "the West"; but it was probably part of an Assyrian province at the time the text was written.

¹²⁰In a sense, it is misleading to take "Iran" here as a unit, since in many ways such classification reflects modern convenience. The disparate geographical areas mentioned in this connection that fall within present-day Iran were not a cultural or political unit in the second millennium B.C.

¹²¹[J.2.9].

¹²²[R.2.8].

¹²³[L.2.11, C.2.2-3].

¹²⁴[E.2.8, Q.2.89, Q.2.96, Q.2.110]. These objects were all found in first-millennium (B.C.) contexts on the site.

¹²⁵[O.2.5 (cf. O.2.6), C.2.6, S.2.6-9, R.2.4-6].

of Nazi-Maruttas̄ (No. 23);¹²⁶ "knobs" of Kurigalzu II (No. 22) and Šagarakti-Šurias̄ (No. 27);¹²⁷ and a statue and a scaraboid of a Kurigalzu (No. ?17/22).¹²⁸

Areas west of Mesopotamia have likewise produced inscribed cuneiform objects that can be dated in this period. Most important are the copies of the royal correspondence between the Egyptian and Babylonian courts in the early and middle fourteenth century, found at Amarna in Egypt.¹²⁹ Recent salvage excavations at Meskene in Syria have turned up an economic text dated in the reign of Meli-Šipak (No. 33).¹³⁰ The expedition at the ancient Hittite capital of Ḫattuša (Boghazkoy) has discovered two thirteenth-century copies of letters between the Babylonian and Hittite courts: one from Kadašman-Turgu (No. 24) to Ḫattušili III and one from Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II (No. 25).¹³¹ Thebes in Greece has yielded a seal bearing an inscription of a ša rēši official of Burna-Burias̄ II (No. ?19).¹³²

3. Typological Distribution

This section will survey the types of inscriptions represented in the Catalogue.¹³³ It will consider three aspects of the texts: their diverse literary forms, the physical materials on which they are inscribed, and the languages in which they are written. The section will consist principally of enumeration of categories represented rather than detailed analysis of formal qualities.¹³⁴ Only the common royal possession, votive, and building inscriptions, almost all of which are included in the Catalogue and most of which--because of their for-

¹²⁶[U.2.19].

¹²⁷[Q.2.71, V.2.3].

¹²⁸[Q.2.2, Q.2.105].

¹²⁹[E.2.10-16, J.2.12-16]; cf. [E.2.17-18].

¹³⁰[S.2.10.4].

¹³¹[L.2.12, J.2.17].

¹³²[E.2.23].

¹³³In a few cases, e.g., [K^b.2.1, R.2.9], the text of the inscription has not been available for study and hence can be referred to only in very generic terms.

¹³⁴Such detailed analysis would be unrepresentative for many types of inscriptions attested only cursorily in the Catalogue, e.g., kudurrus, letters, and seal legends. A study of economic texts (legal and administrative) should include also the many undated materials, which are not listed here.

mulaic character--are amenable to brief formal analysis, will be described and categorized in more detail.

Literary Forms

In listing the literary forms found among these texts, the broad general classifications of the Catalogue have been followed: chronological, contemporary, and later material.¹³⁵

The chronological material consists of kinglists and chronicles.¹³⁶ Two kinglists are pertinent: (1) Babylonian Kinglist A, originally covering the Babylonian rulers from 1894 to ca. 600 B.C., but with several sections now missing, and (2) the damaged Assyrian synchronistic kinglist A. 117,¹³⁷ which once contained the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs from the nineteenth to the seventh centuries B.C. Six chronicles are known which are pertinent to the Kassite dynasty: (1) the (Babylonian) Chronicle of Early Kings, the preserved sections of which deal with southern Mesopotamian kings from Sargon of Akkad to Agum (III), son of Kaštiliaš (III), an early Kassite ruler; (2) Chronicle P, a Babylonian chronicle (with a poetic section relating to Kurigalzu II) that is concerned principally with Kassite monarchs from the late fifteenth to the late thirteenth centuries; (3) BM 48498, a badly damaged Babylonian chronicle that mentions a Kurigalzu, a Marduk-apla-iddina, and a Nebuchadnezzar in that order;¹³⁸ (4) BM 27796, a Babylonian chronicle dealing with monarchs from Adad-šuma-ušur (Kassite king No. 32) through Adad-apla-iddina (the eighth king of the Isin II dynasty);¹³⁹ (5) the Synchronistic History, an Assyrian chronicle that records Assyro-Babylonian conflicts between the fifteenth (or sixteenth) and eighth centuries B.C.; and (6) VAT 13056, a small Assyrian chronicle fragment mentioning Enlil-nirari and Kurigalzu II.

There is a broad variety of contemporary materials, mostly from Babylonia

¹³⁵These classifications have been discussed in *PKB*, p. 319, and are redefined below in the introductory pages immediately preceding Section A of the Catalogue.

¹³⁶Bibliography for these texts is given in Appendix B below.

¹³⁷Excavation number: Assur 14616c.

¹³⁸With a (H)ammura[pi] apparently preceding the other rulers.

¹³⁹Lines 27-34 of this tablet parallel lines 4-5 and 8-11 of BM 27859, the New Babylonian Chronicle.

itself.¹⁴⁰ Royal texts include simple possession inscriptions,¹⁴¹ votive and building inscriptions, and international correspondence between the Babylonian court and the courts of Egypt, Hatti, and Assyria.¹⁴² Although a few atypical longer royal texts survive (some only in late copies), most of these will require further study for adequate typological analysis.¹⁴³ There are also numerous kudurrus, many of which are concerned with royal land grants. A few private inscriptions have been found, mostly of officials¹⁴⁴ and many of them on seals; private inscriptions on steles¹⁴⁵ and an animal figurine¹⁴⁶ are known, but are rare among texts sufficiently datable to be included in this Catalogue.¹⁴⁷ An abundance of dated economic material, both legal and administrative, is available. A few extispicy texts or texts dealing with omens or hemerologies are explicitly dated to this period,¹⁴⁸ but such datings are exceptional. Some fragments of Babylonian literary texts survive that deal with political or military events occurring in the Kassite period;¹⁴⁹ but these are for the most part either poorly preserved, poorly understood, or both. It should be stressed that thousands of texts and fragments bearing no explicit date, but probably originating in the Kassite period¹⁵⁰ are not included in the

¹⁴⁰Though some of these texts were found in Elam, Luristan, or elsewhere, most of them originated in Babylonia, either directly or indirectly.

¹⁴¹In their simplest form, these begin *ša RN*, "belonging to RN," *makkūr RN*, "property of RN," or the like.

¹⁴²Correspondence between the king and officials within the country also survives, but requires further prosopographical study to establish precise dating.

¹⁴³See note 160 below.

¹⁴⁴Especially seal inscriptions of various men bearing the title *ša rēš RN*. This distribution is, of course, affected by the fact that a royal name must usually be mentioned for the text to be dated and placed in this Catalogue.

¹⁴⁵[U.2.20].

¹⁴⁶[U.2.21].

¹⁴⁷These texts are dated only in the sense that they include a royal name. Note also [U.2.22], a clay prism written in the name of the same man as [U.2.21], but not mentioning the name of the monarch.

¹⁴⁸E.g., [E.2.26-28, S.2.11, U.3.7], the last mentioned being the colophon of a later copy.

¹⁴⁹E.g., [U.2.25-26]; cf. [C.3.3, F.3.1, Q.5.10].

¹⁵⁰The time of origin has been estimated in each case from the script, orthography, prosopography, and/or subject matter of the text.

Catalogue and that eventually many more of these documents, especially economic texts and letters, will help to augment our knowledge of the history of the time.¹⁵¹

From Assyria there are contemporary royal inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta that deal with Babylonia,¹⁵² texts concerned with booty,¹⁵³ and both contemporary and later epics telling of Assyro-Babylonian military clashes.¹⁵⁴ In addition, the Kuyunjik library has provided most of the copies of the so-called prophecy texts, mostly *vaticinia ex eventu*; many of these are presumably of Babylonian origin.¹⁵⁵

Later texts referring to this time¹⁵⁶ are a Neo-Babylonian inventory,¹⁵⁷ inscriptions of Nabonidus alluding to building or archeological activities by Kassite monarchs,¹⁵⁸ and a text of undetermined character mentioning Burna-Buriāš and Nazi-Maruttāš.¹⁵⁹

The following pages will analyze in more detail the principal types of royal possession, votive, and building inscriptions of the period.¹⁶⁰ A few private

¹⁵¹Studies of these text groups by archives, especially for the abundant Nippur materials, are expected to assist in placing many of these documents within a more precisely defined chronological framework.

¹⁵²[W.2.1].

¹⁵³[W.2.2-3 and possibly W.3.1].

¹⁵⁴E.g., [U.2.27-28, W.2.5]; cf. [L.3.7].

¹⁵⁵[B.3.2, etc.; F.3.2, etc.; F.5.3, etc.].

¹⁵⁶Excluding later copies of texts from both Babylonia and Assyria that seem to be genuine representations of contemporary documents and have been catalogued as such.

¹⁵⁷UET IV 143.

¹⁵⁸[E.3.12, P.3.13, Q.3.18, V.3.4].

¹⁵⁹[E.3.13, U.3.9].

¹⁶⁰This typological analysis will not be concerned with those atypical inscriptions attributed to early Kassite rulers that have survived only in late copies (namely the Gandaš [H.3.1] and Agum-kakrime [D^b.3.1] texts), with isolated lengthy inscriptions that occur rarely in this period (e.g., [Q.2.4, Q.2.5, C.2.4, R.2.1]), or with badly damaged texts whose classification cannot readily be determined (e.g., [J.2.5, J.2.11]). Such texts will be mentioned only incidentally and by way of comparison with the other material.

Two brief observations, however, are worth making about the style of the few, mostly longer texts that will not be considered in the regular classification scheme below. First, the phrase "RN (+ titles, etc.) *anāku(ma)*" is restricted in this period to the very early texts that have survived only in late copies, the Gandaš [H.3.1] and Agum-kakrime [D^b.3.1] inscriptions, both of which have sometimes been labelled spurious. Second, the "when" clauses (introduced by *īnu*, *inūma*, etc.), which are so politically or militarily revealing in other

texts providing close parallels have also been cited in the analyses, where pertinent. Because of the highly formulaic language of many of these inscriptions and because the Sumerian and Babylonian texts tend to have a similar phrase order,¹⁶¹ it has been possible to propose relatively simple outlines that fit many of these documents. In some cases, the resultant typology suggests more precise dating than has been attained heretofore.¹⁶²

Possession inscriptions may be divided into two main classes: those beginning with the royal/personal name and those beginning with an explicit mark of ownership (*ša RN*, *ekal RN*, *makkūr RN*, or the like). Possession inscriptions generally do not have a finite verb in their principal section, though there may be one or more verbs (usually subjunctive or precative) in the curses that are sometimes subjoined. This type of inscription is usually quite short (frequently six lines or less) and often occurs on seals. Here is an outline of the types of possession inscriptions attested:

Type 1. Possession inscriptions beginning with RN/PN¹⁶³

royal inscriptions from Babylonia and Assyria, occur very seldom, especially outside the Gandaš and Agum-kakrime texts:

- (a) [H.3.1:4-5(+)], the Gandaš text, where *inūšuma* introduces a clause concerned with military events;
- (b) [D^b.3.1 i 44], the Agum-kakrime inscription, where *īnu* begins a clause describing the divine machinery that set in motion the return of the statues of Marduk and Šarpanītum (Zarpanītum) to Babylon;
- (c) [C.2.4:1-8(+)], where two clauses, introduced by *īnu* and *inūšu*, sketch the divine background behind an action of the king Adad-šuma-ušur;
- (d) [R.2.1 rev. 1-9(+)], where *īnu* begins a clause concerned with the theological apparatus that called Marduk-apla-iddina I to kingship, etc.

With the exception of the very early and questionable texts [H.3.1, D^b.3.1], the only royal inscription that is apparently concerned explicitly with politico-military events is [Q.2.63], which states simply that Kurigalzu conquered a palace in Elam and made a dedication (these statements are expressed without the grammatical subordination of a "when" clause).

¹⁶¹It would perhaps be an oversimplification to label Kassite-period Sumerian simply as "translation Sumerian," but there is no doubt that at this time scribes were Babylonian and thinking in Babylonian. The linguistic features of this Sumerian deserve more systematic treatment elsewhere.

¹⁶²E.g., for Kurigalzu I versus Kurigalzu II texts.

¹⁶³In the following typological discussions, the examples, where possible, are arranged in approximate chronological order. In this and the following subsections, (S) = Sumerian, (B) = Babylonian; no designation means the text may be written in logograms or Sumerian.

I. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 RN + title [Q.2.3(S), L.2.10, C.2.3]¹⁶⁴
- 1.2 RN + title + epithet(s) [Q.2.2(B), P.2.1(S)]
- 1.3 RN + title--son of RN₂ + title [Q.2.104]
- 1.4 1.1 + curse [Q.2.90(S)]¹⁶⁵
- 1.5 1.3 + curse [U.2.3(B)]¹⁶⁶
- 1.6 PN + title--son of RN + royal title--blessing [Q.2.106]¹⁶⁷
- 1.7 PN--son of PN₂--title including RN (+ royal title)¹⁶⁸
 [J.2.20,¹⁶⁹ E.2.21, E.2.23]; cf. [E.2.22(S) and Q.2.110],
 which seem to add a blessing or epithet at the end ([Q.2.110]
 also omits "son of PN₂"); all of these texts belong to *ša rēši*
 officials of the king except for [J.2.20], which refers to a
 royal scribe
- 1.8 PN--son of PN₂--servant of RN + royal title (--title)
 [Q.2.108(S)-109(S), U.2.23]; [Q.2.112] is similar but between
 PN₂ and "servant of RN" inserts additional information that
 has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted and has nothing
 following RN
- 1.9 PN + title (apparently including RN + royal title) + long
 genealogy [Q.2.114(S)]; damaged, interpretation of some sec-
 tions uncertain

Inscriptions of this type are most commonly found on seals; in fact, all texts

¹⁶⁴The titles are simple: *lugal ŠEŠ.AB^{KI}-ma* ("king of Ur") in the first example and *LUGAL ŠĀR* ("king of the world") in the other two.

¹⁶⁵Since this schematization is concerned only with types presently attested, it will not list possible, but unattested variations such as "1.2 + curse."

¹⁶⁶The similarity between the curse formulae in 1.4 and 1.5 is striking, though perhaps coincidental. The Sumerian version [Q.2.90] reads: *lú mu-sar hē-ūr dⁱiskur (= IM) d^utu mu-ni hē-ūr*. The Babylonian [U.2.3] has: *ša šumī šaṭra ipaššīṭu d^uUTU u d^uIM šumšu lipsīṭu*. Note the invocation of the same gods in each case. (Compare the curse in [Q.2.70], type 6.9 below: *lú mu-sar x[] dⁱiskur! (= IM!) d^utu mu-ni hē-ūr*, collated.)

¹⁶⁷In types 1.6-1.9, "title" means a non-royal title, while royal titles are here explicitly designated as such.

¹⁶⁸Parentheses in these typological schemes indicate that the presence of the element involved is optional (i.e., present in some texts, absent in others).

¹⁶⁹The reading of line 2 of this text is unclear. It definitely includes the father's name, but whether it contains an additional title is uncertain.

of types 1.4 and 1.6-1.9 are on seals. Otherwise, the inscriptions are on statues, an amulet (or pendant), a dagger, a block of chalcedony, and a brick.¹⁷⁰

Type 2. Possession inscriptions beginning with explicit mark of ownership

- 2.1 belonging to¹⁷¹ RN (--x) [J.2.9(B)]¹⁷²
- 2.2 belonging to¹⁷³ RN + title--son of RN₂ + title [Q.2.99(B), C.2.2(B)]
- 2.3 palace¹⁷⁴ of RN + title [J.2.8]; cf. [J.2.10], which reads é-gal bād(--RN) lugal kišī
- 2.4 property¹⁷⁵ of RN + title [V.2.8], original Šagarakti-Šuriaš inscription; cf. [L.2.11(B)], which has the same type of inscription with ša KASKAL added at the end
- 2.5 object¹⁷⁶ --belonging to¹⁷⁷ RN--son of RN₂ + title--title--course [X.2.1(B)]

Inscriptions of this type are found on two knobs,¹⁷⁸ a seal, a stone vessel, two bronze daggers, a plano-convex piece of chalcedony, and possibly on a door socket [J.2.10].

¹⁷⁰The brick, written in the name of Kudur-Enlil, is attested in several copies.

¹⁷¹ša.

¹⁷²There are possible traces of a short section (title?) after RN, though (because the text is composed of a single circular line) these might be the beginning rather than the end of the text (with the result that the typology as given here would have to be changed).

¹⁷³ša.

¹⁷⁴É.GAL; only the end of the É is left in J.2.8.

¹⁷⁵NÍG.GA.

¹⁷⁶pingi ša NA₄.ŠU.U. For NA₄.ŠU.U, see HAR-ra = *hubullu* XVI 348-49 (Sumerian partially restored and Akkadian completely gone), the Ras Shamra recension line 285 (with the Akkadian equivalent almost totally destroyed), and the Nippur Forerunner line 165 (Sumerian only); the most recent text editions may be found in *MSL* X 14, 47, and 60.

¹⁷⁷ša.

¹⁷⁸Or maceheads (according to the description of the excavators). I prefer to use the more generic designation "knob" in this volume to avoid prejudging the use of these and similar objects. (If they were maceheads, one would be inclined to presume some sort of ceremonial function because of their size and, in some cases, decoration.) One should also note that the term *pingu* (*pinku*), written on one of the objects, refers more properly to a knob than to a macehead (see *AHW*, p. 864).

Votive texts are usually written on objects dedicated to a god.¹⁷⁹ In the Kassite period, these objects are most commonly of semi-precious stone.¹⁸⁰ The inscriptions may be divided into four basic categories: simple votive texts (DN--RN--verb), votive texts with expressed purpose (DN--RN--purpose--verb), votive texts that indicate both the object dedicated¹⁸¹ and the purpose (usually DN--RN--object--purpose--verb), and other votive texts.¹⁸²

Type 3. Simple votive texts¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹It seems preferable to continue using the term "votive" to describe this type of inscription despite recent objections by Grayson, *JAOS* XC (1970) 529, and van Driel, *JAOS* XCIII (1973) 68. Grayson and van Driel are both of the opinion that the English word "votive" can be applied accurately only to objects or inscriptions offered *ex voto* in the ancient Roman sense, i.e., in fulfillment of a prior vow; and they argue in favor of replacing "votive" with "dedicatory" when referring to ancient Mesopotamian texts and materials.

In fact, English usage is considerably wider than implied in their discussions; the term "votive" need not imply a prior vow and may often quite properly be used as a synonym for "dedicatory." "Votive," though derived from Latin, is the adjective corresponding to the English "vow." To "vow" means not only to promise solemnly, but also simply to dedicate. "Votive" means not only dedicated in consequence of a (prior) vow, but also dedicated in the sense of expressing a (present) vow, desire, or wish (for future benefits). Babylonian "votive" objects are themselves vowed--or dedicated--to a deity; and "votive" inscriptions may express the act of dedication itself (*iqiṣ̄*, a mu-na-ru, etc.) and sometimes the desire or wish of the donor for future benefits (health, long reign, etc.). No prior vow need thereby be implied, but simply the present act of dedication. (These senses of "to vow" and "votive" are amply documented in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* [3d ed.; Oxford, 1970, reprint] p. 2373, and in the unabridged *Oxford English Dictionary*, XII, *sub vocibus*; compare also the meaning of the substantive "vow.")

¹⁸⁰Or an artificial equivalent, e.g., the blue-glass imitations of lapis lazuli. There are, however, two instances in which votive inscriptions are written on large stone door sockets [Q.2.45(S), Q.2.53(S)].

¹⁸¹I.e., the object on which the inscription is written is named explicitly in the text.

¹⁸²The majority of votive inscriptions considered here fall into the first three categories. The fourth category is simply a convenient rubric to handle the exceptions.

¹⁸³The shortest votive inscriptions from the Kassite period, not included here because they contain no royal name, consist of just the divine name (e.g., *BE* I 28-29, 31-32, 139, 141-42; *PBS* XV 62; *CBS* 14573, *CBS* 14578-79; L-29-442, L-29-443, L-29-445, L-29-447) or *ana* DN (*BE* I 30) or *ana* DN *bēliṣu* (*PBS* XV 63). These generally appear on eye stones or lapis-lazuli disks.

basic structure: (a) DN (+ modifiers)¹⁸⁴ (+ his lord/lady) as indirect object; in Sumerian the longer form of this clause regularly appears as DN (. . .) lugal/nin-a-ni-ir, in Babylonian as *ana* DN (. . .) *bēl(t)īšū*;¹⁸⁵
 (b) RN (+ modifiers)¹⁸⁶ as subject;¹⁸⁷
 (c) verb: "he gave"; the Sumerian usually has some form of *ba* (*in-na-ba*, *in-na-an-ba*) or *a . . . ru* (*a mu-na-ru*, *a mu-ru*); the Babylonian invariably has *iqīš* (usually written syllabically, but twice with the logogram BA).¹⁸⁸

3.1 (to) DN--RN--verb [Q.2.73(S), Q.2.77(S), Q.2.83(S), Q.2.85(B), Q.2.100(B), Q.2.105(B)]; possibly also the damaged [Q.2.79(S)]; cf. [Q.2.88(S)], which has a sign (title?) between the RN and the verb; in the Sumerian examples, the dative *-r(a)* is not expressed after the DN;¹⁸⁹ *in-na-ba* is used in all of the fully preserved and published Sumerian versions of these brief inscriptions except [Q.2.83], which apparently has [*a m*]u-ru (the damaged [Q.2.79] has a *mu-na-ru*); this type of text is attested thus far only for Kurigalzu

3.2 (to) DN + his lord/lady--RN--gave [Q.2.59(S), Q.2.74(S), Q.2.76(S), Q.2.80(B), Q.2.84(S), Q.2.86(S), Q.2.87(S), Q.5.13(S), E.2.8(S),¹⁹⁰ Q.2.95(B), U.2.16(S), U.2.13(B)

¹⁸⁴Epithet(s) and/or title(s).

¹⁸⁵In some Babylonian texts, the *ana* is omitted [Q.2.85, Q.2.98, Q.2.105, V.2.1, V.2.4], perhaps under the influence of Sumerian forms.

¹⁸⁶Genealogy, epithet(s), or title(s), or some combination of these.

¹⁸⁷Neither the Babylonian nominative nor the Sumerian equivalent (agentive or the like) has a detectable case indicator in royal or personal names in votive texts of this type; nor do the subject modifiers help to elucidate the matter, with minor exceptions noted below. In building texts, the titulary sometimes exhibits a *-ke₄* at the end of a genitive + agentive combination; but this is not always correctly used.

¹⁸⁸Logogram: [Q.2.85, Q.2.105]. *iqīš* is written *i-qī-iš* except in [S.2.3], where it appears as *i-qīš*. [S.2.3] is also unique in writing *bēlī(šū)* with the logogram UMUN.

¹⁸⁹In the Babylonian examples where the verb is written logographically (see the preceding note), the preposition *ana* is omitted before the DN.

¹⁹⁰According to the most likely restoration.

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L.2.7(B), P.2.4(B), V.2.1(B), V.2.4(B), V.2.5(B), O.2.3(B)); cf. [E.5.3(S) and V.2.6(B)]; with two exceptions, most texts of this type written before the time of Nazi-Maruttas̃ (king No. 23) are in Sumerian, all after him in Babylonian; there is one text in each language from the reign of Nazi-Maruttas̃ himself

- 3.3 to DN + his lord--RN--son of RN₂--gave [Q.2.60(S), Q.2.81(S), Q.2.97(S), Q.2.98(B), U.2.9(B), U.2.11(B)]; cf. [U.2.14(S)]; all of these texts mention a Kurigalzu as either the dedicator or father of the dedicator
- 3.4 to DN + his lord--RN + title--gave [Q.2.45(S), J.2.6(S)]; both texts apparently use a . . . ru ([J.2.6] preserves only a mu-[])
- 3.5 to DN + title + his lord/lady--RN + epithet--gave [Q.2.53(S), Q.2.57(S), Q.2.78(S)]; thus far attested only in Sumerian and only for Kurigalzu
- 3.6 to DN + title, etc. (?) ¹⁹¹ + his lord--RN--son of RN₂--gave [S.2.3(B)]

Inscriptions of this type are found usually on small stone objects, principally eye stones or lapis-lazuli disks. Other objects represented include beads, a scaraboid, tablets, knobs, and two door sockets (one of marble and one of an unspecified stone, perhaps limestone). Compare also type 6.5 below, which is the same as type 3.1 with a short curse added.

Type 4. Votive texts with expressed purpose

basic structure: (a) DN (+ modifiers) + his lord/lady as indirect object;

(b) RN (+ modifiers) as subject;

(c) purpose; ¹⁹²

(d) verb: "he gave" (where fully preserved, either in-na-an-ba or *iqiṣ̃*). ¹⁹³

¹⁹¹The restorations at the beginning of this text are uncertain.

¹⁹²With two exceptions (types 4.6-4.7), the purpose of the votive gift is simply "for his life" (Sumerian: nam-til-a-ni-ṣ̃è and variants; Akkadian: *ana balāṭiṣ̃u*).

¹⁹³[O.2.1:6] has extra, but indefinite sign traces (perhaps an error of the engraver) after *i-qí-iṣ̃*.

- 4.1 to DN + his lord/lady--RN--for his life--gave [U.2.10(B),¹⁹⁴
L.2.4(B), L.2.5(B), L.2.9(S-B),¹⁹⁵ P.2.3(B), V.2.2(B),
O.2.1(B), O.2.4(B)];¹⁹⁶ cf. [L.2.2(S), partially restored];
occurs mostly on lapis-lazuli disks
- 4.2 to DN + his lord--RN + title--for his life--gave [E.2.6(S)]
- 4.3 to DN + his lord/lady--RN--son of RN₂--for his life--gave
[Q.2.71(S), Q.2.75(B), Q.2.94(B), Q.2.96(S), Q.2.101(S)]
- 4.4 to DN + title + his lord--RN--for his life--'gave' [U.2.15(S)]¹⁹⁷
- 4.5 to DN + title + his lord--RN--son of RN₂--for his life--
gave [Q.2.69(S)]
- 4.6 to DN + epithet + his lord--RN + title--son of RN₂ + title--
to make his reign(?) long¹⁹⁸--gave [J.2.7(B)]
- 4.7 to DN + his lord--RN--(son)¹⁹⁹ of RN₂--for his life and
. . .²⁰⁰--gave [O.2.2(B)]

These inscriptions are found on several lapis-lazuli disks (type 4.1 only), ivory and stone knobs, stone beads, and also on an eye stone, a lapis-lazuli block, and an axhead. In contrast to votive inscriptions of type 3, there are more Babylonian inscriptions than Sumerian in type 4; and Kurigalzu texts do not form such a large percentage of the whole. In fact, Kurigalzu texts are here restricted to types 4.3 and 4.5; and no other monarchs are as yet attested for these types of inscriptions.

Type 5. Votive texts with object dedicated and purpose expressed

- basic structure: (a) DN (+ modifiers) + his lord as indirect
object;
(b) RN (+ modifiers) as subject;²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴The verb must be restored in this text.

¹⁹⁵The inscription begins in Sumerian (section a) and ends in Babylonian (sections c-d).

¹⁹⁶The lines before *bēlīš[u]* are missing in [O.2.4].

¹⁹⁷Verb almost completely missing.

¹⁹⁸It is difficult to judge, from the engraver's version of the signs, whether the object of *ana šūruk* is *BALA(?) -šū* or *TI(!).LA(!) -šū* (i.e., "his reign" or "his life").

¹⁹⁹The reading *DUMU*, "son," is expected from context, but difficult to justify from the traces; see [O.5.6] below.

²⁰⁰*ana balāṭīšū u . . .* (damaged).

²⁰¹Here, in [U.2.4], seen to be in the nominative case because of the modifiers.

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(c₁) object²⁰²--verb ("he caused to be made")²⁰³--
purpose--verb ("he gave"),

or

(c₂) purpose--object--verb ("he caused to be
made")--purpose--verb ("he gave").

- 5.1 to DN + title + his lord--RN--object--caused to be made--for
his life--[gave] [L.2.1(B)]
- 5.2 to DN + his lord--RN--son of RN₂--object--caused to be made--
for his life--gave [L.2.3(B)]; cf. the similar text [U.2.12(S)],
damaged after "object"
- 5.3 [to DN] + his lord--RN + epithets--son of RN₂--purpose--object--
caused to be made--purpose 2--gave [U.2.4(B)], partially re-
stored; purpose 1: *ikribišu ana šemê ūmīšu urruki*, purpose 2:
[*ana b*]alāṭīšu [u š]alām mātīšu; cf. the damaged [U.2.8(B)],
which inserts *unninnīšu a[na leqê]* before *ūmīšu*²⁰⁴
- 5.4 [to DN (. . .) his lord/lady--RN] + epithet--son of RN₂--
object--purpose--[] [U.2.6(B)]

[Q.2.72(B)] is a badly damaged, similar inscription with additional insertions that are presently unparalleled. Texts of type 5 are at present attested only on lapis-lazuli disks and blue-glass axheads from Nippur. With one exception [U.2.12], whose inclusion here is uncertain, they are written in Babylonian and have a brief time range from either Kurigalzu II (king No. 22) or Nazi-Maruttaš (No. 23) to Kadašman-Turgu (No. 24).²⁰⁵ The objects are usually described as AŠ.ME/ZA.ĤA.DA *uqnî ebbi*.²⁰⁶ The final verb, where preserved, is always *iqīš*.

²⁰²I.e., the physical object dedicated expressed grammatically as the direct object.

²⁰³*ušēpiš*.

²⁰⁴The preserved portions of [U.2.5(B)] are similar except that there are apparently no epithets following RN (there is a statement of filiation) and purpose 1 is more elaborate: [i]kribišu ana šemê [t]eslīssu maḡār[i] unninnīšu leqê [n]apištašu našāri ūmīšu urruki.

²⁰⁵Types 5.3 and 5.4 are restricted, in so far as now known, to Nazi-Maruttaš (king No. 23).

²⁰⁶*uqnî ebbu* is used in these texts to refer both to lapis lazuli and to the glass imitation.

Type 6. Other votive texts²⁰⁷

- 6.1 [to DN (. . .)]--[RN¹--son of RN₂--(caused to be) made--for his life--ga[ve] [Q.2.67(S)]; final section of the text: mu-un-na-an-dím-ma nam-[ti¹-la-a-ni-š[è] in-na[-(an)-ba]
- 6.2 RN + title--narrative (= complex object + verb)²⁰⁸--to DN + his lady--for his life--gave [Q.2.63(B)]; this is the closest that clearly genuine MB royal inscriptions come to including an account of a military event²⁰⁹
- 6.3 to DN + title + his lord--RN--son of RN₂--his prayer(s)--heard(?)²¹⁰--for his life--gave [Q.2.92(B)]; reading and syntax uncertain though, if the reading for "heard" is correct, one would expect the DN to be the subject rather than the indirect object
- 6.4 to DN + epithet + son of DN₂ + his lord--PN + title--son of PN₂--purpose²¹¹--in place²¹²--(section of undetermined meaning, including verb clauses²¹³) [U.2.22(B)]; needs further study²¹⁴
- 6.5 (to) DN--RN--gave--curse²¹⁵ [Q.2.62(S)]; in-na-an-ba; = type 3.1 plus curse

²⁰⁷Hardly to be considered types in the strict sense, since only one example of each is attested.

²⁰⁸*ekalla ša URU Šāša KI ša Elamti ikšudma.*

²⁰⁹As noted above, both the Gandaš [H.3.1] and Agum-kakrime [D^b.3.1] texts have historical sections; but their authenticity has been questioned.

²¹⁰Reading *ikribišu [iš(?)]-me-ma.*

²¹¹Interpretation unclear, perhaps *ana mašrî(?) balāṭ šalāmīšu.*

²¹²"In the back precinct of the temple Emupada . . . of the city Hilpi on the bank of the Euphrates."

²¹³[*ana(?)*] *pūhi iddi(m)ma*: "he gave as a substitute"; followed by *ina zēri [u¹ hiršāti qutrinna(m) ušaqtir*: "from seed and ḫ., he caused incense to go up (in smoke)."

²¹⁴Especially for the clarification of the sense and function of the prepositional phrases in lines 17-18 and 25-33. Most important is the sense of the word written IM-KI in lines 18, 29, and 34.

²¹⁵For purposes of the present survey, I have not attempted to differentiate between the sundry curse formulae. They are few and vary widely. An adequate typological study of MB curses should rest on a wider base than the texts catalogued here.

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- 6.6 to DN + epithet and titles + his lord--RN + title + epithet--
object--purposes²¹⁶--gave--curse [L.2.8(S)]
- 6.7 to DN + epithets + his lady--PN--son of PN₂ + title (= official of RN + royal title)--for the life of RN + his lord--
object + modifier--in place--forever--set up--to DN + his
lady--gave--curse [U.2.20(S)]²¹⁷
- 6.8 [DN(?)]x--RN + epithets--son of RN₂ + title--object + modifi-
ers--for his life--gave--curse [E.2.7(S)]; a mu-na-ru²¹⁸
- Similar texts, but without the word "gave":
- 6.9 (to) DN--RN + title--curse [Q.2.70(S)]
- 6.10 to DN + epithets + his lady--for the life of RN + royal titu-
lary--PN + titles + his (i.e., RN's) servant + epithet--
place(?)²¹⁹--object²²⁰--in place²²¹--purpose²²²--placed²²³
[E.2.20(S)], syntax and readings uncertain
- 6.11 to DN + epithets + his lady--PN + titles--genealogy (includ-
ing titles)--for the life of RN + royal title + his lord--
object--place²²⁴--for his life [and (x of)] his country--
caused to be made(?) [U.2.21(S)]

These inscriptions occur on a variety of objects: stone tablets, blocks of lapis lazuli, a seal, a knob, a blue-glass axhead, limestone steles, a stone vessel, a clay prism, and a terra-cotta animal.

In conclusion, one should mention in connection with votive inscriptions a lengthy text of Kurigalzu I [Q.2.1(B)], bestowing land and offerings on Ištar. The basic structure of this text seems to be: RN + titles + epithets + filia-

²¹⁶nam-ti-la-ni-šè(!) ù ma-da-na-ki-e-da-aš.

²¹⁷Note that in this text the verb "gave" (in-na-ni-in-ba) occurs only after the verb "set up" (nam-mi-in-gub).

²¹⁸The analysis of this text is only skeletal. Originally more than ninety lines long, it is now heavily damaged; and many restorations are uncertain.

²¹⁹Reference to boundaries (especially canals).

²²⁰dug na₄-esi.

²²¹"In Ehursagkalamma, her beloved temple."

²²²Possibly for a rite to be performed on the canal bank.

²²³im¹-mi-in-gar.

²²⁴The reading and interpretation of the "object" and "place" sections of this text are uncertain (lines 18-22).

tion, etc.--to DN + epithets--object²²⁵ --to DN + my lady--I gave (*addin*)--objects²²⁶ --several verb phrases--to DN + my lady--I gave (*addin*)--curses. The text is unusual for this period in both content and length.²²⁷

Building inscriptions are usually written on bricks and door sockets, less commonly on metal or stone tablets.²²⁸ Kassite building inscriptions are written in Sumerian, with one exception: an inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina I [R.2.1] written toward the close of the dynasty.²²⁹ In contrast with possession and votive texts, building inscriptions do not cite royal filiation;²³⁰ and there are no curse formulae. For our present purposes, building inscriptions will be divided into texts that have a single verb (type 7) and texts that have two or more verbs (type 8). The various subtypes adopted will be somewhat broader than those used for votive texts.

Type 7. Building inscriptions with one verb

- basic structure: (a) DN (+ title/titles and/or epithet) + his lord/
lady as indirect object;²³¹
(b) RN + title(s)/epithet(s) as subject;
(c) temple name (= TN) + his/her beloved temple
as direct object;

²²⁵Land.

²²⁶Offerings.

²²⁷First-person royal inscriptions are also rare for the dynasty: [Q.2.1, Q.2.8 (and perhaps Q.2.7 and Q.2.9-11, if they were complete)], plus the early texts whose authenticity is sometimes questioned, that is, [H.3.1, D^b.3.1]. The seal impression [L.2.14(S)] ends in RN + title--me-en; but it is difficult to judge from the state of preservation of the text whether a royal or private person is the subject.

²²⁸Building inscriptions preserved on clay tablets are generally later, Neo-Babylonian copies.

²²⁹The designation (S) will therefore be assumed for all inscriptions (other than [R.2.1]) in types 7 and 8 and will be omitted in the listings.

²³⁰With the exception of the sole building text written in Babylonian [R.2.1], citation of genealogy is relatively uncommon in Kassite royal inscriptions. With the notable exceptions of texts of Kurigalzu II [Q.2.60, 67, 69, 71, 72, 75, 81, 92, 94, 96-99, 101, 104] and his son Nazi-Maruttaš [U.2.3-9, 11, 12, 14, 19], royal genealogies must often be reconstructed on the basis of a single contemporary inscription: [*E.2.6, L.2.3, O.2.2, C.2.2]; cf. [X.2.1].

²³¹Section a is omitted only in [N.2.2], classified under 7.6 below.

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- (d) (purpose/means);²³²
 (e) verb.²³³
- 7.1 for DN + his lord/lady--RN + title(s)--TN + his/her beloved temple--verb²³⁴ [Q.2.33, Q.2.42, Q.2.48, Q.2.49, Q.2.56];²³⁵ possibly also [Q.2.16], though one of its lines was published in transliteration as é-maḥ(?) -a-ni rather than as é-ki-ág-a/gá-ni, and [Q.2.37]²³⁶
- 7.2 for DN + title(s)/epithets + his lord/lady--RN + title(s)--TN + his/her beloved temple--verb²³⁷ [Q.2.12, Q.2.14, Q.2.24, Q.2.34, Q.2.38-39, Q.2.41, Q.2.46]; [Q.2.15] inserts another phrase (epithet?) after "his beloved temple"; in [Q.2.47] the line for the TN has been left blank
- 7.3 [for DN + epithet(?) + his lord--RN + titles--TN + his beloved temple--purpose--verb [S.2.2]; [n]am-ti-la-ni-šè mu-na-ni(!)-in-[gibil]
- 7.4 for DN + title/epithet + his lord/lady--RN + titles/epithet(s)--TN/part of temple (+ his/her beloved temple)--means²³⁸--verb²³⁹ [E.2.5, J.2.3-4, P.2.2, C.2.1]; possibly also [E.2.4], damaged; all presumably from Nippur
- 7.5 for DN + title + his lady--RN + titles--TN + -ta--é--built [N.2.1]²⁴⁰

²³²"Means" is here defined as the material with which the construction work was carried out, usually bricks and/or bitumen.

²³³[Q.2.44] is a door socket with an apparently complete inscription that contains only sections a and b. It cannot, therefore, be classified as a building inscription according to the criteria followed here.

²³⁴Where preserved, the verb is ḥu-mu-un-dù except in [Q.2.33], where it is mu-un-gibil.

²³⁵Type 7.1 is attested only in inscriptions from Dūr-Kurigalzu and Ur.

²³⁶Though this might also belong to type 7.2.

²³⁷Some form of either dù or gibil.

²³⁸Followed by postpositions -∅, -š(è), or -ta; for example: sig₄-al-ùr-ra [J.2.3:9], sig₄-al-ùr-ra-aš [E.2.5:11], sig₄-al-ùr-ra-ta [C.2.1:9].

²³⁹The verb is invariably some form of du or tu. The latter form is attested only with the object KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A.MAḤ and only in the time of Kadašman-Enlil [J.2.3-4].

²⁴⁰"In TN he built a shrine/temple/house" (?).

7.6 RN--titles + epithet--TN + her beloved temple--verb [N.2.2]²⁴¹

Several interesting patterns arise from these attestations. First, if one were to postulate that all of the above Kurigalzu texts come from the reign of Kurigalzu I, then the subtypes could be arranged in the following chronological order: first 7.5 and 7.6 (from the reign of Kara-indaš), then 7.1 and 7.2 (from Kurigalzu I), then 7.4 (from kings Nos. ?18 or ?19 to Adad-šuma-ušur, No. 32), and finally 7.3 (from Meli-šipak, No. 33). Second, only three verbs are used in these texts: *dù*, *gibil*, and *tu*, in descending order of frequency.²⁴² The latter two verbs are used only on bricks and *tu* only on Kadašman-Enlil bricks from Nippur. All door sockets have *dù*. The following verb forms are attested for type 7 inscriptions:

- dù*: mu-un-dù [N.2.1]
 mu-na-dù [E.2.5, P.2.2]²⁴³
 mu-un-na-dù [Q.2.24, C.2.1]²⁴⁴
 ḥu-mu-un-dù [Q.2.15-16, Q.2.41-42, Q.2.46-49]²⁴⁵
- gibil*: mu-un-gibil [Q.2.33-34, Q.2.39]
 mu-un-gibil-ba [N.2.2]
 mu-na-ni(!)-in-[gibil] [S.2.2]
 ḥu-mu-un-gibil [Q.2.14, Q.2.38]
- tu*: mu-tu [J.2.3]
 mu-un-tu [J.2.4]

As yet, neither the *ḥu*- prefix nor the verb *gibil* is attested in texts from Nippur; and the *ḥu*- prefix occurs only in texts from the time of Kurigalzu.

Type 8. Building inscriptions with more than one verb

²⁴¹The omission of the DN-indirect object clause at the beginning is probably a mistake, since Kara-indaš is described as sipa še-ga-ni ("the shepherd, her favorite") and Eanna as é-ki-ág-gá-ni ("her beloved temple"), both possessive pronouns implying a preceding deity.

²⁴²The verb *tu* is equivalent to Babylonian *banû*.

²⁴³Currently, in type 7 inscriptions, attested only with the object KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A.(MAḤ).

²⁴⁴Currently attested only with the object é-kur(-igi-bar-r[a]) in bricks from Nippur.

²⁴⁵And possibly [Q.2.56], a door socket from Ur, in which [ḥu]- must be restored. The form *î-du* occurs in [S.2.1:12]; but the inscription is too damaged to be assigned definitely to type 7.

most common basic structure:²⁴⁶

- (a) DN (+ modifiers) + his lord/
lady as indirect object;
- (b) RN + modifiers as subject;
- (c) temple + modifiers²⁴⁷ as
direct object;
- (d) verb;²⁴⁸
- (e) verb phrase 2 ("restored");²⁴⁹
- (f) (verb phrase 3).²⁵⁰

8.1 for DN (+ modifiers) + his lord/lady--RN + title(s)--TN (+ old temple/her temple) + which in bygone days had collapsed²⁵¹--built--restored [Q.2.22, Q.2.28, Q.2.31, Q.2.54, Q.2.66, E.2.3]; [Q.2.55] omits "had collapsed"; [J.2.1] adds a relative clause (tēs-a bí-in-sì-ge) after the royal titles; [Q.2.29] may belong also to this type;²⁵² all of the presently known texts of this type are on bricks from Isin, Larsa, or Ur (only the Isin and Larsa texts have modifiers after the initial RN)

8.2 for DN + his lord/lady--RN + titles--TN/her temple (+ old temple) + which had been built in bygone days and grown old²⁵³--built--restored²⁵⁴--restored its foundation²⁵⁵ [Q.2.27.1,

²⁴⁶I.e., for types 8.1-8.2. "Types" 8.3-8.9 are attested only in single inscriptions (sometimes, however, in more than one copy).

²⁴⁷Including subordinate clauses, lacking in simple building inscriptions of type 7.

²⁴⁸Usually dū (gibil in [Q.2.25]).

²⁴⁹Usually ki-bi-šē . . . -gi/gi₄ (. . .). [E.2.3] has ki-bi-iš.

²⁵⁰Usually suḥuš-bi im-mi-in-gi₄.

²⁵¹(é) níg u₄-ul-lí/dū-a-ta ba-šub-ba. Variants: -la- for -lí-a- [Q.2.66, J.2.1, E.2.3]; šub-bu-dē [Q.2.54]; al-šub-bu-dē [Q.2.22]; al-šub-bu-da [Q.2.28-29, 31]; x-šub-ba [J.2.1], al- expected for first sign (should be collated).

²⁵²[Q.2.25] has some similarities to this type, but is imperfectly understood (perhaps in part because it is known only from an old edition). It does, however, add epithets after the royal titles, and between "old temple" and "(he) restored" it has an otherwise unparalleled (in this period) ní-bi-šē gul-gul-[(x)-]NE mu-un-gibil-ām.

²⁵³u₄-ul-dū/lí-a-ta ba-dū-a ba-su(mu)n. [Q.2.36] adds mu-un-ši-šub-šub.

²⁵⁴In one instance, instead of ki-bi-šē, the text [Q.2.30] has ki-bi šub-šub.

²⁵⁵One grammatical feature perhaps worthy of note is that in all texts of type 8.2, the first -gi₄- form (following ki-bi-šē) has the nominalizing -a added (bi-in-gi₄-a). Though

- Q.2.30, Q.2.32, Q.2.36]; [Q.2.27.2] combines features from types 8.1 and 8.2;²⁵⁶ all of the presently known texts of this type are on Kurigalzu bricks from Ur
- 8.3 for DN + epithet + his lord--RN + epithets + titles--TN + his beloved temple--in GN--built--made bigger than before²⁵⁷ [E.2.2]
- 8.4 for DN + epithets + his lord--RN + epithets + titles--TN + his beloved temple--renewed--made bigger than before²⁵⁸ --objects²⁵⁹ --restored²⁶⁰ [E.2.1]
- 8.5 for DN + modifiers + his lady--RN + title--TN + modifiers (imperfectly understood)--like x--built--u₄-ul-dû-a pa mu-un-è²⁶¹ [Q.2.11]
- 8.6 for DN + title + his lord--RN + title--canal name--from x--dug--its great gate--of brick--built [Q.2.17]; this is the only inscription of type 8 from Dûr-Kurigalzu and the only one to have a canal as direct object
- 8.7 for DN + his lord--RN + epithets²⁶² --part(s) of temple(?)--of brick--built²⁶³ --(of) GN--its . . . head(?)²⁶⁴ --like a mountain--raised²⁶⁵ [J.2.2]; because of the damaged condition of the text, some of these interpretations are uncertain

it might be more traditional to translate the phrase "when he restored" (or perhaps better "when it was restored"), the MB use of the Sumerian verbal suffix -a seems too inconsistent to insist on this interpretation. (Compare instances where bí-gi₄-a and bí-in-gi₄-a are the final verb in type 8.1 [Q.2.28.1-2, Q.2.29, Q.2.66].)

²⁵⁶The subordinate clause reads níg u₄-ul-dû-a-ta al-šub-bu-da (to which a senseless limmu-ba, borrowed by an inattentive scribe from contemporary royal titulary, where the phrase also follows a -da, is added); and this is similar to type 8.1. But the phrase subuš-bi im-mi-in-gi₄ is added at the end of the text.

²⁵⁷diri-níg-u₄-bi-da-ka mu-na-ni-diri.

²⁵⁸diri-níg-u₄-bi-ta-ka mi-ni-diri.

²⁵⁹me giš-ḫur kal-kal-la-bi.

²⁶⁰ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄.

²⁶¹To be translated "made its appearance more splendid than of old"?

²⁶²The text is heavily damaged in this section, so the exact reconstruction is uncertain.

²⁶³in-dû-a (subordinate clause?).

²⁶⁴Interpretation uncertain.

²⁶⁵mi-ni-in-íl.

I. INTRODUCTION

- 8.8 for DN + title + his lady--RN + titles--TN + old temple + which in bygone days had collapsed²⁶⁶--(section of undetermined meaning)²⁶⁷--I restored²⁶⁸ [composite of Q.2.7-10]; this is the only MB royal text from Adab and the only first-person Sumerian royal inscription among the common types here discussed²⁶⁹
- 8.9 RN + titles--Kagalmah + old + which in bygone days had collapsed²⁷⁰--built--restored [Q.2.35]²⁷¹

One should also note the only building inscription in Babylonian written in the period [R.2.1].²⁷² Though badly damaged, it was obviously more complex than the short Sumerian inscriptions of types 7 and 8: for DN + epithets--RN + epithets + interspersed genealogy and titles--subordinate "when" clause ("when Enlil raised him to the lordship of the wide land . . .")--TN + modifiers--(broken)--TN + modifiers--for all time--built for him (i.e., DN).²⁷³

Also worth mentioning in connection with types 7 and 8 is [Q.2.50], a doorsocket inscription of a Kurigalzu that contains no verb (and probably not by accident, since it survives in two copies). The text cannot be classified as a typical possession inscription, since it refers to a building (presumably being constructed or refurbished) and yet bears no standard introductory formula as in possession inscriptions of type 2 (*ekal* RN or the like). The scheme of the text is: RN + titles--palace name + epithet--forever (*u₄-da-rí-šè*).

It is noteworthy that almost all of the type 8 inscriptions are written on bricks with the exception of some texts from Ur and Larsa that are written on

²⁶⁶*u₄-ul-la-ta al-šub-ba-e-d(è)*.

²⁶⁷[Q.2.8:12', Q.2.9:13' (+)].

²⁶⁸*ki-bi-šè gar-r(a)-me-en* [Q.2.8:13', collated].

²⁶⁹Compare note 227 above.

²⁷⁰*níg u₄-ul-lí-a-ta al-šub-bu-da* [Q.2.35.1-2]; [Q.2.35.3] has *ba-šub-ba* for the final verb phrase.

²⁷¹The inscription does not begin with a DN-indirect object clause, perhaps because the structure was not considered part of a temple. The verb, however, is *mu-na-dù*, which in former times through the use of the *-na-* infix would have implied an indirect object.

(The infix need not be interpreted so literally here.)

²⁷²Compare Nabonidus' citation of a (broken) Babylonian building inscription, supposedly written in the name of Šagarakti-Šuriaš: CT XXXIV 35-36 iii 44-63 (dupl.: VAB IV 248 iii 23-41).

²⁷³The verb is *ibnīšum*, literally equivalent to Sumerian *mu-na-dù*.

stone door sockets [E.2.1, Q.2.54-55] or on stone or copper tablets [Q.2.66].²⁷⁴ There is a heavy predominance of Kurigalzu texts in type 8; and the only other monarchs represented are a Kadašman-Enlil and a Burna-Buriaš. It is possible, therefore, that inscriptions of this type are presently restricted to a relatively short period of time, from Kurigalzu I (No. ?17) to Burna-Buriaš II (No. ?19), though the lack of genealogy in these texts makes such a proposal purely hypothetical. The verb forms attested in the texts of this type are:

ba-al:	ḥu-mu-un-ba-a[1] [Q.2.17]
diri:	mi-ni-diri [E.2.1]
	mu-na-ni-diri [E.2.2]
dù:	mu-na-dù [Q.2.27-32, Q.2.35-36, J.2.1, E.2.2-3]
	mu-na-an-dù [Q.2.66]
	mu-un-na-an-dù [Q.2.22]
	mu-na-ni-dù [Q.2.11]
	possibly [ḥu]-mu-dù [Q.2.54]
	ḥu-mu-un-dù [Q.2.17, Q.2.55]
	in-dù-a [J.2.2]
	ba-dù-a [Q.2.27.1, Q.2.30, Q.2.32, Q.2.36]; in subordinate clauses only
(pa) . . . è:	pa mu-un-è [Q.2.11]
gar:	gar-[ra]l-me-en [Q.2.8]
gi:	mu-na-gi [Q.2.25]
	ḥu-mu-un-gi [Q.2.22]
	ḥé-bí-gi [Q.2.54]; cf. [Q.2.55]
gi ₄ :	mu-na-gi ₄ [E.2.3]
	bí-gi ₄ -a [Q.2.28.1, Q.2.29, Q.2.35.1]
	bí-in-gi ₄ [E.2.1, Q.2.31]
	bí-in-gi ₄ -a [Q.2.27, Q.2.28.2, Q.2.30, Q.2.32, Q.2.35.2-3, Q.2.36, Q.2.66]
	im-mi-gi ₄ [J.2.1]
	im-mi-in-gi ₄ [Q.2.27, Q.2.30, Q.2.32, Q.2.36] ²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴This excludes later copies of texts such as [Q.2.11], which is written on a clay tablet (but whose colophon identifies the original text as coming from a brick).

²⁷⁵This form is used only with subuš-bi as the direct object.

gibil:	mu-na-ni-gibil [E.2.1] mu-un-gibil-àm [Q.2.25]
íl:	mi-ni-in-íl [J.2.2]
sì:	bí-in-sì-ge [J.2.1]; in subordinate clause
su(mu)n:	(see note 253; in subordinate clauses only)
šub:	(see notes 251, 253, 256, 266, 270; in subordinate clauses only)

It is clear that the above categories are both subjective and linguistically unsophisticated. To a large extent, they satisfy the whim of the classifier rather than philological or literary criteria. But this analysis, one hopes, has sufficed to illustrate that the most common types of Kassite royal inscriptions are formulaic in character; and, in addition, the grouping of these texts by type has occasionally suggested potential dating criteria not otherwise obvious from the documents themselves.

Do these inscriptions offer a representative picture of official or court scribal activity in the Kassite period? That is difficult to estimate. On the one hand, this analysis has deliberately excluded a few "literary" pieces such as the campaign(?) description of Nazi-Maruttaš [U.2.25] and other undated compositions that could originate in the Kassite period.²⁷⁶ On the other hand, the texts studied tend to cluster within a restricted time and place range during the dynasty. More than two-thirds of the building texts could come from the reign of a single Kurigalzu, and a high percentage of these could be products of narrow scribal circles at Ur and Dūr-Kurigalzu. Among the relatively small number of votive objects inscribed with the names of Kassite monarchs, more than three dozen (just over 50 percent of the total), ranging in time from at least Burna-Buriaš II (No. ?19) to Kaštiliašu IV (No. 28), come from a single cache found at Nippur.²⁷⁷ If one considers further that the overwhelming percentage of sources presently known for the dynasty come from just three sites, that is, Nippur, Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Ur, it is clear that we are dealing only with fragments of a much larger whole.

²⁷⁶E.g., [J.5.1].

²⁷⁷See the note in [E.5.5] below.

Materials

The materials on which the inscriptions are written are clay,²⁷⁸ stone, metal, and ivory.²⁷⁹

The most common types of inscribed clay objects are tablets, of which more than eleven thousand--dated and undated--are known from the dynasty.²⁸⁰ Such tablets usually have slightly curved surfaces (roughly rectangular or square in area),²⁸¹ were not usually baked in antiquity, and seldom--except in the case of personnel lists--exceed 4 cm. in thickness.²⁸² Economic texts, that is, administrative and legal documents, comprise more than 95 percent of the total number of clay tablets.²⁸³ Bricks are the next most common type of inscribed clay object; they usually bear royal building inscriptions written in Sumerian (except for P.2.1, which bears a Sumerian possession inscription). Known examples range from Kara-indaš (king No. ?15) to Meli-Šipak (No. 33). Other types of inscribed clay objects are rare. There are four clay prisms or cones recording royal land grants,²⁸⁴ a prism with a private votive inscription,²⁸⁵ a terra-cotta animal with a private votive inscription,²⁸⁶ an enamel horsehead with a royal possession inscription,²⁸⁷ and a pot fragment with what might be a part of a royal votive text.²⁸⁸ Finally, there are at least eight ceremonial axheads made of blue glass, imitating lapis lazuli.²⁸⁹

²⁷⁸Here used in a very broad sense, almost equivalent to earth, so as to embrace products such as terra cotta, enamel, and glass.

²⁷⁹This and the following analyses do not include materials in the Catalogue that concern the Kassite dynasty, but originated outside Babylonian-held territory, e.g., [Q.2.116].

²⁸⁰The remarks on tablets in the first three sentences of this paragraph take into account all Kassite-period texts known to me, not just those in the Catalogue.

²⁸¹Approximately half a dozen round tablets are known from the dynasty.

²⁸²Personnel lists occasionally are even thicker than 5 cm.; and a particularly large example, CBS 7794, has approximate dimensions of 29 x 13 x 5.5 cm.

²⁸³Clay tablets with royal votive or building texts are practically unknown, except where these tablets are later copies of original inscriptions.

²⁸⁴[Q.2.1, J.2.19]. Each of these texts survives in two copies. Note, too, that [U.2.19], according to its colophon, was originally written on clay (*narâ ša hašbi*).

²⁸⁵[U.2.22].

²⁸⁶[U.2.21]. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether such votive animals (there are also undated examples from this time) are dogs (UR or UR.GI₇) or lions (UR.MAḪ).

²⁸⁷[L.2.10].

²⁸⁸[V.2.9].

²⁸⁹[Q.2.67-69, U.2.4-7, V.2.7]; compare also BE I 72 and 79 (discussed under O.5.1-2 be-

I. INTRODUCTION

Inscribed stone objects are relatively common in this period, though their inscriptions are principally royal votive and building types. Small objects in semi-precious stone, usually bearing brief royal votive inscriptions, are more common than larger items in ordinary stone.²⁹⁰

low). For the material of these objects, see most recently Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glass-making in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Corning, 1970) pp. 148 and 215 (with earlier bibliography); note, however, that the catalogues and discussions in Oppenheim's book have overlooked all pertinent Kassite dynasty objects other than the Nazi-Maruttas̄ disks.

²⁹⁰Ideally, one should also describe the types of stone used for inscriptions (lapis lazuli, hematite, agate, etc.); but the designations used in published reports (and, perforce, included in the Catalogue below) are often based on superficial rather than scientific examination of the objects and hence are not sufficiently reliable for purposes of analysis.

Objects in semi-precious stone include:

Knobs: [Q.2.70-71, U.2.14-15, V.2.2-3, O.2.2].

Disks: [Q.2.72-73, U.2.8-13, U.2.16, L.2.1-6, P.2.3-4, V.2.1, O.2.1, O.2.4 (and perhaps O.2.3?)], possibly all from Nippur; cf. [Q.2.98], a biconvex disk-shaped piece of lapis lazuli.

Eye stones: [Q.2.74-89, J.2.11], most written in Sumerian. Compare [J.2.6], described as an agate cameo.

Amulet: [Q.2.104], designation uncertain.

Beads: [Q.2.94-97, *E.2.8] are earlier texts; the latter three are written in Sumerian, and two of them [Q.2.96, *E.2.8] were found in Iran. [L.2.9], a text from the intermediate period, is written half in Sumerian and half in Babylonian. [J.2.7, V.2.5-6], later texts, are written in Babylonian.

Seals: With royal inscriptions, [Q.2.90-93 (not all certain)]; cf. [V.2.8]. With private inscriptions, [N.2.3, Q.2.106-114, J.2.20] and probably [J.2.21, E.2.21-24, U.2.23].

Tablets: [Q.2.57-64] and possibly [O.2.3], all from Nippur.

Miscellany: [Q.2.98-103, Q.2.105, E.2.7, *E.2.9, U.2.3, L.2.7-8, V.2.4].

Objects in other stone include:

Door or gate sockets: [Q.2.40-56, J.2.10].

Statues: [Q.2.2-4], all very fragmentary.

Knobs: [X.2.1, J.2.8, S.2.3].

Vessels: [J.2.9, E.2.20].

Tablets: [Q.2.65, Q.2.66.1 part, O.2.6 (tablet containing a land grant)].

Slab: [J.2.5]. One may note also the stone bricks of Ḫašmar-galšū [AC.2.1, AC.2.3], explicitly called na₄.sig₄ in their texts; but the date of these bricks is uncertain.

Steles and kudurrus: Private Sumerian votive steles from Uruk, [U.2.20]; kudurrus, [Q.2.6, U.2.17-19, P.2.5, O.2.5, K^b.2.1, C.2.6, S.2.4-9, R.2.2-10, F.2.1]. Note that [U.2.19] was originally written on clay, but later engraved on stone (after the original had been broken).

There are only four inscribed objects of metal: a copper foundation tablet from Ur²⁹¹ and three bronze daggers of the "Luristan" variety.²⁹² A later tablet survives whose colophon states that it is the copy of an inscription of Adad-šuma-ušur (king No. 32) on a bronze statue (*šalam siparri*).²⁹³

The sole text written on ivory is a short votive inscription of Burna-Buriaš II (king No. ?19) inscribed on a pierced knob.²⁹⁴

Language

The distribution of texts by language, that is, Sumerian or Babylonian,²⁹⁵ presents several interesting patterns. Some text types, such as kudurrus and/or land grants and letters, are written exclusively in Babylonian. Building texts, principally on bricks and stone door sockets, are--with one late exception²⁹⁶-- written in Sumerian. Economic texts are usually written in Babylonian, except for some legal documents from the time of Burna-Buriaš II (No. ?19) and earlier. Otherwise the use of Sumerian versus Babylonian seems to vary with the fashion of the times.²⁹⁷ From the early stages of the dynasty (kings 1-14), only one possible original royal document survives; and this inscription, on a knob of Ulam-Buriaš, and later copies of the Gandaš and Agum-kakrime texts are all written in Babylonian.²⁹⁸ During the next period, from Kara-indaš to

²⁹¹[Q.2.66.1 part]. Designation of the metal is according to Woolley and Gadd.

²⁹²[L.2.11, C.2.2-3].

²⁹³[C.2.4].

²⁹⁴[E.2.6].

²⁹⁵There is one royal inscription [J.5.1], possibly dating to the Kassite period, which is a Sumerian-Babylonian bilingual. There are no texts written in the Kassite language, though there are a later Kassite-Babylonian vocabulary and a Kassite-Babylonian name list (most recently edited by Balkan, *Kassitenstudien I* [New Haven, 1954] 2-4).

²⁹⁶[R.2.1], surviving only in a later copy on a clay tablet.

²⁹⁷The remarks in the rest of this paragraph exclude those documents mentioned in the preceding sentences, which are traditionally written in one language or the other: kudurrus and/or land grants, letters, economic texts, and building inscriptions. They also exclude texts written logographically in such a way that it cannot be judged whether they are in Sumerian or Babylonian.

²⁹⁸[X.2.1, H.3.1, D^b.3.1].

Kurigalzu II (Nos. ?15-22),²⁹⁹ the majority of texts are written in Sumerian.³⁰⁰ In the time of Nazi-Maruttaš and Kadašman-Turgu (Nos. 23 and 24), a gradually larger percentage of texts are written in Babylonian, though Sumerian continues in use.³⁰¹ The only text definitely assignable to Kadašman-Enlil II is written in Babylonian.³⁰² From then till the end of the dynasty, all texts are in Babylonian,³⁰³ even a building inscription in the early twelfth century.³⁰⁴

It is obvious that the language in everyday use in Kassite Babylonia was Babylonian; and utilitarian documents--letters, legal documents,³⁰⁵ administrative texts, etc.--were written in that language. The use of Sumerian was generally reserved for ceremonial royal inscriptions (possession, building, and votive), for royal and private prayer inscriptions (on seals), and for especially important (again ceremonial?) private texts. Though building texts continued tenaciously to be written in Sumerian almost without exception to the very end of the dynasty, votive texts eventually came to be written more and more in Babylonian; and there is no clear instance of a Sumerian votive text after the time of Kadašman-Turgu (king No. 24). Why one type of text proved to be more conservative than the other is hard to explain.³⁰⁶

²⁹⁹A period almost co-extensive with that of the closest Babylonian-Egyptian contacts; see *AJA* LXXVI (1972) 274-76.

³⁰⁰There may be a tapering in the ratio in the time of Kurigalzu II, when the texts definitely assignable to his reign are only 8:6 in favor of Sumerian. There are, however, few pertinent texts before the time of Burna-Buriasš II (No. ?19).

³⁰¹The ratio in favor of Babylonian is 10:7 and 7:2 in these two reigns.

³⁰²{J.2.7}.

³⁰³With the already noted exception of bricks with building inscriptions.

³⁰⁴See note 295. It is also noteworthy that the first Kassite ruler with a Babylonian name was Kudur-Enlil, king No. 26, who reigned just about the time that Sumerian votive texts and seal inscriptions seem to have died out (according to the datable material assembled in the Catalogue).

³⁰⁵Though legal texts, especially in the fourteenth century, may have an abundance of logograms or Sumerianized writings; and some of these texts, especially from the reign of Burna-Buriasš II, may have been composed in Sumerian.

³⁰⁶Though one might opine that religious conservatism in connection with a specific temple (site, etc.) was apt to prove stronger and more resistant to change than what could be regarded as expressions of personal piety in the votive texts.

D. PROSPECTS FOR HISTORIES OF KASSITE BABYLONIA

This section takes into consideration not just the texts listed in the Catalogue below, but all Kassite dynasty documents known to me at the present time. It must be stressed that this assessment is based on a rapid survey of more than twelve thousand texts, a survey that classified the inscriptions in rudimentary fashion and separated the dated documents and a few archives for an initial closer analysis. The limitations of this procedure are obvious, and the reader should be aware of the tentative character of the following observations.

As has been seen in the preceding section (I.C), certain times and places within Kassite Babylonia are particularly well represented by documentation; others are practically unknown. In addition, the subject matter of most texts is quite restricted. While one can learn something about a few socioeconomic or legal institutions during a relatively short time span (principally ca. 1360-1225 B.C.) and about the building and dedicatory proclivities of certain monarchs over a slightly longer period (ca. 1413-1159), there is insufficient evidence about other subjects to afford reasonable hope for a balanced or well-rounded history of the period.¹

With the presently available sources, any political history of the Kassite dynasty would inevitably be quite skeletal. The earliest portion of the dynasty (kings 1-14) is so poorly known that even the names and sequence of the rulers cannot be reconstructed satisfactorily. In fact, this stretch of time is less well known than any other comparable phase in southern Mesopotamia from the beginning of the Ur III dynasty just before 2100 B.C. to the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.² There are practically no contemporary texts known, and the authenticity of most later copies of supposedly contemporary inscriptions has been questioned. Kinglists and chronicles throw scattered light on the age and

¹That is, a history that would provide an adequate perspective of the political, cultural, and scientific life of the era.

²The only other section of this millennium and a half for which the sequence of rulers in southern Mesopotamia has not yet been adequately reconstructed is the chaotic years following the final campaign of Šamsī-Adad V against Babylonia, from 811 to ca. 770 B.C.

afford what little perspective there is. The following phase (kings ?15-?21) is illuminated chiefly through the Amarna letters and the chronicles; but the usefulness of most contemporary documentation is hampered by its apolitical character and by the fact that the royal texts belonging to Kurigalzu I and Kadašman-Enlil I, two of the more prominent monarchs of the era, cannot readily be distinguished from those of the slightly later homonymous kings, Kurigalzu II and Kadašman-Enlil II. The best attested phase of the dynasty (kings 22-28) is represented mainly by stereotyped votive inscriptions and an abundance of economic texts, neither of which are particularly informative concerning political affairs. The concluding period (kings 29-36) is known chiefly from chronicles and kudurrus, which furnish some data on relations with Elam and Assyria and on the provincial administration of Babylonia (especially the eastern provinces). A detailed political history³ of the dynasty could be written within the compass of a brief monograph.

A historical treatment of the socioeconomic institutions of Kassite Babylonia would have more material with which to work, though here too there would be space and time restrictions. The numerous archival materials, legal and administrative, and several hundred letters from Nippur between 1360 and 1225 may serve to illuminate certain aspects of socioeconomic life, especially taxes, irrigation, temple administration, and forced labor;⁴ but only close and detailed study of the texts will disclose how full a picture they contain.⁵ Even here the archives will undoubtedly reveal only a segment of a complex society; and it will be difficult to tell how representative this segment is for the whole of contemporary Nippur, much less for other cities and for other times under the dynasty. The economic documents from Ur and Dūr-Kurigalzu are much less numerous and not so concentrated in either time or subject matter, though the Ur texts may furnish valuable insights into the Middle Babylonian

³Including the military and diplomatic sides, a discussion of the monarchy, etc.

⁴The last-mentioned topic would also involve a discussion of the role of the large numbers of foreigners and minority groups in Babylonia, especially around Nippur in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

⁵Since many of the documents are laconic bureaucratic memoranda of limited scope, an adequate study would entail a sophisticated statistical analysis, whose productive yield cannot be predicted.

legal system.⁶ In each of these areas, painstaking archival and prosopographical studies are needed as indispensable prerequisites.

For other types of history, I am not qualified to pass judgment. To focus on the intellectual, scientific, or religious history of the period, it would be necessary to be able to date the pertinent documents with more precision so that Middle Babylonian-Kassite materials could readily be distinguished from late Old Babylonian and from Isin II and early Neo-Babylonian texts.⁷ This is not an easy task, both because the development of the Babylonian script between late Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian has not been sufficiently studied⁸ and because, even when one has dated a text, it is often difficult to determine the age or evolution of the tradition behind it.⁹

The history of the art and architecture of the Kassite period, with the possible exceptions of glyptic and the kudurrus, has as yet little material for analysis.¹⁰ The study of seals and seal impressions, especially if undertaken with emphasis on the impressions on dated tablets, may yield significant

⁶Scattered throughout the documents from various Middle Babylonian sites is a tantalizing amount of information on such related socioeconomic topics as trade (especially of lapis lazuli), the garment industry, contemporary tribal structure (particularly for the Kassite people themselves), and the fluctuating metal standards (gold [see Edzard, *JESHO* III (1960) 38-55, and Leemans, *RLA* III 509-10], silver, and, in the final phase of the dynasty, copper).

⁷Though we are fortunate in having grammatical and lexical studies such as those of Aro (*Studien zur mittelbabylonischen Grammatik* [Helsinki, 1955]; *Glossar zu den mittelbabylonischen Briefen* [Helsinki, 1957]) and Bloch ("Beiträge zur Grammatik des Mittelbabylonischen," *Or* IX [1940] 305-47), there is no doubt that the scope of these works could be enlarged with the substantially greater number of materials known today.

⁸Here it is worth noting that script may well differ between classes of contemporary documents as well as between documents of different times and places. Among the textual fragments from *Dūr-Kurigalzu* for example, it is easy to distinguish at least three standard MB scripts (or perhaps, more accurately, ductuses): for economic texts, for intranational (or domestic) letters, and for literary or scientific texts and international letters. And one must always reckon with the idiosyncrasies of individual scribes, especially novices.

⁹One may note, however, the signal success of Oppenheim in the technological field in delineating the development of glass-making in the late second millennium (Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* [Corning, 1970]; *JAOS* XCIII [1973] 259-66). But here the textual evidence was happily combined with widespread archeological examples of the artifacts themselves.

¹⁰Though the examples of the monumental buildings from Ur, Uruk, Nippur, and *Dūr-Kurigalzu* and the few private or smaller structures from Ur, Nippur, and Babylon are now likely to be augmented substantially by ongoing excavations at *Dūr-Kurigalzu*, Isin, Larsa, and Nippur.

results;¹¹ but full archival studies would have to be made.¹² Seidl's careful work on the iconography of Kassite and later kudurrus¹³ has set a model for emulation in other areas.

The study of settlement patterns is also potentially a significant historical tool. But, given the present imprecision in ceramic dating criteria for the periods after 2000 B.C. in Mesopotamia,¹⁴ attempts to delineate urban and village developments even in periods of four hundred or five hundred years are not always convincing, particularly where their results have been structured as a reflection of the vicissitudes exemplified in the written documentation.¹⁵ When proper chronological pottery sequences have been established for lower Mesopotamia,¹⁶ then the adequately controlled ceramic survey may well assume a crucial role for the historian of Kassite Babylonia.¹⁷

¹¹A start along such lines has already been made by Edith Porada, e.g., in "On the Problem of Kassite Art," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (New York, 1952) pp. 179-87.

¹²An analysis of the inscriptional materials on seals is now available in Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux kassites* (Brussels, 1971).

¹³"Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs," *Bagh. Mitt.* IV (1968) 7-220.

¹⁴See the cautionary statements by Adams, e.g., in *Land behind Baghdad* (Chicago, 1965) pp. 52-54 and *passim*.

¹⁵This is not to deny that survey data even of a broadly ranging chronological articulation have provided the historian with interesting and stimulating material for analysis; see, for the present, the bibliography cited in *RAI* XIX 396, n. 11 (and *addenda, ibid.*, p. 408) and the informal report by Adams, *The Oriental Institute News and Notes*, No. 17 (May 1975) pp. 2-4.

¹⁶And here one notes with particular sadness the opportunity missed, for Kassite times at least, in not analyzing the ceramic material in the four major and various minor Kassite period levels at Tell el-Abyad.

¹⁷The reflections in the preceding paragraph are not intended to denigrate the validity of the ceramic survey method as presently practised; its limitations have been recognized and expressly stated in the primary publications themselves. For pre-Akkadian times, when the pottery is better known, the ceramic surveys seem already to have yielded substantial results. But in the periods after 2000 B.C. and before the coming of Islam, there is no question that establishing a more precise ceramic sequence is of prime importance not only for the proper analysis of settlement patterns, but also for the dating especially of non-monumental archeological remains where dated inscriptional material (tablets, bricks, stones, coins, etc.) is lamentably scarce. Once adequate dating has been achieved, then one can go on to speak of the potential of other developing archeological techniques such as pollen and seed analyses for agricultural history, etc. But refined dating criteria are essential in dealing with relatively brief historical periods.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

Because of major unresolved chronological difficulties, the sections of this Catalogue are arranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the monarchs. As has been seen above in Part I.B ("A Chronology of the Kassite Dynasty"), the names and sequence of Kassite kings Nos. 7-14 are uncertain; and any attempt at chronological reconstruction for this period would be largely guesswork. In addition, in the case of homonymous rulers, it is frequently difficult to determine which Kurigalzu or which Kadašman-Enlil a text mentions;¹ and a subjective assignment of each such document to one or the other monarch would aggravate an already confusing situation. As a consequence, to avoid overspecification, all references to kings bearing the same name are grouped into single general entries (e.g., "Agum," "Kadašman-Ḥarbe," "Kurigalzu"); and only those references that are sufficiently explicit to be readily identified as belonging to a specific monarch are marked as such within the broader entry.²

Within the body of the Catalogue, each section is distinguished by a letter prefix (ranging from "A. Abi-Rattaš" to "Z. Zababa-šuma-iddina"). In those cases in which it seems advantageous to discuss homonymous monarchs individually, the section is internally subdivided with more specific prefixes, such as D^a, D^b, D^c to refer to Agum I, II, and III respectively.³ The final portion of the Catalogue (AA-AF) treats various individuals who have sometimes been proposed as Kassite monarchs, but whose classification as such is now either contradicted or insufficiently supported by available evidence.

Each section of the Catalogue is arranged as follows. First, there is an

¹Most Kassite royal inscriptions do not contain genealogies, which would aid in solving such problems.

²Texts referring to a ruler whose name is so damaged that it cannot easily be linked with a specific monarch, e.g., a broken *Kadašman*-[] (which could be restored as *Kadašman-Enlil*, *Kadašman-Ḥarbe*, or *Kadašman-Turgu*), are usually omitted from the Catalogue.

³By way of exception, in the case of the two kings named *Burna-Buriaš* and the four named *Kaštiliašu*, almost all of each of these rather long sections is concerned with the final king bearing the name. Consequently, while the small initial subsections have been assigned the prefixes E^a and O^a, O^b, O^c, the larger subsections for *Burna-Buriaš* II and *Kaštiliašu* IV have been given the simple prefixes E and O (rather than the more cumbersome E^b and O^d).

introductory paragraph (or paragraphs) summarizing the evidence concerning the number of monarchs bearing the particular royal name, their place in the dynastic sequence, their immediate genealogy (ascending and descending), and their length of reign. The rest of the entry is grouped according to the following major subdivisions (here prefixed by the letter C for the sake of illustration):

- C.1 Chronological sources (i.e., kinglists and chronicles, which establish the monarch's sequence within the dynasty)
- C.2 Contemporary sources (documents written during the king's reign⁴ or very shortly thereafter)⁵
- C.3 Later sources (other than primary references in kinglists and chronicles)⁶
- C.4 Writing of the royal name (the orthography of the royal name in contemporary and later documentation and, where necessary, a discussion of disputed readings)
- C.5 Miscellaneous notes (commentary on isolated problems in reading or assigning documents, etc.).⁷

⁴Or shortly before his reign (mentioning the future monarch as a prince, an official, or the like).

⁵For example, inscriptions of a contemporary Assyrian king that tell of removing a Babylonian king from power. Occurrences of royal names in later genealogies, even within the first generation, are, however, here classified as later sources.

⁶In certain borderline cases, the distinction between "chronological," "contemporary," and "later" inevitably becomes subjective. Thus direct references to a king in a kinglist or chronicle are classified as "chronological," while references to him by way of patronymic (e.g., the possessive pronoun in the phrase A-šú, "his son") in the same document are classified as "later."

A similar distinction is made between late copies of an original document (here classified as "contemporary") and later fabrications or distortions purporting to be original documents (here listed as "later"). As will be seen below, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the classification to which a text should be assigned; the most disagreeable cases have been prefixed with an asterisk in the Catalogue (the asterisk signifying doubtful attribution). The provisional listing of the Agum-kakrime (D^b.3.1) and Gandaš (H.3.1) inscriptions in the "later" category in this Catalogue is intended to indicate simply that these inscriptions, in their present form, seem not only to be later copies, but also to incorporate later elements; this is not to deny either that there are genuine contemporary passages in such texts or that such passages might predominate (the question, in these two cases, requires further and closer study).

⁷There is no fifth subdivision for some monarchs.

Within each of these subdivisions, except the first, each entry should contain adequate bibliographical information;⁸ the bibliography for chronological sources is listed in Appendix B below. It should also be noted that, in the listing of contemporary sources, the term "economic texts" is used in a broad sense to include administrative and legal documents; such inscriptions are grouped together under a single heading (e.g., C.2.7) and arranged in order of date.

Unless otherwise stated, texts are presumed to be written in the appropriate dialect of Akkadian (usually Middle Babylonian).⁹ Texts whose reading, attribution, or classification is sufficiently uncertain to call into question their place within the Catalogue are prefixed with a single asterisk. A double asterisk is used to designate what seems to be either a mistaken attribution on the part of the ancient scribe or a modern designation that has proven to be incorrect. In listing the dates of texts, large Roman numerals designate the month¹⁰ and Arabic numerals the day; years are referred to explicitly as "year 5" or the like. Thus I-5-year 6 means the fifth day of Nisan in the sixth year (usually of a specific king). In damaged dates, the following symbols are used:

- {MN} = month name present, but unreadable (or not read)
- x = day or year number present, but unreadable (or not read)
- ? = uncertain traces of name or number
- IV? = reading (here "IV") possible, but uncertain
- [] = month, day, or year expected, but pertinent section of text destroyed
- 3(+) = number definitely at least "3," but possibly higher

⁸For contemporary documents, we have attempted to present a relatively complete list of pertinent publications (excluding minor or insignificant corrections or commentaries). For later sources, additional bibliography has been cited only when it directly concerns the interpretation of the passage involved. In either case, it is presumed that the reader will refer to such standard bibliographies as Borger's *HKL*, Seidl, etc.; and their list of references is not repeated here. For the Dūr-Kurigalzu texts excavated by the Iraqis between 1942 and 1945, only a rudimentary bibliography is furnished in the present Catalogue, since a full list of references and discussion of find spots are planned for a later volume of this series.

⁹Except in the case of economic texts, where documents (perhaps) written in Sumerian (especially legal texts from the time of Burna-Buriāš II or earlier) are not so labelled in the pertinent tables, e.g., E.2.25.

¹⁰With "VIa" and "XIIa" used for intercalary months.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

Where a document has been listed in the earlier bibliographies of Jaritz or El-Wailly, a cross-reference is given to the pertinent entry or entries. Jaritz's bibliography is cited by paragraph number. El-Wailly's bibliography is cited by a tripartite abbreviation scheme (number of monarch, type of source, number of source within type, e.g., 22-B-1 referring to king No. 22, building inscription No. 1).¹¹

¹¹The source-type abbreviations employed here for inscriptions listed by El-Wailly are: (B) building, (C) commemorative, (E) epical, (K) kudurru, (L) letter, (S) seal, (U) unclassified, and (V) votive. The characterizations and the numbering within each type are those assigned by El-Wailly.

A. ABI-RATTAS̃

Abi-Rattas̃ was an early ruler of the Kassite dynasty, the fifth king according to Kinglist A, the fourth according to the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c). A possible reading in the Agum-kakrime inscription suggests that Abi-Rattas̃ was an ancestor of Agum's father, Uršigurumaš (text: Uršigurumaš), and a descendant of both Kaštiliašu (father) and Agum the Great (grandfather). The length of the reign of Abi-Rattas̃ is unknown.

A.1 Chronological sources

A.1.1 Kinglist A i 20'--length of reign broken away, but a complete RN (fifth king of the dynasty).

A.1.2 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 13'--relatively complete RN (fourth king of the dynasty).

A.2 Contemporary sources: none.

A.3 Later sources

A.3.1 *The Agum-kakrime inscription refers to Agum's father as Uršigurumaš, who is in turn described as *lipli[ppi] ša A-bi-[x]-[x(-x)]* (V R 33 i 13-15, collated; final name possibly to be read *A-bi-R[at-taš]*). For discussion, see A.5.1 below. Text: D^b.3.1.

A.4 Writing of the royal name

A.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

A.4.2 In later texts

A.4.2.1 ^m*A-bi-l-Rat-taš* (Kinglist A i 20', collated)

A.4.2.2 ^m*A-bi-[Ra]-taš* (synchronistic kinglist: A. 117 i 13', collated)

A.4.2.3 *A-bi-[x]-[x(-x)]* (Agum-kakrime text: V R 33 i 15, collated)

A.5 Note

A.5.1 Where legible, the Agum-kakrime inscription in sketching the ancestry of its royal author generally refers to the various generations by the approximate formula "RN, son (*māru/aplu*) of RN₂." Only in describing the relationship between Uršigurumaš and Abi-Rattas̃(?) does the text deviate: "U., descendant (*lipli[ppi]*) of A." An

inference that an additional generation may have intervened between these two rulers could be supported by the synchronistic kinglist A. 117, which lists a Kaštiliašu between them. Kinglist A, on the other hand, lists Abi-Rattaš and Urzigurumaš (= Uršigurumaš) as successive rulers. There is no readily apparent solution in the light of such tenuous evidence.

B. ADAD-ŠUMA-IDDINA

According to Kinglist A, Adad-šuma-iddina was the thirty-first ruler of the Kassite dynasty (i.e., the successor of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II and the predecessor of Adad-šuma-ušur) and reigned for six years. There is no evidence that he was related to his predecessor or to the old Kassite royal family of the last Kaštiliašu. A revolution in Babylonia eventually placed a son of Kaštiliašu on the throne.¹

B.1 Chronological sources

B.1.1 Kinglist A ii 10'--a reign of 6 (years) and a relatively complete RN.

B.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) ii 5'-6'--Weidner in *AFO* III (1926) 70 copied this section (from a photo) as ^md' [] in line 5' and ^mMIN [] in line 6'. In the summer of 1971, collation of the tablet and of the excavation photo could not verify any definite traces in line 5'; line 6' reads as copied, except that the initial personal determinative is damaged.

B.1.3 Chronicle P iv 17-22--mentioning an Elamite invasion under Kidin-Ḫudrudiš at the time of RN. Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.

B.2 Contemporary sources

B.2.1 Economic texts

B.2.1.1 I - 13 -acc. year U 7787b, published as *UET* VII 21

B.2.1.2 V - 6 -acc. year U 77871, published as *UET* VII 23;
day collated

B.2.1.3 *U 7789n (*UET* VII 22), though its date is broken away, may probably be dated to about this time.²

¹Chronicle P iv 8-9. Adad-šuma-iddina is not mentioned by name in this passage, which deals explicitly with the end of the suzerainty of Tukulti-Ninurta I over Babylonia.

²It shares many features with *UET* VII 21 (B.2.1.1): it mentions *rikilti šarri Adad-šuma-iddina*, involves many of the same people (e.g., Bēlu-muballiṭ, Iṭirrua, Sîn-lultarreh, Šamaš-ēṭir), has the same first witness, etc.

B.3 Later sources

- B.3.1 BM 90827, a kudurru from the reign of Meli-Šipak published as *BBSt*, No. 3, relates the history of a lawsuit during the reign of Adad-Šuma-iddina: i 1-38, cf. vi 29. Text: S.2.4.
- B.3.2 *K. 4445+, the "Šulgi Prophecy," last edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, may refer to events taking place in Babylonia during the reign of RN. See the discussion by Borger, *ibid.*, p. 23.

B.4 Writing of the royal name³

B.4.1 In contemporary economic texts

- B.4.1.1 ^{md}IM-MU-SUM-na (*UET* VII 21 rev. 2, 13; *UET* VII 23 rev. '14'1)
- B.4.1.2 ^dIM-MU-SUM-na (*UET* VII 22 rev. 15, probably contemporary)

B.4.2 In later texts

- B.4.2.1 ^dIM-MU-SUM-na (kudurru from the time of Meli-Šipak: *BBSt*, No. 3 i 2, [4], [17], [23], [36], vi 29)
- B.4.2.2 [^{md}]IM-MU-SUM-na (Chronicle P iv 17, collated; the MU is slightly damaged at the bottom)
- B.4.2.3 [^m]^dIM-MU-[MU] (Kinglist A ii 10')

B.5 Note

- B.5.1 Though Adad-Šuma-iddina is sometimes thought to have been an Assyrian puppet who ruled during the suzerainty of Tukulti-Ninurta I, his decisions were nonetheless honored by later Babylonian rulers (*BBSt*, No. 3).

³Previously discussed in *ZA* LIX (1969) 233. Only the references are repeated here; relevant collations are given *ibid.*

C. ADAD-ŠUMA-UŠUR

Adad-šuma-ušur, thirty-second king of the Kassite dynasty and son of the last Kaštiliašu, came to the throne as the result of a revolution.¹ He ruled over Babylonia for thirty years,² the longest known reign for any Kassite monarch, and was succeeded by his son Meli-Šipak.³

C.1 Chronological sources

- C.1.1 Kinglist A ii 11'--a reign of 30 (years) and a relatively complete RN.
- C.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) ii 7'--Weidner in *AfO* III (1926) 70 copied this section (from a photo) as though it read ^{md}IM-MU-PAB. My collation of the tablet and of the excavation photo (1971) did not lead to verification of any traces other than the initial masculine personal determinative; the second sign following that might have been IM.
- C.1.3 Chronicle P iv 7-9--recording the end of Tukulti-Ninurta's seven-year hegemony over Babylonia, the revolt of the Babylonian leaders, and their placing of Adad-šuma-ušur on his father's throne. Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 874-75; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.
- C.1.4 BM 27796:1'-10'--chronicle passage dealing with Adad-šuma-ušur's relations with Assyria around the time of Enlil-kudurri-ušur and possibly also his building activities in Babylonia. (Information courtesy of C. B. F. Walker.)
- C.1.5 *Synchronistic History, *CT* XXXIV 42 K. 4401b ii 3-8--broken section

¹Sequence in Kassite Dynasty: Kinglist A ii 11'. Genealogy: *Iranica Antiqua* II (1962) 151, No. 1:3; cf. Chronicle P iv 9, where the name of Kaštiliašu is not mentioned. Revolution: Chronicle P iv 8-9 (this revolution presumably deposed his predecessor, Adad-šuma-iddina, although the latter is not mentioned by name in this section).

²Kinglist A ii 11'.

³Kinglist A ii 12' (sequence); *BBS*t, No. 3 iv 31 (genealogy). For some reason, Meli-Šipak refrains from mentioning his father in his own royal inscriptions (*Or* XXXVIII [1969] 326).

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

concerned with Ad[ad-šuma-ušur's] involvement in Assyrian affairs.⁴ This may be interpreted as RN's defeat of Enlil-kudurri-ušur and the accession of Ninurta-apil-Ekur to power in Assyria; see Tadmor, *JNES* XVII (1958) 131-32. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 901; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.

C.2 Contemporary sources

- C.2.1 Stamped bricks from Nippur bearing a ten-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording work on the Ekur. Several duplicate copies of this inscription are known.
- C.2.1.1 CBS 8643. Published in copy by Hilprecht, *BE* I 81 and translated by Peters, *Nippur* II 165. Complete. [Jaritz No. 208; El-Wailly 32-B-1a]
- C.2.1.2 IM 56103 (2 NT 482). Published in photo in *UMB* XVI/2 (July 1951) Pl. VII; available also in Oriental Institute photo No. 46677. Complete. [Jaritz No. 209!; El-Wailly 32-B-1b]
- C.2.1.3 4 NT 273; present whereabouts unknown. Available in Oriental Institute photos Nos. 49063 (photo of brick itself) and 49208 (photo of copy by Goetze). The ends of the first seven lines are preserved.
- C.2.1.4 5 NT 701; currently in Iraq Museum (museum number unknown). Available in Oriental Institute photos Nos. 49063 (photo of brick itself) and 49208 (photo of copy by Goetze). All lines are at least partially preserved.
- C.2.1.5 IM 61768 (6 NT 1133). Available in Oriental Institute photo No. 50371. Complete.
- C.2.1.6 MMA 59.41.82 (6 NT 1134). Most of the first seven lines are preserved.
- C.2.2 Luristan bronze dagger in the Foroughi Collection, Teheran, bearing a four-line possession inscription of RN, including titular and filiation. Published by Dossin, *Iranica Antiqua* II (1962) 151 and Pl. XIII, No. 1 (photo, transliteration, translation).

⁴The name Adad-šuma-ušur seems the only plausible restoration here, based on the traces and on the chronology of the period.

- C.2.3 Luristan bronze dagger in the Foroughi Collection, Teheran, bearing the name of the king and the title LUGAL ŠĀR (one line of text preserved). Published by Dossin, *Iranica Antiqua* II (1962) 151 and Pl. XIV, No. 2 (photo, transliteration, translation).
- C.2.4 BM 36042 (Sp. III, 587). Late copy of a royal inscription of RN (read ^dIM-MU-ŠE[Š] in i 3, collation). According to the colophon of the tablet, this copy was made from an inscription on a bronze statue. Published in Winckler, *Sumer und Akkad* (Berlin, 1887) p. 19, No. 6 (copy), and in Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 46 (partial transliteration and translation). [Jaritz No. 211; El-Wailly 32-V-1]
- C.2.5 K. 3045. Neo-Assyrian copy of a letter sent from Adad-šuma-ušur to Aššur-nirari III and Ilī-ihaddâ. Published in printed cuneiform characters by Harper, *ABL* 924 (earlier reproductions of the cuneiform text in III R 4, No. 5 and *MVAG* II [1897] 245); latest complete transliteration and translation by Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 42. See also the lengthy note by Borger, *EAK* I 99, and Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 888-91. [Jaritz No. 207]
- C.2.6 AS 3326 (Sb 29). Fragmentary stone kudurru recording a land grant by RN; found at Susa. Published by Scheil, *MDP* II 97-98 (copy, transliteration, translation); see also De Morgan, *MDP* I 179 and Fig. 387 (note corrections by Seidl, p. 22). Photo: Seidl, Pl. 5. [Steinmetzer No. 45, P 10 and No. 56, P 21; Seidl No. 7; Jaritz No. 210; El-Wailly 32-K-1]
- C.2.7 Economic texts
- | | | | |
|---------|--------|----------------|--|
| C.2.7.1 | [I?] - | 12 - year 3 | U 7787d, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 72; collated |
| C.2.7.2 | ? - | 18 - year 3 | U 7789w, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 37 |
| C.2.7.3 | ? - | 29 - year 3(+) | U 7788m, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 10 |
| C.2.7.4 | III - | 25 - year 7 | U 7787v, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 9 |
| C.2.7.5 | II - | 4 - year 12 | IM 43981 |
| C.2.7.6 | IV - | 22 - year 12 | U 7788b, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 8 |

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C.2.7.7	I -	2? - year 13	unpublished text in private collection; ⁵ to be published in a later volume of this series
C.2.7.8	[V] -	25 - year 13	IM 67708 = U 6715; the date has been partially published as <i>UET</i> I 260 and as <i>MJ</i> XVII (1926) 392, No. 56; information concerning the month and day has been kindly provided by J. N. Postgate
C.2.7.9	X -	2 - year 6.KAM.3.KAM	U 7789f, published as <i>UET</i> VII 33
C.2.7.10	IV -	22 - year [7?.KAM.3.KAM]	B. 69, formerly Div. 304
C.2.7.11	V -	1 - year 9.KAM.3.KAM	B. 70, formerly Div. 305
C.2.7.12	IV -	11(+) - []	U 7789h, published as <i>UET</i> VII 30
C.2.7.13	[MN] -	23 - []	U 7787n, published as <i>UET</i> VII 35; [I]-20 mentioned in line 6
C.2.7.14	*U 7787	(subdivision letter unknown), published as <i>UET</i> V 259, ⁶ mentions RN (line 3).	
C.2.7.15	*U 7787e,	published as <i>UET</i> VII 11, mentions RN (line 3).	
C.2.7.16	*U 7789b,	published as <i>UET</i> VII 41, mentions RN (line 3).	

⁵The reading of the date in this text is uncertain, due in part to the state of preservation of the tablet. It appears to be: (15) ITI.BÁR <U₄?>.2.KAM MU.13.KAM (16) ^dIM-[MU]-ŠEŠ LUGAL.E. For an interpretation of the date, see Appendix A below.

⁶Despite my remarks in *ZA* LIX (1969) 234, n. 10, this and the following text (C.2.7.15) should probably be assigned to the king Adad-šuma-ušur. For some reason, in this type of text relating to water ordeals, the king is given the title *šakkanakku*. This occurs also in CBS 4579, an unpublished text from Nippur referring to Šagara[kti-šuriaš].

C.3 Later sources

- C.3.1 BM 90827, a kudurru from the reign of Meli-Šipak published as *BBSt*, No. 3, mentions the adjudication of a lawsuit by Adad-šuma-ušur (RN mentioned in i 39 and 44, ii [31] and [44], iii [2] and [39], iv 5 and 31, vi 30). Text: S.2.4.
- C.3.2 AS 6035 (Sb 169), a kudurru from the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I published in *MDP* VI 42-43, mentions a land grant made by Adad-šuma-ušur to Adad-bēl-kala, which had not been sealed (i 18-22). Text: R.2.6.
- C.3.3 BM 34104 + 34126 + 34219 + 34230 + 34256 + 34339 + 34644 + 34657, a literary-historical text, mentions Adad-šuma-ušur the king (i 23'). BM 34657 has been published in copy as *CT* LI 77. All the various fragments are edited (copy, transliteration, translation, notes) by Grayson, *BHLT*, chap. 6; see *ibid.*, pp. 43-46, for a discussion of the date of composition.

C.4 Writing of the royal name⁷

C.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts

- C.4.1.1 ^dIM-MU-ŠEŠ (royal inscriptions: *Iranica Antiqua* II [1962] 151, Nos. 1:1 and 2:1; C.2.1.4; cf. C.4.3.1 below)
- C.4.1.2 ^{md}IM-MU-ŠEŠ (kudurru: *MDP* II 97:8)

C.4.2 In contemporary economic texts

- C.4.2.1 ^dIM-MU-ŠEŠ (*UET* V 259:3; *UET* VII 8 rev. 15, 9 rev. 5, 10 rev. 3, 30 rev. 11, 33 rev. 17, 41:[31], 72 rev. 4; B. 69 rev. 7; B. 70 rev. 12; C.2.7.7:16; IM 43981:33; IM 67708 rev. 3)⁸
- C.4.2.2 ^{md}IM-MU-ŠEŠ (*UET* VII 11:3, 35 rev. 7, and possibly 37 rev. 2)⁹

C.4.3 In later texts and later copies of originals

- C.4.3.1 ^dIM-MU-ŠEŠ (later copy of a royal inscription: BM 36042 i [31];

⁷The orthography and the reading of the royal name are discussed in detail in *ZA* LIX (1969) 233-38. Only the references are repeated here (with minor addenda and corrigenda).

⁸And possibly *UET* VII 37 rev. 2. See the following note.

⁹Collation by C. B. F. Walker indicates that in the last cited reference the divine determinative was superimposed on the masculine personal determinative in such a way as practically to erase the personal determinative.

kudurru from the reign of Meli-Šipak: C.3.1, references as noted there; kudurru from the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I: *MDP* VI 42 i 18)

- C.4.3.2 ^{md}IM-MU-ŠEŠ (Kinglist A ii [11']¹; chronicles: BM 27796:5' and [7']¹, Chronicle P iv 9; literary-historical text: C.3.3 i 23')
- C.4.3.3 ^{md}IM-MU-ŠEŠ.IR (NA copy of MB letter: *ABL* 924:3)¹⁰

C.5 Miscellaneous notes

- C.5.1 *UET* VII 67, previously assigned to the reign of Adad-šuma-ušur (*UET* VII, p. 11), comes from the reign of Enlil-nādin-aḫi. See F.2.2 below.
- C.5.2 It has yet to be determined whether the Adad-MU-ŠEŠ who occurs in economic texts from Nippur in the reign of Kaštiliašu IV (e.g., Ni. 6599, Ni. 12453) is the same person as the later king Adad-šuma-ušur.
- C.5.3 The Elamite invasion of Babylonia ascribed to the reign of Adad-šuma-ušur by Labat, *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 388, should be assigned to the time of Adad-šuma-iddina. See B.1.3 above and Munn-Rankin, *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 290.

¹⁰For the writing ŠEŠ.IR for ušur, see ZA LIX (1969) 234-38. Saporetti in *Assur* I/2 (June 1974) 2, n. 10 suggests the possibility of reading the name as ^dIM-^{mu}ŠEŠ^{ir} (= Adad-mušaššir) and compares the Middle Assyrian name written ^dA-šur-mu-ša-šir.

D. AGUM

There seem to have been at least two and possibly three different Kassite kings named Agum. All of these rulers are known only from considerably later texts, written in the first millennium B.C.,¹ though one of these texts (D^b.3.1) is purportedly a copy of a contemporary royal inscription. Because of the nature of the material, there is considerable leeway in its interpretation; and the reconstruction given here must be considered quite hypothetical.

The first Agum, called Agum I (*Agum maḥrû*) or Agum the Great (*Agum rabû*), was the second king of the dynasty, the son of his predecessor, Gandaš,² and ruled for twenty-two years.³ The existence of at least one later king named Agum may be inferred from the kinglists' designation of the earlier ruler as Agum "I" (*maḥrû*).

The existence of the king here styled Agum II (or Agum-kakrime) is postulated solely on the basis of a text that survives only in two seventh-century copies and whose authenticity has been challenged. It should be stressed that, except for this inscription, there is no evidence for an Agum who was responsible for restoring the Marduk statue to Babylon after its capture by Muršili I. The text refers to this Agum as the son of Urzigurumaš, who reigned as the sixth king of the dynasty, and as (at least) the fourth generation in descent from the first Agum;⁴ but his own position in the sequence of the dynasty and the length of his reign are unknown.

The third ruler named Agum is known only from a Babylonian chronicle in which he is called the son of a Kaštiliaš and bears no royal title. For his inclusion here, see D^c.5.1 below.

The sources and discussions for these three individuals are separated below under the headings D^a, D^b, and D^c.

¹For a possible exception, see D^a.5.2 below.

²It should, however, be noted that the Agum-kakrime text (D^b.3.1) does not include Gandaš in the dynastic genealogy. See H.5.1 below.

³Kinglist A i 17'; cf. A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 11'. The name "Agum the Great" comes from the Agum-kakrime inscription (V R 33 i 19).

⁴In the text, three ancestors are mentioned between the first Agum and Agum-kakrime: Kaštiliašu(?), Abi-R[attaš] (?), and Uršigurumaš, in descending order. But note A.5.1 above.

D^a. Agum ID^a.1 Chronological sources

D^a.1.1 Kinglist A i 17'--a reign of 22 (years) for ^mA-gu-um IGI A-šú ("Agum I, his son," i.e., son of Gandaš).

D^a.1.2 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 11'--^mA-[gu-um] IGI [(x)]-šú [MIN] (collated; "Agum I, his [son?], the same").⁵ The signs -gu-um are slightly damaged but almost certain. Only faint traces of [(x)] remain, but [A] is a likely reading. With the exception of the sign that immediately precedes -šú, the traces are much clearer on the tablet than on the excavation photo (and as copied by Weidner in *AfO* III [1926] 70).

D^a.2 Contemporary sources: none.⁶

D^a.3 Later sources

D^a.3.1 The Agum-kakrime inscription mentions A-gu-um [ra-bi-i] (gen.; V R 33 i 19) as an ancestor of its royal author. Text: D^b.3.1.

D^a.4 Writing of the royal name

D^a.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

D^a.4.2 In later texts: ^(m)A-gu-um (references under D^a.1.1-2 and D^a.3.1 above).

D^a.5 Miscellaneous notes

D^a.5.1 *K. 3992 is a seventh-century tablet mentioning an Agum (line 8')⁷ and possibly a Damiq-ilīšu (line 10'). The significance, style, date of composition, and authenticity of this text require further investigation. Published in transliteration and translation by Winckler, *AOF* I (1893-97) 516-17; see also the transliteration and translation by Balkan, *Bellesten* XII (1948) 741-42 and the brief comments by Landsberger, *JCS* VIII (1954) 68, n. 172. [Jaritz No. 2]

D^a.5.2 *VAT 1429, an Old Babylonian letter published as *VAS* XVI 24, mentions in lines 6', 7', and 11' an Agum, a prince (*bukašum*), dis-

⁵ "The same," standing for the equivalent of "king of Babylonia," which is to be restored at the head of the column.

⁶But see D^a.5.2 below.

⁷MU A-gu-um LUGAL i[d(?) . . .].

cussed by Landsberger in *JCS* VIII (1954) 62-65. His chronological relationship to or possible identity with any of the Agums dealt with here is uncertain.

D^b. Agum (II?) or Agum-kakrime

D^b.1 Chronological sources: none.

D^b.2 Contemporary sources: none.

D^b.3 Later sources

D^b.3.1 *K. 4149 + 4203 + 4348 + Sm. 27, with a very fragmentary duplicate, Rm. 505. Lengthy text (originally consisting of more than 350 lines, some now missing), which is supposed to be the copy of an inscription written in the name of a king Agum or [Agum]-kakrime. It recounts the return of the statues of Marduk and Šarpanītum (or Zarpanītum) from exile, the refurbishing of the statues and their shrines, and the tax exemptions granted to the various artisans. The authenticity of the text has sometimes been questioned.⁸ Principal publication: Pinches, *V R* 33 (copy of the main text) and Campbell Thompson, *Gilgamish*, Pl. 36 (copy of the duplicate). The last full transliteration and translation of the main text were published in 1892 by P. Jensen in *KB* III/1 134-53; a new edition is being prepared for a subsequent volume in this series. For additional bibliography, see Jaritz, *MIO* VI (1958) 228-29, and Borger, *HKL* I 406. [Jaritz No. 3; El-Wailly 9-B-1]

D^b.3.2 *K. 2158+, the "Marduk Prophecy," last edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, includes a narrative (i 13-38) concerning Marduk's "journey" to Ḫatti for 24 years and subsequent events. This is usually interpreted as referring to the sojourn of the Marduk statue that terminated in the time of this Agum.

D^b.4 Writing of the royal name

D^b.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

D^b.4.2 In later texts or copies (Agum-kakrime inscription only)

⁸E.g., Landsberger, *MAOG* IV (1928-29) 312; cf. Gelb, *JNES* VIII (1949) 348, n. 12. In its present form, the inscription may date from a later time; but this needs further study.

D^b.4.2.1 []-ka-ak-ri-me (V R 33 i 1)

D^b.4.2.2 A-gu-um (V R 33 vi 42, vii 11 and 29)

D^b.5 Miscellaneous notes

D^b.5.1 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 18' was once copied by Weidner (*Afo* III [1926] 70) as reading ^mA-gu-[u]m. He withdrew this reading in *Afo* XIX (1959-60) 138, stating that only the -gu- was certain, the a- was impossible, etc.

When I collated the tablet and the excavation photo in the summer of 1971, I was unable to verify any of the pertinent signs, though it was obvious that a reading Agum (with initial a-) was unlikely. After the masculine personal determinative, the next sign begins with a definite horizontal wedge. The supposed -gu- is not certain; and there are no definite traces, as distinguished from scratches, for the final sign.

D^b.5.2 Borger, in *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 23, suggested that a section of column iii of the "Šulgi Prophecy" might refer to the Hittite-Babylonian contact at the time of Muršili I (therefore, preceding the alleged return of the Marduk statue under Agum).

D^c. Agum (III?)

D^c.1 Chronological sources

D^c.1.1 Chronicle of Early Kings (King, *CCEBK* II 24), rev. 14-17--Agum, son of Kaštiliaš, called up his army and campaigned against the Sealand. Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 20.

D^c.2 Contemporary sources: none.

D^c.3 Later sources: none.

D^c.4 Writing of the royal name

D^c.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

D^c.4.2 In later texts

D^c.4.2.1 ^mA-gu-um (chronicle: *CCEBK* II 24 rev. 14)

D^c.5 Note

D^c.5.1 The Chronicle of Early Kings lists this Agum as son of a Kaštiliaš but gives neither of these persons a royal title. The use of titles in this chronicle, however, is not consistent: Ḫammurapi,

Rīm-Sîn I, Samsu-iluna, and Ea-gamil bear royal titles, whereas Abi-ešuh and Samsu-ditana do not. In the present catalogue, we have interpreted the references to Ulam-Bur(i)aš (brother of Kaštiliaš) and to Agum (son of Kaštiliaš) as pertaining to monarchs since this chronicle elsewhere has a king (with or without title) as the main subject of each individual section and since the two persons in question here are each said to have called up his own army (*ummānšu idkēma*). The evidence could be interpreted otherwise.

E. BURNA-BURIAŠ

It is uncertain how many Kassite kings there were named Burna-Burīaš.¹ Besides the well-known Burna-Burīaš of Amarna times, there was at least one earlier king of the same name, and possibly two.

The Amarna Burna-Burīaš was probably the son of his predecessor, Kadašman-Enlil I,² and the father of the younger Kurigalzu, who eventually succeeded him on the throne.³ This Burna-Burīaš reigned at least 27 years.⁴ Between the time of his death and the accession of Kurigalzu, the sequence of events is unclear.⁵ But according to a reconstruction that seems likely at present, Burna-Burīaš was succeeded by a son who was born of his dynastic marriage with Muballīṭat-Šērūa, daughter of the Assyrian ruler Aššur-uballīṭ I. This son, called Kara-ḫardaš (Kara-kindaš?) or Kara-indaš by various sources, was deposed by a Kassite revolt that installed a usurper Nazi-Bugaš (var.: Šuzigaš) on the throne of Babylonia. Aššur-uballīṭ subsequently put down the revolt and set Kurigalzu on his father's throne.⁶

The evidence for an earlier king or kings named Burna-Burīaš is catalogued under the prefix E^a. The documentation for the later king has the simple prefix E.

¹Variant forms of the name are also known, including Burra-Burīaš and Burna-Burariaš.

²This is known only from BE I 68 i 5', 14'-15' (though see note 32 below). It should be noted that the RN [Burna-Bu]riaš is heavily restored in BE I 68 i 5'; but this seems the only likely restoration (especially because of the space available). There is no direct proof that Kadašman-Enlil I was the immediate predecessor of the later Burna-Burīaš, though this is usually inferred because of the genealogy and because these are the only two Babylonian kings immediately involved in the extant Amarna correspondence.

³Genealogy: E.3.2, E.3.5, and E.3.7 below. Succession: Synchronistic History i 16'-17' (restored in Chronicle P i 14').

⁴The economic text Ni. 7944 is dated in his twenty-seventh year.

⁵See the discussion in Appendix C below.

⁶Most of the reconstruction sketched in the final sentences of this paragraph is based on a critical review of the conflicting accounts in Chronicle P i 5'-14' and the Synchronistic History i 8'-17' (cf. Röllig's discussion in *Heidelberger Studien*, pp. 173-77). One should note, however, that there are numerous uncertainties in this reconstruction: (a) the relationship of Muballīṭat-Šērūa to Burna-Burīaš; (b) the relationship of the king deposed in the revolt to Burna-Burīaš and whether he was Burna-Burīaš' immediate

The Pre-Amarna King(s)

E^a.1 Chronological sources

E^a.1.1 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 19'--^m[Bur-na-B]ur]-[x-(y)-āš] (collated).⁷

This king is listed in the place for the tenth king of the dynasty.

E^a.1.2 Synchronistic History i 5'-7'--Puzur-Aššur (III) of Assyria and Burna-Buriasš of Babylonia established the boundary between their countries.⁸ Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 223; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.

E^a.2 Contemporary sources: none.

E^a.3 Later sources

E^a.3.1 VA Bab. 645 (BE 6405), a knob bearing a votive inscription of Ula-Burariasš published as *WVDOG* IV, No. 3, mentions a king Burna-Burariasš as the father of Ula-Burariasš (line 3). Text: X.2.1.

E^a.4 Writing of the royal name

E^a.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

E^a.4.2 In later texts

E^a.4.2.1 *Bur-na-Bu-ra-ri-ia-aš* (votive inscription of Ula-Burariasš: *WVDOG* IV, No. 3:3)

E^a.4.2.2 ^m*Bur-na-Bur-ia-āš* (Synchronistic History i 5')

E^a.4.2.3 ^m[Bur-na-B]ur]-[x-(y)-āš] (A. 117 [= Assur 14616c] i 19'; possibly to be restored as in E^a.4.2.2)

E^a.5 Note

E^a.5.1 It has been debated whether the three texts above (E^a.1.1-2, E^a.3.1) all refer to the same king or whether they refer to two

successor; (c) the names of the deposed king and the usurper (given differently in the two pertinent sources); (d) the name and ancestry of the Babylonian king installed by Aššur-uballiṭ after he put down the revolt. These uncertainties will remain until more reliable documentation is available. For a fuller statement, see Appendix C below.

⁷The initial [Bur-na]- is damaged but reasonably certain. The second [B]ur] fits the traces. x and (y) are scratches only. -[āš] is very likely from the traces. (Personal collation, 1971.)

⁸Because of the synchronism with Puzur-Aššur, this passage clearly refers to a pre-Amarna Burna-Buriasš. The compiler of the Synchronistic History, however, mistakenly identified this ruler with the Amarna Burna-Buriasš and inserted this episode in the wrong place in the chronological sequence.

kings.⁹ The most recent serious argument for two pre-Amarna kings named Burna-Burias̄ was presented by Goetze in *JCS* XVIII (1964) 98-99.¹⁰ Goetze argued that the Burna-Burias̄ who was Kassite king No. 10 should not be identified with the Burna-Burias̄ who was contemporary with Puzur-Aššur and based his arguments on the following reconstruction:¹¹

- (a) Agum II, Kassite king No. 9, took control of Babylon twenty-four years after the capture of that city by Mursili I and the end of the reign of Samsu-ditana;
- (b) during these twenty-four years, Gulkišar had been king in Babylon;¹²
- (c) after the reign of Gulkišar, the Sealand dynasty ruled for another 142 years¹³ until the Kassite

⁹As yet, no one has seriously argued that the passages refer to three kings, though this might be within the realm of possibility.

¹⁰The conclusions of Jaritz to the same effect, as stated in *MIO* VI (1958) 195-96, 198, 208-9, etc., are based largely on the Burna-Burias̄ synchronism with Puzur-Aššur III and the acceptance of an Išme-Dagan II--Ulam-Burias̄ synchronism from the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 25'. This reconstruction may be disregarded not only because of the general untrustworthiness of "synchronisms" given in synchronistic kinglists for precise chronological calculations (see *PKB*, pp. 27-29) but also because the reading of the name Ulam-Burias̄ in A. 117 is now known to be incorrect (see X.1.1 below). Jaritz assigned the A. 117 (Assur 14616c) and *WVDOG* IV references to his Burna-Burias̄ I, the Synchronistic History reference to his Burna-Burias̄ II; the Amarna king is his Burna-Burias̄ III.

¹¹The numbering of Kassite kings in the following exposition is Goetze's.

¹²As reasoned in *JCS* XI (1957) 66. Goetze argued there that at least one king of the first Sealand dynasty must have ruled over Babylon or the dynasty would not have been included in the kinglist canon. Since the Sealand dynasty is placed before the Kassite dynasty in the canon, this would seem to indicate that the former preceded the latter in Babylon. Goetze then argued that Gulkišar was most likely to have been the Sealand king to have ruled in Babylon because of his position between his third predecessor, Damiq-ilīšu (a contemporary of Ammi-ditana), and his fifth or sixth successor, Ea-gamil (a contemporary of Ulam-Burias̄), and because of the Enlil-nādin-apli date for Gulkišar (*BE* I 83:6-8). Goetze then set the date for the reigns of Gulkišar and Agum II over Babylon at approximately 1650-1600 B.C., according to his high chronology.

¹³That is, 120 years for the rest of the kings listed in Kinglist A plus 22 years for the missing king who appears in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 i 5'. The length of the

E. BURNA-BURIAŠ

- Ulam-Buriaš,¹⁴ son of a Burna-Buriaš, put an end to the reign of the last Sealand king;
- (d) Burna-Buriaš (father of Ulam-Buriaš) was succeeded as king of Babylonia by his son Kaštiliaš and then by his grandson Agum III;
- (e) the same Burna-Buriaš also is known to have been a contemporary of Puzur-Āššur III, Assyrian king No. 61;
- (f) a later Kassite king, Kara-indaš (No. 16),¹⁵ is known to have been a contemporary of Āššur-bēl-nišešu, Assyrian king No. 69;
- (g) therefore, according to Goetze, "it is fair to assume that the two Babylonians [Burna-Buriaš and Kara-indaš], as their Assyrian partners [Puzur-Āššur III and Āššur-bēl-nišešu], were separated by three generations, or at least by two generations";
- (h) a further group of Kassite kings is known from this time, namely Kurigalzu and his son Meli-Šipak; since there is no room to include these rulers in the three generations available between Burna-Buriaš (father of Ulam-Buriaš) and Kara-indaš, they must be placed before this Burna-Buriaš;
- (i) in addition, the Assyrian synchronistic kinglist (A. 117) tells us of the Burna-Buriaš who ruled as the tenth king of the Kassite dynasty;
- (j) one thus obtains the following sequence:
- (9) Agum II
- (10) Burna-Buriaš I

latter's reign may be deduced from the total for the Sealand dynasty given in Kinglist A (368 years) compared with the 346 years obtained by adding up the lengths of all the reigns preserved in that kinglist.

¹⁴Goetze, in *JCS* XVIII (1964) 99, accepted Ulam-Buriaš only as king of the Sealand, thereby reversing his position in *JCS* XI (1957) 66, where he made Ulam-Buriaš the thirteenth Kassite king.

¹⁵Goetze thus does not consider that Nazi-Bugaš was originally included among the thirty-six Kassite kings noted by Kinglist A. This position, according to present evidence, is quite tenable.

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- (11) Kurigalzu
- (12) Meli-Šipak
- (13) Burna-Buriaš II
- (14) Kaštiliaš (III?)
- (15) Agum III
- (16) Kara-indaš

Under these premises, Goetze obviously could not identify the Burna-Buriaš, king No. 10, who succeeded Agum II on the throne, with the Burna-Buriaš who was the contemporary of Puzur-Aššur III. According to his high chronology, the former Burna-Buriaš would have had to rule around 1600 B.C., while the latter would have been on the throne only three generations before Aššur-bēl-nišēšu, who ruled just before 1400.

Several points in Goetze's reconstruction are open to question. First, we are by no means so sure that: (a) Agum II was Kassite king No. 9;¹⁶ (b) Gulkišar reigned in Babylon after Samsu-ditana;¹⁷ and (c) the twenty-four years given in the literary tradition for the absence of the Marduk statue are to be viewed as the exact time elapsed from the end of the reign of Samsu-ditana to the beginning of the reign of Agum II.¹⁸

Similarly, the computation for the end of the Sealand dynasty (1651 B.C. - 24 - 142 = 1485 B.C.) depends on the inference that Gulkišar ruled in Babylon for exactly twenty-four years after Samsu-ditana.¹⁹ To turn to another facet of the reconstruction, between the Babylonian-Assyrian contemporaries (Burna-Buriaš--Puzur-Aššur III, Kara-indaš--Aššur-bēl-nišēšu), there were seven monarchs on the Assyrian side (Nos. 62-68); so one can hardly state that five monarchs (Nos. 11-15) would be too many on the Babylonian side.²⁰ The implausibility of postulating an

¹⁶See Part I.B, "A Chronology of the Kassite Dynasty," above.

¹⁷The criterion that a dynasty must have ruled over the city of Babylon to be included in the kinglist canon is a modern one.

¹⁸And not a round number.

¹⁹There is no indication, however, that the Marduk statue was regained at the beginning of Agum's reign rather than some years later.

²⁰Especially if there is a possibility that Ulam-Buriaš might have formed part of the three-generation sequence from Burna-Buriaš I through Agum III.

additional and otherwise unattested Kurigalzu--Meli-Šipak sequence in the early part of the Kassite dynasty solely on the basis of the text BE 6378 has been amply discussed elsewhere.²¹

For the time being, since one pre-Amarna Burna-Buriaš would suffice to explain the sources,²² it seems preferable to recognize the existence of only Burna-Buriaš I, the tenth king of the dynasty, and Burna-Buriaš II, who ruled at the time of the Amarna correspondence as either the nineteenth or twentieth king. But, with the sparse documentation and the difficulties connected with reconstructing the sequence of the early kings of the Kassite dynasty, it is obvious that this solution is at best provisional.

The Amarna King

E.1 Chronological sources: none

E.2 Contemporary sources²³

E.2.1 L. 74137, L. 74161, L. 74162. Three stone door sockets found at Larsa and bearing duplicate twenty-three-line Sumerian building inscriptions describing the restoration work of RN on the Ebabbar for Šamaš. (Information and text courtesy of D. Arnaud.)

E.2.2 Unnumbered brick from Larsa, still *in situ*, bearing an eighteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN relating his work on the Ebabbar for Šamaš. Published by Arnaud, *RA* LXVI (1972) 37, No. 6

²¹Or XXXVIII (1969) 326. The text in question is listed as S.2.3 below.

²²Especially for the middle or low chronologies, according to which one could accept even the twenty-four-year datum of the literary tradition and the Agum-kakrime text (with Agum as eighth or ninth Kassite king) and have six or seven reigns covering about 158 years (middle chronology) or 94 years (low chronology). From the summary of the length of the whole dynasty given in Kinglist A and the known regnal totals for kings 1-4 and 22-36, it has already been inferred that the average reign for kings 5-21 must have been rather high (and one or two immediate predecessors of Kurigalzu II may have had a short throne tenure).

²³It would be impossible to justify in each case why the building or votive texts (E.2.1-6) that are here assigned to the Amarna Burna-Buriaš could not be assigned to an earlier king of the same name. This possibility should be kept in mind as further research is conducted.

In general, all contemporary Burna-Buriaš texts have been placed tentatively under Burna-Buriaš II, who is known to have been a king with wealth and international contacts compatible with an extensive building program (as witnessed by the lengthy titulary in *RA* LXVI [1972] 37, No. 6).

(transliteration, translation; copy published *ibid.*, p. 189).

Noted previously in *Syria* XLVIII (1971) 283, 290. Duplicate:
L. 7079.²⁴ Cf. *Sumer* XXVII (1971) 37, 40.

E.2.3 Bricks from Larsa²⁵ bearing a sixteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN concerned with his work on the Ebabbar of Šamaš.

E.2.3.1 BM 90263, 90264, etc. Published in copy as I R 4, No. XIII; transliterated and translated by Winckler, KB III/1 152-53. [Jaritz No. 77; El-Wailly 19-B-2]

E.2.3.2 L. 7094.²⁶ Published by Arnaud, RA LXVI (1972) 36-37, No. 5 (copy, transliteration, translation). Noted previously in *Syria* XLV (1968) 232, 242 and XLVIII (1971) 283 (find spots), 290 (catalogue). Cf. the mention in *Sumer* XXVII (1971) 37, 40-41. Further duplicates: L. 7093 and numerous exemplars from the L. 69 and L. 70 series.²⁷ Line 16 of the text omits the final -a found in E.2.3.1.

E.2.4 BM 38545. Damaged clay tablet bearing a fragmentary copy of a twelve-line Sumerian building inscription of RN plus a three-line colophon (also badly broken). To judge from the traces, the inscription seems to have been addressed to [En]lil²⁸ and probably came from a Nippur brick.²⁹

E.2.5 LB 975. Brick presumably from Nippur³⁰ bearing a twelve-line Sumerian building inscription of RN for Ninlil mentioning work on

²⁴Arnaud in a letter dated Dec. 31, 1974 noted that the most recent French excavations at Larsa had turned up another duplicate of this brick.

²⁵Rawlinson: "Senkereh" (in I R).

²⁶Some of the bricks from Larsa are published in photo in *Sumer* XXVII (1971) Pls. XXIV-XXV. Unfortunately, these illustrations are neither titled nor very readable; and so references to them have not been included in this Catalogue.

²⁷Arnaud (see note 24 above) has also reported that the 1974 excavations on the site turned up additional duplicates of this brick text.

²⁸The divine name is followed by [lugal ku]r-kur-ra [lugal]-a-ni-r[a(?) in lines 2-3. The text is not a duplicate of E.2.5.

²⁹The RN is followed by the epithet [ú]-a EN.LÍL.[KI-a] in line 6, and é-[kur] is mentioned in line 9.

³⁰Because it is dedicated to Ninlil and mentions the É-ki-ùr.

the great socle (KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A.MAH) of the Eki'ur. Published by Böhl, *Meded.*, 78B, No. 2, pp. 47-48 (transliteration, translation, notes) and by van Dijk, *TLB* II 20 (copy). [Jaritz No. 76; El-Wailly 19-B-1]

- E.2.6 CBS 8730. Ivory knob from Nippur bearing a five-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Found among the hoard of objects in the "booth" in Nippur area III.³¹ Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 34 (copy, photo). Catalogued by Cocquerillat, *RA* XLV (1951) 22, No. 16. [Jaritz No. 79; El-Wailly 19-V-3]
- E.2.7 *EŠ 1900. Irregular block of lapis lazuli from Nippur, somewhat damaged, with remains of three columns of a Sumerian inscription in the name of a king that ends in []riaš, eldest son of a Kadašman-Enlil.³² Found in the same locus as E.2.6 above. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 68 (copy); transliteration and translation by Thureau-Dangin, *JA*, X^e sér., tome XI (1908) 122-25. [Jaritz No. 81; El-Wailly 19-V-2]
- E.2.8 *Sor 1450. Carnelian bead from Surkh Dum (Luristan) inscribed with a damaged four-line Sumerian votive inscription of a king whose name ends in []riaš to a deity whose name ends in []LÍL. Though the royal name could be restored as Šagarakti-Šuriaš as well as Burna-Buriaš, the latter alternative is given preference here because of the space available and because an inscription of Kurigalzu II, son of Burna-Buriaš, and two other Kurigalzu-related texts were found in the same building. Provenience: "JI, room 3, in north-east wall"; approximate date of the context in which the bead was found: ca. 600 B.C. (information courtesy of Maurits van Loon). To be published in the forthcoming report on the site.

³¹This locus is discussed in E.5.5 below.

³²The inscription has traditionally been assigned to Burna-Buriaš, and present evidence favors that attribution. However, the traces of the RN would not rule out a restoration [Šagarakti-Šu]riaš; and, since the genealogy of that king is uncertain (he could have been a son of Kadašman-Enlil II), there is a remote possibility that the inscription could belong to him. But the space for the RN in i 5' (any writing of Šagarakti-Šuriaš would have to be squeezed in) and the fact that the king is referred to as the "eldest son" (dumu sag) of Kadašman-Enlil in i 14'-15' (and, therefore, would normally be expected to be the immediate successor of his father) would favor Burna-Buriaš.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- E.2.9 *CBS 8675. Fragment of an agate ring from Nippur (same locus as E.2.6) bearing traces of a single circular line of inscription on both the obverse and reverse. The inscription might tentatively be interpreted as [(. . .) *Bur-na-B*]u-ri-ia-[aš̄ (. . .) DUMU *Kadašman-^dEN*].LÍL LUGAL K[Á.DINGIR.RA.KI (. . .)].³³ Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 66-67 (copy). [Jaritz interpreted the two sides of this text as two different inscriptions, assigning *BE* I 66 to *Kadašman-Enlil* I (No. 65) and *BE* I 67 to *Burna-Burias̄* (No. 80); El-Wailly did not mention *BE* I 66 but classified *BE* I 67 as 19-V-4 and as 19-U-1.]
- E.2.10 VAT 149. Amarna letter from *Burra-Burias̄* to an Egyptian king whose name is partially broken away (apparently Amenophis III; see the collation by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 129 and n. 642). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 6 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XI 3. Recent historical discussion by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 60 and 128-29. [Jaritz No. 67; El-Wailly 19-L-1]
- E.2.11 VAT 150. Amarna letter from *Burra-Burias̄* probably to Amenophis IV/Akhnaton (*[Na-ap-ḥu]-ru-ri-ia*).³⁴ Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 7 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XI 4. Recent translation by Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1967) pp. 113-15, No. 58; recent historical discussion by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 60-62, 67-69, 71-72, etc. [Jaritz No. 68; El-Wailly 19-L-2]
- E.2.12 VAT 152. Amarna letter from *Burra-Burias̄* to Amenophis IV/Akhnaton (*Na-ap-ḥu-u'-ru-ri-ia*). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 8 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XI 5. Recent historical discussion by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 60-62 and 72. [Jaritz No. 69; El-Wailly 19-L-3]
- E.2.13 BM 29785. Amarna letter from *Burra-Burias̄* to Tutankhamon (*Ni-ib-ḥu-ur-ri-ri-ia*). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 9 (transliteration, translation); copy: Bezold and Budge, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1892) No. 2. Photo in Waterman, *RCAE* IV, Pl. 4.

³³I.e., transposing the obverse and reverse as proposed by Hilprecht.

³⁴For the date, see most recently Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 56, etc.

Recent translation by Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, pp. 115-116, No. 59. For the date of the text, see Edel, *JNES* VII (1948) 14-15; Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1964) pp. 53-65; and Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 72-75 (with earlier bibliography). [Jaritz No. 70; El-Wailly 19-L-4]

- E.2.14 BM 29786. Amarna letter from Burra-Burias̃ probably to Amenophis IV/Akhnaton (name broken: []-ra-r[i-i]a?).³⁵ Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 10 (transliteration, translation); copy: Bezold and Budge, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1892) No. 3. Recent historical discussion by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII, *passim* (see *ibid.*, index, p. 160 for references). [Jaritz No. 71; El-Wailly 19-L-5]
- E.2.15 VAT 151 + 1878. Amarna letter from [Bur]na-Burias̃ to Amenophis IV/Akhnaton (^mNa-ap-ḥu-ru-ri-a). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 11 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XI 6. Recent historical discussion by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 66-69 and *passim*. [Jaritz No. 72; El-Wailly 19-L-6]
- E.2.16 *VAT 1605. Amarna letter from a princess (^mmārat šarri) to her lord (^mbé-lí-ia); dated to approximately this time because of the invocation of the "gods of Burra-Burias̃" (RN slightly damaged) in line 7. Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 12 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XI 7. Recent discussion of attribution by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 50 and n. 232 (with earlier bibliography). [Jaritz No. 73]
- E.2.17 *VAT 1717. List of precious objects, usually interpreted as gifts from Babylonia on the occasion of a dynastic marriage between Babylonia and Egypt around the time of Burra-Burias̃. Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 13 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XII 197. [Jaritz No. 74]
- E.2.18 *VAT 1651 + VAT 2711 + Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (415). List of precious objects, usually interpreted as gifts from Egypt (Amenophis IV/Akhnaton?: []-ri-a in line 1) to Babylonia ([]-Bu-ra-ri-ia-aš in line 2).³⁶ Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 14 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XII 198 (Berlin texts)

³⁵For the attribution to Akhnaton, see Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 49, n. 224.

³⁶But see the pertinent remarks by Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 69-72 and nn. 342 and 350.

- and Sayce *apud* Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894) Pl. XXXII, No. VIII (Oxford text). [Jaritz No. 75]
- E.2.19 *UM 55-21-62 (2 NT 356). Broken clay tablet from Nippur bearing a damaged inscription (originally more than seventy-five lines long) mentioning a name that could be restored as [Bur-na-B]u-ri-ia-aš described as [b]ēlšū; the type of text and the restorations are uncertain. Provenience: TB 62 B 1. Available in Oriental Institute photos Nos. 46172-73.
- E.2.20 CBS 12. White marble vessel³⁷ bearing a damaged twenty-seven-line Sumerian inscription of DN-nādin-aḫḫe³⁸ for the life of RN. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 33 (copy, photo); transliterated and translated by Legrain, *PBS* XV, p. 32, n. 1 [Jaritz No. 78; El-Wailly 19-V-1]
- E.2.21 Seal in private collection (Basel) bearing a three-line possession inscription of Adad-ušabši, ša rēši of Burna-Buriaš. (Information courtesy of Edith Porada.)
- E.2.22 VA 3869. Agate seal bearing a six-line Sumerian possession inscription of Kidin-Marduk, ša rēši of RN. Photos of the seal impression have been published by Weber, *AO* XVII-XVIII (1920) No. 458; *RLV* IV, Pl. 210b; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) Pl. 30 1; Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940) No. 554 (transliteration and translation on p. 135, photo of impression on Pl. 66). A drawing of part of the seal impression (including a section of the inscription) was published by Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII (1937) 108, Fig. 5b (number of illustration listed incorrectly). Transliteration and translation in Limet, p. 88, No. 6.15. Another seal of Kidin-Marduk is listed as E.2.23 below. [Jaritz No. 85; El-Wailly 22-S-B.2]

³⁷The object is called dug na₄-esi in the text itself (line 22); and it may have been used for a type of water ritual (line 26, interpretation unclear). Hilprecht noted its provenience as "presumably neighborhood of Babylon" (*BE* I/1, p. 49). Meissner (*AS* I 10) suggested that it may have come from Ḫursagkalama. The titles of the official who dedicated it point to Nippur as his official residence (see the following note).

³⁸Probably [^{md}NIN.I]B(!)-na-di-in-ŠEŠ.ŠEŠ in line 10, which is to be interpreted as the personal name of the donor. Lines 11-12 give his titles: [NU.EŠ] ^dEN.LÍL [GÁ.DU]B.BA.A EN.LÍL.KI.

- E.2.23 Thebes Museum, No. 198. Seal found in recent excavations at Thebes (Greece) bearing a four-line (Babylonian?)³⁹ possession inscription of Kidin-Marduk, *ša rēši* of RN. A photo of the seal impression was published by Paraskeuaidēs, *Kathēmerinē*, April 19, 1964; the text was transliterated and translated by M. Trolle Larsen in *Nestor*, No. 79 (July 1, 1964) 335-36 (with notes), by Falkenstein in *Kadmos* III (1964-65) 108-9 (with notes), and by Limet, p. 61, No. 2.19. For further information on the hoard in which this seal was found and for abundant bibliography, see Buchholz, *TAPS* LVII/8 (1967) 157-58, and Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (2d ed.; Leiden, 1967) pp. 391-92. Another seal of Kidin-Marduk is listed as E.2.22 above.
- E.2.24 Seal of white and brownish chalcedony bearing a nine-line Sumerian inscription of Uzi-Šugab, "servant" of RN, to Adad; presently in the Morgan Collection. Principal publications: Hilprecht, *BE* I 132 (copy); Hilprecht, *Assyriaca* (Boston, 1894) p. 93, continuation of n. 3 (partial transliteration and translation); Price, *Harper Memorial* I 390-92 (copy, transliteration, translation, notes); Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 24, Fig. 40 and p. 184, Fig. 512 (drawing of impression); Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII (1937) 108, Fig. 5a (drawing of part of impression, with the illustration misnumbered in the text); Porada, *Corpus* I, No. 577 (photo of impression on Pl. LXXIX, transliteration and translation by Oppenheim on p. 177); transliteration and translation by Langdon, *RA* XVI (1919) 74, No. 13, and by Limet, p. 104, No. 8.5. [Jaritz No. 84; El-Wailly 19-S-B.1]
- E.2.25 Economic texts
- | | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------|---|
| E.2.25.1 | | - year 1 | *Ni. 11320:3 mentions
year 1 (contemporary?) |
| E.2.25.2 | VII - 181 | - year 3 | N 2311 |
| E.2.25.3 | VIII - | - year 3 | CBS 7271 |
| E.2.25.4 | | - year 3 | *Ni. 958:7 mentions year 3
(contemporary?) |
| E.2.25.5 | III - 16 | - year 4 | Ni. 12046 |

³⁹The personal and royal names are Akkadian or Kassite. The rest of the text is in logograms.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

E.2.25.6	IV -	23	- year 4	CBS 11728; RN damaged
E.2.25.7			- year 4	CBS 9829
E.2.25.8			- year 4	*Ni. 6097:8' mentions year 4 (contemporary?)
E.2.25.9			- year 4	*Ni. 7343 mentions year 4 (contemporary?)
E.2.25.10	III -	11	- year 6(+)	Ni. 11923
E.2.25.11	VIII -	{23}	- year 6(+)	UM 29-13-286; there would be room for "16" or "26" in the year date
E.2.25.12	IX -	8	- year 6	CBS 12906, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 2
E.2.25.13	IX -	12	- year 6	Ni. 266, published by Scheil, <i>RT</i> XIX (1897) 58
E.2.25.14			- year 6	Ni. 11344; years 1-6
E.2.25.15	II -	5(+)	- year 7(+)	CBS 6638, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 3
E.2.25.16	IV -	30	- year 7	Ni. 163
E.2.25.17	VIII -	[]	- year 7(+)	N 2265
E.2.25.18	I -	3	- year 8	CBS 12897, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 3a
E.2.25.19	X -	25	- year 8(+)	CBS 13095, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 1; ⁴⁰ collated
E.2.25.20	X -		- year 8	A 30059 = 2 NT 693
E.2.25.21	XII -		- year 8	N 2255
E.2.25.22	II -	16	- year 9	CBS 9939
E.2.25.23	I -	17	- year 10	Ni. 6799
E.2.25.24	IV -	24	- year 10	N 2263
E.2.25.25	VII -	{11}	- year 10	UM 29-15-731
E.2.25.26	VII -	16	- year 10	N 1295
E.2.25.27	XI -	20	- year 10(+)	Ni. 2251
E.2.25.28			- year 10	N 1305
E.2.25.29			- year 10	N 2233
E.2.25.30			- year 10	UM 29-16-133

⁴⁰Incorrectly listed as CBM (CBS) 6052 in *BE* XIV, p. 61.

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E.2.25.31	IX - 10(+)	- year 11	Ni. 6547
E.2.25.32	XII - 10	- year 11	CBS 3643, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 5; Torczyner, pp. 89-90, No. 66
E.2.25.33	XII - 23	- year 11	Ni. 440
E.2.25.34	XII -	- year 11	BM 17624 = 94-10-13,28
E.2.25.35	IV - 8	- year 12	CBS 10982, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 6
E.2.25.36	V - 20	- year 12	Ni. 839
E.2.25.37	VI - 10	- year 12	CBS 13515
E.2.25.38	I - 12	- year 13	LB 824, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 120
E.2.25.39	III - 4	- year 14?	Ni. 32; year number damaged, but "14" seems more likely than "4"
E.2.25.40	VIII - 28	- year 14	Ni. 303
E.2.25.41	XI - 4	- year 14	*UM 29-15-800; only first sign of RN left
E.2.25.42	X - 11	- year 16	Ni. 187
E.2.25.43	IX - 22	- year 17	BM 13257 = 96-3-28,348; published as <i>CT</i> LI 21; Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 98
E.2.25.44	XI - 16	- year 17	HS 2068, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 66; Petschow No. 1; for the reading of lines 39- 40, see Appendix A
E.2.25.45	IV - 28	- year 18	Ni. 1574
E.2.25.46	VIII - 10	- year 18(+)	CBS 12913, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 7
E.2.25.47	IX - [15?]	- year 18	HS 151, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 65; Petschow No. 2 (day "14"); collation by Oelsner shows either reading of the day to be possible
E.2.25.48	XI - 13(+)	- year 18	Ni. 241
E.2.25.49		- year 19	CBS 9256

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

E.2.25.50			- year 19	Ni. 11229
E.2.25.51	I -	8	- year 20	HS 136, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 39; Aro, Kleidertexte,</i> No. 2
E.2.25.52	IV -		- year 20	CBS 11672, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 1
E.2.25.53	VI -	20	- year 20	CBS 12916, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 2
E.2.25.54	VII -	20	- year 20	HS 2181; from IV to VII-20; Petschow No. 68 (copy <i>ibid.</i> , Pl. 1)
E.2.25.55	IX -	2	- year 20	UM 29-15-681
E.2.25.56			- year 20?	Ni. 11003; year "10" possible, but less likely
E.2.25.57			- year 20	UM 29-15-417
E.2.25.58	IV -	4(+)	- year 21(+)	Ni. 8466
E.2.25.59	VIII -	1251	- year 21	CBS 12903, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 8
E.2.25.60	[] -	9(+)	- year 21	CBS 13712
E.2.25.61	VII? -	11	- year 22	Ni. 347; MN probable
E.2.25.62	IV -	20	- year 23	Ni. 8625
E.2.25.63	II -	4	- year 24	CBS 13514
E.2.25.64	III -	25	- year 24	HS 2391, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 67; Petschow No. 10,</i> day collated by Oelsner
E.2.25.65	IV -	29	- year 24	CBS 7219, published as <i>PBS</i> VIII/2 162
E.2.25.66	V -	10	- year 24	HS 158b, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 69; Petschow No. 13</i>
E.2.25.67	X? -	x	- year 24	CBS 11964
E.2.25.68	I -		- year 25	CBS 7247
E.2.25.69	V -		- year 25	Ni. 832
E.2.25.70	VI -	16	- year 25(+)	CBS 7151; year "25" most likely; highest possible reading would be "26"
E.2.25.71	VIII -	10	- year 25	CBS 3336, published as <i>BE XIV 9</i>

- E.2.25.72 VIII - 24 - year 25 Ni. 442
- E.2.25.73 [MN] - 25 - year 25(+) CBS 10243
- E.2.25.74 [] - 2 - year 26 Ni. 6905; [day?] 2
- E.2.25.75 I - 23 - year 27 Ni. 7944
- E.2.25.76 I - 19 - <year> E.A.H. 175, published as *BE*
XIV 9a
- E.2.25.77 VI - 6 - [] Ni. 7296
- E.2.25.78 [MN] - 5?(+) - [] Ni. 843
- E.2.25.79 [] - 29 - [] *UM 29-16-296; only final
portion of RN preserved; date
likely because of legal formu-
la
- E.2.25.80 *HS 155, to be published as *TuM* NF V 68 (Petschow No. 14),
should be assigned to approximately this time on the
basis of prosopography. See E.5.2 below.
- E.2.25.81 *N 6300 mentions a Burna-Burias̃ in broken context in
line 2.
- E.2.25.82 Ni. 7789.
- E.2.25.83 *Ni. 8115 (questionable; no royal title or year date
preserved).
- E.2.25.84 *Ni. 11493, which may be a later Kassite economic text,
mentions RN (rev. 8').
- E.2.25.85 *Ni. 11536 (RN uncertain, but likely).
- E.2.25.86 *Ni. 11655 (contemporary?); RN mentioned in line 9'.
- E.2.25.87 Ni. 12018 mentions RN in its heading.
- E.2.26 CBS 10495. Extispicy report dated II-1-year 11(+) of RN. Published
by Clay, *BE* XIV 4 (copy).
- E.2.27 CBS 13517. Extispicy report dated IV-22-year 21 of RN. Published
by Lutz, *JAOS* XXXVIII (1918) 77-96 (copy, transliteration, transla-
tion, notes). [Jaritz No. 86]⁴¹
- E.2.28 Ni. 2854. Omen text dated V-year 21 of RN.
- E.2.29 *CBS 10909. Extensively damaged tablet with a Sumerian text
mentioning offerings for the gods Enlil and Nin[lil] and for
RN (preceded by the title sipa zi).

⁴¹For other extispicy reports (without a RN preserved) that might be dated to this reign, see
Goetze, *JCS* XI (1957) 89-94.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- E.2.30 *Ni. 11400. Sumerian text of uncertain type and date (contemporary literary narrative or liturgical calendar?) mentioning Burna-Burias̃. Needs further study.
- E.2.31 *IM 51003 (= DK₄-105), published in *Iraq* XI (1949) 146, No. 8, mentions a *piqdu ša Bu-un-na-Bu-r[i]-ia-aš* (without preceding determinative and without royal title) in obv.(?) 2. The text may be a report on servile laborers. Whether or not it was written in the time of Burna-Burias̃ is uncertain. Cf. Q.5.5.

E.3 Later sources

- E.3.1 UM 29-13-635, an economic text from Nippur, is dated XI-24-MU.ÚS.SA Burra-Burias̃ (lines 11-13). The date has been published, with discussion, in *WO* VI (1971) 153-56. Text: M.2.2.
- E.3.2 Many royal inscriptions of Kurigalzu II mention Burna-Burias̃ as Kurigalzu's father.
- E.3.2.1 AO 4601, published in Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II 179, A. 818, lines 5-6. Text: Q.2.98.
- E.3.2.2 AO 7703, published in Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II 179, A. 819, lines 2-3. Text: Q.2.99.
- E.3.2.3 *BIN* II 15:3-4. Text: Q.2.104.
- E.3.2.4 BM 120387, published in *ZA* V (1890) 417-18, lines 4-5. Text: Q.2.81.
- E.3.2.5 CBS 4544 + 4550, published as the second part of *PBS* XV 51, line [2']1. Text: Q.2.67.
- E.3.2.6 CBS 8599, published as *BE* I 36, line 4. Text: Q.2.101.
- E.3.2.7 CBS 8600, published as *BE* I 35, line 2. Text: Q.2.60.
- E.3.2.8 *CBS 8661, published as *BE* I 40, line [4]. Text: Q.2.68.
- E.3.2.9 CBS 9227, published as *BE* I 133 and *PBS* XV 49, line [6']1. Text: Q.2.72.
- E.3.2.10 CBS 9462, published as *BE* I 39, line 5. Text: Q.2.69.
- E.3.2.11 *OIP* XXII, No. 665:4. Text: Q.2.92.
- E.3.2.12 Sor 162:[3]. Text: Q.2.96.
- E.3.2.13 (Susa) 4625, published in *MDP* XIV 32 (No. 1). Text: Q.2.71.
- E.3.3 Sb 21, a kudurru from the time of Nazi-Maruttas̃ published in *MDP* II 86-92, mentions Burna-Burias̃ as an ancestor of that king (i 5). Text: U.2.19.

- E.3.4 L. 7072, a kudurru from Larsa from the time of Nazi-Maruttāš published in *RA LXVI* (1972) 164-69, mentions Burna-Burīāš as the bestower of an earlier land grant (i 7). Text: U.2.18.
- E.3.5 Sb 30, a kudurru from the time of Kaštīliāšu IV published in *MDP II* 93-94, mentions Burna-Burīāš as the father of Kurīgalzu (II) (i 19). Text: O.2.5.
- E.3.6 CBS 4790, a Middle Babylonian letter (dealing with a legal dispute) published as *PBS I/2 77*, mentions earlier events from the twenty-second year of Burna-Burīāš (18'-19').
- E.3.7 The Synchronistic History i 16' lists Burna-Burīāš as the father of Kurīgalzu II (*Kurīgalzu šeḫru*).
- E.3.8 *DŠ 1005, a literary-historical text found at Khorsabad, mentions a ^m*Bur-na-Bur-i[a-aš]*, Amme-ṣaduqa (so spelled), and the governor(?) (*šākin ṭēmi*) of Babylon.
- E.3.9 *Rm. 2, 405, a text of undetermined type mentioned in Bezold, *Cat. IV* 1673, mentions a [*Bur-n]a-[Bur]-ia-aš EN₅.S[I]* (line 7', collated).
- E.3.10 *An omen text, Sm. 2189, mentions a Burna-Burīāš in broken context (rev. 21' = *ACh Šamaš XIII* line 61; cf. Craig, *AAT*, Pl. 55, and Weidner, *Afo XIV* [1941-44] 176). This reference could conceivably be to an earlier Burna-Burīāš.
- E.3.11 IM 57150, a Neo-Babylonian temple inventory published as *UET IV* 143, mentions a Burna-Burīāš as donor of a gold object (lines 3-4). This reference might be to an earlier Burna-Burīāš.
- E.3.12 Cylinder inscriptions of Nabonidus dealing with his construction in the Ebabbar at Sippar mention the work on the temenos by Burna-Burīāš:
- E.3.12.1 *VAB IV* 236-38 i 43-53; cf. ii 22 (mention of RN as a successor of Ḥammurapi). Detailed bibliography of text and mention of duplicates, etc.: Berger, *AOAT IV/1* 369-70 (Nabonidus Cylinder III,1). [Jaritz No. 82]
- E.3.12.2 *CT XXXIV* 27-29 i 53-61; cf. ii 2 (mention of RN as a successor of Ḥammurapi). Less well-preserved duplicate: *VAB IV* 244. Detailed bibliography of text and mention of duplicates, etc.: Berger, *AOAT IV/1* 377-78 (Nabonidus Cylinder III,4). [Jaritz No. 83]
- E.3.13 *BM 34110 (Sp. 210) + BM 35163 (Sp. II, 715), a Neo-Babylonian

copy of a text of undetermined type published by W. G. Lambert, *RA LXVIII* (1974) 149-56 (copy, transliteration, translation, discussion), mentions a *Bùr-na₄-Bùr-íá-ãš* in line 1 as well as a *Nazi-Maruttaš* in line 3. Earlier publication of BM 35163: Wiseman, *Iraq XXXVI* (1974) Pl. LVI.

E.4 Writing of the royal name⁴²

E.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts

- E.4.1.1 *Bur-na-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (royal inscriptions: E.2.1:5; *BE I* 34:2; *I R* 4, No. XIII 8-9; *TLB II* 20:4; *RA LXVI* [1972] 36-37, No. 5:7 and No. 6:4 (copy *ibid.*, p. 189); cf. a letter written by him to Egypt: *EA* 11:2, first sign almost destroyed according to the copy; private inscriptions: *BE I* 33:7, 132:8)
- E.4.1.2 *Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (letters from RN to Egyptian kings: *EA* 6:3, 7:[2], 8:3, 9:3, 10:2; private seals: E.2.22:4; cf. E.2.23:[31])
- E.4.1.3 ^m*Bur-ra-Bur(!)-[i]a-aš* (letter from a princess: *EA* 12:7)
- E.4.1.4 []-*Bu-ra-ri-ia-aš* (gift list: **EA* 14:2)

E.4.2 In contemporary economic texts

- E.4.2.1 *Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (*BE XIV* 1:30, 8:33, and *passim*)
- E.4.2.2 *Bur-na-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (*BE XIV* 2:29, 3a:9, and *passim*; this and the preceding are the most common writings of the RN)
- E.4.2.3 ^m*Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (Ni. 2251 edge [2]; CBS 9829:[6], last sign missing)
- E.4.2.4 ^d*Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (HS 2068:21, HS 2391:29)
- E.4.2.5 *Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-áš* (CBS 9939:12, Ni. 6799 edge 2)
- E.4.2.6 *Bur-ra-Bur-ia-aš* (CBS 7271 rev. [4'], final sign restored; N 2255 rev. 5)
- E.4.2.7 ^m*Bur-ra-Bur-ia-aš* (Ni. 11655:9', later text?)
- E.4.2.8 ^m*Bur-na-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (Ni. 440:6)
- E.4.2.9 *Bur-na-Bur-ia-aš* (*BE XIV* 3:12)
- E.4.2.10 *Bu-un-na-Bu-r[i]-ia-aš* (**Iraq XI* [1949] 146, No. 8:2, attribution uncertain)

⁴²Badly damaged writings are omitted, save when clearly exceptional.

- E.4.2.11 *Bu-na-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (PBS II/2 2:18; defective writing or to be compared with E.4.2.10?)
- E.4.2.12 Presumably defective writings: *Bur-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (Ni. 241:10), ^d*Bur-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (HS 2068:38), *Bur-ra-Bu-ia-aš* (Ni. 32:12)⁴³
- E.4.3 In later texts⁴⁴
- E.4.3.1 *Bur-na-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (royal inscriptions of Kurigalzu II: BE I 35:2, 36:4; BIN II 15:3-4; Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II 179, A. 818:5-6; MDP XIV 32 [No. 1]; OIP XXII, No. 665:4; PBS XV 51 second part 2'; Q.2.97:3; ZA V [1890] 418:4-5; MB letter: PBS I/2 77:19')
- E.4.3.2 *Bur-na-Bu-ri-aš* (kudurru from the reign of Nazi-Maruttas: MDP II 86 i 5)
- E.4.3.3 *Bur-na-Bu-ri-[áš]* (kudurru from the reign of Nazi-Maruttas: RA LXVI [1972] 165 i 7)
- E.4.3.4 *Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-aš* (economic text from the reign of RN's successor: E.3.1:12; kudurru from the reign of Kaštiliašu IV: MDP II 93 i 19)
- E.4.3.5 ^m*Bur-na-Bur-ia-áš* (royal inscription of Nabonidus: PSBA XI [1888-89] Pls. III-IV after p. 104 i 44, 46, 47, ii 22; Synchronistic History i [16'1])
- E.4.3.6 ^m*Bur-na-Bur-ia-àš* (royal inscription of Nabonidus: CT XXXIV 27-29 i 53, 55, ii 2)
- E.4.3.7 ^m*Bur-na-Bur-ia-a-àš* (royal inscription of Nabonidus: I R 69 i 55, 57)
- E.4.3.8 *Bur-na-Bur-e-áš* (royal inscription of Kurigalzu II: Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II 179, A. 819:2-3)
- E.4.3.9 []*Bur-na-Bur-e-a-áš* (later omen text: ACh Šamaš XIII 61)⁴⁵
- E.4.3.10 *Bùr-na₄-Bùr-ia-àš* (NB text of undetermined type: RA LXVIII [1974] 154:1)

⁴³Balkan, *Kassitenstudien* I (New Haven, 1954) 49, reads ^m*Bur(!)-na(!)-bur(!)-ia₄-aš* for PBS XIII 78 rev. 5. The name is instead to be read *Ša-garak-ti-[Šur]-ia₄-aš* (collated).

⁴⁴Compare also the broken writings in E.3.8 and E.3.9 above.

⁴⁵The homonymous ^m*Bur-na-Bur-ia-a-aš* is later apparently glossed as ^m*Kidin-[^dAd]ad* (V R 44 i 28; see Balkan, *Kassitenstudien* I (New Haven, 1954) 2, 35, n. 6 [Babylonian equivalent listed inconsistently *ibid.*, p. 49]).

E.5 Miscellaneous notes

- E.5.1 Gurney in *Sumer IX* (1953) 32 suggested that the name of king Burna-Burias̄ occurs in IM 50027:25 (*Sumer IX*, No. 15), following a year date of Kaštiliašu IV. The name in question, however, is only partially preserved; and one can say little more than that it might end in -Burias̄. A royal name is hardly expected in the context.
- E.5.2 For the dating of HS 155, to be published as *TuM NF V* 68, to approximately this time, see Petschow, p. 47.
- E.5.3 L-29-446 is a cast of an inscribed oval stone bearing a four-line Sumerian votive inscription of Burna-Buria[s̄] to Ninurta. The present location of the original text is unknown.
- E.5.4 For another possible mention of Burna-Burias̄ (II) as the father of Kurigalzu (II) in *OIP XXII*, No. 660:11', see Q.5.2 below.
- E.5.5 A substantial cache of objects, many of them bearing votive inscriptions written in the name of Kassite kings (including Burna-Burias̄, Kadašman-Enlil, Kadašman-Turgu, Kaštiliašu, Kudur-Enlil, Kurigalzu, Nazi-Maruttaš, and Šagarakti-Šurias̄), was found at Nippur in a small room on the northern edge of the "canal" (depression)⁴⁶ outside the large southeastern wall of the Temple area (designated as area III on the plan in *BE I*, Pl. XV and in Peters, *Nippur II*, map opposite p. 194). For photographs of the row of rooms of which this room was a part, see Peters, *Nippur II*, plate opposite p. 132 and Fisher, *Excavations at Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1906) pl. 21A, No. 2. For a detailed description of the locus, see Peters, *Nippur II* 131-36.

This hoard consisted of more than seventy objects of glass and stone (including lapis lazuli, turquoise, agate, and magnesite); and at least fifty of the objects bore inscriptions which have been published. It is noteworthy that more than half of the presently known votive inscriptions of Kassite kings came from this find and that all datable inscriptions found in this lot come from the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Unfortunately, the date

⁴⁶The exact character of this depression should be determined by further archeological investigation at the site.

of the room in which this group was found has not been established; but Fisher, *Excavations at Nippur*, Pl. 21A, No. 2, caption, suggested that the remains might have come from the "Fortress(?) Period," i.e., from Parthian times.⁴⁷ Should this prove true, it is possible that this collection of materials--because of their restricted time of origin more than a millennium before--may have itself been uncovered as a group earlier, by Parthian diggers.

E.5.6 Parpola, *AOAT* V/1, No. 281 (= *ABL* 1202; 81-2-4,66) rev. 13, restores the name of [^mBur-na-^dBu-r]i-ia-áš in a broken text and identifies him as a king. The evidence is slight.

⁴⁷Thereby affording a possible parallel with another hoard of earlier precious objects found in the Parthian level of Amran-ibn-Ali at Babylon (for which the most recent treatment is by F. Wetzel et al., *WDOG* LXII 34-38).

F. *ENLIL-NĀDIN-AḪI

Enlil-nādin-aḫi or Enlil-šuma-ušur--the reading of the name is uncertain¹-- was the thirty-sixth and last king of the Kassite dynasty and reigned for three years.² Whether he was related to his predecessors is unknown.

F.1 Chronological sources

F.1.1 Kinglist A ii 15'--a reign of 3 (years) and a damaged RN.

F.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) ii 11'--copied by Weidner in *AFO* III (1926) 70 as ^{md}BE-MU-[]. Collation of this line reveals only ^m'x-y-z' (x: no clear trace of DINGIR; y: only left section of horizontal wedge verifiable; z: unclear trace).³

F.2 Contemporary sources

F.2.1 BM 113891 (1919-7-12,640). Boundary stone recording a royal land grant. Published by Gadd, *CT* XXXVI 13 (copy). [Seidl No. 66; Jaritz No. 229]

F.2.2 U 7789i, published in copy by Gurney as *UET* VII 67, is an administrative text dated in the reign of ^d'EN.LÍL1-MU-ŠEŠ1 (collated). The month-day-year section of the tablet is now illegible.

F.3 Later sources

F.3.1 K. 2660, a poetic text published in copy as III R 38, No. 2, purports to be a first-person narrative by a later Babylonian king (Nebuchadnezzar I?)⁴ recalling events at the end of the Kassite dynasty and the beginning of the Isin II dynasty.

¹Since the final two elements of the royal name are attested only with the writing -MU-ŠEŠ, the name could be read either Enlil-nādin-aḫi or Enlil-šuma-ušur. We have no way at present of determining which is the correct reading; see my previous remarks in *ZA* LIX (1969) 245-46.

²Kinglist A ii 15'.

³Collation likewise reveals that A. 117 (Assur 14616c) has two lines between ii 10' and 12' rather than one, as copied in *AFO* III (1926) 70.

⁴The most recent transliteration and translation of this inscription are by Tadmor, *JNES* XVII (1958) 137-38. For the date of the text, see *PKB*, p. 13 and, for further bibliography, *ibid.*, p. 328 under 4.3.9.

Lines 6'-13' deal with RN, including his being deposed by [Elam]. Because of the fragmentary state of the text, its interpretation is uncertain.

- F.3.2 *K. 2158+, the "Marduk Prophecy," most recently edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, apparently mentions the exile of Marduk to Elam at the end of the Kassite dynasty. See the discussion by Borger, *ibid.*, p. 18.

F.4 Writing of the royal name

F.4.1 In contemporary texts

- F.4.1.1 ^dEN.LÍL-MU-ŠEŠ (kudurru: *CT* XXXVI 13:16', 10';⁵ economic text: *UET* VII 67 rev. 101).

F.4.2 In later texts

- F.4.2.1 ^dBE-MU-ŠEŠ (poetic historical narrative: *III R* 38, No. 2:6', 12')⁶
- F.4.2.2 ^{md}EN. LÍL(!?) -MU-[x] (Kinglist A ii 15', collated)⁷

F.5 Miscellaneous notes

- F.5.1 The Elamite stele catalogued as Jaritz No. 230 does not mention RN by name. Latest publication: König, *AfO*, Beiheft XVI, No. 55.
- F.5.2 BM 27796, an unpublished Babylonian chronicle, has three separate episodes (lines 11, 12-13, 14-18) pertaining to kings who ruled between Adad-šuma-ušur and Nebuchadnezzar I, but whose names are not preserved in the text. One of these episodes, which mentions Elam (line 14), might concern either Enlil-nādin-aĥi or Zababa-šuma-iddina. Whether other kings such as Meli-šipak or Marduk-apla-iddina I might be involved in these sections cannot at present be determined.
- F.5.3 VAT 10179, published by Ebeling as *KAR* 421 and last edited by A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert in *JCS* XVIII (1964) 12-16 as Text A among the Akkadian prophecies, was at one time interpreted as re-

⁵The kudurru passages are damaged; consequently, it is difficult to determine whether the RN may have been preceded by a masculine personal determinative. In line 10', there is a preceding vertical wedge; but this could have been part of a larger sign. Line 6' is broken away before the divine determinative.

⁶Line numbering follows Tadmor's edition.

⁷See *ZA* LIX (1969) 245, n. 57 and, independently, Grayson, *AOAT* I 108.

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ferring to some of the late Kassite rulers (Weidner, *Afo XIII* [1939-41] 236). Grayson in *JCS XVIII* (1964) 9 commented on the inconclusiveness of Weidner's evidence. More recently, Hallo in *IEJ XVI* (1966) 235-39 attempted to link the text with the middle rulers of the Isin II dynasty; for the difficulties with that position, see *PKB*, p. 129, n. 762.

G. ENLIL-NĀDIN-ŠUMI

Enlil-nādin-šumi is mentioned in Kinglist A as the twenty-ninth ruler of the Kassite dynasty with a rule of "one year, six months."¹ Since he is listed there as the immediate successor of the last Kaštiliašu (who was deposed by Tukulti-Ninurta I) and since Tukulti-Ninurta is said by Chronicle P to have administered (*uma'ir*) Babylon(ia) for seven years, at the end of which time the Kassites revolted and placed Kaštiliašu's son Adad-šuma-ušur on the throne, it could be inferred that Enlil-nādin-šumi ruled Babylonia under the hegemony of Tukulti-Ninurta² and that he did not belong to the Kassite royal family.

G.1 Chronological sources

G.1.1 Kinglist A ii 8'--a reign of "one year, six months" and a complete RN.

G.1.2 Chronicle P iv 14-16--relating that Kidin-ḫudrudiš,³ king of Elam, invaded Babylonia during RN's reign and removed him from the throne. Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.

G.2 Contemporary sources

G.2.1 A tablet or tablets dated during RN's reign were reported to have been found in the Merkes section of Babylon: Reuther, *WVDOG* XLVII 13, 58, 185, and Pl. 3 (House VI 25p2).

G.3 Later sources

G.3.1 *K. 4445+, the "Šulgi Prophecy," last edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, might refer to events in Babylonia at the time of RN. See the discussion by Borger, *ibid.*, p. 23.

G.4 Writing of the royal name⁴

G.4.1 In contemporary texts: unavailable.

¹For an interpretation of this date as "one official year," see *PKB*, pp. 63-67. See also K^b.5.4 below.

²For a contrary opinion, see Tadmor, *JNES* XVII (1958) 136-37, and Rowton, *JNES* XIX (1960) 19 and the chronological tables in *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 1041.

³The reading of the royal name is uncertain. This king is usually identified with Kidin-ḫutran.

⁴For a discussion, see *ZA* LIX (1969) 232-33.

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G.4.2 In later texts

G.4.2.1 ^{md1}EN.LÍL-MU-MU (Kinglist A ii 8')

G.4.2.2 ^{md}EN.LÍL-*na-din*-MU (Chronicle P iv 14, 16)

G.5 Note

G.5.1 There is no textual evidence for Wiseman's assertion in *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 444 that Enlil-nādin-šumi reappeared in Babylonia on the occasion of an Elamite raid undertaken against Adad-šuma-iddina.

H. GANDAŠ

According to Kinglist A, Gandaš, the first ruler of the Kassite dynasty, reigned for sixteen years and was succeeded by his son, Agum I.

H.1 Chronological sources

H.1.1 Kinglist A i 16'--a reign of 26 (years) and a complete RN. For the reading of the number, see H.5.3 below.

H.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 10'--this line was copied as ^mGa-an-du-uš by Weidner (from a photo) in *AfO* III (1926) 70, and this reading was not among those subsequently retracted by him in *AfO* XIX (1959-60) 138. My collation of the tablet and of the excavation photo (1971) was unable to verify this reading. After the initial personal determinative, the first sign could be ga (not certain). There were practically no traces of the second sign save for a possible final vertical. I could not identify the traces of the third (and final) sign, which would have somewhat unusual dimensions for an uš or áš.

H.2 Contemporary sources: none.

H.3 Later sources

H.3.1 *BM 77438 (84-2-11,178). Supposedly a first-millennium copy (school text?) of an inscription of Gaddaš (*sic*), with royal titulary, which is dedicated *ana ūmu namri* and mentions the Ekur of Enlil and the conquest of *Bà-bà-lam*. The reverse of the tablet (relevance to Gaddaš uncertain) includes an excerpt from a bilingual lamentation. The authenticity of the inscription has been questioned. The text was first noted by Pinches, *BOR* I (1886-87) 54-55, 78 (brief commentary, quotation of selections). Principal publication by Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 156, No. 6 (copy), and p. 34 (transliteration of the first three lines). Other transliterations and translations: Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie de la première dynastie babylonienne* (Paris, 1942) p. 27 (first four lines); Balkan, *Bulleten* XII (1948) 729-30; Landsberger, *JCS*

VIII (1954) 67, n. 172. Collation reveals that the sign following *namri* in line 1 should probably be read *MAŠ* rather than DINGIR (though the whole line is somewhat blurred). [Jaritz No. 1; El-Wailly 1-B-1]

H.3.2 Kinglist A i 17'--Agum I (*maḥrû*) is referred to as RN's son (*A-šú*).

H.3.3 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 11'--possible reference to Agum I (*maḥrû*) as RN's son.¹

H.4 Writing of the royal name

H.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

H.4.2 In later texts

H.4.2.1 ^m*Gan-dāš* (Kinglist A i 16')

H.4.2.2 ^m*Ga-ad-dāš* (BM 77438:2)

H.5 Miscellaneous notes

H.5.1 The reading of the oldest cited ancestor of Agum-kakrime as "(son of) Gandi" (DUMU *Gan-di*) in V R 33 i 22 is erroneous. Collation shows that the first sign is definitely not DUMU and the sign just before *re-e-ú* is unlikely to be *di*.²

H.5.2 Difficulties reconciling the testimony of the *Gandaš* inscription (H.3.1), including its account of the conquest of Babylon(ia), with the often accepted date for *Gandaš*' rule as a contemporary of Samsu-iluna are summarized by Gadd, *CAH* II/1 (3d ed.) 224-25.

H.5.3 Grayson, *AOAT* I 108, proposed reading "26" years for the reign of *Gandaš* in Kinglist A i 16' (as opposed to "16" read by earlier text editions). Though the correctness of Grayson's reading is not readily apparent to the eye even with the aid of a fourteen-power magnifying glass, it was verified--through the kindness of Mr. C. A. Bateman and the binocular stereoscopic microscope of his laboratory--beyond any reasonable doubt (September 1975). The two *Winkelhaken* are jammed closer together than is common in most sections of the kinglist, but it is apparent under the microscope that there are two (and not one written with a split stylus).

¹See D^a.1.2 above for the reading.

²In any case, the first Agum is referred to elsewhere as the son of *Gandaš* (references in D^a.1 above).

I. HARBA-x

Harba-[Šip]ak is a reading sometimes proposed for the name of the seventh king of the Kassite dynasty in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c); but the reading of the second element in the name is uncertain.

I.1 Chronological sources

I.1.1 *Kinglist A i 22'--where the entry for the seventh king of the dynasty would be expected, the length of reign and probably all of the RN are broken away; but part of the last sign in the line is preserved. Grayson, *AOAT* I 108, has indicated that the traces suggest [ŠE]Š, "brother."

I.1.2 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 16'--Weidner in *AfO* III (1926) 70 copied this line as ^mHar-ba-[Ši-p]ak (see his transliteration *ibid.*, p. 68); in *AfO* XIX (1959-60) 138, he remarked only that the third sign in the name was uncertain. My collation (1971) showed the traces after ^mHar^l-ba to be quite uncertain: there may be one or two signs following, and the upper right corner of the final sign ends in the wedge head of a large vertical (but it is not clear that this sign ends in a single vertical wedge rather than two superimposed verticals, as in the sign SUM). It would be possible to fit {Ši-pak} into the space, but these signs are neither indicated nor contra-indicated by the present traces (or by the well-preserved excavation photo).

I.2 Contemporary material: none.

I.3 Later material: none.

I.4 Writing of the royal name: see I.1.2 above.

J. KADAŠMAN-ENLIL

There are two known Kassite kings who bore the name Kadašman-Enlil:

- (a) Kadašman-Enlil I, eighteenth(?) king of the dynasty, who ruled at the time of the Amarna correspondence;¹
- (b) Kadašman-Enlil II, twenty-fifth king of the dynasty, son and successor of Kadašman-Turgu;² he reigned in the first half of the thirteenth century, about one hundred years after the first Kadašman-Enlil.

It is often difficult to ascertain to which Kadašman-Enlil an inscription refers, since the texts seldom give filiation. The Amarna letters should be assigned to the first Kadašman-Enlil, while the letter *KBo* I 10, the bead published in *MAOG* IV (1928-29) 81-82 (with filiation), and Kinglist A ii 4' pertain to the second king. Almost all of the economic texts should probably be assigned to Kadašman-Enlil II;³ but it will be suggested below that Ni. 437 may date from the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I.⁴ For the building inscriptions (mostly from Nippur), it is as yet unclear to which king they belong.⁵

¹It is generally held that this Kadašman-Enlil was the father and immediate predecessor of the Amarna Burna-Buriaš. The sole evidence for the filiation is a broken passage (*BE* I 68 i 5'-15') in an inscription usually attributed to Burna-Buriaš, though only the end of the royal name is preserved in i 5'. This option is still to be preferred; see E.2.7 above. The place of Kadašman-Enlil I within the sequence of Kassite rulers is uncertain because it is unknown whether the usurper Nazi-Bugaš, the immediate predecessor of Kurigalzu II (king No. 22), was counted in the canon of legitimate rulers; and the reckoning is done backwards from this reference point.

²Filiation: *MAOG* IV (1928-29) 81:6; *KBo* I 10, *passim*. Place in the dynastic sequence: *KBo* I 10; cf. Kinglist A ii 4' (most RN's broken at this point in the text).

³Ni. 6671 must be assigned to Kadašman-Enlil II since it mentions Kadašman-Turgu. *UET* VII 1 is presumably to be assigned to Kadašman-Enlil II, since the other dated Middle Babylonian texts from Ur come from the reigns of Kudur-Enlil and later rulers (all successors of Kadašman-Enlil II); prosopography is of no obvious aid in dating this text.

⁴See J.5.3 below.

⁵Jaritz assigned all such texts known to him to Kadašman-Enlil I; El-Wailly attributed the same texts to Kadašman-Enlil II.

J.1 Chronological sources

J.1.1 Kinglist A ii 4'--a reign of [x] (years) and the broken RN ^mKa-[dāš]-[]⁶. The reference is to Kadašman-Enlil II.

J.2 Contemporary sources

J.2.1 Bricks from Larsa bearing a sixteen-line Sumerian inscription recounting RN's restoration of the Ebabbar temple for Šamaš.

J.2.1.1 A damaged version (without excavation numbers) was published by Birot, *Syria* XLV (1968) 246-47, No. 5 (copy, transliteration, translation).

J.2.1.2 L. 7078, a better-preserved version, was published by Arnaud, *RA* LXVI (1972) 38, No. 7 (copy, transliteration, translation; the same copy is also reproduced by mistake on p. 37 as No. 6). See also *Syria* XLVIII (1971) 283, 291 for information on the findspot and duplicates: series L. 70, L. 69; cf. *Sumer* XXVII (1971) 35, 37, 40.

J.2.1.3 L. 70100 (plus further exemplars from series L. 69 and L. 70) is noted in *Syria* XLVIII (1971) 291 as an almost exact duplicate of the preceding entries (J.2.1.1-2). The sole difference, according to a private communication from D. Arnaud, lies in the form of LIBIR in line 12 (written IGI+KU in L. 70100 and IGI+LU in L. 7078). See also *Sumer* XXVII (1971) 35, 37, 41.

J.2.2 Stamped bricks from Nippur bearing a twenty-line building inscription of RN.

J.2.2.1 CBS 8655 (damaged). Published by Legrain, *PBS* XV 58 (copy), with transliteration and translation *ibid.*, pp. 31-32. [Jaritz No. 60 (K-E I); El-Wailly 25-B-1 (K-E II)]

⁶The most recently published collations of the text tend either to favor or to suggest a reading of [10]{{+x}} for this figure (e.g., Grayson, *AOAT* I 108, 116; Brinkman *apud* Rowton, *JNES* XXV [1966] 243, n. 13); but the traces are unclear. Although one may also speculate whether the top of the supposed *Winkelhaken* for "10" could not rather be interpreted as the top section of an oblique wedge in the figure "9" (written as three oblique wedges placed diagonally as in Kinglist A i 14' and ii 16'), it is impossible to prove or disprove such a hypothesis from the text. The reading is uncertain. [After re-examining the number under a microscope (Sept. 1975), I am not sure that the trace sometimes interpreted as a *Winkelhaken* (or the top of an obliquely written "9") could not be simply a scratch. From looking at the tablet again, I would not categorically rule out any reading from "[8]" to "[10+x]".]

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- J.2.2.2 5 NT 696 (heavily damaged), currently in the Iraq Museum (unaccessioned). Found in the east stairs of the ziggurat at Nippur. Oriental Institute photos Nos. 49144 (practically illegible photo of the brick itself), 49199 (photo of copy made by Goetze). Despite disagreements in the rendering of damaged signs between Legrain's and Goetze's copies, it seems probable that these two inscriptions should be regarded as duplicates.
- J.2.3 Stamped bricks from Nippur bearing a ten-line Sumerian inscription recording RN's building of the KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A.MAH of the Ekur temple for Enlil.⁷
- J.2.3.1 5 NT 697 (photo of copy: Oriental Institute photo No. 49211). Almost complete text (minor damage to a few signs).
- J.2.3.2 5 NT 698 (probably the brick pictured in the upper part of Oriental Institute photo No. 49078). Preserves parts of the first six lines of the text.
- [Another unnumbered brick fragment with part of the same text (lines 5-10) is pictured on the same photo, perhaps as though it were the lower part of the same brick. Since the texts overlap slightly, they do not come from a single original object. Some excavation records suggest that this unnumbered fragment may be 5 NT 699, in which case the brick in Oriental Institute photo No. 49077 (J.2.3.3) would be unnumbered and not as identified in the following entry.]
- J.2.3.3 5 NT 699 (Oriental Institute photo No. 49077). Almost all of the inscription is present, though badly weathered.
- J.2.3.4 IM 71230 (9 N 239). Complete text, published by Biggs, AS XVII, No. 52 (copy, transliteration). Collation shows that the RN in line 4 reads *Ka-da-aš-ma-an-^dEN.LÍL* (with the *aš* clearly present in the text).

⁷For J.2.3.1-3 below, the information concerning photograph numbers, etc., must be regarded as tentative, since the data available in the files and notebooks of the Oriental Institute are sometimes contradictory. These three bricks are unaccessioned objects in the Iraq Museum.

- J.2.4 Brick from Nippur (neither excavation number nor museum number available), containing an eleven-line Sumerian inscription recording RN's building of the KI.ŠEŠ.KAK.A.MAḤ for the ziggurat; found during the fifth season (1955/56) on the northeast side of the ziggurat facing. Available in Oriental Institute photos Nos. 48829, 48832. Published in transliteration and translation in *CAD Z 130a*, where ^dEn.líl.da.geš.tug should be read for ^dEn.líl.da.kù and mu.un.tu(!)⁸ for mu.un.kešda (checked from photo).
- J.2.5 *CBS 19911-19914. Four slab fragments of red-veined alabaster containing Sumerian inscriptions; found at Nippur. These fragments are usually assigned to Kadašman-Enlil because one of them bears traces of what may be his name (CBS 19914 i 3') followed by titulary. The precise relationship of these fragments to one another and to Kadašman-Enlil has not been determined.⁹ They are published in copy by Legrain, *PBS XV 65-68*, with partial transliterations and translations *ibid.*, pp. 33-34. [These inscriptions are assigned to K-E I by Jaritz, to K-E II by El-Wailly.]¹⁰
- J.2.5.1 CBS 19911 = *PBS XV 67* [Jaritz No. 62; El-Wailly 25-B-2].
- J.2.5.2 CBS 19912 = *PBS XV 65* [Jaritz No. 66; El-Wailly 25-U-2].
- J.2.5.3 CBS 19913 = *PBS XV 66* [Jaritz No. 61; El-Wailly 25-U-3].
- J.2.5.4 CBS 19914 = *PBS XV 68* [Jaritz No. 63; omitted by El-Wailly].
- J.2.6 CBS 8674. Fragment of an agate cameo containing a five-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil; found at Nippur in area III in a "booth" among the hoard of Kassite stones, etc.¹¹ Published by Hilprecht, *BE I 65* (copy). [Jaritz No. 64 (K-E I); El-Wailly 25-V-1 (K-E II)]
- J.2.7 Cylindrical bead of lapis lazuli, in the Hahn Collection (formerly in Berlin, now in Jerusalem), containing an eight-line votive inscrip-

⁸The sign is definitely not KEŠDA, but seems to be a TU (cf. J.2.3), the left section of which is somewhat malformed.

⁹Cf. also *HKL I 302*.

¹⁰Assigned to Kadašman-Enlil II by Balkan, *Bulleten XII* (1948) 752 (inadvertently to Kudur-Enlil, *ibid.*, p. 745, n. 66). For Balkan's reading of *PBS XV 68:4'-5'*, see now *RAI XIX 252*, n. 83.

¹¹A discussion of this locus may be found under E.5.5 above.

- tion of Kadašman-Enlil II (i.e., son of Kadašman-Turgu) to Ninurta. Published by Herzfeld, *MAOG* IV (1928-29) 81-82 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 180 (K-E II); El-Wailly 25-V-2 (K-E II)]
- J.2.8 Fragmentary knob (macehead?) of red and white granite bearing part of a two-line possession inscription of RN; found at Nineveh (TT. 4). Published by Campbell Thompson, *AAA* XIX (1932) No. 267 (copy on Pl. LXXXIII, transliteration and translation on p. 107); photograph in *ILN*, July 16, 1932, p. 98, Fig. 2. [Jaritz No. 179 (K-E II); El-Wailly 25-U-1 (K-E II)]
- J.2.9 *HAS 64-656, currently in the Archeological Museum, Teheran (accession number unknown). Fragment of small (height 8.6 cm., diameter 7.8 cm.) limestone vessel found in Hasanlu IV in the fill of room 2 in Burned Building II. Part of a single circular line of inscription is preserved including the signs ša Ka-da-aš-ma-[an]-^dEN.LÍL. (Information and photos courtesy of Robert H. Dyson, Jr.)
- J.2.10 *BM 121192. Stone door socket bearing a cryptic three-line inscription in Sumerian:¹² (1) é-gal (2) bād(-)Ka-da-aš-ma-an-^dEN.LÍL (3) lugal kiši.¹³ Because of the royal title in line 3, one would expect to read an RN rather than a GN in line 2.¹⁴ The acquisition of this text by the British Museum was noted by Hall, *BMQ* V (1930-31) 19. El-Wailly and Jaritz published somewhat inaccurate transliterations in *Sumer* X (1954) 52 and *MIO* VI (1958) 219, n. 104, respectively. [Jaritz No. 178 (K-E II); El-Wailly 25-B-3 (K-E II)]¹⁵
- J.2.11 *AO 22499. Eye stone bearing a brief Sumerian inscription (poetic?) mentioning [Kad]ašman-Enlil. Published by W. G. Lambert, *RA* LXIII (1969) 68 (copy, transliteration, translation).

¹²Technically, the text could be Akkadian written in logograms; but Kassite door sockets are customarily inscribed in Sumerian.

¹³Text kindly communicated by a letter of E. Sollberger (16 June 1970).

¹⁴é-gal GN is supposedly attested as the beginning of two texts from Dūr-Kurigalzu on a macehead (IM 50114 = DK₃-26; see *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, p. 13, etc.) and on a door socket (DK₄-115), though both of these alleged occurrences should be verified by collation. Dūr-Kadašman-Enlil is attested as a GN in the undated Kassite economic text Ni. 12051:9. See also the remarks of Jaritz, *MIO* VI (1958) 219.

¹⁵Borger, *HKL* I 113, follows the traditional attribution of this text to Kadašman-Enlil II. No evidence has yet been adduced that would favor assigning it to either Kadašman-Enlil I or II.

- J.2.12 BM 29784 (88-10-13,43). Letter of Amenophis III (^mNi-ib-mu-a-ri-a) to Kadašman-Enlil I. Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 1 (transliteration, translation); copy: Bezold and Budge, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1892) No. 1. Recent historical discussion: Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 51-53. [Jaritz No. 55 (K-E I); El-Wailly 18-L-1 (K-E I)]
- J.2.13 VAT 148 + 2706. Letter of Kadašman-Enlil I (name badly damaged) to Amenophis III (^mNi-mu-wa-ri-ia). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 2 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XI 1. Recent historical discussion: Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 55-56 and *passim*. [Jaritz No. 56 (K-E I); El-Wailly 18-L-2 (K-E I)]
- J.2.14 Cairo 4743. Letter of [Kad]ašman-Enlil I to Amenophis III (^mNi-ib-m]u-³-wa-ri-ia). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 3 (transliteration, translation); copy: Winckler and Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna* (Berlin, 1889-90) No. 1. Recent historical discussion: Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 54-55 and 59. [Jaritz No. 57 (K-E I); El-Wailly 18-L-3 (K-E I)]
- J.2.15 *VAT 1657. Amarna letter with the name of both the sender and receiver broken away (presumably from Kadašman-Enlil I to Amenophis III). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 4 (transliteration, translation); copy: Schroeder, *VAS* XI 2. Recent historical discussion: Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 55-59, 72, 121-22. [Jaritz No. 58 (K-E I); El-Wailly 18-L-4 (K-E I)]
- J.2.16 *BM 29787 (88-10-13,21) + Cairo 4744. Amarna letter with the names of both the sender and receiver almost totally broken away (usually assumed to be from Amenophis III to Kadašman-Enlil I). Principal publication by Knudtzon, *EA* 5 (transliteration, translation); copies: Bezold and Budge, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1892) No. 4 (for BM 29787) and Winckler and Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna* (Berlin, 1889-90) No. 17 (for Cairo 4744). Recent historical discussion: Kühne, *AOAT* XVII 49 and *passim* (references *ibid.*, index, p. 159). [Jaritz No. 59 (K-E I); El-Wailly 18-L-5 (K-E I)]
- J.2.17 Bo 1802. Letter from Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II. Principal publications: Figulla, *KBo* I 10 (copy), as supplemented by *KUB* III 72 and *KUB* IV, Pls. 49b-50a; for further literature, see Borger, *HKL* I 121, and Rowton, *JNES* XXV (1966) 243-49, especially n. 18.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- Recent translation by Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1967) pp. 139-46, No. 84. [Jaritz No. 176 (K-E II); El-Wailly 25-L-1 (K-E II)]
- J.2.18 IM 50966 (DK₄-57).¹⁶ Letter written to Kadašman-Enlil, presumably by a foreign ruler of equal status. Published by Gurney, *Iraq* XI (1949) 149, No. 12 (copy). [Jaritz No. 177 (K-E II); El-Wailly 25-L-2 (K-E II)]
- J.2.19 Damaged baked-clay cones containing confirmation by RN of an earlier land grant made by Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe.
- J.2.19.1 BM 91036 (83-1-18,704). Principal publication by King, *BBSt*, No. 1 (pp. 3-4, Pl. 1; copy, transliteration, translation). Though both Jaritz and El-Wailly assign this text to K-E II¹⁷ and Thureau-Dangin (*RA* XVI [1919] 117, n. 1) opted for K-E I, there seems to be no compelling reason for either choice. [Steinmetzer No. 1, L 1; Jaritz No. 181 (K-E II); El-Wailly 25-K-1 (K-E II)]
- J.2.19.2 BM 135743.
- J.2.20 Seal in the Foroughi Collection, number unknown. Contains a six-line inscription of Uballissu-Marduk, son of Nūr-Bēl(?), scribe of RN.¹⁸
- J.2.21 *Walters Art Gallery No. 42.619. Seal bearing a slightly damaged seven-line Sumerian inscription mentioning a [Ka]dašman-(())Enlil. (Information courtesy of W. G. Lambert and J. Canby.)
- J.2.22 Economic texts
- J.2.22.1 VIII - - acc. year Ni. 435; date copied as Text No. 14 below; CBS 9526 is a cast of this tablet
- J.2.22.2 V - - year 1 CBS 8091; IV-V

¹⁶In the Dūr-Kurigalzu catalogue, tentatively scheduled to appear as a later volume in this series, this will be listed as IM 50966A (under No. 142), since there are two tablets with the number IM 50966.

¹⁷Followed by Borger, *HKL* I 219.

¹⁸Information courtesy of Prof. Porada. The final lines read: (3) DUB.SAR (4) *Ka-da-aš-ma-an-* (5) ^dEN.LÍL (6) LUGAL ŠĀR.

J.2.22.3			- year 1	CBS 3065, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 115
J.2.22.4	VII -	25?	- year 2	HS 144, to be published as <i>TuM NF</i> V 38; Petschow No. 5 (day "26"); collation by Oelsner supports Petschow's reading
J.2.22.5			- year 2	Ni. 7728
J.2.22.6			- year 2	YBC 10857
J.2.22.7	II -		- year 3	Ni. 340; day 22 mentioned in heading; CBS 9551 and CBS 9762 are casts of this tablet
J.2.22.8	III -	8	- year 3	U 7789a, published as <i>UET</i> VII 1
J.2.22.9			- year 3	*Ni. 6278; mentions year 3
J.2.22.10	IX -	13	- year 4	HS 139, to be published as <i>TuM NF</i> V 74; Petschow No. 9
J.2.22.11	XII -		- year 4(+)	UM 29-16-120; VII-XII
J.2.22.12	III -	10(+)	- year 5	N 1684
J.2.22.13	VI -	20	- year 5	Ni. 6671; from year 16 of Kadašman-Turgu to year 5 of Kadašman-Enlil II
J.2.22.14	XII -		- year 5	Ni. 6606
J.2.22.15	V -	[15(+)]	- year 6(+)	CBS 7736; IV-20(+) to V-[15(+)]
J.2.22.16	VI -	24	- year 6	CBS 15030; [MN]-24 to VI-24
J.2.22.17	VII -	2	- year 6	CBS 7705; VI-25 to VII-2
J.2.22.18	VII -	2	- year 6	HS 138, to be published as <i>TuM NF</i> V 7; Petschow No. 22; VI-25 to VII-2
J.2.22.19	VII -	3	- year 6	Ni. 6082
J.2.22.20	X -	13	- year 6	A 30165 = 3 NT 142; Oriental Institute photos Nos. 47157- 58

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J.2.22.21	X -	13	- year 6	UM 55-21-267 = 3 NT 149
J.2.22.22	X -	15	- year 6	HS 140, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 20; Petschow No. 34
J.2.22.23	X -		- year 6	CBS 8688
J.2.22.24	XI -	15?(+)	- year 6	HS 137, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 6; days 2-15?(+); Petschow No. 18 (days 2- "17"); collation by Oelsner shows "day 16" to be a possible reading
J.2.22.25	XI -	29	- year 6	N 2208
J.2.22.26	XI -		- year 6	CBS 6077, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 116
J.2.22.27			- year 6	UM 29-13-629
J.2.22.28	I -	3	- year 7	CBS 7740
J.2.22.29	I -	4?(+)	- year 7	UM 55-21-153 = 2 NT 750
J.2.22.30	IV -	24(+)	- year 7	CBS 12921, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 43; III-21 to IV-24(+)
J.2.22.31	V -	23	- year 7	UM 29-15-968; days 7-23
J.2.22.32	VII -	4	- year 7	CBS 13354
J.2.22.33	VIII -	6	- year 7	CBS 13516
J.2.22.34	X -	8	- year 7	A 30164 = 3 NT 141; final element of RN heavily damaged, but ends in a vertical wedge; Oriental Institute photos Nos. 47157- 58
J.2.22.35	X -	10	- year 7	NBC 7945
J.2.22.36	X -	23	- year 7	FLP 1359
J.2.22.37	XI -	1	- year 7	CBS 8810; X-14 to XI-1
J.2.22.38	XI -	1	- year 7	Ni. 6692; X-14 to XI-1
J.2.22.39	XI -	28	- year 7	CBS 7238
J.2.22.40	[MN] -	21	- year 7	LB 815, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 108; collated

- J.2.22.41 - year 7 CBS 13317
- J.2.22.42 - year 7 Ni. 914; V mentioned in heading
- J.2.22.43 I - - year 8 N 1520
- J.2.22.44 - year 8 N 2489
- J.2.22.45 VII - 18 - year 15 Ni. 437; month and day listed after year; date copied as Text No. 15 below
- J.2.22.46 I - 2 - [] Ni. 2975; XII-24 to I-2
- J.2.22.47 XII - 23 - [] CBS 8683; XI-20 to XII-23
- J.2.22.48 XII - - [] CBS 10979, published as *BE* XIV 117; VII-XII
- J.2.22.49 {MN} - 17 - [] *CBS 7248
- J.2.22.50 *A 31303 (= 6 NT 968) may be dated in (rev. 1) [MU(?)].x. K]AM (2) [m]an(?)^d-EN.LÍL (3) [LUGAL].E.¹⁹
- J.2.22.51 Ni. 1854.
- J.2.22.52 Ni. 11367.
- J.2.22.53 A text or texts found at Merkes in Babylon were reported to be dated in the reign of RN ("Kadaschmanbel") according to *WVDOG* XLVII 56, 164, 189, 194, and Pl. 4 (House III 27pl).
- J.2.22.54 *A 31304 (= 6 NT 979), obv. 2 (probably heading), apparently mentions [Ka]-*kaš*-man^d-EN.LÍL (with no title preserved).

J.3 Later sources

J.3.1 Inscriptions from Nippur possibly to be assigned to Burna-Burias (II) that may mention Kadašman-Enlil (I) as his father (the royal names are damaged, hence the attribution is uncertain):

- J.3.1.1 *EŠ 1900, an irregular block of lapis lazuli published as *BE* I 68. [Burna-Bu]rias occurs in i 5' and Kadašman-Enlil in i 14'-15'. Text: E.2.7.

¹⁹It is possible that there are traces of a line on the reverse before the line here numbered as "1"; if so, the additional line would presumably have contained the MN.

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- J.3.1.2 *CBS 8675, a fragment of an agate ring published as *BE* I 66-67. [Burna-B]uria[š] and [Kadašman-En]lil are mentioned on opposite sides of the object. Text: E.2.9.
- J.3.2 L. 7076, a kudurru from the time of Kudur-Enlil found at Larsa and published in *RA* LXVI (1972) 169-76, mentions a land grant by Ka[dašm]an-Enlil (line 56). Text: P.2.5.
- J.3.3 *Ni. 7837, a later MB economic text from Nippur, mentions year 3 of [RN] (rev.? 2') and also Šagarakti-Šuriaš (rev.? 3'). Text: V.2.10.285.
- J.3.4 *Ni. 11320, an MB economic text from Nippur, refers to the first year of Burr[a-Buriaš] (II) and also mentions the fifteenth year of an unnamed king (possibly Kadašman-Enlil I?). Text: E.2.25.1. See J.5.3 below.
- J.3.5 Kinglist A refers to Kudur-Enlil as the son of his predecessor, Kadaš[man-Enlil] (II) ([DU]MU-šú, ii 5').
- J.4 Writing of the royal name
- J.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts
- J.4.1.1 *Ka-da-aš-ma-an*-^dEN.LÍL (royal inscriptions: J.2.2:3, J.2.3:4, J.2.4:4-5; AAA XIX [1932] Pl. LXXXIII, No. 267:1; *BE* I 65:3; J.2.10:2; partly destroyed: J.2.9, *PBS* XV 68 i 3', and *RA* LXIII [1969] 68, AO 22499 edge; the RN may be written the same way in the letters *EA* 1:1 [Knudtson doubted a -[dal]-here] and 3:3, but is damaged in each case; private inscription: J.2.20:4-5; the *EA* references belong to K-E I, the rest have not as yet been determined with any degree of probability; cf. the damaged writing in J.2.21, type of text uncertain)
- J.4.1.2 *Ka-dáš-man*-^dEN(!).LÍL (royal inscription of K-E II: *MAOG* IV [1928-29] 81:4)
- J.4.1.3 [^d*Ka-dáš-man*-^dEN.LÍL] (royal grant: *BBSt*, No. 1 ii 3 and duplicate BM 135743 ii 3)
- J.4.1.4 [^m*Ka-dáš-man*-^dEN.L[ÍL]] (letter to K-E II: J.2.17:2)
- J.4.1.5 [*d*]a-aš-man-^dEN.[LÍL] (letter: *Iraq* XI [1949] 149, No. 12:1')
- J.4.1.6 *Kà-da-aš-ma-an*-^dEN.LÍL (royal inscription: *RA* LXVI [1972] 38, No. 7:5)

J.4.2 In contemporary economic texts

- J.4.2.1 $Ka-d\check{a}š-man^d$ EN.LÍL (BE XIV 115:11, 117:2; HS 139:3, 28; NBC 7945:11; Ni. 7728 edge; UM 29-16-120:2; and *passim*)
- J.4.2.2 $dKa-d\check{a}š-man^d$ EN.LÍL (BE XIV 116:10; CBS 7705:8; HS 137:5, 138:8, 140:7; Ni. 340 rev. 1; Ni. 435:8; PBS II/2 43:8; UET VII 1 rev. 13; and *passim*; this and the preceding spelling are by far the most common in economic texts)
- J.4.2.3 $mKa-d\check{a}š-man^d$ EN.LÍL (Ni. 437:14; see J.5.3 below)
- J.4.2.4 $[Ka-da-aš-ma-an]^d$ EN.LÍL (Ni. 1854:26', in oath formula in legal text)
- J.4.2.5 $dKad-aš-man$ -50 (UM 55-21-267 rev. 6')
- J.4.2.6 $dKad-d\check{a}š-man$ -50 (CBS 7238:16; cf. uncertain $[x-x-l\check{d}aš-man$ -50, CBS 7248 edge)
- J.4.2.7 $dKad-<aš>-man^d$ EN.LÍL (Ni. 6671:2, 9;²⁰ cf. also $dKad-<aš>-man^d$ E[N.LÍL] in Ni. 914 rev. 6')²¹

J.4.3 In later texts²²

- J.4.3.1 $Kad-aš-ma-an^d$ EN.LÍL (inscription of Burna-Burias II, referring to K-E I: *BE I 68 i 14'-15')
- J.4.3.2 $mKa-[x-m]an^d$ EN.LÍL (kudurru from the time of Kudur-Enlil: J.3.2:56)
- J.4.3.3 $Ka-d\check{a}š-[man^d$ EN.LÍL [ÍL] (later economic text: Ni. 7837 rev.? 2')
- J.4.3.4 $mKa-[d\check{a}š]-[]$ (Kinglist A ii 4', referring to K-E II)

J.5 Miscellaneous notes

- J.5.1 K. 4807 + Sm. 977, etc. (published as IV R [2d ed.] 12; see also *ibid.*, pp. IX and 2; dupl.: K. 1832) is a bilingual royal inscription of a king whose name may end in -Enlil (line 13). Though El-Wailly [25-V-3] and Jaritz [No. 182] assign it to Kadašman-Enlil II, other

²⁰This is presumably not just a simple slip of the stylus, since the writing occurs twice and the first element in the name of Kadašman-Turgu is also written $dKad-<aš>-man$ twice in the same text.

²¹Line 2 of the same text has the name written $dKa-d\check{a}š-man^d$ EN.LÍL.

²²Note also that the simple name $mKa-d\check{a}š-man^d$ EN.LÍL is equated with, or translated by, $mTUKUL-ti-[]^d$ EN.LÍL in V R 44 i 29.

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possibilities should also be considered. First, there is no compelling reason why the EN.LÍL at the beginning of the preserved portion of line 13 could not be part of the titulary, e.g., in the phrase GÌR.NÍTA^d EN.LÍL, which occurs as the primary royal title in many Kassite texts (*BE* I 38:5-6, *IM* 50006:4, *UET* I 152:14), etc.). Secondly, if EN.LÍL is interpreted as the end of the royal name, it is difficult to see how Kadašman-Enlil I and Kudur-Enlil can be excluded from consideration. Unfortunately, our present corpus of Kassite royal texts does not allow us to determine the matter more precisely. (If the text should be dated to this time, it would be the only Kassite bilingual royal inscription.)

J.5.2 5 NT 700, noted for some reason by Goetze in his report on the finds from the sixth season at Nippur, is said to be a brick of Kadašman-Enlil (*Afo* XIX [1959-60] 199). According to the Nippur files in the Oriental Institute, however, it is a brick of Kudur(?) -Enlil. The brick itself, currently an unaccessioned object in the Iraq Museum, could not be located for consultation; but the Oriental Institute photo (No. 49206) of Goetze's own copy confirms the reading of the RN as [Ku-du-ur]-^dEN.LÍL. See P.2.2 below.

J.5.3 The distribution of economic texts dated under Kadašman-Enlil--more than forty texts dated between the accession year and the eighth year and then one dated in year 15--raises questions. It is hard to believe that years 9-14 would be simply unattested for the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II, since almost all other years are attested for a period of more than a century from Kurigalzu II year 1 to to Kaštiliašu IV year 8²³ and this was a thriving period at Nippur.

I would tentatively suggest, therefore, that Kadašman-Enlil II ruled for approximately 9 years²⁴ and that Ni. 437 dates from the

²³A total of at least 101 years. The only year definitely known not to be represented is Kurigalzu II year 3. For the minor discrepancies between the lengths of reign listed in Kinglist A and the highest known dates from economic texts for each reign, see the discussion in Part I.B above ("A Chronology of the Kassite Dynasty").

²⁴Something of a compromise between the likely readings of 8-10 years, depending on the traces in Kinglist A (see J.1.1 and the accompanying footnote above), and the evidence of the economic-text dates.

reign of Kadašman-Enlil I. Other evidence in favor of this dating may be adduced:

- (a) Ni. 437 is the only economic text that writes the name of Kadašman-Enlil with a masculine personal determinative;²⁵
- (b) the ITI sign in the date (line 15) looks closer to Old Babylonian than Middle Babylonian varieties;²⁶
- (c) the writing of the theophoric elements in personal names without preceding divine determinatives is relatively rare in the MB Nippur archives (almost entirely confined to early texts), but more common in OB; line 9 of Ni. 437 has ^m30-na-din-IBILA, line 10 ^m30-eri-ba.

In addition, another economic text, Ni. 11320, mentions the first year of Burr[a-Burias̃] (II) and the fifteenth year of an unnamed king. This text, combined with the date of Ni. 437, might suggest that the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I did not last much longer than 15 years.²⁷

All of this evidence is circumstantial, and much of it could be interpreted otherwise. But reigns of approximately 15 years for Kadašman-Enlil I and 9 years for Kadašman-Enlil II can serve as reasonable working hypotheses (based on a preliminary examination of the Nippur economic archives) until better and more direct evidence is available.

J.5.4 Böhl in *Afo* V (1928-29) 248-49 attempted to identify the name ^{md}EN. LIL-Á.MAḪ as a possible alternate writing for Kadašman-Enlil. For

²⁵At Nippur, the use of the masculine personal determinative before royal names in the date formulae of economic texts is unattested after the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš. (For isolated earlier examples, see E.4.2.3, E.4.2.7-8, Q.4.2.3, and U.4.2.10, U.4.2.18, U.4.2.29-30.)

²⁶It is similar to Fossey No. 2337 except that the top wedge on the left side slants down slightly toward the right.

²⁷The tendentious nature of this observation must be stressed, since we do not know which king's fifteenth year is involved nor whether the fifteenth year in question occurred toward the close of a reign. The inference is drawn from the fact that the text refers to the beginning of the reign of Burna-Burias̃ II and that the fifteenth year of the unnamed king could be matched with other evidence concerning Ni. 437.

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a discussion, see section AB of the Catalogue Supplement below.

- J.5.5 *UM 29-15-189, a legal text (copied below as Text No. 23), may belong either to the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I or to that of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I. The damaged date appears to read: (rev. 5') ITI.NE.NE.GAR U₄.10¹[(+x).KAM] (6') 'mu' Ka-da-āš(?)¹-ma-'x'¹[] (7') 'lugal-e' (8') 'x x (x) uru(?)² KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI' The use of a year name--as well as certain archaic sign forms--points to a predecessor of Burna-Buriasš II; and only two of those kings, in so far as presently known, have names beginning with Kadašman.
- J.5.6 U 7787u, published as *UET* VII 51 (formerly scheduled to appear as ***UET* VI 48), was cited by Rowton in *JCS* XIII (1959) 5, n. 24 as mentioning the fourteenth or fifteenth year of a Kadašman-Enlil. Collation of the text has confirmed that the date reads: (rev. 9) MU.[15].KAM^d Ka-dāš-[man]-[] (10) LUGAL.E. There is no reason, therefore, why the text could not be assigned to Kadašman-Turgu.
- J.5.7 N 2257, a *tuppi aḫūzati* text, is dated: (rev. 3') ITI.ZÍZ.A U₄.10.'KAM' [(x)] (4') MU.10.KAM.MA^m Ka-[da]-[]. Since the use of the formula MU.x.KAM.MA is restricted to texts from the time of Kurigalzu II or earlier (in so far as presently attested)²⁸ and the occurrence of the masculine personal determinative before the royal name in the date formulae does not occur at Nippur after the reign of Nazi-Maruttasš, it is probable that N 2257 should be assigned to the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I.²⁹
- J.5.8 H.T. 38, a tablet from Haft Tepe, to which Pablo Herrero and F. Vallat have kindly called my attention, bears the date: ITI A-bi 20 U₄ is-su-uh^h MU EŠŠANA Ka-da-aš-ma-an(-)^dKUR.GAL ú-sà-aḫ-ḫi-ru (lines 10-14). If one were to accept the equation^dKUR.GAL = Enlil as seen in the later god-lists and in the name list IV R 23 i 28, etc., one could take this date as referring to a Kadašman-Enlil and perhaps even a Babylonian king of the name. While^dKUR.GAL in Middle Babylonian texts from Kassite Babylonia seems to be equivalent to

²⁸See Appendix A below.

²⁹Earlier kings (with the possible exception of part of the reign of Kurigalzu I) would have had a year name rather than number. See also L.5.4 below.

the god Amurru,³⁰ one does not know to which god the writing ^dKUR.GAL would refer in regions peripheral to Babylonia. The year date could be translated as "the year in which the (local) king repulsed Kadašman-^dKUR.GAL." Either possibility is significant, as is the use of a Kassite PN/RN in the text.

The same tablet bears the impression of a cylinder seal with the name and title of Tepti-aḫar, king of Susa.

³⁰E.g., especially in the name of the most prominent figure in the Peiser archive, where the theophoric element of the name is written alternately as ^{(m)d}KUR.GAL- and ^{(m)d}MAR.TU-(ēriš).

K. KADAŠMAN-ḪARBE

According to the presently available sources, there seem to have been two Kassite kings named Kadašman-Ḫarbe.¹ The first was the father of the pre-Amarna Kurigalzu and reigned around 1400 B.C.² The second, according to Kinglist A, was the thirtieth ruler of the dynasty, the successor of Enlil-nādin-šumi and predecessor of Adad-šuma-iddina, and ruled for "one year, six months."³ Nothing is known concerning his ancestry, and his reign has been placed ca. 1223 B.C.

Since the reigns of these two monarchs are about 175 years apart, there is no difficulty in separating the sources pertaining to each. In the following catalogue, the sources are distinguished by different prefixes: K^a for Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, K^b for Kadašman-Ḫarbe II.

K^a. Kadašman-Ḫarbe IK^a.1 Chronological sources

K^a.1.1 *Chronicle P i 5'-14'--the chronicler here records in garbled fashion two major episodes: (a) the Babylonian order to defeat the Sutians and the setting up of fortresses in the region of Mount Ḫiḫi and (b) the Kassite revolt that brought Nazi-Bugaš to the throne and its aftermath. The first episode (lines 5'-9') may have involved Kadašman-Ḫarbe I (despite the erroneous genealogy, which makes him the son of Kara-ḫardaš and Muballitāt-Šērūa). The second episode (lines 9'-14') mistakenly inserts the name of Kadašman-Ḫarbe as a predecessor of the later Kurigalzu.⁴ Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 324-25; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.

K^a.2 Contemporary sources

K^a.2.1 Ni. 3199 is a legal text dated mu *Ka-da-áš-ma-an-Ḫar-be(!)*⁵

¹For Rowton's insertion of another Kadašman-Ḫarbe before Nazi-Bugaš, see K^b.5.5 below.

²As King No. ?16, according to the reconstruction followed here, or as king No. 15, according to *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.). See also K^a.5.2 below.

³See K^b.5.4 below.

⁴Discussed in Appendix C.

⁵The scribe, after writing the BE sign, seems inadvertently to have re-used the BE as part of the beginning of an irregular LUGAL! (haplography).

lugal(!)-[e]l íd *Di-nik-tum*^{ki} [mul-un-b[al(?)]. The date was mentioned briefly by F. R. Kraus in *WZKM* LII (1953-55) 239. A copy of the date is published below as Text No. 18.

K^a.3 Later sources

K^a.3.1 BM 108982, a clay prism bearing a royal inscription of the earlier Kurigalzu and published in *CT XXXVI* 6-7, mentions a Kadašman-Ĥarbe as Kurigalzu's father (i 7). Text: Q.2.1.1.

K^a.3.2 Two baked-clay cones record the confirmation by a Kadašman-Enlil of an earlier land grant made by Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ĥarbe. Texts: J.2.19.

K^a.3.2.1 BM 91036 i 6 (*BBSt*, No. 1).

K^a.3.2.2 BM 135743 i 6.

K^a.3.3 CBS 12914, a legal text possibly from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš published as *BE XIV* 39, refers to Kadašman-Ĥarbe as the father of Kurigalzu (line 8). Text: U.2.24.375.

K^a.4 Writing of the royal name

K^a.4.1 In a contemporary legal text

K^a.4.1.1 *Ka-da-aš-ma-an-Ĥar-be*(!) (Ni. 3199 rev. 11')

K^a.4.2 In later texts

K^a.4.2.1 ^m*[Kad-dáš]-man-Ĥar-be* (royal inscription of Kurigalzu I: *CT XXXVI* 6 i 7, collated)

K^a.4.2.2 ^m*Ka-dáš-man-Ĥar-be* (Chronicle P i 15', 12', 14')

K^a.4.2.3 ^d*Ka-dáš-man-Ĥar-be* (legal documents from the time of a Kadašman-Enlil: *BBSt*, No. 1 i 6; duplicate: BM 135743 i 16)

K^a.4.2.4 ^d*Ka-da-aš-man-Ĥar-be* (legal text possibly from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš: *BE XIV* 39:8)

K^a.5 Miscellaneous notes

K^a.5.1 Ni. 3199, the earliest known Kassite economic (and legal) text from Nippur, antedates the beginning of the bulk of the archives there by two or three generations. For another legal text that might date from this reign, see J.5.5 above.

K^a.5.2 Rowton in *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 207 argued on chronological grounds that Kadašman-Ĥarbe I probably preceded Kara-indaš as king and was

either his father or brother. The inconclusiveness of the chronological evidence has been discussed in *BiOr* XXVII (1970) 307.

K^a.5.3 See also K^b.2.1 and K^b.5.3 below.

K^b. Kadašman-Ḫarbe II

K^b.1 Chronological sources

K^b.1.1 Kinglist A ii 9'--a reign of "one year, six months" and an almost complete RN. See K^b.5.4 below.

K^b.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) ii 4'--Weidner in *AfO* III (1926) 70 copied this line from a photo as though it read ^[m]K[a-]. My recent collation of both the tablet and the well-preserved excavation photo was unable positively to verify such traces.

K^b.2 Contemporary sources

K^b.2.1 *YBC 2242. Kudurru mentioning a king Kadašman-Ḫar(be) (I/II?). Contemporary? Further study needed. (Information courtesy of W. W. Hallo.)

K^b.2.2 Economic texts

K ^b .2.2.1	IX - 11(+)	- acc. year	CBS 12917; published as Text No. 9 below (copy, transliteration, translation); photos of the obverse and the left edge have been published in the <i>Oriental Institute Report</i> 1971/72, p. 27
K ^b .2.2.2	X - 28	- acc. year	U 7788d, published as <i>UET</i> VII 2
K ^b .2.2.3	XII -	- acc. year	CBS 7241, published as Text No. 8 below (copy, transliteration, translation); IX-XII
K ^b .2.2.4	V - 9	- ye[ar 1?(+)]	U 7787i, published as <i>UET</i> VII 34; collated; see K ^b .5.2 below
K ^b .2.2.5	VI - 14(+)	- year 1	YBC 7652; see K ^b .5.3 below

K^b.3 Later sources: none.

- K^b.4** Writing of the royal name⁶
- K^b.4.1** In contemporary non-economic texts
- K^b.4.1.1** *Kad-aš(!)-man-Ĥar-*. . . (kudurru: *YBC 2242; information courtesy of W. W. Hallo)
- K^b.4.2** In contemporary economic texts
- K^b.4.2.1** *Ka-dáš-man-Ĥar-be* (*UET VII 34* edge 1 and *UET VII 2* rev. [26]; probably also YBC 7652:6)
- K^b.4.2.2** ^d*Ka-dáš-man-Ĥar-be* (CBS 12917:25, 32)
- K^b.4.2.3** *Kad-aš-man-Ĥar-be* (CBS 7241:31)
- K^b.4.3** In later texts
- K^b.4.3.1** ^[m]*Ka-dáš-man-Ĥar-be* (Kinglist A ii 9')
- K^b.5** Miscellaneous notes
- K^b.5.1** Jaritz, No. 206, attempts to equate Kadašman-Buriasš, an eleventh-century governor of Dūr-Kurigalzu, with Kadašman-Ĥarbe II, the thirteenth-century king. For a detailed refutation, see *PKB*, p. 143, n. 861.
- K^b.5.2** In *UET VII 34* (**K^b.2.2.4**), the number of the year is missing, wholly or in part (traces uncertain: collation). Since a trace of at least [K]AM is preserved, the number must presumably have been one or higher. A puzzling feature of the date is the abnormally long space between the beginning of M[U] and the end of [K]AM.
- K^b.5.3** YBC 7652 (**K^b.2.2.5**) omits the KAM after MU 1.⁷ While it technically might be possible to read MU ^m*Ka-dáš-man-Ĥar-be* LUGAL and to interpret this as a reference to Kadašman-Ĥarbe I, this seems quite unlikely both because the writing of Kassite royal names with *-dáš-* generally occurs after year names had been replaced with year numbers and because the short writing of the month name (ITI.KIN), which is used here, began to become common only in the reign of Kadašman-Turgu around 1275 B.C.

⁶The earlier discussion in *ZA LIX* (1969) 232-33 has now been supplemented by further materials.

⁷The omission of KAM in a year date is relatively uncommon, though not unknown, after the time of Burna-Buriasš II. See Appendix A below.

K^b.5.4 For the interpretation of the date (MU 1 ITI 6) in Kinglist A ii 9' as "one official year," see *PKB*, pp. 63-67. Unfortunately, the text *UET* VII 21, dated on the thirteenth day of Nisan in the accession year of RN's successor (Adad-šuma-iddina), leads one to infer that Kadašman-Ḫarbe II died sometime in the first twelve days of that year, which should have been at least his second (since he is known to have lived into the sixth month of his first year, according to YBC 7652).⁸ Thus we have at least three options: (a) doubting the accuracy of Kinglist A (more than usually suspect because of the repeated "one year, six months" for kings Nos. 29-30);⁹ or (b) supposing an overlap between Kadašman-Ḫarbe II and Adad-šuma-iddina (somewhat unlikely since both the fifth month of at least the first year of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II [*UET* VII 34] and the first month of the accession year of Adad-šuma-iddina [*UET* VII 21] are attested at Ur); or (c) questioning the reliability of our present premises for interpreting chronological data. More evidence is needed.

K^b.5.5 Weidner in *AFO* XXIV (1973) 141 has suggested that the theophoric element in the PN *Me-li-Ḫar-be* (*KAJ* 62:22) be read *-Ḫar-bat*. If this interpretation is accepted, it would mean that the royal name discussed here might have to be read Kadašman-Ḫarbat.

Weidner's argument for the passage in question is apparently founded on good evidence. He bases his reading on *KAJ* 114:12 (which he asserts was erroneously copied by Ebeling), where the personal name is written *Me-lī-ḫa-ra-ba-at*. Though Weidner does not produce further arguments, there seems little question that the same person is involved in both passages: both texts are dated in the *līmu* of Aššur-ālik-pānī and in each case Meli-Ḫ. is said to be the father of Iqīš-Adad. So, at least in the instance of this Middle Assyrian writing of what seems to be a Kassite personal name, there is evidence for reading the signs *-ḪAR.BE* as *-ḫar(a)-bat*.

⁸To escape this conclusion, one would have to explain away both texts that seem to be dated in his first year or later (see notes K^b.5.2-3 above). This would not be impossible, but at present seems less likely.

⁹See already Rowton, *JNES* XXV (1966) 243 and 253-54.

Nonetheless, one hesitates to infer that the theophoric element usually written ^dḤar-BE in the Middle Babylonian personal names should be rendered ^dḤar-bat. In Kassite and partially Kassite personal names in the Nuzi texts, where the principles of orthography allow wider variation, the theophoric element Ḥarbe/Ḥarpa nowhere shows either Ḥa-ra- or final -t, though the last syllable is variously written as -be, -ba, -pa, -wa/pi, -me(-e), -mi, or -ma.¹⁰ Since the Middle Assyrian writing in KAJ 114 exhibits three anomalies unattested elsewhere for this name or its supposed Kassite elements (-NI- for -lí-, -ḥa-ra for -ḥar-, -ba-at for -BE), it seems better for the present to retain the traditional transcription Ḥarbe until further evidence is uncovered.¹¹

^{K^b}.5.6 The third edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* confuses the traditions concerning the various Babylonian kings named Kadašman-Ḥarbe and even inserts a third king of that name.

Rowton in his chronological treatment in *CAH* I/1 205 and 207 distinguishes two Kadašman-Ḥarbes, one the father of Kurigalzu I (here king No. ?17), and the second an ephemeral ruler between Kara-ḥardaš (here king No. ?20) and Nazi-Bugaš (here king No. ?21). He does not refer in this volume to the later Kadašman-Ḥarbe (king No. 30), the successor of Enlil-nādin-šumi.

The only evidence given by Rowton for the insertion of a Kadašman-Ḥarbe after Kara-ḥardaš is a reference to an article by Goetze in *JCS* XVIII (1964) 97-101, which in fact says nothing about a Kadašman-Ḥarbe in this place in the royal sequence. Rowton agrees in substance with the theories of Gadd (e.g., *History and Monuments of Ur* [London, 1929] pp. 196-97; *CAH* II/2 29), which were based on an uncritical use of Chronicle P. These theories have been discussed in *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 323, n. 1 and in Appendix C below; and it is clear that this "Kadašman-Ḥarbe" is a misnomer

¹⁰*OIP* LVII 214.

¹¹Balkan's reading of the divine name as [Ḥ]a-[ar-bu] in the Kassite-Babylonian vocabulary (*Kassitenstudien* I [New Haven, 1954] 4:49) is not justified by the traces on the tablet (collation of E. Sollberger, May 1974).

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(caused by genealogical confusion in Chronicle P) for the father of Kurigalzu II.

Those using the new *Cambridge Ancient History* should, however, be aware that, though the volumes never refer to any king named Kadašman-Ḫarbe III, they nonetheless write about three distinct monarchs under this name:

- (a) Kadašman-Ḫarbe, father of Kurigalzu I. He is called Kadašman-Ḫarbe I in *CAH* I/1 207 (Rowton) and 716 (index). The same king is referred to (without ordinal number) in *CAH* II/1 443-44 and 465 by Drower, but is listed in the chronological tables to the same volume (p. 820) as Kadašman-Ḫarbe I. (The index in *CAH* II/1 847 for some reason refers to this monarch as "Kadashman-kharbe, King of Assyria.")
- (b) Kadašman-Ḫarbe, alleged successor of Kara-ḫardaš. Called Kadašman-Ḫarbe II in *CAH* I/1 205 (Rowton), but Kadašman-Ḫarbe I in *CAH* II/2 1089 (index). Gadd, *ibid.*, pp. 29-30 and 33, refers to this ruler without ordinal number. This Kadašman-Ḫarbe is omitted in the otherwise complete table of Babylonian rulers in *CAH* II/2 1040.
- (c) Kadašman-Ḫarbe, Kassite king No. 30. Listed in *CAH* II/2 1089 (index) and in II/2 444 (Wiseman) as Kadašman-Ḫarbe II. Referred to without ordinal number *ibid.*, pp. 288-90 (Munn-Rankin), 388 (Labat), 443 (Wiseman, but see preceding sentence), and 1041 (chronological table).

Note that this confusion in numbering the kings is caused by the incorrect insertion of the spurious ruler (b) in the *CAH* volumes.

^bK^b.5.7 There is no textual evidence to support Wiseman's statement in *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 444 that Kadašman-Ḫarbe II "claimed descent" from Kaštiliašū (IV).

L. KADAŠMAN-TURGU

Kadašman-Turgu, the twenty-fourth king of the Kassite dynasty, ruled for eighteen years.¹ He succeeded his father, Nazi-Maruttaš, on the throne and was succeeded in turn by his son Kadašman-Enlil II.²

The theophoric element of this RN has been read as both Durgu and Turgu by Balkan in his *Kassitenstudien I* (New Haven, 1954), where he opted in different sections for each of the two opposing positions.³ It is here read as Turgu, following the only unambiguous⁴ writing in a contemporary royal inscription: *Tu-ur-gu* (BE I 59:3).⁵

L.1 Chronological sources

L.1.1 Kinglist A ii 3'--a reign of 18 (years) and the beginning of the royal name.

L.2 Contemporary sources⁶

L.2.1 EŠ 1905. Fragment of a lapis-lazuli disk containing six lines (of a probable total of seven) of a votive inscription of RN to Nusku; found among the hoard of Kassite stone objects in the "booth" in Nippur area III.⁷ Published by Hilprecht, BE I 59 (copy).

¹The length of the reign is given in Kinglist A ii 3' (where the RN is almost entirely broken away) and confirmed in an approximate sense by the dates attested in the economic texts. His sequence in the dynasty is inferred from the traces in Kinglist A, as bolstered by the genealogy of the kings about this time (see Part I.B above).

²Both of these relationships are attested in royal inscriptions of the kings themselves: BE I 61:4, MAOG IV (1928-29) 81:6.

³Durgu: pp. 58-59, 68, 206-7, etc.; Turgu: p. 123 (cf. pp. 68 and 105).

⁴DUR and DŪR may be read respectively as *túr* and *tur*₇ in Kassite times, but not TU as *dú* (von Soden and Röllig, *AnOr* XLII). Contrast also the strange foreign writing for both dentals (and the assimilation of *n*) in *Ka-ta-aš-ma-Du-ur-gu* of the Assur text VAT 15420:15'; cf. *ibid.*, 2' and 12' (published by Weidner, *Tn. I*, Pl. XII). The reading cannot be regarded as proven.

⁵Cf. the writing *Ka-da-aš-ma-an-Tu-ur-gu* *lugal ki-šár-ra* in a seal impression on a Middle Assyrian tablet (ZA XLVIII [1944] 24, Fig. 1, presumably made by a seal carved in the time of RN).

⁶See also L.5.1 below.

⁷For a discussion of this locus, see E.5.5 above.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

Line 7 is presumably to be restored [iqīš̄]; compare *BE* I 61:8.

[Jaritz No. 168; El-Wailly 24-V-1]

- L.2.2 CBS 8722. Fragmentary lapis-lazuli disk bearing a Sumerian votive inscription (probably five lines in length originally) of RN to a god whose name has been broken away; found in the same place as L.2.1. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 60 (copy). [Jaritz No. 169; El-Wailly 24-V-2]
- L.2.3 HSM 51. Lapis-lazuli disk bearing an eight-line votive inscription of RN to Ninurta. Principal publication by Hilprecht, *BE* I 61 (copy; reproduced in Hilprecht, *Die Ausgrabungen im Bêl-Tempel zu Nippur* [Leipzig, 1903] p. 48, Fig. 30); earlier publication by Lyon in *JAOS* XIV (1890) cxxxiv-cxxxvii (transliteration, translation, and notes), with corrections by Hilprecht, *ZA* VII (1892) 305-18. [Jaritz No. 170; El-Wailly 24-V-3 and 24-V-8]
- L.2.4 CBS 8673. Lapis-lazuli disk bearing a five-line votive inscription of RN to Ninurta; found at Nippur in the same place as L.2.1. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 62 (copy). [Jaritz No. 171; El-Wailly 24-V-4]
- L.2.5 Lapis-lazuli disk (presently in Istanbul, number unknown) bearing a largely erased five-line votive inscription of RN to Nusku; found at Nippur in the same place as L.2.1. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 138 (copy) with transliteration *ibid.*, p. 278. [Jaritz No. 173; El-Wailly 24-V-6]
- L.2.6 *CBS 3991. Broken lapis-lazuli disk bearing a votive inscription of at least four lines; found at Nippur. Published by Legrain, *PBS* XV 57 (copy). Though the latter part of the RN is broken away in line 3, the traditional attribution of this text may be correct; but it would be difficult from the actual traces on the disk to rule out a restoration ¹d¹ [EN.LÍL] or the like (collation). [Jaritz No. 167; El-Wailly 24-V-7]
- L.2.7 L-29-449. Round lapis-lazuli stone with a hole in the middle, containing a one-line circular votive inscription of RN to ^dNIN EN.LÍL. KI.
- L.2.8 EŞ 1935. Irregular lapis-lazuli block⁸ bearing a twenty-line

⁸Referred to as na₄-dag-gaz za-gìn with a weight of twenty-five minas (25 ma-na ki-lá-bi) the inscription (lines 9-10).

Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil; found in a room in the mounds south of the temple of Enlil in Nippur area III. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 63 (copy). Transliteration, translation, and notes by Poebel, *MVAG* XXVI/1 (1921) 34-37. [Jaritz No. 172; El-Wailly 24-V-5]

- L.2.9 *Broken reddish-brown stone bead in private collection (New York). Contains five-line votive inscription to the goddess Nin[]. The first two lines of the text are apparently in Sumerian and the last three in Babylonian.

Transliteration: (1) ^d[ninl-[] (2) nin-[a]-ni-[ir] (3) Ka-<da>-aš-ma-an-Túr(!)-[gu] (4) a-na ba-la-[ṭi-šú/šú] (5) i-qí-[iš].

- L.2.10 AO 4633.⁹ Small horse-head figure with blue glaze bearing a two-line possession inscription (RN and title "king of the world").¹⁰ Published by Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II 180, A. 822 (transliteration, description) and Pl. 93, Fig. 14 (photo, inscription not visible).¹¹ [Jaritz No. 174; El-Wailly 24-V-9]

- L.2.11 Luristan bronze dagger in the Foroughi Collection, Teheran, bearing a brief possession inscription of RN, šar kiššati. To be published by J. Bottéro.

- L.2.12 Bo 6358. Letter from RN to Ḫattušili (III), with only the beginning well preserved. Published by Weidner, *KUB* III 71 (copy). [Jaritz No. 165; El-Wailly 24-L-1]

- L.2.13 Economic texts

L.2.13.1 VIII - 5 - MU.ÚS.SA Nazi-Maruttaš *CBS 13100, published as *PBS* II/2 26; for the

⁹Given as AO 4613 in the publication. The correction of the museum number has been kindly furnished by M. Lambert.

¹⁰Because the text consists only of the RN and the titulary written LUGAL ŠÁR, it could be read as either Sumerian or Babylonian (though the latter may be more likely because of the simple ŠÁR).

¹¹Since the transliteration of the text was published before the uniformity of sign values introduced by Thureau-Dangin's *Le syllabaire accadien* (1926), it may be useful to offer a modern transliteration here, based on a copy made by M. Lambert: (1) Kad-aš-ma-an-Túr-gu (2) LUGAL ŠÁR.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

				date, see <i>WO VI</i> (1971) 153-56
L.2.13.2	III -	10	- year 1	HS 145, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 31</i> ; RN incomplete; Petschow No. 37
L.2.13.3	VI -	23	- year 1	Ni. 64
L.2.13.4	VIII -		- year 1	UM 29-16-475
L.2.13.5	IX -	13	- year 1	CBS 3063, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 88
L.2.13.6	IX -		- year 1	*CBS 3076; RN broken
L.2.13.7	XII -		- year 1	UM 29-16-126
L.2.13.8			- year 1	CBS 7710
L.2.13.9	III -	7	- year 2	Ni. 7955
L.2.13.10	VI -	9	- year 2	Ni. 416
L.2.13.11	VI -	15	- year 2	CBS 3055, published as <i>BE</i> XIV
L.2.13.12	VII -		- year 2	Ni. 2239
L.2.13.13	VII -		- year 2	Ni. 6679; CBS 9520 is a cast of this text
L.2.13.14	XII -	28	- year 2	BM 13311 = 96-3-28,402; pub- lished as <i>CT LI 27</i> ; Figulla, <i>Cat. I 102</i>
L.2.13.15	I -		- year 3	Ni. 7775
L.2.13.16	III -	19	- year 3	CBS 3056, published as <i>BE XIV</i> 91; Torczyner, pp. 87-88, No. 62
L.2.13.17	VI -		- year 3	E.A.H. 178, published as <i>BE XIV</i> 91a; I-VI; Torczyner, pp. 65- 68, No. 39
L.2.13.18	XII -		- year 3	CBS 3679
L.2.13.19	[		- year 3	N 2731
L.2.13.20	I -		- year 4	Ni. 6605
L.2.13.21	I -		- year 4(+)	Ni. 7741
L.2.13.22	VI -		- year 4	Ni. 1246
L.2.13.23	IX -		- year 4(+)	UM 29-13-941
L.2.13.24	XI -	28	- year 4	Ni. 417

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L.2.13.25	XII -		- year 4	CBS 11460
L.2.13.26			- year 4	CBS 3069, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 92
L.2.13.27			- year 4	*IM 50059 = DK ₃ -103, pub- lished as <i>Iraq</i> XI (1949) 133-35 and 144, No. 4; problematic date, mention- ing the fourth year of RN (text incorrectly listed as IM 50051 in <i>Iraq</i> XI [1949] 142)
L.2.13.28	IV -		- year 5	N 1857
L.2.13.29	V -	18	- year 5	Ni. 6685; CBS 9502 is a cast of this text
L.2.13.30	VII -	1	- year 5	Ni. 6579
L.2.13.31			- year 5	Ni. 619
L.2.13.32			- year 5?	Ni. 8811; year "6" is a less likely reading
L.2.13.33	II -	16	- year 6	CBS 3073, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 93
L.2.13.34	III -	28	- year 6	CBS 7261; II-24 to III-28
L.2.13.35	IV? -	10(+)	- year 6	Ni. 396
L.2.13.36	V -	2	- year 6	UM 29-15-506
L.2.13.37	VI -	x	- year 6	Ni. 7966
L.2.13.38	VII -	[	- year?]6(+)	Ni. 7953
L.2.13.39			- year 6	Ni. 6559
L.2.13.40			- year 6(+)	6 NT 1078 (read from cast)
L.2.13.41	VI -	13	- year 7	CBS 3077, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 94; Torczyner, p. 57, No. 29
L.2.13.42	XI -	15	- year 7?	Ni. 1584; year 17 possible, but less likely
L.2.13.43	{MN} -		- year 7	Ni. 7918; III? (ends in .GA)
L.2.13.44	II -	28	- year 8	Ni. 2592
L.2.13.45	VI -		- year 8	Ni. 2256; VI-year 6(+) to VI-year 8

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

L.2.13.46	VIa -		- year 8	BM 13253 = 96-3-28,344; published as <i>CT</i> LI 29; month given incorrectly in Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 97
L.2.13.47	VII -	27	- year 8	Ni. 69; CBS 9509 is a cast of this text
L.2.13.48	X -		- year 8	CBS 3062, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 95; Torczyner, pp. 95-96, No. 76
L.2.13.49	VII -		- year 9	Ni. 2249; XII-year 8 to VII- year 9
L.2.13.50	VIII -	2	- year 9	Ni. 2862
L.2.13.51	IX -		- year 9	CBS 3068, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 96
L.2.13.52	XI -	27	- year 9	Royal Ontario Museum, D. 946
L.2.13.53	XII -		- year 9	Ni. 484; CBS 9758 is a cast of this text
L.2.13.54	I -	11	- year 10	CBS 3057, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 98
L.2.13.55	I -		- year 10	CBS 3066, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 97
L.2.13.56	VI -	16	- year 10	Ni. 2588
L.2.13.57	VIII -	20	- year 10	inside tablet, HS 738, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 10, lacks RN in date; case tab- let, HS 2887, has RN; II-25 to VIII-20; CBS 9769 is a cast made of the text when the envelope was only par- tially removed; Petschow No. 25 (with copy of enve- lope and photos of its seals on Pls. I-II)
L.2.13.58	XII -	7	- year 10	BM 13308 = 96-3-28,399; published as <i>CT</i> LI 28; Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 102

L.2.13.59	XII -	- year 10	Ni. 11748
L.2.13.60		- year 10	BM 13159 = 96-3-28,250; published as <i>CT</i> LI 32, misnumbered in copy; <i>Figulla, Cat. I</i> 87
L.2.13.61		- year 10	Ni. 7924; XII-5(+) and year number mentioned separately in text
L.2.13.62		- year 11	N 2183
L.2.13.63		- year 11	CBS 3060, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 89; Torczyner, pp. 38- 43, No. 22
L.2.13.64		- year 11	E.A.H. 195, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 99a; Torczyner, pp. 34-37, No. 21
L.2.13.65		- year 11	Ni. 11325; CBS 9759 is a cast of this text
L.2.13.66	I -	- year 12	Ni. 11393
L.2.13.67	VIII -	25 - year 12	BM 13625 = 96-3-28,716; published as <i>CT</i> LI 33, mis- numbered in copy; <i>Figulla,</i> <i>Cat. I</i> 127, where the month is listed incorrectly
L.2.13.68		- year 12	BM 13292 = 96-3-28,383; published as <i>CT</i> LI 34; <i>Figulla, Cat. I</i> 101
L.2.13.69		- year 12	CBS 3071, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 100; Torczyner, p. 21, No. 7
L.2.13.70		- year 12	Ni. 483; CBS 9550 is a cast of this text
L.2.13.71	V -	- year 13	Ni. 6604; date mentioned in heading
L.2.13.72	IX -	- year 13	CBS 3070, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 101
L.2.13.73	XII -	6 - year 13	CBS 13099, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 41; days 3-6

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L.2.13.74	XII -	13	- year 13	Ni. 2253
L.2.13.75			- year 13	CBS 3047, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 102
L.2.13.76			- year 13	CBS 3061, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 103
L.2.13.77			- year 13	CBS 3067, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 104; Torczyner, p. 60, No. 32
L.2.13.78			- year 13	Ni. 8935
L.2.13.79	I -	17	- year 14	Ni. 837; days 16-17; CBS 9518 is a cast of this text
L.2.13.80	I -	26	- year 14	BM 13310 = 96-3-28,401; published as <i>CT</i> LI 35; Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 102
L.2.13.81	I -		- year 14	CBS 3051; days 20-22 men- tioned
L.2.13.82	VI -		- year 14	CBS 3074, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 106; Torczyner, p. 96, No. 77
L.2.13.83	VII -	7	- year 14	CBS 11265, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 39 and <i>BE</i> XIV 106b
L.2.13.84	VII -		- year 14	CBS 11262, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 38 and <i>BE</i> XIV 106a
L.2.13.85	VII -		- year 14	CBS 11263, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 37 and <i>BE</i> XIV 106c
L.2.13.86	VIII -	17	- year 14	CBS 6641, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 107
L.2.13.87	VIII -		- year 14	CBS 3058, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 108
L.2.13.88	VIII -		- year 14	CBS 11264, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 40 and <i>BE</i> XIV 108a
L.2.13.89	VIII -		- year 14	N 6306
L.2.13.90	XI -		- year 14	CBS 3064, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 110
L.2.13.91	XI -		- year 14	CBS 6087, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 109

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L.2.13.92	XII -		- year 14	CBS 3059, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 111
L.2.13.93	{] - year 14	CBS 7232
L.2.13.94			- year 14	CBS 3075, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 112; years 10-14
L.2.13.95	VI -	14?	- year 15	CBS 8657; days 11-14?
L.2.13.96	IX -		- year 15	CBS 3072, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 113
L.2.13.97	{MN} -	4(+)	- year 15	N 2911; I to {MN}-4(+)
L.2.13.98			- year 15	CBS 3078, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 114
L.2.13.99			- year 15	Ni. 7521
L.2.13.100	II -	5	- year 16	UM 29-13-301; days 1-5
L.2.13.101	III -	3	- year 16	CBS 3048, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 114a; museum number listed incorrectly in <i>BE</i> XIV, p. 70
L.2.13.102	VI -		- year 16	YBC 3075
L.2.13.103	VII -		- year 16	CBS 12586, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 42
L.2.13.104	X -	12	- year 16	CBS 8005
L.2.13.105			- year 16	BM 13312 = 96-3-28,403; published as <i>CT</i> LI 31, mis- numbered in copy; Figulla, Cat. I 102
L.2.13.106			- year 16	E.A.H. 179(?), published as <i>BE</i> XIV 114b; years 10-16; museum number guessed on the basis of the error made for L.2.13.101 (should be checked)
L.2.13.107	V -		- year 17	HS 146, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 75; Petschow No. 6
L.2.13.108	VI -	17	- year 17	Ni. 6517
L.2.13.109	VII -	18	- year 17?	CBS 7237, published as <i>PBS</i> VIII/2 159

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- L.2.13.110 VIII - 12 - year 17 A 31283 = 6 NT 821; mentioned by Goetze, *Afo XIX* (1959-60) 199
- L.2.13.111 [] - [?] (+) - year [17] 6 NT 971; mentioned by Goetze, *Afo XIX* (1959-60) 199; presently in the Iraq Museum, number unknown; KAM omitted after day; collated from cast
- L.2.13.112 VI - [] Ni. 8122; CBS 9510 is a cast of this text
- L.2.13.113 [] - 25? - [] Ni. 7974
- L.2.13.114 CBS 3294, published as *BE XIV* 99, mentions the 11th year of RN in line 16 and the 13th year (without RN) in lines 40 and 42. Torczyner, pp. 49-52, No. 24.
- L.2.13.115 N 2135.
- L.2.13.116 *Ni. 7200 mentions a Kadašman-Turgu (without title) in broken context.
- L.2.13.117 *Ni. 8066; only end of RN preserved.
- L.2.13.118 *Ni. 8730.
- L.2.13.119 A text or texts found at Merkes in Babylon and dated under Kadašman-Turgu are mentioned in *WVDOG XLVII* 13, 54, 56, 159, 164, 165, 185, 189, 194, 205, and Pls. 4-5 (House III 27pl, House VII 24/25q2).
- L.2.14 VAT 9672 + 15466. A MA tablet from Assur bearing an eight-line seal impression that mentions in lines 7-8 Kadašman-Turgu "king of the world" (*lugal ki-šár-ra*). The impression itself was presumably made from a seal engraved with a Sumerian text in the reign of RN. The first five lines of the seal impression are largely illegible, and it is possible that it might have been either a royal inscription or the inscription of an official of the king. A drawing of the impression was published by Moortgat, *ZA XLVIII* (1944) 24, Fig. 1. [Jaritz No. 166]

L.3 Later sources

- L.3.1 A votive inscription of Kadašman-Enlil II, published in *MAOG IV*

- (1928-29) 81, mentions Kadašman-Turgu as that king's father. Text: J.2.7.
- L.3.2 Bo 1802, a letter from Hattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II published as *KBo* I 10, etc., mentions Kadašman-Turgu several times: obv. 28, 60, rev. 1, 50, 60, etc. Text: J.2.17.
- L.3.3 Ni. 2885, a legal text from around the time of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (or later), mentions year 16 of Kadašman-Turgu (line 1'). Text: V.2.10.283.
- L.3.4 Ni. 6671, a MB economic text of undetermined date, mentions events from the sixteenth year of Kad<aš>man-Turgu to the fifth year of Kad<aš>man-Enlil (II). Text: J.2.22.13.
- L.3.5 Ni. 11100, a MB economic text without preserved date, mentions Kadašman-Turgu (rev. 9') and Kudur-Enlil (rev. 11').
- L.3.6 Ni. 11111, a roster of servile laborers, mentions year 14 and year [x] of Kadašman-Turgu (i' 12', 15'-16').
- L.3.7 The fragmentary *VAT 15420, a MA text of undetermined type commented on briefly by Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 39E, and published *ibid.*, Pl. XII, apparently deals with contacts between Kadašman-Turgu and [Adad-ni]rari I of Assyria. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 515, and Borger, *HKL* III 21, suggest that this may be a treaty between the two monarchs.
- L.4 Writing of the royal name
- L.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts¹²
- L.4.1.1 *Ka-da-aš-ma-an-Tu-ur-gu* (royal inscription: *BE* I 59:3; seal: *ZA* XLVIII [1944] 24, Fig. 1:7)
- L.4.1.2 *Kad-dāš-man-Túr-gu* (royal inscription: *BE* I 61:3)¹³
- L.4.1.3 *Ka-dāš-man-Túr-gu* (royal inscriptions: *BE* I 62:3, L-29-449)
- L.4.1.4 *Ka-da-aš-ma-an-Túr-gu* (royal inscriptions: *BE* I 63:6; L.2.11, courtesy of J. Bottéro)
- L.4.1.5 ^m*Ka-da-áš-ma-an-Túr-gu* (letter from RN to Hattušili III: *KUB* III 71:3)
- L.4.1.6 *Ka-<da>-aš-ma-an-Túr(!)-[gu]* (royal inscription: L.2.9:3)
- L.4.2 In contemporary economic texts

¹²Excluding *BE* I 60:3 and 138:3, which are broken and offer no variants from better preserved orthographies.

¹³Cf. also the beginning of the RN in *PBS* XV 57:3 (L.2.6, text of uncertain attribution).

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- L.4.2.1 *Ka-dáš-man-Túr-gu* (BE XIV 88:10, 89:2; CBS 3679 rev. 8; N 1857 rev. 5'; and *passim*)
- L.4.2.2 ^d*Ka-dáš-man-Túr-gu* (BE XIV 99:16, 106a:7, 107:7; YBC 3075:10; and *passim*)
- L.4.2.3 *Ka-dáš-man-Tur₇-gu* (BE XIV 90:8, 92:10, 98:14; CT LI 29:11, 32:14; Iraq XI [1949] 144, No. 4:47; and *passim*)
- L.4.2.4 ^d*Ka-dáš-man-Tur₇-gu* (PBS VIII/2 159:19, A 31283 rev. 4, D. 946:13)
- L.4.2.5 ^d*Kad-aš-man-Túr-gu* (Ni. 2588:8, Ni. 7966:9)
- L.4.2.6 ^d*Kad-dáš-man-Túr-gu* (BE XIV 109:7, collated; CBS 11460:8)
- L.4.2.7 ^d*Kad-dáš-man-Tur₇-gu* (Ni. 8122:2)
- L.4.2.8 *Ka-<dáš>-man-Tur₇-gu* (PBS II/2 42:7)
- L.4.3 In later texts
- L.4.3.1 *Ka-dáš-man-Túr-gu* (royal inscription of his son Kadašman-Enlil II: MAOG IV [1928-29] 81:6; letter of Hattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II: KBo I 10:28, 60, etc.; MB economic: Ni. 11111 i' 16')
- L.4.3.2 ^d*Ka-[dáš-man-Túr-gu]* (MB economic: Ni. 11100 rev. 9')
- L.4.3.3 ^d*Kad-<aš>-man-Túr-gu* (MB economic: Ni. 6671:1, 7)¹⁴
- L.4.3.4 *Ka-dáš-man-Tur₇-gu* (MB legal: Ni. 2885:1')
- L.4.3.5 *Ka-ta-áš-ma-Du-ur-gu* (MA text of undetermined type: L.3.7:15', possibly preceded by a masculine personal determinative; perhaps partially preserved *ibid.*, 2', 12')
- L.4.3.6 ^[m]*K[a-]* (Kinglist A ii 3')

L.5 Miscellaneous notes

- L.5.1 The early excavators at Nippur mentioned that bricks with inscriptions of Kadašman-Turgu were found in the ziggurat area. None of these has been published. Partial bibliography: Peters, *Nippur II* 126; Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the 19th Century* (Philadelphia, 1903) p. 371; *idem*, *Die Ausgrabungen im Bêl-Tempel zu Nippur* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 42 (picture, without sufficient detail for the inscription to be legible, *ibid.*, Fig. 26).
- L.5.2 For *U 7787u, published as UET VII 51, see J.5.6 above.

¹⁴See the note to J.4.2.7 above.

- L.5.3 Jaritz [No. 175] assigns the economic text IM 51925 (DK₄-127) to Kadašman-Turgu. Collation shows the date of the text to read: ITI.NE.NE.GAR U₄.30(?).KAM MU.12.KAM, followed by GAR DÁŠ MAN. The last signs are relatively clear on the tablet; but no royal name begins in this fashion, and no royal title is given in the text. There is no reason to connect the text with Kadašman-Turgu.
- L.5.4 *N 3816, an economic text, is dated II-4-year 14, *Kadašm[an-x]*, LUGAL. If the chronology proposed in this volume is accepted, Kadašman-Turgu and possibly Kadašman-Enlil I would be the only eligible rulers who would have ruled so long in the period after ordinal numbers were adopted for dating regnal years (see Appendix A below).

M. *KARA-ḪARDAŠ (*KARA-KINDAŠ?)

According to the Synchronistic History, Kara-ḫardaš ruled as king of Babylonia during the lifetime of his grandfather Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria.¹ A Kassite revolt removed him from the throne and presumably caused his death, since, when his grandfather subsequently undertook to avenge him, he installed another member of the Kassite royal family (the later Kurigalzu) on the throne.

M.1 Chronological sources

- M.1.1 Synchronistic History i 8'-17'--recording the deposing of RN in a Kassite revolt, the installation of the usurper Nazi-Bugaš, and the revenge wreaked by Aššur-uballiṭ I, the grandfather of RN. The RN is written ^mKa-ra-ḪAR-da-áš in i 8' (deposing) but [^mKa-r]a-in-da-áš in i 14' (vengeance), though one would expect the same name in both instances. Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 321-22; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.
- M.1.2 Chronicle P i 9'-14'--a different account of the same events narrated in M.1.1, but with the names of some of the principal characters changed: Kadašman-Ḫarbe appears for Kara-ḫardaš, Šuzigaš for Nazi-Bugaš, etc.² The same Kadašman-Ḫarbe is apparently linked with the preceding episode in the chronicle (i 5'-9'). Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 325; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.

M.2 Contemporary sources

- M.2.1 *VAT 11187. Badly damaged letter, possibly contemporary, in which the name of [Kara]-ḫardaš is sometimes restored in line 1' (a princess, *mārat šarri*, is mentioned in 3' and Babylonia possibly

¹Kara-ḫardaš would presumably have been either the twentieth or the twenty-first ruler of the Kassite dynasty according to Kinglist A (the position depending on whether or not that document included his successor, Nazi-Bugaš, in its list of monarchs). The identity of his father is uncertain (see the discussion in Appendix C). His mother was Muballiṭat-Šērūa, the daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ I (Synchronistic History i 8'-10').

²The varying accounts in the chronicles are treated in Appendix C.

in 6').³ Published by Schroeder, *KAV* 97 (copy).

- M.2.2 *UM 29-13-635. Economic text dated XI-24-MU.ÚS.SA *Bur-ra-Bu-ri-ia-aš* LUGAL.E. May have been written while the successor of Burna-Burias (presumably Kara-ḥardaš) was on the throne. The date of this text is published in copy and transliteration, with brief comment, by Brinkman, *WO VI* (1971) 153-56.

M.3 Later sources: none.

M.4 Writing of the royal name

M.4.1 In a (possibly) contemporary text

M.4.1.1 [Ka(-)ra]-ḤAR-da-aš (letter: *KAV 97:1, restoration and date uncertain)

M.4.2 In a later text

M.4.2.1 ^mKa-ra-ḤAR-da-aš (Synchronistic History i 8')

M.5 Note

- M.5.1 A relative (probably the husband) of Muballiṭat-Šērūa is called Kara-indaš in Chronicle P i 5'; and the name also apparently occurs as one of the variants for Muballiṭat-Šērūa's son in the Synchronistic History i 14'. For this reason, von Soden in the *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte II* (Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna, 1962) 61 and Röllig in *Heidelberger Studien*, pp. 176-77 have suggested that the RN

³The interpretation of this fragmentary document is difficult. Schroeder (*KAV*, p. 71) refers to it as a "Brief an einen König und die königl. Prinzessin." H. Lewy referred to it as a "letter addressed by Karaḥardaš to the Assyrian court" (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves XIII* [1953] 274, n. 3). Neither gave reasons for such designations.

The letter is written in MA script, though this need not be interpreted as implying that the letter was written originally in Assyria (it could have been a later MA copy of a Babylonian original, or it could have been written by an Assyrian scribe at the court of the half-Assyrian Kara-ḥardaš). If one restores [Kara]-ḥardaš in line 1', one may speculate on whether he was the sender or receiver of the letter (in MA and MB letters, the sender is usually, but not always, mentioned after the recipient). One could suggest that Kara-ḥardaš was writing to [Aššur-uballiṭ I], his grandfather, at Assur; and then the reason for the prominence of the statement "the princess (mārat šarri) is well" in line 3' would be to report on the condition of Muballiṭat-Šērūa, Aššur-uballiṭ's daughter and Kara-ḥardaš' mother, who would have been a leading figure at the Babylonian court. Conversely, if an Assyrian were the author and [Kara]-ḥardaš the recipient, one might assume that Muballiṭat-Šērūa

^mKa-ra-HAR-da-áš be read Kara-kindāš (HAR = *kín*), thus facilitating an explanation based on scribal confusion of Kara-kindāš with the earlier king Kara-indāš.⁴

had retired to Assyria after the death of her husband. A particularly vexing question is what to restore before []-*ia liš-me*, as copied in line 2'.

⁴Röllig's suggestion to read [^mKa-ra-k]i(!)-*in-da-áš* in the Synchronistic History i 14' unfortunately does not fit the traces. If his interpretation of the RN is correct, a more likely reading would be [^mKa-r]a-<*ki*>-*in-da-áš*.

N. KARA-INDAŠ

Kara-indaš, a contemporary of Aššur-bēl-nišešu (1417-1409 B.C.) of Assyria, ruled Babylonia probably toward the end of the fifteenth century. His genealogical relationship to his predecessors and successors is unknown, as is his exact place in the sequence of the dynasty. It is usually assumed that he ruled either immediately before or just after Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, the father of the earlier Kurigalzu.¹

The name Kara-indaš also occurs in the confused chronicle tradition concerning the predecessors of the later Kurigalzu. The pertinent passages are discussed in Appendix C.

N.1 Chronological sources

- N.1.1 Synchronistic History i 1'-4'--recording a treaty and border alignment between RN and Aššur-bēl-nišešu. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 244; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.
- N.1.2 **Chronicle P i 5'--the father of [Kadašman-Ḫar]be is called Kara-indaš at the beginning of a section dealing with [Kadašman-Ḫar]be's exploits connected with the Sutians, etc. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 324; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.
- N.1.3 **Synchronistic History i 14'--the grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ I is erroneously referred to as [Kar]a-indaš.² Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 322; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.

N.2 Contemporary sources

- N.2.1 Bricks from Uruk, including later copies on tablets, bearing an eleven-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording work on the Eanna for Inanna.
- N.2.1.1 BM 90287. Published by Pinches, *IV R* (2d ed.) 36, No. 3 (copy). [Jaritz No. 5; El-Wailly 15-B-1b]

¹According to the more common schemes, this would make him the fifteenth or sixteenth king of the dynasty. For Rowton's argument for placing Kadašman-Ḫarbe I before Kara-indaš, see K^a.5.2 above.

²The same grandson is apparently called ^mKa-ra-ḪAR-da-aš in the Synchronistic History i 8'.

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- N.2.1.2 W 3211. Published by Schott, *UVB I* 53, No. 12 and Pl. 26d (copy, transliteration, translation, and provenience). Text identical to N.2.1.1, except that this text reads uri-bi for uri at the end of line 7. [Jaritz No. 6; El-Wailly 15-B-1a]
- N.2.1.3 A 3519. Published below as Text No. 1 (copy, transliteration, translation). Slightly damaged clay tablet bearing two versions of the same inscription, one in hyper-archaizing Middle Babylonian script, the second in late Neo-Babylonian (or Achaemenid) characters.³ [Jaritz No. 8; El-Wailly 15-B-1c]
- N.2.1.4 *BM 40120 (81-2-1,86). Tablet bearing a copy of the same text. Parts of the first seven lines are preserved on the obverse, uncertain traces on the reverse. Variant in line 2: ^dnin-é-an-na. (Information courtesy of E. Sollberger and C. B. F. Walker.)⁴
- N.2.2 W 1, 1099a-c, 1253b, 1435, 1554, 1604, 2789. Stamped bricks from Uruk bearing a ten-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording work on the Eanna for Inanna. W 1 was published by Schroeder, *WVDOG LI* 50 and Pl. 105a-b (photo, copy, transliteration, translation). A combined edition of the texts was done by Schott, *UVB I* 53-54, No. 13 and Pl. 27a (copy, transliteration, translation,

³The only obvious variants, other than minor line-division divergencies within multiple line-cases, from N.2.1.1 are:

- (a) in the MB version, the ká is omitted from line 6 and placed instead between lugal and ki-en-gi in line 7;
- (b) in line 4 of the NB version, a masculine personal determinative has been inserted before the royal name;
- (c) line 7 of the NB version reads lugal kur šu-me-ri u [uril]{(.ki)};
- (d) line 11 of the NB version omits é.

Several passages in the text require further study.

⁴The first six lines of this text, which are relatively well preserved, duplicate N.2.1.1-3 except for the variant noted for line 2. There are, however, according to Walker, some difficulties in reconciling the sparse traces in line 7 and rev. 1' with what would be expected; and the presumed size of the missing part of the tablet could raise the suspicion that the tablet may originally have had a text longer than N.2.1.1-3.

including documentation of excavation numbers and proveniences).

[Jaritz No. 7; El-Wailly 15-B-2a and -2b]

- N.2.3 *CBS 1108. Brown agate seal bearing a seven-line Sumerian inscription of Izkur-Marduk, son of Kara-indaš (no royal title given), addressed to Šuqamuna.⁵ Published by Legrain, *PBS XIV*, No. 530 (photo of impression, transliteration, translation). Further bibliography: Herzfeld, *AMI VIII* (1937) 106, Fig. 2 (somewhat inaccurate drawing of impression), and Limet, p. 66, No. 3.6 (transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 9; El-Wailly 15-S-B.1]

N.3 Later sources

- N.3.1 Mention in a letter of Burna-Burias II to Amenophis IV/Akhnaton that since the time of Kara-indaš the kings of Egypt and Babylonia had enjoyed friendly relations: *EA 10:8-10*.⁶

N.4 Writing of the royal name

N.4.1 In contemporary texts

- N.4.1.1 *Ka-ra-in-da-aš* (royal inscriptions: N.2.1:4 [except for the NB version of N.2.1.3], N.2.2:1; private seal: *PBS XIV*, No. 530:6, end damaged)

N.4.2 In later texts

- N.4.2.1 *Ka-ra-in-da-aš* (Amarna letter: *EA 10:8*)
- N.4.2.2 ^m*Ka-ra-in-da-aš* (NB section of later copy of royal inscription: N.2.1.3:15)
- N.4.2.3 ^m*Ka-ṛaṛ-in-ḏaṛ-āš* (Synchronistic History i 1'; cf. *ibid.*, i '14')
- N.4.2.4 ^m*Kara-in-da-āš* (Chronicle P i 5', collated; slight damage to some signs)

N.5 Miscellaneous notes

- N.5.1 The Iraq Museum register lists IM 45471 (W 17732) as an inscribed clay cone of Kara-indaš from excavations at Uruk (Q^c XV 1). I have been unable to verify this statement; but, according to the excavation reports, one would have expected that the object

⁵The text could also date from after the king's reign.

⁶For a recent discussion of which Egyptian king was involved in the beginning of the period of amicable relations between the two countries, see Kühne, *AOAT XVII* 52-53, n. 244.

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was found during the 1938/39 season (though Kara-indaš is mentioned only incidentally in the pertinent report [UVB XI] and then in connection with the Kara-indaš temple).

- N.5.2 Drower's statement in *CAH* II/1 (3d ed.) 465 that Kara-indaš married his daughter to an Egyptian pharaoh (perhaps Thutmosis IV) is not substantiated by textual evidence. It is derived probably from Knudtzon's misreading of "Kadašman-Harbe" for "Kadašman-Enlil" (*EA*, p. 1029, cited by Drower, *CAH* II/1 [3d ed.] 465, n. 4) and the consequent confusion about the identity of the sister of the Babylonian king (the sister, mentioned in *EA* 1, who was married to Amenophis III).

O. KAŠTILIAŠU

According to present evidence, there were at least two and perhaps four kings of the Kassite dynasty named Kaštiliašu. All but one of these monarchs ruled in the pre-Amarna age, and there is little evidence concerning them. One should also note a homonymous king Kaštiliaš(u) of Ḫana, who has sometimes been identified with one or another of the early Kassite rulers named Kaštiliaš(u).¹

The last king named Kaštiliašu, usually referred to as Kaštiliašu IV, was the twenty-eighth king of the Kassite dynasty and probably the son of his predecessor, Šagarakti-Šuriaš.² He was removed from the throne by Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria; and three Babylonian kings with relatively short reigns came and went before the accession of Kaštiliašu's son, Adad-šuma-ušur.

In the following list of sources, the pre-Amarna and post-Amarna kings are treated separately. The sources for the pre-Amarna kings are prefixed by the letters O^a, O^b, and O^c. The evidence for the post-Amarna king is prefixed simply by O, since the bulk of the material pertains to him.

The Pre-Amarna Kings

O^a. Kaštiliašu I: third king of the dynasty, according to both Kinglist A and the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c). The Agum-kakrime inscription may refer to him as the son of Agum I, his predecessor, and as the father of Abi-Rattaš, who was perhaps his immediate successor.³

O^a.1 Chronological sources

O^a.1.1 Kinglist A i 18'--a reign of 22 (years) and a relatively undamaged RN.

O^a.1.2 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 12'--slightly damaged RN.

O^a.2 Contemporary sources: none.

¹Discussed by Goetze in *JCS* XI (1957) 64-65, with ample bibliography of ancient sources and modern opinions.

²Kinglist A ii 7' gives the length of his reign and his place in the sequence of rulers. Genealogy: *BE* I 70 (see O.5.6 below), Kinglist A ii 7'.

³Kinglist A agrees in making Kaštiliašu the father of his successor, but calls the successor by a name other than Abi-Rattaš. See Section AE below.

O^a.3 Later sources

O^a.3.1 The Agum-kakrime inscription may mention RN (V R 33 i 17, reading uncertain) as the father of Abi-Rattaš (who was the fifth king of the dynasty according to Kinglist A and the fourth king according to A. 117) and as the son of Agum the Great (second king of the dynasty). Text: D^b.3.1.

O^a.3.2 Kinglist A refers to RN's successor as his son (A-šú, i 19').

O^a.4 Writing of the royal name

O^a.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

O^a.4.2 In later texts

O^a.4.2.1 ^m[Kaš-til]-iá-šī (Kinglist A i 18', collated)

O^a.4.2.2 ^mKaš-til-[x]-šū (A. 117 i 12', collated; -a- would fit the traces of -[x]-)

O^a.4.2.3 [Kaš-til-ia-šū] (Agum-kakrime text: V R 33 i 17, collated; most likely reading from the traces, but not certain)

O^b. Kaštiliašū (II?): fifth king of the dynasty according to the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c), but not listed among the first six rulers of the dynasty by Kinglist A and omitted from the genealogy of Agum-kakrime.

O^b.1 Chronological sources

O^b.1.1 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 14'--^mKaš-til-[a]-šū (collated).

O^b.2 Contemporary sources: none.

O^b.3 Later sources: none.

O^b.4 Writing of the royal name: see O^b.1.1 above.

O^c. Kaštiliaš(u) (III?): possibly the twelfth king of the dynasty according to the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c); Kinglist A is broken at this point.

O^c.1 Chronological sources

O^c.1.1 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 21'--Weidner in *AfO* III (1926) 70 copied the name of the twelfth king of the dynasty (from a photo) as though it read [^mKaš-til][]; he later stated in *AfO* XIX (1959-60) 138: "die Lesung . . . ist zwar nicht ausgeschlossen, aber keineswegs gesichert." My collation of the text and of the

excavation photo (1971) showed the line to be very damaged, and no definite reading can be proposed. The traces would not, however, rule out a name beginning ^[m][Ka]š-til-.

O^C.2 Contemporary sources: none.

O^C.3 Later sources

O^C.3.1 *The Chronicle of Early Kings rev. 11-17 mentions activities of Ulam-Buraš (*sic*), brother of Kaštiliaš, and Agum, son of Kaštiliaš, against the Sealand. Although this Kaštiliaš is given no royal title in the text, it seems likely that this may refer to a king of Babylonia.⁴ Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 20.

O^C.4 Writing of the royal name

O^C.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

O^C.4.2 In later texts

O^C.4.2.1 ^mKaš-til-iá-àš (chronicle: King, *CCEBK* II 23-24 rev. 12, 14; the first reference ends in -iá-IÁ(!), the latter sign a mistake for àš)

The Post-Amarna King

O. Kaštiliašu (IV?)

O.1 Chronological sources

O.1.1 Kinglist A ii 7'--a reign of 8 (years) plus "Kaštil, his son" ("his" referring to Šagarakti-Šuriaš, the predecessor of Kaštiliašu).

O.1.2 Chronicle P iv 1-8--relating the capture of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta I and his seven-year rule in the land. Kaštiliašu's name is not preserved in the text, though Weidner in *Tn. I*, No. 37, read the beginning of RN in the first line. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 873; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.

⁴Especially since Ulam-Bur(i)aš and Agum are identified specifically as being related to him. Mention in this section of the chronicle, however, is not in itself sufficient to identify a person as king of Babylonia; and further evidence or clarification is desirable to settle the problem. See D^C.5.1 above.

It is additionally inferred here that Ulam-Bur(i)aš had succeeded his brother as king by the time the Sealand campaign took place. The text itself says nothing for or against such a supposition, though most chronicle passages are concerned with activities of reigning monarchs.

- O.1.3 Synchronistic History, CT XXXIV 42 Sm. 2106 obv. 9--mention of ^m[Kaš]-[til]-a-šú (collated), king of Babylonia, in broken context. Grayson, *ARI I*, No. 871; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.
- O.2 Contemporary sources⁵
- O.2.1 CBS 14577. Lapis-lazuli disk preserving a six-line votive inscription of RN to Ninurta; found at Nippur. Published by Legrain, *PBS XV* 61 (copy). [Jaritz No. 196; El-Wailly 28-V-4]
- O.2.2 CBS 8729.⁶ Magnesite knob bearing a one-line (circular) votive inscription of RN to Enlil; found among the hoard of Kassite stones, etc., in the "booth" in Nippur area III.⁷ Published by Hilprecht, *BE I* 70 (copy); catalogued by Cocquerillat, *RA XLV* (1951) 22, No. 22. See also the discussion in O.5.6 below. [Jaritz No. 197; El-Wailly 28-V-1]
- O.2.3 CBS 8682. Lapis-lazuli "tablet" (*sic* Hilprecht, *BE I*, p. 52) bearing a five-line votive inscription of RN to Nusku. To judge from the copy, the object may be a disk; but the original is not now available for checking (April 1975). Found in the same place as O.2.2. Published by Hilprecht, *BE I* 71 (copy). [Jaritz No. 198; El-Wailly 28-V-2]
- O.2.4 IM 59769 (5 NT 563). Lapis-lazuli disk bearing four lines of a votive inscription of RN (divine name not preserved); found in the SB dump at Nippur. Available in Oriental Institute photo No. 49204 (photo of copy).
- O.2.5 Sb 30. Fragmentary kudurru recording a legal action undertaken by Kaštiliašu (the RN occurs only in ii 5, where it is poorly preserved) concerning land granted by Kurigalzu II; found at Susa. Published by Scheil, *MDP II* 93-94 (copy, transliteration, translation); illustrated and discussed by De Morgan, *MDP I* 178-79 and Fig. 386 (kudurru No. IX). [Steinmetzer No. 44, P 9; Seidl No. 3; Jaritz No. 202; El-Wailly 28-K-1]

⁵Including texts written in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I referring to his victory over Kaštiliašu.

⁶The number CBS 8729 is also assigned to a tablet from the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias (V.2.10.223).

⁷For this locus, see the discussion in E.5.5 above.

0.2.6 Stone tablet recording a royal land grant to Akaptaḥa, a fugitive from Ḥanigalbat; found at Susa. This text is presumably in the Louvre (number unknown). Published by Scheil, *MDP* II 95-96 and Pl. 20 (photo, transliteration, translation). Re-edition: H. Wohl, *JANES* IV (1972) 85-90. The somewhat informal style of this text, which differs from other contemporary inscriptions of approximately the same type, and the unusual writing of the RN (with a masculine personal determinative and spelled with *-ti-li-* instead of *-til-*) may reflect the remote provincial origin of the document, i.e., the area of Padan to the east, where the fugitive might be out of reach of Ḥanigalbat or Assyria. These could also, however, be taken as indications of the later, i.e., post-Kaštiliašū, origin of the text. [Steinmetzer No. 63, P 28; Jaritz No. 203; El-Wailly 28-K-2]

0.2.7 Economic texts

0.2.7.1	I -	3	- acc. year	Ni. 5856
0.2.7.2	I -	3	- acc. year	Ni. 6258
0.2.7.3	I -	[3?]	- acc. year	Ni. 11688
0.2.7.4	I -	8	- acc. year	CBS 8570
0.2.7.5	I -		- acc. year	Ni. 349
0.2.7.6	II -	25	- acc. year	*N 4320
0.2.7.7	II -	30	- acc. year	BM 17678
0.2.7.8	V -	6	- acc. year	BM 13294 = 96-3-28,385; published as <i>CT</i> LI 36; men- tioned in Figulla, <i>Cat. I</i> 101, where the day is given incorrectly
0.2.7.9	V -	10	- acc. year	BM 17712
0.2.7.10	V -	12(+?)	- acc. year	LB 748, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 133 and <i>TLB</i> I 264
0.2.7.11	V -	27	- acc. year	Ni. 359
0.2.7.12	V -		- acc. year	Ni. 2677
0.2.7.13	VI -	22	- acc. year	VAT 4920, published in Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , pp. 32-33
0.2.7.14	VI -		- acc. year	CBS 13092, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 53
0.2.7.15	VIa -	22	- acc. year	L. 39456

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0.2.7.16	Via -	29	- acc. year	Ni. 835; II-1(+) to VIa-29
0.2.7.17	Via -		- acc. year	CBS 12931, published as PBS II/2 54; from year 5 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš to VIa-acc. year of RN
0.2.7.18	Via? -		- acc. year	CBS 11996
0.2.7.19	Via -		- acc. year	*Ni. 2941; only end of RN preserved
0.2.7.20	VII -	3	- acc. year	Columbia Univ. No. 341; list- ed in Mendelsohn, Cat., p. 75
0.2.7.21	VII -	10	- acc. year	Ni. 313
0.2.7.22	VII -	17	- acc. year	N 2592
0.2.7.23	VII -	17	- acc. year	Ni. 397; day precedes MN
0.2.7.24	VII -	24	- acc. year	CBS 9838; RN largely broken away
0.2.7.25	VII -	28	- acc. year	BM 81283
0.2.7.26	VIII -	28	- acc. year	Ni. 12227
0.2.7.27	IX? -		- acc. year	Ni. 922, including years 9-12 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš
0.2.7.28	X -	21	- acc. year	UM 29-16-707
0.2.7.29	X -	22	- acc. year	Ni. 156
0.2.7.30	XI -	2	- acc. year	Ni. 451
0.2.7.31	XI -	9(+)	- acc. year	Ni. 6307
0.2.7.32	XI -	14	- acc. year	Ni. 393
0.2.7.33	XII -	5	- acc. year	Ni. 388
0.2.7.34	XII -		- acc. year	BM 13267 = 96-3-28,358; pub- lished as CT LI 37; Figulla, Cat. I 99
0.2.7.35	XII -		- acc. year	Ni. 11330; I-XII
0.2.7.36	[] -	14	- acc. year	Ni. 12481
0.2.7.37	[] -	{27}	- acc. year	CBS 3702
0.2.7.38	? -		- acc. year	Ni. 1070
0.2.7.39	[] -		- acc. year	*Ni. 834; RN ends in []a-a-šū
0.2.7.40			- acc. year	Ni. 5933; from acc. year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš to acc. year of RN

- 0.2.7.41 - acc. year Ni. 6224
- 0.2.7.42 - acc. year Ni. 6596; from year 9 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš to acc. year of RN
- 0.2.7.43 - acc. year Ni. 7113; from at least year 9 of [Šagarak]ti-Šuriaš to acc. year of [RN]
- 0.2.7.44 - acc. year Ni. 7638; from year 12 [of Šagarakti-Šuriaš] to acc. year of RN
- 0.2.7.45 - acc. year *Ni. 7891; RN badly damaged
- 0.2.7.46 - acc. year *Ni. 5930 mentions year 9 of ^dŠa-g[a-rakti-Šuriaš] and the acc. [year] of ^d[Kaštiliašu]⁸
- 0.2.7.47 - acc. year *Ni. 6206 mentions years 5-12, followed by an acc. year (none of the years followed by RN's)
- 0.2.7.48 - acc. year *Ni. 7050 (acc. year of RN mentioned)
- 0.2.7.49 - acc. year *Ni. 11141 mentions year 12 and acc. year (neither with RN's)
- 0.2.7.50 - acc. year Ni. 12239; from year 11 (presumably of Šagarakti-Šuriaš) to acc. year of RN
- 0.2.7.51 - acc. year *Ni. 12357 mentions the acc. year of RN
- 0.2.7.52 - acc. year UM 29-15-434 mentions the acc. year of RN
- 0.2.7.53 - acc. year *UM 29-16-116 mentions the acc. year of RN (possibly as the date for the text)
- 0.2.7.54 I - 18 - year 1 Ni. 848; also mentions VII, IX, XI of acc. year

⁸RN restored by comparison with 0.2.7.42.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

0.2.7.55	I -	- year 1	BM 17687
0.2.7.56	I -	- year 1	Ni. 6397; from X-acc. year to I-year 1
0.2.7.57	I -	- year 1	Ni. 6961; from X-acc. year to I-year 1
0.2.7.58	II -	3 - year 1	Ni. 842
0.2.7.59	II -	6 - year 1	Ni. 6514
0.2.7.60	II -	13 - year 1	Ni. 25
0.2.7.61	IV -	[] - year 1	Ni. 6599; days 23-[]
0.2.7.62	V -	2 - year 1	Ni. 6314
0.2.7.63	V -	8 - year 1	BM 81371
0.2.7.64	V -	18? - year 1	CBS 8738
0.2.7.65	V -	[] - year 1	CBS 7234; days 1-[]
0.2.7.66	VI -	- year 1	Ni. 461
0.2.7.67	VII? -	11 - year 1?	BM 17740
0.2.7.68	XII -	6 - year 1	Ni. 2243
0.2.7.69	XII -	6 - year 1	UM 29-15-156; days 4-6
0.2.7.70	XII -	7 - year 1	CBS 12927, published as <i>PBS II/2 55</i>
0.2.7.71	{XII} -	7 - year 1	Ni. 6967; MN restored from parallel texts
0.2.7.72	XII -	13 - year 1	Ni. 8716
0.2.7.73	XII -	14 - year 1	Ni. 7971
0.2.7.74	XII -	15 - year 1	Ni. 6607
0.2.7.75	XII -	16 - year 1	CBS 11693, published as <i>PBS II/2 56</i>
0.2.7.76	XII -	18 - year 1	UM 29-15-184
0.2.7.77	XII -	21 - year 1	Ni. 6603
0.2.7.78	XII -	22 - year 1	HS 141, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 11</i> ; see Petschow No. 15
0.2.7.79	XII -	23 - year 1	HS 142, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 12</i> ; Petschow No. 15
0.2.7.80	XII -	26 - year 1	CBS' 8713
0.2.7.81	XII -	28 - year 1	CBS 7726

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O.2.7.82	{MN}	-	- year 1	Ni. 878; I-{MN}
O.2.7.83	[] - year 1	CBS 8512
O.2.7.84			- year 1?	Ni. 1016
O.2.7.85			- year 1	Ni. 6160
O.2.7.86			- year 1	Ni. 12028
O.2.7.87			- year 1	UM 29-16-706
O.2.7.88	I	-	7? - year 2	Ni. 7796
O.2.7.89	V	-	21 - year 2	UM 29-13-919
O.2.7.90	VI	-	29? - year 2	Ni. 136
O.2.7.91	VI	-	- year 2	HS 143, to be published as TuM NF V 21; Petschow No. 41
O.2.7.92	IX	-	14 - year 2	Ni. 6310
O.2.7.93	X	-	- year 2	Ni. 11398
O.2.7.94	XII	-	- year 2	Ni. 11094
O.2.7.95	{MN}	-	3?(+) - year 2	Ni. 6313
O.2.7.96	{MN}	-	25(+) - year 2	CBS 11692
O.2.7.97			- year 2?	*Ni. 11605; IX-8(+) men- tioned earlier in text
O.2.7.98			- year 2	Ni. 12009; only beginning of RN preserved
O.2.7.99			- year 2	Ni. 12348
O.2.7.100			- year 2	*U 7787c, published as UET VII 62; mentions year 2 of RN
O.2.7.101	{IV}	-	1 - year 3	IM 50038 = DK ₃ -84, published as Sumer IX (1953) No. 22; kindly collated by J. N. Postgate
O.2.7.102	IV	-	{25} - year 3	Ni. 2991
O.2.7.103	V?	-	4 - year 3	CBS 8708
O.2.7.104	VI	-	28 - year 3(+)	IM 50027 = DK ₃ -80, published as Sumer IX (1953) No. 15
O.2.7.105	VII	-	1 - year 3	U 7789k, published as UET VII 31
O.2.7.106	VII	-	8 - year 3	Ni. 6563
O.2.7.107	VII	-	14 - year 3	Ni. 2254

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0.2.7.108	VII -		- year 3	Ni. 12453
0.2.7.109	VIII -	7	- year 3	Ni. 2590; VII?-5 to VIII-7
0.2.7.110	IX? -	1	- year 3	IM 50035 = DK ₃ -123, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 9; ITI.GAN.GAN.A.TAB
0.2.7.111	IX? -	10?	- year 3	IM 50033 = DK ₃ -69, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 8; ITI.GAN.A.TAB
0.2.7.112	IX -	19	- year 3	Ni. 2250
0.2.7.113	X? -	9	- year 3	IM 58810 = 4 NT 9
0.2.7.114	XII -	12	- year 3	U 7787p, published as <i>UET VII 25</i>
0.2.7.115	[MN] -	25(+)	- year 3	Ni. 7596
0.2.7.116	[] -	x	- year 3	Ni. 7068; days 1-x
0.2.7.117			- year 3	N 1967; months I-IX mentioned
0.2.7.118			- year 3	Ni. 11382
0.2.7.119	II -	2	- year 4	Ni. 6463
0.2.7.120	II -	10	- year 4	U 7787m, published as <i>UET VII 20</i>
0.2.7.121	III -	2	- year 4	IM 50047 = DK ₃ -81, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 26
0.2.7.122	IV -	25?	- year 4	N 6309; year date probable
0.2.7.123	V -	4?	- year 4	UM 29-15-765
0.2.7.124	VI -	11	- year 4	IM 50032 = DK ₃ -64, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 6
0.2.7.125	VI -	17	- year 4	IM 50034 = DK ₃ -72, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 7
0.2.7.126	VI -	19	- year 4	IM 50051 = DK ₃ -67, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 20
0.2.7.127	VI -	29	- year 4	IM 50030 = DK ₃ -89, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 11
0.2.7.128	VIa -	20(+)	- year 4	U 203, published as <i>UET VII 48</i>
0.2.7.129	VIa -	[]	- year 4	IM 50042 = DK ₃ -96, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 12

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O.2.7.130	VII -	2	- year 4	U 7788o, published as <i>UET VII 27</i>
O.2.7.131	VII -		- year 4 ¹	Ni. 2248
O.2.7.132	XI -	25	- year 4	Ni. 422
O.2.7.133	[] -	10(+)	- year 4	UM 29-16-125
O.2.7.134			- year 4	A 706, formerly H. 483
O.2.7.135			- year 4	IM 50082 = DK ₃ -115, pub- lished as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 13
O.2.7.136			- year 4	Ni. 1050
O.2.7.137			- year 4	*Ni. 11124; RN badly damaged, but highly probable
O.2.7.138			- year 4	Ni. 11632
O.2.7.139	VI -	1	- year 5	IM 50031 = DK ₃ -63, pub- lished as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 10
O.2.7.140	VI -	6	- year 5	IM 50029 = DK ₃ -65, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 5
O.2.7.141	VIII -	17	- year 5	CBS 6611, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 143
O.2.7.142	XI -	17?	- year 5?	IM 58808 = 4 NT 7; year 2 also possible
O.2.7.143	[MN] -	4	- year 5	Ni. 847
O.2.7.144			- [year] 5	IM 50046 = DK ₃ -79, published as <i>Sumer IX</i> (1953) No. 16
O.2.7.145			- year 5	Ni. 7749
O.2.7.146	I -	15	- year 6	HS 161, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 70</i> ; Petschow No. 4
O.2.7.147	XI? -	1	- year 6?	Ni. 747; MN and year likely
O.2.7.148			- year 6	CBS 3381, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 144; Torczyner, p. 89, No. 65
O.2.7.149	V -	4	- year 7	N 2247
O.2.7.150	IX -	1	- year 7	HS 186, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 24</i> ; Petschow No. 33

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O.2.7.151	X -	1(+)	- year 7	U 7789d, published as <i>UET VII 3</i>
O.2.7.152	X -	16	- year 7	Ni. 6088
O.2.7.153			- year 7	Ni. 7806
O.2.7.154	V -	25	- year 8	IM 50036 = DK ₃ -114
O.2.7.155	I -	17(+)	- year x	Ni. 403
O.2.7.156	I -	[	]	Ni. 8808
O.2.7.157	III?	14?(+)	- []	IM 50060 = DK ₃ -109
O.2.7.158	VI -	12	- ye[ar x]	CBS 10570, published as <i>BE XIV 145</i>
O.2.7.159	VI -	14	- []	IM 50024 = DK ₃ -61, pub- lished as <i>Sumer IX (1953)</i> No. 4
O.2.7.160	X? -	6	- []	Ni. 41; year 4 mentioned obv. 4
O.2.7.161	X -	[	]	CBS 7395; the main contents cover a period probably from year 10(+) of Šagarakti- Šuriaš to II-acc. year of Kaštiliašu
O.2.7.162	XI -		- year []	IM 50037 = DK ₃ -78, published as <i>Sumer IX (1953)</i> No. 21
O.2.7.163	XII -	25	- []	Ni. 2255
O.2.7.164	XII -	29?	- []	*IM 50068 = DK ₃ -86; colla- tion of day required
O.2.7.165	{MN} -	2	- []	IM 50102 = DK ₃ -120
O.2.7.166	{MN} -	8	- []	CBS 11771
O.2.7.167	{MN} -	12	- []	N 2308
O.2.7.168	[] -	15	- []	N 2033
O.2.7.169	[] -	17	- []	*IM 50055 = DK ₃ -66; only end of RN preserved
O.2.7.170				Ni. 836.
O.2.7.171				Ni. 1387.
O.2.7.172				Ni. 6442.
O.2.7.173				*Ni. 11172; only end of RN preserved.
O.2.7.174				Ni. 11994.

- O.2.7.175 UM 29-13-166.
- O.2.7.176 *UM 29-13-313; RN: []-fial-šu.
- O.2.7.177 Peiser, *Urk.*, p. 44, lists other texts not bearing dates that he would assign to this time: *P 88 (= LB 805), P 97 (= LB 808), P 119 (= LB 823), P 142 (= LB 844).
- O.2.8 Inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I mentioning the defeat of Kaštiliašu.⁹
- O.2.8.1 Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 5:48-69.
- O.2.8.2 *Ibid.*, No. 6:21-24.
- O.2.8.3 *Ibid.*, No. 15 (dupl. of O.2.8.1). [Jaritz No. 204]
- O.2.8.4 *Ibid.*, No. 16:56-68.
- O.2.8.5 *Ibid.*, No. 17:34-40.
- O.2.9 Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, which gives a theological treatment of the defeat of Kaštiliašu by Tukulti-Ninurta. Bibliography under W.2.5 below.
- O.2.10 *VAT 16450. Middle Assyrian literary(?) text published in Weidner, *Tn. I*, Pl. XI (copy) and No. 39E (partial transliteration). The messenger of the Kassite king (*mār šipri ša šar Kaššê*), referred to in line 5, may be a messenger of RN. Interpretation and date uncertain. (Note that Tukulti-Ninurta is not mentioned in this text but in VAT 16451:2, which Weidner believes is closely related.)
- O.3 Later sources
- O.3.1 A Luristan bronze dagger in the Foroughi Collection, Teheran, bearing an inscription of Adad-šuma-ušur and published in *Iranica Antiqua* II (1962) 151 and Pl. XIII, No. 1, mentions Kaštiliašu as that king's father (line 3). Text: C.2.2.
- O.3.2 Chronicle P states that Adad-šuma-ušur was installed on his father's throne (*ina kussī abīšu*, iv 9), without explicitly naming Kaštiliašu as his father.
- O.3.3 VAT 9525, a MA tablet fragment published as *KAH* II 157, mentions Tukulti-Ninurta, Kaštil(i)āšu (line 8' and possibly line 1'), and the land of Karduniaš. Text: W.3.1.
- O.3.4 *K. 4445+, the "Šulgi Prophecy," last edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, may refer to the calamitous defeat of Babylonia

⁹See W.2.1 for fuller details and bibliography.

in the reign of Kaštiliašu. See the discussion by Borger, *ibid.*, p. 23.

O.3.5 See also W.3.3 below.

O.4 Writing of the royal name

O.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts¹⁰

O.4.1.1 Kaš-til-ia-šu (royal inscriptions: *BE* I 70, 71:4; *PBS* XV 61:4; IM 59769:13¹); the kudurru *MDP* II 93 ii 5 preserves only the first two syllables of the RN)

O.4.1.2 ^mKaš-ti-li-ia-a-šu (kudurru: *MDP* II 95:3; see the comments under O.2.6 above)

O.4.1.3 ^mKaš-til-a-šu (texts of Tukulti-Ninurta I: Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 5:54, 60 and dupl., No. 15; No. 6:23; No. 16:60, 64)

O.4.1.4 ^mKaš-til-a-a-šu (texts of Tukulti-Ninurta I: Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 16, var. 164, and No. 17:34, 36; Tukulti-Ninurta Epic¹¹ iii 22, 25, iv 12, 129, *Afo* VII [1931-32] 281 rev. 9, BM 98730:33, BM 98731:5' and rev. 7)

O.4.2 In contemporary economic texts

O.4.2.1 Kaš-til-ia-šu (*CT* LI 36:26; *Sumer* IX [1953] No. 8:11, No. 11:11; Mendelsohn, *Cat.*, No. 341:9, collated; BM 17678:12; Ni. 11688 rev. 4'; and *passim*; this is the most common writing of RN in economic texts, though not as yet attested at Ur)

O.4.2.2 Kaš-til-ia-šú (*Sumer* IX [1953] No. 5:15, No. 6:13; *UET* VII 25 rev. 23, 48 rev. 6, 62:13); Peiser, *Urk.*, P 133 rev. 7, not collated; HS 142:12; Ni. 156:12; L. 39456 rev. 3'; UM 29-13-919:16; UM 29-16-707:14; and *passim*; this is the second most common writing of RN in economic texts)

O.4.2.3 ^dKaš-til-ia-šu (IM 58808:11', Ni. 6397 edge, Ni. 12227 rev. 6')

O.4.2.4 ^dKaš-til-ia-šú (BM 17687:11, Ni. 2250:8)

O.4.2.5 Kaš-til-ia₄-šú (UM 29-15-765:13)¹²

¹⁰Including texts written in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I referring to his victory over Kaštiliašu.

¹¹Principal citations from the edition by Ebeling, with columns as renumbered by W. G. Lambert. Bibliography under W.2.5 below.

¹²Ni. 41:13 has ^{(d)}Kaš-til-ia₄-šú and could be assigned to O.4.2.5 or O.4.2.6.

- 0.4.2.6 ^dKaš-til-ia₄-šú (N 2308 rev. 3', Ni. 359:10, Ni. 2590 rev. 6')
- 0.4.2.7 Kaš-til-ia₄-šu (BE XIV 143:10 [collated], 145:18!)
- 0.4.2.8 ^dKaš-til-ia₄-šú (Ni. 7749 edge; possibly also Ni. 349:12)
- 0.4.2.9 Kaš-til-ia-šum (Ni. 1387 edge; Ni. 2677 edge; possibly Ni. 8808 edge; *Ni. 11172 edge, only [-i]a-šum preserved)
- 0.4.2.10 ^[d]Kaš-til-ia-šum (Ni. 6442 edge, determinative probable)
- 0.4.2.11 Kaš-til-ia-aš (VAT 4920:27, as copied in Peiser, *Urk.*, p. 33; kindly collated by Prof. Gerhard R. Meyer)
- 0.4.2.12 Kaš-til-ia-a-šu (IM 58810 rev. [3], beginning preserved as K[aš-til]-; cf. CBS 7395 edge 2, where the area in which the determinative would have been is destroyed)
- 0.4.2.13 ^d[Kaš]-til-ia-a-šu (CT LI 37:19)
- 0.4.2.14 ^dKaš-til-ia-a-šú (A 706:12, Ni. 422:9, Ni. 6599 rev. 12')
- 0.4.2.15 ^dKaš-til-ia-ši (Ni. 2248 rev. 10)
- 0.4.2.16 Kaš-til-li-ia-šú (HS 161 rev. 8')
- 0.4.2.17 Kaš-til-iá-šú (UET VII 3 rev. [16], 20 rev. 13, 27 rev. 7, 31 rev. 13; cf. Kaš-til-iá-[], N 6309 rev. 3')

The following observations may be made concerning the writing of the RN in contemporary economic texts. The name is never preceded by the masculine personal determinative, and the use of the divine determinative is relatively uncommon. The first two syllables of the name are always written Kaš-til-. For the next sign, -li- occurs once; -ia- is common, -ia₄- much less common, while -iá- is rare (and occurs chiefly at Ur). The sign for the vowel -a- occurs six times as an extension (plene writing?) of a preceding -ia-. For the final sign, -šu and -šú are common; š₂i occurs once; -šum occurs five times.¹³

0.4.3 In later texts

- 0.4.3.1 Kaš-til-ia-šu (royal inscription of his son Adad-šuma-ušur: *Iranica Antiqua* II [1962] 151, No. 1:3)
- 0.4.3.2 ^mKaš-til-a-šu (MA inscription perhaps from the time of Tiglath-pileser I or later: *KAH* II 157:8'; cf. *ibid.*, line 1')

¹³And, perhaps by coincidence, always on the edges of tablets found at Nippur.

O.4.3.3 ^m[Kaš]-[til]-a-šú (Synchronistic History: CT XXXIV 42
Sm. 2106 obv. 9)

O.4.3.4 ^mKaš-til (Kinglist A ii 7')

O.5 Miscellaneous notes

O.5.1 *CBS 8686, a fragmentary blue-glass (imitation lapis-lazuli) axhead, found at Nippur and preserving the last sign in four consecutive lines, has sometimes been assigned to this king. The text was published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 79 (copy). If the signs preserved occurred toward the beginning of the text, then line 4' -(š)u (less likely line 3': -š)u could be interpreted as the end of RN. Attribution highly speculative. [Jaritz No. 201]¹⁴

O.5.2 CBS 8680 (published as *BE* I 72; Jaritz No. 199) and an unnumbered axhead fragment published as *BE* I 76 (Jaritz No. 200; El-Wailly 28-V-3) are difficult to assign to a specific king because of the very damaged condition of the inscriptions. The latter has been tentatively classified under Šagarakti-Šurīaš for reasons explained there (V.2.7), though one cannot categorically exclude the possibility that it belonged originally to Kaštīliaš. These fragments are also made of blue glass (imitation lapis lazuli).

O.5.3 The votive bead A 32727 (9 N 124), published as *AS* XVII, No. 57, is more likely to belong to Šagarakti-Šurīaš (than to Kaštīliaš). The orthography of the preserved portions of the RN [t]i-[][(x)]-ia-aš (collated) points rather to Šagarakti-Šurīaš.¹⁵ Text: V.2.6.

O.5.4 A Kaštīliaš is mentioned as *līmu* in VAT 8722:30, a MA slave text published by Weidner in *AFO* XIII (1939-41) Pl. VII (copy), pp. 122-23 (commentary), and p. 118 (catalogue). An identification of this eponym official with the deposed Kassite king seems chronologically possible; but there is no direct evidence for or against such a supposition. [Jaritz No. 205]

¹⁴The items discussed in O.5.1-2 should be added to the lists of glass objects in Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Corning, 1970) p. 148 (Nippur) and p. 215 (No. 8).

¹⁵The writing -ti- is practically unattested for the royal name Kaštīliaš, except in an atypical peripheral kudurru (O.4.1.2). The -ia-aš ending is never attested in his royal inscriptions. While the attribution of A 32727 to Kaštīliaš is not impossible, it is presently implausible.

- O.5.5 In *MDP X 85:3*, [Ṭupl]iaš has been suggested recently as a reading to be preferred to the older [Kaštil]iaš.¹⁶ While the old reading is dubious even on orthographic grounds,¹⁷ it should also be pointed out that there is little evidence in favor of the new restoration.
- O.5.6 CBS 8729, published as *BE I 70*, is the only contemporary text that mentions the genealogy of Kaštiliašu. Unfortunately, the published cuneiform copy of the text does not show that the traces of the sign between Kaštiliašu and Šagarakti-Šuriaš are sufficiently clear to establish a reading [DUMU] ("son of") beyond any reasonable doubt; and the original text cannot now be located for collation (April 1975). In this case, since the only outside evidence for the genealogy comes from Kinglist A (which is not always reliable in such matters), one must resort to textual parallels within the dynasty; and here it may be observed that in Kassite royal inscriptions citations of descent are listed only in the direct line (never, e.g., "RN, brother of RN₂") so that the likelihood that any restoration other than [DUMU] should be proposed is minimal.

This conclusion is also reinforced on chronological grounds. See P.5.5 below.

¹⁶E. Reiner *apud* M. B. Rowton, *CAH I/1* (3d ed.) 218.

¹⁷See O.4 above and the discussion below under V.2.6.

P. KUDUR-ENLIL

Kudur-Enlil, the twenty-sixth king of the Kassite dynasty, is credited with nine official regnal years, although he died in Nisan of his ninth year.¹ According to later traditions, he was the son of his predecessor, Kadašman-Enlil II, and the father of his successor, Šagarakti-Šuriaš.² There is, however, some reason for questioning either or both of these assertions, since there were several short reigns around this time and the generations would have had to be incredibly short to satisfy the chronological data.³ It is also worth noting that the parentage of both Kudur-Enlil and Šagarakti-Šuriaš is unattested in contemporary documents.

This is the first king of the Kassite dynasty whose name can be interpreted as being wholly Babylonian. The name is spelled both Kudur-Enlil and Kudurri-Enlil in contemporary documents.⁴ The form Kudur-Enlil is given preference here because it is the only form attested to date in royal inscriptions. Both spellings, however, occur in contemporary economic texts.

P.1 Chronological sources

P.1.1 Kinglist A ii 5'--a reign of 61 (years) plus ^[m]Ku-du[r DUM]U-šú!; reading of final traces uncertain. The length of the reign is undoubtedly incorrect, and the possible filiation may be as well (see the introductory statement above and P.5.5 below).

P.2 Contemporary sources

P.2.1 Stamped bricks from Nippur bearing a six-line Sumerian possession

¹Place in the sequence of the dynasty: Kinglist A ii 5'. Although Kinglist A gives him a reign of only 6 years, there are more than fifteen texts dated in his seventh and eighth years; UM 29-13-661, UM 29-13-668, and probably Ni. 7004 equate his ninth year with the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. He presumably died at the very beginning of his ninth year, since YBC 3072 is dated on the fifth day of Nisan in the accession year of his successor, Šagarakti-Šuriaš.

²Kinglist A ii [5'1-6' (but see P.1.1 below) and VAB IV 228 iii 28-31.

³See P.5.5 below.

⁴See P.4.1-2 below. Both *kudur* and *kudurri* are possible forms for the construct of the first element of "Kudur-Enlil." If the royal name was pronounced *Kudur(ri)-Illil*, the presence or omission of the doubled *r* and *i* in the orthography would have little significance.

inscription of RN, who is called a benefactor (SAG UŠ) of the temple of Enlil.

- P.2.1.1 IM 56097 (2 NT 481), available in Oriental Institute photos Nos. 46465, 46673. Found in the Enlil temple, room 13, level III (see *OIP LXXVIII* 14).
- P.2.1.2 IM 61767 (6 NT 1132), available in Oriental Institute photo No. 50370. Found in locus ZB 4, first pavement.
- P.2.1.3 More than forty other bricks, presumably bearing the same inscription,⁵ were found in room 13, locus 15, and streets 20 and 22 (*OIP LXXVIII* 14-17).
- P.2.2 5 NT 700, now in the Iraq Museum (number unknown). Brick bearing a twelve-line Sumerian building inscription of RN; found at Nippur. Oriental Institute photo No. 49206 (photo of copy by Goetze). See also J.5.2 above.
- P.2.3 CBS 9955. Lapis-lazuli disk with a six-line votive inscription of RN to Enlil; found at Nippur. Published by Legrain, *PBS XV* 60 (copy). [Jaritz No. 183; El-Wailly 26-V-2]
- P.2.4 EŞ 1923. Lapis-lazuli disk with a five-line votive inscription of RN to Nusku; found among the hoard of stones, etc., in the "booth" in Nippur area III.⁶ Published by Hilprecht, *BE I* 64 (copy). [Jaritz No. 184; El-Wailly 26-V-1]
- P.2.5 L. 7076. Kudurru, found at Larsa, recording a land grant and tax exemptions (*zakûtu*) bestowed by RN. Catalogued by Arnaud, *Syria XLVIII* (1971) 291; photos and description by J. Margueron, *ibid.*, pp. 280-81, Fig. 5, and Pl. XVIII, No. 2. Published by Margueron and Arnaud, *RA LXVI* (1972) 151-56, 169-76 (photos, copy, transliteration, translation, notes); photos are also published in *Sumer XXVII* (1971) Pl. XXII (cf. also *ibid.*, p. 36)..
- P.2.6 Economic texts
- P.2.6.1 VIII - 28(+) - acc. year A 30163 = 3 NT 140; day "29" would be the highest possible

⁵Jacobsen and Steele's unpublished manuscript dealing with the brick inscriptions found in the 1948-50 seasons at Nippur mentions only a single inscription of Kudur-Enlil stamped on various bricks in the Enlil temple, room 13, level III, and "in a facing or repair on the southwest wall of the same temple building."

⁶For a discussion of this locus, see E.5.5 above.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

				reading; heavily damaged
				duplicate of P.2.6.2
P.2.6.2	VIII	20 [+8(+)]	acc. year	UM 55-21-265 = 3 NT 147; duplicate of P.2.6.1, whence the date is restored
P.2.6.3			- acc. year	mentioned in *Ni. 2914 rev. 3-4
P.2.6.4	I		- year 1	N 4486
P.2.6.5	I		- year 1	UM 29-15-780
P.2.6.6	I		- year 1?	UM 29-15-983
P.2.6.7	II		- year 1	Ni. 2226
P.2.6.8	III	7	- year 1(+)	Ni. 6555; I-29 to III-7
P.2.6.9	III	26	- year 1	CBS 8717; days 8(+)-26
P.2.6.10	III		- year 1	Ni. 901; I-III
P.2.6.11	IV		- year 1	CBS 11524, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 44
P.2.6.12	IV?		- year 1	Ni. 189; III-IV?
P.2.6.13	V	5	- year 1	CBS 8719; III-27 to V-5
P.2.6.14	V	5	- year 1	Ni. 6083; III-27 to V-5; another tablet possibly covering the same time is P.2.6.49 below
P.2.6.15	V?		- year 1	CBS 12915
P.2.6.16	V		- year 1	UM 29-16-83
P.2.6.17	V		- year 1	UM 29-16-718
P.2.6.18	VI	20(+)	- year 1	CBS 9960; days 1-20(+)
P.2.6.19	VI		- year 1	Ni. 1523
P.2.6.20	VI		- year 1	Ni. 2237
P.2.6.21	VII	1?	- year 1	UM 29-15-762; VI-3(+) to VII-1?
P.2.6.22	VII	1	- year 1	UM 29-15-778; VI-4? to VII-1
P.2.6.23	X	7	- year 1	CBS 15027; days 3-7
P.2.6.24	X	8	- year 1	Ni. 6050; VII-3 to X-8
P.2.6.25	XI	22	- year 1(+)	Ni. 2973
P.2.6.26	XI	22	- year 1(+)	Ni. 6554; year probably only "1"

P.2.6.27	XI -	30 -	year 1	CBS 8741; days 20-30
P.2.6.28	XI -		- year 1	Ni. 1633
P.2.6.29	XII -	3 -	year 1	CBS 15038; X-29 to XII-3
P.2.6.30	XII -	7(+)	- year 1	Ni. 8635; year probable
P.2.6.31	XII -	18 -	year 1	Ni. 2223; days 5-18
P.2.6.32	XII -	22(+)	- year 1	UM 29-15-989; days 18-22(+)
P.2.6.33	XII -	29 -	year 1	CBS 13357
P.2.6.34	XII -	29 -	year 1	UM 29-15-947; days 18-29
P.2.6.35	XII -		- year 1	Ni. 2240
P.2.6.36	*XIIa ⁷ -	17 -	year 1	HS 120, to be published as TuM NF V 3; Petschow No. 24; days 1-17
P.2.6.37	XIIa -	17 -	year 1	Ni. 7947; days 1-17
P.2.6.38	XIIa -	24 -	year 1	CBS 8674; days 18-24
P.2.6.39	*XIIa -	29 -	year 1	CBS 12919, published as PBS II/2 45; XI-7 to *XIIa-29
P.2.6.40	*XIIa -	30 -	year 1	CBS 13360; [MN]-7? to XIIa-30
P.2.6.41	*XIIa -	30 -	year 1	HS 118, to be published as TuM NF V 1; Petschow No. 23; XI-7 to *XIIa-30
P.2.6.42	XIIa -		- year 1	CBS 7713; VII-XIIa
P.2.6.43	*XIIa -		- year 1	CBS 8587
P.2.6.44	*XIIa -		- year 1	CBS 13373
P.2.6.45	*XIIa -		- year 1	HS 127, to be published as TuM NF V 17; Petschow No. 21
P.2.6.46	XIIa -		- year 1	N 2240
P.2.6.47	[*XIIa?]-		- year 1	Ni. 6072; VII-[XIIa?]
P.2.6.48	[] -	1 -	year 1	*UM 29-16-127; []-14 to []-1, RN uncertain

⁷*XIIa is used here to designate texts that have a date ITI.ŠE MU.1.KAM.DIRI (or the equivalent); and it has been presumed that the expression means the same as ITI.DIRI.ŠE(.KIN.KUD) MU.1.KAM elsewhere (the latter expression is represented simply as XIIa in these tables). As far as is known at present, a phrase like MU.1.KAM.DIRI is used in Kassite times only in the reign of Kudur-Enlil. For a discussion of these writings and the difficulties concerning their interpretation, see the section of Appendix A dealing with intercalary months.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

P.2.6.49	{MN}	-	5?	- year 1	CBS 15029; III-27(+) to {MN}-5; {MN} is possibly V (cf. P.2.6.13-14 above)
P.2.6.50	[]	-	11	- year 1	N 6308
P.2.6.51	[]	-		- year 1	Ni. 6074
P.2.6.52				- year 1(+)	Ni. 7636
P.2.6.53				- year 1	Ni. 7828
P.2.6.54	I	-	4	- year 2	CBS 8676; days 2-4
P.2.6.55	I	-	4	- year 2	Ni. 2202; days 3-4
P.2.6.56	I	-		- year 2	Ni. 2227
P.2.6.57	II	-	12	- year 2	CBS 15015; I-28 to II-12
P.2.6.58	II	-	12	- year 2	CBS 15018; I-28 to II-12
P.2.6.59	II	-	12	- year 2	HS 125, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 4</i> ; Petschow No. 19; I-28 to II-12
P.2.6.60	II	-		- year 2	CBS 7255
P.2.6.61	II	-		- year 2	CBS 7712
P.2.6.62	II	-		- year 2	Ni. 2589
P.2.6.63	II	-		- year 2	Ni. 6541
P.2.6.64	III	-	14	- year 2	CBS 15026; days 9-14
P.2.6.65	III	-	[]	- year 2(+)	UM 29-16-134; days 13-[]
P.2.6.66	III	-		- year 2	CBS 13359
P.2.6.67	III	-		- year 2	UM 29-16-110
P.2.6.68	IV	-	5	- year 2	CBS 8721; III-16 to IV-5
P.2.6.69	IV	-	5(+)	- year 2	CBS 15019; III-16 to IV-5(+)
P.2.6.70	IV?	-	20	- year 2	CBS 15016; days 7-20
P.2.6.71	IV	-	{28?}	- year 2	Ni. 2173
P.2.6.72	IV	-		- year 2	HS 126, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 16</i> ; Petschow No. 28
P.2.6.73	VI	-	29	- year 2	CBS 7257; V-6 to VI-29
P.2.6.74	VI	-	29	- year 2	CBS 15020; {MN}-6 to VI-29; cf. CBS 15028 (P.2.6.75) for restoration of MN
P.2.6.75	VI	-	29	- year 2	CBS 15028; V-6 to VI-29
P.2.6.76	VI	-		- year 2	CBS 8682; {MN}-VI
P.2.6.77	VI	-		- year 2	Ni. 2222; IV-VI

P.2.6.78	VI -	-	year 2	Ni. 3000
P.2.6.79	X -	-	year 2	UM 29-13-960
P.2.6.80	XI -	19	year 2	CBS 7707; IX to XI-19
P.2.6.81	XI -	19	year 2	Ni. 2242; days 15-19
P.2.6.82	XI -	20	year 2	CBS 8716; days 13-20
P.2.6.83	XI -	x	year 2	Ni. 2856; days 21-x
P.2.6.84	XII -	7	year 2	HS 119, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 2; Petschow No. 20; XI-20 to XII-7
P.2.6.85	XII? -	12	year 2	UM 29-16-305; [MN]-28 to XII?-12
P.2.6.86	XIIa -	28	year 2	UM 29-13-836
P.2.6.87	[MN] -	2	year 2	CBS 7810; XIIa to [MN]-2
P.2.6.88	[MN] -	5	year 2	Ni. 6086; VII-7 to [MN]-5
P.2.6.89	[MN] -	5	year 2	Ni. 8013; from VII-21 to [MN]-5; [MN] possibly V
P.2.6.90	[] -	5(+)	year 2	Ni. 8375
P.2.6.91	[] -	20	year 2	Ni. 11881; []-6 to []- 20
P.2.6.92	[MN] -	29?	year 2	UM 55-21-264 = 3 NT 146
P.2.6.93	[MN] -		year 2	UM 29-15-967
P.2.6.94	I -	6	year 3	CBS 8583; XII-6 to I-6
P.2.6.95	I -	6	year 3	Ni. 2221; XII-6 to I-6
P.2.6.96	I -	27?(+)	year 3	Royal Ontario Museum, D. 802
P.2.6.97	II -	4?	year 3	Ni. 2989
P.2.6.98	II -	7	year 3	Ni. 7959; I?-6 to II-7
P.2.6.99	II -	18	year 3	FLP 1360
P.2.6.100	II -	29	year 3	HS 121, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 71; Petschow No. 3
P.2.6.101	III -		year 3	CBS 7243; I-III
P.2.6.102	IV -	9	year 3	CBS 15017; II-5 to IV-9
P.2.6.103	IV -	9	year 3	U 7787q, published as <i>UET</i> VII 49; MN: ITI.[NUMUN].NA
P.2.6.104	IV -	28	year 3	CBS 13364
P.2.6.105	IV -		year 3	CBS 8689
P.2.6.106	IV -		year 3	Ni. 2241

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

P.2.6.107	V -	6	- year 3	AO 4070, published as <i>TCL</i> IX 48
P.2.6.108	V -	18	- year 3	UM 29-13-917; days 4-18
P.2.6.109	V -	27	- year 3	CBS 8735; days 19?-27
P.2.6.110	V -	x	- year 3	CBS 13377; days 19-x
P.2.6.111	V -		- year 3	CBS 8806
P.2.6.112	V -		- year 3	UM 29-15-307
P.2.6.113	VI -		- year 3	CBS 13371
P.2.6.114	VI -		- year 3	HS 131, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 18</i> ; <i>Petschow No. 29</i> ; I-VI
P.2.6.115	VII -	5	- year 3	UM 29-13-490; VI-11(+) to VII-5
P.2.6.116	VII -	10	- year 3	UM 29-15-726; V-28 to VII-10
P.2.6.117	VII -	30	- year 3	CBS 8594; days 26-30
P.2.6.118	VII? -	30	- year 3	CBS 8690; days 26-30
P.2.6.119	VII -	30	- year 3	Ni. 179; days 26-30
P.2.6.120	VII -	x	- year 3	CBS 13365
P.2.6.121	VII -		- year 3	UM 29-13-276
P.2.6.122	VIII -	15	- year 3	CBS 8740
P.2.6.123	IX -	8	- year 3	Ni. 6765; VII-6 to IX-8
P.2.6.124	IX? -	22	- year 3	CBS 13367
P.2.6.125	IX -		- year 3	CBS 7759
P.2.6.126	XII -	5	- year 3	CBS 7260; [MN]-18 to XII-5; MN could be IV, VII, or XI; XI perhaps expected because of date of P.2.6.127
P.2.6.127	XII -	5	- year 3	CBS 8718; XI-18 to XII-5
P.2.6.128	XII -		- year 3	CBS 7188, published as <i>PBS</i> XIII 71
P.2.6.129	XII -		- year 3	CBS 7714
P.2.6.130	XII -		- year 3	CBS 8671
P.2.6.131	XII -		- year 3	Ni. 6202
P.2.6.132	XII -		- year 3	Ni. 7342
P.2.6.133	[MN] -	2	- year 3	Ni. 6076; from []-13 to [MN]-2

P.2.6.134	{MN}	-	10	-	year 3	CBS 14197, published as <i>PBS XIII</i> 74; from {MN}-28 to {MN}-10
P.2.6.135	[]	-	14	-	year 3?	LB 812, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 102; Peiser's trans- literation gave the year number as "2", while his copy favored "3"; the per- tinent section of the tablet is now illegible
P.2.6.136	{MN}	-	24	-	year 3	CBS 15039; days 19-24
P.2.6.137	{MN}	-	30	-	year 3	N 2022; from {MN}-1 to {MN}- 30
P.2.6.138	{MN}	-		-	year 3	Ni. 6751; {MN}-{MN}
P.2.6.139				-	year 3	Ni. 11033; XI and XII mentioned
P.2.6.140				-	year 3	*UM 29-15-984; RN uncertain
P.2.6.141	I	-	16	-	year 4	Ni. 8599; XII-6 to I-16
P.2.6.142	II	-	13	-	year 4	CBS 7700; XII-20 to II-13
P.2.6.143	IV	-		-	year 4	Ni. 409
P.2.6.144	V	-	25	-	year 4	Ni. 1212
P.2.6.145	V	-	27?	-	year 4	UM 29-15-980
P.2.6.146	XI	-		-	year 4	UM 29-13-478
P.2.6.147	[]	-	6	-	year 4	CBS 8112; from XII-6-year 3 to []-6-year 4
P.2.6.148	{MN?}	-	12	-	year 4	*CBS 8706B; {MN}-26 to {MN?}- 12; reading of MN's uncer- tain (collation courtesy of Erle Leichty)
P.2.6.149				-	year 4	N 4406
P.2.6.150				-	year 4	mentioned in Ni. 2298
P.2.6.151	I	-	16	-	year 5	A 30166 = 3 NT 143; Oriental Institute photos Nos. 47157- 58
P.2.6.152	{I}	-	16	-	year 5	A 30167 = 3 NT 144
P.2.6.153	II	-	20	-	year 5	CBS 6152, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 119

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

P.2.6.154	IV -	5	- year 5	CBS 6084, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 118; III-10 to IV-5; Torczyner, pp. 31-32, No. 17
P.2.6.155	IV -	11	- year 5	IM 50022 = DK ₃ -75, published as <i>Iraq XI</i> (1949) 145, No. 6
P.2.6.156	IV -	11?	- year 5	IM 50026 = DK ₃ -87
P.2.6.157	V -	2	- year 5	CBS 6124, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 120
P.2.6.158	V -	15	- year 5(+)	LB 837, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 134; collated
P.2.6.159	V -		- year 5	A 30077 = 2 NT 741
P.2.6.160	VI -	26	- year 5	LB 841, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 138; collated
P.2.6.161	VIII -		- year 5	Ni. 1091
P.2.6.162	X -	21	- year 5	LB 836, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 132
P.2.6.163	X -	21	- year 5(+)	LB 832, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 128; collation: a reading year "6" is less likely
P.2.6.164	XII -	26	- year 5	BM 17626
P.2.6.165	II -	12	- year 6	CBS 6076, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 121
P.2.6.166	IV -	1(+)	- year 6	LB 827, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 123
P.2.6.167	XII -	5	- year 6	AO 4069, published as <i>TCL</i> IX 49
P.2.6.168	{MN} -	29	- year 6	CBS 6160, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 122
P.2.6.169			- year 6	CBS 12583, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 46
P.2.6.170	I -	24(+)	- year 7	CBS 11517
P.2.6.171	IX -	3	- year 7	UM 29-13-384
P.2.6.172	IX -		- year 7	CBS 6088, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 117b; collated

P.2.6.173	{MN}	-	30	- year 7	CBS 11811
P.2.6.174				- year 7	HS 124, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 28</i> ; Petschow No. 35
P.2.6.175				- year 7	Ni. 7202
P.2.6.176	I	-	20	- year 8	LB 838, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 135
P.2.6.177	VIII	-		- year 8	BM 17710
P.2.6.178	IX	-		- year 8	FLP 1358
P.2.6.179	X	-	5	- year 8	CBS 3531, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 123
P.2.6.180	X	-	7(+)	- year 8?	IM 58807 = 4 NT 6
P.2.6.181	X	-	22	- year 8	UM 29-13-915
P.2.6.182	XII	-	12	- year 8	Ni. 185; CBS 9512 is a cast of this text
P.2.6.183	XII	-		- year 8	BM 17667
P.2.6.184	XII	-		- year 8	CBS 6163, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 124
P.2.6.185	XII	-		- year 8	CBS 13878, published as <i>PBS</i> XIII 73
P.2.6.186				- year 8	E.A.H. 180, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 123a; from {MN}-year 7 to XII-year 8 (heading)
P.2.6.187				- year 8	12 N 235
P.2.6.188	III	-	(5)	- <year>	CBS 6157, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 117a; KIN.SIG of day 5 mentioned preceding MN
P.2.6.189	IV	-	2(+)	- []	Ni. 7808; II-15 to IV-2(+)
P.2.6.190	IV	-	27	- []	Ni. 6348
P.2.6.191	VII?	-	[]	- []	Ni. 11883; VI-[] to VII?- []
P.2.6.192	XI	-	[]		Ni. 893
P.2.6.193	[]	-	7(+)	- []	CBS 7731 ⁸
P.2.6.194	{MN}	-	12	- 'year x'	UM 55-21-263 = 3 NT 145; year number might be {3(+)} (traces uncertain)

⁸Possibly *XIIa, year 1, since line 3 reads [].DIRI {^dKu-dur-^dEN.LfL}. See the preceding note.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- P.2.6.195 CBS 11507, published as *PBS* II/2 47; most of date broken away, but RN surviving.
- P.2.6.196 N 2889; VI and days 20-21 mentioned.
- P.2.6.197 12 N 522.
- P.2.6.198 *Ni. 7155; RN uncertain.
- P.2.6.199 Ni. 7206; year broken away.
- P.2.6.200 *Ni. 7786; RN partially destroyed. MN = XI?
- P.2.6.201 A text or texts found at Merkes in Babylon and dated under Kudur-Enlil (Kudurbel) are reported in *WVDOG* XLVII 13, 54, 159, 165, 185, 189, 194, 205, Pl. 5 (House VII 24/25q2).
- P.2.6.202 Peiser, *Urk.*, pp. 42-43, suggested P 96, P 112 (= LB 818), P 126 (= LB 830), P 127 (= LB 831), and possibly P 100 (= LB 811) might date from this time.

P.3 Later sources

- P.3.1 Cornell No. 5, a legal text dated in the fifth year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, mentions an event in the seventh year of Kudur-Enlil (line 6). (Copy of tablet available through the courtesy of David I. Owen.) Text: V.2.10.75.
- P.3.2 HS 123, to be published as *TuM* NF V 15 (Petschow No. 12), is an economic text dealing with items given and received between the sixth year of Kudur-Enlil and the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. Text: V.2.10.19.
- P.3.3 Ni. 6778, a MB economic text, mentions the reign of Kudur-Enlil (obv. 2) and the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. A date of IV-year 4 (without RN) is mentioned in rev. 3. Text: V.2.10.21.
- P.3.4 Ni. 7004, a MB economic text, mentions years 5, 6, and 7 of Kudur-Enlil; then occurs a line in which the date is almost entirely broken away. The next lines deal with the accession year of [Šagarakti-Šuriaš]. See Rowton, *JCS* XIII (1959) 5, n. 25. Text: V.2.10.22.
- P.3.5 *Ni. 7042, a MB economic text, mentions in successive lines years [5(+)] (probably 6), [7], and 8 [of Kudur-Enlil], the [accession year] of Šagarakti-Šuri[aš], and years 1, 2, and 3 (presumably also of Šagarakti-Šuriaš). Text: V.2.10.59.
- P.3.6 *Ni. 8793, a MB economic text, may deal with the end of the reign

- of Kudur-Enlil and the beginning of the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias̃: years 7, [7(+)] (= 8?), accession year, year 1(+) are mentioned in successive lines (no royal names preserved). Text: V.2.10.37.
- P.3.7 *Ni. 8899, a MB economic text, mentions year [5?] of RN, then several lines later an accession year (probably of Šagarakti-Šurias̃). Text: V.2.10.23.
- P.3.8 *Ni. 8984, a MB economic text, mentions *tēlītu* from the eighth year of a king whose name begins with *K(u-)* and then an accession year (presumably of Šagarakti-Šurias̃). Text: V.2.10.290.
- P.3.9 *Ni. 11100, a MB economic text without preserved date, mentions both Kadasman-Turgu (rev. 9') and Kudur-Enlil (rev. 11').
- P.3.10 UM 29-13-661, a MB account tablet, preserves records from the fifth year of Kudur-Enlil till the third year of Šagarakti-Šurias̃. Text: V.2.10.58.
- P.3.11 *UM 29-13-668, a MB account tablet, mentions in successive lines the fourth through eighth years of an unnamed king and then the accession, first, fourth, and fifth years of Šagarakti-Šurias̃. Text: V.2.10.81.
- P.3.12 Kinglist A ii 6'--Šagarakti-Šurias̃ is referred to as RN's son ([DUMU]-šú).
- P.3.13 VAB IV 228 iii 29, 31--mention of RN as father of Šagarakti-Šurias̃ in a royal inscription of Nabonidus. Text: V.3.4.1.
- P.4 Writing of the royal name
- P.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts
- P.4.1.1 *Ku-ḏu-ur-^dEN.LÍL* (royal inscriptions: P.2.1:1, P.2.2:(4))
- P.4.1.2 *Ku-ḏur-^dEN.LÍL* (royal inscriptions: *BE* I 64:4, *PBS* XV 60:4)
- P.4.1.3 *Ku-ḏúr-ri-^dEN.LÍL* (kudurru: *RA* LXVI [1972] 171:57)
- P.4.2 In contemporary economic texts
- P.4.2.1 *Ku-ḏur-^dEN.LÍL* (*BE* XIV 117a:9; *Iraq* XI [1949] 145, No. 6:25; 12 N 522 upper edge; *PBS* II/2 46:16; Peiser, *Urk.*, P 128:11; *TCL* IX 48:25, 49:11; UM 29-13-960:18; and *passim*)
- P.4.2.2 ^d*Ku-ḏur-^dEN.LÍL* (*BE* XIV 118:34; *PBS* II/2 44:7, 45:8; and *passim*)⁹
- ⁹The royal name is usually prefixed with the divine determinative. P.4.2.2 and P.4.2.5 are the most common writings, and P.4.2.4 is third in popularity. The other writings, with the exception of P.4.2.1, are comparatively rare.

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- P.4.2.3 *Ku-dur-ri*-^dEN.LÍL (Ni. 893 rev. 4; cf. Ni. 1091 edge, DN mostly broken away)
- P.4.2.4 ^d*Ku-dur-ri*-^dEN.LÍL (CBS 12915 rev. 11, Ni. 6555:8, *UET* VII 49 rev. 8, UM 29-15-778:6, UM 29-15-780:5, UM 29-15-983:5, and *passim*)
- P.4.2.5 ^d*Ku-dúr-ri*-^dEN.LÍL (*BE* XIV 117b:13, 119:39, 120:45, 123a:3 and 14; *PBS* II/2 47:18; and *passim*)
- P.4.2.6 ^d*Ku-dúr*-50 (A 30077 rev. 11', Ni. 7206 rev. 9')
- P.4.2.7 ^d*Ku-dúr-ri*-50 (*BE* XIV 122:13, CBS 7260 rev. 2, CBS 7759 rev. 6, CBS 8718:8)
- P.4.3 In later texts
- P.4.3.1 *Ku-dur*-^dEN.LÍL (economic text from the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias̃: HS 123:18')
- P.4.3.2 ^d*Ku-dur*-^dEN.LÍL (economic text from the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias̃: Cornell No. 5:6; MB economic text of undetermined date: Ni. 11100 rev. 11')
- P.4.3.3 *Ku-dur-ri*-^dEN.LÍL (economic text probably from the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias̃: Ni. 7004:2)
- P.4.3.4 *Ku-dúr-ri*-^dEN.LÍL (economic text from the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias̃: UM 29-13-661:7'; cf. Ni. 8899:2', where the theophoric element has been destroyed)
- P.4.3.5 ^d*Ku-dúr-ri*-^dEN.[LÍL] (economic text perhaps from the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias̃: Ni. 6778:2)
- P.4.3.6 ^m[*Ku-dul*[r] (Kinglist A ii 5')
- P.4.3.7 ^mNÍG.DU-^dEN.LÍL (royal inscriptions of Nabonidus: V R 64 iii 29 and 31, *VAS* I 53 iii 31 and 33)
- P.5 Miscellaneous notes
- P.5.1 Jaritz in *MIO* VI (1958) 200, relying on information from von Soden, mentions a text in the Jena collection dated in the ninth year of Kudur-Enlil. Neither Dr. Bernhardt nor Prof. Petschow, who have prepared editions of the Middle Babylonian texts in Jena, has found such a text; and von Soden, in a communication of June 11, 1970, stated that he had no record of the museum number of the text. Since this date cannot at present be verified, it is better disregarded. (For a similar case with Šagarakti-Šurias̃, see V.5.2 below.) [See also the Addenda below.]

- P.5.2 LB 826, published as Peiser, *Urk.*, P 122, was assigned by Peiser to the reign of Kudur-Enlil ("Ku-dur-ri-Bíl"). Neither the published copy nor personal collation has verified this attribution (the line in question does not seem to have deteriorated significantly since the copy was made).
- P.5.3 In LB 839, published as Peiser, *Urk.*, P 136, the date was restored by Peiser to read, equivalently, [Kudur]-Enlil. Collation now shows the passage to read: [ITI.BÁR.ZAG.GAR U₄.20(+).KAM] MU.[x].KAM []LÍL. So the text could be assigned to any king whose name ends in -Enlil.
- P.5.4 Similarly, an unnumbered LB text that was published as Peiser, *Urk.*, P 115, apparently once had a royal name ending in -Enlil; but collation shows that the reverse of the text has now badly crumbled (February 1973). The date reads [MN]-10-[year 5], but the royal name can no longer be verified.
- P.5.5 According to available sources, the following scheme may be reconstructed for the genealogy and length of reigns of Kassite kings 22-28:

No.	Name	Alleged relation to predecessor	Type of documentation for relationship	Length of reign in years
22.	Kurigalzu II	---	---	25
23.	Nazi-Maruttaš	son	contemporary	26
24.	Kadašman-Turgu	son	contemporary	18
25.	Kadašman-Enlil II	son	contemporary	9
26.	Kudur-Enlil	son(?) ¹⁰	later	9
27.	Šagarakti-Šuriaš	son	later	13
28.	Kaštiliašu IV	son	contemporary	8

The relationship of the first four generations (Nos. 22-25) to one another is numerically credible (69 regnal years for the first three kings, with the fourth ascending the throne while still a minor [cf. *KBo* I 10]). The length of the fourth reign (No. 25) is in doubt; we have given above (J.5.3) reasons for believing that it lasted nine years, though it has occasionally been assigned a length as high as fifteen years. Nonetheless, whatever the duration

¹⁰See P.1.1 above.

of the reign of No. 25, it is unlikely that the last three kings (Nos. 26-28) represent three separate generations who reigned for a total of 30 years. Even though the reign of king No. 28 was ended prematurely by his being deposed, there seem to be chronological grounds for questioning at least the relationships attested only in later texts (i.e., the immediate parentage of Kudur-Enlil and Šagarakti-Šuriaš); and it may be that some day, unless the current chronological reconstruction for the length of these reigns is substantially revised, a more critical look will also have to be taken at some of the other genealogies.¹¹

- P.5.6 2 N 359, an unbaked clay game board found in the Enlil temple, room 13, level III at Nippur (McCown and Haines, *OIP* LXXVIII, Pl. 32, No. 3), has sometimes been assigned to approximately the time of Kudur-Enlil (*sic*: A. J. Hoerth, "Gameboards in the Ancient Near East" [M.A. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961] p. 71, followed by Sami Ahmed, *Southern Mesopotamia in the Time of Ashurbanipal* [The Hague, 1968] p. 157, continuation of n. 96). The final excavation report by McCown and Haines (cited above) does not, however, attempt to date the board so precisely.
- P.5.7 The Iraq Museum register lists IM 56576 as a black stone kudurru from the time of Kudur-Enlil. I have been unable to verify this statement.
- P.5.8 Robert Biggs has kindly pointed out to me what could be a reference to *Ku-dur-E[nlil]* in *KBo* XVIII 177a y+2'. The possible RN is preceded by a reference to 20 GADA ("twenty linen items"?) and followed, after a horizontal dividing line, by *šūbultu ša* [x] ("gift of x"). Note also the mention of *KUR Kar-du-[ni-aš(?)]*, *ibid.*, 177 x+6.

¹¹Especially since Adad-šuma-ušur, king No. 32, may have come to the throne only 8+8 years after the accession of his father, Kaštiliašu IV, king No. 28 (though see C.5.2 above), and because of the perhaps underestimated tradition of fraternal succession within Kassite tribal society (which might have influenced royal succession as well).

Q. KURIGALZU

The number of Kassite kings named Kurigalzu (Kuri-galzu) has been subject to dispute. The most recent critical assessment of the various positions is presented in *Or XXXVIII* (1969) 320-27. That summary has shown that the existence of only two monarchs named Kurigalzu can be clearly established and that there is no solid evidence for a third or earlier Kurigalzu. These two Kurigalzus are:

- (a) Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ḥarbe, who reigned some decades before the Amarna period in approximately the late fifteenth century B.C.;¹
- (b) Kurigalzu son of Burna-Buriasš, twenty-second king of the dynasty, who reigned for probably twenty-five years shortly after the Amarna period and was succeeded by his son Nazi-Maruttasš.²

A full-scale review of the Kurigalzu question, which would take into account all the available evidence (including the heterogeneous archeological materials), is desirable.³

It is a perplexing task to determine to which Kurigalzu an inscription refers, unless there is explicit mention in the text of either genealogy or a synchronism. Fortunately, there are a few texts that can definitely be assigned to Kurigalzu I (Q.2.1, Q.2.115.168, Q.3.1-4) or to Kurigalzu II (Q.1.2, Q.1.4-5, Q.2.60, Q.2.67, Q.2.69, Q.2.71-72, Q.2.75, Q.2.81, Q.2.92, Q.2.94, Q.2.96-99, Q.2.101, Q.2.104, Q.3.5-7, Q.3.9, Q.3.11, Q.3.13; cf. Q.2.68). Also the

¹It is often assumed that he was the father and immediate predecessor of Kadašman-Enlil I, though there is no direct evidence for this. Genealogy: Q.3.1-2 below.

²The later Kurigalzu's place in the sequence is determined by the genealogical information furnished by his successors. The length of his reign, formerly set at 22 years because of a somewhat questionable reading of Kinglist A ii 1', should be set at 24 years at least because an economic text, CBS 15050, is dated in that year. The two digits in the bottom row of the pertinent figure in Kinglist A (the RN itself is totally broken away) suggest that the length of the reign may have been 25 (less likely 28) years; see Q.1.1 below. Genealogy: son of Burna-Buriasš (*Synchronistic History* i 16', *BE* I 36:4, 39:5, etc., as listed in E.3.2 above; see also E.3.5) and father of Nazi-Maruttasš (*BE* I 53:151, 56, etc., as listed in Q.3.5-7 and Q.3.9, Q.3.11 below).

³Such a review, because of the nature of the evidence, would not necessarily yield conclusive results.

Kinglist A reference (Q.1.1) and most of the economic texts (Q.2.115 with the exception of Q.2.115.168) are likely to belong to Kurigalzu II.⁴ The rest of the texts may eventually be assigned to one king or the other after studies in titulary, language, provenience, prosopography, etc.; but these studies are yet to be carried out. It is hoped that more pertinent evidence will be forthcoming to afford a firm scientific basis for future conclusions.

The bibliographies of El-Wailly and Jaritz assigned to either Kurigalzu I or II all contemporary Kurigalzu texts, even those which do not contain an explicit genealogy. El-Wailly assigned all texts without a genealogy to Kurigalzu II except for the door sockets from the temple area at Dūr-Kurigalzu, which he assigned to Kurigalzu I.⁵ Jaritz attributed the texts somewhat differently. To Kurigalzu I he dated the inscriptions from Agade (Q.2.11), Babylon (Q.2.12),⁶ Dēr (Q.2.14), the texts from the temple area at Dūr-Kurigalzu excluding the statue fragments (Q.2.15.1, Q.2.40-46, Q.2.48-49), the texts from

⁴The possibility that more of the presently known economic texts should be assigned to Kurigalzu I cannot be ruled out categorically until detailed prosopographical studies have been made. The transition from year names to year numbers in date formulae was probably made during the reign of either Kurigalzu I or Kadašman-Enlil I (see Appendix A below), though sporadic traces of the earlier system seem to have lingered on into the reign of Burna-Burias II. If, as is usually assumed, Kurigalzu I and Kadašman-Enlil I immediately preceded the Amarna Burna-Burias, it is conceivable that some of the economic texts presently assigned to Kurigalzu II and Kadašman-Enlil II belong rather to the earlier kings; but this would need to be established.

⁵See also Q.5.8 below.

In *Sumer X* (1954) 45, El-Wailly set as his criterion for distinguishing the Kurigalzu I and II building texts from Dūr-Kurigalzu their provenience from either the "lower" (*Iraq*, Suppl. 1944) or "upper" (*Iraq*, Suppl. 1945) strata at Aqar-Quf. In fact, the texts he assigned to each of these two categories come from different areas: the temple area ("lower" strata) and Mound A ("upper" strata); the stratigraphic relationship between these places has yet to be determined satisfactorily. Jaritz' criterion, expressed in different words, achieved largely the same results in that most objects found in the second season of excavations were assigned to Kurigalzu I and those from the third and fourth seasons to Kurigalzu II.

El-Wailly's assigning of the Nippur and the Ur texts to Kurigalzu II was supposedly based on archeological evidence (*Sumer X* [1954] 44). One must note, however, that his reasons in each case are now known to be faulty. Nippur has yielded Kassite texts that are earlier than Burna-Burias II (at least K^a.2.1 and Q.2.115.168). The evidence from Ur is ambiguous, and Woolley's dating of it seems to have been based at least partially on a chronological misinterpretation (see the latest discussion in *Or XXXVIII* [1969] 327-28).

⁶Jaritz did not note that, though the tablet was found at Babylon, the original text from which it was copied probably came from Nippur (cf. Q.2.24).

Ur (Q.2.3, Q.2.27-35, Q.2.37, Q.2.54-56, Q.2.65-66) and Uruk (Q.2.38-39), a kudurru (Q.2.6), and two seals of retainers (Q.2.111 and Q.2.113). To Kurigalzu II he attributed the rest of the texts including one found at Assur (Q.2.77), the Dūr-Kurigalzu texts from Mound A and the palace and the statue fragments (Q.2.4, Q.2.16-17, Q.2.47, Q.2.50.1), and the texts from Kish (Q.2.70), Nippur (Q.2.23, Q.2.24.1, Q.2.53, Q.2.57-64, Q.2.67-69, Q.2.72-73, Q.2.82-85, Q.2.101-3), Sippar (Q.2.25), and various unknown sites (Q.2.5, Q.2.81, Q.2.87, Q.2.91-92, Q.2.98-100, Q.2.104, Q.2.106-9, Q.2.112). Two texts found at Susa (Q.2.2, Q.2.71) Jaritz attributed to Kurigalzu II; another text from Susa he assigned to both Kurigalzu I and Kurigalzu II (Q.2.105).

In the following bibliography, all the Kurigalzu texts are grouped together. Where a genealogical statement makes the attribution of a text to either the earlier or later Kurigalzu certain, that fact is noted. As elsewhere, the opinions of El-Wailly and Jaritz regarding the attribution of each text are also recorded.

Q.1 Chronological sources

Q.1.1 *Kinglist A ii 1'--a reign of 'x' (years) and the RN broken away.

From genealogical deduction, Kurigalzu II is expected at this place in the sequence. The number here has usually been read as 22; but the spacing and size of the wedges make a higher reading, such as 25, feasible (personal collation).⁷

Q.1.2 Chronicle P i 9'-iii 22--an account of events immediately before and during the reign of Kurigalzu II, including: (a) the revolt that dethroned the preceding ruler ([Kadašman-Har(?)-]be?), who was a descendant of Aššur-uballiṭ I; (b) Aššur-uballiṭ's quelling of the revolt and his installation of [Kurigalzu] on the Babylonian throne; (c) Kurigalzu's exploits in war, including his victory over Hur-batila⁸ of Elam at Dūr-Šulgi and his battle with Adad-nirari I of Assyria at Sugagu.⁹ Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 325, 347; *ABC*, Chronicle

⁷See also the collation by Grayson, *AOAT* I 108, and my comment in *BiOr* XXVII (1970) 306, n. 58.

⁸The suggestion that Hurbatila ruled for at least four years over part of Babylonia (*Afo* X [1935-36] 93) is based on a misreading of Ni. 2698 (see Kraus, *JCS* III [1951] 12).

⁹For the conflict in traditions regarding the battle of Sugagu, see the most recent discussion in *BiOr* XXVII (1970) 302-3, with citation of earlier bibliography. On the location of Sugagu, see *ibid.*, pp. 313-14.

- No. 22. Note also the remarks by Rowton, *JNES* XIX (1960) 20, and by Grayson, *BHLT*, chaps. 4-5, on the literary style of (c). Grayson, *BHLT*, p. 47, raises the possibility that this section may have been part of the same epic as BM 35322 (see Q.5.10 below).
- Q.1.3 BM 48498:8--mention of a Kurigalzu in a broken chronicle passage ("at the time of R[N] . . ."). Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 23.
- Q.1.4 VAT 13056:3-10--a badly damaged narrative of apparent conflicts between Kurigalzu II and Enlil-nirari. Published by Weidner, *Afo* XX (1963) 115-16 (transliteration, translation, copy by O. Schroeder). Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 344; *ABC*, Assyrian Chronicle Fragment No. 1.
- Q.1.5 Synchronistic History i 8'-23'--relating of events just before and during the reign of Kurigalzu II: (a) the revolt that deposed an earlier ruler (Kara-ḥardaš) who was the grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ I, (b) Aššur-uballiṭ's deposing of the usurper (Nazi-Bugaš) and his installing of Kurigalzu on the throne of Babylonia, (c) Kurigalzu's battle with Enlil-nirari at Sugagu and the subsequent realignment of the Assyro-Babylonian border. Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 321-22, 346; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.¹⁰

Q.2 Contemporary sources

Because of the length of this section, we prefix the following outline of contents.

Nos. 1-6: Royal inscriptions on various objects of monumental character: a prism (1.1), a cylinder (1.2), statue fragments (2-4), a clay tablet (5),¹¹ and a kudurru stele (6).

7-39: Royal inscriptions on bricks from: Adab (7-10), Agade (11), Babylon¹² (12), Borsippa (13), Dēr (14), Dūr-Kurigalzu (15-21), Isin (22), Nippur (23-24), Sippar (25-26), Ur (27-37), Uruk (38-39).

40-56: Royal inscriptions on door sockets from: Dūr-Kurigalzu (40-52), Nippur (53), Ur (54-56).

¹⁰For a discussion of the conflicting accounts in Q.1.2 and Q.1.5, see Appendix C below.

¹¹The tablet itself cannot be regarded as monumental; but it has been classified here because of its more than usually elaborate contents (i.e., judged against the other, more stereotyped royal inscriptions of the period).

¹²This inscription is preserved on a tablet, but was probably either copied from a brick or made as a model for a brick text. The inscription concerns building at Nippur rather than at Babylon.

57-66: Royal inscriptions on stone and metal tablets from: Nippur (57-64), Ur (65-66).¹³

67-105: Royal inscriptions on various small objects of semi-precious stone or glasslike synthetic substances: axheads (67-69), knobs (70-71), disks (72-73), eye stones (74-89), seals (90-93), beads (94-97), and miscellaneous (98-105).

106-114: Private seal inscriptions: sons of kings (106-7) and other persons (108-114).

115: Economic texts.

116: Assyrian royal inscription.

Q.2.1 Royal inscription recording a temple endowment made by Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe; extant in two copies. A transliteration and translation (with commentary) combining both texts were published by Ungnad, *AfK I* (1923) 29-36. Even though the text deals with temple endowments and may survive only in later copies, there are at present no compelling reasons for doubting its authenticity. [Jaritz No. 49 (K I)]

Q.2.1.1 BM 108982. Clay prism published by Gadd, *CT XXXVI* 6-7 (copy).¹⁴ Possibly a later copy (needs further study). [El-Wailly 17-K-1a (K I)]

Q.2.1.2 NBC 2503. Fragmentary clay cylinder published by Keiser, *BTN II* 33 (copy), with transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, pp. 50-51. Definitely a late copy, as may be seen from line-division signs in lines 12', 13', etc. [El-Wailly 17-K-1b (K I)]

These texts are duplicates, despite the implication in *CAH II/1* (3d ed.) 466 that they bear different inscriptions.

Q.2.2 Fragment of the right shoulder of a limestone statue with parts

¹³Most of the Nippur tablets are of semi-precious stone and bear votive texts. The Ur tablets, except for a later copy on clay (Q.2.66.2), are on copper or limestone--in so far as the materials have been identified in the publications--and have building texts.

¹⁴Partial collation of BM 108982 has yielded some minor improvements in readings: (i 7) ^m[Kad-dāšl-man-Ḫar-be, (i 15) [A]D DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ, (i 20) [a-l]i-kat i-di-ia, (ii 9) šā u₄-mu. Though the text is on a prism, it is inscribed in the same direction as though it were on a cylinder, i.e., going across the long side (though in two columns) rather than in short lines down each face separately.

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- of seven lines of a royal inscription (mostly titulary and epithets) of Kurigalzu surviving. Found at Susa; present whereabouts unknown. Published by Scheil, *RA* XXVI (1929) 7-8 (copy, transliteration, translation, notes) and in *MDP* XXVIII 11-12 (same copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 103 (K II); El-Wailly 22-C-1 (K II)]
- Q.2.3 MLC 1298. A fragmentary dolerite statue bearing a two-line inscription in Sumerian: Kurigalzu, king of Ur. Published by Scheil, *RT* XXIII (1901) 133-34 (copy, transliteration, translation, commentary). [Jaritz No. 45 (K I), El-Wailly 22-V-30 (K II)]
- Q.2.4 *Fragments of a black stone statue or statues found at Dūr-Kurigalzu and bearing a Sumerian inscription in the name of a king, possibly Kurigalzu.¹⁵ The major fragments were published by Kramer, Baqir, and Levy in *Sumer* IV (1948) 1-38 (photos, copies, notes, partial translations); and Kramer gave partial translations for the same fragments in *ANET*, pp. 57-59. Photographs of some of the same fragments are published in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, Pl. XVII, Fig. 20 and, somewhat less legibly, in *Sumer* I/1 (1945) Pl. 3 following p. 72 in the Arabic section and in Baqir, *Aqar Quf* (Baghdad, 1959) Fig. 10; see also *UMB* XIII/2 (March 1948) 22, Fig. 15 (for a photo of IM 50010). [Jaritz Nos. 88-89 (K II); El-Wailly 22-U-3 (K II)]
- Q.2.4.1 IM 50009 (DK₂-19). Containing parts of ten columns of inscription. Published as fragment A by Kramer, Baqir, and Levy.
- Q.2.4.2 IM 50010 (DK₂-32a). Containing parts of eleven columns of inscription. Published as fragment C by Kramer, Baqir, and Levy.
- Q.2.4.3 IM 50011 (DK₂-32b). Containing parts of six columns of inscription. Published as fragment D by Kramer, Baqir, and Levy.
- Q.2.4.4 IM 50013 (excavation number unknown). Tiny fragment with only two complete signs. Published only in photograph: *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, Pl. XVII, Fig. 20 (top row, fourth

^{15A} ^dKu-ri-gal-zu is mentioned in the fragment IM 50010 iv 18'-19'.

from left); less legible reproduction of the same picture in *Sumer I/1* (1945) Pl. 3 following p. 72 in the Arabic section; see also *Sumer IV* (1948) Pl. IX (smaller of the two fragments).

- Q.2.4.5 IM 50140 (DK₃-2). Containing parts of seven columns of inscription. Published by Kramer, Baqir, and Levy as fragment B; a photo appeared earlier in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, Pl. XXVI, Fig. 29.¹⁶
- Q.2.5 *MAH 15922. Tablet (later copy of an original text?) containing a description of the religious background of RN's installation in office and prayers for his well-being. Published by Boissier, *RA XXIX* (1932) 93-104 (photo, copy, transliteration, translation, notes). Emendations *apud* Balkan, *Kassitenstudien I* (New Haven, 1954) 119. Further comments on interpretation by W. G. Lambert in W. S. McCullough (ed.), *The Seed of Wisdom* (Toronto, 1964) p. 8.¹⁷ [Jaritz No. 87 (K II); El-Wailly 22-U-4 (K II)]
- Q.2.6 BM 102588. Stele of calcareous limestone bearing a royal grant of land in the area of Der. Published by King as *BBSt*, No. 2 (pp. 4-7, Pl. CVII, Pls. 2-5: transliteration, translation, photo, and copy). [Steinmetzer No. 2, L 2; Seidl No. 1; Jaritz No. 50 (K I); El-Wailly 22-K-1 (K II)]
- Q.2.7 A 1136. Hand-written brick from Adab bearing eight lines of a Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating work on the [Emaḥ] for Ninḥursanga. Published by Luckenbill, *OIP XIV* 47 (copy). Similar texts: Q.2.8-10. [Jaritz No. 99 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-18d (K II)]
- Q.2.8 A 1137. Hand-written brick from Adab bearing thirteen lines of a Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating work on the Emaḥ for [Ninḥursanga]. Published by Luckenbill, *OIP XIV* 45. Similar texts: Q.2.7, Q.2.9-10. [Jaritz No. 97 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-18b (K II)]
- Q.2.9 A 1138. Hand-written brick from Adab bearing traces of fourteen lines of a Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating work on the Emaḥ for Ninḥursanga. Published by Luckenbill, *OIP*

¹⁶IM 50012 (DK₂-32c) is a fragment of the same statue(s), but is not inscribed.

¹⁷Lambert assigned it to the "last Kurigalzu."

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- XIV 44 (copy). Similar texts: Q.2.7-8, Q.2.10. [Jaritz No. 96 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-18a (K II)]
- Q.2.10 A 1139. Hand-written brick from Adab bearing twelve lines of a Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating work on the Emah for Ninḫursanga. Published by Luckenbill, *OIP* XIV 46 (copy). Similar texts: Q.2.7-9. [Jaritz No. 98 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-18c (K II)]
- Q.2.11 BM 22457. Neo-Babylonian tablet containing a copy of a thirteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating work on the *bīt akīti* of Iṣtar of Agade. According to the colophon, which is dated in the eighth year of Nabonidus (548 B.C.), the original inscription was on a brick. Published by King, *CT* IX 3 (copy). [Jaritz No. 51 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-22 (K II); Weiss, *JAOS* XCV (1975) 447 (K I)]
- Q.2.12 BE 14518. Tablet bearing a copy of a nine-line Sumerian brick inscription of RN commemorating his construction work on the Ekurigi[bar(r)a] for Enlil; found at Babylon, but the original brick presumably came from Nippur (cf. Q.2.24 below). Present whereabouts unknown; available only in Photo Bab. 1163. Published in transliteration by Jaritz, *MIO* VI (1958) 234, No. 46 and *Anthropos* LV (1960) 33, n. 96; mentioned earlier in *WVDOG* XV 31.¹⁸ [Jaritz No. 46 (K I)]
- Q.2.13 Brick, reportedly from Borsippa, in the possession of Dr. G. Filippini (Milan). It has parts of six lines of a standard Kurigalzu Sumerian inscription, which is identical, in so far as preserved, to Q.2.15. Published by G. R. Castellino, *Oriens Antiquus* X (1971) 175-76 (transliteration, translation, notes) and Pl. XXXVI (photo).
- Q.2.14 IM 26233. Stamped brick bearing a ten-line Sumerian building inscription commemorating RN's work on the Edingalkalamma for Iṣtarān; found at a tell near Badrah. The brick also bears Egyptian-style drawings. Published by Sidney Smith, *JEA* XVIII (1932)

¹⁸BE 14518 is the number given to the tablet mentioned in *WVDOG* XV 31. Jaritz refers only to the photo number. In all probability, the texts are the same. One should also note that Jaritz' transliteration and restorations are somewhat inexact and should probably be made to conform with Q.2.24 below.

29-32 (copy, transliteration, translation) and Pl. III (photos).¹⁹

[Jaritz No. 47 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-17 (K II)]

Q.2.15 Bricks from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing an eight-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording work on the Eugal temple for Enlil.

Q.2.15.1 I R 4, No. XIV 1 (composite text made from more than one brick; copy by Rawlinson).²⁰ Other editions include a partial transliteration and translation-paraphrase by Poebel, AS XIV 1 and n. 1. [Jaritz No. 12 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-14 (K II)]

Q.2.15.2 Unnumbered brick stored in the small storehouse museum at Dūr-Kurigalzu itself (seen in March 1969). This brick may be identical with DK₂-9 (Q.2.21 below).²¹ The text will be published in a catalogue of the inscribed materials found during the 1942-45 excavations at Dūr-Kurigalzu, which I am preparing.²²

Q.2.15.3 Bricks with the same inscription have been published in Abdul Ilah Al-Jumaily's report on the tenth to thirteenth seasons of work on the ziggurat at Aqar-Quf in the Arabic section of *Sumer* XXVII (1971) 82 (copy) and Figs. 21 and 31 (photos).

For further possible duplicates see Q.2.18-21 below.

Q.2.16 IM 50162 (DK₃-146). Brick from Dūr-Kurigalzu with a hand-written seven-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording his work on the Egašānantagal(?) for Enlil. Published by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, Pl. IV, Fig. 5 (photo) and p. 3 (transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 94 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-12 (K II)]

¹⁹For the benefit of the archeologist, it may be noted that, according to the Iraq Museum register, this brick section has dimensions of 34 x 10 x 6 cm.

²⁰Rawlinson's edition counts this text as being ten lines. The system more commonly used today, however, reckons lines by case divisions rather than by individual horizontal sections of the text. (One wonders whether there was originally a horizontal dividing line after line 7 in Rawlinson's text.)

²¹The brick bears no obvious excavation or museum number. DK₂-9 is presently missing and is described only in generic fashion in the Dūr-Kurigalzu field register.

²²It is difficult to determine whether Q.2.15.2 is an exact duplicate of Q.2.15.1, since the latter was copied in the early days of Assyriology and some of the signs may not have been rendered exactly.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- Q.2.17 Bricks from Dūr-Kurigalzu with hand-written twelve-line Sumerian inscriptions of RN recording work on a canal and gate.
- Q.2.17.1 IM 51004 (DK₄-126). Published by Baqir, *Iraq VIII* (1946) Pl. XVIII, Fig. 12 (photo; reproduced also in Baqir, *Aqar Quf* [Baghdad, 1959] Fig. 6) and p. 89 (transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 95 (K II); El-Wailly 22-U-1 (K II)]
- Q.2.17.2 A brick published in Abdul Ilah Al-Jumaily's report on the tenth to thirteenth seasons of work on the ziggurat at Aqar-Quf in the Arabic section of *Sumer XXVII* (1971) 82 (copy) and Fig. 29 (photo). With minor variants from Q.2.17.1.
- Q.2.18 DK₁-6. Brick from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a Sumerian inscription of RN. The three lines recorded in the field register preserve part of the dedication and the royal name; they differ only slightly from Q.2.15.1 above.
- Q.2.19 DK₁-7. Brick from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a damaged Sumerian inscription of Kurigalzu preserving a dedication to Enlil and the royal name (probably a building text). Differs only slightly from the beginning of Q.2.15.1 above.
- Q.2.20 DK₂-1. Brick from Dūr-Kurigalzu, which, according to the field register, bears a seven-line inscription (presumably Sumerian) mentioning RN and the Eugal temple. Compare Q.2.15 and Q.2.21.
- Q.2.21 DK₂-9. Brick from Dūr-Kurigalzu, which, according to the field register, bears an inscription (presumably Sumerian) mentioning RN and the Eugal temple. Possibly identical with Q.2.15.2 above. Compare also Q.2.20.
- Q.2.22 IB 204. Stamped brick from Isin bearing an eleven-line Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating RN's construction for Nin[maḥ?]. Found in the 1973 excavation season. Catalogued by Edzard, *Sumer XXIX* (1973) 43, No. 2. [See Addenda below.]
- Q.2.23 CBS 8635. Brick from Nippur bearing a damaged fifteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating restoration activity. Published by Legrain, *PBS XV* 50 (copy). [Jaritz No. 102 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-19 (K II)]
- Q.2.24 Stamped bricks from Nippur bearing a nine-line Sumerian building

inscription of RN concerning his work on the Ekurigibar(r)a for Enlil. A tablet containing a copy of the same inscription was found at Babylon (Q.2.12 above).

- Q.2.24.1 CBS 8636. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 38 (copy).
Found in the later structure of the inner wall of the ziggurat. [Jaritz No. 101 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-11 (K II)]
- Q.2.24.2 *2 NT 47; currently in the Iraq Museum (number unknown).
Found on the surface, area EN. Name of temple heavily damaged (according to the cast).
- Q.2.24.3 Brick available only in Oriental Institute photo No. 46507. Found during an early season (probably the second) at Nippur; neither excavation number nor museum number is recorded. It is not the same brick as Q.2.24.2 (a cast of which has been compared with this photo).
- Q.2.24.4 5 NT 695; currently in the Iraq Museum (unaccessioned). Available in Oriental Institute photos Nos. 49073 (of the brick itself), 49207 (of a cuneiform copy). Found in SB 24, level II, floor 2.
- Q.2.24.5 A 31070 (6 NT 1131). Found in a cut made at the south end of the street west of the ziggurat.
- Q.2.24.6 A 32779 (9 N 238). Found in the Parthian fortress area, FI 17 on floor 8. Mentioned by Biggs, *AS* XVII 11.
- Q.2.24.7 Unnumbered brick fragment found in the tenth season at Nippur. Preserves most of the first six lines of text (signs in line 2 after LUGAL are too heavily damaged to be read with certainty).
- Q.2.25 Brick from Sippar bearing a nineteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recounting his work on the Ebabbar for Šamaš. Published by Scheil, *RT* XVI (1894) 90-91 (facsimile in NA type and translation; cf. *ibid.*, p. 184). [Jaritz No. 100 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-20 (K II)]
- Q.2.26 Unnumbered brick from Sippar in the British Museum containing a damaged ten-line Sumerian inscription of RN to Šamaš; it appears to be an abbreviated form of Q.2.25. (Information courtesy of C. B. F. Walker.)

- Q.2.27 Bricks from Ur bearing a sixteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating the restoration of the Edubla(l)maḥ for Nanna. [Jaritz No. 38, part (K I)].
- Q.2.27.1 *UET* I 158 (copy, transliteration, translation by Gadd). Found in the southwest door of the Edubla(l)maḥ. [El-Wailly 22-B-6b (K II)]
- Q.2.27.2 *UET* I 157-58, variant. Published in partial copy and transliteration by Gadd, *UET* I, p. 48 note and Pl. XXXVIII. This text has (10) níg u₄-ul-lí-a-ta (11) al-šub-bu-da limmu-ba, where *UET* I 158 has (10) u₄-ul-lí-a-ta (11) ba-dù-a ba-su(mu)n.
- Q.2.28 Bricks from Ur bearing a fifteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN concerning his restoration of the Edubla(l)maḥ; for bibliography concerning the findspots, see *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 317, n. 1.
- Q.2.28.1 *I R* 4, No. XIV 3 (copy by Rawlinson). [Jaritz No. 31 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-6c (K II)]
- Q.2.28.2 *UET* I 157 (photo, copy, transliteration, translation by Gadd). Several exemplars exist. Sign-for-sign, line-for-line duplicate of Q.2.28.1, except that the last line of the *UET* text reads bí-in-gi₄-a instead of bí-gi₄-a. [Jaritz No. 38, part (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-6a (K II)]
- Q.2.29 *VA 2102. Broken brick fragment presumably from Ur and bearing part of a Sumerian building inscription of [Kurigalzu] recording the restoration of Egabur for [NIN.EZEN×LA].²³ Published by Ungnad, *VAS* I 55 (copy). [Jaritz No. 33 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-21 (K II)]
- Q.2.30 Bricks from Ur bearing a sixteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN commemorating the restoration of the Eganunmaḥ for Nanna. Found built into the wall of the Edubla(l)maḥ. Published by Gadd, *UET* I 162 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz

²³The DN and RN at the beginning of the text are missing (approximately 4 lines; 12 further lines are preserved). The Egabur is a temple at Ur, and Kurigalzu is known to have worked on it (*UET* I 164). The royal titulary and the description of the dilapidation and repair of the building are closely paralleled by other Kurigalzu inscriptions: *I R* 4, No. XIV 2-3; *UET* I 157, 159.

No. 41 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-9a (K II)]

- Q.2.31 CBS 16481 (U 3286).²⁴ Brick from Ur bearing a fourteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording his restoration of the Eganunmah for Nanna. Found (reused?) in what Woolley termed the "wall of the E-gi(g)-par of Nabonidus" (probably part of the Edubla(1)mah).²⁵ Published by Gadd, *UET* I 163 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 42 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-9b (K II)]
- Q.2.32 Bricks from Ur bearing a sixteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording restoration work on the Ekišnugal for Nanna.
- Q.2.32.1 Text published by Gadd, *UET* I 161 (copy), taken from many exemplars left as they were found, loose at the site. [Jaritz No. 40 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-8a (K II)]
- Q.2.32.2 BM 90733 (= 59-10-14,26) published in *I R* 5, No. XXI (copy); duplicates: BM 90715 (= 59-10-14,49) and 59-10-14,25 and 27.²⁶ The main exemplar lacks the first three and one-half lines of text (including the DN and RN) and has slight variations in line division compared with Q.2.32.1. [Jaritz No. 32 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-8c (K II)]
- Q.2.33-34 Bricks from Ur bearing on their side a stamped nine-line Sumerian building inscription (Q.2.33) and on their face a slightly different stamped ten-line Sumerian building inscription (Q.2.34), both recording restoration work by RN on the Ekišnugal for Nanna. Found in the gateway providing access to room 1 of the "E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag" from the southeast.²⁷ Published by Gadd, *UET* I 155 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 36 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-4 (K II)]
- Q.2.35 Bricks from Ur bearing a thirteen-line Sumerian building inscrip-

²⁴According to *UET* I, p. xviii, this brick was left *in situ*. According to University Museum records in Philadelphia, the brick is in their collections. It is possible that more than one brick with identical inscriptions was given the same excavation number.

²⁵See the discussion in *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 338, n. 1.

²⁶Rawlinson questioned whether this brick came from Ur, but its provenience may be deduced from internal evidence.

²⁷See *UE* VIII, Pl. 48 for the site and compare *AJ* V (1925) 390 and 387, Fig. 6. As observed in *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 316, n. 4, "E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag" is likely to be a misnomer.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

tion of RN recording restoration of the Kagalmaḫ. Found in the wall of the Edubla(l)maḫ.

- Q.2.35.1 I R 4, No. XIV 2 (copy by Rawlinson). [Jaritz No. 30 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-3 (K II)]
- Q.2.35.2 CBS 16479 (U 3318).²⁸ Published by Gadd, *UET* I 159 (copy, transliteration, translation). This differs from Q.2.35.1 only in line division and in having bí-in-gi₄-a for bí-gi₄-a in the final line. [Jaritz No. 39 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-7a (K II)]
- Q.2.35.3 U 3318b, c (variant to *UET* I 159). Published by Gadd, *UET* I, p. 49 note and Pl. XXXVIII (partial copy and transliteration). The text varies from Q.2.35.2 in prefixing a divine determinative to the royal name (line 1), reading lugal ŠEŠ.AB.KI-ma for lugal kala-ga (line 4), and having ba-šub-ba for al-šub-bu-da (line 10). [El-Wailly 22-B-7b (K II)]
- Q.2.36 Bricks from Ur bearing a sixteen-line Sumerian building inscription of RN telling of the restoration of the Ningal temple.
- Q.2.36.1 U 10149. Two bricks found on the southwest side of the Court of Nanna in a recess of the west corner. Published by Sollberger, *UET* VIII 99 (copy by Winckworth).
- Q.2.36.2 U 3202, noted in *UET* VIII, p. 21. Found on the surface in the Edubla(l)maḫ area.
- Q.2.37 Bricks from Ur bearing a fragmentary nine-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording restoration work on a temple of a goddess (name broken). Found on the surface in the Edubla(l)maḫ extension, i.e., Woolley's "E-gi(g)-par of Nabonidus." Published by Gadd, *UET* I 156 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 37 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-5 (K II)]
- Q.2.38 W 1668, 3366a-b, 4237, 4405. Bricks from Uruk stamped with a nine-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording restoration work on Eanna for Inanna.²⁹ An edition of the inscription, culled

²⁸*UET* I, p. xvii, states that this brick was left *in situ*, whereas the University Museum registers claim that it belongs there. It is likely that there is more than one copy of the same inscription (note the variants in *UET* I, Pl. XXXVIII).

²⁹Who is referred to simply as ^dnin-é-an-na.

- from several bricks, was published by Schott, *UVB* I 54, No. 14 and Pl. 27b (copy, transliteration, translation, including documentation of excavation numbers and proveniences). [Jaritz No. 10 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-15 (K II)]
- Q.2.39 W 1605, 3890, 4237. Bricks from Uruk stamped with a nine-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording restoration work on Eanna for Inanna.³⁰ An edition of the inscription was published by Schott, *UVB* I 54, No. 15 and Pl. 27c (copy, transliteration, translation, including documentation of excavation numbers and proveniences). [Jaritz No. 11 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-16 (K II)]
- Q.2.40 IM 50007 (DK₂-42). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a Sumerian inscription of RN recording his building of the É-gašān-gal for Enlil. Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12, No. 15.³¹ [Jaritz No. 28 (K I)]
- Q.2.41 Stone door sockets from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing Sumerian building inscriptions of RN recording work on the Eugal for Enlil. See also Q.2.42-44 below.
- Q.2.41.1 IM 49994 (DK₂-13). Seven lines, reading of temple name and of final verb uncertain. Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12, No. 2. [Jaritz No. 15 (K I)]
- Q.2.41.2 IM 49998 (DK₂-17). Seven lines. Published by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 14 and Pl. XIII, Fig. 16 (photo, transliteration, translation); photo also in *Sumer* I/1 (1945) Pl. 3 following p. 72 of the Arabic section. [Jaritz No. 19 (K I); El-Wailly 17-B-1 (K I)]
- Q.2.41.3 *IM 50000 (DK₂-35). Eight lines, reading of the temple name uncertain. Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12, No. 8. [Jaritz No. 21 (K I)]³²
- Q.2.42 Stone door sockets from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a Sumerian building inscription of RN recording work on the Eugal for Enlil. This

³⁰Called ^dinanna nin-é-an-na.

³¹All the door sockets found at Dūr-Kurigalzu during the second season of excavations are catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12 (Q.2.40-46, Q.2.48-49); but references to this catalogue are given here only in the case of otherwise unpublished texts.

³²IM 49994 and 50000 should be collated when the texts have been cleaned (and are more accessible) to confirm that they are indeed duplicates of IM 49998.

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- inscription is a duplicate of Q.2.41 except that it omits the title lugal-kur-kur-ra after DN. See also Q.2.43 below.
- Q.2.42.1 IM 49997 (DK₂-16). Six lines. Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12, No. 5. [Jaritz No. 18 (K I)]
- Q.2.42.2 IM 50005 (DK₂-40). Seven lines. Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12, No. 13. [Jaritz No. 26 (K I)]
- Q.2.43 Stone door sockets from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing an inscription, presumably in Sumerian, of RN recording the building of the Eugal for Enlil. The exact texts of these sockets are unknown, but they may be similar to either Q.2.41 or Q.2.42 above.³³ Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12.
- Q.2.43.1 IM 49999 (DK₂-34). [Jaritz No. 20 (K I)]
- Q.2.43.2 IM 50002 (DK₂-37). [Jaritz No. 23 (K I)]
- Q.2.43.3 IM 50003 (DK₂-38). [Jaritz No. 24 (K I)]
- Q.2.43.4 IM 50004 (DK₂-39). [Jaritz No. 25 (K I)]
- Q.2.43.5 IM 50008 (DK₂-43). [Jaritz No. 29 (K I)]
- Q.2.44 IM 49995 (DK₂-14). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a four-line (incomplete) Sumerian inscription mentioning Enlil and RN. Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12, No. 3. [Jaritz No. 16 (K I)]
- Q.2.45 IM 49996 (DK₂-15). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a six-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Catalogued in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 12, No. 4. [Jaritz No. 17 (K I)]
- Q.2.46 IM 50006 (DK₂-41). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a seven-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording his work on the É-gašan-an-ta-gál for Nin-é(sic). Published by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 14 and Pl. XIV, Fig. 17 (photo, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 27 (K, I); El-Wailly 17-B-2 (K I), despite incorrect temple name]
- Q.2.47 IM 50144 (DK₃-4). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a twelve-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording his work for ^dnin(?)-en-líl^{ki}. Published by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, Pl. V, Fig. 6 (photo). [Jaritz No. 90 (K II); El-Wailly 22-B-13

³³These stones may not all bear the same text or may bear a text differing from either Q.2.41 or Q.2.42.

- (K II)]
- Q.2.48 IM 50001 (DK₂-36). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a six-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording his work on the É-sag-dingir-re-e-ne for Ninurta. Published by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 15 and Pl. XV, Fig. 18 (photo, transliteration, translation). For a possible duplicate, see Q.2.49 below. [Jaritz No. 22 (K I); El-Wailly 17-B-3a (K I)]
- Q.2.49 IM 49993 (DK₂-5). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a seven-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording work on the É-sag-dingir-e-ne for Ninurta(?). Published by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, p. 15 and Pl. XVI, Fig. 19 (photo, transliteration, translation). For a possible duplicate, see Q.2.48 above. [Jaritz No. 14 (K I); El-Wailly 17-B-3b (K I)]
- Q.2.50 Two stone door sockets from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing eight-line Sumerian inscriptions listing RN, royal titulary, and the name of the palace é-gal-ki-šár-ra.
- Q.2.50.1 IM 50141 (DK₃-142). Published by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, Pl. VIII, Fig. 9 (photo) and in Baqir, *Aqar Quf* (Baghdad, 1959) Fig. 7 (photo). [Jaritz No. 92 (K II); El-Wailly 22-U-2 (K II)]
- Q.2.50.2 DK₄-113 (Iraq Museum, unaccessioned). Identified as a duplicate to Q.2.50.1 from the excavation register, where it is said to add an expected -limmu to the end of line 5.
- Q.2.51 IM 50143 (DK₃-144). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing a Sumerian inscription preserving the RN and a short titulary. Described briefly by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, p. 13. [Jaritz No. 93 (K II)]
- Q.2.52 *DK₄-114 (Iraq Museum, unaccessioned). Stone door socket from Dūr-Kurigalzu bearing an inscription that the excavation register reports as reading "Ku-ri-gal . . ."
- Q.2.53 White marble door socket from Nippur bearing a seven-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Ninlil. Found in area III, on the northeast side of the temple of Enlil, near the outer wall; see Peters, *Nippur* II 156. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 37 (copy). [Jaritz No. 110 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-7 (K II)]

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- Q.2.54 Two stone door sockets from Ur bearing a Sumerian building inscription commemorating RN's work on the Ekišnugal for Nanna. One of these texts was published by Gadd, *UET* I 154 (nine lines; copy, transliteration, translation).³⁴ Cf. Q.2.55 below. Information on proveniences courtesy of P. R. S. Moorey. [Jaritz No. 35, part (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-2b (K II)]
- Q.2.54.1 CBS 15322 (U 950). Found in T.T.B. room 31.
- Q.2.54.2 IM 677 (U 1367). Found in "PR/6."
- Q.2.55 IM 617 (U 1208). Stone door socket from Ur bearing an eight-line Sumerian inscription recording RN's work on the Ekišnugal for Nanna; the text is apparently identical to that of Q.2.54 save for the accidental omission of one line. Found in the Nanna Court area. Published by Gadd, *UET* I 153 (photo, copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 35, part (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-2a (K II)]
- Q.2.56 IM 932 (U 2753). Stone door socket from Ur bearing a six-line Sumerian building inscription recording RN's work on the Ekišnugal for Nanna. Found in the "E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag."³⁵ Published by Gadd, *UET* I 152 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 34 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-1 (K II)]
- Q.2.57 CBS 8667. Nine fragments of a lapis-lazuli tablet from Nippur containing a six-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to En[lil]. Found in area III among the hoard of objects in one of the "booths."³⁶ Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 47 (copy). [Jaritz No. 118 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-14 (K II)]
- Q.2.58 CBS 8662 + 8666. Fragments of a lapis-lazuli tablet from Nippur bearing a four-line votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 41

³⁴There is some confusion in the records concerning the numbering of these texts. According to *UET* I, p. xvii, U 1367 is (CBS) 15322. According to University Museum records, CBS 15322 is U 950. The Baghdad duplicate (IM 677), not mentioned in *UET* I, might then presumably be U 1367. Which of these two texts was copied as *UET* I 154?

³⁵*AJ* V (1925) 390 and 387, Fig. 6; cf. *UE* VIII 6, 7, 101, and Pl. 48. But see Or XXXVIII (1969) 316, n. 4, which challenges the correctness of the designation "E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag" for this section.

³⁶For this locus, see E.5.5 above.

- (CBS 8662) and 46 (CBS 8666) (copies); transliterated by Zimmern, ZA XIII (1898) 304. [Jaritz No. 113 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-10 (K II)]
- Q.2.59 CBS 8664. Fragment of a turquoise tablet from Nippur bearing four lines of a Sumerian votive inscription of RN to En[lil]. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 44 (copy). [Jaritz No. 116 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-12 (K II)]
- Q.2.60 CBS 8600. Feldspar tablet with a two-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias to Enlil. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 35 (copy). [Jaritz No. 107 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-5 (K II)]
- Q.2.61 *CBS 8665. Fragmentary lapis-lazuli tablet from Nippur bearing parts of two lines of an inscription mentioning RN and the divine name ^dnin-en-líl. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 45 (copy). [Jaritz No. 117 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-13 (K II)]
- Q.2.62 CBS 8668. Lapis-lazuli tablet from Nippur bearing a five-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Ninlil. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 48 (copy). [Jaritz No. 119 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-15]
- Q.2.63 CBS 8598. Agate tablet from Nippur bearing on one side a nine-line votive inscription of RN to Ninlil and recounting the capture of the palace of the city of Ša-a-ša (Susa?) in Elam; the other side has a brief private text making [a dedication] for the life of Šulgi (Hallo, *HUCA* XXXIII [1962] 33, Šulgi 41). Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 43 (copy). [Jaritz No. 115 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-11 (K II)]
- Q.2.64 *CBS 8663. Fragment of a lapis-lazuli tablet from Nippur bearing parts of two lines of a Sumerian(?) inscription possibly to be assigned to [Kurigal]zu. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 42 (copy). [Jaritz No. 114 (K II)]
- Q.2.65 *U 7816. Fragment of a limestone foundation tablet bearing about nine lines of a Sumerian building inscription concerning work on the Ekišnugal; though the RN is missing, the text is similar to *UET* I 164 (Q.2.66.1 below) and presumably to be attributed to Kurigalzu. Published by Burrows, *UET* I 305 (copy, transliteration).

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- [Jaritz No. 44 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-8b (K II)]
- Q.2.66 Tablets bearing Sumerian building inscriptions of RN recording work on the Gabur temple for ^dNIN.EZEN×LA.
- Q.2.66.1 IM 1002, 1003 (= U 3019, 3022, respectively).³⁷
Stone and copper tablets with the text divided into fourteen lines each. Found at Ur loose in the later Neo-Babylonian levels of the temple of Ningal below the pavement of room 3. Published by Gadd, *UET* I 164 (photo, copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 43 (K I); El-Wailly 22-B-10 (K II)]
- Q.2.66.2 BM 38373 (80-11-12,255). Damaged clay tablet bearing a fragmentary later copy of the same text,³⁸ but divided into seventeen lines (plus two lines of colophon).
- Q.2.67 CBS 4544 + 4550. Fragments of a blue-glass axhead (imitation lapis lazuli) bearing parts of five lines of a Sumerian votive inscription of [RN] son of Burna-Burias̃; the divine name is completely missing. Published by Legrain as the second part of *PBS* XV 51 (copy; translation, *ibid.*, p. 30).³⁹ [Jaritz No. 105 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-25 (K II)]
- Q.2.68 *CBS 8661. Fragment of a blue-glass axhead (imitation lapis lazuli) from Nippur bearing parts of four lines of a Sumerian inscription of RN (apparently the son of [Burna]-'Bu'[riās̃] according to the copy; collation shows the traces of -'bu'- to be uncertain) to Enlil. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 40 (copy). [Jaritz No. 112 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-9 (K II)]
- Q.2.69 CBS 9462. Fragment of a blue-glass axhead (imitation lapis lazuli) from Nippur containing a seven-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃ to 'Enlil'. Found in the same place as

³⁷IM numbers courtesy of Dr. P. R. S. Moorey.

³⁸In so far as this text is preserved, it is an exact duplicate of *UET* I 164; but line 11' (= *UET* I 164:9) may have read [é]-gá-bur rather than simply gá-bur.

³⁹The first part of *PBS* XV 51 (i.e., CBS 4542) is in Akkadian and so is unlikely to belong to the rest of the text. (But note the apparently mixed language in L.2.9 above).

Texts Q.2.67-69 should be added to the lists of glass objects in Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Corning, 1970) p. 148 (Nippur) and p. 215 (No. 8).

- Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 39 (copy, photo). [Jaritz No. 111 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-8 (K II)]
- Q.2.70 Ashmolean 1923.768 (Hmr. 50). Agate knob found at Kish bearing a three-line Sumerian inscription of RN to Zababa. Found in the ziggurat area. (Information on museum and excavation numbers and on provenience courtesy of McGuire Gibson.) Published by Langdon, *AJSL* XL (1923-24) 228 (copy, partial transliteration and translation) and *Excavations at Kish I* (Paris, 1924) 16 (partial transliteration and translation, though the object is here referred to as a "small onyx pommel-head").⁴⁰ [Jaritz No. 131 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-4 (K II)]
- Q.2.71 (Susa) 4625. Knob containing a two-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̄ to Enlil. Published by Scheil, *MDP* XIV 32 (No. 1; copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 109 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-29 (K II)]
- Q.2.72 CBS 9227. Broken lapis-lazuli disk from Nippur preserving parts of twelve lines of a votive inscription of RN son of [Bu]rna-Bu[riās̄] to a deity whose name is broken away. Found in area X in loose debris. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 133 (copy), and by Legrain, *PBS* XV 49 (copy, with transliteration and translation *ibid.*, p. 30); transliteration by Zimmern, *ZA* XIII (1898) 304. [Jaritz No. 124 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-20 (K II)]
- Q.2.73 EŞ 1920. Lapis-lazuli disk from Nippur bearing a three-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to ^dnin-líl(?). Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 49 (copy). [Jaritz No. 120 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-16 (K II)]
- Q.2.74 AO 11206. Eye stone bearing a four-line Sumerian votive inscription of [RN] to Enlil. Published by W. G. Lambert, *RA* LXIII (1969) 67 (transliteration, translation).
- Q.2.75 AO 21306. Eye stone bearing a six-line votive inscription of [Kuriga]lzu son of [Burna]-Burias̄ to Adad. Published by W. G. Lambert, *RA* LXIII (1969) 67 (transliteration, translation, copy by M. Lambert).

⁴⁰The text (collated August 1975) reads: (1) ^dZa-ba₄-ba₄ (2) *Ku-ri-gal-zu* lugal šár lú mu-sar x[] (3) ^diškur!(= IM!) ^dutu mu-ni hē-ūr.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- Q.2.76 AO 22497. Eye stone bearing a four-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Ninurta. Published by W. G. Lambert, *RA* LXIII (1969) 66-67 (copy, transliteration, translation).
- Q.2.77 Eye stone of onyx found at Assur bearing a Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Published by Andrae, *MDOG* XXI (1904) 38 (transliteration only). [Jaritz No. 132 (K II)]
- Q.2.78 (Basel) 1906.729. White and grey-beige chalcedony eye stone bearing a five-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Published by Sollberger, *Genava* N.S. II (1954) 237-38 (copy, transliteration, translation).
- Q.2.79 BM 89877 (66-5-15,1). Circular brown and white eye stone bearing a three-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to ^dni[n]. Published by Winckler, *ZA* II (1887) Pl. III, following p. 314, No. 4 (copy) and pp. 307-8 (description, notes). [El-Wailly 22-V-31 (K II)]
- Q.2.80 BM 103344 (1911-4-8,34). Brown and white eye stone bearing a four-line votive inscription of RN to Adad.
- Q.2.81 BM 120387. Blue-white eye stone bearing a six-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̄ to Marduk. Published by Lehmann, *ZA* V (1890) 417-19 (text in NA type, transliteration, transcription into Babylonian, translation); transliteration and translation by Winckler, *KB* III/1 154-55, No. 3d. [Jaritz No. 133 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-32 (K II)]
- Q.2.82 *CBS 8670. Fragmentary agate eye stone from Nippur bearing parts of two lines of what may be a votive inscription of RN to a deity whose name ends in LÍL (both RN and DN damaged). Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 52 (copy). [Jaritz No. 123 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-19 (K II)]
- Q.2.83 EŞ 1902. Fragmentary agate eye stone from Nippur bearing a damaged three-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 134 (copy). [Jaritz No. 125 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-21 (K II)]
- Q.2.84 EŞ 1906. Agate eye(?) stone from Nippur bearing a four-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Nusku. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 51 (copy). [Jaritz No. 122 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-18 (K II)]

- Q.2.85 EŞ 1912. Fragmentary agate eye stone from Nippur bearing a three-line votive inscription of RN to Ninurta(?). Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 135 (copy). [Jaritz No. 126 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-22 (K II)]
- Q.2.86 IM 55984 (2 N 132). Black-brown and white agate eye stone from Nippur containing a two-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Provenience: "E 9 III" and "25 cm. below E II 2 paving." Published by McCown and Haines, *OIP* LXXVIII, Pl. 30, No. 10 (copy), page opposite Pl. 30 (transliteration),⁴¹ Pl. 31, No. 8 (photo).
- Q.2.87 MLC 2625. Agate eye stone bearing a four-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Published by Clay, *BRM* IV 47 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 106 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-23 (K II)]
- Q.2.88 RWH 100. Eye stone of brown banded agate containing a three-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN to ^dnin-en-líl. Published by S. Dalley, *Iraq* XXXIV (1972) 129 and Pl. LI, No. 26 (photo, copy, transliteration, and translation).⁴²
- Q.2.89 Sor 610. Fragmentary onyx eye stone with a dark brown center and white rim from Surkh Dum (Luristan) bearing parts of three lines of an inscription of RN. Provenience: "JI, No. 52/12"; date of context in which it was found: ca. 700-600 B.C. (information courtesy of Maurits van Loon). To be published in the forthcoming report on the site.
- Q.2.90 BM 89134. Seal of red, white, and black stone bearing a seven-line Sumerian possession inscription of RN with a curse formula mentioning Adad and Šamaš.
- Q.2.91 *CBS 1062. Brown and white carnelian seal bearing an eight-line Sumerian inscription mentioning RN. Published by Legrain, *PBS* XIV, No. 531 (photo of impression, transliteration, translation); part of the illustration is reproduced in Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII (1937) 106, Fig. 3c (misnumbered). Transliteration and translation

⁴¹In the transliteration, read ^dEN.LÍL and omit the masculine personal determinative before the RN.

⁴²Dalley's reading of Kurigalzu's titulary is unconvincing, though no feasible alternative suggests itself at present.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- by Limet, p. 90, No. 6.20.⁴³ [Jaritz Nos. 135 and 138 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-A.3 (K II)]
- Q.2.92 Lapis-lazuli seal in the Newell Collection bearing a six-line votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃ to Adad. Published in von der Osten, *OIP* XXII, No. 665 (photo, transliteration, translation). Transliteration and translation by Limet, p. 114, No. 12.1. [Jaritz No. 137 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-A.2 (K II)]
- Q.2.93 Seal in a private collection bearing an eight-line Sumerian prayer inscription to Ninurta for RN. Published by W. G. Lambert, *AFO* XXIII (1970) 48-49, No. ii (transliteration, translation, photo of seal and impression). Transliteration and translation by Limet, p. 93, No. 6.26.
- Q.2.94 BM 89860. Carnelian(?) bead bearing a six-line votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃ to Ninlil. (Information courtesy of E. Sollberger.)
- Q.2.95 10 N 220, now in the Iraq Museum (number unknown). Lapis-lazuli bead found at Nippur (in the Pennsylvania dump northwest of the Enlil temple) bearing a four-line votive inscription of RN to Enlil.
- Q.2.96 Sor 162. Red-brown stone bead from Surkh Dum (Luristan) bearing a five-line Sumerian votive inscription of [Kurig]alzu [son of Burna-Bur]ias̃ to [Nin]lil. Provenience: "IH No. 22 (elevation 98.25)"; date of context in which it was found: ca. 600-550 B.C. (information courtesy of Maurits van Loon). To be published in the forthcoming report on the site.
- Q.2.97 YBC 12593. Stone bead, light brown and purple with dark brown rings, containing a four-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃ to Enlil. (Information courtesy of W. W. Hallo and Mark E. Cohen.)
- Q.2.98 AO 4601. Biconvex perforated disk-shaped stone of lapis lazuli bearing a seven-line votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃ to Enlil. Published by Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II, A. 818 (trans-

⁴³Limet suggests that the name of the person for whom the inscription was written is given in line 5 and his title in line 6.

- literation and translation on p. 179; photos on Pl. 93, Figs. 18a-b, with obverse of inscription visible). [Jaritz No. 127 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-1 (K II)]
- Q.2.99 AO 7703. Plano-convex piece of chalcedony bearing a four-line possession inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃. Published by Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre II*, A. 819 (copy, transliteration, and translation on p. 179; photo on Pl. 93, Fig. 11, with inscription not visible). [Jaritz No. 128 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-2 (K II)]
- Q.2.100 AO 7705. Fragment of lapis lazuli bearing a three-line votive inscription of RN to Ninlil. Published by Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre II*, A. 820 (copy, transliteration, and translation on p. 179; photo of inscription on Pl. 93, Fig. 9). [Jaritz No. 129 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-3 (K II)]
- Q.2.101 CBS 8599. Irregular block of lapis lazuli from Nippur bearing a six-line Sumerian votive inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃ to Enlil. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE I* 36 (copy, photo). [Jaritz No. 108 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-6 (K II)]
- Q.2.102 CBS 8669 + 8684. Fragments of an agate ring(?) from Nippur bearing parts of five and three lines, respectively, of a Sumerian votive inscription of RN to a deity whose name is broken. Found in the same place as Q.2.57. Published by Hilprecht, *BE I* 50 and 74, respectively (copy). [Jaritz No. 121 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-17 (K II)]
- Q.2.103 CBS 14570. Fragment of brown and white agate from Nippur bearing parts of three lines of a Sumerian votive inscription of RN to a deity whose name is almost entirely broken away. Published by Legrain, *PBS XV* 48 (copy). [Jaritz No. 104 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-24 (K II)]
- Q.2.104 Lapis-lazuli amulet or pendant in the Newell Collection having on one side a picture of a six-pointed star with rays and on the other a five-line possession inscription of RN son of Burna-Burias̃. Published by Nies, *BIN II* 15 (drawing, copy, transliteration, translation, and history of the object); see also G. Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World I* (New York, 1885)

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- Pl. XXI (drawing, copy)⁴⁴ and Boissier, *RA* XXIX (1932) 94-95 (transcription). [Jaritz No. 134 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-26 (K II)]
- Q.2.105 Agate scaraboid bearing a three-line votive inscription of RN to Ištarān; found at Susa. Published by Scheil, *MDP* VI 30 (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz Nos. 48 (K I) and 130 (K II); El-Wailly 22-V-28 (K II)]
- Q.2.106 Agate seal in the Newell Collection bearing a six-line Sumerian inscription of Nūr-DN (reading uncertain), son of RN and nišakku priest of Enlil. Published in von der Osten, *OIP* XXII, No. 276 (photo of impression, transliteration, translation); illustration and part of inscription (somewhat inaccurately reproduced) in Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII (1937) 106, Fig. 3g. Transliteration and translation by Limet, p. 95, No. 7.7. [Jaritz No. 144 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-B.4 (K II)]
- Q.2.107 Bibliothèque Nationale No. 296. Seal bearing a nine-line Sumerian inscription of a son of RN (reading of son's name uncertain). Published by Ménant, *Recherches* I 193, Fig. 123 (copy); by Delaporte, *Cat. Bibl. Natl.*, No. 296 (including copy on p. XLIX and transliteration and translation on p. 166); by Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 24, Fig. 41, and p. 184, Fig. 514 (copies); and by Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII (1937) 106, Fig. 3f (illustration and part of inscription). Transliteration and translation by Langdon, *RA* XVI (1919) 84, No. 35, and Limet, pp. 83-84, No. 6.7. [Jaritz No. 143 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-B.1 (K II)]
- Q.2.108 AO 4456. Seal of orange jasper bearing a six-line Sumerian possession inscription of Dūrī-Ulmaš, šakkanakku of Dūr-Kurigalzu. Published by Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II, A. 606 (transliteration, translation on p. 158; photo of the seal impression on Pl. 85, Fig. 7). Also published by Toscanne, *RT* XXX (1908) 130-31, VI (copy, transliteration, translation), where the seal is described as "agate." Further bibliography in Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII (1937) 106 with an illustration of the seal impression *ibid.*, Fig. 3a (misnumbered). For a practical duplicate of this text, see the fol-

⁴⁴The copy published by Rawlinson shows the inscription in reverse.

lowing entry. [Jaritz No. 142 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-B.6b (K II); Jaritz and El-Wailly confuse the bibliography for this and the following entry; Limet No. 2.17]

- Q.2.109 Boston Museum of Fine Arts No. 98.698. Hematite seal bearing a six-line Sumerian possession inscription of Dūrī-Ulmaš, Šakkanakku of Dūr-Kurigalzu. Published by Ménant, *Recherches I* 193 and Fig. 124 (copy, translation); by Toscanne, *RT XXX* (1908) 130, V (copy); by Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 24, Fig. 40a, and p. 184, Fig. 513; cf. also Herzfeld, *AMI VIII* (1937) 106, Fig. 3b (slightly inaccurate reproduction of illustration and part of text) and E. Douglas Van Buren, *Or XXIII* (1954) Pl. II, Fig. 9 (photo of impression). Transliterated and translated by Langdon, *RA XVI* (1919) 71, No. 6, and by Limet, p. 60, No. 2.16. The inscription is practically a duplicate of the preceding entry.⁴⁵ [Jaritz No. 141 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-B.6a (K II); the bibliography for this and the preceding seal are partially confused by Jaritz and El-Wailly.]
- Q.2.110 Sor 1428. Seal from Surkh Dum (Luristan) bearing a two-line possession inscription plus an additional short text in the field (all in logograms or Sumerian); the text is in the name of Ilī-rabi, ša rēši of RN. Provenience: "JI, Room 3, No. 175/58"; date of context in which it was found: ca. 600 B.C. (information courtesy of Maurits van Loon). To be published in the forthcoming report on the site.
- Q.2.111 Jasper seal in the Newell Collection bearing a six-line Sumerian inscription of Šamaš-rīmāni, ša rēši of RN. Published in von der Osten, *OIP XXII*, No. 662 (photo of impression, transliteration, translation); illustration and part of inscription reproduced in Herzfeld, *AMI VIII* (1937) 106, Fig. 3e. Transliteration and translation by Limet, p. 103, No. 8.4. [Jaritz No. 54 (K I);⁴⁶ El-Wailly 22-S-B.5 (K II)]

⁴⁵The only differences in the preserved sections (other than misformed signs) are that Q.2.109 has a masculine personal determinative before the RN in line 3 and that lines 5-6 are divided differently.

⁴⁶Misprinted as No. "51" in *MIO VI* (1958) 236.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- Q.2.112 AOD 105. Chalcedony seal bearing a five-line Sumerian(?) possession inscription of ^mTe(?)*-ri-ma-an-ni* (reading uncertain), "servant" of RN. Published in M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse* (Paris, 1893) p. 439, Fig. 340 (photo of impression), and in Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre I*, D. 56 (transliteration and translation on p. 72, photo of seal impression on Pl. 51, Fig. 22); also reproduced in Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 24, Fig. 41a, and p. 191, Fig. 539 (copies), and in Herzfeld, *AMI VIII* (1937) 106, Fig. 3d (illustration and part of text, slightly inaccurately reproduced). Transliterated and translated by Langdon, *RA XVI* (1919) 72, No. 7, and by Limet, p. 61, No. 2.18. [Jaritz No. 140 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-B.2 (K II)]
- Q.2.113 BM 114704. Blue and orange seal bearing an eleven-line Sumerian inscription of Uballissu-Marduk, son of Arad-Ea and "servant" of RN. Published by Gadd, *CT XXXVI* 5 (copy). Transliteration and translation by Limet, p. 85, No. 6.10. [Jaritz No. 53 (K I); El-Wailly 22-S-B.3 (K II)] Cf. Q.2.114.
- Q.2.114 BM 122696 (1931-4-15,1). Seal of greenish stone bearing a fourteen-line Sumerian possession inscription of Uballissu-Marduk, son of Arad-Ea and ^šatammu (context uncertain).
- Q.2.115 Economic texts
- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|---|
| Q.2.115.1 | I - 4 - year 1 | Ni. 109; CBS 9519 is a cast of this text |
| Q.2.115.2 | I - [24] - year 1 | Ni. 55; CBS 9507 is a cast of this text |
| Q.2.115.3 | II - 30 - year 1 | CBS 3725, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 3 |
| Q.2.115.4 | V - - year 1(+) | Ni. 1587 |
| Q.2.115.5 | II - 2 - year 2 | BM 17688 |
| Q.2.115.6 | VIII - 3 - year 2 | BM 81092 |
| Q.2.115.7 | X - 7 - year 2 | UM 29-15-722 |
| Q.2.115.8 | - year 2 | CBS 6093, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 10; Torczyner, pp. 64-65, No. 38 |
| Q.2.115.9 | VIa - - year 4 | CBS 6604, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 12; Torczyner, pp. 62-64, No. 36 |

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Q.2.115.10		- year 4	Ni. 6729; III-VI mentioned in text
Q.2.115.11	VI - 2	- year 5	CBS 3045, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 13
Q.2.115.12	VIII - 22	- year 5	UM 29-16-550
Q.2.115.13	III - 26	- year 6(+)	CBS 4911
Q.2.115.14	VI - 10	- year 6	Ni. 6558
Q.2.115.15	[] - 8	- year 6	UM 29-13-280
Q.2.115.16		- year 6	AO 8147
Q.2.115.17		- year 6	CBS 3530, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 5; RN heavily damaged
Q.2.115.18		- year 6	CBS 7750
Q.2.115.19		- year 6	CBS 11521, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 4
Q.2.115.20		- year 6	N 2014
Q.2.115.21		- year 6	Ni. 157
Q.2.115.22		- year 6	Ni. 7210
Q.2.115.23		- year 6	UM 29-13-429
Q.2.115.24		- year 6	UM 29-13-791
Q.2.115.25		- year 6	*UM 29-13-950; year 6 men- tioned; RN badly damaged
Q.2.115.26		- year 6(+)	UM 29-13-340
Q.2.115.27		- year 6(+)	UM 29-13-823
Q.2.115.28	VI - 20	- year 7	CBS 11491
Q.2.115.29		- year 7	CBS 12551, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 6
Q.2.115.30	III - 22	- year 8	CBS 10357
Q.2.115.31		- year 8	Ni. 6357
Q.2.115.32		- year 8	UM 29-13-436
Q.2.115.33	VIII - 28	- year 9	CBS 2285
Q.2.115.34		- year 9	CBS 10973
Q.2.115.35		- year 9(+)	CBS 11671
Q.2.115.36		- year 9(+)	UM 29-15-688
Q.2.115.37	I - 13	- year 10	Ni. 11219; CBS 9548 is a cast of this text
Q.2.115.38	VIa - 19	- year 10	UM 29-13-965

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Q.2.115.39	XI - 14	- year 10	HS 133, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 36; Petschow No. 39
Q.2.115.40	XII - 4	- year 10	CBS 6644, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 14; CBS number incorrectly listed <i>ibid.</i> , p. 62
Q.2.115.41		- year 10(+)	Ni. 8116; year number presumably either "10" or "20"
Q.2.115.42	I - 24	- year 11	Ni. 160; days 23-24; CBS 9549 is a cast of this text
Q.2.115.43		- year 11	UM 29-15-701
Q.2.115.44	VIII - 21	- year 12	CBS 3037, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 15
Q.2.115.45	XII? - 1?	- year 12	UM 29-15-303
Q.2.115.46	XII - 22	- year 12?	Ni. 8932
Q.2.115.47		- year 12	*UM 29-13-634:6'; year 12 mentioned
Q.2.115.48	V - 28	- year 13	BM 13309 = 96-3-28,400; published as <i>CT</i> LI 22; Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 102; days 27-28
Q.2.115.49	V - 30	- year 13	L. 39432; CBS 9524 is a cast of this tablet
Q.2.115.50	VII -	- year 13	BM 81198
Q.2.115.51	VIII - 14?	- year 13	UM 29-13-985
Q.2.115.52	VIII - 30	- year 13	CBS 3039, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 16
Q.2.115.53	X - 7	- year 13	CBS 3036, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 17
Q.2.115.54	XII -	- year 13	*CBS 10389; traces of RN uncertain
Q.2.115.55		- year 13	CBS 3491, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 19; Torczyner, pp. 73- 77, No. 49
Q.2.115.56		- year 13	CBS 10974, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 18; Torczyner, pp. 15-16, No. 1
Q.2.115.57		- year 13	CBS 10978

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Q.2.115.58		- year 13	CBS 11610, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 7
Q.2.115.59		- year 13?	Ni. 618
Q.2.115.60		- year 13	Ni. 6737
Q.2.115.61	II - 5	- year 14	Ni. 7979
Q.2.115.62	II - 10	- year 14	CBS 11773
Q.2.115.63	II - 14	- year 14	CBS 3040, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 20
Q.2.115.64	X - 8	- year 14	CBS 11541, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 8; mentions IX-23; days 11-8 (<i>sic</i>)
Q.2.115.65	XI -	- year 14	CBS 3043; RN damaged
Q.2.115.66		- year 14	CBS 4910
Q.2.115.67		- year 14	CBS 6881
Q.2.115.68		- year 14(+)	CBS 12599
Q.2.115.69		- year 14	N 1838
Q.2.115.70		- year 14	UM 29-13-346
Q.2.115.71	VI - 14	- year 15	CBS 3038, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 21
Q.2.115.72	XII - 6	- year 15	UM 29-13-775 (two tablets share this museum number)
Q.2.115.73		- year 15	CBS 3342, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 22; Torczyner, pp. 77-78, No. 50
Q.2.115.74		- year 15?	CBS 8867
Q.2.115.75		- year 15	CBS 11828, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 9
Q.2.115.76		- year 15	Ni. 6782
Q.2.115.77	I - 27	- year 16	CBS 3041, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 23
Q.2.115.78	V - 26	- year 16	BM 13178 (tablet) and 13178A (case); case published as <i>CT</i> LI 23 (with variants from tablet indicated); Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 89

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Q.2.115.79	VI - 17?	- year 16	Ni. 2228; CBS 9546 is a cast of this tablet
Q.2.115.80	XI - 16	- year 16	Ni. 386; year "17" possible but less likely
Q.2.115.81		- year 16	CBS 8865
Q.2.115.82		- year 16	CBS 11138
Q.2.115.83		- year 16	CBS 11673
Q.2.115.84		- year 16	CBS 13096, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 24; CBS number incorrectly listed <i>ibid.</i> , p. 63; Torczyner, pp. 18-20, No. 4
Q.2.115.85		- year 16	Ni. 6908
Q.2.115.86		- year 16 ¹	Ni. 8608
Q.2.115.87		- year 16	UM 29-13-523
Q.2.115.88	VI -	- year 17	Ni. 1606; IX-VI (<i>sic</i>)
Q.2.115.89	XI? -	- year 17	Ni. 2224
Q.2.115.90		- year 17	CBS 3492
Q.2.115.91		- year 17	CBS 3645, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 11
Q.2.115.92		- year 17	CBS 6083, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 25
Q.2.115.93		- year 17	CBS 9821
Q.2.115.94		- year 17	CBS 10960
Q.2.115.95		- year 17	CBS 11648, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 12
Q.2.115.96		- year 17	Ni. 2878
Q.2.115.97		- year 17	Ni. 2950
Q.2.115.98		- year 17	Ni. 6672
Q.2.115.99		- year 17	Ni. 6764
Q.2.115.100		- year 17(+)	UM 29-15-378
Q.2.115.101		- year 17	UM 29-15-700
Q.2.115.102	I -[20(+)]-	- year 18	CBS 11997
Q.2.115.103	VI - 29	- year 18	CBS 3031, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 26; Torczyner, p. 94, No. 70

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Q.2.115.104	VIII - 5	- year 18	CBS 3033, published as BE XIV 27
Q.2.115.105	VIII - 9	- year 18	CBS 3034, published as BE XIV 28
Q.2.115.106	IX - 16	- year 18	CBS 3030, published as BE XIV 29
Q.2.115.107	IX - 19	- year 18	Ni. 379
Q.2.115.108	X - 16	- year 18	CBS 3035, published as BE XIV 30
Q.2.115.109		- year 18?	CBS 7815
Q.2.115.110		- year 18	CBS 10961
Q.2.115.111		- year 18	CBS 11807
Q.2.115.112		- year 18	UM 29-15-318
Q.2.115.113	VI -	- year 19	UM 29-15-797
Q.2.115.114	X -	- year 19	UM 29-15-723
Q.2.115.115	XII - 4	- year 19	Ni. 1397
Q.2.115.116		- year 19?	CBS 6091, published as BE XIV 31; Torczyner, pp. 16- 18, No. 2; collated
Q.2.115.117		- year 19?	CBS 10970, published as BE XIV 32; Torczyner, p. 18, No. 3; collated
Q.2.115.118		- year 19	Ni. 181
Q.2.115.119		- year 19	*Ni. 7062 mentions years between year 14 and year 19 of RN
Q.2.115.120		- year 19	*Ni. 8921; mentions years 15, 16, 18, 19 of RN
Q.2.115.121	II -10?(+)	- year 20(+)	Ni. 355
Q.2.115.122		- year 20	CBS 6151, published as BE XIV 33; Torczyner, p. 20, No. 5
Q.2.115.123		- year 20	CBS 6614, published as BE XIV 34; Torczyner, pp. 20- 21, No. 6
Q.2.115.124		- year 20	CBS 9254

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Q.2.115.125		- year 20	CBS 9950
Q.2.115.126		- year 20	CBS 11939, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 10
Q.2.115.127		- year 20	CBS 10963
Q.2.115.128		- year 20	UM 29-13-245
Q.2.115.129		- year 20	UM 29-13-816
Q.2.115.130	II - 2	- year 21	Ni. 7941
Q.2.115.131	VIII - 1(+)	- year 21	Ni. 140; MN and year date faint, but probable; CBS 9513 is a cast of this text
Q.2.115.132	IX -	- year 21	Ni. 5895
Q.2.115.133	X - 16	- year 21	CBS 3042, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 35; Torczyner, p. 94, No. 71
Q.2.115.134	X -	- year 21	UM 29-15-719
Q.2.115.135	[XI?] - 5	- year 21	CBS 12902, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 40; RN broken in date, but complete in oath formula
Q.2.115.136	XII -	- year 21	Ni. 130; CBS 9535 is a cast of this text
Q.2.115.137	[] - 9	- year 21	Ni. 339
Q.2.115.138		- year 21	CBS 3767, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 15
Q.2.115.139		- year 21	CBS 11647, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 13
Q.2.115.140		- year 21	CBS 11883, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 14
Q.2.115.141		- year 21	CBS 11799, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 16
Q.2.115.142		- year 21	CBS 11863
Q.2.115.143		- year 21(+)	UM 29-13-370
Q.2.115.144		- year 21	UM 29-13-875
Q.2.115.145		- year 21	UM 29-15-690
Q.2.115.146	VIII - 19	- year 22	CBS 3032, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 36

- Q.2.115.147 - year 22 CBS 6082, published as *BE* XIV 37; Torczyner, p. 33, No. 19
- Q.2.115.148 - year 22 CBS 6612
- Q.2.115.149 - year 22 CBS 11894, published as *PBS* II/2 17
- Q.2.115.150 - year 22 UM 29-15-669
- Q.2.115.151 XI - - year 23 CBS 7721
- Q.2.115.152 [] - 16 - year 23 CBS 3044, published as *BE* XIV 38; Torczyner, p. 64, No. 37
- Q.2.115.153 VIII - 9 - year 24 CBS 15050
- Q.2.115.154 VII? - 4 - [] CBS 11912
- Q.2.115.155 XI - - [] N 3407
- Q.2.115.156 [] - 4 - [] Ni. 2230; CBS 9525 is probably a cast of this text
- Q.2.115.157 [MN] - 17 - [] CBS 7272, published as *PBS* VIII/2 158; collated
- Q.2.115.158 CBS 11147.
- Q.2.115.159 CBS 11436.
- Q.2.115.160 CBS 11740.
- Q.2.115.161 CBS 11951, published as *PBS* II/2 18.
- Q.2.115.162 Ni. 6677.
- Q.2.115.163 *UM 29-13-815.
- Q.2.115.164 *UM 29-15-245.
- Q.2.115.165 UM 29-15-127.
- Q.2.115.166 UM 29-16-619.
- Q.2.115.167 A tablet or tablets dating from the reign of Kurigalzu were found in the Merkes section of Babylon: *WVDOG* XLVII 13, 54, 159, 164, 165, 185, 189, 194, 205, Pl. 4 (House III 27pl), Pl. 5 (House VII 24/25q2).
- Q.2.115.168 Tablet in Istanbul, number unknown, dated XI-19-"the year in which Kurigalzu, the king, built the Ekurigibar(r)a." The date is mentioned by Unger in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* X (1934) 256 (where the number of the text is given as "Ni. 2860"), in *Afo* X

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(1935-36) 93, and cited in transliteration by Kraus, *WZKM* LII (1953-55) 239. The text cannot be located (the number Ni. 2860 is now assigned to another tablet).

- Q.2.116 *Assur 6211. Fragment of an alabaster tablet, apparently a contemporary Assyrian royal inscription relating the Assyrian monarch's defeat of [Kur]igalzu. Published by Ebeling, *AOB* I 46-49 (transliteration, translation), who ascribed it to Enlil-nirari. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 334.
- Q.3 Later sources
- Q.3.1 A real-estate document written during the reign of Kadašman-Enlil (I/II) mentions Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe as bestower of an earlier land grant. Texts: J.2.19.
- Q.3.1.1 BM 91036 i 4 (*BBSt*, No. 1).
- Q.3.1.2 BM 135743 i 4.
- Q.3.2 CBS 12914, a legal text possibly from the time of Nazi-Maruttas̄ published as *BE* XIV 39, mentions the reign of Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe (line 8). Text: U.2.24.375.
- Q.3.3 VAT 151 + 1878, an Amarna letter from Burna-Burias̄ to Akhnaton published as *EA* 11, states that (the earlier) Kurigalzu had been sent gold by an ancestor of Akhnaton (rev. 19'-20'). Text: E.2.15.
- Q.3.4 BM 29785, an Amarna letter written from Burna-Burias̄ II to Tutankhamon published as *EA* 9, mentions that Kurigalzu, an ancestor (literally "father") of Burna-Burias̄, turned down a request from the Canaanites to form an alliance against Egypt (lines 19-30). Text: E.2.13.
- Q.3.5 Various royal inscriptions of Nazi-Maruttas̄ refer to the later Kurigalzu as that king's father.
- Q.3.5.1 AO 7704, published in Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II 179-80, A. 821 i 3. Text: U.2.3.
- Q.3.5.2 CBS 4543, 4547, and 4549, published as *PBS* XV 52, line 12'1. Text: U.2.6.
- Q.3.5.3 *CBS 8671, published as *BE* I 55 and *PBS* XV 56, line 141. Text: U.2.7.
- Q.3.5.4 CBS 8681+, published as *BE* I 75 (= *PBS* XV 54) + *BE* I 136 + *BE* I 137, line 5'. Text: U.2.4.

- Q.3.5.5 CBS 8685, published as *BE* I 78, line 12'. Text: U.2.5.
- Q.3.5.6 CBS 8728, published as *BE* I 56. Text: U.2.14.
- Q.3.5.7 CBS 14572, published as *PBS* XV 53, line 5. Text: U.2.11.
- Q.3.5.8 EŞ 1921, published as *BE* I 58, line 4. Text: U.2.12.
- Q.3.5.9 EŞ 1924, published as *BE* I 53, line 15'. Text: U.2.9.
- Q.3.5.10 Sb 21, a royal land grant published in *MDP* II 86-92, i 3 and ii 28. Text: U.2.19.
- Q.3.6 CBS 12914, a legal text possibly from the time of Nazi-Maruttaš published as *BE* XIV 39, mentions the later Kurigalzu as the father of Nazi-Maruttaš (line 9). Text: U.2.24.375.
- Q.3.7 UM 29-15-246, an economic text that mentions the thirteenth year of Nazi-Maruttaš (rev. 2), also mentions the later Kurigalzu as RN's father (rev. 6). Text: U.2.24.168.
- Q.3.8 Ni. 8017, an economic text probably from the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš, mentions a Kurigalzu (line 3), perhaps only in the context of an earlier year date. Text: U.2.24.145.
- Q.3.9 VAT 9820, an Assyrian epic fragment published in *Afo* XX (1963) Pl. 5, mentions Kurigalzu as the father of Nazi-Maruttaš in a passage dealing with the latter's relations with Assyria (ii 12'). Text: U.2.27.3.
- Q.3.10 U 7788h, an economic text from about the time of Šagarakti-Šuriaš published as *UET* VII 63, mentions *purukkû* offerings confirmed by a king Kurigalzu (line 5). Text: V.2.10.244.
- Q.3.11 Sb 30, a kudurru from the time of Kaštiliašu IV published in *MDP* II 93-94, mentions an earlier land grant made by Kurigalzu son of Burna-Buriaš (i 18-19, cf. i 6). Text: O.2.5.
- Q.3.12 Ni. 11111, a Middle Babylonian roster of servile laborers, mentions year 23(?) of a 'Kurigalzu' (i' 3'-4').
- Q.3.13 The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic refers to an old conflict between Enlil-nirari and Kurigalzu, presumably the younger (ii 29'-30'). Text: W.2.5.
- Q.3.14 VA Bab. 667 (BE 6378), a votive inscription of Meli-Šipak published as *WVDOG* IV, No. 2, calls Meli-Šipak the "son" (i.e., descendant) of a Kurigalzu. For an explanation of this reference, see *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 326. Text: S.2.3.

- Q.3.15 Inscriptions of Marduk-apla-iddina I mention a Kurigalzu as being an ancestor of that king.
- Q.3.15.1 BM 90850, a kudurru published as *BBSt*, No. 5, i 25.
Text: R.2.3.
- Q.3.15.2 NBC 9502, a kudurru, ii. Text: R.2.9.
- Q.3.15.3 VAT 4131, a building inscription published as *VAS I* 34, i 20. Text: R.2.1.
- Q.3.16 *In Chronicle P iii 23, the name of the later Kurigalzu is presumably to be restored as the father of Nazi-Maruttaš.
- Q.3.17 IM 57150, a Neo-Babylonian temple inventory published as *UET IV* 143, mentions a Kurigalzu as donor of a gold object (lines 5-6). The donors are arranged in chronological order, and this Kurigalzu is preceded by a Burna-Buriaš and followed by Meli-Šipak.
- Q.3.18 Cylinder inscriptions of Nabonidus tell of a Kurigalzu's unsuccessful attempts to locate the temenos of the Eulmaš temple in Agade and cite an inscription of Kurigalzu to that effect: *CT XXXIV* 30 ii 32-36; less complete duplicate: *VAB IV* 246 ii 32-36. Detailed bibliography of texts: Berger, *AOAT IV/1* 377-78 (Nabonidus Cylinder III,4). [Jaritz No. 52]
- Q.3.19 *S.U. 52/133, a text of undetermined type published as *STT I* 45, mentions a Kurigalzu in broken context (line 4). For preliminary comments, see Edzard, *ZA LV* (1963) 265.
- Q.4 Writing of the royal name⁴⁷
- Q.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts
- Q.4.1.1 *Ku-ri-gal-zu* (*passim* in royal inscriptions, kudurrus, private seals, etc.: e.g., *MDP XXVIII* 12:1; *RT XXIII* [1901] 133:1; *BBSt*, No. 2 Face B:3; *BE I* 38:[4])
- Q.4.1.2 ^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu* (royal inscriptions: *CT XXXVI* 6 i 1 (K I); *BM* 89134:1; *OIP XIV* 46:4, 47:4; *PBS XV* 50:4; *UET I* 155 face 4; *UVB I* 54, No. 14:3; Q.2.22:4; private seals: Q.2.109:3, Q.2.110:2, Q.2.111:6, Q.2.112:5)

⁴⁷The name is properly rendered as *Kuri-galzu*, meaning "shepherd of the Kassite(s)"; cf. *V R* 44 i 23 (^m*Ku-ur-gal-zu*) and Balkan, *Kassitenstudien I* (New Haven, 1954) 2, 66-67, 163. As stated above, the unhyphenated form is retained here in English transcription because it has become quasi-traditional.

- Q.4.1.3 ^d*Ku-ri-gal-zu* (royal inscriptions: *UET* I 155 side 3, 159:1 variant; *UVB* I 54, No. 15:4; Q.2.5:7, 18, rev. [4], 10 [contemporary?]; *IM 50010 iv 18'-19')⁴⁸
- Q.4.2 In contemporary economic texts (all here referring to Kurigalzu II)
- Q.4.2.1 *Ku-ri-gal-zu* (*BE* XIV 10:1 and 59, 13:10, 18:1; *PBS* II/2 4:1, 7:1; and *passim*; by far the most common orthography in this category)
- Q.4.2.2 ^d*Ku-ri-gal-zu* (*BE* XIV 20:7, CBS 3043:21, Ni. 355 rev. 4, Ni. 379:12)
- Q.4.2.3 ^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu* (*BE* XIV 14:13, 17:11, 35:10; *CT* LI 22:7)
- Q.4.2.4 ^d*Kur-e-gal-zu* (*BE* XIV 36:12 and possibly 38:[17])⁴⁹
- Q.4.3 In later texts
- Q.4.3.1 *Ku-ri-gal-zu* (Amarna letters of Burna-Buriáš II: *EA* 9:19, 11 rev. 19', 20' [all referring to K I]; legal text possibly from the reign of Nazi-Maruttáš: *BE* XIV 39:8 [K I];⁵⁰ royal inscriptions of Nazi-Maruttáš that refer to his father [K II]: *BE* I 53:[5], 58:4, 75 [= *PBS* XV 54] + *BE* I 136-37: [5']; Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* II 179, A. 821 i 3, *PBS* XV 53:5; kudurru from the reign of Nazi-Maruttáš: *MDP* II 86-88 i 3, ii 28 [K II]; economic texts probably from the reign of Nazi-Maruttáš: Ni. 8017:3; kudurru from the reign of Kaštiliašū IV: *MDP* II 93 i 18 [K II]; votive inscription of Meli-Šipak: *WVDOG* IV, No. 2:5; royal inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina I: *VAS* I 34:20; kudurrus from the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I: *BBSt*, No. 5 i 25, NBC 9502 ii; Middle Assyrian epic text: *AFO* XX [1963] Pl. 5 ii 12'; Neo-Babylonian inventory: *UET* IV 143:[6])⁵¹

⁴⁸The variation in determinatives in these texts (^{m/d/0}) will probably not prove significant in determining whether to assign inscriptions to Kurigalzu I or Kurigalzu II. Note that the same brick (*UET* I 155) has ^m on one side and ^d on the other. Similarly, the seals of Dūrī-Ulmaš, Q.2.108 and Q.2.109, have ⁰ and ^m, respectively.

⁴⁹This writing of the RN might be taken as favoring a transcription *Kure-galzu*, but the Middle Babylonian e/i distinction is not always consistent.

⁵⁰Note that the name of Kurigalzu II is preceded with a divine determinative in the following line of the text.

⁵¹It is difficult to tell whether there may have been a determinative preceding the name of Kurigalzu in the royal inscription of Nazi-Maruttáš *BE* I 78:3' (K II).

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- Q.4.3.2 ^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu* (later Middle Babylonian economic text: UM 29-15-246 rev. '61; Chronicle P ii 10', iii 10, [12], [15], 18, and originally also [23] [K II, only part of the masculine personal determinative is preserved in the last-cited line (the rest of the name must be totally restored)]; possibly the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic ii '30'; Synchronistic History i 18' and possibly i [16']; *STT* I 45:4; royal inscriptions of Nabonidus: *CT* XXXIV 30 ii 32 and *I R* 69 ii 32)
- Q.4.3.3 ^d*Ku-ri-gal-zu* (real-estate document from the reign of a Kadašman-Enlil: *BBSt*, No. 1 i 4 and duplicate, BM 135743 i 4 [K I]; legal text possibly from the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš: *BE* XIV 39:9 [K II])
- Q.4.3.4 *Kur-ri-gal-zu* (royal inscription of Nazi-Maruttaš: *BE* I 56 [K II])
- Q.4.3.5 []-al(?)*-zu* (royal inscription of Nazi-Maruttaš: *BE* I 55 [= *PBS* XV 56] line 4).

Q.5 Miscellaneous notes

- Q.5.1 IM 812 (U 1663), according to records in the Iraq Museum, is a sandstone door socket with an almost completely obliterated inscription thought to belong to Kurigalzu; I have been unable either to verify or to disprove this attribution. The socket was found at the great entrance to the easternmost room on the southeast side of the Nanna courtyard.
- Q.5.2 *OIP* XXII, No. 660, a seal in the Newell Collection, has been interpreted as bearing a votive inscription of [Kurigalzu son of Burna-Bur]iaš; but it is difficult to judge how the name ending in -iaš is to be restored and whether it should indeed be interpreted as a patronymic. [Jaritz No. 136 (K II); El-Wailly 22-S-A.1 (K II)]
- Q.5.3 YBC 12082, an unpublished Middle Babylonian economic text whose date is not preserved, may come from the reign of Kurigalzu because of its similarity to the dated texts *PBS* II/2 6, 7, 12, 16, etc. See Hallo, *JCS* XVIII (1964) 62 and n. 47.
- Q.5.4 CBS 6613 (*BE* XIV 11) has been assigned to Kurigalzu by Clay, the publisher of the text. Only ^d[*Ku*(?)]-[] of the RN is preserved; and, since prosopography is presently of no assistance, it is

difficult to determine why the text could not with equal justice--if the traces are as copied--be assigned to Kudur-Enlil.

- Q.5.5 It is uncertain whether the Kurigalzu mentioned in *Iraq XI* (1949) 147, No. 8 rev.(?) 26 (= IM 51003, a Middle Babylonian economic text from Dūr-Kurigalzu) is a king; cf. E.2.31 above.
- Q.5.6 It is uncertain whether ^mKu-ri-gal-z[u] mentioned in broken context in CBS 8505 rev. 7' is to be identified with this king.
- Q.5.7 For the use of Kurigalzu as a personal name and as a family name in first-millennium Babylonia, see Balkan, *Kassitenstudien I* (New Haven, 1954) 67 and Landsberger, *Bischof*, p. 68, n. 140. An additional reference may occur in Nimrud Letter LXXII rev. 20' (*Iraq XXVII* [1965] Pl. III).
- Q.5.8 DK₂-44, an inscribed brick published in photo in *Iraq, Suppl.* 1944, Pl. XII, Fig. 15 and in transliteration and translation *ibid.*, p. 15, is assigned by Jaritz [No. 13] and by El-Wailly [17-B-4] to Kurigalzu I. Borger, *HKL III* 22, suggests a possible attribution to Kudur-Enlil. The text preserves no royal name.
- Q.5.9 IM 50114 (DK₃-26), a macehead published in *Iraq, Suppl.* 1945, p. 13 (transliteration), Pls. XXV-XXVI Figs. 27-28 (photo, drawing) and elsewhere, is assigned by Jaritz [No. 91] and by El-Wailly [22-V-27] to Kurigalzu II. It is uncertain whether the text contains just a royal name (Kurigalzu) or a place name (Dūr-Kurigalzu); further study is needed.
- Q.5.10 *BM 35322 (= Sp. II, 893), a literary-historical text edited by Grayson, *BHLT*, chap. 5, is said by the editor to be an historical epic that might be concerned with approximately the time of Kurigalzu II.
- Q.5.11 An Iraq Museum registry book records Kassite period finds from Eridu. Among these is IM 54925, a stamped brick with a twelve-line inscription listed as being from the "time of Kurigalzu." I have been unable to verify this statement or to find out why the brick was assigned to this time (i.e., because of RN occurring in the inscription, because of the dimensions of the brick, or the like). The brick is said to have been found on the surface at Eridu.
- Q.5.12 **HS 122, to be published as *TuM NF V* 25 (Petschow No. 52), is dated ITI.GAN.GAN.È U₄.16.KAM MU.9.KAM ^dK[a-] (collation). It is

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

presumably to be assigned to the reign of either Kadašman-Turgu or Kadašman-Enlil I/II

- Q.5.13 To judge from the photos published in *WVDOG* XV, Pl. 8, Fig. 76 (middle object on the right) and *WVDOG* LXII, Pl. 421 (see the general description *ibid.*, p. 36 under No. 5), there is a circular stone object (possibly a disk) that probably bears an unpublished four-line Sumerian votive inscription of a Kurigalzu to a goddess (name illegible from photos); found at Amran-ibn-Ali in Babylon.
- Q.5.14 For further possible distinctions between texts of Kurigalzu I and II, see Part I.C.3 ("Typological Distribution") above.

R. MARDUK-APLA-IDDINA I

Marduk-apla-iddina, thirty-fourth king of the Kassite dynasty, reigned for thirteen years.¹ The son and successor of Meli-Šipak, he was succeeded in turn by Zababa-šuma-iddina, whose relationship to him is unknown.²

The reading of this king's name has been discussed recently in ZA LIX (1969) 242-44. Weissbach's old theory that two kings named Marduk-apla-iddina ruled during the Kassite dynasty³ seems somewhat unlikely today; see Or XXXVIII (1969) 324 for further details.

R.1 Chronological sources

R.1.1 Kinglist A ii 13'--a reign of 13 years for "Marduk-apla-iddina, his son" (i.e., son of Meli-Šipak).

R.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) ii 9'--Weidner in AfO III (1926) 70 copied this line (from a photo) as though it read ^m_r^dAMAR.UTU-A-MU. Collation of the tablet and of the excavation photo (1971) showed that only the initial personal determinative could be positively verified; the traces might fit ^m_r^d[AMA]R.UTU-A-SUM [(x)], but no single sign could be read with reasonable probability.

R.2 Contemporary sources

R.2.1 VAT 4131. Damaged clay tablet containing a later copy of a royal inscription recording the building of Ezida in Borsippa for Marduk. Published by Ungnad, VAS I 34 (copy). See also R.5.3 below. [Jaritz No. 220; El-Wailly 34-B-1]

R.2.2 *Sb 22. Limestone kudurru recording a royal land grant from Meli-Šipak to Marduk-apla-iddina. Though Marduk-apla-iddina in the text bears only the title arassu, "his servant," he is assumed to be identical with the future king because of the extensive land

¹Kinglist A ii 13'.

²Genealogy according to his own inscriptions or colophons written during his reign: VAS I 34:15; BBSt, No. 5 i 23; MDP II 91, 2^e Médaille, line 3; R.2.8 i 16. Also Kinglist A ii 13'.

³MDOG XI (1902) 14, WVDog IV 6. Weissbach did not repeat this theory later when he wrote the article "Babylonien" for RLA I.

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- holdings and generous tax exemptions bestowed on him. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP* II 99-111; Marduk-apla-iddina is mentioned in i 39 and ii 4. For a fuller bibliography, see S.2.6 below.
- R.2.3 BM 90850 (D.T. 383). Limestone kudurru recording a royal land grant to Marduk-zākir-šumi, a *bēl pīḫati*; found on the west bank of the Tigris opposite Baghdad. Principal publication: King, *BBSt*, No. 5 (pp. 24-29 and Pls. XXXI-XLII: photos, transliteration, translation). Noteworthy earlier editions: IV R (1st ed.) 41-43 (copy and drawing of symbols); IV R (2d ed.) 38 (copy); Peiser, *KB* IV 60-63 (transliteration and translation); Hinke, *SSS* XIV, No. 4 (copy). [Steinmetzer No. 5, L 5; Seidl No. 62; Jaritz Nos. 221 and 226; El-Wailly 34-K-1]
- R.2.4 Sb 26. Dark limestone kudurru recording the settlement of a lawsuit regarding land in the province of Ḫudadu (Bagdadu?), which litigation was initiated in the accession year of RN; found at Susa. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP* VI 31-39, Pls. 9-10 (photos, transliteration, translation). Copy from photo (including some collations): Hinke, *SSS* XIV, No. 3. Further notes by Borger, *AfO* XXIII (1970) 23-26. [Steinmetzer No. 51, P 16; Seidl No. 61; Jaritz No. 223; El-Wailly 34-K-2]
- R.2.5 AS 6018 (Sb 33). Fragmentary light limestone kudurru recording legal actions (concerning a field) undertaken in the reign of RN; found at Susa. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP* VI 39-41, Pl. 11, No. 1 (photos, transliteration, translation). Photo in Seidl, Pl. 23c. Further publication by Borger, *AfO* XXIII (1970) 11-17 (photo, copy, transliteration, translation, commentary). [Steinmetzer No. 49, P 14; Seidl No. 59; Jaritz No. 224; El-Wailly 34-K-3]
- R.2.6 AS 6035 (Sb 169). Fragmentary black limestone kudurru recording the royal confirmation of an earlier royal land grant made by Adad-šuma-ušur; found at Susa. Principal publications: Scheil, *MDP* VI 42-43 (transliteration) and Borger, *AfO* XXIII (1970) 17-23 (copy, transliteration, translation, commentary). [Steinmetzer No. 52, P 17; Seidl, G 3; Jaritz No. 225; El-Wailly 34-K-4]
- R.2.7 IM 67953. Broken black limestone kudurru recording a royal land grant. Principal publication: Page, *Sumer* XXIII (1967) 45-67, Pls. 1-6 (photos, copy, transliteration, translation, commentary).

Corrections by Borger, *Afo* XXIII (1970) 26.⁴ [Seidl No. 51]

- R.2.8 Unnumbered black stone kudurru in the Archeological Museum, Teheran, discovered in 1967 in Sarpol-e Zohab in western Iran. Grant of land in the province of Ḥalman. Published by Borger, *Afo* XXIII (1970) 1-11 (photos, copy based on the photos, transliteration, translation, commentary).
- R.2.9 *NBC 9502. Kudurru possibly mentioning RN. Photo in Hallo and Simpson, *The Ancient Near East* (New York, 1971) p. 104, Fig. 19. (Information courtesy of W. W. Hallo.)
- R.2.10 Sb 21. Copy of a kudurru made during the reign of RN after a wall collapsed on the original clay "stele" (*narâ ša ḥašbi*) written in the reign of Nazi-Maruttāš. At that time a short note was added describing the circumstances under which the copy was made. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP* II 86-92 (the addenda written in the time of RN occur after column iv). [Jaritz No. 222] A more complete bibliography may be found below under U.2.19.
- R.2.11 Economic texts
- | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|---|
| R.2.11.1 | VII - [] - year 2 | B. 177; RN partially preserved: ^d AMAR.UTU-IBIL[A-x-(x)] |
| R.2.11.2 | XII -3?(+)- year [4?(+)] | text in private collection in Lebanon (photos and information kindly furnished by D. Kennedy) |
| R.2.11.3 | IX - 17 - year 5 | U 7788a, published as <i>UET</i> VII 26 |

⁴To which the following notes may be added. Miss Page's treatment of Arad-Ea (pp. 47-50) was already superseded by W. G. Lambert's statements in *JCS* XI (1957) 1-14 and 112. (i 2') ŪS.SA.DU is probably to be read *itû* or *itê* in MB and early NB kudurrus; compare the syllabic writings in *MDP* X, Pl. 12 viii 2, *BBSt*, No. 24:24, and in the unpublished IM 5527 i 9, 12, 15, [18] (*i-tu-šū*, "its neighbor," used for adjacent regions on all four sides of the property). (ii 2') *ni-šī*. (ii 6') [*h*]a-za-an-nam: a misplaced accusative is not uncommon in the late Kassite period and is to be preferred to a new title. (ii 8', 22') *ṭè-mi*. (ii 11') *ša rēš šarri*.

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- R.2.11.4 II - 25 - year 6 IM 50025 (DK₃-11), published in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, Pl. XXII, Fig. 24, etc.⁵ (photo) [Jaritz No. 227]
- R.2.11.5 IV? - 11 - SAG MU.1(?) .KAM BM 38440, published as Text No. 3 below
- R.2.11.6 XI - 4 - year 1.KAM.2.KAM IM 50023 (DK₃-8), published in *Iraq* XI (1949) 137 and 146, No. 7 (copy, transliteration, translation) and *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, Pl. XXII, Fig. 24, etc. (photo) [Jaritz No. 227]
- R.2.11.7 VIII - 15? - year 3.KAM. '2(?)' .KAM IM 49992 (DK₃-9), published in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1945, Pl. XXII, Fig. 24, etc. (photo) [Jaritz No. 227]
- R.2.11.8 [] - 29 - [] IM 50963 (DK₄-28), published in *Iraq* VIII (1946) Pl. XVII, Fig. 11 (photo); beginning of RN broken away [Jaritz No. 228]
- R.2.11.9 *Other tablets that may date from approximately this time are IM 50088-91 and 50103, all found in the same area and level as R.2.11.4 and R.2.11.6-7.
- R.2.11.10 A text or texts found at Merkes in Babylon and dated in the reign of RN are mentioned in *WVDOG* XLVII 13, 58, 185, Pl. 3 (House VI 25p2). Perhaps at least partly identical with R.2.11.1 above.

⁵The "etc." here and in R.2.11.6-7 below refers to another publication of the same or a similar photo published in *Sumer* I/1 (1945) Pl. 7 following p. 72 of the Arabic section.

R.3 Later sources

R.3.1 IM 57150, a Neo-Babylonian temple inventory published as *UET* IV 143, mentions a votive offering by RN (line 8).

R.4 Writing of the royal name⁶

R.4.1 In contemporary texts

R.4.1.1 ^dAMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM-na (kudurrus:⁷ *BBSt*, No. 5 i 20; *MDP* II 91, 2^e Médaillon, line 2; *MDP* VI 33-34 ii 14, 20, 29, 34;⁸ *Sumer* XXIII [1967] 63 i [5];⁹ and partially restored in NBC 9502; economic texts: *UET* VII 26 rev. 8, *Iraq* XI [1949] 146, No. 7: [24], BM 38440 rev. 5', IM 49992:35, IM 50025:16, IM 50963 rev. [3], and possibly B. 177 rev. [9']¹⁰ and R.2.11.2 rev. [6])

R.4.1.2 ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM-na (kudurru dating from his father's reign: *MDP* II 100 i 39 and 101 ii 4; kudurru dating from his own reign: *AfO* XXIII [1970] 5 i 15)

R.4.2 In later texts

R.4.2.1 ^dAMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM-na (Neo-Babylonian inventory: *UET* IV 143:8)

R.4.2.2 ^{imld}SU-A-MU (Kinglist A ii 13')

R.5 Miscellaneous notes

R.5.1 BM 48498, an unpublished chronicle (scheduled to appear in Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 23), mentions in its tenth line the twenty-first year of a Marduk-apla-iddina (broken context). Marduk-apla-iddina I and Marduk-apla-iddina II ruled officially for only 13 and 12 years, respectively;¹¹ so this might be connected with a divergent Babylonian tradition, which dated *UET* IV 206 in the twenty-second year of

⁶Excluding the fragmentary writing in *VAS* I 34:10.

⁷Two other kudurrus might belong here; but *AfO* XXIII (1970) 19 i 23' (R.2.6) is lacking the final [-na], and *AfO* XXIII (1970) 13 i 14 (R.2.5) is broken before the initial divine determinative and might belong either here or under R.4.1.2.

⁸See *ZA* LIX (1969) 243, n. 48.

⁹*Sic* according to Miss Page's numbering. The copy shows the line to be 6'. The middle of the RN in this passage is destroyed.

¹⁰See R.2.11.1 above.

¹¹With Marduk-apla-iddina II coming to the throne later for a brief second rule of nine months.

[Mard]uk-apla-iddina, *mār rīdūtu*.¹²

- R.5.2 For a possible chronicle reference to Marduk-apla-iddina I, see F.5.2 above. For a possible "prophecy" reference, see F.5.3.
- R.5.3 VAT 4131, published as VAS I 34 (text: R.2.1), throws interesting light on the religious history of the late Kassite period. In line with W. G. Lambert's observations on the elevation of Marduk to the head of the Babylonian pantheon under the Isin II dynasty,¹³ one may note that Enlil is the god who is said to have raised Marduk-apla-iddina I to kingship (*īnu Enlil ana bēlūt māti rapašti iššūsu haṭṭa išarta nišīšu ana re'ēm idnušumma*, rev. 1-6); and this despite the dedication of the whole inscription to Marduk. Furthermore, the position of Marduk (or Tutu) as city god of Borsippa in OB times¹⁴ may have continued at least into the early twelfth century, since VAT 4131 clearly refers to Marduk (not Nabû) as god of the Ezida temple (rev. 18-9), 17-18).¹⁵

One may compare BM 35042 (text: C.2.4), a late copy of an inscription of Adad-šuma-ušur, in which it is stated that Anu and Enlil first looked with favor upon the late Kassite ruler (lines 1-5), but Marduk named him to kingship (*ana bēlūt KUR [] šumšu ibbû*, lines 7-8).

¹²Probably Marduk-apla-iddina II. See *Studies Oppenheim*, pp. 16-17.

¹³In W. S. McCullough (ed.), *The Seed of Wisdom* (Toronto, 1964) pp. 3-13.

¹⁴Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 22, n. 5, and W. G. Lambert, *RAI* XIX 429.

¹⁵Construction work at Borsippa in the time of Marduk-apla-iddina I is also mentioned in *BBSt*, No. 5 ii 11-16.

S. *MELI-ŠĪPAK

Meli-Šipak, thirty-third king of the Kassite dynasty, reigned for 15 years.¹ He succeeded his father, Adad-šuma-ušur,² on the throne and was followed by his son Marduk-apla-iddina I.³ Another member of the family, his daughter Ḫunnubat-Nana(ja), is known from the royal land grant *MDP X 93 viii 4-5, 18-19*.

The theory that there may have been two Kassite kings named Meli-Šipak is based on the genealogy in inscription S.2.3 below. The unlikelihood of this interpretation has been discussed in *Or XXXVIII (1969) 326*.

S.1 Chronological sources

S.1.1 Kinglist A ii 12'--a reign of 15 (years) and a complete RN (except for the preceding determinative).

S.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) ii 8'--Weidner in *AfO III (1926) 70* copied this line (from a photo) as though it read ^mM[e-l]i-[Š]i-ḪU. When I collated the tablet and the excavation photo in 1971, I was unable to verify any traces other than the initial masculine personal determinative. A tentative reading ^mMe-li-Ši-Ḫ[U] could be neither proven nor ruled out.

S.2 Contemporary sources

S.2.1 An unknown number of stamped bricks with inscriptions of Meli-Šipak were found at Nippur in the repaving of an altar floor in room 13 of level III of the Enlil temple during the 1949/50 season of excavations (see McCown, *JNES XI [1952] 171*; *OIP LXXVIII 1, 14, and 29*). An unpublished report on "Brick Inscriptions from Ekur and the Enlil Temple," written by F. R. Steele and T. Jacobsen, who served as epigraphers for the expedition, indicates that bricks bearing the same inscription were later found in the paving of a

¹Kinglist A ii 12'.

²*BBSt*, No. 3 iv 31 (Adad-šuma-ušur as RN's father). See further *Or XXXVIII (1969) 326*.

³Kinglist A ii 11'-13'.

doorway at the north corner of the temple.⁴ According to this same report, none of the copies of this inscription was recovered complete; all were "much damaged and hence difficult to read."

The only exemplar of this inscription formally catalogued by the excavators was 2 NT 484, assigned in the division of finds to the Oriental Institute-University Museum Expedition, but missing for many years. In April 1975, as this book was in the final stages of preparation before going to press, I discovered this brick and a broken duplicate (2 NT 484A) in a cabinet in the University Museum. They bear lightly stamped texts, originally twelve lines long;⁵ and very little is now readable other than the royal name in the first line (*Me-li-Ši-HU*) and the verb at the end (*î-dù*).

According to the expedition records and catalogue of inscriptions, the brick 2 NT 484 was found on Jan. 20, 1950,⁶ in room 13 of level III of the Enlil temple. It is also available in Oriental Institute photo No. 46464.

- S.2.2 BM 64691 (82-9-18,4672). Clay tablet, supposedly from Abu Habba, preserving a later copy of eleven lines of a Sumerian building inscription of RN; the DN in line 1' is almost totally destroyed, the GN in line 2' badly damaged. In addition, part of one line of a colophon written in Babylonian is preserved; this indicates that the text was originally on a brick (*[š]a eli' agur(ru)*).
- S.2.3 VA Bab. 667 (BE 6378). Knob made of red stone containing a votive inscription (five lines at least partially preserved) of RN, "son" of Kurigalzu;⁷ found in a Parthian building in the northern section of Amran-ibn-Ali at Babylon (*MDOG* V [1900] 5, No. 15; *MDOG* XI [1901-2] 14; *WVDOG* XV 47, No. 15 [part]; *WVDOG* LXII 38, No. 22). Principal publication: Weissbach, *WVDOG* IV, No. 2 and Pl. 1 (copy, transliteration, translation, notes). Principal further commentary,

⁴Presumably connected with locus 15 in the temple plan in *OIP* LXXVIII, Pl. 22. Neither the preliminary report (*JNES* XI [1952] 171) nor the final report (*OIP* LXXVIII 16-17) gives information about inscribed bricks of Meli-Šipak found in this area.

⁵2 NT 484A preserves at least part of the first seven lines.

⁶According to written information photographed together with the brick for Oriental Institute photo No. 46464, this brick was found on Jan. 25.

⁷This genealogy has been discussed in *Or* XXXVIII (1969) 326.

readings, and discussion: Weidner, *Afo XVI* (1952-53) 24; W. G. Lambert, *ZA LIX* (1969) 100-101 (including collations by Klengel).

[Jaritz No. 212]

- S.2.4 BM 90827. Limestone kudurru recording lawsuits concerning the estate of Bīt-Takil-ana-ilīšu during the reigns of Adad-šuma-iddina, Adad-šuma-ušur, and Meli-šipak. Principal edition: King, *BBSt*, No. 3 (pp. 7-18, Pls. V-XXII: photos, transliteration, translation); earlier publications by Belser, *BA II* (1894) 187-203 (copy), and by Peiser, *KB III/1* 154-63 (transliteration, translation). [Steinmetzer No. 3, L 3; Seidl No. 25; Jaritz No. 213; El-Wailly 33-K-1]
- S.2.5 BM 90829. Limestone kudurru recording a royal land grant to ^mHa-SAR-du, an official (*sukkal mu'irri*). Principal publication: King, *BBSt*, No. 4 (pp. 19-23, Pls. XXIII-XXX: photos, transliteration, translation). Earlier publications by Belser, *BA II* (1894) 165-69 (copy), and by Peiser, *KB IV* 56-61 (transliteration, translation). [Steinmetzer No. 4, L 4; Seidl No. 12; Jaritz No. 219; El-Wailly 33-K-2]
- S.2.6 Sb 22. Limestone kudurru recording a royal land grant with tax exemptions to Marduk-apla-iddina (presumably the future king); found at Susa. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP II* 99-111, Pls. 21-24 (photos, transliteration, translation). Copy: Hinke, *SSS XIV*, No. 2. Recent partial transliteration, translation, and commentary: Kraus, *Symbolae David II* 10-18. Photo: Seidl, Pl. 15a. [Steinmetzer No. 38, P 3; Seidl No. 32; Jaritz No. 215; El-Wailly 33-K-3]
- S.2.7 Fragmentary kudurru mentioning a royal land grant to [Me]li-Ḫala; found at Susa. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP II* 112 (transliteration, translation). [Steinmetzer No. 57, P 22; Seidl, G 2; Jaritz No. 216; El-Wailly 33-K-4]
- S.2.8 Sb 23. Black limestone kudurru recording a royal grant of various lands to the princess Ḫunnubat-Nana(ja); found at Susa. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP X* 87-94, Pls. 11-13 (photos, transliteration, translation). Recent partial transliteration, translation, and commentary: Kraus, *Symbolae David II* 18-23. Another photo: Seidl, Pl. 11a. [Steinmetzer No. 61, P 26; Seidl No. 23; Jaritz No. 218; El-Wailly 33-K-5]

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- S.2.9 Unpublished kudurru found at Susa, mentioned in *MDP* I 180 as No. 12:
 "Ce fragment ne contient qu'une petite partie des inscriptions,
 on y lit les noms des divinités *Ēa*, *Ramman*, *Šala*, épouse de *Ramman*,
MAḪ (Beltu) et *Mi-Šir*, et celui du roi sous lequel il a été gravé,
Melišihu (vers 1144-1130 av. J.-C.), fils de *Ramman-šum-ušur*, roi
 cosséen de Babylone." [Steinmetzer No. 47, P 12; Seidl, G 1;
 Jaritz No. 214]
- S.2.10 Economic texts
- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| S.2.10.1 | VI - 3 - acc. year | B. 77, formerly Div. 402 |
| S.2.10.2 | XII - 8 - year 1(+) | B. 227, RN badly damaged |
| S.2.10.3 | I - - year 2 | BM 38124, to be published
in a later volume of this
series |
| S.2.10.4 | VIa - []- year 2 | Msk. 73273 (information
courtesy of D. Arnaud) |
| S.2.10.5 | []- year 5 | B. 67, formerly Div. 302;
beginning of RN broken
away |
| S.2.10.6 | I - - year 10 | U 7787t, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 18 |
| S.2.10.7 | I - 11 - year 12 | B. 148 |
| S.2.10.8 | - year 2.KAM.2.KAM.MA | U 77891, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 47 |
| S.2.10.9 | V - - year 4.KAM.2.KAM | U 7787w, published as
<i>UET</i> VII 70 |
| S.2.10.10 | [MU.x.K]AM | B. 150, RN damaged |
| S.2.10.11 | A text or texts found at Merkes in Babylon and dated
in the reign of RN are mentioned in <i>WVDOG</i> XLVII 13, 58,
185, Pl. 3(House VI 25p2). These texts could include
S.2.10.1, 2, 7, and 10 above. | |
- S.2.11 BM 108874. An omen text (in Middle Babylonian script) dated by its
 colophon to RN's reign. Principal publication: Gadd, *CT* XL 48-49
 (mixed text edition [copy] in Assyrian script, combining the de-
 fective K. 2678+ with BM 108874; the colophon to BM 108874 is copied
 separately on Plate 49). The colophon is edited in Hunger,
Kolophone, No. 65 (in line 3 read TUR.RA for BĀN.DA). Dated on
 VIII-8-MU.3.KAM.2.KAM of RN.

S.3 Later sources

S.3.1 Genealogical references to Meli-Šipak as father of Marduk-apla-iddina I in inscriptions of the latter.

S.3.1.1 VAT 4131, a royal inscription published as *VAS* I 34, mentions Meli-Šipak in line 15. Text: R.2.1.

S.3.1.2 BM 90850, a kudurru published as *BBSt*, No. 5, mentions Meli-Šipak in i 23. Text: R.2.3.

S.3.1.3 An unnumbered kudurru in the Archeological Museum, Teheran, published in *AfO* XXIII (1970) 1-11, mentions Meli-Šipak in i 16. Text: R.2.8.

S.3.1.4 Sb 21, a copy of an earlier kudurru (from the reign of Nazi-Maruttas) published in *MDP* II 86-92, mentions RN in an addendum (2^e Médaille, line 3). Text: R.2.10, U.2.19.

S.3.2 Sb 26, a kudurru of Marduk-apla-iddina I published in *MDP* VI 31-39, mentions earlier legal actions of Meli-Šipak; RN occurs in i 5, ii 4, 12. Text: R.2.4.

S.3.3 Kinglist A in its entry concerning Marduk-apla-iddina I refers to that king as "his son" (his = Meli-Šipak's) in ii 13'.

S.3.4 IM 57150, a Neo-Babylonian temple inventory published as *UET* IV 143, mentions a votive offering by RN (line 7).

S.4 Writing of the royal name⁸

S.4.1 In contemporary texts

S.4.1.1 *Me-li-Ši-ĤU* (royal inscriptions: 2 NT 484:11 and 484A:11, *WVDOG* IV, Pl. 1, No. 2:14; kudurrus: *BBSt*, No. 3 v 20, 21, *BBSt*, No. 4 i 10, *MDP* II 100 i 27 and 111 note, *MDP* II 112:7 [transliteration only], *MDP* X 88 i 14 and 93 viii 12; economic texts: B. 148:21, B. 150:1', B. 227:18', BM 38124:11, *UET* VII 18 rev. 12, 47 rev. 6, and 70:2; colophon to an omen text: *CT* XL 49 [BM 108874], colophon, line 2)

S.4.1.2 *Me-li-Ši^d-ĤU* (kudurru: *BBSt*, No. 3 iv 17, 36, v 11, vi 31)

S.4.1.3 *Mi-li-Ši-ĤU* (economic texts: B. 77 rev. 15, Msk. 73273:11 [information courtesy of D. Arnaud]; late copy of a royal inscription: BM 64691:14)

⁸For the reading of the royal name, see S.5.2 below.

S.4.2 In later texts⁹

S.4.2.1 *Me-li-Ši-ĜU* (kudurru from his son's reign: *MDP* II 91, 2^e Médaillon, line 3; *MDP* VI 32-33 i 5, ii 4, 12; *BBSt*, No. 5 i [23]; Neo-Babylonian inventory: *UET* IV 143: [7])

S.4.2.2 ^m*Me-li-Ši-ĜU* (kudurru from his son's reign: *Afo* XXIII [1970] 5 i 16; Kinglist A ii 12', with the initial personal determinative to be restored)

S.5 Miscellaneous notes

S.5.1 AS 6049 (Sb 14). Fragmentary stele with parts of a Babylonian inscription (curse formula similar to that used in a kudurru) and of an Elamite inscription of Šutruk-Nahhunte; found at Susa. Line 7 of the Elamite text (B) was alleged by Scheil to contain the beginning of the name Meli-Šipak; but all that is visible is ^m[Me-x]{ } (collation), which provides little support for such an interpretation. Principal publication: Scheil, *MDP* IV 163-65, Pls. 16-17 (photo, transliteration, translation). [Steinmetzer No. 64, P 29; Seidl No. 41; Jaritz No. 217; El-Wailly 33-K-6]

S.5.2 The reading of this king's name is still uncertain. To my previous discussion of the subject in *ZA* LIX (1969) 238-42, I would like to add the following observations.

The first element of the royal name is now attested with both Meli- and Mili- as contemporary spellings. The first alternative has been accepted here because it is numerically predominant.¹⁰

The reading of the last syllable of the divine name ^(d)Ši-ĜU still poses a problem. There is no direct evidence whether it is to be read -hu or -pak; but, in addition to observations made in *ZA* LIX (1969) 241-42, I would now note that Geers' collation of *BE* XV 190 rev. i' 11',¹¹ as reported in Balkan, *Kassitenstudien* I (New Haven, 1954) 114, is somewhat misleading. A recent collation of the passage shows that, in the personal name written ^m*Me-li-Ši-pa-[x]*,

⁹Excluding the fragmentary writing in *VAS* I 34: [15] (later copy of a contemporary text).

¹⁰It is also the form more commonly used in other personal names and is likewise found in the Kassite-Babylonian name list and vocabulary (Balkan, *Kassitenstudien* I [New Haven, 1954] 69-71, 2-4).

¹¹Not vi 15, as in the copy. The columns of the reverse should be numbered from right to left, and the top of the pertinent column is missing.

the *-pa-* traces are clear;¹² and, consequently, the sign must either be PA itself or another sign that begins like PA.¹³ While one can hardly assume that a restoration *-šī-pa-[ak]* is inevitable, one also cannot rule it out as a possibility.

- S.5.3 The Synchronistic History, *CT XXXIV 42*, K. 440lb i 4 preserves what might be the signs *[-š]i-ĤU*, which have sometimes been interpreted as the end of the king's name. This interpretation seems somewhat unlikely at present¹⁴ because of the current interpretation of the adjacent column of this tablet fragment in which *Ad[ad-šuma-ušur]* and *Zababa-šuma-iddina* occur in successive sections. Since *Meli-Šipak* ruled between these two monarchs, he would not be expected in another section of the chronicle.
- S.5.4 For a homonymous *Mili-Šipak* and the occurrence of the name *Meli-Šipak* in a Kassite-Babylonian vocabulary, see *ZA LIX* (1969) 239 and 242.
- S.5.5 For a possible chronicle reference to *Meli-Šipak*, see F.5.2 above. For a possible "prophecy" reference, see F.5.3.
- S.5.6 CBS 8632, a brick published as *BE I 82* and once attributed to *Meli-Šipak*, is now generally assigned to Ashurbanipal. See Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 352-53.

¹²See my copy of this name as Text No. 5 below.

¹³The latter alternative seems somewhat unlikely because of the length of the tails of the two horizontal wedges.

¹⁴My remark in *ZA LIX* (1969) 239 under 33.B.3.b should be corrected accordingly.

T. *NAZI-BUGAŠ

It is uncertain whether Nazi-Bugaš was included among the thirty-six Kassite rulers listed in Kinglist A,¹ since he was a usurper placed on the throne by a revolt. If he was included, he would have been the immediate predecessor of the later Kurigalzu and presumably the twenty-first ruler of the dynasty. He has been tentatively reckoned as a king here because he is given a royal title (*šar māt Kardunias*) in the Synchronistic History i 15'.² Nothing is known about his ancestry other than that he was not of royal descent.³

T.1 Chronological sources

T.1.1 Synchronistic History i 8'-17'--recording how, in the time of Aššur-uballiṭ I, a revolt in Babylonia deposed Aššur-uballiṭ's grandson and brought Nazi-Bugaš to power; Aššur-uballiṭ subsequently defeated Nazi-Bugaš and installed Kurigalzu (from the old Kassite royal family) on the throne. Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 321-22; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.

T.1.2 Chronicle P i 9'-14'--telling substantially the same story as T.1.1 above, but giving different names to some of the principal characters, including Šuzigaš for Nazi-Bugaš.⁴ Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 325; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.

T.2 Contemporary sources: none.

T.3 Later sources: none.

T.4 Writing of the royal name

T.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

T.4.2 In later texts

T.4.2.1 ^m*Na-zi-Bu-ga-áš* (Synchronistic History i 11'; partially

¹The pertinent section of the document is broken away.

²Chronicle P's account of the same events omits the royal title in line 13', but the pertinent passage in Chronicle P appears to be drawn from a damaged source. See Appendix C below.

³Both Chronicle P and the Synchronistic History call him the "son of a nobody."

⁴For a detailed discussion of the disagreement in details between the two chronicles, see Appendix C.

preserved *ibid.*, i 15')

T.4.2.2 ^mŠu-zi-ga-áš (Chronicle P i 10', 13')

T.5 Note

T.5.1 The reading *Nazi-Bugaš* is usually preferred to *Šuzigaš* because its two elements are attested elsewhere in Kassite personal names, while *Šuzigaš* is not readily analyzed according to the available material. In addition, Chronicle P, the source that gives the latter variant, makes several errors in names at this point.⁵

⁵See Röllig, *Heidelberger Studien*, pp. 173-77, and Appendix C below.

U. NAZI-MARUTTAŠ

Nazi-Maruttaš, twenty-third king of the Kassite dynasty, ruled for 26 years.¹ He succeeded his father, Kurigalzu II, on the throne and was succeeded in turn by his son Kadašman-Turgu.²

U.1 Chronological sources

- U.1.1 Kinglist A ii 2'--a reign of 26 (years), RN not preserved.
- U.1.2 Chronicle P iii 23-24--beginning of a section (almost entirely missing) describing RN's involvement with an Assyrian king. Grayson, *ARI I*, No. 521; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.
- U.1.3 Synchronistic History i 24'-31'--account of hostilities between Adad-nirari I and Nazi-Maruttaš and the consequent agreement concerning the boundaries between Assyria and Babylonia. Grayson, *ARI I*, No. 520; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.

U.2 Contemporary sources

- U.2.1 IM 51929 (part). Fragmentary stamped brick bearing a broken Sumerian inscription (at least seven lines long) of Nazi-Maruttaš; found with other brick fragments (none of which preserves the name of a monarch) some two or three kilometers northwest of Tell el-Abyad (near Aqar-Quf). Published in photograph only by Mohammed Ali Mustafa in *Sumer III* (1947) Fig. 5, No. 41, with commentary *ibid.*, p. 19. [Jaritz No. 148; El-Wailly 23-B-1]
- U.2.2 L. 7080. Inscribed brick from Larsa bearing a damaged Sumerian inscription of RN, at least ten lines long. Catalogued and briefly described by Arnaud, *Syria XLVIII* (1971) 293; see also *Sumer XXVII* (1971) 40.
- U.2.3 AO 7704. Block of chalcedony bearing a nine-line possession inscription of RN, including titulary, filiation, and a short curse formula. Published in Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre II*, A. 821 (transliteration

¹Length of reign according to Kinglist A ii 2', where the royal name is broken away. The highest date attested in economic texts is year 24, although a MU.0S.SA RN date is also known (U.3.1). The place of Nazi-Maruttaš in the dynasty has been determined by genealogical information furnished by his successors.

²Father: see Q.3.5-7. Son: *BE I* 61:4.

and translation on pp. 179-80 and a photograph showing the reverse on Pl. 93, Fig. 17). [Jaritz No. 161; El-Wailly 23-V-1]

- U.2.4 CBS 8681 + two fragments now in Istanbul (numbers unknown). Blue-glass (imitation lapis-lazuli) axhead bearing a votive inscription (originally at least eleven lines long) of RN to a god whose name is broken away. All three fragments were found at Nippur in area III among the hoard of objects in the "booths."³ CBS 8681 was published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 75 (copy), and by Legrain, *PBS* XV 54 (copy); the two Istanbul fragments were published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 136 and 137 (copies). Transliterations and translations of the combined text were published by Zimmern in *ZA* XIII (1898) 302 (with notes on p. 303) and by Legrain in *PBS* XV, p. 31. For *BE* I 136, a transliteration, translation, and notes were published by J. D. Prince, *JAOS* XXVI (1905) 94. See also Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Corning, 1970) pp. 148 and 215. [Jaritz No. 159; El-Wailly 23-V-9]
- U.2.5 CBS 8685. Blue-glass (imitation lapis-lazuli) axhead bearing a fragmentary votive inscription of RN (parts of nine lines preserved, DN lacking). Found at Nippur in the same locus as U.2.4. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 78 (copy). See also the Oppenheim reference cited under U.2.4. [Jaritz No. 158; El-Wailly 23-V-7]
- U.2.6 CBS 4543, 4547, 4549 (contrary to information given in *PBS* XV, CBS 4548 is not part of this text). Several fragments of a blue-glass (imitation lapis-lazuli) axhead bearing a votive inscription of [RN] (note filiation in line 3'); parts of six lines of text are preserved, but the DN is missing. According to the CBS registry book, these fragments were found on the southern end of the Temple Hill at Nippur. Published by Legrain, *PBS* XV 52 (copy; transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, p. 30). Jaritz, No. 139, following Legrain, interpreted ZA.HA.DA in line 4' as a PN rather than as the name of the object; the correct interpretation has been pointed out by Hallo in *BiOr* XX (1963) 141, n. 88. See also the Oppenheim reference cited under U.2.4.
- U.2.7 CBS 8671. Blue-glass (imitation lapis-lazuli) axhead bearing a broken Sumerian votive inscription (parts of four lines preserved)

³For a detailed discussion of this find spot, see E.5.5.

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- of RN to Ninurta(?). Found at Nippur in the same place as U.2.4. Published in copy by Hilprecht, *BE* I 55 [Jaritz No. 154; El-Wailly 23-V-4] and by Legrain as *PBS* XV 56 [Jaritz No. 151; El-Wailly 23-V-12]. See also the Oppenheim reference cited under U.2.4.
- U.2.8 A 32767 (9 N 214). Fragment of a lapis-lazuli disk preserving parts of nine lines of a votive inscription of RN; the name of the god to whom the dedication was made is broken away. Found at Nippur in the Pennsylvania dump south of the Parthian fortress wall. Published by Biggs, *AS* XVII, No. 55 (copy, transliteration).
- U.2.9 EŞ 1924. Fragment of a lapis-lazuli disk bearing a six-line votive inscription of RN to Enlil. Found at Nippur in the same place as U.2.4. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 53 (copy). [Jaritz No. 152; El-Wailly 23-V-2]
- U.2.10 CBS 14576. Broken lapis-lazuli disk bearing five lines of a votive inscription of RN to Enlil.⁴ Found at Nippur (locus unrecorded). Published by Legrain, *PBS* XV 55 (copy; translation, *ibid.*, p. 31). [Jaritz No. 150; El-Wailly 23-V-11]
- U.2.11 CBS 14572. Lapis-lazuli disk bearing a six-line votive inscription of RN to Ninurta. Found at Nippur (locus unrecorded). Published by Legrain, *PBS* XV 53 (copy; translation, *ibid.*, p. 30). [Jaritz No. 149; El-Wailly 23-V-10]
- U.2.12 EŞ 1921. Fragmentary lapis-lazuli disk preserving five lines of a Sumerian votive inscription of RN to Nusku. Found at Nippur in the same place as U.2.4. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 58 (copy). El-Wailly under 23-V-8 listed this text by mistake as *BE* I 158; Jaritz included both the real number *BE* I 58 [Jaritz No. 157] and the non-existent El-Wailly number *BE* I 158 [Jaritz No. 160] as though they were separate inscriptions.
- U.2.13 EŞ 1926. Lapis-lazuli disk containing a five-line votive inscription of RN to Nusku. Found at Nippur in the same place as U.2.4. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 54 (copy). [Jaritz No. 153; El-Wailly 23-V-3]
- U.2.14 CBS 8728. Magnesite knob containing a Sumerian votive inscription (one circular line) of RN to Enlil. Found at Nippur in the same place as U.2.4. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 56 (copy, photo).

⁴Traces of the tops of the signs in the fifth line are preserved (collation).

[Jaritz No. 155; El-Wailly 23-V-5]

- U.2.15 CBS 8727. Magnesite knob containing a Sumerian votive inscription (one circular line) of RN to En[lil]. Found at Nippur in the same place as U.2.4. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 57 (copy, photo).
[Jaritz No. 156; El-Wailly 23-V-6]
- U.2.16 L-29-450. Lapis-lazuli disk bearing a four-line Sumerian votive inscription to Enlil.
- U.2.17 IM 49991 (DK₂-33). Fragment of a white stone kudurru preserving parts of two columns of text. Found near the top level in room 20 of the temple area at Aqar-Quf. Dated VIII-year 5 of RN. Published in photograph in Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, Pl. XVIII, Fig. 21, and in Seidl, Pl. 1; mentioned by Baqir, *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, pp. 11, 13 (No. 8), and 15. [Seidl No. 2; Jaritz No. 162]
- U.2.18 L. 7072. Kudurru from Larsa containing the record of a land grant of RN. Catalogued by Arnaud, *Syria* XLVIII (1971) 291; photos and description by J. Margueron, *ibid.*, pp. 280-81, Fig. 5, and Pl. XVIII, No. 1. Published by Margueron and Arnaud, *RA* LXVI (1972) 148-51, 164-69 (photos, copy, transliteration, translation, notes); photos are also published in *Sumer* XXVII (1971) Pl. XXII. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 36.
- U.2.19 Sb 21. Later stone copy of a document originally drawn up in the reign of RN concerning a royal land grant. The copy, made after the original clay "stele" (*narâ ša ḥašbi*) was broken in the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I, was found at Susa. Published by Scheil, *MDP* II 86-92, Pls. 16-19 (photos, transliteration, translation); other photos in Seidl, Pl. 19b-c. Copy: Hinke, *SSS* XIV, No. 1 (see *ibid.*, pp. ix-x concerning the conditions under which the copy was made). Further literature: Borger, *HKL* I 443. [Steinmetzer No. 37, P 2; Seidl No. 48; Jaritz No. 163; El-Wailly 23-K-1]
- U.2.20 Two steles, each carved with a matching figure of a goddess (presumably originally designed to face each other as a pair) and bearing across the skirt of the divine figure a sixteen-line Sumerian private votive inscription to Inanna in the name of a *kartappu* official of RN.
- U.2.20.1 W 18281. Found at Uruk in a court near the northeast outer wall (Nordostzingel) Q b XIV 5. Published by

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- Falkenstein, *UVB XII-XIII* 42-44 (copy, transliteration, translation, notes) and Pl. 23b (photo).⁵
- U.2.20.2 MMA 61.12 Slightly more worn than W 18281, but occasionally preserving more of some signs. A small photograph of this stele has been published by Vaughn Crawford *et al.*, *Ancient Near Eastern Art* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Guide to the Collections* [New York], 1966) p. 17, Fig. 27.
- U.2.21 BM 81-7-1,3395. Terra-cotta animal (dog?) with a damaged twenty-five-line Sumerian private inscription to Gula in the name of Ninurta-rēšūšu, *šatammu* of Eugal (the text presumably written at an earlier stage in his career than U.2.22); RN mentioned in line 15. Published by Sollberger, *JAOS LXXXVIII* (1968) 191-95 (copy, transliteration, translation, notes).
- U.2.22 *BM 92699 (82-7-14,4460). Quadrangular clay prism, supposedly found at Sippar, bearing an almost intact thirty-four-line inscription to Adad in the name of Ninurta-rēšūšu, *nišakku* of Enlil (the text presumably written at a later stage in his career than U.2.21). Published by Sollberger, *JAOS LXXXVIII* (1968) 191-97 (copy, transliteration, translation, notes). This could date from the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš or later.
- U.2.23 BM 129534. Brown and white agate seal bearing a four-line (Sumerian?) inscription of a "servant" of Nazi-Maruttaš (reading of personal names uncertain). Published in Carnegie, *Southesk Catalogue* II 84, as Q β 41 [Jaritz No. 164; El-Wailly 23-S-B.1]
- U.2.24 Economic texts
- | | | | |
|----------|--------|-------------------|---|
| U.2.24.1 | III - | - year 1 | CBS 12905, published as <i>BE</i>
XIV 41 |
| U.2.24.2 | V - | 6 - year [1? (+)] | Ni. 6051 |
| U.2.24.3 | V - | 12 - year 1(+) | Ni. 6741 |
| U.2.24.4 | VI - | - year 1 | CBS 3016, published as <i>BE</i>
XIV 41a |
| U.2.24.5 | VIII - | - year 1(+) | Ni. 7016 |
| U.2.24.6 | IX - | 7 - year 1? | N 2011 |
| U.2.24.7 | X - | 8 - year 1 | CBS 11676, published as <i>PBS</i>
II/2 19 |

⁵The iconography of the stele is discussed by Spycket, *RA* LIV (1960) 73-84; see also Wiseman, *Iraq* XXII (1960) 167.

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U.2.24.8	XI -	[] - year 1(+)	*N 2607
U.2.24.9		- year 1	CBS 11655, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 21
U.2.24.10		- year 1(+)	Ni. 7519
U.2.24.11		- year 1(+)	UM 29-15-796
U.2.24.12	I -	3 - year 2	Ni. 7982; CBS 9504 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.13	II -	3 - year 2	CBS 3005, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 42; Torczyner, pp. 88-89, No. 64
U.2.24.14	VIII -	13 - year 2	CBS 13097
U.2.24.15	IX -	26 - year 2	Ni. 3174; days 17?-26
U.2.24.16	X -	15 - year 2	CBS 6085, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 43; Torczyner, pp. 82-83, No. 55
U.2.24.17	XI -	2(+)- year 2	CBS 7208
U.2.24.18	XI -	10?(+)- year 2	AO 4067, published as <i>TCL</i> IX 47; collated
U.2.24.19	XI -	18 - year 2	*N 2148; RN not in date, but in a preceding section
U.2.24.20	XII -	30 - year 2	CBS 8864; days 16-30
U.2.24.21		- year 2	CBS 11144
U.2.24.22		- year 2	HS 135, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 26; Petschow No. 47
U.2.24.23		- year 2	*Ni. 11202; year 2 mentioned in heading
U.2.24.24	II -	27 - year 3(+)	Ni. 6915
U.2.24.25	IV -	16 - year 3	CBS 3010, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 45
U.2.24.26	V -	23 - year 3	Ni. 2207; CBS 9534 is a cast of the same text
U.2.24.27	VII -	20 - year 3	HSM 1128 (893.5.30); days 6-20
U.2.24.28	VII -	22 - year 3	CBS 6886
U.2.24.29	IX -	18 - year 3	Ni. 6684
U.2.24.30	[MN] -	- year 3	CBS 10234, published as <i>BE</i>

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			XIV 46 ⁶
U.2.24.31		- year 3	UM 29-15-693
U.2.24.32	I -	2 - year 4	Ni. 5920; XII-23 to I-2
U.2.24.33	V -	1 - year 4	BM 17729
U.2.24.34	V -	2 - year 4	UM 29-13-427b
U.2.24.35	V -	13 - year 4	Ni. 6323
U.2.24.36	V -	18 - year 4	Ni. 104; seal impression published by Scheil, <i>RT XIX</i> (1897) 51-52 (slightly in- accurate copy and transla- tion)
U.2.24.37	V -	20 - year 4	E.A.H. 176, published as <i>BE XIV 46a</i>
U.2.24.38	V -	- year 4	UM 29-13-430
U.2.24.39	VI -	9 - year 4	Ni. 6750; days 1-9
U.2.24.40	VI -	29 - year 4	UM 29-13-902
U.2.24.41	VII -	21(+)- year 4	CBS 3657, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 20; days 17-21(+)
U.2.24.42	VII -	24 - year 4	UM 29-15-777; less likely: year 14
U.2.24.43	IX -	17 - year 4?	CBS 11930
U.2.24.44	X -	2 - year 4	UM 29-15-641 (one of two tablets sharing the same museum number)
U.2.24.45	X -	26 - year 4	CBS 6075, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 47
U.2.24.46	XI -	9(+)- year 4	UM 29-13-906
U.2.24.47	XI -	20 - year 4	Ni. 7379
U.2.24.48	XII -	1 - year 4	UM 29-13-205
U.2.24.49	XII -	6 - year 4	Ni. 12335
U.2.24.50	XII -	- year 4	CBS 3015
U.2.24.51	[	] - year 4(+)	CBS 10548
U.2.24.52	[	] - year 4(+)	N 2552
U.2.24.53		- year 4?	*Ni. 11982 (most of RN broken away)

⁶Erroneously listed as CBS 6644 in *BE XIV*.

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U.2.24.54	I -	2 - year 5	UM 29-15-699
U.2.24.55	I -	10 - year 5	Ni. 2594
U.2.24.56	II -	[] - year 5	CBS 3002, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 48; Torczyner, pp. 55- 57, No. 27
U.2.24.57	III -	- year 5	UM 29-13-435
U.2.24.58	IV -	21 - year 5	Ni. 454
U.2.24.59	V -	15 - year 5	UM 29-13-817
U.2.24.60	VII? -	23 - year 5	CBS 8110; days 14-23
U.2.24.61	VIII -	6 - year 5	N 2545
U.2.24.62	VIII -	21 - year 5	CBS 12901, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 22
U.2.24.63	VIII -	[?] - year 5(+)	UM 29-13-857
U.2.24.64	IX -	2 - year 5	UM 29-15-703
U.2.24.65	X -	2(+)- year 5	UM 29-13-855
U.2.24.66	XI -	8 - year 5	Ni. 2204
U.2.24.67	XI -	25 - year 5	CBS 14180, published as <i>PBS</i> XIII 80; <i>MJ</i> XI (1920) 133-39 (photo, translation, commen- tary) [Jaritz No. 146]
U.2.24.68	XII -	2 - year 5	Ni. 6515
U.2.24.69	XII -	15 - year 5	Ni. 6052; days 2-15
U.2.24.70	XII -	- year 5	CBS 13352
U.2.24.71	{MN} -	2 - year 5(+)	CBS 12616
U.2.24.72		- year 5	Ni. 6354
U.2.24.73		- year '5'	date mentioned in *L. 39443
U.2.24.74	I -	25 - year 6	UM 29-13-944
U.2.24.75	II -	5 - year 6?	CBS 6625, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 44; collated
U.2.24.76	II -	19 - year 6	Ni. 6540
U.2.24.77	V -	2 - year 6	CBS 10254, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 48a; days 1-2
U.2.24.78	VII -	6 - year 6	UM 29-13-898
U.2.24.79	VII -	18 - year 6?(+)	CBS 10964; VI-25(+) to VII- 18
U.2.24.80	{MN} -	3 - year 6?(+)	CBS 3728

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U.2.24.81	{MN}	-	7 - year 6?	UM 29-13-894; or year 16
U.2.24.82	[]	-	[] - year 6?	Ni. 6533; year "5" possible, but less likely; days [6(+)]-[]
U.2.24.83	VIII	-	1 - year 7	Ni. 7294
U.2.24.84	VIII	-	24 - year 7(+)	Ni. 7614
U.2.24.85	[]	-	5?(+)- year 7(+)	CBS 7211
U.2.24.86	[]	-	6(+)- year 7(+)	UM 29-15-250
U.2.24.87			- year 7	Ni. 6602
U.2.24.88	I	-	3 - year 8	UM 29-15-685; days 1-3
U.2.24.89	IV	-	27 - year 8	CBS 10238; days 22-27
U.2.24.90	VI?	-	- year 8?	*Ni. 11756; RN uncertain
U.2.24.91	VIa	-	23 - year 8(+)	Ni. 7715
U.2.24.92	VII	-	- year 8	HS 134, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 29</i> ; Petschow No. 31
U.2.24.93	IX	-	6 - year 8	UM 29-15-653
U.2.24.94	XI	-	14 - year 8	CBS 3001, published as <i>BE XIV 50</i> ; Torczyner, pp. 94- 95, No. 73
U.2.24.95	XI	-	- year 8	Ni. 6740
U.2.24.96	XII	-	5 - year 8	CBS 13101, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 24; XI-28 to XII-5
U.2.24.97			- year 8	CBS 7758
U.2.24.98			- year 8	Ni. 1620
U.2.24.99	II	-	[] - year 9	UM 29-15-981
U.2.24.100	III	-	8 - year 9	N 4525
U.2.24.101	IV	-	28 - year 9	Ni. 7801
U.2.24.102	VIa	-	- [year] 9(+)	*Ni. 6198; possibly [year]- 19 or, less likely, [day] 9(+)-[year x]
U.2.24.103	VII	-	4 - year 9	CBS 6154, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 51
U.2.24.104	VIII	-	- year 9	Ni. 3078
U.2.24.105			- year 9	Ni. 6339
U.2.24.106	II	-	9 - year 10(+)	Ni. 798

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U.2.24.107	VI[a?]-	9 - year 10	CBS 12933, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 25
U.2.24.108	IX -	7 - year 10	CBS 7242
U.2.24.109	X -	4(+)- year 10	Ni. 2244
U.2.24.110	X -	5 - year 10	Ni. 401
U.2.24.111	X -	20 - year 10	Ni. 6516
U.2.24.112	X -	21 - year 10	Ni. 319; CBS 9503 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.113	X -	21 - year 10	Ni. 381
U.2.24.114	XI -	- year 10	Ni. 6499
U.2.24.115	XII -	15 - year 10	UM 29-15-205
U.2.24.116	XII? -	25 - year 10	CBS 7732, published as <i>PBS</i> VIII/2 161; collated
U.2.24.117	{XII?}-	25? - year 10	N 2531
U.2.24.118		- year 10	BM 82683
U.2.24.119		- year 10	CBS 3290
U.2.24.120		- year 10	Ni. 6610
U.2.24.121		- year 10(+)	UM 29-16-231
U.2.24.122	I -	3 - year 11	Ni. 7799
U.2.24.123	I -	15 - year 11	Ni. 7424
U.2.24.124	I -	22 - year 11	Ni. 383
U.2.24.125	II -	- year 11	CBS 3003, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 52; Torczyner, p. 61, No. 33
U.2.24.126	III -	6 - year 11	Ni. 90; CBS 9508 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.127	III -	14 - year 11	Ni. 485; CBS 9506 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.128	IV -	1(+)- year 11	UM 29-13-971
U.2.24.129	IV -	20(+)- year 11	N 2604
U.2.24.130	V -	16 - year 11	Ni. 8483; CBS 9523 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.131	VI -	14 - year 11	Ni. 661
U.2.24.132	VI -	16 - year 11	Ni. 469
U.2.24.133	VI -	19 - year 11	UM 29-13-587
U.2.24.134	VII -	5(+)- year 11	Ni. 8651

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U.2.24.135	VII -	26 - year 11	Ni. 1510
U.2.24.136	VIII -	[2] - year 11	CBS 3053, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 53
U.2.24.137	VIII -	19 - year 11	UM 29-15-651
U.2.24.138	VIII?-	- year 11	CBS 10754
U.2.24.139	IX -	23 - year 11	Ni. 6353
U.2.24.140	XI -	18 - year 11	Ni. 6682
U.2.24.141	XI -	19 - year 11	Ni. 6422
U.2.24.142	XI -	29 - year 11(+)	CBS 10477, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 54 and <i>PBS</i> II/2 23
U.2.24.143		- year 11	N 2268
U.2.24.144		- year 11	date mentioned in *Ni. 6199
U.2.24.145		- year 11	date mentioned in *Ni. 8017
U.2.24.146	I -	29 - year 12	Ni. 35
U.2.24.147	III -	11 - year 12	Ni. 879
U.2.24.148	V -	28 - year 12	Ni. 6139
U.2.24.149	VI -	3(+)- year 12(+)	Ni. 6420
U.2.24.150	VI -	7? - year 12	CBS 12928, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 27
U.2.24.151	VI -	[] - year 12	*A 30074 = 2 NT 718; see also <i>OIP</i> LXXVIII 76-77, 145; RN badly damaged and ques- tionable
U.2.24.152	IX -	5 - year 12	CBS 3009, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 55; VIII-20 to IX-5
U.2.24.153	IX -	6 - year 12	N 2888
U.2.24.154	X -	10 - year 12	HSM 1495 (899.2.117)
U.2.24.155	X -	- year 12(+)	N 4403; IX-X
U.2.24.156	XI -	25 - year 12	HSM 1479 (899.2.101)
U.2.24.157	XII -	- year 12	CBS 3011, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 56; XI-XII
U.2.24.158	[] -	11(+)- year 12	Ni. 7400
U.2.24.159	II -	24 - year 13	Ni. 6557
U.2.24.160	II -	- year 13	CBS 3018, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 57; RN in line 2
U.2.24.161	VI -	10 - year 13	Ni. 391

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U.2.24.162	VIII?	-	29 - year 13	CBS 11991
U.2.24.163	XII	-	9 - year 13	Ni. 6546
U.2.24.164	XII	-	- year 13	CBS 3323, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 58; I-XII
U.2.24.165	[]	-	19(+)- year 13	N 6301
U.2.24.166			- year 13	E.A.H. 177, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 56a; Torczyner, pp. 79-82, No. 54
U.2.24.167			- year 13(+)	Ni. 12277
U.2.24.168			- year 13	date mentioned in *UM 29-15- 246 rev. 2; RN also in rev. 6; contemporary?
U.2.24.169	I	-	22(+)- year 14(+)	N 6302
U.2.24.170	I?	-	- year 14(+)	Ni. 167; MN quite uncertain; year could range from 14 to 19
U.2.24.171	II	-	? - year 14?(+)	CBS 3366, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 64; collated
U.2.24.172	III	-	22 - year 14(+)	Ni. 6742
U.2.24.173	IV	-	12 - year 14	*Ni. 8382; RN probable
U.2.24.174	IV	-	21 - year 14	Ni. 865
U.2.24.175	IV	-	26 - year 14	CBS 9836
U.2.24.176	VI	-	17 - year 14(+)	CBS 11629, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 28
U.2.24.177	VI	-	26 - year 14	CBS 3013, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 59; Torczyner, p. 95, No. 74
U.2.24.178	VI	-	29 - year 14	BM 13626 = 96-3-28,717; published as <i>CT</i> LI 25; Figulla, <i>Cat. I</i> 128
U.2.24.179	VI	-	30 - year 14	CBS 6646; days 16-30
U.2.24.180	VII	-	3 - year 14	CBS 3028, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 60; Torczyner, p. 68, No. 40
U.2.24.181	VII	-	21 - year 14	Ni. 2193
U.2.24.182	VIII	-	17 - year 14	Ni. 79

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U.2.24.183	VIII -	19 - year 14	Ni. 348
U.2.24.184	VIII -	24 - year 14(+)	N 6303
U.2.24.185	VIII -	29 - year 14	Ni. 6550
U.2.24.186	IX -	10 - year 14	CBS 11487
U.2.24.187	IX -	11 - year 14	CBS 3027, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 61
U.2.24.188	IX -	11 - year 14	CBS 3054, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 62
U.2.24.189	X -	11 - year 14	Ni. 2229; CBS 9515 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.190	X -	12 - year 14	CBS 12528, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 28a
U.2.24.191	X -	20 - year 14	CBS 3340, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 63
U.2.24.192	XI -	9(+)- year 14	Ni. 2996
U.2.24.193	XI -	19 - year 14	CBS 11631, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 29
U.2.24.194	XI -	20 - year 14	CBS 11471
U.2.24.195	XI -	20(+)- year 14?	UM 29-13-300
U.2.24.196	XI -	24 - year 14	Ni. 6544
U.2.24.197	XI -	- year 14(+)	Ni. 748
U.2.24.198	(XII) -	- year 14	HS 130, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 5; Petschow No. 26; month and year mentioned some lines apart in the text
U.2.24.199	I -	- year 15	CBS 3025, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 65
U.2.24.200	I -	- year 15	CBS 11542
U.2.24.201	II -	4 - year 15	CBS 11476
U.2.24.202	II -	18? - year 15	Ni. 7783; day might also be {19}
U.2.24.203	III -	5 - year 15	CBS 3026, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 66; museum number listed incorrectly in <i>BE</i> XIV, p. 66
U.2.24.204	III -	11 - year 15	Ni. 7835; days 10-11
U.2.24.205	III -	27 - year 15	UM 29-13-854

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U.2.24.206	IV -	12 - year 15	Ni. 960
U.2.24.207	IV -	26(+)- year 15	Ni. 12216; days 22-26(+)
U.2.24.208	IV -	26(+)- year 15(+)	CBS 11474
U.2.24.209	V -	3 - year 15	CBS 6161, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 67
U.2.24.210	V -	15 - year 15	Ni. 111
U.2.24.211	V -	16 - year 15	Ni. 190
U.2.24.212	V -	17 - year 15	Ni. 490
U.2.24.213	VI -	4 - year 15	BM 13609 = 96-3-28,700; published as <i>CT</i> LI 24; Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 126
U.2.24.214	VI -	6 - year 15	UM 29-13-845
U.2.24.215	XII -	29 - year 15	Ni. 68; CBS 9505 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.216	[] -	- year 15(+)	*N 4351; XI-[]
U.2.24.217		- year 15	CBS 3012, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 68
U.2.24.218	I -	1 - year 16	Ni. 3178; CBS 9552 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.219	I -	11 - year 16	UM 29-13-931
U.2.24.220	II -	1 - year 16	UM 29-13-896
U.2.24.221	II -	12 - year 16	Ni. 441; days 7-12
U.2.24.222	III -	14 - year 16	Ni. 7968; days 1?-14; CBS 9514 is a cast of this text
U.2.24.223	IV -	20 - year 16	Ni. 6502
U.2.24.224	V -	11? - year 16(+)	CBS 11467; days 2-11?
U.2.24.225	VI -	4 - year 16	Ni. 1392
U.2.24.226	VI -	6 - year 16	Ni. 6548
U.2.24.227	VI -	28(+)- year 16	CBS 3719, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 30; salt-encrusted
U.2.24.228	VIII -	1 - year 16	CBS 11484
U.2.24.229	VIII -	21 - year 16	UM 29-13-933 (one of two tablets with this museum number)
U.2.24.230	VIII -	23 - year 16	CBS 11448; days 4-8, 22, and 23

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U.2.24.231	VIII -	29 - year 16	CBS 3007, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 69; Torczyner, p. 86, No. 59
U.2.24.232	IX -	27 - year 16	CBS 11465
U.2.24.233	IX -	30 - year 16	CBS 6080, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 71; days 19-30
U.2.24.234	IX -	30 - year 16	CBS 6081, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 70; days 19-30
U.2.24.235	X -	6 - year 16	CBS 6636, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 72
U.2.24.236	X -	9 - year 16	HSM 1478 (899.2.100)
U.2.24.237	X -	x - year [16]	Ni. 6551
U.2.24.238	XI -	30 - year 16	Ni. 844; days 25-30; CBS 9517 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.239	XII -	24 - year 16	UM 29-13-867
U.2.24.240	XII -	29 - year 16	Ni. 6673
U.2.24.241	[MN] -	- year 16	HS 163 + 173 + 192, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 30</i> ; Petschow No. 32; from year 15 to [MN]-year 16
U.2.24.242		- year 16	Ni. 662; CBS 9547 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.243	I -	2 - year 17	UM 29-13-291
U.2.24.244	I -	5 - year 17	CBS 10991, published as <i>BE XIV 73</i>
U.2.24.245	III -	2 - year 17	CBS 13102, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 31
U.2.24.246	VIa -	29 - year 17	CBS 6634
U.2.24.247	VII -	13 - year 17	CBS 3052, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 74
U.2.24.248	VIII -	22 - year 17	CBS 10541
U.2.24.249	X -	15 - year 17	CBS 8880
U.2.24.250	X -	- year 17	Ni. 7777
U.2.24.251	XI -	2 - year 17	Ni. 164
U.2.24.252	XI -	23? - year 17	CBS 11473
U.2.24.253	XII -	22 - year 17	CBS 13376

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U.2.24.254	{MN}	- 17(+)- year 17	Ni. 384
U.2.24.255	{MN}	- 23? - year 17	Ni. 11885
U.2.24.256	{MN}	- 25 - year 17	Ni. 2231; days 2-25; MN ends in .[A]M (possibly XI)
U.2.24.257	{MN}	- 27 - year 17	Ni. 8178; MN ends in GAR
U.2.24.258	I	- 7 - year 18	Ni. 7825
U.2.24.259	I	- 25(+)- year 18	CBS 11493
U.2.24.260	I	- - year 18	BM 38287; copy made on V-20-year 17 of Nebuchadnezzar II
U.2.24.261	II	- 20 - year 18	Ni. 455
U.2.24.262	III	- 4 - year 18	Ni. 7840
U.2.24.263	III	- 8 - year 18	CBS 3721, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 33
U.2.24.264	III	- - year 18	CBS 8559
U.2.24.265	IV	- 26 - year 18	Ni. 331; days 7-26
U.2.24.266	VI	- 24 - year 18	Ni. 6553
U.2.24.267	VI	- 25 - year 18	Ni. 6690
U.2.24.268	VI	- [] - year 18	N 6304
U.2.24.269	Via	- 10 - year 18	CBS 3705, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 75; days 6-10
U.2.24.270	IX	- 1 - year 18	CBS 11959, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 32; collated
U.2.24.271	IX	- 3 - year 18	Ni. 115; CBS 9536 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.272	X	- 28 - year 18	Ni. 7962
U.2.24.273	XI?	- 20 - year 18	UM 29-13-888
U.2.24.274	XII	- 13 - year 18	UM 29-13-963
U.2.24.275	XII	- 17 - year 18	Ni. 7981
U.2.24.276	[]	- 3 - year 18	CBS 6639
U.2.24.277	{MN}	- 17 - year 18	Ni. 6306
U.2.24.278	{MN}	- 21 - year 18	Ni. 6686; MN ends in .AM
U.2.24.279		- year 18	N 2615
U.2.24.280		- year 18	Ni. 8488
U.2.24.281	I	- 10 - year 19	UM 29-15-305
U.2.24.282	III	- 4 - year 19	CBS 3014, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 76

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U.2.24.283	IV -	20 - year 19	Ni. 6680
U.2.24.284	VI -	14 - year 19	CBS 11658, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 35
U.2.24.285	VI -	25 - year 19?	Ni. 191; CBS 9529 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.286	VII -	- year 19	CBS 3006, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 49; Torczyner, p. 94, No. 72
U.2.24.287	VIII -	16 - year 19	Ni. 6773; I-1 to VIII-16
U.2.24.288	IX -	3 - year 19	Ni. 7693
U.2.24.289	IX -	- year 19	Ni. 2582
U.2.24.290	X -	9 - year 19	Ni. 2603
U.2.24.291	X -	14 - year 19	CBS 3004, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 77; Torczyner, p. 95, No. 75
U.2.24.292	X -	- year 19	HS 129, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 19</i> ; Petschow No. 38
U.2.24.293	XI -	- year 19	CBS 8714
U.2.24.294	XII -	30 - year 19	UM 29-15-38
U.2.24.295	[] -	21?(+)- year 19	Ni. 6215
U.2.24.296	[] -	26 - year 19	Ni. 7948; first term of date (TA . . . EN . . .) almost completely missing
U.2.24.297		- year 19	Ni. 2934
U.2.24.298	II -	4?(+)- year 20	Ni. 7334; days []-4?(+)
U.2.24.299	II -	22(+)- year 20(+)	UM 29-15-53
U.2.24.300	II -	- year 20	Ni. 438
U.2.24.301	V -	25 - year 20	Ni. 6518
U.2.24.302	VIa -	16 - year 20	UM 29-13-861
U.2.24.303	VIII -	2 - year 20	CBS 3167
U.2.24.304	IX -	14 - year 20	Ni. 114
U.2.24.305	XII -	19 - year 20	UM 29-13-835
U.2.24.306	III -	19 - year 21	UM 29-13-916
U.2.24.307	VII -	2 - year 21	Ni. 171
U.2.24.308	VIII -	14 - year 21	HS 128, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 37</i> ; Aro, <i>Kleider-</i> <i>texte</i> , No. 1

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U.2.24.309	VIII -	27 - year 21	BM 13278 = 96-3-28,369; published as <i>CT</i> LI 26; Figulla, <i>Cat.</i> I 100
U.2.24.310	IX -	2 - year 21	Ni. 720; year highly probable
U.2.24.311	IX -	3 - year 21	Ni. 2855
U.2.24.312	IX -	17 - year 21	Ni. 7589
U.2.24.313	X -	13 - year 21	UM 29-13-858
U.2.24.314	X -	30 - year 21	CBS 6603; days 2-30
U.2.24.315	XII -	{ () } - year 21	CBS 9896
U.2.24.316		- year 21(+)	Ni. 7242
U.2.24.317	I -	3? - year 22	UM 29-13-270
U.2.24.318	II -	6 - year 22	Ni. 318; I-19 to II-6
U.2.24.319	II -	23 - year 22	CBS 3339, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 78; days 16-23
U.2.24.320	II -	- year 22	Ni. 2215; days 16-[]
U.2.24.321	III -	- year 22	CBS 3017, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 79
U.2.24.322	IV -	2 - year 22	Ni. 329; III-13 to IV-2; CBS 9543 and CBS 9770 are casts of this tablet
U.2.24.323	IV -	- year 22	Ni. 242
U.2.24.324	VI -	4(+)- year 22	UM 29-16-735
U.2.24.325	VIII -	- year 22	Ni. 402
U.2.24.326	IX -	4 - year 22	Ni. 7721; from [] to IX-4
U.2.24.327	IX -	16 - year 22	UM 29-15-784; days 5-16
U.2.24.328	X -	8 - year 22	Ni. 1508; IX-23 to X-8; CBS 9511 is a cast of this tablet
U.2.24.329	X -	13 - year 22	Ni. 2940
U.2.24.330	XII -	29 - year 22	N 1032
U.2.24.331	XII -	- year 22	CBS 6090, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 80; IX-XII
U.2.24.332		- year 22	CBS 7762
U.2.24.333	III -	- year 23	CBS 3349, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 81
U.2.24.334	IV -	8 - year 23	CBS 6079, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 82; days 161-8

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U.2.24.335	VI -	30 - year 23	HS 132, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 72; Petschow No. 7
U.2.24.336	VI(+)	- year 23	Ni. 158
U.2.24.337	IX -	- year 23(+)	Ni. 389
U.2.24.338	I -	- year [24]	Ni. 8847; [XII]-year 23 to I-year [24]
U.2.24.339	II -	8 - year 24	CBS 6649; days 6-8
U.2.24.340	II -	30 - year 24	CBS 3348; I-1 to II-30
U.2.24.341	II -	- year 24?	CBS 6643, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 80a
U.2.24.342	III -	29 - year 24	Ni. 3173; days 1-29
U.2.24.343	IV -	- year 24	CBS 3361, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 83
U.2.24.344	IV -	- year 24	Ni. 7703
U.2.24.345	V -	- year 24	UM 29-16-757
U.2.24.346	VII -	5 - year 24	CBS 9757, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 84; Torczyner, pp. 87-88, No. 61
U.2.24.347	IX -	6 - year 24	CBS 3351, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 85; days 1-6
U.2.24.348	IX -	6 - year 24	Ni. 40; days 1-6
U.2.24.349	IX -	9 - year 24	UM 29-13-277
U.2.24.350	X -	12 - year 24	Ni. 426; IX-23 to X-12
U.2.24.351	XI -	17 - year 24	CBS 3008, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 86
U.2.24.352	XII -	25? - year 24	Ni. 295; [MN](+?) to XII-25?
U.2.24.353	XII -	- year 24	CBS 9898; I-XII
U.2.24.354		- year 24	Ni. 2888; mentions V-3 to VIII-27(+)
U.2.24.355		- year 24	Ni. 6725; years 18-24
U.2.24.356	I -	12 - []	CBS 12600
U.2.24.357	I -	26(+)- []	Ni. 6421
U.2.24.358	I -	- year x	CBS 3337, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 87
U.2.24.359	II -	[] - []	CBS 3735, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 36

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- U.2.24.360 IV - 10 - year x CBS 6637; salt-encrusted;
year possibly 18
- U.2.24.361 IV - 16? - year [x] Ni. 11919
- U.2.24.362 V? - 24 - year x Ni. 7691
- U.2.24.363 VIa - 1(+)- [] CBS 11680
- U.2.24.364 VII - [] - [] CBS 6642
- U.2.24.365 VII - [] - [] N 2360
- U.2.24.366 IX - 6?(+)- [] Ni. 11339; heading mentions
VIII-1 to IX-6?(+)
- U.2.24.367 IX - [] UM 29-15-54; IV-[] to
IX-[]
- U.2.24.368 X? - [] - [] CBS 3717
- U.2.24.369 XII - 30 - [] CBS 6635, published as *BE*
XIV 87a
- U.2.24.370 [MN] - 8 - [] CBS 10612
- U.2.24.371 [] - 12 - [] Ni. 7419
- U.2.24.372 [MN] - 13 - [] N 2472; MN possibly
[ŠU.NUMUN.N]A
- U.2.24.373 CBS 7270 (the number "20" occurs in the date; day or
year?).
- U.2.24.374 CBS 10522.
- U.2.24.375 *CBS 12914, published as *BE* XIV 39, legal text possibly
drawn up in the reign of RN.
- U.2.24.376 *N 2639.
- U.2.24.377 *N 2997.
- U.2.24.378 Ni. 1331.
- U.2.24.379 Ni. 5822; possibly year 4 or 7, but uncertain.
- U.2.24.380 Ni. 7506.
- U.2.24.381 Ni. 7746.
- U.2.24.382 Ni. 7816.
- U.2.24.383 Ni. 7824.
- U.2.24.384 Ni. 7983.
- U.2.24.385 Ni. 8015.
- U.2.24.386 Ni. 8650.
- U.2.24.387 UM 29-16-617.

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- U.2.25 *CBS 11014. Perhaps late copy⁷ of a contemporary poetic(?) text glorifying the exploits of RN;⁸ presumably from Nippur. Published by Legrain, *PBS XIII* 69 (copy) with transliteration and translation *ibid.*, pp. 97-99. [Jaritz No. 145; El-Wailly 23-U-1]
- U.2.26 *K. 11536. Tablet fragment of undetermined type (historical-literary?) and date, written in Babylonian script. *Na-zi-Múru-taš* is mentioned in line 3. Described in Bezold, *Cat. III* 1175. Published as Text No. 10 below (copy, transliteration, translation).
- U.2.27 *Assyrian epic, possibly contemporary, dealing with the conflict between Adad-nirari I and Nazi-Maruttas̃. Discussed by Weidner, *Afo XX* (1963) 113-16; texts A, C, and D were found at Assur.
- U.2.27.1 VAT 10084, published by Schroeder, *KAH II* 143 (copy), and by Ebeling, *KAR* 260 (copy); No. 106 in Weidner's catalogue of the library of Tiglath-pileser I (see *Afo XVI* [1952-53] 211); Weidner, text A. [Jaritz No. 147; El-Wailly 23-E-1]
- U.2.27.2 Rm. 293, published by Borger, *Afo XVII* (1954-56) 369 (copy by W. G. Lambert); see Borger, *EAK I* 33; Weidner, text B.
- U.2.27.3 VAT 9820, published in *Afo XX* (1963) Pl. 5 (copy of the obverse by Köcher); Weidner, text C.
- U.2.27.4 VAT 10889, Weidner, text D; for the poor preservation of this text, see *Afo XX* (1963) 113.
- U.2.28 *VAT 11245. Fragment of tablet, possibly a contemporary Assyrian epic and possibly to be linked with U.2.27; found at Assur. Pub-

⁷Rev. 10' (to be read *pi DUB* ^{md}EN.LÍL-I A-šú šá (erasure); collation) mentions Enlil-na'id, a name otherwise attested only in Achaemenid Nippur (*TuM II-III* 22:6 and 12, 179:13). The name of his father, Bazuzu, is a relatively common name in late Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times. A late origin might explain the somewhat unusual scribal ductus of the text. Contrary to Jaritz' suggestion in *MIO VI* (1958) 248, collation shows that Legrain's copy is reasonably accurate and cannot be blamed for most of the difficulties in the text.

⁸The royal name is repeated twice at the beginning of the text (lines 1-2). A campaign(?) involving Namri is mentioned in the passage beginning in line 16. (The beginning of line 17 is to be read *ina ki-sur-ri-e*, collation.) If cities are given to a god (Enlil?) in perpetuity (rev. 1'-4'), the text could be an endowment with a literary introduction. This requires further study.

lished by Ebeling, *KAR* 116 (copy). [*Nazi*]-múru-taš is mentioned in obv.(?) 10'.

U.3 Later sources⁹

- U.3.1 CBS 13100, an economic text from Nippur published as *PBS* II/2 26, is dated VIII-5-MU.ÚS.SA Nazi-Maruttaš. The date has been re-copied and interpreted in *WO* VI (1971) 153-56. Text: L.2.13.1.
- U.3.2 HSM 51, a votive text of Kadašman-Turgu published as *BE* I 61, refers to Nazi-Maruttaš as that king's father (line 4). Text: L.2.3.
- U.3.3 IM 50059 (DK₃-103), an economic text from Dūr-Kurigalzu published in *Iraq* XI (1949) 133-35 and 144, No. 4, mentions Nazi-Maruttaš and Kadašman-Turgu in an atypical date formula (lines 46-47). Text: L.2.13.27.
- U.3.4 Ni. 6932 and Ni. 7050, ration lists from about the year 1235 B.C. (or slightly later) that deal with foreign war prisoners, mention Nazi-Muruttaš in sections concerning Elamites (lines 21' and 21, respectively). Texts: V.2.10.142, O.2.7.48.
- U.3.5 CBS 4790, a later Middle Babylonian letter published as *PBS* I/2 77, deals with a legal dispute and refers to the twenty-second year of Nazi-Muruttaš (lines 15'-16').
- U.3.6 The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic ii 31'-32' mentions Adad-nirari I and Nazi-Maruttaš in recounting the history of past Assyro-Babylonian conflicts. Text: W.2.5.
- U.3.7 VAT 9663, a hemerology published as *KAR* 177, has a colophon that tells that the tablet's entries derived from extracts made by savants from texts of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Larsa, Ur, Uruk, and Eridu and presented to Nazi-Muruttaš (obv. iv 25-rev. i 3). The pertinent passage is transliterated and translated by W. G. Lambert, *JCS* XI (1957) 8 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 112), and Hunger, *Kolophone*, No. 292.
- U.3.8 YBC 2146, an inscription of Esarhaddon published as *YOS* I 40, mentions Nazi-Muruttaš as a prior builder of Ehilianna in Uruk (line 12; passage edited by Borger, *Asarhaddon*, No. 50).
- U.3.9 *BM 34110 (Sp. 210) + BM 35163 (Sp. II, 715), a Neo-Babylonian

⁹In this section, the theophoric element of the royal name has been normalized as -Maruttaš or -Muruttaš, depending on the orthography employed in each text.

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copy of a text of undetermined type published by W. G. Lambert, *RA LXVIII* (1974) 149-56 (copy, transliteration, translation, discussion), mentions Nazi-Muruttas̃ in line 3 (and a Burna-Buriaš in line 1). Earlier publication of BM 35163: Wiseman, *Iraq XXXVI* (1974) Pl. LVI.

U.4 Writing of the royal name¹⁰

U.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts

U.4.1.1 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-ta-aš* (royal inscriptions: Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre II* 179-80, A. 821:1; *BE I* 54:3-4, 58:3; cf. *BE I* 55 [= *PBS XV* 56] line 3 and the private votive text *JAOS LXXXVIII* [1968] 194:151)

U.4.1.2 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-taš* (royal inscriptions: *BE I* 56; *PBS XV* 53:4, 55:3; U.2.16:3; cf. *BE I* 57, 75 + 136:2', 78:1')

U.4.1.3 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-taš* (private votive text: U.2.20:15, 61)

U.4.1.4 *Na-zi-Múru-taš* (kudurru: *MDP II* 86 i 1, ii 26; *IM* 49991 ii 9; probably *RA LXVI* [1972] 166:27; text of undetermined type: U.2.26:3)

U.4.1.5 ^m*Na-zi-Múru-taš* (Assyrian epic: *KAH II* 143 [= *KAR* 260] rev. 9', contemporary?)

U.4.1.6 ^{m(?)}*Na(?) -zi-Mar-at-ás* (private seal inscription: *Carnegie, Southesk Catalogue II* 84, Q β 41:3)

U.4.2 In contemporary economic texts

U.4.2.1 *Na-zi-Múru-taš* (*BE XIV* 41:18, 49:12, 78:7, and *passim*)

U.4.2.2 ^d*Na-zi-Múru-taš* (*HS* 128:18, *CBS* 8714:9, *Ni.* 6051:25, and *passim*)

U.4.2.3 ^d*Na-zi-*^d*Múru-taš* (*BE XIV* 68:6)

U.4.2.4 *Na-zi-Múru-ut-ta[š]* (*UM* 29-15-784:11)

U.4.2.5 ^d*Na-zi-Múru-ut-aš* (*BE XIV* 77:8)

U.4.2.6 *Na-zi-Mu-ru-taš* (*BE XIV* 51:12, 63:9; *CT LI* 25:11; and *passim*)

U.4.2.7 ^d*Na-zi-Mu-ru-taš* (*BE XIV* 48a:6, *N* 2545 rev. 4')

¹⁰Excluding badly damaged writings that do not differ in their preserved portions from those writings listed here.

- U.4.2.8 *Na-zi-Mu-ru-ta-aš* (PBS II/2 21:5', Ni. 6750 edge, UM 29-15-777:10, and *passim*)
- U.4.2.9 ^d*Na-zi-Mu-ru-ta-aš* (BE XIV 60:20)
- U.4.2.10 ^m*Na-zi-Mu-ru-ta-aš* (BE XIV 45:9)
- U.4.2.11 ^d*Na-zi-Mur-ut-taš* (CBS 10964 rev. 3)
- U.4.2.12 [()*Na-z*]i-Mu-ru-ut-taš (UM 29-15-685 rev. 9)
- U.4.2.13 *Na-zi-Mu-ru-ut-ta-aš* (BE XIV 47:11, 48:22; BM 17729:9; and *passim*)
- U.4.2.14 ^d*Na-zi-Mu-ru-ut-ta-aš* (BE XIV 57:2)
- U.4.2.15 *Na-zi-Mu-ru-ut-aš* (BE XIV 61:8, Ni. 401:8')
- U.4.2.16 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-taš* (BE XIV 53:7, 56:14, 71:6, and *passim*)
- U.4.2.17 ^d*Na-zi-Ma-ru-taš* (BE XIV 82:8, 87:8)
- U.4.2.18 ^m*Na-zi-Ma-ru-taš* (N 2011:151; cf. CBS 12600 rev. 6', with *-[taš]* restored)
- U.4.2.19 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-tás* (BE XIV 79:12, 87a:161)
- U.4.2.20 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-ta-aš* (Ni. 426:8; cf. CBS 6642:111, Ni. 158 rev. 181)
- U.4.2.21 ^d*Na-zi-Ma-ru-ta-aš* (N 1032 rev. 4'; cf. Ni. 7982:9, which might end in 1ás1)
- U.4.2.22 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-taš* (BE XIV 70:161, CBS 10238:7, HS 134:40, Ni. 242:7, and *passim*)
- U.4.2.23 ^d*Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-taš* (Ni. 7016 edge 1, UM 29-15-653 rev. 6', and *passim*)
- U.4.2.24 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-ta-aš* (BE XIV 84:10, 85:8; PBS XIII 80 rev. 18; and *passim*)
- U.4.2.25 ^d*Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-ta-aš* (BE XIV 42:22, 76:9-10; PBS II/2 26:13; and *passim*)
- U.4.2.26 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-aš* (BE XIV 50:9)
- U.4.2.27 [] 1Na1-zi-^dMa-ru-1ut1-[] (Ni. 6198 rev. 13')
- U.4.2.28 *Na-zi-Ma-ra-ta-aš* (N 2148 rev. 131; cf. Ni. 7519 1edge1, TCL IX 47:121)
- U.4.2.29 ^m*Na-zi-Ma-ra-ta-aš* (BE XIV 41a:14)
- U.4.2.30 ^m*Na-zi-Ma-rat-taš* (Ni. 2207 edge)
- U.4.2.31 *Na-zi- \ll zi \gg -Ma-ru-ut-taš* (Ni. 6740:8)
- U.4.2.32 *Na-zi-Mu-ru- \ll ta \gg -taš* (Ni. 2603:8, Ni. 12277 rev. 2'; to be interpreted as *Na-zi-Mu-ru-ta-taš*?)

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U.4.3 In later texts

- U.4.3.1 *Na-zi-Múru-taš* (MB letter: *PBS* I/2 77:16'1; ration list from the time of Kaštiliašu IV or later: Ni. 7050:21; NB text of undetermined type: U.3.9:3)
- U.4.3.2 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-taš* (later MB economic text: *Iraq* XI [1949] 144, No. 4:46)
- U.4.3.3 *Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-taš* (inscription of his son Kadašman-Turgu: *BE* I 61:4)
- U.4.3.4 ^m*Na-zi-Ma-ru-ta-áš* (*Tukulti-Ninurta* Epic ii 32')
- U.4.3.5 ^m*Na-zi-Múru-taš* (colophon from MA library text: *KAR* 177 iv [31]; MA epic: *Afo* XX [1963] Pl. 5 ii 12'; *Synchronistic History* i 24', 26'; *Chronicle P* iii 23'; inscription of Esarhaddon: *YOS* I 40:12; late copy of poetic text concerning RN: *PBS* XIII 69:1, 2, 15 {determinatives in first two lines not entirely certain})
- U.4.3.6 ^d*Na-zi-Ma-ru-ut-ta(?)-aš* (economic text from reign of Kadašman-Turgu: CBS 13100:14)
- U.4.3.7 ^d*Na-zi-Múru-taš* (NB copy of offering list: BM 38287:1)

U.5 Note

- U.5.1 The Iraq Museum register lists IM 59372 as a text from the sixth year of Nazi-Maruttaš. I have been unable to verify this statement.

V. ŠAGARAKTI-ŠURIAŠ

Šagarakti-Šuriaš, twenty-seventh king of the Kassite dynasty, followed Kudur-Enlil on the throne and ruled for thirteen years; he was succeeded by his son Kaštiliašu IV.¹ He ascended the throne early in the month of Nisan and also died early in the month of Nisan;² hence the last official regnal year of his predecessor was usually referred to as the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, and similarly his own last regnal year was often alluded to as the accession year of Kaštiliašu.

V.1 Chronological sources

V.1.1 Kinglist A ii 6'--a reign of 13 (years), an abbreviated RN, and filiation (^mŠá-ga-rak-[ti DUMU]-šú).

V.2 Contemporary sources

V.2.1 CBS 14574. Lapis-lazuli disk bearing a four-line votive inscription of RN to Nusku; found at Nippur. Published by Legrain, *PBS* XV 59 (copy). [Jaritz No. 188; El-Wailly 27-V-4]

V.2.2 Magnesite knob bearing a one-line votive inscription of RN to Enlil; present whereabouts unknown. Found among the hoard of stones, etc., in the "booth" in Nippur area III.³ Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 69 (copy). [Jaritz No. 189; El-Wailly 27-V-1]

V.2.3 Knob bearing a fragmentary votive inscription of RN; found at Susa

¹Place in the sequence of rulers and length of reign: Kinglist A ii 6'. We have no inscription of Šagarakti-Šuriaš claiming that Kudur-Enlil was his father, though this genealogy is given in Kinglist A and by Nabonidus (*VAB* IV 228 iii 28-29, 31). For chronological reasons (i.e., too many short reigns to allow for the alleged number of generations), this genealogy may be considered suspect; see the discussion under P.5.5 above. Kaštiliašu IV calls Šagarakti-Šuriaš his father in *BE* I 70; compare Kinglist A ii 7' and the discussion under O.5.6 above. Throughout this section of the Catalogue, whenever a Kaštiliašu is mentioned without further qualification, it will be assumed that the last king of that name is meant.

²The earliest known economic text is dated on the fifth day of Nisan in his accession year (*YBC* 3072). There are also at least two economic texts dated on the third of Nisan in Kaštiliašu's accession year (*Ni.* 5856, *Ni.* 6258).

³This locus is discussed in E.5.5 above.

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(presumably booty from Babylonia). Published by Scheil, *MDP XIV* 32 (No. 2) (copy, transliteration, translation). [Jaritz No. 190; El-Wailly 27-V-3]

- V.2.4 "LB 976" (former number).⁴ Round onyx bearing a three-line votive inscription of RN to Gula (collated). Published in transliteration and translation by Böhl, *Meded.*, 78B, No. 2, p. 49 (line 1 in Böhl's transliteration is not on the text, and lines 3-4 are in a single case). Published earlier by Scheil, *RT XIX* (1897) 56 (transliteration). [Jaritz No. 191; El-Wailly 27-V-2]
- V.2.5 ND 3498. Fragmentary red bead ("carnelian") with a four-line votive inscription of RN to Enlil(?); found at Nimrud. Published by Wiseman, *Iraq XV* (1953) 154 (copy) and 149 (transliteration, catalogue). Identified as an inscription of RN by Borger, *EAK I* 72-73, who suggested that it may have been brought from Nippur to Kalḫu around the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁵
- V.2.6 *A 32727 (9 N 124). Fragmentary red, black, and brown stone bead with hole pierced lengthwise through the center, bearing part of a short votive inscription of RN (divine name not preserved). According to the Nippur excavation card catalogue in the Oriental Institute, this bead was purchased during the 1964/65 season, but was supposedly a surface find. Published by Biggs, *AS XVII*, No. 57 (copy). The orthography of the preserved section of the RN [t]i-[][(x)l-ia-aš (collated) points to Šagarakti-Šurias rather than Kaštiliašu because:
- (1) the royal votive inscriptions of Kaštiliašu always spell his name *Kaš-til-ia-šu* (i.e., neither *-ti-* nor a final *-aš* is used);⁶
 - (2) royal votive inscriptions of Šagarakti-Šurias use both *-ti-* and final *-aš*.⁷
- V.2.7 *Fragmentary axhead of blue glass (imitation lapis lazuli) bearing

⁴The object in question seems now to have no LB number; and LB 976 (Böhl's designation for this object in *Meded.*, 78B, No. 2, p. 49) is now assigned to an OB tablet.

⁵Biggs, *AS XVII* 16, n. 6, raised the possibility that a modern workman might have carried it from Nippur to Nimrud.

⁶See O.4.1.1 above.

⁷See V.4.1.1 below.

part of a royal votive inscription to Ninurta; present whereabouts unknown. Found in the same locus as V.2.2 above. Published by Hilprecht, *BE* I 76 (copy). The assigning of this text to Šagarakti-Šuriaš or Kaštiliašu depends on the restorations adopted for lines 3-4. The restorations preferred here are: (3) [bēlī]šu (4) [Šagarakti-Šur]iaš,⁸ though the lines might be restored as (3) [Kaštilia]šu (4) [mār Šagarakti-Šur]iaš.⁹ [Jaritz No. 200; El-Wailly 28-V-3]

V.2.8 *K. 2673. Clay tablet containing a late copy of legends purportedly on a lapis-lazuli seal. According to its inscription, the seal was originally owned by Šagarakti-Šuriaš, then stolen from Babylonia by Tukulti-Ninurta I, subsequently recovered by the Babylonians,¹⁰ and then taken again by Sennacherib. Most recent transliteration and translation (with bibliography): Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 29; see also Borger, *EAK* I 72, and Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 825-28. Principal earlier publications: III R 4, No. 2 (copy), AKA 14-16 (printed copy, transliteration, translation), and King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I* (London, 1904) pp. 106-9 (printed copy, transliteration, translation) and 163-65 (hand copy). Photo: *Iraq* XX (1958) Pl. VIII, No.2. [Jaritz No. 192; El-Wailly 27-S-1].¹¹ See also the discussion under W.2.2 below.

V.2.9 U 1a. Fragment of a clay pot bearing parts of five lines of an inscription mentioning the name of Šagarakti-Š[ur]iaš and "to the god(s) Zababa [and(?)¹ []"; possibly a votive text, but not of a standard Kassite royal type. Found at Ur, present whereabouts unknown. Published by Sollberger, *UET* VIII 100 (copy).

V.2.10 Economic texts

V.2.10.1 I - 5 - acc. year YBC 3072

⁸For the phraseology, compare the inscription of Kadašman-Enlil II published in *MAOG* IV (1928-29) 81 and other Babylonian votive texts of this period.

⁹The title *bēlīšu* (or *bēltīšu*) is more commonly present than absent after the DN and titles at the beginning of Kassite royal votive inscriptions written in Babylonian.

This text should be added to the lists of glass objects in Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Corning, 1970) p. 148 (Nippur) and p. 215 (No. 8).

¹⁰This episode is mentioned only in generic fashion (*kunukku annū ultu māt Aššur ana māt Akkadī šariq tadin*, line 4), without reference to a Babylonian monarch.

¹¹For another royal inscription cited in a later text (of Nabonidus), see V.3.4.2 below.

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V.2.10.2	III -	21	- acc. year	LB 828, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 124
V.2.10.3	III -		- acc. year	CBS 6078, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 126
V.2.10.4	IV -	7(+)	- acc. year	Ni. 3163
V.2.10.5	IV -	20(+)	- acc. year	Ni. 1592
V.2.10.6	V -	10	- acc. year	Ni. 1559
V.2.10.7	V -	12	- acc. year	UM 29-15-533
V.2.10.8	V -	14	- acc. year	CBS 3341, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 127
V.2.10.9	V -	20(+)	- acc. year	CBS 11702, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 49
V.2.10.10	V -	28	- acc. year	CBS 15062, published as <i>PBS</i> XIII 75; collation shows that, contrary to the copy, there are traces of the RN before -ga- (perhaps $\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{Sa}^{\text{1-}}$) in the date formula
V.2.10.11	VII -	29	- acc. year	Ni. 2907
V.2.10.12	IX -	5	- acc. year	Ni. 6733
V.2.10.13	IX -	27	- acc. year	U 7787s published as <i>UET</i> VII 71
V.2.10.14	XI -	23	- acc. year	YBC 11897
V.2.10.15	{MN}	1	- acc. year	LB 822, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 118; collated
V.2.10.16	[] -	3	- acc. year	CBS 6647
V.2.10.17	{MN}	22	- acc. year	12 N 503; MN ends in .AM
V.2.10.18	{MN}		- acc. year	CBS 11636, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 48; collated
V.2.10.19			- acc. year	HS 123, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 15; Petschow No. 12; from the sixth year of Kudur-Enlil to the acc. year of RN

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V.2.10.20		- acc. year	Ni. 2235; mentions months III-V
V.2.10.21		- acc. year	*Ni. 6778; also mentions XI-acc. year of RN, IV-year 4 (without RN), and Kudur-Enlil
V.2.10.22		- acc. year	Ni. 7004; mentions years 5-7 (with year 8 mostly broken away) of Kudur-Enlil, followed by the acc. year of Šagarakti-Šurias
V.2.10.23		- acc. year	*Ni. 8899, RN broken away; text perhaps similar to Ni. 7004 and covering a period beginning with year [x] of Kudur-E[nlil] (the acc. year of [Šagarakti-Šurias] is mentioned four lines later)
V.2.10.24	I -	4 - year 1	Ni. 39; days [3?]-4
V.2.10.25	[II] -	12?(+) - year 1	UM 55-21-266 = 3 NT 148; Oriental Institute photos Nos. 47157-58
V.2.10.26	I -	16? - year 1	Ni. 2593
V.2.10.27	I -	20 - year 1?	Ni. 6978
V.2.10.28	II -	- year 1	Ni. 378; from III-acc. year to II-year 1, including VIa of the acc. year
V.2.10.29	III -	9 - year 1	CBS 3329, published as BE XIV 128; Torczyner, pp. 57-58, No. 30
V.2.10.30	V -	- year 1	N 4424
V.2.10.31	VIII -	2 - year 1	UM 29-15-708
V.2.10.32	X -	8 - year 1	LB unnumbered, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 101;

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				collated
V.2.10.33	XI -	30	- year 1(+)	YBC 3076
V.2.10.34	{MN} -		- year 1(+)	CBS 11104; IX or X probable
V.2.10.35	[] -		- year 1	Ni. 249; MN in date broken away; IV mentioned on upper edge
V.2.10.36			- year 1	Ni. 6986; mentions acc. year and year 1 in the heading
V.2.10.37			- year 1(+)	*Ni. 8793, probably deal- ing with the reigns of [Kudur-Enlil] and [Šagarak- ti-Šurias̃]; see P.3.6 above
V.2.10.38	II -	9	- year 2	CBS 12909, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 128a
V.2.10.39	II -		- year 2	Ni. 6670
V.2.10.40	III -		- year 2	CBS 6089, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 139
V.2.10.41	IX -	11	- year 2	UM 29-13-437
V.2.10.42	IX -		- year 2(+)	UM 29-13-667
V.2.10.43	X -	[]	- year 2	Ni. 11889
V.2.10.44	XI -	10	- year 2	YBC 3074
V.2.10.45	XI -	30	- year 2	UM 29-15-531; X-10 to XI- 30
V.2.10.46	XI -	[]	- year 2	CBS 8513
V.2.10.47	XII -	15	- year 2	AO 4064, published as <i>TCL</i> IX 50
V.2.10.48	[] -	8(+)	- year 2	N 1035
V.2.10.49			- year 2	*UM 29-15-754; mentions year 2 [and year 11?] with RN occurring later
V.2.10.50			- year 2	UM 29-16-314
V.2.10.51	II -		- year 3	YBC 3073
V.2.10.52	IV -	12	- year 3	CBS 11657, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 50

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V.2.10.53	V -	21	- year 3	CBS 6156, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 129
V.2.10.54	IX -	13	- year 3	Ni. 2866
V.2.10.55	{MN} -	15	- year 3	LB 829, published as Peiser <i>Urk.</i> , P 125; collated
V.2.10.56			- year 3	FLP 1338
V.2.10.57			- year 3	12 N 242
V.2.10.58			- year 3	UM 29-13-661; from year {5} of Kudur-Enlil to year 3 of RN; published as Text No. 21 below
V.2.10.59			- year 3	*Ni. 7042; mentions years 5 (or 6)-8, then RN, then years 1-3; compare pre- ceding entry
V.2.10.60	I -	15	- year 4	Columbia Univ. No. 339, MN collated; listed in Mendelsohn, <i>Cat.</i> , p. 75
V.2.10.61	IV -	10	- year 4	UM 29-13-886
V.2.10.62	IV -	20	- year 4	Ni. 6303
V.2.10.63	VI -		- year 4	UM 29-13-926
V.2.10.64	VII -	12	- year 4	N 1799; VI-5 to VII-12
V.2.10.65	IX -	15	- year 4	Ni. 1585
V.2.10.66	X -	1	- year 4	Ni. 6130
V.2.10.67	X -	13	- year 4	Ni. 674
V.2.10.68	I -	3	- year 5	NBC 1258, published as <i>BIN</i> II 107
V.2.10.69	II -	10	- year 5	NBC 1257, published as <i>BIN</i> II 106
V.2.10.70	II -	17	- year 5	YBC 3078
V.2.10.71	III -		- year 5	CBS 6640, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 130
V.2.10.72	V -	1	- year 5	LB 816, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 109
V.2.10.73	V -	9	- year 5	Ni. 113
V.2.10.74	X -	10(+)	- year 5	Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 89 (not registered in the Böhl

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V.2.10.75	XI -	4	- year 5	collection) Cornell No. 5 (courtesy of David I. Owen)
V.2.10.76	XII -	29	- year 5?	Ni. 8598; days 28-29
V.2.10.77			- year 5?	CBS 10740; year 4 also mentioned
V.2.10.78			- year 5	CBS 14195 obv. 2'-3' men- tions years 4 and 5, fol- lowed by RN in line 4'
V.2.10.79			- year 5	Ni. 6519
V.2.10.80			- year 5	Ni. 12340 mentions year 4 of RN, followed by year 5 and ITI.DIRI of year 5 ¹²
V.2.10.81			- year 5	UM 29-13-668; from year 4 of [Kudur-Enlil] to year 5 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš
V.2.10.82			- year 5	UM 29-13-683; years 3-5 of RN
V.2.10.83	IV -	10(+)	- year 6	*N 2594; RN heavily damaged
V.2.10.84	VIa -	26	- year 6	AO 4071, published as <i>TCL IX 52</i>
V.2.10.85	VII -	20	- year 6	U 7789r, published as <i>UET VII 36</i>
V.2.10.86	X -	28	- year 6	N.T. 32 (courtesy of David I. Owen)
V.2.10.87	XII -	29	- year 6	Ni. 7993
V.2.10.88	XII -		- year 6	YBC 3079
V.2.10.89			- year 6	CBS 12911, published as <i>BE XIV 131</i>
V.2.10.90			- year 6	Ni. 916
V.2.10.91			- year 6	*Ni. 2290:19' mentions year 6

¹²Cf. the style of UM 29-13-661, published as Text No. 21 below.

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V.2.10.92		- year 6(+)	Ni. 8794; year could be "9"
V.2.10.93	I -	12(+) ¹ - year 7	LB 810, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 99; collated; copy had clear "day 13"
V.2.10.94	I -	29? - year 7	Ni. 7755
V.2.10.95	I -	30 - year 7	CBS 6086, published as <i>BE XIV 133</i> ; from II-1-year 6 to I-30-year 7
V.2.10.96	III -	5 - year 7	CBS 8710
V.2.10.97	IV -	- year 7	Ni. 6800
V.2.10.98	VII -	28 - year 7	Ni. 1590
V.2.10.99	X -	- year 7	CBS 9198
V.2.10.100	XI -	29 - year 7	Ni. 2236; days 15-29
V.2.10.101	XI -	30 - year 7(+)	HS 148, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 13</i> ; Petschow No. 36
V.2.10.102	XII -	- year 7	UM 29-16-363
V.2.10.103		- year 7	CBS 3490, published as <i>BE XIV 132</i> ; mentions years 6-7; Torczyner, pp. 61-62, No. 35
V.2.10.104	III -	1 - year 8	Ni. 12103
V.2.10.105	III -	5 - year 8	CBS 7239
V.2.10.106	III -	28 - year 8	Ni. 5914
V.2.10.107	IV -	8? - year 8	CBS 12908, published as <i>BE XIV 135</i> ; day could also be "7"; collated
V.2.10.108	IV -	10(+) - year 8	N 1275
V.2.10.109	IV -	20 - year 8	YBC 3071
V.2.10.110	V -	- year 8	CBS 11103
V.2.10.111	V -	- year 8	Ni. 12351
V.2.10.112	VI -	- year 8	Ni. 1348
V.2.10.113	VIa -	15 - year 8	IM 49974 = DK ₂ -2, published as <i>Iraq XI (1949)</i> 143, No. 1 [Jaritz No. 187]

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V.2.10.114	VIa -	25	- year 8	Ni. 285
V.2.10.115	VIa -		- year 8	CBS 15176; XI-VIa
V.2.10.116	VIII -	12?(+)	- year 8	Ni. 6309
V.2.10.117	VIII -		- year 8	Ni. 7722
V.2.10.118	IX -	24	- year 8	AO 4068, published as <i>TCL IX 53</i>
V.2.10.119	[MN] -	20(+)	- year 8	Ni. 2891
V.2.10.120	[		] - year 8?	Ni. 11337; from day 29? to []
V.2.10.121	[		] - year 8	UM 29-15-544
V.2.10.122			- year 8	AO 24191 (information courtesy of D. Arnaud)
V.2.10.123			- year 8	BM 17625
V.2.10.124			- year 8	HS 152, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 22</i> ; Petschow No. 16 (cf. <i>Böhl Fest- schrift</i> , pp. 299-307); years 7-8
V.2.10.125			- year 8	Ni. 943; years 7-8
V.2.10.126			- year 8	Ni. 1339
V.2.10.127			- year 8	Ni. 7067; RN almost en- tirely gone
V.2.10.128			- year 8	*Ni. 11164; RN mentioned and then years 7 and 8
V.2.10.129			- year 8	Ni. 11770
V.2.10.130	II -	17	- year 9	Ni. 940
V.2.10.131	III -		- year 9?	CBS 6121, published as <i>BE XIV 134</i> ; collated
V.2.10.132	IV -	18	- year 9	Columbia Univ. No. 340, date collated; listed in <i>Mendelsohn, Cat.</i> , p. 75
V.2.10.133	V -	16	- year 9	HS 150, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 64</i> ; Petschow No. 8
V.2.10.134	V -		- year 9	CBS 6092, published as <i>BE XIV 136</i> ; Torczyner, pp. 58-60, No. 31

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V.2.10.135	X -	19 -	year 9	YBC 3077
V.2.10.136	XII -	25 -	year 9	U 7787a, published as <i>UET</i> VII 15
V.2.10.137	XII -	-	year 9	BM 81686
V.2.10.138	{MN} -	-	year 9	Ni. 8396; MN ends in È
V.2.10.139		-	year 9	Ni. 1048
V.2.10.140		-	year 9	Ni. 6094
V.2.10.141		-	year 9	Ni. 6467
V.2.10.142		-	year 9	*Ni. 6932 (contemporary?); mentions year 9
V.2.10.143	II -	10 -	year 10	Ni. 443
V.2.10.144	II -	29 -	year 10	Ni. 8036
V.2.10.145	III -	3 -	year 10	Ni. 165
V.2.10.146	III -	8 -	year 10	Ni. 141
V.2.10.147	IV -	3 -	year 10	UM 29-16-340; published as Text No. 24 below
V.2.10.148	V -	12 -	year 10	BM 81027, published as <i>CT</i> XLIV 68
V.2.10.149	V -	16 -	year 10	CBS 10975
V.2.10.150	VI -	-	year 10	CBS 4592
V.2.10.151	VIII -	25 -	year 10	Ni. 6100
V.2.10.152	VIII -	25(+)	year 10	UM 29-15-312
V.2.10.153	VIII -	-	year 10	CBS 12910, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 137; Torczyner, p. 61, No. 34
V.2.10.154	VIII -	-	year 10	HS 147, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 27; Petschow No. 27; from V-year 9 to VIII-year 10
V.2.10.155	VIII -	-	year 10	Ni. 2879
V.2.10.156	IX -	4 -	year 10	Ni. 1528
V.2.10.157	X -	14 -	year 10	HS 149, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 73; Petschow No. 11
V.2.10.158	X -	-	year 10	Ni. 11199; V-X
V.2.10.159	X -	-	year 10	Ni. 11395; V-X
V.2.10.160	{XII?} -	6 -	year 10	CBS 7774; days 4-6

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V.2.10.161	[MN]	-	1	- year 10	Ni. 11856; from IX-26 to [MN]-1
V.2.10.162	[MN]	-	14	- year 10	N 1849; MN perhaps [X]
V.2.10.163	[MN?]	-		- year 10	CBS 10695
V.2.10.164				- year 10	CBS 2130
V.2.10.165				- year 10	CBS 10651
V.2.10.166				- year 10	Ni. 6883
V.2.10.167				- year 10?	*Ni. 7434; badly damaged date and RN
V.2.10.168				- year 10	Ni. 7817
V.2.10.169				- year [10](+)	Ni. 11996
V.2.10.170				- year 10	UM 29-13-676
V.2.10.171				- year 10	*UM 29-15-233, which may date from a later time, mentions year 10 of RN
V.2.10.172	I	-		- year 11	Ni. 8956; from []-year 10 to I-year 11
V.2.10.173	II	-	8	- year 11	Ni. 1516
V.2.10.174	IV?	-	12	- year 11	AO 4065, published as TCL IX 55; MN collated by M. Lambert
V.2.10.175	IV	-	19	- year 11	CBS 6097
V.2.10.176	VIa	-	5	- year 11(+)	CBS 7734, ¹³ published as PBS VIII/2 163
V.2.10.177	VII	-	2	- year 11	LB 821, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 117
V.2.10.178	VII	-	16	- year 11	AO 4072 bis, published as TCL IX 56; collation of MN and revised museum number courtesy of M. Lambert
V.2.10.179	VII	-	21	- year 11	BM 17739
V.2.10.180	VII?	-	25	- year 11	Ni. 6031
V.2.10.181	VIII	-	5	- year 11	Ni. 133
V.2.10.182	VIII	-	18	- year 11	Ni. 6709

¹³There are three tablets with this number in the University Museum.

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V.2.10.183	IX -	- year 11	UM 29-16-710
V.2.10.184	X -	23? - year 11	Ni. 2797
V.2.10.185	X -	- year 11(+)	CBS 10772
V.2.10.186	X? -	- year 11	CBS 11105
V.2.10.187	X -	- year 11	HS 162, to be published as <i>TuM NF V 51</i> ; Petschow No. 53
V.2.10.188	X -	- year 11	Ni. 882
V.2.10.189	X -	- year 11	Ni. 6272
V.2.10.190	X -	- year 11	Ni. 8586
V.2.10.191	X -	- year 11	UM 29-15-112
V.2.10.192	XI -	15 - year 11	Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 85 (not registered in the Böhl collection)
V.2.10.193	XII -	- year 11	Ni. 663
V.2.10.194	[] -	4 - year 11	Ni. 11933
V.2.10.195	[MN] -	11(+)- year 11?	*LB 840, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 137; collation: reverse now almost totally illegible
V.2.10.196	[MN] -	30 - year 11	AO 4066, published as <i>TCL IX 54</i>
V.2.10.197	[MN] -	- year 11?	*CBS 11108; RN badly broken
V.2.10.198	[] -	- year 11	Ni. 2580; I-[]
V.2.10.199		- year 11	Ni. 5960
V.2.10.200		- year 11	*Ni. 6256; mentions RN in line 2 and years 7-11 in lines 4-8
V.2.10.201		- year 11	Ni. 6284
V.2.10.202		- year 11	Ni. 12439
V.2.10.203		- year 11	UM 29-15-4
V.2.10.204		- year 11	UM 29-15-363
V.2.10.205	I -	10? - year 12	CBS 7209
V.2.10.206	I -	30 - year 12	BM 17737
V.2.10.207	I -	- year 12	Ni. 624; from X-year 11 to I-year 12

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V.2.10.208	I? -	-	year 12	UM 29-13-657; from X-year 11 to I?-year 12
V.2.10.209	II -	29	- year 12	Ni. 408
V.2.10.210	II -		- year 12	Ni. 27
V.2.10.211	II -		- year 12	Ni. 354
V.2.10.212	III -	11?	- year 12	LB 817, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 111; collated
V.2.10.213	V -	6	- year 12	UM 29-15-982
V.2.10.214	VI -	18?	- year 12	CBS 7251
V.2.10.215	VI -	27	- year 12	CBS 6632
V.2.10.216	VIII -	5	- year 12	LB 804, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 87
V.2.10.217	VIII -	6	- year 12	LB 835, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 131
V.2.10.218	VIII -	22	- year 12	CBS 12912, published as PBS II/2 51
V.2.10.219	VIII -	28	- year 12	Ni. 363
V.2.10.220	IX -	10	- year 1[2]	CBS 3519, published as BE XIV 138; year 12 mentioned in heading; Torczyner, p. 79, No. 53
V.2.10.221	IX -		- year 12	UM 29-15-454; V-IX
V.2.10.222	X -	10	- year 12	UM 29-15-94
V.2.10.223	X -	18	- year 12	CBS 8729 ¹⁴
V.2.10.224	X -		- year 12?	CBS 11107
V.2.10.225	XI -	4	- year 12	Ni. 11842
V.2.10.226	XI -	27?	- year 12	Ni. 8047
V.2.10.227	XII -	21	- year 12	HS 153, to be published as TuM NF V 8; Petschow No. 30; X-year 9 to XII-21-year 12
V.2.10.228	[MN] -	[6+1]	- year 12	N 2616
V.2.10.229	[MN] -	11	- year 12	LB 820, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 116

¹⁴This number has been assigned to both a stone knob and a clay tablet in Philadelphia. The knob is O.2.2 above.

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V.2.10.230	[MN]	-	16	-	year 12	Ni. 7392
V.2.10.231	[MN]	-		-	year 12	Ni. 12485; from VI-[] to [MN]-year 12
V.2.10.232	[?]	-		-	year 12	UM 29-16-688
V.2.10.233		-		-	year 12	CBS 11021
V.2.10.234		-		-	year 12	*CBS 12556, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 52; rev. 5'-6' mentions year 12 of RN
V.2.10.235		-		-	year 12	CBS 14135, published as <i>PBS</i> XIII 78
V.2.10.236		-		-	year 12	N 2029; years 8-12
V.2.10.237		-		-	year 12	Ni. 314; years 8-12
V.2.10.238		-		-	year 12	Ni. 1346
V.2.10.239		-		-	year 12	*Ni. 2720; mentions years 10-12
V.2.10.240		-		-	year 12	*Ni. 6399; mentions years 8-12
V.2.10.241		-		-	year 12	*Ni. 8018
V.2.10.242		-		-	year 12	Ni. 11085
V.2.10.243		-		-	year 12	Ni. 11341; year 6 also mentioned
V.2.10.244		-		-	year 12?	*U 7788h, published as <i>UET</i> VII 63; mentions years 11-12
V.2.10.245	I	-	1	-	[]	Ni. 2858
V.2.10.246	I	-	[x]	-	[]	Ni. 6512
V.2.10.247	I	-		-	[]	Ni. 11743; from X-year 11 to I-[]
V.2.10.248	III	-	13	-	[]	Ni. 6043
V.2.10.249	IV	-		-	[]	Ni. 6173; months II?-IV
V.2.10.250	IV	-		-	[]	Ni. 8492; months III-IV
V.2.10.251	V	-	19	-	[]	*Ni. 8502
V.2.10.252	V	-		-	[]	HS 154, to be published as <i>TuM</i> NF V 23; Petschow No. 17 (see also <i>Böhl</i> <i>Festschrift</i> , pp. 299-307);

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				years 6-9 mentioned in the text
V.2.10.253	VI -	8 - []		UM 29-13-564
V.2.10.254	VI -	- []		CBS 3477, published as BE XIV 142
V.2.10.255	VI - []			Ni. 8701
V.2.10.256	VI - []	- [year x]		Ni. 13081
V.2.10.257	VI -	- []		UM 29-15-370
V.2.10.258	VI(a?) -	- []		Ni. 6000; mentions months V-VI(a?)
V.2.10.259	VIII -	1 - []		N 2006
V.2.10.260	VIII? -	28 - []		Ni. 1365
V.2.10.261	VIII? -	[]		CBS 6616
V.2.10.262	IX -	24 - []		LB 843, published as Peiser, <i>Urk.</i> , P 141; collated
V.2.10.263	X -	9 - []		Ni. 8485
V.2.10.264	X -	[]		Ni. 8721
V.2.10.265	X -	- []		Ni. 11693
V.2.10.266	XI -	9 - []		CBS 6122, published as BE XIV 140; Torczyner, p. 97, No. 78
V.2.10.267	XI -	24 - []		UM 29-16-298; days 21(+)- 24
V.2.10.268	XII -	8 - []		CBS 7230
V.2.10.269	[] -	29 - []		*Ni. 11406; RN badly damaged
V.2.10.270	*CBS 2117.			
V.2.10.271	CBS 3768, published as <i>PBS</i> II/2 93.			
V.2.10.272	CBS 3830, a text apparently dealing with the last four years of RN's reign (years 9-[12]).			
V.2.10.273	*CBS 4579, text mentioning <i>dīnu ša Šagara</i> [<i>k</i> ti-Šurīaš] . . . <i>idī</i> [<i>nu</i>] (lines 2-3).			
V.2.10.274	CBS 10175, published as <i>BE</i> XIV 141; Torczyner, pp. 22-23, No. 8.			
V.2.10.275	CBS 10807 (RN badly damaged).			
V.2.10.276	CBS 13374.			
V.2.10.277	FLP 1313 (months X-[MN, year x]).			

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- V.2.10.278 *HS 166, to be published as *TuM NF V 52* (Petschow No. 54), has a RN ending in *-ia-āš* and may mention intercalary months in years 8 and 11.
- V.2.10.279 LB 825, published as Peiser, *Urk.*, P 121; collation: RN sufficiently clear to be verified (. . . -š^u-ri-^lia-^āš^l), rest of date too damaged for identification.
- V.2.10.280 N 2510.
- V.2.10.281 *N 2985.
- V.2.10.282 Ni. 1026.
- V.2.10.283 *Ni. 2885:5'-6' mentions a *zakûtu* enactment by RN (cf. Kraus, *Symbolae David* II 38; compare Brinkman, *JNES* XXXII [1973] 259 and *RAI* XIX 407, n. 87). Contemporary?
- V.2.10.284 Ni. 5877.
- V.2.10.285 *Ni. 7837 (RN mentioned; contemporary?).
- V.2.10.286 Ni. 8177.
- V.2.10.287 Ni. 8714.
- V.2.10.288 Ni. 8736, with damaged MN.
- V.2.10.289 Ni. 8945.
- V.2.10.290 *Ni. 8984, perhaps dealing with the end of the reign of K[udur-Enlil] and the beginning of the reign of [Šagarakti-Šuriasš]; *tēlītu* for year 8 of K[] and an acc. year are mentioned in successive lines.
- V.2.10.291 Ni. 11204.
- V.2.10.292 *Ni. 11342.
- V.2.10.293 Ni. 11943.
- V.2.10.294 *Ni. 12182.
- V.2.10.295 Ni. 12263.
- V.2.10.296 Ni. 12311.
- V.2.10.297 Ni. 12416.
- V.2.10.298 *U 7789bb, published as *UET VII 14*, mentions a broken date, possibly III-[year 1(+)]^l, of RN (lines 4-5).
- V.2.10.299 UM 29-13-628.
- V.2.10.300 *IM 49975 (DK₂-3), published as *Iraq XI* (1949) 143, No. 2, may be assigned to about this time for prosopographical reasons.
- V.2.10.301 Peiser, *Urk.*, pp. 42-44, assigns the following documents

to this time: *P 95 (= LB 807), P 104 (= LB 813), P 105 (= LB, unnumbered), P 106 (= LB 814), P 139 (= LB, unnumbered), P 140 (= LB 842), and possibly P 100 (= LB 811).

V.3 Later sources

- V.3.1 CBS 8729, a votive inscription of Kaštiliašu published as *BE* I 70, mentions Kaštiliašu as the [son] of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. Text: O.2.2; see the discussion under O.5.6.
- V.3.2 Economic texts dealing with several years in the reigns of Šagarakti-Šuriaš and Kaštiliašu (principally with the last few years of Šagarakti-Šuriaš and the accession year of Kaštiliašu).
- V.3.2.1 CBS 7395, mentioning the year 10(+) of RN (lines 15-16) and the accession year of Kaštiliašu (line 17). Text: O.2.7.161.
- V.3.2.2 L. 39456, mentioning from year 7(+) of RN to the accession year of Kaštiliašu. The summary is quoted in *BiOr* XXVII (1970) 302, n. 16. Text: O.2.7.13.
- V.3.2.3 Ni. 922, mentioning from year 9 of RN to the accession year of Kaštiliašu. Text: O.2.7.27.
- V.3.2.4 Ni. 5930, mentioning year 9 of [RN] (rev. 10') and the accession year of ^d[] (rev. 11'). Text: O.2.7.46.
- V.3.2.5 Ni. 5933, mentioning from the accession year of RN to the accession year of Kaštiliašu. Text: O.2.7.40.
- V.3.2.6 *Ni. 6206, mentioning from at least year 5 to year 12 and then an accession year (no RN's preserved). Text: O.2.7.47.
- V.3.2.7 Ni. 6596, mentioning years 9 through 12 of RN and the accession year of Kaštiliašu. Text: O.2.7.42.
- V.3.2.8 Ni. 7113, mentioning years 9-12 of RN and the accession year of []. Text: O.2.7.43.
- V.3.2.9 *Ni. 7638, mentioning year 12 of [RN] and the accession year of Kaštiliašu. Text: O.2.7.44.
- V.3.2.10 *Ni. 11141, mentioning year 12 and the accession year (RN's broken away). Text: O.2.7.49.
- V.3.2.11 Ni. 12239, mentioning years 11 and 12 [of RN] and the accession year of Kaštiliašu. Text: O.2.7.50.
- V.3.2.12 UM 29-15-434, mentioning from year 9 of RN to the accession year of Kaštiliašu. Text: O.2.7.52.

- V.3.3 *CBS 10614, a Middle Babylonian economic text of uncertain date, states that RN gave something to Amīl-Marduk, the šandabakku of Nippur (ii' 12').
- V.3.4 Cylinder inscriptions of Nabonidus mentioning RN as the builder of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar and/or the Eulmaš temple in Sippar-Anunitum.
- V.3.4.1 VAB IV 228 iii 27-33. Detailed bibliography of text and mention of duplicates, etc.: Berger, *AOAT* IV/1 371-75 (Nabonidus Cylinder III,2). [Jaritz No. 193]
- V.3.4.2 VAB IV 248-50 iii 19-49; more complete duplicate: *CT* XXXIV 35-36 iii 39-69. Detailed bibliography of text and mention of duplicates, joins, etc.: Berger, *AOAT* IV/1 377-78 (Nabonidus Cylinder III,4). This inscription includes a lengthy citation of a (broken) text purportedly written in the name of Šagarakti-Šurias.

V.4 Writing of the royal name

- V.4.1 In contemporary non-economic texts¹⁵
- V.4.1.1 Ša-ga-rak-ti-Šur-ia-aš (royal inscriptions: *BE* I 69, *PBS* XV 59:3; perhaps also V.2.5:3, partially restored)
- V.4.1.2 Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-Šur-ia-aš (later copy of contemporary seal: V.2.8:8, 12)
- V.4.1.3 Ša-ga-rak-ti-Š[u(?)] (text of uncertain type: *UET* VIII 100:3')

V.4.2 In contemporary economic texts¹⁶

Because of the extraordinary variety of writings for the royal name in these texts,¹⁷ the various orthographies will be cited by number according to the chart at the top of p. 306. The chart's six columns from left to right indicate the syllable groupings in the writing of the royal name. The chart's nine lines from top to bottom show the attested variants within each syllable grouping. Thus ^d1-2-2-1-1-1 would represent ^dŠa-garak-te-Šu-ri-ia-aš. Asterisks following writings in the chart indicate comparatively rare use. 0 indicates the omission of the syllable(s) in question.

¹⁵Omitting the fragmentary writing in *MDP* XIV 32.

¹⁶Omitting writings that are too fragmentary to be classified.

¹⁷The orthography is not always consistent even within a single text, e.g., *Ni.* 314, *Ni.* 12103, so that spelling peculiarities are not always symptomatic of a particular scribe, place, or the like.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

1	Ša	ga-rak	ti	Šu-ri	ia	aš
2	Šá	garak (= KĀR)	te	Šur	iá*	áš
3	Šà*	ga-ra-ak		Šú-ri*	ia ₄	áš*
4		garak ₅ (= GAR)		^d Šú-ri*	ia-a*	ši*
5		gar-ak		Šur-ì*		
6		gar-rak*		Šur-ri*		
7		garak ^{-ak*}				
8		ga-rak ^{-ak*}				
9		garak ^{-rak*}				

- V.4.2.1 ^d1-1-1-0-1-1 (UET VII 36 rev. 8; omission of syllable presumably by error)
- V.4.2.2 1-1-1-1-1-1 (Ni. 882:12; Peiser, *Urk.*, P 99 rev. [10], P 109 rev. 4, P 111 rev. [5'])
- V.4.2.3 ^d1-1-1-1-1-1 (BE XIV 126:14-15, 127:18; PBS II/2 49:16; UET VII 71 rev. 3'; and *passim*)
- V.4.2.4 1-1-1-1-[3?]-1 (*CBS 11105 rev. 12, collation courtesy of Maria Ellis)
- V.4.2.5 1-1-1-2-1-1 (TCL IX 53:16, UET VII 63:8, CBS 14195:4')
- V.4.2.6 ^d1-1-1-2-1-1 (*Iraq* XI [1949] 143, No. 1:24, line number according to the published copy [actually line 25 on the tablet]; Ni. 6800:14; UM 55-21-266:12)
- V.4.2.7 ^d1-1-1-2-1-2 (BE XIV 133:13)
- V.4.2.8 1-1-1-[2?]-1-4 (Ni. 6978 rev. 5)
- V.4.2.9 1-1-1-2-3-1 (Ni. 314 rev. 6', Ni. 1348 edge, Ni. 2797:21, YBC 3071:11, and *passim*)
- V.4.2.10 ^d1-1-1-2-3-1 (CT XLIV 68:2, 4; PBS II/2 50:14-15; CBS 8710 rev. 3; CBS 9198:10; and *passim*)
- V.4.2.11 1-1-1-2-4-1 (YBC 3072:18-19)
- V.4.2.12 [] [1]-1-1-3-1-1 (*Ni. 6778 rev. 5; the [ša] sign is damaged, and the place where the preceding determinative would have been is broken away; the same RN begins [^dŠa-gal]-[] in obv. 3)

- V.4.2.13 ^d₁₋₁₋₁₋₃₋₁₋₁ (UM 29-15-708 rev. 6)
- V.4.2.14 ^m₁₋₁₋₁₋₃₋₁₋₁ (*Ni. 2885:5'; contemporary?)
- V.4.2.15 1-1-1-[4?]-[] (Ni. 2907:13': Ša-ga-rak-ti-^d_{šú}-[])
- V.4.2.16 1-1-2-1-1-1 (UM 29-13-683 rev. 11')
- V.4.2.17 ^d₁₋₁₋₂₋₁₋₁₋₁ (BE XIV 139 rev. 3; Ni. 1559:17; Ni. 2235:7-8; Ni. 6733:22, 24; probably UM 29-15-533 rev. 6)
- V.4.2.18 1-1-2-2-1-[] (Ni. 12103 rev. 7')
- V.4.2.19 ^d₁₋₁₋₂₋₂₋₁₋₁ (HS 153:31, Ni. 6670:24, and *passim*)
- V.4.2.20 [] [1?-1-2]-2-3-1 (YBC 3076:9, with preceding determinative?)
- V.4.2.21 ^d₁₋₁₋₂₋₂₋₃₋₁ (N 1849 rev. 6'; Ni. 7755:11 [probable]; N.T. 32:8, courtesy of David I. Owen)
- V.4.2.22 1-2-1-1-[] (PBS II/2 52 rev. [4'], Ni. 7042:[4'])
- V.4.2.23 1-2-1-2-1-1 (Ni. 916 rev. 5, Ni. 7004:7)
- V.4.2.24 1-2-1-2-3-1 (PBS XIII 78 rev. [5], BM 17737:7, CBS 7251 rev. 7, possibly CBS 7239 rev. 9-10, and *passim*)
- V.4.2.25 ^d₁₋₂₋₁₋₂₋₃₋₁ (CBS 2130 edge)
- V.4.2.26 ^d₁₋₂₋₁₋₂₋₃₋₄ (Ni. 2866:30)
- V.4.2.27 1-2-1-5-1-1 (Ni. 674 edge 2)
- V.4.2.28 1-2-2-1-1-2 (UM 29-15-454 edge)
- V.4.2.29 1-2-2-2-3-1 (Ni. 7392:6; UM 29-15-982 rev. 5; and possibly UM 29-13-667 edge, preceding determinative uncertain)
- V.4.2.30 1-3-0?-1-3-1 (Ni. 6284 rev. ii' 5'-6')
- V.4.2.31 1-3-1-1-1-1 (CBS 6632:10-11, HS 148:18, Ni. 1048 edge, Ni. 1339 edge, and *passim*)
- V.4.2.32 1-3-1-2-1-1 (BE XIV 136:2, 138:2 and 33; HS 147 edge 2; and *passim*)
- V.4.2.33 1-3-1-2-3-1 (BE XIV 132:1, UM 29-16-363:8-9, and *passim*)
- V.4.2.34 ^d₁₋₃₋₁₋₂₋₃₋₁ (PBS II/2 51:25)
- V.4.2.35 1-3-2-1-1-1 (Ni. 8956 edge)
- V.4.2.36 1-3-2-1-1-2 (Ni. 624, UM 29-13-628 edge, probably UM 29-13-657 edge; cf. Ni. 11743 edge)

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- V.4.2.37 1-3-2-2-1-1 (HS 152:15, Ni. 943:48; both these texts cover years 7-8 of RN)
- V.4.2.38 ^d1-3-2-2-3-1 (UM 29-16-688 rev. 3'-4')
- V.4.2.39 1-5-1-2-1-1 (TCL IX 54:19)
- V.4.2.40 1-5-1-2-3-1 (FLP 1338:15, 12 N 242 rev. 3')
- V.4.2.41 1-7-1-2-3-1 (CBS 11103 edge)
- V.4.2.42 ^d1-8-1-2-1-1 (UM 29-15-370 edge; cf. N 2006, last sign of RN broken away)
- V.4.2.43 ^d2-1-1-1-1-1 (Westminster Theological Seminary tablet, line 7, courtesy of Raymond B. Dillard; YBC 3073:7; YBC 3074:19)
- V.4.2.44 ^d2-1-1-1-3-1 (BE XIV 128a:25)
- V.4.2.45 ^d2-1-1-2-1-[] (N 2985 rev. 5')
- V.4.2.46 2-2-1-1-1-1 (BE XIV 131:20, TCL IX 55:16)
- V.4.2.47 ^d2-2-1-2-1-4 (HS 123:19')
- V.4.2.48 2-2-1-2-1-~~x~~ (Ni. 1592:45)
- V.4.2.49 ^d2-2-1-2-3-1 (BE XIV 135:19, 137:26, and *passim*; BE XIV 142:27 may lack the preceding determinative, but the pertinent section is broken away)
- V.4.2.50 ^d2-2-1-2-3-4 (CBS 7209 rev. 20; HS 149:19; HS 150:32; possibly also Ni. 7817 rev. 1', though the sequence -2-3- would have to be restored there)
- V.4.2.51 ^d2-2-2-1-~~11~~-[] (Columbia Univ. No. 340:10, collated)
- V.4.2.52 ^d2-2-2-2-1-1 (Columbia Univ. No. 339:8, UM 29-13-886:9, UM 29-13-926:8)
- V.4.2.53 ^d2-2-2-2-3-0 (Ni. 6709:7-8, final omission presumably by error)
- V.4.2.54 2-2-2-2-3-1 (Ni. 314:2)
- V.4.2.55 ^d2-2-2-2-3-1 (BM 17739:7, BM 81686:11, Ni. 133:8, Ni. 6303:18', and *passim*)
- V.4.2.56 ^d2-2-2-2-3-~~12~~ (BE XIV 134:7)
- V.4.2.57 ^d2-3-1-2-3-4 (Ni. 1528:20)
- V.4.2.58 2-4-1-1-1-1 (Peiser, *Urk.*, P 118 rev. x + 15; P 117 rev. 5, with preceding sign that looks like a horizontal wedge [determinative?])

- V.4.2.59 ^d₂₋₄₋₁₋₂₋₃₋₁ (Ni. 6309:9)
- V.4.2.60 ^d_{2-4-1-2-?-[]} (*BE* XIV 140:8)
- V.4.2.61 2-4-2-2-3-1 (CBS 8729:7, Ni. 363:7, Ni. 7722:9)
- V.4.2.62 ^d₂₋₄₋₂₋₂₋₃₋₁ (UM 29-15-754:3)
- V.4.2.63 ^d_{2-5-!1!-[]} (Peiser, *Urk.*, P 89 rev. 15)
- V.4.2.64 2-5-1-1-1-1 (Ni. 6399 rev.? i' 10')
- V.4.2.65 2-5-1-2-0-3 (*TCL* IX 50:13, interpretation uncertain)
- V.4.2.66 2-5-1-2-1-1 (*TCL* IX 52:18-19, 56:12; Peiser, *Urk.*, P 85 rev. 4, P 131 rev. 7; Ni. 2290:2'; cf. *TCL* IX 50:[25-26] and *UET* VII 14:5, badly damaged, but apparently with a similar beginning)
- V.4.2.67 2-5-1-2-3-1 (Ni. 1365:15', Ni. 1516:9)
- V.4.2.68 ^d₂₋₅₋₁₋₂₋₃₋₁ (Ni. 663:5-6)
- V.4.2.69 2-5-2-2-0-1 (Ni. 2720 obv.? 6')
- V.4.2.70 ^d₂₋₆₋₁₋₁₋₁₋₁ (*UET* VII 15 rev. 16)
- V.4.2.71 2-7-1-2-3-1 (Ni. 2580 rev. 5')
- V.4.2.72 ^d₂₋₇₋₁₋₂₋₃₋₁ (BM 17625:13; cf. ^d_{2-7-1-!2!-[]}, Ni. 12103:2)
- V.4.2.73 ^d_{2-9-1-!1?!-[]} (CBS 10651:1)
- V.4.2.74 ^d_{2-!x-x!-6-1-1} (Ni. 7993 rev. 6')
- V.4.2.75 ^d₃₋₁₋₂₋₂₋₃₋₁ (YBC 3079:6)
- V.4.2.76 ^d₃₋₂₋₂₋₂₋₃₋₁ (*BIN* II 107:8, YBC 3078:8; possibly *BIN* II 106:[7]; both *BIN* II texts collated)
- V.4.2.77 ^d₃₋₅₋₂₋₂₋₃₋₁ (AO 24191, courtesy of D. Arnaud; YBC 3077:7, signs not entirely clear)
- V.4.2.78 []-ak-1-2-2-3 (Peiser, *Urk.*, P 87 rev. 7; cf. P 101 rev. !8! and P 137 rev. !5!)
- V.4.2.79 [a]k-1-3-1-1 (Ni. 2891 rev. 20')
- V.4.2.80 []-3-1-2-1-2 (Ni. 6000:3)
- V.4.2.81 [x]-3-2-1-1-1 (Ni. 2879 rev. 12)
- V.4.2.82 []-!1!-1-2 (CBS 11108 edge 2)
- V.4.2.83 [][x]-1-2-1-2 (Ni. 12311 rev. ii' 3')
- V.4.2.84 Atypical: ^d_{Ša-ga-rat-Šur-ia-aš} (CBS 4592 rev. 8')

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

Several observations may be made on this wide range of writings. First, the use of Šā- in the first syllable is rare and is not attested in any of the common archives (Nippur, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Ur), but only in texts in the Yale collections and in a Louvre tablet. In the second syllable grouping (*garak*), the writings *-garak₅* (= GAR)- and *-gar-ak-* are somewhat uncommon; and the first of these writings occurs only in the combination Šā-*garak₅*- (i.e., the same cuneiform sign repeated twice) in Nippur and Peiser texts. The writing *-gar-rak-* is attested only once, in an Ur text (V.4.2.70); *-garak^{-ak}*- only a few times, always in Nippur texts (V.4.2.41, V.4.2.71-72); *-ga-rak^{-ak}*- only in the combination ^d₁-8-1-2-1-1 (V.4.2.42); and *-garak^{-rak}*- only in a single Nippur text (V.4.2.73). The third syllable grouping has only two common variants; but, surprisingly, the *-te-* writing is not attested at Dūr-Kurigalzu or Ur or in the Peiser archive. In the fourth syllable grouping (*Šuri*), there are several very rare writings attested only at Nippur: *-Šú-ri-* (V.4.2.12-14, the last perhaps not contemporary), *-^dŠú-[ri]-* (V.4.2.15), *-Šur-î-* (V.4.2.27), and *-Šur-ri-* (V.4.2.74), most of these in only one example. In the fifth syllable grouping, *-iá-* is attested only in the Peiser archive (V.4.2.78) and only in the combination *-iá-áš*; *-ia-a-* is attested in a single Yale text (V.4.2.11). In the final syllable grouping, *-áš* is somewhat uncommon and is attested only at Nippur; *-áš* is attested only in the Peiser archive (V.4.2.78, cf. V.4.2.65) in the combination *-iá-áš*; and *-ši* is attested only in a few Nippur texts (V.4.2.8, V.4.2.26, V.4.2.47, V.4.2.50, V.4.2.57). The most common endings of the RN are *-ia-aš* and *-ia₄-aš*.

Obviously, as new texts turn up, some of these distributions may be likely to change.

V.4.3 In later texts

- V.4.3.1 Ša-ga-rak-ti-Šur-ia-aš (royal inscription of Kaštiliašu: BE I 70)
- V.4.3.2 ^mŠa-ga-rak-ti-Šur-ia-aš (royal inscription of Nabonidus: BM 91124 iii 23, partially published as I R 69; information courtesy of C. B. F. Walker)
- V.4.3.3 ^mŠa-ga-rak-ti-< >-ia-aš (royal inscription of Nabonidus: I R 69 iii 20, collated by C. B. F. Walker)

- V.4.3.4 ^mŠa-ga-rak-< >-Šur-ia-aš (royal inscription of Nabonidus: I R 69 iii 41, collated by C. B. F. Walker)
- V.4.3.5 Ša-ga-rak-te-Šur-ia-aš (economic text from the reign of Kaštiliašu: CBS 7395:16)
- V.4.3.6 Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-Šu-ri-ia-aš (economic texts from the reign of Kaštiliašu: Ni. 6596:8, 17; cf. Ni. 7113 i' [3'?'], only end of RN preserved)
- V.4.3.7 Ša-garak₅-ti-Šu-ri-ia-aš (economic text from the reign of Kaštiliašu: Ni. 6596:15)
- V.4.3.8 ^mŠa-ga-rak-ti-Šur-ia-āš (royal inscription of Nabonidus: CT XXXIV 35-36 iii 40, 44, 63)
- V.4.3.9 Šā-ga-rak-[ti] (Kinglist A ii 6', abbreviated spelling)
- V.4.3.10 Šā-gar-ak-ti-Šur-ia₄-aš (economic texts from the reign of Kaštiliašu: L. 39456:5; possibly to be restored thus in UM 29-15-434:7', 19' or with -[ia]-)
- V.4.3.11 ^dŠā-garak-t[i-x-i]a₄-aš (economic text from the reign of Kaštiliašu: Ni. 5933 rev. 5')
- V.4.3.12 ^mŠā-ga-rak-ti-BUR(for Šur)-ia-āš (royal inscriptions of Nabonidus: VAS I 53 iii 30, 33; V R 64 iii 31)
- V.4.3.13 ^mŠā-ga-rak-ti-BUR(for Šur)-ia-āš! (IA written for final sign) (royal inscription of Nabonidus: V R 64 iii 28, collated by C. B. F. Walker)

V.5 Miscellaneous notes

- V.5.1 For the so-called Ātanah-Šamaš texts, which Jaritz in *JSS* II (1957) 321-26 attempted to place in the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, see Section AA below.
- V.5.2 The alleged dates given by von Soden *apud* Jaritz, *MIO* VI (1958) 200 for year 18 (and perhaps year 21) of Šagarakti-Šuriaš as represented in texts of the Hilprecht Collection in Jena conflict with the evidence presented here: (a) more than 220 texts dated from the accession year through the twelfth year of RN and none dated in a year higher than the twelfth, and (b) several texts mentioning the accession year of Kaštiliašu IV immediately following year 12 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš.¹⁸ Since it is sometimes possible to read a

¹⁸Especially Ni. 6596, Ni. 7113, Ni. 12239; see V.3.2 above.

Winkelhaken from the MU as part of the following number in the dates of Kassite economic texts (because the MU and the number are often written without appreciable intervening space), the presently available evidence points with a high degree of probability to a thirteen-year reign for Šagarakti-Šurias̄.¹⁹

- V.5.3 For other inscriptions that might possibly be assigned to Šagarakti-Šurias̄, see E.2.7 and E.2.8 above.
- V.5.4 Jaritz [Nos. 185-86] assigns the fragmentary MB letters *BE XVII* 75 and 93 to this time. These texts, however, do not mention Šagarakti-Šurias̄; and the prosopography for the time of the Kassite dynasty has not been sufficiently elucidated to date texts with such precision. For example, the Amīl-Marduk who is the recipient of *BE XVII* 75 may well be the *šandabakku* of Nippur known from the reigns of Šagarakti-Šurias̄ and Kaštiliašu; but to assign the text to one reign or the other requires more evidence.

¹⁹Particularly because the Kassite texts from Jena have now been edited for publication in *TuM NF V* and in Petschow, and no such dates have been found. Unfortunately, von Soden did not note the museum numbers of the tablets that supposedly contained the high dates; so it is impossible to trace them further (*BiOr* XXVII [1970] 302, n. 17).

W. TUKULTI-NINURTA

It is debatable whether Tukulti-Ninurta (Tukultī-Ninurta) should be included in a list of kings who ruled during Middle Babylonian times. His name is omitted from Babylonian Kinglist A, the most important single chronological source dealing with the period; and this omission is not surprising since Tukulti-Ninurta was one of the arch-malefactors who removed the Marduk statue from Babylon and took it to his own land. But Tukulti-Ninurta, following his victory over Kaštiliašu IV, claimed the title "king of Babylonia" (*šar māt Karduniaš*) in his own inscriptions;¹ and even Chronicle P, a later Babylonian text, stated in somewhat neutral terms that "for seven years Tukulti-Ninurta exercised control over Babylonia."² Since the same chronicle also noted that Tukulti-Ninurta appointed officials in Babylonia,³ it has sometimes been argued that at least some of the kings whom Kinglist A mentions as the immediate successors of Kaštiliašu⁴ were Assyrian vassals.⁵ But now an economic text from Nippur has been discovered that is dated in the accession year of Tukulti-Ninurta himself;⁶ so it seems that Tukulti-Ninurta was accepted as direct sovereign over part of Babylonia--and not just as suzerain--for at least a short time.⁷

The sources catalogued below refer simply to Tukulti-Ninurta's control over Babylonia or to closely related events.⁸ Sources dealing with his reign in Assyria have been amply discussed in Weidner, *Tn. I*, pp. VI-XIII, 1-46; Borger,

¹Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 5:4, etc.

²*šanāti Tukultī-Ninurta Karduniaš uma'ir* (iv 7-8).

³*LÚ šaknūtīšu ina māt Karduniaš iškun* (iv 6-7).

⁴I.e., Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Ḫarbe II, and/or Adad-šuma-iddina.

⁵For example, *PKB*, p. 77, n. 398, and p. 86, n. 444, with pertinent bibliography.

⁶W.2.4.

⁷Even if only briefly in his accession year.

⁸This listing does not attempt to take into account Babylonian influences in contemporary Assyria as exemplified by Babylonian tablets or other texts taken there at this time (recent bibliography in *BiOr* XXVII [1970] 311, n. 121) and other items (see especially Weidner, *AfO* XIII [1939-41] 109-24, and Fine, *Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion* [Cincinnati, 1955] pp. 55, 108-12, the latter playing down Babylonian influence).

As will be observed, there is some overlap between entries in Sections O and W of this Catalogue.

EAK I 71-97; Fine, *Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion* (Cincinnati, 1955) chap. 3 and pp. 108-12; Munn-Rankin, *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 284-94; Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 685-875.

W.1 Chronological sources

W.1.1 Chronicle P iv 1-13--dealing with Tukulti-Ninurta's conquest and devastation of Babylon, his removal of the Marduk statue (and its eventual recovery), his rule over Babylonia, the revolts against him in Babylonia and Assyria, and his being put to death. Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 873-75; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22.

W.1.2 *Synchronistic History, *CT* XXXIV 42, Sm. 2106 obv. 9--name of RN probably to be restored. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 871; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.⁹

W.2 Contemporary sources

W.2.1 Royal inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta mentioning his conquest of Babylonia and/or the pertinent titulary.

W.2.1.1 Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 5. RN is called "king of Babylonia (*māt Karduniaš*), king of the land of the Sumerian(s) and Akkadian(s), king of the Upper (and) Lower Sea(s)" in lines 4-6; and his conquest of Babylonia is described in lines 48-69. Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 713, 716.

W.2.1.2 Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 6:21-24. Brief summary of conquest of Babylonia. *ARI* I, No. 721.

W.2.1.3 Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 15 (duplicate of W.2.1.1). *ARI* I, Nos. 713, 716. [Jaritz No. 204]

W.2.1.4 Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 16. Titulary: "king of the land of the Sumerian(s) and Akkadian(s)" (line 2). Conquest: lines 56-68. *ARI* I, Nos. 772, 774.

W.2.1.5 Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 17. Titulary: "king of Babylonia (*māt Karduniaš*), king of the land of the Sumerian(s) and Akkadian(s), king of Sippar and Babylon, king of Tilmun and Meluhha,¹⁰ king of the Upper (and) Lower Sea(s)" (lines 12-16). Conquest: lines 34-40. *ARI* I, Nos. 782, 784.

⁹For another possible chronicle reference, see W.3.1 below.

¹⁰On the possible significance of this title, see *AJA* LXXVI (1972) 276.

- W.2.2 K. 2673. Clay tablet from the time of Sennacherib containing an inscription purportedly copied from a seal of lapis lazuli. The inscription contains: (a) a notice that the seal was the property of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (repeated twice, lines 8 and 12); (b) an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I mentioning booty from Babylonia, including presumably the original seal of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (repeated twice, lines 1-3 and 9-11, each time slightly defective); (c) an inscription of Sennacherib recording that the original seal was taken back to Babylonia and then retaken by him some 600 years later on the occasion of his conquest of Babylonia (lines 4-6).¹¹ Latest edition: Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 29; for further bibliography, see V.2.8 above. [Jaritz No. 192; El-Wailly 27-S-1]
- W.2.3 *VAT 9605. A fragmentary tablet from Assur dealing with the booty taken by Tukulti-Ninurta (line 2'), at least some of which may have come from his conquest of Babylonia (line 12'). Published by Schroeder, *KAH* II 92 (copy). See also Weidner, *AfO* XIII (1939-41) 123-24; Borger, *EAK* I 72; Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 860-61.
- W.2.4 Ni. 65. An economic text from Nippur, dated XII-7-accession year of RN. A copy of the date is published as Text No. 13 below.
- W.2.5 The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, which gives an Assyrian-oriented "religious" version of the defeat of Kaštiliašū by Tukulti-Ninurta. Latest treatment by W. G. Lambert, *AfO* XVIII (1957-58) 38-51 (with bibliography). See the earlier publications by R. Campbell Thompson, *Archaeologia* LXXIX (1929) 126-33 and *AAA* XX (1933) 116-26, Pls. CI-CIV, No. 107; also Ebeling, *MAOG* XII/2 (1938). See also Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 39A.
- W.2.6 *VAT 16450. Middle Assyrian literary(?) text published in Weidner, *Tn. I*, Pl. XI (copy) and No. 39E (partial transliteration). Weidner, *ibid.*, p. 45, gives reasons why it may refer to Tukulti-Ninurta and his connections with Babylonia (it mentions a "messenger of the king of the Kassites" in line 5 and may belong to the same text as VAT 16451, which mentions Tukulti-Ninurta). Interpretation and date uncertain.

¹¹Were items (a) and (b) really engraved twice on the original seal or was there some scribal misunderstanding in copying from a continuous seal impression?

W.3 Later sources

- W.3.1 VAT 9525, a Middle Assyrian tablet fragment published by Schroeder as *KAH* II 157 (copy), mentions Tukulti-Ninurta, Kaštil(i)ašu, and the land of Karduniaš. Because of the Babylonian month name, it is usually assumed that the tablet dates from the time of Tiglath-pileser I or later. For further bibliography and discussion, see Borger, *EAK* I 72, 96-97, and Grayson, *ARI* I, Nos. 868-69 (who thinks that the text could be part of an Assyrian chronicle).
- W.3.2 A royal inscription of Adad-nirari III (published as *I R* 35, No. 3) mentions his descent from Tukulti-Ninurta I, "king of Assyria, king of the land of the Sumerian(s) and Akkadian(s)" (lines 19-20).
- W.3.3 *K. 2158+, the "Marduk Prophecy," last edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, apparently includes a narrative concerning Marduk's exile in Assyria initiated by Tukulti-Ninurta. See especially Borger, *ibid.*, p. 18.
- W.3.4 *K. 4445+, the "Šulgi Prophecy," last edited by Borger, *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3-24, may refer to events taking place in Babylonia at the time of and shortly after Tukulti-Ninurta's victory over Kaštiliašu. See the discussion by Borger, *ibid.*, p. 23.

W.4 Writing of the royal name¹²

W.4.1 In contemporary texts

- W.4.1.1 ^mGIŠ.TUKUL-ti-^dNIN.IB (his own royal inscriptions: Weidner, *Tn. I*, Nos. 5:1, 6:1, 15:1, 16:1; MA literary text: *ibid.*, Pl. XI, VAT 16451:2')
- W.4.1.2 TUKUL-ti-^dMAŠ (economic text: *Ni.* 65:7)
- W.4.1.3 ^mIZKIM-MAŠ (text of undetermined type: *KAH* II 92:2'; Tukulti-Ninurta Epic ii 6, iii 21, iv 11, 30, 41 and BM 98731 rev. {13})

W.4.2 In later texts

- W.4.2.1 ^mTUKUL-ti-^dMAŠ (Chronicle P iv {3}, 7, 9; inscription of Adad-nirari III: *I R* 35, No. 3:19; cf. *KAH* II 157:2' [preceding masculine personal determinative uncertain], a text

¹²For a fuller list of writings, including Assyrian references, see Saporetta, *Onomastica medio-assira* I (Rome, 1970) 482, and Weidner, *Tn. I*, p. 61.

of undetermined type from the time of Tiglath-pileser I or
later)

W.4.2.2 ^{'d'} IZKIM-MAŠ (later copy of seal impression: W.2.2:9 and
with the divine determinative destroyed *ibid.*, line 1)

X. ULAM-BURIAŠ

There is little doubt that Ulam-Burias̃ at one time ruled as king over the Sealand. Whether he was ever king of the rest of Babylonia may be debated; but, according to an interpretation of a Babylonian chronicle that is followed here,¹ he is tentatively accepted as a monarch of Babylonia on the same footing, and with approximately the same evidence, as Kaštiliaš(u) III and Agum III. These three may have been some of the rulers presently missing in the sequence between Kassite kings 11-14, inclusive.

X.1 Chronological sources

X.1.1 **A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 22'--Weidner in his *AFO* III (1926) 66-77 edition of this synchronistic kinglist (made from photos) read this line as ^mŪ-la[m-B]ur-[ia-áš]. In *AFO* XIX (1959-60) 138, he withdrew this reading and said that only the sign la[m] was probable. My collations of the text and excavation photo (1971) showed that it was impossible to be sure of the reading of any sign in this line; the final sign is definitely not -áš. This line cannot be used to establish the identity of the thirteenth Kassite king.

X.1.2 Chronicle of Early Kings (King, *CCEBK* II 22-23), rev. 11-13--after Ea-gamil went to Elam, Ulam-Buráš (*sic*), brother of Kaštiliaš, conquered the Sealand and became its overlord (*bēlūt māti īpuš*). Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 20.

X.2 Contemporary sources

X.2.1 VA Bab. 645 (BE 6405). Knob of blackish-green stone with a ten-line possession inscription of Ula-Burariaš, son of Burna-Burariaš, who bears the title "king of the Sealand" (LUGAL KUR A.AB.BA = šar māt tām̄ti). Found at Babylon. Principal publication: Weissbach, *WVDOG* IV 7-8 and Pl. 1, No. 3 (copy, transliteration, translation, and notes); see also *MDOG* XI (1901-2) 14-15, *WVDOG* LXII 38, No. 21, and Landsberger's transliteration and translation in *JCS* VIII (1954) 70-71, n. 182. Photos: *WVDOG* XV, Pl. 8, Fig. 77; *WVDOG* LXII, Pl. 42 i.

¹See D^C.5.1 above.

Notice of find: *MDOG* V (1900) 5, No. 15; *WVDOG* XV 47, No. 15.

[Jaritz No. 4; El-Wailly 13-B-1]

X.3 Later sources: none.

X.4 Writing of the royal name

X.4.1 In contemporary texts

X.4.1.1 *Ú-la-Bu-ra-ri-ia-aš* (royal inscription: *WVDOG* IV, No. 3 i 2)

X.4.2 In later texts

X.4.2.1 *ᵐÚ-lam-Bur-áš* (chronicle: King, *CCEBK* II 23 rev. 12)

X.5 Miscellaneous notes

X.5.1 It is assumed in this list that the two references (X.1.2 and X.2.1) are to the same individual, especially since both are linked with the Sealand. Although this seems likely, it cannot be demonstrated with the evidence presently at hand.

X.5.2 Rowton in *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 233 discussed the possibility that Ulam-Buriaš may have been mentioned in Kinglist A, although he did not belong there. The argument is theoretical, since it deals with a portion of the kinglist that is totally broken away and would not affect any of the conclusions reached here.

Y. *URZIGURUMAŠ

This king, the reading of whose name is uncertain,¹ was the sixth ruler of the Kassite dynasty according to both Kinglist A and the synchronistic kinglist A. 117. He is otherwise attested only as the father of Agum-kakrime (in the inscription purportedly written in the latter's name).²

Y.1 Chronological sources

Y.1.1 Kinglist A i 21'--length of reign broken away, damaged RN.

Y.1.2 A. 117 (Assur 14616c) i 15'--damaged RN.

Y.2 Contemporary sources: none.

Y.3 Later sources

Y.3.1 The Agum-kakrime inscription mentions Uršigurumaš as the royal author's father (V R 33 i [2], [13]). Text: D^b.3.1.

Y.4 Writing of the royal name

Y.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

Y.4.2 In later texts

Y.4.2.1 ^m[UR-zi]-U(= guru₁₂)-maš (Kinglist A i 21', collated)³

Y.4.2.2 ^mUR-zi-g[u-r]u-[ma]-āš (synchronistic kinglist: A. 117 i 15'; collation shows only the front part of the -gu-, three verticals and one *Winkelhaken* of the -ru-, and only two of the horizontals of -ma- are evident)

Y.4.2.3 [UR-šil-gu-ru-maš, UR-ši-[gu-ru-maš] (Agum-kakrime in V R 33 i 2, 13, collated; in the second reference, the last two signs are badly blurred)

¹The writing of the first two syllables of the name is ambiguous. The first is always written UR, and taš/taz might be a possible reading. The second is written -zi- in the kinglists and -ši- in the Agum-kakrime text; none of these sources is exceptionally reliable for name forms.

²D^b.3.1 above.

³The value guru₁₂ for U has been postulated to fit just this instance.

Z. ZABABA-ŠUMA-IDDINA

Zababa-šuma-iddina, thirty-fifth and penultimate king of the Kassite dynasty, reigned for one year.¹ No blood relationship is as yet attested between him and any other member of the dynasty.

Z.1 Chronological sources

Z.1.1 Kinglist A ii 14'--a reign of one year and a damaged RN.

Z.1.2 *A. 117 (Assur 14616c) ii 10'--Weidner in *AFO* III (1926) 70 copied ^{md}Za-ba₄-b[a₄] (copy made from a photo); my collation of this line on both the tablet and the excavation photo revealed no verifiable traces.

Z.1.3 Synchronistic History, *CT* XXXIV 42, K. 4401b ii 9-12--describes the activities of the Assyrian king [Ašš]ur-dan (I) against Babylonia in the time of Zababa-šuma-iddina. Grayson, *ARI* I, No. 932; *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21.

Z.2 Contemporary sources: none.

Z.3 Later sources

Z.3.1 K. 2660, a poetic text published in copy as III R 38, No. 2,² purports to be a first-person narrative by a later Babylonian king (Nebuchadnezzar I?)³ relating events at the end of the Kassite dynasty and the beginning of the Isin II dynasty. Line 2' deals with the deposing of RN, presumably by Elam.

Z.4 Writing of the royal name⁴

Z.4.1 In contemporary texts: unattested.

Z.4.2 In later texts

Z.4.2.1 ^{md}Za-ba₄-ba₄-MU-AŠ (Synchronistic History, *CT* XXXIV 42, K. 4401b ii 9)

¹Kinglist A ii 14'.

²The most recent transliteration and translation of this text were published by Tadmor in *JNES* XVII (1958) 137-38.

³For a discussion of the date of this text, see *PKB*, p. 13. Further bibliography: *ibid.*, p. 328 under 4.3.9.

⁴The reading of the royal name has been treated in *ZA* LIX (1969) 245.

II. CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

- Z.4.2.2 ^{md}Za-ba₄-ba₄-[MU]-[x] (Kinglist A ii 14', collated)
 Z.4.2.3 [x x x]-[MU]-SUM-na (poetic historical narrative: III R
 38, No. 2:2', collated)⁵

Z.5 Note

- Z.5.1 For a possible chronicle reference to Zababa-šuma-iddina, see
 F.5.2 above. For a possible "prophecy" reference, see F.5.3.

⁵Line numbering follows Tadmor's edition in *JNES* XVII (1958) 137-38.

SUPPLEMENT

AA. \bar{A} tanah-Šamaš

Two Middle Babylonian economic texts found in the palace area at Dūr-Kurigalzu end as follows:

IM 50962 (DK₄-71) [Jaritz No. 194]

- (14) ITI.GU₄.SI.SÁ
- (15) U₄.10.KAM
- (16) MU.15.KAM
- (17) ^mA-[ta-na-ah]-^dUTU im-nu

IM 50967 (DK₄-36) [Jaritz No. 195]

- (22) ITI.GU₄.SI.SÁ
- (23) U₄.10.KAM
- (24) MU.15.KAM
- (25) ^mTa-na-ah-^dUTU
- (26) im-nu

The dates of these texts were noted in *Iraq VIII* (1946) 84-85, 89, and 93, where it was inferred that \bar{A} tanah-Šamaš might be the name of a Kassite king. Jaritz in *JSS II* (1957) 321-26 argued further that \bar{A} tanah-Šamaš was the Babylonian equivalent of the Kassite name Šagarakti-Šuriaš.

Both these assertions are questionable. First, the two texts in question are account tablets listing numbers of sheep and goats in various categories. The subscript (\bar{A})tanah-Šamaš imnu means simply that "(\bar{A})tanah-Šamaš did the counting." One may compare other phrases following year dates (without royal names) on Middle Babylonian tablets:

BE XV 140

- (8) MU.24.KAM
 - (9) ^mI-qí-ša-^dAMAR.UTU IN.SAR
- "Year 24. Iqíša-Marduk wrote (this)."

BE XV 146

(6) MU.25.KAM

(7) ^mU-sat-^dGu-la IN.SAR

"Year 25. Usāt-Gula wrote (this)."

Finally, there is no evidence that kings of the Kassite dynasty employed two name forms, one Kassite and the other Babylonian.

AB. Enlil-amah

In 1922, Edward Chiera published CBS 14162 (as PBS VIII/2 160), bearing the following date:

(rev., 1) ITI.ŠU.NUMUN.NA

(2) MU.7.KAM

(3) ^{md}EN.LÍL-Á.MAH

Chiera rightly noted that internal and paleographic evidence makes it virtually certain that the tablet should be dated to the time of the Kassite dynasty. He proposed that Enlil-amah should be seen as a previously unknown Kassite ruler with a Sumerian name and that he might be placed toward the end of the Kassite dynasty.¹

In *Afo V* (1928-29) 248-49, Böhl presented evidence for equating Sumerian á-mah with Babylonian *tukultu*, and *tukultu* in turn with the Kassite *kadašman*. He then asserted that Enlil-amah could be viewed as a Sumerian translation for Kadašman-Enlil, a well-known Kassite royal name. Böhl's attempt to find a Kassite equivalent for Enlil-amah (like Jaritz's translation of Ātanah-Šamaš as Šagarakti-Šuriaš)² taxes one's credence. There is no evidence in the Middle Babylonian period that any individual Kassite or other inhabitant of Babylonia bore more than one name (with various forms for different languages).

The name Enlil-amah is not followed by a royal title. For the present, it seems a sounder historical procedure not to accept any name that happens to follow a Kassite year date as that of a king unless either: (a) the name is provided with a royal title, or (b) the name is attested elsewhere as that of

¹PBS VIII/2, pp. 117-18.

²See Section AA above.

a monarch.³ In the case of Enlil-amah, neither of these conditions is met.

AC. Ḫašmar-galšu

Four Sumerian inscriptions survive that are written in the name of Ḫašmar-galšu. The texts vary in length from five to fifteen lines and describe work done either on the Ekur for Enlil or on an unnamed shrine (or shrines) for the Sibitti. In the two longest texts, Ḫašmar-galšu is given the title nita kala-ga, "mighty man," and said to be the son of Malab-Ḫarbe. At present, there seems to be no reason for doubting that these four texts refer to the same individual.

No plausible date has been suggested for these inscriptions, but they are noted here because Ḫašmar-galšu is obviously a person of prominence with a Kassite-style name. It may be observed that he does not call himself "king," though the title nita kala-ga was usually reserved for monarchs, as was the privilege of recording work done on temples in one's own name.⁴ It has not been possible to date the texts on the basis of either the script or the language; both are somewhat atypical and differ from inscription to inscription.⁵ The writing of a male, non-royal personal name with a preceding divine determinative and without a masculine personal determinative is unparalleled in Kassite times. In the case of Kassite rulers who bear Kassite names, only Kurigalzu on

³For similar problems, see Sections AA and AF; and compare texts such as BE XV 22-23. In addition, as regards Enlil-amah, there is no demonstrable gap where such a ruler could be fitted into the sequence of Kassite kings after the system of numbering regnal years came into use (see Appendix A below).

⁴The inscriptions do not describe Ḫašmar-galšu's work with the customary phraseology for temple building, i.e., mu-na-dù or the like. The stone bricks inscribed by him are called mu-DU, "dedications(?)," or said to be given by him (a mu-na-ru). The text on the clay cone apparently concludes with the unusual verb form mu-na-UŠ-UŠ.

⁵The script may eventually furnish more clues when the development of Babylonian lapidary and clay script over the years between 1800 and 500 B.C. has been better studied; Fossey's *Manuel d'assyriologie* II does not have sufficient examples. Some sign forms, e.g., LUGAL, seem to resemble late Old Babylonian examples. Others such as SAR are close to mid-first-millennium models. The forms for EN and SIG₄ have no near parallels, while the sign ḪA in the personal name has a different form in each text. Some of this could be blamed on the idiosyncrasies of the individual stonecutters or scribes; but the consistency of the peculiar form for LUGAL, found both on the stone and clay objects, is striking.

occasion had his name written in his own inscriptions with a preceding divine determinative.⁶ For the present, one may surmise that Ḫašmar-galšu was an autonomous or semi-autonomous ruler of the area around Nippur during a time of weak central government in Babylonia, perhaps at some point in the long time range between the late Old Babylonian period and the eighth century B.C.⁷

AC.1 Chronological sources: none.

AC.2 Contemporary sources

AC.2.1 A 7570. Greyish-brown stone brick bearing a fifteen-line Sumerian votive inscription of Ḫašmar-galšu, nita kala-ga, son of Malab-Ḫarbe, telling of his dedication (of the brick) for the ká-maḫ of the Ekur for Enlil. Published below as Text No. 2 (photo, transliteration, translation).

AC.2.2 YBC 2353. Clay votive cone bearing an eight-line Sumerian inscription recounting the work of Ḫašmar-galšu, nita kala-ga, son of Malab-Ḫarbe, on the shrine(s) of the Sibitti. Published by Stephens, *YOS IX* 66 (copy). Apparently this is the same text transliterated and translated by Böhl, *Meded.*, 78B, No. 2, p. 45; cf. *ibid.*, p. 56.

AC.2.3 Two black stone bricks bearing five-line Sumerian inscriptions of Ḫašmar-galšu (without title or patronymic), mentioning their dedication (?, mu-DU) as bricks of the Ekur of/for Enlil.

AC.2.3.1 NBC 6103, published by Stephens, *YOS IX* 67 (copy).

AC.2.3.2 MMA 41.160.187, a duplicate of the preceding, except that line four ends in -le rather than -ra (and the sign forms sometimes differ). Published as Text No. 11 below (photo, transliteration, translation).

AC.3 Later sources: none.

⁶In their own inscriptions, Kassite rulers with Babylonian names have their names written with a preceding divine determinative and without a masculine personal determinative only when their name begins with a theophoric element. These rules vary somewhat for RN's in non-royal, especially economic, texts; see Appendix A below. Note also J.4.1.3 above.

⁷It is difficult to envisage a later time when cuneiform was still in general use and Nippur would have been long enough out of the hands of the central government--be it Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian--to allow such texts to be written.

AC.4 Writing of the personal name

AC.4.1 In contemporary texts

- AC.4.1.1 ^dḡa-aš-mar-gal-šū (A 7570:4; MMA 41.160.187:2; YOS IX 66:3, 67:2)

AD. *Tiptakzi

Weidner in his final edition of the synchronistic kinglist Assur 14616c (now A. 117) proposed the reading ^mTi-ip-ta-[a]k-zi for the eighth king of the Kassite dynasty (*AfO* III [1926] 68 i 17', edition made from photos). In *AfO* XIX (1959-60) 138, following a collation by Kraus, Weidner altered his reading to say only that the third sign (i.e., -ta-) was uncertain. In 1971, my collation of this line on both the tablet and the excavation photo yielded: ^m[v-ib-w]-[(x)]-[y-z MIN]. Only the -ib- was certain; the other traces were as follows:

- (1) v could be a ti-;
- (2) the wedges of w were quite distorted, though a reading -ta- could not be ruled out;
- (3) y: -ak- would fit the traces;
- (4) z: -zi- likely, but not certain.

So the reading is still possible, but insufficiently clear to be viewed as probable.

AE. *Ušši

Kinglist A in its entry for the fourth Kassite ruler lists: [x (years)] ^m'x'-šī A-šū (i 19'). According to my collation of the passage, the number of years is uncertain, but could be read as either 6 or 8. The first sign of the RN has the general shape of a DU or UŠ, but is not clear.⁸

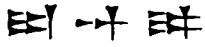
The interpretation of the line is problematic. It has most often been translated as "Ušši, his [i.e., Kaštiliaši's] son." Landsberger in *JCS* VIII (1954) 44 and 123 considered a possible reading Uššiašu, i.e., taking the whole line as the syllabic writing of the name.

Since the signs and their interpretation are uncertain and since the tradition at this point in Kinglist A differs from the tradition in the synchronistic

⁸See also Grayson's collation in *AOAT* I 108, 116.

kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c),⁹ it seems preferable for the present to regard the reading *Ušši as at least doubtful.

AF. DUMU ^mDINGIR.RA(?)

Scheil in *RT* XIX (1897) 60 called attention to a Nippur tablet in Istanbul (then bearing the number "413") dated in the fifteenth year of  LUGAL(?). This tablet is today Ni. 21, and its final lines read:

(5) ITI.DU₆.KU U₄.8.KAM
 rev. (6) MU.15.KAM
 (space)
 (7) DUMU ^{md}IM-LUGAL

Lines 6-7 are reproduced in copy as Text No. 12 below. Translation: "Month Tašrītu, eighth day, fifteenth year; *mār Adad-šar(rī)*." The final line may be viewed as containing a personal name; but the individual's connection with the rest of the text is uncertain, since the obverse is badly damaged. There is a significant space between lines 6 and 7, which would be uncommon between a year and the following RN.

The evidence as it stands is not sufficiently conclusive to postulate another Kassite king.¹⁰

⁹Which puts Abi-Rattaš (king No. 5 in Kinglist A) in fourth place and inserts an additional Kaštil(i)ašu (not in Kinglist A) in fifth place.

¹⁰For similar examples of names other than those of monarchs occurring after a year date, see Sections AA and AB above.

III. INDICES TO THE CATALOGUE

A. INDEX OF PUBLICATIONS

- AAA XIX (1932) 107 and Pl. LXXXIII,
No. 267: J.2.8, J.4.1.1
- AAA XX (1933) 116-26 and Pls. CI-CIV,
No. 107: W.2.5
- AAT, Pl. 55: E.3.10
- ABC, Chronicle No. 20: D^C.1.1, O^C.3.1,
X.1.2
- ABC, Chronicle No. 21: C.1.5, E^a.1.2,
M.1.1, N.1.1, N.1.3, O.1.3, Q.1.5,
T.1.1, U.1.3, W.1.2, Z.1.3
- ABC, Chronicle No. 22: B.1.3, C.1.3,
G.1.2, K^a.1.1, M.1.2, N.1.2, O.1.2,
Q.1.2, T.1.2, U.1.2, W.1.1
- ABC, Chronicle No. 23: Q.1.3, R.5.1
- ABC, Assyrian Chronicle Fragment No. 1:
Q.1.4
- ABL 924: C.2.5, C.4.3.3
- ABL 1202: E.5.6
- ACh Šamaš XIII: E.3.10, E.4.3.9
- AfK I (1923) 29-36: Q.2.1
- AfO III (1926) 66-77: see A. 117 in the
following index
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IV. PUBLICATION OF MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the museum officials who have allowed publication of these various texts and collations. Professor Åke W. Sjöberg of the University Museum has permitted the publication of Texts Nos. 5-9 and 20-24. I am grateful to Dr. Edmond Sollberger, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing me to publish Texts Nos. 3, 4, and 10. In 1971, Mme Muazzez Çiğ (now retired) of the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri graciously permitted me to collate and copy the dates of the Ni. tablets (Nos. 12-19 here); the whole text of each of these tablets is currently scheduled to appear in a volume of copies to be prepared by Mr. Veysel Donbaz and myself. Dr. Vaughn Crawford of the Metropolitan Museum of Art has provided the photo for and allowed the publication of Text No. 11. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has granted publication rights for Texts Nos. 1-2. Information concerning the dimensions of the texts¹ has been kindly provided by Mr. C. B. F. Walker for Nos. 3, 4, and 10, by Mr. Veysel Donbaz for Nos. 12-19, and by Prof. Erle Leichty for Nos. 5-9 and 20-24.

Translations are not always provided below for badly damaged passages or, in some cases, for simple account texts. Partially destroyed passages, especially when the restorations are clear, are not always marked by brackets or half-brackets in the translations. More than usually conjectural translations are italicized.

Text No. 1. A 3519.

Clay tablet. 79 x 65 x 19 mm. Slightly damaged text bearing two versions of the same Sumerian inscription of Kara-indaš (king No. ?15) recording the building of a temple or shrine in the Eanna precinct at Uruk. The first version (i 1-11) is written in a large, hyper-archaizing imitation of Middle Babylonian script, the second (i 12-ii 4) in a smaller, late Neo-Babylonian (or Achaemenid) script. Catalogued as N.2.1.3 above.

Transliteration:

obv. i	1	d[innin]	
	2	nin-é-an-[na]	
	3	nin-a-ni-ir	
	4	'Ka'-ra-in-'da-aš'	
	5	[lu]gal 'kala-ga'	
	6	'lugal' <KÁ>.DINGIR.'RA.KI'	
	7	lugal <<KÁ>> 'ki-en-gi'-	
		'ki-uri'	
	8	[l]ugal ka-aš-šú-ú	
rev.	9	lugal Ka-ru-du-ni-	
		ia-aš	
	10	é-an-[na]-ta	
	11	é mu-'un'-dù	
	12	d[innin]	ii 1
	13	nin-é-an-na	lugal 'ka'-aš-šú-ú
	14	'nin'-a-ni-ir	2
	15	^m Ka-ra-in-da-aš	lugal Ka-[x-x-(x)]-
	16	lugal kala-ga	ia-aš
	17	lugal 'KÁ'.DINGIR.RA.KI	3
	18	lugal kur [Šu]-me-[ri(?)]	é-an-na-t[a]
		u 'uri'[(.ki)]	4
			mu-un-[dù]

Translation:

For Inanna, lady of the Eanna, his lady, Kara-indaš, mighty king, king of Babylonia, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the Kassite(s), king of Karuduniaš, built a temple/shrine in the Eanna.

Notes:

The Middle Babylonian version mistakenly puts KÁ in i 7 rather than in i 6. In the Neo-Babylonian version, i 15 inserts a masculine personal determinative before the royal name, i 18 lapses into Babylonian (Šume/rî] u) and ii 4 omits the é before the verb.

Text No. 2. A 7570.

Greyish-brown stone brick. 27 x 17.5 x 8.5 cm. Sumerian votive inscription of Ḥašmar-galšu, son of Malab-Ḥarbe. Catalogued as AC.1.2 above.

Transliteration:

1 d^{en}-líl-le
 2 lugal-kur-kur-ra
 3 lugal-a-ni-ir
 4 d^{Ḥa}-aš-mar-gal-šu
 5 nita kala-ga
 6 dumu Ma-la-ab-Ḥar-be
 7 na⁴sig₄ me-te
 8 ká-maḥ-é-kur-ra
 9 nam-ti-la-a-ni-šè
 10 a mu-na-ru
 11 lú mu-sar-mu ḥé-íb-ùr-ra
 12 mu-ni ḥé-íb-sar-ra
 13 d^{en}-líl-le
 14 lugal-kur-kur-ra
 15 x maškim ḥul-a ḥé

Translation:

To Enlil, king of all the lands, his lord, Ḥašmar-galšu, mighty man, son of Malab-Ḥarbe, for his life has given a stone brick (as an adornment) suitable for the great gate of the Ekur. Anyone who shall erase my inscription and write his own name, may Enlil, king of all the lands, . . . be a prosecutor boding ill for him.

Text No. 3. BM 38440.

Clay tablet with heavy damage to the lower left corner. 32 x 41 x 22 mm. Middle Babylonian economic text. Catalogued as R.2.11.5.

Transliteration:

obv. 1 {3} TÚG.HI.A ša md³⁰-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ
 2 1[(+1?)] TÚG.HI.A ša m^{ḥu}-na-ia
 3 [m] {d³⁰-DA} i-na ŠU
 4 [] x m^{ḥu}-na-ia
 5 [] (x) x
 6 [] x

.

Text No. 5. CBS 3443 rev. i' 11' (collation of only one name).

Clay tablet. 187 x 117 x 49 mm. Published as *BE* XV 190. Middle Babylonian administrative text. For discussion, see the Catalogue above under S.5.2.

Transliteration:

rev. i' 11' ^mMe-li-Ši-pa-[]

Text No. 6. CBS 7151 (only date copied).

Clay tablet. 70 x 57 x 28 mm. Middle Babylonian legal text. Catalogued above as E.2.25.70. Date discussed below in Appendix A.

Transliteration:

rev. 17' ITI. [KIN.^d]INNIN U_A.16. [KAM]
 18' MU. [25' [(+1?)]. [KAM] Bur-[na'-Bu-ri-ia-aš
 19' MU re-[di'-i LUGAL ú-[ma-as-su-ú]

Translation:

Month of Ulūlu, sixteenth day, the twenty-fifth (or -sixth?) year of Burna-Buriaš, the year (when) . . . the king

Text No. 7. CBS 7208

Clay tablet. 49 x 36 x 19 mm. Middle Babylonian legal text (without witnesses). Catalogued as U.2.24.17 above.

Transliteration:

obv. 1 1 [TÚG.ĤI].A si-ri i-na i-si-iĥ-ti-š^u-nu
 2 1 [TÚG] IGI mu-šⁱ-e šⁱ-pi-ir
 3 ka-la-[ki TAR maš-ru(?) ù(?) x-x]
 4 1 ZÁLAG [UD.KA].BAR
 5 š^a ^fĤa-li-e-a [DUMU.SAL] ^mNa-zi-^dAMAR.UTU
 6 ^fd¹Ba-[ba₆-ú]-tum
 7 ki-i mi-re-eš-ti iš-šⁱ-ma
 8 a-[na ^fŠi-[it]-ta-an-ni
 9 É.GI₄.A ^m(!)A-ra-a-ú-ti

- rev. 10 a-na ḥa-di-i id-din-in
 11 TÚG.ḪI.A ù pa-an mu-ṣi-'e'
 12 ZÁLAG UD.KA.BAR ú-ta-ru-ni-ma
 13 a-na ḥa-li-e-a i-nam-di-nu
 14 ul ú-te-ru-ni-ma
 15 ḫBa-ba₆-ú-'tum' ḥa-li-e-a
 16 i-ta-nap-pal
 17 ITI.ZÍZ.('AM U₄.2' [(+).KAM M]U.2.KAM
 18 Na-'zi]-Múru-taš LUGAL [KI.ŠÁR].RA

Translation:

One sīru-garment from their assignment, one pān muṣē-garment (which is a) product of the storehouse . . . , one bronze lamp belonging to Ḫalea the daughter of Nazi-Marduk, Babaūtu has taken in accordance with (her) request and has given to Šittannu the daughter-in-law of Araūtu for (her) enjoyment (i.e., use). They shall return the garment(s) and the pān muṣē (and) the bronze lamp and give (them) to Ḫalea. If they do not return (them), Babaūtu shall reimburse Ḫalea. Month of Šabātu, second(+) day, second year (of) Nazi-Muruttaš, king of the world.

Text No. 8. CBS 7241.

Clay tablet, damaged along the left side. 79 x 54 x 24 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative text. Catalogued as K^b.2.2.3.

Transliteration:

- obv. 1 ŠE GIŠ.BÁN GAL ša i-na ŠU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-'ba-ni'
 2 DUMU ^{m'd}30-še-mi ki-i um-ma-ni
 3 DUMU.MEŠ EN.LÍL.KI maḫ-ru
 4 [4?] (GUR) ^mMa-'sil]-DINGIR DUMU ^{md}DINGIR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na
 5 [1?] (GUR) ^{md}EN.LÍL-ia DUMU ^mEN-ú-sa-tum
 6 [] ^mQu-un-nu-nu DUMU ^mSi-ia-u-tim
 7 [] ^mEN-SUM-'na' DUMU ^{md}UTU-lí-su
 8 [] ^mEN-x-tim DUMU ^mEri-bu-ni
 9 [] ^{m'd}[PA].KU-e-a [DUMU] ^mAr-mi-i
 10 []x ^{md}PA.KU-še-mi-i ÌR ^{md}PA.KU-LUGAL
 11 []x(ZÍZ?).AN.NA ^mKI.MIN Zi-ir-be(?).KI
 12 x [(x)] x
 13 [] ^mEN-BA-šá DUMU ^mA.BA-^d50-da-ri
 14 [] ^m[A]-a-rum DUMU ^mKI.MIN
 15 [] ^mSi-bu-ú DUMU ^mKI.MIN
 16 [] ^{m'd}AMAR.UTU-MU-ŠEŠ DUMU ^mKA-'d'IM

rev. 17 []x-pi-šá-tum DUMU m̄Sum-ma-[la]1-[]
 18 []-ha(?)-ti-SI.SÁ DUMU md̄IM-še-mi

 19 [] m̄NIG.BA-ia DUMU m̄KI.MIN
 20 [] m̄SUD-e-a DUMU m̄KI.MIN
 21 [] [1(?)1 (GUR) m̄PA1.KU-mu-[tab/pl]-li (erasure)
 22 [()]4 (BÁN) md̄PA.KU-e-a DUMU m̄ZALAG-[d̄] IGI.DU
 23 [()]4 (BÁN) m̄DINGIR-iš-man-ni LÚ.ÉNSI
 24 [1(?)1 (GUR) m̄Be-lí-DÙ DUMU m̄Sil-ia4-u-tim
 25 [] m̄SUM-d̄AMAR.UTU DUMU m̄A-ri-ia-tim
 26 [] m̄BA1-šá-d̄NIN.SIG7 DUMU m̄Ab-ba-DÙG.GA

 27 [P] [AB 48] (GUR) 1 (PI) 2 (BÁN) ŠE GIŠ.BÁN GAL
 28 EN ZÍZ(?) .AN.NA es-pi
 29 SUM-nu ŠU md̄AMAR.UTU-ba-ni
 30 TA ITI.GAN EN [ITI].ŠE
 31 ša MU. [SAG] Kad-aš-man-Ħar-be
 32 [LUGAL]

Text No. 9. CBS 12917.

Clay tablet. 70 x 49 x 22 mm. Middle Babylonian legal text. Fingernail marks along the left edge. Catalogued as K^b.2.2.1.

Transliteration:

obv. 1 1 SAL.TUR [ù].TU KUR Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ia-aš
 2 1/2 KÙŠ [la]1-an-[ša] fU4.9.KAM-be-let MU.NE-ša
 3 ki m̄Ki-[din]-d̄Šu-ma-li-ia DUMU m̄Ki-ia-ú-ti AD.A. [NI-Š] [a]
 4 kaš-ši-i ša URU Ħu-rad-Ħa-ma-ti-ir
 5 [ki] fA-ga-ar-ga-ru-ti DUMU.SAL md̄30-e-pi-ir-an-ni
 6 [AMA].A.NI-ša m̄GAL-a-šá-d̄NIN.SIG7 DUMU m̄DINGIR-UTU DAM.GÀR
 7 a-[na] kal-lu-[ti] a-na md̄NIN.SIG7-NUMUN-šub-ši
 8 DUMU.A.NI-šu ter-di-in-ni il-qí-ši
 9 a-na KÙ.BABBAR-ša 2 TÚG muh-til-le-e SIG5-tim ki-i 2 [GÍN KÙ].GI
 10 m̄GAL-a-šá-d̄NIN.SIG7 a-na m̄Ki-din-d̄Šu-ma-li-[ia]
 11 [ù] a-na fA-ga-ar-ga-ru-ti DAM-šu SUM-i[n]
 12 ù ri-[ih-ti] KÙ.BABBAR m̄GAL-a-šá-d̄NIN. [SIG7] [()]
 13 m̄Ki-din-d̄Šu-ma-li-ia ù fA-[ga-ar]-[ga-ru-ti]
 14 i-za-an-na-in ù DUMU.MEŠ m̄(?)K[a(?)]
 15 ŠEŠ.MEŠ fA-ga-ar-ga-ru-t[i]
 16 ša fU4.9.KAM-be-let a-[]
 17 ul i-qá-bu-ú x[]

- 18 *i-na* ʿdal-ba-ab[]
- rev. 19 [] ʿU₄.9.1 [KAM-be-let]
- 20 ʿil-qab-bi-m(a?)]
- 21 ʿal-na ʿGAL-a-ʿšá-^dN1 [IN.SIG7]
- 22 [ù] ki-i ri-ʿki-il-timl []
-
- 23 ʿniš1 ʿA-nim ʿEN.LÍL ʿNIN.L[ÍL?]
- 24 ʿdx x1 ʿišu1-qá-mu-na ù [LUG1 [AL]
- 25 ʿKa1-dáš-man-Ḥar-be TĒŠ.BI iz-ku-r[u(?)]
-
- 26 I[GI] ʿIa-ú-tu DUMU ʿNIN.IB-DÙ
- 27 ʿIGI1 ʿIz-kùr-^dNIN.IB [DUMU] ʿKi-din-^dNIN.IB
- 28 IGI ʿPA.KU-ŠĒŠ-SUM-na DUMU ʿDi-ʿmaḥ-di1-^dIB
- 29 IGI ʿGAL-a-šá-^dNIN.IB DUMU ʿNIN.[IB1-DÙ
- 30 DUB.SAR ʿSU-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU ʿDINGIR-BA-šá
-
- 31 ITI.GAN.GAN.È U₄.ʿll(+).KAM1 MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA
- 32 ʿKa-dáš-man-Ḥar-be LUGAL.E
-
- 33 šú-pur ʿKi-din-^dŠu-ma-li-ia
- 34 šú-pur ʿA-ga-ar-ga-ru-<ti> DAM-šú
- edge 35 *ki-mu* NA₄.KIŠIB-šú-nu

Translation:

One young girl, a native of Babylonia, one-half cubit in size, by the name of U₄.9.KAM-bēlet. Rabâ-ša-Ninimma, son of Ilī-Šamaš, the merchant, bought her as wife (lit.: for daughter-in-lawship) for his second son, Ninimma-zēra-šubši, from her father, Kidin-Šumaliya, son of Kiaūtu, a Kassite from the town of Ḥurād-Ḥamatir, (and) from her mother, Agargarūtu, daughter of Sīn-epiranni. As her purchase price, Rabâ-ša-Ninimma gave 2 fine *muḥtillû*-garments, worth 2 shekels of gold, to Kidin-Šumaliya and Agargarūtu, his wife; and, for the rest of the purchase price, Rabâ-ša-Ninimma shall provide Kidin-Šumaliya and Agargarūtu with food. And the sons of . . . the brothers of Agargarūtu . . . U₄.9.KAM-bēlet . . . shall not say . . . in the agreement . . . [U₄.9.1 [KAM-bēlet] . . . (s)he shall say and . . . to Rabâ-ša-N[inimma] and according to the agreement They have taken an oath together by Anu, Enlil, Ninlil(?), x, Šuqamuna, and King Kadašman-Ḥarbe.

Witnesses: Iaūtu, son of Ninurta-bāni; Izkur-Ninurta, son of Kidin-Ninurta; Nusku-aḥa-iddina, son of Dimahdi-Uraš; Rabâ-ša-Ninurta, son of Ninurta-bāni. The scribe: Erība-Marduk, son of Ilī-iqīša.

Month of Kissilimu, eleventh(+?) day, accession year of Kadašman-Ḥarbe, the king.

The fingernail mark of Kidin-Šumaliya (and) fingernail mark of Agargarū(tu), his wife, serving as their seals.

Text No. 10. K. 11536.

Fragment of the beginning and adjoining edge of a clay tablet. 28 x 56 x 18 mm. Text of undetermined type (historical-literary?) mentioning Nazi-Maruttaš. Catalogued as U.2.26 above.

Transliteration:

obv. 1 [] x KUR NUN 'mi-gir d^{EN}.LÍL LUGAL x' []
 2 [] 'd^{AMAR}.UTU KUR.KUR a-na GÍR^{II}-šÚ Ú-x []
 3 [] . 'MEŠ(?)' Na-zi-Múru-taš x []
 4 [] x (x) 'ti' UGU []
 5 [] x []

 edge 1' 'ḥa-an-ṭ' [i-iš]
 2' GABA.RI x []

Translation:

. . . prince, favorite of Enlil, the king Marduk ca[used] all the lands [to bow down] at his feet Nazi-Muruttaš
 (Colophon) Quickly . . . copy

Text No. 11. MMA 41.160.187.

Black stone brick. 21 x 22.9 cm. (with most of the thickness now cut away). Sumerian dedicatory(?) inscription of Ḥašmar-galšu. Catalogued as AC.2.3.2 above.

Transliteration:

1 mu-[DU]
 2 d^{Ḥa}a-āš-mar-[gal-šu]
 3 nā⁴sig₄-é-[kur]-ra
 4 d^{en}-[líl]-le
 5 lugal-a-[ni]-ir

Translation:

. . . of(?) Ḥašmar-galšu. A stone brick for the Ekur for Enlil, his lord.

Note:

NBC 6103 (YOS IX 67), a duplicate of this text, has -ra rather than -le at the end of line 4.

The translation given above presumes that mu-DU is a noun, perhaps in the sense of "(thing) set up (by)" or the like. One might also consider that a more common word order for a Sumerian inscription would have lines 4-5 first, then lines 2-3, and finally line 1 (as a verb). This would mean: "For Enlil, his lord, ḥašmar-galšu, set up a stone brick of/for the Ekur."

Text No. 12. Ni. 21 (only the year date and the following line copied).

Clay tablet. 32 x 40 x 19 mm. Middle Babylonian economic text (contents not ascertained because of badly worn obverse). Date discussed in Section AF of the Catalogue.

Transliteration:

rev. 6 MU.15.KAM
 (space)
 7 DUMU mdIM-LUGAL

Translation:

Fifteenth year; mār Adad-šar(rī).

Text No. 13. Ni. 65 (only the date copied).

Clay tablet. 31 x 32 x 21 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative text (receipt). Catalogued as W.2.4 above.

Transliteration:

rev. 5 [ITI].ŠE 'U₄.71.KAM
 6 [MU].SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA
 7 TUKUL-ti-dMAŠ

Translation:

Month of Addaru, seventh day, accession year (of) Tukulti-Ninurta.

Text No. 14. Ni 435 (only the date copied).

Clay tablet. 31 x 34 x 15 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative(?) text (obverse worn). Catalogued as J.2.22.1 above.

Transliteration:

rev. 6 ITI.APIN.DU₈.ÀM
 7 MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA
 8 ^dKa-^dás-man-^dEN¹.LÍL

Translation:

Month of Arašsamnu, accession year (of) Kadašman-Enlil.

Text No. 15. Ni. 437 (only the date copied).

Clay tablet. 44 x 55 x 22 mm. Middle Babylonian legal text. Catalogued as J.2.22.45 above.

Transliteration:

rev. 14 [MU].15.KAM ^mKa-^dás-man-^dEN.LÍL
 15 ITI.DU₆.[KÙ] U₄.18.[KAM]

Translation:

Fifteenth year (of) Kadašman-Enlil, month of Tašrītu, eighteenth day.

Text No. 16. Ni. 805 (only the date copied).

Clay tablet. 66 x 47 x 24 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative text. Discussed in Appendix A below.

Transliteration:

rev. 22 ITI.ZÍZ.ÀM a-rad LUGAL
 23 MU.15.KAM

Translation:

Month of Šabāṭu, the going/coming down of the king, fifteenth year.

Text No. 17. Ni. 861 (only the date and succeeding lines copied).

Clay tablet. 33 x 44 x 17 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative text. Dis-

cussed in Appendix A below.

Transliteration:

rev. 6 ITI.ŠE.[KIN].KUD U₄.29.KAM
 7 [MU].12.KAM
 8 [e-le] LUGAL
 9 DUMU md[EN].LÍL-[da]-a-a-an

Translation:

Month of Addaru, twenty-ninth day, twelfth year, the going/coming up of the king. Mār Enlil-dajān.

Text No. 18. Ni. 3199 (only the date copied).

Clay tablet. 70 x 62 x 30 mm. Middle Babylonian legal text. Catalogued as K^a.2.1 above. (The lines in the transliteration are numbered from the beginning of the preserved portion of the reverse.)

Transliteration:

rev. 11' mu Ka-da-āš-ma-an-Ḫar-be(!) lugal(!)-[e]
 12' íd Di-nik-tum^{ki} [mul-un-b[al(?)]]

Translation:

The year (in which) Kadašman-Ḫarbe, the king, dug the canal of Diniktum.

Text No. 19. Ni. 6254 (only heading copied).

Clay tablet. 61 x 52 x 23 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative text. Date discussed in Appendix A below.

Transliteration:

1 (uncertain)
 2 a-rad LUGAL ù e-le LUGAL

Translation:

. . . , the going/coming down of the king and the going/coming up of the king.

Text No. 20. UM 29-13-578.

Clay tablet, damaged on the right side and at the bottom. 37 x 50 x 21 mm.
Middle Babylonian economic text. Date discussed in Appendix A below.

Transliteration:

obv.	1	Ì GIŠ.BÁN ŠE.BA	Ì GIŠ.BÁN 5 qa	ŠE.GIŠ.Ì MU.B[I.IM]
	2	1 GUR		É MSIG ₅ - ^r d ¹ []
	3	2 (BÁN)		a-na É x []
	4	1 (BÁN)		mdUTU-ub-1[a]
	5	1 (BÁN)		m ^r LÚ-x-x-KI ¹ [()]
	6		1 (BÁN) ^r DUMU m ¹ []	
	7		1 ¹ (BÁN) []	
			
rev.		.....	
	1'	1 (GUR) 3 (PI) 5 (BÁN) 2 (BÁN)		2 (BÁN) 3 qa []
	2'	2 1/2 qa		mdAMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ(?) (-)x []
	3'			ITI.ŠE.KIN.KUD U ₄ . ^r 15 ¹ . [KAM]
	4'			MU.16.KAM
	5'			a-rad LUGAL

Text No. 21. UM 29-13-661.

Fragment of clay tablet. 63 x 64 x 31 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative text. Catalogued as V.2.10.58.

Transliteration:

obv.	1'	[		].^r MEŠ ¹ []
	2'	[] []
	3'	[		] x ša ^d NI[N.]
	4'	[		].MEŠ ŠU ^m Muš-te- ^r š ¹ -x-1 []
	5'	[] []
	6'	[		] KA[M]
	7'	[		MU x+] 1.KAM ¹ Ku-dúr-ri- ^d EN.LÍL []
	8'	[		MU]. ^r 6 ¹ .KAM []
	9'	[		ITI.D] IRI MU.6.KAM []
	10'	[		] 1 ¹ M ¹ U.7.KAM []

rev. 11'	6	{LIM 7} ME 1-š ^u 1	MU.51 [+3]. {KAM} []
12'	6	LIM 7 ME 1-š ^u 1	MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA Ša-garak-ti-Šur-[]
13'	4	ME 94	ITI.DIRI MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.L[A]
14'	{6 L}	IM 7 ME 1-š ^u 1	MU.1.KAM []
15'	{6 LIM}	7 ME 1-š ^u 1	MU.2.KAM []
16'	{460+}	{34}	ITI.DIRI MU.2.KAM []
17'	{6 LIM 7 ME 1-}	{š ^u } 1	MU.3.KAM []
18'	[	]	x u(?) gi-nu-ú SIZKUR.SIZKUR mi-na-at šat-t[i]
19'	[	]	EN 3 ITI.DIRI.MEŠ TA U ₄ GÍD. {DA(?) } []
20'	[	]	{i-na} lîb-bi šu-lu-ú' [()]
21'	[	]	x x (x) 8 MU.MEŠ {EN} []
22'	[	]	M]U.8.KAM EN x []
.....			

Text No. 22. UM 29-13-934b.

Clay tablet. 34 x 41 x 16 mm. Middle Babylonian administrative text. Date discussed in Appendix A below.

Transliteration:

obv. 1	{1 ME 46}	KAŠ {SAG}
2	1 {ME} 3	KAŠ {UŠ}
3	1	DUG TUR
4	1 (PI) 2 (BĀN)	ŠIM
edge 5	mŠu-zu-bu	
6	ITI.ZÍZ.A	
rev. 7	U ₄ .19.KAM	
8	MU.15.KAM	
9	a-rad LUGAL	

Translation:

146 fine beer. 103 ordinary beer. 1 small pot. 1 PI, 2 sūtu of spices. Šūzubu. Month of Šabāṭu, nineteenth day, fifteenth year. The going/coming down of the king.

Text No. 23. UM 29-15-189.

Clay tablet. 59 x 53 x 24 mm. Early Middle Babylonian legal text. The date (year name) is discussed in the Catalogue under J.5.5.

Partial transliteration:

obv. 1 DI.KU₅ ša m^dNIN.IB(?) -x(-x) 1
 2 m^DDINGIR-^rra^l-bi
 3 ^u m^DDINGIR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na i-di-ⁿnu 1
 4 šⁱ-bu-^ttum 1 ša m^DDINGIR-ra-^rbi 1
 5 i-na iq-bu-^u
 6 m^DDINGIR-^šŠEŠ-SUM-na 1

rev.
 4' IGI m^{EN}-š^u-nu ^DDUB¹.SAR
 (faint seal impression)
 5' ^ITI.NE.NE.GAR U₄.10¹ [(+x).KAM]
 6' ^mmu¹ Ka-da-^áš(?) -ma-^x []
 7' ^llugal-e¹
 8' ^x x (x) uru(?) K^á.DINGIR.RA.KI¹

seal legends 1 KIŠIB m^DDINGIR-ra-bi
 2 NA₄.KIŠIB m^E.KUR- []

Partial translation:

Verdict which N., Ilī-rabi, and Ilī-aḥa-iddina have rendered. The witnesses of Ilī-rabi spoke Ilī-aḥa-iddina

In the presence of Bēlšunu, the scribe. Month of Abu, tenth [(or higher)] day, the year in which Kadašma[n-x], the king, . . . Babylon
 Seal of Ilī-rabi. Seal of Ekur- [].

Note:

The personal name in rev. 2' might read m^DDINGIR-a-^rbi-^{ba}-^áš, with the apparent additional wedge for the second -a- being a scratch.

Text No. 24. UM 29-16-340.

Clay tablet. 54 x 42 x 20 mm. Middle Babylonian legal text. Trace of seal impression (with six-line cuneiform inscription and no representations or symbols) on tablet, but too fragmentary to be readily recovered. Catalogued as V.2.10.147.

Transliteration:

- obv. 1 ri-kil-[tu] ša ^mLÚ-[^dAMAR]. [UTU]
 2 GÚ.EN.NA EN. [LÍL.KI]
 3 a-na [IGI] ^md [NIN].IB-re-šu-š[u]
 4 ha-za-an EN.LÍL. [KI]
 5 ^m[d] [x]-[A(?)]-[(x)]-[MU(?)] EN NAM
 6 [ù] ^mx-(x)-x'-LUGAL-^dAMAR. [UTU]
 7 DUMU ^mKi-lam-[di-U]b-ri-ia-aš
 8 a-na ^mE. [SAG].ÍL-li-diš
 9 na-gi-ir [EN.LÍL.KI]
 10 [ir]-ku-[su]
- rev. 11 ^mNa-di-nu [DUMU] ^mBal-ti-ia
 12 [lu]-ú KÁ.GAL [X] KÁ.GAL ^d[NIN(?).LÍL(?)]
 13 [ù] lu-ú KÁ.GAL.MEŠ [ša] EN. [LÍL.KI]
 14 ma-la i-ba-áš-[ša]-a
 15 uš-[šil]-ma [i-na] hu-ra-da-a-[ti]
 16 im-ma-ru-š[u]-ma
 17 ^mE.SAG. [ÍL-li-di]-iš
 18 pa-nu-šu [ul] ib'-ba-ab-ba-[lu]
 19 iš-ša-al
 20 a-na IGI ^mKi-[rib]-ti-^dAMAR.UTU
 21 DUMU ^mU-la-gi-in-x-[()]
- edge 22 [NA₄.KIŠIB]-šu [ša]-ab-t[u]
 23 ITI.ŠU U₄.3.KAM MU.10.K[AM]
 24 Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-Šu[r-

left edge 25 NA₄.KIŠIB ^mE. [SAG].ÍL-li-diš

Translation:

Decree which Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, in the presence of Ninurta-rēšūšu, mayor of Nippur, PN, province prefect, and PN₂, son of Kilamdi-Ubrias, issued to Esagil-līdiš, the herald of Nippur.

If Nādinu, son of Batiya, should go out by the Gate of X (or) the Gate of Ninlil or any of the gates of Nippur and they should see him among the (outside) troops,¹ Esagil-līdiš shall not be held blameless, (but) shall be interrogated. His sealed tablet was deposited in the custody of Kiribti-Marduk, son of Ulagin[]

¹Or perhaps "(outside) settlements," since *burād(u)* is sometimes used as the first element in Middle Babylonian geographical names (especially for what seem to be small villages).

Month of Dumuzu, third day, tenth year of Šagarakti-Šu[riāš]. Seal of
Esaġil-līdiš.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
DATE FORMULAE USED UNDER THE KASSITE DYNASTY

In Babylonia, by the middle of the thirteenth century B.C., a consistent system of dating had evolved that was to remain in use until the Seleucid era. Documents bearing a full date usually had it in the following form: month name--day number--year number--king's name--royal title, e.g., ITI.BÁR.ZAG. GAR U₄.12.KAM MU.3.KAM RN LUGAL(.E).¹ The first official year of a new king was reckoned as commencing with the first New Year's day (Nisan 1) on which he ruled after taking office. That fraction of a year that elapsed between the death of the old king and the beginning of the first official year of the new king was designated as the accession year (in its fullest form MU.SAG.NAM. LUGAL.LA) of the new king.

This system of dating developed gradually in the course of the middle years of the Kassite dynasty, and traces of an older system may be seen in some of the earlier Kassite texts. This appendix will describe the main features of the different dating systems used in the Kassite period and indicate what is presently known of their evolution. It will also discuss several anomalous date formulae from this time, most of which have yet to be adequately explained. The appendix is not intended to be exhaustive or definitive as far as the known Kassite material is concerned, but merely to highlight some of the main points uncovered in recent research. Dates cited in the following discussion are not restricted to texts listed in the Catalogue above.

Kassite date formulae can be divided into two principal types, depending on whether they indicate a simple point in time (day, month, and/or year, etc.) or the inclusive term of a transaction or the like (*from* day, month, and/or year, etc. *to* day, month, and/or year, etc.). In the following paragraphs, we shall deal first with the various expressions for the components of these formulae--months, days, years, royal names, royal titles--and then with the style of the formulae themselves.

The month names in the Kassite period derive from the Nippur calendar of

¹Many documents bore abbreviated date formulae, omitting one or more of these elements. These shorter formulae are discussed below.

Old Babylonian times. There are as yet no traces of other, regional calendars in use.² The following list gives those forms of month names that were most commonly employed down into the reign of Kadašman-Turgu (king No. 24) in the early thirteenth century and that continued to be used occasionally--even after the introduction of abbreviated logographic forms--well into the first millennium B.C.

- I. ITI.BÁR.ZAG.GAR (*nisannu*)
- II. ITI.GU₄.SI.SÁ (*ajaru*)
- III. ITI.SIG₄.GA (*simānu*)
- IV. ITI.ŠU.NUMUN.NA (*dumuzu*)
- V. ITI.NE.NE.GAR (*abu*)
- VI. ITI.KIN.^dINNIN (*ulūlu*)
- VII. ITI.DU₆.KÙ (*tašrītu*)
- VIII. ITI.APIN.DU₈.A (*araḥsamnu*)³
- IX. ITI.GAN.GAN.È (*kissilimu*)⁴
- X. ITI.AB.È (*ṭebētu*)
- XI. ITI.ZÍZ.ÀM (*šabātu*)
- XII. ITI.ŠE.KIN.KUD (*addaru*)⁵

For most of the months, variants of these standard forms occur, notably:⁶

- I. (1) *ITI.<BÁR>.ZAG.GAR (BIN II 107:5)
- (2) *ITI.BÁR.ZAG.<GAR> (Ni. 2593 rev. 20')⁷

²Perhaps because there are so few texts known from before 1360 B.C., a date falling well into the second half of the dynasty.

³Or *araḥsamna* (there is no evidence in the MB economic texts for the exact reading of this or the other logograms listed here, since there are no presently known attestations of syllabic spelling of MN's). One should also note S. Kaufman's recent argument in favor of *araḥsamnu* (AS XIX 115 and n. 418).

⁴Deduced from the spelling of the personal name ^(f)*Ki-is-si-li-mi-tum* (CBS 3648 rev. i 14, Ni. 1149:4', Ni. 1647:16).

⁵These common forms of the month names are amply attested in BE XIV and XV, *passim*, and elsewhere.

⁶Forms preceded by an asterisk in the following list are probably to be regarded as scribal errors rather than as variants in general use. They are listed here in case further examples turn up that may demonstrate that they were deliberately employed.

⁷BE XV 1:9 (ITI.BÁR.<ZAG>.GAR) is a copyist's error; the tablet has the complete ITI.BÁR.ZAG.GAR (collation).

- III. (1) ITI.SIG₄.A (PBS II/2 31:8, 33:6; CBS 3090:4; CBS 10959:13; Ni. 90:6; Ni. 485:7; Ni. 879:6; Ni. 7787 rev. 1; Ni. 7840:7; and *passim*)
- (2) ITI.SIG₄.ÀM (BE XIV 81:10, 134:5; PBS II/2 67:11; UET VII 1 rev. 12; BM 17738:4; CBS 8559:5; Ni. 165:3; Ni. 329:7; and *passim*)
- (3) ITI.SIG₄.GA.A (BE XV 148:4, Ni. 7955:7)
- IV. (1) ITI.ŠU.NUMUN.A (JAOS XXXVIII [1918] 85:61, CBS 9516 rev. 10, CBS 11728:161, N 2263:181)
- (2) ITI.ŠU.NUMUN (HS 167:14, N 2604 rev. 2', Ni. 6936 rev. 10')
- (3) *ITI.<ŠU>.1NUMUN1.NA (UET VII 49 rev. 7)
- V. (1) ITI.NE.GAR (BE XIV 46a:5, 67:6; BE XV 13:7, 67:7, 104:6, 124:9, 141:12; PBS II/2 62:17; Sumer IX, No. 1:27; Ni. 111:7; Ni. 6685:6; and *passim*)
- (2) ITI.NE.NE (Ni. 104:13)
- (3) ITI.NE.NE.GAR.AN (N 2114 rev. 2')
- VI. (1) ITI.KIN.AN.NA (Sumer IX, Nos. 4:39, 15:23, 20:15)
- (2) ITI.KIN.AN (Ni. 3000:14; possibly to be read ITI.KIN.^d<INNIN>?)
- VII. (1) *ITI.DU₆.KÙ.BABBAR (UET VII 36 rev. 8; could also be interpreted as ITI.DU₆.KÙ U₄<<.U₄>>.20.KAM)
- VIII. (1) ITI.APIN.DU₈.ÀM (BE XIV 8:32, 137:25, 143:7; Ni. 133:5; Ni. 435:6; UM 29-13-933:6; and *passim*)
- (2) ITI.APIN.DU₈ (BE XV 81:9, Ni. 2600:12)
- IX. (1) ITI.GAN.È (BE XIV 61:7, 88:9; BE XV 41:8, 74:8, 200 v 15'; PBS II/2 32:7; Ni. 114:7; Ni. 115:7; Ni. 656:9; and *passim*)
- (2) ITI.GAN.GAN (BE XV 48c:8, 151:5; IM 50994:15; Ni. 7150:3; UM 29-13-437:4; UM 29-13-941)
- (3) ITI.GAN.GAN.A.TAB (Sumer IX, No. 9:9)
- (4) ITI.GAN.A.TAB (Sumer IX, No. 8:10)
- XI. (1) ITI.ZÍZ.A (BE XIV 154:6; BE XV 27:3, 87:7, 89:6; PBS II/2 134:14; HS 2068:37; N 2257 rev. 3'; Ni. 241:7; Ni. 792 rev. 24'; UM 29-15-800:8; and *passim*)

- (2) *ITI.ZÍZ.È (BE XIV 149:9)
 XII. (1) ITI.ŠĚ.KIN (PBS II/2 55:15, UET VII 15 rev. 15)

Aside from scribal errors, the most common variants may be characterized as: (a) dropping one part of a doubled element (V.1, IX.1); (b) orthographic substitutions, such as -.A for -.GA in SIG₄.GA (III.1, IV.1) and -.ĀM for -. (C)A (III.2, VIII.1) or the reverse (XI.1); (c) dropping of the final sign (IV.2, V.2, VIII.2, XII.1, and possibly I.2 and VI.2); and (d) the very rare lengthening of the name by the addition of -.A (III.3) or -.AN (V.3). Some of these transformations could be regarded as intermediate stages between the standard forms and the abbreviated logographic writings of the month names. Only five of these variants were in common use (III.1, III.2, V.1, IX.1, and XI.1).

Under Kadašman-Turgu (king No. 24), we find the earliest common occurrences of the shortened logographic forms of the month names,⁸ which consist of the determinative ITI plus the first sign in the old logogram, e.g., ITI.BĀR, ITI.GU₄, etc.⁹

Intercalary months were likewise in use in the Kassite period, though documentation is not sufficient to determine whether these months were inserted in a regular pattern.¹⁰ By far the more common intercalary month was the second ulūlu, the standard form of which was usually written ITI.KIN.^dINNIN.2.KAM(.MA).¹¹

⁸There are sporadic earlier attestations of the short forms, e.g.: CBS 4911:5 and CBS 11912 edge (reign of Kurigalzu II, king No. 22); BE XIV 55, tablet 7, and 58 *passim* and 79:10 (reign of Nazi-Maruttaš, king No. 23). Note also ITI.APIN in IM 49991 ii 8 (kudurru from the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš, year 5). At Ur, the shorter forms are practically unattested before the time of Adad-šuma-ušur (No. 32); and the longer forms predominate throughout the Kassite texts published in UET VII.

⁹A rare variant of the shortened form for ulūlu occurs: ITI.KIN.1.KAM (Ni. 828 rev. 2), in contradistinction to the intercalary ulūlu. (Kindly collated by Veysel Donbaz.)

¹⁰For instance, UM 29-13-661, published as Text No. 21 above, lists the years between year 151 of Kudur-Enlil (king No. 26) and year 3 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (king No. 27); and intercalary months were inserted in year 6 of Kudur-Enlil and the accession year and second year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, i.e., at intervals of two or three years. One may compare similar intervals in the damaged texts HS 166 and Ni. 7004. From economic texts, however, it seems that intercalary months were inserted in both the first and second years of Kudur-Enlil.

¹¹The form without -.MA may be found in BE XIV 75:9, BE XV 59:13, Ni. 285:10, UM 29-13-965:6, and *passim*. The form with -.MA may be found in BE XIV 12:1, BE XV 60:4-5 and 69:11, CBS 6634:8, HS 134:10, Ni. 487:9, Ni. 6198 rev. 11', and *passim*. L. 39456 rev. 2' has ITI.KIN.^dINNIN.2.MA (cf. CBS 11996 rev. 2': ITI.KIN.^dINNIN.[x].MA; both these texts are from the reign of Kaštiliašu IV). The corresponding short forms are ITI.KIN.2.KAM (Iraq XI [1949] 143,

Well-documented second *addaru*'s are thus far attested only early in the reign of Kudur-Enlil (king No. 26),¹² and their rarity might be surmised from the variety of ways in which scribes wrote the pertinent dates. The standard form for writing intercalary *addaru* was ITI.DIRI.ŠE.KIN.KUD,¹³ followed by a simple MU.1(or 2).KAM. An ampler form was ITI.DIRI.ŠE.KIN.KUD plus MU.1.KAM.DIRI,¹⁴ though this also occurs shortened to ITI.DIRI plus MU.1.KAM.DIRI.¹⁵ Somewhat puzzling is the omission of DIRI from the month name and its inclusion only with the year: ITI.ŠE(.KIN.KUD)--(day or days)--MU.1.KAM.DIRI.¹⁶ One would be inclined at first to interpret this as an alternative way of writing XIIa--year 1; but unfortunately ITI.ZÍZ.ÀM MU.1.KAM.DIRI also occurs.¹⁷ This could mean that months XI, XII, and XIIa were involved and that the year was designated as intercalary; but it is difficult to be certain.¹⁸

No. 1:24, N 2120:8) and ITI.KIN.2.KAM.MA (BM 17735:6, Ni. 2941 rev. 1, Ni. 7427:9); cf. also ITI.KIN.2 (Msk. 73273:9, information courtesy of D. Arnaud). Other variants include ITI.KIN.AN.NA.2.KAM (*UET* VII 48 rev. 5), and ITI.KIN.2.MA (Ni. 835:11; in this reference and in L. 39456, the "2" is written as two superimposed vertical wedges, somewhat like the abbreviated form of the Neo-Babylonian ŠÁ).

¹²An intercalary *addaru* (ITI.DIRI.ŠE.KIN.KUD) is also mentioned in Ni. 6318:6, a document dated in the sixteenth year of an unnamed but probably Kassite ruler (to judge from the script and the contents of the tablet).

¹³CBS 7810:6, N 2240:5', UM 29-13-836 rev. 3'.

¹⁴CBS 7713 rev. 8'-9'.

¹⁵CBS 8674:4-6. ITI.DIRI also appears alone in Ni. 11080, Ni. 11944, and Ni. 12340, though it is not always clear that XIIa is meant. ITI.ŠE.DIRI occurs in CBS 3019:6.

¹⁶CBS 8587:6 (and probably also CBS 13373:7), HS 120:6-7, HS 127:(9), Ni. 7947:4-5. A variant of this occurs in the phrase TA U₄.7.KAM ša ITI.ZÍZ EN U₄.29(or 30).KAM ša ITI.ŠE MU.1.KAM.DIRI (*PBS* II/2 45:6-8, CBS 13360:4-6, HS 118:6-8). MU.1.KAM.DI[RI] is also attested in Ni. 7828:5, but the preceding month name is not preserved. See also P.2.6.193 and n. 8 there.

¹⁷CBS 8741 rev. 10'-11'. Cf. Ni. 6072:13-14: TA ITI.DU₆.KÙ EN I'[TI.MN] MU.1.KAM.DIRI; the MN's mentioned in this text go only as far as XI.

¹⁸Since the references to both XI and XII in MU.1.KAM.DIRI occur only in the reign of Kudur-Enlil, it seems unlikely that both should be interpreted as intercalary months (making two of them in the same year). One should, however, note that intercalary XI (written ITI.ZÍZ.DIRI) occurs in OB: YOS XIII 272:10 (reference courtesy of H. Hunger).

An unpublished Kassite legal text (C.2.7.7) has a date reading ITI.BÁR.2.KAM MU.13.KAM ^dAdad-šuma-ušur LUGAL.E. This should probably be interpreted as ITI.BÁR <U₄>.2.KAM until other indications of intercalary Nisan in this period are discovered. (Note, however, that

The day section of the date is almost always written U_4 .number.KAM, with the number ranging from 1 to 30.¹⁹ The KAM is sometimes omitted, though not commonly.²⁰

The year section of the date formulae underwent considerable development during the Kassite period. Until at least the reign of Kurigalzu I (king No. ?17), year names were in use. Three such year names have survived:

- (1) mu *Ka-da-áš-ma-an-Ħar-be(!)* lugal(!)-[e] íd *Di-nik-tum*^{ki} [mu]-un-b[al(?)], "the year in which Kadašman-Ħarbe, the king, dug the canal of Diniktum" (Ni. 3199 rev. 11'-12', date published as Text No. 18 above)
- (2) mu *Ku-ri-gal-zu* lugal-e é-kur-igi-bar-ra mu-dû-a, "the year in which Kurigalzu, the king, built the Ekurigibar(r)a" (tablet in Istanbul, number unknown, cited after Kraus, *WZKM* LII [1953-55] 239; see Q.2.115.168 in the Catalogue)
- (3) mu *Ka-da-áš(?)*-ma(?)-[x] [] lugal-e x x (x) uru(?) KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI . . . , "the year in which Kadašma[n-x], the king, . . . Babylon" (UM 29-15-189 rev. 6'-8', published as Text No. 23 above).²¹

Beginning probably with at least the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I (No. ?18)²² and certainly at the latest by the reign of Burna-Buriasš II (No. ?19), years were dated by ordinal numbers within a reign, e.g., "the fifth year (MU.5.KAM) of Burna-Buriasš." There may be traces of a combination of the two types of year formulae--name and number--in two Burna-Buriasš dates, though the interpretation is uncertain:

- (1) mu-17-kam^d *Bur-<ra->Bu-ri-ia-aš* [ag]a(?) kù-gi ħuš-a gar-ra en-^dPA.KU-ra

intercalary Nisan is attested in OB times, e.g., *YOS* XIII 219:15 and 240:12, *CT* VIII 27a:28, references courtesy of H. Hunger; so one cannot rule out the possibility of an intercalary Nisan here.) It is also conceivable that ITI.GAN(.GAN).A.TAB, attested at Dūr-Kurigalzu in the reign of Kaštiliaš IV (*Sumer* IX, No. 8:10, No. 9:9), might be an intercalary month, though one should note that there was an intercalary *ulūlu* in the following year.

¹⁹There is no evidence in the dynasty for months of less than 30 days.

²⁰E.g., *PBS* II/2 50:13, 115:9; B. 69 rev. 6; CBS 10959:13; HS 144:28; Ni. 792 rev. 24'; Ni. 855:10 (U_4 .29 U_4 .30.KAM); Ni. 1528:19. Other scribal anomalies include the omission of U_4 (*BE* XV 48c:7, KAM is also omitted) and the doubling of U_4 (CBS 3136:8, Ni. 6052 rev. 13).

²¹For a discussion of the date of this text, see J.5.5 in the Catalogue.

²²For Ni. 437, a text which is dated in the fifteenth year of Kadašman-Enlil (probably I), see J.5.3 in the Catalogue.

mu-na-an-dím-ma (HS 2068:38-40, to be published as *TuM NF V 66*)

- (2) MU.ʽ25ʽ[(+1ʽ)].KAM Bur-(nal-Bu-ri-ia-aš MU re-[dil-i LUGAL ū-ʽma-as-su-úʽ]
(CBS 7151:18'-19', date published as Text No. 6 above).

With the preceding exceptions, beginning with the reign of Burna-Buriasš II, only minor variations to the MU.x.KAM formula occur: MU.x.KAM.MA,²³ MU.x (without KAM),²⁴ and MU.x.ĀM (the last in the Peiser archive only).²⁵ For the MU.l.KAM.DIRI formula, see the preceding section concerning intercalary months.

The evolution of the accession year formula follows a slightly different pattern. As I have pointed out elsewhere,²⁶ there are no attested "accession years" (MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA) before the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II (king No. 25). For two earlier reigns, those of Kadašman-Turgu (No. 24) and Kara-ḫardaš (No. 20), the equivalent of the accession year seems to have been designated as "the year after (the preceding king)," i.e., MU.ÚS.SA RN.²⁷ The custom in the earlier years of the dynasty is not yet known, though the Old Babylonian custom of retaining the last year name of the deceased king may have been followed. After the introduction of MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA in the early thirteenth century, only orthographic variants are attested until the end of the dynasty.²⁸

²³BE XIV 20:6, PBS VIII/2 162:28, BM 81092:13, N 1305 rev. 7, N 2257 rev. 4', N 2263:18, Ni. 6472:11, Ni. 12046 rev. 4'. These occurrences, where dated, are restricted to the reigns of Burna-Buriasš II (king No. 219) and Kurigalzu II (king No. 22) with the exception of N 2257, where the royal name begins ^mKa-da-[] (probably Kadašman-Enlil I; see J.5.7 in the Catalogue). There is no evidence that this formula is used in the time of Nazi-Maruttaš (king No. 23) or later, though toward the end of the dynasty the anomalous MU.x.KAM.x.KAM-type formula exhibits a MU.x.KAM.x.KAM.MA variant (*UET VII 47 rev. 5*).

²⁴BE XIV 5:14, 15:5; PBS II/2 50:14; *UET VII 31 rev. 12*; CBS 7247 rev. 5; HS 124:14; HS 139:27; HS 150:32; Peiser, *Urk.*, P 120 rev. 2; Ni. 32:12; Ni. 187:5; Ni. 303:8; YBC 7652:6; and *passim*. A substantial percentage of examples are from the reign of Burna-Buriasš II (king No. 219), though this usage continues to be attested rarely in most other reigns down to the time of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (king No. 30).

²⁵Peiser, *Urk.*, P 89, 102, 111, 116, 125, 135, 138 (all from the reigns of Kudur-Enlil or Šagarakti-Šuriasš, Nos. 26-27).

²⁶WO VI (1971) 153-56.

²⁷CBS 13100:11-14, UM 29-13-635:11-13. Recently, M. Horsnell in *ZA LXV/1* (1975) 28-33 has proposed a previously rejected and unlikely interpretation of these MU.ÚS.SA dates; his arguments, because they show several fundamental misunderstandings of the Kassite dating system, are discussed in the Addenda below.

²⁸MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL: *UET VII 23 rev. 13'*, BM 17735:8, BM 81283:9, IM 50994:15, Ni. 5856 rev. ii' 4', YBC 3072:17. MU.SAG.LUGAL.LA: PBS II/2 48 left edge 1. MU.SAG.LUGAL: *UET VII*

In cases where the royal name occurs as part of the date formula, the use of personal and divine determinatives before the name follows fairly regular patterns.²⁹ In general, where the name is Kassite, it is more commonly written without a preceding determinative. The use of the divine determinative before Kassite royal names is somewhat uncommon under Burna-Buriasš II (No. ?19) and Kurigalzu II (No. 22); it then becomes considerably more common for Nazi-Maruttasš (No. 23), Kadašman-Turgu (No. 24), Kadašman-Enlil II (No. 25), and Šagarakti-Šuriasš (No. 27) and then relatively rare again for Kaštiliašū IV (No. 28) and Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (No. 30). The final king with a Kassite name, Meli-Šipak (No. 33), as yet shows no writing with a preceding divine determinative. The use of a masculine personal determinative before Kassite royal names is restricted to the kings between Kadašman-Enlil I (No. ?18) and Nazi-Maruttasš (No. 23); and it tends to be relatively uncommon for Burna-Buriasš II (No. ?19) and his successors.

With Babylonian royal names, the rules are somewhat different and vary, depending on whether the name begins with a theophoric element or not. In cases where the name begins with a theophoric element, i.e., Adad-šuma-iddina (No. 31), Adad-šuma-ušur (No. 32), and Enlil-nādin-aḫi (No. 36), a divine determinative always precedes the name. On rare occasions in texts from Ur, this divine determinative is further preceded by a masculine personal determinative.³⁰ In the case of the only Babylonian royal name not beginning with a theophoric element, namely Kudur-Enlil (No. 26), the name is prefixed with either no determinative or with only the divine determinative; it is worthy of note that Kudur-Enlil's immediate predecessors and successor (Nos. 23-25 and 27), who bore Kassite names, also frequently had their names prefixed with the divine determinative.

21 rev. 12, Ni. 3163 rev. 2. MU.SAG: B. 77:30, CBS 7241:31, and in the kudurru narrative *MDP* VI 33 ii 13. Compare also the anomalous SAG MU.1(?).KAM (BM 38440 rev. 4', published as Text No. 3 above). All of these variants, where dated to a specific reign (as all but two are), occur in the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriasš (king No. 27) or later; and the shortest variant, MU.SAG, is attested only in the reigns of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (No. 30) and Meli-Šipak (No. 33).

²⁹Evidence for most of the statements in this and the next two paragraphs may readily be found by consulting the "Writing of the royal name" sections under the pertinent Catalogue entries.

³⁰This is true in at least four texts from the reigns of Adad-šuma-iddina (No. 31) and Adad-šuma-ušur (No. 32).

The significance of the divine determinative is not always clear. In many cases, it is used simply to signal that the royal name begins with a theophoric element. But in those instances in the economic-text date formulae where the royal name does not have an initial theophoric element and the divine determinative is nonetheless used, it is difficult to draw convincing conclusions about deification or about official scribal policy. No royal name without an initial theophoric element is ever consistently preceded by a divine determinative in the economic texts; and royal inscriptions do not, with the exception of a few Kurigalzu texts and a royal grant of a Kadasman-Enlil [J.4.1.3], prefix the divine determinative to such names.

The royal name, where followed by a title in the date formulae, is usually succeeded by LUGAL.E or just LUGAL.³¹ The only other title certainly attested is *šar kiššati*, which is found in fewer than ten texts of varying dates.³² The title *šar kaššî* may occur in UM 29-15-731:30 (reign of Burna-Burias, No. ?19), though the LUGAL is uncertain.³³

Having now considered the various elements that make up the date formulae, we turn to the formulae themselves. The fullest form of the simple date formula, that is, the formula that indicates a point in time (be it day, month, and/or year), is: month--day--year--royal name--royal title. Shorter forms of the simple formula are common. The royal title is frequently omitted,³⁴ and both the royal name and title are also often left out.³⁵ The other elements may

³¹LUGAL.E is probably to be read simply as *šarru* and seems to have derived from the royal title plus the Sumerian agentive, perhaps as used in year names. For a fuller discussion, see PKB, p. 167.

³²In these texts *šar* is always written LUGAL; *kiššati* is written in a variety of ways: *kiš-ša-ti* (BE XIV 41:19), *KIŠI* (L. 39432:9), *ŠAR* (Ni. 7974 rev. 2), *KI.ŠAR.RA* (UM 55-21-265:36 and possibly Ni. 2600:14, though the *ŠAR* here is doubtful), *ŠU* (CBS 7238:17, YBC 3071:11), and *50* (BE XIV 40:32, CT LI 22:8). Some of these uncommon writings for the MB period should be added to the appropriate sections in *CAD*, *Ahw*, and Seux, *Épithètes royales*.

³³LUGAL *ka-aš-šu-ú* is attested as a royal title in building inscriptions of Kara-indaš, king No. ?15 (IV R [2d ed.] 36, No. 3:8, etc.).

³⁴BE XIV *passim*, etc.

³⁵Especially in personal administrative memoranda, where the tablet would be unlikely to be kept long on file (and hence little confusion was apt to arise over which reign was meant). Many texts with date formulae lacking a royal name and title are published in BE XV.

likewise occur in varying combinations: each of them alone,³⁶ just month and day,³⁷ or just month and year.³⁸ Occasionally either the day, month, or year may be doubled, for example, Simānu, the tenth day, the eleventh day, the fifteenth year of RN.³⁹ Infrequently, the order in which the elements occur is altered, for example, day--month--year(--RN),⁴⁰ year(--RN)--month--day,⁴¹ year--RN--month.⁴² Extraneous elements are only rarely inserted into the date formula, for example, month--day--GN--year.⁴³

The formulae that deal with inclusive dates ("from . . . to . . .") may be divided into several types, depending on whether the shift involved is between days, months, years, and/or reigns. In general, there is close parallelism between the two terms of the expression, for example, from day--month--year to day--month--year or from month--year to month--year (types A-D below). Occasionally, however, the second term is more specific than the first (type E). The

³⁶Day: *Sumer* IX No. 27 edge; Ni. 1670:17. Month: Ni. 949:14. Year: *BE* XV 20:7, 93:6; CBS 2119:7; and *passim*.

³⁷BM 17689:5-6, CBS 7249:5, CBS 8498 iv 1-2 (doubled day), CBS 8879 iv 6-7, CBS 9854 iv 9-10 (doubled day), CBS 11423 iv 13-14, IM 50061:35, and *passim*. Cf. *BE* XIV 9a:5-7 (month--day--year?--RN) and 117a:8-9 (day--month--year?--RN).

³⁸*BE* XV 5:10-11, 26:10-11; *CT* LI 40:9-10; CBS 2999:4-5; CBS 3081:9-10; CBS 3099:10-11; CBS 3713:6-7; and *passim*. Atypical: ITI.ŠE.KIN.KUD ša MU.2.KAM RN (Ni. 11094).

³⁹The days, months, or years in such cases are always successive. Doubled days, besides the examples cited in note 37, are: Ni. 795 edge 1, Ni. 837 rev. 3, Ni. 855:10, Ni. 7835:7, Ni. 8023, Ni. 8598 rev. 6-7. Doubled months: *BE* XIV 56:11-12, BM 17731:6-7 (the latter with ð between the month names). Doubled years: Ni. 943:47; compare HS 152:15 and Ni. 6880 iv 14. The doubled years especially deal with tax payments or rations spread over more than one year; and it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the final indication of time in the text should be interpreted as a date formula or rather translated as part of a broader context such as "tēlītu (for) years 7 and 8," etc.

⁴⁰*BE* XIV 106b (= *PBS* II/2 39) lines 2-4, *BE* XIV 107:5-8, Ni. 397:8-10, HS 128:15-17. Just day and month: IM 50061:35, N 3734:7-8, Ni. 1647:17-18.

⁴¹*BE* XV 122:9-10, CBS 13516 rev. 10'-11', Ni. 437:14-15, Ni. 12046 rev. 4'-6' (year--RN--month--day). Cf. *BE* XIV 23:3-4 (not at end of text).

⁴²Ni. 7016 edge.

⁴³CBS 3103:6-9; cf. KASKAL A.AB.BA inserted in the same place in Ni. 6689:3-6 and some of the anomalous dates with *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* listed below. A GN is inserted after a month name in inclusive dates (discussed below): UM 29-15-784:7-11 (type A.2), *BE* XIV 55:5-9 (type B.3). Ni. 241:7-10 also has an additional line (meaning undetermined) between the day and the year.

Following examples illustrate the major styles found in formulae expressing inclusive dates.

A. Different days within the same month

A.1 "month A--from day B to day C--year D--(RN, etc.)"

ITI.A TA U₄.B.KAM EN U₄.C.KAM MU.D.KAM⁴⁴ (RN, etc.)

Examples: *BE* XIV 48a:3-6, 70:4-7, 71:3-7; *PBS* II/2 119:9-12; and *passim*. Variants: *a-di* for EN in CBS 3000:9, CBS 10238:5.⁴⁵

A.2 "from day A to day B--month C--year D--(RN, etc.)"

TA U₄.A.KAM EN U₄.B.KAM ITI.C MU.D.KAM (RN, etc.)

Examples: *BE* XIV 85:4-9, *CT* LI 22:4-8, *Ni.* 40:8-13, *Ni.* 51:3-4, *Ni.* 2236 rev. 20'-22', and *passim*. Variants: *BE* XIV 82:4-8 inserts ša after U₄.B.KAM; *UM* 29-15-784:7-11 inserts a GN after ITI.C.

B. Different months within the same year

B.1 "from month A to month B (of) year C--(RN, etc.)"

TA ITI.A EN ITI.B (ša) MU.C.KAM (RN, etc.)

Examples without ša: *BE* XIV 80:7-10; *BE* XV 7:10-11, 69:10-12; *HS* 131 rev. 13-15; *Ni.* 189:9-10; *Ni.* 901 rev. 3-5; *Ni.* 2222:8-9; and *passim*. Examples with ša: *BE* XIV 91a:2, CBS 7241:30-32, *Ni.* 11330 rev. 4'-6'. *BE* XV 152:16 omits everything after ITI.B.

B.2 Exceptional: "from month A of year B--to month C of year B--RN"

TA ITI.A ša MU.B.KAM EN ITI.C ša MU.B.KAM RN

Example: *BE* XIV 58:51.

B.3 "from day A of month B--to day C of month D--year E--(RN, etc.)"

TA U₄.A.KAM ša ITI.B EN U₄.C.KAM ša ITI.D MU.E.KAM (RN, etc.)

Examples: *BE* XV 18:7-11, CBS 3348:8-11, CBS 7257:8-11, *HS* 119:4-6, *HS* 125:4-6, *HS* 138:6-8, *HS* 738:5-9, *Ni.* 329:7-10, and *passim*.

Variants: *a-di* for EN in CBS 8091:2; *iš-tu* for TA and *a-di* for EN in *PBS* II/2 24:3-6; GN inserted before year: *BE* XIV 55:7 (case) and 8 (tablet); ša's omitted: *Ni.* 2590 rev. 4'-6', *Ni.* 8599 rev. 2'-3' (*BE* XIV 118:31-34 omits only the second ša).⁴⁶

⁴⁴MU.D.KAM, and its equivalents in later examples, can be replaced by any of the expressions for year or accession year noted above.

⁴⁵*PBS* II/2 8:10-14 (collated), presumably through a *lapsus calami*, gives a date "from day 11 to day 8" of the same month.

⁴⁶*BE* XV 151:4-5 (TA U₄.30.KAM ša ITI.GAN.GAN) may be an uncompleted version of a similar date.

B.4 "month A from day B--to day C of month D--year E--(RN, etc.)
 ITI.A TA U₄.B.KAM EN U₄.C.KAM ša ITI.D MU.E.KAM (RN, etc.)⁴⁷
 Examples: CBS 8810:6-8, Ni. 426:6-8, Ni. 6692:6-7. Variant: ša
 omitted in Ni. 11856 rev. 2'-5'.

C. Different years within the same reign

C.1 "from year A to year B--(RN, etc.)"

TA MU.A.KAM EN MU.B.KAM--(RN, etc.)

Examples: BE XIV 112:20, 114b:14-15; cf. Ni. 314 heading and rev.
 5'-6' and Peiser, *Urk.*, P 96 rev. 11.

C.2 "from month A of year B--to month C of year D--(RN, etc.)"

TA ITI.A ša MU.B.KAM EN ITI.C ša MU.D.KAM (RN, etc.)

Examples: BE XV 10:11-12, 23:8-11, 96:1; HS 147 rev. 13-16;⁴⁸
 Ni. 2256:1-2; Ni. 6397 edge 1-2 (partially restored); cf. Ni. 6961
 edge 1-2. Variants: iš-tu for TA and a-di for EN in BE XIV 56a:2;
 TA ITI.A ša MU.B.KAM RN EN ITI.C ša MU.D.KAM (HS 147 edge 1-3).

C.3 "from day A of month B of year C--to day D of month E of year F--
 (RN, etc.)"

TA U₄.A.KAM ša ITI.B ša MU.C.KAM EN U₄.D.KAM ša ITI.E ša MU.F.KAM
 (RN, etc.)

Examples: BE XIV 133:10-13 (omits ša before MU.F.KAM); CBS 8112:17-101
 (omits KAM after MU.C and U₄.D).

D. Different reigns

D.1 "from year A, RN₁--to year B, RN₂"

TA MU.A.KAM RN₁ EN MU.B.KAM RN₂ (hypothetical)⁴⁹

Example: Ni. 5933 rev. 4'-7' (deals with the accession years of Šaga-
 rakti-Šuriaš and Kaštiliašu IV). Variant: HS 123:18'-19', which omits
 the KAM following MU.A and has accession year in place of MU.B.KAM.

E. Unequal terms (second term more specific)

E.1 "from month A--to day B of month C, year D--(RN, etc.)"

⁴⁷This formula seems almost an aberration, as though the scribe mistakenly began to write a formula of type A.1, but switched to B.3 when he realized that there was a change of month as well as day. But four occurrences in different contexts seem to justify classifying it as a separate type.

⁴⁸The line numbering of the reverse used here differs from that in Petschow's edition in that it counts as a line a line of erasures between Petschow's lines 29-30.

⁴⁹I.e., in the sense that rather than MU.A/B.KAM it is mainly accession years which are attested in this formula.

TA ITI.A EN U₄.B.KAM ša ITI.C MU.D.KAM (RN, etc.)

Examples: CBS 7707:9-12, Ni. 295:8-11, Ni. 6050:24-25.⁵⁰ CBS 7810:6-7 omits TA; HS 2181:3'-5' has ul-tu₄ for TA and [x-(x)] (possibly [a(1)-dil]) for EN (but cf. Petschow No. 68). N 2911 has a similar date, but is damaged.

E.2 "from month A of year B--to month C, day D, year E--RN"

TA ITI.A ša MU.B.KAM EN ITI.C U₄.D.KAM MU.E.KAM RN

Example: HS 153:30-31.

E.3 "from year A--to month B of year C--RN"

TA MU.A.[KAM] EN IT[I.B š]a MU.C.KAM RN

Example: HS 163+ rev. 16'-17' (collated).

E.4 "from year A, RN₁--to month B of year C, RN₂"

TA MU.A.KAM RN₁ EN ITI.B.2.KAM.MA ša MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.L[A] RN₂⁵¹

Example: PBS II/2 54:19-21.

E.5 "from year A, RN₁--to day B of month C, year D, RN₂"

TA MU.A.KAM RN₁ EN U₄.B.KAM ša ITI.C MU.D.KAM RN₂

Example: Ni. 6671 rev. 1-3.

In the following paragraphs, we shall consider three anomalous formulae connected with dates in texts written under the Kassite dynasty.

First, there is a text from Dūr-Kurigalzu that ends with this curious dating: "Month Tebētu, ninth day, third year (of)⁵² Nazi-Maruttaš, fourth year (of) Kadašman-Turgu, king; total: seventh year."⁵³ Rowton in *JNES* XXV (1966) 256 has suggested this interpretation: that "third year" refers to the date of the accession year (of Kadašman-Turgu) reckoned from an event in the preceding reign (i.e., of Nazi-Maruttaš), that "fourth year" gives the date of the text reckoned from the accession year (of Kadašman-Turgu), and that "seventh year" gives the date of the text reckoned from the event in the preceding reign. In other words, the text involves the last three official years of Nazi-Maruttaš and the first four of Kadašman-Turgu. This solution, however, forces one to disregard the usual sense of "third year (of) Nazi-Maruttaš," which applies literally to other Kassite dating formulae (which are reckoned from the

⁵⁰Ni. 6050:1-3 (heading) has a more usual formula of type B.3, which covers the same period.

⁵¹The text is cited more specifically for this single example.

⁵²No ša present here or before the next RN.

⁵³*Iraq* XI (1949) 144, No. 4:46-47.

accession year). I have no alternative hypothesis to propose.

Second, there are the double-numbered year dates, partially collected and discussed by Rowton in *JNES* XXV (1966) 255. These normally cite month and day in the usual manner, but then give the year with a double ordinal number: MU.A.KAM.B.KAM(.MA), with B in all clearly identified cases being 2 or 3.

Here are the examples presently known to me:

MU.6.KAM.3.KAM Adad-šuma-ušur (*UET* VII 33 rev. 16-17)

MU.[7(?).KAM.3.KAM] Adad-šuma-ušur (B. 69 rev. 6-7)

MU.9.KAM.3.KAM Adad-šuma-ušur (B. 70:20-21)

MU.2.KAM.2.KAM.[MA] Meli-Šipak (*UET* VII 47 rev. 5-6)

MU.3.KAM.2.KAM Meli-Šipak (*CT* XL 48-49, BM 108874, colophon)

MU.4.KAM.2.KAM Meli-Šipak (*UET* VII 70:2)

MU.1.KAM.2.KAM Marduk-apla-iddina (*Iraq* XI [1949] 146, No. 7:23-24)

MU.3.KAM.[2(?).KAM] Marduk-apla-iddina (IM 49992:34-35).

These texts come from three successive reigns (kings Nos. 32-34) at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. They do not supersede single-numbered year dates, which are likewise attested for each of these reigns. The second ordinal number in each of the double-numbered year dates falls into a clear pattern: always 3 for Adad-šuma-ušur, always 2 for Meli-Šipak and Marduk-apla-iddina. Rowton has suggested that a date such as MU.4.KAM.2.KAM be interpreted as "the fourth year (after) year 2 (when) RN (became) king" and that the second ordinal number in each case represents the years of a coregency of the king with his predecessor. There is no question that these three kings represent successive generations of the royal family, which occupied the throne one after the other. But Adad-šuma-ušur came to the throne as the result of a rebellion against the Assyrians, and a coregency immediately preceding his accession would be quite unlikely in this case. Other possible interpretations, admittedly highly speculative, might be mentioned: (a) the dates be interpreted literally as, for example, "the second fourth year" (i.e., the eighth year), and so on;⁵⁴ or, much less likely, (b) the dates reflect

⁵⁴This proposal is mildly supported by evidence from IM 49992 and IM 50025, texts found in the same locus and stratum in the palace at Tell el-Abyad and apparently coming from the same archive. These both deal with the issue of woollen garments from the stores at Dūr-Kurigalzu, involve the same three persons--two scribes (Rimūt-Baba and Šamaš-nādin-šumi) and the *bēl piḫati* official Munnabittu--and are dated respectively VIII-15?-year 3.KAM.[2(?).KAM] and V-25-year 6 of Marduk-apla-iddina I. Of course, there is no reason why such a three-

an alternate system of dating by ten-year cycles, which would have come into effect sometime between year 13 and year 26 of Adad-šuma-ušur (so perhaps around year 21) and continued through the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I.⁵⁵ At present, any solution proposed is bound to be hypothetical because of the dearth of contemporary material.⁵⁶

The final question deals with the *elē šarri* dates, last discussed by Biggs in *JCS* XIX (1965) 96, n. 11. There he perceptively translated the phrase, known at that time from three published Nippur texts, as the "coming up" of the king and deduced from its use (in dates only at the very end or beginning of years) that the king was in Nippur for the New Year festival. Earlier El-Wailly in his unpublished doctoral dissertation had considered the phrase at length and had discarded the reading of it as a royal name (either "Eli, the king" or "Eli-šarri") in favor of a translation "against the account of" the king.⁵⁷ That Biggs' translation of *elē* as an infinitive from *elû* is correct

person team could not have worked together for more than a few months or a single year; but the only other dated text in this archive, IM 50023 (published as *Iraq* XI [1949] 146, No. 7), comes from year 1.KAM.2.KAM of Marduk-apla-iddina I and has the same two scribes with a different supervisor (in this case Šamaš-bēl-ilī, the governor, i.e., *šakin Dūr-K[ur]igalzu*). The evidence is hardly convincing.

⁵⁵Thus MU.6.KAM.3.KAM would represent the sixth year in the third decade of the king's reign (i.e., year 26), MU.3.KAM.2.KAM the third year in the second decade (i.e., year 13), etc. This hypothesis is not contradicted by any of the present evidence since Adad-šuma-ušur, Meli-Šipak, and Marduk-apla-iddina I are supposed to have ruled for 30, 15, and 13 years, respectively (so none of the dates, interpreted according to a decade cycle, would exceed the known lengths of their reigns). But this system would have to have been used alternately with the older system, since there is a text dated in year 12 of Meli-Šipak (S.2.10.7); but a simultaneous alternate usage would be involved in any of the solutions for double-numbered year dates proposed thus far.

⁵⁶BM 38440 rev. 4', published above as Text No. 3, has a year date SAG MU.1(?)KAM, which has some similarities to the dates discussed here (though if "1" is read rather than "2"--the latter being a possible though less likely reading--it would destroy the 3-2 pattern of the second ordinal numbers in the other dates). If it refers to the accession and first years, then neither Rowton's suggestion nor either of the other interpretations offered here could be correct. (Perhaps *rēš šatti*, if this were an acceptable reading in BM 38440, after a month and day might have another meaning.) The reading and significance of the phrase are at present unclear.

⁵⁷Faisal J. El-Wailly, "The Political History of the Kassite Period in Babylonia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 24-25.

may now be seen from unpublished texts in which *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* (coming/going up and coming/going down⁵⁸ of the king) are grouped together. There are texts in which *arād šarri* occurs alone, as well as new attestations of the *elē šarri* formula. I cite here the examples known to me:

A. *arād šarri* and *elē šarri* together

- A.1 ITI.BÁR.ZAG.GAR U₄.15(?).KAM 'MU.18.KAM' e-le LUGAL ù a-rad [LUGAL] (BM 81205:8-10, published as Text No. 4 above)
- A.2 a-rad LUGAL ù e-le LUGAL (then follows the body of the text) ITI. 'BÁR.ZAG'.GAR U₄.4.KAM MU.25.KAM (Ni. 6254:2 and rev. 2'-4'; lines 1-2 copied as Text No. 19 below)
- A.3 Dubious: e-le LUGAL(?) ù a-ra-ad šar-ri (BE XV 199:30, not in date formula)⁵⁹

B. *arād šarri*

- B.1 ITI.ZÍZ.A U₄.19.KAM MU.15.KAM a-rad LUGAL (UM 29-13-934b:6-9)
- B.2 ITI.ŠE.KIN.KUD U₄. '15'. [KAM] MU.16.KAM a-rad LUGAL (UM 29-13-578 rev. 3'-5')
- B.3 ITI.ZÍZ.ÀM a-rad LUGAL MU.15.KAM (Ni. 805:21-22)
- B.4 [a-rad] LUGAL ITI.ŠE. 'KIN'.KUD MU.5.KAM Na-zi-Mu-ru-ut-taš (CBS 13352:5-8)
- B.5 a-[ra-ad] LU[GAL] [ITI.ZÍZ].ÀM U₄.22[.KAM MU. (x+)]1.KAM^d Ku-dur-^dE[N.LÍL] (Ni. 2973:6-8)
- B.6 ak-lu₄ a-rad LUGAL ŠU^m Ba-bi-li-i [ITI].ŠE MU.1.KAM.DIRI^[d] Ku-dur-ri-^dEN.L[ÍL] (CBS 8587:4-7)
- B.7 [ak-lu₄] a-rad [LUGAL] ŠU^m Na-ḫi-ra-nu [ITI].ŠE MU.1.KAM.DIRI [^(d)K]u-dur-ri-^dEN.LÍL (CBS 13373:5-8)

⁵⁸The translation of these infinitives as "coming" or "going" up/down is moot, since the infinitive does not exhibit a ventive. One would have to know the point of departure before and point of arrival after the king's journeys to translate the phrase accurately. If the journeys involved were from either of the known Kassite capitals at Babylon or Dūr-Kurigalzu (both to the north of Nippur) to Nippur and back again, then the correct translation might be "coming down" and "going up." (Or one might consider even the possibility of upward and downward movement within Nippur, e.g., in relation to the ziggurat or some other landmark.) The evidence is not sufficiently specific, and the texts involved are too laconic to offer a clue.

⁵⁹Though the reading LUGAL is accepted in CAD A/2 213b, the sign in the text is quite atypical. This reference will be disregarded here since the reading is uncertain and since the dating of the occurrence is insufficiently precise to be of service for our purposes.

- B.8 *ak-lu*₄ *a-rad* LUGAL ŠU^m *Ta-ri-bu* ITI.ŠE MU.3.KAM^d *Ku-dūr-ri-d* EN.LÍL
(CBS 8671:3-6)
- B.9 *a-rad* LUGAL ù *la a-ša-bu* ITI.ZÍZ.ÀM ITI.ŠE.KIN.KUD MU.12.KAM
Na-zi-Ma-ru-taš (BE XIV 56:9-14)
- B.10 *qé-mu šá ni tu*[*m*(?)] *ša a-rad* LUGAL []^{md} AMAR.UTU-x[-(x)]
ITI.BÁ[R.ZA]G.GAR U₄.[26]KAM MU.15.KAM (UM 29-13-869:2-6)
- B.11 *a-rad* LUGAL DUMU^m [*x*]-*x-li-tum* ITI.BÁR.ZAG.GAR MU.6.KAM (CBS 3713:
4-7)⁶⁰
- C. *elē šarri*
- C.1 ITI.ŠE.[KIN].KUD U₄.29.KAM [MU].12.KAM [e-le] LUGAL (Ni. 861:6-8)
- C.2 ITI.ŠE.KIN.KUD U₄.29.KAM MU.12.KAM e-le LUGAL (PBS II/2 57:6-8)
- C.3 ITI.BÁR.ZAG.GAR U₄.2.KAM MU.13.KAM e-le LUGAL (BE XV 34:5-7)
- C.4 ITI.ŠE.[KIN.KUD] U₄.[29.KAM] MU.17.KAM e-le LUGAL (CBS 11534:5-8)
- C.5 ITI.ŠE.KIN.KUD U₄.30.KAM e-le LUGAL MU.12.KAM (BE XV 33:6-8)
- C.6 *ak-lu*₄ e-le LUGAL ŠU^m *Ū-zi-bu* ITI.ŠE MU.1.KAM^d *Ku-dur-ri-d* EN.LÍL
(Ni. 2240:3-5).

Though we are unable to reconstruct the situation behind this usage, several observations may be made on the patterns of presently known attestations. First, most of the phrases occur connected with date formulae, often immediately before or after them or, in two cases (B.3, C.5), in the middle of them. These texts are not all from a single reign; two of them bear dates of Nazi-Maruttas,

⁶⁰In addition, there are two texts ending *aklu qāt* PN₁ (*qāt* PN₂) *a-rad* DUMU LUGAL plus dates in the reign of Kudur-Enlil (Ni. 2173, dated IV-28?-year 2 [PN and *mār šarri* slightly damaged], and CBS 13364, dated IV-28-year 3). Are the same or similar month-day dates in these two instances mere coincidence? Or do they imply that the presence of a prince, perhaps the crown prince, was required at Nippur for a specific (religious?) purpose at that time? For offerings made at Nippur in the Enlil and Ninlil temples on IV-28, see Landsberger, *Kultische Kalender*, p. 31; and for the possibility that an *akītu*-feast was celebrated in the month *šu-numun-na* (known from Ur in earlier periods), see Falkenstein, *Friedrich Festschrift*, pp. 151-52 and n. 30 (partially correcting Landsberger's earlier statements about the *á-ki-ti š[u]-numun-na*). Though the evidence is slight, it is of particular interest because of the general clustering of the *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* dates around the beginning of Nisan, when the New Year festival was normally celebrated in at least later Babylonia.

Ni. 7828 is broken, but apparently had either *a-rad ša[rri]* or *a-rad m[ār šarri]* in a similar context (MU.1.KAM.DI[RI] of [Ku]dur-Enlil, so the restoration is perhaps more likely to be *ša[rri]* than *m[ār šarri]*).

king No. 23 (B.4, B.9), and five have dates of Kudur-Enlil, king No. 26 (B.5-8, C.6). The rest of the texts are dated between year 6 and year 25 of an unspecified king or kings: years 12, 13, 17 for *elē šarri*; years 6, 15, and 16 for *arād šarri*; and years [18] and 25 for the two phrases together.⁶¹ The *arād šarri* references, with two exceptions (B.10, B.11), tend to cluster in months XI and/or XII, with the latest day in the sequence being XII-14(+); the exceptions date from I-[26] and I (without day). The *elē šarri* texts are all dated between XII-29 and I-2, with one text dated simply XII (C.6). The texts in which *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* occur together are dated between I-4 and I-15(?). In summary, all these formulae are dated between months XI and I, clustering around the New Year date.⁶² The *arād šarri* dates tend generally to be earlier than the *elē šarri* dates, while the two certain attestations of the phrases together alternate as to whether *arād* or *elē* is placed first in the sequence. Many of these texts are *aklu* documents⁶³ (B.6-8, B.11, C.4, C.6) or similar to *aklu* documents (A.1, B.1, B.9, C.1, C.2); and almost all of them deal with provisions. Because of the distribution of the month and day dates for *arād šarri* and *elē šarri* and because *elē* can also be translated as "going up" (to Babylon or elsewhere), it would be difficult to draw conclusions about the king's presence in Nippur at the exact time for the celebration of the New Year festival. Further analysis is needed.

⁶¹Prosopography may eventually help to identify the kings involved.

⁶²The *arād mār šarri* texts (see note 60 above) are both dated in month IV.

⁶³For the most recent discussion of this type of text, see Petschow, pp. 62-79.

APPENDIX B
BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR CHRONOLOGICAL SOURCES

This bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely to list the major text publications for kinglists and chronicles cited in the Catalogue above. Fuller bibliographies for most of these texts may eventually be found in Grayson, *ABC*. Minor corrections or notes affecting only individual lines or passages in these texts are cited under the appropriate entry in the Catalogue.

Kinglists

1. Kinglist A (BM 33332, formerly Rm. 3,5)

- 1884 T. G. Pinches, *PSBA* VI 193-202 (description, printed copy on two unnumbered plates, tables, notes)
- 1889 H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 146-47 (copy by L. Abel)
- 1893 J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott* I 60 (copy), II 277 (notes)
- 1893 F. Delitzsch, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Classe* XLV 183-89 (collations, notes)
- 1897 P. Rost, *MVAG* II 241-42 (copy)
- 1898 F. Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme*, Pls. 1-2 (photo, copy, discussion of collation), pp. 13-29 (notes)
- 1921 C. J. Gadd, *CT* XXXVI 24-25 (copy; reproduced in F. Schmidtke, *Der Aufbau der babylonischen Chronologie*, Pls. 2-3)
- 1969 A. K. Grayson, *AOAT* I 106-9 (description of tablet, collations), 116 (copies of individual signs), Pls. 1-2 (photographs)

Readings given in the Catalogue for sections of Kinglist A are based on my collations of the text made several times between 1965 and 1973.

2. Assyrian synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (excavation number: Assur 14616c)

- 1920 O. Schroeder, *KAV* 216 (copy of reverse made from photo)
- 1921 E. F. Weidner, *MVAG* XXVI/2, four unnumbered plates (copy from excavation photo), pp. 13-16 (transliteration)
- 1926 E. F. Weidner, *AfO* III 66-77 (copy made from new photo, partial

transliteration, discussion of text); see also Weidner's later note in *Afo XVII* (1954-56) 383-84, n. 1

1959-60 E. F. Weidner, *Afo XIX* 138 (citing and commenting on collations made by F. R. Kraus in 1949)

Readings given above in the Catalogue for this text are based on my detailed collations of the visibly deteriorating tablet and of the excavation photos in the summer of 1971.

Chronicles

1. Chronicle P (BM 92701, formerly 82-7-4,38)

1894 T. G. Pinches, *JRAS*, pp. 807-33 (printed copy, transliteration, translation, notes)

1895 H. Winckler, *AOF I* 297-303 (copy); cf. *ibid.*, pp. 115-30 (notes, published in 1894)

1904 L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, pp. 51 (photo), 96-101 (printed copy, transliteration, translation), 157 (copy); this edition treats iv 1-13 only

1959 E. F. Weidner, *Tn. I*, No. 37 (transliteration, translation, notes relating to iv 1-13)

1967 unpublished version of A. K. Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 22 (transliteration, translation, notes)¹

2. Chronicle of Early Kings (BM 26472, BM 96152)²

1907 L. W. King, *CCEBK I*, p. iv (photo of obverse of BM 26472); *II*, p. iv (photo of reverse of BM 96152), 3-24 (printed copy, transliteration, translation, notes), 113-27 (copy)

1967 unpublished version of A. K. Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 20 (transliteration, translation, notes)

3. Chronicle of the Market Prices (BM 48498, formerly 81-11-3,1209)

1967 unpublished version of A. K. Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 23 (transliteration, translation, notes)

4. BM 27796 (98-7-11,61)

1974 unpublished version of a newly found Babylonian chronicle (copy and

¹The final edition of *ABC* will also include photos and/or copies of some of the chronicles. (The 1967 manuscript to which I have had access does not include this material, and so reference to it is omitted here.)

²Only the second of these tablets contains material pertinent to the Kassite dynasty.

transliteration provided by C. B. F. Walker)

5. VAT 13056 (formerly VAT 10349)

1963 E. F. Weidner, *AfO* XX 115-16 (transliteration, translation, notes; copy by O. Schroeder)

1967 unpublished version of A. K. Grayson, *ABC*, Assyrian Chronicle Fragment No. 1 (transliteration, translation, notes)

A fuller bibliography may appear in the published version of Grayson, *ABC*.

6. Synchronistic History (K. 4401a + Rm. 854; duplicates: K 4401b, Sm. 2106)

1866 H. Rawlinson and E. Norris, *II R* 65, No. 1 (copy of K. 4401a)

1870 H. Rawlinson and G. Smith, *III R* 4, No. 3 (copy of K. 4401b)

1889 H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 148-52 (copies of all texts by L. Abel)

1904 L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, pp. 100-105 (printed copy, transliteration, and translation of Sm. 2106 obv. and K. 4401b obv. ii 1-8), pp. 159-61 (copies of K 4401b obv. ii and Sm. 2106 obv.)

1914 L. W. King, *CT XXXIV* 38-43 (copies of all texts)

1967 unpublished version of A. K. Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 21 (transliteration, translation, notes)

A fuller bibliography may eventually be found in Grayson, *ABC*.

APPENDIX C
THE CHRONICLE TRADITION CONCERNING THE DEPOSING OF
THE GRANDSON OF AŠŠUR-UBALLIṬ I

Since some of the more respected recent histories that discuss events in fourteenth-century Babylonia present questionable interpretations of Assyro-Babylonian relations and the sequence of Babylonian rulers between Burna-Buriaš II and Kurigalzu II,¹ it seems worthwhile to raise the topic once again. It will be clear that the following treatment agrees in many points with the perceptive discussion by Röllig in *Heidelberger Studien*, pp. 173-77, many of whose valuable conclusions--and their ramifications--have been overlooked by historians.

The historical questions involved here are reducible basically to the interpretation(s) placed on two chronicle passages, one in the Babylonian Chronicle P, the other in the Assyrian Synchronistic History. It will be helpful, therefore, to cite in full the pertinent lines:

Chronicle P i²

- 5' [Kadašman-Ḫa]rbe mār Kara-indaš mārū ša Muballiṭat-Šērūa (Šērūa?,
written EDIN-u-a)
- 6' [mārassu] ša Aššur-uballiṭ šar māt Aššur kamāri Sutî rabbātu
- 7' ultu šīt Šamši adi erēb Šamši išpurma adi lā bašē emūqēšunu <ušālik(?)>³
- 8' birātu ina qereb (šadî) Ḫiḫi ukaššir būr kuppū iptēma
- 9' ana maššartu dunnunu nišē ina libbišina aburriš ušēšib arkānu
- 10' nišū Kaššî ibbalkitūšu idūkūšu Šuzigaš māt Kaššâ
- 11' mār lā mamnu ana šarrūtu ana muḫḫišunu iššū Aššur-uballiṭ
- 12' [šar m]āt Aššur ana turru gimir ša Kadašman-Ḫarbe mār mārṭišu
- 13' [an]a māt Kar(an)dunia[š i]llik Šuzigaš māt Kaššâ
- 14' [idūk Kuri-galzu mār Kadaš]man-Ḫarbe ina ku[ssî abišu ušēšib]

¹E.g., Rowton, *CAH I/1* (3d ed.) 205; Garelli, *Le Proche-Orient asiatique des origines aux invasions des peuples de la mer* (Paris, 1969) p. 204. See also Gadd, *CAH II/2* (3d ed.) 28-31.

²The Akkadian transcriptions given here are based on the texts as established in Grayson, *ABC*. Partial restorations (half-brackets) have not been indicated in the transcription or translation.

³Restoration following Grayson, *ABC*.

"[Kadašman-Ḥarbe, son of Kara-indaš (and)⁴ son of Muballiṭat-Šērūa, [the daughter] of Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, ordered the defeat of the mighty(?) Sutiāns from east to west and *had* their forces *annihilated*. He set up fortresses on Mount Ḥiḥi.⁵ He opened up well(s) from(lit.: of) the spring(s) and settled people in safety in (the fortresses) to strengthen the guard.

"Afterwards, the Kassite people revolted against him (and) killed him. They raised Šuzigaš, a Kassite, son of a nobody, to kingship over them. Aššur-uballiṭ, [king of] Assyria, went [t]o Babylonia to avenge Kadašman-Ḥarbe, his daughter's son. [He killed] Šuzigaš, the Kassite. [He set Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-Ḥarbe on the th[rone of his father.]"

Synchronistic History i

- 8' *ina tarṣi Aššur-uballiṭ šar māt Aššur Kara-ḤARdaš*
 9' *šar māt Karduniaš mār Muballiṭat-Šērūa*
 10' *mārat Aššur-uballiṭ s̄abē Kaššē*
 11' *ibbalkitūma idūkūšu Nazi-Bugaš*
 12' *[māt Kašša]ja mār lā mammana ana šarrūte ana muḥḥīšunu iššū*

-
- 13' *[Aššur-uballiṭ] [ana tu]rri gimilli*
 14' *[ša Kar]a-indaš mā[r mārtišu] ana māt Karduniaš illik*
 15' *[Naz]i-Bugaš šar māt Karduniaš idūk*
 16' *[Kur]i-galzu seḥru mār Burna-Buriaš*
 17' *[a]na [š]arrūti iškun ina kussī abīš[u] u[šēšib]*

"In the time of Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, the Kassite people revolted against Kara-ḥardaš, king of Babylonia, son of Muballiṭat-Šērūa, the daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ, and killed him. They raised Nazi-Bugaš, [a Kass]ite, son of a nobody, to kingship over them.

"[Aššur-uballiṭ] went to Babylonia [to av]enge [Kar]a-indaš, [his daughter's s]on. He killed [Naz]i-Bugaš, the king of Babylonia. He established [Kur]i-galzu the younger, son of Burna-Buriaš, as king (lit: [i]n the [k]ingship). He [set (him)] on the throne of hi[s] father."

Several observations may be made from even a superficial analysis of the

⁴Translation suggested by the literal interpretation of the filiation given in line 12'.

⁵For Mount Ḥiḥi (Ḥeḥe) in Syria, see most recently Otten, ZA LIX (1969) 253 and RLA IV 247. Some of the same references are now discussed in a separate article "Ḥiḥi" by Röllig, RLA IV 402.

passages. First, despite the many discrepancies, the core of these lines (Chronicle P i 9' end-14' and the Synchronistic History i 8'-17') deal with the same events: the Kassite revolt against the Babylonian king who was the grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ, their appointing a new king, and Aššur-uballiṭ's removal of the new king and his placing his own nominee upon the throne. Second, because of close similarities in phraseology,⁶ there is a strong suspicion that these passages derive ultimately from a common source. Third, though the texts agree on the Assyrian characters named (the maternal lineage of the king first deposed: Muballiṭat-Šērūa and Aššur-uballiṭ), they disagree on the name of every other person involved,⁷ as summarized in the following table.

- A. Deposed grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ: Kadašman-Ḥarbe (Chron. P i [5'] 1, 12')
Kara-ḤARdaš (Syn. Hist. i 8')
[Kar]a-indaš (Syn. Hist. i 14')
- B. Father of A: Kara-indaš (Chron. P)
unnamed (Syn. Hist.)
- C. Kassite usurper replacing A: Šuzigaš (Chron. P)
Nazi-Bugaš (Syn. Hist.)
- D. New king installed by Aššur-uballiṭ: [Kurigalzu (I)] (Chron. P)
[Kur]igalzu (II) (Syn. Hist.)
- E. Father of D: [Kadaš]man-Ḥarbe (Chron. P; "son of" also restored)
Burna-Burias (Syn. Hist.)

Especially noteworthy are the divergent names given person A in the Synchronistic History, which led von Soden⁸ and Röllig⁹ to postulate a compromise reading Kara-kindas (implying ^mKa-ra-kīn-da-ās in i 8' and [^mKa-r]a-<ki>-in-da-ās in i 14').

Many of the discrepancies between the accounts can be explained by the hypothesis that Chronicle P derived, proximately or mediately, from a damaged

⁶Kaššī/ē, ibbalkitū(šu/ma), idūkūšu, mār lā mammana/mamnu, ana šarrūtu/e ana muḥḥišunu iššū, ana turru/i gimilli/gimir (partially restored), ana māt Kar(an)duniaš illik, idūk, (and possibly) ina ku[ssī], etc.

⁷Excluding Kurigalzu, whose name must be completely restored in Chronicle P; see D in the table.

⁸Propyläen Weltgeschichte II (Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna, 1962) 61.

⁹Heidelberger Studien, pp. 176-77.

source in which, while the basic structure of events was clear, most of the names of the non-Assyrian characters (with the exception of the Kurigalzu who was placed on the throne at the end) were at least partially destroyed.¹⁰ The writer of Chronicle P then erred by inserting the genealogy of the earlier Kurigalzu (Kadašman-Ḥarbe and his father, Kara-indaš)¹¹ for that of the later Kurigalzu (Burna-Burias).

Several reasonably sound historical and textual conclusions can be drawn from or concerning these chronicle traditions.

- (1) The events described may be dated roughly to the end of the Amarna age, when Aššur-uballiṭ I was occupying the throne of Assyria and Burna-Burias II and later Kurigalzu II were kings in Babylonia.¹²
- (2) The skeleton of events, as described above, is clear: a grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ I ascended the Babylonian throne, but was deposed by the Kassites, who proceeded to install their own nominee (not of royal descent); Aššur-uballiṭ deposed the Kassite nominee and installed Kurigalzu (II) on the throne.
- (3) There is little reason to insert a Kadašman-Ḥarbe or a Kara-indaš as a Babylonian king between Burna-Burias II and Kurigalzu II. (These are clearly alternate names for the same figure, i.e., the deposed grandson [person A above] of Aššur-uballiṭ I; neither Chronicle P nor the Synchronistic History postulates two deposed grandsons.) These non-existent extra rulers have become enshrined in some modern reconstructions because of an overly literal acceptance of the erroneous genealogy for Kurigalzu II given by Chronicle P.
- (4) There is at present no way of determining whether the initial episode in Chronicle P i 5'-9', concerned with the Sutians, should be dated to approximately the time of the Amarna age (i.e., roughly contemporary with the rest of the passage) or whether it actually belongs with the

¹⁰It is possible, however, that some of the other names were partially present: (1) Ka- and ḤAR for person A, and (2) -zi- and -ga-āš for person C.

¹¹This relationship is not attested in any text, but is inferred from the usually accepted sequence of rulers and from the slip here in Chronicle P.

¹²Aššur-uballiṭ and Burna-Burias are both attested in the Amarna correspondence, and Kurigalzu II is well known as the son and eventual successor of Burna-Burias (see Q.2.60, etc. in the Catalogue).

older ruler Kadašman-Ḫarbe I and was then joined with the later events because of the genealogical confusion.

But there remains uncertainty on other points:

- (5) Who was the husband of Muballitāt-Šērūa? Kara-indaš may be placed in that role by Chronicle P, but because of the mistaken genealogy. The Synchronistic History is silent on the matter.
- (6) Was Kurigalzu II also a descendant of Muballitāt-Šērūa and Aššur-uballiṭ? No text states that he was. It is said in the Synchronistic History simply that he was the son of Burna-Burias (II) and therefore a member of the old ruling Kassite family (rather than the "son of a nobody").¹³

In addition, it is perplexing to see the name Kara-indaš, which would not be expected to be present in these accounts, occurring once in each text, though in different functions: as the father of the deposed half-Assyrian king in Chronicle P (person B) and as one of the variants for the deposed king himself in the Synchronistic History (person A).¹⁴

In conclusion, then, we have reviewed the conflicting chronicle traditions concerning the deposing of Aššur-uballiṭ's grandson as king of Babylonia and have seen that there seems to be no plausible reason for inserting an extra Kadašman-Ḫarbe (or Kara-indaš) into the sequence of Babylonian monarchs at this point. This is not to imply that the chronicle tradition as contained in the Synchronistic History is to be accepted in its entirety either here or elsewhere, since it does contain demonstrable errors (either scribal or caused

¹³He may have been either a brother or half-brother of Kara-ḫardaš, but there is no direct evidence on the question.

¹⁴While the Kara-kindāš reading of von Soden and Röllig would help to solve one of these cruxes, one would still have to assume at least one error in each source (perhaps not surprising in the case of these two chronicles) and each error involving the name Kara-indaš. It is difficult to argue conclusively from these passages to the precise place of corruption in a putative original source from which both of these texts derived, especially since the single occurrence of [Kar]a-indaš in the Synchronistic History (i 14') is clearly paralleled by the name Kadašman-Ḫarbe preserved in the comparable phrase in Chronicle P (i 12'). Given the nature of the problem and the admittedly flawed character of the sources, it is doubtful that a solution that would convince everyone can be proposed at present.

by political bias) in other passages. But, in certain aspects of this case, there is good reason for believing that it preserves a more reliable tradition than Chronicle P and, pending further evidence, is to be preferred as better historical documentation.

APPENDIX D
NOTES ON KINGLIST A

Kinglist A (BM 33332) is the only Babylonian document presently known that originally purported to list all the monarchs of Babylonia and the lengths of their reigns from 1894 till at least 626 B.C.¹ Most detailed reconstructions of Babylonian chronology and history for this period² draw heavily on this tablet for primary data, which are often unavailable elsewhere;³ and its sequence of rulers and dynasties provides the basic framework upon which most historians of Babylonia at least implicitly rely.

Over the years since the first publication of Kinglist A by Pinches in 1884, there have been widely varying estimates of the trustworthiness of its data, especially the numbers listed for the lengths of individual reigns and dynasties. Modern attitudes have ranged from an uncritical acceptance of most material in the list to rejection of any regnal number unless it is confirmed by independent sources such as economic texts. It is the purpose of the present appendix to examine the kinglist in more detail and to see where within this broad spectrum of scholarly opinion the truth is more likely to lie.

This task is complicated by several factors, not the least of which is the physical condition of the tablet. More than one-third of the text is broken away, and much of what remains is difficult to read both because the surface is worn and because the tablet over the years has been baked almost to the point of vitrification. Thus there has been considerable disagreement among the various editors and collators about the reading of certain passages, and more than usual caution is necessary before one categorizes as "errors" entries whose reading is not beyond doubt. In addition, some sections of the tablet seem to have deteriorated over the past ninety years.⁴ A prime

¹The list may have continued down to 539 B.C. or slightly later, but the end is broken away. For a calculation of the size of the missing portion, see *PKB*, pp. 55-57 and especially n. 285.

²With the exception of the Hammurapi dynasty, which is almost completely broken away at the beginning of the text.

³Especially concerning the lengths of reigns.

⁴See Grayson, *AOAT* I 106. Regrettably, the nineteenth-century photos of the text published in Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme*, Pl. 1, are blurry and of little help.

desideratum is a painstaking modern edition of the text itself, an edition which would take into account and describe in detail not only the ambiguities of the present cuneiform traces but also the observations of past scholars who may have seen the tablet in better condition.⁵

Despite these qualifications, the text remains a basic source for modern chronological reconstructions; and so it will not be out of place here to proffer some preliminary remarks on its style of composition and on its trustworthiness. If nothing else is accomplished, such statements may serve to stimulate further research on the text and other critical appraisals of its historical reliability.

Stylistically, Kinglist A is constructed as follows. Each entry for an individual monarch lists first the length of reign⁶ and then the royal name; occasionally the relationship of the monarch to his predecessor is indicated, for example, "his son" or "brother."⁷ For most of the list (i 1'-iv 6), at the end of each dynasty that consisted of more than one ruler,⁸ a summary entry-- separated from the preceding and following text by horizontal dividing lines-- is inserted; it gives the length of reign for the whole dynasty, the total

⁵Given time and opportunity, I may offer such an edition in a later volume of this series.

⁶Usually a simple number with the word "years" understood. When the reign is for less than two official years, the designations "year" (MU), "month" (ITI), and "day" (U₄) are expressed. The sole exception is the one-year reign of Nergal-ušēzib (iv 17), where MU is omitted; but this final section of the list may have been composed at a later date than the rest of the text, as we shall presently see.

Stylistically, it may be interesting to note that the logogram MU always precedes the pertinent number and U₄ follows its number. ITI precedes the number in the majority of instances, except in ii 16' and iii 2', 5', 9', where it follows (these cases are restricted to the section of the list dealing with the latter part of the second millennium, and three out of four of them occur in summary lines for dynasties).

⁷In i 8', 17', 19', (end of 22'?), ii 15', 16', 7', 13', iv 4, 5. In one case, the genealogy of a usurper king is indicated (in abbreviated fashion): "Marduk-zākīr-šūmi (II), son of Arad(-Ea/Enlil?)" (iv 13); see *Studies Oppenheim*, pp. 24-25, n. 137. Note that DUMU (rather than A) for "son" is used only in col. ii of the kinglist for the later kings of the Kassite dynasty (col. i employs A for the earlier Kassite kings); it is difficult to say whether such a minor orthographic variation would be of use in determining ultimate sources of the text.

The meaning of the isolated horizontal wedges at the right-hand edge of i 5'/6' and 9' has never been satisfactorily explained.

⁸The Elamite dynasty (iii 14'), which had only one ruler, has no summary.

number of kings, and the name of the dynasty.⁹ The final section of the list (iv 7-23) exhibits a slightly different style: there are no further divisions into dynasties and no summary entries; where dynastic designations are given,¹⁰ they are listed after individual rulers. In this same section, there are two atypical additions made after the names of monarchs: Marduk-zākīr-šumi (II) is called the "son of Arad(-DN)" (iv 13);¹¹ and Marduk-apla-iddina (II) in the entry referring to his second reign (iv 14) is called ÉRIN Ḥa-bi.¹² These stylistic differences may be used as a basis for implying that the final section of the list was originally compiled separately from the rest of the text, as we shall see presently.

A noteworthy feature of the list is that about 40 percent of the royal names appear in abbreviated form. This is especially true for the Sealand I dynasty, in which ten of the eleven kings have their names shortened.¹³ In most cases, the abbreviation is made simply by omitting the last sign of the name¹⁴ or more than one of the final signs.¹⁵ In one instance, the initial theophoric element is dropped.¹⁶ In another, ^mIš-ba is written instead of ^mIš-ki-bal.¹⁷ ^mMe-lám-é (i 13') is apparently a mistake (or at least a variant), in any case shortened, for ^mMe-lám-kur(-kur)-ra.¹⁸ Finally, two kings are called by hypocoristics rather than by their throne names: Pūlu for Tiglath-pileser and Ulūlaju for Shalmaneser (iv 8-9).¹⁹

⁹In so far as the kinglist is preserved, only one summary entry is defective. In iv 6 it lists only "22(?) BALA E" without specifying whether the number refers to years (as would normally be expected if a figure occurs without further specification) or to kings (where the figure would usually be followed by LUGAL.ME or LUGAL). For a discussion of the interpretation of the entry, see *PKB*, pp. 52-57.

¹⁰In iv 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18.

¹¹See note 7 above.

¹²The meaning of the epithet is discussed in *Studies Oppenheim*, pp. 36-37.

¹³In i 4'-7', 9'-14'.

¹⁴In i 4', 6', 9', 14', iii 6'-8', 11'-12', iv 20'-21'.

¹⁵In i 5', 10'-12', ii 6'-7', iv 22.

¹⁶Though, in this case, the same abbreviation is used in other texts as well (*PKB*, p. 61).

¹⁷In i 7'.

¹⁸As the name is written in Kinglist B and in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (Assur 14616c). If there is an error in Kinglist A, the scribe may have been subconsciously influenced by the element Ekur- at the beginning of the royal name in the preceding line.

¹⁹That these names are not to be viewed as Babylonian throne names for Assyrian kings has been demonstrated in *PKB*, pp. 61-62. Thus one can hardly conclude on the basis of their use

One may also note that some dynastic designations, genealogies, and the like are abbreviated in the later part of the list: BALA KUR *Tam* (iv 10), BALA *Ĝa-bi-gal* (iv 12), A^mIR (iv 13), ÉRIN *Ĝa-bi* (iv 14).

Although it has on occasion been argued that these abbreviations show that Kinglist A derived from a source with many lines damaged at the end, this does not seem a necessary conclusion since some of the abbreviated entries are followed by genealogical designations²⁰ and some are concerned with well-known kings who ruled not long before the period of compilation (and whose names are not likely to have been forgotten in the interval).²¹ In favor of the "damaged original" theory, however, would be that many of the abbreviations occur in groups,²² which would readily be explained if adjacent portions of a text had been injured.

A few final observations on style and composition may be made. First, Kinglist A, like some of its better known predecessors dealing with the chronology of lower Mesopotamia,²³ lists all dynasties as consecutive, whether or not they may in fact have overlapped.²⁴ Second, all regnal terms recorded in fractions of a year (i.e., months or days) are to be reckoned as zero for chronological purposes (as discussed at length in *PKB*, pp. 63-67).²⁵ Third, it seems premature to speculate on the nature of possible documentary sources for the

that the kinglist has a distinctly Babylonian outlook (or bias). Although one is dealing with a Babylonian source concerned with Babylonian rulers, the list seems designed for reference use and has no demonstrable apologetic or polemic tone or distortion.

²⁰In ii 6'-7'.

²¹In iv 20-22.

²²See i 4'-7', 9'-14', ii 6'-7', iii 6'-8', 11'-12', iv 10, 12-14, 16, 20-22.

²³E.g., the Sumerian Kinglist and Kinglist B.

²⁴The first three dynasties listed in Kinglist A (the First Dynasty of Babylon, the Sealand I dynasty, and the Kassite dynasty) certainly overlapped. The Kassite and Isin II dynasties may have overlapped (as explained above in Part I, Section B, on chronology). Although the following possibility was not taken into consideration in *PKB*, one might also wonder whether the successor dynasties to Isin II were also strictly consecutive (there is no compelling evidence either for or against such a proposal).

²⁵That is, a reign recorded simply as "six months" or as "one month, thirteen days" would not be counted in totalling up official regnal years over a period. A reign set at "one year, six months" would be counted as one year. Although the compiler of the Ptolemaic Canon (or its predecessor sources) was aware of this and simply omitted all kings not having at least one official regnal year, the final editor(s) of Kinglist A did not take this stylistic fea-

kinglist, especially chronological texts of other types such as date lists or chronicles.²⁶ Fourth, there may have been at least two major stages in the redaction of the list, as is suggested by:

- (a) the insertion of the dynastic summary entries, which do not generally follow the style of chronology set by the rest of the list (the summaries total all figures literally, even those that should have been reckoned at zero);
- (b) the usual placing of ITI after the pertinent number in such summary lines, while it is frequently (8 out of 9 cases) placed before the number elsewhere in the text; the sole exception in the summary lines occurs in iii 13';
- (c) the writing of the number 9 as three oblique wedges in the early sections of the list, but as 3 + 3 + 3 vertical wedges in the final section of the text, where dynastic divisions are dispensed with (the omission of such divisions might also point to a later origin of or at least a different source for this part of the text);
- (d) the omission of MU in the "one (year)" entry for Nergal-ušēzib (iv 17), while a reign of similar length elsewhere in the text has the MU expressed (ii 14'; cf. ii 8', 9', iii 2').

These arguments, however, are circumstantial and not overly convincing. Fifth, the date of the final redaction of Kinglist A can be guessed only in rough terms, as long as it is not known which years were covered by the missing portion of column iv; the most likely proposals range from the final quarter of the seventh century B.C. through the final quarter of the sixth.

Next, in order to assess the reliability of the kinglist, we shall examine the text for possible errors. This we shall do by reviewing the material chronologically and looking for internal inconsistencies as well as for con-

ture into consideration and simply added all regnal figures together (including months and presumably days) to obtain the totals given in the dynastic summary lines. This procedure inevitably resulted in some distortion.

²⁶New date lists would not have been compiled for the period after year names ceased to be used in the fourteenth century. There are no chronicles that give sufficiently complete coverage year by year for the period before 626 B.C., though a kinglist (for the period from 747 to 668 B.C.) probably could have been composed from the data given in the complete version of the Babylonian Chronicle (CT XXXIV 43-50; Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle No. 1). Were such chronicles available for the years before Nabonassar?

flicts with other traditions. (The following list is not designed to be exhaustive; nor does it show selective omissions, such as known but not necessarily cited genealogies.)²⁷

A. Sealand I dynasty

1. Kinglist A and Kinglist B have one king (Gulkišar) between Šušši and Pešgal(daramaš). The Assyrian synchronistic kinglist A. 117 lists an additional king, whose name is written ^m70(= GÍŠ+U)-EN (i 5', collated), immediately before Pešgaldaramaš.
2. The total given for the dynasty in Kinglist A, 368 (years), is greater than the number obtained by adding up the length of the individual reigns (346 or 356 years, depending on whether the figure in i 6' is read as 16 or 26).²⁸ Since the number of digits is reasonably clear for most of the pertinent regnal figures in Kinglist A, it seems unlikely at present that these two numbers (368 and 346/356) can readily be adjusted to coincide. The missing 12 or 22 years could then be assigned to the additional king mentioned in A.1 above.²⁹
3. Variations in name forms:
 - a. Third-last king of the dynasty: ^mÉ-kur-UL(= du₇) in Kinglist A, ^mE-kur-du-fan-na' in A. 117 (collated), ^mA-kur-UL(= du₇)-an-na in Kinglist B.
 - b. Second-last king of the dynasty: ^mMe-lám-é in Kinglist A, ^m[Me]-lám-kur-kur-ra in Kinglist B, ^mMe-lám-kur-r[a] in A. 117 (collated).
 - c. Name of dynasty: BALA ŠEŠ.ĤA in Kinglist A, BALA ŠEŠ.KÙ(-)x in Kinglist B.³⁰

B. Kassite dynasty

1. Kings 4-5 are listed differently in Kinglist A (^m{x}-ší, ^m[A-bi]-Rat-taš) and the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 (^mA-bi-[Ra]-taš, ^mKaš-ti[-al]-šu).

²⁷Abbreviations, hypocoristics, and obvious orthographic variants are also not listed; nor, in general, are possible deviations whose sole evidence is a highly disputed textual reading (e.g., the royal name in ii 15') or a missing text or texts whose existence cannot be verified (e.g., P.5.1, V.5.2).

²⁸The latter figure is preferred by Grayson, AOAT I 107.

²⁹See also Goetze, JCS XVIII (1964) 99.

Note that the number of kings given in the summary in Kinglist A i 15' is consistent with the number of royal names in the list in its present form.

³⁰These two traditions could represent an orthographic variant. (The name should be re-studied in the light of other traditions.)

2. For some reigns whose lengths are given in Kinglist A and also well attested in economic texts (i.e., kings 22-24), the Kinglist A figures are slightly higher than the latest attested years in contemporary documents: '25?' vs. 24 years for Kurigalzu II, 26 vs. 24 years for Nazi-Maruttāš, 18 vs. 17 years for Kadašman-Turgu.
3. Kudur-Enlil (king No. 26) is given a reign of '6' years in Kinglist A. There are several economic texts dated to his eighth year,³¹ and he is known to have died early in his ninth year.³²
4. Kinglist A lists Kassite kings 25-28 as four consecutive generations of one family.³³ These four generations, even if the reign of Kudur-Enlil (No. 26) is raised to nine years, would still total only thirty-nine years, which is highly unlikely.³⁴ Since only the filiation of king No. 28 is attested in a contemporary text, there may be some reason to doubt the family relationship between Nos. 25 and 26 and/or Nos. 26 and 27 as given in Kinglist A.
5. The name of Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria is not listed among the rulers of Babylonia in Kinglist A, though an economic text found at Nippur is dated in his accession year³⁵ and Chronicle P states that he ruled over or controlled (*uma'ir*) Karduniaš for seven years.³⁶
6. At first sight, it seems that the order of kings 29-32 in Kinglist A is contradicted by Chronicle P, which mentions kings 32, 29, and 31 in that order. This is due to a stylistic peculiarity of Chronicle P discussed on pp. 18-21 above.
7. Kinglist A gives two reigns of "one year, six months" and one reign of "six (years)" for Nos. 29-31. Chronicle P apparently assigns the same period (between Kaštiliašu IV and Adad-šuma-usur, exclusive) a duration of seven years. While the Kinglist A designation could be interpreted as a total of eight years (stylistically) or nine years (without regard to the usual style), it is difficult to reconcile the two traditions completely.

³¹Catalogue, p.2.6.176-87.

³²Catalogue, Section P, introduction. [A text dating from his ninth year has been found in the autumn 1975 season of excavations at Nippur. See the Addenda below.]

³³Thereby agreeing in part with later traditions of Nabonidus (Catalogue, P.3.13).

³⁴This chronological difficulty is discussed in detail in the Catalogue under P.5.5.

³⁵Ni. 65.

³⁶See iv 7-8.

8. The reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (king No. 30) is listed as "one year, six months" in Kinglist A; and this entry, according to the style of the rest of the text, would normally mean "one official year." But an economic text from Ur³⁷ dated on the thirteenth day of Nisan of the accession year of his successor (Adad-šuma-iddina) plus a text dating from the sixth month of his own first year³⁸ imply that Kadašman-Ḫarbe II should be credited with an official reign of at least two years.³⁹
9. The question of an Elamite interregnum between the Kassite and Isin II dynasties, an interregnum not mentioned in Kinglist A, has been discussed in detail in *PKB*, pp. 78-83.

C. Isin II dynasty

1. The length of the reign of the first king, Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu, is apparently listed as 17 years in Kinglist A and as 18 years in Kinglist C.⁴⁰
2. The length of reign of the second king, Itti-Marduk-balātu, is apparently listed as 6 years in Kinglist A and as 8 years in Kinglist C.⁴¹

D. Sealand II dynasty

1. The length of reign of the first king, Simbar-šipak, is listed as 18 years in Kinglist A and as 17 years in the *Dynastic Chronicle*.⁴²
2. The length of reign of the second king, Ea-mukin-zēri, is listed as 5 months in Kinglist A and as 3 months in the *Dynastic Chronicle*.⁴³
3. The total length of rule of the dynasty is listed as 21 years, 5 months in Kinglist A and as 23 years in the *Dynastic Chronicle*.⁴⁴

E. Bazi dynasty

1. The length of reign of the first king, Eulmaš-šakin-šumi, is listed as 17

³⁷*UET* VII 21.

³⁸*YBC* 7652.

³⁹For a fuller discussion, see the Catalogue under K^b.5.4. (In this case, one might note that a literal interpretation of the Kinglist A entry as "eighteen months" might not be inconceivable.)

⁴⁰*PKB*, p. 323.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁴⁴Kinglist A iii 9', *Dynastic Chronicle* v 8'. The *Dynastic Chronicle* here is internally inconsistent with its own figures, which are being totalled (see *PKB*, p. 31, n. 145).

- years in Kinglist A and as 15(?) years in the Dynastic Chronicle.⁴⁵
2. The name of the first king, given as ^m*Eulmaš-šākin-šumi* in Kinglist A and the New Babylonian Chronicle (partially damaged in each text), is written as ^{md}*Ul-maš-[]* in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117.⁴⁶
 3. The length of reign of the second king, Ninurta-kudurri-ūsur I, is listed as 3 years in Kinglist A and as 2 years in the Dynastic Chronicle.⁴⁷
- F. Undetermined dynasties (978-732 B.C.)
1. The Dynastic Chronicle (vi 7') begins a new dynasty after the reign of Erība-Marduk in the early eighth century. Kinglist A, though badly damaged at this point (iv 2), apparently does not note a dynastic division here.⁴⁸
 2. Nabû-šuma-ukīn II is assigned a reign of one month and thirteen days by Kinglist A. The Babylonian Chronicle gives him an ambiguously expressed reign of ITI 2 [U₄].⁴⁹
 3. Nabû-šuma-ukīn II is called the son of his predecessor, Nabû-nādin-zēri, in Kinglist A. The Babylonian Chronicle, usually diligent in recording family relationships between the various kings, calls Nabû-šuma-ukīn only a *bēl pīḫati* who led a successful revolt against his predecessor.⁵⁰
- G. Concluding portion of Kinglist A (731 B.C. and later)
1. Mukīn-zēri, usually identified with Nabû-mukīn-zēri, is assigned a reign of three years by Kinglist A. *BRM* I 22 is an economic text dated in the fourth year of Nabû-mukīn-zēri. The Ptolemaic Canon assigns a combined reign of five years to Mukīn-zēri and his successor.⁵¹
 2. Although Kinglist A assigns the years 704 and 703 to Sennacherib, Assyrian

⁴⁵*PKB*, p. 342.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 160, n. 971.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 342. Interestingly enough, the totals for the Bazi dynasty agree in Kinglist A and in the Dynastic Chronicle despite the different figures given for the reigns being totalled. (The totals support the Kinglist A version.)

⁴⁸*PKB*, pp. 37-38, n. 163, p. 58 and n. 287. (It should be noted, however, that the reading of Kinglist A iv 1 is unclear.)

⁴⁹*PKB*, p. 60, n. 304. The Ptolemaic Canon, in accordance with its customary style, omits this and all other reigns that amount to less than one official regnal year.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 235 and n. 1489.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 358.

- sources are inconsistent in their dating of that ruler's accession year.⁵² The Ptolemaic Canon refers to the same two years as "kingless."
3. The Babylonian chronicle BM 48498 refers to the twenty-first year of a Marduk-apla-iddina. A legal text, *UET* IV 206, is dated in the twenty-second year of a Marduk-apla-iddina *mār rīdūtu*. Kinglist A assigns to Marduk-apla-iddina I a reign of 13 years and to Marduk-apla-iddina II two reigns of 12 years and 19 months, respectively.⁵³
 4. The dynastic designation given by Kinglist A to Marduk-apla-iddina II in his first reign is *BALA KUR Tam*, usually interpreted as "dynasty of the Sealand." For his second reign, the Kinglist refers to him as *ÉRIN Ḫa-bi*, which might be inconsistent with the previous designation (especially if it is linked with the *BALA Ḫa-bi-gal*, which the kinglist uses in referring to Sennacherib and *Aššur-nādin-šumi*).⁵⁴
 5. *VAS* IV 1, a Neo-Babylonian economic text, is dated under *Hallušu*, the king (of Elam), who invaded Babylonia in 694 B.C. He is not mentioned as king in Kinglist A.⁵⁵
 6. The length of reign of *Nergal-ušēzib* is described as "one (year)" in Kinglist A and as "one year, six months" in the Babylonian Chronicle (iii 5-6).⁵⁶
 7. The years 688-681 are assigned to Sennacherib in Kinglist A, but are designated as kingless by both the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon.
 8. Kinglist A lists *Šamaš-šuma-ukīn* as the immediate successor of Esarhaddon in Babylonia. Economic texts show an intervening accession year of Ashurbanipal there.⁵⁷

⁵²*AnOr* XII 225-31, etc.

⁵³For a possible explanation, see R.5.1 in the Catalogue above.

⁵⁴*Studies Oppenheim*, pp. 35-37.

⁵⁵See *Or* XXXIV (1965) 244 for the date of the tablet.

⁵⁶*Or* XXXIV (1965) 245, n. 1. The Ptolemaic Canon agrees with Kinglist A.

⁵⁷E.g., YBC 4016, BM 118969, BM 118975 (all from Uruk). See Dubberstein, *JNES* III (1944)

38. The chronicles (Babylonian Chronicle iv 30-36, Esarhaddon Chronicle lines 34-36, and cf. the *Akītu* Chronicle lines 1-7 [Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicles Nos. 1, 14, and 16]) imply that the final year of Esarhaddon (= the accession year of Ashurbanipal) and the accession year of *Šamaš-šuma-ukīn* were not one and the same year: Esarhaddon died in *Arašsamnu* (VIII) and yet there was an *Ajaru* (II) in the accession year of *Šamaš-šuma-ukīn*.

The various divergences listed above may be divided into several categories.

I. Disagreements in lengths assigned to reigns/dynasties

B.2 need not show any error on the part of Kinglist A, but may indicate that the last years of the kings involved are not yet attested in economic texts (or, alternately, that the methods of recording regnal years--and especially accession years--which were undergoing a reform in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries,⁵⁸ may have caused slight discrepancies in the traditions available to later chronographers).

B.3 is a clear error in Kinglist A, since contemporary economic texts show the figure is three years too low.

B.7 shows a possible discrepancy of one year in the period intervening between Kaštiliašu IV and Adad-šuma-ušur. There is no way of showing at present whether Kinglist A or Chronicle P is in error; and indeed there may be a way of reconciling the traditions, should the reigns of some of the kings in this Assyrian-dominated period (e.g., Enlil-nādin-šumi and Kadašman-Ḥarbe II) prove to have overlapped.

B.8 seems to be a conflict between the economic-text evidence and the usual stylistic interpretation of Kinglist A. Should the interpretation be scrapped in this instance (since a literal, non-stylistic interpretation could be reconciled with the dates of the economic texts) or should one invoke the possible overlapping of reigns suggested in the preceding paragraph?

C.1 and C.2 are instances where the exact reading of the figures in Kinglist A has been questioned,⁵⁹ so one cannot be positive that error is involved. The clear, more nearly contemporary evidence of Kinglist C is presently preferred.

D.1-3, E.1, and E.3 involve conflicts between figures in the Dynastic Chronicle and those in Kinglist A. Since the Dynastic Chronicle is internally inconsistent at this point⁶⁰ and in one of its totals even supports the contradictory testimony of Kinglist A,⁶¹ the tradition of Kinglist A is generally considered more reliable. (There is insufficient contemporary evidence to judge between the variants here.)

⁵⁸See Appendix A above.

⁵⁹See the discussion in *PKB*, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁰*PKB*, p. 31 and n. 145.

⁶¹In its total for the Bazi dynasty.

F.2 involves a difference of what might amount to eleven days. One should note that the variant in the Babylonian Chronicle has an atypical ITI 2 {U₄} (where one would normally expect two numbers--one for month[s] and one for days), so it is the less clear of the two statements. The chronological impact of the difference is so minor (a month at most) that it may for most practical purposes be disregarded.

G.1 shows a conflict between Kinglist A and a slightly higher date in an economic text (four years vs. three years). The Ptolemaic Canon in assigning this and the succeeding reign a combined sum of five years may imply that Mukin-zēri was able to maintain his power longer in the south than in Babylon.⁶²

G.3 has already been discussed in the Catalogue above under R.5.1. It probably reflects simply an alternate tradition when Bēl-ibni held sway in northern Babylonia and Marduk-apla-iddina II was in control of Chaldea.

G.6 represents a merely stylistic difference, since the king is assigned one official year by all the pertinent sources, including the Ptolemaic Canon.

Thus, in summary, we find one clear instance of error in regnal length in Kinglist A: B.3. There are also some cases of what may be differences in Babylonian traditions concerning times of civil strife when the Assyrian-dominated north may have had a different ruler from the one recognized in the south (B.7, B.8, G.1, G.3). There are examples of what may be divergences in style between various texts (B.8, G.6) or between various methods of reckoning at a time of calendrical reform (B.2). There are instances in which Kinglist A, on present evidence, seems to be more reliable than the chronicle tradition (D.1-3, E.1, E.3); and there are two cases in which the reading in Kinglist A is not beyond question (C.1-2). Thus, while there are many disagreements between the various traditions, there is only one clear example in which the number of regnal years assigned to a Babylonian monarch by Kinglist A is definitely wrong.

On the other hand, it is striking how many reigns that are well attested by economic texts (especially in the Kassite period) show no dates in contemporary documents that are higher than the regnal figure listed in

⁶²A proposal not contradicted by the Assyrian accounts (PKB, pp. 238-39).

Kinglist A.⁶³ Also it is of particular significance that the Babylonian Chronicle, whose preserved portions carefully record lengths of reign from 747-710 and 702-668, and the Ptolemaic Canon, which lists all reigns of at least one official year from 747 on, do not have a single numerical disagreement with Kinglist A.

II. Disagreements in forms of royal names and assignment of reigns

A.3 is probably reducible to a question of orthographic variants (É vs. E vs. A, du₇ vs. du) and an abbreviation.

A.3.b may imply an error on the part of Kinglist A, since the other two sources indicate that the name ends in -kur(-kur)-ra (where Kinglist A ends simply in an abbreviated -é). Although no contemporary evidence exists for the exact form of this royal name, a simple *lapsus calami* influenced by the preceding line has been suggested.⁶⁴

B.1 may also involve a difference in names (Kassite king No. 4 in Kinglist A possibly opposed to king No. 5 in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117); but, since the name is partially illegible in Kinglist A (though ^m[x]l-šī would not readily harmonize with ^mKaš-til-fal-šū in A. 117), the kings occur in different places in the sequence, and there is no contemporary evidence in favor of either alternative, the dispute cannot be settled at present.

E.2 is more likely to represent an error in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117, as discussed at length in *PKB*, pp. 46-47.

G.2 and G.7 are cases in which the unpopular Sennacherib, who had destroyed the city of Babylon and taken the statue of Marduk into captivity, had his regnal years classified by later tradition as "kingless," perhaps in order to avoid the use of his name (in the Ptolemaic Canon) or because there was not even a token celebration of the New Year's festival at this time (Babylonian Chronicle, G.7).⁶⁵

Thus A.3.b stands as the only likely error in names in Kinglist A, and

⁶³Especially for the time from Kurigalzu II (No. 22) to Marduk-apla-iddina I (No. 34), when almost all reigns have yielded some economic texts.

⁶⁴See note 18 above.

⁶⁵The latter is just a guess, since the chronicle does not avoid the use of Sennacherib's name elsewhere in the text and also refers to regnal years of Esarhaddon, who could not have celebrated a proper New Year's festival with the Marduk statue still in Assyria. The same confusion is exemplified in the Babylonian economic documentation of the time (688-681), when Sennacherib's regnal years are numbered as beginning either in 688 (e.g., 2 NT 285, UM 29-13-568) or 704 (*VAS* V 1) or dated by *līmu* (*DK*₅-18).

even this cannot be confirmed by contemporary documentation.

III. Disagreements in the sequence of rulers

B.1 shows Kinglist A and the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 placing Abi-Rattaš as Kassite king No. 5 and 4, respectively. There is no contemporary evidence favoring either position.

B.6 is only an apparent conflict that results from a misinterpretation of the style of Chronicle P (as noted above).

IV. Disagreements in genealogy

B.4 gives substantial reason for doubting the genealogies ascribed to Kudur-Enlil and Šagarakti-Šuriaš in Kinglist A.⁶⁶ Kinglist A is very likely in error in either or both of these cases.

F.3 also shows Kinglist A probably in error in a genealogy, though the evidence is negative in character.

Although the above genealogies seem to be incorrect, accurate genealogies (checked from other sources) are given in Kinglist A for Kaštiliašu IV, Marduk-apla-iddina I, and Nabû-nādin-zēri, and possibly for Agum I and Marduk-zākir-šumi II. There is no independent evidence to check on the designations for Šušši and the fourth Kassite king (name broken).

V. Disagreements in dynasty

A.3.c probably represents an orthographic variant (KŪ and KU₆) in the name of the dynasty usually referred to as "Sealand I."

F.1 may show a divergence in the division of the monarchs of the early eighth century into dynasties. Kinglist A in its ambiguous summary for this grouping (iv 6) may reflect some confusion in the tradition. There is no contemporary evidence to resolve the question, though it should be noted that the Dynastic Chronicle (which here conflicts with Kinglist A) has been found wanting in other respects.⁶⁷

VI. Internal inconsistencies in Kinglist A

A.2 shows that the total number of years given in the summary line for the Sealand I dynasty differs from the total obtained by adding up the figures given in the text. The difficulty may be resolved by referring to A.1, where a king listed in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117 has

⁶⁶This has been discussed under P.5.5 above in the Catalogue.

⁶⁷See note 60 above.

dropped out of Kinglists A and B.

G.4 shows that one king, Marduk-apla-iddina II, is referred to twice with different, but not necessarily incompatible designations: "Dynasty of the Sealand" and "soldier(?) (ÉRIN) of Ḫabi." The latter designation may be a confusion with the contemporary Assyrian king Sennacherib and his son, who are both recorded as belonging to the "Dynasty of Ḫabigal"; but the evidence is not clear.

VII. Omissions in Kinglist A

A.1, especially when reinforced with the numerical evidence from A.2, makes a strong case for omission of one of the rulers of the first Sealand dynasty.

B.5 might be taken as evidence for omission of a ruler (Tukulti-Ninurta) who did not have an official regnal year (which would be contrary to the customary style of Kinglist A) or who may have been recognized at Nippur (while he was in physical control of the city) but not at Babylon. This may be an instance of a foreign ruler actually in possession of part of Babylonia who did not disrupt the chronological sequence of Babylonian rulers by interposing a real interregnum.⁶⁸

B.9 and G.5, as described in the evidence above, may not constitute interregna for reasons similar to those described in the preceding paragraph. Although these both represent Elamite kings temporarily in possession of part of Babylonia, there is no evidence that they ruled the whole land or were able to interrupt the chronological sequence of Babylonian rulers so as to cause genuine interregna.

In G.8, where we would expect on the basis of the economic texts and the chronicles that a one-year reign might have been accorded to Ashurbanipal (since the second month of 668 is reckoned as being in the accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn), Ashurbanipal is clearly left out (as he is also in the Ptolemaic Canon). Whether Kinglist A solved the chronological problem by allocating the official year 668 to Esarhaddon (as did the Ptolemaic Canon) or to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, we do not know, since the pertinent figures are broken away in the text.

With the exception of A.1, which seems to be a clear case of omission,

⁶⁸As defined in *PKB*, p. 78.

the other examples mentioned here are of foreign rulers who were involved with Babylonia for relatively short periods and whose inclusion in or exclusion from Kinglist A has no chronological significance.

In conclusion, while this critical examination of the data in Kinglist A and their divergences from other traditions has demonstrated that the text as it stands is hardly flawless, it has also revealed several interesting features. First, the only incontestable error in regnal years occurs in the case of Kudur-Enlil, who is assigned six rather than nine years of reign. Second, there is only one likely error in the form of a royal name: Me-lám-é for Me-lám-kur-kur-ra (the second-last king of the Sealand I dynasty). There are probably two or three genealogical errors, but no obvious mistakes in assigning individuals to dynasties. Finally, the only clear inconsistency and omission are linked together in that one ruler of the Sealand I dynasty has been left out of the kinglist, though his reign is still reflected in the total of years.⁶⁹ Thus, while one should be careful about accepting genealogical information in Kinglist A without further confirmation, there seems little reason at present to be excessively sceptical about the figures for individual reigns and dynasties.⁷⁰ Further evidence, especially in the form of dated economic texts from poorly attested periods,⁷¹ may eventually cause us to revise this estimate; but, in the meantime, the historian need not refrain from using--albeit with due caution--this unique chronological document for the reconstruction of the framework of much of Babylonian history in the late second and early first millennia B.C.

⁶⁹It is unfortunate that we have no clear data with which to compare the individual regnal figures given for this dynasty, since the dynastic summary as a whole looks suspiciously--though not impossibly--high and would cause difficulties in reconciling the Kassite dates given here with any Old Babylonian chronology other than the "high" chronology of Goetze and his followers, who put the reign of Hammurapi at 1848-1806 B.C. But to investigate this whole question requires more material than is available at the moment.

⁷⁰Always allowing for the stylistic feature of recording overlapping dynasties as consecutive.

⁷¹Particularly for the Sealand I dynasty.

ADDENDA

The following pages contain notes on additional material which had come to my attention before August 31, 1976.

Information on the bricks found at Isin during the 1975/76 excavation season I owe to C. B. F. Walker, who kindly provided copies of the inscriptions together with data on provenience, etc. Professor Hrouda has graciously permitted me to cite this material. See also the report by J. N. Postgate, *Iraq XXXVIII* (1976) 69-70.

- [1] Page xiii. Grayson's *ABC* was published in December 1975. The reader should take particular note of the Addenda and Corrigenda on pp. 275-95 of the volume.
- [2] Page xxiii. *TuM NF V* has been published in June 1976.
- [3] Pages 22-23, tables, and note 55. The ninth year of Kudur-Enlil is now attested in the newly found economic text 13 N 567. See No. 27 below.
- [4] Pages 36-39. Add two building inscriptions to be assigned to a Kurigalzu (Nos. 29-30 below), three building inscriptions of a Kadašman-Enlil (Nos. 20-21), another building text for Adad-šuma-ušur (No. 16), and another building text for Meli-Šipak (No. 34).
- [5] Page 40 note 40. Add the following comment: cf. also the text listed as E.3.13 and U.3.9.
- [6] Page 41 and note 45. For new building texts from Isin, see Nos. 16, 20, 28-29, and 34 below.
- [7] Page 45. The 1975/76 season at Isin found two new inscriptions of a Kurigalzu, two of a Kadašman-Enlil, one of Adad-šuma-ušur, and one of Meli-Šipak. See Nos. 16, 20, 28-29, and 34 below.
- [8] Page 45. Recent researches by C. B. F. Walker in the basement of the Ashmolean Museum have brought to light two further bricks from the Kish excavations that may be relevant here. Ashmolean 1924.639 (No. 30 below) preserves part of a Kurigalzu text. Ashmolean 1924.632 has only the first few lines (without RN), but its script and crudity give grounds for believing that it too is MB.

- [9] Page 64. To type 7.2 add IB 942-944 (No. 29 below). The verb is ḥu-mu-un-gi_4 .
- [10] Page 64. After type 7.3, add FLP 2010 (No. 21 below): (for) DN + epithet + eldest son of DN_2 --RN + epithet(s) + titles--his temple--in GN--built. Note that this is the only inscription of type 7, other than type 7.6, that omits the phrase "his lord/lady."
- [11] Page 64. To type 7.4 add IB 950-951 (No. 16 below). IB unnumbered (No. 34 below), in so far as it can be read, is also similar to type 7.4 except that the line following the TN does not seem to read "her beloved temple" (it is too poorly preserved for any other definite reading to be proposed); the verb is a form of gib[il] .
- [12] Page 64. After type 7.4 add IB 945-948: for DN + title + his lady--RN + epithet + titles--TN + her beloved temple + part of temple--means--verb (mu-na-ni-dub). IB 949, only partially preserved, ends: [] titles--TN + her beloved temple + part of temple--means--verb (mu-na-dub). All these texts are listed under No. 20 below.
- [13] Page 65. Add the following references to the verb-form table:
- dù : mu-na-dù (FLP 2010, No. 19 below)
 mu-un-na-dù (IB 950-951, No. 16)
- dub : mu-na-dub (IB 949, No. 20)
 mu-na-ni-dub (IB 945-948, No. 20)
- gi_4 : ḥu-mu-un-gi_4 (IB 942-944, No. 29)
- gibil : $[\text{i}]n\text{-na-an-gib[il]}$ (IB unnumbered, No. 34).
- Note that these include the first attestation of gi_4 in MB royal building texts of type 7 and the first occurrences of the verb dub in any MB royal building texts.
- [14] Page 66 and note 251. To type 8.1 add IB 940 (see No. 28 below). The relative clause after é-libir-ra reads: $\text{níg u}_4\text{-ul-lí-a-ta al-šub-bu-dè}$.
- [15] Page 69. The verb forms mu-un-na-an-dù and ḥu-mu-un-gi also appear in IB 940 and duplicates (see No. 28 below).
- [16] Page 90. Among the contemporary sources, before C.2.1, should be added the following text found during the 1975/76 season at Isin:

IB 950-951. Stamped bricks from Isin bearing a nine-line Sumerian building inscription of RN recording work on the Egalmah for ^dnin-ì-si-(in)-na.

- [17] Pages 101-105. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1975) pp. 213-14, discusses a chronological problem in connection with the pre-Amarna Burna-Burias̃ that arises from a literal interpretation of a synchronism in the synchronistic kinglist A. 117. That such synchronisms are not to be interpreted literally has been shown in *PKB*, p. 29 (published after the submission of Grayson's original manuscript in 1967).
- [18] Page 113, E.2.25.44. Through an oversight, Bernhardt's copy of this text in *TuM NF V 66:38* has not been corrected (the year number appears as "18" still in the published copy, though it is listed correctly in my "Inventarverzeichnis," *ibid.*, p. 13). Compare Petschow No. 1.
- [19] Page 116, E.3.1. For a recently proposed reinterpretation of the date of this text, see No. 39 below.
- [20] Page 131. Among the contemporary sources, before J.2.1, should be added the following texts found during the 1975/76 excavations at Isin:
- (a) IB 945, 946, 947, 948 (plus unregistered fragments). Bricks bearing a fifteen-line Sumerian building inscription recording construction work done by Kadašman-Enlil on the Egalmah for ^dnin-in-si-na. The inscription is stamped in reverse on these bricks.
 - (b) IB 949 (plus one unregistered duplicate preserving only the ends of the last two lines). Stamped brick bearing part of the last eight lines of an inscription, presumably of Kadašman-Enlil (because of the quality of the brick fabric, which is similar to that of IB 945-948) but with no part of the RN preserved; recording construction on the Egalmah. Not a duplicate of IB 945-948.
- [21] Page 132. After J.2.2 add the following entry:
- FLP 2010. Inscribed brick, presumably from Nippur (EN.LÍL.KI-ta immediately precedes the final mu-na-dû in the text), bearing a

fourteen-line Sumerian inscription recording the building of a shrine/temple for Nanna. The bulk of the body of the brick has apparently been removed so that the present object is about the size of a tablet (7 x 15 x 3 cm.). The royal name in line 4 appears to be written in the same way as J.4.1.1, but the final LÍL is almost entirely lacking. (Kindly called to my attention by Erle Leichty.)

- [22] Page 137, J.2.22.4. Day "26" is also supported by Bernhardt's published copy.
- [23] Page 140. After J.4.1.2 add the following entry: *Ka-da-áš-ma-an-^dEN.LÍL* (royal inscription: IB 945, 946, 947, 948, line 4; see No. 20 above).
- [24] Page 155. For a recently proposed reinterpretation of the date of L.2.13.1, see No. 39 below.
- [25] Page 167. For a recently proposed reinterpretation of the date of M.2.2, see No. 39 below.
- [26] Page 190 and note 1. One must now also take into consideration 13 N 567, an economic text dated in Nisan of Kudur-Enlil's ninth year. See the following entry.
- [27] Page 199. After P.2.6.187, the following entries may be added:

I - - year 9 13 N 567
 {III} - [] 13 N 127 (only KAM preserved of day date
 and part of [KA]M for year date)

Note that 13 N 567 contains the highest attested date for Kudur-Enlil, and statements occurring elsewhere in this book must be adjusted accordingly. For a brief mention of the findspots of these tablets, see J. N. Postgate, *Iraq XXXVIII* (1976) 73.

- [28] Page 214. For Q.2.22, substitute the following corrected information (courtesy of C. B. F. Walker).

Q.2.22 Bricks from Isin bearing an eleven-line building inscription commemorating Kurigalzu's work on the Egalmah for Gula.
 Q.2.22.1 IB 204. Stamped brick, with slight damage, found in the 1973 excavation season. Catalogued by Edzard, *Sumer XXIX* (1973) 43 No. 2.

Q.2.22.2 IB 940 (with more than 100 unnumbered duplicates).
Stamped brick(s) found during the 1975/76 season.

Q.2.22.3 *IB 941. Inscribed brick, probably duplicate of
the preceding, but preserving only part of the last
four lines.

See now also J. N. Postgate, *Iraq XXXVIII* (1976) 69.

[29] Page 214. After Q.2.22, another entry may be added:

IB 942, 943, 944. Bricks found at Isin during the 1975/76 season
bearing a ten-line Sumerian building inscription recording Kurigalzu's
work on the Egalmah for Gula. The text is stamped on the face of
these bricks and also inscribed on an edge of IB 943. (See also
Postgate, *Iraq XXXVIII* [1976] 69.)

[30] Page 214. Following Q.2.22 and No. 29 above, this entry may be inserted:

Ashmolean 1924.639. Corner of a brick from Kish preserving nine
lines (the last five quite illegible) of a Sumerian inscription
of Kurigalzu for Zababa. (Information courtesy of C. B. F. Walker.)

[31] Page 232. After Q.2.114 add:

Ashmolean 1924.1325. Damaged (later[?] copy of a) letter to a king
Kurigalzu (written ^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu* LUGAL, line 1) from a person whose
name is partially broken away (but begins ^{md}IM-[]). Probably from
Kish. (Kindly called to my attention by Professor O. R. Gurney.)

[32] Page 242. To the references under Q.4.1.2, add the following:

- (a) royal inscriptions: IB 940 and duplicates, line 4 (No. 28 above);
IB 942, 943, 944, line 4 (No. 29);
- (b) letter: *Ashmolean 1924.1325:1 (later?).

[33] Page 245, Q.5.12. The date reads as collated, not as in the uncorrected
copy now published in *TuM NF V* 25.

[34] Page 253. Among the contemporary sources, before S.2.1, add the following
text found during the 1975/76 season of excavations at Isin:

IB, unnumbered (left in situ). Brick bearing a ten-line Sumerian
inscription recording building work of RN on the Egalmah for ^dnin-
[in]-si-n[a].

[35] Page 283, U.3.1. For a recently proposed reinterpretation of the date of this text, see No. 39 below.

[36] Page 292. After V.2.10.40, the following entry may be added:

VIII-4-year 2, AUAM 73.3177 (HTS 60).

[37] Page 292. After V.2.10.50, the following entry may be added:

II-6-year 3, Westminster Theological Seminary tablet (information courtesy of Raymond B. Dillard).

[38] Page 308. Another instance of V.4.2.43 occurs in AUAM 73.3177 (HTS 60), line 8.

[39] Page 403. In ZA LXV (1975-76) 28-33, M. Horsnell has proposed a previously rejected theory that Kassite MU.ÚS.SA RN dates should be identified with the second regnal year of the king named. Horsnell's conclusions are based principally on Old Babylonian dating practices and would be valid if applied to Old Babylonian year names. Unfortunately, his analyses, grammatical and historical, are not convincing when applied to the Kassite material.

There would be little purpose here to rebut Horsnell's article point by point, since so many of his arguments rest on an unproven assumption that the Kassite year-name formulae continue the traditions of usage under the First Dynasty of Babylon¹ or on misinterpretations of the Kassite data.²

¹ZA LXV (1975-76) 29-30. As has been shown above in Appendix A, the contrary is true: the MU.ÚS.SA RN dates occur just at a time when the MB scribes are breaking away from the OB dating tradition.

²E.g., in ZA LXV (1975-76) 32, Horsnell envisages a case in which the accession year and the first year of Kassite rulers are variant expressions for one and the same year ("mu sag nam-lugal-la" and "mu-l-kám-ma") and then, on the basis of his own misunderstanding, states--with reference to a hypothetical system which he imputes to me--that such a year could simultaneously be designated by three different formulae (which Horsnell terms "triple-dating"). I know of no one other than Horsnell who has suggested that the accession and first years of Middle Babylonian monarchs be equated.

Unfortunately, misinformation and unwarranted inferences from statements of others abound in Horsnell's article. He objects to the translation of MU.ÚS.SA RN as "year after RN" on the grounds that the temporal conjunction "after" is used (*ibid.*, pp. 28-29); in fact, the word "after" here is a preposition governing a following noun. He refers to "8000 dated documents" of the Kassite period (*ibid.*, p. 29), although there are actually only slightly over 1575 Middle Babylonian texts which have dates sufficiently preserved to be included in the Catalogue and Addenda above and the number of other Middle Babylonian texts with broken or incomplete dates would amount to

It will suffice to restate in simple form the position on MU.ÚS.SA dates accepted in Appendix A and the grounds on which this position is based.³

- A. The two known MU.ÚS.SA dates refer to the kings Burna-Burias̃ (II) and Nazi-Maruttas̃.
- B. These two kings ruled at a time when the Babylonian method of designating years within a reign was undergoing a change from the Old Babylonian system of year names to the later Middle Babylonian system of numbering regnal years.
- C. Burna-Burias̃ (II) came to the throne shortly after the earliest evidence for use of regnal-year numbers. During his reign, although most year dates are expressed by numbers alone, there are two instances in which a year date is designated by both number and name; so there is evidence for a transitional phase in which the Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian systems of dating were mixed.
- D. There is no clear evidence as to how accession years of Kassite kings were designated before the time of Kadašman-Enlil II (king No. 25), when the first MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA is attested. From Kadašman-Enlil II through Meli-Šipak (king No. 33), no fewer than 86 documents are dated by this formula or an abbreviated equivalent.
- E. There are three possibilities for expressing accession years before that time.
 1. Such years were also designated MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA, but no examples have yet been found.⁴

considerably less than 2000. Horsnell opines that the syntax of the phrases MU.ÚS.SA RN and MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA RN should be explained in the same way (*ibid.*, p. 30), but does not show why these two different phrases need to be strict grammatical parallels; in fact, semantic parallelism need not imply syntactic parallelism. Horsnell infers (*ibid.*, p. 31) that designating a year "in terms of" a reign is equivalent to naming a year "after an *entire* reign of a king" (*italics mine*), rather than simply providing a reference point (in this case, the death of the preceding monarch or the termination of his reign). These instances may serve as samples of Horsnell's mode of exposition.

³It should be noted that the following statements derive from personal observations made in reading through more than 12,000 Kassite economic texts over the past eight years and do not rely simply on the sample of tablets listed formally in the Catalogue.

⁴This seems statistically unlikely, especially for the well-attested reigns of Burna-Burias̃ II, Kurigalzu II, Nazi-Maruttas̃, and Kadašman-Turgu (Nos. ?19, 22-24).

2. These years were not given a new designation after the death of the old king,⁵ but continued to be called by the same name/number as the earlier part of the year.
3. Accession years were assigned a different designation,⁶ such as MU.ÚS.SA RN⁷ or some other formula not yet discovered.

While available data are not adequate to rule out any of these three possibilities, the third is the only alternative for which any evidence can presently be adduced. In this connection, it must be stressed that the primary reasons behind the identification of MU.ÚS.SA as accession year in this instance are the chronological distribution of MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA versus MU.ÚS.SA texts, the statistical improbability that all accession-year texts from the well-attested period from Burna-Burias II through Kadašman-Turgu would have disappeared, and the possibility of translating MU.ÚS.SA RN literally as the "year after RN" (i.e., after RN's death).⁸

- F. If possibility E.3 above is accepted, then one can at least propose a probable hypothesis for the designation of accession years in the transitional phase between the early Middle Babylonian system of year names and the later Middle Babylonian system of MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA + year numbers. The development would break down into two steps in which no use of double designations to refer to the same part of a year would be necessary:

Step 1 (from at least king No. 720 through No. 24)

MU.number.KAM RN₁: designation of the last regnal year of the old king up to the time of his death

⁵This was apparently the more common practice in Old Babylonian times.

⁶Different designations applied to accession years also seem to have occurred sporadically in Old Babylonian times; but the known examples, cited by Horsnell in his collection of year names for the earlier kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, are somewhat atypical and all in Babylonian (rather than Sumerian): MU RN ana bīt abīšu īrubu (VAS VIII 8:36, CT VI 48a Bu. 91-5-9, 2498:23-24,, CT XLVIII 68:27-29).

⁷Compare the later arki RN dates referring to Kandalānu and even the possible MU. 'SAG?.LUGAL?' EGIR^d U.GUR-ú-še-zib (UET IV 204:21; cf. Or XXXIV [1965] 244 and n. 2).

⁸A usage amply paralleled by such phrases as arkišu, literally "after him" (actually "after his death"), elsewhere.

MU.ÚS.SA RN₁: designation of the accession year of the new king as the "year after (the old king)" (i.e., that part of the year remaining after the old king's death)

Step 2 (beginning with king No. 25)

MU.number.KAM RN₁: designation of the last regnal year of the old king up to the time of his death

MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA RN₂: designation of the accession year of the new king under his own name.

G. An advantage of this hypothesis is that it can readily be disproved, e.g., by finding a text dated to the MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA of a Kassite ruler before Kadašman-Enlil II. Horsnell's hypothesis cannot be proved or disproved, since it makes MU.ÚS.SA RN equivalent to the king's second regnal year and therefore simply an alternate way of expressing the date more commonly written as MU.2.KAM RN.⁹

To my mind, the crucial point in these arguments is the chronological distribution of these dates in a well-attested period and the grammatical possibility of the translation offered here. Old Babylonian analogies do not make a convincing case, especially for a time when the Babylonian dating system was breaking away from older models and adapting itself to simpler methods of reckoning.

[40] Plate section. The copies of the texts published here, which were made under widely varying conditions and over a period of almost a decade, were not originally intended to appear within a single volume. The author apologizes for the inconsistent styles in which these copies have been executed. Despite the differing physical layouts, an attempt was made in each case to render the ductus of the original text.

⁹In fact, since MU.2.KAM *Nazi-Maruttas* and MU.ÚS.SA *Nazi-Maruttas* are both already attested, Horsnell's hypothesis involves varying modes of expressing the same date. (According to the steps described in part F above, there need have been no such otiose usage in the transitional period of Kassite dating, though *different parts of the same year--i.e., before and after a king's death--would have borne different designations.*)

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INDEX

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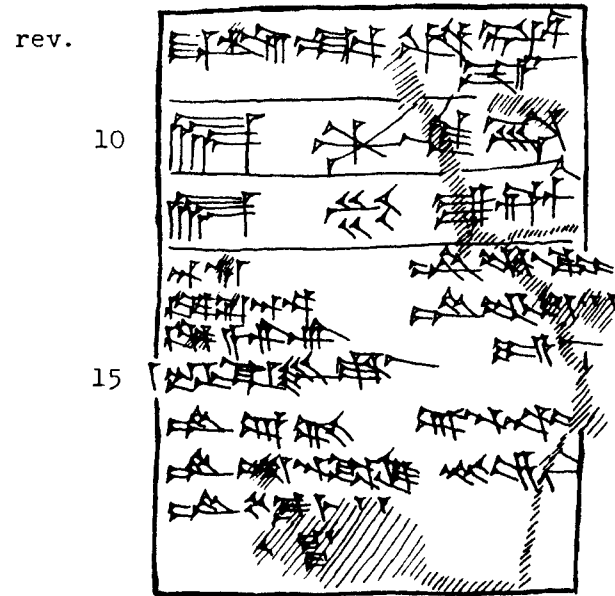
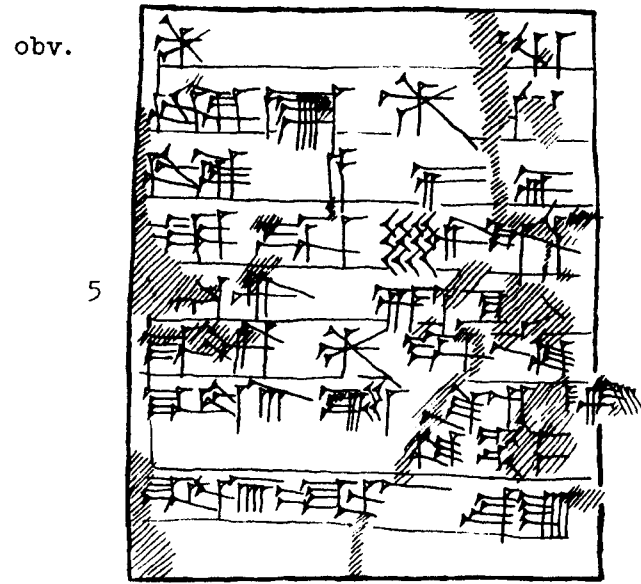
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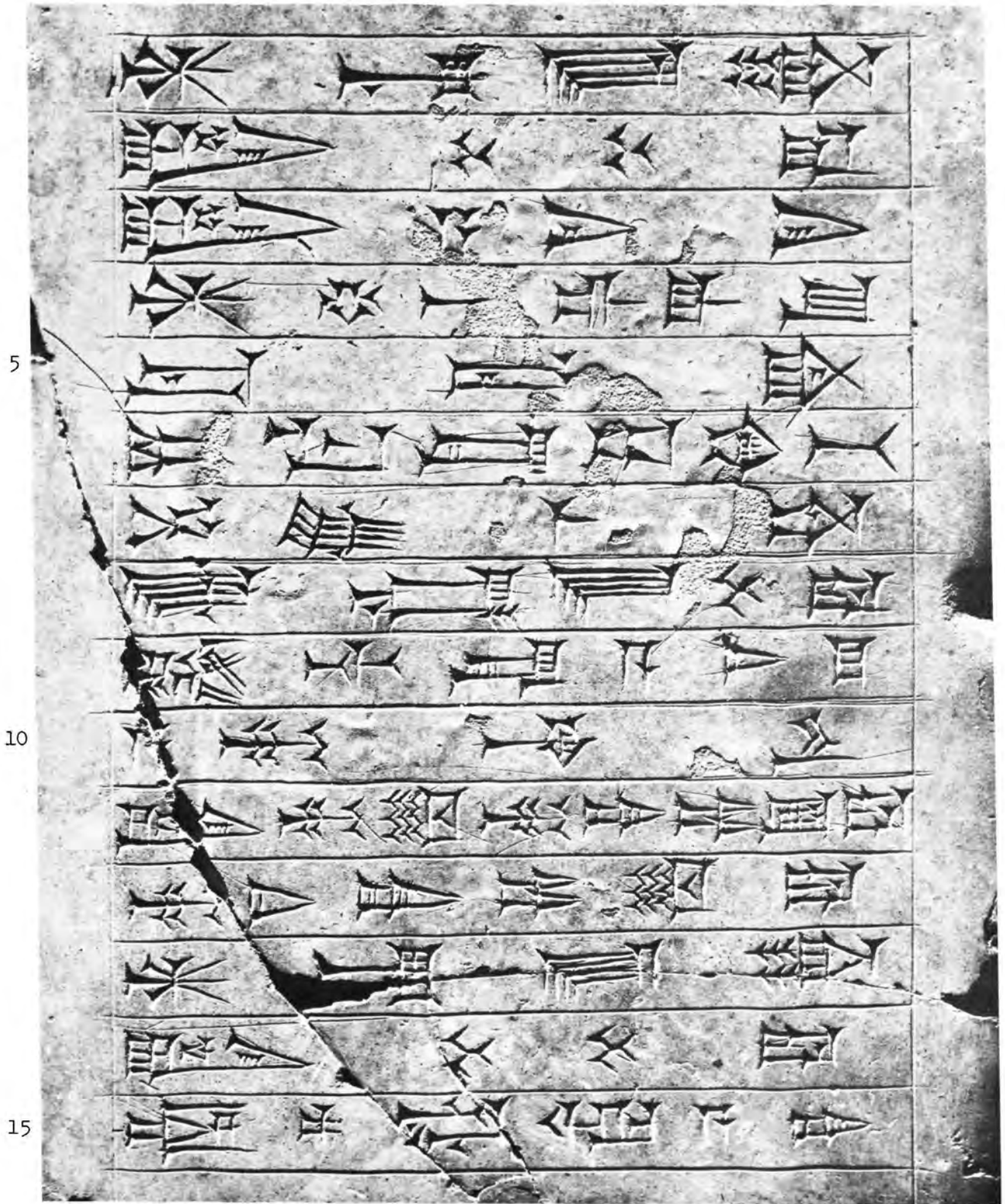
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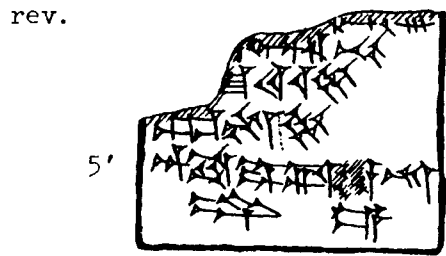
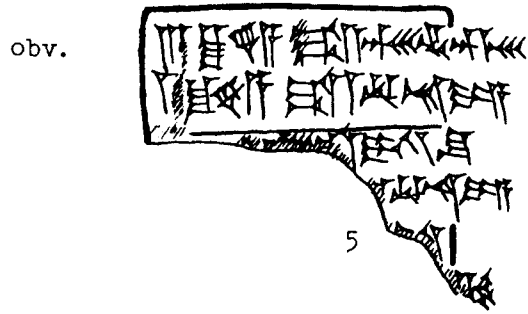
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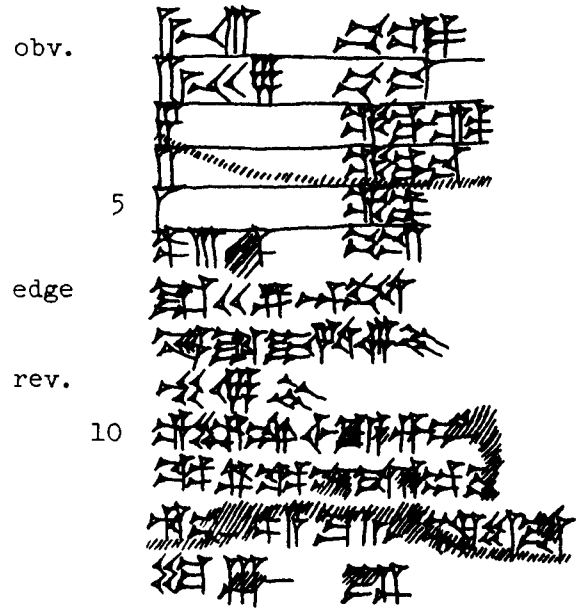
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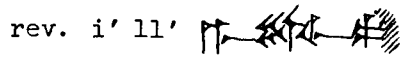
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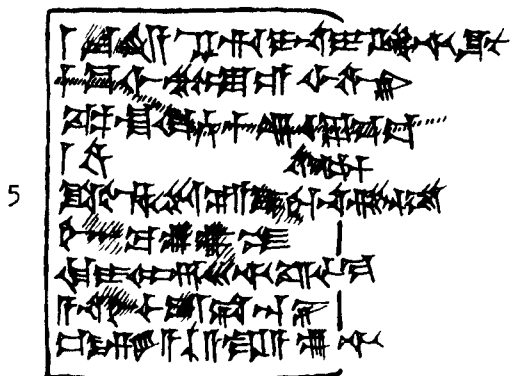


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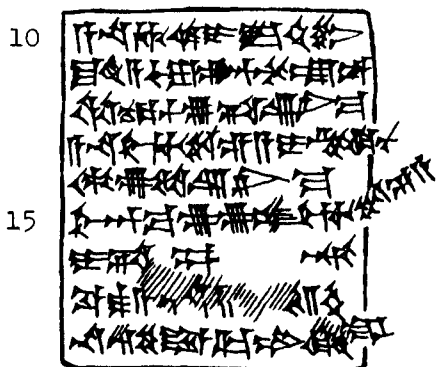
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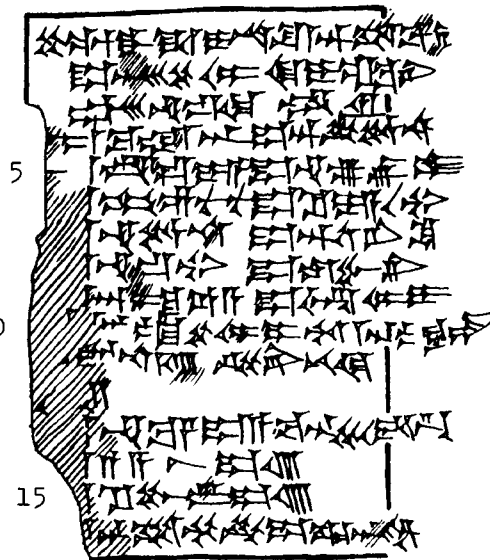


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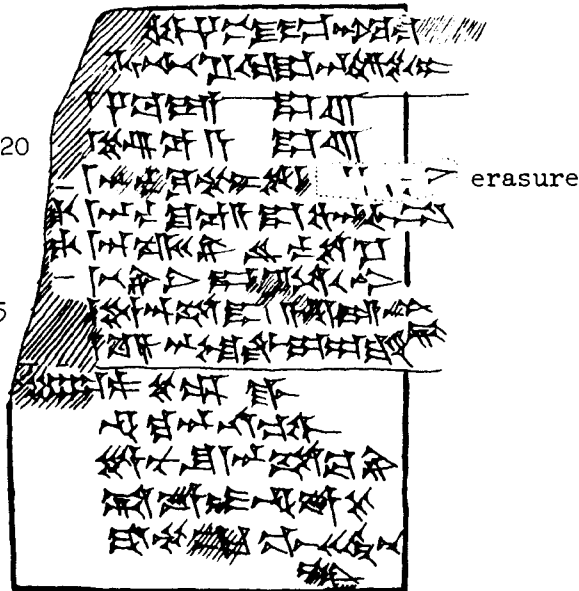


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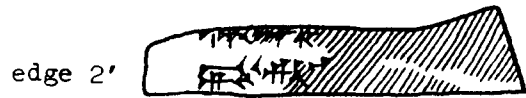
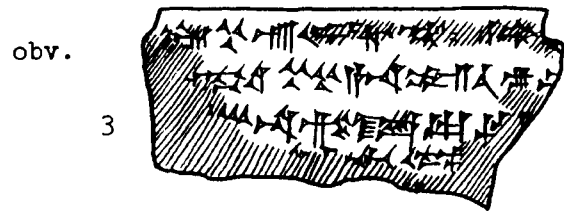
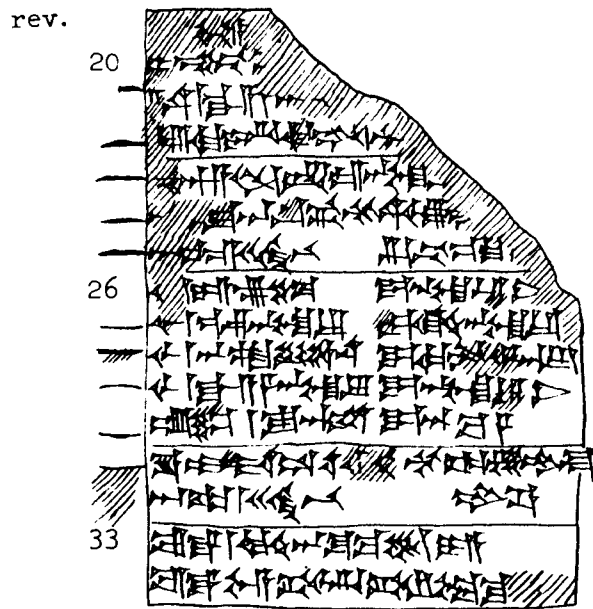
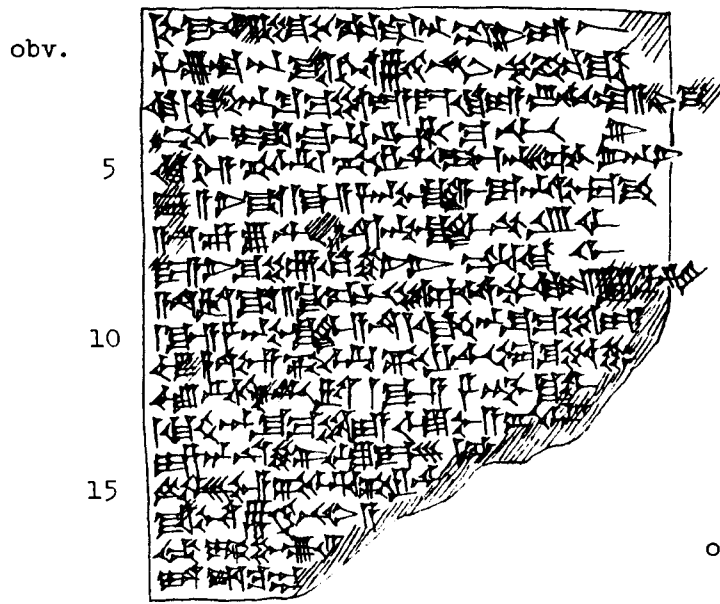
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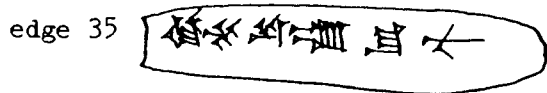
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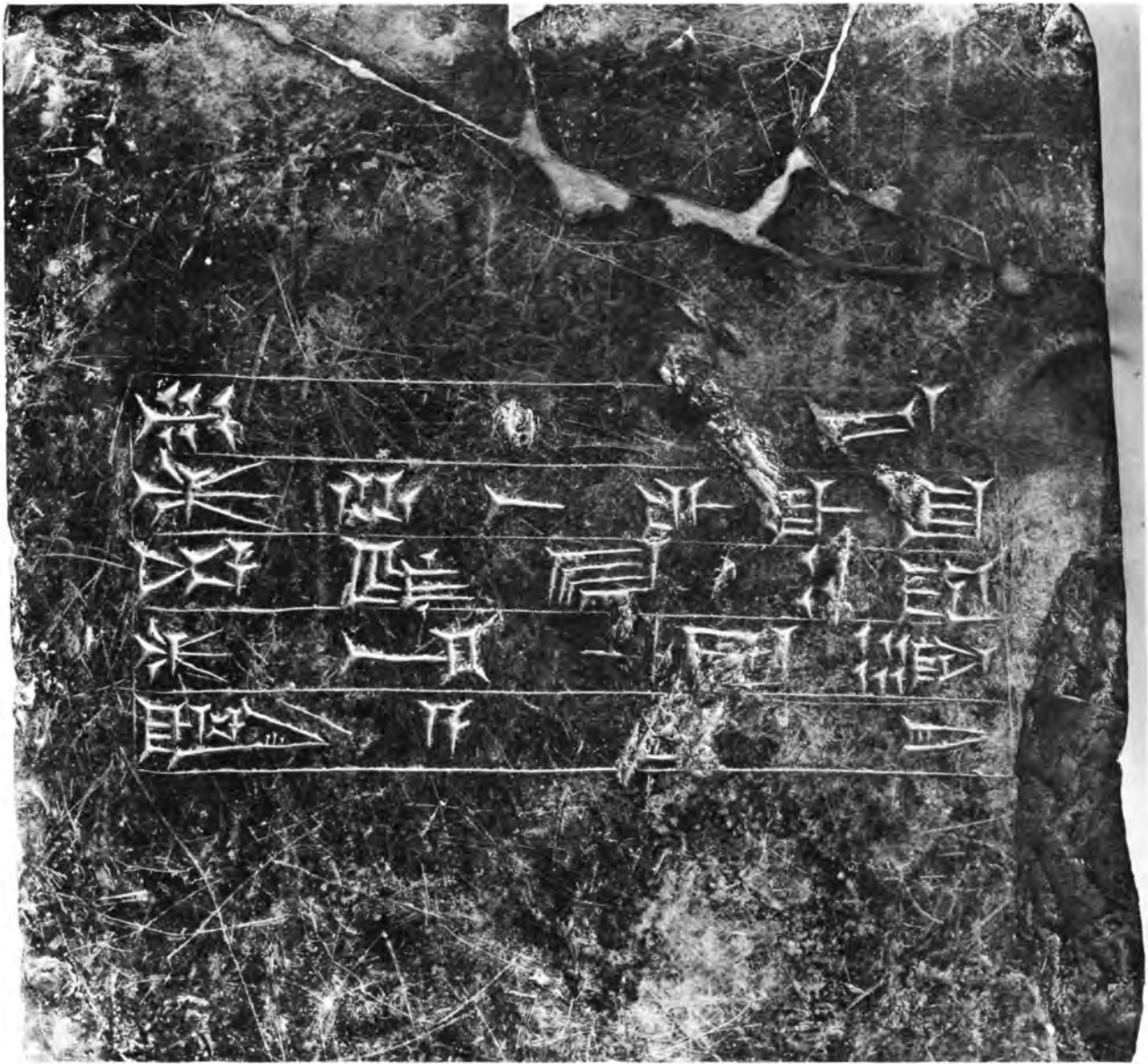
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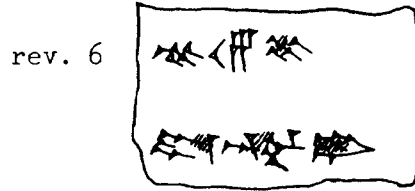
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MMA 41.160.187

No. 11



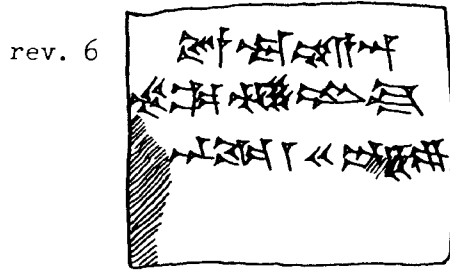
Ni. 21, part

No. 12



Ni. 65, part

No. 13



Ni. 435, part

No. 14



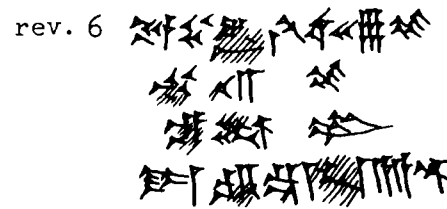
Ni. 437, part

No. 15



Ni. 805, part

No. 16



Ni. 861, part

No. 17

PLATE 8



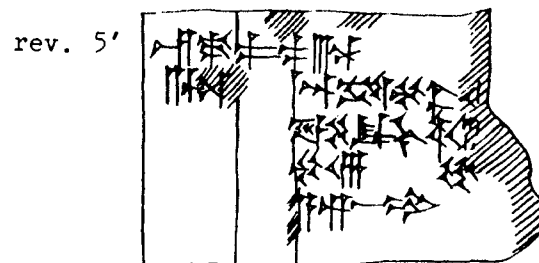
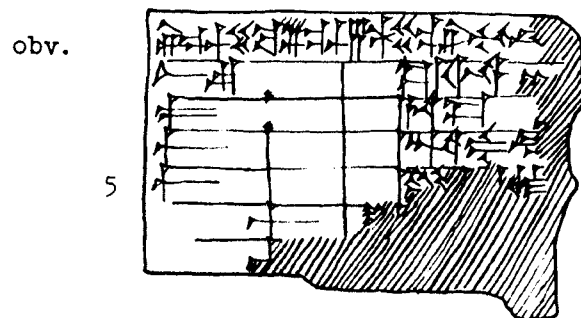
Ni. 3199, part

No. 18



Ni. 6254, part

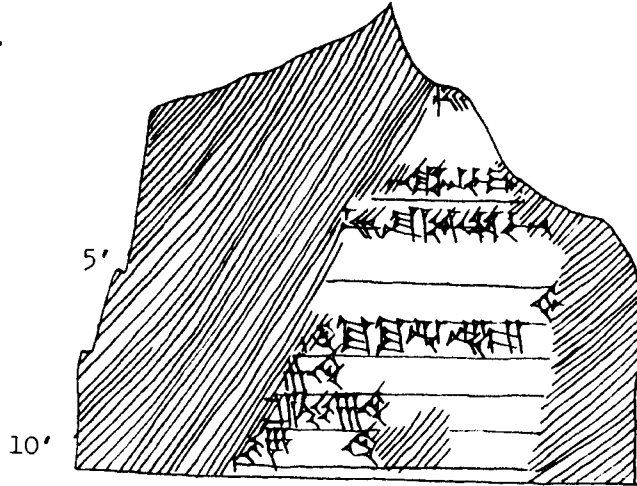
No. 19



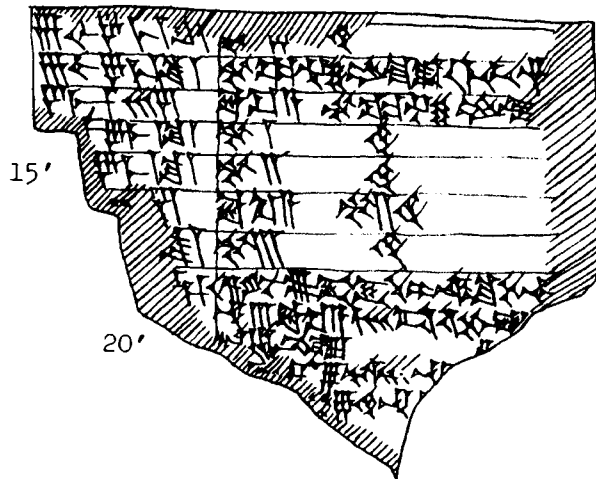
UM 29-13-578

No. 20

obv.



rev.

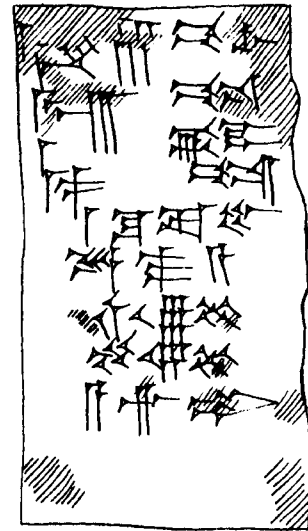


UM 29-13-661

No. 21

obv.

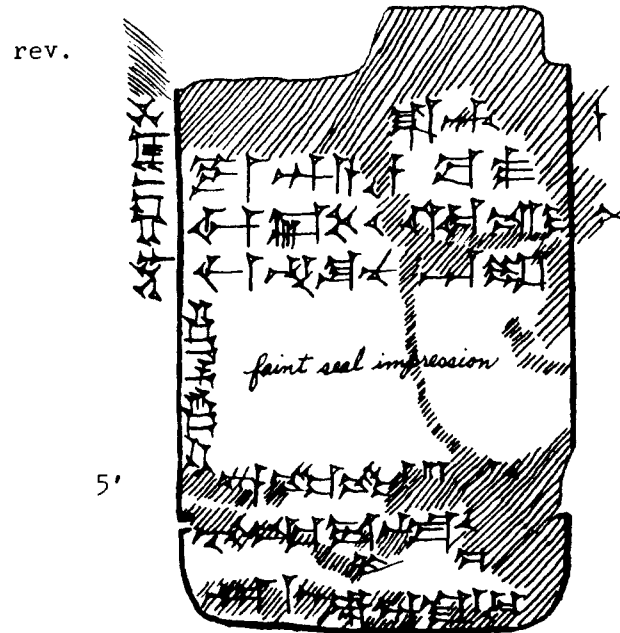
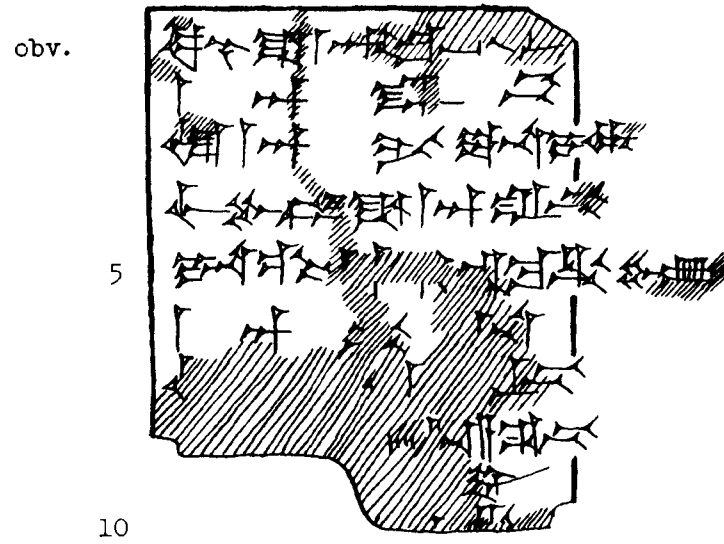
3
edge
6
rev.



UM 29-13-934b

No. 22

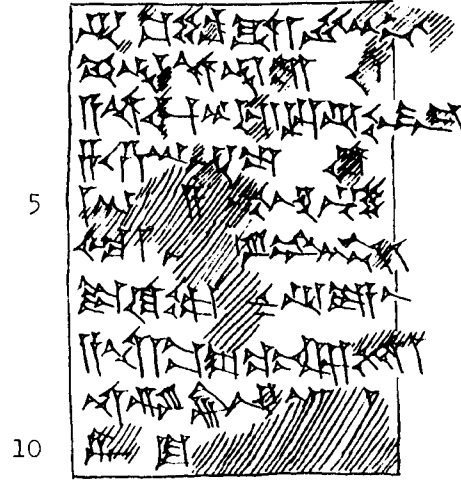
PLATE 10



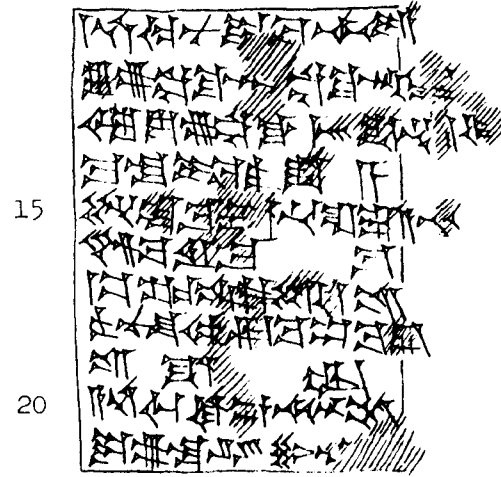
UM 29-15-189

No. 23

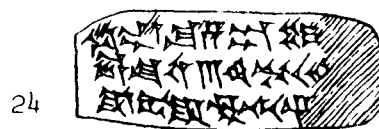
obv.



rev.



edge



left edge



UM 29-16-340

No. 24