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VOLUME II

# The Weld-Blundell Collection, vol. II.

# Historical Inscriptions, Containing Principally the Chronological Prism, W-B. 444,

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# PREFACE.

The fortunate discovery of the entire chronological tables of early Sumerian and Babylonian history provides ample reason for a separate volume of the Weld-Blundell Series, and the immediate publication of this instructive inscription is imperative. It constitutes the most important historical document of its kind ever recovered among cuneiform records. The Collection of the Ashmolean Museum contains other historical records which I expected to include in this volume, notably the building inscriptions of Kish, excavated during the first year's work of the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition. MR. WELD-BLUNDELL who supports this expedition on behalf of The University of Oxford rightly expressed the desire to have his dynastic prism prepared for publication before the writer leaves Oxford to take charge of the excavations at Oheimer (Kish) the coming winter. This circumstance necessitates the omission of a considerable number of historical texts, which must be left over for a future volume. I wish also that many of the far reaching problems raised by the new dynastic prism might have received more mature discussion.

The most vital problem, concerning which I am at present unable to decide, namely the date of the first Babylonian dynasty, demands at least special notice some-where in this book. The reader is earnestly requested to remember that the dates given for the entire chronology of ancient Sumer and Accad necessarily rest upon the point from which the calculations begin, namely the year of the foundation of the first dynasty by Sumu-abu. In this book I have accepted the year 2225 for the beginning of the reign of Sumu-abu and 2357 for the beginning of the Isin dynasty. This date was taken from the astronomical calculations of FATHER KUGLER, S. J., in his astonishingly brilliant interpretation of the tablet of observations of the morning and evening appearances and disappearances of the planet Venus for the 21 years of the reign of Ammizaduga, tenth king of the first dynasty [1]. The tablet actually preserves observations for 21 years of the reign of Ammizaduga. Now in this text after the observation, « In Adar (12th month) Venus disappeared in the east on the 25th day, [two months and 16 days she delayed in heaven and in the month Sivan, on the eleventh day, she was seen in the west], » [2] the tablet has the year date for the *eighth year* of Ammizaduga. Therefore, KUGLER was able to assign each of the observations above and below this date to the year of Ammizaduga in which it occurred. One of these observations namely that of the *sixth* year offered the best *data* for an astronomical calculation. Here (in lines 14-15 of VIROLLEAUD, *Ishtar,* XII) the tablet has, « In the month Araḫsamnu (8th month) on the 28th day Venus disappeared in the west, *three* days she delayed in heaven and rose in the east on the first of Kislev. » KUGLER's fine astronomical training shewed him at once that this observation would enable him to determine the years of the period

[1] F. X. KUGLER, S. J., *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel,* Vol. II 257-311. The text (K. 160) of these astronomical observations was first published in III Raw. 63 and a partial duplicate (K. 2321) was published by J. A. CRAIG, *Astrological and Astronomical Texts,* Pl. 46. These two texts were then combined and published by CHAS. VIROLLEAUD, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Ishtar,* Nos XII-XV. For a criticism of VIROLLEAUD's re-arrangement of these texts, see KUGLER, *ibid.* p. 266 n. 1.

[2] See the restoration by KUGLER, *ibid.,* p. 272.

within which Ammizaduga must have reigned [1], for this observation implies the occurrence of a *new moon* between the western setting and eastern rising of Venus, and the short period of *three* days darkness also confined the possibilities of a similar situation to few chances.

Now I am convinced after long study of the texts and repeated discussion with the Oxford astronomer DR. FOTHERINGHAM, that any date assigned to the first dynasty must satisfy the astronomical calculations based upon this tablet. It is worth more than all the vague general reckonings of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. Until we find chronological lists, which give the lengths of all the missing reigns between the end of the first dynasty and the fourth dynasty, dogmatic statements on dating Hammurabi and Sumu-abu are worthless. KUGLER found by calculating from the observation of the 3 days' darkness of Venus at the time of the new moon in the sixth year of Ammizaduga that, in 1972-1 BC., the conjunction of the Moon and Sun occurred only a few hours before the inferior conjunction of the Sun and Venus. FOTHERINGHAM tells me that KUGLER did not use the best values for the acceleration of the Sun and Moon and consequently KUGLER's estimate of + 0.16 should be turned into a small minus value on page 285 of *Sternkunde* [2]. This means that the new moon was actually seen about two days after the inferior conjunction of Venus. The calculation resulted in fixing the beginning of the reign of Ammizaduga in 1977 and the beginning of the first dynasty in 2225. This calculation made that particular year begin April 18th (Gregorian). KUGLER found several other dates in this period when the inferior conjunction of Venus occurred at the time of the new moon, and among these he thought 2036-5 or 1852-1 most probable. The former date which is 64 years earlier is obviously out of considération for it not only brings the beginning of the year too late, well into May (Gregorian calender), but it is too high for even the Babylonian inter-periodic dead reckonings of Nabonidus and the Cassite inscriptions. [3] This leaves only the year 1852-1 or 119 years later for a choice which would bring the beginning of the year about March 22nd.

KUGLER decided for 1972-71, in his original study but in 1922 in his book *Von Moses bis Paulus*, p. 497 he accepts the date 1796-5 for the occurence of this observation, which places the beginning of the year about March 5. He has thus lowered the entire chronology by 176 years, thus agreeing approximately with WEIDNER's low dates, 2057-1758, for the first dynasty, KUGLER 2049-1750. KUGLER has made his latest choice because he finds that the gathering of dates in this period occurs regularly in *Tešrit* (seventh month) or *Araḫšamnu* (eight month); or at any rate renter and owner divided the dates then. This season would be much too late for the date harvest in August-September unless the year began in March. He also felt the difficulty presented by certain contracts for renting fields in the 7th-8th months which would be in Nov.-Dec., if the year began late in April as presumed by the choice of the year 1972-1 for the 6th year of Ammizaduga.

[1] He chose 2080-1740, and the choice is in fact even more restricted by the resulting dates for the beginning of the New Year. The choice of dates for the observation must in any case yield a date for the beginning of the year between March 1st and May 1st. In fact any date below 1795 would bring the beginning of the year before March 5th.

[2] See FOTHERINGHAM'S article « *Solution of Ancient Eclipses of the Sun* », in *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, 1920.

[3] In his *Von Moses bis Paulus*, (1922) KUGLER on page 497 states that an inscription of Nabonidus, first noticed by PROFESSOR SCHEIL, places Rim-Sin's sister 1500 years before Nabonidus. But this inscription now published by PROFESSOR CLAY, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 45, makes no mention of the number 1500. In fact SCHEIL did not say that this number stands in the text.

It seems to me hazardous to shift the entire chronology 176 years on the basis of these contracts, for surely the division of a crop might take place some time after the harvest and the contracts for renting fields may not depend on the autumn ploughing and sowing season at all. At any rate the year 1796-5 now prefered by KUGLER must be given up, for DR. FOTHERINGHAM's calculations make this date impossible astronomically. He says that in 1796-5 B-C. the latitude of Venus was too small (2-3 degrees) to permit of a period of only 3 days of darkness for this planet. KUGLER's calculations for 1972-1 make the latitude 8 degrees and this agrees admirably with the period of three days of darkness. In the presence of these autoritative calculations there seems to be no reason at present for disturbing the chronological system adopted in my book. The other choice 1852-1 for the 6th year of Ammizaduga is ruled out by FOTHERINGHAM for the following reasons. In the first place his calculations for the accelerations of Sun and Moon make the conjunction of the Moon on December 19.45 (Greenwich time), and the visible new moon on Dec. 21.1. Venus then was seen in the east on Dec. 21.6 and her western setting took place Dec. 18.1 which is too close to her inferior conjunction to allow of her being seen at all in the west in the evening, with her latitude of only 4 degrees. FOTHERINGHAM believes, however, that the reckoning C 1 in KUGLER's table, p. 285, or the year 1916-15 is possible and this would reduce the chronology by 56 years.

There is, therefore, every reason for leaving this problem in suspense at present. According to the most authoritative chronological mathematician in England the low dates adopted by KUGLER are untenable. The dates accepted in this volume are now regarded by FOTHERINGHAM as 56 years too high, and the reader is requested to bear in mind that a reduction of a half century may be necessary [1]. The dates adopted here are in any case the maximum but a little reduction may be expected.

At the moment of going to press I learn from DR. WEIDNER that he has discovered in the Berlin Collection another dynastic tablet which begins in the earliest period and ends with Dungi. On this tablet certain famous rulers are especially noticed on the Reverse. It says that Ur-Ilbaba ordered his cup-bearer Sargon to bring the wine of libation from Esagila. From this WEIDNER argues that Ur-Ilbaba was a contemporary of Sargon. But legendary notices of this kind are not very trustworthy. WEIDNER wishes to make the Akšak dynasty, Kish IV and Lugalzaggisi all contemporary, thus reducing the pre-Sargonic dates by about 100 years.

S. LANGDON, Oxford, Nov. 14th 1923.

[1] FOTERINGHAM after calculations now maintains that only the year 1916-15 is possible for the sixth year of Ammizaduga. He says that by introducing his values for the apparent acceleration of the Sun and assuming a proportionate acceleration for Venus, Venus was not visible in the evening of the 3d day before the new moon on the first of Kislev, 1972-1. In other words in the evening of Jan. 5th (Gregorian) Venus was not visible, if the new moon were seen Jan. 8th. He finds that only the astronomical year — 1914 (1915 BC.) is possible. « The moon was first visible Dec. 21st and Venus was still visible in the west Dec. 18th and visible again in the east Dec. 22nd, reckoning the days from midnight to midnight, i. e., four nights of invisibility, for by *three days' darkness*, the Babylonians meant three days reckoning from sun-set to sun-set for one day ». The quotation is taken from the statement of this able astronomer. He now states definitely that 1922-1 alone satisfies the astronomical tablet, and makes that year begin about March 31st (Gregorian). His calculations are of very great importance, for they prove that the recent tendency to lower the chronology by 168 or 176 years is not possible.

# THE SUMERO-ACCADIAN SYSTEM OF LEGENDARY AND HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.

**(W-B., 1923, 444.)**

In the Cuneiform Collection founded and supported by Mr. H. WELD-BLUNDELL for the Ashmolean Museum I have found a large perforated prism which carries two columns of closely written text on each of its four faces. It purports to give the dynastic lists of the kings of Sumer and Accad from the ante-diluvian period to the end of the reign of Sin-magir, thirteenth king of Isin. It is in reality a complete duplicate of the same chronological scheme written on one huge tablet (in 12 columns) from Nippur, which PROFESSOR ARNO POEBEL published in *Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum,* Philadelphia, Vol. V No. 2. The Nippur tablet was fragmentary, and although DR. LEON LEGRAIN succeeded in joining a large fragment to the Poebel fragment (PBS. Vol. 13, No. 1), the real nature of the document could not be detected. Undoubtedly this Nippur tablet also carried the entire chronological system preserved on W. B. 1923, 444. P. No. 2 was written immediately after the 159$^{th}$ year of the dynasty of Isin; that tablet agrees with P. No. 5 in that it did not omit the 10$^{th}$ king of Isin who reigned only 6 months. For the summary at the end says that it was written in the reign of the 11$^{th}$ king, which must be Enlil-bani; for if the 24 years of Enlil-bani be included as the 10$^{th}$ king, the total to the end of his reign is 179 years. On W-B. 444, Enlil-bani is the 10$^{th}$ king, for this text omits the short reign of the 10$^{th}$ king on P. No. 5.

The Nippur tablet P. No. 2 was, therefore, written in the 4$^{th}$ or 5$^{th}$ year of Enlil-bani or about 42 years before W-B. 444. Small fragments of three other large tablets with similar complete chronological records were discovered in the Nippur Collection and published by POEBEL, *ibid.*, Nos. 3, 4, 5. The Reverse of No. 5 was first published by HILPRECHT, B. E. 20, No. 47. From the summaries on P. Nos. 2 and 4 it is evident that these four huge Nippur tablets began immediately after the Flood and did not include the pre-diluvian kings. For these tablets state that the list contained the names of *eleven* cities, and in fact eleven different cities were the capitols of Sumer and Accad *after* the Flood, beginning with Kish. But W-B. 444 and W-B. 62, published in JRAS. 1923, 256, both begin the system of chronology with the pre-diluvian kings and both were written at Ellasar. These include 5 and 6 other cities which never became the seat of an historical dynasty and hence the Nippurian chronology probably did not have the pre-diluvian kings. The Nippurian theologians regarded the pre-diluvian period as an Utopian age, and their views are represented in the Epical poems on the Flood and Paradise published by POEBEL, PBS. V, No. 1, and by myself in *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*. On the other hand the Ellasar texts regard the pre-diluvian period as profane history. W. B. 62 is a small tablet containing only the period before the Flood and agrees with Berossus and Hebrew tradition in the number of 10 kings or patriarchs who lived before the Deluge. W-B. 444 has only 8 ante-diluvian kings, the two last kings, Aradgin and his son Ziûsuddu who reigned at Šuruppak, are omitted, and in their place this prism has only a brief reference to the Flood. This would seem to imply that at Ellasar the Flood was regarded as a long geological period equal to 22.800 years (Aradgin) + 36.000 years (Ziûsuddu) = 58.800 years.

At any rate it is difficult to understand why the Blundell Prism omits all reference to the well known Babylonian Noah, Ziûsuddu (Sisythes), who built his boat at Šuruppak and escaped destruction in this manner. A comparative table of these three sources now known will present the problem in clear light.

W-B. 444

| | Name. | Place. | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Alulim | Eridu | 28800 |
| 2. | Alagar | » | 36000 |
| 3. | Enmenluanna | Badtibira | 43200 |
| 4. | Enmengalanna | » | 28800 |
| 5. | Dumuzi-sib | » | 36000 |
| 6. | Ensibzianna | Larak | 28800 |
| 7. | Enmenduranna | Sippar | 21000 |
| 8. | Ubardudu | Šuruppak | 18600 |
| | | | 241200 |

W-B. 62.

| | Name. | Place. | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | A-lulim | Ḫabur | 67200 |
| 2. | Alagar | » | 72000 |
| 3. | ....kidunnu-šakinkin | Ellasar | 72000 |
| 4. | ....uk ? ku ? | » | 21600 |
| 5. | Dumuzi-sib | Badtibira | 28800 |
| 6. | Enmenluanna | » | 21600 |
| 7. | Ensibzianna | Larak | 36000 |
| 8. | Enmenduranna | Sippar | 72000 |
| 9. | Arad-gin | Šuruppak | 28800 |
| 10. | Ziûsuddu | » | 36000 |
| | | | 456000 |

Berossus

| | Name. | Place. | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Alorus | Babylon | 36000. (1) |
| 2. | Alaparos | » | 10800. (2) |
| 3. | Amēlōn | Pantibiblus | 46800. (3) |
| 4. | Ammenōn | » | 43200. (4) |
| 5. | Megalaros | » | 64800. |
| 6. | Daōnos | » | 36000. (5) |
| 7. | Euedōrachos | » | 64800. (7) |
| 8. | Amempsinos | Larak | 36000. (6) |
| 9. | Opartes | » | 28800. |
| 10. | Xisuthros | [Šuruppak] | 64800. |
| | | | 432000. |

Berossus and the Blundell Prism do not mention Ellasar, and this city is also not among the ante-diluvian cities of the Nippurian Epic of Creation [1]. Morover the two kings assigned to Ellasar on W-B. 62 cannot be identified with any of those in the other lists. Ḫabur is only an epithet of Eridu, and Berossus, writing under Babylonian tradition, substituted Babylon for Eridu. It is certain that the original tradition had Alulim and Alagar as the first two kings at Eridu and these are Alorus and Alaparos of the Greek. In Alagar the *gamma* was corrupted to *pe* in the text of Berossus. It is also certain that Badtibira was the second city, that Ensibzianna belongs to Larak and that his name was corrupted to *Amempsinos*. Larak was clearly the *third* city. Sippar was

[1] See JRAS. 1923, 253. Poebel, PBS. V, No. 1.

obviously the fourth city falsely replaced by Pantibiblus (Badtibira) in Berossus, and its king Euedorachus is Enmenduranna of the two Sumerian sorces. Dumuzi-sib was the last of three kings at Badtibira and corresponds to *Daōnus* of Berossus. Now Daōnos is called a shepherd in the Greek text [1] and Dumuzi-sib means « Tammuz the shepherd ». A variant of the Greek is Daōs and this is probably a corruption of Damu-zi [2].

Enmenluanna was the *first* king at Badtibira and W-B. 62 has transposed Dumuzi-sib and Emmenluanna. He corresponds to the very corrupt name *Amelōn* of the Greek. Less corrupt is Almelon of Eusebius (Aramean) and Amillaros of Abydenus. Enmengalanna the second king of Badtibira was corrupted to *Ammenōn* by omission of the element *gal*. Emmenanna is Ammenōn. This name is omitted in W-B. 62 whose two kings at Ellasar are an insertion by the scribes of that city. This leaves Megalaros of Pantibiblus unexplained. It cannot correspond to either of the two names inserted on W-B. 62 for Ellasar, and since Berossus obviously utilized a list current at Babylon, the name must depend upon some other corrupt tradition. The original list was, therefore ;—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Alulim | 1. | Alorus. |
| 2. | Alagar | 2. | Alaparos. |
| 3. | Enmenluanna [3] | 3. | Amēlōn. |
| 4. | Enmen(gal)anna | 4. | Ammenōn. |
| 5. | Dumuzi-sib | 5. | Daōs. |
| 6. | Ensibzianna | 6. | Amempsinos. |
| 7. | Enmenduranna | 7. | Euedorachos. |
| 8. | Ubardudu | 8. | Opartes. |
| 9. | Aradgin | 9. | Ardates. [4] |
| 10. | Ziûsuddu | 10. | Sisythes. [5] |

Of the 23 kings of Kish who reigned after the Flood all but two are preserved with the exception of the 5th and 6th names which are partially preserved. The lengths of their reigns are naturally mythical, and the huge total of 24.510 years 3 months and 3 days is probably due to an astronomical calculation of the so called « World-year », or period of 25.920 years of the sun's apparent revolution through the 12 signs of the zodiac. « The precession of the equinoxes, or slow motion of the earth's axis, in consequence of which the intersection of the equator with the ecliptic travels along the latter » at the rate of 1 degree in 72 years, causes this apparent revolution of the sun. [6] It is difficult to discover any similar computation in the figures given

[1] See *Poème du Paradis*, 129.

[2] Tammuz is reduced to *Du-'-uz* already in late Babylonian and was pronounced *Taūz* by the Ssabeans of Harran in the Middle Ages. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 2 n. 3. See also E. Burrows, *Orientalia*, VII, 55. Sayce suggests that the original Greek was ΔΑΩΖΟΣ, corrupted to ΔΑΩΝΟΣ which is very probable.

[3] Weidner has discovered the names of the ante-diluvian kings on an Assur tablet, and I understand that this name appears as *Am-me-lu-an-na* there. This removes the last suggestion of any Semitic name in the list. *Amēlon* is not the Semitic *amēlu*. In the Assur list *Zi-û-sud-du* is written *Zi-sud-da*.

[4] Preserved only by Alexander Polyhistor. See JRAS. 1923, 259 n. 1.

[5] See JRAS. 1923, 259 n. 2.

[6] Sir Robert Ball, *A Popular Guide to the Heavens*, p. 56. If this period assigned to the first historical dynasty be based upon the great solar cycle it must be assumed that the Sumerians discovered the precession of the equinoxes, an extremely doubtful assumption. Kugler, *Sternkunde* II 24-32 denies that this discovery was known even in the age of the best Babylonian astronomy.

for the pre-diluvian period. The 66 *sars* of years or 241.200 years assigned to this period by W-B. 444 corresponds roughly to 12 " World-years "; the 120 *sars* of Berossus and the 126 2/3 *sars* of W-B. 62 correspond roughly to 24 " World-years ", and this may conceivably be the original calculation.

There is no reference at all in the two Sumerian sources ~~of~~ to the four or five mythical beings who arose from the sea to reveal mysteries and wisdom to man during the long pre-diluvian period.[1] Berossus at any rate knew of this Babylonian tradition, and he gave the following account of it. In the time of Ammenōn (= Enmengalanna), the second king of Badtibira, appeared from the Erythraean sea,[2] the impure (μυσαρον sic !) Ôannēs, the Annēdōtos, after about 40 *sars*[3]. On W-B. 444 the first four kings include 38 *sars* and the first four of Berossus also include exactly 38 *sars*. But Alexander Polyhistor reports Berossus to have placed this appearance in the " first year " and Abydenus places the second appearance of Annēdōtos in the time of Ammēnon. According to Apollodorus the fourth Annēdōtus appeared in the time of Daōnos the sixth king, in reality the fifth king, and again " another personage " appeared in the time of the seventh king Euedōrachos, and his name was Ôdakōn. Apollodorus then reports five mythical monsters who appeared during the times of the 4-7 kings.

Abydenus[4] who obviously agreed with Alexander Polyhistor in placing the first appearance of Ôannēs-Annēdōtos in the first year of Alulim (Alorus) says that a second Annēdōtos appeared in the time of Amillaros (= Amelon) or the third king. In the time of Daōs (Daōnos, Dumuzi-sib) the sixth king (correct to fifth) appeared four similar monsters from the sea, Euedōkos, Eneugamos, Eneuboulos, and Anēmentos. The fourth appearance of a monster came in the age of the seventh king and his name was Anōdaphos.[5]

Alexander Polyhistor who places the first appearance of Ôannēs, " the Annēdotos " of the other sources, at the beginning of the era, summarizes the three or four later appearances in the words: " After this there appeared other creatures like this (Ôannēs) ". The monster is consistently described in the three sources of Berossus as a creature having the shape of a fish blended with that of a man. " The body was that of a fish and under the fish's head he had another head and feet below like those of a man. He came up out of the sea by day and taught men letters, sciences and art of every kind. He revealed to man the origin of the universe and wrote concerning politics. Since the times of his revelations nothing has been discovered worth knowing ". Since the original sources make no mention of Ôannēs nor of any of his epithets, Annēdōtus, Ôdakōn, Euedōkos, etc., and since it is totally impossible to reconstruct the ante-diluvian figures into any intelligible scheme, we must be content with the one fact which emerges from these discoveries. The beginning of history is placed at Eridu, the city of the water god Ea (Enki), god of wisdom and mysteries. He is clearly identical with Ôannēs-Annēdōtos, and his symbol on monuments is the composite creature the *suḫurmašu* or goat fish.[6] Sumerian tradition traced the origins of civilisation to Eridu and its patron deity.

[1] See the text of Berossus in Apollodorus, CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 30-31 and ZIMMERN's discussion in *KLT*[3] 530-539; Berossus in Alexander Polyhistor, CORY, *ibid.*, 21-23.

[2] The " red sea "; here the Persian Gulf. See my *Babylonian Epic of Creation*, p. 146 n. 3.

[3] The *sar* is 3600.

[4] Text in CORY, *ibid.*, 32-4.

[5] Apollodorus has here *Ôdakōn;* obviously the texts are hopelessly corrupt. ZIMMERN, KAT[3], 536 corrects Anodaphos to *Anodachos* and identifies him with Ôdakōn and *Euedokos.*

[6] See SCHEIL, *Délégation en Perse* II p. 90, l. 5; *ibid.*, I 168 and FRANK, LSS. II, p. 11[2]. This is the

*Errata.* Page 4, line 5, for *of* read *to.*

The length of the second dynasty at Eanna and Erech is given as 2310 years and 11 kings; a legend of Enmerkar who founded Erech is preserved to the effect that he came from Dêr east of the Euphrates, bringing with him the cult of the goddess Innini.[1] The reference in Col. II 35-8 to the subjection of Elam by the king of Kish also indicates close contact with the lands to the eastward in the early period. The third dynasty at Ur has the moderate total of 177 years for 4 kings, and the fourth at Awan the improbable total 356 years for 3 kings. The fifth dynasty ruled at Kish, 8 kings and 3195 years. In my reconstruction of these lists, *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. I 667, I erroneously assigned the fifth dynasty to Ur, but my list was not otherwise seriously misarranged. The sixth dynasty is assigned to Ḫamaṣi, one king with the high figure 360 years for his reign. It is probable as in the case of the entry concerning Adab, that the Ḫamaṣi dynasty really comprised several names. The seventh dynasty is assigned to Erech, but here the meaning of the text is obscure and the continuation at the top of Col. V is broken away. The scribe apparently did not know the names of more than one king here, namely Enugduanna, but knew that the kingdom endured 420 years.

We come now to the only serious break in the text, and here the eighth dynasty must be assigned to the second kingdom of Ur, with a possible total of 108 years for 4 kings. This estimate is based on the summary of P. No. 2, Rev. XI 11-15, where the total of the three Ur dynasties is given as 396 years. This Nippur list gives 171 years for the first kingdom of Ur and 117 for the third, hence the total on that list for the second dynasty of Ur would be 108. W-B. 444 has 177 + 108 for the 1st and 3d Ur dynasties, but we have here no total from which to reckon. P. No. 2 has 13 or 14 as the total number of kings of the three Ur dynasties, and we know that the 1st and 3d comprised 9, leaving 4 or 5 names to be supplied in the break, Col. V 1-11. A summary of the Blundell Prism gives the following reconstruction.

### A. Ante-diluvian Period.

8 Kings 241.200 years.

### B. Post-diluvian Period.

| | Place | Kings | Length of dynasties. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | First dynasty of Kish | 23 | 24510. |
| 2. | First dynasty of Erech | 12 | 2310. |
| 3. | First dynasty of Ur | 4 | 177. |
| 4. | Awan | 3 | 356. |
| 5. | Second dynasty of Kish | 8 | 3195. |
| 6. | Ḫamaṣi | 1 | 360. |
| 7. | Second dynasty of Erech | 1 (?) | 420. |
| 8. | Second dynasty of Ur | 4 | 108. (?) |
| 9. | Adab | 1 | 90. |
| 10. | Maer | 6 | 136. |

mbol and name of the zodiacal constellation Capricorn; see my edition of the *Epic of Creation*, p. 89, n. 7; UGLER, *Sternkunde*, I 27; VIROLLEAUD, *Ishtar*, VI 22; ZA. VI 229, 13.

[1] The *Weld-Blundell Collection*, Vol. I, 1-10. In the same manner the cult of Isir of Dêr was transported Kish. See the Introduction to Colonel W. N. LANE'S, *Babylonian Problems*.

| | Place | Kings | Length of dynasties |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | Third dynasty of Kish | 1 | 100. |
| 12. | Akšak | 6 | 93. |
| 13. | Fourth dynasty of Kish | 7 | 97.[1] |
| 14. | Third dynasty of Erech | 1 | 25. |
| 15. | Agade | 11 | 181. |
| 16. | Fourth dynasty of Erech | 5 | 30. |
| 17. | Gutium | 21 | 125. |
| 18. | Fifth dynasty of Erech | 1 | 7. |
| 19. | Third dynasty of Ur | 5 | 108. |
| 20. | Isin | 14 | 203. |

In this list there are 11 cities of the post-diluvian period, and 125 kings. It contains 39 kings in the four dynasties of Kish ; P. No. 2 XI 1 has also 39.[2] The total of the figures actually given for these four dynasties is 28.296. For the five kingdoms of Erech the list has 20 names but the entry concerning the second Erech dynasty is defective. P. No. 2 XI 7 has 22 kings for 5 Erech kingdoms, and consequently that tablet contained three names for the second dynasty of Erech. It is extremely probable that Enuŋduanna, the only name preserved here, is an error for Enšagkušanna who in his vase inscription of Nippur claims to have devastated Kish and to have captured Enbi-Ashtar, king of Kish and of Akšak. This may mean that the last king of the second kingdom of Kish whose name is given « Lugal-mu » or « A king by name », is a substitute for a name which our late compiler did not know.[3] The intervening kingdom of Ḫamaṣi is probably contemporary with the second kingdom of Erech.

It is altogether obvious that the dynastic lists for the early period are totally inadequate. The early inscriptions of Lagash make frequent mention of an ancient king Mesilim, a powerful ruler of Kish ; from his own inscriptions left at Lagash and Adab it is evident that he belonged to an early dynasty whose power was recognized in Sumer and Accad.[4] The epigraphy of these two inscriptions indicates a period long before Ur-Ninâ and his successors at Lagash. Moreover it is clear from the inscriptions of Eannatum that Mesilim lived before his period. Since Ur-Ninâ, Eannatum and their successors are about contemporary with Kug-Bau and her son Gimil-Sin who actually formed one dynasty at Kish, obviously Mesilim should belong to the *second* dynasty of Kish. His name does not appear at all in this dynasty ! And what about Ur-zag-ed king of Kish who dedicated a vase[5] to Enlil and Ninlil to Nippur ? « Lugal-tarsi king of Kish », whose lapis lazuli tablet has been preserved, is no-where mentioned in any Kish dynasty.[6] Another king of Kish[7] by name *Lugal-?-?* is mentioned on a huge spear-head.[8] In the case of Lugaltarsi and Lugal-?-(?) the title may mean simply *šar kiššati,* « king of universal dominion ».

[1] See note on Col. VI 21, where 491 is corrected to 97 2/3.

[2] See photograph, Pl. 90.

[3] See also Col. VII 28 [4] SAK. 160, No. 2 and AJSL. 30, 221. [5] OBI. 93.

[6] CT. III 1, BM. 12155. The epigraphy of the last two mentioned inscriptions seems to indicate a period immediately before Sargon of Agade.

[7] *KIŠ* without determinative as on BM. 12155.

[8] RA. IV 111.

It is, therefore, probable, when these kings call themselves kings of Kish(ki) or Kish, they mean that they had obtained possession of this ancient city. That would have been especially true of the northern cities Awan, Maer and Akšak. Lugal-tar-si is probably identical with the second king of Maer whose name ends in *zi* on L. No. 1 V 13. The defaced name on the spear-head [1] is probably identical with the fourth king of Maer and to be read *Lugal-?-lu-gal*. Mesilim may be in reality one of the three lost names of the dynasty of Awan, and Ur-zag-ed may possibly be one of the lost names of a longer kingdom of *Ḫamaṣi*.

When Eannatum says that he waged war with Zu-zu king of Akšak [1], and in the contemporary kingdom of Akšak Zu-zu does not appear, the scholar must suppose that patesis at Akšak in the preceding dynasty of Maer called themselves kings; hence Ur-Ninâ and Eannatum clearly belong to a period *before* Unzi of Akšak and Kug-Bau of Kish. And again what is to be said of *I-lu(?)- Šamaš* who calls himself king of Maer on a seated statue [2] of the archaic period? He has no place in the list of the kings of Maer in Col. V 22-31. He was in fact only a patesi who lived perhaps in the age of the kings of Adab or earlier.

It is obvious that in the inscriptions before the time of Sargon no confidence can be placed in records of local scribes unless they are confirmed by the dynastic lists. Ur-Ninâ calls himself king of Lagash, but there was no recognized kingdom at Lagash; Ennatum does the same, and these two rulers of Lagash were apparently contemporaries of the kings of Maer. We cannot be certain that even Enšagkušanna, Lugalkigubnilaǧ and Lugalkisalsi actually belonged to recognized dynasties at Erech or Ur as the two latter claim.

The lists all give 3 kingdoms at Ur, 13 kings whose total on W-B. 444 is 177 + 108 (?) + 108 = 393 years. P. No. 2 XI 13 has the total 396 made up of 171 + [108] + 117. [3]

The most useful information obtainable from these lists is the fact that the chronology is definitely fixed back to the period of the Akšak dynasty. The hundred years assigned to Kug-Bau at Kish is only a subterfuge to account for the contemporary kingdom of Akšak. It is probable that her 100 years may be entirely disregarded. This would afford fairly certain reckoning to the beginning of the second Ur dynasty. The only problem is that of the, heretofore, supposed certain dates for the dynasties of Isin and the third dynasty of Ur. If we accept the current figures for the beginning of the Isin dynasty, 2357 B. C. [4], Ur-Nammu began his reign in 2465 B. C. Accepting this as a fixed point of departure the chronology will be as follows.

1. First dynasty of Kish, *circa* 5500. — 2. First dynasty of Erech, *circa* 4600. — 3. First dynasty of Ur, *circa* 4100. — 4. Awan, *circa* 3900. — 5. Second dynasty of Kish, *circa* 3750. — 6. Ḫamaṣi, *circa* 3560. — 7. Second dynasty of Erech, *circa* 3450. — 8. Second dynasty of Ur, 3357-3250. — 9. Adab, 3249-3160. — 10. Maer, 3159-3024. — 11. Third dynasty of Kish (Kug-Bau). — 12. Akšak (contemporary with Kug-Bau), 3023-2931. — 13. Fourth dynasty of Kish, 2930-2834. — 14. Third dynasty of Erech, 2833-2809. — 15. Agade, 2808-2628. —

[1] SAK. 20 V 4. [2] CT. V 2, BM. 12146 and KING, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, Plate opp. p. 102.

[3] It is possible that the length of the 3d dynasty on P. No. 2 was 108 not 117 as on P. No. 5. In that case 115 years was given for the second dynasty of Ur.

[4] This date is regarded by those who depend upon Assyrian chronological data, as against the Babylonian data, as about 170 years too high. See WEIDNER, *Die Könige von Assyrien*, pp. 40 ff. A discussion of this problem would fill an entire brochure and I must be satisfied with remaining non-committal at the time of writing. WEIDNER's thesis seems to me unproved, but Kugler has also joined in the movement to lower the dates of the First Babylonian Dynasty and consequently the beginning of the dynasty of Isin. [See now the Preface].

16. Fourth dynasty of Erech, 2627-2598. — 17. Gutium, 2597-2471. — 18. Fifth dynasty of Erech, 2472-2466. — 19. Third dynasty of Ur, 2465-2357.

Col. I.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *[nam-]lugal an-ta è-dé-a-ba* · | 1. Rulership which from heaven descended. |
| 2. | *[Eri]du-(ki) nam-lugal-la.* | 2. At Eridu rulership (began). |
| 3. | *Eridu-(ki) Á-lu-lim*[1] *lugal* | 3. At Eridu Alulim was king. |
| 4. | *mu 28800 ni-ag* | 4. He ruled 28800 years. |
| 5. | *Á-la(l)-gar mu 36000 ni-ag* | 5. Alagar ruled 36000 years. |
| 6. | *2 lugal* | 6. Two kings. |
| 7. | *mu 64800 ib-ag* | 7. 64800 years they ruled. |
| 8. | *Eridu-(ki) ba-šub* | 8. Eridu was overthrown. |
| 9. | *nam-lugal-bi Bad-tibira*[2]*-(ki)-šú* | 9. The rulership to Badtibira |
| 10. | *ba-gín* | 10. passed. |
| 11. | *Bad-tibira-(ki) En-me-en-lù-an-na* | 11. At Badtibira Enmenluanna |
| 12. | *mu 43200 ni-ag* | 12. ruled 43200 years. |
| 13. | *En-me-en-gal-an-na* | 13. Enmengalanna |
| 14. | *mu 28800 ni-ag* | 14. ruled 28800 years. |
| 15. | *[d]Dumu-zi-sib mu 36000 ni-ag* | 15 [d]Dumuzisib ruled 36000 years. |
| 16. | *3 lugal* | 16. Three kings. |
| 17. | *mu-bi 108000 ib-ag* | 17. They ruled 108000 years. |
| 18. | *Bad-tibira-(ki) ba-šub-bi-en* | 18. Badtibira was overthrown. |
| 19. | *nam-lugal-bi La-ra-ak(ki) ba-gub.* | 19. The rulership was established at Larak. |
| 20. | *La-ra-ak-(ki) En-sib-zi-an-na* | 20. At Larak Ensibzianna |
| 21. | *mu 28800 ni-ag* | 21. ruled 28800 years. |
| 22. | *1 lugal* | 22. One king. |
| 23. | *mu-bi 28800 ib-ag* | 23. He ruled 28800 years. |
| 24. | *La-ra-ak-(ki) ba-šub-bi-en* | 24. Larak was overthrown. |
| 25. | *nam-lugal-bi Zimbar-šú ba-gín* | 25. The rulership passed to Sippar. |
| 26. | *Zimbir-(ki) En-me-en-dúr*[3]*-an-na* | 26. At Sippar Enmenduranna |

[1] Var. W. B. 62 [á]-*lulim*. The curious sign on the variant is thus proved to be a form of REC. 229 which varies with *lu-lim*. Cf. *máš-* R, with *máš-lu-lim*, Gudea, Cyl. B 7, 5 and Radau, *Miscel.* 5, 6. An abbreviated form is *máš-ANŠU* = *bûlu*. In this common ideogram for *bûlu*, *ANŠU* is surely a corruption for *ANŠU* + *LU* + *LIM*, and *máš* + REC. 229 is for *bûlu*. *lulim* = *lulimu* means the male leader of any flock of animals either domestic or wild, and hence may be rendered stag, hind, or ram. Cf. *lu-nitaĝ pa-ni* = *lu-lim* = *immer pani*, " leading sheep „, ZA. 11, 55, 8 = BA II, 491, 8 = ZA. 11, 39, 8 = KAR. 166, 8. *lulim* then obtained the meaning " leader, champion „. See *lulimu*, Muss Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 482 and RA. 10, 71, 42. Note that *lulim* is a title of a pastoral deity (Girra, Nergal), in *En-lulim sib máš-lulim*, Lord *lulim* shepherd of the cattle, Gudea, Cyl. B 10, 7. *d-girra máš-lulim igi-bar*, Girra who beholds the cattle, KL. 8 IV 12, and d-Ig-lu-lim a door-keeper of Nergal, CT. 24, 24, 59. The star *mullu-lim* is identified with Enmešarra (Nergal), V R. 46 *a* 21. It is, therefore, probable that *lulim* in this name refers to the god of the flocks, Girra, and means " Hand (help) of the pastoral deity (the leader) „.

[2] *tibira*, metal worker, (see JRAS. 1923, 258 n. 2) is probably the explanation of the name Tûbal-Cain in the Hebrew legend of the Ten Patriarchs, Genesis IV 22, Source J. The original Sumerian *tibira*, loan-word *tabiru*, was transmitted to the Hebrews as *tôbal*, *tûbal*, and then explained by the Hebrew-Arabic word *Ḳāiin*, metal worker. This combination was discovered by Sayce and communicated to me orally.

[3] Var. W-B, 62 *dur*. Originally En-me-dur-an-ki, Zimmern, *Rit. Tf.* No. 24, Obv. 1, traditional founder of the art of divination.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 27. | *lugal-ám mu 21000 ni-ag* | 27. was king and ruled 21000 years. |
| 28. | *1 lugal* | 28. One king |
| 29. | *mu-bi 21000 ib-ag* | 29. He ruled 21000 years. |
| 30. | *Zimbar-(ki) ba-šub-bi-en* | 30. Sippar was overthrown. |
| 31. | *nam-lugal-bi Šuruppak-(ki)* [1] *ba-gub* | 31. The rulership was established at Shuruppak. |
| 32. | *Šuruppak-(ki) Ubur-du-du* [2] | 32. At Shuruppak Ubardudu |
| 33. | *lugal-ám mu 18600 ni-ag* | 33. was king and ruled 18600 years. |
| 34. | *1 lugal* | 34. One king |
| 35. | *mu-bi 18600 ib- ag* | 35. He ruled 18600 years. |
| 36. | *5 eri-ki-me-eš* | 36. Five cities |
| 37. | *8 lugal* | 37. Eight kings. |
| 38. | *mu sar-1-gal* [3] *+ 3600 X 7 ib-ag* | 38. They ruled 241.200 years. |
| 39. | *a-ma-ru ba-úr-ra-ta* [4] | 39. The Deluge came up (upon the Land). |
| 40. | *egir a-ma-ru ba-úr-ra-ta* | 40. After the Deluge had come, |
| 41. | *nam-lugal an-ta ĕ-dé-a-ba* | 41. The rulership which descended from heaven. (Sic !) |
| 42. | *Kiš-(ki) nam-lugal-la* | 42. At Kish there was the rulership. |
| 43. | *Kiš-(ki) Gà- ur* [5] | 43. At Kish Gà-ur |
| 44. | *lugal-ám* | 44. became king. |
| 45. | *mu 1200 ni-ag* | 45. He ruled 1200 years. |
| 46. | *Gul-la-$^{d}$Nidaba-an-na..... EL* [6] | 46. *Gulla-Nidaba-anna* . . . . . |
| 47. | *mu 600 + 360 ni-ag* | 47. reigned 960 years |

[1] Written *SU + KUR + RU.* Var. 62 SU + KUR + LAM an unusual form midway between the old sign REC. 190bis and the form BRÜNNOW, 9049.

[2] The Var. W-B. 62 has Ubur-tu-tu, and the Semitic legend, Epic of Gilgamish, XI 23 Ubar-tu-tu. *Ubur*, woman's breast, is clearly a cognate of *Ubar*, protégé, mercy, protection, " The protégé or protected of Tutu ". Du-du, Tu-tu, is a title of an ancient deity later identified with Marduk. See *Poème du Paradis* 132 n. 2 and my note on *Epic of Creation* VII 9. Cf. the Sumerian name Du-du, for Du-du-làg̃, " Dudu has made sure ", GENOUILLAC, TSA., 109 ; see HUBER, *Personennamen*, 195.

[3] *sar-1-gal* or *sar-gal-1* occurs in CT. 12, 24 II 6 after *sar-šuš* (3600 × 60 = 216.000) and seems to be a higher order in the numerical system. Here it is identical with the *sar-šuš* = 216.000. The *sar-gal* is also equal to 21.600 in the Hilprecht mathematical tablets. THUREAU-DANGIN, RA. 18, 125 on the basis of CT. 12, 24, supposed that the *sar-gal* = $60^4$ or 12,960,000 but this is no longer tenable. Undoubtedly the *sar-gal 2* of CT, 12. 24 II 7 is the same as the *sar-gal-šu-nu-tag* = $60^4$ of the Hilprecht tablets. See *Sum. Grammar*, p. 120 n. 1.

[4] This was the established Sumerian phrase to describe the " entering „ of the Deluge. See PBS. V 1 Col. V 4, *a-ma-ru kalam-ma ba-an-úr-ra*, The Deluge entered on the Land (for seven days and seven nights). (Enlil) *a-ma-ru ba-an-úr = abuba ultebi'i*, caused the Deluge to enter, SBP. 260, 19 ; Ninurta is ordinarily regarded as the god who sent the Flood, *a-ma-ru úr-ra = mušbi'i abubu*, SBP, 232, 8 ; cf. HROZNÝ, *Ninrag*, p. 8, 9-11 and EBELING, KAR, No. 12, 10 f. For *úr = ba'u*, cf. IV R. 19 No. 3, Obv. 7, *ba-an-úr = ib-ta-'a.*

[5] Possibly a small sign gone before gà(MAL). The name should correspond to *Evexius* of Alexander Polyhistor, CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 59 and Εὐήχιος of Syncellus, p. 67, which GUTSCHMIDT corrected to Εὐήχορος ; v. ZIMMERN, KAT[3], 565 n. 3. In any case *gà-ur* proves that ..... χορος is right. I can see no traces in the slight break before *MAL*, and do not believe that any thing is missing. Polyhistor after Berossus gave his reign at 2400 years.

[6] The name has little resemblance to Χωμάσβηλος, Comosbelus, second king after the Flood in Sycellus and Polyhistor, who assigned 2700 years to this reign. SAYCE suggests that *Kulla* or κυλλα was corrupted to κομα in the Greek script. A reading *Gulla-ezen-an-na-* ..... is possible.

## Col. II. [1]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . | 1. . . . . |
| 2. . . . . | 2. . . . . |
| 3. . . . . | 3. . . . . |
| 4. . . . . | 4. . . . . reigned ? years. [2] |
| 5. *Ba-[ba?-gul-?e? mu ? ni-ag]* | 5. Baba(?)...? reigned ? years. [3] |
| 6. *Bu-[d][En-zu ? mu ? ni-ag]* | 6. Bu-Sin (?) reigned ? years. [4] |
| 7. *Ga-lí-bu-um* | 7. Galibum [5] |
| 8. *mu 600 + 360 ni-ag* | 8. reigned 960 years. |
| 9. *Ka-lu-mu-mu mu 600 + 240 ni-ag* | 9. Kalumumu reigned 840 years. [6] |
| 10. *Dúg-ga-gí-ib* | 10. Duggagib [7] |
| 11. *mu 600 + 300 ni- ag* | 11. reigned 900 years. |
| 12. *Á-tab mu 600 ni- ag* | 12. Atab reigned 600 years. [8] |
| 13. *Á-tab-ba mu 600 + 240 ni- ag* | 13. Atabba reigned 840 years. [8] |
| 14. *Ar-pi-ú- um* [9] *dumu maš* [10]*-dā-ge* | 14. Arpium son of a poor man, |
| 15. *mu 600 + 120 ni- ag* | 15. reigned 720 years. [11] |
| 16. *E-ta-na sib galu an-šú* | 16. Etana the shepherd who to heaven |
| 17. *ba- ĕ-dé* [12] | 17. ascended, |
| 18. *galu kur-kur mu-un-gi-na* | 18. who made the foreign lands faithful, |
| 19. *lugal-ám mu 1200 + 300* [13] *ni-ag* | 19. became king and reigned 1500 years |
| 20. *Ba* [14]*- li- iḫ* | 20. Baliḫ |
| 21. *dumu E-ta-na-ge* | 21. son of Etana |
| 22. *mu 400* [15] *ni-ag* | 22. reigned 400 years. |
| 23. *En-me-nun-na* [16] *mu 660 ni-ag* | 23. Enmenunna reigned 660 years. |
| 24. *Me-lam-Kiš-(ki) dumu En-me-nun-na-ge* | 24. Melam-Kish [17] son of Enmennunna |
| 25. *mu 900 ni-ag* | 25. ruled 900 years. |
| 26. *Bar-sal-nun-na dumu En-me-nun-na* | 26. Barsalnunna son of Enmenunna [18] |
| 27. *mu 600 + 600 (1200) ni-ag* | 27. reigned 1200 years. |
| 28. *Tup-* [19]*za-aḫ dumu Bar-sal-nun-na* | 28. Tupzaḫ son of Barsalnunna |

[1] Syncellus gave five names for the 3-7 kings after the Flood, and then an Arabian ! dynasty of 6 kings. They are all fictitions. See Poebel, PBS. IV 87 ; Cory, *ibid.* 67-8.

[2] Lines 1-4 contained two names and correspond to P. No. 5 I 1-3.

[3] P. No. 5 I 4. [4] P. No. 5 I 5. [5] P. No. 2 I 1 ; No. 3 I 1 ; No. 5 I 6.

[6] P. No. 2 I 7 + No. 3 I 7, Ga-lu-mu-um ; No. 5 I 9, Ka-lu-mu-um (No. 2, Ga-lu-mu-um-e).

[7] Corresponds to P. No. 5 I 10 ; No. 2 I 9 ; No. 3 I 9. Poebel reads zu-ga-gi-ib-(e). The sign *KA* has also the value *zu*, but it is probable that *KA* is the correct reading and the " Scorpion King " must be regarded as an erroneous reading.

[8] Corresponds to P. No. 5 I 7-8 ; No. 3 I 3-6 ; No. 1 I 3-6.

[9] P. No. 1 I 11, Ar-pi-i ; No. 3 I 11, Ar-pu-um ; No. 5 I 11, Ar-pi-ú. [10] Sign here is *BAR*.

[11] The order of these names in the Nippur variants is Galibum, Atab, Atabba, Kalumum, Duggagib, Arpium.

[12] P. No. 3 I 14, *ba-ĕ-da* ; P. No. 2 I 14, *ni-ib-ĕ-da*. [13] P. No. 2 I 16, 600 + 35 (?)

[14] P. No. 2 I 17, *Wa-li-iḫ*. For this name, King, *Chronicles*, II 47 has *AN-ILLAD !*

[15] P. No. 2 I 19, has 410 years. [16] En-me-nun-na-ge and 611 years, P. No. 2 I 20. Here the *Dynastic Chronicle*, King, *Chronicles*, II 47, 3, *En-men-nun-na*.

[17] King, *Chronicles*, II 47 read *A-lam-kiš-šu*, certainly a scribal error.

[18] P. No. 5 I 17 omits *dumu Enmenunna*. [19] Not *MES, KIŠIB*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 29. | *mu 140 ni-ag* | 29. | reigned 140 years. |
| 30. | *Ti-iz-kàr dumu Tup-za-aḫ* | 30. | Tizkar son of Tupzaḫ |
| 31. | *mu 5 šu-ši + 6 ni-ag* | 31. | reigned 306 years. |
| 32. | *Il-ku-u*[1] *mu 600 + 300*[2] *ni-ag* | 32. | Ilkû reigned 900 years. |
| 33. | *Il-ta-sa-du-um* | 33. | Iltasadum |
| 34. | *mu 600 + 600 ni-ag* | 34. | reigned 1200 years. |
| 35. | *En-me-en-bara-gi-gur* | 35. | Enmenbaragigur |
| 36. | *galu ma-da Elam-(ki)-ma* | 36. | who the land of Elam |
| 37. | *giš ku-bi ib-ta*[3]*-an-gam* | 37. | with his weapon subdued |
| 38. | *lugal-ám mu 600 + 300*[4] *ni-ag* | 38. | became king. He reigned 900 years. |
| 39. | *Ag-ga*[5] | 39. | Agga |
| 40. | *dumu En-me-en-bara-gi-gur-ge* | 40. | son of Enmenbaragigur |
| 41. | *mu 600 + 25*[6] *ni-ag* | 41. | reigned 625 years. |
| 42. | *23 lugal*[7] | 42. | Twenty three kings. |
| 43. | *mu-bi 24510 ita 3* | 43. | They reigned 24510 years, 3 months |
| 44. | *ud 3 ud-maš ib-ag* | 44. | three days and a half day.[8] |
| 45. | *Kiš(ki) giš ku ba-an- sig* | 45. | Kish was smitten with weapons. |
| 46. | *nam-lugal-bi É-an-na-šú ba- gín* | 46. | The rulership passed to Eanna. |
| 47. | *É-an-na-ka* | 47. | At Eanna |

Col. III.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *[Mes-]ki-em-ga-[še-ir]*[9] | 1. | Meskemgašer |
| 2. | *[dumu] d.Babbar en-[ám]* | 2. | son of Shamash was high priest |
| 3. | *[lugal-]ám mu 300 + 2[5 ni-ag]* | 3. | and became king. He reigned 325 years. |
| 4. | *[Mes]-ki-em-ga-[še-ir]* | 4. | Meskemgašer |
| 5. | *ab-ba ba-an-tur* | 5. | penetrated to the sea[10] |
| 6. | *ǧar-sag-šú ba- ed* | 6. | and went up unto the mountains. |
| 7. | *En-me-kar*[11] *dumu Mes-ki-em-[ga-še-ir-ge]* | 7. | Enmekar, son of Meskemgašer, |
| 8. | *lugal Unug-(ki)-ga galu Unug-(ki)-ga* | 8. | king of Erech, who built Erech |
| 9. | *mu-un-*[12] *dū- a* | 9. | |
| 10. | *lugal-ám* | 10. | became king |

[1] P. No. 5 I 20 *Il-ku-u-um ?* [2] Written 60 + 15 ! by wrong spacing of the figures.
[3] For *ta* instrumental infix, v. *Sum. Grammar*, § 103. This line corresponds to P. No. 3 II 1.
[4] P. No. 3 II 2 has 600 + 300 (?). [5] P. No. 3 II 3, *Ag dumu En-me-bara.....*
[6] Same figure in P. No. 3 II 4.
[7] P. No. 3 II 5-6 has an insertion giving the total of the years of Enmenbaragigur and his son.
[8] The actual sum of the 19 reigns preserved is 12491, which leaves over 12,000 years to be distributed among 4 reigns. The scribe's addition cannot be correct. But Polyhistor's figures for the first two are twice and three times larger. Consequently the total here may have been taken from some other mathematical scheme.
[9] P. No. 2 II 4, Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir.
[10] Here obviously the Persian Gulf.
[11] P. No. 2 II 12. En-me-ir-kar. This is the form on a prism of the Weld-Blundell Collection.
[12] P. No. 2 II 16, *mu-un-da-dū-a.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11. | *mu 420 ni- ag* | 11. He reigned 420 years. |
| 12. | *d.Lugal-banda (da) sib* | 12. The deified Lugalbanda, a shepherd, |
| 13. | *mu 1200 ni- ag* | 13. reigned 1200 years. |
| 14. | *d.Dumu-zi šu-ḪA-GUNU* | 14. The defied Dumuzi [1], a fisherman, |
| 15. | *eri-ki-ni Ḫa-bûr-(ki)* | 15. whose city was Ḫabur [2] |
| 16. | *mu 100 ni-ag* | 16. reigned 100 years. |
| 17. | *d.Gibil-ga-meš* | 17. Gilgameš, |
| 18. | *ab-ba-ni lil-lá* | 18. whose father was a fool, [3] |
| 19. | *en Kullab-ba-ge* | 19. the lord of Kullab, |
| 20. | *mu 126 ni-ag* | 20. reigned 126 years. |
| 21. | *Ur-d.Nun-gal* [4] | 21. Ur-d.Nungal [5] |
| 22. | *dumu d.Gibil-ga-meš* | 22. son of Gilgameš |
| 23. | *mu 30 ni- ag* | 23. reigned 30 years. |
| 24. | *Utul*[6]*-kalam-ma* | 24. Utulkalamma, |
| 25. | *dumu Ur-d.Nun-gal-ge* | 25. son of Ur-d.Nungal, |
| 26. | *mu 15 ni- ag* | 26. reigned 15 years. |
| 27. | *La-ba- še - ir* | 27. Labasher |
| 28. | *mu 9 ni- ag* | 28. reigned 9 years. |
| 29. | *En-nun-nad-an-na* | 29. Ennunnadanna |
| 30. | *mu 8 ni - ag* | 30. reigned 8 years. |
| 31. | *? ǵe-de mu 36 ni- ag* | 31. ..... ḫe-de reigned 36 years. |
| 32. | *Me-lam-an-na* | 32. Melamanna |
| 33. | *mu 6 ni- ag* | 33. reigned 6 years |
| 34. | *Lugal-ki-aga* [7] *mu 36 ni-ag* | 34. Lugal-kiaga reigned 36 years. |
| 35. | *12 lugal* | 35. 12 kings. |
| 36. | *mu-bi 1800 + 480 + 30 ib-ag* | 36. They reigned 2310 years. [8] |
| 37. | *Unug-(ki) gišku ba-an-sig* | 37. Erech was smitten by weapons. |

[1] Identified with an older deity *Ab-ú*, the dying god of Sumerian religion. [2] A title of Eridu.

[3] *Lil-la* means " the fool, imbecile, cripple ". This explains the story in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* XII 21. Here it is said that Seuēchoros, king ot the Babylonians, heard how the Chaldeans (i. e. Astrologers) prophesied that his daughter would bear a child and that this child would seize the kingdom from his grandfather. Seuēchoros played the part of Acrisius in the Greek myth. He locked his daughter in the citadel but she secretly bore a son by an obscure man, and the king's guards in terror threw the child from the tower. An eagle perceived his fall and seized him by the back before he reached the earth. The bird carried the babe to a garden where the gardener loved him and reared him. This child was *Gilgamos* and he became king. *Seuēchoros*, as Sayce observes, is a corruption for *En-me-(r)-kar*. It is obvious that the name of the father of Gilgamiš *Lilla*, the fool, reveals the origin of the story in Aelian. In the Gilgamiš Epic his mother is reputed to have been the mother goddess Ninsun. It is possible that *lil-la* is really a title of *Tammuz* who in the Louvre hymn, RA. 19, 175-185 is called *mu-lu-lil*, " the fool god ", and that Tammuz is really the father of Gilgamiš here. The story in Aelian may have been concocted to explain the word *lil-la*, but the connection of Enmekar with this tale rather proves the historical veracity of the tale.

[4] This name is written [*Ur-d.Nun-*]*lugal*, PBS. V No. 6, 5.

[5] The name is common among Sumerians; v. Huber, *Per. Namen*, 81-2.

[6] One sign *u* + *tûl*; cf. *u-tūl*, shepherd, Grice, *Yale* V 4 X 7.

[7] Cf. Ebeling, KAR 132 I, 8-9; *ina muḫḫi* ki-aga-zi-da *ana imitti d.Anim uššab.*

[8] This addition is correct.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 38. | *nam-lugal-bi Uri-(ki)-šú ba-gín* | 38. The rulership passed to Ur. |
| 39. | *Uri-(ki)-ma* | 39. At Ur. |
| 40. | *Mes-an-ni-pad-da* [1] | 40. Mesannipadda |
| 41. | *lugal-ám mu 80 ni-ag* [2] | 41. reigned 80 years. |
| 42. | *Mes-ki-em-$^{d.}$Nannar* [3] | 42. Meskem-$^{d.}$Nannar |
| 43. | *dumu Mes-an-ni-pad-da* | 43. son of Mesannipadda |
| 44. | *lugal- ám* | 44. became king. |
| 45. | *mu 36* [4] *ni-ag* | 45. He ruled 36 years. |

Col. IV.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | [*E-lu-lu mu 25 ni-ag*] | 1. Elulu reigned 25 years. [5] |
| 2. | [*Ba- lu-lu mu 36 ni-ag*] | 2. Balulu reigned 36 years. [6] |
| 3. | [ *4 lugal* ] | 3. 4 kings |
| 4. | [*mu-bi 177* [7] *ib-ag* ] | 4. They ruled 177 years. |
| 5. | [*Uri-(ki)-ma $^{giš}$ku ba- sig* ] | 5. Ur by weapons was smitten. |
| 6. | [*mam-lugal-bi A-wa-an-(ki)-šú* ] | 6. The rulership passed to Awan. |
| 7. | [*ba-gín* ] | |
| 8. | [*A-wa-an-(ki)* ] | 8. At Awan |
| 9. | . . . . . | 9. . . . . |
| 10. | [*lugal-ám mu . . . . . ni- ag* ] | 10. became king. He reigned ..... years. |
| 11. | . . . . . | 11. . . . . |
| 12. | *mu* [. . . . *ni- ag*] | 12. reigned . . . . . years. |
| 13. | *Ku-ul* (?) . . . . | 13. Ku-ul (?) . . . . . |
| 14. | *mu 36 ni- ag* | 14. reigned 36 years. |
| 15. | *3* [*lugal*] | 15. Three kings. |
| 16. | *mu-bi 300 + 51 + [5]* [8] [*ib- ag*] | 16. They reigned 356 years. |
| 17. | *A-wa-an-(ki) $^{giš}$ku ba- sig* | 17. Awan by weapons was smitten. |
| 18. | *nam- lugal- bi* | 18. The rulership |
| 19. | *Kiš-(ki)-šú* [*ba- gín*] | 19. passed to Kish. |
| 20. | *Kiš-(ki) Laḫ*(?) . . . . . | 20. At Kish Laḫ (?) . . . . . |
| 21. | *lugal- ám* | 21. became king. |
| 22. | *mu 180 + 21 + ?* [*ni- ag*] | 22. He reigned 201 + ? years. |
| 23. | *Da-da-sig mu* [ . . . . *ni-ag*] | 23. Dadasig reigned . . . . years. |
| 24. | *Má-má-gal* . . . . . | 24. Mamagal . . . . . |

[1] The sign *MES* is clearly the sign *DUP*, REC. 385, and not REC. 363. Also in Meskemgašer the sign is *DUP*. For this confusion, v. CT. 12, 14 *a* 18 = K. 10072, 4, DUP(me-is) = *iṭlu*.

[2] P. No. 2 III 6. [3] Not *nun-na* as Poebel (No. 2 III 7) copied. [4] P. No. 2 III 9 has 30 years.

[5] Restored from P. 2 III 11 + Legrain, PBS. XIII, No. 1, III 3.

[6] Restored from P. 2 III 12 + Legrain, No. 1, III 4.

[7] P. No. 2 III 15 + L. No. 1 III 7 has 171. See line 45 above.

[8] The number 356 is given on P. No. 2 Rev. XI 16.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 25. | *mu 6 šu-ši [ni- ag]* | 25. reigned 360 years. |
| 26. | *Ka-al-bu- [um ]* | 26. Kalbum |
| 27. | *dumu Má-gal-gal*[1] . . . . . | 27. son of Magalgal . . . . |
| 28. | *mu 180*[2] *+ 15 ni- ag* | 28. reigned 195 years (1215 ?). |
| 29. | *Umuš-e mu 360 ni- ag* | 29. Umuše reigned 360 years. |
| 30. | *? [3]-nun-na mu 180 ni-ag* | 30. ...-nunna reigned 180 years. |
| 31. | *I-bi- ni-iš (?)* | 31. Ibiniš (?) |
| 32. | *mu 240 + 50 ni-ag* | 32. reigned 290 years. |
| 33. | *lugal-mu mu 360 ni-ag* | 33. Lugalmu (?) reigned 360 years. |
| 34. | *8 lugal* | 34. 8 kings. |
| 35. | *mu-bi 3000 + 180 + 15 ib-ag* | 35. They reigned 3195 years.[4] |
| 36. | *Kiš-(ki) [giš]ku ba-an- sig* | 36. Kish was smitten by weapons. |
| 37. | *nam-lugal-bi* | 37. The rulership |
| 38. | *Ḫa-ma-ṣi-(ki)-šú ba- gín* | 38. passed to Ḫamaṣi.[5] |
| 39. | *Ḫa-ma-ṣi*[6] *Ḫa-da-ni-iš*[7] | 39. At Ḫamaṣi Ḫadaniš |
| 40. | *mu 6 šu-ši ni- ag* | 40. ruled 360 years. |
| 41. | *1 lugal* | 41. 1 king |
| 42. | *mu-bi 6 šu-ši*[8] *ib- ag* | 42. He reigned 360 years. |
| 43. | *Ḫa-ma-ṣi-(ki) [giš]ku ba-an-sig* | 43. Hamaṣi by weapons was smitten. |
| 44. | *nam-lugal-bi Unug-(ki)-šú ba-gín* | 44. The rulership passed to Erech. |
| 45. | *Unug-(ki)-ga En-ūg-du-an-na* | 45. At Erech Enugduanna |
| 46. | *lugal-ám mu 1 šu-ši ni-ag* | 46. became king. He ruled 60 years. |
| 47. | *nam-lugal-bi mu 2 šu-ši ni-ag* | 47. The kingship for 120 years was exercised |
| 48. | *mu 480 ni- ag* | 48. For 420 years they ruled.[9] |

## Col. V.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1-10. | . . . . . | . . . . . |
| 11. | [. . . . . -] *LU*? | 11. . . . . |
| 12. | [*mu ? ni- ag* ] | 12. ? years he ruled. |
| 13. | [ *? lugal* ] | 13. ? kings |
| 14. | [*mu-bi ? ib-ag*] | 14. ? years they ruled |
| 15. | [*Uri(ki) [giš]ku ba-an- sig* ] | 15. [Ur by weapons was smitten]. |

[1] This name is written *Má-má-gal*.... in l. 24. Which is right ?

[2] Perhaps error for 600 + 600. [3] PISAN + RU ?

[4] L. No. 1, IV 3 has 3600 + 180 + 12 = 3792. The length of the second reign is missing here, but it is difficult to account for the high figure in the total unless the numbers be corrected.

[5] L. No. 1 IV 7, *Ḫa-ma-zi*. [6] L. No. 1 IV 8, *Ḫa-ma-zi-(ki)-a*.

[7] Here L. No. 1 IV 10 adds *lugal-ám*.

[8] In the total on P. No. 2 XI 22 for Ḫamaṣi the text has the figure 7 which Poebel took for 7 units but it may be 7(60) = 420.

[9] P. No. 2 had three names here, see p. 6. *En-ug-du-an-na* is probably an error for *En-šag-kuš-an-na*, whose inscription on a vase of Nippur has been restored by Poebel, PBS. IV 151. The other two names are probably *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-lăḡ* and *Lugal-kisal-si*, SAK. 157; *Cambridge Ancient History*, 369.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. | [*nam-lugal-bi Adab-(ki)-šú-ba-gín*] | 16. [The rulership passed to Adab][1] |
| 7. | [*Adab-(ki)-a Lugal-an-ni-mu-un-dū*] | 17. [At Adab Lugalannimundu ] |
| 8. | [*lugal-ám mu 90 ni- ag*] | 18. [became king. 90 years he reigned.] |
| 9. | [*1* ] *lugal* | 19. 1 king[2] |
| 10. | [*mu-bi 90*] *ib-ag* | 20. [90 years he reigned] |
| 11. | [*Adab-(ki)*] *giš ku ka-an- sig* | 21. Adab with weapons was smitten. |
| 12. | [*nam-lugal-bi*] *Ma-er-(ki)-šú ba-gín* | 22. The rulership passed to Maer. |
| 13. | [*Ma-er-ki*]-*šú*[3] *An-sir*[4] | 23. At Maer Ansir |
| 14. | [*lugal-ám*] *mu 30 ni- ag* | 24. became king. He reigned 30 years. |
| 15. | [*Lugal-tar-*]*zi dumu An-sir- ge* | 25. [Lugaltar]-zi, son of Ansir, |
| 16. | [*mu- 25 (?)*[5] ] *ni- ag* | 26. reigned . . . . . years. |
| 17. | . . . . . *lugal mu 30 ni-ag* | 27. . . . . -lugal reigned 30 years. |
| 18. | . . . . . *lù-gal mu 20 ni-ag* | 28. . . . . -lù-gal reigned 20 years. |
| 19. | . . . . . *bi-im mu 30 ni-ag* | 29. . . . . -bim reigned 30 years. |
| 30. | . . . . . *-bi mu 9 ni-ag* | 30. . . . . -bi reigned 9 years. |
| 31. | *6 lugal* | 31. 6 kings |
| 32. | [*mu-bi* ] *120 + 16 ni-ag* | 32. They ruled 136 years. |
| 33. | [*Ma-er-(ki) giš ku*] *ba- an sig* | 33. Maer with weapons was smitten. |
| 34. | [*nam-lugal-*] *bi* | 34. The rulership |
| 35. | [*Kiš-(ki)-šú*] *ba-gín* | 35. passed to Kish |
| 36. | [*Kiš-(ki) Kug-d*]*Baú* | 36. At Kish Kug-$^{d}$Bau |
| 37. | [*munuz-galu-kaš-tin-*]*na* | 37. a female wine seller |
| 38. | [*suǵuš Kiš-(ki)*] *mu-un-gi-na* | 38. established the foundation of Kish and |
| 39. | [*lugal-*]*ám mu 100 ni-ag* | 39. became king. She reigned 100 years. |
| 40. | *1 lugal* | 40. 1 king. |
| 41. | *mu-bi 100 ni- ag* | 41. She reigned 100 years. |
| 42. | *Kiš-ki giš ku ba- an- sig* | 42. Kish with weapons was smitten. |
| 43. | *nam-lugal-bi*[6] *Akšak-(ki) ba-gub* | 43. The rulership at Akšak was established. |
| 44. | *Akšak-šú Un-zi* | 44. At Akšak Unzi |
| 45. | *lugal-ám mu 30 ni- ag* | 45. became king. He reigned 30 years. |
| 46. | *Un-da-lu-lu mu 6*[7] *ni- ag* | 46. Undalulu reigned 6 years. |
| 47. | *Ur-ur mu 6 ni- ag* | 47. Ur-ur reigned 6 years. |

## Col. VI.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | [*Gimil-d Šaḫan mu 20 ni-ag*] | 1. Gimil-$^{d}$Shaḫan reigned 20 years. |
| 2. | [*I-šu-il mu 24 ni-ag* | 2. Ishu-il reigned 24 years. |

[1] Lines 16 ff. are restored from L. No. 1 V 1 ff.

[2] The local records of Adab mention two more kings Mebasi and Lugaldalu. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I p. 370; AJSL. 30, 221 and Banks, *Bismya*.

[3] L. No. 1 V 10 Ma-er-(ki)-a. [4] *An-bu ; An-sud* possible.

[5] Restored from total in l. 32.

[6] Here begins the Scheil *Dynastic Tablet, Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1911, 606 ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *La Chronologie des Dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, 59-60; now in the British Museum; see Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, B. M. 108857, Pls. 1-2.

[7] *Scheil Tablet*, 12 years. The number is doubled there.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3. | *[Gimil-$^{d}$Sin dumu I-šu-il-ge 7 mu ni-ag]* | 3. Gimil-Sin son of Ishu-il reigned 7 years. |
| 4. | *[ 6 lugal ]* | 4. 6 kings. |
| 5. | *[mu-bi 93 in-ag*[1]*]* | 5. They reigned 93 years. |
| 6. | *Akšak $^{giš}$ku [ba- an- sig]* | 6. Akšak with weapons was smitten. |
| 7. | *nam-lugal-bi* | 7. The rulership |
| 8. | *Kiš-(ki)-šú ba- gín* | 8. passed to Kish.[2] |
| 9. | *Kiš-(ki) Gimil-$^{d}$Sin* | 9. At Kish Gimil-Sin, |
| 10. | *dumu Kug-$^{d}$Ba-ú-ge* | 10. son of Kug-$^{d}$Bau, |
| 11. | *lugal-ám mu 25 ni- ag* | 11. became king. He ruled 25 years |
| 12. | *Ur-$^{d}$Ilbaba* | 12. Ur-$^{d}$Ilbaba |
| 13. | *[dumu] Gimil-$^{d}$Sin-ge* | 13. son of Gimil-Sin |
| 14. | *mu 400 ni-ag* | 14. reigned 400 years.[3] |
| 15. | *[Zi-m]u-dar-ra mu 30 ni-ag* | 15. Zimu-dar reigned 30 years. |
| 16. | *U-ṣi-wa-tar*[4] *mu 7 ni-ag* | 16. Uṣi-watar reigned 7 years.[5] |
| 17. | *Ašdar-mu-ti mu 11 ni-ag* | 17. Ashdarmuti reigned 11 years. |
| 18. | *Iš-[.....]*[6]*-$^{d}$Babbar mu 11 ni-ag* | 18. Ish-me(?)-$^{d}$Shamash reigned 11 years. |
| 19. | *Na-an-ni-ja-aḫ*[7] *mu 7 ni-ag* | 19. Nannijaḫ reigned 7 years. |
| 20. | *7 lugal*[8] | 20. seven kings. |
| 21. | *mu-bi 491*[9] *ib- ag* | 21. They reigned 491 years.[10] |
| 22. | *Kiš-(ki) $^{giš}$ku ba- an- sig* | 22. Kish was smitten with weapons. |
| 23. | *nam-lugal-bi Unug-(ki) ba-gín* | 23. The rulership passed to Erech. |
| 24. | *Unug-(ki)-ga Lugal-zag-gi-si* | 24. At Erech Lugalzaggisi became king. |
| 25. | *lugal-ám mu 25 ni- ag* | 25. He ruled 25 years. |
| 26. | *1 lugal* | 26. 1 king. |
| 27. | *mu 25 ni-ag* | 27. He ruled 25 years. |
| 28. | *Unug-(ki) $^{giš}$ku ba-an- sig* | 28. Erech was smitten with weapons. |
| 29. | *nam-lugal-bi* | 29. The rulership |
| 30. | *A-ga-dé-(ki)-šú ba- gín* | 30. passed to Agade. |

[1] S. Obv. 7 has 99 years, and the verb is correctly written in the plural *in-ag-meš*.

[2] Here the *Scheil Tablet* enters the earlier reign of Kug-Bau at Kish. This queen's reign is almost exactly the same length as that of the entire intervening Akšak dynasty and she cannot possibly be regarded as the mother of Gimil-Sin, unless she reigned as contemporary of the Akšak kings. Moreover the *Scheil Tablet* makes the two kingdoms of Kish continuous.

[3] The *Scheil Tablet* has the figure 6 which is, therefore, taken as 6(60) or 360 in the reckoning. With Kug-Bau this dynasty totals exactly 540 years instead of the figures 540 + 40 + 6 in line 18. LEGRAIN, No 1 VI also 360 + 40 (?).

[4] Son of Zimu-dar on the *Scheil Tablet*. Cf. P. No. 3 R. I *ú-[ṣi* etc.]. [5] S. Obv. 14 has 6 years.

[6] S. Obv. 16, *I-mu*. The variant is difficult to explain. *i-mu* is probably a Sumerian verbal form, *i* prefix and *mu* = *muš*, *giš* = *šemû*; cf. *giš-tug*, *muš-tug* = *šemû*.

[7] S. Obv. 17, Na-ni-ja-aḫ,

[8] Here Var. S. has 8 kings by combining the two Kish dynasties. Obviously they belong together and the Akšak dynasty was contemporary with Kug-$^{d}$Bau.

[9] 586 on S. Obv. 18.

[10] The total is correct. For the reign of Ur-Ilbaba the original had probably $6\frac{40}{60}$ or 6 2/3 which the scribe misunderstood. This yields 97 2/3 years for the entire dynasty.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 31. | *A-ga-dé Šar-ru-ki-in-* | 31. At Agade Sharrukîn-ilubani |
| 32. | *-ì-lu-ba-ni nu-giš-šar* | 32. a gardener, |
| 33. | *ka-šu-duǵ Ur-$^{d.}$Il-ba-ba* [1] | 33. a cup-bearer of Ur-Ilbaba, |
| 34. | *lugal A-ga-de (ki) galu A-ga-de-(ki)* | 34. the king of Agade, who built Agade, |
| 35. | *mu- un- dū- a* | |
| 36. | *lugal-ám mu 56 ni- ag* | 36. became king. He ruled 56 years. [2] |
| 37. | *Rí-mu-uš dumu Šar-ru-ki-in* | 37. Rimush son of Sharrukîn |
| 38. | *mu 9 ni-ag* | 38. reigned 9 years. [3] |
| 39. | *Ma-ni-iš-ti-iš-šu* | 39. Maništiššu |
| 40. | *šeš-gal Rí-mu-šu-uš* [4] | 40. elder brother of Rimuššu [5] |
| 41. | *dumu Šar-ru-ki-in* | 41. son of Sharrukîn |
| 42. | *mu 15 ni- ag* | 42. reigned 15 years. [6] |
| 43. | *Na-ra-am-[$^{d.}$En-zu]* | 43. Narâm-Sin |
| 44. | *dumu Ma-[ni-iš-ti-iš-šu]* | 44. son of Maništiššu [7] |
| 45. | *mu [38 (?) ni- ag]* | 45. reigned 38 (?) years [8] |
| 46. | *Ša[r-ga-lí-šar-rí ]* [9] | 46. Shargališarri |
| 47. | *[dumu Na-ra-am-$^{d.}$En-zu]* | 47. son of Narâm-Sin |
| 48. | *[mu 24* [10] *(?) ni- ag]* | 48. reigned 24 (?) years. |

## Col. VII.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *[a-ba-ám lugal] a-ba-ám nu lugal* [11] | 1. Who was king? Who was not king? |
| 2. | *[I-gí-]* [12] *gí lugal* | 2. Igigi, king, |
| 3. | *[I-mi]* [13] *lugal* | 3. Imi, king, |
| 4. | *[Na-ni]* [13] *lugal* | 4. Nani, king, |
| 5. | *[E-lu-lu]* [14] *lugal* | 5. Elulu, king, |
| 6. | *4 lugal* [15] | 6. 4 kings. |

[1] Here begins Legrain, No. 1 VII. [2] L. No. 1 VII 6, has 55.

[3] L. No. 1 VII, 15 years.

[4] Sic! Error for *Ri-mu-uš-šu*. For the name in line 39, L. No. 1 has Ma-ni-iš-te-šu. Other readings are *Manišduzzu*, *Manišdussu*, and the ordinary reading in his inscriptions is *Maništusu*; v. Scheil, *Dél. Per.* III 42; Hoschander, ZA. 20, 246. Scheil derived the name from *man-išdu-šu*, and Hoschander from *man-išdud-su*, " Who has drawn him from the womb ". Both views are not convincing. Cf. Ungnad, MVAG. 1915, No. 2, 66.

[5] Hence Maništusu was also the son of Sargon and the " Cruciform Monument „ belongs to him. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, p. 410.

[6] L. No. 1 VII 11 has the figure 7 here. See the photograph, Pl. II.

[7] Babylonian tradition, which asserted Narām-Sin to have been the son of Sargon, is therefore erroneous. For this tradition, see my *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 226, 64; King, *Chronicles*, II 9, Rev. 1. The Nippur Text, L. No. 1 VII 13, agrees with W-B. 444.

[8] L. No. 1 VII 14 has 56 years and P. No. 3, 1 must have had the same number.

[9] Here P. No. 3, Rev. II 2, and S. Rev. I. Restorations from L. No. 1 VII 15.

[10] So clearly L. No. 1 VII 17. Poebel, No. 3, R. II 4, has 24.

[11] So also S. Rev. 2. But P. No. 3 Rev. II 7 has Semitic, *ma-nu-um šarru ma-nu-um la šarru*; also L. No. 1 VII 18 f.

[12] P. No. 3 R. II 9; S. Rev. 3, *ì-gi-gi*; L. No. 1 VII 20, *ì-ki-ki*, photograph *ir-ki-ki* an error of the scribe.

[13] P. No. 3, Rev. II 10-11. S. Rev. 4 and L. No. 1 VII 21, *na-nu-um*.

[14] S. Rev. 4 and L. No. 1 VII 22, *i-lu-lu*.

[15] For lines 6-7, P. No. 3 Rev. 13 and S. Rev. 5 have *4-bi 3 mu ib(in)-ag*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | *[mu 3 ] ib- ag* | 7. Three years they reigned. |
| 8. | *[Du-du] mu 21 ni-ag* | 8. Dudu reigned 21 years. |
| 9. | *[Gimil-dur-ūl] dumu Du-du-ge* | 9. Gimil-durul[1] son of Dudu |
| 10. | *[mu] 15 ni- ag* | 10. reigned 15 years |
| 11. | *11*[2] *lugal* | 11. 11 kings |
| 12. | *mu-bi 180 + 1 ib- ag* | 12. They reigned 181 years[3] |
| 13. | *A-ga-de-(ki) giš ku ba-an- sīg* | 13. Agade was smitten with weapons. |
| 14. | *nam-lugal-bi Unug-(ki)-šú bagín* | 14. The rulership passed to Erech. |
| 15. | *Unug-(ki) Ur-nigin lugal-ám* | 15. At Erech Ur-nigin became king. |
| 16. | *mu 7 ni- ag* | 16. He reigned 7 years. |
| 17. | *Ur-gigir dumu Ur-nigin- ge* | 17. Ur-gigir son of Urnigin |
| 18. | *mu 6 ni- ag* | 18. ruled 6 years. |
| 19. | *Kudda*[4] *mu 6 ni- ag* | 19. Kudda reigned 6 years. |
| 20. | *Gimil-ili mu 5 ni- ag* | 20. Gimil-ili reigned 5 years. |
| 21. | *Ur-*[d]*Babbar mu 6 ni- ag* | 21. Ur-Babbar reigned 6 years. |
| 22. | *5 lugal* | 22. 5 kings. |
| 23. | *mu-bi 30 ib- ag* | 23. They reigned 30 years.[5] |
| 24. | *Unug-(ki) giš ku ka- an- sīg* | 24. Erech was smitten with weapons. |
| 25. | *nam-lugal-bi* | 25. The rulership |
| 26. | *ugnim Gu-tu-um*[6] *ba-gín* | 26. to the Gutean hordes passed. |
| 27. | *ugnim Gu-tu-um-(ki)* | 27. The hordes of Gutûm |
| 28. | *lugal-mu nu-tuk*[7] | 28. had not a king by name. |
| 29. | *Im-ta*[8]*-a lugal-ám mu 3*[9] *ni-ag* | 29. Imtâ became king. He ruled 3 years. |
| 30. | *In-ki*[10]*-šù mu 6 ni-ag* | 30. Inkišu reigned 6 years.[11] |
| 31. | *Ni-kil-la-gab*[12] *mu 6 ni-ag* | 31. Nikillagab reigned 6 years. |
| 32. | *Šul-me-e mu 6 ni-ag* | 32. Šulmê reigned 6 years. |
| 33. | *E-lu-lu-meš mu 6 ni-ag* | 33. Elulumeš reigned 6 years. |
| 34. | *I-ni-ma-ba-ki-eš mu 5 ni-ag* | 34. Inimabakêš reigned 5 years. |
| 35. | *I-gi-eš-a-uš mu 6 ni-ag* | 35. Igêšauš reigned 6 years. |

[1] For inscriptions of Dudu and Gimil-Durul, v. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Chronologie*, 63 and GADD, Early *Dynasties*, Pl. 3. For the probable reading of *KIB* as *ul*, v. SCHEIL, RA. 18, 98-9. Cf. *KIB* in *zu-KIB = muaddi kirbiti*, K. 4406 Rev. I 15, in KING, *Creat.*; Vol. II Pl. 55 = Bk. VII 67. See note on this line in my *Babyl. Epic of Creation.*

[2] S. Rev. 8 has 12 kings, which includes the period of anarchy in line 1 above.

[3] P. 2 Rev. III 2 and S. Rev. 8 have 197 years. The figures on these variants actually yield 197; 55 + 15 + 7 + 56 + 25 + 3 + 21 + 15 = 197. Since the total here is only 181 and only the figures for Narâm-Sin and Šargališarri are missing (beside the length of the period of the four kings Igigi to Elulu) it is obvious that one or both must be reduced. Assuming 24 for Šargališarri we are bound to assume 38 for Narâm-Sin.

[4] A vase recently found at Warka (?) mentions Kudda as a *šangu* priest of Innini and Babbar, and is dedicated to Ningal of Ur. Possibly filched from the excavations at Ur.

[5] S. Rev. 11-16 has the figures 3 + 6 + 6 + 5 + 6 and the total 26.

[6] S. Rev. 18, Gu-ti-um-(ki)-šú. [7] L. No. 1 VIII 2, *lugal nu-ub-tuk*, had not a king.

[8] L. No. 1 VIII 3, Im-bi-a. Which is right. The signs are so similar that a scribal error has occurred.

[9] L. No. 1 R. VIII 3 has 5 years. [10] Var. *gi*. [11] Var. L. No. 1 VIII 5 has 7 years.

[12] Here perhaps L. No. 1 VIII 19 ..... *an-gab*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 36. | *Ia-ar-la-gab*[1] *mu 15 ni-ag* | 36. Jarlagab reigned 15 years. |
| 37. | *I-ba-te*[2] *mu 3 ni-ag* | 37. Ibate reigned 3 years. |
| 38. | *Ia-ar-la*[3] *mu 3 ni-ag* | 38. Jarla(gaš) reigned 3 years. |
| 39. | *Ku-ru-um mu 1 ni-ag* | 39. Kurum reigned 1 year. |
| 40. | *....ne-di-in mu 3 ni-ag* | 40. .... nedin reigned 3 years. |
| 41. | *....ra-bu-um mu 2 ni-ag* | 41. .... rabum reigned 2 years. |
| 42. | *I-ra-ru-um mu 2 ni-ag* | 42. Irarum reigned 2 years. |
| 43. | *Ib-ra-nu-um mu 1 ni-ag* | 43. Ibranum reigned 1 year. |
| 44. | *Ha-ab-lum mu 2 ni-ag* | 44. Hablum reigned 2 years. |
| 45. | *Gimil-*$^{d.}$*En-zu dumu Ha-ab-lum* | 45. Gimil-Sin, son of Hablum, |
| 46. | *mu 7 ni-ag* | 46. reigned 7 years. |
| 47. | *[Ia-]ar-la-ga-an-da*[4] *mu 7 ni-ag* | 47. Jarlaganda reigned 7 years. |
| 48. | *. . . . . mu 7 ni-ag* | 48. . . . . reigned 7 years. |
| 49. | *[Ti-ri-]ga*[6] *ud 40 ni-ag* | 49. Tiriga reigned 40 days.[5] |
| 50. | *21 lugal* | 50. 21 kings |
| 51. | *[mu-bi 125] ud 40 ib- ag* | 51. They reigned [125 years] and 40 days. |

## Col. VIII.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *ugnim [Gu-tu-um-ki* $^{giš}$*ku ba-an-sig]* | 1. The hordes of Gutûm were smitten by the sword. |
| 2. | *nam-lugal-bi Unug-(ki)-šú [ba-gín]* | 2. The rulership passed to Erech. |
| 3. | *Unug-(ki)-ga* $^{d.}$*Utu-ge-gál [lugal-ám]* | 3. At Erech Utuhegal became king. |
| 4. | *mu 7 šu-ši*[7] *7 ud [ni-ag]* | 4. He reigned 7 1/6 years and 7 days. |
| 5. | *1 lugal* | 5. One king. |
| 6. | *mu-bi 7 šu-ši 7 ud [ni- ag]* | 6. He reigned 7 1/6 years and 7 days. |
| 7. | *Unug-(ki)* $^{giš}$*ku ba- an sig* | 7. Erech was smitten by the sword. |
| 8. | *nam-lugal-bi Uri[-(ki)-ma-šú ba-gín]* | 8. The rulership passed to Ur. |
| 9. | *Uri-(ki)-ma Ur-*$^{d.}$*Nammu*[8] *lugal* | 9. At Ur Ur-$^{d.}$Nammu was king. |
| 10. | *mu 18 ni- ag* | 10. He ruled 18 years.[9] |
| 11. | $^{d.}$*Dungi dumu* $^{d.}$*Ur-*$^{d.}$*Nammu-ge* | 11. The divine Dungi son of the divine Ur-Nammu, |

[1] L. No. 1 VIII 6 has *Warlagaba* and makes him the *third* king and 6 years.
[2] Cf. L. No. 1 VIII 17, ..... *ti.*
[3] Probably *Iarlagaš*, fourth king in L. No. 1 VIII, and *Arlagan*, Clay, *Miscel.* No. 13.
[4] Here L. No. 1 VIII 15, ..... *da.*
[5] In the list only 20 names appear. The period when the Guteans had no king by name is counted as 1 king. The total is taken from P. No. 2 Rev. III 7, but is naturally uncertain. The actual total is only 86 years. L. No. 1 IX 3 has 124 years and 40 days. A name ending in *ga*, L. No. 1 VIII 21, does not appear on W-B. 444.
[6] In the inscription, RA. 9, 120, *Ti-ri-ga-an.* L. No. 1 IX 1 has also 40 days.
[7] For *šuš* employed indifferently for 60 and 1/6, v. *Sum. Grammar*, § 173.
[8] For this reading, v. Gadd, JRAS. 1922, 390.
[9] Here begins P. No. 5, Reverse.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12. | *mu 46 ni- ag* | 12. reigned 46 years. [1] |
| 13. | *d.Bur- d.Sin dumu d.Dun-gi-ge* | 13. The divine Bur-d.Sin, son of the divine Dungi, |
| 14. | *mu 9 ni- ag* | 14. reigned 9 years. |
| 15. | *Gimil- d.Sin dumu d.Bur- d.Sin* | 15. Gimil-d.Sin, son of the divine Bur-d.Sin, |
| 16. | *mu 9 ni- ag* | 16. reigned 9 years. [2] |
| 17. | *I-be- d.Sin dumu Gimil- d.Sina-ge* | 17. Ibe-d.Sin, son of Gimil-d.Sin, |
| 18. | *mu 24 (26) ni-ag* | 18. reigned 24 years. [3] |
| 19. | *5 (4) lugal* | 19. 5 (4) kings. [4] |
| 20. | *mu-bi 108 ib- ag* | 20. They ruled 108 years. [5] |
| 21. | *Uri-(ki)-ma giš ku ba-an-sig* | 21. Ur was smitten by weapons. |
| 22. | *nam-lugal-bi Ì-si-in-(ki)-šú ba-gín* | 22. The kingship passed to Isin. |
| 23. | *Ì-si-in-(ki)-na Iš-bi- Gir*-ra [6] lugal* | 23. At Isin Ishbi-Girra was king. |
| 24. | *mu 33 ni-ag* | 24. He reigned 33 years. [7] |
| 25. | *d.Gimil-ì-lí-šu [8] dumu Iš-bi-Gir*-ra-ge* | 25. The divine Gimil-ilishu, son of Ishbi-Girra, |
| 26. | *mu 20 (10) ni-ag* | 26. reigned 10 (20) years. [9] |
| 27. | *I-din- d.Da-gan dumu Gimil-ì-lí-šu* | 27. Idin-d.Dagan, son of Gimil-ilishu, |
| 28. | *mu 21 ni- ag* | 28. reigned 21 years. |
| 29. | *Iš-me-d.Da-gan [dumu I-din- d.Da-gan]* | 29. Ishme-d.Dagan, son of Idin-d.Dagan, |
| 30. | *mu [20 ni- ag]* | 30. reigned 20 years. [10] |
| 31. | *d.Li-[bi-it-Aš dar dumu Iš-me-d.Da-gan]* [11] | 31. Lipit-Ashdar, son of Ishme-d.Dagan, |
| 32. | *mu [11 ni- ag]* | 32. reigned 11 years. [12] |
| 33. | *d.Ur- d.Ninurta [mu 28 ni-] ag* | 33. The divine Ur-d.Ninurtu reigned 28 years. [13] |

[1] This number is undoubtedly correct against the number 58 in P. No. 3 R. 2. In fact 47 full dates of Dungi are known from OBI. No. 125 and MIO. 622, published in transcription by GENOUILLAC, *Inventaire*, II p. 6; v. SAK. 229 note *b*. Obviously only one line in OBI. No. 125, Obv. is entirely missing at the top, [*mu Dun-gi lugal-ám*]. The last year date, " Year when Ḫarši was destroyed ", is erroneously not included in the scribes figures for this reign.

[2] P. No. 5 R. 4 has 7 years, but there are nine year dates known for this reign, and hence W-B. 444 is correct.

[3] P. No. 5 Rev. 5 has 25 years. [4] Sic ! The text has 4 !

[5] The actual total is 106, hence Ibi-Sin's figure is probably to be corrected to 26; or read 47 for Dungi and 25 for Ibi-Sin. The total on P. No. 5 is 117, or difference of 9 years in the length of a well known dynasty not far removed from the period of the chronologist !

[6] P. No. 5 R. 8, *d.Gir*-ra*. The same writing without *dingir* in BARTON, *Miscel.* 9, 3; this text (Ni 7772) is a duplicate of LEGRAIN, PBS. 13, No. 6 and a continuation of PBS. 13 No. 3. The three texts constitute a letter of Ibi-Sin to Gimil-Numušda, patesi of Kazallu concerning Ishbi-Girra " a man of Maer ".

[7] P. No. 5 Rev. 8 has 32 years, but this number must raised to 33 to obtain 225 on P. No. 5 Rev. 24.

[8] P. No. 5 R. omits *dingir*.

[9] P. No. 5 R. 9 has 10 years, which is obviously correct for the total in line 45 is 203, which should be 213 if 20 be read here.

[10] So P. No. 5 Rev. 11, and P. No. 2 X 5 is so rendered by POEBEL, PBS IV p. 76, although his copy and photograph have 19 (?).

[11] So P. No. 5 Rev. 12, but No. 2 X 7 has " son of Idin-Dagan. [12] So P. No. 2 X 8 and No. 5 R. 12.

[13] So P. No. 5 R. 13. On P. No. 2 X 10 his father was *d.Adad* .....; hence he was not a descendant of his predecessors. *d.Ninurta* is only partially preserved; P. No. 5 has *IB* and No. 2 X 9 preserves *NIN*. A king of this name is preserved on two contracts from Nippur (unpublished) now in Constantinople, BE. 20, p. 49 and BE. Ser. D V 38. A liturgy to Ur-Ninurta is Ni. 13979 (unpublished). The name is restored from P. No. 5 R. 14.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 34. | *d.Bur-d.S[in dumu d.Ur-d.Ninurta]* | 34. The divine Bur-d.Sin, son af Ur-d.Ninurta, |
| 35. | *mu 21 ni- ag* | 35. reigned 21 years. |
| 36. | *d.Li-bi-[it-d.]En-lil*[1] | 36. The divine Lipit-d.Enlil, |
| 37. | *dumu Bur- d.Sin-ge mu 5 ni-ag* | 37. son of Bur-d.Sin reigned 5 years. |
| 38. | *d.Gir*-ra-i-mi-ti mu 8 ni-ag* | 38. Girra-imiti reigned 8 years.[2] |
| 39. | *d.En-lil-ba-ni mu 24 ni-ag* | 39. d.Enlilbani reigned 24 years.[3] |
| 40. | *d.Za-am-bi-ia mu 3 ni-ag* | 40. The divine Zambija reigned 3 years. |
| 41. | *d.I-te-ir-pî-ša*[4] *mu 4 ni-ag* | 41. The divine Iterpîsha reigned 4 years. |
| 42. | *d.Ur-dù-kug-ga*[5] *mu 4 ni-ag* | 42. The divine Ur-dukugga reigned 4 years. |
| 43. | *d.Sin-ma-gir mu 11 ni-ag* | 43. Sin-magir reigned 11 years. |
| 44. | *14 lugal* | 44. 14 kings |
| 45. | *mu-bi 203 ib-ag* | 45. They reigned 203 years.[6] |
| | *kat Nu-ùr-d.Nin-subur* | 46. By the hand of Nur-Ninsubur. |

[1] So restore P. No. 5 R 15, as the 8th king. He is otherwise unknown in documents of this period.

[2] P. No. 5 Rev. 16 has 7 years. KING, *Chronicles* II 12, 8, *d.Gir*-ra-ZAG-LU*. Tablets dated in his reign from Nippur, are CHIERA, PBS. VIII, Nos. 19, 20, 103.

[3] P. No, 5 R. 17 has here six months for an obliterated name omitted on this prism. P. No. 5 R. 18 *d.En-lil-[ba]-ni*, and 24 years. For tablets dated in this reign, v. PBS. VIII, 8, 9, 107 ; *Sum. Gr.*, p. 17 ; RA. 14, 152 ; BE. 31 No. 38, obv. 10 ; indentical with *Enlil-bani*, KING, *Chronicles*, II 12, 5.

[4] This rendering is proven correct by LEGRAIN, PBS. 13, No. 4, *mu I-te-ir-pi-ša lugal*. HILPRECHT, BE. 20, p. 49 mentions two tablets of *d.I-te-ir-KA-ša*, dated also in the first year of his reign. The name is derived from *etir-pî-ša*, " Her word saves ".

[5] Cf. *d.[Ur]-dù-kug-ga*, CHIERA, PBS. VIII. No, 10, where the date refers to *id Im-gur-d.Nin-subur ? mu-ba-al*, " year when Urdukugga dug the canal *Imgur-Ninsubur* " ; UNGNAD, in HAMMURABI'S *Gesetz*, VI, 1782 read *Imgur-d.Nin-in-si-na*. UNGNAD restored the name of this king correctly, and cf. the name *Ur-du-kug-ga* in a document dated in the reign of Enlilbani, PBS. VIII. No. 9. See my note in PBS. X 140.

[6] The actual total is 213, but see line 26. The prism must have been written at the end of the reign of Sinmagir for Damik-ili-shu the last king is omitted. Since this scribe entirely omits the short reign of 6 months after Girra-imiti, his list would have for the entire reign 15 kings and 226 years, against 225 1/2 years on P. No. 5, which proves that he reckoned this brief reign of 6 months with Girra-imitti, hence his figure is 8 for Girra-imiti, not 7 as on P. No. 5.

# TABLE OF KINGS.

| | Names | years |
|---|---|---|
| | **Kish (1)** | |
| 1. | Gà-ur | 1200 |
| 2. | Gulla-Nidaba(ezen)-an-na... | 960 |
| 3. | | |
| 4. | | |
| 5. | Ba-ba(?) . . . . . | ..... |
| 6. | Bu-$^{d}$EN-ZU(?) | ..... |
| 7. | Gallibum | 960 |
| 8. | Kalumumu | 840 |
| 9. | Duggagib | 900 |
| 10. | Atab | 600 |
| 11. | Atabba | 840 |
| 12. | Arpium | 720 |
| 13. | Etana | 1500 |
| 14. | Baliḫ | 400 |
| 15. | Enmenunna | 660 |
| 16. | Melam-Kish | 900 |
| 17. | Barsalmunna | 1200 |
| 18. | Tupzaḫ | 140 |
| 19. | Tizkar | 306 |
| 20. | Ilkû | 900 |
| 21. | Iltasadum | 1200 |
| 22. | Enmenbaragigur | 900 |
| 23. | Agga | 625 |
| | Total 23 kings | 24510 years, 3 months, 3 days |

| | Names | years |
|---|---|---|
| | **Erech (1)** | |
| 1. | Meskemgašer | 325 |
| 2. | Enme(r)kar | 420 |
| 3. | Lugalbanda | 1200 |
| 4. | Dumuzi | 100 |
| 5. | Gilgameš | 126 |
| 6. | Ur-$^{d}$Nungal | 30 |
| 7. | Utulkalamma | 15 |
| 8. | Labašer | 9 |
| 9. | Ennunnadanna | 8 |
| 10. | . . . . . ḫede | 36 |
| 11. | Melamanna | 6 |
| 12. | Lugalkiaga | 36 |
| | Total 12 kings | 2310 years |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **Ur (1)** | |
| 1. | Mesannipadda | 80 (circa 4000) |
| 2. | Meskem-$^{d}$Nannar | 36 |
| 3. | Elulu | 25 |
| 4. | Balulu | 36 |
| | Total 4 kings | 177 years |

| | Names | Years | Date | Contemporary Rulers, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Awan** | | circa | |
| 1. | | | 3900 | Period of geometrical pottery well advanced. Linear writing signs in use and probably much earlier. Early cylinder seals. Animal file *motif* in stone carving. *Mesilim* possibly belongs to Awan dynasty. |
| 2. | | | | |
| 3. | Ku-ul . . . . . | 36 | | |
| | Total 3 kings | 356 years | | |
| | **Kish (2)** | | circa | |
| 1. | Laḫ | 201 + ? | 3750 | |
| 2. | Dadasig | . . . . . | | |

## TABLE OF KINGS.

| Names | Years | Date | Contemporary Rulers, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. Mamagal . . . . . | 360 | | |
| 4. Kalbum | 195 | | |
| 5. Umuše | 360 | | |
| 6. . . . . nunna | 180 | | |
| 7. Ibiniš (?) | 290 | | Enbi-Ashtar, conquered by Enšagkušanna, is said to have been the last king of Kish in this period. |
| 8. Lugalmu | 360 | | |
| Total 8 kings | 3195 years | | |
| **Ḫamaṣi** | | circa | |
| 1. Ḫadaniš | 360 years | 3560 | Urzaged called king of *Kiš*, possibly belongs to *Ḫamaṣi*. |
| **Erech (2)** | | circa | |
| 1. Enugduanna (Enšagkušanna) | 420 | 3450 | Lugalkigubnilaḫ, Lugalkisalsi, at Erech. |
| . . . . . | | | |
| Total 3 (?) kings | | | |
| **Ur (2)** | | | |
| 1. | | 3357 | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. . . . . *lu* | | | |
| Total 4 kings | 108 years | | |
| **Adab** | | | |
| Lugalmundu (Mebasi) (Lugaldalu) | 90 | 3249 | Ila-Shamash king of Maer in this period. Menes and successors in Egypt. Šuruppak magistrates. |
| **Maer** | | 3159 | Enḫegal at Lagash |
| 1. Ansir | 30 | | Ur-Ninâ |
| 2. [*Lugaltar*]zi | 25 ? | | Akurgal |
| 3. . . . . lugal | 30 | | Eannatum — Lagash — Zuzu at Akšak. |
| 4. [*Lugal-*?-]lù-gal | 20 | | |
| 5. . . . . bi-im | 30 | | |
| 6. . . . . bi | 9 | | Entemena |
| Total 6 kings. | 136 years | | |
| **Kish (3)** | | 3023 | Enannatum II — Ukuš at Umma. |
| Kug-$^{d}$Bau (contemporary with next dynasty). | 100 | | Enetarzi, Urukagina — Lagash — Lugalzaggisi (son), Umma. |

## TABLE OF KINGS.

| | Names | Years | Date | Contemporary rulers, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Akšak** | | 3023 | |
| 1. | Unzi | 30 | | |
| 2. | Undalulu | 6 | | |
| 3. | Urur | 6 | | Contemporary with Kug-Bau and later patesis of early Lagash. |
| 4. | Gimil-$^{d.}$Šaḫan | 20 | | |
| 5. | Ishu-il | 24 | | |
| 6. | Gimil-$^{d.}$Sin | 7 | | |
| | Total six kings | 93 years | | |
| | **Kish (4)** | | 2930 | |
| 1. | Gimil-$^{d.}$Sin | 25 | | |
| 2. | Ur-$^{d.}$Ilbaba | 400 (read $6^2/_3$) | | |
| 3. | Zimudar | 30 | | |
| 4. | Uṣi-watar | 7 | | Possibly contemporary with the Akšak dynasty |
| 5. | Ashdar-muti | 11 | | |
| 6. | Ish*me*-$^{d.}$Shamash | 11 | | |
| 7. | Nannijaḫ | 7 | | |
| | Total 7 kings | 491 years ($97\ ^2/_3$) | | |
| | **Erech (3)** | | 2833 | |
| | Lugalzaggisi | 25 | | |
| | **Agade** | | | *Patesis of Lagash* |
| 1. | Sharrukîn-ilubani | 56 | 2808 | Engilsa |
| 2. | Rimush | 9 | 2752 | Ur-E |
| 3. | Manishtiššu | 15 | 2743 | Lugal-ušumgal |
| 4. | Narâm-$^{d.}$Sin | 38 (?) | 2728 | Ugme |
| 5. | Shargalisharri | 24 (?) | 2690 | |
| | Period of anarchy | | | |
| 6. | Igigi | | 2666 | |
| 7. | Imi | 3 | | |
| 8. | Nani | | | |
| 9. | Elulu | | | |
| 10. | Dudu | 21 | 2663 | Ur-Bau |
| 11. | Gimil-durul | 15 | 2642 | |
| | Total 11 kings | 181 years | | |
| | **Erech (4)** | | | |
| 1. | Urnigin | 7 | 2627 | |

## TABLE OF KINGS.

| | Names | Years | Date | Contemporary Rulers, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | Ur-gigir | 6 | | *Patesis of Lagash* |
| 3. | Kudda | 6 | | Urgar. |
| 4. | Gimil-ili | 5 | | Nammaḫni. |
| 5. | Ur-$^{d.}$Babbar | 6 | | Ur-Ninsun. |
| | Total 5 kings | 30 years | | |
| | Gutium | | 2597 | |
| 1. | Imtâ | 3 | | |
| 2. | Inkišu | 6 | | Gudea (2550) |
| 3. | Nikillagab | 6 | | |
| 4. | Šulmê | 6 | | |
| 5. | Elulumeš | 6 | | |
| 6. | Inimabakeš | 5 | | |
| 7. | Igešauš | 6 | | |
| 8. | Jarlagab | 15 | | |
| 9. | Ibate | 3 | | |
| 10. | Jarla(gaš) | 3 | | Ur-Ningirsu. |
| 11. | Kurum | 1 | | |
| 12. | . . . . . nedin | 3 | | |
| 13. | . . . . . rabum | 2 | | |
| 14. | Irarum | 2 | | |
| 15. | Ibranum | 1 | | |
| 16. | Ḫablum | 2 | | |
| 17. | Gimil-Sin | 7 | | |
| 18. | Jarlaganda | 7 | | |
| 19. | . . . . . | 7 | | |
| 20. | Tiriga(n) | 40 days. | | |
| | Total 21 (20) kings | 125 years, 40 days | | |
| | Erech (5) | | 2472 | |
| | Utuḫegal | 7 1/6 + 7 days [1] | | |
| | Ur (3) | | | |
| 1. | Ur-$^{d.}$Nammu | 18 | 2465 | *Patesis of Lagash* |
| 2. | Dungi | 46 (47) | 2447 | Urabba |
| 3. | Bur-$^{d.}$Sin | 9 | 2401 | |
| 4. | Gimil-$^{d.}$Sin | 9 | 2393 | Ur-lama |
| 5. | Ibi-$^{d.}$Sin | 26 (24) (25) | 2384 | |
| | Total 5 kings | 108 years | | |

[1] Text has 420 years and seven days on the more natural rendering of the figures. That is clearly impossible and consequently *šu-ši* must be taken as an error or read *one sixth.*

## TABLE OF KINGS.

| | Names | Years | Dates | Contemporary rulers, etc. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Isin | | 2357 | *Kingdom of Ellasar.* | |
| 1. | Ishbi-Girra | 33 | | Naplanum (2357) | |
| 2. | Gimil-ilishu | 10 | 2324 | Emiṣum (2336) | |
| 3. | Idin-$^{d.}$Dagan | 21 | 2314 | Samum (2308) | |
| 4. | Ishme-$^{d.}$Dagan | 20 | 2293 | | |
| 5. | Lipit-Ashdar | 11 | 2273 | | |
| 6. | Ur-$^{d.}$Ninurta | 28 | 2262 | Zabaja (2273) | *Babylon* |
| 7. | Bur-$^{d.}$Sin | 21 | 2234 | Gungunum (2264) | Sumu-âbu (2225) |
| 8. | Lipit-$^{d.}$Enlil | 5 | 2213 | Abî-sarê (2337) | |
| 9. | Girra-imiti | 8 | 2208 | Sumu-ilum (2226) | |
| 10. | $^{d.}$Enlil-bani | 24 | 2200 | | Sumu-la-ilu (2211) |
| 11. | Zambija | 3 | 2176 | Nur-Adad (2197) | |
| 12. | Iter-pi-sha | 4 | 2173 | | |
| 13. | Urdukugga | 4 | 2169 | | |
| 14. | $^{d.}$Sin-magir | 11 | 2165 | | |
| | Total 14 kings | 203 years | | | |
| 15. | Damiḳ-ili-shu | 23 | 2154 | End of Isin dynasty 2131 | |
| | (Fotheringham's corrected chronology 2076) | | | ~~Twenty-third~~ Twelfth year of Sin-muballiṭ of Babylon. | |

In the foregoing table I have subjected the actual figures of the prism to severe reduction anterior to the date of the beginning of the second Kingdom of Ur, 3357, which is reached by dead reckoning, assuming that Kug-Bau was contemporary with the Akšak Kingdom, and allowing for some obvious mathematical inaccuracies. If we accept the actual figures of the prism the first king after the Flood ruled 34.685 BC. The first ruler of Erech began to reign 10.175 BC. The second Kingdom of Kish began in 7332 and Ḫamaṣi seized the hegemony in 4137 BC. It is impossible to give credence to the these figures, at any rate before 4137 for Ḫamaṣi, and I have assigned dates to the period before 3357 entirely on grounds of epigraphy and archaeology. If we allow for the omission of the last two kings before the Flood by accepting the figures on W-B. 62, and add 64.800 for these two kings, the Prism, W-B. 444, places the first ruler of mankind 340.685 BC. W-B. 62 would yield 490.685 for the beginning of mankind, and Berossus's figures would be 466.685, BC. Are these figures mere tradition or is the early Sumerian civilisation to be assigned to such remote periods before 10.000 BC? Chinese and Indian tradition used the figures of Berossus for the prehistoric age of man. From a Chinese source of the 8th century AD., Edward Chavannes cites a passage which assigns 432.000 years to the age of the 13 kings of heaven and the 11 kings of earth. The Indian period *Kâlî-yuga* corresponds exactly to the figures of Berossus. See Ed. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. I, page 18. (The reference I owe to Professor Soothill.) At any rate we now know that, by consensus of all their traditions, the Sumerians believed the Flood to have occurred about 35.000 BC., and that great kingdoms flourished long before 6000 BC. The Hindu notion is that

Page 26, for *Twenty-third* (year of Sin-muballiṭ),
read *twelfth year.*

a great cosmic age lasted 12000 divine years, a divine year being 360 human years, which gives 4.320.000 human years. This was divided into four cycles *(yuga)*, the *kṛita, treta, dvapāra* and *kălĭ* cycles, in the proportion, 4-3-2-1, i. e., 1.440.000 ; 1.080.000 ; 720.000 ; 360.000. The *kṛta* age consisted of unblemished righteousness, the *treta* age of 3/4 righteousness, the *dvapāra* age of 1/2 righteousness, and the *kălĭ-yuga* of only 1/4 righteousness. Each age began and ended in a *twilight* period containing as many hundreds of divine years as the age had thousands. Hence the *kălĭ-yuga*, or " age of discord " has 36.000 + 360.000 + 36.000 = 432.000 human years. It is difficult to understand how this can have any connection with the Sumerian system and the 432,000 years of the ante-diluvian period. Mr. F. E. PARGITER, MA. of Exeter College, has supplied me with this accurate information. He refers to the following literature. FITZ EDWARD HALL's edition of WILSON's *Vishṇa Purana,* Vol. I, 49-50, and HASTINGS' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* article *Puraṇas* by F. E. PARGITER.

## HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION OF SIN-IDINNAM.

This finely executed monument which has been placed at my disposal by the present owner, E. S. David, a dealer in antiquities, is one of those rare objects which represent the best scribal craft of the Sumerians. It is a hollow barrel shaped object similar to the beautiful hollow cylinder of Entemena in the private collection of the late Dr. J. B. NIES of New-York, published by the owner in his *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts,* No. 1, with photographs on plate LVII. The Entemena cylinder has the orifice at the narrower end, whereas the Sin-idinnam cylinder is open at the larger end. The Entemena cylinder has the appearance of a huge mace head which DR. NIES compared with the mace head of Shargalisharri now in the British Museum, dedicated to Shamash at Sippar. On the oval closed end of Entemena's monument there is a curious design of concentric circles intersected by lines drawn from the circumference to the inner circle, which produces a resemblance to a net. This design does not occur on Sin-idinnam's cylinder. The objects are unique, and although Sin-idinnam belongs to the 22nd century and Entemena approximately to the 29th century, there can be no doubt but that the later object represents an unbroken style of craftsmanship. The dealer maintains that the object was found at Bismya.

Sin-idinnam, ninth king of the Ellasar dynasty, ruled 2181-2176, and in his short reign of six years he seems to have accomplished more for his kingdom than any of the Kings of Ellasar before the last two kings Arad-Sin and his more famous brother Rim-Sin. Three inscribed clay pegs and a long brick inscription of Sin-idinnam were previously known, and editions of them will be found in THUREAU-DANGIN's *Alt-sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften* 208-211. I have consequently designated this new monument as *Sin-idinnam E*, and the other monuments are cited as A, B, C, D, after the notation in SAK.

Only two of his year dates are known beside the formula for his first year which can of course be restored according to the Sumerian method of promulgating the date of the first year for any reign. A contract published in *Lettres et Contrats* No. 231 by THUREAU-DANGIN, has an oath in the name of Sin-idinnam and the date " Year when he built the great wall of

Mašgan-šabrû ». This city is supposed to have been near Adab. The contemporary kingdom of Isin whose capitol Isin is now identified with Tell Bahri 17 miles south of Nippur, lay in the vicinity of Adab, and it is difficult to understand how the kings of Ellasar could have retained a city in this region within their jurisdiction. The contemporary king at Isin was Zambija and another date of Sin-idinnam is, « Year when he smote with weapons Elam and *Za-am-bi-ia* king of Isin », GRICE, *Yale Series,* V, No. 3, and Nos. 2 ; 36 (where Zambija is not mentioned). It is, therefore, probable that although the king of Isin retained his throne at this time, the rival kingdom at Ellasar under Sin-idinnam actually obtained mastery of the greater part of Sumer.

Sumu-ilum the seventh king of Ellasar waged war with Kish near Babylon, and both Kish and Babylon then had independent kings. In fact it is becoming increasingly evident that Babylon remained a small local kingdom until the age of Sin-muballiṭ (predecessor of Hammurabi) in whose reign Isin finally fell to the growing power of this northern city, only to be retaken by Rim-Sin of Ellasar a few years later. In fact an unplaced date of one of these earlier Ellasar kings, probably Sumu-ilum, refers to the defeat of the army of Babylon [1], and another date mentions the defeat of the army of Malgû, a land on the central Tigris [2].

Before the rapid extension of the authority of Babylon by the conquests of Hammurabi who finally recaptured Isin and also subdued Ellasar, the kingdom of Ellasar clearly controlled the greater part of Sumer and Accad. It is difficult to understand the position of the seemingly powerful kingdom of Isin in the vicinity of Adab and only 70 miles distant from Ellasar. In this new inscription, the longest and most important yet recovered from the reign of Sin-idinnam, he calls himself king of Sumer and Accad, a title which the kings of Isin Ishme-Dagan, Lipit-Ishtar, Ur-Ninurta and Sin-magir, also appropriate, and Sin-magir reigned later than Sin-idinnam. These contemporary kings both claim to be protectors of the great southern city Ur. Nur-Immer of Ellasar « shepherd of Ur », must have exercised control of that city for his inscription was found there. And Bur-Sin, Ur-Ninurta, Lipit-Ishtar and Ishme-Dagan of Isin all claim to have possessed Ur. Enannatum, son of Ishme-Dagan, was a priest of Nannar at Ur and he built there a temple for *Gungunu* (king of Ellasar and contemporary of Lipit-Ishtar and Ur-Ninurta) who is called « king of Ur » in Enannatum's own inscription. The confusion introduced by the inscriptions of the period concerning the spheres of influence of Ellasar and Isin is inexplicable. Certainly this must have been a good-natured sort of arrangement, a kind of dual monarchy without much emphasis upon the reality of titles.

The new inscription (E) was written to commemorate the excavation of the river Tigris whereby he supplied Ellasar with water. Inscriptions A and D also mention this event. This raises another inexplicable topographical problem. The year date 33 of Hammurabi (see p. 33) says that he dug a canal which supplied Nippur, Erech, Isin, Ellasar, Ur and Eridu. This obviously refers to the Euphrates, on which Nippur, Erech, Ur and Eridu were certainly located. Sin-idinnam seems to have been placed in a political situation similar to that of Entemena at Lagash. This patesi of Lagash dug a canal from the Tigris to the « River of the Prince [3] », i. e., to the Euphrates, which is related on the same monument that served as a pattern for the cylinder of Sin-idinnam. The water supply of Lagash came originally from the

[1] GRICE, No. 38. [2] See AJSL. 35, 227 and GRICE, No. 17. [3] SAK. 40 V 9.

north by canals which tapped the Euphrates near Nippur[1]. But this water supply had been so frequently damaged by the rival city Umma, which lay between Lagash and the Euphrates, that Entemena resolved to rid himself forever of this menace by tapping the Tigris on the east. His new canal is probably represented by the modern *Shaṭṭ-el-Hai*. Sin-idinnam's city and province lay on the old bed of the Euphrates and from this source it had always obtained water. In his time the river had changed its main bed to a more westerly course, and Erech, Isin and Ellasar now depended upon a river reduced to a canal and easily regulated by engineering works. Possibly the northern neighbor Isin, with which Sin-idinnam is known to have waged war, interfered with the water supply of Ellasar, and the king resorted to the expedient of Entemena. But the inscription says that he dug the Tigris the broad river of Shamash and "*restored it to its place*". The Tigris certainly never ran anywhere near Ellasar. The words cannot possibly convey their natural meaning. Undoubtedly Ellasar could be supplied by a canal which tapped the old Entemena canal, or perhaps Entemena's canal actually reached the Euphrates at Ellasar and became the southern reach of the Tigris.

# HOLLOW BARREL SHAPED CYLINDER

IN POSSESSION OF E. S. DAVID.

## COL. I.

1. $^{d.}$*Sin-i-din-na-am* (2) *guruš-kalag-ga*
3. *ú-a Uri-(ki-)ma* (4) *lugal Ilrar(ki)-ma*
5. *lugal ki-en-gi-(ki) Uri*
6. *lugal É-babbar é* $^{d.}$*Babbar-ge*
7. *mu-un-dū-a* (8) *giš-ǵar é dingir-ri-e-ne* (9) *ki-bi-šú bc-gí-a me-en*[2]

10. *ud An-ni* $^{d.}$*Enlil* $^{d.}$*Nannar* $^{d.}$*Babbar-bi*
11. *bal dug-gar si-di* (12) *ud-bi sud-sud-è* (13) *mà-ra sag-e-eš X*[3]
14. *ma-ni-in-PA + KAB + DU-eš-a*

15. *giš-túg* (*gištug*) *dagal-la-mu* (16) *maǵ-bi-šú gar* (17) *sag-bi-šú è-a-ta*
18. *eri-ki ma-da-mu-šú* (19) *a-dug mà-mà-de* (20) *a-rá-zag-sal*[5]

1. Sin-idinnam, (2) the valiant,
3. the care-taker of Ur, (4) the king of Ellasar,
5. the king of Sumer and Accad,
6-7. the king who built Ebabbar, the temple of $^{d.}$Babbar, (8) who the plans[2] of the temples of the gods (9) restored to their places, am I.
10. When Anu, Enlil, Nannar and Babbar
11. to reduce to order the revolt of rebellion, (12) to cause days to go forth unto great length[4] (13) to me as a gift . . . . (14) gave, (15) my understanding,
16. which has been created in far fame
17. to cause to rise above all others,
18. for the city of my land (19) to provide sweet waters, (20) the glorious career

[1] See *Cambridge Ancient History*, I 383.
[2] Clay peg A has *me giš-ǵar = parṣi uṣurat*, NIES, HRET. 22, 82.
[3] The sign seems to be REC. 92.
[4] Cf. CT. 16, 25, 6, *sud-sud ǵa-ba-ra-è*, May he go forth far-away.
[5] Cf. *a-rá-maǵ* in Sin-idinnam, *Clay Peg* B, 15.

21. *nam-ur-sag-ga-mu* (22) *ud-da egir-bi-šú*
23. *pa-è maǵ ag-dé*
24. *An-ra* $^{d}$*En-lil-ra* (25) *gù-in-šág-šág*
26. *a-ra-zu-gi-na-mu-šú* (27) *ǵu-mu-ši-in-še-gi-eš-a* (28) *íd Idigna ba-al-la-a-da* (29) *ki-bi-šú gí-a-da*
30. *ud-ti-la sú-ud-du-šú* (31) *mu-mu mà-mà-dé* (32) *inim nu-kúr-ru-bi-a* (33) *á-bi ǵu-mu-da-an-ág-eš*
34. *ud-ba dúg-ga dúg-ga* (35) *An* $^{d}$*Innini-ta* (36) *še-ga* $^{d}$*Enlil* $^{d}$*Nin-lil-la-ta*

21. of my valour (22) unto the days of hereafter
23. to make illustrious splendidly,
24. unto Anu and Enlil (25) I offered prayers.
26. (When) unto my steadfast intercession they were propitious, (28) to dig the Tigris,
29. and to restore it to its place,
30. to lengthen days of life, (31) to establish my name, (32) with their unchangeable word (33) they proclaimed their oracle.
34. Then by the commands of Anu and Innini, (36) by the grace of Enlil and Ninlil,

## Col. II.

1. $^{d}$*Immer dingir-mu* [*še-ga-ni ?*]
2. *á-maǵ-mà-ta* (3) *á-kalag-maǵ* $^{d}$*En-ki* $^{d}$[. . .]-*ta* (4) *íd Idigna*
5. *íd gál-la*[1] $^{d}$*Babbar-ge* (6) *ù-ma-mu-ta*
7. *gal-bi ǵe-im-mi-ba-al* (8) *ki-sur-ra*[2] *in-dub-*ur-?* (9) *ka-bi um-mi-túm*

10. *a-gam-ma-bi-šú* (11) *si gal ǵe-im-mi-di*
12. *a da-eri* (13) *ǵe-gál suǵ nu-túm-mu*

14. *Ilrar(ki) kalam-ma-mu-šú* (15) *ǵe-im-mi-gar* (16) *ud íd Idigna íd gu-la*
17. *mu-ba-al-la-a* (18) *á galu àš-e*
19. *še ? gur-ta* (20) *ninda 2 ḳa-ta*
21 *kas 4 ḳa-ta* (22) *ì́á 2 gìn-ta-ám*
23. *ud-aš-a* (24) *ūr-gimšu-ba-an-ti* (25) *galu á-lal* (26) *galu á-taǵ*
27. *ba-ra-ne-tuk* (28) *á-kalag ma-da-mu-ta* (29) *kin-bi ǵe-im-mi-tíl*
30. *inim ka-áš-bar* (31) *dingir-gal-e-ne-ta* (32) *íd Idigna íd dagal-la* (33) *ki-bi-šú ǵe-im-mi-gí.* (34) *ud-ul-du-eri*[5]*-šú*

35. *mu-mu ǵe-im-mi-gín*

1. Ramman my god (*who* was propitious)
2. by my great strength, (3) by the great power of Enki and . . . . , (4) the Tigris,
5. the broad river of Shamash (6) in my victorious force (7) grandly caused me to excavate. (8) On the abyss the ancient *reservoir*[3] . . . . for its mouth I *made fit*,
10. and grandly I planned it for the pools[4].
12. Everlasting waters of abundance which cease not,
14. unto Ellasar my land I restored.
16. When I dug the Tigris, the great river,
18. the wages of one man was ? gur of grain each ; (20) of bread two ḳa each ;
21. of beer four *ḳa* each, (22) of fat two shekels each (23) daily. (24) Thus each received.
25. Each man less than his wage (26) each man more than is wage took not.
28. By the mightiness of my land, (29) I finished this task. (30) By the words of counsel of the great gods (32) the river Tigris, the broad river, (33) to its course I restored. (34) Unto eternal days
35. may my name endure.

[1] Sic ! But *Clay Peg.* A, 13. *íd-dagalla*, hence *gál* is either an error by omission for *da-gál*, or *gál* has also the meaning *rapšu*.

[2] For *kisurra* = *kisurrû*, Syn. *bêrāti*, v. SBP. 64. 14 and cf. *(sur)* = *bîrûtu*, Syn. *kibiru*, grave, V R. 31, 25, and *(su-ur)* = *bîrûtu*, spring. See also Gudea, Cyl. A, 10, 20.

[3] *indub-*ur* was restored to its place by Sin-idinnam, SAK. 210 d) 6. It is certainly the same word as *im-dub-ba*, SAK. 38 IV 4, where it is associated with *e kisurra*, « the boundary canal ». $^{d}$*Ninâ* is *nin-in-dub-ba* mistress of reservoirs (?), SAK. 142 v) 3 ; 74 VIII 52 ; 190 h) 3. [4] *agam* = *agammu*.

[5] The sign is REC. 386 ; *du-eri* seems to be a variant of *da-eri*. But note *ud-ul-dū-a*, *Br.* 7939, and *ud-ul-li-a-aš*, Sin-idinnam, *Clay Peg* II 5, possibly error of for .

# ANNALS OF THE REIGN OF HAMMURABI

## W-B (1923), 373.

This fragment forms the upper half of a large tablet 5 3/4 inches wide and originally about 12 inches long. It contained according to the colophon 18 year dates of Hammurabi, most of which are more detailed and contain much more historical information than the ordinary formulae employed in dating documents. Most curiously the dates do not follow each other in chronological order as they are recorded in the other lists. The authoritative lists, SCHEIL, *La Chronologie Rectifiée du Règne de Hammurabi,* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXIX 111-122 ; KING, LIH. No. 101 (= CT. VI 10), Col. III 1-43 ; BOISSIER, RA. XI 161-164 ; KING, *Chronicles,* II 98-102 ; all agree in assigning 43 years to this reign. The dynastic list B, WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* 145 has 55 years for this reign and the figures for the other reigns disagree with the contemporary date lists, so as to render that tablet of little value for exact chronology.

W-B. 373 begins with the date formula of the 30th year, mentioning events which actually occurred in the 29th year of his reign. The date for the 31st year then follows, but there is here a long gap with space for at least two sections and the beginning of the section for the 32nd year which ends on Col. II (1-6). Obviously Col. I after the second section contained at least two year dates between the years 31-32 ! Reverse I carries the dates for years 36-37-39 ; the date for the 38th year is omitted ! It is, therefore, wholly impossible to restore the lacunae. The last date on the tablet is the year 43, and consequently the entire document probably contained a selection of the annals of Hammurabi, arranged in groups, by which method military campaigns in certain areas were brought together. Note that the events mentioned in the formulae for the 37th and 39th years both concern military operations against the lands on the upper Tigris, which accounts for the order here.

The colophon states that the tablet contained 18 years of the reign of Hammurabi. But the period from year 30 to year 43 contains only 14 dates, and consequently the tablet included annals before the year 30. The text even in its fragmentary condition is a new and valuable addition to the records of this illustrious ruler. The scribe has attempted to write annals in a real historical method and he composed his material in the spirit of a thoughtful historian.

The obverse of the tablet is badly weather worn and the decipherment difficult.

### YEAR DATE 30.

1) *mu Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *á-gál kenag* $^{d}$*Marduk-ge* 3) *á-kalag-maġ dingir-gal-gal-e-ne* 4) *ugnim Nim-(ki)-ma* 5) *zag Mar-ḫa-ši-(ki)-ta* 6) *Su-bīr-(ki) Gu-ti-um-(ki)* 7) *Éš-nun-na-(ki) ù Mà-al-gi-(ki)* 8) *nam-dugud-bi i-im-zi-zi-eš-ám* 9) *kar-dàr-a-bi i-in-gar-ra-a* 10) *suġuš ki-en-gi(ki) Uri i-ni-in-gi-bi.*

« Year when Hammurabi, the wise, the beloved of Marduk, the far famed might of the great gods, the troops of Elam, beginning with the borders of Marḫaši, Subartu, Gutium, Ešnunnak, and Malgû, who calamitously had come up, — their defeat accomplished ».

*Notes :* For *kar-dar* (l. 9), see SAK. 38 III 32 ; 56, 23 ; I Raw. 5, No. 20, 11.

## Year Date 31.

1) *mu Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *Igi-DUP-ti An* $^{d}$*En-lil-ta* 3) [*igi-erin-*]*bi ni-gín-na-ám* 4) [*á-kalag-*]*gĭr (?) dingir-gal-gal-e-ne* 5) [*mu-un*]*-na-an-sum-mà-ám* 6) [*na-da*] *Ia-mu-ut-ba-a-lum-(ki)* 7) [*ù lugal-*]*e Ri-im-*$^{d}$*Sin* 8) [*šu-ni*] *sá-be-dug-ga* 9) . . . . . *bi-šú zi* . . . . . *ba-ed* 10) . . . . . *Ki-en-gi-(ki) Uri* 11) [*dúg-ga-ni*] *be-in-dîb-e.*

" Year when Hammurabi, the king, by the help of Anu and Enlil, who go before his troops, and to whom heroic strength by the great gods was given, Jamutbal and the king Rim-Sin by his hand conquered ; . . . . . he caused to be set up ; and the . . . . . of Sumer and Accad he caused to accept his commands ".

*Notes* : For variants see Poebel, BE. VI 63 ; Boissier, RA. XI 162 ; Scheil, RT. 34, 117 ; Chiera, PBS. VIII 81, date ; 125 date. The verb *dug-ga-dîb* is restored from PBS. VIII 81, and the reading is important for it proves that *ka-dîb* was an erroneous rendering. Cf. *dúg-mu-un-dîb-ba* = *amātam ušaḫḫaz,* IV R. 18 *a* 38. See SAK. 40 V 30 ; PSBA. 1918, 49, 40 and *dúg-dîb-ba* = *pirištu,* RA. XI 148, 21. Here belongs the official $^{amelu}$ *dúg-dîb* (*mušaḫḫiz amāti*), RA. XVI 125, II 23 ; King, *Boundary Stones,* 105, 21 ; 126, 19 ; cf. CT. 24, 31, 94 ; PBS. II 51, 5 etc. In l. 9, *ba-ed* probably refers to the erection of a stele, possibly the law code. Cf. year date *d*) of Abi-ešuḫ. Line 4 is restored from year date 23 of Samsuiluna.

## Year Date 32.

1) [*mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e*] 2) *ur-sag ù-ma-di ili* $^{d}$*Marduk* [1] (Col. II) 1) *giš-ku-kalag-ga ugnim* 2) *Éš-nun-na-(ki) Su-bĭr-(ki) Gu-ti-um-(ki)* 3) *mê-ta šu-be-ib-šub-bi* 4) *Ma-ál-ki-(malgû)-(ki) ù gú* $^{id}$*Idiglat* 5) *en-na ma-da Su-bĭr-(ki)-šu* 6) *šú-ni sá-be-dúg-ga.*

" Year when H. the king, the heoric, bearer of the glory of Marduk overthrew in battle with a mighty weapon the host of Ešnunnak, Subartu and Gutium ; Malgu and the banks of the Tigris as far as Subartu his hand conquered ".

*Notes : Malgû* in line 4 is written *MA-AN-KI- ? (KI).* The same form occurs in Clay, *Miscel.* 33, 3, but the sign after *KI* is uncertain in both texts. In CT. 12, 32, *a* 21 the sign is a variant of Ma-al-gi-a-(ki) = *Malgû* and in *Voc. Scheil,* R (*mur-gu*) = *ma-al-*[*gu-u*], l. 74. It is probable then that the sign is *MURGU* and that the form of writing this name is a kind of doublet. *AN* has apparently the value *al* here and *Malki* is a gloss on *MURGU. AN* with value *al* probably occurs in Schroeder, KAV. 46 I 7. *AN-MAL,* title of the god *ZA-MAL-MAL,* with gloss *al-ba.* The values *il, al* for *AN* are probably Semitic from *ilu, alu,* god, and in this case the determinative is pronounced (as Semitic). For the occasional pronunciation of determinatives, see *Sumerian Grammar* § 66, and for determinative *mulu* star, always pronounced, see Ungnad, ZDMG. 74, 209 and the loan-word *gišparu,* net, trap from $^{giš}$*pâr.* It is certain, however, that the determinative for " god ", Sum. *dingir,* Semitic *ilu,* (West Semitic *alā*) was not generally pronounced. See the transcriptions of the names of gods in Aramaic dockets, Delaporte, *Épigraphes Araméens,* p. 19, *et passim ;* in Aramaic Papyri the divine names are transcribed without the determinative, Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, passim ;* note especially p. 215, 92, the god *Shamash* with no determinative. See also G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions,* p. 186, inscription of Nêrab (6$^{th}$ century),

[1] Restored from W-B. 1923, 311, a contract. For *Malgû,* Var. 311 has *MA-AN-KI.*

with the names of several Assyrian gods transcribed without determinative, *Sahar, Šamaš, Ningal* (Nikal), *Nusku*. Although *al-ba, il-ba* in the Assur vocabulary undoubtedly indicate a Semitic rendering of *dingir-MAL*(ba) as *Alba, Ilba*, there is no doubt but that the gloss *il-ba-ba* on the name $^{d}$*ZA-MAL-MAL*, KAV. 46 I 9, really shews that *ZA* has the value *il* here. WEIDNER has collated this tablet and finds that the gloss in line 6 is *ZA-ba-bu* which in the light of the gloss in l. 9 is to be read *il-ba-bu*. Note also POEBEL, PBS. V 129, 2, *AN* glossed *ZA* and *i-lum*. Therefore *ZA* has the value *il* or *ilu, ila* and the determinative in $^{d}$*Ilbaba* was not read. This confirms my reading of the Sumerian for Ellasar, *il-ra-ar* or *ila-ra-ar*, JRAS. 1920, 515. The value *il* for *ZA* is Sumerian.

The date formula for the 32$^{nd}$ year of Hammurabi is usually abbreviated to *mu ugnim Éš-nun-na-(ki)*, see POEBEL, BE. VI 63 ; BOISSIER, RA. XI 162 ; SCHEIL, *ibid.* 7 ; SCHORR, VAB. V 592. But *mu ma-da Malgû*(ki), RANKE, BE. VI 37, 26, is clearly the same year. *Malgû* on the evidence of this text lay on the Tigris and its constant association with Elam, Gutium, Ešnunnak, proves that it must have been somewhere in the region of the Diyala river. Its previous location near Sippar was erroneous. See SCHROEDER, ZA. 31, 95. The name first appears in the Isin period, date of a king of Ellasar, AJSL. 35, 227 ; GRICE, *Yale Series* V, No. 17 and before the reign of Hammurabi it was an independent Semitic kingdom, and two of its kings Ibik-Ištar and Takil-ili-šu are known, SCHEIL, RT. 34, 104 ; VS. I 32 = ZA. 31, 92. The name is last heard of in the Cassite period, when it formed an administrative district under Melishipak, *Dél. Per.* X 87 and is there associated with the Sea Land, Col. II 20.

## YEAR 33.

1) *mu Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) $^{id}$*Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi nu-ḫu-uš ni-ši* 3) *šag-gi-rá-ám An* $^{d}$*En-lil mu-un-ba-al* 4) *a da-er ǵe-gál-ka* 5) *Nibru(ki) Eridu(ki) Uri(ki) Ilrar(ki)-ma Unug(ki)-ga Ì-si-in-na-(ki)* 6) *mu-un-gar-ra-ám* 7) *Ki-en-gi(ki) Uri bir-bir-ri-a* 8) *ki-bi-šú be-in-gí-a* 9) *ugnim Ma-er-(ki) ù Ma-*[*al-gi-a*] 10) *mê-ta be-ib-šub-bi* 11) *Ma-er-(ki) ù* . . . . . 12) *ù uru-aš-aš-(ki) Su-bir-(ki)* 13) *dúg-ga-ni ku-li-bi* 14) *be-in-dib*. . . . . .

" Year when Hammurabi, the king, dug the canal " Hammurabi is the abundance of the people ", the loved of Anu and Enlil, and everlasting waters of plentifulness created for Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Ellasar, Erech and Isin ; when he restored disturbed Sumer and Accad to their places, and in battle overthrew Maer and Malgû ; when Maer and . . . . . and the cities of Subartu he caused to accept his commands in friendship . . . . . .

*Notes :* For *šaggira* l. 3 = *bibil libbi*, v. KAR. 8, 7 ; GADD, *Early Dynasties*, 33, 17 = CT. 21, 19, 12. The canal here referred to is clearly the southern course of the old bed of the Euphrates which had now changed its main bed above Babylon and ran southward past Babylon reaching the sea at Eridu. The old bed cannot be the *Shatt el Khar*, which lies too far eastward of a canal which could have passed from Nippur to Eridu *via* Isin, Erech, Ellasar and Ur. The scribe here gives the northern and southern ends of the canal, " Hammurabi is the abundance of the people ", and then names the great cities which it supplied, beginning from the south. Isin is now known to be *Tell Bahri*, 17 miles south of Nippur, according to the map of the War Office, Geographical Section, General Staff. Rim-Sin king of Ellasar in his 22$^{d}$ year, or 42 years previously, dug the Euphrates (which then supplied Nippur) from Erech to the sea and " made a river for Ur ", JRAS. 1921, 582. Clearly Hammurabi's canal

is the same stream which Rim-Sin refers to. It is no longer called the Euphrates by Hammurabi. Rim-Sin seems to have found the course of the old river in process of cutting a new bed away from Ur. These statements seem to permit of but one conclusion. The old Euphrates and the new canal of Hammurabi passed from Nippur to Eridu where it reached the sea. Ur and Ellasar were fed by this stream. On the other hand the relative positions of Ur and Eridu and the topography of the land between them make it difficult to believe that both lay on the course of Euphrates. The most recent information obtainable on the topography will be found in R. C. THOMPSON's article, *The British Museum Excavations at Abu Sharhein,* Archaeologia, 1920. Another new sketch of this area is given by DR. H. R. HALL, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VIII 242. Eridu lies SW. of Ur, eight miles on the new map of the General Staff, but THOMPSON says that the distance is 12 miles and DR. HALL tells me that it is fourteen. DR. HALL has informed me that Eridu lies in fact SSW. of Ur and hence it is possible that the old course of the Euphrates actually passed by Ur to reach the sea at Eridu. At any rate Thompson states that the level of the plain *rises* slightly from Ur to Eridu, and his map shews a low sandstone ridge about halfway between these sites. He argues on the evidence of freshwater mussels found in different strata at Eridu, that the city stood on a lagoon (at the mouth of the Euphrates). It is clear that a river could hardly run from Ur to Eridu, but that its old bed may have reached the sea from Ellasar *via* Eridu leaving Ur several miles eastward. Ur then could have been supplied not from the main river but from a canal, or perhaps a branch, and the old mouth of the river may have formed a *delta* with Ur and Eridu at the southern corners of the *delta*.

### YEAR DATE 36.

1) *mu Ḫa-am-[mu-ra-bi lugal-e]* 2) *É-me-te-ur-sag [mu-un-gibil-lá]* 3) *ù É-nir-ki-dúr-[maḫ]* 4) $^{d.}$*Ilbaba* $^{d.}$*Innini-[ge]* 5) *sag-bi an-gim il-la mu-[un-dū-a]* 6) *me-lám* $^{d.}$*Ilbaba* $^{d.}$*Innini* 7) *e-ne-bi-ta zag-zi-da* 8) *gal-bi be-in-dirig-ga.*

« Year when Hammurabi, the king, rebuilt Emeteursag and built the head of the stage-tower Kidurmaḫ, raised on high like heaven, for Ilbaba and Innini ; when to make pre-eminent the glory of Ilbaba and Innini by means of them he caused them excel in grandeur ».

### YEAR DATE 37.

1) *mu Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *á-kalag-gal* $^{d.}$*Marduk-ka-ta* 3) *ugnim Tu-ru-uḳ-ḳum* 4) *Ka-ag-mu-um-(ki)* 5) *kur Su-bir-(ki)-bi-ta* 6) *mê-ta be-ib-šub-ba.*

« Year when Hammurabi, the king, by the great might of Marduk overthrew in battle the armies of Turuḳḳu, Kagmum and Subartu ».

*Turuḳḳu* is written *Tu-ru-ku-um,* VS. IX 60, *Tu-ru-ḳum, ibid.,* 64; 68 ; CLAY, *Miscel.,* 33, 8 ; *Tu-ru-uḳ-ḳum,* POEBEL, BE. VI 14. It appears again in the inscription of Adad-Nirari I (14$^{th}$ century), IV R. 39, 16 = KB. I 4 and OLZ. 1915, 170, as $^{mat}$*Tu-ru-ki-i* with Nigimṭi and *Ḳutî,* Gutium. A letter of the Hammurabi period refers to *amel Kakmû* and *amel Arrapḫûm(ki)* who were foreign invaders quartered on Babylonian gardeners. See UNGNAD, OLZ. 1915, 170. Arrapḫa is identified with modern Kerkuk, near Arbela south of the Lower Zab. Therefore the lands mentioned in this date refer to the region of Gutium and northern Mesopotamia. $^{mat}$*Ka-ak-mi-e* is mentioned with the Mannai (Sargon, end of 8$^{th}$ century), KB. II 36, 9 and cf. 42, 28.

YEAR DATE 39.

1) *mu Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *á kalag-kalag-ga An* $^{d}$*En-lil* 3) *mu-un-na-sum-ma-ám* 4) *kilib gú-dū-a-(ki)* 5) *kur Su-bir-bi-ta* [*sag giš-be-in-ra*].

« Year when Hammurabi by the powers which Anu and Enlil gave him smote the totality of the enemies and the land Subartu ».

The text omits the date of the 38$^{th}$ year, « year when Ašnunnak was destroyed by a flood ». The date of the 39$^{th}$ year is restored from the colophon date of the Ellasar dynastic prism, RA. 15, 10. For *gú-dū-a,* SCHEIL, *La Chronologie Rectifiée,* has *gú-da-bi.*

AFTER A LONG BREAK.

1) [*mu saǵar UD-KIB*]-*NUN-NA-(ki)* 2) *be-in-gar-ra.*

This is clearly the last year of Hammurabi ; the Semitic translation is given on the Nippur tablet, RANKE, BE. VI, No. 32, *mu epir Sippar(ki) iššapku,* « year when the earth of Sippar was heaped up ». This refers to the construction of an earth wall of Sippar. See the inscription of Hammurabi, cited by POEBEL, BE. VI p. 68 n. 2.

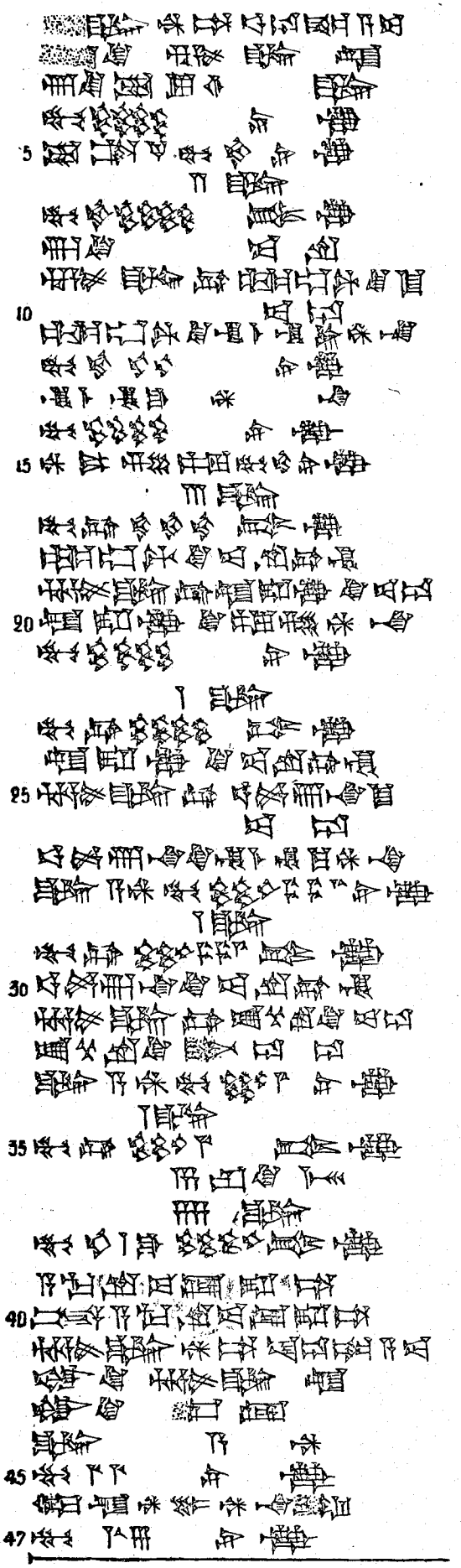
COLOPHON.

18 (?) years of Hammurabi the king.

# LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

| Museum Number. | Plates. | Contents. |
|---|---|---|
| W-B. 62 | 6 | List of ante-diluvian kings. Previously published in JRAS. 1923, opp. p. 256. See p. 2. |
| 1923, 373 | 5 — 6 | Upper half of a large tablet inscribed in two columns. Year dates of Hammurabi. See pp. 31-35. |
| 1923, 444 | 1 — 4 | Dynastic prism. A large rectangular clay prism inscribed with two columns on each side. |
| David Hollow Cylinder | 7 — 8 | Historical inscription of Sin-idinnam. Hollow cylindrically shaped object, 6 inches long and 2 inches in diameter at the ends. See pp. 27-29. |

Col. I



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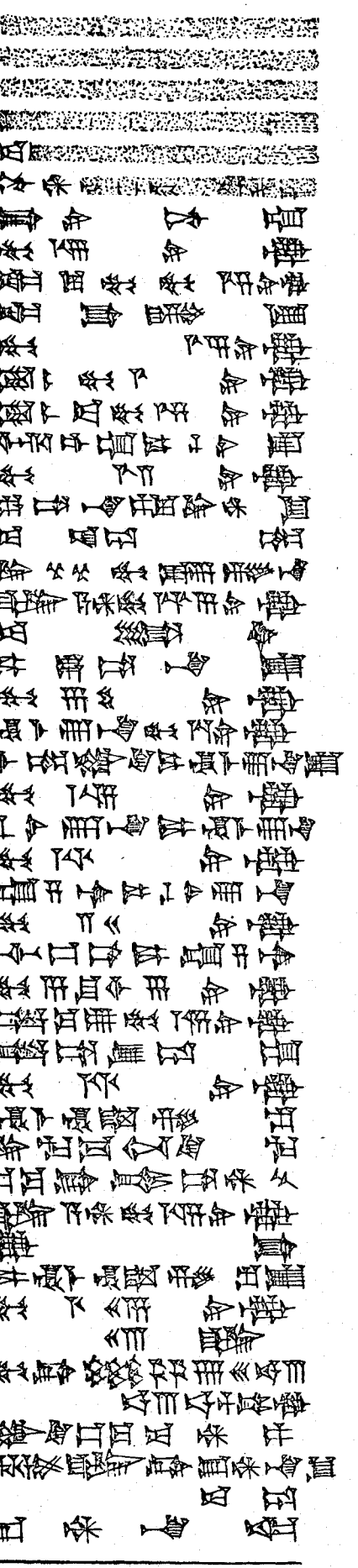

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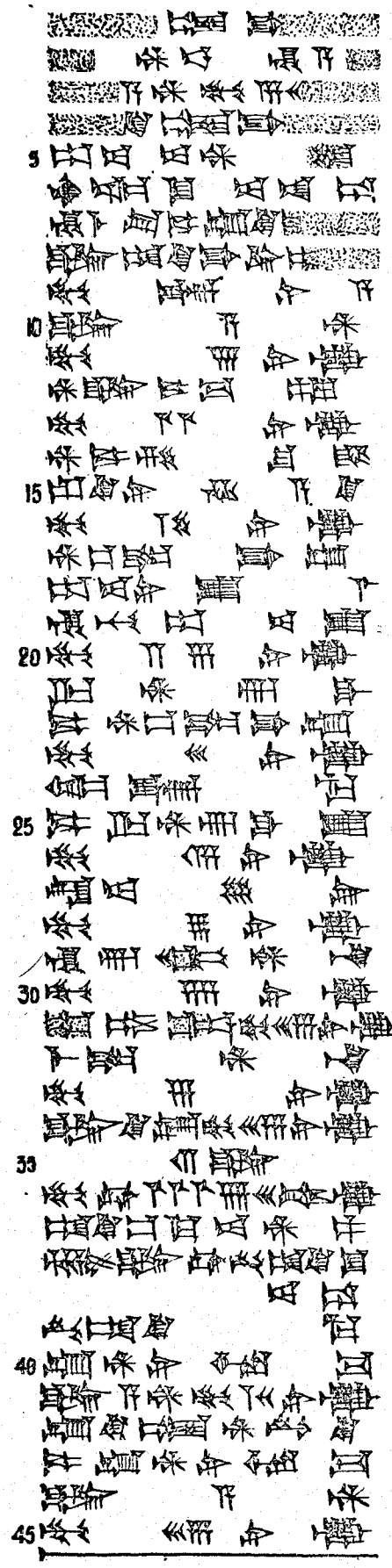
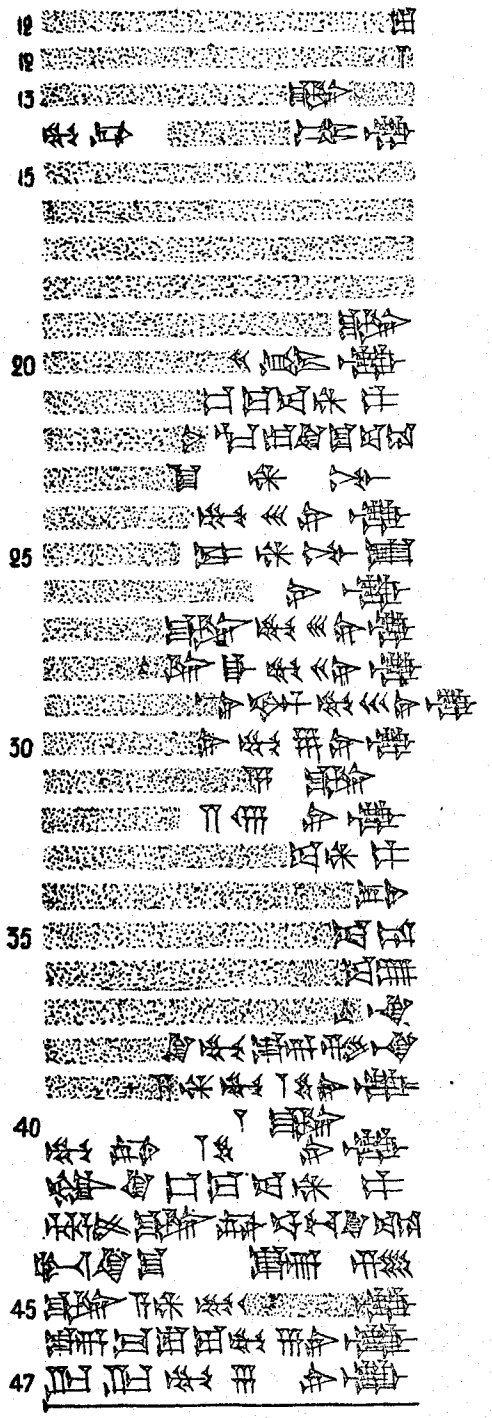


Col. IV

Col. V

Lines 1-10 defaced



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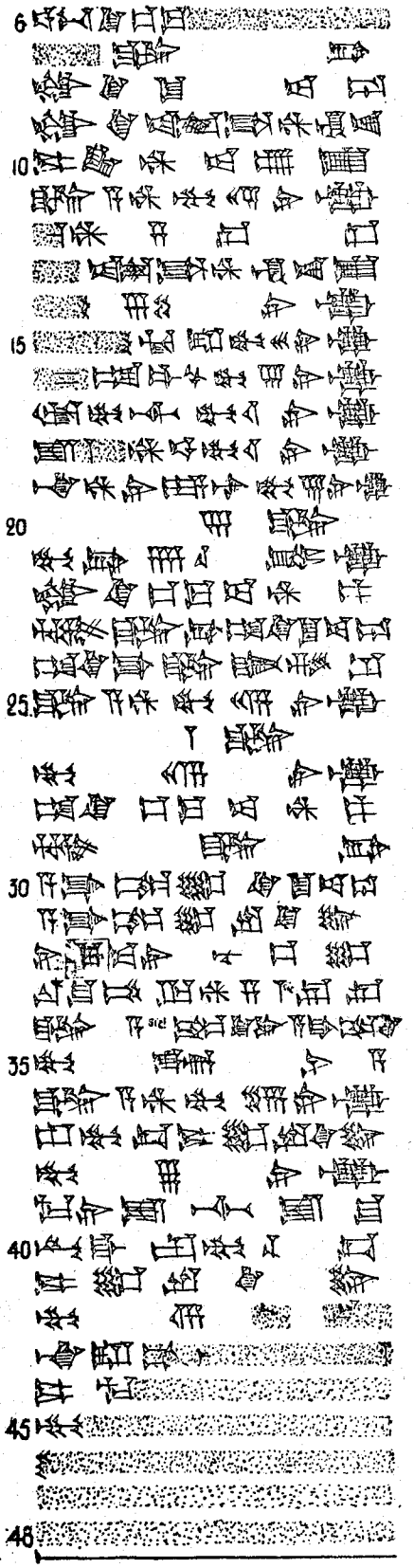

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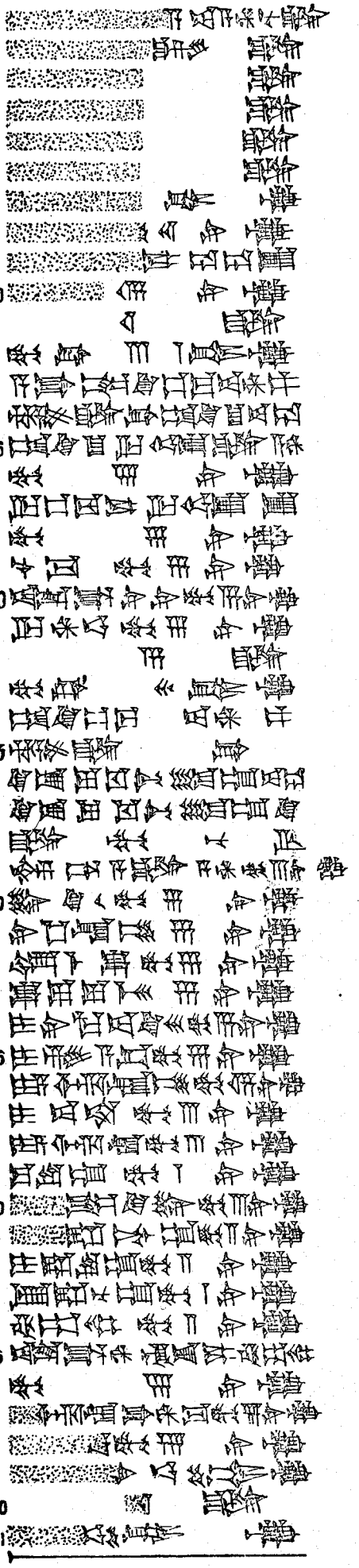
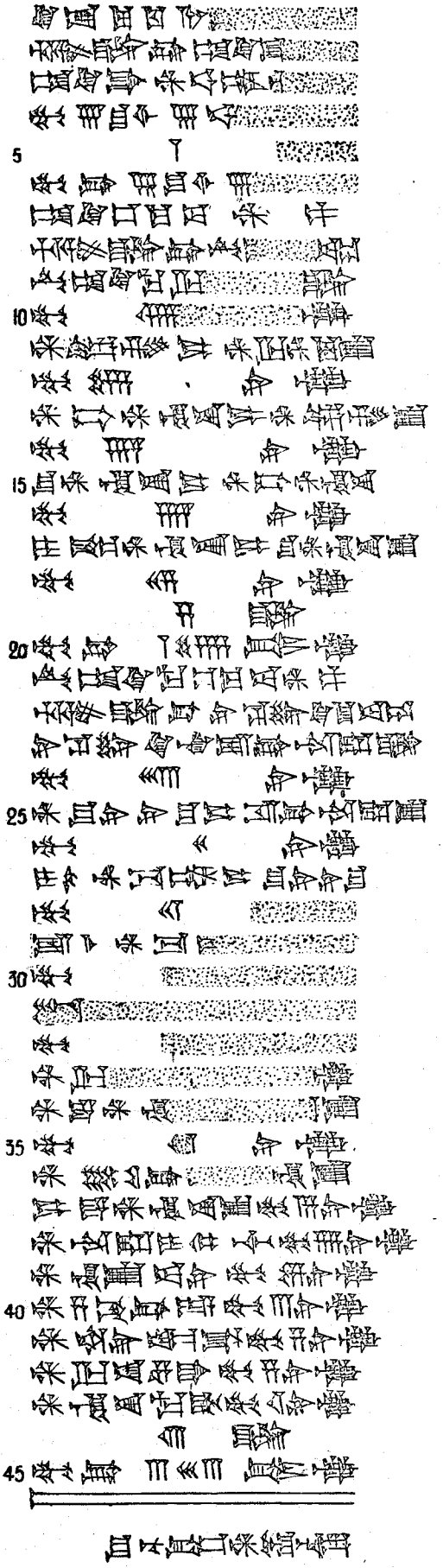
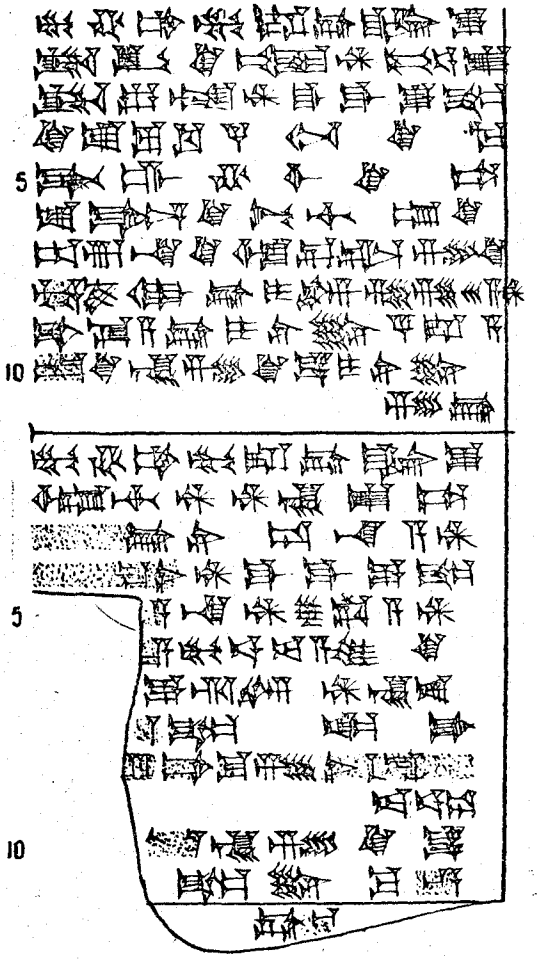


Col. VIII



W-B., 1923, 373. Obverse

Col. I



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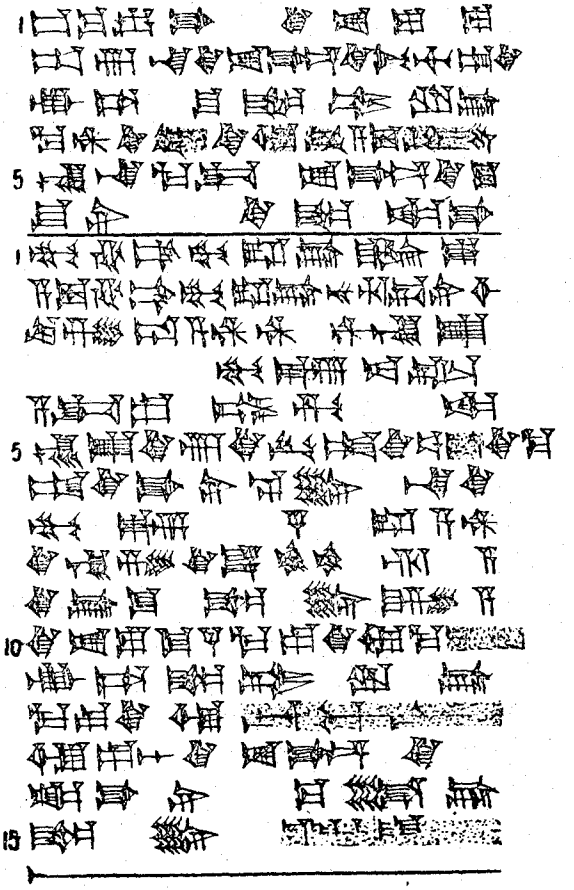
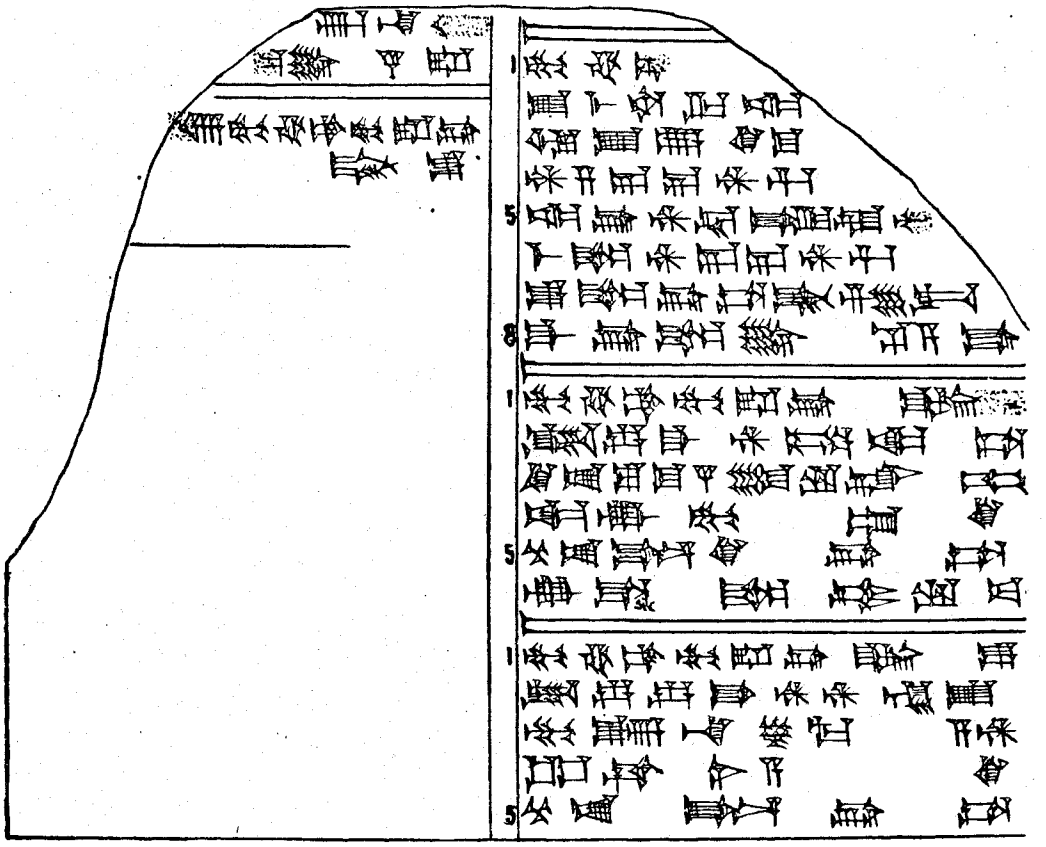
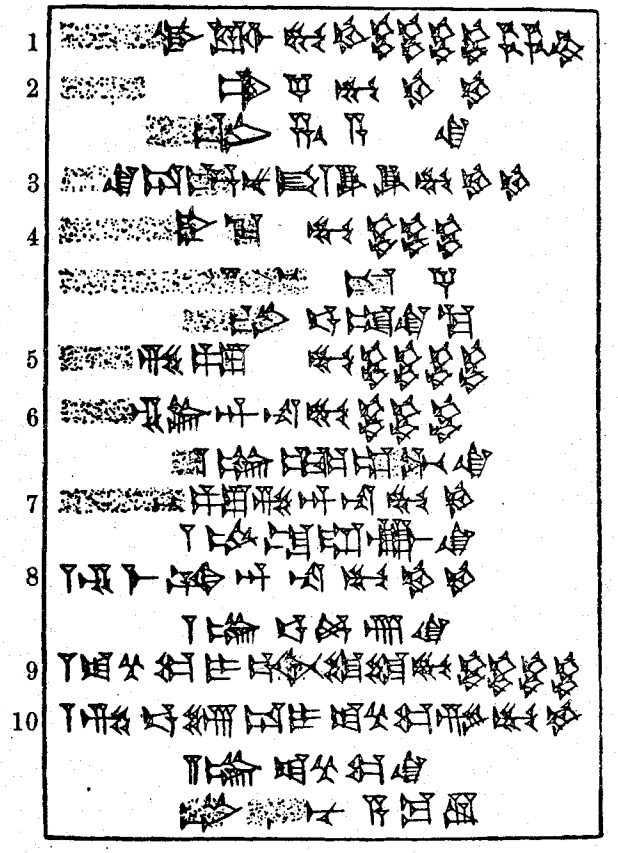


W-B., 1923. Reverse.

Col. II Col. I

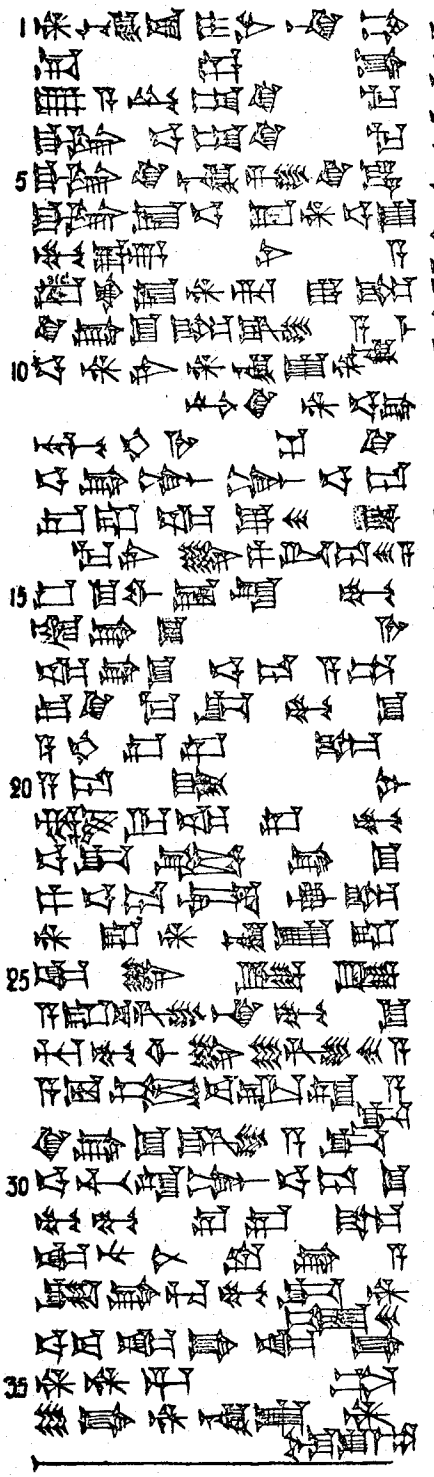
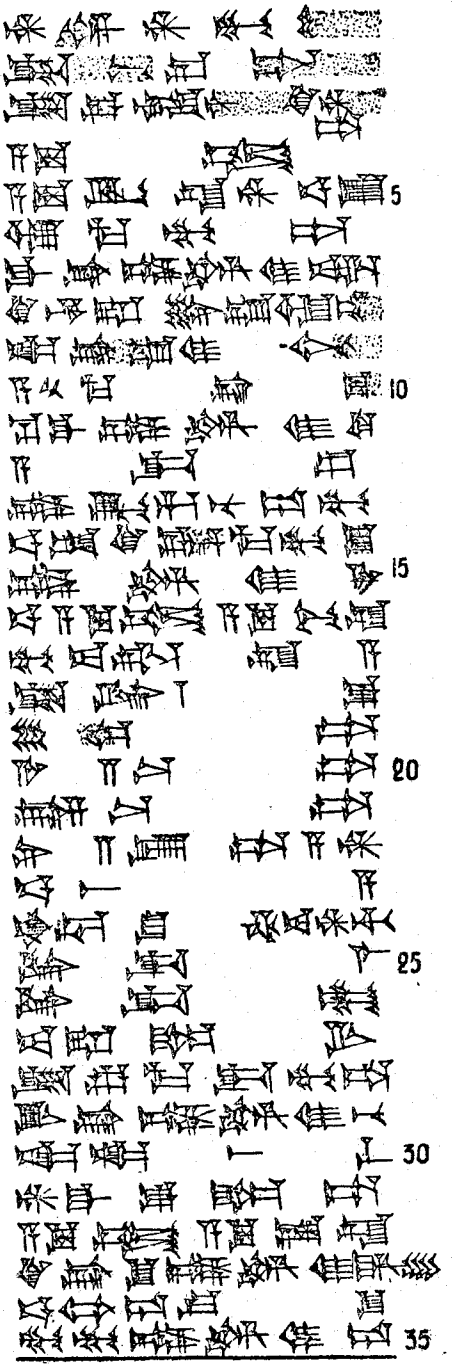




**Chaldean Kings before the Flood.**
(Ashmolean Museum, W-B. 62.)

**David Hollow Barrel Cylinder.**

Col. I



Col. II