

V

Other Second-Millennium Royal and Commemorative Inscriptions

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In addition to the great barrel of Šîn-iddinam edited in the preceding chapter (No. 37), there are in the Schøyen Collection some thirty royal and commemorative inscriptions of the second millennium (Nos. 38–67). Many of these are duplicates of already known texts, but several are new: an Akkadian cone inscription of Išme-Dagan (No. 38), a Sumerian clay-nail inscription of Gungunum (No. 44), a Sumerian

cylinder inscription of Šîn-irībam (No. 50, previously known but falsely attributed to Šîn-iddinam), four formal texts from the reign of Rīm-Šîn (Nos. 51–54), a dedicatory inscription of Kurigalzu (No. 61), a few fragments of unattributed monumental inscriptions on stone (Nos. 63–66), and a commemorative label on a potsherd (No. 67).

Išme-Dagan of Isin

No. 38

MS 4716

Pl. XXXII

MS 4716 is a cone inscribed with a building inscription in the name of Išme-Dagan, king of Isin (1955–1937). It is unusual in two respects: (a) the text is in the Akkadian language, unlike Išme-Dagan's other building inscriptions, which employ Sumerian; and (b) the text continues from the head to the shaft, and the latter is divided into two columns whose lines are perpendicular to its long axis, instead of parallel.

The building whose construction is recorded on this cone is a defensive wall comprising an earthen rampart and a ditch (*ikum*) beyond it. Išme-Dagan is known to have constructed or restored two city walls: that of Isin, his capital, and that of Dūrum, a garrison town near Uruk (formerly misread as Dēr in eastern Babylonia). The former wall is the subject of a well-known cone inscription in Sumerian, of which a further exemplar is published below as text No. 39. Išme-Dagan's work on Dūrum's wall is recorded in a Sumerian inscription written twice, once on the head and again on the shaft, on a single clay nail first published in 1937 (Frayne 1990: 42 E4.1.4.11). The present text

exhibits a similarity of structure with the latter, especially, but, if I have understood l. 22 correctly as containing a toponym, it reports a different geographical location.

Noteworthy is the Akkadian version of Išme-Dagan's royal titulary: as demonstrated in the notes below, it differs in several unexpected ways from the standardized titulary of his Sumerian inscriptions (RIM E4.1.4.1–2, 11–12 and 15: 17'–20'). The inscription is important also for its detailed metrology, in a passage which gives two measurements for the width of the wall's ditch, first in *nindan* "rods" (the twelve-cubit measure, ca 6 m) and again in another unit, previously unattested. The inscription ends in an unexplained repetition of *nindan*, from which it appears that the text is defective or unfinished.

The text displays several examples of third-millennium sign values; *dú*(TU)-*ri-im* (l. 21) for *dūrim*, *ša-di*(TI)-*im* (24) for *šadīm* and *i-kà*(GA)-*am* (26) for *ikam* are all unremarkable; but *-šú* for the possessive suffix (30: *ru-pu-uš-šú*) is extraordinary before the late second millennium.

head

- 1 ^dišⁿ-me-^dda-g[an]
 2 za-ni-in
 3 [n]ippuru(nibru)^{ki}
 4 tu-ku-ul-ti
 5 urim₅^{ki}
 6 a-še-er
 7 eridu(NUN)^{ki}

shaft col. i

- 8 na-ši-i[r]
 9 mi-i
 10 uruk(unug)^{ki}
 11 mu-ut eš₄-tár
 12 e-lum
 13 ^dšamaš(utu) ì-si-in^{ki}
 14 šar šu-me-ri-im
 15 ì-lí
 16 ^rma¹-at
 17 wa-ri-im
 18 ta-li-im
 19 ^den-líl
 20 ^diš-me-^dda-gan
 21 ša dú-ri-im
 22 [š]a² ^rna²¹-aZ-na-an-ni / -im
 23 [e-pé-ri-š]u²

2–3. Akkadian *zānin Nippuru* corresponds to *ú-a nibru^{ki}* in the Sumerian version of Išme-Dagan's titulary, a routine equivalence.

4–5. *tukulti Uri* // sag-ús urim₅-ma^{ki} is an unexpected equivalence.

6–7. *āšir Eridu* // ud-da gub eridu^{ki}-ga, also unexpected.

8–10. *nāšir mē Uruk* is a paraphrase of Sumerian en unug^{ki}-ga “en-priest of Uruk.”

11–12. *mut Ištar ellum* is a variant counterpart of dam ki-ág ^dinanna-ka “beloved spouse of Inanna.”

13. *šamaš Išin* is a free variant of lugal ì-si-in^{ki}-na “king of Isin.”

14. *ili māt Wari'im* instead of ki-uri “land Wari'um.” Wari'um was the hinterland of Akkade, with which Sum. ki.uri was usually equated.

shaft col. ii

- 24 ^rki-i¹-ma ša-dì-^rim¹
 25 ú-ša-aš-pí-ik
 26 i-kà-am
 27 šī-na ù mi-iš-lam
 28 i-na / ni-in-da-an-ni-im
 29 ru-pu-uš-šú
 30 eš-re-et
 31 i-na we-e-li-im
 32 ra-pa-aš
 33 mu-úh-ra
 34 ù-sí-ir-šú
 35 ni-in-da-an

Išme-Dagan, provisioner of Nippur, mainstay of ⁵ Ur, provider for Eridu, guardian of the rites of ¹⁰ Uruk, sacred spouse of the goddess Ištar, sun of Isin, king of Sumer, ¹⁵ god of the land of Wari'um, brother of the god Enlil.

²⁰ (I), Išme-Dagan: as for the wall [of] Naznannum(?), its [earthwork(?)] ²⁵ I had piled up as high as a mountain. With a ditch – two and a half its width in rods, ³⁰ ten wide in *wēlum* units – I enclosed it to the fore. ³⁵ Rod.

21–23. A reading *šāt urrim* “dawn watch” seems improbable in the context, and so a genitive construction, i.e. *ša dūrim*, is presumed. This phrase anticipates the eventual object of *ušašpik*; I cannot find that object in l. 22 (which seems to contain an otherwise unattested toponym), so restore l. 23 accordingly. The expression (*šipik*) *eperī šapākum* “to raise earthworks” is a cliché in royal building inscriptions.

27–28. Two and a half rods is the equivalent of about fifteen metres. Given that the metrological unit hitherto normalized as *nindanum* is a loanword from Sumerian *nindan*, it was always likely that a spelling would eventually appear that argues instead for *nindannum*.

31. In isolation *WE-e-li-im* might be a spelling of *pilim* “limestone” or *pelim* “egg,” though

/pe/ so spelled sits uneasily with /pi/ written *pí* in *ušašpik* (l. 25). But the context suggests instead that *WE-e-li-im* signifies a metrological unit alternative to the linear unit *nindannum*. The stated equivalence of 2.5 *nindan* = 10

WE-e-li-im makes one of the latter units the equivalent of three standard cubits.

34. *muhyra* is understood as a variant of the spatial adverb *mahyra*.

No. 39

MS 474I

Pl. XXXIII

This is a perfect cone inscribed in two columns with a well-known building inscription of Išme-Dagan, king of Isin. The text is most recently edited by Douglas Frayne (1990: 31–32 E4.1.4.5) from sixteen exemplars. The first to be published, in 1937, was acquired on the antiquities' market by the Nies Babylonian Collection, now at Yale. Many further exemplars have been reported since 1990, including eight excavated at Isin by the German expedition in 1986 (Krebernik 1992: 109–12), one in

Denmark (Westenholz and Eidem 1989–90: 113 no. 7), three in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem (Westenholz and Westenholz 2006: 87–88), and nine in the Michail Collection in Italy (Pettinato 1997: 152–60 nos. 75–83). The inscription, in Sumerian, commemorates the construction of the wall of the city of Isin. Not surprisingly, those exemplars with archaeological provenance all stem from Isin, mostly from the temenos wall around the temple of Gula (Frayne 1990: 32, Krebernik 1992: 109).

col. i

- 1 ^diš-me-^dda-gan
- 2 nita kalag-ga
- 3 lugal ì-si-in / ^{ki}-na
- 4 lugal an-ub-da / limmu-ba-ke₄
- 5 ud nibru^{ki}
- 6 uru ki-ág
- 7 ^den-líl-lá
- 8 gú-bi
- 9 mu-un-duḥ

col. ii

- 10 éren-bi kaskal-t[a]
- 11 ba-ra-an-zi-ga-a
- 12 bàd gal

- 13 ì-si-in^{ki}-na
- 14 mu-un-dù
- 15 bàd-ba
- 16 ^diš-me-^dda-gan
- 17 ^den-líl-da / á an-gal
- 18 mu-bi-im

Išme-Dagan, mighty male, king of Isin, king of the four corners of the world: ⁵ when he discontinued the tribute obligations of Nippur, the city beloved of Enlil, (and) ¹⁰ freed its workforce from military service, he built the great wall of Isin. The name ¹⁵ of that wall is “By grace of Enlil Išme-Dagan is powerful.”

16–17. For this translation of the wall's name see George 1996: 366.

Lipit-Ištar of Isin

No. 40

MS 1869

Pl. XXXIII

This complete cone, partly encrusted with mineral salts, is inscribed in two columns with a very well-attested inscription of Lipit-Ištar, king of Isin (1936–1926). The text was last edited, from fifty-three exemplars, by Douglas Frayne (1990: 49–51 E4.1.5.3). The first exemplar to be published, in 1921, was acquired by the British Museum in 1920, but another had already been accessioned by the same museum as early as 1882, and other exemplars of the cone are scattered all over the world. At least another nine can be added to Frayne's list, including examples kept in museums in Han-

nover (Neumann 2000: 785–86 no. II), Cambridge, Stockholm, and Jerusalem (Westenholz and Westenholz 2006: 89), and four shorter, variant versions excavated at Isin in the late 1980s and rapidly published (Sommerfeld 1992: 154–58). The inscription, in Akkadian, commemorates the construction of a warehouse for Enlil and Ninlil at the palace gate of Isin. Most exemplars are without archaeological provenance, but eleven derive from scattered archaeological loci at Isin (see further Sommerfeld 1992: 158).

col. i

- 1 ^dli-pí-it-eš₄-tár
- 2 re-i-um
- 3 pa-li-il
- 4 nippuru(nibru)^{ki}
- 5 i-ka-ru-um
- 6 ki-nu-um
- 7 ša uri(urim₅)^{ki}-im
- 8 la mu-pa-ar-ki-um
- 9 a-na eridu(NUN)^{ki}
- 10 ēnum(en)^{um}
- 11 sí-ma-at
- 12 uruk(unug)^{ki}
- 13 šar ì-si-in^{ki}
- 14 šar ma-at
- 15 šu-me-ri-im
- 16 ù a-kà-dì-im
- 17 bí-bí-il
- 18 li-i-ba eš₄-tár
- 19 a-na-ku
- 20 ga-ni-in

col. ii

- 21 bí-bí-i[l]
- 23 i-dì ^den-[líl]
- 24 ù ^dmullil(nin.líl)-[tim]
- 25 i-na ì-[si-in^{ki}]
- 26 a-al šar-ru-ti-[ia]
- 27 i-na ba-ab [ekallim(é.gal)^{lim}]
- 28 ^dli-pí-it-[eš₄-tár]
- 29 ma-ru ^den-^rlíl
- 30 a-na-ku
- 31 i-nu-mi
- 32 ki-i-ta-am
- 33 i-na ma-at
- 34 šu-me-ri-im
- 35 ù a-kà-dì-im
- 36 aš-ku-nu-ni
- 37 e-pu-uš

Lipit-Ištar, shepherd who reveres Nippur,⁵ steadfast ploughman of Ur, unceasing in the care of Eridu,¹⁰ en-priest worthy of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Sumer and Akkad, favourite of Ištar am I.

³⁰ When I, Lipit-Ištar, son of Enlil, established justice in the land of Sumer³⁵ and Akkad, I built²⁰ a storeroom pleasing(?) to Enlil and Ninlil,²⁵ in Isin, my royal capital, at the gate of the palace.

Būr-Sîn of Isin

No. 41

MS 1935

Pl. XXXIII

MS 1935 is a one-third-size brick stamped with the standard Sumerian inscription of Būr-Sîn, king of Isin (1897–1876). The text has most recently been edited by Douglas Frayne, who records at least nineteen exemplars (1990: 69–

70 E4.1.7.1; see in addition Spar 1988: 161 no. 118). The first to be published, in 1893, is in the University Museum in Philadelphia. Those with an archaeological provenance come from Nippur and Isin.

- 1 ^dbur-^dsîn(suen)
- 2 'sipa ša' nibru^{ki} / du₁₀-du₁₀
- 3 engar kalag-ga
- 4 urim₅^{ki}-ma
- 5 giš-ḥur eridu^{ki}-ga / ki-bi gi₄
- 6 en me-a tūm-ma
- 7 unug^{ki}-ga
- 8 lugal ì-si-in / ^{ki}-na
- 9 lugal ki-en-gi / ki-uri
- 10 dam me-te / úr kù ^dinanna

Būr-Sîn, shepherd who pleases Nippur's heart, strong ploughman of Ur, ⁵ who restored the cultic ordinances of Eridu, *en*-priest worthy of the rites of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Sumer and Akkad, ¹⁰ spouse suited to the holy loins of Inanna.

Enlil-bāni of Isin

No. 42

MS 4585

Pl. XXXIII

MS 4585 is a small barrel cylinder of clay inscribed in a single column with a fifteen-line Sumerian building inscription that occupies three-quarters of its surface. At least one other clay barrel bearing this inscription is extant but of unknown whereabouts; I saw photographs in 2008. The text is a close variant of an inscription of Enlil-bāni, king of Isin (1862–1839), known only from a “clay impression” that came to light in Afak near Nippur in the late 1950s and is now in the Iraq Museum (Frayne 1990: 84–85 E4.I.10.9). The sole difference of any substance lies in l. 6, which the impression’s first editor, Dietz Otto Edzard, copied as

en me-te unug^{ki}-[g]a (Edzard 1959: 27). Edzard considered that the object might originally have come from Nippur or Isin, both being near Afak. The new inscription restores the name of the building whose construction it reports, but which is damaged on the clay impression, as Egal-iminbi-lugalene “Palace (that Rules) All Kings.” This ceremonial name is evidently the name of one of Enlil-bāni’s residences, and an early example of a Sumerian palace name.¹ The ideological message it bears suits best a palace in his capital, Isin, and Isin is on these grounds a more likely provenance than Nippur.

- 1 ^den-líl-ba-ni
- 2 sipa níg-nam šár-ra
- 3 nibru^{ki}
- 4 engar še maḥ
- 5 urin₅^{ki}-ma
- 6 muš nu-túm-mu
- 7 eridu^{ki}-ga
- 8 dam šà-ge pàd-da
- 9 ^dinanna me-en
- 10 ud níg-si-sá
- 11 ki-en-gi ki-uri-e

- 12 i-ni-in-gar-ra
- 13 é-gal-imin^l(8)-bi-
- 14 lugal-e-ne
- 15 mu-dù

Enlil-bāni, shepherd who provides everything in abundance for Nippur, ploughman who raises tall the barley⁵ of Ur, unceasing in the care of Eridu, spouse chosen in the heart of Inanna, am I.¹⁰ When I established justice in Sumer and Akkad,¹⁵ I built (the palace) Egal-iminbi-lugalene.

6–7. The variant version of this inscription has at this point (Frayne 1990: 85 ll. 6–7): en me-te unug^{ki}-ga / eridu^{ki}-ga “en-priest worthy of Uruk and Eridu.” In his other inscriptions Enlil-bāni’s patronage of Eridu is expressed by the epithet: me eridu^{ki}-ga kù-kù-ge “who keeps sacred the rites of Eridu” (RIM E4.I.10.1: 6, 4: 8 and 5: 11).

13–14. The third sign of the building’s name is written with eight wedges in two ranks, i.e. like ussu “eight,” but this makes little sense in the context of royal ideology and I have resorted to emendation. The expression imin-bi, literally “their seven,” denotes a group of seven (“heptad,” as in ^dimin-bi = *Sebettu*) but comes in academic Sumerian to mean “totality”; see imin = *kiššatu* in *Nabnītu* XIV 36 and other lexical texts.

1. Others, built by kings from Lipit-Ištar of Isin to Esarhaddon of Assyria, are collected in George 1993: 171, to which add é.gal.šà.hú.la “Palace of Happiness,” the name of Aššur-rēša-īši I’s resi-

dence at Nineveh (King and Grayson 2001). On the ideological messages conveyed by Sumerian palace names see George 2001–2.

No. 43

MS 1846/5

Pl. XXXIII

MS 1846/5 is an intact cone inscribed in a single column with a well-known Sumerian building inscription of Enlil-bāni, king of Isin. The text appears on cones, nails, a brick, and a tablet, and was most recently edited by Douglas Frayne from ten exemplars (1990: 78–79 E4.1.10.2). The first of these to be published, in 1911, was a clay nail in Manchester, which has since been numbered JRL 1094 and repub-

lished by Farouk Al-Rawi (2000: 34 no. 76, 59). Another nail with this inscription came to light in the late 1980s (Sommerfeld 1992: 159 d). The inscription commemorates a reconstruction or repair of the city wall of Isin. Most exemplars come from Isin (several with exact archaeological findspots), but one was excavated at Nippur.

- 1 ^den-líl-ba-ni
- 2 sipa níg-nam šár-ra
- 3 nibru^{ki}
- 4 lugal kalag-ga
- 5 lugal ì-si-in^{ki}-na
- 6 lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri
- 7 dam šà-ge pàd-da
- 8 ^dinanna
- 9 ki-ág ^den-líl
- 10 ù ^dnin-IN-si-na-ka-ke₄
- 11 bàd-gal ì-si-in^{ki}-na
- 12 mu-dù
- 13 bàd-ba
- 14 ^den-líl-ba-ni-
- 15 išdam(suḥuš)-ki-in
- 16 mu-bi-im

Enlil-bāni, who provides everything in abundance for Nippur, mighty king, ⁵ king of Isin, king of Sumer and Akkad, spouse chosen in the heart of Inanna, beloved of Enlil ¹⁰ and the Lady of Isin, built the great wall of Isin. The name of that wall is “Enlil-bāni ¹⁵ is firmly founded.”

Gungunum of Larsa

No. 44

MS 2871

Pl. XXXIV

This is the head of a clay nail, lacking the shaft. Inscribed on the head, in two columns of nineteen and eighteen lines, is a Sumerian building inscription of Gungunum, king of Larsa (1932–1906). Gungunum was the fifth king of the dynasty that claimed Naplānum as founder, and the second whose own inscriptions are extant (on his reign see Charpin 2004: 70–73). The text commemorates his work on the wall of Larsa, a project already documented by the name of his twenty-first year (Sigrist 1990: 9–10) and by a short text stamped on bricks found at Larsa and nearby Umm al-Wawiya (Frayne

1990: 117–18 E4.2.5.3). While other inscriptions date to Gungunum's reign, hitherto the brick inscription was the only surviving text actually written in his name. The present text is a much fuller account of the building of Larsa's wall, and reveals as motivation for the work the need to protect the city from flooding (ll. 22–23). The inscription includes the earliest example yet known in Babylonia of a royal statement of ideal market rates of commodities against silver (on such tariffs see, e.g., Vargyas 1997, and add von Dassow 2009).

col. i

1 ud an-né
 2 ^den-líl-le
 3 ^dutu-úr
 4 larsam^{ki}-ma
 5 nam-lugal
 6 ki-en-gi ki-uri
 7 ù nam-sipa kur-mar-dú
 8 šu mu-na-an-du₇-uš-a
 9 ud-ba *gu-un-gu-nu-um*
 10 nita kalag-ga
 11 lugal larsam^{ki}-ma
 12 engar úrim^{ki}-ma
 13 šu-gi₄-gi₄ é-bábbar-ra
 14 lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri
 15 ibila kalag-ga
 16 *sa-mi-um*-ma
 17 bàd-gal larsam^{ki}-ma
 18 ^dutu-ki-bal-e-sá-di
 19 mu-bi-im

col. ii

20 mu-un-dù
 21 nam-galam-diri-mu-ta
 22 uru^{ki}-mu ambar-ta
 23 h́é-em-ta-e₁₁
 24 šà mu-aš-ka
 25 sig₄-bi hu-mu-dù
 26 bàd-gal hu-mu-til
 27 uru^{ki}-{ni}-gá murub₄-ba

28 íd-buranun si ha-pa-ni-sá
 29 ud-ba ud-bala-gá
 30 še 3 še-gur-ta
 31 síg 10 *ma-na*-ta
 32 ì 0.0.1 5 síla-ta
 33 1 gín-^ršè¹ ganba(KI.LAM¹)² h́é-gar-àm
 34 ugnim-mu nam-hi-a
 35 kin-bi hu-mu-ni-íb-ak
 36 gá-e lugal níg-gi-na me-en
 37 á-ba giš h́é-bí-in-gar

When An and Enlil granted in full to Utu in Larsa ⁵ kingship over Sumer and Akkad, and also the role of shepherd over the Amorites, then Gungunum, ¹⁰ the mighty male, king of Larsa, ploughman of Ur, avenger of E-babbar, king of Sumer and Akkad, ¹⁵ mighty heir of Samium, ²⁰ constructed the great wall of Larsa called “Utu Conquers the Rebel Lands.” By my surpassing ingenuity I did raise my city above the morass. In the space of a single year ²⁵ I did make its brickwork, I did complete the great wall. Through the midst of my city I did direct the Euphrates.

At that time, in the days of my reign, ³⁰ the market rate was set at three kor of barley, ten minas of wool, fifteen litres of oil for one shekel (of silver). My workforce ³⁵ did do its work amid plenty. I am the king of justice, I did complete that task.

33. An alternative reading of the problematic signs in the middle of the line is $ur_5^1-gin_7^{11}$ “respectively.” The inscriptions of subsequent kings of Larsa employ both $ganba$ and ur_5-gin_7 in passages that report tariffs. The statement formerly attributed to $\dot{S}in-iq\ddot{I}šam$ (Sollberger 1965: 15 on BM 132266, Hawkins 1986: 95 no. 2), but since identified as $N\ddot{u}r-Adad$'s (Sollberger 1982b: 342), closes as follows (Frayne 1990: 149 ll. 61–63): $ganba \ddot{s}a ma-da-g\acute{a}-ka k\ddot{u} \text{ I } g\acute{in}-e ur_5-gin_7 ba-ra-sa_{10}$ “at

the market rate (obtaining) in my realm, one shekel of silver purchased respectively.” $\dot{S}in-iddinam$'s tariff reads similarly (Frayne 1990: 166 ll. 66–69): $ganba \ddot{s}a urim_5^ki larsam^ki \dot{u} ma-da-g\acute{a}-[ka] k\ddot{u} \text{ I } g\acute{in}-e ur_5-gin_7 \dot{h}a-ba-ra-[sa_{10}]$ “at the market rate (obtaining) in Ur, Larsa and my realm, one shekel of silver [purchased] respectively.”

37. This line contains an unusual predication of the well-known compound $\acute{a}-giš-gar-ra$ “work assignment.”

Sin-iddinam of Larsa

No. 45

MS 4765

Pl. XXXV

This piece is a very damaged cone-shaft inscribed in two columns with a building inscription of $\dot{S}in-iddinam$, king of Larsa (1849–1843). The topic is his rebuilding or repair of E-babbar, the temple of Utu at Larsa. The text, in Sumerian, is an abbreviated version of an inscription last edited by Douglas Frayne from twelve exemplars (1990: 164–66 E4.2.9.6). One of these was a limestone plaque excavated at Larsa by the French expedition of 1978–81; the rest were clay cones found at Ur by Sir Leonard Woolley during the period 1927–32. The inscription was first reconstructed by Edmond Sollberger as a text of seventy-five lines (*UET* VIII 72, Sollberger 1965: 15). The present cone holds a text of fifty lines, in which ll. 39–69 of Sollberger's text are replaced with three lines (ll. 38–40 in the present edition). The material omitted is the statement of wages and the tariff of prices. $\dot{S}in-iddinam$'s commemorative inscription for E-babbar thus exists in two versions, one that includes this material and one that excludes it. Unfortunately little of the alternative three-line passage is legible on MS 4765.

When inscribed in two columns the two versions of the inscription can be distinguished by the point of turn from col. i to col. ii. On MS 4765 this occurs at ll. 23–24. As can be seen from two exemplars published in handcopies, *UET* I 132 (Gadd 1928 pl. 25, Frayne's exemplar 2) and IM 26913 (Edzard 1957a: pl. 3, Frayne's exemplar 11), the longer version makes the turn at ll. 36–37.² Six of the other exemplars incorporated into Sollberger and Frayne's reconstruction of *UET* VIII 72 hold parts of the passages omitted by MS 4765 and thus also bear witness to the long version (Frayne's exemplars 1, 3, 4+5, 7, 10, 12). Without a breakdown of the disposition by columns of individual lines of the two other exemplars (6, 8+9), it is not possible to allocate these pieces with any certainty to the one version or the other. Whether or not either of them is more properly a duplicate of the present cone rather than *UET* VIII 72, MS 4765 effectively bears a new inscription of $\dot{S}in-iddinam$. It brings the added benefit of allowing the completion of line-ends broken off in the long version, especially near the beginning of the text.

2. It has not been recognized that the fragment IM 26913 preserves the point of turn: on Edzard's copy i 1'-15' = ll. 22–37 of Sollberger's edition

(1965); i 16' = not l. 38 but l. 1 (i.e. i 1); ii 1'-12' = 66 or 67–78; and ii 13', which Sollberger could not place, is l. 38 (i.e. ii 1).

col. i

- 1 ud^dutu èš 'é¹-babbar-ra
 2 'nam¹-bi mu-un-'tar-ra¹-[(a)]
 3 [me] 'giš-ḥur šu¹-bi / [d]u₇-du₇-^rdè¹
 4 [ki-tuš]-bi dagal-'e-dè¹
 5 [gal-le]-eš inim nu-kúr-ru¹-[na]
 6 [k]a-aš¹ 'mu-un¹-bar-ra-'a¹
 7 [ud-b]a^d sîn(suen)-'i-din¹-na-am
 8 [nita] 'kalag¹-ga
 9 [ú-a] urim₅^{ki}-ma
 10 [lugal] larsam^[k]ⁱ-ma
 11 [lugal ki]-en-gi ki-uri me-en
 12 [šul^dutu ku]r 'kilib¹-b[a-ni]-ta
 13 [igi zi mu-u]n-š[i]n-bar
 14 [nam-sipa l]arsa[m]^{ki}-x
 15 [ḥu-mu-u]n-'íl-en¹
 16 [éren ma-da] lu-'a-na¹
 17 [inim-mu-š]è hé-'em¹-mi-tuš
 18 [á-ág-g]á gal-gal-'la-na¹
 19 [šu-m]u-'šè¹ hé-em-mi-i[n-si]
 20 [ki-tu]š šà-dùg-ga-'na¹
 21 [šu] dagal 'di¹-dè
 22 [n]am-'ní-tuk¹-mu-šè
 23 á¹-bi 'ḥu¹-mu-da-an- / 'ág¹
 col. ii
 24 ud-'bi¹-a^dutu lugal-mu-'úr¹
 25 [in]im sa₆-sa₆-ge-m[u]-ta
 26 'uru^{ki}-gá i-'drutu¹
 27 'hé-íb-ta¹-z[i]
 28 'ugnim¹ larsam^{ki}-ma
 29 aš-bi um-mi-tuš-'ú¹
 30 'á šà¹-gal ì-š[éš]₄
 31 šà [d]ùg-ga-b[i-dè]
 32 'lú¹-kin-'ak¹-b[i-šè]
 33 ḥa-ba-'ra¹-[x x]
 34 šà mu a[š-k]a
 35 sig₄¹-a[l-ur₅-ra-bi]
 36 hé-b[í-du]ḥ
 37 'é-babbar¹-[ra é ki-ág-gá]-'ni¹
 38 ḥu-[x (x) x]x

- 39 'nam¹-[x (x) x] x
 40 ki¹-[(x)]-'bi¹ ḥu¹-[mu-(na)-gi]₄
 41 ^dsîn(suen)-'i-din-na-am me¹-[en]
 42 nun-gal [šà¹] 'galam¹
 43 'sig² tùm-tù[m-m]u² 'me²-en²
 44 'ud-ba¹ [sag-ki zalag]
 45 'šà-ḥúl uru^{ki}
 46 'èš é¹-babbar-ra
 47 'kin-bi¹ ḥu-mu-ni-til
 48 'šà^dutu
 49 'ù¹ [d^šè]-'ri₅¹-da-'ke₄¹
 50 'ḥu¹-mu-dùg

When Utu determined the destiny of the temple E-babbar and, to perfect [the rites] and ordinances, to enlarge its site, ⁵ [solemnly] made a decision [with his] unalterable command, then on me, Sîn-iddinam, mighty [male, provider] for Ur, ¹⁰ [king] of Larsa, [king of] Sumer and Akkad, [the young hero Utu] fixed [his steadfast gaze,] from among all the [lands. ¹⁵ He did] raise me up to be Larsa's [shepherd.] He did make [the workforce] of his teeming [land] dwell at [my command.] He did [pass] into my [control] the great [task of commanding] them(!). ²⁰ He charged me, in my reverence, to enlarge the dwelling that pleases his heart.

At that time, ²⁵ through my fine words, I did expel complaints from my city for my master Utu. Having made the host of Larsa dwell together as one, I did [give them for their] labour ³⁰ wages, food and oil-[rations to] their heart's content. In the space of a single year, I did [mould ³⁵ its baked] bricks. I [did build for him] E-babbar, his [beloved house,] . . . ⁴⁰ I did [restore it] to its (proper) state. I, Sîn-iddinam, a great prince of clever [mind(?)] who . . . am I.

At that time, (with) the city's [beaming countenance] and ⁴⁵ joyful heart, I did complete that task and ⁵⁰ did please the hearts of Utu and Šerida.

14. Apparently not *larsam*^{ki}-*ma-šè*, as expected from Sollberger's restoration of the longer version of the inscription (*UET* VIII 72: 16).
33. From *UET* I 132 // VIII 72 we expect *ḥa-ba-šúm-šúm*.

43. In the longer version of the inscription the beginning of this line was read *sig-nim* "unten und oben" by Kärki (1980: 77) and *sig-tùm-tùm* "who carries off the Lower Land" by Frayne (1990: 166 l. 71), but the first sign is not a good *sig* on IM 26913, the only published source (Edzard 1957a: pl. 3 ii 6').

Nos. 46–49

In addition to No. 45, the Schøyen collection contains four hollow barrel cylinders each inscribed with a Sumerian inscription of the same king, commemorating his dredging of the river Tigris. The inscription was last published by Douglas Frayne, who then knew four exemplars, three barrels and a cone fragment (1990: 158–60 E4.2.9.2). The first of these to appear was published in 1923, when it was in the possession of the antiquities' dealer E. S. David of New York; its whereabouts are now unknown. A second exemplar, a barrel now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was bought in Baghdad in the same year. A third barrel was acquired from E. S. David by the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, in 1931. The cone fragment was excavated at Larsa by André Parrot in 1933 and is now in the Louvre.³ Since Frayne's edition four further barrels have been published, one now in Spain (Civil 2002), another in the Michail Collection in Italy (Pettinato 1997: 176–79 no. 97), a third in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem (Westenholz and Westenholz 2006: 93–100), and a fourth (a fragment only) in private hands in Denmark (Westenholz and Eidem 1989–90: 113 no. 13). Many more have been reported more briefly, including four in private ownership in New York (Beckman 1997), and perhaps as many as ten others that were sold by auction houses in London, New York, and Vienna between 1997

and 2002 (Westenholz and Westenholz 2006: 93).

Miguel Civil speculated that those barrels not actually excavated at Larsa may nevertheless have come from there (2002: 245). That is possible, but the two barrels that passed through David's hands have been attributed to sites other than Larsa: Bismayah (ancient Adab) and "Tell al-Buzekh," by which must be meant Tell Ibzaikh (ancient Zabalam). Both Adab and Zabalam lay on the western branch of the Tigris, which at this time entered the territory of Larsa upstream of Maškan-šāpir (Tell Abu Duwari) and watered much of southern Babylonia either via the old Iturungal, a watercourse that branched off the Tigris between Karkara and Zabalam and flowed south toward Larsa itself, or via its successor. The Tigris was a crucial resource for the well-being of Sîn-iddinam's state. Both Zabalam and Adab are thus plausible provenances for this king's Tigris cylinders, but, given E. S. David's close professional relationship with Edgar J. Banks, the erstwhile excavator of Bismaya and notorious hawker of antiquities, they may be fictitious provenances. Another possible provenance for inscriptions of Sîn-iddinam that report the dredging of the Tigris is Maškan-šāpir, for a building inscription composed for this king's construction of the wall of this town also reports that he provided its people with water

3. AO 25110 = L.[33].7A: correct Frayne 1990: 158 from Arnaud 1977: 6, 1994: 13 no. 93.

by dredging the river that ran through it. The name of the river is damaged in the text, but, given that Maškan-šāpir lay on the Tigris, it must be that river.⁴

The four cylinders published here are not exact duplicates. Differences between them and the exemplars edited by Frayne are mostly very minor, but note No. 47: 70: gi₄ for gub (dittography from l. 68). Frayne's edition can be corrected in the following substantive points:

- (a) Nos. 46: 15 // 47: 15 // 48: 15 // 49: 15: ki-bi-šè for maḥ-bi-šè

The new sources agree with at least eight other exemplars. The photograph of the Michail Collection's barrel has ki-bi-šè (Pettinato 1997: 177 top), despite Pettinato's transliteration maḥ-bi-šè (176 i 15). Frayne's reading derives solely from the barrel copied by Langdon, where the drawing suggests ki! as easily as maḥ! (Langdon 1923 pl. 7 i 16).

- (b) Nos. 46: 41 // 47: 43 // 48: 43 // 49: 42: in-dub libir for in-dub pàd

Note that the sign is clearly libir on the only exemplar hitherto published in cuneiform copy (Langdon 1923 pl. 7 ii 8), and was so read by I. Kārki (Kārki 1980: 61 l. 43). One of Sîn-iddinam's brick inscriptions refers also to the in-dub libir (RIM E4.2.9.11: 6, ed. Frayne 1990: 171–72).

- (c) Nos. 46: 52 // 47: 54 // 48: 54 // 49: 54: 1 (bariga)-ta for 1 gur-ta

In agreement with at least six other exemplars (Beckman 1997 sub l. 54, Civil 2002: 247, Westenholz and Westenholz 2006: 97 ii 18). The numeral 1, when written with DIŠ, cannot signify one kor, which was by convention written AŠ gur; DIŠ in capacity measure signifies 1 *bariga* = 60 *šila*. Frayne's 1 gur-ta derives from the two exemplars formerly in the possession of the dealer E. S. David of New York and from the barrel in the Ashmolean Museum. Langdon's copy of the one David barrel has še x-ta, where x can be interpreted alternatively as illegible traces of a damaged or erased sign before the numeral DIŠ (Langdon 1923 pl. 7 ii 19). O. R. Gurney was unsure of the text on the Ashmolean barrel (Gurney 1977: 93: "sign after še appears to be the numeral 1, possibly followed by a damaged gur"); he did not reveal whether the numeral was DIŠ or AŠ. In other inscriptions of kings of Larsa the figure for each worker's barley ration is usually thirty litres (3 *bán*, Nūr-Adad and Warad-Sîn), once forty litres (4 *bán*, Sîn-iddinam, Steinkeller 2004b: 142 ii 6). The more generous sixty litres (1 *bariga*) in most exemplars of E4.2.9.2 is a plausible match for reality (Civil 2002: 246), but the variant 1 gur-ta (three hundred litres), if real, is excessive and surely an error.

4. Steinkeller 2004b: 142 ii 32–3: íd 'x x' [. . .]-la šà uru^{ki}-ba ḥu-mu-ba-al. The absence of both copy and photograph of the fragments on which this line occurs prevents certainty, but one may

provisionally restore ^{id}'idigna' [íd gu (or dagal)]-la, as in the present inscription, and translate: "He dug out the Tigris, the [great (or wide) river,] in-side that town."

No. 46

MS 2014

Pl. XXXVI

col. i

- 1 ^dsín(suen)-i-din-na-am
 2 nita kalag-ga
 3 ú-a úrim^{ki}-ma
 4 lugal larsam^{ki}-ma
 5 lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri
 6 lugal é-babbar é ^dutu-ke₄
 7 mu-un-dù-a
 8 [g]iš-ḥur é dingir-re-e-ne
 9 [k]i-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄-a me-en
 10 [u]d an-né ^den-líl / ^dnanna ^dutu-bi
 11 [b]ala dùg níg-si-sà
 12 ud-bi sù-sù-ud-rá
 13 gá-ra sag-e-eš-e / ma-ni-in-rig₇-eš-a
 14 géštu dagal-la-mu
 15 [k]i-bi-šè gar
 16 sag-bi-šè è-a-ta
 17 uru^{ki} ma-da-mu-šè
 18 a dùg gá-gá-dè
 19 a-rá zà-mí
 20 nam-ur-sag-gá-mu
 21 ud-da egir-bi-šè
 22 pa-è-a maḥ ak-dè
 23 an-ra ^den-líl-ra / inim in-ne-sa₆-sa₆
 24 ^ra¹-rá-zu gi-na-mu-šè / ḥu-mu-ši-in-še-
 ge-eš-a
 25 [í]^didigna ba-al-a-da
 26 [k]i-bi-šè gi₄-a-da
 27 [u]d ti-la sù-ud-rá-šè
 28 mu-mu gá-gá-dè
 29 [i]nim nu-kúr-ru-bi-a
 30 á-bi ḥu-mu-da-an-ág-eš
 31 ud-ba dug₄-ga-dug₄-ga
 32 an ^dinanna-ta
 33 še-ga ^den-líl / ^dnin-líl-lá-ta

col. ii

- 34 ^diškur dingir-mu
 35 á-taḥ-gá-ta
 36 usu maḥ ^dnanna / ^dutu-ta
 37 ^{id}idigna
 38 íd hé-gál-la ^dutu-ke₄
 39 ù-ma-mu-ta
 40 gal-bi hé-em-mi-ba-al
 41 ki-sur-ra in-dub libir-m[u]-šè
 42 ka-bi um-mi-tum₄
 43 a-gam-ma-bi-šè
 44 si-gal hé-em-mi-sá
 45 a da-rí
 46 hé-gál mùš nu-túm-mu
 47 larsam^{ki} kalam-ma-mu-šè
 48 hé-em-mi-gar
 49 ud ^{id}idigna íd gu-la
 50 mu-ba-a[l-(la)]-a
 51 á lú-^rdiš¹-e
 52 še 1 (bariga)-ta
 53 ninda 2 síla-ta
 54 kaš 4 síla-ta
 55 ì 2 gín-ta-àm
 56 ud aš-a
 57 ur-gin₇ šu ḥa-ba-an-ti
 58 lú á-lá
 59 lú á-taḥ
 60 ba-ra-bí-tuk
 61 usu ma-da-mu-ta
 62 kin-bi hé-em-mi-til
 63 inim ka-aš-bar
 64 dingir gal-e-ne-ta
 65 ^{id}idigna íd dagal-la
 66 ki-bi-šè hé-em-mi-gi₄
 67 ud ul-du-rí-šè
 68 mu-mu hé-em-mi-gub

No. 47

MS 2034

Pl. XXXVI

col. i

- 1 ^dsîn(suen)-i-din-na-am
 2 nita kalag-ga
 3 ú-a urim₅^{ki}-ma
 4 lugal larsam^{ki}-ma
 5 lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄
 6 lugal é-babbar é ^dutu-ke₄
 7 mu-un-dù-a
 8 giš-ḥur é dingir-re-e-ne
 9 ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄-a me- / en
 10 ud an-né ^den-líl / ^dnanna ^dutu-bi
 11 bala dùg níg-si-sá
 12 ud-bi sù-sù-ud-rá
 13 gá-ra sag-e-eš-e / ma-ni-in-rig₇-eš-a
 14 géštu dagal-la-mu
 15 ki-bi-šè gar
 16 sag-bi-šè è-a-ta
 17 uru^{ki} ma-da-mu-šè
 18 a dùg gá-gá-dè
 19 a-rá zà-mí
 20 nam-ur-sag-gá-mu
 21 ud-da egir-bi-šè
 22 pa-è maḥ ak-dè
 23 an-ra ^den-líl-ra
 24 inim in-ne-sa₆-sa₆
 25 a-rá-zu gi-na-mu-^ršè¹
 26 ḥu-mu-ši-in-še-g[e-eš-a]
 27 ^{id}idigna ba-[al-la-a-da]
 28 ki-bi-šè gi₄-[a-da]
 29 ud ti-la sù-u[d-rá-šè]
 30 mu-mu gá-gá-[dè]
 31 inim nu-kúr-ru-bi-^ra¹
 32 á-bi ḥu-da-an-ág-eš
 33 ud-ba dug₄-ga-dug₄-ga

col. ii

- 34 an ^dinanna-ta
 35 še-ga ^den-líl / ^dnin-líl-ta
 36 ^diškur dingir-mu
 37 á-taḥ-gá-ta
 38 usu maḥ ^dnanna / ^dutu-ta
 39 ^{id}idigna
 40 íd ḥé-gál-la ^dutu-ke₄
 41 ù-ma-mu-ta
 42 gal-bi ḥé-em-mi-ba-al
 43 ki-sur-ra in-dub libir-mu-šè
 44 ka-bi um-mi-tum₄
 45 a-gam-ma-bi-šè
 46 si-gal ḥé-em-mi-sá
 47 a da-rí
 48 ḥé-gál mùš nu-túm-mu
 49 larsam^{ki} kalam-ma-mu-šè
 50 ḥé-em-mi-gar
 51 ud ^{id}idigna íd gu-la
 52 mu-ba-al-la-a
 53 á lú-diš-e
 54 še 1 (bariga)-ta
 55 ninda 2 síla-ta
 56 kaš 4 síla-ta
 57 ^ri¹ 2 gín-ta-àm
 58 [ud a]š-a
 59 [ur-gin₇] šu ḥa-an-ti
 60 [lú] ^rá¹-lá
 61 [lú] ^rá¹-taḥ
 62 [ba-ra-bí]-tuk
 63 [usu ma-d]a-mu-ta
 64 [kin-bi ḥé]-em-mi-til
 65 [inim ka]-aš-bar
 66 ^rdingir gal-e¹-ne-ta
 67 ^{id}idigna íd dagal-la
 68 ki-bi ḥé-em-mi-gi₄
 69 ud ul du-rí-a-šè
 70 mu-mu ḥé-em-mi-gi₄

No. 48

MS 3552/1

Pl. XXXVI

col. i

- 1 ^dsín(suen)-i-din-na-am
 2 nita kalag-ga
 3 ú-a úrim^{ki}-ma
 4 lugal larsam^{ki}-ma
 5 lugal ki-en-gi ki- / uri-ke₄
 6 lugal é-babbar é ^dutu-ke₄
 7 mu-un-dù-a
 8 giš-ḥur é dingir-re-e- / ne
 9 ki-bi-šè bí-in- / gi₄-a me-en
 10 ud an-né ^den-líl / ^dnanna ^dutu-bi
 11 bala dùg níg-si-sá
 12 ud-bi sù-sù-ud-rá
 13 gá-ra sag-e-eš / ma-ni-in-rig₇- / ^reš-a¹
 14 gēštu dagal-la-mu
 15 ki-bi-šè gar
 16 sag-bi-šè è-a-ta
 17 uru^{ki} ma-da-mu-šè
 18 a dùg gá-gá-dè
 19 a-rá zà-mí
 20 nam-ur-sag-gá-mu
 21 ud-da egir-bi-šè
 22 pa-è maḥ ak-dè
 23 an-ra ^den-líl-ra
 24 inim in-ne-sa₆- / sa₆
 25 a-rá-zu gi-na-mu-šè
 26 ḥu-mu-ši-in-še-ge- / eš-a
 27 ^{id}idigna ba-al-a-da
 28 ki-bi-šè gi₄-a-da
 29 ud ti-la sù-ud-rá-šè
 30 mu-mu gá-gá-dè
 31 inim nu-kúr-ru-bi-a
 32 á-bi ḥu-mu-da-an- / ág-eš
 33 ud-ba dug₄-ga-dug₄-ga

col. ii

- 34 an ^dinanna-ta
 35 še-ga ^den-líl / ^dnin-líl-lá-ta
 36 ^{id}iskur dingir-mu
 37 á-taḥ-gá-ta
 38 usu maḥ ^dnanna / ^dutu-ta
 39 ^{id}idigna
 40 íd ḥé-gál-la ^dutu-ke₄
 41 ù-ma-mu-ta
 42 gal-bi ḥé-em-mi-ba- / ^ral¹
 43 ki-sur-ra [i]n-dub / libir-m[u]-šè
 44 ka-bi um-mi-tum₄
 45 a-gam-ma-bi-šè
 46 si-gal ḥé-em-mi-sá
 47 a da-rí
 48 ḥé-^rgál¹ mùš nu-túm-mu
 49 larsam^{ki} [ka]lam-ma-mu-šè
 50 ḥé-em-mi-gar
 51 ud ^{id}idigna íd gu-la
 52 mu-ba-al-a
 53 á lú-diš-e
 54 še 1 (bariga)-ta
 55 ^rninda 2¹ síla-ta
 56 ^rkaš 4¹ síla-ta
 57 ì 2 gín-ta-àm
 58 ud aš-àm
 59 ur-gin₇ šu ḥa-ba-an-ti
 60 lú á-lá
 61 lú á-taḥ
 62 ba-ra-bí-tuk
 63 usu ma-da-mu-ta
 64 kin-bi ḥé-em-mi-til
 65 inim ka-aš-bar
 66 dingir gal-e-ne-ta
 67 ^{id}idigna íd dagal-la
 68 ki-bi-šè ḥé-em-^rmi- / gi₄¹
 69 ud ul-du-rí-šè
 70 mu-mu
 71 ḥé-em-mi-gub

No. 49

MS 3552/2

Pl. XXXVI

col. i

- 1 [^dsín(s)uen]-i-din-na-am
 2 [nita] kalag-ga
 3 [ú-a u]rim^{ki}-ma
 4 [lugal lar]sam^{ki}-ma
 5 [lugal ki]-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄
 6 [lugal] ṛé¹-babbar é^dutu-ke₄
 7 [mu]-un-dù-a
 8 giš-ḥur é dingir-re-e-ne
 9 ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄-a me-en
 10 ud an-né^den-líl
 11 ^dnanna^dutu-bi
 12 bala dùg níg-si-sá
 13 ud-bi sù-sù-ud-rá
 14 gá-ra sag-e-eš-e / ma-ni-in-rig₇-eš-a
 15 géštu dagal-la-mu ki-bi-šè gar
 16 sag-bi-šè è-a-ta
 17 uru^{ki} ma-da-mu-šè
 18 a dùg gá-gá-dè
 19 a-rá zà-mí
 20 nam-ur-sag-gá-mu
 21 ud-da egir-bi-šè
 22 pa-è maḥ ak-dè
 23 an-ra^den-líl-ra
 24 inim in-ne-sa₆-sa₆
 25 a-rá-zu gi-na-mu-šè
 26 ḥu-mu-ši-in-še-ge-eš-a
 27 ^{id}idigna ba-al-la-a-da
 28 ki-bi-šè gi₄-a-da
 29 ud ti-la sù-ud-rá-šè
 30 mu-mu gá-gá-dè
 31 inim nu-kúr-ru-bi-a
 32 á-bi ḥu-mu-da-an-ág-eš
 33 ud-ba dug₄-ga-dug₄-ga
 34 ṛan¹ ^dinanna-ta
 35 ṛše¹-ga^den-líl^dnin-líl-lá-ta

col. ii

- 36 ^diškur dingir-mu
 37 á-taḥ-gá-ta
 38 usu maḥ ^dnanna / ^dutu-ta
 39 ^{id}idigna íd ḥé-gál-l[a] / ^dutu-ke₄
 40 ù-ma-mu-ta
 41 gal-bi ḥé-em-mi-ba-al
 42 ki-sur-ra in-dub libir-mu-šè
 43 ka-bi um-mi-tum₄
 44 a-gam-ma-bi-šè
 45 si-gal ḥé-em-mi-sá
 46 a da-rí
 47 ḥé-gál mùš nu-túm-mu
 48 larsam^{ki} kalam-ma-mu-šè
 49 ḥé-em-mi-gar
 50 ud ^{id}idigna
 51 íd gu-la
 52 mu-ba-al-la-a
 53 á lú-diš-e
 54 še 1 (bariga)-ta
 55 ninda 2 síla-ta
 56 kaš 4 síla-ta
 57 ì 2 gín-ta-àm
 58 ud aš-a
 59 ur-gin₇ šu ḥa-ba-an-ti
 60 lú á-lá
 61 lú á-taḥ
 62 ba-ra-bí-tuk
 63 usu ma-da-mu-ta
 64 kin-bi ḥé-em-mi-til
 65 inim ka-aš-bar
 66 dingir gal-e-ne-ta
 67 ^{id}idigna íd dagal-la
 68 ki-bi-šè ḥé-em-mi-gi₄
 69 ud ul du-rí-šè
 70 mu-mu ḥé-em-mi-gub

Sîn-iddinam, mighty male, provisioner of Ur, king of Larsa, ⁵ king of Sumer and Akkad, king who built E-babbar, the temple of Utu, and restored to their former state the rites of the temple of the gods, am I.

¹⁰ When An, Enlil, Nanna and Utu bestowed on me a pleasant reign of justice and long days, ¹⁵ in my great wisdom, pristine and pre-eminent, in order to bring fresh water to my city and land, ²⁰ to make my nature, honour and heroism supremely manifest to future time, I addressed the finest words to An and Enlil. Having concurred ²⁵ with my steadfast prayer, by their irrevocable command they charged me that the Tigris be dug and restored to its former state, so ³⁰ to establish my name for a long life-span.

Then, by order of An and Inanna, ³⁵ with the agreement of Enlil and Ninlil, by leave of Iškur, my god and helper, through the

supreme power of Nanna and Utu, I did thoroughly dig, ⁴⁰ in my success, the Tigris, Utu's river of abundance. Having taken its intake back to my border, the old boundary, ⁴⁵ I did thoroughly improve its course as far as its (end in the) marshland. I did establish a permanent water supply and unceasing abundance for Larsa and my land.

⁵⁰ When I dug the Tigris, the great river, the wages of a single man were: sixty litres of barley, ⁵⁵ two litres of bread, four litres of beer, two shekels of oil – such (a ration) was received daily. I let no man ⁶⁰ have less, no man more.

By the power of my people I did complete that task. ⁶⁵ By the decisive command of the great gods I did restore the Tigris, the wide river, to its former state. For future time, in perpetuity, ⁷⁰ I did establish my fame.

Sîn-irībam of Larsa

No. 50

MS 4766

Pl. XXXVII

This is a solid cylinder inscribed in two columns with a Sumerian building inscription of Sîn-irībam, briefly king of Larsa (1842–1841). The cylinder is rejoined from two fragments and its surface is in poor condition. The building whose reconstruction or repair is commemorated by the text is the E-babbar, Utu's temple in Larsa. The text duplicates lines preserved on two even-more fragmentary clay cones already published and allows for the first time their correct attribution. One was excavated by William Kelly Loftus at Larsa in 1850 and is now in the British Museum. This cone is one of the first Sumerian building inscriptions ever published (as *IR* 3 no. 9, in 1861), and has hitherto been attributed to Sîn-irībam's predecessor, Sîn-iddinam (RIM E4.2.9.7, ed. Frayne 1990: 166–67). The second exemplar is a piece from the shaft of a clay cone or nail acquired by the Iraq Museum soon after its founding and

published by D. O. Edzard in 1957 (RIM E4.2.0.3, ed. Frayne 1990: 321–22). In the absence of a royal name and titulary it could not be attributed to any specific reign. The cylinder published here reveals that the name hitherto read in l. 7 of the British Museum's cone as ^dsîn-i-[di-in-nam] is, in fact, to be restored as ^dsîn-i-[ri-ba-am]. Together the two cones and the cylinder bear witness to the first monumental inscription of this king so far known. Their importance lies not only in this expansion of the historical record, but also in the revelation that Sîn-irībam was not the son of his predecessor, but of an otherwise unknown person called Gaeš-rabi.

Because this inscription has not previously been reconstructed and the sources are fragmentary, it is given here in both synoptic (“score”) and composite transliterations.

<i>Ms</i>	<i>Museum number</i>	<i>Place of publication</i>
a	MS 4766	here, pl. XXXVII
b	BM 30215 (51-1-1, 256)	<i>IR</i> 3 no. 9, <i>CT</i> 20 30; RIM E4.2.9.7
c	IM 5553	Edzard 1957a: 189 and pl. 4; RIM E4.2.0.3

col. i

- 1 a []utu
b ^d[]
2 a [] 'pirig¹-[]
b en pirig-[]
3 a []-gar a[n-n]a t[ak₄[?]-(x)]
b ^{gis}si-gar an-na []
4 a []-kud sig igi-n[im-]
b di-kud sig igi-n[im-]
5 a lugal é-bábbar-ra
b [l]ugal é-[]
6 a lugal-a-ni-^rir¹
b [l]ugal-a-ni-[]
7 a ^dsuen-i-ri-ba-am
b ^dsuen-i-[]

- 8 a nita kalag-ga
b nita kalag-[]
9 a [du]mu ga-es^{ki}-ra-bi
b dumu ga-es^{ki}[i-]
10 a []-a urim₃^{ki}-m[a]
b ú-a uri[m₃^{ki}]-m[a]
11 a [lugal] larsam^{rki}-ma¹
b lugal lars[am]
12 a [luga]l ki-en-g[i] ki- / ur[i]-ke₄
b lugal ki-e[n-] / ki ur[i-]

col. ii

- 13 a é-bábbar
c [-b]ábbar
14 a ki-t[uš k]i-ág¹-gá-^rni¹
c []ki-ág-gá-[]

- 15 a [è]š¹ gir₁₇-zal-l[a]- / n[i]
 c [gi]r₁₇-zal-la-k[a-]
 16 a 'mu¹-na-ni- / [dù]
 c []-na-d[ù]
 17 a [da]g é ki-gar ud-u[l] / da-r[i-šè]
 c [] 'é¹ ki-gar ud-u[l-] / []-ka-ni []
 18 a m[u]-na-an-[]
 c []-an-[]
 19 a [i]nim sa₆-s[a₆-ge] / [x]-'da¹-n[i-šè]
 c []s[a₆-sa₆-ge / [x]-da-ni-x
 20 a ^d[]
 c []utu h_é-en-na-[]
 21 a h_é-[]
 22 a ti-la-'ni¹ sa₆-'ga¹
 c []-la 'hur¹ sa₆-[]
 23 a ud-bi h_é-éb- / sù-ud-'dè¹
 c [] h_é-[]- / [s]ù-ud-d[è]

^dutu en pirig-[huš²] ^{gišl}si-gar an-na t[ak₄-tak₄]
 di-kud sig igi-n[im-ma] ⁵ lugal é-bábbar-ra
 lugal-a-ni-'ir¹ ^dsîn(suen)-i-ri-ba-am nita kalag-
 ga dumu ga-es^{ki}-ra-bi¹⁰ ú-a urim₅^{ki}-m[a] lugal
 larsam^{ki}-ma¹ lugal ki-en-g[i] ki-ur[i]-ke₄ é-
 bábbar ki-tuš ki-ág-gá-'ni¹ ¹⁵ [è]š gir₁₇-zal-la-
 (k[a])-n[i] 'mu¹-na-(ni)-d[ù] da]g é ki-gar ud-
 u[l] da-r[i-šè] (var. [x]-ka-ni-[x]) m[u]-na-an-
 [dím² i]nim sa₆-sa₆-ge [zi]-da-ni-[šè] ²⁰ ^dutu h_é-
 en-na-[h_ú] ti-la-'ni¹ sa₆-'ga¹ ud-bi h_é-éb-sù-
 ud-dè

For Utu, lord, [fierce(?)] lion, who [draws
 back the] bolts of heaven, judge of above
 and below, ⁵ master of E-babbar, his lord,
 Sîn-iribam, mighty male, son of Gaeš-ra-
 bi, ¹⁰ provider for Ur, king of Larsa, king
 of Sumer and Akkad, built E-babbar, his
 beloved abode, ¹⁵ his house of joy. The
 building's emplacement, (his) foundation
 of olden times, [in] perpetuity he [con-
 structed] for him. [For] his fine and
 [steadfast] deeds may ²⁰ Utu [rejoice] in
 him, may he extend the days of his beau-
 teous life!

3. Cf. a passage of Sîn-iddinam's literary letter
 to Utu: tak₄ {lal} ^{gišl}si-gar an-ki // tak₄ si-gar
 [an-ki] "who draws back the bolt of heaven
 and earth" (Borger 1991: 33 l. 7, OB manu-
 scripts); and an epithet of Utu in text No. 51
 below (MS 2983) l. 6: tak₄ ^{gišl}si-gar ul-šár.

19–21. Cf. the similar prayer in a cone-inscrip-
 tion of Sîn-iddinam (RIM E4.2.9.5: 19–21,
 ed. Frayne 1990: 163): ní-g-ak-bi-šè ^dutu h_é-
 en-da-h_úl "For this deed may Utu rejoice in
 him!"

Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa

Three tablets and a vase fragment in the Schøyen Collection hold copies of Sumerian formal inscriptions from the time of Rīm-Sîn I, a long-reigning king of Larsa (1822–1763). Three, Nos. 51–53, are votive inscriptions made on behalf of the king by individuals, and can be added to the eight such texts already known from this reign and edited by Douglas Frayne (1990: 302–9 E4.2.14.23 and 2001–7). Two are copies on clay tablets and can be most closely compared with two similar tablets now in the

Yale Babylonian Collection (RIM E4.2.14.2006–7). The Yale tablets were purchased before 1919 and are presumed by Frayne to come from Larsa, probably because many tablets acquired by Yale at about the same time are believed to derive from that city. Larsa is an obvious candidate for the provenance of the three tablets now in the Schøyen Collection, but other scriptoria within Rīm-Sîn’s kingdom may well have produced such tablets.

No. 51

MS 2983

Pls. XXXVIII–XLI

MS 2983 is a tablet inscribed with thirty-five lines of Old Babylonian cursive cuneiform.⁵ The last two lines are separated from the foregoing by a ruling, and are more faintly impressed, perhaps because they were added later when the clay was already nearly dry.

The structure of the first part of the text resembles a commemorative inscription. It begins with the name and elaborate epithets of a deity (the sun-god Utu), to which is appended the dative postposition (ll. 1–6). The next structural element is the self-identification of the ruler, Rīm-Sîn, to whose standard titulary are appended literary phrases that apply to him relations with the gods conventional in the royal ideology of the period (7–17).

The remainder of the text confounds our expectation of a commemorative inscription. The next passage describes how Utu, in the company of the gods, informs the top-ranking deities, An and Enlil, that he has chosen Rīm-Sîn to bring peace and security to his city, Larsa (18–24). The following lines seem to continue Utu’s address but turn from past to future, asserting Rīm-Sîn’s obedience and requesting that his reign be a success (25–30). The last few lines are difficult to decipher and have not yet

yielded connected sense, but it is clear the very end of the text holds a prayer by Rīm-Sîn to An and Enlil soliciting his own continuing good reputation (31–35).

The message of the latter part of the text is that Rīm-Sîn was chosen by Utu, that this choice was endorsed by all the gods, and that Utu sought the senior gods’ assurance that his nominee enjoy a successful reign. In this respect it is a composition suited to a formal occasion such as a coronation. Rīm-Sîn’s formal accession to power is suspected as the context of several hymnic praise-poems that address him in the second person (*UET VI* 102–6, ed. Steible 1975, Charpin 1986: 273–302). However, the titulary used in the present composition does not match that employed in inscriptions from the beginning of Rīm-Sîn’s reign, having more in common with the titulary of his second and third decades (see the notes on ll. 7 and 8–9).

Another occasion must be sought. In this regard it is significant that Rīm-Sîn’s name lacks the divine determinative here (in contrast to texts Nos. 52–54), for his chancellery adopted this style in his twenty-second year, probably as a consequence of Larsa’s recovery of

5. I acknowledge with gratitude Nicole Brisch’s comments on this text and exonerate her from mistakes that persist.

control over Nippur in his twentieth year (Charpin 1986: 300, 2004: 120 fn. 517). If the epithet that claims his gift of tribute to Enlil (l. 7) is grounded in fact, the date of composition will fall between his twentieth year and his twenty-second year. The occasion was evidently some ritual ceremony at which it was appropriate to reiterate the ideology of divine selection and mission originally expressed at

Rīm-Sîn's coronation. Because the composition depicts Utu leading Rīm-Sîn before the assembly of the gods, which was held in the Ubšu-ukkinna, a court of Enlil's cult-centre at Nippur, it may be proposed that the ceremony was a rite in which Rīm-Sîn presented his gift of tribute to Enlil and was formally recognized as king at Nippur in consequence.

obv.

- 1 ^dutu en gal kalag¹-ga¹ an-šà-ga maš-an[še²
x x] / i-lim-ma-ni ùg šár-ra ba-kár-k[ár-
ra]
- 2 ud₅-sag maḥ kin-gal me níg-nam-ma šid-
dù níg-x x
- 3 di-kud gal sipa sag-gi₆-ga níg-a-na mu
'sa₄-a' / dug₄-ga-ni nu-kàm-me
- 4 x-di zu á-ág-gá-ni di-di ár-bi dug₄-^rga-
šè²
- 5 èn-tar-tar níg-si-sá mú-mú igi-{igi}-kù
bar-^rre¹
- 6 tak₄ ^{giš}si-gar utah₄-ḥe utu-è-ta utu-šú-uš /
giš-nu₁₁ u[d] gá-gá lugal-a-ni-^rir¹
- 7 *ri-im-d^dsîn*(suen) nun gú-[u]n gùr-ru nibru^{ki}
- 8 ú-a urim₅^{ki}-ma 'me¹ eridu^{ki}-ga šu-du₇-du₇
- 9 sag-èn-tar gír-su^{ki} ki-lagaš¹(ŠIR.BUR)^{ki}-a
- 10 é-babbar-da ní-te-gá
- 11 lugal 'larsam^{1ki}-ma lugal ki-en-gi ki-^ruri-
me-en¹
- 12 sipa šu-dug₄-ga an ^den-líl-lá-me-en
- 13 ^dnin-ḥur-sag-gá ud tu-da-ni-ta / nam dùg
tar-ra-me-en
- 14 šul ^dnanna šà kù-ge pàd-da / sipa giš-tuku
^dutu
- 15 ^dKIŠ-eri₁₁-gal dingir sag-du-ga-na / m[u]
maḥ sa₄-a me-en
- 16 ur-sag en ka-aš-bar šul ^dutu / a-a sag-gi₆-
ga
- 17 *ri-im-d^dsîn*(suen) lugal¹/nun^{1?} ḥé-àm dug₄-ga
/ 'šà-ga¹-na me-en

rev.

- 18 'unken¹ dingir-re-e-ne-ka šu-mu im-^rmi-
in-dab₅¹
 - 19 igi an ^den-líl-lá-šè ḥu-mu-u[n-de₆[?]]
 - 20 ^dutu 'lugal¹-mu gù ba-da-^rni-in¹-d[é]
 - 21 larsam^{ki} uru ù-tu-da-gá šà-bi dùg-[ge-dè]
 - 22 á-dam-didli-bi ki-tuš¹(tablet: tuš-ki)-a tuš-
ù-dè / edin búr-ra nú-ù-dè
 - 23 ki[?] [x] x x-^rgá[?] gù-téš sè-ke gá-gá-<dè>
 - 24 á-bi [m]u-da-an-ág
 - 25 *ri-im-d^dsîn*(suen) lú an ^den-líl-le níg x x x
 - 26 inim níg-gi ^dnanna ^dutu nu-ta-x (x)
 - 27 nam-sipa-mu ma-da dagal-la-gá
 - 28 á gal ḥé-ág-e
 - 29 ^{giš}gu-za-gá šà larsam^{ki}-ka-ma (sic!) / suḥuš-
bi ḥa-ba-gi-né
 - 30 gidru-mu-ta¹ gú-dù-a-{x}-gá / gír-mu-
u[š ḥ]a-ma-ab-gurum-e-dè
 - 31 lugal kin[?]/lú[?] níg-ba[l-bal x x x] x
 - 32 x x KA ki ba x[x] x x x x x
 - 33 x tag[?]-ga níg-^rnam[?] x da[?] x
-
- 34 'an¹-né ^den-líl-le 'šú[?] ḥa-ba-gíd-dè¹
 - 35 mu sa₆-ga-mu igi-dingir-re-e-ne / 'u₄-šú-
uš gù ḥa-ba-ab¹-d[é]

- 1 For Utu, great and mighty(!) lord whose
[. . . warms] the livestock(?) from
heaven's midst, whose radiance is kindled
for the teening people,
2 supreme bellwether, leader (equipped
with) control over everything, who
counts up . . . ,
3 great judge, shepherd of the black-headed
people, all that were ever given name,
whose spoken word cannot be altered,
4 who knows . . . , pronounces his
commissions, . . .
5 who looks after (matters), making justice
grow, watching with a bright eye,
6 who draws back the bolts of the
firmament from dawn to dusk, spreading
the light of day, his lord,
7 I, Rīm-Sîn, the prince who delivers
tribute to Nippur,
8 provisioner of Ur, who conducts to
perfection the rites of Eridu,
9 who takes care of Girsu and Lagaš,
10 who reveres the temple E-babbar,
11 I, king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad,
12 I, the shepherd chosen by the touch of An
and Enlil,
13 I, one given a fine destiny by Ninḫursag
from the day she bore me,
14 I, chosen in the holy heart of the young
hero Nanna, shepherd who obeys Utu,
15 called an exalted name by Nergal, the god
who begot me,
- 16 I, of whom the warrior, expert at making
decisions, young hero Utu, father of the
black-headed people,
17 said in his heart, "Rīm-Sîn shall be
king(?)"!":
18 in the gods' assembly he took my hand,
19 before An and Enlil he did [lead me(?).]
20 My lord Utu addressed them:
21 "To make content Larsa, the city that I
created (lit. to which I gave birth),
22 to settle its many villages in (their) abodes,
and make (them) lie freely(?) in the plain,
23 to bring harmony to my(?) . . .
24 I hereby do charge him.
25 May Rīm-Sîn, the one . . . by An and
Enlil,
26 by the true command of Nanna and Utu,
which cannot be revoked(?),
28 solemnly discharge
27 the duty of being my shepherd in my
wide land!
29 May he secure the base of my throne in
Larsa!
30 With my staff may he subdue at my feet
those who take against me!"
- 31–33 unintelligible
34 "May An and Enlil extend (their) hands
(in blessing),
35 may they daily [pronounce] my name fine
before the gods!"
2. For kin-gal (= kingal) with me see the incipit
of Rīm-Sîn F (*UET* VI 105: 1, ed. Charpin
1986: 287): ^dri-im-^dsîn(suen) lugal me-nun-na
kingal me-sâr-ra nam-nun-na sag-îl "O
Rīm-Sîn, king (provided with) the essence of
nobility, leader (equipped with) all powers of
office, head held aloft in princeliness."
4. With the end of the line cf. *Nabnītu* V 2: ár-
dug₄-ga = *te-e-lum* "to pronounce, enunciate
clearly(?)" (courtesy Brisch).
6. I am grateful to C. Wilcke for the reading
utah(U+GA)-ḫe, here and in text No. 52: 3,
and for references to it in the literature (Civil
1983b: 237–8; on U+GA see further Wilcke
1987: 103 fnn. 1–2). As a literary synonym of
an "heaven, sky" utah-ḫe (or utah^{bc}, see
Horowitz 1998: 232) is typical of literary texts
of Rīm-Sîn's reign, but not exclusive to it. It
appears in his building inscription for Iškur
from Ur (RIM E4.2.14.1: 6, ed. Frayne 1990:
272), his daughter Enanedu's inscription from
Ur (RIM E4.2.14.20: 5, ed. Frayne 1990:
300), and his hymn to the god Haya (Rīm-
Sîn B 19, ed. Charpin 1986: 344), but also in
other praise poetry (Ibbi-Suen D 7, ed.
Sjöberg 1970–71: 146; Ku-Nanna to Nin-

šubur 10, ed. Walker and Kramer 1982: 80; Inanna and An 130, ed. van Dijk 1998: 19; hymn to Nanna N 1542: 6, ed. *ETCSL* t.4.13.a).

Rīm-Sîn also uses *ud gá-gá* of the moon-god, Nanna-Sîn (RIM E4.2.14.11: 5).

7. Rīm-Sîn's usual epithets in relation to Enlil's cult-centre are *nun ní-tuk nibru^{ki}* "prince who reveres Nippur" (RIM E4.2.14.2: 10, 3: 10, 5: 8, 6: 14), *nita ní-tuk nibru^{ki}* "man who reveres Nippur" (RIM E4.2.14.4: 8), *sipa inim sa₆-sa₆-ge nibru^{ki}* "shepherd who does fine things for Nippur" (RIM E4.2.14.8: 11, 9: 10, 10: 8), and, nearest to that of the present line, *nun gú-un kár* (i.e. *guru₆?*) *nibru^{ki}* "prince who bears(?) tribute to Nippur" (RIM E4.2.14.11: 12, 12: 8, 13: 11, 17: 25). The change in these epithets seems to reflect developments in Larsa's political relations with Nippur (Frayne 1990: 270). Though the present epithet is new, it is clear-

ly a variant of that exhibited in the inscriptions that Frayne places after Rīm-Sîn's twentieth year, when Larsa regained control of Nippur.

- 8–9. In most examples of Rīm-Sîn's titulary, the epithets relating to these cult-centres place Eridu after Girsu-Lagaš and have *me giš-ḥur eridu^{ki}-ga* instead of our *me eridu^{ki}-ga*. The sole exception is RIM E4.2.14. 8: 14–15, which agrees with our text in both these particulars. Frayne places it in years 14–20.
22. Other instances of *ki-tuš(+loc.) . . . tuš* occur in the Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur 32–33 (ed. Michalowski 1989: 38). The expression *edin búr-ra nú* is a functional equivalent of *ú-sal-la nú* // Akk. *aburri rabāsum* "to lie at pasture"; cf. also *pargāniš rabāsum* "to lie in meadowland."
24. Note the present-performative function of the *ḥamtu*, as in Akkadian.

No. 52

MS 3409

Pl. XLII

This text on a tablet of fourteen lines is a copy of a votive inscription recording a dedication to Ningirsu made on behalf of Rīm-Sîn by a scribe named Ningirsu-uballiṭ. The dedicated

object is a votive arrowhead of bronze. The king's name has the divine determinative, and so the inscription derives from the middle or end of his reign.

obv.

- 1 ^dnin-gír-su-ra
2 ur-sag lú-érim šub-šub-bé² / ḥur-sag
 ¹bal¹ gír-ni-šè gú gar-ra
3 en ki-ùr šu-ni-šè si- / ga káš-bar¹ utaḥ-ḥe
 téš-bi DI
4 ^dKA.DI ù-[m]a-ni sá-sá
5 lugal lagaš^{ki}-ra lugal-a-ni-ir
6 na[m]-ti ^dri-im-^dsîn(suen) lugal larsam^{ki}-
 ma-[šè]
7 ^dnin-gír-sú-ú-ba-lí-it / dumu li-pí-it-
 ^dištar(inanna) dub-sar ¹gal² larsam^{ki}-[ma-
 ke₄]
8 im-8-ba zabar è-ni / an-ub-da límму-ba
 / ní-g-ki-a sur lú-érim ḥùl-gig¹

rev.

- 9 ^dnin¹-gír-su lugal-a-ni-ir / n[í-g-k]i-a sur
 tuk-a
10 ¹sag-ki¹-ni šúr su-lim ri-a
11 ní-g-z[i]-šà-gál nam-ti-la / pirig šà aš-ša
 mu₄-mu₄ / šu-ni-ta šu-duḥ-a
12 sag-tuku inim-gar sa₆-ga-ni
13 zi-ni ¹ùru¹-ak
14 ìr ní-¹tuku¹-ni a mu-na-ru

¹ To Ningirsu, ² the warrior who casts down the wicked, who subdues the rebel mountain ranges beneath his foot, ³ the lord into whose hands is given the earth below, who pronounces decisions from the firmament above, ⁴ the god who achieves the triumph of Ištaran, ⁵ lord of Lagaš, his lord, ⁶ for the life of Rīm-Sîn, king of Larsa, ⁷ Ningirsu-uballit, son of Lipit-Ištar, chief(?) scribe of Larsa, ¹⁴ his humble servant, dedicated ⁸ his Bronze (arrowhead), Sent Forth on the Eight Winds, that in the four quarters of the world saves the creatures of the earth but bears hatred for the wicked, ⁹ (so that) Ningirsu his lord, who owns that which saves the creatures of the earth, ¹⁰ whose brow is imbued with fierce awesome radiance, ¹¹ who gives life to all living beings, who grasps in his hand a lion superbly clad(?), ¹² may cause a protective spirit's favourable oracle ¹³ to preserve his life.

2. Perhaps better *hur-sag* <ki>-*'bala'* "mountain range, rebel land."
3. Reading of the latter part of the line suggested by C. Wilcke. The terms *ki-ùr* and *utaḫ-ḫe* here convey cosmic opposites; for *ki-ùr* as a synonym of *eršetum* "netherworld" see Horowitz 1998: 276.
4. If correctly read, this line cites the warrior Ningirsu as the agent of retribution of the justice-god Ištaran of Dēr (much as his counterpart Ninurta is avenger of Enlil at Nippur?), and provides evidence for a further connection between Ištaran and Girsu (see Lambert 1976–80, Selz 1995: 155).
8. This line evidently denotes the object dedicated and the first unit, *im-8-ba zabar è-ni*, can be identified as its name. For *zabar* "bronze" as a term for an arrowhead see *Aa* III/3 202 = *Diri* I 133: ^{za-bar}*zabar* = *ḫu-ut-pu*. An arrow called Bronze Sent Forth on the Eight Winds would make an appropriate votive offering for the warrior Ningirsu. Elsewhere in Sumerian literature his arrows are described as *ti sūr mè-a nim-gim gír-da* "furious arrows that in battle flash like light-

ning" (Gudea Cyl. B xiv 5, see Cooper 1978: 159–60), and eight winds are ridden by Ninurta on his journey into battle against the *asag*-demon (*Lugale* 77, ref. courtesy C. Wilcke). The first attribute of Ningirsu's arrow also occurs in l. 9, where it is repeated with *tuk-a*; it provides an instance of *Sum. sur* "to save," a meaning that cannot be substantiated from lexical texts but is well established in first-millennium writing, where the Sumerogram *sur* stands for Akk. *eṭēru* "to save." In the final phrase, *ḫùl-gig'* is presumed to be a variant of commonplace *ḫul-gig* = *zērum* "to hate"; for *ḫùl*(*GIŠ*×*GIŠ* = *KIB*) as a writing of *ḫul* "wicked" see Proto-*Ea* 643: ^{bu-ul}*GIŠ*×*GIŠ*, *Ea* IV 208: ^{bu-ul}*KIB* = *lem-nu*.

12. Reading courtesy C. Wilcke, who suggests that *sag-tuk* = *mukil rēši* and draws attention to *Antagal* E iv 3': *TUK*^{du}-*TUK*^{du} = *kul-lu šá rēši*(*sag*); *Diri* I 319: ^{du-ut-tu}*TUK*-*TUK* = *kul-lum šá rēši*(*sag*); etc.
13. The omission of final <dè> is clear from the parallel inscriptions, No. 53: 30 below and RIM E4.2.14.23: 35, ed. Frayne 1990: 303.

No. 53

MS 3289

Pl. XLIII

This is a copy on a tablet of a votive inscription of thirty-five lines, recording a dedication to a deity, probably An, of bronze cups made on behalf of Rīm-Sîn by his wife, Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu. A subscript notes that there were nine such cups, presumably because they all bore the identical inscription. A very similar votive inscription of this lady records her dedication of a stone basin, set up in the main gate of the courtyard of E-me-urur, Ištar's temple at Larsa (RIM E4.2.14.23, ed. Frayne 1990: 302–3). Lines 13–21 of the present text are restored after that example. Both dedications were made for the life of Rīm-Sîn and his daughter, Liriš-ganlum. The king's name is mentioned first, as deference dictates, and is prefixed with

the divine determinative. This detail places the inscription in the middle or later decades of his reign. In both texts the true reason for Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu's votive gifts was clearly the poor health of the daughter. Both inscriptions request relief from the various demons that afflict her body and eyes, and the text on the basin also asks that she be spared from bandits. The latter request suggests that the royal household was preparing to send the sick princess on a journey, presumably in the hope that she would find a cure. Perhaps this entailed a visit to the doctors of Gula, the goddess of healing, in Isin, a city that fell into Rīm-Sîn's hands in 1794 BC, the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

obv.

- 1 an-[ra]
 2 ¹máś²¹-sag a-a dingir-re-e-ne
 3 [du]g⁴-ga-ni sag-ba DU
 4 x-kù su-lim-ma sa₇-ga
 5 ní-gal huš ri-a
 6 ¹nam¹-tar-tar-ra-na gal-le-eš kal
 7 ¹an¹-ki-a zag n[u-s]á
 8 dingir šu-mú-mú gi[š-tuk]u
 9 lú-ní-¹te¹-g[á-n]a
 10 ¹nam¹-t[i-la . . .]x
 11 nam-e-eš ¹bí¹-í¹b-tar-re-a
 12 lugal-a-ni-ir
 13 ^dri-im-[^ds]í[n(suen)]- / ^dš[a-la-ba-aš]-¹ta¹-
 [šú]
 14 dam [ki-ág]
 15 [^dri-i[m-^dsín(suen)]]
 16 [dumu-munu]s ^dsí[n(suen)-ma-gir-ke₄]
 17 [munus sun₃-na]
 18 [me-te nam-lugal-la-šè túm-ma]

rev.

- 19 [nam-ti ^dri-im-^dsín(suen)]
 20 [lugal larsam^{ki}-ma-šè]
 21 [ù li-ri-iš-ga-am-lum]
 22 ¹dumu¹-munus-[a-ni]
 23 zabar-ga zab[ar]
 24 me-te banšur-[ra]
 25 ù-mu-dí[m]
 26 šà-ḫal igi-ni-a zi-zi-i-[dè]
 27 la-ra-aḫ ní¹g-gig-ga si-il-i-dè
 28 á-sàg su-a-na gál-la-a
 29 lú ní nu-te-gá-na šúm-mu-dè
 30 zi-ni ùru ak-dè
 31 nam-ti
 32 li-ri-iš-ga-am-lum
 33 dumu-munus-a-ni
 34 ù nam-ti-la-ni-šè
 35 a mu-na-ru
 36 zabar-ga / ti-ší-it

¹ [For] An, ² the bellwether, father of the gods, ³ whose word is their leader, ⁴ pure . . . , beautiful in splendour, ⁵ imbued with fearsome dread, ⁶ whose determining of destiny is very precious, ⁷ who is unri-

valled in heaven and earth, ⁸ god who hears the benedictions ⁹ of the one who reveres him, ¹¹ and determines as (his) destiny ¹⁰ a life [of long days(?)] ¹² her lord, ¹³ Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu, ¹⁴ [beloved] wife ¹⁵ of

Rīm-[Sîn,¹⁶ daughter] of Sîn-[magir,¹⁷ pious lady,¹⁸ ornament worthy of the royal majesty,¹⁹ for the life of Rīm-Sîn,²⁰ king of Larsa,²¹ and Liriš-gamlum,²² her] daughter,²⁵ made²³ bronze milk cups,²⁴ table ornaments,²⁶ and, in order to make the *šahal*-disease leave her eyes,²⁷ to banish the dangers of sickness,²⁹ to pass on to one

who does not revere him²⁸ the *asag*-demon that is in her body,³⁰ and to preserve her life,³⁵ she dedicated (them)³¹ for the life³² of Liriš-gamlum,³³ her daughter,³⁴ and for her own life.

³⁶ Nine milk cups.

13–18. Restored after RIM E4.2.14.23: 13–17.

I have omitted the first-person enclitic me-en because in the present inscription Rīm-Sîn's wife refers to herself in the third person (see ll. 33–34).

19–22. Restored from RIM E4.2.14.23: 9–12.

31–35. The same as RIM E4.2.14.23: 36–37 + 39, except that the third person is used, not the first.

No. 54

MS 3268

Pl. XLIV

A fragment of an alabaster jar incised with a Sumerian dedicatory inscription aligned perpendicular to the base. The inscription records one Nawiram-šarūr's presentation of the jar as a votive gift for the benefit of his lord, King Rīm-Sîn. The beginning of the text is missing;

it would have identified the deity to whom the jar was given. The absence of any postposition after the beneficiary's name (l. 2') suggests that the language of this inscription is not Sumerian but Akkadian, and it is read accordingly.

1' [a-na balā]t([nam-t]i)

2' [^dri-i]m-^dsîn(suen)

3' šūrubi([m]u-túm)

4' na-wi-ra-am-ša-ru-ur

5' māri(dumu) qīšti(ba)-^dšamaš(utu)

[For the life] of

[Rīm]-Sîn,

presented by

Nawiram-šarūr,

son of Qīšti-Šamaš.

Sîn-kāšid of Uruk

Four versions are extant of a Sumerian text that records the building of a palace by Sîn-kāšid, who was king of Uruk in the mid-nineteenth century. They occur on large numbers of bricks, tablets, and cones, and have been edited by Douglas Frayne (1990: 441–51 E4.4.1.2–5; see in addition Spar 1988: 158 no. 115, Westenholtz and Eidem 1989–90: 113 nos. 10–12, Sollberger 1990: 5, Owen 1991: 112 nos. 382–84, Franke 1992, Cussini 1994, Veenker 1994: 126 EM 6, Allred and Gadotti 2007: 1 §2.1, Seri 2007: 19–20 §3.41, Hilgert 2008: 17 §2.22, Glassner 2009, Robson and Clark 2009: 13

§5.4–5, Lorenz and Schrakamp 2009, Ragavan 2010: 4–5 §5.1). Where known, the archaeological provenance of these objects is Uruk, most especially the building thereby identified as Sîn-kāšid's palace but also elsewhere on the site. The first to come to notice was a brick sent back to the British Museum by William Kelly Loftus in 1850, and published in 1861 as I R 3 no. 8.

The Schøyen Collection includes a tablet that is an exemplar of RIM E4.4.1.3 (MS 1880) and two duplicate cones that are exemplars of RIM E4.4.1.4 (MS 1698/1, 1790).

No. 55

MS 1880

Pl. XLIV

obv.

- 1 ^dsîn(suen)-kà-šī-id
- 2 nita kalag-ga
- 3 lugal unug^{ki}-ga
- 4 lugal *am-na-nu-um*
- 5 ú-a
- 6 é-an-na
- 7 é-gal

rev.

- 8 nam-lugal-la- / ka-ni
- 9 mu-dù

Sîn-kāšid, mighty male, king of Uruk, king of the Amnānum (tribe), ⁵ provider for E-anna, built his royal palace.

Nos. 56–57

MS 1698/1, 1790

Pl. XLIV

- 1 ^dsîn(suen)-kà-šī-id
- 2 nita kalag-ga
- 3 lugal unug^{ki}-ga
- 4 lugal *am-na-nu-um*
- 5 ú-a é-an-na
- 6 ud é-an-na
- 7 mu-dù-a
- 8 é-gal
- 9 nam-lugal-la-ka-ni
- 10 mu-dù

Sîn-kāšid, mighty male, king of Uruk, king of the Amnānum (tribe), ⁵ provider for E-anna – when he built E-anna ¹⁰ he built his royal palace.

Ḫammurapi of Babylon

The Schøyen Collection holds blocks cut from three bricks stamped with a well-known Sumerianizing inscription of Ḫammurapi, king of Babylon (1792–1750). The text was most recently edited by Douglas Frayne (1990: 352 E4.3.6.15). The first brick to come to light bearing this inscription was acquired by Edgar J. Banks during his expedition to Tell Bismaya, the site of ancient Adab, in 1903 and published in 1930. In the 1930s and subsequently several exemplars were found at nearby Tell Ibzaikh,

ancient Zabalam, and it may be that Banks's brick came likewise from this site, for the inscription reports Ḫammurapi's construction of E-zi-kalamma, the goddess Ištar's temple in Zabalam. The three exemplars published here are exact duplicates, except for the loss of the first part of l. 1 on MS 4749, and are for this reason not transliterated separately. A fourth exemplar, formerly MS 1876/3, was donated in 1994 to the British Museum, where it now bears the registration number 1994-11-8, 1.⁶

Nos. 58–60

MS 1876/1, 1876/2, 4749

Pl. XLIV

1 *ḫa-am-mu- / ra-pí*2 *lugal kalag-ga*3 *lugal*4 *ká-dingir-ra^{ki}*5 *lugal an-ub-da / limmu-ba-ke₄*6 *^{ba}dím*7 *é-zi-kalam-ma*8 *é^dinanna*9 *zabalam^{ki}- / ta**Ḫammurapi**šarrum dannum**šar**Bābilim**šar kibrātim arba'im**bāni**E-zi-kalamma**bīt Ištar**ina Zabalam*

Ḫammurapi, mighty king, king of Babylon, ⁵ king of the four world-regions, builder of E-zi-kalamma, the temple of Ištar in Zabalam.

6. The spelling of *bāni* emulates Narām-Sîn's inscription commemorating an earlier reconstruction of the same temple (see text No. 24: 2).

6. I owe this information to the kindness of Jon Taylor. The brick can be found in the British Museum's online research database by searching for 1994,1108.1 at <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research.aspx> (visited August 2009).

Kurigalzu II

No. 61

MS 3210

Pl. XLV

This is a copy on an oblong clay tablet of a commemorative inscription in archaizing, monumental script. The inscription, in Middle Babylonian, records the gift of a sword by Kurigalzu to the god Ninurta, in return for the god's punishment of an allied force of men from the mountains and the city of Dēr in northeast Babylonia. Their offence was to perpetrate a massacre of citizens of Nippur in the courtyard of Ninurta's temple, é-sag-dingir-e-ne. This Kurigalzu is identified by his patronym, son of Burnaburiaš, and is accordingly the king of Babylon conventionally designated Kurigalzu II (1332–1308).

The inscription raises two interesting issues. The first is that the only temple of Ninurta yet known to have borne the name é-sag-dingir-e-ne was in Dūr-Kurigalzu, now Aqar Quf west of Baghdad. It was identified by stone door-sockets found *in situ* at Aqar Quf and bearing an inscription of one of the Kurigalzus.

That being so, it is strange that citizens of far-away Nippur were massacred in its courtyard. Perhaps the name of Ninurta's new temple at Dūr-Kurigalzu was borrowed from some otherwise unattested shrine of his at Nippur.

The second point is an historical one. Kurigalzu son of Burnaburiaš is generally held to have been a successful monarch. What is reported of the political and military history of Kurigalzu's reign, in Chronicle P, speaks of war with Elam, Assyria, and, probably, the Sealand, in battles conducted on the borders of Babylonia. It thus comes as a significant piece of information that an enemy could have formed a combined force of people from the mountains, presumably the Zagros, and from Dēr, and successfully led them all the way to Dūr-Kurigalzu or Nippur, there to take over one of the city's holy places and slaughter civilians. It would seem that Kurigalzu II's reign was punctuated by a least one period of extreme weakness.

obv.

- 1 ^dnin-urta be-lum ša pu-luḫ-ta
 2 ez-ze-ta ra-mu-ú
 3 sa-pi-in za-i-ri
 4 a-bu-ba-nu la a-ni-ḫu
 5 iš-ti-in mār(dumu) ma-am-ma-na-ma
 6 ši-i-na lem-na ša šadi(kur)
 7 ša šu-ma la i-šu-ú
 8 la mu-ša-qí-ir i-li
 9 ^rišⁿ-tu ša-di-šu id-ka-aš-šum-ma
 10 um-ma-an de-e-er
 11 a-na re-šú-^rti-šúⁿ i-ḫu-za-am-ma
 edge
 12 [i]^rru-^rdaⁿ-ma i-na ki-sa-al-li
 13 [š]a ^réⁿ-sag-dingir-e-ne

rev.

- 14 nam-ša-ra ú-še-ši-ma
 15 da-am mārī(dumu)^{mes} nippuru(nibru)^{ki}
 16 ki-ma me-e it-bu-uk
 17 be-lum ra-bu-ú ^dnin-urta gi-mi-il-li
 18 mārī(dumu)^{mes} nippuru(nibru)^{ki} a-na tu-ur-ri
 19 a-di su-ur-ri ul uš-ki-is-su-ma
 20 na-piš-ta-šu ki-ma me-e it-bu-uk
 21 a-na šat-tim ^dku-ri-gal-zu
 22 mār(dumu) ^dbur-na-bu-ri-ia-aš
 23 a-na be-^rliⁿ ra-bi-i ^dnin-urta
 24 mu-[kil]-lu re-eš šar-ru-ti-šu
 25 nam-ša-ar kàs-pi ru-uš-ši-i
 26 ^rsiⁿ-mat qa-^rtiⁿ-šu el-le-e-ti
 edge
 27 ^rušⁿ-teⁿ-eb-ni-ma
 28 i-qí-is-su

Against Ninurta, the lord imbued with fierce dread, who lays flat the enemy, a Deluge that does not tire, ⁵ a certain somebody mobilized a wicked foe in the mountains, who had no name and held no gods precious, and ¹⁰ took troops from Dēr to be his allies, and sent (them), and had (them) draw blades in the courtyard of E-sangdingirene, and spilled like water ¹⁵ the blood of Nippur's citizens.

4. Ninurta is commonly described as *abūbu* “a Deluge” (Annus 2002: 123). This is the first attestation of *abūbu* with infix *-ān-*. The function of the infix in this case is uncertain, perhaps sometimes diminutive (GAG §56r), though that is not a probable explanation here.
5. For *ištēn* as an indefinite article, typically used to introduce anonymous persons, see George 2003: 186.

In order to avenge the citizens of Nippur, the great lord Ninurta immediately allowed him no pardon but ²⁰ spilled his life- (blood) like water.

Because of this, Kurigalzu, son of Burnaburiaš, had fashioned for the great lord Ninurta, who holds his rule in honour, ²⁵ a dirk of reddish silver, worthy of his pure hands, and bestowed it on him.

19. I read *uškissūma* from *kāšu*, lit. “he did not allow (anyone) to show him mercy.” For this nuance of *kāšu* see the synonym list *Maliku V* 86–87: *a-za-ru* “to forgive” = *re-e-mu* “to take pity,” *ka-a-šu* “to show mercy.”
24. Note the literary construct state in final *-u*.
25. On the practice of dedicating swords and other weapons as votive offerings, see Radner and Kroll 2006.

No. 62

MS 1988

Pl. XLVI

This is an eye-stone dedicated by Kurigalzu to the minor god Mār-bīti. It is of a common sort: a lenticular disc of agate, white around a brown pupil, bearing a three-line inscription incised on the pupil. The form and function of such stones has been studied by W. G. Lambert, who cites many such objects bearing inscriptions of Kurigalzu (Lambert 1969). The first of Kurigalzu's eye-stones to gain attention was acquired by the British Museum in 1866 and published in 1887 (Brinkman 1976: 226 Q.2.79); others are scattered in museums across three continents. As objects of beauty, and perhaps talismanic value, eye-stones were passed down through the ages and often ended up far from their original places of use. Thus the archaeological provenances, where known, of Kurigalzu's eye-stones range from Babylonia (Nippur, especially the hoard of stone and glass artefacts found in area III) and Assyria (Aššur

to Luristan (Surkh Dum); see further Brinkman 1976: 225–27 Q.2.74–89. Some eye-stones of Kurigalzu identify him by patronym as “Kurigalzu, son of Burnaburiaš,” i.e., the second king of this name, and it is probable that all stem from Kurigalzu II's reign. H. Waetzoldt has published a piece that adds to the gemstones attributable to this king, a pierced onyx bead dedicated to Enlil by Kurigalzu lugal šar tur (Waetzoldt 2001). The epithet puzzled him. A solution he did not consider is to read *Kurigalzu šar kiššati šeḫru* “K., king of the world, the younger,” a style that distinguishes him from his predecessor Kurigalzu I. Indeed, Kurigalzu *še-eh-ru* “K. the younger” is how the son of Burnaburiaš is known in the synchronistic history (*CT* 34 38 i 16, 18, ed. Grayson 1975: 159).

Those of Kurigalzu's published eye-stones that bear dedications to deities cite the gods Enlil, Ninlil, Ninurta, Adad, Nuska, and Mar-

duk. The present stone, which is dedicated to none of these, is thus a slender addition to our knowledge of this king's pious works. The recipient, Mār-bīti, bears a generic name, "Son of the House," given to divine sons who reside with their father. In the second millennium this name occurs only on the twelfth-century boundary stone that records Nebuchadnezzar I's grant of land to Šitti-Marduk, where it is an epithet of the snake-god (*BBS* 6 ii 49, ed. King 1912: 36): ^dMUŠ *ilu*(dingir) *šu-pu-u mār*(dumu) *bīti*(é) *ša* ^{uru}*de-e-er* "Niraḥ, pre-eminent god, Son-of-the-House of Dēr." By implication of the epithet, Niraḥ should be the son of Ištārān, the chief deity of Dēr. Niraḥ occurs also as a member of the temple-household of Ištārān in

- 1 {a} ^d*mār*(a)-*bīti*(é)
- 2 *ku-ri-gal-zu*
- 3 *in-na-ba*

1. The superfluous *a* can be explained as a false start by a stone-cutter who at first thought he was going to incise an Akkadian inscription

scholarly lists (McEwan 1983: 218–19, add Cavigneaux 1981: 87 ll. 72–77), and in a boundary stone of Nazi-Maruttaš that invokes him as Ištārān's messenger (*MDP* II 19 iv 23, ed. Scheil 1900: 91 and pl. 17: ^dMUŠ *šip-ru ša* ^dKA.DI). Mār-bīti of Dēr is well known in first-millennium sources, as are Mār-bīti of Babylon and Borsippa (Krebernik 1989). Another Mār-bīti probably resided in Nergal's temple at Mêt-Turnat (see below, text No. 78: 21). Outside scholarly lists, the epithet Mār-bīti had by this time displaced the snake-god's true name at Dēr. Kurigalzu's eye-stone pushes knowledge of one or other of the gods called Mār-bīti back a further two centuries.

- (On) Mār-bīti
Kurigalzu
bestowed (this).

on the pattern *a-na DN RN iqīš*, but then chose instead to write his text in the Sumerian style, with no preposition.

Unattributed Inscriptions on Stone

No. 63

MS 4981

Pl. XLVI

This is a small limestone tablet in portrait format. The surface of the obverse is destroyed but three lines of text survive on the reverse, the remainder of which is blank. They are all that remains of a Sumerian building inscription commemorating the reconstruction or repair of an unidentified temple. The style and structure of the inscription place its date in the late third millennium or the early second, and its original provenance as southern Mesopotamia. The use of stone-cutters' script provides no help in refining the date paleographically, and the absence of the names of the royal builder (RN in the reconstructed translation), the temple (TN), and the deity who resided there (DN) means that other evidence must be cited in considering a more exact time and place of origin.

The sole aid remaining to us is phraseology. The temple epithet *ki-tuš kù ki-ág-gá-ni*, which comprises the bulk of the surviving text (rev. 1–2), is one deployed by mid-nineteenth-century kings of Larsa, e.g. Nūr-Adad, who uses it of Enki's cult-centre at Eridu (RIM E4.2.8.5: 12), and Sîn-iddinam, who applies it to Utu's E-babbar at Larsa (RIM E4.2.9.9: 11). The same expression, but without *kù*, is employed by Sîn-irībam of the E-babbar at Larsa (above, No. 50: 14) and by Sîn-iqīšam of Ningišzida's sanctuary at Ur (RIM E4.2.11.2: 9–10: [é] *ki-tuš* [ki]-*ág-ni*). Somewhat later Rīm-Sîn so describes many of the sacred buildings he and his father Kudur-mabuk reconstructed or repaired in Larsa, Ur, and other cities of the realm: *ki-tuš ki-ág-gá-ni* (RIM E4.2.14.2: 15; 3: 15; 4: 13; 6: 26; 8: 30; 9: 41; 10: 42). Probably this stone tablet should be ascribed to one or other of these rulers of Larsa.

obv. destroyed

rev.

- 1 'é' *ki-tuš* k[ù]
- 2 *ki-ág-gá-ni-eš*
- 3 *mu-na-dù*

[For DN . . . , RN . . .] built [TN] to be his beloved sacred dwelling place.

No. 64

MS 3269

Pl. XLVI

This is a fragment of dense black stone, from a statue or other large monument, with the remains of three columns of text inscribed on the flat surface. The right-hand column holds an Akkadian translation of the Sumerian text of the middle column, so that it is certain one should read left to right and that the left-hand column will hold an Akkadian translation of the column to its left, now missing entirely (col. i(a)'). No bilingual monumental inscription in parallel columns is known from the third millennium and it seems likely that the fragment is from the second millennium. The surviving content is a statement in the first person, in which an unidentified figure, no doubt a king, reports in col. i' how he was chosen to govern the country (as restored here), and in col. ii' how a plural subject, perhaps Šamaš and Adad, the gods of divination, rewarded his fairness with wisdom. It is, therefore, part of a commemorative inscription that included ideological narrative, or perhaps a fragment of a self-laudatory hymn of the kind popular with kings of the first part of the second millennium.

The Sumerian of this piece is of a style and quality consistent with the era of Hammurapi and Samsuiluna of Babylon. Its medium and format are shared with many small fragments of a Sumero-Akkadian bilingual inscription on "diorite" that were excavated at Ur by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1927 and published by C. J. Gadd as *UET I 146* (Gadd and Legrain 1928: 44–46, pls. 34–35 and Q; see Reade 2002: 291 no. 30). Similar pieces were acquired by the Yale Babylonian Collection at about the same time and published by Ferris J. Stephens as *YOS IX 39–61* (Stephens 1937: 14 and pls. 16–

20); they, too, probably came from Ur. More such fragments were found at Kiš between 1818 and 1929.

The three sets of fragments from Ur and Kish are booked together by the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia project as RIM E4.3.6.20, i.e. Hammurapi inscription no. 20 (Frayne 1990: 357). Douglas Frayne there noted Marten Stol's proposal that *UET I 146 iii–iv* alludes to an event late in the reign of Hammurapi, reported further possible parts of the Ur monument (or monuments) in London and Chicago, but did not edit any of the fragments because their self-laudatory content is more hymnic than commemorative.

A fourth contemporaneous monumental inscription in parallel bilingual columns is represented by a piece of statuary acquired by the British Museum in 1877 and published by L. W. King (King 1898: 108–17 no. 60, *CT 21 40–42*; photograph Reade 2002: 290 no. 28); a copy of the text was found in the library of the temple of Šamaš at Abu Habba, showing that it was still the subject of academic study in Neo-Babylonian Sippar (Fadhil and Pettinato 1995). Because it contains text addressed in the second person to Hammurapi, as well as references to his achievements in the third person, this composition has usually been identified as a hymn to that king (e.g. Hecker 1989: 726–27; Wasserman 1992). The self-laudatory fragment MS 3269, with its first-person references, is unlikely to be a piece of this fourth inscription, but it could very well belong to one or other of the other three monuments, or it may be of separate origin.

	col. i(a)'	col. i(b)'	
1'	[. . .]	[<i>ma-tam² be²</i>]- <i>lam¹</i>	to [rule(?) the land, etc.]
2'	[. . .]	[<i>ú-wa-ah</i>]- <i>he-</i> / [<i>ra-an-n</i>] <i>i</i>	[he] commissioned me.
3'	[. . .]	[. . . - <i>an-n</i>] <i>i²</i>	[. . .] me(?).
4'	[. . .]	[. . .] <i>x-nu-</i> / [<i>x</i> (<i>x</i>)] <i>x</i>	

col. ii(a)'	col. ii(b)'	
o' [dutu ²]	[^d šamaš ²]	[Šamaš(?)]
1' [d ⁱ]škur	^r u' [d ⁱ adad]	and Adad
2' [níg-s]i-sá- / mu-šè	a-na m[i-šá-ar]- / t[i-ia]	loved me for
3' ki ma-an-ág- / eš-àm	i-[ra-mu]- / n[i-in-ni]	my righteousness,
4' géštug / silim-ma-[bi]	[uz-ni-ia / i-na šu-ul-mi ²]	[and] opened my ears
5' gál m[u-un- / tak ₄ -eš]	[ú-pa-at- / tu-ú]	on [their] greeting(?).

ii' 2'. While níg-si-sá is usually translated by *mīšarum*, the traces cannot be *m[i-šá]-r[i-ia]*, so it is proposed to restore the rarer *mīšartum*.

No. 65

MS 3028

Pl. XLVII

This is a large fragment of dense black stone, deriving from the curved part of a statue or other monument. It holds the text of an inscription in post-Old Babylonian Sumerian, of which the remains of three columns survive. The surviving text of col. i' refers to Ninurta, the warrior-god of Nippur, in relation to his father Nunamnir (Enlil) and mother (Ninlil). Col. ii' twice mentions his parents as a pair, the second time in connection with the determining of destinies in Ubšu-ukkinna, the court of the divine assembly in E-kur, Enlil's temple at Nippur. The third surviving column, which is the last, has as its subject the supply of rain and

irrigation water, which bring fertility to the arable land. In its subject matter, the organization of the natural world by the gods, the text has much in common with the shattered fragments of Kurigalzu's diorite statue from Aqar Quf (Dūr-Kurigalzu), edited first by Samuel Noah Kramer (1948, 1969), and latterly by Niek Veldhuis (2008b). In particular, both texts contain repeated mentions of the divine pair Enlil and Ninlil. As inscribed artefacts, however, they are dissimilar, for Kurigalzu's fragments employ a much narrower column and a much shorter line.

col. i'

1' . . . g]ar ²
2' [d ⁱ nin-u]rta
3' [d ⁱ nu-n]am-nir- / e
4' [us]u-maḥ / [nam-š]ul-la
5' [šà kù-g]e-ni- / [pàd]-da
6' [en ₅ -si] gal
7' [ki-á]g
8' [ama tu-ud-d]a- / [n]a
9' [d ⁱ nin-lí]l
gap

col. ii'

1' [x (x)]x-šu
2' [x x]-e-ne
3' [x i]m-dugud-eš
4' [x-i]n-gilim-a-ba
5' ^r x šita ¹ ^d en-líl
6' ^d nin-líl-ba-ke ₄
7' igi-duḥ
8' su-bi-a / ka si-gi ₄
9' ki si-ig-ga-a
10' ad gi ₄ -gi ₄ - / gi ₄ -da

11' inim diri-bi / taḥ-e
 12' ba-an-gi₄
 13' ^den-líl
 14' ^dnin-líl-ba
 15' šu ti-gá-e
 16' nam-tar-ra zi-bi
 17' ^rub¹-šú-ukkin-na
 18' [me] ḫal-ḫa-da
 19' [x] gal- / [ne]-^rne¹-er
 20' [x (x) x] x
 gap
 col. iii'
 1' x[. . .]
 2' im-[x (x) x]
 3' a k[i² x x] / dul-x[x]
 4' ki-bi i[m-x x]
 5' KA g[á x]
 6' a-gàr-a-gà[r-šè]
 7' im-šèg-im-šè[g]
 8' úr ḫur-sag-g[á]- / ta
 9' a zi-zi DUMU
 10' ^ríd¹-da dé-e / taḥ-ḫ[e]

ii' 17'–18'. The epithet me ḫal-ḫa(l) “which allots the *mes*” is attached also to the Ubšú-ukkinna of Babylon, as recorded in *Tintir II* 16' (ed. George 1992: 52): ub-šú-ukkin-na me-zu-ḫal-ḫal-la.

11' a-šà ab-s[ín-na]
 12' a šu-t[a x]
 13' íl [x (x) x] / [(x) x]
 14' suku[d² x (x) x]
 remainder uninscribed

ⁱ . . .] ² Ninurta, ⁵ [chosen] ⁴ for supreme strength and might ³ by Nunammir, ⁶ chief [farmer], ⁷ beloved of ⁸ [the mother who] bore him, ⁹ Ninlil [. . .
ⁱⁱ ⁵ . . . of Enlil ⁶ and Ninlil, ⁷ (with) an audience gift ⁸ to comfort(?) them, ⁹ in a quiet place ¹⁰ giving counsel, ¹¹ adding generously(?) ¹² he responded. ¹³ Enlil ¹⁴ and Ninlil, ¹⁵ having accepted this, ²⁰ [determined] ¹⁶ his true destiny ¹⁹ for their great [. . .] ¹⁷ in Ubšú-ukkinna ¹⁸ [where the ordinances] are allotted . . .
ⁱⁱⁱ . . . ⁹ bringing(!) ⁷ rains ⁶ [to] the meadowland, (and) ⁹ floodwaters ⁸ from the mountain flanks, ¹⁰ increasing the rivers' flow, ¹² [dispensing] water ¹¹ on field and furrow, . . .

iii 9'. I assume the sign DUMU here is phonetic for túm-mu “bringing.”

No. 66

MS 3270

Pl. XLVIII

MS 3270 is a fragment of dense black stone equipped with one flat surface but otherwise rough. The broken surface is somewhat smooth, as if worn by much handling or eroded by the action of water. The flat surface is divided in two horizontally by a slightly curved groove, deeply incised. Below the groove, to the left and extending to the left edge, is a rectangle less deeply incised and divided horizontally into a two-section case suitable for a two-line epigraph. In the upper section are engraved four cuneiform signs in good monumental script, but in mirror writing. They can be read as the Akkadian word *me-lu-le-tum* “games.” The lower section is blank. Outside the case are two isolated cuneiform signs, also in mirror writing. In the middle of the fragment, just above the deep horizontal groove, is a sign that resembles *en*. Below the groove, about midway between the right edge and the case, is the sign *tum*. The head of a single wedge is incised above it and to the right, near where the horizontal groove meets the right edge.

It is impossible to determine whether the person who engraved this curious fragment lived in antiquity or in a more recent age, but there is reason not to dismiss it outright as a fake. Mirror writing on stone is a practice that has no obvious functional context in ancient Mesopotamia, except in the manufacture of seals. Mirror writing on stone objects other than seals is not unknown, however. A small rectangular piece of limestone acquired before 1910 by the Royal Ontario Museum is inscribed in mirror writing with part of a Sumerian poem in praise of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa (Frayne 1989). It so happens that two other copies of this passage are known, both also inscribed on small stone objects but neither in mirror writing. One is a little agate tablet donated to the Yale Babylonian Collection in 1929 (YOS IX 72, publ. Stephens 1937: 17 and pl. 27). It was so unique as to be suspected as a fake, but the situation changed with David I. Owen’s subsequent discovery in the Free

Library of Philadelphia of a stone vase bearing the same passage (Owen 1976).

Owen was undecided whether the inscriptions on the Philadelphia and Yale pieces were engraved “in ancient or modern times” but did not doubt that they are an authentic excerpt from an ancient composition, now otherwise lost (Owen 1976: 352). Frayne’s piece led him to suggest that the text was a hymn to An composed for Rīm-Sîn’s sake (Frayne 1989: 183). Stone tablets and vases are strange objects on which to find a passage of such a text, whether engraved in regular script or in mirror writing. Old Babylonian royal praise poetry is normally found on clay tablets, but several fragments of statues bear hymnic compositions of Hammurapi of Babylon (see above on No. 64), and there is indirect evidence that such monuments were made also for kings of Isin (Ludwig 1990: 67–69, Tinney 1995: 7, Westenholz 2005: 347–48). The format of a praise poem of Sîn-iddinam of Larsa on clay, set out in short lines as a *Kurzzeilentext*, suggests that it was originally engraved on a stone monument (Brisch 2007: 71 Sîn-iddinam B).

If one accepts the notion that there was already in early second-millennium Babylonia a tradition of engraving royal praise poetry on statuary, an obvious explanation arises for the existence of the three small stone pieces that hold a passage of an otherwise lost text of Rīm-Sîn: they derive as spoil from a location in which a genuine monumental text of this king was copied for engraving practice. If the pieces are ancient, they probably come from a sculptor’s workshop where statues of Rīm-Sîn were fashioned and equipped with inscriptions. If modern, their provenance might be anywhere in southern Babylonia where such things are found. But because no statue or other object bearing this text of Rīm-Sîn has come to light, the modern scenario is less convincing than the ancient.

Given the prevalence of objects from Rīm-Sîn’s kingdom in the Schøyen Collection, it is quite possible that the present fragment derives

from the same workshop as the tablets and vase just discussed. Both it and the Toronto stone can be envisaged as practice pieces cut by apprentice stone-cutters learning how to re-

produce monumental script in mirror writing, in preparation for employment in the manufacture of cylinder seals.

A Commemorative Inscription on a Jar

No. 67

MS 4759

Pl. XLVIII

A sherd from a large jar is inscribed with a dedicatory inscription in Sumerian style. The use of /meš/ as a nominal suffix (l. 4) indicates that the inscription is post-Ur III in date. The writing is large and confident, and executed in a script that, while elaborate, is not inconsistent with a date in the Isin-Larsa period. The text records the presentation of the jar to a god ^dnin-šubur, who is clearly here considered masculine (l. 2: lugal). When female, Ninšubur was divine minister of Inanna of Uruk, but when the name is used of a male deity it refers to the vizier of An's household in the same city, in

Akkadian contexts called Ilabrat, and later Papsukkal (Wiggermann 2001). Temples of both hypostases of this deity were built by Rīm-Sîn of Larsa: E-ninbi-tum for the goddess and E-aagga-summu for the god. The former is known from two nails found at Ur (RIM E4.2.14.8), the latter from a tablet and nail shaft probably also from Ur (RIM E4.2.14.12). However, the cult of the male Ninšubur was not confined to Ur and Uruk (see Richter 1999: 322), and his masculine gender in the present inscription is not a sure indication of the jar's original context.

- 1 ^dnin-šubur
- 2 lugal-a-ni-ir
- 3 dug 2 (bán) 5 sila-ta
- 4 lú-bala-me-eš
- 5 nam-ti-la-ni-ni-šè
- 6 é ^dnin-šubur-šè
- 7 mu-DU-re-me-eš

For Ninšubur, his (sic!) lord, the duty-officials brought into the temple of Ninšubur, for their lives, a jar of twenty-five litres' capacity.

