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Epic of Gilgamesh

Old Babylonian and Standard versions

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Epic of Gilgamesh

(c. 2100 BC)



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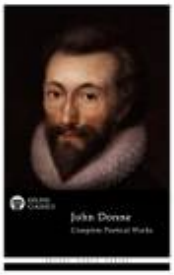
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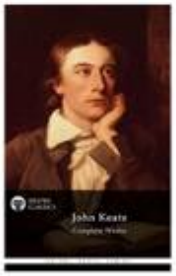




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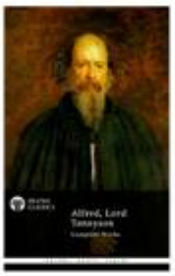




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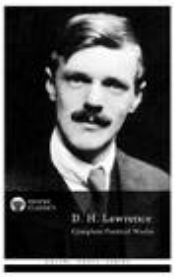






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Epic of Gilgamesh



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NOTE



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The Epic of Gilgamesh



The ruins of ancient Babylon — the oldest text of the Epic of Gilgamesh is now known as the Old Babylonian version

BRIEF INTRODUCTION: EPIC OF GILGAMESH



Often regarded as the earliest surviving major work of literature, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* was originally inspired by five Sumerian poems concerning 'Bilgamesh', king of Uruk, dating from the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2100 BC). These independent stories were later used to produce a combined epic, which survives in its earliest form as the Old Babylonian version. It is composed of only a few tablets, dating to the eighteenth century BC, and titled after its incipit, *Shūtur eli sharrī* (Surpassing All Other Kings). The other remaining version, later known as the Standard version, dates from the thirteenth to the tenth centuries BC, bearing the incipit *Sha naqba īmuru* (He who Sees the Unknown). Surviving in twelve tablets, this longer version of the epic was discovered in the library ruins of the seventh century BC Assyrian king Ashurbanipal.

The first half of the narrative involves Gilgamesh, king of Uruk, and Enkidu, a wild man created by the gods to stop Gilgamesh from oppressing the people of Uruk. After Enkidu becomes civilised through sexual initiation with a prostitute, he travels to Uruk, where he challenges Gilgamesh to a test of strength. Eventually, Gilgamesh wins and the two become friends. Together, they make a six day journey to the legendary Cedar Forest, where they plan to slay the Guardian, Humbaba the Terrible, and cut down the sacred Cedar. In time they kill the Bull of Heaven, which the goddess Ishtar sends to punish Gilgamesh for spurning her advances. As chastisement for these actions, the gods sentence Enkidu to death.

In the second half of the epic, Gilgamesh is concerned about Enkidu's death and so sets out on a long and perilous journey to discover the secret of eternal life. He eventually learns that "Life, which you look for, you will never find. For when the gods created man, they let death be his share, and life withheld in their own hands". However, due to his great building projects, his account of Siduri's advice and the details that the immortal man Utnapishtim tells him about the Great Flood, Gilgamesh's fame survives his death — in effect, achieving immortality.

The older Old Babylonian tablets and later Akkadian version are important sources for modern translations, with the earlier texts mainly

used to fill in lacunae in the later texts. Although several revised versions, based on new discoveries, have been published, the epic remains incomplete. Analysis of the Old Babylonian text has been used to reconstruct possible earlier forms of the epic.

The Standard version was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in 1853. It was written in a dialect of Akkadian that was used for literary purposes. At first, the central character of Gilgamesh was initially reintroduced to the world as "Izdubar", before the cuneiform logographs in his name could be pronounced accurately. The first modern translation was published in the early 1870's by George Smith, who made further discoveries of texts on his later expeditions, culminating in his final translation which is given in his book *The Chaldaean Account of Genesis* (1880).

This Old Babylonian version is composed of tablets and fragments from diverse origins and states of conservation. It remains incomplete in its majority, with several tablets missing and large lacunae in the discovered tablets. They are named after their current location (e.g. Yale) or the place where they were found.

Numerous scholars have drawn attention to various themes, episodes and verses that indicate the influence of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* on the epics ascribed to Homer. These influences are detailed by Martin Litchfield West in *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. According to Tzvi Abusch of Brandeis University, the poem "combines the power and tragedy of the *Iliad* with the wanderings and marvels of the *Odyssey*. It is a work of adventure, but is no less a meditation on some fundamental issues of human existence."



"The Flood Tablet", the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic describes how the gods sent a flood to destroy the world. Like Noah, Utnapishtim was forewarned and built an ark to house and preserve living things. After the flood he sent out birds to look for dry land. (British Museum)



Ancient Assyrian statue in the Louvre believed by some to represent Enkidu, a major character of the Epic of Gilgamesh



Tablet V of the Epic of Gilgamesh



Ashurbanipal (668 BC – c. 627 BC) as High Priest. The surviving text of the Standard version was discovered in Ashurbanipal's library.



The archaeological site at Uruk, an ancient city of Sumer and later Babylonia, situated east of the present bed of the Euphrates River, on the dried-up, ancient channel of the river

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION



Translated by Albert Tobias Clay and Morris Jastrow

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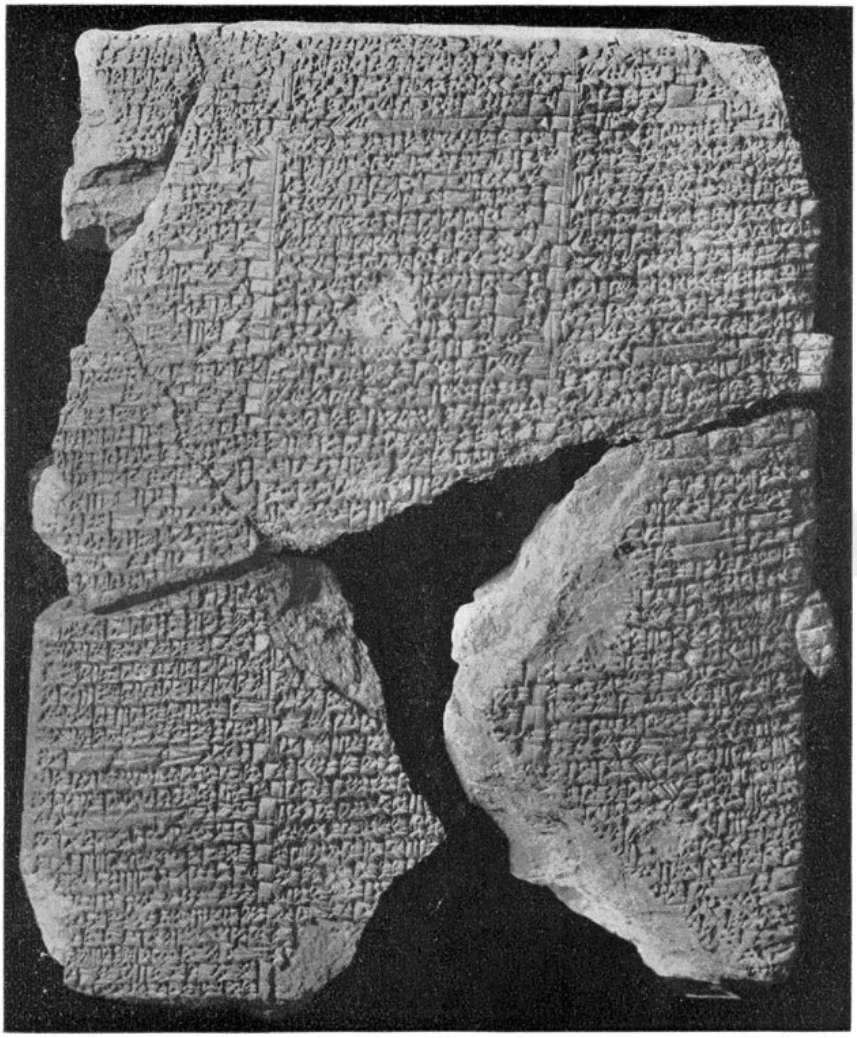
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The Yale Tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic

AN OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION OF THE GILGAMESH EPIC

On the Basis of Recently Discovered Texts

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In Memory of

William Max Müller

(1863–1919)

Whose life was devoted to Egyptological research

which he greatly enriched

by many contributions

Prefatory Note

The Introduction, the Commentary to the two tablets, and the Appendix, are by Professor Jastrow, and for these he assumes the sole responsibility. The text of the Yale tablet is by Professor Clay. The transliteration and the translation of the two tablets represent the joint work of the two authors. In the transliteration of the two tablets, C. E. Keiser's "System of Accentuation for Sumero-Akkadian signs" (Yale Oriental Researches — VOL. IX, Appendix, New Haven, 1919) has been followed.

Introduction.

The Gilgamesh Epic is the most notable literary product of Babylonia as yet discovered in the mounds of Mesopotamia. It recounts the exploits and adventures of a favorite hero, and in its final form covers twelve tablets, each tablet consisting of six columns (three on the obverse and three on the reverse) of about 50 lines for each column, or a total of about 3600 lines. Of this total, however, barely more than one-half has been found among the remains of the great collection of cuneiform tablets gathered by King Ashurbanapal (668–626 B.C.) in his palace at Nineveh, and discovered by Layard in 1854[1] in the course of his excavations of the mound Kouyunjik (opposite Mosul). The fragments of the epic painfully gathered — chiefly by George Smith — from the *circa* 30,000 tablets and bits of tablets brought to the British Museum were published in model form by Professor Paul Haupt;[2] and that edition still remains the primary source for our study of the Epic.

For the sake of convenience we may call the form of the Epic in the fragments from the library of Ashurbanapal the Assyrian version, though like most of the literary productions in the library it not only reverts to a Babylonian original, but represents a late copy of a much older original. The absence of any reference to Assyria in the fragments recovered justifies us in assuming that the Assyrian version received its present form in Babylonia, perhaps in Erech; though it is of course possible that some of the late features, particularly the elaboration of the teachings of the theologians or schoolmen in the eleventh and twelfth tablets, may have been produced at least in part under Assyrian influence. A definite indication that the Gilgamesh Epic reverts to a period earlier than Hammurabi (or Hammurawi)[3] i.e., beyond 2000 B. C., was furnished by the publication of a text clearly belonging to the first Babylonian dynasty (of which Hammurabi was the sixth member) in *CT*. VI, 5; which text Zimmern[4] recognized as a part of the tale of Atra-ḫasis, one of the names given to the survivor of the deluge, recounted on the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic.[5] This was confirmed by the discovery[6] of a fragment of the deluge story dated in the eleventh year of Ammisaduka, i.e., c. 1967 B.C. In this text, likewise, the name of the deluge hero appears as Atra-ḫasis (col. VIII, 4).[7] But while these two tablets do not belong to the Gilgamesh Epic and merely introduce an episode which has also been incorporated into the Epic, Dr. Bruno Meissner in 1902 published a tablet, dating, as the writing and the internal evidence showed, from the

Hammurabi period, which undoubtedly is a portion of what by way of distinction we may call an old Babylonian version.[8] It was picked up by Dr. Meissner at a dealer's shop in Bagdad and acquired for the Berlin Museum. The tablet consists of four columns (two on the obverse and two on the reverse) and deals with the hero's wanderings in search of a cure from disease with which he has been smitten after the death of his companion Enkidu. The hero fears that the disease will be fatal and longs to escape death. It corresponds to a portion of Tablet X of the Assyrian version. Unfortunately, only the lower portion of the obverse and the upper of the reverse have been preserved (57 lines in all); and in default of a colophon we do not know the numeration of the tablet in this old Babylonian edition. Its chief value, apart from its furnishing a proof for the existence of the Epic as early as 2000 B. C., lies (a) in the writing *Gish* instead of Gish-gi(n)-mash in the Assyrian version, for the name of the hero, (b) in the writing En-ki-dũ — abbreviated from dũg — () "Enki is good" for En-ki-dú () in the Assyrian version,[9] and (c) in the remarkable address of the maiden Sabitum, dwelling at the seaside, to whom Gilgamesh comes in the course of his wanderings. From the Assyrian version we know that the hero tells the maiden of his grief for his lost companion, and of his longing to escape the dire fate of Enkidu. In the old Babylonian fragment the answer of Sabitum is given in full, and the sad note that it strikes, showing how hopeless it is for man to try to escape death which is in store for all mankind, is as remarkable as is the philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry" which Sabitum imparts. The address indicates how early the tendency arose to attach to ancient tales the current religious teachings.

"Why, O Gish, does thou run about?
The life that thou seekest, thou wilt not find.
When the gods created mankind,
Death they imposed on mankind;
Life they kept in their power.
Thou, O Gish, fill thy belly,
Day and night do thou rejoice,
Daily make a rejoicing!
Day and night a renewal of jollification!
Let thy clothes be clean,
Wash thy head and pour water over thee!
Care for the little one who takes hold of thy hand!
Let the wife rejoice in thy bosom!"

Such teachings, reminding us of the leading thought in the Biblical Book of Ecclesiastes,[10] indicate the *didactic* character given to ancient tales that were of popular origin, but which were modified and elaborated under the influence of the schools which arose in connection with the Babylonian temples. The story itself belongs, therefore, to a still earlier period than the form it received in this old Babylonian version. The existence of this tendency at so early a date comes to us as a genuine surprise, and justifies the assumption that the attachment of a lesson to the deluge story in the Assyrian version, to wit, the limitation in attainment of immortality to those singled out by the gods as exceptions, dates likewise from the old Babylonian period. The same would apply to the twelfth tablet, which is almost entirely didactic, intended to illustrate the impossibility of learning anything of the fate of those who have passed out of this world. It also emphasizes the necessity of contenting oneself with the comfort that the care of the dead, by providing burial and food and drink offerings for them affords, as the only means of ensuring for them rest and freedom from the pangs of hunger and distress. However, it is of course possible that the twelfth tablet, which impresses one as a supplement to the adventures of Gilgamesh, ending with his return to Uruk (i.e., Erech) at the close of the eleventh tablet, may represent a *later* elaboration of the tendency to connect religious teachings with the exploits of a favorite hero.

We now have further evidence both of the extreme antiquity of the literary form of the Gilgamesh Epic and also of the disposition to make the Epic the medium of illustrating aspects of life and the destiny of mankind. The discovery by Dr. Arno Poebel of a Sumerian form of the tale of the descent of Ishtar to the lower world and her release[11] — apparently a nature myth to illustrate the change of season from summer to winter and back again to spring — enables us to pass beyond the Akkadian (or Semitic) form of tales current in the Euphrates Valley to the Sumerian form. Furthermore, we are indebted to Dr. Langdon for the identification of two Sumerian fragments in the Nippur Collection which deal with the adventures of Gilgamesh, one in Constantinople,[12] the other in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.[13] The former, of which only 25 lines are preserved (19 on the obverse and 6 on the reverse), appears to be a description of the weapons of Gilgamesh with which he arms himself for an encounter — presumably the encounter with Ḫumbaba or Ḫuwawa, the ruler of the cedar forest in the mountain.[14] The latter deals with the building operations of Gilgamesh in the city of Erech. A text in Zimmern's *Sumerische Kultlieder aus*

altbabylonischer Zeit (Leipzig, 1913), No. 196, appears likewise to be a fragment of the Sumerian version of the Gilgamesh Epic, bearing on the episode of Gilgamesh's and Enkidu's relations to the goddess Ishtar, covered in the sixth and seventh tablets of the Assyrian version.[15]

Until, however, further fragments shall have turned up, it would be hazardous to institute a comparison between the Sumerian and the Akkadian versions. All that can be said for the present is that there is every reason to believe in the existence of a literary form of the Epic in Sumerian which presumably antedated the Akkadian recension, just as we have a Sumerian form of Ishtar's descent into the nether world, and Sumerian versions of creation myths, as also of the Deluge tale.[16] It does not follow, however, that the Akkadian versions of the Gilgamesh Epic are translations of the Sumerian, any more than that the Akkadian creation myths are translations of a Sumerian original. Indeed, in the case of the creation myths, the striking difference between the Sumerian and Akkadian views of creation[17] points to the independent production of creation stories on the part of the Semitic settlers of the Euphrates Valley, though no doubt these were worked out in part under Sumerian literary influences. The same is probably true of Deluge tales, which would be given a distinctly Akkadian coloring in being reproduced and steadily elaborated by the Babylonian *literati* attached to the temples. The presumption is, therefore, in favor of an independent *literary* origin for the Semitic versions of the Gilgamesh Epic, though naturally with a duplication of the episodes, or at least of some of them, in the Sumerian narrative. Nor does the existence of a Sumerian form of the Epic necessarily prove that it originated with the Sumerians in their earliest home before they came to the Euphrates Valley. They may have adopted it after their conquest of southern Babylonia from the Semites who, there are now substantial grounds for believing, were the earlier settlers in the Euphrates Valley.[18] We must distinguish, therefore, between the earliest *literary* form, which was undoubtedly Sumerian, and the *origin* of the episodes embodied in the Epic, including the chief actors, Gilgamesh and his companion Enkidu. It will be shown that one of the chief episodes, the encounter of the two heroes with a powerful guardian or ruler of a cedar forest, points to a western region, more specifically to Amurru, as the scene. The names of the two chief actors, moreover, appear to have been "Sumerianized" by an artificial process,[19] and if this view turns out to be correct, we would have a further ground for assuming the tale to have originated among the Akkadian settlers and to have been taken over from them by the Sumerians.

New light on the earliest Babylonian version of the Epic, as well as on the Assyrian version, has been shed by the recovery of two substantial fragments of the form which the Epic had assumed in Babylonia in the Hammurabi period. The study of this important new material also enables us to advance the interpretation of the Epic and to perfect the analysis into its component parts. In the spring of 1914, the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania acquired by purchase a large tablet, the writing of which as well as the style and the manner of spelling verbal forms and substantives pointed distinctly to the time of the first Babylonian dynasty. The tablet was identified by Dr. Arno Poebel as part of the Gilgamesh Epic; and, as the colophon showed, it formed the second tablet of the series. He copied it with a view to publication, but the outbreak of the war which found him in Germany — his native country — prevented him from carrying out this intention.[20] He, however, utilized some of its contents in his discussion of the historical or semi-historical traditions about Gilgamesh, as revealed by the important list of partly mythical and partly historical dynasties, found among the tablets of the Nippur collection, in which Gilgamesh occurs[21] as a King of an Erech dynasty, whose father was Â, a priest of Kulab.[22]

The publication of the tablet was then undertaken by Dr. Stephen Langdon in monograph form under the title, "The Epic of Gilgamish."[23] In a preliminary article on the tablet in the *Museum Journal*, Vol. VIII, pages 29–38, Dr. Langdon took the tablet to be of the late Persian period (i.e., between the sixth and third century B. C.), but his attention having been called to this error of some *1500 years*, he corrected it in his introduction to his edition of the text, though he neglected to change some of his notes in which he still refers to the text as "late."[24] In addition to a copy of the text, accompanied by a good photograph, Dr. Langdon furnished a transliteration and translation with some notes and a brief introduction. The text is unfortunately badly copied, being full of errors; and the translation is likewise very defective. A careful collation with the original tablet was made with the assistance of Dr. Edward Chiera, and as a consequence we are in a position to offer to scholars a correct text. We beg to acknowledge our obligations to Dr. Gordon, the Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, for kindly placing the tablet at our disposal. Instead of republishing the text, I content myself with giving a full list of corrections in the appendix to this volume which will enable scholars to control our readings, and which will, I believe, justify the translation in the numerous passages in which it deviates from Dr. Langdon's rendering. While credit should be given to Dr. Langdon

for having made this important tablet accessible, the interests of science demand that attention be called to his failure to grasp the many important data furnished by the tablet, which escaped him because of his erroneous readings and faulty translations.

The tablet, consisting of six columns (three on the obverse and three on the reverse), comprised, according to the colophon, 240 lines[25] and formed the second tablet of the series. Of the total, 204 lines are preserved in full or in part, and of the missing thirty-six quite a number can be restored, so that we have a fairly complete tablet. The most serious break occurs at the top of the reverse, where about eight lines are missing. In consequence of this the connection between the end of the obverse (where about five lines are missing) and the beginning of the reverse is obscured, though not to the extent of our entirely losing the thread of the narrative.

About the same time that the University of Pennsylvania Museum purchased this second tablet of the Gilgamesh Series, Yale University obtained a tablet from the same dealer, which turned out to be a continuation of the University of Pennsylvania tablet. That the two belong to the same edition of the Epic is shown by their agreement in the dark brown color of the clay, in the writing as well as in the size of the tablet, though the characters on the Yale tablet are somewhat cramped and in consequence more difficult to read. Both tablets consist of six columns, three on the obverse and three on the reverse. The measurements of both are about the same, the Pennsylvania tablet being estimated at about 7 inches high, as against 72/16 inches for the Yale tablet, while the width of both is 6½ inches. The Yale tablet is, however, more closely written and therefore has a larger number of lines than the Pennsylvania tablet. The colophon to the Yale tablet is unfortunately missing, but from internal evidence it is quite certain that the Yale tablet follows immediately upon the Pennsylvania tablet and, therefore, may be set down as the third of the series. The obverse is very badly preserved, so that only a general view of its contents can be secured. The reverse contains serious gaps in the first and second columns. The scribe evidently had a copy before him which he tried to follow exactly, but finding that he could not get all of the copy before him in the six columns, he continued the last column on the edge. In this way we obtain for the sixth column 64 lines as against 45 for column IV, and 47 for column V, and a total of 292 lines for the six columns. Subtracting the 16 lines written on the edge leaves us 276 lines for our tablet as against 240

for its companion. The width of each column being the same on both tablets, the difference of 36 lines is made up by the closer writing.

Both tablets have peculiar knobs at the sides, the purpose of which is evidently not to facilitate holding the tablet in one's hand while writing or reading it, as Langdon assumed[26] (it would be quite impracticable for this purpose), but simply to protect the tablet in its position on a shelf, where it would naturally be placed on the edge, just as we arrange books on a shelf. Finally be it noted that these two tablets of the old Babylonian version do not belong to the same edition as the Meissner tablet above described, for the latter consists of two columns each on obverse and reverse, as against three columns each in the case of our two tablets. We thus have the interesting proof that as early as 2000 B.C. there were already several editions of the Epic. As to the provenance of our two tablets, there are no definite data, but it is likely that they were found by natives in the mounds at Warka, from which about the year 1913, many tablets came into the hands of dealers. It is likely that where two tablets of a series were found, others of the series were also dug up, and we may expect to find some further portions of this old Babylonian version turning up in the hands of other dealers or in museums.

Coming to the contents of the two tablets, the Pennsylvania tablet deals with the meeting of the two heroes, Gilgamesh and Enkidu, their conflict, followed by their reconciliation, while the Yale tablet in continuation takes up the preparations for the encounter of the two heroes with the guardian of the cedar forest, Ḫumbaba — but probably pronounced Ḫubaba[27] — or, as the name appears in the old Babylonian version, Ḫuwawa. The two tablets correspond, therefore, to portions of Tablets I to V of the Assyrian version;[28] but, as will be shown in detail further on, the number of *completely* parallel passages is not large, and the Assyrian version shows an independence of the old Babylonian version that is larger than we had reason to expect. In general, it may be said that the Assyrian version is more elaborate, which points to its having received its present form at a considerably later period than the old Babylonian version.[29] On the other hand, we already find in the Babylonian version the tendency towards repetition, which is characteristic of Babylonian-Assyrian tales in general. Through the two Babylonian tablets we are enabled to fill out certain details of the two episodes with which they deal: (1) the meeting of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, and (2) the encounter with Ḫuwawa; while their greatest value consists in the light that they throw on the gradual growth of the Epic until it reached its definite form in the text represented by the fragments

in Ashurbanapal's Library. Let us now take up the detailed analysis, first of the Pennsylvania tablet and then of the Yale tablet. The Pennsylvania tablet begins with two dreams recounted by Gilgamesh to his mother, which the latter interprets as presaging the coming of Enkidu to Erech. In the one, something like a heavy meteor falls from heaven upon Gilgamesh and almost crushes him. With the help of the heroes of Erech, Gilgamesh carries the heavy burden to his mother Ninsun. The burden, his mother explains, symbolizes some one who, like Gilgamesh, is born in the mountains, to whom all will pay homage and of whom Gilgamesh will become enamoured with a love as strong as that for a woman. In a second dream, Gilgamesh sees some one who is like him, who brandishes an axe, and with whom he falls in love. This personage, the mother explains, is again Enkidu.

Langdon is of the opinion that these dreams are recounted to Enkidu by a woman with whom Enkidu cohabits for six days and seven nights and who weans Enkidu from association with animals. This, however, cannot be correct. The scene between Enkidu and the woman must have been recounted in detail in the first tablet, as in the Assyrian version,[30] whereas here in the second tablet we have the continuation of the tale with Gilgamesh recounting his dreams directly to his mother. The story then continues with the description of the coming of Enkidu, conducted by the woman to the outskirts of Erech, where food is given him. The main feature of the incident is the conversion of Enkidu to civilized life. Enkidu, who hitherto had gone about naked, is clothed by the woman. Instead of sucking milk and drinking from a trough like an animal, food and strong drink are placed before him, and he is taught how to eat and drink in human fashion. In human fashion he also becomes drunk, and his "spree" is naïvely described: "His heart became glad and his face shone."[31] Like an animal, Enkidu's body had hitherto been covered with hair, which is now shaved off. He is anointed with oil, and clothed "like a man." Enkidu becomes a shepherd, protecting the fold against wild beasts, and his exploit in dispatching lions is briefly told. At this point — the end of column 3 (on the obverse), i.e., line 117, and the beginning of column 4 (on the reverse), i.e., line 131 — a gap of 13 lines — the tablet is obscure, but apparently the story of Enkidu's gradual transformation from savagery to civilized life is continued, with stress upon his introduction to domestic ways with the wife chosen or decreed for him, and with work as part of his fate. All this has no connection with Gilgamesh, and it is evident that the tale of Enkidu was originally an *independent* tale to illustrate the evolution of man's career and destiny,

how through intercourse with a woman he awakens to the sense of human dignity, how he becomes accustomed to the ways of civilization, how he passes through the pastoral stage to higher walks of life, how the family is instituted, and how men come to be engaged in the labors associated with human activities. In order to connect this tale with the Gilgamesh story, the two heroes are brought together; the woman taking on herself, in addition to the rôle of civilizer, that of the medium through which Enkidu is brought to Gilgamesh. The woman leads Enkidu from the outskirts of Erech into the city itself, where the people on seeing him remark upon his likeness to Gilgamesh. He is the very counterpart of the latter, though somewhat smaller in stature. There follows the encounter between the two heroes in the streets of Erech, where they engage in a fierce combat. Gilgamesh is overcome by Enkidu and is enraged at being thrown to the ground. The tablet closes with the endeavor of Enkidu to pacify Gilgamesh. Enkidu declares that the mother of Gilgamesh has exalted her son above the ordinary mortal, and that Enlil himself has singled him out for royal prerogatives.

After this, we may assume, the two heroes become friends and together proceed to carry out certain exploits, the first of which is an attack upon the mighty guardian of the cedar forest. This is the main episode in the Yale tablet, which, therefore, forms the third tablet of the old Babylonian version.

In the first column of the obverse of the Yale tablet, which is badly preserved, it would appear that the elders of Erech (or perhaps the people) are endeavoring to dissuade Gilgamesh from making the attempt to penetrate to the abode of Ḫuwawa. If this is correct, then the close of the first column may represent a conversation between these elders and the woman who accompanies Enkidu. It would be the elders who are represented as "reporting the speech to the woman," which is presumably the determination of Gilgamesh to fight Ḫuwawa. The elders apparently desire Enkidu to accompany Gilgamesh in this perilous adventure, and with this in view appeal to the woman. In the second column after an obscure reference to the mother of Gilgamesh — perhaps appealing to the sun-god — we find Gilgamesh and Enkidu again face to face. From the reference to Enkidu's eyes "filled with tears," we may conclude that he is moved to pity at the thought of what will happen to Gilgamesh if he insists upon carrying out his purpose. Enkidu, also, tries to dissuade Gilgamesh. This appears to be the main purport of the dialogue between the two, which begins about the middle of the second column and

extends to the end of the third column. Enkidu pleads that even his strength is insufficient,

"My arms are lame,
My strength has become weak." (lines 88–89)

Gilgamesh apparently asks for a description of the terrible tyrant who thus arouses the fear of Enkidu, and in reply Enkidu tells him how at one time, when he was roaming about with the cattle, he penetrated into the forest and heard the roar of Ḫuwawa which was like that of a deluge. The mouth of the tyrant emitted fire, and his breath was death. It is clear, as Professor Haupt has suggested,[32] that Enkidu furnishes the description of a volcano in eruption, with its mighty roar, spitting forth fire and belching out a suffocating smoke. Gilgamesh is, however, undaunted and urges Enkidu to accompany him in the adventure.

"I will go down to the forest," says Gilgamesh, if the conjectural restoration of the line in question (l. 126) is correct. Enkidu replies by again drawing a lurid picture of what will happen "When we go (together) to the forest……." This speech of Enkidu is continued on the reverse. In reply Gilgamesh emphasizes his reliance upon the good will of Shamash and reproaches Enkidu with cowardice. He declares himself superior to Enkidu's warning, and in bold terms says that he prefers to perish in the attempt to overcome Ḫuwawa rather than abandon it.

"Wherever terror is to be faced,
Thou, forsooth, art in fear of death.
Thy prowess lacks strength.
I will go before thee,
Though thy mouth shouts to me: 'thou art afraid to approach,'
If I fall, I will establish my name." (lines 143–148)

There follows an interesting description of the forging of the weapons for the two heroes in preparation for the encounter.[33] The elders of Erech when they see these preparations are stricken with fear. They learn of Ḫuwawa's threat to annihilate Gilgamesh if he dares to enter the cedar forest, and once more try to dissuade Gilgamesh from the undertaking.

"Thou art young, O Gish, and thy heart carries thee away,
Thou dost not know what thou proposest to do." (lines 190–191)

They try to frighten Gilgamesh by repeating the description of the terrible Ḫuwawa. Gilgamesh is still undaunted and prays to his patron deity Shamash, who apparently accords him a favorable "oracle" (*têrtu*). The two heroes arm themselves for the fray, and the elders of Erech, now reconciled to the perilous undertaking, counsel Gilgamesh to take provision along for the undertaking. They urge Gilgamesh to allow Enkidu to take the lead, for

> "He is acquainted with the way, he has trodden the road
> [to] the entrance of the forest." (lines 252–253)

The elders dismiss Gilgamesh with fervent wishes that Enkidu may track out the "closed path" for Gilgamesh, and commit him to the care of Lugalbanda — here perhaps an epithet of Shamash. They advise Gilgamesh to perform certain rites, to wash his feet in the stream of Ḫuwawa and to pour out a libation of water to Shamash. Enkidu follows in a speech likewise intended to encourage the hero; and with the actual beginning of the expedition against Ḫuwawa the tablet ends. The encounter itself, with the triumph of the two heroes, must have been described in the fourth tablet.

Now before taking up the significance of the additions to our knowledge of the Epic gained through these two tablets, it will be well to discuss the forms in which the names of the two heroes and of the ruler of the cedar forest occur in our tablets.

As in the Meissner fragment, the chief hero is invariably designated as ^{d}Gish in both the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets; and we may therefore conclude that this was the common form in the Hammurabi period, as against the writing ^{d}Gish-gì(n)-mash[34] in the Assyrian version. Similarly, as in the Meissner fragment, the second hero's name is always written En-ki-dũ[35] (abbreviated from dúg) as against En-ki-dú in the Assyrian version. Finally, we encounter in the Yale tablet for the first time the writing Ḫu-wa-wa as the name of the guardian of the cedar forest, as against Ḫum-ba-ba in the Assyrian version, though in the latter case, as we may now conclude from the Yale tablet, the name should rather be read Ḫu-ba-ba.[36] The variation in the writing of the latter name is interesting as pointing to the aspirate pronunciation of the labial in both instances. The name would thus present a complete parallel to the Hebrew name Ḫowawa (or Ḫobab) who appears as the brother-in-law of Moses in the P document, Numbers 10, 29.[37] Since the name also occurs, written precisely as in the Yale tablet, among the "Amoritic" names in

the important lists published by Dr. Chiera,[38] there can be no doubt that Ḫuwawa or Ḫubaba is a West Semitic name. This important fact adds to the probability that the "cedar forest" in which Ḫuwawa dwells is none other than the Lebanon district, famed since early antiquity for its cedars. This explanation of the name Ḫuwawa disposes of suppositions hitherto brought forward for an Elamitic origin. Gressmann[39] still favors such an origin, though realizing that the description of the cedar forest points to the Amanus or Lebanon range. In further confirmation of the West Semitic origin of the name, we have in Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, § 19, the name Kombabos[40] (the guardian of Stratonika), which forms a perfect parallel to Ḫu(m)baba. Of the important bearings of this western character of the name Ḫuwawa on the interpretation and origin of the Gilgamesh Epic, suggesting that the episode of the encounter between the tyrant and the two heroes rests upon a tradition of an expedition against the West or Amurru land, we shall have more to say further on.

The variation in the writing of the name Enkidu is likewise interesting. It is evident that the form in the old Babylonian version with the sign dũ (i.e., dúg) is the original, for it furnishes us with a suitable etymology "Enki is good." The writing with dúg, pronounced dū, also shows that the sign dú as the third element in the form which the name has in the Assyrian version is to be read dú, and that former readings like Ea-bani must be definitely abandoned.[41] The form with dú is clearly a *phonetic* writing of the Sumerian name, the sign dú being chosen to indicate the *pronunciation* (not the ideograph) of the third element dúg. This is confirmed by the writing En-gi-dú in the syllabary *CT* XVIII, 30, 10. The phonetic writing is, therefore, a warning against any endeavor to read the name by an Akkadian transliteration of the signs. This would not of itself prove that Enkidu is of Sumerian *origin*, for it might well be that the writing En-ki-dú is an endeavor to give a Sumerian *aspect* to a name that *may* have been foreign. The element dúg corresponds to the Semitic *ṭâbu*, "good," and En-ki being originally a designation of a deity as the "lord of the land," which would be the Sumerian manner of indicating a Semitic Baal, it is not at all impossible that En-ki-dúg may be the "Sumerianized" form of a Semitic בַּעַל טוֹב "Baal is good." It will be recalled that in the third column of the Yale tablet, Enkidu speaks of himself in his earlier period while still living with cattle, as wandering into the cedar forest of Ḫuwawa, while in another passage (ll. 252–253) he is described as "acquainted with the way … to the entrance of the forest." This would clearly point to the West as the original home of Enkidu. We are thus led once more to Amurru — taken as a general

designation of the West — as playing an important role in the Gilgamesh Epic.[42] If Gilgamesh's expedition against Ḫuwawa of the Lebanon district recalls a Babylonian campaign against Amurru, Enkidu's coming from his home, where, as we read repeatedly in the Assyrian version,

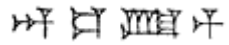
"He ate herbs with the gazelles,
Drank out of a trough with cattle,"[43]

may rest on a tradition of an Amorite invasion of Babylonia. The fight between Gilgamesh and Enkidu would fit in with this tradition, while the subsequent reconciliation would be the form in which the tradition would represent the enforced union between the invaders and the older settlers.

Leaving this aside for the present, let us proceed to a consideration of the relationship of the form ^{d}Gish, for the chief personage in the Epic in the old Babylonian version, to ^{d}Gish-gi(n)-mash in the Assyrian version. Of the meaning of Gish there is fortunately no doubt. It is clearly the equivalent to the Akkadian *zikaru*, "man" (Brünnow No. 5707), or possibly *rabû*, "great" (Brünnow No. 5704). Among various equivalents, the preference is to be given to *itlu*, "hero." The determinative for deity stamps the person so designated as deified, or as in part divine, and this is in accord with the express statement in the Assyrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic which describes the hero as

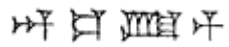
"Two-thirds god and one-third human."[44]

Gish is, therefore, the hero-god *par excellence*; and this shows that we are not dealing with a genuine proper name, but rather with a descriptive attribute. Proper names are not formed in this way, either in Sumerian or Akkadian. Now what relation does this form Gish bear to



as the name of the hero is invariably written in the Assyrian version, the form which was at first read ^{d}Iz-tu-bar or ^{d}Gish-du-bar by scholars, until Pinches found in a neo-Babylonian syllabary[45] the equation of it with Gi-il-ga-mesh? Pinches' discovery pointed conclusively to the popular pronunciation of the hero's name as Gilgamesh; and since Aelian (*De natura Animalium* XII, 2) mentions a Babylonian personage Gilgamos (though what he tells us of Gilgamos does not appear in our Epic, but seems to apply to Etana, another figure of Babylonian mythology), there

seemed to be no further reason to question that the problem had been solved. Besides, in a later Syriac list of Babylonian kings found in the Scholia of Theodor bar Koni, the name גלמגום with a variant גמיגמוס occurs,[46] and it is evident that we have here again the Gi-il-ga-mesh, discovered by Pinches. The existence of an old Babylonian hero Gilgamesh who was likewise a king is thus established, as well as his identification with



It is evident that we cannot read this name as Iz-tu-bar or Gish-du-bar, but that we must read the first sign as Gish and the third as Mash, while for the second we must assume a reading Gìn or Gi. This would give us Gish-gì(n)-mash which is clearly again (like En-ki-dú) not an etymological writing but a *phonetic* one, intended to convey an *approach* to the popular pronunciation. Gi-il-ga-mesh might well be merely a variant for Gish-ga-mesh, or *vice versa*, and this would come close to Gish-gi-mash. Now, when we have a name the pronunciation of which is not definite but approximate, and which is written in various ways, the probabilities are that the name is foreign. A foreign name might naturally be spelled in various ways. The Epic in the Assyrian version clearly depicts ^{d}Gish-gì(n)-mash as a conqueror of Erech, who forces the people into subjection, and whose autocratic rule leads the people of Erech to implore the goddess Aruru to create a rival to him who may withstand him. In response to this appeal ^{d}Enkidu is formed out of dust by Aruru and eventually brought to Erech.[47] Gish-gì(n)-mash or Gilgamesh is therefore in all probability a foreigner; and the simplest solution suggested by the existence of the two forms (1) Gish in the old Babylonian version and (2) Gish-gì(n)-mash in the Assyrian version, is to regard the former as an abbreviation, which seemed appropriate, because the short name conveyed the idea of the "hero" *par excellence*. If Gish-gì(n)-mash is a foreign name, one would think in the first instance of Sumerian; but here we encounter a difficulty in the circumstance that outside of the Epic this conqueror and ruler of Erech appears in quite a different form, namely, as ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh, with ^{d}Gish-gibil(or bìl)-ga-mesh and ^{d}Gish-bil-ge-mesh as variants.[48] In the remarkable list of partly mythological and partly historical dynasties, published by Poebel,[49] the fifth member of the first dynasty of Erech appears as ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh; and similarly in an inscription of the days of Sin-gamil, ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh is mentioned as the builder of the wall

of Erech.[50] Moreover, in the several fragments of the Sumerian version of the Epic we have invariably the form ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh. It is evident, therefore, that this is the genuine form of the name in Sumerian and presumably, therefore, the oldest form. By way of further confirmation we have in the syllabary above referred to, CT, XVIII, 30, 6–8, three designations of our hero, viz:

- ^{d}Gish-gibil(or bíl)-ga-mesh
- *muḳ-tab-lu* ("warrior")
- *a-lik pa-na* ("leader")

All three designations are set down as the equivalent of the Sumerian Esigga imin i.e., "the seven-fold hero."

Of the same general character is the equation in another syllabary:[51]

Esigga-tuk and its equivalent Gish-tuk = "the one who is a hero."

Furthermore, the name occurs frequently in "Temple" documents of the Ur dynasty in the form ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh[52] with ^{d}Gish-bil-gi(n)-mesh as a variant.[53] In a list of deities (*CT* XXV, 28, K 7659) we likewise encounter ^{d}Gish-gibil(or bíl)-ga-mesh, and lastly in a syllabary we have the equation[54]

^{d}Gish-gi-mas-[si?] = ^{d}Gish-bil-[ga-mesh].

The variant Gish-gibil for Gish-bil may be disposed of readily, in view of the frequent confusion or interchange of the two signs Bil (Brünnow No. 4566) and Gibil or Bíl (Brünnow No. 4642) which has also the value Gi (Brünnow 4641), so that we might also read Gish-gi-ga-mesh. Both signs convey the idea of "fire," "renew," etc.; both revert to the picture of flames of fire, in the one case with a bowl (or some such obiect) above it, in the other the flames issuing apparently from a torch.[55] The meaning of the name is not affected whether we read ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh or ^{d}Gish-gibil(or bíl)-ga-mesh, for the middle element in the latter case being identical with the fire-god, written ^{d}Bil-gi and to be pronounced in the inverted form as Gibil with *-ga* (or *ge*) as the phonetic complement; it is equivalent, therefore, to the writing bil-ga in the former case. Now Gish-gibil or Gish-bíl conveys the idea of *abu*, "father" (Brünnow No. 5713), just as Bil (Brünnow No. 4579) has this meaning, while Pa-gibil-(ga) or Pa-bíl-ga is *abu abi*, "grandfather."[56] This meaning may be derived from Gibil, as also from Bíl = *išatu*, "fire," then *eššu*, "new," then *abu*, "father," as the renewer or creator. Gish with Bíl or Gibil would, therefore, be "the father-man" or "the father-hero," i.e., again the hero *par excellence*, the original hero, just as in Hebrew and Arabic *ab* is used in this way.[57] The syllable *ga* being a phonetic

complement, the element *mesh* is to be taken by itself and to be explained, as Poebel suggested, as "hero" (*itlu*. Brünnow No. 5967).

We would thus obtain an entirely artificial combination, "man (or hero), father, hero," which would simply convey in an emphatic manner the idea of the *Ur-held*, the original hero, the father of heroes as it were — practically the same idea, therefore, as the one conveyed by Gish alone, as the hero *par excellence*. Our investigation thus leads us to a substantial identity between Gish and the longer form Gish-bil(or bíl)-ga-mesh, and the former might, therefore, well be used as an abbreviation of the latter. Both the shorter and the longer forms are *descriptive epithets* based on naive folk etymology, rather than personal names, just as in the designation of our hero as *muḳtablu*, the "fighter," or as *âlik pâna*, "the leader," or as *Esigga imin*, "the seven-fold hero," or *Esigga tuk*, "the one who is a hero," are descriptive epithets, and as Atra-ḫasis, "the very wise one," is such an epithet for the hero of the deluge story. The case is different with Gi-il-ga-mesh, or Gish-gì(n)-mash, which represent the popular and actual pronunciation of the name, or at least the *approach* to such pronunciation. Such forms, stripped as they are of all artificiality, impress one as genuine names. The conclusion to which we are thus led is that Gish-bil(or bíl)-ga-mesh is a play upon the genuine name, to convey to those to whom the real name, as that of a foreigner, would suggest no meaning an interpretation *fitting in with his character*. In other words, Gish-bil-ga-mesh is a "Sumerianized" form of the name, introduced into the Sumerian version of the tale which became a folk-possession in the Euphrates Valley. Such plays upon names to suggest the character of an individual or some incident are familiar to us from the narratives in Genesis.[58] They do not constitute genuine etymologies and are rarely of use in leading to a correct etymology. Reuben, e.g., certainly does not mean "Yahweh has seen my affliction," which the mother is supposed to have exclaimed at the birth (Genesis 29, 32), with a play upon *ben* and *be'onyi*, any more than Judah means "I praise Yahweh" (v. 35), though it does contain the divine name (*Yᵉhô*) as an element. The play on the name may be close or remote, as long as it fulfills its function of *suggesting* an etymology that is complimentary or appropriate.

In this way, an artificial division and at the same time a distortion of a foreign name like Gilgamesh into several elements, Gish-bil-ga-mesh, is no more violent than, for example, the explanation of Issachar or rather Issaschar as "God has given my hire" (Genesis 30, 18) with a play upon the element *sᵉchar*, and as though the name were to be divided into *Yah*

("God") and *s^{e}char* ("hire"); or the popular name of Alexander among the Arabs as *Zu'l Karnaini*, "the possessor of the two horns." with a suggestion of his conquest of two hemispheres, or what not.[59] The element Gil in Gilgamesh would be regarded as a contraction of Gish-bil or gi-bil, in order to furnish the meaning "father-hero," or Gil might be looked upon as a variant for Gish, which would give us the "phonetic" form in the Assyrian version ^{d}Gish-gi-mash,[60] as well as such a variant writing ^{d}Gish-gi-mas-(si). Now a name like Gilgamesh, upon which we may definitely settle as coming closest to the genuine form, certainly impresses one as foreign, i.e., it is neither Sumerian nor Akkadian; and we have already suggested that the circumstance that the hero of the Epic is portrayed as a conqueror of Erech, and a rather ruthless one at that, points to a tradition of an invasion of the Euphrates Valley as the background for the episode in the first tablet of the series. Now it is significant that many of the names in the "mythical" dynasties, as they appear in Poebel's list,[61] are likewise foreign, such as Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir, son of the god Shamash (and the founder of the "mythical" dynasty of Erech of which ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh is the fifth member),[62] and En-me-ir-kár his son. In a still earlier "mythical" dynasty, we encounter names like Ga-lu-mu-um, Zu-ga-gi-ib, Ar-pi, E-ta-na,[63] which are distinctly foreign, while such names as En-me(n)-nun-na and Bar-sal-nun-na strike one again as "Sumerianized" names rather than as genuine Sumerian formations.[64]

Some of these names, as Galumum, Arpi and Etana, are so Amoritic in appearance, that one may hazard the conjecture of their western origin. May Gilgamesh likewise belong to the Amurru[65] region, or does he represent a foreigner from the East in contrast to Enkidu, whose name, we have seen, may have been Baal-Ṭôb in the West, with which region he is according to the Epic so familiar? It must be confessed that the second element *ga-mesh* would fit in well with a Semitic origin for the name, for the element impresses one as the participial form of a Semitic stem g-m-š, just as in the second element of Meskin-gašer we have such a form. Gil might then be the name of a West-Semitic deity. Such conjectures, however, can for the present not be substantiated, and we must content ourselves with the conclusion that Gilgamesh as the real name of the hero, or at least the form which comes closest to the real name, points to a foreign origin for the hero, and that such forms as ^{d}Gish-bil-ga-mesh and ^{d}Gish-bíl-gi-mesh and other variants are "Sumerianized" forms for which an artificial etymology was brought forward to convey the idea of the "original hero" or the hero *par*

excellence. By means of this "play" on the name, which reverts to the compilers of the Sumerian version of the Epic, Gilgamesh was converted into a Sumerian figure, just as the name Enkidu may have been introduced as a Sumerian translation of his Amoritic name. ^{d}Gish at all events is an abbreviated form of the "Sumerianized" name, introduced by the compilers of the earliest Akkadian version, which was produced naturally under the influence of the Sumerian version. Later, as the Epic continued to grow, a phonetic writing was introduced, ^{d}Gish-gi-mash, which is in a measure a compromise between the genuine name and the "Sumerianized" form, but at the same time an *approach* to the real pronunciation.

Next to the new light thrown upon the names and original character of the two main figures of the Epic, one of the chief points of interest in the Pennsylvania fragment is the proof that it furnishes for a striking resemblance of the two heroes, Gish and Enkidu, to one another. In interpreting the dream of Gish, his mother. Ninsun, lays stress upon the fact that the dream portends the coming of someone who is like Gish, "born in the field and reared in the mountain" (lines 18–19). Both, therefore, are shown by this description to have come to Babylonia from a mountainous region, i.e., they are foreigners; and in the case of Enkidu we have seen that the mountain in all probability refers to a region in the West, while the same may also be the case with Gish. The resemblance of the two heroes to one another extends to their personal appearance. When Enkidu appears on the streets of Erech, the people are struck by this resemblance. They remark that he is "like Gish," though "shorter in stature" (lines 179–180). Enkidu is described as a rival or counterpart.[66]

This relationship between the two is suggested also by the Assyrian version. In the creation of Enkidu by Aruru, the people urge the goddess to create the "counterpart" (*zikru*) of Gilgamesh, someone who will be like him (*ma-ši-il*) (Tablet I, 2, 31). Enkidu not only comes from the mountain,[67] but the mountain is specifically designated as his birth-place (I, 4, 2), precisely as in the Pennsylvania tablet, while in another passage he is also described, as in our tablet, as "born in the field."[68] Still more significant is the designation of Gilgamesh as the *talimu*, "younger brother," of Enkidu.[69] In accord with this, we find Gilgamesh in his lament over Enkidu describing him as a "younger brother" (*ku-ta-ni*);[70] and again in the last tablet of the Epic, Gilgamesh is referred to as the "brother" of Enkidu.[71] This close relationship reverts to the Sumerian version, for the Constantinople fragment (Langdon, above, p. 13) begins with the designation of Gish-bil-ga-mesh as "his brother." By "his" no

doubt Enkidu is meant. Likewise in the Sumerian text published by Zimmern (above, p. 13) Gilgamesh appears as the brother of Enkidu (rev. 1, 17).

Turning to the numerous representations of Gilgamesh and Enkidu on Seal Cylinders,[72] we find this resemblance of the two heroes to each other strikingly confirmed. Both are represented as bearded, with the strands arranged in the same fashion. The face in both cases is broad, with curls protruding at the side of the head, though at times these curls are lacking in the case of Enkidu. What is particularly striking is to find Gilgamesh generally *a little taller* than Enkidu, thus bearing out the statement in the Pennsylvania tablet that Enkidu is "shorter in stature." There are, to be sure, also some distinguishing marks between the two. Thus Enkidu is generally represented with animal hoofs, but not always.[73] Enkidu is commonly portrayed with the horns of a bison, but again this sign is wanting in quite a number of instances.[74] The hoofs and the horns mark the period when Enkidu lived with animals and much like an animal. Most remarkable, however, of all are cylinders on which we find the two heroes almost exactly alike as, for example, Ward No. 199 where two figures, the one a duplicate of the other (except that one is just a shade taller), are in conflict with each other. Dr. Ward was puzzled by this representation and sets it down as a "fantastic" scene in which "each Gilgamesh is stabbing the other." In the light of the Pennsylvania tablet, this scene is clearly the conflict between the two heroes described in column 6, preliminary to their forming a friendship. Even in the realm of myth the human experience holds good that there is nothing like a good fight as a basis for a subsequent alliance. The fragment describes this conflict as a furious one in which Gilgamesh is worsted, and his wounded pride assuaged by the generous victor, who comforts his vanquished enemy by the assurance that he was destined for something higher than to be a mere "Hercules." He was singled out for the exercise of royal authority. True to the description of the two heroes in the Pennsylvania tablet as alike, one the counterpart of the other, the seal cylinder portrays them almost exactly alike, as alike as two brothers could possibly be; with just enough distinction to make it clear on close inspection that two figures are intended and not one repeated for the sake of symmetry. There are slight variations in the manner in which the hair is worn, and slightly varying expressions of the face, just enough to make it evident that the one is intended for Gilgamesh and the other for Enkidu. When, therefore, in another specimen, No. 173, we find a Gilgamesh holding his counterpart by the legs, it is merely another

aspect of the fight between the two heroes, one of whom is intended to represent Enkidu, and not, as Dr. Ward supposed, a grotesque repetition of Gilgamesh.[75]

The description of Enkidu in the Pennsylvania tablet as a parallel figure to Gilgamesh leads us to a consideration of the relationship of the two figures to one another. Many years ago it was pointed out that the Gilgamesh Epic was a composite tale in which various stories of an independent origin had been combined and brought into more or less artificial connection with the *heros eponymos* of southern Babylonia.[76] We may now go a step further and point out that not only is Enkidu originally an entirely independent figure, having no connection with Gish or Gilgamesh, but that the latter is really depicted in the Epic as the counterpart of Enkidu, a reflection who has been given the traits of extraordinary physical power that belong to Enkidu. This is shown in the first place by the fact that in the encounter it is Enkidu who triumphs over Gilgamesh. The entire analysis of the episode of the meeting between the two heroes as given by Gressmann[77] must be revised. It is not Enkidu who is terrified and who is warned against the encounter. It is Gilgamesh who, during the night on his way from the house in which the goddess Ishḫara lies, encounters Enkidu on the highway. Enkidu "blocks the path"[78] of Gilgamesh. He prevents Gilgamesh from re-entering the house,[79] and the two attack each other "like oxen."[80] They grapple with each other, and Enkidu forces Gilgamesh to the ground. Enkidu is, therefore, the real hero whose traits of physical prowess are afterwards transferred to Gilgamesh.

Similarly in the next episode, the struggle against Ḫuwawa, the Yale tablet makes it clear that in the original form of the tale Enkidu is the real hero. All warn Gish against the undertaking — the elders of Erech, Enkidu, and also the workmen. "Why dost thou desire to do this?"[81] they say to him. "Thou art young, and thy heart carries thee away. Thou knowest not what thou proposest to do."[82] This part of the incident is now better known to us through the latest fragment of the Assyrian version discovered and published by King.[83] The elders say to Gilgamesh:

"Do not trust, O Gilgamesh, in thy strength!
Be warned(?) against trusting to thy attack!
The one who goes before will save his companion,[84]
He who has foresight will save his friend.[85]
Let Enkidu go before thee.
He knows the roads to the cedar forest;
He is skilled in battle and has seen fight."

Gilgamesh is sufficiently impressed by this warning to invite Enkidu to accompany him on a visit to his mother, Ninsun, for the purpose of receiving her counsel.[86]

It is only after Enkidu, who himself hesitates and tries to dissuade Gish, decides to accompany the latter that the elders of Erech are reconciled and encourage Gish for the fray. The two in concert proceed against Ḫuwawa. Gilgamesh alone cannot carry out the plan. Now when a tale thus associates two figures in one deed, one of the two has been added to the original tale. In the present case there can be little doubt that Enkidu, without whom Gish cannot proceed, who is specifically described as "acquainted with the way … to the entrance of the forest"[87] in which Ḫuwawa dwells is the *original* vanquisher. Naturally, the Epic aims to conceal this fact as much as possible *ad majorem gloriam* of Gilgamesh. It tries to put the one who became the favorite hero into the foreground. Therefore, in both the Babylonian and the Assyrian version Enkidu is represented as hesitating, and Gilgamesh as determined to go ahead. Gilgamesh, in fact, accuses Enkidu of cowardice and boldly declares that he will proceed even though failure stare him in the face.[88] Traces of the older view, however, in which Gilgamesh is the one for whom one fears the outcome, crop out; as, for example, in the complaint of Gilgamesh's mother to Shamash that the latter has stirred the heart of her son to take the distant way to Ḫu(m)baba,

"To a fight unknown to him, he advances,
An expedition unknown to him he undertakes."[89]

Ninsun evidently fears the consequences when her son informs her of his intention and asks her counsel. The answer of Shamash is not preserved, but no doubt it was of a reassuring character, as was the answer of the Sun-god to Gish's appeal and prayer as set forth in the Yale tablet.[90]

Again, as a further indication that Enkidu is the real conqueror of Ḫuwawa, we find the coming contest revealed to Enkidu no less than three times in dreams, which Gilgamesh interprets.[91] Since the person who dreams is always the one to whom the dream applies, we may see in these dreams a further trace of the primary rôle originally assigned to Enkidu.

Another exploit which, according to the Assyrian version, the two heroes perform in concert is the killing of a bull, sent by Anu at the instance of Ishtar to avenge an insult offered to the goddess by Gilgamesh, who rejects her offer of marriage. In the fragmentary

description of the contest with the bull, we find Enkidu "seizing" the monster by "its tail."[92]

That Enkidu originally played the part of the slayer is also shown by the statement that it is he who insults Ishtar by throwing a piece of the carcass into the goddess' face,[93] adding also an insulting speech; and this despite the fact that Ishtar in her rage accuses Gilgamesh of killing the bull.[94] It is thus evident that the Epic alters the original character of the episodes in order to find a place for Gilgamesh, with the further desire to assign to the latter the *chief* rôle. Be it noted also that Enkidu, not Gilgamesh, is punished for the insult to Ishtar. Enkidu must therefore in the original form of the episode have been the guilty party, who is stricken with mortal disease as a punishment to which after twelve days he succumbs.[95] In view of this, we may supply the name of Enkidu in the little song introduced at the close of the encounter with the bull, and not Gilgamesh as has hitherto been done.

"Who is distinguished among the heroes?
Who is glorious among men?
[Enkidu] is distinguished among heroes,
[Enkidu] is glorious among men."[96]

Finally, the killing of lions is directly ascribed to Enkidu in the Pennsylvania tablet:

"Lions he attacked

* * * * *

Lions he overcame"[97]

whereas Gilgamesh appears to be afraid of lions. On his long search for Utnapishtim he says:

"On reaching the entrance of the mountain at night
I saw lions and was afraid."[98]

He prays to Sin and Ishtar to protect and save him. When, therefore, in another passage some one celebrates Gilgamesh as the one who overcame the "guardian," who dispatched Ḫu(m)baba in the cedar forest, who killed lions and overthrew the bull,[99] we have the completion of the process which transferred to Gilgamesh exploits and powers which originally belonged to Enkidu, though ordinarily the process stops short at making Gilgamesh a *sharer* in the exploits; with the natural tendency, to be sure, to enlarge the share of the favorite.

We can now understand why the two heroes are described in the Pennsylvania tablet as alike, as born in the same place, aye, as brothers. Gilgamesh in the Epic is merely a reflex of Enkidu. The latter is the real hero and presumably, therefore, the older figure.[100] Gilgamesh resembles Enkidu, because he *is* originally Enkidu. The "resemblance" *motif* is merely the manner in which in the course of the partly popular, partly literary transfer, the recollection is preserved that Enkidu is the original, and Gilgamesh the copy.

The artificiality of the process which brings the two heroes together is apparent in the dreams of Gilgamesh which are interpreted by his mother as portending the coming of Enkidu. Not the conflict is foreseen, but the subsequent close association, naïvely described as due to the personal charm which Enkidu exercises, which will lead Gilgamesh to fall in love with the one whom he is to meet. The two will become one, like man and wife.

On the basis of our investigations, we are now in a position to reconstruct in part the cycle of episodes that once formed part of an Enkidu Epic. The fight between Enkidu and Gilgamesh, in which the former is the victor, is typical of the kind of tales told of Enkidu. He is the real prototype of the Greek Hercules. He slays lions, he overcomes a powerful opponent dwelling in the forests of Lebanon, he kills the bull, and he finally succumbs to disease sent as a punishment by an angry goddess. The death of Enkidu naturally formed the close of the Enkidu Epic, which in its original form may, of course, have included other exploits besides those taken over into the Gilgamesh Epic.

There is another aspect of the figure of Enkidu which is brought forward in the Pennsylvania tablet more clearly than had hitherto been the case. Many years ago attention was called to certain striking resemblances between Enkidu and the figure of the first man as described in the early chapters of Genesis.[101] At that time we had merely the Assyrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic at our disposal, and the main point of contact was the description of Enkidu living with the animals, drinking and feeding like an animal, until a woman is brought to him with whom he engages in sexual intercourse. This suggested that Enkidu was a picture of primeval man, while the woman reminded one of Eve, who when she is brought to Adam becomes his helpmate and inseparable companion. The Biblical tale stands, of course, on a much higher level, and is introduced, as are other traditions and tales of primitive times, in the style of a parable to convey certain religious teachings. For all that, suggestions of earlier conceptions crop out in the picture of Adam

surrounded by animals to which he assigns names. Such a phrase as "there was no helpmate corresponding to him" becomes intelligible on the supposition of an existing tradition or belief, that man once lived and, indeed, cohabited with animals. The tales in the early chapters of Genesis must rest on very early popular traditions, which have been cleared of mythological and other objectionable features in order to adapt them to the purpose of the Hebrew compilers, to serve as a medium for illustrating certain religious teachings regarding man's place in nature and his higher destiny. From the resemblance between Enkidu and Adam it does not, of course, follow that the latter is modelled upon the former, but only that both rest on similar traditions of the condition under which men lived in primeval days prior to the beginnings of human culture.

We may now pass beyond these general indications and recognize in the story of Enkidu as revealed by the Pennsylvania tablet an attempt to trace the evolution of primitive man from low beginnings to the regular and orderly family life associated with advanced culture. The new tablet furnishes a further illustration for the surprisingly early tendency among the Babylonian *literati* to connect with popular tales teachings of a religious or ethical character. Just as the episode between Gilgamesh and the maiden Sabitum is made the occasion for introducing reflections on the inevitable fate of man to encounter death, so the meeting of Enkidu with the woman becomes the medium of impressing the lesson of human progress through the substitution of bread and wine for milk and water, through the institution of the family, and through work and the laying up of resources. This is the significance of the address to Enkidu in column 4 of the Pennsylvania tablet, even though certain expressions in it are somewhat obscure. The connection of the entire episode of Enkidu and the woman with Gilgamesh is very artificial; and it becomes much more intelligible if we disassociate it from its present entanglement in the Epic. In Gilgamesh's dream, portending the meeting with Enkidu, nothing is said of the woman who is the companion of the latter. The passage in which Enkidu is created by Aruru to oppose Gilgamesh[102] betrays evidence of having been worked over in order to bring Enkidu into association with the longing of the people of Erech to get rid of a tyrannical character. The people in their distress appeal to Aruru to create a rival to Gilgamesh. In response,

"Aruru upon hearing this created a man of Anu in her heart."

Now this "man of Anu" cannot possibly be Enkidu, for the sufficient reason that a few lines further on Enkidu is described as an offspring of Ninib. Moreover, the being created is not a "counterpart" of Gilgamesh,

but an animal-man, as the description that follows shows. We must separate lines 30–33 in which the creation of the "Anu man" is described from lines 34–41 in which the creation of Enkidu is narrated. Indeed, these lines strike one as the proper *beginning* of the original Enkidu story, which would naturally start out with his birth and end with his death. The description is clearly an account of the creation of the first man, in which capacity Enkidu is brought forward.

"Aruru washed her hands, broke off clay,
threw it on the field[103]
… created Enkidu, the hero, a lofty
offspring of the host of Ninib."[104]

The description of Enkidu follows, with his body covered with hair like an animal, and eating and drinking with the animals. There follows an episode[105] which has no connection whatsoever with the Gilgamesh Epic, but which is clearly intended to illustrate how Enkidu came to abandon the life with the animals. A hunter sees Enkidu and is amazed at the strange sight — an animal and yet a man. Enkidu, as though resenting his condition, becomes enraged at the sight of the hunter, and the latter goes to his father and tells him of the strange creature whom he is unable to catch. In reply, the father advises his son to take a woman with him when next he goes out on his pursuit, and to have the woman remove her dress in the presence of Enkidu, who will then approach her, and after intercourse with her will abandon the animals among whom he lives. By this device he will catch the strange creature. Lines 14–18 of column 3 in the first tablet in which the father of the hunter refers to Gilgamesh must be regarded as a later insertion, a part of the reconstruction of the tale to connect the episode with Gilgamesh. The advice of the father to his son, the hunter, begins, line 19,

"Go my hunter, take with thee a woman."

In the reconstructed tale, the father tells his son to go to Gilgamesh to relate to him the strange appearance of the animal-man; but there is clearly no purpose in this, as is shown by the fact that when the hunter does so, Gilgamesh makes *precisely the same speech* as does the father of the hunter. Lines 40–44 of column 3, in which Gilgamesh is represented as speaking to the hunter form a complete *doublet* to lines 19–24, beginning

"Go, my hunter, take with thee a woman, etc."

and similarly the description of Enkidu appears twice, lines 2–12 in an address of the hunter to his father, and lines 29–39 in the address of

the hunter to Gilgamesh.

The artificiality of the process of introducing Gilgamesh into the episode is revealed by this awkward and entirely meaningless repetition. We may therefore reconstruct the first two scenes in the Enkidu Epic as follows:[106]

Tablet I, col. 2, 34–35: Creation of Enkidu by Aruru.

36 –41: Description of Enkidu's hairy body and of his life with the animals.

42 –50: The hunter sees Enkidu, who shows his anger, as also his woe, at his condition.

3 , 1–12: The hunter tells his father of the strange being who pulls up the traps which the hunter digs, and who tears the nets so that the hunter is unable to catch him or the animals.

19 –24: The father of the hunter advises his son on his next expedition to take a woman with him in order to lure the strange being from his life with the animals.

Line 25, beginning "On the advice of his father," must have set forth, in the original form of the episode, how the hunter procured the woman and took her with him to meet Enkidu.

Column 4 gives in detail the meeting between the two, and naïvely describes how the woman exposes her charms to Enkidu, who is captivated by her and stays with her six days and seven nights. The animals see the change in Enkidu and run away from him. He has been transformed through the woman. So far the episode. In the Assyrian version there follows an address of the woman to Enkidu beginning (col. 4, 34):

"Beautiful art thou, Enkidu, like a god art thou."

We find her urging him to go with her to Erech, there to meet Gilgamesh and to enjoy the pleasures of city life with plenty of beautiful maidens. Gilgamesh, she adds, will expect Enkidu, for the coming of the latter to Erech has been foretold in a dream. It is evident that here we have again the later transformation of the Enkidu Epic in order to bring the two heroes together. Will it be considered too bold if we assume that in the original form the address of the woman and the construction of the episode were such as we find preserved in part in columns 2 to 4 of the Pennsylvania tablet, which forms part of the new material that can now be added to the Epic? The address of the woman begins in line 51 of the Pennsylvania tablet:

“I gaze upon thee, Enkidu, like a god art thou.”

This corresponds to the line in the Assyrian version (I, 4, 34) as given above, just as lines 52–53:

“Why with the cattle

Dost thou roam across the field?”

correspond to I, 4, 35, of the Assyrian version. There follows in both the old Babylonian and the Assyrian version the appeal of the woman to Enkidu, to allow her to lead him to Erech where Gilgamesh dwells (Pennsylvania tablet lines 54–61 = Assyrian version I, 4, 36–39); but in the Pennsylvania tablet we now have a *second* speech (lines 62–63) beginning like the first one with *al-ka*, “come:”

“Come, arise from the accursed ground.”

Enkidu consents, and now the woman takes off her garments and clothes the naked Enkidu, while putting another garment on herself. She takes hold of his hand and leads him to the sheepfolds (not to Erech!!), where bread and wine are placed before him. Accustomed hitherto to sucking milk with cattle, Enkidu does not know what to do with the strange food until encouraged and instructed by the woman. The entire third column is taken up with this introduction of Enkidu to civilized life in a pastoral community, and the scene ends with Enkidu becoming a guardian of flocks. Now all this has nothing to do with Gilgamesh, and clearly sets forth an entirely different idea from the one embodied in the meeting of the two heroes. In the original Enkidu tale, the animal-man is looked upon as the type of a primitive savage, and the point of the tale is to illustrate in the naïve manner characteristic of folklore the evolution to the higher form of pastoral life. This aspect of the incident is, therefore, to be separated from the other phase which has as its chief *motif* the bringing of the two heroes together.

We now obtain, thanks to the new section revealed by the Pennsylvania tablet, a further analogy[107] with the story of Adam and Eve, but with this striking difference, that whereas in the Babylonian tale the woman is the medium leading man to the higher life, in the Biblical story the woman is the tempter who brings misfortune to man. This contrast is, however, not inherent in the Biblical story, but due to the point of view of the Biblical writer, who is somewhat pessimistically inclined and looks upon primitive life, when man went naked and lived in a garden, eating of fruits that grew of themselves, as the blessed life in contrast to advanced culture which leads to agriculture and necessitates hard work as the means of securing one’s substance. Hence the woman through whom Adam eats of the tree of knowledge and becomes conscious of

being naked is looked upon as an evil tempter, entailing the loss of the primeval life of bliss in a gorgeous Paradise. The Babylonian point of view is optimistic. The change to civilized life — involving the wearing of clothes and the eating of food that is cultivated (bread and wine) is looked upon as an advance. Hence the woman is viewed as the medium of raising man to a higher level. The feature common to the Biblical and Babylonian tales is the attachment of a lesson to early folk-tales. The story of Adam and Eve,[108] as the story of Enkidu and the woman, is told *with a purpose*. Starting with early traditions of men's primitive life on earth, that may have arisen independently, Hebrew and Babylonian writers diverged, each group going its own way, each reflecting the particular point of view from which the evolution of human society was viewed.

Leaving the analogy between the Biblical and Babylonian tales aside, the main point of value for us in the Babylonian story of Enkidu and the woman is the proof furnished by the analysis, made possible through the Pennsylvania tablet, that the tale can be separated from its subsequent connection with Gilgamesh. We can continue this process of separation in the fourth column, where the woman instructs Enkidu in the further duty of living his life with the woman decreed for him, to raise a family, to engage in work, to build cities and to gather resources. All this is looked upon in the same optimistic spirit as marking progress, whereas the Biblical writer, consistent with his point of view, looks upon work as a curse, and makes Cain, the murderer, also the founder of cities. The step to the higher forms of life is not an advance according to the J document. It is interesting to note that even the phrase the "cursed ground" occurs in both the Babylonian and Biblical tales; but whereas in the latter (Gen. 3, 17) it is because of the hard work entailed in raising the products of the earth that the ground is cursed, in the former (lines 62–63) it is the place in which Enkidu lives *before* he advances to the dignity of human life that is "cursed," and which he is asked to leave. Adam is expelled from Paradise as a punishment, whereas Enkidu is implored to leave it as a necessary step towards *progress* to a higher form of existence. The contrast between the Babylonian and the Biblical writer extends to the view taken of viniculture. The Biblical writer (again the J document) looks upon Noah's drunkenness as a disgrace. Noah loses his sense of shame and uncovers himself (Genesis 9, 21), whereas in the Babylonian description Enkidu's jolly spirit after he has drunk seven jars of wine meets with approval. The Biblical point of view is that he who

drinks wine becomes drunk;[109] the Babylonian says, if you drink wine you become happy.[110]

If the thesis here set forth of the original character and import of the episode of Enkidu with the woman is correct, we may again regard lines 149–153 of the Pennsylvania tablet, in which Gilgamesh is introduced, as a later addition to bring the two heroes into association. The episode in its original form ended with the introduction of Enkidu first to pastoral life, and then to the still higher city life with regulated forms of social existence.

Now, to be sure, this Enkidu has little in common with the Enkidu who is described as a powerful warrior, a Hercules, who kills lions, overcomes the giant Ḫuwawa, and dispatches a great bull, but it is the nature of folklore everywhere to attach to traditions about a favorite hero all kinds of tales with which originally he had nothing to do. Enkidu, as such a favorite, is viewed also as the type of primitive man,[111] and so there arose gradually an Epic which began with his birth, pictured him as half-animal half-man, told how he emerged from this state, how he became civilized, was clothed, learned to eat food and drink wine, how he shaved off the hair with which his body was covered,[112] anointed himself — in short,

"He became manlike."[113]

Thereupon he is taught his duties as a husband, is introduced to the work of building, and to laying aside supplies, and the like. The fully-developed and full-fledged hero then engages in various exploits, of which *some* are now embodied in the Gilgamesh Epic. Who this Enkidu was, we are not in a position to determine, but the suggestion has been thrown out above that he is a personage foreign to Babylonia, that his home appears to be in the undefined Amurru district, and that he conquers that district. The original tale of Enkidu, if this view be correct, must therefore have been carried to the Euphrates Valley, at a very remote period, with one of the migratory waves that brought a western people as invaders into Babylonia. Here the tale was combined with stories current of another hero, Gilgamesh — perhaps also of Western origin — whose conquest of Erech likewise represents an invasion of Babylonia. The center of the Gilgamesh tale was Erech, and in the process of combining the stories of Enkidu and Gilgamesh, Enkidu is brought to Erech and the two perform exploits in common. In such a combination, the aim would be to utilize all the incidents of *both* tales. The woman who accompanies Enkidu, therefore, becomes the medium of bringing the two heroes together. The story of the evolution of

primitive man to civilized life is transformed into the tale of Enkidu's removal to Erech, and elaborated with all kinds of details, among which we have, as perhaps embodying a genuine historical tradition, the encounter of the two heroes.

Before passing on, we have merely to note the very large part taken in both the old Babylonian and the Assyrian version by the struggle against Ḫuwawa. The entire Yale tablet — forming, as we have seen, the third of the series — is taken up with the preparation for the struggle, and with the repeated warnings given to Gilgamesh against the dangerous undertaking. The fourth tablet must have recounted the struggle itself, and it is not improbable that this episode extended into the fifth tablet, since in the Assyrian version this is the case. The elaboration of the story is in itself an argument in favor of assuming some historical background for it — the recollection of the conquest of Amurru by some powerful warrior; and we have seen that this conquest must be ascribed to Enkidu and not to Gilgamesh.

If, now, Enkidu is not only the older figure but the one who is the real hero of the most notable episode in the Gilgamesh Epic; if, furthermore, Enkidu is the Hercules who kills lions and dispatches the bull sent by an enraged goddess, what becomes of Gilgamesh? What is left for him?

In the first place, he is definitely the conqueror of Erech. He builds the wall of Erech,[114] and we may assume that the designation of the city as *Uruk supûri*, "the walled Erech,"[115] rests upon this tradition. He is also associated with the great temple Eanna, "the heavenly house," in Erech. To Gilgamesh belongs also the unenviable tradition of having exercised his rule in Erech so harshly that the people are impelled to implore Aruru to create a rival who may rid the district of the cruel tyrant, who is described as snatching sons and daughters from their families, and in other ways terrifying the population — an early example of "Schrecklichkeit." Tablets II to V inclusive of the Assyrian version being taken up with the Ḫuwawa episode, modified with a view of bringing the two heroes together, we come at once to the sixth tablet, which tells the story of how the goddess Ishtar wooed Gilgamesh, and of the latter's rejection of her advances. This tale is distinctly a nature myth. The attempt of Gressmann[116] to find some historical background to the episode is a failure. The goddess Ishtar symbolizes the earth which woos the sun in the spring, but whose love is fatal, for after a few months the sun's power begins to wane. Gilgamesh, who in incantation hymns is invoked in terms which show that he was conceived as a sun-god,[117] recalls to the goddess how she changed her lovers into animals, like

Circe of Greek mythology, and brought them to grief. Enraged at Gilgamesh's insult to her vanity, she flies to her father Anu and cries for revenge. At this point the episode of the creation of the bull is introduced, but if the analysis above given is correct it is Enkidu who is the hero in dispatching the bull, and we must assume that the sickness with which Gilgamesh is smitten is the punishment sent by Anu to avenge the insult to his daughter. This sickness symbolizes the waning strength of the sun after midsummer is past. The sun recedes from the earth, and this was pictured in the myth as the sun-god's rejection of Ishtar; Gilgamesh's fear of death marks the approach of the winter season, when the sun appears to have lost its vigor completely and is near to death. The entire episode is, therefore, a nature myth, symbolical of the passing of spring to midsummer and then to the bare season. The myth has been attached to Gilgamesh as a favorite figure, and then woven into a pattern with the episode of Enkidu and the bull. The bull episode can be detached from the nature myth without any loss to the symbolism of the tale of Ishtar and Gilgamesh.

As already suggested, with Enkidu's death after this conquest of the bull the original Enkidu Epic came to an end. In order to connect Gilgamesh with Enkidu, the former is represented as sharing in the struggle against the bull. Enkidu is punished with death, while Gilgamesh is smitten with disease. Since both shared equally in the guilt, the punishment should have been the same for both. The differentiation may be taken as an indication that Gilgamesh's disease has nothing to do with the bull episode, but is merely part of the nature myth.

Gilgamesh now begins a series of wanderings in search of the restoration of his vigor, and this *motif* is evidently a continuation of the nature myth to symbolize the sun's wanderings during the dark winter in the hope of renewed vigor with the coming of the spring. Professor Haupt's view is that the disease from which Gilgamesh is supposed to be suffering is of a venereal character, affecting the organs of reproduction. This would confirm the position here taken that the myth symbolizes the loss of the sun's vigor. The sun's rays are no longer strong enough to fertilize the earth. In accord with this, Gilgamesh's search for healing leads him to the dark regions[118] in which the scorpion-men dwell. The terrors of the region symbolize the gloom of the winter season. At last Gilgamesh reaches a region of light again, described as a landscape situated at the sea. The maiden in control of this region bolts the gate against Gilgamesh's approach, but the latter forces his entrance. It is the

picture of the sun-god bursting through the darkness, to emerge as the youthful reinvigorated sun-god of the spring.

Now with the tendency to attach to popular tales and nature myths lessons illustrative of current beliefs and aspirations, Gilgamesh's search for renewal of life is viewed as man's longing for eternal life. The sun-god's waning power after midsummer is past suggests man's growing weakness after the meridian of life has been left behind. Winter is death, and man longs to escape it. Gilgamesh's wanderings are used as illustration of this longing, and accordingly the search for life becomes also the quest for immortality. Can the precious boon of eternal life be achieved? Popular fancy created the figure of a favorite of the gods who had escaped a destructive deluge in which all mankind had perished.[119] Gilgamesh hears of this favorite and determines to seek him out and learn from him the secret of eternal life. The deluge story, again a pure nature myth, symbolical of the rainy season which destroys all life in nature, is thus attached to the Epic. Gilgamesh after many adventures finds himself in the presence of the survivor of the Deluge who, although human, enjoys immortal life among the gods. He asks the survivor how he came to escape the common fate of mankind, and in reply Utnapishtim tells the story of the catastrophe that brought about universal destruction. The moral of the tale is obvious. Only those singled out by the special favor of the gods can hope to be removed to the distant "source of the streams" and live forever. The rest of mankind must face death as the end of life.

That the story of the Deluge is told in the eleventh tablet of the series, corresponding to the eleventh month, known as the month of "rain curse"[120] and marking the height of the rainy season, may be intentional, just as it may not be accidental that Gilgamesh's rejection of Ishtar is recounted in the sixth tablet, corresponding to the sixth month,[121] which marks the end of the summer season. The two tales may have formed part of a cycle of myths, distributed among the months of the year. The Gilgamesh Epic, however, does not form such a cycle. Both myths have been artificially attached to the adventures of the hero. For the deluge story we now have the definite proof for its independent existence, through Dr. Poebel's publication of a Sumerian text which embodies the tale,[122] and without any reference to Gilgamesh. Similarly, Scheil and Hilprecht have published fragments of deluge stories written in Akkadian and likewise without any connection with the Gilgamesh Epic.[123]

In the Epic the story leads to another episode attached to Gilgamesh, namely, the search for a magic plant growing in deep water, which has

the power of restoring old age to youth. Utnapishtim, the survivor of the deluge, is moved through pity for Gilgamesh, worn out by his long wanderings. At the request of his wife, Utnapishtim decides to tell Gilgamesh of this plant, and he succeeds in finding it. He plucks it and decides to take it back to Erech so that all may enjoy the benefit, but on his way stops to bathe in a cool cistern. A serpent comes along and snatches the plant from him, and he is forced to return to Erech with his purpose unachieved. Man cannot hope, when old age comes on, to escape death as the end of everything.

Lastly, the twelfth tablet of the Assyrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic is of a purely didactic character, bearing evidence of having been added as a further illustration of the current belief that there is no escape from the nether world to which all must go after life has come to an end. Proper burial and suitable care of the dead represent all that can be done in order to secure a fairly comfortable rest for those who have passed out of this world. Enkidu is once more introduced into this episode. His shade is invoked by Gilgamesh and rises up out of the lower world to give a discouraging reply to Gilgamesh's request,

"Tell me, my friend, tell me, my friend,
The law of the earth which thou hast
experienced, tell me,"
The mournful message comes back:
"I cannot tell thee, my friend, I cannot tell."

Death is a mystery and must always remain such. The historical Gilgamesh has clearly no connection with the figure introduced into this twelfth tablet. Indeed, as already suggested, the Gilgamesh Epic must have ended with the return to Erech, as related at the close of the eleventh tablet. The twelfth tablet was added by some school-men of Babylonia (or perhaps of Assyria), purely for the purpose of conveying a summary of the teachings in regard to the fate of the dead. Whether these six episodes covering the sixth to the twelfth tablets, (1) the nature myth, (2) the killing of the divine bull, (3) the punishment of Gilgamesh and the death of Enkidu, (4) Gilgamesh's wanderings, (5) the Deluge, (6) the search for immortality, were all included at the time that the old Babylonian version was compiled cannot, of course, be determined until we have that version in a more complete form. Since the two tablets thus far recovered show that as early as 2000 B.C. the Enkidu tale had already been amalgamated with the current stories about Gilgamesh, and the endeavor made to transfer the traits of the former to the latter, it is eminently likely that the story of Ishtar's unhappy love adventure with

Gilgamesh was included, as well as Gilgamesh's punishment and the death of Enkidu. With the evidence furnished by Meissner's fragment of a version of the old Babylonian revision and by our two tablets, of the early disposition to make popular tales the medium of illustrating current beliefs and the teachings of the temple schools, it may furthermore be concluded that the death of Enkidu and the punishment of Gilgamesh were utilized for didactic purposes in the old Babylonian version. On the other hand, the proof for the existence of the deluge story in the Hammurabi period and some centuries later, *independent* of any connection with the Gilgamesh Epic, raises the question whether in the old Babylonian version, of which our two tablets form a part, the deluge tale was already woven into the pattern of the Epic. At all events, till proof to the contrary is forthcoming, we may assume that the twelfth tablet of the Assyrian version, though also reverting to a Babylonian original, dates as the *latest* addition to the Epic from a period subsequent to 2000 B.C.; and that the same is probably the case with the eleventh tablet.

To sum up, there are four main currents that flow together in the Gilgamesh Epic even in its old Babylonian form: (1) the adventures of a mighty warrior Enkidu, resting perhaps on a faint tradition of the conquest of Amurru by the hero; (2) the more definite recollection of the exploits of a foreign invader of Babylonia by the name of Gilgamesh, whose home appears likewise to have been in the West;[124] (3) nature myths and didactic tales transferred to Enkidu and Gilgamesh as popular figures; and (4) the process of weaving the traditions, exploits, myths and didactic tales together, in the course of which process Gilgamesh becomes the main hero, and Enkidu his companion.

Furthermore, our investigation has shown that to Enkidu belongs the episode with the woman, used to illustrate the evolution of primitive man to the ways and conditions of civilized life, the conquest of Ḫuwawa in the land of Amurru, the killing of lions and also of the bull, while Gilgamesh is the hero who conquers Erech. Identified with the sun-god, the nature myth of the union of the sun with the earth and the subsequent separation of the two is also transferred to him. The wanderings of the hero, smitten with disease, are a continuation of the nature myth, symbolizing the waning vigor of the sun with the approach of the wintry season.

The details of the process which led to making Gilgamesh the favorite figure, to whom the traits and exploits of Enkidu and of the sun-god are transferred, escape us, but of the fact that Enkidu is the *older* figure, of

whom certain adventures were set forth in a tale that once had an independent existence, there can now be little doubt in the face of the evidence furnished by the two tablets of the old Babylonian version; just as the study of these tablets shows that in the combination of the tales of Enkidu and Gilgamesh, the former is the prototype of which Gilgamesh is the copy. If the two are regarded as brothers, as born in the same place, even resembling one another in appearance and carrying out their adventures in common, it is because in the process of combination Gilgamesh becomes the *reflex* of Enkidu. That Enkidu is not the figure created by Aruru to relieve Erech of its tyrannical ruler is also shown by the fact that Gilgamesh remains in control of Erech. It is to Erech that he returns when he fails of his purpose to learn the secret of escape from old age and death. Erech is, therefore, not relieved of the presence of the ruthless ruler through Enkidu. The "Man of Anu" formed by Aruru as a deliverer is confused in the course of the growth of the Epic with Enkidu, the offspring of Ninib, and in this way we obtain the strange contradiction of Enkidu and Gilgamesh appearing first as bitter rivals and then as close and inseparable friends. It is of the nature of Epic compositions everywhere to eliminate unnecessary figures by concentrating on one favorite the traits belonging to another or to several others.

The close association of Enkidu and Gilgamesh which becomes one of the striking features in the combination of the tales of these two heroes naturally recalls the "Heavenly Twins" *motif*, which has been so fully and so suggestively treated by Professor J. Rendell Harris in his *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, (London, 1906). Professor Harris has conclusively shown how widespread the tendency is to associate two divine or semi-divine beings in myths and legends as inseparable companions[125] or twins, like Castor and Pollux, Romulus and Remus,[126] the Acvins in the Rig-Veda,[127] Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau in the Old Testament, the Kabiri of the Phoenicians,[128] Herakles and Iphikles in Greek mythology, Ambrica and Fidelio in Teutonic mythology, Patollo and Potrimpo in old Prussian mythology, Cautes and Cautopates in Mithraism, Jesus and Thomas (according to the Syriac Acts of Thomas), and the various illustrations of "Dioscuri in Christian Legends," set forth by Dr. Harris in his work under this title, which carries the *motif* far down into the period of legends about Christian Saints who appear in pairs, including the reference to such a pair in Shakespeare's Henry V:

"And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by
From that day to the ending of the world." — (*Act, IV, 3, 57–58.*)

There are indeed certain parallels which suggest that Enkidu-Gilgamesh may represent a Babylonian counterpart to the "Heavenly Twins." In the Indo-Iranian, Greek and Roman mythology, the twins almost invariably act together. In unison they proceed on expeditions to punish enemies.[129]

But after all, the parallels are of too general a character to be of much moment; and moreover the parallels stop short at the critical point, for Gilgamesh though worsted is *not* killed by Enkidu, whereas one of the "Heavenly Twins" is always killed by the brother, as Abel is by Cain, and Iphikles by his twin brother Herakles. Even the trait which is frequent in the earliest forms of the "Heavenly Twins," according to which one is immortal and the other is mortal, though applying in a measure to Enkidu who is killed by Ishtar, while Gilgamesh the offspring of a divine pair is only smitten with disease, is too unsubstantial to warrant more than a general comparison between the Enkidu-Gilgamesh pair and the various forms of the "twin" *motif* found throughout the ancient world. For all that, the point is of some interest that in the Gilgamesh Epic we should encounter two figures who are portrayed as possessing the same traits and accomplishing feats in common, which suggest a partial parallel to the various forms in which the twin-*motif* appears in the mythologies, folk-lore and legends of many nations; and it may be that in some of these instances the duplication is due, as in the case of Enkidu and Gilgamesh, to an actual transfer of the traits of one figure to another who usurped his place.

In concluding this study of the two recently discovered tablets of the old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh Epic which has brought us several steps further in the interpretation and in our understanding of the method of composition of the most notable literary production of ancient Babylonia, it will be proper to consider the *literary* relationship of the old Babylonian to the Assyrian version.

We have already referred to the different form in which the names of the chief figures appear in the old Babylonian version, ^{d}Gish as against ^{d}Gish-gì(n)-mash, ^{d}En-ki-dũ as against ^{d}En-ki-dú, Ḫu-wa-wa as against Ḫu(m)-ba-ba. Erech appears as *Uruk ribîtim*, "Erech of the Plazas," as against *Uruk supûri*, "walled Erech" (or "Erech within the walls"), in the Assyrian version.[130] These variations point to an *independent* recension for the Assyrian revision; and this conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of parallel passages in our two tablets with the Assyrian version, for such parallels rarely extend to verbal agreements in details, and, moreover, show that the Assyrian version has been elaborated.

Beginning with the Pennsylvania tablet, column I is covered in the Assyrian version by tablet I, 5, 25, to 6, 33, though, as pointed out above, in the Assyrian version we have the anticipation of the dreams of Gilgamesh and their interpretation through their recital to Enkidu by his female companion, whereas in the old Babylonian version we have the dreams *directly* given in a conversation between Gilgamesh and his mother. In the anticipation, there would naturally be some omissions. So lines 4–5 and 12–13 of the Pennsylvania tablet do not appear in the Assyrian version, but in their place is a line (I, 5, 35), to be restored to

"[I saw him and like] a woman I fell in love with him."

which occurs in the old Babylonian version only in connection with the second dream. The point is of importance as showing that in the Babylonian version the first dream lays stress upon the omen of the falling meteor, as symbolizing the coming of Enkidu, whereas the second dream more specifically reveals Enkidu as a man,[131] of whom Gilgamesh is instantly enamored. Strikingly variant lines, though conveying the same idea, are frequent. Thus line 14 of the Babylonian version reads

"I bore it and carried it to thee"

and appears in the Assyrian version (I, 5, 35^{b} supplied from 6, 26)

"I threw it (or him) at thy feet"[132]

with an additional line in elaboration

"Thou didst bring him into contact with me"[133]

which anticipates the speech of the mother

(Line 41 = Assyrian version I, 6, 33).

Line 10 of the Pennsylvania tablet has *pa-ḫi-ir* as against *iz-za-az* I, 5, 31.

Line 8 has *ik-ta-bi-it* as against *da-an* in the Assyrian version I, 5, 29.

More significant is the variant to line 9

"I became weak and its weight I could not bear"

as against I, 5, 30.

"Its strength was overpowering,[134] and I could not endure its weight."

The important lines 31–36 are not found in the Assyrian version, with the exception of I, 6, 27, which corresponds to lines 33–34, but this lack of correspondence is probably due to the fact that the Assyrian version represents the anticipation of the dreams which, as already suggested, might well omit some details. As against this we have in the Assyrian

version I, 6, 23–25, an elaboration of line 30 in the Pennsylvania tablet and taken over from the recital of the first dream. Through the Assyrian version I, 6, 31–32, we can restore the closing lines of column I of the Pennsylvania tablet, while with line 33 = line 45 of the Pennsylvania tablet, the parallel between the two versions comes to an end. Lines 34–43 of the Assyrian version (bringing tablet I to a close)[135] represent an elaboration of the speech of Ninsun, followed by a further address of Gilgamesh to his mother, and by the determination of Gilgamesh to seek out Enkidu.[136] Nothing of this sort appears to have been included in the old Babylonian version.Our text proceeds with the scene between Enkidu and the woman, in which the latter by her charms and her appeal endeavors to lead Enkidu away from his life with the animals. From the abrupt manner in which the scene is introduced in line 43 of the Pennsylvania tablet, it is evident that this cannot be the *first* mention of the woman. The meeting must have been recounted in the first tablet, as is the case in the Assyrian version.[137] The second tablet takes up the direct recital of the dreams of Gilgamesh and then continues the narrative. Whether in the old Babylonian version the scene between Enkidu and the woman was described with the same naïve details, as in the Assyrian version, of the sexual intercourse between the two for six days and seven nights cannot of course be determined, though presumably the Assyrian version, with the tendency of epics to become more elaborate as they pass from age to age, added some realistic touches. Assuming that lines 44–63 of the Pennsylvania tablet — the cohabitation of Enkidu and the address of the woman — is a repetition of what was already described in the first tablet, the comparison with the Assyrian version I, 4, 16–41, not only points to the elaboration of the later version, but likewise to an independent recension, even where parallel lines can be picked out. Only lines 46–48 of the Pennsylvania tablet form a complete parallel to line 21 of column 4 of the Assyrian version. The description in lines 22–32 of column 4 is missing, though it may, of course, have been included in part in the recital in the first tablet of the old Babylonian version. Lines 49–59 of the Pennsylvania tablet are covered by 33–39, the only slight difference being the specific mention in line 58 of the Pennsylvania tablet of Eanna, the temple in Erech, described as “the dwelling of Anu,” whereas in the Assyrian version Eanna is merely referred to as the “holy house” and described as “the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar,” where Ishtar is clearly a later addition.

Leaving aside lines 60–61, which may be merely a variant (though independent) of line 39 of column 4 of the Assyrian version, we now

have in the Pennsylvania tablet a second speech of the woman to Enkidu (not represented in the Assyrian version) beginning like the first one with *alka*, "Come" (lines 62–63), in which she asks Enkidu to leave the "accursed ground" in which he dwells. This speech, as the description which follows, extending into columns 3–4, and telling how the woman clothed Enkidu, how she brought him to the sheep folds, how she taught him to eat bread and to drink wine, and how she instructed him in the ways of civilization, must have been included in the second tablet of the Assyrian version which has come down to us in a very imperfect form. Nor is the scene in which Enkidu and Gilgamesh have their encounter found in the preserved portions of the second (or possibly the third) tablet of the Assyrian version, but only a brief reference to it in the fourth tablet,[138] in which in Epic style the story is repeated, leading up to the second exploit — the joint campaign of Enkidu and Gilgamesh against Ḫuwawa. This reference, covering only seven lines, corresponds to lines 192–231 of the Pennsylvania tablet; but the former being the repetition and the latter the original recital, the comparison to be instituted merely reveals again the independence of the Assyrian version, as shown in the use of *kibsu*, "tread" (IV, 2, 46), for *šêpu*, "foot" (l. 216), *i-na-uš*, "quake" (line 5C), as against *ir-tu-tu* (ll. 221 and 226).

Such variants as

^{d}*Gish êribam ûl iddin* (l. 217)

against

^{d}*Gilgamesh ana šurûbi ûl namdin*, (IV, 2, 47).

and again

iṣṣabtûma kima lîm "they grappled at the gate of the family house" (IV, 2, 48),

against

iṣṣabtûma ina bâb bît emuti, "they grappled at the gate of the family house" (IV, 2, 48),

all point once more to the literary independence of the Assyrian version. The end of the conflict and the reconciliation of the two heroes is likewise missing in the Assyrian version. It may have been referred to at the beginning of column 3[139] of Tablet IV.

Coming to the Yale tablet, the few passages in which a comparison may be instituted with the fourth tablet of the Assyrian version, to which in a general way it must correspond, are not sufficient to warrant any conclusions, beyond the confirmation of the literary independence of the Assyrian version. The section comprised within lines 72–89, where Enkidu's grief at his friend's decision to fight Ḫuwawa is described[140],

and he makes confession of his own physical exhaustion, *may* correspond to Tablet IV, column 4, of the Assyrian version. This would fit in with the beginning of the reverse, the first two lines of which (136–137) correspond to column 5 of the fourth tablet of the Assyrian version, with a variation "seven-fold fear"[141] as against "fear of men" in the Assyrian version. If lines 138–139 (in column 4) of the Yale tablet correspond to line 7 of column 5 of Tablet IV of the Assyrian version, we would again have an illustration of the elaboration of the later version by the addition of lines 3–6. But beyond this we have merely the comparison of the description of Ḫuwawa

"Whose roar is a flood, whose mouth is fire, and whose breath is death"

which occurs twice in the Yale tablet (lines 110–111 and 196–197), with the same phrase in the Assyrian version Tablet IV, 5, 3 — but here, as just pointed out, with an elaboration.

Practically, therefore, the entire Yale tablet represents an addition to our knowledge of the Ḫuwawa episode, and until we are fortunate enough to discover more fragments of the fourth tablet of the Assyrian version, we must content ourselves with the conclusions reached from a comparison of the Pennsylvania tablet with the parallels in the Assyrian version.

It may be noted as a general point of resemblance in the exterior form of the old Babylonian and Assyrian versions that both were inscribed on tablets containing six columns, three on the obverse and three on the reverse; and that the length of the tablets — an average of 40 to 50 lines — was about the same, thus revealing in the external form a conventiona1 size for the tablets in the older period, which was carried over into later times.

ENDNOTES.

[1] See for further details of this royal library, Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 21 *seq*.

[2] *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1884–1891), supplemented by Haupt's article *Die Zwölfte Tafel des Babylonischen Nimrodepos* in *BA* I, pp. 48–79, containing the fragments of the twelfth tablet. The fragments of the Epic in Ashurbanapal's library — some sixty — represent portions of several copies. Sin-liḳî-unnini — perhaps from Erech, since this name appears as that of a family in tablets from Erech (see Clay, *Legal Documents from Erech*, Index, p. 73) — is named in a list of texts (K 9717 — Haupt's edition No. 51, line 18) as the editor of the Epic, though probably he was not the only compiler. Since the publication of Haupt's edition, a few fragments were added by him as an appendix to Alfred Jeremias *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891) Plates II–IV, and two more are embodied in Jensen's transliteration of all the fragments in the

Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek VI; pp. 116–265, with elaborate notes, pp. 421–531. Furthermore a fragment, obtained from supplementary excavations at Kouyunjik, has been published by L. W. King in his *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* No. 56 and *PSBA* Vol. 36, pp. 64–68. Recently a fragment of the 6th tablet from the excavations at Assur has been published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Religiösen Inhalts* No. 115, and one may expect further portions to turn up.

The designation "Nimrod Epic" on the supposition that the hero of the Babylonian Epic is identical with Nimrod, the "mighty hunter" of Genesis 10, has now been generally abandoned, in the absence of any evidence that the Babylonian hero bore a name like Nimrod. For all that, the description of Nimrod as the "mighty hunter" and the occurrence of a "hunter" in the Babylonian Epic (Assyrian version Tablet I) — though he is not the hero — points to a confusion in the Hebrew form of the borrowed tradition between Gilgamesh and Nimrod. The latest French translation of the Epic is by Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens* (Paris, 1907), pp. 182–325; the latest German translation by Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911), with a valuable analysis and discussion. These two translations now supersede Jensen's translation in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, which, however, is still valuable because of the detailed notes, containing a wealth of lexicographical material. Ungnad also gave a partial translation in Gressmann-Ranke, *Altorientalische Texte and Bilder* I, pp. 39–61. In English, we have translations of substantial portions by Muss-Arnolt in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (New York, 1901), pp. 324–368; by Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), Chap. XXIII; by Clay in *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, pp. 78–84; by Rogers in *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, pp. 80–103; and most recently by Jastrow in *Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East* (ed. C. F. Horne, New York, 1917), Vol. I, pp. 187–220.

[3] See Luckenbill in *JAOS*, Vol. 37, p. 452 *seq.* Prof. Clay, it should be added, clings to the older reading, Hammurabi, which is retained in this volume.

[4] *ZA*, Vol. 14, pp. 277–292.

[5] The survivor of the Deluge is usually designated as Ut-napishtim in the Epic, but in one passage (Assyrian version, Tablet XI, 196), he is designated as Atra-ḫasis "the very wise one." Similarly, in a second version of the Deluge story, also found in Ashurbanapal's library (IV R² additions, p. 9, line 11). The two names clearly point to two versions, which in accordance with the manner of ancient compositions were merged into one. See an article by Jastrow in *ZA*, Vol. 13, pp. 288–301.

[6] Published by Scheil in *Recueil des Travaux*, etc. Vol. 20, pp. 55–58.

[7] The text does not form part of the Gilgamesh Epic, as the colophon, differing from the one attached to the Epic, shows.

[8] *Ein altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamosepos* (*MVAG* 1902, No. 1).

[9] On these variant forms of the two names see the discussion below, p. 24.

[10] The passage is paralleled by Ecc. 9, 7–9. See Jastrow, *A Gentle Cynic*, p. 172 *seq.*

[11] Among the Nippur tablets in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The fragment was published by Dr. Poebel in his *Historical and Grammatical Texts* No. 23. See also Poebel in the *Museum Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 47, and an article by Dr. Langdon in the same Journal, Vol. VII, pp. 178–181, though Langdon fails to credit Dr. Poebel with the discovery and publication of the important tablet.

[12] No. 55 in Langdon's *Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur* (Munich, 1914).

[13] No. 5 in his *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*. (Philadelphia, 1917)

[14] See on this name below, p. 23.

[15] See further below, p. 37 *seq*.

[16] See Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 1, and Jastrow in *JAOS*, Vol. 36, pp. 122–131 and 274–299.

[17] See an article by Jastrow, *Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings* (*JAOS* Vol. 36, pp. 274–299).

[18] See on this point Eduard Meyer, *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien* (Berlin, 1906), p. 107 *seq*., whose view is followed in Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 121. See also Clay, *Empire of the Amorites* (Yale University Press, 1919), p. 23 *et seq*.

[19] See the discussion below, p. 24 *seq*.

[20] Dr. Poebel published an article on the tablet in *OLZ*, 1914, pp. 4–6, in which he called attention to the correct name for the mother of Gilgamesh, which was settled by the tablet as Ninsun.

[21] *Historical Texts* No. 2, Column 2, 26. See the discussion in *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, p. 123, *seq*.

[22] See Fostat in *OLZ*, 1915, p. 367.

[23] *Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Babylonian Section*, Vol. X, No. 3 (Philadelphia, 1917). It is to be regretted that Dr. Langdon should not have given full credit to Dr. Poebel for his discovery of the tablet. He merely refers in an obscure footnote to Dr. Poebel's having made a copy.

[24] E.g., in the very first note on page 211, and again in a note on page 213.

[25] Dr. Langdon neglected to copy the signs *4 šú-si* = 240 which appear on the edge of the tablet. He also misunderstood the word *šú-tu-ur* in the colophon which he translated "written," taking the word from a stem *šaṭâru*, "write." The form *šú-tu-ur* is III, 1, from *atâru*, "to be in excess of," and indicates, presumably, that the text is a copy "enlarged" from an older original. See the Commentary to the colophon, p. 86.

[26] *Museum Journal*, Vol. VIII, p. 29.

[27] See below, p. 23.

[28] I follow the enumeration of tablets, columns and lines in Jensen's edition, though some fragments appear to have been placed by him in a wrong position.

[29] According to Bezold's investigation, *Verbalsuffixformen als Alterskriterien babylonisch-assyrischer Inschriften* (Heidelberg Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-Histor. Klasse, 1910, 9te Abhandlung), the bulk of the tablets in Ashurbanapal's library are copies of originals dating from about 1500 B.C. It does not follow, however, that all the copies date from originals of the same period. Bezold reaches the conclusion on the basis of various forms for verbal suffixes, that the fragments from the Ashurbanapal Library actually date from three distinct periods ranging from before c. 1450 to c. 700 B.C.

[30] "Before thou comest from the mountain, Gilgamesh in Erech will see thy dreams," after which the dreams are recounted by the woman to Enkidu. The expression "thy dreams" means here "dreams about thee." (Tablet I, 5, 23–24).

[31] Lines 100–101.

[32] In a paper read before the American Oriental Society at New Haven, April 4, 1918.

[33] See the commentary to col. 4 of the Yale tablet for further details.

[34] This is no doubt the correct reading of the three signs which used to be read Iz-tu-bar or Gish-du-bar. The first sign has commonly the value Gish, the second can be read Gin or Gi (Brünnow No. 11900) and the third Mash as well as Bar. See Ungnad in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 76, and Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, p. 123.

[35] So also in Sumerian (Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, No. 196, rev. 14 and 16.)

[36] The sign used, LUM (Brünnow No. 11183), could have the value ḫu as well as ḫum.

[37] The addition "father-in-law of Moses" to the name Ḫobab b. Re'uel in this passage must refer to Re'uel, and not to Ḫobab. In Judges 4, 11, the gloss "of the Bene Ḫobab, the father-in-law of Moses" must be separated into two: (1) "Bene Ḫobab," and (2) "father-in-law of Moses." The latter addition rests on an erroneous tradition, or is intended as a brief reminder that Ḫobab is identical with the son of Re'uel.

[38] See his *List of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur*, p. 122. *Ḫu-um-ba-bi-tu* and *ši-kin ḫu-wa-wa* also occur in Omen Texts (*CT* XXVII, 4, 8–9 = Pl. 3, 17 = Pl. 6, 3–4 = *CT* XXVIII, 14, 12). The contrast to *ḫuwawa* is *ligru*, "dwarf" (*CT* XXVII, 4, 12 and 14 = Pl. 6, 7.9 = Pl. 3, 19). See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, p. 913, Note 7. Ḫuwawa, therefore, has the force of "monster."

[39] Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 111 *seq.*

[40] Ungnad, 1. c. p. 77, called attention to this name, but failed to draw the conclusion that Ḫu(m)baba therefore belongs to the West and not to the East.

[41] First pointed out by Ungnad in *OLZ* 1910, p. 306, on the basis of *CT* XVIII, 30, 10, where En-gi-dú appears in the column furnishing *phonetic* readings.

[42] See Clay *Amurru*, pp. 74, 129, etc.

[43] Tablet I, 2, 39–40; 3, 6–7 and 33–34; 4, 3–4.

[44] Tablet I, 2, 1 and IX, 2, 16. Note also the statement about Gilgamesh that "his body is flesh of the gods" (Tablet IX, 2, 14; X, 1, 7).

[45] *BOR* IV, p. 264.

[46] Lewin, *Die Scholien des Theodor bar Koni zur Patriarchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1905), p. 2. See Gressmann in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 83, who points out that the first element of גלמגוס compared with the second of גמיגמוס gives the exact form that we require, namely, Gilgamos.

[47] Tablet I, col. 2, is taken up with this episode.

[48] See Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, p. 123.

[49] See Poebel, *Historical Texts* No. 2, col. 2, 26.

[50] Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions* I, 1 No. 26.

[51] Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, p. 88, VI, 2–3. Cf. also *CT* XXV, 28(K 7659) 3, where we must evidently supply [Esigga]-tuk, for which in the following line we have again Gish-bil-ga-mesh as an equivalent. See Meissner, *OLZ* 1910, 99.

[52] See, e.g., Barton, *Haverford Collection* II No. 27, Col. I, 14, etc.

[53] Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, p. 95.

[54] *CT* XII, 50 (K 4359) obv. 17.

[55] See Barton, *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, II, p. 99 *seq.*, for various explanations, though all centering around the same idea of the picture of fire in some form.

[56] See the passages quoted by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, p. 126.

[57] E.g., Genesis 4, 20, Jabal, "the father of tent-dwelling and cattle holding;" Jubal (4, 21), "the father of harp and pipe striking."

[58] See particularly the plays (in the J. Document) upon the names of the twelve sons of Jacob, which are brought forward either as tribal characteristics, or as suggested by some incident or utterance by the mother at the birth of each son.

[59] The designation is variously explained by Arabic writers. See Beidhawi's *Commentary* (ed. Fleischer), to Súra 18, 82.

[60] The writing Gish-gi-mash as an approach to the pronunciation Gilgamesh would thus represent the beginning of the artificial process which seeks to interpret the first syllable as "hero."

[61] See above, p. 27.

[62] Poebel, *Historical Texts*, p. 115 *seq*.

[63] Many years ago (*BA* III, p. 376) I equated Etana with Ethan in the Old Testament — therefore a West Semitic name.

[64] See Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, p. 80.

[65] Professor Clay strongly favors an Amoritic origin also for Gilgamesh. His explanation of the name is set forth in his recent work on *The Empire of the Amorites*, page 89, and is also referred to in his work on *Amurru*, page 79, and in his volume of *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, page 3, note. According to Professor Clay the original form of the hero's name was West Semitic, and was something like *Bilga-Mash*, the meaning of which was perhaps "the offspring of Mash." For the first element in this division of the name cf. Piliḳam, the name of a ruler of an early dynasty, and Balaḳ of the Old Testament. In view of the fact that the axe figures so prominently in the Epic as an instrument wielded by Gilgamesh, Professor Clay furthermore thinks it reasonable to assume that the name was interpreted by the Babylonian scribe as "the axe of Mash." In this way he would account for the use of the determinative for weapons, which is also the sign Gish, in the name. It is certainly noteworthy that the ideogram Gish-Tún in the later form of *Gish-Tún-mash* = *pašu*, "axe," *CT* XVI, 38:14b, etc. *Tun* also = *pilaḳu* "axe," *CT* xii, 10:34b. Names with similar element (besides Piliḳam) are Belaḳu of the Hammurabi period, Bilaḳḳu of the Cassite period, etc.

It is only proper to add that Professor Jastrow assumes the responsibility for the explanation of the form and etymology of the name Gilgamesh proposed in this volume. The question is one in regard to which legitimate differences of opinion will prevail among scholars until through some chance a definite decision, one way or the other, can be reached.

[66] *me-iḫ-rù* (line 191).

[67] Tablet I, 5, 23. Cf. I, 3, 2 and 29.

[68] Tablet IV, 4, 7 and I, 5, 3.

[69] Assyrian version, Tablet II, 3b 34, in an address of Shamash to Enkidu.

[70] So Assyrian version, Tablet VIII, 3, 11. Also supplied VIII, 5, 20 and 21; and X, 1, 46–47 and 5, 6–7.

[71] Tablet XII, 3, 25.

[72] Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Chap. X, and the same author's *Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals* — Morgan collection Nos. 19–50.

[73] E.g., Ward No. 192, Enkidu has human legs like Gilgamesh; also No. 189, where it is difficult to say which is Gilgamesh, and which is Enkidu. The clothed one is probably Gilgamesh, though not infrequently Gilgamesh is also represented as nude, or merely with a girdle around his waist.

[74] E.g., Ward, Nos. 173, 174, 190, 191, 195 as well as 189 and 192.

[75] On the other hand, in Ward Nos. 459 and 461, the conflict between the two heroes is depicted with the heroes distinguished in more conventional fashion, Enkidu having the hoofs of an animal, and also with a varying arrangement of beard and hair.

[76] See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 468 *seq.*

[77] Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 90 *seq.*

[78] Pennsylvania tablet, l. 198 = Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 2, 37.

[79] "Enkidu blocked the gate" (Pennsylvania tablet, line 215) = Assyrian version Tablet IV, 2, 46: "Enkidu interposed his foot at the gate of the family house."

[80] Pennsylvania tablet, lines 218 and 224.

[81] Yale tablet, line 198; also to be supplied lines 13–14.

[82] Yale tablet, lines 190 and 191.

[83] *PSBA* 1914, 65 *seq.* = Jensen III, 1^a, 4–11, which can now be completed and supplemented by the new fragment.

[84] I.e., Enkidu will save Gilgamesh.

[85] These two lines impress one as popular sayings — here applied to Enkidu.

[86] King's fragment, col. I, 13–27, which now enables us to complete Jensen III, 1^a, 12–21.

[87] Yale tablet, lines 252–253.

[88] Yale tablet, lines 143–148 = Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 6, 26 *seq.*

[89] Assyrian version, Tablet III, 2^a, 13–14.

[90] Lines 215–222.

[91] Assyrian version, Tablet V, Columns 3–4. We have to assume that in line 13 of column 4 (Jensen, p. 164), Enkidu takes up the thread of conversation, as is shown by line 22: "Enkidu brought his dream to him and spoke to Gilgamesh."

[92] Assyrian version, Tablet VI, lines 146–147.

[93] Lines 178–183.

[94] Lines 176–177.

[95] Tablet VII, Column 6.

[96] Assyrian version, Tablet VI, 200–203. These words are put into the mouth of Gilgamesh (lines 198–199). It is, therefore, unlikely that he would sing his own praise. Both Jensen and Ungnad admit that Enkidu is to be supplied in at least one of the lines.

[97] Lines 109 and 112.

[98] Assyrian version, Tablet IX, 1, 8–9.

[99] Tablet VIII, 5, 2–6.

[100] So also Gressmann in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 97, regards Enkidu as the older figure.

[101] See Jastrow, *Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature, AJSL*, Vol. 15, pp. 193–214.

[102] Assyrian version, Tablet I, 2, 31–36.

[103] It will be recalled that Enkidu is always spoken of as "born in the field."

[104] Note the repetition *ibtani* "created" in line 33 of the "man of Anu" and in line 35 of the offspring of Ninib. The creation of the former is by the "heart," i.e., by the will of Aruru, the creation of the latter is an act of moulding out of clay.

[105] Tablet I, Column 3.

[106] Following as usual the enumeration of lines in Jensen's edition.

[107] An analogy does not involve a dependence of one tale upon the other, but merely that both rest on similar traditions, which *may* have arisen independently.

[108] Note that the name of Eve is not mentioned till after the fall (Genesis 3, 20). Before that she is merely *ishsha*, i.e., "woman," just as in the Babylonian tale the woman who guides Enkidu is *ḫarimtu*, "woman."

[109] "And he drank and became drunk" (Genesis 9, 21).

[110] "His heart became glad and his face shone" (Pennsylvania Tablet, lines 100–101).

[111] That in the combination of this Enkidu with tales of primitive man, inconsistent features should have been introduced, such as the union of Enkidu with the woman as the beginning of a higher life, whereas the presence of a hunter and his father shows that human society was already in existence, is characteristic of folk-tales, which are indifferent to details that may be contradictory to the general setting of the story.

[112] Pennsylvania tablet, lines 102–104.

[113] Line 105.

[114] Tablet I, 1, 9. See also the reference to the wall of Erech as an "old construction" of Gilgamesh, in the inscription of An-Am in the days of Sin-gamil (Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, I, No. 26.) Cf IV R² 52, 3, 53.

[115] The invariable designation in the Assyrian version as against *Uruk ribîtim*, "Erech of the plazas," in the old Babylonian version.

[116] In Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 123 *seq.*

[117] See Jensen, p. 266. Gilgamesh is addressed as "judge," as the one who inspects the divisions of the earth, precisely as Shamash is celebrated. In line 8 of the hymn in question, Gilgamesh is in fact addressed as Shamash.

[118] The darkness is emphasized with each advance in the hero's wanderings (Tablet IX, col. 5).

[119] This tale is again a nature myth, marking the change from the dry to the rainy season. The Deluge is an annual occurrence in the Euphrates Valley through the overflow of the two rivers. Only the canal system, directing the overflow into the fields, changed the curse into a blessing. In contrast to the Deluge, we have in the Assyrian creation story the drying up of the primeval waters so that the earth makes its appearance with the change from the rainy to the dry season. The world is created in the spring, according to the Akkadian view which is reflected in the Biblical creation story, as related in the P. document. See Jastrow, *Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings* (*JAOS*, Vol 36, p. 295 seq.).

[120] Aš-am in Sumerian corresponding to the Akkadian Šabaṭu, which conveys the idea of destruction.

[121] The month is known as the "Mission of Ishtar" in Sumerian, in allusion to another nature myth which describes Ishtar's disappearance from earth and her mission to the lower world.

[122] *Historical Texts* No. 1. The Sumerian name of the survivor is Zi-ū-gíd-du or perhaps Zi-ū-sū-du (cf. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, p. 65, note 4), signifying "He who lengthened the day of life," i.e., the one of long life, of which Ut-napishtim ("Day of Life") in the Assyrian version seems to be an abbreviated Akkadian rendering, [n]with the omission of the verb. So King's view, which is here followed. See also *CT* XVIII, 30, 9, and Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, p. 90, who, however, enters upon further speculations that are fanciful.

[123] See the translation in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, pp. 69, *seq.* and 73.

[124] According to Professor Clay, quite certainly Amurru, just as in the case of Enkidu.

[125] Gressmann in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 100 *seq.* touches upon this *motif*, but fails to see the main point that the companions are also twins or at least brothers. Hence such examples as Abraham and Lot, David and Jonathan, Achilles and Patroclus, Eteokles and Polyneikes, are not parallels to Gilgamesh-Enkidu, but belong to the *enlargement* of the *motif* so as to include companions who are *not* regarded as brothers.

[126] Or Romus. See Rendell Harris, l. c., p. 59, note 2.

[127] One might also include the primeval pair Yama-Yami with their equivalents in Iranian mythology (Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, p. 294 *seq.*).

[128] Becoming, however, a triad and later increased to seven. Cf. Rendell Harris, l. c., p. 32.

[129] I am indebted to my friend, Professor A. J. Carnoy, of the University of Louvain, for having kindly gathered and placed at my disposal material on the "twin-brother" *motif* from Indo-European sources, supplemental to Rendell Harris' work.

[130] On the other hand, *Uruk mâtum* for the district of Erech, i.e., the territory over which the city holds sway, appears in both versions (Pennsylvania tablet, 1. 10 = Assyrian version I, 5, 36).

[131] "My likeness" (line 27). It should be noted, however, that lines 32–44 of I, 5, in Jensen's edition are part of a fragment K 9245 (not published, but merely copied by Bezold and Johns, and placed at Jensen's disposal), which may represent a *duplicate* to I, 6, 23–34, with which it agrees entirely except for one line, viz., line 34 of K 9245 which is not found in column 6, 23–34. If this be correct, then there is lacking after line 31 of column 5, the interpretation of the dream given in the Pennsylvania tablet in lines 17–23.

[132] *ina šap-li-ki*, literally, "below thee," whereas in the old Babylonian version we have *ana ṣi-ri-ka*, "towards thee."

[133] Repeated I, 6, 28.

[134] *ul-tap-rid ki-is-su-šú-ma*. The verb is from *parâdu*, "violent." For *kissu*, "strong," see *CT* XVI, 25, 48–49. Langdon (*Gilgamesh Epic*, p. 211, note 5) renders the phrase: "he shook his murderous weapon!!" — another illustration of his haphazard way of translating texts.

[135] Shown by the colophon (Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, Plate IV.)

[136] Lines 42–43 must be taken as part of the narrative of the compiler, who tells us that after the woman had informed Enkidu that Gilgamesh already knew of Enkidu's coming through dreams interpreted by Ninsun, Gilgamesh actually set out and encountered Enkidu.

[137] Tablet I, col. 4. See also above, p. 19.

[138] IV, 2, 44–50. The word *ullanum*, (l.43) “once” or “since,” points to the following being a reference to a former recital, and not an original recital.

[139] Only the lower half (Haupt’s edition, p. 82) is preserved.

[140] “The eyes of Enkidu were filled with tears,” corresponding to IV, 4, 10.

[141] Unless indeed the number “seven” is a slip for the sign ša. See the commentary to the line.

Pennsylvania Tablet

The 240 lines of the six columns of the text are enumerated in succession, with an indication on the margin where a new column begins. This method, followed also in the case of the Yale tablet, seems preferable to Langdon's breaking up of the text into Obverse and Reverse, with a separate enumeration for each of the six columns. In order, however, to facilitate a comparison with Langdon's edition, a table is added:

Obverse Col.	I, 1	= Line	1 of our text.
,,	I, 5	= ,,	5 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 10	= ,,	10 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 15	= ,,	15 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 20	= ,,	20 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 25	= ,,	25 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 30	= ,,	30 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 35	= ,,	35 ,, ,, ,,
Col.	II, 1	= Line	41 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 5	= ,,	45 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 10	= ,,	50 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 15	= ,,	55 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 20	= ,,	60 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 25	= ,,	65 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 30	= ,,	70 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 35	= ,,	75 ,, ,, ,,
Col.	III, 1	= Line	81 ,, ,, ,,
,,	III, 5	= ,,	85 ,, ,, ,,
,,	III, 10	= ,,	90 ,, ,, ,,
,,	III, 15	= ,,	95 ,, ,, ,,
,,	III, 26	= ,,	100 ,, ,, ,,
,,	III, 25	= ,,	105 ,, ,, ,,
,,	III, 30	= ,,	110 ,, ,, ,,
,,	III, 35	= ,,	115 ,, ,, ,,
Reverse Col.	I, 1 (= Col. IV)	= Line	131 of our text.
,,	I, 5	= ,,	135 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 10	= ,,	140 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 15	= ,,	145 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 20	= ,,	150 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 25	= ,,	155 ,, ,, ,,
,,	I, 30	= ,,	160 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 1 (= Col. V)	= Line	171 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 5	= ,,	175 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 10	= ,,	180 ,, ,, ,,
,,	II, 15	= ,,	185 ,, ,, ,,

„	II, 20	= „	190 „ „ „
„	II, 25	= „	195 „ „ „
„	II, 30	= „	200 „ „ „
„	III, 1 (= Col. VI)	= Line	208 „ „ „
„	III, 5	= „	212 „ „ „
„	III, 10	= „	217 „ „ „
„	III, 15	= „	222 „ „ „
„	III, 20	= „	227 „ „ „
„	III, 25	= „	232 „ „ „
„	III, 30	= „	237 „ „ „
„	III, 33	= „	240 „ „ „

Transliteration.

Col. I.

1 it-bi-e-ma ^{d}Giš šú-na-tam i-pa-áš-šar
2 iz-za-kàr-am a-na um-mi-šú
3 um-mi i-na šá-at mu-ši-ti-ia
4 šá-am-ḫa-ku-ma at-ta-na-al-la-ak
5 i-na bi-ri-it it-lu-tim
6 ib-ba-šú-nim-ma ka-ka-bu šá-ma-i
7 [ki]-iṣ-rù šá A-nim im-ḳu-ut a-na ṣi-ri-ia
8 áš-ši-šú-ma ik-ta-bi-it e-li-ia
9 ú-ni-iš-šú-ma nu-uš-šá-šú ú-ul il-ti-’i
10 Uruk^{ki} ma-tum pa-ḫi-ir e-li-šú
11 it-lu-tum ú-na-šá-ku ši-pi-šú
12 ú-um-mi-id-ma pu-ti
13 i-mi-du ia-ti
14 áš-ši-a-šú-ma ab-ba-la-áš-šú a-na ṣi-ri-ki
15 um-mi ^{d}Giš mu-di-a-at ka-la-ma
16 iz-za-kàr-am a-na ^{d}Giš
17 mi-in-di ^{d}Giš šá ki-ma ka-ti
18 i-na ṣi-ri i-wa-li-id-ma
19 ú-ra-ab-bi-šú šá-du-ú
20 ta-mar-šú-ma [kima Sal(?)] ta-ḫa-du at-ta
21 it-lu-tum ú-na-šá-ku ši-pi-šú
22 tí-iṭ-ṭi-ra-áš-[šú tu-ut]-tu-ú-ma
23 ta-tar-ra-[as-su] a-na ṣi-[ri]-ia
24 [uš]-ti-nim-ma i-ta-mar šá-ni-tam
25 [šú-na]-ta i-ta-wa-a-am a-na um-mi-šú
26 [um-mi] a-ta-mar šá-ni-tam
27 [šú-na-tu a-ta]-mar e-mi-a i-na su-ḳi-im
28 [šá Uruk]^{ki} ri-bi-tim
29ḫa-aṣ-ṣi-nu na-di-i-ma
30 e-li-šú pa-aḫ-ru
31ḫa-aṣ-ṣi-nu-um-ma šá-ni bu-nu-šú
32 a-mur-šú-ma aḫ-ta-du a-na-ku
33 a-ra-am-šú-ma ki-ma áš-šá-tim
34 a-ḫa-ab-bu-ub el-šú
35 el-ki-šú-ma áš-ta-ka-an-šú
36 a-na a-ḫi-ia
37 um-mi ^{d}Giš mu-da-at [ka]-la-ma
38 [iz-za-kàr-am a-na ^{d}Giš]

39 [^{d}Giš šá ta-mu-ru amêlu]
40 [ta-ḫa-ab-bu-ub ki-ma áš-šá-tim el-šú]

Col. II.

41 áš-šum uš-[ta]-ma-ḫa-ru it-ti-ka
42 ^{d}Giš šú-na-tam i-pa-šar
43 ^{d}En-ki-[dũ wa]-ši-ib ma-ḫar ḫa-ri-im-tim
44 ur-[šá ir]-ḫa-mu di-da-šá(?) ip-tí-[e]
45 [^{d}En-ki]-dũ im-ta-ši a-šar i-wa-al-du
46 ûm, 6 ù 7 mu-ši-a-tim
47 ^{d}En-[ki-dũ] ti-bi-i-ma
48 šá-[am-ka-ta] ir-ḫi
49ḫa-[ri-im-tum pa-a]-šá i-pu-šá-am-ma
50 iz-za-[kàr-am] a-na ^{d}En-ki-dũ
51 a-na-tal-ka ^{d}En-ki-dũ ki-ma ili ta-ba-áš-ši
52 am-mi-nim it-ti na-ma-áš-te-e
53 ta-at-ta-[na-al]-ak ṣi-ra-am
54 al-kam lu-úr-di-ka
55 a-na libbi [Uruk^{ki}] ri-bi-tim
56 a-na bît [el]-lim mu-šá-bi šá A-nim
57 ^{d}En-ki-dũ ti-bi lu-ru-ka
58 a-na Ê-[an]-na mu-šá-bi šá A-nim
59 a-šar [^{d}Giš gi]-it-ma-[lu] ne-pi-ši-tim
60 ù at-[ta] ki-[ma Sal ta-ḫa]-bu-[ub]-šú
61 ta-[ra-am-šú ki-ma] ra-ma-an-ka
62 al-ka ti-ba i-[na] ga-ag-ga-ri
63 ma-a-ag-ri-i-im
64 iš-me a-wa-as-sa im-ta-ḫar ga-ba-šá
65 mi-il-[kum] šá aššatim
66 im-ta-ḳu-ut a-na libbi-šú
67 iš-ḫu-ut li-ib-šá-am
68 iš-ti-nam ú-la-ab-bi-iš-sú
69 li-ib-[šá-am] šá-ni-a-am
70 ši-i it-ta-al-ba-áš
71 ṣa-ab-tat ga-as-su
72 ki-ma [ili] i-ri-id-di-šú
73 a-na gu-up-ri šá-ri-i-im
74 a-šar tar-ba-ṣi-im
75 i-na [áš]-ri-šú [im]-ḫu-ruri-ia-ú
76 [ù šú-u ^{d}En-ki-dũ i-lit-ta-šú šá-du-um-ma]
77 [it-ti ṣabâti-ma ik-ka-la šam-ma]

78 [it-ti bu-lim maš-ḳa-a i-šat-ti]
79 [it-ti na-ma-áš-te-e mê i-ṭab lib-ba-šú]
(Perhaps one additional line missing.)

Col. III.

81 ši-iz-ba šá na-ma-áš-te-e
82 i-te-en-ni-ik
83 a-ka-lam iš-ku-nu ma-ḫar-šú
84 ib-tí-ik-ma i-na-at-tal
85 ù ip-pa-al-la-as
86 ú-ul i-di ^{d}En-ki-dũ
87 aklam a-na a-ka-lim
88 šikaram a-na šá-te-e-im
89 la-a lum-mu-ud
90ḫa-ri-im-tum pi-šá i-pu-šá-am-ma
91 iz-za-kàr-am a-na ^{d}En-ki-dũ
92 a-ku-ul ak-lam ^{d}En-ki-dũ
93 zi-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-im
94 šikaram ši-ti ši-im-ti ma-ti
95 i-ku-ul a-ak-lam ^{d}En-ki-dũ
96 a-di ši-bi-e-šú
97 šikaram iš-ti-a-am
987 aṣ-ṣa-am-mi-im
99 it-tap-šar kab-ta-tum i-na-an-gu
100 i-li-iṣ libba-šú-ma
101 pa-nu-šú [it]-tam-ru
102 ul-tap-pi-it [^{lù}ŠÚ]-I
103 šú-ḫu-ra-am pa-ga-ar-šú
104 šá-am-nam ip-ta-šá-áš-ma
105 a-we-li-iš i-we
106 il-ba-áš li-ib-šá-am
107 ki-ma mu-ti i-ba-áš-ši
108 il-ki ka-ak-ka-šú
109 la-bi ú-gi-ir-ri
110 uš-sa-ak-pu re’ûti mu-ši-a-tim
111 ut-tap-pi-iš šib-ba-ri
112 la-bi uk-ta-ši-id
113 it-ti-[lu] na-ki-[di-e] ra-bu-tum
114 ^{d}En-ki-dũ ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-šú-nu
115 a-we-lum giš-ru-um
116 iš-te-en it-lum
117 a-na [na-ki-di-e(?) i]-za-ak-ki-ir

(About five lines missing.)

Col. IV.

(About eight lines missing.)
131 i-ip-pu-uš ul-ṣa-am
132 iš-ši-ma i-ni-i-šú
133 i-ta-mar a-we-lam
134 iz-za-kàr-am a-na ḫarimtim
135 šá-am-ka-at uk-ki-ši a-we-lam
136 a-na mi-nim il-li-kam
137 zi-ki-ir-šú lu-uš-šú
138ḫa-ri-im-tum iš-ta-si a-we-lam
139 i-ba-uš-su-um-ma i-ta-mar-šú
140 e-di-il e-eš ta-ḫi-[il-la]-am
141 lim-nu a-la-ku ma-na-aḫ-[ti]-ka
142 e-pi-šú i-pu-šá-am-ma
143 iz-za-kàr-am a-na ^{d}En-[ki-dũ]
144 bi-ti-iš e-mu-tim ik ……
145 ši-ma-a-at ni-ši-i-ma
146 tu-a-(?)-ar e-lu-tim
147 a-na âli(?) dup-šak-ki-i e-ṣi-en
148 uk-la-at âli(?) e-mi-sa a-a-ḫa-tim
149 a-na šarri šá Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
150 pi-ti pu-uk epiši(-ši) a-na ḫa-a-a-ri
151 a-na ^{d}Giš šarri šá Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
152 pi-ti pu-uk epiši(-ši)
153 a-na ḫa-a-a-ri
154 áš-ša-at ši-ma-tim i-ra-aḫ-ḫi
155 šú-ú pa-na-nu-um-ma
156 mu-uk wa-ar-ka-nu
157 i-na mi-il-ki šá ili ga-bi-ma
158 i-na bi-ti-iḳ a-bu-un-na-ti-šú
159 ši-ma-as-su
160 a-na zi-ik-ri it-li-im
161 i-ri-ku pa-nu-šú
(About three lines missing.)

Col. V.

(About six lines missing.)
171 i-il-la-ak [^{d}En-ki-dũ i-na pa-ni]
172 u-šá-am-ka-at [wa]-ar-ki-šú
173 i-ru-ub-ma a-na libbi Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
174 ip-ḫur um-ma-nu-um i-na ṣi-ri-šú
175 iz-zi-za-am-ma i-na su-ḳi-im
176 šá Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
177 pa-aḫ-ra-a-ma ni-šú
178 i-ta-wa-a i-na ṣi-ri-šú
179 a-na ṣalam ^{d}Giš ma-ši-il pi-it-tam
180 la-nam šá-pi-il
181 si-ma …. [šá-ki-i pu]-uk-ku-ul
182..... i-pa-ka-du
183 i-[na mâti da-an e-mu]-ki i-wa
184 ši-iz-ba šá na-ma-aš-te-e
185 i-te-en-ni-ik
186 ka-a-a-na i-na [libbi] Uruk^{ki} kak-ki-a-tum
187 it-lu-tum ú-te-el-li-lu
188 šá-ki-in ur-šá-nu
189 a-na itli šá i-šá-ru zi-mu-šú
190 a-na ^{d}Giš ki-ma i-li-im
191 šá-ki-iš-šum me-iḫ-rù
192 a-na ^{d}Iš-ḫa-ra ma-a-a-lum
193 na-di-i-ma
194 ^{d}Giš it-[ti-il-ma wa-ar-ka-tim]
195 i-na mu-ši in-ni-[ib-bi]-it
196 i-na-ag-šá-am-ma
197 it-ta-[zi-iz dEn-ki-dũ] i-na sûḳim
198 ip-ta-ra-[aṣ a-la]-ak-tam
199 šá ^{d}Giš
200 [a-na e-pi-iš] da-na-ni-iš-šú
(About three lines missing.)

Col. VI.

(About four lines missing.)
208 šar(?)-ḫa
209 [d]Giš …
210 i-na ṣi-ri-[šú il-li-ka-am [d]En-ki-dũ]
211 i-ḫa-an-ni-ib [pi-ir-ta-šú]
212 it-bi-ma [il-li-ik]
213 a-na pa-ni-šú
214 it-tam-ḫa-ru i-na ri-bi-tum ma-ti
215 [d]En-ki-dũ ba-ba-am ip-ta-ri-ik
216 i-na ši-pi-šú
217 [d]Giš e-ri-ba-am ú-ul id-di-in
218 iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-ma ki-ma li-i-im
219 i-lu-du
220 zi-ip-pa-am ‘i-bu-tu
221 i-ga-rum ir-tu-tu
222 [d]Giš ù [d]En-ki-dũ
223 iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-ú-ma
224 ki-ma li-i-im i-lu-du
225 zi-ip-pa-am ‘i-bu-tu
226 i-ga-rum ir-tu-tú
227 ik-mi-is-ma [d]Giš
228 i-na ga-ag-ga-ri ši-ip-šú
229 ip-ši-iḫ uz-za-šú-ma
230 i-ni-iḫ i-ra-as-su
231 iš-tu i-ra-su i-ni-ḫu
232 [d]En-ki-dũ a-na šá-ši-im
233 iz-za-kàr-am a-na [d]Giš
234 ki-ma iš-te-en-ma um-ma-ka
235 ú-li-id-ka
236 ri-im-tum šá su-pu-ri
237 [d]Nin-sun-na
238 ul-lu e-li mu-ti ri-eš-ka
239 šar-ru-tú šá ni-ši
240 i-ši-im-kum [d]En-lil
241 duppu 2 kam-ma
242 šú-tu-ur e-li
243 4 šú-ši

Translation.

Col. I.

1 Gish sought to interpret the dream;
2 Spoke to his mother:
3 “My mother, during my night
4 I became strong and moved about
5 among the heroes;
6 And from the starry heaven
7 A meteor(?) of Anu fell upon me:
8 I bore it and it grew heavy upon me,
9 I became weak and its weight I could not endure.
10 The land of Erech gathered about it.
11 The heroes kissed its feet.[1]
12 It was raised up before me.
13 They stood me up.[2]
14 I bore it and carried it to thee.”
15 The mother of Gish, who knows all things,
16 Spoke to Gish:
17 “Some one, O Gish, who like thee
18 In the field was born and
19 Whom the mountain has reared,
20 Thou wilt see (him) and [like a woman(?)] thou wilt rejoice.
21 Heroes will kiss his feet.
22 Thou wilt spare [him and wilt endeavor]
23 To lead him to me.”
24 He slept and saw another
25 Dream, which he reported to his mother:
26 [“My mother,] I have seen another
27 [Dream.] My likeness I have seen in the streets
28 [Of Erech] of the plazas.
29 An axe was brandished, and
30 They gathered about him;
31 And the axe made him angry.
32 I saw him and I rejoiced,
33 I loved him as a woman,
34 I embraced him.
35 I took him and regarded him
36 As my brother.”
37 The mother of Gish, who knows all things,
38 [Spoke to Gish]

39 [“O Gish, the man whom thou sawest,]
40 [Whom thou didst embrace like a woman].

Col II.

41 (means) that he is to be associated with thee.”
42 Gish understood the dream.
43 [As] Enki[du] was sitting before the woman,
44 [Her] loins(?) he embraced, her vagina(?) he opened.
45 [Enkidu] forgot the place where he was born.
46 Six days and seven nights
47 Enkidu continued
48 To cohabit with [the courtesan].
49 [The woman] opened her [mouth] and
50 Spoke to Enkidu:
51 “I gaze upon thee, O Enkidu, like a god art thou!
52 Why with the cattle
53 Dost thou [roam] across the field?
54 Come, let me lead thee
55 into [Erech] of the plazas,
56 to the holy house, the dwelling of Anu,
57 O, Enkidu arise, let me conduct thee
58 To Eanna, the dwelling of Anu,
59 The place [where Gish is, perfect] in vitality.
60 And thou [like a wife wilt embrace] him.
61 Thou [wilt love him like] thyself.
62 Come, arise from the ground
63 (that is) cursed.”
64 He heard her word and accepted her speech.
65 The counsel of the woman
66 Entered his heart.
67 She stripped off a garment,
68 Clothed him with one.
69 Another garment
70 She kept on herself.
71 She took hold of his hand.
72 Like [a god(?)] she brought him
73 To the fertile meadow,
74 The place of the sheepfolds.
75 In that place they received food;
76 [For he, Enkidu, whose birthplace was the mountain,]
77 [With the gazelles he was accustomed to eat herbs,]

78 [With the cattle to drink water,]
79 [With the water beings he was happy.]
(Perhaps one additional line missing.)

Col. III.

81 Milk of the cattle
82 He was accustomed to suck.
83 Food they placed before him,
84 He broke (it) off and looked
85 And gazed.
86 Enkidu had not known
87 To eat food.
88 To drink wine
89 He had not been taught.
90 The woman opened her mouth and
91 Spoke to Enkidu:
92 “Eat food, O Enkidu,
93 The provender of life!
94 Drink wine, the custom of the land!”
95 Enkidu ate food
96 Till he was satiated.
97 Wine he drank,
98 Seven goblets.
99 His spirit was loosened, he became hilarious.
100 His heart became glad and
101 His face shone.
102 [The barber(?)] removed
103 The hair on his body.
104 He was anointed with oil.
105 He became manlike.
106 He put on a garment,
107 He was like a man.
108 He took his weapon;
109 Lions he attacked,
110 (so that) the night shepherds could rest.
111 He plunged the dagger;
112 Lions he overcame.
113 The great [shepherds] lay down;
114 Enkidu was their protector.
115 The strong man,
116 The unique hero,
117 To [the shepherds(?)] he speaks:

(About five lines missing.)

Col. IV.

(About eight lines missing.)
131 Making merry.
132 He lifted up his eyes,
133 He sees the man.
134 He spoke to the woman:
135 “O, courtesan, lure on the man.
136 Why has he come to me?
137 His name I will destroy.”
138 The woman called to the man
139 Who approaches to him[3] and he beholds him.
140 “Away! why dost thou [quake(?)]
141 Evil is the course of thy activity.”[4]
142 Then he[5] opened his mouth and
143 Spoke to Enkidu:
144 “[To have (?)] a family home
145 Is the destiny of men, and
146 The prerogative(?) of the nobles.
147 For the city(?) load the workbaskets!
148 Food supply for the city lay to one side!
149 For the King of Erech of the plazas,
150 Open the hymen(?), perform the marriage act!
151 For Gish, the King of Erech of the plazas,
152 Open the hymen(?),
153 Perform the marriage act!
154 With the legitimate wife one should cohabit.
155 So before,
156 As well as in the future.[6]
157 By the decree pronounced by a god,
158 From the cutting of his umbilical cord
159 (Such) is his fate.”
160 At the speech of the hero
161 His face grew pale.
(About three lines missing.)

Col. V.

(About six lines missing.)
171 [Enkidu] went [in front],
172 And the courtesan behind him.
173 He entered into Erech of the plazas.
174 The people gathered about him.
175 As he stood in the streets
176 Of Erech of the plazas,
177 The men gathered,
178 Saying in regard to him:
179 “Like the form of Gish he has suddenly become;
180 shorter in stature.
181 [In his structure high(?)], powerful,
182..... overseeing(?)
183 In the land strong of power has he become.
184 Milk of cattle
185 He was accustomed to suck.”
186 Steadily(?) in Erech .....
187 The heroes rejoiced.
188 He became a leader.
189 To the hero of fine appearance,
190 To Gish, like a god,
191 He became a rival to him.[7]
192 For Ishḫara a couch
193 Was stretched, and
194 Gish [lay down, and afterwards(?)]
195 In the night he fled.
196 He approaches and
197 [Enkidu stood] in the streets.
198 He blocked the path
199 of Gish.
200 At the exhibit of his power,
(About three lines missing.)

Col. VI.

(About four lines missing.)
208 Strong(?) …
209 Gish
210 Against him [Enkidu proceeded],
211 [His hair] luxuriant.
212 He started [to go]
213 Towards him.
214 They met in the plaza of the district.
215 Enkidu blocked the gate
216 With his foot,
217 Not permitting Gish to enter.
218 They seized (each other), like oxen,
219 They fought.
220 The threshold they demolished;
221 The wall they impaired.
222 Gish and Enkidu
223 Seized (each other).
224 Like oxen they fought.
225 The threshold they demolished;
226 The wall they impaired.
227 Gish bent
228 His foot to the ground,[8]
229 His wrath was appeased,
230 His breast was quieted.
231 When his breast was quieted,
232 Enkidu to him
233 Spoke, to Gish:
234 "As a unique one, thy mother
235 bore thee.
236 The wild cow of the stall,[9]
237 Ninsun,
238 Has exalted thy head above men.
239 Kingship over men
240 Enlil has decreed for thee.
241 Second tablet,
242 enlarged beyond [the original(?)].
2432 40 lines.

ENDNOTES.

[1] I.e., paid homage to the meteor.

[2] I.e., the heroes of Erech raised me to my feet, or perhaps in the sense of “supported me.”

[3] I.e., Enkidu.

[4] I.e., “thy way of life.”

[5] I.e., the man.

[6] I.e., an idiomatic phrase meaning “for all times.”

[7] I.e., Enkidu became like Gish, godlike. Cf. col. 2, 11.

[8] He was thrown and therefore vanquished.

[9] Epithet given to Ninsun. See the commentary to the line.

Commentary on the Pennsylvania Tablet.

Line 1. The verb *tibû* with *pašâru* expresses the aim of Gish to secure an interpretation for his dream. This disposes of Langdon's note 1 on page 211 of his edition, in which he also erroneously speaks of our text as "late." *Pašâru* is not a variant of *zakâru*. Both verbs occur just as here in the Assyrian version I, 5, 25.

Line 3. *ina šât mušitia*, "in this my night," i.e., in the course of this night of mine. A curious way of putting it, but the expression occurs also in the Assyrian version, e.g., I, 5, 26 (parallel passage to ours) and II, 4[a], 14. In the Yale tablet we find, similarly, *mu-ši-it-ka* (l. 262), "thy night," i.e., "at night to thee."

Line 5. Before Langdon put down the strange statement of Gish "wandering about in the midst of omens" (misreading *id-da-tim* for *it-lu-tim*), he might have asked himself the question, what it could possibly mean. How can one walk among omens?

Line 6. *ka-ka-bu šá-ma-i* must be taken as a compound term for "starry heaven." The parallel passage in the Assyrian version (Tablet I, 5, 27) has the ideograph for star, with the plural sign as a variant. Literally, therefore, "The starry heaven (or "the stars in heaven") was there," etc. Langdon's note 2 on page 211 rests on an erroneous reading.

Line 7. *kiṣru šá Anim*, "mass of Anu," appears to be the designation of a meteor, which might well be described as a "mass" coming from Anu, i.e., from the god of heaven who becomes the personification of the heavens in general. In the Assyrian version (I, 5, 28) we have *kima ki-iṣ-rù*, i.e., "something like a mass of heaven." Note also I, 3, 16, where in a description of Gilgamesh, his strength is said to be "strong like a mass (i.e., a meteor) of heaven."

Line 9. For *nuššašu ûl iltê* we have a parallel in the Hebrew phrase נִלְפָּסֵתִי נִשְׂפָּס (Isaiah 1, 14).

Line 10. *Uruk mâtum*, as the designation for the district of Erech, occurs in the Assyrian version, e.g., I, 5, 31, and IV, 2, 38; also to be supplied, I, 6, 23.

For *paḫir* the parallel in the Assyrian version has *iz-za-az* (I, 5, 31), but VI, 197, we find *paḫ-ru* and *paḫ-ra*.

Line 17. *mi-in-di* does not mean "truly" as Langdon translates, but "some one." It occurs also in the Assyrian version X, 1, 13, *mi-in-di-e ma-an-nu-ū*, "this is some one who," etc.

Line 18. Cf. Assyrian version I, 5, 3, and IV, 4, 7, *ina ṣiri âlid* — both passages referring to Enkidu.

Line 21. Cf. Assyrian version II, 3[b], 38, with *malkê*, "kings," as a synonym of *itlutum*.

Line 23. *ta-tar-ra-as-sú* from *tarâṣu*, "direct," "guide," etc.

Line 24. I take *uš-ti-nim-ma* as III, 2, from *išênu* (יָשֵׁן), the verb underlying *šittu*, "sleep," and *šuttu*, "dream."

Line 26. Cf. Assyrian version I, 6, 21 — a complete parallel.

Line 28. *Uruk ri-bi-tim*, the standing phrase in both tablets of the old Babylonian version, for which in the Assyrian version we have *Uruk su-pu-ri*. The former term suggests the "broad space" outside of the city or the "common" in a village community, while *supûri*, "enclosed," would refer to the city within the walls. Dr. W. F. Albright (in a private communication) suggests "Erech of the plazas" as a suitable translation for *Uruk ribîtim*. A third term, *Uruk mâtum* (see above, note to line 10), though designating rather the district of which Erech was the capital, appears to be used as a synonym to *Uruk ribîtim*, as may be concluded from the phrase *i-na ri-bi-tum ma-ti* (l. 214 of the Pennsylvania tablet), which clearly means the "plaza" of the city. One naturally thinks of רְחֹבֹת עִיר in Genesis 10, 11 — the equivalent of Babylonian *ri-bi-tu âli* — which can hardly be the name of a city. It appears to be a gloss, as is הַכֶּסֶף הָעִיר הַגְּדֹלָה at the end of v. 12. The latter gloss is misplaced, since it clearly describes "Nineveh," mentioned in v. 11. Inasmuch as רְחֹבֹת עִיר immediately follows the mention of Nineveh, it seems simplest to take the phrase as designating the "outside" or "suburbs" of the city, a complete parallel, therefore, to *ri-bi-tu mâti* in our text. Nineveh, together with the "suburbs," forms the "great city." *Uruk ribîtim* is, therefore, a designation for "greater Erech," proper to a capital city, which by its gradual growth would take in more than its original

confines. “Erech of the plazas” must have come to be used as a honorific designation of this important center as early as 2000 B. C., whereas later, perhaps because of its decline, the epithet no longer seemed appropriate and was replaced by the more modest designation of “walled Erech,” with an allusion to the tradition which ascribed the building of the wall of the city to Gilgamesh. At all events, all three expressions, “Erech of the plazas,” “Erech walled” and “Erech land,” are to be regarded as synonymous. The position once held by Erech follows also from its ideographic designation (Brünnow No. 4796) by the sign “house” with a “gunufied” extension, which conveys the idea of Unu = *šubtu*, or “dwelling” *par excellence*. The pronunciation Unug or Unuk (see the gloss *u-nu-uk*, VR 23, 8[a]), composed of *unu*, “dwelling,” and *ki*, “place,” is hardly to be regarded as older than Uruk, which is to be resolved into *uru*, “city,” and *ki*, “place,” but rather as a play upon the name, both Unu + ki and Uru + ki conveying the same idea of *the* city or *the* dwelling place *par excellence*. As the seat of the second oldest dynasty according to Babylonian traditions (see Poebel’s list in *Historical and Grammatical Texts* No. 2), Erech no doubt was regarded as having been at one time “the city,” i.e., the capital of the entire Euphrates Valley.

Line 31. A difficult line for which Langdon proposes the translation: “Another axe seemed his visage”!! — which may be picturesque, but hardly a description befitting a hero. How can a man’s face seem to be an axe? Langdon attaches *šá-ni* in the sense of “second” to the preceding word “axe,” whereas *šanî bunušu*, “change of his countenance” or “his countenance being changed,” is to be taken as a phrase to convey the idea of “being disturbed,” “displeased” or “angry.” The phrase is of the same kind as the well-known *šunnu ṭêmu*, “changing of reason,” to denote “insanity.” See the passages in Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, pp. 355 and 1068. In Hebrew, too, we have the same two phrases, e.g., וַיְשַׁנּוֹ־פָסֶת־טַעְמוֹ (I Sam. 21, 14 = Ps. 34, 1), “and he changed his reason,” i.e., feigned insanity and מְשַׁנֶּה פָּנָיו (Job 14, 20), “changing his face,” to indicate a radical alteration in the frame of mind. There is a still closer parallel in Biblical Aramaic: Dan. 3, 19, “The form of his visage was changed,” meaning “he was enraged.” Fortunately, the same phrase occurs also in the Yale tablet (l. 192), *šá-nu-ú bu-nu-šú*, in a connection which leaves no doubt that the aroused fury of the tyrant Ḫuwawa is described by it:

“Ḫuwawa heard and his face was changed”

precisely, therefore, as we should say — following Biblical usage— "his countenance fell." Cf. also the phrase *pânušu arpu*, "his countenance was darkened" (Assyrian version I, 2, 48), to express "anger." The line, therefore, in the Pennsylvania tablet must describe Enkidu's anger. With the brandishing of the axe the hero's anger was also stirred up. The touch was added to prepare us for the continuation in which Gish describes how, despite this (or perhaps just because of it), Enkidu seemed so attractive that Gish instantly fell in love with him. May perhaps the emphatic form *ḫaṣinumma* (line 31) against *ḫaṣinu* (line 29) have been used to indicate "The axe it was," or "because of the axe?" It would be worth while to examine other texts of the Hammurabi period with a view of determining the scope in the use and meaning of the emphatic *ma* when added to a substantive.

Line 32. The combination *amur ù aḫtadu* occurs also in the El-Amarna Letters, No. 18, 12.

Line 34. In view of the common Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic חָבַב "to love," it seems preferable to read here, as in the other passages in the Assyrian versions (I, 4, 15; 4, 35; 6, 27, etc.), *a-ḫa-ab-bu-ub*, *aḫ-bu-ub*, *iḫ-bu-bu*, etc. (instead of with *p*), and to render "embrace."

Lines 38–40, completing the column, may be supplied from the Assyrian version I, 6, 30–32, in conjunction with lines 33–34 of our text. The beginning of line 32 in Jensen's version is therefore to be filled out *[ta-ra-am-šú ki]-i*.

Line 43. The restoration at the beginning of this line

En-ki-[dũ wa]-ši-ib ma-ḫar ḫa-ri-im-tim

enables us to restore also the beginning of the second tablet of the Assyrian version (cf. the colophon of the fragment 81, 7–27, 93, in Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, plate IV = Jensen, p. 134),

[^{d}En-ki-dũ wa-ši-ib] ma-ḫar-šá.

Line 44. The restoration of this line is largely conjectural, based on the supposition that its contents correspond in a general way to I, 4, 16, of the Assyrian version. The reading *di-da* is quite certain, as is also *ip-ti-[e]*; and since both words occur in the line of the Assyrian version in question, it is tempting to supply at the beginning *ur-[šá]* = "her loins" (cf. Holma, *Namen der Körperteile*, etc., p. 101), which is likewise found

in the same line of the Assyrian version. At all events the line describes the fascination exercised upon Enkidu by the woman's bodily charms, which make him forget everything else.

Lines 46–47 form a parallel to I, 4, 21, of the Assyrian version. The form *šamkatu*, "courtesan," is constant in the old Babylonian version (ll. 135 and 172), as against *šamḫatu* in the Assyrian version (I, 3, 19, 40, 45; 4, 16), which also uses the plural *šam-ḫa-a-ti* (II, 3^{b}, 40). The interchange between *ḫ* and *k* is not without precedent (cf. Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, page 107, note 2, and more particularly Chiera, *List of Personal Names*, page 37).

In view of the evidence, set forth in the Introduction, for the assumption that the Enkidu story has been combined with a tale of the evolution of primitive man to civilized life, it is reasonable to suggest that in the original Enkidu story the female companion was called *šamkatu*, "courtesan," whereas in the tale of the primitive man, which was transferred to Enkidu, the associate was *ḫarimtu*, a "woman," just as in the Genesis tale, the companion of Adam is simply called *ishshâ*, "woman." Note that in the Assyrian parallel (Tablet I, 4, 26) we have two readings, *ir-ḫi* (imperf.) and a variant *i-ri-ḫi* (present). The former is the better reading, as our tablet shows.

Lines 49–59 run parallel to the Assyrian version I, 4, 33–38, with slight variations which have been discussed above, p. 58, and from which we may conclude that the Assyrian version represents an independent redaction. Since in our tablet we have presumably the repetition of what may have been in part at least set forth in the first tablet of the old Babylonian version, we must not press the parallelism with the first tablet of the Assyrian version too far; but it is noticeable nevertheless (1) that our tablet contains lines 57–58 which are not represented in the Assyrian version, and (2) that the second speech of the "woman" beginning, line 62, with *al-ka*, "come" (just as the first speech, line 54), is likewise not found in the first tablet of the Assyrian version; which on the other hand contains a line (39) not in the Babylonian version, besides the detailed answer of Enkidu (I 4, 42–5, 5). Line 6, which reads "Enkidu and the woman went (*il-li-ku*) to walled Erech," is also not found in the second tablet of the old Babylonian version.

Line 63. For *magrû*, "accursed," see the frequent use in Astrological texts (Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* II, page 450, note 2). Langdon, by his strange error in separating *ma-a-ag-ri-im* into two words *ma-a-ak* and *ri-i-im*, with a still stranger rendering: "unto the place yonder of the shepherds!!", naturally misses the point of this important speech.

Line 64 corresponds to I, 4, 40, of the Assyrian version, which has an additional line, leading to the answer of Enkidu. From here on, our tablet furnishes material not represented in the Assyrian version, but which was no doubt included in the second tablet of that version of which we have only a few fragments.

Line 70 must be interpreted as indicating that the woman kept one garment for herself. *Ittalbaš* would accordingly mean, "she kept on." The female dress appears to have consisted of an upper and a lower garment.

Line 72. The restoration "like a god" is favored by line 51, where Enkidu is likened to a god, and is further confirmed by l. 190.

Line 73. *gupru* is identical with *gu-up-ri* (Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, etc., 223 rev. 2 and 223[a] rev. 8), and must be correlated to *gipâru* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 229[a]), "planted field," "meadow," and the like. Thompson's translation "men" (as though a synonym of *gabru*) is to be corrected accordingly.

Line 74. There is nothing missing between *a-šar* and *tar-ba-ṣi-im*.

Line 75. *ri-ia-ú*, which Langdon renders "shepherd," is the equivalent of the Arabic *riʿy* and Hebrew רְעִי "pasturage," "fodder." We have usually the feminine form *ri-i-tu* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 990[b]). The break at the end of the second column is not serious. Evidently Enkidu, still accustomed to live like an animal, is first led to the sheepfolds, and this suggests a repetition of the description of his former life. Of the four or five lines missing, we may conjecturally restore four, on the basis of the Assyrian version, Tablet I, 4, 2–5, or I, 2, 39–41. This would then join on well to the beginning of column 3.

Line 81. Both here and in l. 52 our text has *na-ma-áš-te-e*, as against *nam-maš-ši-i* in the Assyrian version, e.g., Tablet I, 2, 41; 4, 5, etc., — the feminine form, therefore, as against the masculine. Langdon's note 3

on page 213 is misleading. In astrological texts we also find *nam-maš-te*; e.g., Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, etc., No. 200, Obv. 2.

Line 93. *zi-ma-at* (for *simat*) *ba-la-ṭi-im* is not "conformity of life" as Langdon renders, but that which "belongs to life" like *si-mat pag-ri-šá*, "belonging to her body," in the Assyrian version III, 2[a], 3 (Jensen, page 146). "Food," says the woman, "is the staff of life."

Line 94. Langdon's strange rendering "of the conditions and fate of the land" rests upon an erroneous reading (see the corrections, Appendix I), which is the more inexcusable because in line 97 the same ideogram, Kàš = *šikaru*, "wine," occurs, and is correctly rendered by him. *Šimti mâti* is not the "fate of the land," but the "fixed custom of the land."

Line 98. *aṣ-ṣa-mi-im* (plural of *aṣṣamu*), which Langdon takes as an adverb in the sense of "times," is a well-known word for a large "goblet," which occurs in Incantation texts, e.g., *CT* XVI, 24, obv. 1, 19, *mê a-ṣa-am-mi-e šú-puk*, "pour out goblets of water." Line 18 of the passage shoves that *aṣammu* is a Sumerian loan word.

Line 99. *it-tap-šar*, I, 2, from *pašâru*, "loosen." In combination with *kabtatum* (from *kabitatum*, yielding two forms: *kabtatum*, by elision of *i*, and *kabittu*, by elision of *a*), "liver," *pašâru* has the force of becoming cheerful. Cf. *ka-bit-ta-ki lip-pa-šir* (*ZA* V., p. 67, line 14).

Line 100, note the customary combination of "liver" (*kabtatum*) and "heart" (*libbu*) for "disposition" and "mind," just as in the standing phrase in penitential prayers: "May thy liver be appeased, thy heart be quieted."

Line 102. The restoration [^{lú}ŠÚ]-I = *gallabu* "barber" (Delitzsch, *Sumer. Glossar*, p. 267) was suggested to me by Dr. H. F. Lutz. The ideographic writing "raising the hand" is interesting as recalling the gesture of shaving or cutting. Cf. a reference to a barber in Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, No. 109, 6.

Line 103. Langdon has correctly rendered *šuḫuru* as "hair," and has seen that we have here a loan-word from the Sumerian Suḫur = *kimmatu*, "hair," according to the Syllabary S[b] 357 (cf. Delitzsch, *Sumer. Glossar.*, p. 253). For *kimmatu*, "hair," more specifically hair of the head and face,

see Holma, *Namen der Körperteile*, page 3. The same sign Suḫur or Suḫ (Brünnow No. 8615), with Lal, i.e., "hanging hair," designates the "beard" (*ziḳnu*, cf. Brünnow, No. 8620, and Holma, l. c., p. 36), and it is interesting to note that we have *šuḫuru* (introduced as a loan-word) for the barbershop, according to II R, 21, 27^{c} (= *CT* XII, 41).

Ê suḫur(ra) (i.e., house of the hair) = *šú-ḫu-ru*.

In view of all this, we may regard as assured Holma's conjecture to read *šú-[ḫur-ma-šú]* in the list 93074 obv. (*MVAG* 1904, p. 203; and Holma, *Beiträge z. Assyr. Lexikon*, p. 36), as the Akkadian equivalent to Suḫur-Maš-Ḫa and the name of a fish, so called because it appeared to have a double "beard" (cf. Holma, *Namen der Körperteile*). One is tempted, furthermore, to see in the difficult word שכירה (Isaiah 7, 20) a loan-word from our *šuḫuru*, and to take the words פָּסֶת־הָרַגְלַיִם וְשַׂעַר הָרֹגֶל "the head and hair of the feet" (euphemistic for the hair around the privates), as an explanatory gloss to the rare word שכירה for "hair" of the body in general — just as in the passage in the Pennsylvania tablet. The verse in Isaiah would then read, "The Lord on that day will shave with the razor the hair (השכירה), and even the beard will be removed." The rest of the verse would represent a series of explanatory glosses: (a) "Beyond the river" (i.e., Assyria), a gloss to יְגַלַּח (b) "with the king of Assyria," a gloss to בְּתַעַר "with a razor;" and (c) "the hair of the head and hair of the feet," a gloss to השכירה. For "hair of the feet" we have an interesting equivalent in Babylonian *šu-ḫur* (and *šú-ḫu-ur*) *šêpi* (*CT* XII, 41, 23–24 c-d). Cf. also Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux Présages*, p. 258, 4–5. The Babylonian phrase is like the Hebrew one to be interpreted as a euphemism for the hair around the male or female organ. To be sure, the change from ה to כ in השכירה constitutes an objection, but not a serious one in the case of a loan-word, which would aim to give the *pronunciation* of the original word, rather than the correct etymological equivalent. The writing with aspirated כ fulfills this condition. (Cf. *šamkatum* and *šamḫatum*, above p. 73). The passage in Isaiah being a reference to Assyria, the prophet might be tempted to use a foreign word to make his point more emphatic. To take השכירה as "hired," as has hitherto been done, and to translate "with a hired razor," is not only to suppose a very wooden metaphor, but is grammatically difficult, since השכירה would be a feminine adjective attached to a masculine substantive.

Coming back to our passage in the Pennsylvania tablet, it is to be noted that Enkidu is described as covered "all over his body with hair"

(Assyrian version, Tablet I, 2, 36) like an animal. To convert him into a civilized man, the hair is removed.

Line 107. *mutu* does not mean "husband" here, as Langdon supposes, but must be taken as in l. 238 in the more general sense of "man," for which there is good evidence.

Line 109. *la-bi* (plural form) are "lions" — not "panthers" as Langdon has it. The verb *ú-gi-ir-ri* is from *gâru*, "to attack." Langdon by separating *ú* from *gi-ir-ri* gets a totally wrong and indeed absurd meaning. See the corrections in the Appendix. He takes the sign *ú* for the copula (!!) which of course is impossible.

Line 110. Read *uš-sa-ak-pu*, III, 1, of *sakâpu*, which is frequently used for "lying down" and is in fact a synonym of *ṣalâlu*. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, page 758[a]. The original has very clearly Síb (= *rê'u*, "shepherd") with the plural sign. The "shepherds of the night," who could now rest since Enkidu had killed the lions, are of course the shepherds who were accustomed to watch the flocks during the night.

Line 111. *ut-tap-pi-iš* is II, 2, *napâšu*, "to make a hole," hence "to plunge" in connection with a weapon. *Šib-ba-ri* is, of course, not "mountain goats," as Langdon renders, but a by-form to *šibbiru*, "stick," and designates some special weapon. Since on seal cylinders depicting Enkidu killing lions and other animals the hero is armed with a dagger, this is presumably the weapon *šibbaru*.

Line 113. Langdon's translation is again out of the question and purely fanciful. The traces favor the restoration *na-ki-[di-e]*, "shepherds," and since the line appears to be a parallel to line 110, I venture to suggest at the beginning *[it-ti]-lu* from *na'âlu*, "lie down" — a synonym, therefore, to *sakâpu* in line 110. The shepherds can sleep quietly after Enkidu has become the "guardian" of the flocks. In the Assyrian version (tablet II, 3[a], 4) Enkidu is called a *na-kid*, "shepherd," and in the preceding line we likewise have [lú]Na-Kid with the plural sign, i.e., "shepherds." This would point to *nakidu* being a Sumerian loan-word, unless it is *vice versa*, a word that has gone over into the Sumerian from Akkadian. Is perhaps the fragment in question (K 8574) in the Assyrian version (Haupt's ed. No. 25) the *parallel* to our passage? If in line 4 of this fragment we could read *šú* for *sa*, i.e., *na-kid-šú-nu*, "their shepherd, we would have a parallel to line 114 of the Pennsylvania tablet, with *na-kid* as a synonym

to *maṣṣaru*, “protector.” The preceding line would then be completed as follows:

[it-ti-lu]-nim-ma na-kid^{meš} *[ra-bu-tum]*

(or perhaps only *it-ti-lu-ma*, since the *nim* is not certain) and would correspond to line 113 of the Pennsylvania tablet. Inasmuch as the writing on the tiny fragment is very much blurred, it is quite possible that in line 2 we must read *šib-ba-ri* (instead of *bar-ba-ri*), which would furnish a parallel to line 111 of the Pennsylvania tablet. The difference between Bar and Šib is slight, and the one sign might easily be mistaken for the other in the case of close writing. The continuation of line 2 of the fragment would then correspond to line 112 of the Pennsylvania tablet, while line 1 of the fragment might be completed *[re-e]-u-ti(?) šá [mu-ši-a-tim]*, though this is by no means certain.

The break at the close of column 3 (about 5 lines) and the top of column 4 (about 8 lines) is a most serious interruption in the narrative, and makes it difficult to pick up the thread where the tablet again becomes readable. We cannot be certain whether the “strong man, the unique hero” who addresses some one (lines 115–117) is Enkidu or Gish or some other personage, but presumably Gish is meant. In the Assyrian version, Tablet I, 3, 2 and 29, we find Gilgamesh described as the “unique hero” and in l. 234 of the Pennsylvania tablet Gish is called “unique,” while again, in the Assyrian version, Tablet I, 2, 15 and 26, he is designated as *gašru* as in our text. Assuming this, whom does he address? Perhaps the shepherds? In either case he receives an answer that rejoices him. If the fragment of the Assyrian version (K 8574) above discussed is the equivalent to the close of column 3 of the Pennsylvania tablet, we may go one step further, and with some measure of assurance assume that Gish is told of Enkidu’s exploits and that the latter is approaching Erech. This pleases Gish, but Enkidu when he sees Gish(?) is stirred to anger and wants to annihilate him. At this point, the “man” (who is probably Gish, though the possibility of a third personage must be admitted) intervenes and in a long speech sets forth the destiny and higher aims of mankind. The contrast between Enkidu and Gish (or the third party) is that between the primitive savage and the civilized being. The contrast is put in the form of an opposition between the two. The primitive man is the stronger and wishes to destroy the one whom he regards as a natural foe and rival. On the other hand, the one who stands on a higher plane wants to lift his fellow up. The whole of column 4, therefore, forms part of the lesson attached to the story of Enkidu, who,

identified with man in a primitive stage, is made the medium of illustrating how the higher plane is reached through the guiding influences of the woman's hold on man, an influence exercised, to be sure, with the help of her bodily charms.

Line 135. *uk-ki-ši* (imperative form) does not mean "take away," as Langdon (who entirely misses the point of the whole passage) renders, but on the contrary, "lure him on," "entrap him," and the like. The verb occurs also in the Yale tablet, ll. 183 and 186.

Line 137. Langdon's note to *lu-uš-šú* had better be passed over in silence. The form is II. 1, from *ešû*, "destroy."

Line 139. Since the man whom the woman calls approaches Enkidu, the subject of both verbs is the man, and the object is Enkidu; i.e., therefore, "The man approaches Enkidu and beholds him."

Line 140. Langdon's interpretation of this line again is purely fanciful. *E-di-il* cannot, of course, be a "phonetic variant" of *edir*; and certainly the line does not describe the state of mind of the woman. Lines 140–141 are to be taken as an expression of amazement at Enkidu's appearance. The first word appears to be an imperative in the sense of "Be off," "Away," from *dâlu*, "move, roam." The second word *e-eš*, "why," occurs with the same verb *dâlu* in the Meissner fragment: *e-eš ta-da-al* (column 3, 1), "why dost thou roam about?" The verb at the end of the line may perhaps be completed to *ta-ḫi-il-la-am*. The last sign appears to be *am*, but may be *ma*, in which case we should have to complete simply *ta-ḫi-il-ma*. *Taḫîl* would be the second person present of *ḫîlu*. Cf. *i-ḫi-il*, frequently in astrological texts, e.g., Virolleaud, *Adad* No. 3, lines 21 and 33.

Line 141. The reading *lim-nu* at the beginning, instead of Langdon's *mi-nu*, is quite certain, as is also *ma-na-aḫ-ti-ka* instead of what Langdon proposes, which gives no sense whatever. *Manaḫtu* in the sense of the "toil" and "activity of life" (like עָמָל throughout the Book of Ecclesiastes) occurs in the introductory lines to the Assyrian version of the Epic I, 1, 8, *ka-lu ma-na-aḫ-ti-[šu]*, "all of his toil," i.e., all of his career.

Line 142. The subject of the verb cannot be the woman, as Langdon supposes, for the text in that case, e.g., line 49, would have said *pi-šá*

("her mouth") not *pi-šú* ("his mouth"). The long speech, detailing the function and destiny of civilized man, is placed in the mouth of the man who meets Enkidu.

In the Introduction it has been pointed out that lines 149 and 151 of the speech appear to be due to later modifications of the speech designed to connect the episode with Gish. Assuming this to be the case, the speech sets forth the following five distinct aims of human life: (1) establishing a home (line 144), (2) work (line 147), (3) storing up resources (line 148), (4) marriage (line 150), (5) monogamy (line 154); all of which is put down as established for all time by divine decree (lines 155–157), and as man's fate from his birth (lines 158–159).

Line 144. *bi-ti-iš e-mu-ti* is for *bîti šá e-mu-ti*, just as *ḳab-lu-uš Ti-a-ma-ti* (Assyrian Creation Myth, IV, 65) stands for *ḳablu šá Tiamti*. Cf. *bît e-mu-ti* (Assyrian version, IV, 2, 46 and 48). The end of the line is lost beyond recovery, but the general sense is clear.

Line 146. *tu-a-ar* is a possible reading. It may be the construct of *tu-a-ru*, of frequent occurrence in legal texts and having some such meaning as "right," "claim" or "prerogative." See the passages given by Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 1139[b].

Line 148. The reading *uk-la-at*, "food," and then in the wider sense "food supply," "provisions," is quite certain. The fourth sign looks like the one for "city." *E-mi-sa* may stand for *e-mid-sa*, "place it." The general sense of the line, at all events, is clear, as giving the advice to gather resources. It fits in with the Babylonian outlook on life to regard work and wealth as the fruits of work and as a proper purpose in life.

Line 150 (repeated lines 152–153) is a puzzling line. To render *piti pûk epši* (or *epiši*), as Langdon proposes, "open, addressing thy speech," is philologically and in every other respect inadmissible. The word *pu-uk* (which Langdon takes for "thy mouth"!!) can, of course, be nothing but the construct form of *pukku*, which occurs in the Assyrian version in the sense of "net" (*pu-uk-ku* I, 2, 9 and 21, and also in the colophon to the eleventh tablet furnishing the beginning of the twelfth tablet (Haupt's edition No. 56), as well as in column 2, 29, and column 3, 6, of this twelfth tablet). In the two last named passages *pukku* is a synonym of *mekû*, which from the general meaning of "enclosure" comes to be a euphemistic expression for the female organ. So, for example, in the

Assyrian Creation Myth, Tablet IV, 66 (synonym of *ḳablu*, "waist," etc.). See Holma, *Namen der Körperteile*, page 158. Our word *pukku* must be taken in this same sense as a designation of the female organ — perhaps more specifically the "hymen" as the "net," though the womb in general might also be designated as a "net" or "enclosure." *Kak-(ši)* is no doubt to be read *epši*, as Langdon correctly saw; or perhaps better, *epiši*. An expression like *ip-ši-šú lul-la-a* (Assyrian version, I, 4, 13; also line 19, *i-pu-us-su-ma lul-la-a*), with the explanation *šipir zinništi*, "the work of woman" (i.e., after the fashion of woman), shows that *epêšu* is used in connection with the sexual act. The phrase *pitî pûk epiši a-na ḫa-a-a-ri*, literally "open the net, perform the act for marriage," therefore designates the fulfillment of the marriage act, and the line is intended to point to marriage with the accompanying sexual intercourse as one of the duties of man. While the general meaning is thus clear, the introduction of Gish is puzzling, except on the supposition that lines 149 and 151 represent later additions to connect the speech, detailing the advance to civilized life, with the hero. See above, p. 45 *seq.*

Line 154. *aššat šimâtim* is the "legitimate wife," and the line inculcates monogamy as against promiscuous sexual intercourse. We know that monogamy was the rule in Babylonia, though a man could in addition to the wife recognized as the legalized spouse take a concubine, or his wife could give her husband a slave as a concubine. Even in that case, according to the Hammurabi Code, §§145–146, the wife retained her status. The Code throughout assumes that a man has only *one* wife — the *aššat šimâtim* of our text. The phrase "so" (or "that") before "as afterwards" is to be taken as an idiomatic expression— "so it was and so it should be for all times" — somewhat like the phrase *maḫriam ù arkiam*, "for all times," in legal documents (*CT* VIII, 38^{c}, 22–23). For the use of *mûk* see Behrens, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Briefe*, p. 3.

Line 158. *i-na bi-ti-iḳ a-bu-un-na-ti-šú*. Another puzzling line, for which Langdon proposes "in the work of his presence," which is as obscure as the original. In a note he says that *apunnâti* means "nostrils," which is certainly wrong. There has been considerable discussion about this term (see Holma, *Namen der Körperteile*, pages 150 and 157), the meaning of which has been advanced by Christian's discussion in *OLZ* 1914, p. 397. From this it appears that it must designate a part of the body which could acquire a wider significance so as to be used as a synonym for "totality," since it appears in a list of equivalent for Dur = *nap-ḫa-ru*, "totality," *ka-*

lu-ma, "all," *a-bu-un-na-tum e-ṣi-im-tum*, "bony structure," and *kul-la-tum*, "totality" (*CT* XII, 10, 7–10). Christian shows that it may be the "navel," which could well acquire a wider significance for the body in general; but we may go a step further and specify the "umbilical cord" (tentatively suggested also by Christian) as the primary meaning, then the "navel," and from this the "body" in general. The structure of the umbilical cord as a series of strands would account for designating it by a plural form *abunnâti*, as also for the fact that one could speak of a right and left side of the *appunnâti*. To distinguish between the "umbilical cord" and the "navel," the ideograph Dur (the common meaning of which is *riksu*, "bond" [Delitzsch, *Sumer. Glossar.*, p. 150]), was used for the former, while for the latter Li Dur was employed, though the reading in Akkadian in both cases was the same. The expression "with (or at) the cutting of his umbilical cord" would mean, therefore, "from his birth" — since the cutting of the cord which united the child with the mother marks the beginning of the separate life. Lines 158–159, therefore, in concluding the address to Enkidu, emphasize in a picturesque way that what has been set forth is man's fate for which he has been destined from birth. [See now Albright's remarks on *abunnatu* in the Revue d'Assyriologie 16, pp. 173–175, with whose conclusion, however, that it means primarily "backbone" and then "stature," I cannot agree.]

In the break of about three lines at the bottom of column 4, and of about six at the beginning of column 5, there must have been set forth the effect of the address on Enkidu and the indication of his readiness to accept the advice; as in a former passage (line 64), Enkidu showed himself willing to follow the woman. At all events the two now proceed to the heart of the city. Enkidu is in front and the woman behind him. The scene up to this point must have taken place outside of Erech — in the suburbs or approaches to the city, where the meadows and the sheepfolds were situated.

Line 174. *um-ma-nu-um* are not the "artisans," as Langdon supposes, but the "people" of Erech, just as in the Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 1, 40, where the word occurs in connection with *i-dip-pi-ir*, which is perhaps to be taken as a synonym of *paḫâru*, "gather;" so also *i-dip-pir* (Tablet I, 2, 40) "gathers with the flock."

Lines 180–182 must have contained the description of Enkidu's resemblance to Gish, but the lines are too mutilated to permit of any

certain restoration. See the corrections (Appendix) for a suggested reading for the end of line 181.

Line 183 can be restored with considerable probability on the basis of the Assyrian version, Tablet I, 3, 3 and 30, where Enkidu is described as one "whose power is strong in the land."

Lines 186–187. The puzzling word, to be read apparently *kak-ki-a-tum*, can hardly mean "weapons," as Langdon proposes. In that case we should expect *kakkê*; and, moreover, to so render gives no sense, especially since the verb *ú-te-el-li-lu* is without much question to be rendered "rejoiced," and not "purified." *Kakkiatum* — if this be the correct reading — may be a designation of Erech like *ribîtim*.

Lines 188–189 are again entirely misunderstood by Langdon, owing to erroneous readings. See the corrections in the Appendix.

Line 190. *i-li-im* in this line is used like Hebrew Elohîm, "God."

Line 191. *šakiššum* = *šakin-šum*, as correctly explained by Langdon.

Line 192. With this line a new episode begins which, owing to the gap at the beginning of column 6, is somewhat obscure. The episode leads to the hostile encounter between Gish and Enkidu. It is referred to in column 2 of the fourth tablet of the Assyrian version. Lines 35–50 — all that is preserved of this column — form in part a parallel to columns 5–6 of the Pennsylvania tablet, but in much briefer form, since what on the Pennsylvania tablet is the incident itself is on the fourth tablet of the Assyrian version merely a repeated summary of the relationship between the two heroes, leading up to the expedition against Ḫu(m)baba. Lines 38–40 of column 2 of the Assyrian version correspond to lines 174–177 of the Pennsylvania tablet, and lines 44–50 to lines 192–221. It would seem that Gish proceeds stealthily at night to go to the goddess Ishḫara, who lies on a couch in the *bît êmuti* , the "family house" Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 2. 46–48). He encounters Enkidu in the street, and the latter blocks Gish's path, puts his foot in the gate leading to the house where the goddess is, and thus prevents Gish from entering. Thereupon the two have a fierce encounter in which Gish is worsted. The meaning of the episode itself is not clear. Does Enkidu propose to deprive Gish, here viewed as a god (cf. line 190 of the Pennsylvania tablet = Assyrian version, Tablet I, 4, 45, "like a god"), of his spouse, the goddess Ishḫara

— another form of Ishtar? Or are the two heroes, the one a counterpart of the other, contesting for the possession of a goddess? Is it in this scene that Enkidu becomes the "rival" (*me-iḫ-rù*, line 191 of the Pennsylvania tablet) of the divine Gish? We must content ourself with having obtained through the Pennsylvania tablet a clearer indication of the occasion of the fight between the two heroes, and leave the further explanation of the episode till a fortunate chance may throw additional light upon it. There is perhaps a reference to the episode in the Assyrian version, Tablet II, 3[b], 35–36.

Line 196. For *i-na-ag-šá-am* (from *nagâšu*), Langdon proposes the purely fanciful "embracing her in sleep," whereas it clearly means "he approaches." Cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, page 645[a].

Lines 197–200 appear to correspond to Tablet IV, 2, 35–37, of the Assyrian version, though not forming a complete parallel. We may therefore supply at the beginning of line 35 of the Assyrian version *[ittaziz] Enkidu*, corresponding to line 197 of the Pennsylvania tablet. Line 36 of IV, 2, certainly appears to correspond to line 200 (*dan-nu-ti* = *da-na-ni-iš-šú*).

Line 208. The first sign looks more like *šar*, though *ur* is possible.

Line 211 is clearly a description of Enkidu, as is shown by a comparison with the Assyrian version I, 2, 37: *[pi]-ti-ik pi-ir-ti-šú uḫ-tan-na-ba kima* [d]*Nidaba*, "The form of his hair sprouted like wheat." We must therefore supply Enkidu in the preceding line. Tablet IV, 4, 6, of the Assyrian version also contains a reference to the flowing hair of Enkidu.

Line 212. For the completion of the line cf. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No. 214.

Line 214. For *ribîtu mâti* see the note above to line 28 of column 1.

Lines 215–217 correspond almost entirely to the Assyrian version IV, 2, 46–48. The variations *ki-ib-su* in place of *šêpu*, and *kima lîm*, "like oxen," instead of *ina bâb êmuti* (repeated from line 46), *ana šurûbi* for *êribam*, are slight though interesting. The Assyrian version shows that the "gate" in line 215 is "the gate of the family house" in which the goddess Ishḫara lies.

Lines 218–228. The detailed description of the fight between the two heroes is only partially preserved in the Assyrian version.

Line 218. *li-i-im* is evidently to be taken as plural here as in line 224, just as *su-ḳi-im* (lines 27 and 175), *ri-bi-tim* (lines 4, 28, etc.), *tarbaṣim* (line 74), *aṣṣamim* (line 98) are plural forms. Our text furnishes, as does also the Yale tablet, an interesting illustration of the vacillation in the Hammurabi period in the twofold use of *im*: (a) as an indication of the plural (as in Hebrew), and (b) as a mere emphatic ending (lines 63, 73, and 232), which becomes predominant in the post-Hammurabi age.

Line 227. Gilgamesh is often represented on seal cylinders as kneeling, e.g., Ward Seal Cylinders Nos. 159, 160, 165. Cf. also Assyrian version V, 3, 6, where Gilgamesh is described as kneeling, though here in prayer. See further the commentary to the Yale tablet, line 215.

Line 229. We must of course read *uz-za-šú*, "his anger," and not *uṣ-ṣa-šú*, "his javelin," as Langdon does, which gives no sense.

Line 231. Langdon's note is erroneous. He again misses the point. The stem of the verb here as in line 230 (*i-ni-iḫ*) is the common *nâḫu*, used so constantly in connection with *pašâḫu*, to designate the cessation of anger.

Line 234. *ištên* applied to Gish designates him of course as "unique," not as "an ordinary man," as Langdon supposes.

Line 236. On this title "wild cow of the stall" for Ninsun, see Poebel in *OLZ* 1914, page 6, to whom we owe the correct view regarding the name of Gilgamesh's mother.

Line 238. *mu-ti* here cannot mean "husband," but "man" in general. See above note to line 107. Langdon's strange misreading *ri-eš-su* for *ri-eš-ka* ("thy head") leads him again to miss the point, namely that Enkidu comforts his rival by telling him that he is destined for a career above that of the ordinary man. He is to be more than a mere prize fighter; he is to be a king, and no doubt in the ancient sense, as the representative of the deity. This is indicated by the statement that the kingship is decreed for him by Enlil. Similarly, Ḫu(m)baba or Ḫuwawa is designated by Enlil to inspire terror among men (Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 5, 2 and 5), *i-šim-šú* ^{d}*Enlil* = Yale tablet, l. 137, where this is to be supplied. This position accorded to Enlil is an important index for the origin of the

Epic, which is thus shown to date from a period when the patron deity of Nippur was acknowledged as the general head of the pantheon. This justifies us in going back several centuries at least before Hammurabi for the beginning of the Gilgamesh story. If it had originated in the Hammurabi period, we should have had Marduk introduced instead of Enlil.

Line 242. As has been pointed out in the corrections to the text (Appendix), *šú-tu-ur* can only be III, 1, from *atâru*, "to be in excess of." It is a pity that the balance of the line is broken off, since this is the first instance of a colophon beginning with the term in question. In some way *šutûr* must indicate that the copy of the text has been "enlarged." It is tempting to fill out the line *šú-tu-ur e-li [duppi labiri]*, and to render "enlarged from an original," as an indication of an independent recension of the Epic in the Hammurabi period. All this, however, is purely conjectural, and we must patiently hope for more tablets of the Old Babylonian version to turn up. The chances are that some portions of the same edition as the Yale and Pennsylvania tablets are in the hands of dealers at present or have been sold to European museums. The war has seriously interfered with the possibility of tracing the whereabouts of groups of tablets that ought never to have been separated.

Yale Tablet

Transliteration.

(About ten lines missing.)

Col. I.

11..... [ib]-ri(?)
12 [mi-im-ma(?) šá(?)]-kú-tu wa(?)-ak-rum
13 [am-mi-nim] ta-aḫ-ši-iḫ
14 [an-ni]-a-am [e-pi]-šá-am
15..... mi-im[-ma šá-kú-tu(?)]ma-
16 di-iš
17 [am-mi]-nim [taḫ]-ši-iḫ
18 [ur(?)]-ta-du-ú [a-na ki-i]š-tim
19 ši-ip-ra-am it-[ta-šú]-ú i-na [nišê]
20 it-ta-áš-šú-ú-ma
21 i-pu-šú ru-ḫu-tam
22..... uš-ta-di-nu
23..... bu
24.....
(About 17 lines missing.)
40..... nam-.....
41..... “ib-[ri] .....
42..... ú-na-i-du .....
43 [zi-ik]-ra-am ú-[tí-ir]-ru
44 [a-na] ḫa-ri-[im]-tim
45 [i]-pu(?)-šú a-na sa-[ka]-pu-ti

Col. II.

(About eleven lines missing.)
57... šú(?)-mu(?) .....
58 ma-ḫi-ra-am [šá i-ši-šú]
59 šú-uk-ni-šum-[ma] .....
60 la-al-la-ru-[tu] .....
61 um-mi ^{d}-[Giš mu-di-a-at ka-la-ma]
62 i-na ma-[ḫar ^{d}Šamaš i-di-šá iš-ši]
63 šá ú
64 i-na- an(?)-[na am-mi-nim]
65 ta-[aš-kun(?) a-na ma-ri-ia li-ib-bi la]
66 ṣa-[li-la te-mid-su]
67.....
(About four lines missing.)
72 i-na [šá ^{d}En-ki-dũ im-la-a] di-[im-tam]
73 il-[pu-ut li]-ib-ba-šú-[ma]
74 [zar-biš(?)] uš-ta-ni-[iḫ]
75 [i-na šá ^{d}En]-ki-dũ im-la-a di-im-tam
76 [il-pu-ut] li-ib-ba-šú-ma
77 [zar-biš(?)] uš-ta-ni-[iḫ]
78 [^{d}Giš ú-ta]-ab-bil pa-ni-šú
79 [iz-za-kar-am] a-na ^{d}En-ki-dũ
80 [ib-ri am-mi-nim] i-na-ka
81 [im-la-a di-im]-tam
82 [il-pu-ut li-ib-bi]-ka
83 [zar-biš tu-uš-ta]-ni-iḫ
84 [^{d}En-ki-dũ pi-šú i-pu-šá]-am-ma
85 iz-za-[kàr-am] a-na ^{d}Giš
86 ta-ab-bi-a-tum ib-ri
87 uš-ta-li-pa da-[1]da-ni-ia
88 a-ḫa-a-a ir-ma-a-ma
89 e-mu-ki i-ni-iš
90 ^{d}Giš pi-šú i-pu-šá-am-ma
91 iz-za-kàr-am a-na ^{d}En-ki-dũ
(About four lines missing.)

Col. III.

96..... [a-di ^{d}Ḫu]-wa-wa da-pi-nu
97..... ra-[am(?)-ma]
98..... [ú-ḫal]- li-ik
99 [lu-ur-ra-du a-na ki-iš-ti šá] ^{iš}erini
100..... lam(?) ḫal-bu
101..... [li]-li-is-su
102..... lu(?)-up-ti-šú
103 ^{d}En-ki-dũ pi-šú i-pu-šá-am-ma
104 iz-za-kàr-am a-na ^{d}Giš
105 i-di-ma ib-ri i-na šadî(-i)
106 i-nu-ma at-ta-la-ku it-ti bu-lim
107 a-na ištên(-en) kas-gíd-ta-a-an nu-ma-at ki-iš-tum
108 [e-di-iš(?)] ur-ra-du a-na libbi-šá
109 ^{d}[Ḫu-wa]-wa ri-ig-ma-šú a-bu-bu
110 pi-[šú] ^{d}Bil-gi-ma
111 na-pi-iš-šú mu-tum
112 am-mi-nim ta-aḫ-ši-iḫ
113 an-ni-a-am e-pi-šá-am
114 ga-[ba]-al-la ma-ḫa-ar
115 [šú]-pa-at ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa
116 (^{d})Giš pi-šú i-pu-šá-am-ma
117 [iz-za-k]àr-am a-na ^{d}En-ki-dũ
118..... su(?)-lu-li a-šá-ki[2]-šá
119..... [i-na ki-iš]-tim
120.....
121 ik(?) .....
122 a-na .....
123 mu-šá-ab [^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa] .....
124ḫa-aṣ-si-nu .....
125 at-ta lu(?) .....
126 a-na-ku lu-[ur-ra-du a-na ki-iš-tim]
127 ^{d}En-ki-dũ pi-šú i-pu-[šá-am-ma]
128 iz-za-kàr-am a-na [^{d}Giš]
129 ki-i ni[il]-la-ak [iš-te-niš(?)]
130 a-na ki-iš-ti [šá ^{iš}erini]
131 na-ṣi-ir-šá ^{d}Giš muḳ-[tab-lu]
132 da-a-an la ṣa[-li-lu(?)]

133 ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa ^{d}pi-ir-[ḫu ša (?)]
134 ^{d}Adad iš .....
135 šú-ú .....

Col. IV.

136 áš-šúm šú-ul-lu-m[u ki-iš-ti šá^{iš}erini]
137 pu-ul-ḫi-a-tim 7 [šú(?) i-šim-šú ^{d}Enlil]
138 ^{d}Giš pi-šú i-pu [šá-am-ma]
139 iz-za-kàr-am a-na [^{d}En-ki-dũ]
140 ma-an-nu ib-ri e-lu-ú šá-[ru-ba(?)]
141 i-ṭib-ma it-ti ^{d}Šamaš da-ri-iš ú-[me-šú]
142 a-we-lu-tum ba-ba-nu ú-tam-mu-šá-[ma]
143 mi-im-ma šá i-te-ni-pu-šú šá-ru-ba
144 at-ta an-na-nu-um-ma ta-dar mu-tam
145 ul iš-šú da-na-nu ḳar-ra-du-ti-ka
146 lu-ul-li-ik-ma i-na pa-ni-ka
147 pi-ka li-iš-si-a-am ṭi-ḫi-e ta-du-ur
148 šum-ma am-ta-ḳu-ut šú-mi lu-uš-zi-iz
149 ^{d}Giš mi[3]-it-ti ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa da-pi-nim
150 il(?)-ḳu-ut iš-tu
151 i-wa-al-dam-ma tar-bi-a i-na šam-mu(?) Il(?)
152 iš-ḫi-it-ka-ma la-bu ka-la-ma ti-di
153 it- ku(?) ..... [il(?)]-pu-tu-(?) ma .....
154..... ka-ma
155..... ši pi-ti
156..... ki-ma re'i(?) na-gi-la sa-rak-ti
157.... [ta-šá-s]i-a-am tu-lim-mi-in li-ib-bi
158 [ga-ti lu]-uš-ku-un-ma
159 [lu-u-ri]-ba-am ^{iš}erini
160 [šú-ma sá]-ṭa-ru-ú a-na-ku lu-uš-ta-ak-na
161 [pu-tu-ku(?)] ib-ri a-na ki-iš-ka-tim lu-mu-ḫa
162 [be-le-e li-iš-]-pu-ku i-na maḫ-ri-ni
163 [pu-tu]-ku a-na ki-iš-ka-ti-i i-mu-ḫu
164 wa-áš-bu uš-ta-da-nu um-mi-a-nu
165 pa-ši iš-pu-ku ra-bu-tim
166ḫa-aṣ-si-ni 3 biltu-ta-a-an iš-tap-ku
167 pa-aṭ-ri iš-pu-ku ra-bu-tim
168 me-še-li-tum 2 biltu-ta-a-an
169 ṣi-ip-ru 30 ma-na-ta-a-an šá a-ḫi-ši-na
170 išid(?) pa-aṭ-ri 30 ma-na-ta-a-an ḫuraṣi
171 [^{d}]Giš ù [^{d}En-ki-]dũ 10 biltu-ta-a-an šá-ak-nu]
172.... ul-la . .[Uruk]^{ki} 7 i-di-il-šú

173..... iš-me-ma um-ma-nu ib-bi-ra
174 [uš-te-(?)]-mi-a i-na sûḳi šá Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
175..... [u-še(?)]-ṣa-šú ^{d}Gis
176 [ina sûḳi šá(?) Uruk^{ki}] ri-bi-tim
177 [^{d}En-ki-dũ(?) ú]-šá-ab i-na maḫ-ri-šú
178..... [ki-a-am(?) i-ga]-ab-bi
179 [..... Uruk^{ki} ri]-bi-tim
180 [ma-ḫa-ar-šú]

Col. V.

181 ^{d}Giš šá i-ga-ab-bu-ú lu-mu-ur
182 šá šú-um-šú it-ta-nam-ma-la ma-ta-tum
183 lu-uk-šú-su-ma i-na ki-iš-ti ^{iš}erini
184 ki-ma da-an-nu pi-ir-ḫu-um šá Uruk^{ki}
185 lu-ši-eš-mi ma-tam
186 ga-ti lu-uš-ku-un-ma lu-uk-[šú][4]-su-ma ^{iš}erini
187 šú-ma šá-ṭa-ru-ú a-na-ku lu-uš-tak-nam
188 ši-bu-tum šá Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
189 zi-ik-ra ú-ti-ir-ru a-na ^{d}Giš
190 ṣi-iḫ-ri-ti-ma ^{d}Giš libbi-ka na-ši-ka
191 mi-im-ma šá te-te-ni-pu-šú la ti-di
192 ni-ši-im-me-ma ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa šá-nu-ú bu-nu-šú
193 ma-an-nu-um [uš-tam]-ḫa-ru ka-ak-ki-šú
194 a-na ištên(-en) [kas-gíd-ta-a]-an nu-ma-at kišti
195 ma-an-nu šá [ur-ra]-du a-na libbi-šá
196 ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa ri-ig-ma-šú a-bu-bu
197 pi-šú ^{d}Bil-gi-ma na-pi-su mu-tum
198 am-mi-nim taḫ-ši-iḫ an-ni-a-am e-pi-šá
199 ga-ba-al-la ma-ḫa-ar šú-pa-at ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa
200 iš-me-e-ma ^{d}Giš zi-ki-ir ma-li-[ki]-šú
201 ip-pa-al-sa-am-ma i-ṣi-iḫ a-na ib-[ri-šú]
202 i-na-an-na ib-[ri] ki-a-am [a-ga-ab-bi]
203 a-pa-al-aḫ-šú-ma a-[al-la-ak a-na kišti]
204 [lu]ul-[lik it-ti-ka a-na ki-iš-ti ^{iš}erini(?)]
(About five lines missing.)
210..... -ma
211 li ..... -ka
212 ilu-ka li(?) .....-ka
213ḫarrana li-šá-[tir-ka a-na šú-ul-mi]
214 a-na kar šá [Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim]
215 ka-mi-is-ma ^{d}Giš [ma-ḫa-ar ^{d}Šamaš(?)]
216 a-wa-at i-ga-ab- [bu-šú-ma]
217 a-al-la-ak ^{d}Šamaš katâ-[ka a-ṣa-bat]
218 ul-la-nu lu-uš-li-ma na-pi-[iš-ti]
219 te-ir-ra-an-ni a-na kar i-[na Uruk^{ki}]
220 ṣi-il-[la]m šú-ku-un [a-na ia-a-ši(?)]
221 iš-si-ma ^{d}Giš ib-[ri.....]

222 te-ir-ta-šú .....
223 is(?) .....
224 tam .....
225.....
226 i-nu(?)-[ma] .....
(About two lines missing.)

Col. VI.

229 [a-na-ku] ^{d}Giš [i-ik]-ka-di ma-tum
230..... ḫarrana šá la al-[kam] ma-ti-ma
231.... a-ka-lu ..... la(?) i-di
232 [ul-la-nu] lu-uš-li-[mu] a-na-ku
233 [lu-ud-lul]-ka i-na [ḫ]u-ud li-ib-bi
234..... [šú]-ḳu-ut-[ti] la-li-ka
235 [lu-še-šib(?)] - ka i-na kussê^{meš}
236..... ú-nu-su
237 [bêlê^{meš}(?)ú-ti-ir]-ru ra-bu-tum
238 [ka-aš-tum] ù iš-pa-tum
239 [i-na] ga-ti iš-ku-nu
240 [il-]te-ki pa-ši
241..... -ri iš-pa-as-su
242..... [a-na] ili šá-ni-tam
243 [it-ti pa(?)] - tar-[šú] i-na ši-ip-pi-šú
244..... i-ip-pu-šú a-la-kam
245 [ša]-niš ú-ga-ra-bu ^{d}Giš
246 [a-di ma]-ti tu-ut-te-ir a-na libbi Uruk^{ki}
247 [ši-bu]-tum i-ka-ra-bu-šú
248 [a-na] ḫarrani i-ma-li-ku ^{d}Giš
249 [la t]a-at-kal ^{d}Giš a-na e-[mu]-ḳi-ka
250 [a-]ka-lu šú-wa-ra-ma ú-ṣur ra-ma-an-ka
251 [li]-il-lik ^{d}En-ki-dũ i-na pa-ni-ka
252 [ur-ḫa]-am a-we-ir a-lik ḫarrana(-na)
253 [a-di] šá kišti ni-ri-bi-tim
254 [šá(?)] [^{d}]Ḫu-wa-wa ka-li-šú-nu ši-ip-pi-iḫ(?)-šú
255 [ša(?)a-lik] maḫ-ra tap-pa-a ú-šá-lim
256 [ḫarrana](-na)-šú šú-wa-ra-[ma ú-ṣur ra-ma-na-ka]
257 [li-šak-šid]-ka ir-[ni-ta]-ka ^{d}Šamaš
258 [ta]-ak-bi-a-at pi-ka li-kal-li-ma i-na-ka
259 li-ip-ti-ḳu pa-da-nam pi-ḫi-tam
260ḫarrana li-iš-ta-zi-ik a-na ki-ib-si-ka
261 šá-di-a li-iš-ta-zi-ik a-na šêpi-ka
262 mu-ši-it-ka aw-a-at ta-ḫa-du-ú
263 li-ib-la-ma ^{d}Lugal-ban-da li-iz-zi-iz-ka
264 i-na ir-ni-ti-ka
265 ki-ma ṣi-iḫ-ri ir-ni-ta-ka-ma luš-mida(-da)

266 i-na na-ri šá ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa šá tu-ṣa-ma-ru
267 mi-zi ši-pi-ka
268 i-na bat-ba-ti-ka ḫi-ri bu-ur-tam
269 lu-ka-a-a-nu mê ellu i-na na-di-ka
270 [ka-]su-tim me-e a-na ^{d}Šamaš ta-na-di
271 [li-iš]ta-ḫa-sa-as ^{d}Lugal-ban-da
272 [^{d}En-ki-]dũ pi-su i-pu-šá-am-ma, iz-za-kàr a-na ^{d}Giš
273 [is(?)]-tu(?) ta-áš-dan-nu e-pu-uš a-la-kam
274 [la pa]la-aḫ libbi-ka ia-ti tu-uk-la-ni
275 [šú-ku-]un i-di-a-am šú-pa-as-su
276 [ḫarrana(?)]šá ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa it-ta-la-ku
277..... ki-bi-ma te-[ir]-šú-nu-ti
(Three lines missing.)

L.E.

281..... nam-ma-la
282..... il-li-ku it-ti-ia
283..... ba-ku-nu-ši-im
284..... [ul]-la(?)-nu i-na ḫu-ud li-ib-bi
285 [i-na še-me-e] an-ni-a ga-ba-šú
286 e-diš ḫarrana(?) uš-te-[zi-ik]
287 a-lik ^{d}Giš lu-[ul-lik a-na pa-ni-ka]
288 li-lik il-ka .....
289 li-šá-ak-lim-[ka ḫarrana] .....
290 ^{d}Giš ù[^{d}En-ki-dũ] .....
291 mu-di-eš .....
292 bi-ri-[su-nu] .....

Translation.

(About ten lines missing.)

Col. I.

11..... (my friend?)
12 [Something] that is exceedingly difficult,
13 [Why] dost thou desire
14 [to do this?]
15.... something (?) that is very [difficult (?)],
16 [Why dost thou] desire
17 [to go down to the forest]?
18 A message [they carried] among [men]
19 They carried about.
20 They made a ....
21..... they brought
22.....
23.....
(About 17 lines missing.)
40.....
41..... my friend
42..... they raised .....
43 answer [they returned.]
44 [To] the woman
45 They proceeded to the overthrowing

Col. II.

(About eleven lines missing.)
57..... name(?) .....
58 [The one who is] a rival [to him]
59 subdue and .....
60 Wailing .....
61 The mother [of Gišh, who knows everything]
62 Before [Shamash raised her hand]
63 Who
64 Now(?) [why]
65 hast thou stirred up the heart for my son,
66 [Restlessness imposed upon him (?)]
67.....
(About four lines missing.)
72 The eyes [of Enkidu filled with tears].
73 [He clutched] his heart;
74 [Sadly(?)] he sighed.
75 [The eyes of En]kidu filled with tears.
76 [He clutched] his heart;
77 [Sadly(?)] he sighed.
78 The face [of Gišh was grieved].
79 [He spoke] to Enkidu:
80 [“My friend, why are] thy eyes
81 [Filled with tears]?
82 Thy [heart clutched]
83 Dost thou sigh [sadly(?)]?”
84 [Enkidu opened his mouth] and
85 spoke to Gišh:
86 “Attacks, my friend,
87 have exhausted my strength(?).
88 My arms are lame,
89 my strength has become weak.”
90 Gišh opened his mouth and
91 spoke to Enkidu:
(About four lines missing.)

Col. III.

96..... [until] Ḫuwawa, [the terrible],
97.....
98..... [I destroyed].
99 [I will go down to the] cedar forest,
100..... the jungle
101..... tambourine (?)
102..... I will open it.
103 Enkidu opened his mouth and
104 spoke to Gišh:
105 “Know, my friend, in the mountain,
106 when I moved about with the cattle
107 to a distance of one double hour into the heart of the forest,
108 [Alone?] I penetrated within it,
109 [To] Ḫuwawa, whose roar is a flood,
110 whose mouth is fire,
111 whose breath is death.
112 Why dost thou desire
113 To do this?
114 To advance towards
115 the dwelling(?) of Ḫuwawa?”
116 Gišh opened his mouth and
117 [spoke to Enkidu:
118 “... [the covering(?)] I will destroy.
119....[in the forest]
120.....
121.....
122 To .....
123 The dwelling [of Ḫuwawa]
124 The axe .....
125 Thou .....
126 I will [go down to the forest].”
127 Enkidu opened his mouth and
128 spoke to [Gish:]
129 “When [together(?)] we go down
130 To the [cedar] forest,
131 whose guardian, O warrior Gish,
132 a power(?) without [rest(?)],

133Ḫuwawa, an offspring(?) of ....
134 Adad .....
135 He .....

Col. IV.

136 To keep safe [the cedar forest],
137 [Enlil has decreed for it] seven-fold terror."
138 Gish [opened] his mouth and
139 spoke to [Enkidu]
140 "Whoever, my friend, overcomes (?) [terror(?)],
141 it is well (for him) with Shamash for the length of [his days].
142 Mankind will speak of it at the gates.
143 Wherever terror is to be faced,
144 Thou, forsooth, art in fear of death.
145 Thy prowess lacks strength.
146 I will go before thee.
147 Though thy mouth calls to me; "thou art afraid to approach."
148 If I fall, I will establish my name.
149 Gish, the corpse(?) of Ḫuwawa, the terrible one,
150 has snatched (?) from the time that
151 My offspring was born in .....
152 The lion restrained (?) thee, all of which thou knowest.
153.....
154..... thee and
155..... open (?)
156..... like a shepherd(?) .....
157 [When thou callest to me], thou afflictest my heart.
158 I am determined
159 [to enter] the cedar forest.
160 I will, indeed, establish my name.
161 [The work(?)], my friend, to the artisans I will entrust.
162 [Weapons(?)] let them mould before us."
163 [The work(?)] to the artisans they entrusted.
164 A dwelling(?) they assigned to the workmen.
165 Hatchets the masters moulded:
166 Axes of 3 talents each they moulded.
167 Lances the masters moulded;
168 Blades(?) of 2 talents each,
169 A spear of 30 mina each attached to them.
170 The hilt of the lances of 30 mina in gold
171 Gish and [Enki]du were equipped with 10 talents each
172..... in Erech seven its ....

173..... the people heard and ....
174 [proclaimed(?)] in the street of Erech of the plazas.
175..... Gis [brought him out(?)]
176 [In the street (?)] of Erech of the plazas
177 [Enkidu(?)] sat before him
178..... [thus] he spoke:
179 “..... [of Erech] of the plazas
180..... [before him]

Col. V.

181 Gish of whom they speak, let me see!
182 whose name fills the lands.
183 I will lure him to the cedar forest,
184 Like a strong offspring of Erech.
185 I will let the land hear (that)
186 I am determined to lure (him) in the cedar (forest)[5].
187 A name I will establish."
188 The elders of Erech of the plazas
189 brought word to Gish:
190 "Thou art young, O Gish, and thy heart carries thee away.
191 Thou dost not know what thou proposest to do.
192 We hear that Huwawa is enraged.
193 Who has ever opposed his weapon?
194 To one [double hour] in the heart of the forest,
195 Who has ever penetrated into it?
196Ḫuwawa, whose roar is a deluge,
197 whose mouth is fire, whose breath is death.
198 Why dost thou desire to do this?
199 To advance towards the dwelling (?) of Ḫuwawa?"
200 Gish heard the report of his counsellors.
201 He saw and cried out to [his] friend:
202 "Now, my friend, thus [I speak].
203 I fear him, but [I will go to the cedar forest(?)];
204 I will go [with thee to the cedar forest].
(About five lines missing.)
210.....
211 May ..... thee
212 Thy god may (?) ..... thee;
213 On the road may he guide [thee in safety(?)].
214 At the rampart of [Erech of the plazas],
215 Gish kneeled down [before Shamash(?)],
216 A word then he spoke [to him]
217 "I will go, O Shamash, [thy] hands [I seize hold of].
218 When I shall have saved [my life],
219 Bring me back to the rampart [in Erech].
220 Grant protection [to me ?]!"
221 Gish cried, "[my friend] .....

222 His oracle .....
223.....
224.....
225.....
226 When (?)
(About two lines missing.)

Col. VI.

229 “[I(?)] Gish, the strong one (?) of the land.
230..... A road which I have never [trodden];
231..... food ..... do not (?) know.
232 [When] I shall have succeeded,
233 [I will praise] thee in the joy of my heart,
234 [I will extol (?)] the superiority of thy power,
235 [I will seat thee] on thrones.”
236..... his vessel(?)
237 The masters [brought the weapons (?)];
238 [bow] and quiver
239 They placed in hand.
240 [He took] the hatchet.
241..... his quiver.
242..... [to] the god(?) a second time
243 [With his lance(?)] in his girdle,
244..... they took the road.
245 [Again] they approached Gish!
246 “[How long] till thou returnest to Erech?”
247 [Again the elders] approached him.
248 [For] the road they counselled Gis:
249 “Do [not] rely, O Gish, on thy strength!
250 Provide food and save thyself!
251 Let Enkidu go before thee.
252 He is acquainted with the way, he has trodden the road
253 [to] the entrance of the forest.
254 of Ḫuwawa all of them his .....
255 [He who goes] in advance will save the companion.
256 Provide for his [road] and [save thyself]!
257 (May) Shamash [carry out] thy endeavor!
258 May he make thy eyes see the prophecy of thy mouth.
259 May he track out (for thee) the closed path!
260 May he level the road for thy treading!
261 May he level the mountain for thy foot!
262 During thy night[6] the word that wilt rejoice
263 may Lugal-banda convey, and stand by thee
264 in thy endeavor!
265 Like a youth may he establish thy endeavor!

266 In the river of Ḫuwawa as thou plannest,
267 wash thy feet!
268 Round about thee dig a well!
269 May there be pure water constantly for thy libation
270 Goblets of water pour out to Shamash!
271 [May] Lugal-banda take note of it!"
272 [Enkidu] opened his mouth and spoke to Gish:
273 "[Since thou art resolved] to take the road.
274 Thy heart [be not afraid,] trust to me!
275 [Confide] to my hand his dwelling(?)!"
276 [on the road to] Ḫuwawa they proceeded.
277..... command their return
(Three lines missing.)

L.E.

281..... were filled.
282..... they will go with me.
283.....
284..... joyfully.
285 [Upon hearing] this word of his,
286 Alone, the road(?) [he levelled].
287 "Go, O Gish [I will go before thee(?)].
288 May thy god(?) go .....
289 May he show [thee the road !] .....
290 Gish and [Enkidu]
291 Knowingly .....
292 Between [them] .....

Lines 13–14 (also line 16). See for the restoration, lines 112–13.

Line 62. For the restoration, see Jensen, p. 146 (Tablet III, 2[a],9.)

Lines 64–66. Restored on the basis of the Assyrian version, *ib*. line 10.

Line 72. Cf. Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 4, 10, and restore at the end of this line *di-im-tam* as in our text, instead of Jensen's conjecture.

Lines 74, 77 and 83. The restoration *zar-biš*, suggested by the Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 4, 4.

Lines 76 and 82. Cf. Assyrian version, Tablet VIII, 3, 18.

Line 78. *(ú-ta-ab-bil* from *abâlu*, "grieve" or "darkened." Cf. *uš-ta-kal* (Assyrian version, *ib*. line 9), where, perhaps, we are to restore *it-ta-[bil pa-ni-šú]*.

Line 87. *uš-ta-li-pa* from *elêpu*, "exhaust." See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 49a.

Line 89. Cf. Assyrian version, *ib*. line 11, and restore the end of the line there to *i-ni-iš*, as in our text.

Line 96. For *dapinu* as an epithet of Ḫuwawa, see Assyrian version, Tablet III, 2a, 17, and 3a, 12. *Dapinu* occurs also as a description of an ox (Rm 618, Bezold, *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Tablets*, etc., p. 1627).

Line 98. The restoration on the basis of *ib.* III, 2a, 18.

Lines 96–98 may possibly form a parallel to *ib*. lines 17–18, which would then read about as follows: "Until I overcome Ḫuwawa, the terrible, and all the evil in the land I shall have destroyed." At the same time, it is possible that we are to restore *[lu-ul]-li-ik* at the end of line 98.

Line 101. *lilissu* occurs in the Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 6, 36.

Line 100. For *ḫalbu*, "jungle," see Assyrian version, Tablet V, 3, 39 (p. 160).

Lines 109–111. These lines enable us properly to restore Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 5, 3 = Haupt's edition, p. 83 (col. 5, 3). No doubt the text read as ours *mu-tum* (or *mu-u-tum*) *na-pis-su*.

Line 115. *šupatu*, which occurs again in line 199 and also line 275.*šú-pa-as-su* (= *šupat-su*) must have some such meaning as "dwelling," demanded by the context. [Dhorme refers me to *OLZ* 1916, p. 145].

Line 129. Restored on the basis of the Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 6, 38.

Line 131. The restoration *muḳtablu*, tentatively suggested on the basis of CT XVIII, 30, 7b, where *muḳtablu*, "warrior," appears as one of the designations of Gilgamesh, followed by *a-lik pa-na*, "the one who goes

in advance," or "leader" — the phrase so constantly used in the Ḫuwawa episode.

Line 132. Cf. Assyrian version, Tablet I, 5, 18–19.

Lines 136–137. These two lines restored on the basis of Jensen IV, 5, 2 and 5. The variant in the Assyrian version, *šá niše* (written Uku^{meš} in one case and Lu^{meš} in the other), for the numeral 7 in our text to designate a terror of the largest and most widespread character, is interesting. The number 7 is similarly used as a designation of Gilgamesh, who is called *Esigga imin*, "seven-fold strong," i.e., supremely strong (CT XVIII, 30, 6–8). Similarly, Enkidu, *ib.* line 10, is designated *a-rá imina*, "seven-fold."

Line 149. A difficult line because of the uncertainty of the reading at the beginning of the following line. The most obvious meaning of *mi-it-tu* is "corpse," though in the Assyrian version *šalamtu* is used (Assyrian version, Tablet V, 2, 42). On the other hand, it is possible — as Dr. Lutz suggested to me — that *mittu*, despite the manner of writing, is identical with *miṭṭú*, the name of a divine weapon, well-known from the Assyrian creation myth (Tablet IV, 130), and other passages. The combination *miṭ-ṭu šá-ḳu-ú-*, "lofty weapon," in the Bilingual text IV, R², 18 No. 3, 31–32, would favor the meaning "weapon" in our passage, since *[šá]-ḳu-tu* is a possible restoration at the beginning of line 150. However, the writing *mi-it-ti* points too distinctly to a derivative of the stem *mâtu*, and until a satisfactory explanation of lines 150–152 is forthcoming, we must stick to the meaning "corpse" and read the verb *il-ḳu-ut*.

Line 152. The context suggests "lion" for the puzzling *la-bu*.

Line 156. Another puzzling line. Dr. Clay's copy is an accurate reproduction of what is distinguishable. At the close of the line there appears to be a sign written over an erasure.

Line 158. *[ga-ti lu-]uš-kun* as in line 186, literally, "I will place my hand," i.e., I purpose, I am determined.

Line 160. The restoration on the basis of the parallel line 187. Note the interesting phrase, "writing a name" in the sense of acquiring "fame."

Line 161. The *kiškattê*, "artisans," are introduced also in the Assyrian version, Tablet VI, 187, to look at the enormous size and weight of the horns of the slain divine bull. See for other passages Muss-Arnolt *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 450[b]. At the beginning of this line, we must seek for the same word as in line 163.

Line 162. While the restoration *belê*, "weapon," is purely conjectural, the context clearly demands some such word. I choose *belê* in preference to *kakkê*, in view of the Assyrian version, Tablet VI, 1.

Line 163. *Putuku* (or *putukku*) from *patâku* would be an appropriate word for the fabrication of weapons.

Line 165. The *rabûtim* here, as in line 167, I take as the "master mechanics" as contrasted with the *ummianu*, "common workmen," or journeymen. A parallel to this forging of the weapons for the two heroes is to be found in the Sumerian fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic published by Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur* (Munich, 1914), No. 55, 1–15.

Lines 168–170 describe the forging of the various parts of the lances for the two heroes. The *ṣipru* is the spear point Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 886[b]; the *išid paṭri* is clearly the "hilt," and the *mešelitum* I therefore take as the "blade" proper. The word occurs here for the first time, so far as I can see. For 30 minas, see Assyrian version, Tablet VI, 189, as the weight of the two horns of the divine bull. Each axe weighing 3 *biltu*, and the lance with point and hilt 3 *biltu* we would have to assume 4 *biltu* for each *pašu*, so as to get a total of 10 *biltu* as the weight of the weapons for each hero. The lance is depicted on seal cylinders representing Gilgamesh and Enkidu, for example, Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, No. 199, and also in Nos. 184 and 191 in the field, with the broad hilt; and in an enlarged form in No. 648. Note the clear indication of the hilt. The two figures are Gilgamesh and Enkidu — not two Gilgameshes, as Ward assumed. See above, page 34. A different weapon is the club or mace, as seen in Ward, Nos. 170 and 173. This appears also to be the weapon which Gilgamesh holds in his hand on the colossal figure from the palace of Sargon (Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, Pl. LVII), though it has been given a somewhat grotesque character by a perhaps intentional approach to the scimitar, associated with Marduk (see

Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, Chap. XXVII). The exact determination of the various weapons depicted on seal-cylinders merits a special study.

Line 181. Begins a speech of Ḫuwawa, extending to line 187, reported to Gish by the elders (line 188–189), who add a further warning to the youthful and impetuous hero.

Line 183. *lu-uk-šú-su* (also l. 186), from *akâšu*, "drive on" or "lure on," occurs on the Pennsylvania tablet, line 135, *uk-ki-ši*, "lure on" or "entrap," which Langdon erroneously renders "take away" and thereby misses the point completely. See the comment to the line of the Pennsylvania tablet in question.

Line 192. On the phrase *šanû bunu*, "change of countenance," in the sense of "enraged," see the note to the Pennsylvania tablet, l.31.

Line 194. *nu-ma-at* occurs in a tablet published by Meissner, *Altbabyl. Privatrecht*, No. 100, with *bît abi*, which shows that the total confine of a property is meant; here, therefore, the "interior" of the forest or heart. It is hardly a "by-form" of *nuptum* as Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 690[b], and others have supposed, though *nu-um-tum* in one passage quoted by Muss-Arnolt, *ib.* p. 705[a], may have arisen from an aspirate pronunciation of the *p* in *nubtum*.

Line 215. The kneeling attitude of prayer is an interesting touch. It symbolizes submission, as is shown by the description of Gilgamesh's defeat in the encounter with Enkidu (Pennsylvania tablet, l. 227), where Gilgamesh is represented as forced to "kneel" to the ground. Again in the Assyrian version, Tablet V, 4, 6, Gilgamesh kneels down (though the reading *ka-mis* is not certain) and has a vision.

Line 229. It is much to be regretted that this line is so badly preserved, for it would have enabled us definitely to restore the opening line of the Assyrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic. The fragment published by Jeremias in his appendix to his *Izdubar-Nimrod*, Plate IV, gives us the end of the colophon line to the Epic, reading …… *di ma-a-ti* (cf. *ib.*, Pl. I, 1. … *a-ti*). Our text evidently reproduces the same phrase and enables us to supply *ka*, as well as the name of the hero Gišh of which there are distinct traces. The missing word, therefore, describes the hero as the ruler, or controller of the land. But what are the two signs before *ka*? A participial form from *pakâdu*, which one naturally thinks of, is

impossible because of the *ka*, and for the same reason one cannot supply the word for shepherd (*nakidu*). One might think of *ka-ak-ka-du*, except that *kakkadu* is not used for "head" in the sense of "chief" of the land. I venture to restore *[i-ik-]ka-di*, "strong one." Our text at all events disposes of Haupt's conjecture *iš-di ma-a-ti* (*JAOS* 22, p. 11), "Bottom of the earth," as also of Ungnad's proposed *[a-di pa]-a-ti*, "to the ends" (Ungnad-Gressmann, *Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 6, note), or a reading *di-ma-a-ti*, "pillars." The first line of the Assyrian version would now read

šá nak-ba i-mu-ru [^{d}Gis-gi(n)-maš i-ik-ka]-di ma-a-ti,

i.e., "The one who saw everything, Gilgamesh the strong one (?) of the land."

We may at all events be quite certain that the name of the hero occurred in the first line and that he was described by some epithet indicating his superior position.

Lines 229–235 are again an address of Gilgamesh to the sun-god, after having received a favorable "oracle" from the god (line 222). The hero promises to honor and to celebrate the god, by erecting thrones for him.

Lines 237–244 describe the arming of the hero by the "master" craftsman. In addition to the *pašu* and *paṭru*, the bow (?) and quiver are given to him.

Line 249 is paralleled in the new fragment of the Assyrian version published by King in *PSBA* 1914, page 66 (col. 1, 2), except that this fragment adds *gi-mir* to *e-mu-ḳi-ka*.

Lines 251–252 correspond to column 1, 6–8, of King's fragment, with interesting variations "battle" and "fight" instead of "way" and "road," which show that in the interval between the old Babylonian and the Assyrian version, the real reason why Enkidu should lead the way, namely, because he knows the country in which Ḫuwawa dwells (lines 252–253), was supplemented by describing Enkidu also as being more experienced in battle than Gilgamesh.

Line 254. I am unable to furnish a satisfactory rendering for this line, owing to the uncertainty of the word at the end. Can it be "his household," from the stem which in Hebrew gives us מִשְׁפָּחָה "family?"

Line 255. Is paralleled by col. 1, 4, of King's new fragment. The episode of Gišh and Enkidu proceeding to Ninsun, the mother of Gish, to obtain her counsel, which follows in King's fragment, appears to have been omitted in the old Babylonian version. Such an elaboration of the tale is exactly what we should expect as it passed down the ages.

Line 257. Our text shows that *irnittu* (lines 257, 264, 265) means primarily "endeavor," and then success in one's endeavor, or "triumph."

Lines 266–270. Do not appear to refer to rites performed after a victory, as might at a first glance appear, but merely voice the hope that Gišh will completely take possession of Ḫuwawa's territory, so as to wash up after the fight in Ḫuwawa's own stream; and the hope is also expressed that he may find pure water in Ḫuwawa's land in abundance, to offer a libation to Šhamašh.

Line 275. *On šú-pa-as-su = šupat-su*, see above, to l. 115.

[Note on Sabitum (above, p. 11)

In a communication before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia (Feb. 10, 1920), Prof. Haupt made the suggestion that *sa-bi-tum* (or *tu*), hitherto regarded as a proper name, is an epithet describing the woman who dwells at the seashore which Gilgamesh in the course of his wanderings reaches, as an "innkeeper". It is noticeable that the term always appears without the determinative placed before proper names; and since in the old Babylonian version (so far as preserved) and in the Assyrian version, the determinative is invariably used, its consistent absence in the case of *sabitum* (Assyrian Version, Tablet X, 1, 1, 10, 15, 20; 2, 15–16 [*sa-bit*]; Meissner fragment col. 2, 11–12) speaks in favor of Professor Haupt's suggestion. The meaning "innkeeper", while not as yet found in Babylonian-Assyrian literature is most plausible, since we have *sabū* as a general name for 'drink', though originally designating perhaps more specifically sesame wine (Muss-Arnolt, Assyrian Dictionary, p. 745[b]) or distilled brandy, according to Prof. Haupt. Similarly, in the Aramaic dialects, s^eb^ha is used for "to drink" and in the Pael to "furnish drink". Muss-Arnolt in his Assyrian Dictionary, 746[b], has also recognized that *sabitum* was originally an epithet and compares the Aramaic $s^eb^hoyâthâ$(p1) "barmaids". In view of the bad reputation of inns in ancient Babylonia as brothels, it would be natural for an epithet like *sabitum* to become the equivalent to "public" women, just as the inn was

a “public” house. Sabitum would, therefore, have the same force as *šamḫatu* (the “harlot”), used in the Gilgamesh Epic by the side of *ḫarimtu* “woman” (see the note to line 46 of Pennsylvania Tablet). The Sumerian term for the female innkeeper is Sal Geštinna “the woman of the wine,” known to us from the Hammurabi Code §§108–111. The bad reputation of inns is confirmed by these statutes, for the house of the Sal Geštinna is a gathering place for outlaws. The punishment of a female devotee who enters the “house of a wine woman” (bît Sal Geštinna §110) is death. It was not “prohibition” that prompted so severe a punishment, but the recognition of the purpose for which a devotee would enter such a house of ill repute. The speech of the *sabitum* or innkeeper to Gilgamesh (above, p. 12) was, therefore, an invitation to stay with her, instead of seeking for life elsewhere. Viewed as coming from a “public woman” the address becomes significant. The invitation would be parallel to the temptation offered by the *ḫarimtu* in the first tablet of the Enkidu, and to which Enkidu succumbs. The incident in the tablet would, therefore, form a parallel in the adventures of Gilgamesh to the one that originally belonged to the Enkidu cycle. Finally, it is quite possible that *sabitum* is actually the Akkadian equivalent of the Sumerian Sal Geštinna, though naturally until this equation is confirmed by a syllabary or by other direct evidence, it remains a conjecture. See now also Albright’s remarks on Sabitum in the A. J. S. L. 36, pp. 269 *seq.*]

ENDNOTES.

[1] Scribal error for *an*.

[2] Text apparently *di*.

[3] Hardly *ul*.

[4] Omitted by scribe.

[5] *Kišti* omitted by scribe.

[6] I.e., at night to thee, may Lugal-banda, etc.

Corrections to the Text of Langdon’s Edition of the Pennsylvania Tablet.[1]

Column 1.

5. Read *it-lu-tim* (“heroes”) instead of *id-da-tim* (“omens”).

6. Read *ka-ka-bu* instead of *ka-ka-’a*. This disposes of Langdon’s note 2 on p. 211.

9 Read *ú-ni-iš-šú-ma*, “I became weak” (from *enêšu*, “weak”) instead of *ilam iš-šú-ma*, “He bore a net”(!). This disposes of Langdon’s note 5 on page 211.

10. Read *Uruk*^{ki} instead of *ad-ki*. Langdon’s note 7 is wrong.

12. Langdon’s note 8 is wrong. *ú-um-mid-ma pu-ti* does not mean “he attained my front.”

14. Read *ab-ba-la-áš-šú* instead of *at-ba-la-áš-šú*.

15. Read *mu-di-a-at* instead of *mu-u-da-a-at*.

20. Read *ta-ḫa-du* instead of an impossible *[sa]-ah-ḫa-ta* — two mistakes in one word. Supply *kima Sal* before *taḫadu*.

22. Read *áš-šú* instead of *šú*; and at the end of the line read *[tu-ut]-tu-ú-ma* instead of *šú-ú-zu*.

23. Read *ta-tar-ra-[as-su]*.

24. Read *[uš]-ti-nim-ma* instead of *[iš]-ti-lam-ma*.

28. Read at the beginning *šá* instead of *ina*.

29. Langdon’s text and transliteration of the first word do not tally. Read *ḫa-aṣ-ṣi-nu*, just as in line 31.

32. Read *aḫ-ta-du* (“I rejoiced”) instead of *aḫ-ta-ta*.

Column 2.

4. Read at the end of the line *di-da-šá(?) ip-tí-[e]* instead of *Di-?-al-lu-un* (!).

5. Supply ^{d}*En-ki-dū* at the beginning. Traces point to this reading.

19. Read *[gi]-it-ma-[lu]* after ^{d}*Giš*, as suggested by the Assyrian version, Tablet I, 4, 38, where *emûḳu* (“strength”) replaces *nepištu* of our text.

20. Read *at-[ta kima Sal ta-ḫa]-bu-[ub]-šú*.

21. Read *ta-[ra-am-šú ki-ma]*.

23. Read as one word *ma-a-ag-ri-i-im* (“accursed”), spelled in characteristic Hammurabi fashion, instead of dividing into two words *ma-a-ak* and *ri-i-im*, as Langdon does, who suggests as a translation “unto the place yonder(?) of the shepherd”(!).

24. Read *im-ta-ḫar* instead of *im-ta-gar*.

32. Supply *ili*(?) after *ki-ma*.

33. Read *šá-ri-i-im* as one word.

35. Read *i-na [áš]-ri-šú [im]-ḫu-ru*.

36. Traces at beginning point to either *ù* or *ki* (= *itti*). Restoration of lines 36–39 (perhaps to be distributed into five lines) on the basis of the Assyrian version, Tablet I, 4, 2–5.

Column 3.

14. Read *Kàš* (= *šikaram*, “wine”) *ši-ti*, “drink,” as in line 17, instead of *bi-iš-ti*, which leads Langdon to render this perfectly simple line “of the conditions and the fate of the land”(!).

21. Read *it-tam-ru* instead of *it-ta-bir-ru*.

22. Supply *[^{lù}Šú]-I*.

29. Read *ú-gi-ir-ri* from *garû* (“attack), instead of separating into *ú* and *gi-ir-ri*, as Langdon does, who translates “and the lion.” The sign used can *never* stand for the copula! Nor is *girru*, “lion!”

30. Read *Síb^{meš}*, “shepherds,” instead of *šab-[ši]-eš*!

31. *šib-ba-ri* is not “mountain goat,” nor can *ut-tap-pi-iš* mean “capture.” The first word means “dagger,” and the second “he drew out.”

33. Read *it-ti-[lu] na-ki-[di-e]*, instead of *itti immer nakie* which yields no sense. Langdon’s rendering, even on the basis of his reading of the line, is a grammatical monstrosity.

35. Read *giš* instead of *wa*.

37. Read perhaps *a-na [na-ki-di-e i]- za-ak-ki-ir*.

Column 4.

4. The first sign is clearly *iz*, not *ta*, as Langdon has it in note 1 on page 216.

9. The fourth sign is *su*, not *šú*.

10. Separate *e-eš* ("why") from the following. Read *ta-ḫi-[il]*, followed, perhaps, by *la*. The last sign is not certain; it may be *ma*.

11. Read *lim-nu* instead of *mi-nu*. In the same line read *a-la-ku ma-na-aḫ-[ti]-ka* instead of *a-la-ku-zu*(!) *na-aḫ ... ma*, which, naturally, Langdon cannot translate.

16. Read *e-lu-tim* instead of *pa-a-ta-tim*. The first sign of the line, *tu*, is not certain, because apparently written over an erasure. The second sign may be *a*. Some one has scratched the tablet at this point.

18. Read *uk-la-at âli* (?) instead of *ug-ad-ad-lil*, which gives no possible sense!

Column 5.

2. Read *[wa]-ar-ki-šú*.

8. Read *i-ta-wa-a* instead of *i-ta-me-a*. The word *pi-it-tam* belongs to line 9! The sign *pi* is unmistakable. This disposes of note 1 on p. 218.

9. Read Mi = *ṣalmu*, "image." This disposes of Langdon's note 2 on page 218. Of six notes on this page, four are wrong.

11. The first sign appears to be *si* and the second *ma*. At the end we are perhaps to supply *[šá-ki-i pu]-uk-ku-ul*, on the basis of the Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 2, 45, *šá-ki-i pu-[uk-ku-ul]*.

12. Traces at end of line suggest *i-pa(?)-ka-du*.

13. Read *i-[na mâti da-an e-mu]-ki i-wa*.

18. Read *ur-šá-nu* instead of *ip-šá-nu*.

19. Read *i-šá-ru* instead of *i-tu-ru*.

24. The reading *it-ti* after ^{d}*Giš* is suggested by the traces.

25. Read *in-ni-[ib-bi-it]* at the end of the line.

28. Read *ip-ta-ra-[aṣ a-la]-ak-tam* at the end of the line, as in the Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 2, 37.

30. The conjectural restoration is based on the Assyrian version, Tablet IV, 2, 36.

Column 6.

3. Read *i-na ṣi-ri-[šú]*.

5. Supply *[il-li-ik]*.

21. Langdon's text has a superfluous *ga*.

22. Read *uz-za-šú*, "his anger," instead of *uṣ-ṣa-šú*, "his javelin" (!).

23. Read *i-ni-iḫ i-ra-as-su*, i.e., "his breast was quieted," in the sense of "his anger was appeased."

31. Read *ri-eš-ka* instead of *ri-eš-su*.

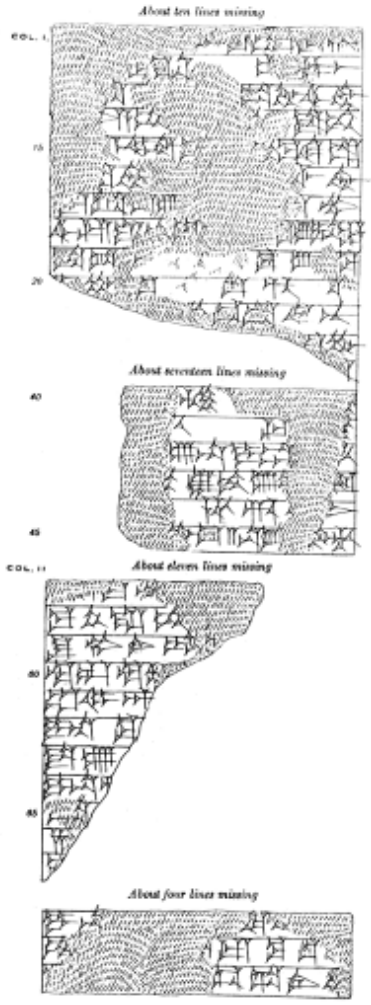
In general, it should be noted that the indications of the number of lines missing at the bottom of columns 1–3 and at the top of columns 4–6 as given by Langdon are misleading. Nor should he have drawn any lines at the bottom of columns 1–3 as though the tablet were complete. Besides in very many cases the space indications of what is missing within a line are inaccurate. Dr. Langdon also omitted to copy the statement on the edge: *4 šú-ši*, i.e., "240 lines;" and in the colophon he mistranslates *šú-tu-ur*, "written," as though from *šaṭâru*, "write," whereas the form is the permansive III, 1, of *atâru*, "to be in excess of." The sign *tu* never has the value *ṭu*! In all, Langdon has misread the text or mistransliterated it in over forty places, and of the 204 preserved lines he has mistranslated about one-half.

ENDNOTES.

[1] The enumeration here is according to Langdon's edition.

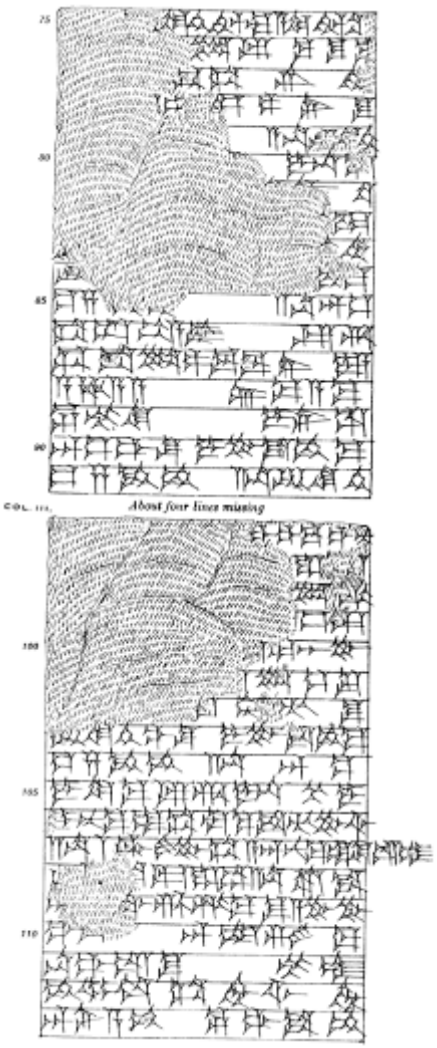
Plates

Plate I.



The Yale Tablet.

Plate II.



The Yale Tablet.

Plate III.



The Yale Tablet.

Plate IV.



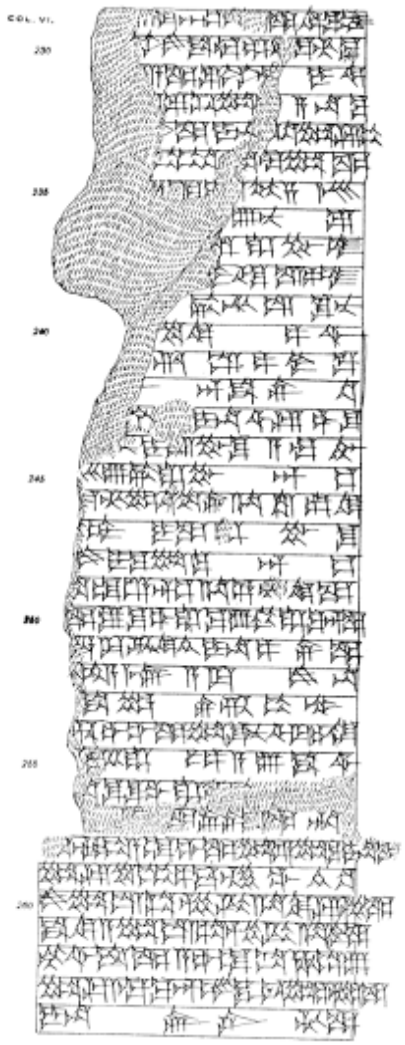
The Yale Tablet.

Plate V.



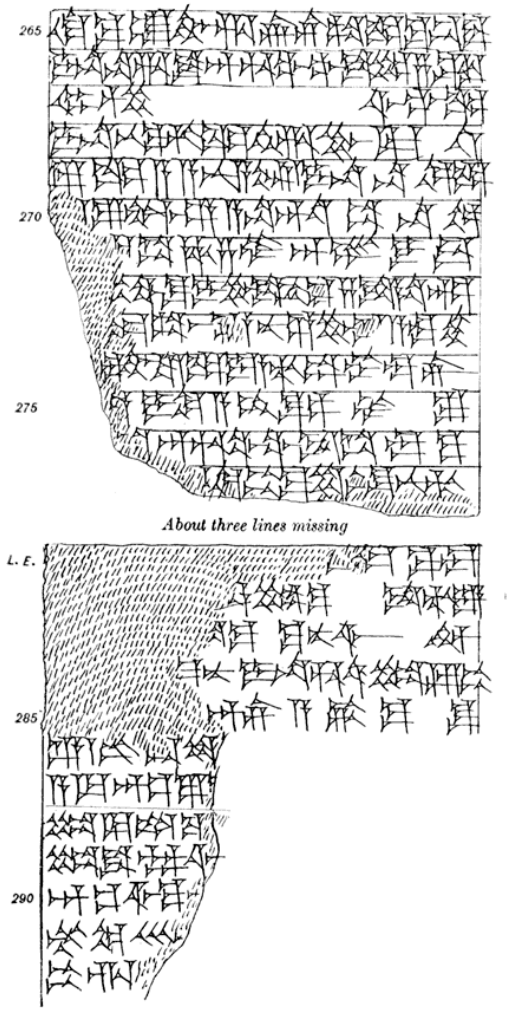
The Yale Tablet.

Plate VI.



The Yale Tablet.

Plate VII.



The Yale Tablet.

STANDARD VERSION



Translated by R. Campbell Thompson

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TO

COLONEL W. H. BEACH,

C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E.,

UNDER WHOM I SERVED FOR THREE YEARS IN MESOPOTAMIA,

WHO BEST KNEW HOW TO ASSESS THE WORTH

OF ORIENTAL STORIES.

PREFACE.

THE Epic of Gilgamish, written in cuneiform on Assyrian and Babylonian clay tablets, is one of the most interesting poems in the world. It is of great antiquity, and, inasmuch as a fragment of a Sumerian Deluge text is extant, it would appear to have had its origin with the Sumerians at a remote period, perhaps the fourth millennium, or even earlier. Three tablets of it exist written in Semitic (Akkadian), which cannot be much later than 2,000 B.C.: half a millennium later come the remains of editions from Boghaz Keui, the Hittite capital in the heart of Asia Minor, written not only in Akkadian, but also in Hittite and another dialect. After these comes the tablet found at Ashur, the old Assyrian capital, which is anterior in date to the great editions now preserved in the British Museum, which were made in the seventh century B.C., for the Royal Library at Nineveh, one Sin-liqi-unni(n)ni being one of the editors. Finally there are small neo-Babylonian fragments representing still later editions.

In the seventh century edition, which forms the main base of our knowledge of the poem, it was divided into twelve tablets, each containing about three hundred lines in metre. Its subject was the Legend of Gilgamish, a composite story made up probably of different myths which had grown up at various times round the hero's name. He was one of the earliest Kings of Erech in the South of Babylonia, and his name is found written on a tablet giving the rulers of Erech, following in order after that of Tammuz (the god of vegetation and one of the husbands of Ishtar) who in his turn follows Lugal-banda, the tutelary god of the House of Gilgamish. The mother of Gilgamish was Nin-sun. According to the Epic, long ago in the old days of Babylonia (perhaps 5,000 B.C.), when all the cities had their own kings, and each state rose and fell according to the ability of its ruler, Gilgamish is holding Erech in thrall, and the inhabitants appeal to the Gods to be relieved from his tyranny. To aid them the wild man Enkidu is created, and he, seduced by the wiles of one of the dancing girls of the Temple of Ishtar, is enticed into the great city, where at once (it would appear) by ancient right Gilgamish attempts to rob him of his love. A tremendous fight ensues, and mutual admiration of each other's prowess follows, to so great an extent that the two heroes become firm friends, and determine to make an expedition together to the Forest of Cedars which is guarded by an Ogre, Humbaba, to carry off the cedar wood for the adornment of the city. They encounter Humbaba, and by the help of the Sun-god who sends the winds to their aid, capture

him and cut off his head; and then, with this exploit, the goddess Ishtar, letting her eye rest on the handsome Gilgamish, falls in love with him. But he rebuffs her proposal to wed him with contumely, and she, indignant at the insult, begs her father Anu to make a divine bull to destroy the two heroes. This bull, capable of killing three hundred men at one blast of his fiery breath, is overcome by Enkidu, who thus incurs the punishment of hybris at the hands of the gods, who decide that, although Gilgamish may be spared, Enkidu must die. With the death of his friend, Gilgamish in horror at the thought of similar extinction goes in search of eternal life, and after much adventuring, meets first with Siduri, a goddess who makes wine, whose philosophy of life, as she gives it him, however sensible, is evidently intended to smack of the hedonism of the bacchante. Then he meets with Ur-Shanabi (the boatman of Uta-Napishtim) who may perhaps have been introduced as a second philosopher to give his advice to the hero, which is now lost; conceivably he has been brought into the story because of the sails(?) which would have carried them over the waters of Death (by means of the winds, the Breath of Life?), if Gilgamish had not previously destroyed them with his own hand. Finally comes the meeting with Uta-Napishtim (Noah) who tells Gilgamish the story of the Flood, and how the gods gave him, the one man saved, the gift of eternal life. But who can do this for Gilgamish, who is so human as to be overcome by sleep? No, all Uta-Napishtim can do is to tell him of a plant at the bottom of the sea which will make him young again, and to obtain this plant Gilgamish, tying stones on his feet in the manner of Bahrein pearl-divers, dives into the water. Successful, he sets off home with his plant, but, while he is washing at a chance pool, a snake snatches it from him, and he is again frustrated of his quest, and nothing now is left him save to seek a way of summoning Enkidu back from Hades, which he tries to do by transgressing every tabu known to those who mourn for the dead. Ultimately, at the bidding of the God of the Underworld Enkidu comes forth and pictures the sad fate of the dead in the Underworld to his friend: and on this sombre note the tragedy ends.

Of the poetic beauty of the Epic there is no need to speak. Expressed in a language which has perhaps the simplicity, not devoid of cumbrousness, of Hebrew rather than the flexibility of Greek, it can nevertheless describe the whole range of human emotions in the aptest language, from the love of a mother for her son to the fear of death in the primitive mind of one who has just seen his friend die; or from the anger of a woman scorned to the humour of an editor laughing in his sleeve at

the ignorance of a savage. Whether there is justification for taking the risk of turning it into ponderous English hexameter metre is an open question, but in so doing I have done my utmost to preserve an absolutely literal translation, duly enclosing in a round bracket, (), every amplification of the original phrasing which either sense or metre or particularly an appreciation of unproven Assyrian particles has demanded. Restorations, either probable from the context or certain from parallels, have been enclosed in square brackets.

To George Smith, one of the greatest geniuses Assyriology has produced, science owes much for the first arrangement and translations of the text of this extraordinary poem: indeed, it was for this Epic that he sacrificed his life, for actually it was the discovery of the Deluge Tablet in the British Museum Collections which led the *Daily Telegraph* to subscribe so generously for the re-opening of the diggings in the hope of further finds at Kouyunjik (Nineveh), in conducting which he died all too early in 1876. Sir Henry Rawlinson and Professor Pinches played no small part in the reconstruction and publication of at least two of the tablets, and to their labours in this field must be added the ingenuity of Professor Sayce, and the solid acumen of Dr. L. W King. In America to Professor Haupt is owed the first complete edition of the texts, very accurately copied, and later on the editions of two early Babylonian texts were edited by Langdon, Clay and Jastrow: among German publications must be mentioned the translations of Jensen and Ungnad, with the edition of an Old Babylonian tablet by Meissner. The Boghaz Keui texts have been edited by Weidner, Friedrich, and Ungnad. It would be superfluous to say how much I am indebted to the labours of all these scholars.

The present version is based on a fresh collation of the original tablets in the British Museum, the results of which I propose to publish shortly in a critical edition of both text and translation. It will be seen that I have departed from the accepted order of several of the fragments of which the position in the Epic is problematical. An examination of numerous fragments of tablets of a religious nature has naturally led to the discovery of duplicates and joins, some of which will be apparent in the present text. For their great liberality in granting me facilities to copy and collate these valuable tablets I have to express my heartiest thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum, and the Director, Sir Frederick Kenyon. To my friends Dr. H. R. Hall, and Messrs. Sidney Smith and C. J. Gadd of the British Museum, I am greatly indebted for much help in

forwarding the work: and to Sir John Miles, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, I owe many shrewd suggestions.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

NINEVEH,

CHRISTMAS, 1927.

THE FIRST TABLET. OF THE TYRANNY OF GILGAMISH, AND THE CREATION OF ENKIDU.

Column I.

(*The Argument*).

He who (the heart of) all matters hath proven let him [teach] the nation,
[He who all] knowledge possesseth, therein shall he [school] all the people,
[He shall his wisdom impart (?)] and (so) shall they]share it] together.
[Gilgamish(?)] — he was the [Master] of wisdom, with [knowledge of all things,
He 'twas discovered the secret concealed.....
(Aye), handed down the tradition relating to (things) prediluvian,
Went on a journey afar, (all) aweary and [worn with his toiling(?)],
[Graved] on a table of stone all the travail.
Of Erech, the high-wall'd,
He (it was) built up the ramparts; (and) he (it was) clamp'd the foundation,
Like unto brass, of [E]-Anna , the sacred, the treasury hallow'd,
[Strengthen'd] its base to grant wayleave to no [one]...
..... the threshold which from [of old (?)].....
..... [E]-Anna.....
..... to grant wayleave [to no one (?)]....

(*About thirty lines wanting. The description of Gilgamish runs on to the beginning of the next Column*).

Column II.

Two-thirds of him are divine, and [one-third of him human,]...
The form of his body.....
He hath forced to take.....

(*Gap of about three lines*).

(*The Plaint of Erech*(?) *to the gods against the tyrant Gilgamish*)

"..... of Erech 'tis he who hath [taken],
..... (while) tow'reth [his] crest like an aurochs,
Ne'er hath the shock of [his] weapons (its) [peer]; are driven [his] fellows
Into the toils , while cow'd are the heroes of Erech un-.....
Gilgamish leaveth no son to [his] father, [his] arrogance swelling
(Each) day and [night]; [aye, he] is the shepherd of Erech, the high-[wall'd],
He is [our(?)] shepherd.... [masterful, dominant, subtle]...
[Gilgamish] leaveth no [maid to her mother, nor] daughter to [hero],
[(Nay), nor a spouse to a husband]"
(And so), to (th' appeal of) their wailing
[Gave ear th' Immortals]: the gods of high heaven address'd the god Anu],
(Him who was) Seigneur of Erech: "'Tis thou a son hast begotten,
(Aye, in sooth, all) tyrannous, [while tow'reth his crest like an aurochs],
Ne'er hath [the shock of his weapons] (its) peer; are driven [his fellows]
Into the toils, awhile cow'd are the heroes of Erech un-....].
Gilgamish leaveth no son to his father, [his arrogance swelling]
(Each) day and night; aye, he is the shepherd of Erech, [the high-wall'd],
He is their shepherd... masterful, dominant, subtle...
Gilgamish leaveth no maid to [her mother], nor daughter to hero,
(Nay), nor a spouse to a [husband]."
(And so), to (th' appeal of) their wailing
[Anu] gave ear, call'd the lady Aruru : "'Twas thou, O Aruru,
Madest [(primeval seed of) mankind(?)]: do now make its fellow,
So that he [happen on Gilgamish], yea, on the day of his pleasure,
So that they strive with each other, and he unto Erech give [surcease]."

(*The Creation of Enkidu*).

So when the goddess Aruru heard this, in her mind she imagined
(Straightway, this) Concept of Anu, and, washing her hands, (then) Aruru
Finger'd some clay, on the desert she moulded (it): [(thus) on the desert]
Enkidu made she, a warrior, (as he were) born (and) begotten,
(Yea), of Ninurta the double, [and put forth] the whole of his body
Hair: in the way of a woman he snooded his locks (in a fillet);
Sprouted luxuriant growth of his hair-like (the awns of) the barley,
Nor knew he people nor land; he was clad in a garb like Sumuqan.

E'en with gazelles did he pasture on herbage, along with the cattle
Drank he his fill, with the beasts did his heart delight at the water.

(*The Encounter of Enkidu with the Hunter*).

(Then) did a hunter, a trapper, come face to face with this (fellow),
Came on him [one], two, three days, at the place where (the beasts) drank (their) water ;
(Sooth), when the hunter espied him, his face o'ermantled with terror,
He and his cattle went unto his steading, [dismay'd] (and) affrighted,
Crying aloud, [distress'd in, his heart, and) his face overclouded,
.... woe in his belly.....
(Aye, and) his face was the same as of one [who hath gone] a far [journey].

Column III.

Open'd [his mouth (then)] the hunter, and spake, addressing [his father]:
"Father, there is [a] great fellow come [forth from out of the mountains],
(O, but) [his] strength is the greatest [(the length and breadth) of the country],
[Like to a double] of Anu's own self [his strength] is enormous,
Ever (?) [he rangeth at large] o'er the mountains, [(and) ever] with cattle
[Grazeth on herbage (and) ever he setteth] his foot to the water,
[So that I fear] to approach him. The pits which I [myself] hollow'd
[(With mine own hands) hath he fill'd in (again)], (and) the traps of my [setting]
[Torn up, (and) out of my clutches hath holpen escape] (all) the cattle,
Beasts of the desert: to work at my fieldcraft [he will not allow] me."

[Open'd his mouth (then) his father, and spake], addressing the hunter:
"Gilgamish [dwelleth] in Erech, [my son, whom no one] hath vanquish'd,
[(Nay, but) 'tis his strength is greatest (the length and breadth) of the country]
[Like to a double of Anu's own self], his strength is [enormous],
[Go, set] thy face [towards Erech: and when he hears of] a monster,
[He will say 'Go, O hunter, a courtesan-girl, a hetaera]

Take [with thee].... like a strong one;
[When he the cattle shall gather again] to the place of (their) drinking,
[So shall she put off] her [mantle] (the charm of) her beauty [revealing];
[(Then) shall he spy her, and (sooth) will embrace her, (and thenceforth) his cattle,
[Which in] his very own deserts [were rear'd], will (straightway) deny him.'"

(*How Gilgamish first heard of Enkidu*).

Unto the rede of his father the hunter [hath hearken'd, (and straightway)]
He will away [unto Gilgamish].
Taking the road towards Erech
Turn'd he [his steps, and to] Gilgamish [came, his speech thus addressing]:
(Saying): "There is a great fellow [come forth from out of the mountains],
[(O, but) his strength] is the greatest, (the length and breadth) of the country,
Like to a double of Anu's own self [his strength] is enormous,
[Ever (?)] he rangeth at large o'er the mountains, (and) ever with cattle
[Grazeth on herbage, (and)] ever [he setteth] his foot to the water,
So that I fear to approach [him]. The pits which I [myself] hollow'd
(With mine own hands) hath he fill'd in (again, and) the traps of my [setting]
Torn up, (and) out of my clutches hath holpen escape (all) the cattle,
Beasts [of the desert]: to work at my fieldcraft he will not allow me."
Gilgamish unto him, unto the hunter made answer (in this wise):
"Go, (good) my hunter, take with thee a courtesan-girl, a hetaera,
When he the cattle shall [gather] again to the place of (their) drinking,
So shall she put off her mantle, (the charm of her) beauty [revealing],
(Then) shall he spy her, and (sooth) will embrace her, (and thenceforth) his cattle
Which in his very own deserts were rear'd will (straightway) deny him."

(*The Seduction of Enkidu*).

Forth went the hunter, took with him a courtesan-girl, a hetaera,
(So) did they start on their travels, went forth on their journey (together),

(Aye), at the term of three days arrived at the pleasaunce appointed.
Sate they down in their ambush (?), the hunter and the hetaera,
One day, two days they sat by the place where (the beasts) drank (their) water.

(Then) at last came the cattle to take their fill in their drinking.

Column IV.

Thither the animals came that their hearts might delight in the water,
(Aye), there was Enkidu also, he whom the mountains had gender'd,
E'en with gazelles did he pasture on herbage, along with the cattle
Drank he his fill , with the beasts did his heart delight at the water,
So beheld him the courtesan-girl, the lusty great fellow,
(O but) a monster (all) savage from out of the depths of the desert!
"'Tis he, O girl! O, discover thy beauty, thy comeliness shew (him),
So that thy loveliness he may possess — (O), in no wise be bashful,
Ravish the soul of him — (certes), as soon as his eye on thee falleth,
He, forsooth, will approach thee, and thou — O, loosen thy mantle,
So that he clasp thee, and (then) with the wiles of a woman shalt ply him;
(Wherefore) his animals, bred in his desert, will (straightway) deny him,
(Since) to his breast he hath held thee."
The girl, displaying her bosom,
Shew'd him her comeliness, (yea) so that he of her beauty possess'd him,
Bashful she was not, (but) ravish'd the soul of him, loosing her mantle,
So that he clasp'd her, (and then) with the wiles of a woman she plied him,
Holding her unto his breast.
('Twas thus that) Enkidu dallied
Six days, (aye) seven nights, with the courtesan-girl in his mating.

(*How Enkidu was inveigled into Erech to fight with Gilgamish*).

Sated at length with her charms, he turn'd his face to his cattle,
O the gazelles, (how) they scamper'd away, as soon as they saw him!
Him, yea, Enkidu, — fled from his presence the beasts of the desert!
Enkidu losing his innocence — so, when the cattle fled from him,
Failed his knees, and he slack'd in his running, (not) as aforetime:
Natheless he (thus) hath attain'd his full growth and hath broaden'd (his) wisdom.
Sat he again at the feet of the woman, the woman his features

Scanning, and, while she was speaking, his ears heard (the words) she was saying:
"Comely thou art, e'en like to a god, O Enkidu, shalt be,
Why with the beasts (of the field) dost thou (ever) range over the desert?
Up! for I'll lead thee to Erech, the high-wall'd — (in sooth), to the Temple
Sacred, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar, where, highest in power,
Gilgamish is, and prevaileth o'er men like an aurochs."

Her counsel

E'en as she spake it found favour, (for) conscious he was of his longing
Some companion to seek; so unto the courtesan spake he :
"Up, then, O girl, to the Temple, the holy (and) sacred, invite me,
Me, to the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar, where, highest in power,
Gilgamish is, and prevaileth o'er men like an aurochs — for I, too,

Column V.

I, I will summon him, challenging boldly (and) crying through Erech,
'I too, am mighty!' Nay, I, forsooth [I], will (e'en) destiny alter —
(Truly), 'tis he who is born in the desert whose vigour [is greatest!]
..... I will [please] thee,
..... [whatever] there be, that would I know."
"Enkidu, come (then) to [Erech], the high-wall'd, [where] people [array] them
[Gorgeous] in festal attire, (and) each day the day is a revel,
[Eunuch]-priests [clashing] (their) cymbals, and [dancing]-girls.....
... flown with their wantoning, gleeful, and keeping the nobles
Out of their beds ! (Nay), Enkidu, [joy] in thy life (to its fullest)
[Thou shalt] taste — (forsooth) will I shew thee a man who is happy,
Gilgamish! View him, O look on his face, (how) comely his manhood!
Dower'd with lustiness is he, the whole of his body with power
Brimming, [his] vigour is stronger than thine, (all) day and night restless!
Enkidu, temper thine arrogance — Gilgamish, loveth him Shamash,
Anu, (and) Enlil , and Ea have dower'd his wisdom with largesse.

(*How Gilgamish dreamt of Enkidu*).

(Sooth), or ever from out of thy mountains thou camest, in Erech
Gilgamish thee had beheld in a dream; so, Gilgamish coming
Spake to his mother, the dream to reveal.
‘O my mother, a vision
Which I beheld in my night-time. (Behold), there were stars of the heavens,
When something like unto Anu’s own self fell down on my shoulders,
(Ah, though) I heaved him, he was o’erstrong for me, (and though) his grapple
Loosed I, I was unable to shake him (from off me): (and now, all the meanwhile),
People from Erech were standing about [him , the] artisans [pressing].

On [him behind], (while) throng’d him [the heroes]; my (very) companions
Kissing [his] feet; [I, I to my breast] like a woman did hold him,
(Then) [I] presented him low at [thy] feet, [that] as mine own equal.
[Thou] might’st account him.’
[She] who knoweth all wisdom (thus) to her Seigneur she answer’d,
[She] who knoweth all wisdom, to Gilgamish (thus) did she answer:
‘(Lo), by the stars of the heavens are represented thy [comrades],
[That which was like unto] Anu’s [own self], which fell on thy shoulders,
[Which thou didst heave, but he was, o’erstrong for thee, [(aye), though his grapple
Thou didst unloose], but to shake him from off thee thou wert [un] able,
[So didst present] him low at my feet, [that] as thine own equal
[I might] account him — [and thou to thy breast like a woman] didst hold him:

Column VI.

[This is a stoutheart, a] friend, one ready to stand by [a comrade],
One whose strength [is the greatest, (the length and breadth) of the country],
[Like to a double of Anu’s own self his] strength is enormous.
[(Now), since thou] to thy breast didst hold him [the way of a woman],
[This is a sign that] thou art the one he will [never] abandon:
[This] of thy dream is the [meaning].’
[Again he spake] to his mother,
‘[Mother], a second dream [did I] see: [Into Erech, the high-wall’d],

Hurtled an axe, and they gather'd about it: [the meanwhile, from Erech]
[People] were standing about it, [the people] (all) thronging before it,
[Artisans pressing] behind it, [while] I at thy feet did present it,
[I], like a woman I held it to me [that] thou might'st account it,
As mine own equal.'
[She the [all]-wise, who knoweth all wisdom, (thus) answer'd her offspring,
[She the all-wise] who knoweth all wisdom, to Gilgamish answer'd:
'(Lo, that) [Axe] thou didst see (is) a Man; like a woman didst hold him,
Unto thy breast, [that] as thine own equal I might account him,
[This] is a stoutheart, a friend, one ready to stand by a comrade,
One whose strength is the [greatest (the length and breadth) of the country],
(Like to a double of] Anu's [own self], his strength is enormous.'
[Gilgamish open'd his mouth, and] addressing his mother, (thus spake he):
'[Though] great [danger (?)] befall, [a friend (?)] shall I have... '"

(*The Assyrian Edition of the seventh century has three more lines on the First Tablet, which correspond with Column II, l. 3 of the Second Tablet of the Old Babylonian Edition. This latter has already begun with the episode of the two dreams, approximately Column V, l. 24 of the Assyrian First Tablet, and the text is so similar in both that I have not repeated it here. The Old Babylonian Edition here takes up the story, repeating one or two details*).

THE SECOND TABLET. OF THE MEETING OF GILGAMISH AND ENKIDU.

Column II.

While Gilgamish (thus) is the vision revealing
Enkidu sitteth before the hetaera, and she [displaying her] bosom,
Shewing [her beauty (?)], the place of his birth he forgetteth.
(So) Enkidu dallied
(Thus) for six days, seven nights, with the courtesan-girl in his mating.
Broke into [speech] then, the nymph, and (thus) unto Enkidu spake she:
"(Yea, as) I view thee, (e'en) like a god, O Enkidu, shalt be,
Why with the beasts (of the field) dost thou (ever) range over the desert?
Up, for I'll lead thee to [Erech] broad-marketed, (aye), to the Temple
Sacred, the dwelling of Anu — O Enkidu, come, that I guide thee,
Unto E-Anna, the dwelling of Anu, where [Gilgamish] (liveth),
(He), the supreme of creation; and thou, aye, thou wilt [embrace him]
Like [to a woman], (and e'en) [as] thyself thou shalt [love him].
O, rouse thee
Up from the ground— 'tis a shepherd's bed (only)."
Her utterance heard he,
Welcomed her rede: the advice of the woman struck home in his bosom.
She one garment took off wherewith she might clothe him: the other
She herself wore, (and so) taking her hand like a brother she led him
(Thus) to the booths(?) of the shepherds, the place of the sheepfolds. The shepherds
Gather]d at sight of him

(*Gap of four or five lines*.)

Column III.

(*How the Hetaera schooled Enkidu*).

He (in the past) of the milk of the wild things to suck was accustom'd!
Bread which she set before him he broke, but he gazed and he stared:
Enkidu bread did not know how to eat, nor had he the knowledge
Mead how to quaff!

(Then) the woman made answer, to Enkidu speaking,
"Enkidu, taste of the bread, (for) of life 'tis; (forsooth), the essential,
Drink thou, (too), of the mead, 'tis the wonted use of the country."
Enkidu ate of the bread, (aye, ate) until he was gorged,
Drank of the mead seven bumpers; his spirits rose, (and), exultant,
Glad was his heart, and cheerful his face: [himself(?)] was he rubbing,
Oil on the hair of his body anointed: and (thus) became human.
Donn'd he a garment to be like a man , (and) taking his weapon,
Hunted the lions, which harried the shepherds o' nights: and the jackals
Caught he. (So) he, having mastered the lions, the shepherds slept soundly.
Enkidu — (he) was their warden — (becometh) a man of full vigour.
(Now) is one of the heroes speaking to [Gilgamish(?)]....

(*About thirteen lines are missing, a gap in which a sinister figure has evidently appeared, sent evidently by Gilgamish to learn the meaning of the arrival of the strangers in Erech. Enkidu sees him and speaks*).

Column IV.

(Then while) he pleasured, he lifted his eyes, (and), observing the fellow,
Spake he unto the woman: "O doxy, bring me (this) fellow,
Why hath he come? I would know his intention."
The woman the fellow
Call'd that he come to him, that he might see him: "O, why art thou seeking,
Sir? (Pray), which is the way to thy rest-house?"
The man spake, addressing
Enkidu: "You to the House of Community [Gilgamish calleth],
(This is) the custom of men, and a homage (too) to the great ones:

Come, then, and heap up the offerings such as are due to the city,
Come, on behalf of the common weal bring in the food of the city.
('Tis) for the king of broad-marketed Erech to look on thy greeting,
Gilgamish, king of broad-marketed Erech to look on thy greeting;
First doth he mate with the woman allotted by fate, and then after
Speak by the counsel of god, and so from the shape of the omens

(Utter the rede of) his destiny."

(So) at the words of the fellow
Went they before him.

(*Gap of about nine lines*).

Column V.

(*The Entry of Enkidu into Erech*).

[Enkidu] going [in front], with the courtesan coming behind him,
Enter'd broad-marketed Erech; the populace gather'd behind him,
(Then), as he stopp'd in the street of broad-marketed Erech, the people
Thronging, behind him exclaim'd "Of a truth, like to Gilgamish is he,
Shorter in stature a trifle, [his] composition is stronger.
.... [(once)] like a [weakling] baby he *suck'd* the milk of the wild things!
Ever the bread-cakes in Erech give glorious (climax) to manhood!
He a (mere) savage becometh a hero of proper appearance,
(Now) unto Gilgamish, god-like, his composition is equal."

(*How Enkidu fought with Gilgamish for the Hetaera*).

Strewn is the couch for the love-rites, and Gilgamish (now) in the night-time
Cometh to sleep, to delight in the woman : (but) [Enkidu], coming
(There) in the highway, doth block up the passage to Gilgamish, [threat'ning]
He with his strength.....

(*Gap of seven or eight lines*).

Column VI.

Gilgamish... behind him.....
Burgeon'd [his rage], (and) he rush'd to [attack] him: they met in the highway.
Enkidu barr'd up the door with his foot, (and) to Gilgamish entry —

Would not concede: they grappled and snorted(?) like bulls, (and) the threshold

Shatter'd: the (very) wall quiver'd as Gilgamish , Enkidu grappled,
Snorting(?) like bulls, (and) the threshold they shatter'd, the (very) wall quiver'd.

(*The Birth of Friendship*).

Gilgamish bent his leg to the ground: (so) his fury abated,
(Aye, and) his ardour was quell'd: so soon as was quelled his ardour,
Enkidu (thus) unto Gilgamish spake: "(Of a truth), did thy mother
Bear thee as one, and one only: (that choicest) cow of the steer-folds,
Nin-sun exalted thy head above heroes, and Enlil hath dower'd
Thee with the kingship o'er men."

THE THIRD TABLET. THE EXPEDITION TO THE FOREST OF CEDARS AGAINST HUMBABA.

(*About a column and a half of the beginning of the Old Babylonian version on the Yale tablet are so broken that almost all the text is lost. Gilgamish and Enkidu have now become devoted friends, thus strangely stultifying the purpose for which Enkidu was created, and now is set afoot the great expedition against the famous Cedar Forest guarded by the Ogre Humbaba. The courtesan has now for a brief space left the scene, having deserted Enkidu, much to his sorrow. The mutilated Assyrian Version gives a hint that the mother of Gilgamish is now describing the fight to one of her ladies(?) Rishat-Nin... and where her recital becomes connected the story runs thus*).

Column II.

(*The Tale of the Fight*).

"He lifted up [his foot, to the door.....
(?) They raged furiously.....
Enkidu hath not [his equal]... unkempt is the hair...
(Aye) he was born in the desert, and [no] one [his presence can equal]."

(*Enkidu's sorrow at the loss of his Love*).

Enkidu (there) as he stood gave ear [to his utterance (?)], grieving
Sitting [in sorrow]: his eyes fill'd [with tears], and his arms lost their power,
[Slack'd was his bodily vigour]. Each clasp]d [the hand of] the other.
[Holding] like [brothers] their grip... [(and) to Gilgamish] Enkidu answer'd:
"Friend, 'tis my darling hath circled (her arms) round my neck (to farewell me) ,
(Wherefore) my arms lose their power, my bodily vigour is slacken 'd."

(*The Ambition of Gilgamish*).

Gilgamish open'd his mouth, and to Enkidu spake he (in this wise):

Column III.

(*Gap of about two lines*)

"[I, O my friend, am determined to go to the Forest of Cedars],
[(Aye) and] Humbaba the Fierce [will] o'ercome and destroy [what is evil]
[(Then) will I cut down] the Cedar....."
Enkidu open'd his mouth, and to Gilgamish spake he (in this wise),
"Know, then, my friend, what time I was roaming with kine in the mountains
I for a distance of two hours' march from the skirts of the Forest
Into its depths would go down. Humbaba — his roar was a whirlwind,
Flame (in) his jaws, and his very breath Death! O, why hast desired
This to accomplish? To meet(?) with Humbaba were conflict unequall'd."
Gilgamish open'd his mouth and to Enkidu spake he (in this wise):
"[Tis that I need] the rich yield of its mountains [I go to the Forest]"....

(*Seven mutilated lines continuing the speech of Gilgamish, and mentioning "the dwelling* [*of the gods?*]*" (of the beginning of the Fifth Tablet), and "the axe," for cutting down the Cedars*).

Enkidu open'd his mouth [and] to Gilgamish spake he (in this wise):
"(But) when we go to the Forest [of Cedars]... its guard is a [Fighter],
Strong, never [sleeping], O Gilgamish.....

(*Three mutilated lines, apparently explaining the powers which Shamash (?), the Sun-god, and Adad, the Storm-god, have bestow'd on Humbaba*).

Column IV.

So that he safeguard the Forest of Cedars a terror to mortals
Him hath Enlil appointed — Humbaba, his roar is a whirlwind,
Flame (in) his jaws, and his very breath Death! (Aye), if he in the Forest.
Hear (but) a tread(?) on the road— 'Who is this come down to his Forest?'
So that he safeguard the Forest of Cedars, a terror to mortals,
Him hath Enlil appointed, and fell hap will seize him who cometh
Down to his Forest."

Gilgamish open'd his mouth and to Enkidu spake he (in this wise):
"Who, O my friend, is unconquer'd by [death]? A divinity, certes,

Liveth for aye in the daylight, but mortals — their days are (all) number'd,
All that they do is (but) wind — But to thee, now death thou art dreading,
Proffereth nothing of substance thy courage — I, I'll be thy va ward!
'Tis thine own mouth shall tell thou didst fear the onslaught (of battle),
(I, forsooth), if I should fall, my name will have stablish'd (for ever).
Gilgamish 'twas, who fought with Humbaba, the Fierce!
(In the future),
After my children are born to my house, and climb up thee, (saying):
'Tell to us all that thou knowest'.....

(*Four lines mutilated*).

[(Yea), when thou] speakest [in this wise], thou grievest my heart (for) the Cedar
[I am] determined [to fell], that I may gain [fame] everlasting.

(*The Weapons are cast for the Expedition*).

(Now), O my friend, [my charge] to the craftsmen I fain would deliver,
So that they cast in our presence [our weapons]."
[The charge] they deliver'd

Unto the craftsmen: the mould (?) did the workmen prepare, and the axes
Monstrous they cast: (yea), the celts did they cast, each (weighing) three talents;
Glaives, (too,) monstrous they cast, with hilts each (weighing) two talents,
Blades, thirty manas to each, corresponding to fit them: [the inlay(?)],
Gold thirty manas (each) sword: (so) were Gilgamish , Enkidu laden
Each with ten talents.

(*Gilgamish takes counsel with the Elders*).

(And now) [in] the Seven Bolt [Portal of Erech]
Hearing [the bruit(?)] did the artisans gather, [assembled the people(?)] ,
(There) in the streets of broad-marketed Erech, [in] Gilgamish' honour(?)] ,
[So did the Elders of Erech] broad-marketed take seat before him.

[Gilgamish] spake [thus: “O Elders of Erech] broad-marketed, [hear me!]
[I go against Humbaba, the Fierce, who shall say, when he heareth] ,

Column V.

‘(Ah), let me look on (this) Gilgamish, he of whom (people) are speaking,
He with whose fame the countries are fill’d’— ’Tis I will o’erwhelm him,
(There) in the Forest of Cedars — I’ll make the land hear (it)
(How) like a giant the Scion of Erech is — (yea, for) the Cedars
I am determined to fell, that I may gain fame everlasting.”
Gilgamish (thus) did the Elders of Erech broad-marketed answer:
“Gilgamish, ’tis thou art young, that thy valour (o’ermuch) doth uplift thee,
Nor dost thou know to the full what thou dost seek to accomplish.
Unto our ears hath it come of Humbaba, his likeness is twofold.
Who (of free will) then would [seek to] oppose [in encounter] his weapons?
Who for a distance of two hours’ march from the skirts of the Forest
Unto its depths would [go] down? Humbaba, his roar is a whirlwind,
Flame (in) his jaws, and his very breath Death! (O), why hast desired.
This to accomplish? To meet(?) with Humbaba were conflict unequall’d.”
Gilgamish unto the rede of his counsellors hearken’d and ponder’d,
Cried to [his] friend: “Now, indeed, O [my] fried, [will I] thus [voice opinion].
I (forsooth) dread him, and (yet) to [(the depths of the) Forest] I’ll take [me]..”

(*About seven lines mutilated or missing in which the Elders bless Gilgamish in farewell*).

“..... may thy god (so) [protect] thee,
Bringing thee back [(safe and)] sound to the walls of [broad-marketed] Erech.”
Gilgamish knelt [before Shamash] a word [in his presence] to utter:
“Here I present myself, Shamash, [to lift up] my hands (in entreaty),
O that hereafter my life may be spared, to the ramparts of [Erech]
Bring me again: spread thine aegis [upon me].”

And Shamash made answer,
[Speaking] his oracle....

(*About six lines mutilated or missing*).

Column VI.

Tears adown Gilgamish' [cheeks were (now)] streaming: "A road I have never
Traversed [I go, on a passage(?)] I know not, (but if) I be spared
(So) in content [will I] come [and will pay thee(?)] due meed (?) of thy homage."

(*Two mutilated lines with the words "on seats" and "his equipment."*)

Monstrous [the axes they brought(?)], they deliver'd [the bow] and the quiver
[Into] (his) hand; (so) taking a celt, [he slung on (?)] his quiver,
[Grasping] another [celt(?) he fasten'd his glaive] to his baldrick.
[But, or ever the twain] had set forth on their journey, they offer'd
[Gifts] to the Sun-god, that home he might bring them to Erech (in safety).

(*The Departure of the two Heroes*).

(Now) do the [Elders] farewell him with blessings, to Gilgamish giving
Counsel [concerning] the road: "O Gilgamish, to thine own power
Trust not (alone); (but at least) let thy [road] be traversed [before] thee,
Guard thou thy person; let Enkidu go before thee (as vaward).
(Aye, for) 'twas he hath discover'd the [way], the road he hath travell'd.
(Sooth), of the Forest the passes are all under sway (?) [of] Humbaba,
[(Yea), he who goeth] as vaward is (able) to safeguard a comrade,
O that the Sun-god [may grant] thee [success to attain] thine [ambition],
0 that he grant that thine eyes see (consummate) the words of thy utt'rance
O that he level the path that is block'd, cleave a road for thy treading,
Cleave, too, the berg for thy foot! May the god Lugal-banda
Bring in thy night-time a message to thee, with which shalt be gladden'd,
So that it help thine ambition , (for), like a boy thine ambition
On the o'erthrow of Humbaba thou fixest, as thou hast settled.

Wash, (then), thy feet : when thou haltest , shalt hollow a pool, so that ever
Pure be the water within thy skin-bottle, (aye), cool be the water
Unto the Sun-god thou pourest, (and thus) shalt remind Lugal-banda."
Enkidu open'd his mouth, and spake unto Gilgamish, (saying):
"[Gilgamish], art (?) thou (in truth) full equal to making (this) foray?
Let [not] thy heart be afraid; trust me."
On (his) shoulder his mantle
[Drew] he, (and now) [on the road] to Humbaba they set forth (together).

(*Five lines mutilated; the two heroes meet a man who sets them on their way*).

"... they went with me... [tell] you.. in joy of heart."
[So when he heard this his word, the man on his way did [direct him]:
"Gilgamish, go,... let thy brother (?) precede [thee]... [(and) in thine ambition].
[O that the Sun-god (?)] may shew [thee] success!"

(*The Old Babylonian Version breaks off after three more fragmentary lines. The following is the Assyrian Version of Column VI, l.* 21, *and onwards of the preceding text. It marks the beginning of the Third Tablet in the Assyrian Version, opening with the episode of the conclave of the Elders*).

"Gilgamish, put not thy faith in the strength of thine own person (solely),
Quench'd be thy wishes to trusting(? (o'ermuch) in thy (shrewdness in) smiting.
(Sooth), he who goeth as vaward is able to safeguard a comrade,
He who doth know how to guide hath guarded his friend; (so) before thee,
Do thou let Enkidu go, (for 'tis) he to the Forest of Cedars
Knoweth the road: 'tis he lusteth for battle, and threateneth combat.
Enkidu — he would watch over a friend, would safeguard a comrade,
(Aye, such an one) would deliver his person from out of the pitfalls.
We, O King, in our conclave have paid deep heed to thy welfare,
Thou, O King, in return with an (equal) heed shalt requite us."
Gilgamish open'd his mouth, and spake unto Enkidu, saying:
"Unto the Palace of Splendour, O friend, come, let us betake us,

Unto the presence of Nin-sun, the glorious Queen, (aye) to Nin-sun,
Wisest of (all) clever women, all-knowing; a well-devised pathway
She will prescribe for our feet."

Clasp'd they their hands, each to each, and went to the Palace of Splendour,
Gilgamish , Enkidu. Unto the glorious Queen, (aye) to Nin-sun
Gilgamish came, and he enter'd in unto [the presence of Nin-sun]:
"Nin-sun, O fain would I tell thee [how] I a far journey [am going],
(Unto) the home [of Humbaba to counter a] warfare I know not,
[Follow a road] which I [know] not, [(aye) from the time of my starting],
[Till my return, until I arrive at the Forest of Cedars,]
[Till I o'erthrow Humbaba, the Fierce, and destroy from the country.]
[All that the Sun-god abhorreth of evil]"....

(*The rest of the speech of Gilgamish is lost until the end of the Column, where we find him still addressing his mother, and apparently asking that she shall garb herself in festal attire to beg a favour of the Sun-god*).

"... garb thyself;... in thy presence.
(So) to her offspring, to Gilgamish [Nin-sun] gave ear... -ly,

Column II.

Enter'd [her chamber]... [and deck'd herself] with the flowers of *Tulal*(?),
[Put on] the festal garb of her body.....
[Put on] the festal garb of her bosom..., her head [with a circlet]
Crown'd, and... the ground *ipirani*.
Climb'd [she the stairway], ascended the roof, and [the parapet(?)] mounted,
Offer'd her incense to Shamash, (her) sacrifice offer'd [to Shamash],
(Then) towards Shamash her hands she uplifted (in orison saying):
"Why didst thou give (this) restlessness of spirit
With which didst dower Gilgamish, [my] son?
That now thou touchest him, and (straight) he starteth
A journey far to where Humbaba (dwelleth),
To counter warfare which he knoweth not,
Follow a pathway which he knoweth not,
(Aye), from the very day on which he starteth,
Till he return, till to the Cedar Forest

He reach; till he o'erthrow the fierce Humbaba,
And from the land destroy all evil things
Which thou abhor'st; the day which [thou hast set]
As term, of (that) strong man (who) feareth thee,
May Aa , (thy) bride, be [thy] remembrancer.
He the night-watches....."

(*Columns III, IV, and V are much mutilated. There is the remnant of a passage in Assyrian, corresponding to the Third Tablet of the Old Babylonian Version, Column III,* 15*, which gives Enkidu's speech about "the mountains," "the cattle of the field," and how "he waited": then follows another fragment with a mention of the "corpse"* [*of Humbaba*] *and of the Anunnaki (the Spirits of Heaven), and a repetition of the line "that strong man (who) feareth* [*thee*]*." Then a reference to "the journey" until* [*Gilgamish shall have overthrown the fierce Humbaba*]*, be it after an interval of days, months, or years; and another fragment probably part of the previous text, where someone "heaps up incense"* [*to a god*]*, and Enkidu again speaks with someone, but the mutilated text does not allow us much light on its connection, and although there is another fragment, the connection again is not obvious. The last column is a repetition of what the Elders said to Gilgamish*):

"(Aye, such an one) [would deliver his person] from out of the pitfalls.
[We, O King], in our conclave [have paid deep heed to thy welfare],
(Now), O King, in thy turn with an (equal) heed] shalt requite us."
Enkidu [open'd] his mouth [and spake unto Gilgamish, saying]:
"Turn, O my friend.... a road not...."

THE FOURTH TABLET. THE ARRIVAL AT THE GATE OF THE FOREST.

(*Of Column I about ll.* 1-36 *are mutilated or missing, there being actually the beginnings of only sixteen lines. When the text becomes connected the heroes have reached the Gate of the Forest*).

Column I.

(*Enkidu addresses the Gate*).

Enkidu lifted [his eyes]... and spake with the Gate as [‘t were human(?)]:
“O thou Gate of the Forest without understanding(?...
Sentience which thou hast not,....

I for (full) forty leagues have admired thy [wonderful] timber,
(Aye), till I sighted the towering Cedar....
(O but) thy wood hath no peer (in the country)...
Six *gar* thy height, and two *gar* thy breadth...
(Sooth, but) thy stanchion (?), thy socket (?), thy pivot (?), thy lock (?), and thy shutter (?),
[(All of them) must have been fashion’d for thee] in the City of Nippur!
O, if I had but known, O Gate, that this was [thy grandeur],
This, too, the grace [of thy structure], then either an axe had I lifted
Or I had... or bound together....”

(*Of the next Column remains a fragment, and that only presumed to belong to one of the above fragments from its appearance, which speaks of terror, a dream, and sorrow: “let me pray the gods.... may thy? god be... the father of the gods.” Again, of the third Column there is only a small portion left of the right half* (*this fragment, too, being also presumed to belong to the same tablet as that above-mentioned*), *speaking of Gilgamish, the Forest, and Enkidu. The fourth Column is entirely lost. Of Column V the latter part survives, in this case without any uncertainty. After a few broken lines it runs as follows, the first speaker being probably Enkidu, and the scene the Gate of the Forest*):

“... [O, haste] thee, withstand him, he will not [pursue(?) thee],
[We will] go on down into the wood not daunted, together (?)].
... Thou shall put on seven garments..

... putting on, and six... (?)... “
He like a mighty wild bull...
Flung he the Portal afar, and [his] mouth was fill’d (with his challenge),
Cried to the Guard of the Forest: “Up (?)... !
[’Tis I will challenge] Humbaba like to a...”

(*A small gap*.)

Column VI.

(*Enkidu is speaking*)

“Trouble (?) [I foresee(?)] wherever I go....
O my friend, I have [seen] a dream which un-....”
The day of the dream he had seen fulfilled....

(Enkidu is stricken with fear at thought of the combat).
Enkidu lay for a day, [yea, a second] — for Enkidu [lying]
(Prone) on his couch, was a third and a fourth day..., a fifth, sixth and seventh,
Eighth, ninth, [and tenth]. While Enkidu [lay in his] sickness..., th’ eleventh,
(Aye, till) the twelfth... on [his] couch was Enkidu [lying].
Call’d he to Gilgamish,.....
“(O but), my comrade,... hateth me.. because within Erech
I was afraid of the combat, and... My friend, who in battle...”

(*A small gap in which Gilgamish has answered. Enkidu replies*):

[Enkidu open’d] his [mouth] and spake [unto Gilgamish, saying]:
(“Nay, but), [my friend, let us no wise] go down [to the depths of the Forest],
(For) ’tis my hands [have grown weak], and [my arms] are stricken with palsy.”

Gilgamish open’d his mouth and spake [unto Enkidu], saying:
“Shall we, O friend, [play] the coward?.....
.... thou shalt surpass them all(?)....
[Thou, O] my friend, art cunning in warfare, art [shrewd(?)] in the battle,
(So) shalt thou touch the... and of [death] have no terror,

(*Two difficult and mutilated lines*).

[So that] the palsy (now striking) thine arms [may] depart, and the weakness
Pass [from thy hands]! [Be brave(?)] and resist! O my comrade, together
We will go down — let the combat [in no wise diminish(?)] thy courage!
O forget death, and be fearful(?) of nothing(?).. (for he who is) [valiant(?)],
Cautious (and) careful, by leading [the way] hath his own body guarded,
(He 'tis) will safeguard a comrade."

A name by their [valour(?)]..

They will establish. (And now) they together arrive at the barrier(?),
[Still'd into silence(?)] their speech, and they themselves (suddenly) stopping.

THE FIFTH TABLET. OF THE FIGHT WITH HUMBABA.

Column I.

(*The Wonders of the Forest*).

Stood they and stared at the Forest, they gazed at the height of the Cedars,
Scanning the avenue into the Forest: (and there) where Humbaba
Stalk'd, was a path, (and) straight were his tracks, and good was the passage.
(Eke) they beheld the Mount of the Cedar, the home of th' Immortals,
Shrine [of Irnini , the Cedar uplifting its pride 'gainst the mountain,
Fair was its shade, (all) full of delight, with bushes (there) spreading,
Spread, too, the.... the Cedar the incense....

(*After a few mutilated lines the Column breaks: the upper part of Column II contains about twenty lines badly mutilated; then the lower part is more complete, beginning with visions granted to the hero*).

Column II.

(*Gilgamish relates his dreams*).

"[Then came another dream to me, comrade, and this second] vision
[Pleasant, indeed], which I saw, (for) we (?) [twain were standing together]
[High on (?) a] peak of the mountains, [and then did the mountain peak] topple,
[Leaving us twain (?)] to be like... (?) which are born in the desert."
Enkidu spake to his comrade the dream (?) [to interpret], (thus saying):
"Comrade, (in sooth, this) vision [of thine unto us] good fortune (forbodeth),
(Aye), 'tis a dream of great gain [thou didst see], (for, bethink you), O comrade,
(Surely) the mountain which thou hast beholden [must needs be Humbaba(?)].
(Thus doth it mean) we shall capture Humbaba, (and) [throw down his] carcase,

[Leaving] his corpse in abasement — to-morrow ‘s (outcome) will I [shew thee]”.

(Now) at the fortieth league did they break their fast [with a morsel],
(Now) at the sixtieth rested, and hollow’d a pit in the sunshine...
Gilgamish mounted above [it]... (and) pour’d out his meal [for the mountain]:
“Mountain, a dream do thou grant... breathe on him...”

Column III.

Granted [the mountain] a dream... it breathed on him...
Then a chill wind-blast [up]-sprang (and) [a gust] passing over...
[Made] him to cower, and... [thereat he sway’d] like the corn of the mountains...
Gilgamish, [squatting] bent-kneed, supported his haunches, (and straightway)
Sleep (such as) floweth on man descended upon him: [at] midnight
Ending his slumber (all sudden), he hied him to speak to his comrade:
“Didst thou not call me, O friend? (O), why am I waken’d (from slumber)?
Didst thou not touch me — (for), why am I fearful(?), (or) hath not some spirit
Pass’d (me)? (Or,) why is my flesh (all) a-quiver?

(*The dream of the volcano, which probably represents Humbaba*).

A third dream, O comrade,

I have beheld: but all awesome (this) dream which I have beholden:
(Loud) did the firmament roar, (and) earth (with the echo) resounded,
Sombre the day, with darkness uprising, (and) levin bolts flashing,
Kindled were flames, [and there, too, was Pestilence (?)] fill’d to o’erflowing,
Gorgéd was Death! (Then) [faded] the glare, (then) faded the fires,
Falling, [the brands] turn’d to ashes — [Come, let us go] down to the desert,
That we may counsel together.”
Enkidu (now) to interpret his dream unto Gilgamish speaketh:

(*Remainder of Column III broken away*).

(*A variant version is found on one of the Semitic tablets from Boghaz Keui. Where the sense becomes connected it briefly describes how the heroes halt for the night and at midnight sleep departs from the hero who tells his dream to Enkidu, after asking much in the same way why he is frightened at waking from his dream. "Besides my first dream a second... In my dream, O friend, a mountain... he cast me down, seized my feet... The brilliance increased: a man..., most comely of all the land was his beauty... Beneath the mountain he drew me, and... water he gave me to drink, and my desire [was assuaged]; to earth he set [my] feet... Enkidu unto this god... unto Gilgamish*

spake: "My friend, we will go... whatever is hostile... Not the mountain... Come, lay aside fear... " The rest after about mutilated seven lines is lost).

(*Column IV is all lost, and hardly anything of Column V remains. Column VI once contained the story of the great fight, but except for a few broken lines at the end it is all lost. But we can fortunately replace it from the Hittite version from Boghaz Keui*)

Column VI.

(*The Fight with Humbaba*).

In the following manner... the Sun-god in heaven... the trees:
He saw [Gilgamish]: of the Sun-god in heaven in...
And [shew'd him] the dam on the ditches.
Gilgamish [spake] then [in orison] unto the Sun-god in heaven;
"Lo, on that day to the city.... which is in the city:
I in sooth [pray] to the Sun-god in heaven: I on a road have now started,
....."
Unto th' entreaty of Gilgamish hearken'd the Sun-god in heaven,
Wherefore against Humbaba he raised mighty winds: (yea), a great wind,
Wind from the North, (aye), [a wind from the South], yea [a tempest] (and) storm wind,
Chill wind, (and) whirlwind, a wind of (all) evil: 'twas eight winds he raiséd,
Seizing [Humbaba] before and behind, so that nor to go forwards,
Nor to go back was he able: and then Humbaba surrender'd.
Wherefore to Gilgamish spake (thus) Humbaba: "O Gilgamish, (pr'y

thee),
Stay, (now, thy hand): be [thou] now my [master], and I'll be thy henchman:
[O disregard] (all) [the words which I spake [(so) boastfull against thee,
Weighty... I would lay me down... and the Palace.
Thereat to [Gilgamish] Enkidu [spake]: "[Of the rede which] Humbaba [Maketh to thee] thou darest in nowise offer acceptance.
(Aye, for) Humbaba [must] not [remain alive]...."

(*The Hittite Version here breaks off. The Assyrian Version ends with six badly mutilated lines of which the last tells the successful issue of the expedition*).

.... [they cut off] the head of Humbaba.

THE SIXTH TABLET. OF THE GODDESS ISHTAR, WHO FELL IN LOVE WITH THE HERO AFTER HIS EXPLOIT AGAINST HUMBABA.

Column I.

(*Gilgamish is removing the stains of combat*).

(Now) is he washing his stains, (and) is cleansing his garments in tatters,
Braiding (?) (the locks of) his hair (to descend loose) over his shoulders,
Laying aside his garments besmirchen, (and) donning his clean ones,
Putting on armlets (?), and girding his body about with a baldric,
Gilgamish bindeth his fillet, and girdeth himself with a baldric.

(*Ishtar sees him and seeks to wed him*).

(Now) Lady Ishtar espieth the beauty of Gilgamish: (saith she),
"Gilgamish, come, be a bridegroom, to me of the fruit (of thy body)
Grant me largesse: (for) my husband shalt be and I'll be thy consort.
O, but I'll furnish a chariot for thee, (all) azure and golden,
Golden its wheel, and its yoke precious stones , each day to be harness'd
Unto great mules: (O), enter our house with the fragrance of cedar.
(So) when thou enterest into our house shall threshold and dais
Kiss thy feet, (and) beneath thee do homage kings, princes, and rulers,
Bringing thee yield of the mountains and plains as a tribute: thy she-goats
Bring forth in plenty, thy ewes shall bear twins, thy asses attaining
(Each) to the size of a mule, (and) thy steeds in thy chariot winning
Fame for their gallop: [thy mules] in the yoke shall ne'er have a rival."

[Gilgamish] open'd his mouth in reply, Lady Ishtar [to answer]:
"Aye, but what must I give] thee, (if (?)) I should take thee in marriage?
[I must provide thee with oil] for (thy) body, and clothing: (aye, also)
[Give thee (thy)] bread and (thy) victual: (sooth), must be sustenance [ample]
Meet for divinity — [I, (too), must give thee (thy) drink] fit for royalty.
.... I shall be bound,... let us amass (?),... clothe with a garment.
[What, then, will be my advantage, supposing) I take thee in marriage?
[Thou'rt but a ruin which giveth no shelter (?) to man] from the weather,
Thou'rt but a back door [not] giving resistance to blast or to windstorm,

Thou'rt but a palace which dasheth the heroes [within it to pieces],
Thou'rt but a pitfall (which letteth) its covering [give way (all treach'rous)],
Thou art but pitch which [defileth] the man who doth carry it with him,
Thou'rt but a bottle which [leaketh] on him who doth carry it with him,
Thou art but limestone which [letteth] stone ramparts [fall crumbling in ruin].
Thou'rt but chalcedony [failing to guard (?)] in an enemy's country,
Thou'rt but a sandal which causeth its owner [to trip (by the wayside)].
Who was ever [thy] husband [thou faithfully lovedst] for all time?
Who hath been ever thy lord who hath gain'd [over thee the advantage?
Come, and I will unfold thee [the endless tale] of thy husbands.

(Sooth), thou shalt vouch (?) for the truth (?) of (this) list — Thy maidenhood's consort,
Tammuz, each year dost make him the cause of Wailing , (then cometh Next) the bird Roller gay-feather'd thou lovedst, and (yet) thou didst smite him
Breaking his wing: in the grove doth he stand, crying *kappi* 'my wing!'
Lovedst thou also a Lion, in (all) the full strength of (his) vigour,
(Yet) thou didst dig for him seven and seven (deep) pits (to entrap him).
Lovedst thou also a Stallion, magnificent he in the battle,
Thou wert the cause of a bridle, a spur, and a whip to him: (also)
Thou wert the cause of his fifty miles galloping; thou wert the cause, too,
(Eke), of exhaustion and sweating (?); (thereafter), 'twas thou who didst (also)
Unto his mother Silili give cause for (her deep) lamentation.
Lovedst thou also a Shepherd, a neatherd, for thee without ceasing
Each day to sacrifice yeanlings for thee would heap thee his charcoal,
(Yet) thou didst smite him, transforming him into a jackal: his herd boy
Yea, his own herd boy drove him away, and his dogs tore his buttocks.
Lovedst thou, too, Ishullanu, the gardener he of thy sire,
Bringing delights (?) to thee ceaseless, while daily he garnish'd thy platter;
'Twas for thee only to cast thine eyes on him, and with him be smitten.
'O Ishullanu of mine, come, let me taste of thy vigour,
Put forth thy hand, too,..... '

But he, Ishullanu,
Said to thee ‘What dost thou ask me? Save only my mother hath baked (it),
Nought have I eaten — (and) what I should eat would be bread of transgression,
(Aye) and iniquity! (Further), the reeds are a cloak against winter. ‘
Thou this [his answer] didst hear, didst smite him and make him a spider(?) ,
Making him lodge midway up a [dwelling(?)] — not to move upwards
Lest there be drainage ; nor down, lest a crushing [o’erwhelm him].
So, too, me in my turn thou wouldst love and (then) [reckon] me like them.”

[Heard] this (then) Ishtar: she burst into rage and [went up] to Heaven,
Hied her (thus) Ishtar to Anu, [her father], to Antu, her mother,
Came she [to tell (them)]: “O father, doth Gilgamish load me with insult,
Gilgamish tale of my sins, my sins and iniquities telleth.”

Anu made answer, (thus) speaking, and said unto Ishtar the Lady:
“Nay, thou didst ask him [to grant thee largesse of the fruit of his body],
(Hence) he the tale of thy sins, thy sins and iniquities telleth.”

(*The Creation of the Divine Bull which is to destroy the heroes*).

Ishtar made answer (thus) speaking, and said unto [Anu, her father]:
“Father, O make (me) a Heavenly Bull, which shall Gilgamish [vanquish],
Filling [its body] with flame....
But if thou’lt [not] make [this Bull], then....
I’ll smite...., I’ll put...., I’ll....
More than the... will be the....

Anu [made answer, (thus) speaking, and said unto] Ishtar, the Lady:
“[If I the Heavenly Bull shall create, for which] thou dost ask me,
(Then) seven years of (leer) husks [must needs follow after his onslaught (?)].
Wilt thou [for man] gather [corn (?)], and increase [for the cattle(?)] the fodder (?).”

[Ishtar made answer, (thus) speaking [and said unto] Anu, her father:
"[Corn for mankind] have I hoarded, have grown [for the cattle the fodder],
[If seven] years of (leer) husks [must needs follow after his onslaught (?)]
[I will for man] gather [corn and increase for the cattle] the fodder."

(*Perhaps a small gap*.)

(*About seven lines are so badly mutilated that little can be gleaned from them except that the fight with the Heavenly Bull is about to take place in Erech. After these* [*a hundred men*] *descend* [*upon the Bull*]*, but with his (fiery) breath* [*he annihilates them*]*. Then come two hundred with the same result, and then three hundred more, again to be overcome*).

Enkidu girded (?) his middle; (and straightway) Enkidu, leaping,
Seized on the Heavenly Bull by [his] horns, and (headlong) before him
Cast down the Heavenly Bull his full length,....
(Aye), by the thick of his tail.

(*Gap of thirteen mutilated lines*.)

Chased him did Enkidu,... the Heavenly Bull...
Seized him and by [the thick] of his tail....

(*Gap of about fourteen mutilated lines in which the Bull is slain*.)

(So), what time they the Bull of the Heavens had kill'd, its heart they removéd,
Unto the Sun-god they offer'd in sacrifice; when the libation
Unto the Sun they had voided, they sate them down, the two brothers.

(*The Frenzy of Ishtar*).

(Then) mounted Ishtar (the crest of) the ramparts of Erech, the high-wall'd,
(So) to the roof-top ascended, (and there) gave voice to her wailing;
"Woe unto Gilgamish — he who by killing the Bull of the Heavens,
Made me lament." When Enkidu heard this, the shrieking of Ishtar,
Wrenching the member from out of the Bull, he toss'd (it) before her;

"If I could only have reach'd thee, i'faith, I'd ha' served thee the same way,
I'd ha' let dangle his guts on thy flanks (as a girdle about thee)."
Ishtar assembled the girl-devotees, the hetaerae and harlots,
Over the member (torn out) from the Bull she led the lamenting.

(*The Triumph of Gilgamish*).

Gilgamish call'd to the masters of craft, the artists, (yea), all of them,
That at the size of its horns (all) the guilds of the crafts speak their praises
Each had of azure in weight thirty minas to be as their setting,
Two fingers their.....
Both of them held six measures of oil; to his god Lugal-banda
He for (his) unguent devoting, brought in, and (thus) let them hang (there),
(There) in the shrine of his forbears.
(And now) in the River Euphrates
Washing their hands, they start (on their progress) and come (to the city);
(Now) are they striding the highway of Erech, the heroes of Erech
Thronging (about them) to see them. (Then) Gilgamish utter'd a riddle
Unto the notables (?):

Who, pr'ythee, is most splendid of heroes,
Who, pr'ythee, is most famous of giants?
Gilgamish — he is most splendid of heroes,
[*Enkidu — he is most*] *famous of giants*.

(*Three mutilated lines follow*.)

So in his palace did Gilgamish hold high revel: (thereafter),
(While all) the heroes asleep, on their nightly couches were lying
Enkidu, too, was asleep, and a vision beheld, and (so) coming
Enkidu (now) his dream to reveal: (thus) spake he unto his comrade.

THE SEVENTH TABLET. THE DEATH OF ENKIDU.

Column I.

(*Enkidu's dream*).

"Why, O my friend, do the great gods (now) take counsel together?"

(*The remainder of the Column is lost in the Assyrian, but it can be partially supplied from the Hittite Version: "... Then came the day... [Enkidu] answered Gilgamish: '[Gilgamish, hear the] dream which I [saw] in the night: [Now Enlil], Ea, and the Sun-god of heaven....[the Sun-god (?)] Enlil spake in*

return: "[These who the heavenly] Bull have kill'd [and Humbaba have smitten]:... which help'd at the cedar... [Enlil hath said (?)] 'Enkidu shall die: [but Gilgamish] shall not die.'" Then answer'd Enlil boldly '[O Sun-god], at thy behest did they slay the Heavenly Bull and Humbaba. But now shall Enkidu die.' But Enlil turn'd angrily to the Sun-god: 'What dost thou them as befitting...? With his comrade thou settest out daily. '" But Enkidu laid himself down to rest before Gilgamish, and by the dam... him the ditch: 'My brother, of (great) worth is my [dream].'" It breaks off after a few mutilated lines more).

(*Column II entirely lost. From the Hittite it is clear that Enkidu has dreamt that the gods have taken counsel together, that Enkidu is to die, but Gilgamish remain alive. It would appear from the succeeding material that Enkidu, stricken presumably by fever, attributes all his misfortunes to the hetaera whom he loads with curses. The first part of the next fragment begins "destroy his power, weaken his strength," probably referring to Enkidu. Then says Enkidu, after three broken lines: ".... the hetaera.... who has brought (?) a curse, 'O hetaera, I will decree (thy) [fate(?)] for thee — thy woes(?)]... shall never end for all eternity. [Come], I will curse thee with a bitter curse,... with desolation shall its curse come on thee: [may there never be] satisfaction of thy desire' — and then follow the broken ends of six lines and then—"'[May...] fall on thy house, may the.. of the street be thy dwelling, [may the shade of the wall be thy] abode,... for thy feet, [may scorching heat and thirsty smite thy strength'" The rest of the curse is badly broken, but it is exceeding probable that the following are the fragments which should be assigned here*).

(*The End of Enkidu's curse on the Hetaera*).

"Of want.... since me it is that...hath....
And me the fever [hath laid] on my back."

(*The Answer of Shamash*).

Heard him the Sun-god, and open'd his mouth, and from out of the heavens
(Straightway) he call'd him: "O Enkidu, why dost thou curse the hetaera?

She 'twas who made thee eat bread, for divinity proper: (aye), wine (too),
She made thee drink, ('twas) for royalty proper: a generous mantle
Put on thee, (aye), and for comrade did give to thee Gilgamish splendid.
Now on a couch of great size will he, (thy) friend (and) thy brother
Gilgamish, grant thee to lie, on a handsome couch will he grant thee
Rest, and to sit on a throne of great ease, a throne at (his) left hand,
So that the princes of Hades may kiss thy feet (in their homage);
He, too, will make (all) the people of Erech lament in thy (honour),
Making them mourn thee, (and) damsels (and) heroes constrain to thy service,
[While he himself for thy sake will cause his body to carry
Stains, [(and) will put on] the skin of a lion , and range o'er the desert."

Enkidu [(then) giving ear] to the words of the valiant Shamash
Speaking..... his wrath was appeased.

(*One or two lines missing*).

Column IV.

(Enkidu, relenting, regrets his curse, and blesses the Hetaera).
"..... may... restore to thy place!
[(So, too), may monarchs and princes] and chiefs be with love [for thee] smitten;
[None smite (?)] his breech [in disgust (?); against thee; and for thee may the hero]
Comb out his locks;... who would embrace [thee],
Let him his girdle unloose... and thy [bed] be azure and golden;

May... entreat thee kindly (?),.... are heap'd his *ishshikku*
May the gods make thee enter.....
[Mayst thou] be left as the mother of seven brides..."

(*Enkidu, sorrowful at his approaching end, sleeps alone and dreams*).

[Enkidu]... woe in his belly... sleeping alone,
[Came] in the night [to discover] his heaviness unto his comrade:
"[Friend], (O) a dream I have seen in my night-time: the firmament [roaring],
Echo'd the earth, and I [by myself was standing(?)...
[When perceived I a man (?)], (all) dark was his face, [and] was liken 'd
[Unto]...his face,... [and] his nails like claws of a lion.
Me did he overcome... climbing up... press'd me down,
Upon me... my (?) body.....

(*Here follows a gap of perhaps three lines, until what is still presumably the dream is again taken up by the other half of the Column at l.* 31 (*?*) *with a description of the Underworld which is being shewn to Enkidu in premonition of his death*).

..... like birds my hands: (and) he seized (?) me,
Me did he lead to the Dwelling of Darkness, the home of Irkalla,
Unto the Dwelling from which he who entereth cometh forth never!
(Aye), by the road on the passage whereof there can be no returning,
Unto the Dwelling whose tenants are (ever) bereft of the daylight,
Where for their food is the dust, and the mud is their sustenance: bird-like
Wear they a garment of feathers: and, sitting (there) in the darkness,
Never the light will they see. On the Gate.... when I enter'd
On the house (?).... was humbled the crown,
For... those who (wore) crowns, who of old ruled over the country,
.... of Anu and Enlil 'twas they set the bakemeats,
Set...., cool was the water they served from the skins. When I enter'd
Into (this) House of the Dust, were High Priest and acolyte sitting,
Seer and magician , the priest who the Sea of the great gods anointed ,
(Here) sat Etana , Sumuqan; the Queen of the Underworld (also),
Ereshkigal , in whose presence doth bow the Recorder of Hades,
[Belit]-seri, and readeth before her; [she lifted] her head (and) beheld me,
... and took this.....

(*The text here breaks off*).

THE EIGHTH TABLET. OF THE MOURNING OF GILGAMISH, AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

(*The first Column is badly mutilated, and all we can glean from it is that "as soon as something of morning has dawned," Gilgamish addressing Enkidu, compares him to a gazelle, and promises to glorify him. Then follows apparently a recital by Gilgamish of their exploits together, "mountains* [*we ascended*,

we reach'd] *the Forest of Cedars,* [*travelling*] *night and day...* [*with wild beasts* (*?*)] *drawing nigh after us." Enkidu is lying dying or dead, and Column II begins with Gilgamish keening over his dead friend before the Elders of Erech*):

"Unto me hearken, O Elders, to me, aye, me [shall ye listen],
'Tis that I weep for my [comrade] Enkidu, bitterly crying
Like to a wailing woman: my grip is [slack'd] on the curtleaxe
(Slung at) my thigh, (and) the brand at my belt from my sight [is removed].
(Aye, and) my festal attire [lends nought of its aid for] my pleasure,
Me, me hath [sorrow] assailed, and [cast] me [down in affliction].

Comrade (and) henchman, who chased the wild ass , the pard of the desert,
Comrade (and) henchman, who chased the wild ass , the pard of the desert,
Enkidu — we who all [haps] overcame, ascending [the mountains].
Captured the Heavenly Bull, and [destroy'd (him)]: we o'erthrew Humbaba,
He who [abode] in the Forest [of Cedars — O, what is this slumber
Now hath o'ercome [thee], (for now) art thou dark, nor art able to hear [me]?"
Natheless he raised not [his eyes, and] his heart, (when Gilgamish) felt (it),
Made no beat.
Then he veil'd (his) friend like a bride..
Lifted his voice like a lion.....
[Roar'd] like a lioness robb'd of [her] whelps. In front of his [comrade]
Paced he backwards and forwards, tearing and casting his ringlets(?),
Plucking and casting away (all) the grace of his....

Then when something of morning had dawn'd, did Gilgamish....

(*Column II here breaks off. Column III begins with Gilgamish still mourning, telling his dead friend all he will do for him in the words of Shamash in the preceding tablet, so that we may supply the last two* (*?*) *lines of Column II as follow*):

Column II.

(*The Lament of Gilgamish*).

49-50 "[O, on a couch of great size will I, thy friend and thy brother,

Column III.

[Gilgamish, grant thee to lie], on [a handsome] couch [will I grant thee
Rest, and] to sit on [a throne of great size, a throne at (my) left hand],
So that the princes of Hades [may kiss thy feet (in their homage)];
I, too, will make (all) [the people of Erech] lament in thy (honour),
5 [Making them mourn thee], (and) damsels(and)heroes[constrain to thy service],
While I myself for thy sake [will cause my body to carry]
[Stains], (and) will put on the skin of a [lion , and range o'er the desert]."

Then when something of morning had dawn'd did [Gilgamish]....
Loosing his girdle.....

(*Column IV has only five fragmentary lines at the end, mentioning "to my friend," "thy sword," "likeness," and "to the god Bibbu," i.e., a planet or Mercury. Column V has only a bare dozen fragmentary lines at the end*):

Column V.

43 "... Judge of the Anunnaki..."

(Then), when Gilgamish heard this, he form'd of the slaying a concept.

45 (Then), with the dawn of the morning did Gilgamish fashion a...
Brought out also a mighty platter of wood from the highlands.
Fill'd he with honey a bowl of (bright) ruby , a bowl (too) of azure,
Fill'd he with cream; (and) adorn'd he the..., and Shamash instructed..

(*One line lost at end of Column. Column VI is all lost*).

THE NINTH TABLET. GILGAMISH IN TERROR OF DEATH SEEKS ETERNAL LIFE.

Column I.

(*Gilgamish determines to seek Eternal Life*).

Gilgamish bitterly wept for his comrade, (for) Enkidu, ranging
Over the desert: "I, too — shall I not die like Enkidu also?
Sorrow hath enter'd my heart; I fear death as I range o'er the desert,
I will get hence on the road to the presence of Uta-Napishtim ,

— Offspring of Ubara-Tutu is he — and with speed will I travel.
(If) 'tis in darkness that I shall arrive at the Gates of the Mountains,
Meeting with lions, then terror fall on me, I'll lift my head (skywards),
Offer my prayer to the Moon-god, (or else) to.. the gods let my orison
Come... 'O deliver me!'"... He slept... (and) a dream...
[Saw he]... which were rejoicing in life,
Poised he [his] axe... in his hand, (and) drew [his glaive from] his baldric,
Lance-like leapt he amongst them... smiting,... (and) crushing.

(*The rest of the Column is mutilated*).

Column II.

(*The hero reaches the Mountains of Mashu*).

Mashu the name of the hills; as he reach'd the Mountains of Mashu,
Where ev'ry day they keep watch o'er [the Sun-god's] rising [and setting],
Unto the Zenith of Heaven [uprear'd are] their summits, (and) downwards
(Deep) unto Hell reach their breasts: (and there) at their portals stand sentry
Scorpion-men, awful in terror, their (very) glance Death: (and) tremendous,
Shaking the hills, their magnificence; they are the Wardens of Shamash,
Both at his rising and setting. (No sooner) did Gilgamish see them"
(Than) from alarm and dismay was his countenance stricken with pallor,

Senseless, he grovell'd before them.
(Then) unto his wife spake the Scorpion:
"Lo, he that cometh to us— 'tis the flesh of the gods is his body."
(Then) to the Scorpion-man answer]d his wife: "Two parts of him god-(like),
(Only) a third of him human."

(*Eight broken lines remain, in which the Scorpion-man addresses presumably Gilgamish, asking him* [*why he has goner a far journey, and telling him how hard the traverse is. Column III begins with the third line in which Gilgamish is evidently telling the Scorpion-man that he proposes to cask*(*?*)] *Uta-Napishtim about death and life. But the Scorpion-man says that* [*the journey has never before been made, that none* [*has crossed*] *the mountains. The traverse is by the Road of the Sun by a journey of twenty-four hours, beginning with deep darkness. The last half of this Column and the first half of Column IV are lost, but it would appear that the Scorpion-man describes the journey hour by hour, and that Gilgamish accepts the trial of his strength "*[*even though it be*] *in pain..,* [*though my face be weather*]*d*] *with cold* [*and heat*]

[paragraph continues] (*and*) *in grief* [*I go*]*..." Then the Scorpion-man, with a final word about the mountains of Mashu, farewells him, wishing him success. "*[(*Then*) *when*] *Gilgamish* [*heard this*], [*he set off*] *at the word of the Scorpion-man, taking*] *the Road of the Sun..." The first two hours are in deep darkness, without light, which did not allow* [*him to see... behind him*]*..." Each succeeding period of two hours is the same until the eighth is reached and passed, and by the ninth he apparently comes to the first glimmer of light. Finally, with the twelfth double hour, he reaches the full blaze of the sun, and there he beholds the Tree of the Gods, the description of which is given in the only four complete lines,* 48-51*, of Column V. It is conceivable that this is the Vine, the Tree of Life, whence Siduri, the Maker of Wine, plucks the fruit for her trade*).

Bearing its fruit (all) ruby, and hung about with (its) tendrils.
Fair for beholding, and azure the boskage it bore; (aye), 'twas bearing
Fruits (all) desirable unto the eye.

(*Column VI in the Assyrian is nearly all lost, and it is uncertain what part the Tree plays: but at this point a third Old Babylonian tablet helps*

us out. At this point, according to this early version the Sun-god takes pity on the hero).

"[He of the wild things hath dresséd] their pelts and the flesh of them eateth.
Gilgamish, [never] a crossing [shall be (?)] where none hath been ever,
(No), [so long] as the gale driveth water."
Shamash was touch'd, that he summon'd him, (thus) unto Gilgamish speaking:
"Gilgamish, why dost thou run, (forasmuch as) the life which thou seekest
Thou shalt not find?" (Whereat) Gilgamish answer'd the warrior Shamash:
"Shall I, after I roam up and down o'er the waste as a wand'rer,
Lay my head in the bowels of earth, and throughout the years slumber
Ever and aye? Let mine eyes see the Sun and be sated with brightness,
(Yea, for) the darkness is (banish'd) afar, if wide be the brightness.
When will the man who is dead (ever) look on the light of the Sunshine?"

(*With this ends all our connected text of Column VI, the Assyrian Version ending with about a dozen mutilated lines containing a mention of numerous minerals and stones, and evidently Gilgamish has now come to the girl Siduri the sabitu, which last word is generally taken to mean a provider of strong waters*).

THE TENTH TABLET. HOW GILGAMISH REACHED UTA-NAPISHTIM.

Column I.

(*Gilgamish meets Siduri*).

Dwelt Siduri, the maker of wine....
Wine(?) was her trade, her trade was.....
Cover'd she was with a veil and.....
Gilgamish wander'd [towards her].....
Pelts was he wearing.....
Flesh of the gods in [his body] possessing, but woe in [his belly],
(Aye), and his countenance like to a (man) who hath gone a far journey.
Look'd in the distance the maker of wine, (and) a word in her bosom
Quoth she, in thought with herself: "This is one who would ravish (?) [a woman],
Whither doth he advance in... ?" As soon as the Wine-maker saw him,
Barr'd she [her postern], barr'd she her inner door, barr'd she [her chamber(?)].
Straightway did Gilgamish, too, in his turn catch the sound [of her shutting(?)],
Lifted his chin, and so did he let [his attention fall on her].

Unto her (therefore) did Gilgamish speak, to the Wine-maker saying]:
"Wine-maker, what didst thou see, that [thy postern (now)] thou hast barréd,
Barréd thine inner door, [-barréd thy chamber(?)]? O, I'll smite [thy] portal,
[Breaking the bolt].....

(*About nine lines mutilated, after which it is possible to restore l*. 32 — *Column II*, 8).

[Unto him (answer 'd) the Wine-maker, speaking to Gilgamish, (saying):
"Why is thy vigour (so) wasted, (or why) is thy countenance sunken,
(Why) hath thy spirit a sorrow (?), (or why) hath thy cheerfulness surcease?
(O, but) there's woe in thy belly! Like one who hath gone a far journey

(So) is thy face — (O,) with cold and with heat is thy countenance weather'd,
... that thou shouldst range over the desert."
Gilgamish unto her (answer'd and) spake to the Wine-maker, saying:
"Wine-maker, 'tis not my vigour is wasted, nor countenance sunken,
Nor hath my spirit a sorrow (?), (forsooth), nor my cheerfulness surcease,

No, 'tis not woe in my belly: nor doth my visage resemble
One who hath gone a far journey — nor is my countenance weather'd
Either by cold or by heat... that (thus) I range over the desert.
Comrade (and) henchman, who chased the wild ass, the pard of the desert,
Comrade (and) henchman, who chased the wild ass, the pard of the desert,
Enkidu — we who all haps overcame, ascending the mountains,
Captured the Heavenly Bull, and destroy'd him]: we [o'erthrew Humbaba,
He who abode in the Forest of Cedars; we slaughter'd the lions

Column II.

There in the Gates (?) of the mountains (?); with me enduring all hardships,
Enkidu, (he was) my comrade — the lions we slaughter'd (together),
(Aye), enduring all hardships — and him his fate hath o'ertaken.
(So) did I mourn him six days, (yea), a se'nnight, until unto burial
I could consign (?) him.... (then) did I fear.....
Death did I dread, that I range o'er the desert]: the hap of my comrade
[Lay on me heavy(?) — O 'tis a long road that I range o'er] the desert!
Enkidu, (yea), [of my comrade the hap lay heavy (?) upon me] —
['Tis a long road] that I range o'er the desert — O, how to be silent],
(Aye, or) how to give voice? [(For) the comrade I ha' (so) lovéd]
Like to the dust [hath become]; O Enkidu, (he was) my comrade,
He whom I loved hath become alike the dust] — [I,] shall I not, also,
Lay me down [like him], throughout all eternity [never returning]?"

(*Here may be interpolated, for convenience, the Old Babylonian Version of this episode in the Berlin tablet of* 2000 *B.C. Column II,* 1,*-III,* 14):

Column II.

“He who enduréd all hardships with me, whom I lovéd dearly,
Enkidu, — he who enduréd all hardships with me (is now perish’d),
Gone to the common lot of mankind! (And) I have bewail’d him
Day and night long: (and) unto the tomb I have not consign’d him.
(O but) my friend cometh not (?) to my call — six days, (yea), a se’nnight
He like a worm hath lain on his face — (and) I for this reason
Find no life, (but must needs) roam the desert like to a hunter,
(Wherefore), O Wine-maker, now that (at last) I look on thy visage,
Death which I dread I will see not!”

(*The Philosophy of the Wine-maker*).

The Wine-maker Gilgamish answer’d:

Column III.

“Gilgamish, why runnest thou, (inasmuch as) the life which thou seekest,
Thou canst not find? (For) the gods, in their (first) creation of mortals,
Death allotted to man, (but) life they retain’d in their keeping.
Gilgamish, full be thy belly,
Each day and night be thou merry, (and) daily keep holiday revel,
Each day and night do thou dance and rejoice; (and) fresh be thy raiment,
(Aye), let thy head be clean washen, (and) bathe thyself in the water,
Cherish the little one holding thy hand; be thy spouse in thy bosom
Happy — (for) this is the dower [of man].....

(*Here the Old Babylonian Version breaks off and we must return to the Assyrian*).

(*Gilgamish, dissatisfied with a Wine-maker’s philosophy, would seek further afield*).

[Gilgamish] (thus) continued his speech to the Wine-maker, (saying),
“[Pr’ythee, then], Wine-maker, which is the way unto Uta-Napishtim?
[What (is)] its token, I pr’ythee, vouchsafe me, vouchsafe me its token.
If it be possible (even) the Ocean (itself) will I traverse,
(But) if it should be impossible, (then) will I range o’er the desert.”

(*The Wine-maker, in accordance with tradition, attempts to dissuade him*).

(Thus) did the Wine-maker answer to him, unto Gilgamish (saying),
"There hath been never a crossing, O Gilgamish: never aforetime
Anyone, coming thus far, hath been able to traverse the Ocean:
Warrior Shamash doth cross it , 'tis true, but who besides Shamash
Maketh the traverse? (Yea), rough is the ferry, (and) rougher its passage,
(Aye), too, 'tis deep are the Waters of Death, which bar its approaches.
Gilgamish, if perchance thou succeed in traversing the Ocean,
What wilt thou do, when unto the Waters of Death thou arrivest?
Gilgamish, there is Ur-Shanabi, boatman to Uta-Napishtim,
He with whom sails (?) are, the *urnu* of which in the forest he plucketh,
(Now) let him look on thy presence, (and) [if it be] possible with him
Cross — (but) if it be not, (then) do thou retrace thy steps (homewards)."

[paragraph continues] Gilgamish, hearing this, [taketh] (his) axe in his [hand], awhile he draweth Glaive from his baldric (?)].

(*The remainder of this Column in the Assyrian Version is so much mutilated that little can be made out, but what is obviously essential is that Gilgamish meets Ur-Shanabi, but destroys the sails* (*?*) *of the boat for some reason. Before going on with the restoration of the Assyrian Version, we can interpolate Column IV from the Old Babylonian Version of the Berlin Tablet*)

(Then) did Ur-Shanabi speak to him (yea), unto Gilgamish, (saying):
"Tell to me what is thy name, (for) I am Ur-Shanabi, (henchman),
(Aye), of far Uta-Napishtim." To him did Gilgamish answer:
"Gilgamish, (that) is my name, come hither from Erech(?), E-Anni (?),
(One) who hath traversed the Mountains, a wearisome journey of Sunrise,
Now that I look on thy face, Ur-Shanabi — Uta-Napishtim
Let me see also — the Distant one!" Him did Ur-Shanabi [answer], Gilgamish:....."

(*In the Assyrian Version Ur-Shanabi presently addresses Gilgamish in exactly the same words as Siduri, the Wine-maker, with the same astonishment at his weather-beaten appearance*):

Column III.

(Thus) did Ur-Shanabi speak to him, (yea), unto Gilgamish, (saying)
"Why is thy vigour all wasted..."

(*It continues thus, to be supplied for ll.* 2-31 *from Columns I,* 33-*II,* 14 *with due bracketing for the last words, and then the text goes on*):

Gilgamish (thus) continued his speech to Ur-Shanabi, (saying)
"Pr'ythee, Ur-Shanabi, which is [the way unto Uta-Napishtim ?
What is its token, I pr'ythee, vouchsafe me, vouchsafe me nits token].
If it be possible (even) the Ocean (itself) will I traverse,
But if it should be impossible, [(then) will I range o'er the desert]."

(Thus) did Ur-Shanabi speak to him, (yea), unto Gilgamish, (saying):
"Gilgamish, 'tis thine own hand hath hinder'd [thy crossing the Ocean],
Thou hast destroyéd the sails(?), (and) hast piercéd (?) the...
(Now) destroy'd are the sails(?), and the *urnu* not.....

Gilgamish, take thee thy axe in [thy] hand; O, descend to the forest,
[Fashion thee] poles each of five gar in length; make (knops of) bitumen,
Sockets, (too), add (to them) : bring [them me]." (Thereat), when Gilgamish [heard this],
Took he the axe in his hand, (and) [the glaive] drew forth [from his baldric],
Went to the forest, and poles each of five gar in length [did he fashion],
(Knops of) bitumen he made, and he added (their) sockets: and brought them.. ,
Gilgamish (then), and Ur-Shanabi fared them forth [in their vessel],
Launch'd they the boat on the billow, and they themselves [in her embarking].
After the course of a month and a half he saw on the third day
How that Ur-Shanabi (now) at the Waters of Death had arrivéd.

Column IV.

(Thus) did Ur-Shanabi [answer] him, [(yea), unto Gilgamish, (saying)]:
"Gilgamish, take the.... away.....
Let not the Waters of Death touch thy hand.....
Gilgamish, take thou a second, a third, and a fourth pole (for thrusting),

Gilgamish, take thou a fifth, (and) a sixth, and a seventh (for thrusting),
Gilgamish, take thou an eighth, (and) a ninth, and a tenth pole (for thrusting),
Gilgamish, take an eleventh, a twelfth pole!" He ceased from (his) poling,
(Aye) with twice-sixty (thrusts); (then) ungirded his loins....
Gilgamish.... (?), and set up the mast in its socket.

(*He reaches Uta-Napishtim*).

Uta-Napishtim look'd into the distance and, inwardly musing,
Said to himself: "(Now), why are [the sails(?)] of the vessel destroyéd,
Aye, and one who is not of my... (?) doth ride on the vessel?
(This) is no mortal who cometh: nor....
I look, but (this) is no [mortal].....
I look, but..... I look but.....

(*Remainder of Column lost, but about l.* 42 *it becomes apparent that Uta-Napishtim is asking Gilgamish in exactly the same words as Siduri, the Wine-maker, and Ur-Shanabi "Why is thy vigour* (*all*) *wasted?" and so on, down to Column V, l.* 22 *"*[*I*]*, shall I not also lay me down like him, throughout all eternity never returning?"*):

Gilgamish (thus) continued his speech unto Uta-Napishtim,
"Then [I bethought me], I'll get hence and see what far Uta-Napishtim

Saith (on the matter). (And so), again (?) I came through all countries,
Travell'd o'er difficult mountains, (aye), [and] all seas have I traversed,
Nor hath (ever) my face had its fill of gentle sleep (?): (but) with hardship
Have I exhausted myself, (and) my flesh have I laden with sorrow.
Ere I had come to the [House(?)] of the Wine-Maker, spent were my garments,
... Owl, bat, lion, pard, wild cat, deer, ibex, and.....
[Flesh] of them (all) have I eaten, (and eke) their pelts have I dress'd (?) [me]."

(*The remainder of the Column is mutilated: there is some mention of "let them bolt her gate...; with pitch and bitumen...." in l.* 33*, and then*

nothing which gives connected sense until Column VI, ll. 26-39):

Column VI.

26 “Shall we for ever build house(s), for ever set signet (to contract),
Brothers continue to share, or among [foes (?)] always be hatred?
(Or) will for ever the stream (that hath risen) in spate bring a torrent,
Kulilu-bird [to] *Kirippu*-bird..... ?
Face which doth look on the sunlight... presently (?) shall not be...
Sleeping and dead [are]r alike, from Death they mark no distinction
Servant and master, when once thy have reach’d [their full span allotted],
Then do the Anunnaki, great gods,.....
Mammetum, Maker of Destiny with them, doth destiny settle,
Death, (aye), and Life they determine; of Death is the day not revealéd.”

THE ELEVENTH TABLET. THE FLOOD.

Column I.

(*The Cause of the Flood*).

Gilgamish unto him spake, to Uta-Napishtim the Distant:
"Uta-Napishtim, upon thee I gaze, (yet) in no wise thy presence
Strange is, (for) thou art like me, and in no wise different art thou;
Thou art like me; (yea) a stomach for fighting doth make thee consummate,
[Aye, and to rest (?)] on thy back thou dost lie. [O tell me (?)], how couldst thou
Stand in th' Assemblage of Gods to petition for life (everlasting)?"

Uta-Napishtim (addressing him thus) unto Gilgamish answer'd:
"Gilgamish, I unto thee will discover the (whole) hidden story,
Aye, and the rede of the Gods will I tell thee.
The City Shurippak —
(O 'tis) a city thou knowest! — is set [on the marge] of Euphrates,
Old is this city, with gods in its midst. (Now), the great gods a deluge
Purposed to bring:...there was Anu, their sire; their adviser
Warrior Enlil; Ninurta , their herald; their leader(?) Ennugi;
Nin-igi-azag— 'tis Ea — , (albeit) conspirator with them,
Unto a reed-hut their counsel betray'd he: "O Reed-hut, O Reed-hut!
Wall, wall! Hearken, O Reed-hut, consider, O Wall! O thou Mortal,
Thou of Shurippak, thou scion of Ubara-Tutu, a dwelling
Pull down, (and) fashion a vessel (therewith); abandon possessions,
Life do thou seek, (and) thy hoard disregard, and save life; every creature
Make to embark in the vessel. The vessel, which thou art to fashion,
Apt be its measure; its beam and its length be in due correspondence,
(Then) [on] the deep do thou launch it." And I — sooth, I apprehending,
(This wise) to Ea, my lord, did I speak: '[See], Lord, what thou sayest
Thus, do I honour, I'll do — (but) to city, to people, and elders
Am I, forsooth, to explain?' (Then) Ea made answer in speaking,
Saying to me — me, his henchman!— 'Thou mortal, shalt speak to them this wise:
"'Tis me alone (?) whom Enlil so hateth that I in your city
No (more) may dwell, nor turn my face unto the land which is Enlil's.
[I will go] down to the Deep, (there) dwelling with Ea, my [liege] lord,

(Wherefore) [on] you will he shower down plenty, yea, fowl [in great number(?)],
Booty of fish.... [and big] the harvest.
..... causing a plentiful rainfall (?) to come down upon you."'

[(Then) when something] of morning had dawn'd....

(*Five lines mutilated*).

Pitch did the children provide, (while) the strong brought [all] that was needful.
(Then) on the fifth day (after) I laid out the shape (of my vessel),
Ten *gar* each was the height of her sides, in accord with her planning(?),
Ten *gar* to match was the size of her deck (?), and the shape of the forepart (?)

Did I lay down, (and) the same did I fashion; (aye), six times cross-pinn'd her,
Sevenfold did I divide her...., divided her inwards
Ninefold: hammer'd the caulking within her, (and) found me a quant-pole,
(All) that was needful I added; the hull with six *shar* of bitumen
Smear'd I, (and) three *shar* of pitch [did I smear] on the inside; some people,
Bearing a vessel of grease, three *shar* of it brought (me); (and) one *shar*
(Out of this) grease did I leave, which the tackling (?) consumed; (and) the boatman
Two *shar* of grease stow'd away; (yea), beeves for the... I slaughter'd,
Each day lambs did I slay: mead, beer, oil, wine, too, the workmen
[Drank] as though they were water , and made a great feast like the New Year,

(*Five mutilated lines "I added salve for the hand(s)," "the vessel was finish'd... Shamash the great." "was difficult," ".. ? I caused to bring above and below," "two-thirds of it"*):

[All I possess'd I] laded aboard her; the silver I laded
All I possess'd; gold, all I possess'd I laded aboard her,
All I possess'd of the seed of all living [I laded aboard] her.
Into the ship I embark'd all my kindred and family (with me),
Cattle (and) beasts of the field (and) all handicraftsmen embarking.

(Then) decreed Shamash the hour: ".... (?)
Shall in the night let a plentiful rainfall(?) pour down....
(Then) do thou enter the vessel, and (straightway) shut down thy hatchway."
Came (then) that hour (appointed),...(?)
Did in the night let a plentiful rainfall(?) pour down.... (?)
View'd I the aspect of day: to look on the day bore a horror,
(Wherefore) I enter'd the vessel, and (straightway) shut down my hatchway,
(So, too) to shut down the vessel to Puzur-Amurri (?), the boatman,
Did I deliver the poop (of the ship), besides its equipment.

(Then), when something of dawn had appear'd, from out the horizon
Rose a cloud darkling; (lo), Adad (the storm-god) was rumbling within it,
Nabu and Sharru were leading the vanguard, and coming as heralds
Over the hills and the levels: (then) Irragal wrench'd out the bollards;
Havoc Ninurta let loose as he came, th' Anunnaki their torches
Brandish'd, and shrivell'd the land with their flames; desolation from Adad
Stretch'd to (high) Heaven, (and) all that was bright was turn'd into darkness.

(*Four lines mutilated "the land like...," "for one day the st[orm]...," "fiercely blew.... " "like a battle... "*).

Nor could a brother distinguish his brother; from heaven were mortals
Not to be spied. O, were stricken with terror the gods at the Deluge,
Fleeing, they rose to the Heaven of Anu, and crouch'd in the outskirts,
Cow 'ring like curs were the gods (while) like to a woman in travail
Ishtar did cry, she shrieking aloud, (e'en) the sweet-spoken Lady
(She of the gods): 'May that day turn to dust, because I spake evil
(There) in th' Assemblage of Gods! O, how could I utter (such) evil
(There) in the Assemblage of Gods, (so) to blot out my people, ordaining Havoc! Sooth, then, am I to give birth, unto (these) mine own people
Only to glut (with their bodies) the Sea as though they were fish-spawn?'
Gods — Anunnaki — wept with her, the gods were sitting (all) humbled,
(Aye), in (their) weeping, (and) closed were their lips amid(?)]the Assemblage.

Six days, a se'nnight the hurricane, deluge, (and) tempest continued
Sweeping the land: when the seventh day came, were quelléd the warfare,
Tempest (and) deluge which like to an army embattail'd were fighting.
Lull'd was the sea, (all) spent was the gale, assuaged was the deluge,
(So) did I look on the day; (lo), sound was (all) still'd; and all human
Back to (its) clay was return'd, and fen was level with roof-tree.
(Then) I open'd a hatchway, and down on my cheek stream'd the sunlight,
Bowing myself, I sat weeping, my tears o'er my cheek(s) overflowing,
Into the distance I gazed, to the furthest bounds of the Ocean,
Land was uprear'd at twelve (points), and the Ark on the Mountain of Nisir
Grounded; the Mountain of Nisir held fast, nor gave lease to her shifting.
One day, (nay,) two, did Nisir hold fast, nor give lease to her shifting.
Three days, (nay), four, did Nisir hold fast, nor give lease to her shifting,
Five days, (nay,) six, did Nisir hold fast, nor give lease to her shifting.
(Then), when the seventh day dawn'd, I put forth a dove, and released (her),
(But) to and fro went the dove, and return'd (for) a resting-place was not.
(Then) I a swallow put forth and released; to and fro went the swallow,
She (too) return'd, (for) a resting-place was not; I put forth a raven,
Her, (too,) releasing; the raven went, too, and th' abating of waters
Saw; and she ate as she waded (and) splash'd, (unto me) not returning.
Unto the four winds (of heaven) I freed (all the beasts), and an off'ring
Sacrificed, and a libation I pour'd on the peak of the mountain,
Twice seven flagons devoting, (and) sweet cane, (and) cedar, and myrtle,

Heap'd up beneath them; the gods smelt the savour, the gods the sweet savour
Smelt; (aye,) the gods did assemble like flies o'er him making the off'ring.
Then, on arriving, the Queen (of the gods) the magnificent jewels
Lifted on high, which Anu had made in accord with her wishes;
'O ye Gods! I will (rather) forget (this) my necklet of sapphires,
Than not maintain these days in remembrance, nor ever forget them.

(So), though (the rest of) the gods may present themselves at the off'ring,
Enlil (alone of the gods) may (himself) not come to the off'ring,
Because he, unreasoning, brought on a deluge, and therefore my people
Unto destruction consign'd.'
Then Enlil, on his arrival,
Spied out the vessel, and (straightway) did Enlil burst into anger,
Swollen with wrath 'gainst the gods, the Igigi : 'Hath any of mortals
'Scaped? Sooth, never a man could have lived through (the welter of) ruin.'
(Then) did Ninurta make answer and speak unto warrior Enlil,
Saying: 'O, who can there be to devise such a plan, except Ea?
Surely, 'tis Ea is privy to ev'ry design.' Whereat Ea
Answer'd and spake unto Enlil, the warrior, saying: 'O chieftain
Thou of the gods, thou warrior! How, forsooth, how (all) uncounsell'd
Couldst thou a deluge bring on? (Aye,) visit his sin on the sinner
Visit his guilt on the guilty, (but) O, have mercy, that (thereby)
He shall not be cut off; be clement, that he may not [perish].
O, instead of thy making a flood, let a lion come, man to diminish;
O, instead of thy making a flood, let a jackal come, man to diminish;
O, instead of thy making a flood, let a famine occur, that the country
May be [devour'd(?)]; instead of thy making a flood, let the Plague-god
Come and the people [o'erwhelm];
Sooth, indeed 'twas not I of the Great Gods the secret revealéd,
(But) to th' Abounding in Wisdom vouchsafed I a dream, and (in this wise)
He of the gods heard the secret. Deliberate, now, on his counsel'.
(Then) to the Ark came up Enlil; my hand did he grasp, and uplifted
Me, even me, and my wife, too, he raised, and, bent-kneed beside me,
Made her to kneel; our foreheads he touch'd as he stood there between us,
Blessing us; 'Uta-Napishtim hath hitherto only been mortal,
Now, indeed, Uta-Napishtim and (also) his wife shall be equal
Like to us gods; in the distance afar at the mouth of the rivers
Uta-Napishtim shall dwell'. (So) they took me and (there) in the distance

Caused me to dwell at the mouth of the rivers.
But thee, as for thee, pray,
Who will assemble the gods for thy (need), that the life which thou

seekest
Thou mayst discover? Come, fall not asleep for six days, aye, a se'nnight!"

(*But Gilgamish is too mortal to resist even sleep*).

(Then), while he sat on his haunches a sleep like a breeze breathed upon him.
Spake to her, Uta-Napishtim, yea, unto his wife: "O, behold him,
E'en the strong fellow who asketh for life, (how) hath breathéd upon him
Sleep like a breeze!" (Then) his wife unto Uta-Napishtim the Distant
Answer 'd: "O, touch him, and let the man wake, that the road he hath traversed
He may betake himself homeward in peace, that he by the portal
Whence he fared forth may return to his land." Spake Uta-Napishtim,
(Yea), to his wife: "(How) the troubles of mortals do trouble thee also!
Bake then his flour (and) put at his head, but the time he is sleeping
On the house-wall do thou mark it. " (So straightway) she (did so), his flour
Baked she (and) set at his head, but the time he was sleeping she noted
On the house-wall. (So), *first* was collected his flour, (then) *secondly* sifted,
Thirdly, 'twas moisten'd, and *fourthly* she kneaded his dough, and so *fifthly*
Leaven she added, and sixthly 'twas baked; (then) *seventh* — he touch'd him,
All on a sudden, and (so from his slumber) awoke the (great) fellow!

Gilgamish unto him spake, (yea) to Uta-Napishtim the Distant:
"(Tell me), I pr'ythee (?), was 't thou, who when sleep was shower'd upon me
All on a sudden didst touch me, and (straightway) rouse me (from slumber)?"
Uta-Napishtim to Gilgamish [spake, (yea), unto him spake he]:
"Gilgamish, told was the tale of thy meal... and (then) did I wake thee:
[*'One'* — was collected] thy flour: [(then) *'two'*] — it was sifted; (and) *'thirdly'* —
Moisten'd: (and) *'fourthly'* — she kneaded thy dough [(and) *'fifthly'*] the leaven

Added: (and) *'sixthly'*— 'twas baked: [(and) *'seventh'*]— 'twas I on a sudden
Touch'd thee and thou didst awake." To Uta-Napishtim, the Distant,
Gilgamish answer'd: "O, [how] shall I act, (or) where shall I hie me,
Uta-Napishtim? A Robber (from me) hath ravish'd my [courage,]
Death [in] my bed-chamber broodeth, and Death is wherever I [listen]."

[Spake] to [him, (yea),] to the boatman Ur-Shanabi Uta-Napishtim:

"'Tis thou, Ur-Shanabi... the crossing, will hate thee,
(Sooth), to all those who come to its marge, doth its marge set a limit:
(This) man for whom thou wert guide — are stains to cover his body,
Or shall a skin hide the grace of his limbs? Ur-Shanabi, take him,
Lead him to where he may bathe, that he wash off his stains in the water
(White) as the snow: let him cast off his pelt(s) that the sea may remove (them);
Fair let his body appear: of his head be the fillet renewéd,
Let him, as clothes for his nakedness, garb himself in a mantle,
Such that, or ever he come to his city, and finish his journey,
No (sign of) age shall the mantle betray, but preserve (all) its freshness."
Wherefore Ur-Shanabi took him, and where he might bathe did he lead him,
Washing his stains in the [water] like snow, his pelt(s), [too], discarding,
So that the sea might bear them away; (and) his body appearéd
Fair; [of] his head he [the fillet] renewed, and himself in a mantle
Garb'd, as the clothes for his nakedness, [such that or ever his city
Reach he], or ever he finish his journey, [the mantle betray not
Age, but] preserve [(all) its freshness].
(So) into their vessel embarkéd
Gilgamish, (aye), and Ur-Shanabi, launching (their) craft [on the billow],
They themselves riding aboard (her).

(*The magic gift of restored youth*).

To Uta-Napishtim, the Distant ,
Spake (then) his wife: "Came Gilgamish (hither) aweary with rowing,
What wilt thou give wherewith he return to his land?" and the meanwhile
Gilgamish, lifting his pole, was pushing the boat at the seashore.

(Then answer'd) Uta-Napishtim to him, (yea), [to] Gilgamish [spake he]:
"Gilgamish, (hither) didst come (all) aweary with rowing; (O, tell me),
What shall I give thee (as gift) wherewith to return to thy country?
Gilgamish, I will reveal thee a hidden matter... I'll tell thee:
There is a plant like a thorn with its root (?) [deep down in the ocean],
Like unto those of the briar (in sooth) its prickles will scratch [thee],
(Yet) if thy hand reach this plant, [thou'lt surely find life (everlasting)]."
(Then), when Gilgamish heard this, he loosen'd [his girdle about him],
Bound heavy stones [on his feet], which dragg'd him down to the sea-deeps,
[Found he the plant]; as he seized on the plant, (lo), [its prickles did scratch him].

Cut he the heavy stones [from his feet] that again it restore him
Unto its shore.

Gilgamish spake to him, (yea), to the boatman Ur-Shanabi (this wise):
"(Nay, but) this plant is a plant of great wonder(?), Ur-Shanabi," said he,
"Whereby a man may attain his desire — I'll take it to Erech,
(Erech), the high-wall'd, and give it to eat [unto....].
'Greybeard-who-turneth-to-man-in-his-prime' is its name and I'll eat it
I myself, that again I may come to my youthful condition."

(*The Quest ends in Tragedy*).

Broke they their fast at the fortieth hour: at the sixtieth rested.
Gilgamish spied out a pool of cool water, (and) therein descending
Bathed in the water. (But here was) a serpent who snuff'd the plant's fragrance,
Darted he up [from the water (?)], and snatch'd the plant, uttering malison
As he drew back. Then Gilgamish sate him, (and) burst into weeping.
Over his cheeks flow'd his tears: to the boatman Ur -Shanabi [spake he(?)]
"(Pr'ythee), [for] whom have toiléd mine arms, O Ur-Shanabi, (tell me),
(Pr'ythee), for whom hath my heart's blood been spent? (yea), not for mine own self,
Have I the guerdon achieved; (no), 'tis for an earth-lion (only)

Have I the guerdon secured — (and) now at the fortieth hour
(Such an) one reiveth (it) — O, when I open'd the sluice and...ed the attachment,
(Aye), I noted the sign (?) which to me was vouchsafed as a warning,
Would I had turn'd and abandon'd the boat at the marge (of the ocean)!"
Broke they their fast at the fortieth hour: at the sixtieth rested,
(So in the end) to the middle of Erech, the high-wall'd, arrivéd.

(*The Pride of the Architect*).

Gilgamish spake to him, (yea), to the boatman Ur-Shanabi (this wise):
"Do thou, Ur-Shanabi, go up and walk on the ramparts of Erech,
Look on its base, and take heed of its bricks, if its bricks be not kiln-burnt,
(Aye), and its ground-work be not bitumen, e'en seven courses,
One *shar* the city, (and) one *shar* the gardens, and one *shar* the (2)
.... the Temple of Ishtar, amass'd I three *shar* and... (?) of Erech.

THE TWELFTH TABLET. GILGAMISH, IN DESPAIR, ENQUIRES OF THE DEAD.

Column I.

(*How the dead haunt the living*).

(Then), what time that the seine had pass'd through the Architect 's dwelling,
(Aye, and) the net [had taken its toll].... [said he]:
"Lord, what [is't I may do].....
(Now, what time that) the seine hath [pass'd through the Architect's dwelling],
(Aye and) the net [hath taken its toll]....."
Gilgamish [unto him spake].....
"If unto.....

(*About two lines wanting, in which Gilgamish presumably asks how the dead may be made to haunt the mourner*).

"Gilgamish,....."

(*The Mourner's Duty*).

"If to the... [thou drawest], unto the temple.....
Raiment clean [shalt not don], (but) like to a townsman shalt....
Nor with sweet oil from the cruse be anointed, (lest) at its fragrance
Round thee they gather: nor mayst thou set bow to the earth, (lest) around thee
Circle those shot by the bow; nor a stick in thy hand mayst thou carry,
(Lest) (stricken) ghosts should gibber against thee: nor shoe to thy footsole
Put on, nor make on the ground a (loud) echo: thy wife, whom thou lovest,
Kiss (her) thou mayst not, thy wife whom thou hatest — thou mayst not chastise (her),
(Aye, and) thy child whom thou lovest not kiss, nor thy child whom thou hatest
Mayst not chastise, (for) the mourning of earth doth hold thee enthralléd.

"She who dead lieth,
She who dead lieth,
Mother of Ninazu,
She who dead lieth,
No more with mantle are
Veil'd her fair shoulders,
No more her bosom
Drawn , like the lard cruse!"

(*Gilgamish by contravening these customs attempts to raise Enkidu*).

(So) did he draw [the... to..., and came to the temples,
[Put on clean raiment]... (and) like to a townsman...
(Aye), with [sweet] oil from the cruse [was] anointed: (then) at [its] fragrance
Round him they gather 'd: the bow did he set (?) [to the earth], and around him
Circled the spirits, (yea,) those who were [shot] by the bow at him gibber'd,
[Carried] a stick in his hand [and the (stricken) ghosts at him gibber'd(?)].
[Put on] a shoe to [his foot-sole, and made on the ground a (loud)] echo.
[Kiss'd he] his wife [whom he lovéd, chastiséd his] wife whom he hated,
[Kiss'd he his child] whom he lovéd, chastiséd [his] child whom he hated.
(Aye, in good sooth, 'twas) the mourning of earth which did hold him enthralléd:
"She who (dead) lieth,
[She who] (dead) lieth,
Mother of Ninazu,
She who (dead) lieth,
No (more) with mantle are
Veil'd [her] fair shoulders,
No (more) her bosom
Drawn, like the lard cruse."
Cried(?) [he] (for) Enkidu out of the earth to ascend: "[Not] (the Plague-god),
Namtar, hath [seized] him, nor fever, (but only) the earth: nor the Croucher,

[Nergal], the ruthless, hath seized him, (but only) the earth: neither fell he
There where was [battle] of mortals; 'twas only the earth [which hath seized him.] "3
(So)... for his servitor Enkidu sorrow'd the offspring of Nin-sun,

(Aye), as he went all alone unto [Ekur], the temple of Enlil:
"[Enlil], (my) Father, ('tis now) that the seine hath stricken me also,
Down to the earth — the net to the earth hath stricken me also.
Enkidu 'tis — whom [I pray thee] to raise [from the earth] — not (the Plague-god),
Namtar, hath seized him, nor fever, [but only the earth]: nor the Croucher,
Nergal, the ruthless, hath seized shim, but only the earth]: [neither fell he]
There where was battle of mortals: ['twas only the earth which hath seized him]."
(But) no answer did Enlil, the father vouchsafe.
[To the Moon-god he hied him (?)]:
"Moon-god, (my) Father, ('tis now) that the seine [hath stricken me also,
Down to the earth] — the net [to the earth hath stricken me also].
Enkidu 'tis — whom [I pray thee] to raise [from the earths — not (the Plague-god),
Namtar, hath seized him, [nor] fever, [but only the earth: nor] the Croucher,
Nergal, [the ruthless, hath seized him, but only the earth]: [neither fell he]
There where [was battle of mortals: 'twas only the earth which hath seized him."
[(But) no answer the Moon-god vouchsafed:
(Then) to Ea he hied him:]
["Ea, (my) Father, 'tis now that the seine hath stricken me also,]
[Down to the earth — the net to the earth hath stricken me also.]
[Enkidu 'tis, — whom I pray thee to raise from the earth — not (the Plague-god),]
Nam[tar, hath seized him, nor fever, but only the earth: nor] the Croucher,
Nergal, the ruthless, [hath seized him, but only the earth: neither fell he]
There where was battle of mortals: ['twas only the earth which hath seized him]."

Ea, the father, [gave ear (and) to Nergal], the warrior-hero,
[Spake he]: “O Nergal, O warrior-hero, [give ear to my speaking(?)]!
[Ope now,] a hole [in the earth], that the spirit of [Enkidu, (rising)],
[May from the earth issue forth, and so have speech] with [his] brother.”
Nergal, the warrior-hero, [gave ear to the speaking of Ea],
Oped, then, a hole in the earth, and the spirit of Enkidu issued
Forth from the earth like a wind. They embraced and.....
Communed together, mourning.
“Tell, O my friend, O tell, O my friend, (O) tell (me, I pr’y thee),
What thou hast seen of the laws of the Underworld?” “(Nay, then,) O comrade;

I will not tell thee, (yea,) I will not tell thee — (for), were I to tell thee,
What I have seen of the laws of the Underworld, — sit thee down weeping!”
“(Then) let me sit me down weeping.”

(*The wretched lot of all who must die*).

“(So be it): [the friend(?)] thou didst fondle
(Thereby) rejoicing thee — [into his body(?), as though ‘twere a] mantle
Old, hath the worm made its entry: (in sooth, then) [the bride(?)] thou didst fondle,
(Thereby) rejoicing thee — fill’d with the dust [is her body]....
.... he hath spoken and [into the”’ ground (?) is he sunken,
... he hath spoken and [into the ground (?) is he sunken.”
“[He who fell in....]
[Didst thou see him?].” “(Aye), I saw....”

(*About seventeen lines missing*).

“As a pillar beautiful
[Props?] an inner por[tico (?)]...

(*About twenty-five lines missing*).

“He who falleth from a pole
Didst thou see him? “(Aye), I saw]:
Straightway for....
By removal of a plug.....”

“He whom death.....
“Didst thou see him?” “[(Aye) I saw]:
He’s at rest upon a couch,
Limpid water doth he drink.”
“(Then, the hero) slain in fight,
Didst thou see him?” “(Aye) I saw:
Father, mother raise his head,
O’er him wife [in bitter woe].”
“He whose corpse in desert lieth,
Hast thou seen him?” “(Aye), I saw;
Not in earth doth rest his spirit.”
“He whose ghost hath none to tend,
Didst thou see him?” “(Aye), I saw,
Lees of cup, and broken bread
Thrown into the street he eateth.”

THE END

THE CHALDAEAN ACCOUNT OF GENESIS



Translated by George Smith

The English Assyriologist George Smith (1840-1876) was the first ever translator of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. As the son of a working-class family in Victorian England, a formal education was not available to Smith. At the age of fourteen, he was apprenticed to the London-based publishing house of Bradbury and Evans to learn banknote engraving, at which he excelled. From his youth, he was fascinated with Assyrian culture and history. In his spare time, he read everything that was available to him on the subject, spending his lunch hours at the British Museum, studying publications on the cuneiform tablets. His interest was piqued by the tablets that had been unearthed near Mosul by Austen Henry Layard, Henry Rawlinson and their Iraqi assistant Hormuzd Rassam, during the archaeological expeditions of 1840–1855.

Smith's natural talent for cuneiform studies was first noticed by Samuel Birch, Egyptologist and Director of the Department of Antiquities, who brought the young man to the attention of the renowned Assyriologist Sir Henry Rawlinson. As early as 1861, he was working evenings sorting and cleaning the mass of friable fragments of clay cylinders and tablets in the Museum's storage rooms. In 1866 Smith made his first important discovery: the date of the payment of the tribute by Jehu, king of Israel, to Shalmaneser III. Sir Henry suggested to the Trustees of the Museum that Smith should join him in the preparation of the third and fourth volumes of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Soon Smith was appointed Senior Assistant in the Assyriology Department early in 1870.

Smith's earliest successes were the discoveries of two unique inscriptions in 1867. The first, a total eclipse of the sun in the month of Sivan inscribed on Tablet K51, he linked to the spectacular eclipse that occurred on 15 June 763 BC — the cornerstone of ancient Near Eastern chronology. The other success was confirming the date of an invasion of Babylonia by the Elamites in 2280 BC.

In 1872, Smith achieved worldwide fame by his translation of the Chaldaean account of the Great Flood, which he read before the Society of Biblical Archaeology on 3 December — the audience included the

Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone. This work is better known today as the eleventh tablet of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, one of the oldest known works of literature. The following January, Edwin Arnold, the editor of *The Daily Telegraph*, arranged for Smith to journey to Nineveh at the expense of that newspaper and carry out excavations with a view to finding the missing fragments of the Flood story. This journey resulted not only in the discovery of missing tablets, but also of fragments that recorded the succession and duration of the Babylonian dynasties.

In November 1873 Smith again left England for Nineveh for a second expedition, this time at the expense of the Museum, and continued his excavations at the tell of Kouyunjik (Nineveh). The rest of the year was spent in arranging and translating the fragments relating to the creation, the results of which were published in *The Chaldaean Account of Genesis* (1880), which features the first ever translation of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.

In March 1876, the trustees of the British Museum sent Smith once more to excavate the rest of Assurbanipal's library. At Ikisji, a small village about sixty miles northeast of Aleppo, he fell ill with dysentery and died on 19 August.



George Smith (1840-1876), the pioneering English Assyriologist, who first translated the epic

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INTRODUCTION.

SOME explanation is necessary in introducing my present work. Little time has elapsed since I discovered the most important of these inscriptions, and in the intervening period I have had, amidst other work, to collect the various fragments of the legends, copy, compare, and translate, altering my matter from time to time, as new fragments turned up. Even now I have gone to press with one of the fragments of the last tablet of the Izdubar series omitted.

The present condition of the legends and their recent discovery alike forbid me to call this anything more than a provisional work; but there was so general a desire to see the translations that I have published them, hoping my readers will take them with the same reserve with which I have given them.

I have avoided some of the most important comparisons and conclusions with respect to Genesis, as my desire was first to obtain the recognition of the evidence without prejudice.

The chronological notes in the book are one of its weak points, but I may safely say that I have placed the various dates as low as I fairly could, considering the evidence, and I have aimed to do this rather than to establish any system of chronology.

I believe that time will show the Babylonian traditions of Genesis to be invaluable for the light they will throw on the Pentateuch, but at present there are so many blanks in the evidence that positive conclusions on several points are impossible. I may add in conclusion that my present work is intended as a popular account, and I have introduced only so much explanation as seems necessary for the proper understanding of the subject. I have added translations of some parts of the legends which I avoided in my last work, desiring here to satisfy the wish to see them as perfect as possible; there still remain however some passages which I have omitted, but these are of small extent and obscure.

October 26, 1875.

CHAPTER I. THE DISCOVERY OF THE GENESIS LEGENDS.

Cosmogony of Berosus. — Discovery of Cuneiform Inscriptions. — Historical texts. — Babylonian origin of Assyrian literature. — Mythological tablets. — Discovery of Deluge texts. — Izdubar, his exploits. — Mutilated condition of tablets. — Lecture on Deluge tablets." — Daily Telegraph" offer. — Expedition to Assyria. — Fragments of Creation tablets. — Solar Myth. — Second journey to Assyria. — Tower of Babel. — Clay records. — Account of creation in "Telegraph."— "Daily Telegraph" collection. — Interest of Creation legends. — The Fall. — New fragments. — List of texts.

THE fragments of the Chaldean historian, Berosus, preserved in the works of various later writers, have shown that the Babylonians were acquainted with traditions referring to the Creation, the period before the Flood, the Deluge, and other matters forming parts of Genesis.

Berosus, however, who recorded these events, lived in the time of Alexander the Great and his successors, somewhere about B.C. 330 to 260; and, as this was three hundred years after the Jews were carried captive to Babylon, his works did not prove that these traditions were in Babylonia before the Jewish captivity, and could not afford testimony in favour of the great antiquity of these legends.

On the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, Oriental scholars hoped that copies of the Babylonian histories and traditions would one day be discovered, and we should thus gain earlier and more satisfactory evidence as to these primitive histories.

In the mound of Kouyunjik, opposite the town of Mosul, Mr. Layard discovered part of the Royal Assyrian library, and further collections, also forming parts of this library, have been subsequently found by Mr. H. Rassam, Mr. Loftus, and myself. Sir Henry Rawlinson, who made the preliminary examination of Mr. Layard's treasures, and who was the first to recognize their value, estimated the number of these fragments of inscriptions at over twenty thousand.

The attention of decipherers was in the first instance drawn to the later historical inscriptions, particularly to those of the Assyrian kings contemporary with the Hebrew monarchy; and in this section of inscriptions a very large number of texts of great importance rewarded the toil of Assyrian scholars. Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser, Shalmaneser,

Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, and numerous other ancient sovereigns, bearing directly on the Bible, and giving new light upon parts of ancient history before obscure, for a long time occupied almost exclusively the attention of students, and overshadowed any work in other divisions of Assyrian literature.

Although it was known that Assyria borrowed its civilization and written characters from Babylonia, yet, as the Assyrian nation was mostly hostile to the southern and older kingdom, it could not be guessed beforehand that the peculiar national traditions of Babylonia would be transported to Assyria.

Under these circumstances, for some years after the cuneiform inscriptions were first deciphered, nothing was looked for or discovered bearing upon the events of Genesis; but, as new texts were brought into notice, it became evident that the Assyrians copied their literature largely from Babylonian sources, and it appeared likely that search among the fragments of Assyrian inscriptions would yield traces at least of some of these ancient Babylonian legends.

Attention was early drawn to these points by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who pointed out several coincidences between the geography of Babylonia and the account of Eden in Genesis, arid suggested the great probability that the accounts in Genesis had a Babylonian origin.

When at work preparing the fourth volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions, I noticed references to the Creation in a tablet numbered K 63 in the Museum collection, and allusions in other tablets to similar legends; I therefore set about searching through the collection, which I had previously selected under the head of “Mythological tablets,” to find, if possible, some of these legends. This mythological collection was one of six divisions into which I had parted the Museum collection of cuneiform inscriptions for convenience of working. By placing all the tablets and fragments of the same class together, I had been able to complete several texts, to easily find any subject required, and at any time to get a general idea of the contents of the collection.

The mythological division contained all tablets relating to the mythology, and all the legends in which the gods took a leading part, together with prayers and similar subjects.

Commencing a steady search among these fragments, I soon found half of a curious tablet which had evidently contained originally six columns of text; two of these (the third and fourth) were still nearly perfect; two others (the second and fifth) were imperfect, about half remaining, while the remaining columns (the first and sixth) were

entirely lost. On looking down the third column, my eye caught the statement that the ship rested on the mountains of Nizir, followed by the account of the sending forth of the dove, and its finding no resting-place and returning. I saw at once that I had here discovered a portion at least of the Chaldean account of the Deluge. I then proceeded to read through the document, and found it was in the form of a speech from the hero of the Deluge to a person whose name appeared to be Izdubar. I recollected a legend belonging to the same hero Izdubar K. 231, which, on comparison, proved to belong to the same series, and then I commenced a search for any missing portions of the tablets.

This search was a long and heavy work, for there were thousands of fragments to go over, and, while on the one side I had gained as yet only two fragments of the Izdubar legends to judge from, on the other hand, the unsorted fragments were so small, and contained so little of the subject, that it was extremely difficult to ascertain their meaning. My search, however, proved successful. I found a fragment of another copy of the Deluge, containing again the sending forth of the birds, and gradually collected several other portions of this tablet, fitting them in one after another until I had completed the greater part of the second column. Portions of a third copy next turned up, which, when joined together, completed a considerable part of the first and sixth columns. I now had the account of the Deluge in the state in which I published it at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, December 3rd, 1872. I had discovered that the Izdubar series contained at least twelve tablets, and I afterwards found this to be their exact number. Of this series the tablet describing the Deluge was the eleventh and K 231, the sixth. Numerous other fragments turned up at the same time; but these, while they increased my knowledge of the legends, could not be arranged in order from want of indication of the particular tablets to which they belonged.

Some other fragmentary legends, including the war of the gods and three fables, I also found at the same time, but these were in such mutilated condition that I could not make a connected translation of them.

In my lecture on the Deluge tablets, I gave a sketch of the Izdubar legends, and expressed my belief that the Chaldean inscriptions contained various other similar stories bearing upon the Book of Genesis, which would prove of the highest interest.

Just at this time happened the intervention of the proprietors of the “Daily Telegraph” newspaper. Mr. E. Arnold, who is on the direction of

that paper, had already sent to me expressing his interest in these discoveries, and immediately after my lecture he came armed with a proposition from the proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph" to re-open, at their cost, the excavations in Assyria, and gain some new information on the subject of these legends. This proposition was submitted to the trustees of the British Museum, and they directed me to go to Assyria and make a short excavation, leave of absence for six months being granted to me for this purpose. I have related, in my work, "Assyrian discoveries," the history of this expedition, which brought me the next fragments of these legends. Soon after I commenced excavating at Kouyunjik, on the site of the palace of Assurbanipal, I found a new fragment of the Chaldean account of the Deluge belonging to the first column of the tablet, relating the command to build and fill the ark, and nearly filling up the most considerable blank in the story. Some other fragments, which I found afterwards, still further completed this tablet, which was already the most perfect one in the Izdubar series. The trench in which I found the fragment in question must have passed very near the place where the Assyrians kept a series of inscriptions belonging to the early history of the world. Soon after I discovered the fragment of the Deluge tablet, I came upon a fragment of the sixth tablet of the same series in this trench, and not far from the place of the Deluge fragment. This fragment described the destruction of the bull of Ishtar by Izdubar and Heabani, an incident often depicted on early Babylonian gems. My next discovery here was a fragment evidently belonging to the creation of the world; this was the upper corner of a tablet, and gave a fragmentary account of the creation of animals. Further on in this trench I discovered two other portions of this legend, one giving the Creation and fall of man; the other having part of the war between the gods and evil spirits. At that time I did not recognize the importance of these fragments, excepting the one with the account of the creation of animals, and, as I had immediately afterwards to return to England, I made no further discoveries in this direction.

On my return from the east, I published some of the discoveries I had made, and I now found, on joining the fragments of the Deluge or Izdubar series, that they formed exactly twelve tablets. The fact that these legends covered twelve tablets led to the impression that they were a form of the solar myth, that is, that they symbolized the passage of the sun through the heavens, each tablet representing a separate sign of the zodiac. This opinion, first started by Sir Henry Rawlinson, was at once accepted by M. Lenormant, Rev. A. H. Sayce, and other scholars; but I

think myself it rests on too insecure a basis to be true. In a subsequent chapter I will give as nearly as I can the contents of the Izdubar legends, which I think do not warrant this view. Some months further passed, during which I was engaged in my second journey to Assyria, and in realizing the results of that expedition. I again brought from Assyria several fragments of the Genesis legends which helped to complete these curious stories, and in January, 1875, I commenced once more a regular search for these fragments. Very soon afterwards I succeeded in discovering a notice of the building of the tower of Babel, which at once attracted attention, and a notice of it, which appeared in the "Athenæum," No. 2468, was copied into several of the papers. I was, however, at that time hardly prepared to publish these legends, as I had not ascertained how far they could be completed from our present collections.

Subsequent search did not show that any further fragments of the Babel tablet were in the British Museum, but I soon added several fresh portions to the fragmentary history of the Creation and Fall. The greatest difficulty with which I had to contend in all these researches was the extremely mutilated and deficient condition in which the tablets were found. There can be no doubt that, if the inscriptions were perfect, they would present very little difficulty to the translator.

The reason why these legends are in so many fragments, and the different parts so scattered, may be explained from the nature of the material of which the tablets are composed, and the changes undergone by them since they were written. These tablets were composed of fine clay and were inscribed with cuneiform characters while in a soft state; they were then baked in a furnace until hard, and afterwards transferred to the library. These texts appear to have been broken up when Nineveh was destroyed, and many of them were cracked and scorched by the heat at the burning of the palace. Subsequently the ruins were turned over in search of treasure, and the tablets still further broken; and then, to complete their ruin, the rain, every spring soaking through the ground, saturates them with water containing chemicals, and these chemicals form crystals in every available crack. The growth of the crystals further splits the tablets, some of them being literally shivered.

Some idea of the mutilated condition of the Assyrian tablets, and of the work of restoring a single text, will be gained from the engraving below, which exhibits the present appearance of one of the Deluge tablets. In this tablet there are sixteen fragments.

The clay records of the Assyrians are by these means so broken up, that they are in some cases divided into over one hundred fragments; and it is only by collecting and joining together the various fragments that these ancient texts can be restored. Many of the old fragmentary tablets which have been twenty years in the British Museum have been added to considerably by fragments which I found during my two journeys, and yet there remain at least 20,000 fragments buried in the ruins without the recovery of which it is impossible to complete these valuable Assyrian inscriptions.

Being now urged by many friends who were interested in the subject, I sent the following account to the editor of the "Daily Telegraph," which was printed in that paper on the 4th of March, 1875: —

"Having recently made a series of important discoveries relating to the Book of Genesis, among some remarkable texts, which form part of the collection presented to the British Museum by the proprietors of 'The Daily Telegraph,' I venture once more to bring Assyrian subjects before your readers.

"In my lecture on the Chaldean Account of the Deluge, which I delivered on Dec. 3, 1872, I stated my conviction that all the earlier narratives of Genesis would receive new light from the inscriptions so long buried in the Chaldean and Assyrian mounds; but I little thought at that time that I was so near to finding most of them.

"My lecture, as your readers know, was soon followed by the proposal of your proprietors and the organizing of 'The Daily Telegraph' expedition to Assyria. When excavating at Kouyunjik during that expedition, I discovered the missing portion of the first column of the Deluge tablet, an account of which I sent home; and in the same trench I subsequently found the fragment which I afterwards recognized as part of the Chaldean story of the

Creation, which relic I have noticed already in your columns. I excavated later on, while still working under your auspices, another portion belonging to this story, far more precious — in fact, I think, to the general public, the most interesting and remarkable cuneiform tablet yet discovered. This turns out to contain the story of man's original innocence, of the temptation, and of the fall. I was, when I found it, on the eve of departing, and had not time to properly examine my great prize. I only copied the two or three first lines, which (as I had then no idea of the general subject of the tablet) did not appear very valuable, and I forthwith packed it in the box for transport to England, where it arrived safely, and was presented by the proprietors of 'The Daily

Telegraph,' with the rest of their collection, to the British Museum. On my return to England I made some other discoveries among my store, and in the pursuit of these this fragment was overlooked. I subsequently went a second time to Assyria, and returned to England in June, 1874; but I had no leisure to look again at those particular legends until the end of January in this year. Then, starting with the fragment of the Creation in 'The Daily Telegraph' collection, which I had first noticed, I began to collect other portions of the series, and among these I soon found the overlooked fragment which I had excavated at Kouyunjik, the first lines of which I took down in the note-book of my first expedition. I subsequently found several smaller pieces in the old Museum collection, and all join or form parts of a continuous series of legends, giving the history of the world from the Creation down to some period after the Fall of Man. Linked with these, I found also other series of legends on primitive history, including the story of the building of the Tower of Babel and of the Confusion of Tongues.

"The first series, which I may call 'The Story of the Creation and Fall,' when complete must have consisted of nine or ten tablets at least, and the history upon it is much longer and fuller than the corresponding account in the Book of Genesis. With respect to these Genesis narratives a furious strife has existed for many years; every word has been scanned by eager scholars, and every possible meaning which the various passages could bear has been suggested; while the age and authenticity of the narratives have been discussed on all sides. In particular, it may be said that the account of the fall of man, the heritage of all Christian countries, has been the centre of this controversy, for it is one of the pivots on which the Christian religion turns. The world-wide importance of these subjects will therefore give the newly discovered inscriptions, and especially the one relating to the Fall, an unparalleled value, and I am glad, indeed, that such a treasure should have resulted from your expedition.

"Whatever the primitive account may have been from which the earlier part of the Book of Genesis was copied, it is evident that the brief narration given in the Pentateuch omits a number of incidents and explanations — for instance, as to the origin of evil, the fall of the angels, the wickedness of the serpent, &c. Such points as these are included in the Cuneiform narrative; but of course I can say little about them until I prepare full translations of the legends.

"The narrative on the Assyrian tablets commences with a description of the period before the world was created, when there existed a chaos or

confusion. The desolate and empty state of the universe and the generation by chaos of monsters are vividly given. The chaos is presided over by a female power named Tisalat and Tiamat, corresponding to the Thalatth of Berosus; but, as it proceeds, the Assyrian account agrees rather with the Bible than with the short account from Berosus. We are told, in the inscriptions, of the fall of the celestial being who appears to correspond to Satan. In his ambition he raises his hand against the sanctuary of the God of heaven, and the description of him is really magnificent. He is represented riding in a chariot through celestial space, surrounded by the storms, with the lightning playing before him, and wielding a thunderbolt as a weapon.

"This rebellion leads to a war in heaven and the conquest of the powers of evil, the gods in due course creating the universe in stages, as in the

Mosaic narrative, surveying each step of the work and pronouncing it good. The divine work culminates in the creation of man, who is made upright and free from evil, and endowed by the gods with the noble faculty of speech.

"The Deity then delivers a long address to the newly created being, instructing him in all his duties and privileges, and pointing out the glory of his state. But this condition of blessing does not last long before man, yielding to temptation, falls; and the Deity then pronounces upon him a terrible curse, invoking on his head all the evils which have since afflicted humanity. These last details are, as I have before stated, upon the fragment which I excavated during my first journey to Assyria, and the discovery of this single relic in my opinion increases many times over the value of 'The Daily Telegraph' collection.

"I have at present recovered no more of the story, and am not yet in a position to give the full translations and details; but I hope during the spring to find time to search over the collection of smaller fragments of tablets, and to light upon any smaller parts of the legends which may have escaped me. There will arise, besides, a number of important questions as to the date and origin of the legends, their comparison with the Biblical narrative, and as to how far they may supplement the Mosaic account."

This will serve to exhibit the appearance these legends presented to me soon after I discovered them.

On comparing this account with the translations and notes I have given in this book, it will be evident that my first notice was inaccurate in several points, both as to the order and translation of the legends; but I

had not expected it to be otherwise, for there had not been time to collect and translate the fragments, and, until that was done, no satisfactory account of them could be given, the inaccuracies in the account being due to the broken state of the tablets and my recent knowledge of them. It is a notable fact that the discovery of these legends was one of the fruits of the expedition organized by the proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph," and these legends and the Deluge fragments form the most valuable results of that expedition.

After I had published this notice in the "Daily Telegraph" I set to work to look over the fragments in the collection, in search of other minor fragments, and found several, but these added little to my knowledge, only enabling me to correct my notice. A little later I discovered a new fragment of the tenth tablet of the Deluge series, and last of all a further portion of the sixth tablet of these legends. This closed my discoveries so far as the fragments of the tablets were concerned, and I had then to copy and translate the tablets as far as their mutilated condition would allow.

The Genesis legends which I had collected from the various Assyrian fragments included numerous other stories beside those which parallel the account in the Book of Genesis. All these stories are similar in character, and appear to belong to the same early literary age. So far as I have made out they are as follows: —

1. A long account of the origin of the world, the creation of the animals and man, the fall of man from a sinless state, and a conflict between the gods and the powers of evil.

2. A second account of the creation having a closer correspondence with the account of Berosus.

3. A Bilingual legend of the history of the seven evil spirits, apparently part of a third version of the creation.

4. Story of the descent of the goddess Ishtar or Venus into Hades, and her return.

5. Legend of the sin of the God Zu, who insults Elu, the father of the gods.

6. Collection of five tablets giving the exploits of Lubara the god of the pestilence.

7. Legend of the god Sarturda, who turned into a bird.

8. Story of the wise man who put forth a riddle to the gods.

9. Legend of the good man Atarpi, and the wickedness of the world.

10. Legend of the tower of Babel, and dispersion.

11. Story of the Eagle and Etana.

12. Story of the ox and the horse.

13. Story of the fox.

14. Legend of Sinuri.

15. Izdubar legends: twelve tablets, with the history of Izdubar, and an account of the flood.

16. Various fragments of other legends. These show that there was a considerable collection of such primitive stories almost unrepresented in our present collection.

CHAPTER II. BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LITERATURE.

Babylonian literature. — Kouyunjik library. — Fragmentary condition. — Arrangement of tablets. — Subjects. — Dates. — Babylonian source of literature. — Literary period. — Babylonian Chronology. — Akkad. — Sumir. — Urukh, king of Ur. — Hammurabi. — Babylonian astrology. — War of Gods. — Izdubar legends. — Creation and fall. — Syllabaries and bilingual tablets. — Assyrian copies. — Difficulties as to date. — Mutilated condition. — Babylonian library. — Assyrian empire. — City of Assur. — Library at Calah. — Sargon of Assyria. — Sennacherib. — Removal of Library to Nineveh. — Assurbanipal or Sardanapalus. — His additions to library. — Description of contents. — Later Babylonian libraries.

IN order to understand the position of these legends it is necessary to give some account of the wonderful literature of the Ancient Babylonians and their copyists, the Assyrians. The fragments of terra cotta tablets containing these legends were found in the débris which covers the palaces called the South West Palace and the North Palace at Kouyunjik; the former building being of the age of Sennacherib, the latter belonging to the time of Assurbanipal. The tablets, which are of all sizes, from one inch long to over a foot square, are nearly all in fragments, and in consequence of the changes which have taken place in the ruins the fragments of the same tablet are sometimes scattered widely apart. It appears from a consideration of the present positions of the fragments that they were originally in the upper chambers of the palace, and have fallen on the destruction of the building. In some of the lower chambers they lay covering the whole floor, in other cases they lay in groups or patches on the pavement, and there are occasional clusters of fragments at various heights in the earth which covers the buildings. The other fragments are scattered singly through all the upper earth which covers the floors and walls of the palace. Different fragments of the same tablets and cylinders are found in separate chambers which have no immediate connection with each other, showing that the present distribution of the fragments has nothing to do with the original position of the tablets.

A consideration of the inscriptions shows that these tablets have been arranged according to their subjects in various positions in the libraries.

Stories or subjects were commenced on tablets and continued on other tablets of the same size and form, in some cases the number of tablets in a series and on a single subject amounting to over one hundred.

Each subject or series of tablets had a title, the title being formed by the first phrase or part of phrase in the subject. Thus, the series of Astrological tablets, numbering over seventy tablets, bore the title "When the gods Anu, Elu," this being the commencement of the first tablet. At the end of every tablet in each series was written its number in the work, thus: "the first tablet of "When the gods Anu, Elu," the second tablet of "When the gods Anu, Elu," &c. &c.; and, further to preserve the proper position of each tablet, every one except the last in a series had at the end a catch phrase, consisting of the first line of the following tablet. There were beside, catalogues of these documents written like them on clay tablets, and other small oval tablets with titles upon them, apparently labels for the various series of works. All these arrangements show the care taken with respect to literary matters. There were regular libraries or chambers, probably on the upper floors of the palaces, appointed for the store of the tablets, and custodians or librarians to take charge of them. It is probable that all these regulations were of great antiquity, and were copied like the tablets from the Babylonians.

Judging from the fragments discovered, it appears probable that there were in the Royal Library at Nineveh over 10,000 inscribed tablets, including almost every subject in ancient literature.

In considering a subject like the present one it is a point of the utmost importance to define as closely as possible the date of our present copies of the legends, and the most probable period at which the original copies may have been inscribed. By far the greatest number of the tablets brought from Nineveh belong to the age of Assurbanipal, who reigned over Assyria B.C. 670, and every copy of the Genesis legends yet found was inscribed during his reign. The statements on the present tablets are conclusive on this point, and have not been called in question, but it is equally stated and acknowledged on all hands that these tablets are not the originals, but are only copies from earlier texts. It is unfortunate that the date of the original copies is never preserved, and thus a wide door is thrown open for difference of opinion on this point. The Assyrians acknowledge themselves that this literature was borrowed from Babylonian sources, and of course it is to Babylonia we have to look to ascertain the approximate dates of the original documents. The difficulty here is increased by the following considerations: it appears that at an early period in Babylonian history a great literary development took

place, and numerous works were produced which embodied the prevailing myths, religion, and science of that day. Written many of them in a noble style of poetry, and appealing to the strongest feelings of the people on one side, or registering the highest efforts of their science on the other, these texts became the standards for Babylonian literature, and later generations were content to copy these writings instead of making new works for themselves. Clay, the material on which they were written, was everywhere abundant, copies were multiplied, and by the veneration in which they were held these texts fixed and stereotyped the style of Babylonian literature, and the language in which they were written remained the classical style in the country down to the Persian conquest. Thus it happens that texts of Rim-agu, Sargon, and Hammurabi, who were one thousand years before Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, show the same language as the texts of these later kings, there being no sensible difference in style to match the long interval between them.

There is, however, reason to believe that, although the language of devotion and literature remained fixed, the speech of the bulk of the people was gradually modified; and in the time of Assurbanipal, when the Assyrians copied the Genesis legends, the common speech of the day was in very different style. The private letters and despatches of this age which have been discovered differ widely from the language of the contemporary public documents and religious writings, showing the change the language had undergone since the style of these was fixed. We have a slightly similar case in England, where the language of devotion and the style of the Bible differ in several respects from those of the English of to-day.

These considerations show the difficulty of fixing the age of a document from its style, and the difficulty is further increased by the uncertainty which hangs over all Babylonian chronology.

Chronology is always a thorny subject, and dry and unsatisfactory to most persons beside; some notice must, however, be taken of it here, in order to show the reasons for the dates and epochs fixed upon for the Genesis legends.

In this case the later chronology is not in question, and it is best to start with the generally received date of about B.C. 1300 for the conquest of Babylonia by Tugultininip, king of Assyria. Before this date we have a period of about 250 years, during which a foreign race ruled at Babylon. Berosus calls these foreigners Arabs, but nothing is known as to their original home or race. It is supposed that this race came into Babylonia,

or obtained dominion there under a king named Hammurabi, whose date is thus fixed about B.C. 1550. Many scholars do not agree to this, and consider Hammurabi much more ancient; no one, however, fixes him later than the sixteenth century B.C., so that the date B.C. 1550 may be accepted as the most moderate one possible for the epoch of Hammurabi. The date of Hammurabi is of consequence in the question, because there is no evidence of these legends being written after his epoch.

This circumstance may be accounted for by the fact that during the period following the conquest of Hammurabi the government was in the hands of foreigners, and was much more centralized than it had been before, Babylon being, so far as we know, the sole capital, the great cities which had been centres of literature suffering a decline.

Before the time of Hammurabi, there ruled several races of kings, of whom we possess numerous monuments. These monarchs principally reigned at the cities of Ur, Karrak, Larsa, and Akkad. Their inscriptions do not determine the length of their rule, but they probably covered the period from B.C. 2000 to 1550. The name of the monarch in whose time we have the first satisfactory evidence of contemporary monuments is read Urukh, and in the present state of our researches he may be fixed B.C. 2000. It must, however, be remarked that many scholars place him at a much earlier date. From the time of Urukh to that of Hammurabi the title of honour principally taken by the kings is "King of Sumir and Akkad," that is, King of Lower and Upper Babylonia. It appears probable that previous to the reign of Urukh the two divisions of Sumir and Akkad were separate monarchies; and it is therefore likely that any literature written before B.C. 2000 will show evidences of this division.

The rough outlines of Babylonian chronology at this period may be arranged as follows, always bearing in mind that the different dates are the lowest we can fairly assume, and that several of them may be much more ancient: —

Down to B.C. 2000 epoch of independent kingdoms in Babylonia; the principal centre of activity being Akkad, a region on the Euphrates, somewhere between latitudes 32° and 33°.

B.C. 2000. Era of Urukh, king of Ur, rise of Sumir, the southern part of the country, Ur the metropolis.

B.C. 1850. Era of Ismi-dagan, king of Karrak, Karrak the metropolis.

B.C. 1700. Rise of Larsa as metropolis.

B.C. 1600. Era of Sargon, king of Akkad; revival of the power of Akkad.

B.C. 1550. Era of Hammurabi, king of Babylon. Babylon the metropolis.

Although we cannot fix the dates of any monuments before the time of Urukh, B.C. 2000, it is quite certain that there were buildings and inscriptions before that date; and there are two literary works which I should judge to be certainly older than this epoch, namely, the great Chaldean work on Astrology, and a legend which, for want of a better title, I call the Exploits of Lubara.

The Chaldean work, containing the bulk of their astrology, appears to belong to the northern half of the country, that is to Akkad, and always speaks of Akkad as a separate state, and implies it to be the leading state. It mentions besides, the kingdoms of Subartu, Martu, or Syria, Gutim or Goim, and Elam, and some parts, perhaps of later date than the body of the work, give also the kingdoms of Kassi, Kissati, or the peoples, Nituk or Asmun, Sumir, Yamutbal, and Assan. In the body of the work there appear glosses, apparently later additions, mentioning kings of the period B.C. 2000 to 1850. I have not noticed any gloss containing a royal name later than the kings of Ur.

The work I have provisionally called "The Exploits of Lubara," and which also bears evidence of great antiquity, is a much shorter one, for while there are over seventy large tablets of the astrology, this, on the other hand, only contained five small tablets. This work notices a large number of peoples or states, the principal being the people of the coast, Subartu, Assyria, Elam, Kassi, Sutu, Goim, Lullubu, Akkad; the uniting of Sumir and Akkad, which was accomplished at least B.C. 2000, is not mentioned, but the notice of the Assyrians is rather an argument for a later date than I have chosen.

The Izdubar legends, containing the story of the Flood, and what I believe to be the history of Nimrod, were probably written in the south of the country, and at least as early as B.C. 2000. These legends were, however, traditions before they were committed to writing, and were common in some form to all the country. The story of the Creation and Fall belongs to the upper or Akkad division of the country, and may not have been committed to writing so early as the Izdubar legends; but even this is of great antiquity.

About the same time as the account of the Creation, a series of tablets on evil spirits, which contained a totally different tradition of the Creation, was probably written; and there is a third account from the City of Cutha, closely agreeing in some respects with the account handed down by Berosus, which I should provisionally place about the same

date. It seems, from the indications in the inscriptions, that there happened in the interval B.C. 2000 to 1850 a general collecting and development of the various traditions of the Creation, Flood, Tower of Babel, and other similar legends.

A little later, about B.C. 1600, a new set of astrological tablets was written, together with a long work on terrestrial omens; these appear to belong to the kingdom and period of Sargon, king of Akkad.

Some at least, and probably most of the syllabaries, bilingual and explanatory tablets, grammars and vocabularies, belong to this period also; but a few are of later date.

In spite of the indications as to peculiarities of worship, names of states and capitals, historical allusions and other evidence, it may seem hazardous to many persons to fix the dates of original documents so high, when our only copies in many cases are Assyrian transcripts made in the reign of Assurbanipal, in the seventh century B.C.; but one or two considerations may show that this is a perfectly reasonable view, and no other likely period can be found for the original composition of the documents unless we ascend to a greater antiquity. In the first place, it must be noticed that the Assyrians themselves state that the documents were copied from ancient Babylonian copies, and in some cases state that the old copies were partly illegible even in their day. Again, in one case there is actual proof of the antiquity of a text, an Assyrian copy of part of which is published in "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. ii. plate 54, Nos.

3 & 4. In a collection of tablets discovered by Mr. Loftus at Senkereh, belonging, according to the kings mentioned in it, to about B.C. 1600, is part of an ancient Babylonian copy of this very text, the Babylonian copy being about one thousand years older than the Assyrian one.

It is, however, probable that most of the legends treated of in the present volume had existed as traditions in the country long before they were committed to writing, and some of these traditions, as embodied in the various works, exhibit great difference in details, showing that they had passed through many changes.

Taking the period of literary development in Babylonia as extending from B.C. 2000 to 1550, we may say, it roughly synchronizes with the period from Abraham to Moses, according to the ordinary chronology of our Bibles, and during this period it appears that traditions of the creation of the universe, and human history down to the time of Nimrod, existed parallel to, and in some points identical with, those given in the Book of Genesis.

Many of the documents embodying these traditions have been discovered in sadly mutilated condition, but there can be no doubt that future explorations will reveal more perfect copies, and numerous companion and explanatory texts, which will one day clear up the difficulties which now meet us at every step of their consideration.

So far as known contemporary inscriptions are concerned, we cannot consider our present researches and discoveries as anything like sufficient to give a fair view of the literature of Assyria and Babylonia, and, however numerous and important are the Genesis legends, they form but a small portion of the whole literature of the country.

It is generally considered that the earliest inscriptions of any importance which we now possess belong to the time of Urukh, king of Ur, whose age may be placed with great probability about two thousand years before the Christian era.

The principal inscriptions of this period consist of texts on bricks and on signet cylinders, and some of the latter may be of much greater antiquity. Passing down to the period of the kingdoms of Karrak, Larsa, and Akkad, we find a great accession of literary material, almost every class of writing being represented by contemporary specimens. It is certain that even then the inscribed clay tablets were not isolated, but already they were arranged in collections or libraries, and these collections were placed at some of the principal cities. From Senkerch and its neighbourhood have come our earliest specimens of these literary tablets, the following being some of the contents of this earliest known library: —

1. Mythological tablets, including lists of the gods, and their manifestations and titles.
2. Grammatical works, lists of words, and explanations.
3. Mathematical works, calculations, tables, cube and square root, measures.
4. Astronomy, astrology, and omens.
5. Legends and short historical inscriptions.
6. Historical cylinders, one of Kudur-mabuk, B.C. 1600 (the earliest known cylinder), being in the British Museum.
7. Geographical tablets, and lists of towns and countries.
8. Laws and law cases, sale and barter, wills and loans.

Such are the inscriptions from the libraries of the early inhabitants of Babylonia, and beside these there are numerous texts, only known to us through later copies, but which certainly had their origin as early as this period.

Passing down from this period, for some centuries we find only detached inscriptions, accompanied by evidence of the gradual shifting both of the political power and literary activity from Babylonia to Assyria.

In Assyria the first centre of Literature and seat of a library was the city of Assur (Kileh Shergat), and the earliest known tablets date about B.C. 1500.

Beyond the scanty records of some of the monarchs nothing of value remains of this library for several centuries, and the Assyrian literary works are only known from later copies.

A revival of the Assyrian empire began under Assur-nazir-pal, king of Assyria, who ascended the throne B.C. 885. He rebuilt the city of Calah (Nimroud), and this city became the seat of an Assyrian library. Tablets were procured from Babylonia by

Shalmaneser, son of Assur-nazir-pal, B.C. 860, during the reign of Nabu-bal-idina, king of Babylon, and these were copied by the Assyrian scribes, and placed in the royal library. Vul-nirari, grandson of Shalmaneser, B.C. 812, added to the Calah library, and had tablets written at Nineveh. Assurnirari, B.C. 755, continued the literary work, some mythological tablets being dated in his reign.

Tiglath Pileser, B.C. 745, enlarged the library, and placed in it various copies of historical inscriptions. It was, however, reserved for Sargon, who founded the last Assyrian dynasty, B.C. 722, to make the Assyrian royal library worthy of the empire. Early in his reign he appointed Nabu-suqub-gina principal librarian, and this officer set to work making new copies of all the standard works of the day. During the whole of his term of office copies of the great literary works were produced, the majority of the texts preserved belonging to the early period previous to B.C. 1600.

In the period which followed there was a general revival of all the ancient works which had escaped destruction, and the study of this early literature became a marked feature of the time.

Sennacherib, son of Sargon, B.C. 705, continued to add to his father's library at Calah, but late in his reign he removed the collection from that city to Nineveh, where from this time the national library remained until the fall of the empire.

Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, B.C. 681, further increased the national collection, most of his works being of a religious character.

Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, B.C. 673, was the greatest of the Assyrian sovereigns, and he is far more

memorable on account of his magnificent patronage of learning than on account of the greatness of his empire or the extent of his wars.

Assurbanipal added more to the Assyrian royal library than all the kings who had gone before him, and it is to tablets written in his reign that we owe almost all our knowledge of the Babylonian myths and early history, beside many other important matters.

The agents of Assurbanipal sought everywhere for inscribed tablets, brought them to Nineveh, and copied them there; thus the literary treasures of Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Akkad, Ur, Erech, Larsa, Nipur and various other cities were transferred to the Assyrian capital to enrich the great collection there.

The fragments brought over to Europe give us a good idea of this library and show the range of the subjects embraced by this collection of inscriptions. Among the different classes of texts, the Genesis stories and similar legends occupied a prominent place; these, as they will be further described in the present volume, need only be mentioned here. Accompanying them we have a series of mythological tablets of various sorts, varying from legends of the gods, psalms, songs, prayers, and hymns, down to mere allusions and lists of names. Many of these texts take the form of charms to be used in sickness and for the expulsion of evil spirits; some of them are of great antiquity, being at least as old as the creation and Izdubar legends. One fine series concerns the cure of witchcraft, a superstition fully believed in in those days. Izdubar is mentioned in one of these tablets as lord of the oaths or pledges of the world.

Some of the prayers were for use on special occasions, such as on starting on a campaign, on the occurrence of an eclipse, &c. Astronomy and Astrology were represented by various detached inscriptions and reports, but principally by the great work on these subjects covering over seventy tablets which was borrowed from the early Chaldeans, and many copies of which were in the Library of Assurbanipal. This work on Astrology and Astronomy was, as I have already stated, one of the most ancient texts in the Euphrates valley.

There were also numerous copies of a long work on Terrestrial omens, which appears to date from the time of Sargon, king of Akkad, about B.C. 1600. In this work everything in nature is supposed to portend some coming event.

There is a fragment of one Astrological tablet which professes to be copied from an original of the time of Izdubar.

Historical texts formed another section of the library, and these included numerous copies of inscriptions of early Babylonian kings; there were beside, chronological tablets with lists of kings and annual officers, inscriptions of various Assyrian monarchs, histories of the relations between Assyria and Babylonia, Elam, and Arabia, treaties, despatches, proclamations. and reports on the state of the empire and military affairs.

Natural history was represented by tables of animals; mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, and plants, trees, grasses, reeds, and grains, earths, stones, &c. These lists are classified according to the supposed nature and affinities of the various species, and show considerable advance in the sciences. Mathematics had a place in the library, there being problems, figures, and calculations; but this branch of learning was not studied so fully as in Babylonia.

Grammar and Lexicography were better represented, there being many works do these subjects, including lists of the signs and explanations, declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, examples of syntax, bilingual tables, explanatory lists, &c. All these tablets were copied from the Babylonians. In law and civil matters the library was also rich, and the tablets serve to show that the same laws and customs prevailed in Assyria as in Babylonia. There are codes of laws law cases, sale, barter, loans, lists of property, lists of titles and trades, tribute, and taxes, &c.

In Geography the Assyrians were not very forward; but there are lists of countries and their productions, of cities, rivers, mountains, and peoples.

Such are some of the principal contents of the great library from which we have obtained our copies of the Creation and Flood legends, most of the tablets were copied from early Babylonian inscriptions, the original copies of the works have in most cases disappeared; but these remarkable inscriptions have preserved to us texts which show the wonderful advance made by the people of Chaldea before the time of Moses. Babylonian literature, which had been the parent of Assyrian writing, revived after the fall of Nineveh, and Nebuchadnezzar and his successors ‘made Babylon the seat of a library rivalling that of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. Of this later development of Babylonian literature we know very little, explorations being still required to bring to light the texts of this epoch. Few fragments only, discovered by wandering Arabs or recovered by chance travellers, have yet turned up,

but there is in them evidence enough to promise a rich reward to future excavators.

CHAPTER III. CHALDEAN LEGENDS TRANSMITTED THROUGH BEROSUS AND OTHER ANCIENT AUTHORS.

Berosus and his copyists. — Cory's translation. — Alexander Polyhistor. — Babylonia. — Oannes, his teaching. — Creation. — Belus. — Chaldean kings. — Xisuthrus. — Deluge. — The Ark. — Return to Babylon. — Apollodorus. — Pantibiblon. — Larancha. — Abydenus. — Alorus, first king. — Ten kings. — Sisithrus. — Deluge. — Armenia. — Tower of Babel. — Cronos and Titan. — Nicolaus Damascenes. — Dispersion from Hestiæus. — Babylonian colonies. — Tower of Babel. — The Sibyl. — Titan and Prometheus. — Damascius. — Tauthe. — Moymis. — Kissare and Assorus. — Triad. — Bel.

I HAVE included in this chapter the principal extracts from ancient authors respecting the Babylonian accounts of Genesis. Many others are known, but are of doubtful origin, and of less immediate interest to my subject.

Berosus, from whom the principal extracts are copied, lived, as I have mentioned in Chapter I., about B.C. 330 to 260, and, from his position as a

Babylonian priest, had the best means of knowing the Babylonian traditions.

The others are later writers, who copied in the main from Berosus, and whose notices may be taken as giving abridgments of his statements.

I have preferred as usual, the translations of Cory as being standard ones, and made without prejudice from recent discoveries.

Extract I. From Alexander Polyhistor (Cory,).

Berosus, in the first book of his history of Babylonia, informs us that he lived in the age of Alexander, the son of Philip. And he mentions that there were written accounts, preserved at Babylon with the greatest care, comprehending a period of above fifteen myriads of years; and that these writings contained histories of the heaven and of the sea; of the birth of mankind; and of the kings, and of the memorable actions which they had achieved.

And in the first place he describes Babylonia as a country situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates; that it abounded with wheat, and

barley, and ocrus, and sesame; and that in the lakes were produced the roots called gongæ, which are fit for food, and in respect to nutriment similar to barley. That there were also palm-trees and apples, and a variety of fruits; fish also and birds, both those which are merely of flight, and those which frequent the lakes. He adds that those parts of the country which bordered upon Arabia were without water, and barren; but that the parts which lay on the other side were both hilly and fertile.

At Babylon there was (in these times) a great resort of people of various nations, who inhabited Chaldea, and lived in a lawless manner like the beasts of the field.

In the first year there appeared, from that part of the Erythræan sea which borders upon Babylonia, an animal endowed with reason, by name Oannes, whose whole body (according to the account of Apollodorus) was that of a fish; that under the fish's head he had another head, with feet also below similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice, too, and language were articulate and human; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day.

This being was accustomed to pass the day among men, but took no food at that season; and he gave them an insight into letters and sciences, and arts of every kind. He taught them to construct cities, to found temples, to compile laws, and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect the fruits; in short, he instructed them in every thing which could tend to soften manners and humanize their lives. From that time, nothing material has been added by way of improvement to his instructions. And when the sun had set this being Oannes retired again into the sea, and passed the night in the deep, for he was amphibious. After this there appeared other animals like Oannes, of which Berosus proposes to give an account when he comes to the history of the kings. Moreover, Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind, and of their civil polity; and the following is the purport of what he said: —

"There was a time in which there existed nothing but darkness and an abyss of waters, wherein resided most hideous beings, which were produced of a two-fold principle. There appeared men, some of whom were furnished with two wings, others with four, and with two faces. They had one body, but two heads; the one that of a man, the other of a woman; and likewise in their several organs both male and female. Other human figures were to be seen with the legs and horns of a goat; some had horses' feet, while others united the hind quarters of a horse with the

body of a man, resembling in shape the hippocentaurs. Bulls likewise were bred there with the heads of men; and dogs with fourfold bodies, terminated in their extremities with the tails of fishes; horses also with the heads of dogs; men, too, and other animals, with the heads and bodies of horses, and the tails of fishes. In short, there were creatures in which were combined the limbs of every species of animals. In addition to these, fishes, reptiles, serpents, with other monstrous animals, which assumed each other's shape and countenance.

Of all which were preserved delineations in the temple of Belus at Babylon.

"The person who presided over them was a woman named Omoroca, which in the Chaldean language is Thalatth, in Greek Thalassa, the sea; but which might equally be interpreted the moon. All things being in this situation, Belus came, and cut the woman asunder, and of one half of her he formed the earth, and of the other half the heavens, and at the same time destroyed the animals within her (or in the abyss).

"All this" (he says) "was an allegorical description of nature. For, the whole universe consisting of moisture, and animals being continually generated therein, the deity above-mentioned took off his own head; upon which the other gods mixed the blood, as it gushed out, and from thence formed men. On this account it is that they are rational, and partake of divine knowledge. This Belus, by whom they signify Jupiter, divided the darkness, and separated the heavens from the earth, and reduced the universe to order. But the animals, not being able to bear the prevalence of light, died. Belus upon this, seeing a vast space unoccupied, though by nature fruitful, commanded one of the gods to take off his head, and to mix the blood with the earth, and from thence to form other men and animals, which should be capable of bearing the air. Belus formed also the stars, and the sun, and the moon, and the five planets." (Such, according to Polyhistor Alexander, is the account which Berosus gives in his first book.)

(In the second book was contained the history of the ten kings of the Chaldeans, and the periods of the continuance of each reign, which consisted collectively of an hundred and twenty sari, or four hundred and thirty-two thousand years; reaching to the time of the Deluge. For Alexander, enumerating the kings from the writings of the Chaldeans, after the ninth Ardates, proceeds to the tenth, who is called by them Xisuthrus, in this manner): —

"After the death of Ardates, his son Xisuthrus . reigned eighteen sari. In his time happened a great deluge; the history of which is thus

described. The deity Cronos appeared to him in a vision, and warned him that upon the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius there would be a flood, by which mankind would be destroyed. He therefore enjoined him to write a history of the beginning, procedure, and conclusion of all things, and to bury it in the city of the Sun at Sippara; and to build a vessel, and take with him into it his friends and relations; and to convey on board every thing necessary to sustain life, together with all the different animals, both birds and quadrupeds, and trust himself fearlessly to the deep. Having asked the Deity whither he was to sail, he was answered, 'To the Gods;' upon which he offered up a prayer for the good of mankind. He then obeyed the divine admonition, and built a vessel five stadia in length, and two in breadth. Into this he put everything which he had prepared, and last of all conveyed into it his wife, his children, and his friends.

After the flood had been upon the earth, and was in time abated, Xisuthrus sent out birds from the vessel; which not finding any food, nor any place whereupon they might rest their feet, returned to him again. After an interval of some days, he sent them forth a second time; and they now returned with their feet tinged with mud. He made a trial a third time with these birds; but they returned to him no more: from whence he judged that the surface of the earth had appeared above the waters.

He therefore made an opening in the vessel, and upon looking out found that it was stranded upon the side of some mountain; upon which he immediately quitted it with his wife, his daughter, and the pilot. Xisuthrus then paid his adoration to the earth: and, having constructed an altar, offered sacrifices to the gods, and, with those who had come out of the vessel with him, disappeared.

They, who remained within, finding that their companions did not return, quitted the vessel with many lamentations, and called continually on the name of Xisuthrus. Him they saw no more; but they could distinguish his voice in the air, and could hear him admonish them to pay due regard to religion; and likewise informed them that it was upon account of his piety that he was translated to live with the gods, that his wife and daughter and the pilot had obtained the same honour. To this he added that they should return to Babylonia, and, as it was ordained, search for the writings at Sippara, which they were to make known to all mankind; moreover, that the place wherein they then were was the land of Armenia. The rest having heard these words offered sacrifices to the gods, and, taking a circuit, journeyed towards Babylonia.

The vessel being thus stranded in Armenia, some part of it yet remains in the Corcyræan mountains of Armenia, and the people scrape off the bitumen with which it had been outwardly coated, and make use of it by way of an alexipharmic and amulet.

And when they returned to Babylon and had found the writings at Sippara they built cities and erected temples, and Babylon was thus inhabited again. — *Syncel. Chron.* xxviii.; *Euseb. Chron.* v. 8.

Berosus, from Apollodorus (Cory,).

This is the history which Berosus has transmitted to us. He tells us that the first king was Alorus of Babylon, a Chaldean, he reigned ten sari; and afterwards Alaparus and Amelon, who came from Pantebiblon; then Ammenon the Chaldean, in whose time appeared the Musarus Oannes, the Annedotus from the Erythræan sea. (But Alexander Polyhistor, anticipating the event, has said that he appeared in the first year, but Apollodorus says that it was after forty sari; Abydenus, however, makes the second Annedotus appear after twenty-six sari.) Then succeeded Megalarus from the city of Pantibiblon, and he reigned eighteen sari; and after him Daonus, the shepherd from Pantibiblon, reigned ten sari; in his time (he says) appeared again from the Erythræan sea a fourth Annedotus, having the same form with those above, the shape of a fish blended with that of a man. Then reigned Euedorachus from Pantibiblon for the term of eighteen sari; in his days there appeared another personage from the Erythræan sea like the former, having the same complicated form between a fish and a man, whose name was Odacon. (All these, says Apollodorus, related particularly and circumstantially whatever Oannes had informed them of; concerning these Abydenus has made no mention.) Then reigned Amempsinus, a Chaldean from Larancha; and he being the eighth in order reigned ten sari. Then reigned Otiartes, a Chaldean, from Larancha; and he reigned eight sari. And, upon the death of Otiartes, his son Xisuthrus reigned eighteen sari; in his time happened the great Deluge. So that the sum of all the kings is ten; and the term which they collectively reigned an hundred and twenty sari. — *Syncel. Chron.* xxxix.; *Euseb. Chron.* V.

Berosus, From Abydenus (Cory,).

So much concerning the wisdom of the Chaldeans.

It is said that the first king of the country was Alorus, and that he gave out a report that God had appointed him to be the shepherd of the people, he reigned ten sari; now a sarus is esteemed to be three thousand six hundred years, a neros six hundred, and a sossus sixty.

After him Alaparus reigned three sari; to him succeeded Amillarus from the city of Pantibiblon, who reigned thirteen sari; in his time came up from the sea a second Annedotus, a semi-demon very similar in his form to Oannes; after Amillarus reigned Ammenon twelve sari, who was of the city of Pantibiblon; then Megalarus of the same place reigned eighteen sari; then Daos the shepherd governed for the space of ten sari, he was of Pantibiblon; in his time four double-shaped personages came up out of the sea to land, whose names were Euedocus, Eneugamus, Eneuboulus, and Anementus; afterwards in the time of Euedoreschus appeared another, Anodaphus. After these reigned other kings, and last of all Sisithrus, so that in the whole the number amounted to ten kings, and the term of their reigns to an hundred and twenty sari. (And among other things not irrelative to the subject he continues thus concerning the Deluge): After Euedoreschus some others reigned, and then Sisithrus. To him the deity Cronos foretold that on the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius there would be a deluge of rain: and he commanded him to deposit all the writings whatever which were in his possession in the city of the sun in Sippara. Sisithrus, when he had complied with these commands, sailed immediately to Armenia, and was presently inspired by God. Upon the third day after the cessation of the rain Sisithrus sent out birds by way of experiment, that he might judge whether the flood had subsided. But the birds, passing over an unbounded sea without finding any place of rest, returned again to Sisithrus. This he repeated with other birds. And when upon the third trial he succeeded, for the birds then returned with their feet stained with mud, the gods translated him from among men. With respect to the vessel, which yet remains in Armenia, it is a custom of the inhabitants to form bracelets and amulets of its wood. — *Syncel. Chron.* xxxviii.; *Euseb. Præp. Evan.* lib. ix.; *Euseb. Chron.* v. 8.

Of the Tower of Babel (Cory,).

They say that the first inhabitants of the earth, glorying in their own strength and size and despising the gods, undertook to raise a tower whose top should reach the sky, in the place in which Babylon now stands; but when it approached the heaven the winds assisted the gods,

and overthrew the work upon its contrivers, and its ruins are said to be still at Babylon; and the gods introduced a diversity of tongues among men, who till that time had all spoken the same language; and a war arose between Cronos and Titan. The place in which they built the tower is now called Babylon on account of the confusion of tongues, for confusion is by the Hebrews called Babel. — *Euseb. Præp. Evan*. lib. ix.; *Syncel. Chron.* xliv.; *Euseb. Chron.* xiii.

Of The Ark, From Nicolaus Damascenus (Cory,).

There is above Minyas in the land of Armenia a very great mountain which is called Baris, to which it is said that many persons retreated at the time of the Deluge and were saved, and that one in particular was carried thither in an ark and was landed on its summit, and that the remains of the vessel were long preserved upon the mountain. Perhaps this was the same individual of whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, has made mention. — *Jos. Ant. Jud.* i. 3; *Euseb. Præp. Evan.* ix.

Of the Dispersion, from Hestiæus (Cory,).

The priests who escaped took with them the implements of the worship of the Enyalian Jove, and came to Senaar in Babylonia. But they were again driven from thence by the introduction of a diversity of tongues; upon which they founded colonies in various parts, each settling in such situations as chance or the direction of God led them to occupy. — *Jos. Ant. Jud. i.e.* 4; *Euseb. Præp. Evan*. ix,

Of the Tower of Babel, from Alexander Polyhistor Cory,) .

The Sibyl says: That when all men formerly spoke the same language some among them undertook to erect a large and lofty tower, that they might climb up into heaven. But God sending forth a whirlwind confounded their design, and gave to each tribe a particular language of its own, which is the reason that the name of that city is Babylon. After the deluge lived Titan and Prometheus, when Titan undertook a war against Cronus. — *Sync.* xliv.; *Jos. Ant. Jud.* i. c. 4; *Euseb. Præp. Evan.* ix.

The Theogonies, from Damascius (Cory,).

But the Babylonians, like the rest of the barbarians, pass over in silence the One principle of the universe, and they constitute two, Tauthe and Apason, making Apason the husband of Tauthe, and denominating her the mother of the gods. And from these proceeds an only-begotten son, Moymis, which I conceive is no other than the intelligible world proceeding from the two principles. From them also another progeny is derived, Dache and Dachus; and again a third, Kissare and Assorus, from which last three others proceed, Anus, and Illinus, and Aus. And of Aus and Davce is born a son called Belus, who, they say, is the fabricator of the world, the Demiurgus.

CHAPTER IV. BABYLONIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Greek accounts. — Mythology local in origin. — Antiquity. — Conquests. — Colonies. — Three great gods. — Twelve great gods. — Angels. — Spirits. — Anu. — Anatu. — Vul. — Ishtar. — Equivalent to Venus. — Hea. — Oannes. — Merodach. — Bel or Jupiter. — Zirat-banit, Succoth Benoth. — Elu. — Sin the moon god. — Ninip. — Shamas. — Nergal. — Anunit. — Table of gods.

IN their accounts of the Creation and of the early history of the human race the Babylonian divinities figure very prominently, but it is difficult in many cases to identify the deities mentioned by the Greek authors, because the phonetic reading of the names of the Babylonian gods is very obscure, and the classical writers often mention these divinities by the terms in their own mythology, which appeared to them to correspond with the Babylonian names.

In this chapter it is only proposed to give a general account of some parts of the Babylonian mythology, to show the relationship between the deities and their titles and work.

Babylonian mythology was local in origin; each of the gods had a particular city which was the seat of his worship, and it is probable that the idea of weaving the gods into a system, in which each should have his part to play, only had its origin at a later time. The antiquity of this mythology may be seen by the fact, that two thousand years before the Christian era it was already completed, and its deities definitely connected into a system which remained with little change down to the close of the kingdom.

It is probable that the gods were in early times only worshipped at their original cities or seats, the various cities or settlements being independent of each other; but it was natural as wars arose, and some cities gained conquests over others, and kings gradually united the country into monarchies, that the people of conquering cities should claim that their gods were superior to those of the cities they conquered, and thus carne the system of different ranks or grades among the gods. Again, colonies were sent out of some cities, and the colonies, as they considered themselves sons of the cities they started from, also considered their gods to be sons of the gods of the mother cities. Political changes in early times led to the rise and fall of various cities and consequently of their deities, and gave rise to numerous myths relating to

the different personages in the mythology. In some remote age there appear to have been three great cities in the country, Erech, Eridu, and Nipur, and their divinities Anu, Hea, and Bel were considered the “great gods” of the country. Subsequent changes led to the decline of these cities, but their deities still retained their position at the head of the Babylonian system.

These three leading deities formed members of a circle of twelve gods, also called great. These gods and their titles are given as:

1. Anu, king of angels and spirits, lord of the city of Erech.
2. Bel, lord of the world, father of the gods, creator, lord of the city of Nipur.
3. Hea, maker of fate, lord of the deep, god of wisdom and knowledge, lord of the city of Eridu.
4. Sin, lord of crowns, maker of brightness, lord of the city of Ur.
5. Merodach, just prince of the gods, lord of birth, lord of the city of Babylon.
6. Vul, the strong god, lord of canals and atmosphere, lord of the city of Muru.
7. Shamas, judge of heaven and earth, director of all, lord of the cities of Larsa and Sippara.
8. Ninip, warrior of the warriors of the gods, destroyer of wicked, lord of the city of Nipur.
9. Nergal, giant king of war, lord of the city of Cutha.
10. Nusku, holder of the golden sceptre, the lofty god.
11. Belat, wife of Bel, mother of the great gods, lady of the city of Nipur.
12. Ishtar, eldest of heaven and earth, raising the face of warriors.

Below these deities there was a large body of gods forming the bulk of the pantheon, and below these were arranged the Igege, or angels of heaven, and the Anunnaki, or angels of earth. Below these again came various classes of spirits or genii called Sedu, Vadukku, Ekimu, Gallu, and others; some of these were evil, some good.

The relationship of the various principal gods and their names, titles, and offices will be seen by the following remarks.

At the head of the Babylonian mythology stands a deity who was sometimes identified with the heavens, sometimes considered as the ruler and god of heaven. This deity is named Anu, his sign is the simple star, the symbol of divinity, and at other times the Maltese cross. Anu represents abstract divinity, and he appears as an original principle, perhaps as the original principle of nature. He represents the universe as

the upper and lower regions, and when these were divided the upper region or heaven was called Anu, while the lower region or earth was called Anatu; Anatu being the female principle or wife of Anu. Anu is termed the old god, and the god of the whole of heaven and earth; one of the manifestations of Arm was as the two forms Lahma and Lahama, which probably correspond to the Greek forms Dache and Dachus, see . These forms are said to have sprung out of the original chaos, and they are followed by the two forms sar and kisar (the Kissare and Assorus of the Greeks), sar means the upper hosts or expanse, kisar the lower hosts or expanse; these are also forms of manifestations of Anu and his wife. Aim is also lord of the old city, and he bears the names Alalu and Papsukul. His titles generally indicate height, antiquity, purity, divinity, and he may be taken as the general type of divinity. Anu was originally worshipped at the city of Erech, which was called the city of Anu and Anatu, and the great temple there was called the "house of Anu," or the "house of heaven."

Anatu, the wife or consort of Anu, is generally only a female form of Anu, but is sometimes contrasted with him; thus, when Anu represents height and heaven, Anatu represents depth and earth; she is also lady of darkness, the mother of the god Hea, the mother producing heaven and earth, the female fish-god, and she is one of the many goddesses called Istar or Venus.

Anu and Anatu have a numerous family; among their sons are numbered Sar-ziri, the king of the desert, Latarak, Abgula, Kusu, and the air-god, whose name is uncertain. The air-god is usually called Vul, he has also the name Pur, and the epithets Ramman or Rimmon, the self-existent, and Uban or Ben. Vul is god of the region of the atmosphere, or space between the heaven and earth, he is the god of rain, of storms and whirlwind, of thunder and lightning, of floods and watercourses. Vul was in high esteem in Syria and Arabia, where he bore the name of Daddi; in Armenia he was called Teiseba. Vul is always considered an active deity, and was extensively worshipped.

Another important god, a son of Anu, was the god of fire; his name may be read Bil-kan, with the possibility of some connection with the Biblical Tubal Cain and the classical Vulcan. The fire-god takes an active part in the numerous mythological tablets and legends, and he is considered to be the most potent deity in relation to witchcraft and spells generally.

The most important of the daughters of Anu was named Istar; she was in some respects the equivalent of the classical Venus. Her worship was

at first subordinate to that of Anu, and as she was goddess of love, while Anu was god of heaven, it is probable that the first intention in the mythology was only to represent love as heaven-born; but in time a more sensual view prevailed, and the worship of Istar became one of the darkest features in Babylonian mythology. As the worship of this goddess increased in favour, it gradually superseded that of Anu, until in time his temple, the house of heaven, came to be regarded as the temple of Venus.

The planet Venus, as the evening star, was identified with the Ishtar of Erech, while the morning star was Anunit, goddess of Akkad.

There were various other goddesses called Istar, among which may be noticed Istar, daughter of Sin the moon-god, who is sometimes confounded with the daughter of Anu.

A companion deity with Anu is Hea, who is god of the sea and of Hades, in fact of all the lower regions. He has two features, and corresponds in some respects to the Saturn or Cronos of the ancients, in others to their Poseidon or Neptune. Hea is called god of the lower region, he is lord of the sea or abyss; he is lord of generation and of all human beings, he bears the titles lord of wisdom, of mines and treasures; he is lord of gifts, of music, of fishermen and sailors, and of Hades or hell. It has been supposed that the serpent was one of his emblems, and that he was the Oannes of Berosus; these things do not, however, appear in the inscriptions. The wife of Hea was Dav-kina, the Davke of Damascius, who is the goddess of the lower regions, the consort of the deep; and their principal son was Maruduk or Merodach, the Bel of later times.

Merodach, god of Babylon, appears in all the earlier inscriptions as the agent of his father Hea; he goes about in the world collecting information, and receives commissions from his father to set right all that appears wrong. Merodach is an active agent in creation, but is always subordinate to his father Hea. In later times, after Babylon had been made the capital, Merodach, who was god of that city, was raised to the head of the Pantheon. Merodach or Bel was identified with the classical Jupiter, but the name Bel, “the lord,” was only given to him in times subsequent to the rise of Babylon. The wife of Merodach was Zirat-banit, the Succoth Benoth of the Bible.

Nebo, the god of knowledge and literature, who was worshipped at the neighbouring city of Borsippa, was a favourite deity in later times, as was also his consort Tasmit. Beside Merodach Hea had a numerous progeny, his sons being principally river gods.

A third great god was united with Anu and Hea, his names were Enu, Elu, Kaptu, and Bel; he was the original Bel of the Babylonian mythology, and was lord of the surface of the earth and the affairs of men. Elu was lord of the city of Nipur, and had a consort named Belat or Beltis. Elu, or Bel, is the most active of the gods in the general affairs of mankind, and was so generally worshipped in early times that he came to be regarded as the national divinity, and his temple at the city of Nipur was regarded as the type of all temples. The extensive worship of Bel, and the high honour in which he was held, seem to point to a time when his city, Nipur, was the metropolis of the country.

Belat, or Beltis, the wife of Bel, is a famous deity celebrated in all ages, but as the title Belat was only "lady," or "goddess," it was a common one for many goddesses, and the notices of Beltis probably refer to several different personages. The same remark may be applied to the name Istar, or Ishtar, meaning "goddess," which is applied to any female divinity.

Elu had, like the other gods, a numerous family; his eldest son was the moon-god called Ur, Agu or Aku, Sin and Itu, in later times generally termed Sin. Sin was presiding deity of the city of Ur, and early assumed an important place in the mythology. The moon-god figures prominently in some early legends, and during the time the city of Ur was capital of the country his worship became very extensive and popular in the whole of the country.

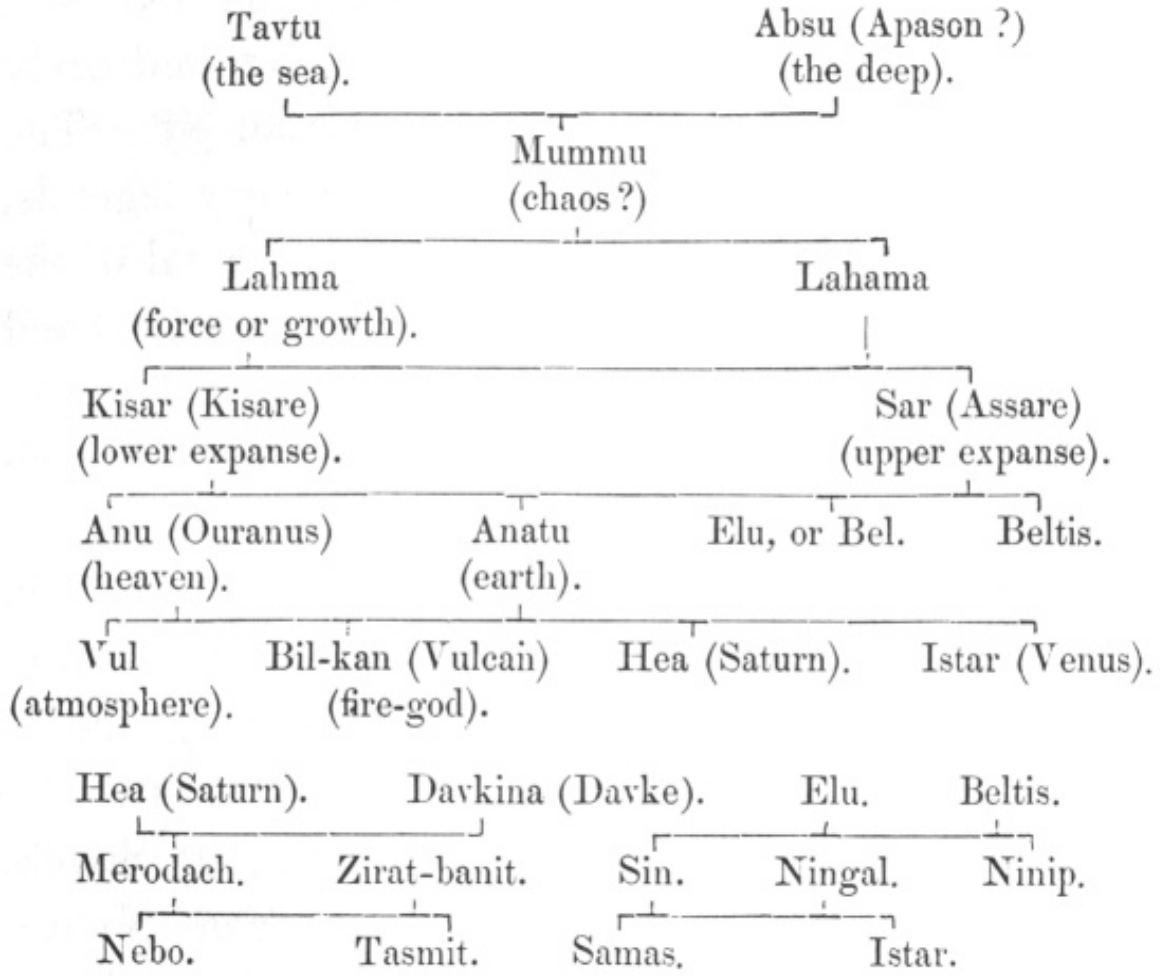
Ninip, god of hunting and war, was another celebrated son of Elu; he was worshipped with his father at Nipur. Ninip was also much worshipped in Assyria as well as Babylonia, his character as presiding genius of war and the chase making him a favourite deity with the warlike kings of Assur.

Sin the moon-god had a son Shamas, or Samas, the sun-god, and a daughter, Istar or Venus. Shamas is an active deity in some of the Izdubar legends and fables, but he is generally subordinate to Sin. In the Babylonian system the moon takes precedence of the sun, and the Shamas of Larsa was probably considered a different deity to Shamas of Sippara.

Among the other deities of the Babylonians may be counted Nergal, god of Cutha, who, like Ninip, presided over hunting and war, and Anunit, the deity of one city of Sippara, and of the city of Akkad.

The following table will exhibit the relationship of the principal deities; but it must be noted that the

Assyrian inscriptions are not always consistent, either as to the sex or paternity of the gods: —



CHAPTER V. BABYLONIAN LEGEND OF THE CREATION.

Mutilated condition of tablets. — List of subjects. — Description of chaos. — Tiamat. — Generation of gods. — Damascius. — Comparison with Genesis. — Three great gods. — Doubtful fragments. — Fifth tablet. — Stars. — Planets. — Moon. — Sun. — Abyss or chaos. — Creation of moon, — Creation of animals. — Man. — His duties. — Dragon of sea. — Fall. — Curse for disobedience. — Discussion. — Sacred tree. — Dragon or serpent. — War with Tiamat. — Weapons. — Merodach. — Destruction of Tiamat. — Mutilation of documents. — Parallel Biblical account. — Age of story.

I HAVE related in the first chapter the history of the discovery of this legend; the tablets composing it are in mutilated condition, and too fragmentary to enable a single tablet to be completed, or to give more than a general view of the whole subject. The story, so far as I can judge from the fragment, agrees generally with the account of the Creation in the Book of Genesis, but shows traces of having originally included very much more matter. The fragments of the story which I have arranged are as follows: —

1. Part of the first tablet, giving an account of the Chaos and the generation of the gods.
2. Fragment of subsequent tablet, perhaps the second on the foundation of the deep.
3. Fragment of tablet placed here with great doubt, probably referring to the creation of land.
4. Part of the fifth tablet, giving the creation of the heavenly bodies.
5. Fragment of seventh? tablet, giving the creation of land animals.
6. Fragments of three tablets on the creation and fall of man.
7. Fragments of tablets relating to the war between the gods and evil spirits.

These fragments indicate that the series included at least twelve tablets, the writing on each tablet being in one column on the front and back, and probably including over one hundred lines of text.

The first fragment in the story is the upper part of the first tablet, giving the description of the void or chaos, and part of the generation of the gods. The translation is:

1. When above, were not raised the heavens:

2. and below on the earth a plant had not grown up;
3. the abyss also had not broken open their boundaries:
4. The chaos (or water) Tiamat (the sea) was the producing-mother of the whole of them.
5. Those waters at the beginning were ordained; but
6. a tree had not grown, a flower had not unfolded.
7. When the gods had not sprung up, any one of them;
8. a plant had not grown, and order did not exist;
9. Were made also the great gods,
10. the gods Lahmu and Lahamu they caused to come . . . . .
11. and they grew . . . . . .
12. the gods Sar and Kisar were made . . . .
13. A course of days, and a long time passed . . .
14. the god Anu . . . . . .
15. the gods Sar and . . . . . .
16. . . . . .

On the reverse of this tablet there are only fragments of the eight lines of colophon, but the restoration of the passage is easy, it reads: —

1. First tablet of "When above" (name of Creation series).
2. Palace of Assurbanipal king of nations, king of Assyria,
3. to whom Nebo and Tasmit attentive ears have given:
4. he sought with diligent eyes the wisdom of the inscribed tablets,
5. which among the kings who went before me,
6. none those writings had sought.
7. The wisdom of Nebo, the impressions? of the god my instructor? all delightful,
8. on tablets I wrote, I studied, I observed, and
9. for the inspection of my people within my palace I placed

This colophon will serve to show the value attached to the documents, and the date of the present copies. The fragment of the obverse, broken as it is, is precious as giving the description of the chaos or desolate void before the Creation of the world, and the first movement of creation. This corresponds to the first two verses of the first chapter of Genesis.

1. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.
2. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

On comparing the fragment of the first tablet of the Creation with the extract front Damascius, we do not find any statement as to there being two principles at first called Tauthe and Apason, and these producing

Moymis, but in the Creation tablet the first existence is called Mummu Tiamatu, a name meaning the "sea-water" or "sea chaos." The name Mummu Tiamatu combines the two names Moymis and Tauthe of Damascius. Tiamatu appears also as Tisallat and agrees with the Thalatth of Berosus, which we are expressly told was the sea. It is evident that, according to the notion of the Babylonians, the sea was the origin of all things, and this also agrees with the statement of Genesis, i. 2. where the chaotic waters are called תהום, "the deep," the same word as the Tiamat of the Creation text and the Tauthe of Damascius.

The Assyrian word *Mummu* is probably connected with the Hebrew מהומה, confusion, and one of its equivalents is *Umun*, equal to the Hebrew המרן noise or tumult. Beside the name of the chaotic deep called תהו in Genesis, which is, as I have said, evidently the Tiamat of the Creation text, we have in Genesis the word תהו, waste, desolate, or formless, applied to this chaos. This appears to be the tehuta of the Assyrians — a name of the sea-water ("History of Assurbanipal,"); this word is closely connected with the word tiamat or tamtu, the sea. The correspondence between the inscription and Genesis is here complete, both stating that a watery chaos preceded the creation, and formed, in fact, the origin and groundwork of the universe. We have here not only an agreement in sense, but, what is rarer, the same word used in both narratives as the name of this chaos, and given also in the account of Damascius. Berosus has certainly the slightly different form Thalatth, with the same sense however, and it might be suspected that this word was a corruption of Tiamat, but the Babylonian word is read Tiamtu, Tiamat, and Tisallat, which last is more probably the origin of the word Thalatth of Berosus.

Next we have in the inscription the creation of the gods Lahma or Lahmu, and Lahama or Lahamu; these are male and female personifications of motion and production, and correspond to the Dache and

Dachus of Damascius, and the moving רוח, wind, or spirit of Genesis. The next stage in the inscription gives the production of Sar or Ilsar, and Kisar, representing the upper expanse and the lower expanse, and corresponding to the Assorus and Kissare of Damascius. The resemblance in these names is probably closer than here represented, for Sar or Ilsar is generally read Assur as a deity in later times, being an ordinary sign for the supreme god of the Assyrians.

Here the cuneiform text becomes so mutilated that little can be made out from it, but it appears from the fragment of line 14 that the next step

was (as in Damascius) the generation of the three great gods, Anu, Elu, and Hea, the Anus, Illinus, and Aus of that writer. Anu represents the heaven, Elu the earth, and Hea the sea, in this new form of the universe.

It is probable that the inscription went on to relate the generation of the other gods, and then passed to the successive acts of creation by which the world was fashioned.

The successive forms Lahma and Lahama, Sar and Kisar, are represented in some of the god lists as names or manifestations of Anu and Anatu. In each case there appears to be a male and female principle, which principles combine in the formation of the universe.

The resemblance between the extract from Damascius and the account in the Creation tablet as to these successive stages or forms in the Creation, is striking, and leaves no doubt that there was a connection between the two.

The three next tablets in the Creation series are absent, there being only two doubtful fragments of this part of the story. Judging from the analogy of the Book of Genesis, we may conjecture that this part of the narrative contained the description of the creation of light, of the atmosphere or firmament, of the dry land, and of plants. One fragment to which I have alluded as probably belonging to this space is a small portion of the top of a tablet referring to the fixing of the dry land; but it may belong to a later part of the story, for it is part of a speech to one of the gods. This fragment is —

1. When the foundations of the ground of rock [thou didst make]
2. the foundation of the ground thou didst call . .
3. thou didst beautify the heaven . . . . . .
4. to the face of the heaven . . . . . .
5. thou didst give . . . . . .
6. . . . . .

There is a second more doubtful fragment which appears to belong to this space, and, like the last, seems to relate part of the creation of the dry land. I give it here under reserve —

1. The god Sar . . . pan . . . .
2. When to the god . . . .
3. Certainly I will cover? . . .
4. from the day that thou . . . .
5. angry thou didst speak . . . .
6. Sar (or Assur) his mouth opened and spake, to the god . . . .
7. Above the sea which is the seat of . . . .
8. in front of the *esara* (firmament?) which I have made . . . .

9. below the place I strengthen it . . . .
10. Let there be made also *e-lu* (earth?) for the dwelling of [man?]
11. Within it his city may he build and . . . .
12. When from the sea he raised . . . .
13. the place . . . . lifted up . . . .
14. above . . . . heaven . . . .
15. the place . . . . lifted up . . . .
16 . . . . Pal-bi-ki the temples of the great gods. . . .
17 . . . . his father and his . . . . of him
18. the god . . . . thee and over all which thy hand has made
19 . . . . thee, having, over the earth which thy hand has made
20 . . . . having, Pal-bi-ki which thou hast called its name
21 . . . . made? my hand for ever
22 . . . . may they carry
23. the place . . . . any one the work which . . .
24. he rejoiced . . . . to after . . . .
25. the gods . . . .
26. which in . . . .
27. he opened . . .

This fragment is both mutilated and obscure; in the eighth line I have translated firmament with a query, the sound and meaning of the word being doubtful; and in line 10, I translate earth for a combination of two characters more obscure still, my translation being a conjecture grounded on some meanings of the individual monograms. Pal-bi-ki are the characters of one name of the city of Assur; but I do not understand the introduction of this name here.

The next recognizable portion of the Creation legends is the upper part of the fifth tablet, which gives the creation of the heavenly bodies, and runs parallel to the account of the fourth day of creation in Genesis.

This tablet opens as follows: —

Fifth Tablet of Creation Legend.

Obverse.

1. It was delightful, all that was fixed by the great gods.
2. Stars, their appearance [in figures] of animals he arranged.
3. To fix the year through the observation of their constellations,
4. twelve months (or signs) of stars in three rows he arranged,
5. from the day when the year commences unto the close.

6. He marked the positions of the wandering stars (planets) to shine in their courses,

7. that they may not do injury, and may not trouble any one,

8. the positions of the gods Bel and Hea he fixed with him.

9. And he opened the great gates in the darkness shrouded

10. the fastenings were strong on the left and right.

11. In its mass (*i.e.* the lower chaos) he made a boiling,

12. the god Uru (the moon) he caused to rise out, the night he overshadowed,

13. to fix it also for the light of the night, until the shining of the day,

14. That the month might not be broken, and in its amount be regular.

15. At the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night,

16. his horns are breaking through to shine on the heaven.

17. On the seventh day to a circle he begins to swell,

18. and stretches towards the dawn further.

19. When the god Shamas (the sun) in the horizon of heaven, in the east,

20. . . . . formed beautifully and . . . .

21. . . . . to the orbit Shamas was perfected

22. . . . . .the dawn Shamas should change

23. . . . . going on its path

24. . . . . giving judgment

25. . . . . to tame

26. . . . . a second time

27. . . . . .

Reverse.

1. . . . . .

2. . . . . he fixed

3. . . . of the gods on his hearing.

4. Fifth tablet of "When above" (Creation series).

5. Country of Assurbanipal king of nations king of Assyria.

This fine fragment is a typical specimen of the style of this series, and shows a marked stage in the Creation, the appointment of the heavenly orbs. It parallels the fourth day of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis, where we read: "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years:

“15. And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

“16. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; he made the stars also.

“17. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,

“18. And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good.

“19. And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.”

The fragment of the first tablet of the Creation series showed that that was rather introductory, and dealt with the generation of the gods more than the creation of the universe, and the fact that the fifth tablet contains the Creation given in Genesis, under the fourth day, while a subsequent tablet, probably the seventh, gives the creation of the animals which, according to Genesis, took place on the sixth day, leads to the inference that the events of each of the days of Genesis were recorded on a separate tablet, and that the numbers of the tablets generally followed in the same order as the days of Creation in Genesis, thus:

Genesis, Chap. I.

V. 1 & 2 agree with Tablet 1.

V. 3 to 5 1st day probably with tablet 2.

V. 6 to 8 2nd day probably with tablet 3.

V. 9 to 13 3rd day probably with tablet 4.

V. 14 to 19 4th day agree with tablet 5.

V. 20 to 23 5th day probably with tablet 6.

V. 24 & 25 6th day probably with tablet 7.

V. 26 and following, 6th and 7th day, probably with tablet 8.

The tablet which I think to be the eighth appears to give the Creation and Fall of Man, and is followed by several other tablets giving apparently the war between the gods and the powers of evil, but all of these are very mutilated, and no number can be positively proved beyond the fifth tablet. There is, however, fair reason to suppose that there was a close agreement in subjects and order between the text of the Chaldean legend and Genesis, while there does not appear to be anything like the same agreement between these inscriptions and the accounts transmitted to us through Berosus (see p-50).

The fifth tablet commences with the statement that the previous creations were “delightful,” or satisfactory, agreeing with the oft-repeated statement of Genesis, after each act of creative power, that “God saw that it was good.” The only difference here is one of detail. It

appears that the Chaldean record contains the review and expression of satisfaction at the head of each tablet, while the Hebrew has it at the close of each act.

We then come to the creation of the heavenly orbs, which are described in the inscription as arranged like animals, while the Bible says they were set as "lights in the firmament of heaven," and just as the book of Genesis says they were set for signs and seasons, for days and years, so the inscription describes that the stars were set in courses to point out the year. The twelve constellations or signs of the zodiac, and two other bands of constellations are mentioned, just as two sets of twelve stars each are mentioned by the Greeks, one north and one south of the zodiac. I have translated one of these names *nibir*, "wandering stars" or "planets," but this is not the usual word for planet, and there is a star called *Nibir* near the place where the sun crossed the boundary between the old and new years, and this star was one of twelve supposed to be favourable to Babylonia. It is evident, from the opening of the inscription on the first tablet of the Chaldean astrology and astronomy, that the functions of the stars were according to the Babylonians to act not only as regulators of the seasons and the year, but to be also used as signs, as in Genesis i. 14, for in those ages it was generally believed that the heavenly bodies gave, by their appearance and positions, signs of events which were coming on the earth.

The passage given in the eighth line of the inscription, to the effect that the God who created the stars fixed places or habitations for Bel and Hea with himself in the heavens, points to the fact that Anu, god of the heavens, was considered to be the creator of the heavenly hosts; for it is he who shares with Bel and Hea the divisions of the face of the sky.

The ninth line of the tablet opens a curious view as to the philosophical beliefs of the early Babylonians. They evidently considered that the world was drawn together out of the waters, and rested or reposed upon a vast abyss of chaotic ocean which filled the space below the world. This dark infernal lake was shut in by gigantic gates and strong fastenings, which prevented the floods from overwhelming the world. When the deity decided to create the moon, he is represented as drawing aside the gates of this abyss, and creating a whirling motion like boiling in the dark ocean below; then, at his bidding, from this turmoil, arose the moon like a giant bubble, and, passing through the open gates, mounted on its destined way across the vaults of heaven.

The Babylonian account continues with the regulation of the motions of the moon to overshadow the night, to regulate and give light until the dawn of day. The phases of the moon are described: its commencing as a thin crescent at the evening on the first day of the month, and its gradually increasing and travelling further into the night. After the moon the creation of the sun is recorded, its beauty and perfection are extolled, and the regularity of its orbit, which led to its being considered the type of a judge, and the regulator of the world.

The Babylonian account of the Creation gives the creation of the moon before that of the sun, in reverse order to that in Genesis, and evidently the Babylonians considered the moon the principal body, while the Book of Genesis makes the sun the greater light. Here it is evident that Genesis is truer to nature than the Chaldean text.

The details of the creation of the planets and stars, which would have been very important to us, are unfortunately lost, no further fragment of this tablet having been recovered.

The colophon at the close of tablet V. gives us, however, part of the first line of the sixth tablet, but not enough to determine its subject. It is probable that this dealt with the creation of creatures of the water and fowls of the air, and that these were the creation of Bel, the companion deity to Anu.

The next tablet, the seventh in the series, is probably represented by a curious fragment, which I first found in one of the trenches at Iiouyunjik, and recognized at once as a part of the description of the Creation.

This fragment is like some of the others, the upper portion of a tablet much broken, and only valuable from its generally clear meaning. The translation of this fragment is:

1. When the gods in their assembly had created . . . . . .

2. were delightful the strong monsters . . . . . .

3. they caused to be living creatures . . . . . .

4. cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field . . . . . .

5. . . . . they fixed for the living creatures . . . . . .

6. . . . . cattle and creeping things of the city they fixed . . . . . .

7. . . . . the assembly of the creeping things the whole which were created . . . . . .

8. . . . . which in the assembly of my family . . . . . .

9. . . . . and the god Nin-si-ku (the lord of noble face) caused to be two . . . . . .

10 . . . . . the assembly of the creeping things he caused to go . . . . . .

11. . . . . flesh beautiful? . . . . . .
12. . . . . pure presence . . . . . .
13. . . . . pure presence . . . . . .
14. . . . . pure presence in the assembly . . .
15 . . . . . .

This tablet corresponds to the sixth day of Creation (Genesis, i. 24–25): “And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

“And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.”

The Assyrian tablet commences with a statement of the satisfaction a former creation, apparently that of the monsters or whales, had given; here referring to Genesis i. 23. It then goes on to relate the creating of living animals on land, three kinds being distinguished, exactly agreeing with the Genesis account, and then we have in the ninth line a curious but broken account of Nin-si-ku (one of the names of Hea), creating two beings to be with the animals, the wording of the next fragmentary lines leading to the suspicion that this was the opening of the account of the creation of man. This, however, is only a suspicion, for the lines are so mutilated and obscure that nothing can be fairly proved from them. It is curious here, however, to notice a tablet which refers to the creation of man. In this tablet, K 63, the creation of the human race is given to Hea, and all the references in other inscriptions make this his work.

In considering the next fragments, those which really relate to man, there is great difficulty; for, in the first fragment to be noticed, on one side the mutilation of the tablet renders the sense totally uncertain; in the space lost there may be a string of negatives which would entirely reverse the meaning. It is probable that the other side of the fragment is a discourse to the first woman on her duties.

I think it to be the reverse of the tablet which, so far as it can be translated, appears to give the speech of the deity to the newly created pair (man and woman) instructing them in their duties.

K 3364 obverse.

(Many lines lost.)
1. evil . . . .
2. which is eaten by the stomach . . . .
3. in growing . . . .

4. consumed . . . .
5. extended, heavy, ...
6. firmly thou shalt speak . . . .
7. and the support of mankind . . . thee
8. Every day thy god thou shalt approach (or invoke)
9. sacrifice, prayer of the mouth and instruments . . . . . .
10. to thy god in reverence thou shalt carry.
11. Whatever shall be suitable for divinity,
12. supplication, humility, and bowing of the face,
13. fire? thou shalt give to him, and thou shalt bring tribute,
14. and in the fear also of god thou shalt be holy.
15. In thy knowledge and afterwards in the tablets (writing)
16. worship and goodness . . . shall be raised?
17. Sacrifice saving . . . .
18. and worship . . . .
19. the fear of god thou shalt not leave . . . .
20. the fear of the angels thou shalt live in . . . .
21. With friend and enemy? speech thou shalt make? . . . .
22. under? speech thou shalt make good . . . .
23. When thou shalt speak also he will give . . . .
24. When thou shalt trust also thou . . . .
25. to enemy? also . . . .
26. . . . thou shalt trust a friend . . . .
27. . . . thy knowledge also

Reverse.

(Many lines lost.)
1. Beautiful place also . . . . divide . . . .
2. in beauty and . . . . thy hand . . . .
3. and thou to the presence . . . . thou shalt fix . . .
4. and not thy sentence . . . . thee to the end?
5. in the presence of beauty and . . . . thou shalt speak
6. of thy beauty and . . . .
7. beautiful and . . . . to give drink?
8. circle I fill? his enemies
9. his rising? he seeks . . . . the man . . . .
10. with the lord of thy beauty thou shalt be faithful,
11. to do evil thou shalt not approach him,
12. at thy illness . . . . to him

13. at thy distress . . . .

The obverse of this tablet is a fragment of the address from the deity to the newly created man on his duties to his god, and it is curious that while, in other parts of the story, various gods are mentioned by name, here only one god is mentioned, and simply as the "God." The fragments of this tablet might belong to the purest system of religion; but it would in this case be wrong to ground an argument on a single fragment.

The reverse of the tablet appears, so far as the sense can be ascertained, to be addressed to the woman, the companion of the man, informing her of her duties towards her partner.

The next fragment is a small one; it is the lower corner of a tablet with the ends of a few lines. It may possibly belong to the tablet of the Fall to be mentioned later.

This fragment is of importance, small as it is, because it mentions a speech of Hea to man, and alludes to the Karkartiamat, or dragon of the sea, in connection with a revolt against the deity. The fragment is, however, too mutilated to give more than a general idea of its contents.

Obverse.

1. . . . . seat her
2. . . . . all the lords
3. . . . . his might
4. . . . . the gods, lord lofty?
5. . . . . kingdom exalted
6. . . . . in multitudes increase

Reverse.

1. . . . . Hea called to his man
2. . . . . height of his greatness
3. . . . . the rule of any god
4. . . . . Sartulku knew it
5. . . . . his noble . . . .
6. . . . . his fear? Sartulku
7. . . . . his might
8. . . . . to them, the dragon of the sea
9. . . . . against thy father fight

Connected with this fragment is the account of the curse after the Fall, on the remarkable fragment which I brought over from my first expedition to Assyria.

This forms about half a tablet, being part of the obverse and reverse, both in fair preservation; and so far as they go, fairly perfect, but containing at present many obscurities in the speeches of the gods. Before the commencement of lines 1, 5, 11, 19, 27, and 29 on the obverse, there are glosses stating that the divine titles commencing these lines all apply to the same deity. These explanatory glosses show that even in the Assyrian time there were difficulties in the narrative.

Obverse.

1. The god Zi . . . . .
2. which he had fixed . . . . .
3. their account . . . . .
4. may not fail in preparing? . . . . .
5. The god Ziku (Noble life) quickly called; Director of purity,
6. good kinsman, master of perception and right,
7. causer to be fruitful and abundant, establisher of fertility,
8. another to us has come up, and greatly increased,
9. in thy powerful advance spread over him good,
10. may he speak, may he glorify, may he exalt his majesty.
11. The god Mir-ku (noble crown) in concern, raised a protection?
12. lord of noble lips, saviour from death
13. of the gods imprisoned, the accomplisher of restoration,
14. his pleasure he established he fixed upon the gods his enemies,
15. to fear them he made man,
16. the breath of life was in him.
17. May he be established, and may his will not fail,
18. in the mouth of the dark races which his hand has made.
19. The god of noble lips with his five fingers sin may he cut off;
20. who with his noble charms removes the evil curse.
21. The god Libzu wise among the gods, who had chosen his possession,
22. the doing of evil shall not come out of him,
23. established in the company of the gods, he rejoices their heart.
24. Subduer of the unbeliever . . . . .
25. director of right . . . . .

26. of corruption and . . . . .
27. The god Nissi . . . . .
28. keeper of watch . . . . .
29. The god Suhhab, swiftly . . . . .
30. the pourer out to them . . . . .
31. in . . . . .
32. like . . .
33 . . . . .

Reverse.

1. . . . . .
2. . . . . the star . . . . .
3. may he take the tail and head . . . . .
4. because the dragon Tiamat had . . . . .
5. his punishment the planets possessing . . . .
6. by the stars of heaven themselves may they . .
7. like a sheep may the gods tremble all of them
8. may he bind Tiamat her prisons may he shut up and surround.
9. Afterwards the people of remote ages
10. may she remove, not destroy . . . for ever,
11. to the place he created, he made strong.
12. Lord of the earth his name called out, the father Elu
13. in the ranks of the angels pronounced their curse.
14. The god Hea heard and his liver was angry,
15. because his man had corrupted his purity.
16. He like me also Hea may he punish him,
17. the course of my issue all of them may he remove, and
18. all my seed may he destroy.
19. In the language of the fifty great gods
20. by his fifty names he called, and turned away in anger from him:
21. May he be conquered, and at once cut off.
22. Wisdom and knowledge hostilely may they injure him.
23. May they put at enmity also father and son and may they plunder.
24. to king, ruler, and governor, may they bend their ear.
25. May they cause anger also to the lord of the gods Merodach.
26. His land may it bring forth but he not touch it;
27. his desire shall be cut off, and his will be unanswered;
28. the opening of his mouth no god shall take notice of;
29. his back shall be broken and not be healed;

30. at his urgent trouble no god shall receive him;
31. his heart shall be poured out, and his mind shall be troubled;
32. to sin and wrong his face shall come . . . . .
33. . . . . front . . . . .
34. . . . . .

In a second copy which presents several variations lines 14 to 19 are omitted.

This valuable fragment is unfortunately obscure in some parts, especially on the obverse, but the general meaning is undoubted, and the approximate position of the fragment in the story is quite clear. It evidently follows the fragment giving the creation of the land animals, and either forms a further portion of the same, or part of the following tablet.

The obverse gives a series of speeches and statements respecting the newly created man, who was supposed to be under the especial care of the deities. It happens in this case that there is no clue to the reason for these speeches, the key portions of the inscription being lost, but a point is evidently made of the purity of the man, who is said to be established in the company of the gods and to rejoice their hearts. The various divine titles or names, "the god of noble life," "the god of noble crown," and "the god of noble lips," are all most probably titles of Hea.

It appears from line 18 that the race of human beings spoken of is the *zalmat-qaqadi*, or dark race, and in various other fragments of these legends they are called Admi or Adami, which is exactly the name given to the first man in Genesis.

The word Adam used in these legends for the first human being is evidently not a proper name, but is only used as a term for mankind. Adam appears as a proper name in Genesis, but certainly in some passages is only used in the same sense as the Assyrian word, and we are told on the creation of human beings (Genesis, v. 1): "In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him; male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created."

It has already been pointed out by Sir Henry Rawlinson that the Babylonians recognized two principal races: the Adamu, or dark race, and the Sarku, or light race, probably in the same manner that two races are mentioned in Genesis, the sons of Adam and the sons of God. It appears incidentally . from the fragments of inscriptions that it was the race of Adam, or the dark race, which was believed to have fallen, but there is at present no clue to the position of the other race in their system.

We are informed in Genesis that when the world became corrupt the sons of God intermarried with the race of Adam, and thus spread the evils which had commenced with the Adamites (see Genesis, ch. vi.).

The obverse of the tablet giving the creation of man, where it breaks off leaves him in a state of purity, and where the narrative recommences on the reverse man has already fallen.

Here it is difficult to say how far the narrative of the inscription agrees with that of the Bible. In this case it is better to review the Biblical account, which is complete, and compare it with the fragmentary allusions in the inscriptions.

After the statement of man's innocence, which agrees with the inscription, the Bible goes on to relate (Genesis, iii. 1), that the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field, and that he tempted the woman to sin. This attributes the origin of sin to the serpent, but nothing whatever is said as to the origin or history of the serpent. The fragmentary account of the Fall in the inscriptions mentions the dragon Tiamat, or the dragon of the sea, evidently in the same relation as the serpent, being concerned in bringing about the Fall. This dragon is called the dragon of tiamat or the sea; it is generally conceived of as a griffin, and is connected with the original chaos, the Thalatth of Berosus, the female principle which, according to both the inscriptions and Berosus, existed before the creation of the universe. This was the original spirit of chaos and disorder, a spirit opposed in principle to the gods, and, according to the Babylonians, self-existent and eternal, older even than the gods, for the birth or separation of the deities out of this chaos was the first step in the creation of the world.

According to Genesis, the serpent addressed the woman (Genesis, iii. 1), and inquired if God had forbidden them to eat of every tree of the Garden of

Eden, eliciting from her the statement that there was a tree in the middle of the Garden, the fruit of which was forbidden to them. There is nothing in the present fragments indicating a belief in the Garden of Eden or the Tree of Knowledge; there is only an obscure allusion in lines 16 and 22 to a thirst for knowledge having been a cause of man's fall, but outside these inscriptions, from the general body of Assyrian texts, Sir Henry Rawlinson has pointed out the agreement of the Babylonian region of Karduniyas or Ganduniyas with the Eden of the Bible. Eden is a fruitful place, watered by the four rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Gihon, and Pison, and Ganduniyas is similar in description, watered by the four rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Surappi, and Ukni. The loss of this portion of

the Creation legend is unfortunate, as, however probable it may be that the Hebrew and Babylonian traditions agree about the Garden and Tree of Knowledge, we cannot now prove it. There is a second tree, the Tree of Life, in the Genesis account (ch. iii. 22), which certainly appears to correspond to the sacred grove of Anu, which a later fragment states was guarded by a sword turning to all the four points of the compass.

In several other places in the Genesis legends, and especially in the legends of Izdubar, there are allusions to the tree, grove, or forest of the gods, and this divine tree or grove is often represented on the sculptures, both in the Babylonian gem engravings, and on the walls of the Assyrian palaces and temples. When the representation is complete, the tree is attended by two figures of cherubims, one on each side of the sacred emblem.

According to Genesis, Adam and Eve, tempted by the serpent, eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, and so by disobedience brought sin into the world. These details are also lost in the cuneiform text, which opens again where the gods are cursing the dragon and the Adam or man for this transgression, corresponding to the passage, Genesis, iii. 9 to 19. Throughout this, corresponding passages may be found which show that the same idea runs through both narratives, but some passages in the cuneiform account are too mutilated to allow any certainty to be attached to the translation, and the loss of the previous parts of the text prevents our knowing what points the allusions are directed to.

Although so much of the most important part of the text is lost, the notices in other parts, and the allusions in the mythological scenes on the Babylonian gems will serve to guide us as to the probable drift of the missing portion.

It is quite clear that the dragon of the sea or dragon of Tiamat is connected with the Fall like the serpent in the book of Genesis, and in fact is the equivalent of the serpent. The name of the dragon is not written phonetically, but by two monograms which probably mean the "scaly one," or animal covered with scales. This description, of course, might apply either to a fabulous dragon, a serpent, or a fish.

The only passage where there is any phonetic explanation of the signs is in "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. ii. , l. 9, where we have *turbuhtu* for the place or den of the dragon, perhaps connected with the Hebrew רחב, sea-monster. The form of this creature as given on the gems is that of a griffin or dragon generally with a head like a carnivorous animal, body covered with scales, legs terminating in claws, like an eagle, and wings on the back. Our own heraldic griffins are so strikingly like the

sculptures of this creature that we might almost suspect them to be copies from the Chaldean works. In some cases, however, the early Babylonian seals, which contained devices taken from these legends, more closely approached the Genesis story. One striking and important specimen of early type in the British Museum collection has two figures sitting one on each side of a tree, holding out their hands to the fruit, while at the back of one is stretched a serpent. We know well that in these early sculptures none of these figures were chance devices, but all represented events or supposed events, and figures in their legends; thus it is evident that a form of the story of the Fall, similar to that of Genesis, was known in early times in Babylonia.

The dragon which, in the Chaldean account of the Creation, leads man to sin, is the creature of Tiamat, the living principle of the sea and of chaos, and he is an embodiment of the spirit of chaos or disorder which was opposed to the deities at the creation of the world.

It is clear that the dragon is included in the curse for the Fall, and that the gods invoke on the head of the human race all the evils which afflict humanity. Wisdom and knowledge shall injure him (line 22), he shall have family quarrels (line 23), shall submit to tyranny (line 24), he will anger the gods (line 25), he shall not eat the fruit of his labour (line 26), he shall be disappointed in his desires (line 27), he shall pour out useless prayer (lines 28 and 30), he shall have trouble of mind and body (lines 29 and 31), he shall commit future sin (line 32). No doubt subsequent lines continue these topics, but again our narrative is broken, and it only reopens where the gods are preparing for war with the powers of evil, which are led by Tiamat, which war probably arose from the part played by Tiamat in the fall of man.

My first idea of this part was that the war with the powers of evil preceded the Creation; I now think it followed the account of the Fall, but I have no direct proof of this.

Of the subsequent tablets of this series, which include the war between the gods and powers of evil, and the punishment of the dragon Tiamat, there are several fragments.

The first of these is K 4832, too mutilated to translate, it contains speeches of the gods before the war.

The second fragment, K 3473, contains also speeches, and shows the gods preparing for battle. It is very fragmentary.

1. . . . . his mouth opened
2. . . . . his . . a word he spoke

3. . . . . satisfy my anger
4. . . . . of thee let me send to thee
5. . . . . thou ascendest
6. . . . . thee to thy presence
7. . . . . their curse
8. . . . . in a circle may they sit
9. . . . . let them make the vine?
10. . . . . of them may they hear the renown
11. . . . . cover them he set and
12. . . . . thee change to them
13. . . . . he sent me
14. . . . . he held me
15. . . . . he sinned against me
16. . . . . and angrily . . . .
17. . . . . the gods all of them
18. . . . . made her hands . . . .
19. . . . . and his hand Tiamat coming
20. . . . . destroyed not night and day
21. . . . . burning . . .
22. . . . . they made division
23. . . . . the end of all hands
24. . . . . formerly thou . . . great serpents
25. . . . . unyielding I . . . .
26. . . . . their bodies fill . . . .
27. . . . . fear shall cover them
(Several other mutilated lines.)

The third fragment, K 3938, is on the same subject; some lines of this give the following general meaning: —

1. great animal . . . .
2. fear he made to carry . . . .
3. their sight was very great . . . .
4. their bodies were powerful and . . . .
5. . . . . delightful, strong serpent . . . .
6. Udgallu, Urbat and . . . .
7. days arranged, five . . . .
8. carrying weapons unyielding . . . .
9. her breast, her back . . . .
10. flowing? and first . . . .
11. among the gods collected . . . .

12. the god Kingu subdued . . . .
13. marching in front before . . . .
14. carrying weapons thou . . . .
15. upon war . . . .
16. his hand appointed

There are many more similar broken lines, and on the other side fragments of a speech by some being who desires Tiamat to make war.

All these fragments are not sufficiently complete to translate with certainty, or even to ascertain their order.

The fourth fragment, K 3449, relates to the making of weapons to arm the god who should meet in war the dragon.

This reads with some doubt on account of its mutilation:

1. heart . . . . .
2. burning . . . . .
3. from . . . . .
4. in the temple . . . . .
5. may he fix . . . . .
6. the dwelling of the god . . . . .
7. the great gods . . . . .
8. the gods said? . . . . .
9. the sword that was made the gods saw
10. and they saw also the bow which was strung . . . . .
11. the work that was made they placed . . . . .
12. carried also Anu in the assembly of the gods . . . . .
13. the bow he fitted she . . . . .
14. and he spake of the bow thus and said
15. Noble wood who shall first thus draw thee? against?
16. speed her punishment the star of the bow in heaven . . . . .
17. and establish the resting place of . . . . .
18. from the choice of . . . . .
19. and place his throne . . . . .
20. . . . . in heaven . . . . .
21. . . . . .

The next fragment or collection of fragments gives the final struggle between Tiamat and Merodach or Bel, and this fragment appears to distinguish between the dragon of Tiamat or the sea monster, and Tiamat the female personification of the sea; but I am not sure of this distinction. The *saparu*, or sickle-shaped sword, is always represented both in the sculptures and inscriptions as a weapon of Bel in this war.

Sixth Fragment.

1. . . . . he fixed . . . .
2. . . . . to his right hand he distributed
3. . . . . and quiver his hand hurled,
4. the lightning he sent before him,
5. . . . . fierceness filled his body.
6. He made the sword to silence the dragon of the sea,
7. the seven winds he fixed not to come out of her wound.
8. On the South, the North, the East, and the West,
9. his hand the sword he caused to hold before the grove of his father the god Anu.
10. He made the evil wind, the hostile wind, the tempest, the storm,
11. the four winds, the seven winds, the wind of . . . ., the irregular wind.
12. He brought out the winds he had created seven-of them,
13. the dragon of the sea stretched out, came after him,
14. he carried the thunderbolt his great weapon,
15. in a chariot . . . unrivalled, driving he rode:
16. he took her and four fetters on her hands he fastened,
17. . . . . unyielding, storming . . . . her
18. . . . . with their sting bringing death
19. . . . . sweeping away knowledge
20. . . . . destruction and fighting
21. . . . . left hand . . . .
22. . . . . fear . . . .

(Several other fragmentary lines.)

Reverse.

1. . . . . the god Sar . . . . .
2. . . . . dwelling . . . . .
3. . . . . before the weapon . . . . .
4. . . . . field . . . . .
5. . . . . above . . . . .
6. . . . . struck to the god . . . . .
7. . . . . them . . . . .
8. . . . . cut into . . . . .
9. . . . . said to his wife . . . . .
10. . . . . him to break the god . . . . .

11. . . . . evil? thou shalt be delivered and . . . . .
12. . . . . thy evil thou shalt subdue,
13. the tribute to thy maternity shall be forced upon them by thy weapons,
14. I will stand by and to thee they shall be made a spoil.
15. Tiamat on hearing this
16. at once joined and changed her resolution.
17. Tiamat called and quickly arose,
18. strongly and firmly she encircled with her defences,
19. she took a girdle? and placed . . . . .
20. and the gods for war prepared for them their weapons.
21. Tiamat attacked the just prince of the gods Merodach,
22. the standards they raised in the conflict like a battle.
23. Bel also drew out his sword and wounded her.
24. The evil wind coming afterwards struck against her face.
25. Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow him,
26. the evil wind he caused to enter, before she could shut her lips;
27. the force of the wind her stomach filled, and
28. her heart trembled, and her face was distorted,
29. . . . . violently seized her stomach,
30. her inside it broke, and conquered her heart.
31. He imprisoned her, and her work he ended.
32. Her allies stood over her astonished,
33. when Tiamat their leader was conquered.
34. Her ranks he broke, her assembly was scattered,
35. and the gods her helpers who went beside her
36. trembled, feared, and broke up themselves,
37. the expiring of her life they fled from,
38. war surrounding they were fleeing not standing?
39. . . . . them and their weapons he broke
40. like a sword cast down, sitting in darkness,
41. knowing their capture, full of grief,
42. their strength removed, shut in bonds,
43. and at once the strength of their work was overcome with terror,
44. the throwing of stones going . . . .
45. He cast down the enemy, his hand . . . .
46. part of the enemy under him . . . .
47. and the god Kingu again . . . .
48. . . . . .

Again the main difficulty arises from the fragmentary state of the documents, it being impossible even to decide the order of the fragments. It appears, however, that the gods have fashioned for them a sword and a bow to fight the dragon Tiamat, and Anu proclaims great honour (fourth fragment, lines 15 to 20) to any of the gods who will engage in battle with her. Bel or Merodach volunteers, and goes forth armed with these weapons to fight the dragon. Tiamat is encouraged by one of the gods who has become her husband, and meets Merodach in battle. The description of the fight and the subsequent triumph of the god are very fine, and remarkably curious in their details, but the connection between the fragments is so uncertain at present that it is better to reserve comment upon them until the text is more complete. This war between the powers of good and evil, chaos and order, is extra to the Creation, does not correspond with anything in Genesis, but rather finds its parallel in the war between Michael and the dragon in Revelation, xii. 7 to 9, where the dragon is called “the great dragon, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.” This description is strikingly like the impression gathered from the fragments of the cuneiform story; the dragon Tiamat who fought against the gods and led man to sin, and whose fate it was to be conquered in a celestial war, closely corresponds in all essential points to the dragon conquered by Michael. These fragments of the cuneiform account of the Creation and Fall agree so far as they are preserved with the Biblical account, and show that in the period from B.C. 2000 to 1500 the Babylonians believed in a similar story to that in Genesis.

CHAPTER VI. OTHER BABYLONIAN ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION.

Cuneiform accounts originally traditions. — Variations. — Account of Berosus. — Tablet from Cutha. — Translation. — Composite animals. — Eagle-headed men. — Seven brothers. — Destruction of men. — Seven wicked spirits. — War in heaven. — Variations of story. — Poetical account of Creation.

IN the last chapter I have given the fragments of the principal story of the Creation and Fall from the cuneiform inscriptions, but it appears from the tablets that all these legends were "traditions" or "stories" repeated by word of mouth, and afterwards committed to writing. When such traditions are not reduced to writing, and depend on being handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth, they are liable to vary, sometimes very widely, according to the period and condition of the country. Thus many different versions of a story arise, and there can be no doubt that this was actually the case with the Creation legends. There must have been a belief in the Creation and some of the leading features of this story long before these Creation legends were committed to writing, and there is evidence of other stories, related to those already given, which were at about the same time committed to writing. The story of the Creation transmitted through Berosus (see chapter iii. p–50) supplies us with a totally different story, differing entirely from the cuneiform account in the last chapter and from the Genesis account, and some fragments of tablets from Kouyunjik belonging to the library of Assurbanipal give a copy, mutilated as usual, of another version having many points of agreement with the account of Berosus. This legend, of which the following is a translation, is stated to be copied from a tablet at Cutha.

Legend of Creation from Cutha tablet.

(Many lines lost at commencement.)
1. lord of . . . .
2. . . . . his lord the strength of the gods . . . .
3. . . . . his host . . . . host . . . .
4. lord of the upper region and the lower region lord of angels . . . .
5. who drank turbid waters and pure water did not drink,

6. with his flame, his weapon, that man he enclosed,
7. . . . . he took, he destroyed,
8. on a tablet nothing was then written, and there were not left the carcasses and waste?
9. from the earth nothing arose and I had not come to it.
10. Men with the bodies of birds of the desert, human beings
11. with the faces of ravens,
12. these the great gods created,
13. and in the earth the gods created for them a dwelling.
14. Tamat gave unto them strength,
15. their life the mistress of the gods raised,
16. in the midst of the earth they grew up and became great,
17. and increased in number,
18. Seven kings brothers of the same family,
19. six thousand in number were their people,
20. Banini their father was king, their mother
21. the queen was Milili,
22. their eldest brother who went before them, Mimangab was his name,
23. their second brother Midudu was his name,
24. their third brother . . . . tur was his name,
25. their fourth brother . . . . dada was his name,
26. their fifth brother . . . . tah was his name,
27. their sixth brother . . . . ru was his name,
28. their seventh brother . . . . was his name.

Column II.

(Many lines lost.)
1. . . . . evil . . . .
2. man his will turned
3. in . . . . I purified?
4. On a tablet the evil curse of man he carved?
5. I called the worshippers and sent,
6. seven in width and seven in depth I arranged them.
7. I gave them noble reeds? (pipes?)
8. I worshipped also the great gods
9. Ishtar, ..., Zamama, Anunitu
10. Nebo . . . . Shamas the warrior,
11. the gods listened to my doings

12. . . . . he did not give and
13. thus I said in my heart:
14. Now here am I and
15. let there not . . . . ground
16. let . there not . . . .
17. may I go as I trust in Bel . . . . my heart,
18. and . . . . my iron may I take.
19. In the first year in the course of it
20. one hundred and twenty thousand men I sent out and among them,
21. one of them did not return.
22. In the second year in the course of it, ninety thousand the same.
23. In the third year in the course of it, sixty thousand seven hundred the same.
24. They were rooted out they were punished, I eat,
25. I rejoiced, I made a rest.
26. Thus I said in my heart now here am I and
27. at this time what is left?
28. I the king, am not the preserver of his country,
29. and the ruler is not the preserver of his people.
30. When I have done may corpses and waste be left,
31. the saving of the people from night, death, spirits, curses,

(Many more broken lines, meaning quite uncertain.)

Fragment of Column III.

1. . . . I caused to pursue . . . .
2. . . . . blood . . . . . .
3. in the midst of them twelve men fled from me.
4. After them I pursued, swiftly I went,
5. those men, I captured them
6. those men I turned . . . . .
7. Thus I said in my heart . . . . .

Column IV.

(Several lines lost at commencement.)

1. to . . . . .
2. the powerful king . . . .
3. the gods . . . .
4. hand . . . . take them

5. thou king, viceroy, prince, or any one else,
6. whom God shall call, and who shall rule the kingdom,
7. who shall rebuild this house, this tablet I write to thee,
8. in the city of Cutha, in the temple of Sitlam,
9. in the sanctuary of Nergal, I leave for thee;
10. this tablet see, and,
11. to the words of this tablet listen, and
12. do not rebel, do not fail,
13. do not fear, and do not turn away,
14. then may thy support be established,
15. thou in thy works shall be glorious,
16. thy forts shall be strong,
17. thy canals shall be full of water,
18. thy treasures, thy corn, thy silver,
19. thy furniture, thy goods,
20. and thy instruments, shall be multiplied.
(A few more mutilated lines.)

This is a very obscure inscription, the first column, however, forms part of a relation similar to that of Berosus in his history of the Creation; the beings who were killed by the light, and those with men's heads and bird's bodies, and bird's heads and men's bodies, agree with the composite monsters of Berosus, while the goddess of chaos, Tiamat, who is over them, is the same again as the Tiamat of the Creation legends and the Thalatth of Berosus.

The relation in the second and third columns of the inscription is difficult, and does not correspond with any known incident. The fourth column contains an address to any future king who should read the inscription which was deposited in the temple of Nergal at Cutha.

It is probable that this legend was supposed to be the work of one of the mythical kings of Chaldea, who describes the condition and history of the world before his time.

There is another legend which appears to be connected with these, the legend of the seven evil spirits, which I have given in my former work, "Assyrian Discoveries," .

Tablet with the story of the Seven Wicked Gods or Spirits.

Column I.

1. In the first days the evil gods
2. the angels who were in rebellion, who in the lower part of heaven

3. had been created,
4. they caused their evil work
5. devising with wicked heads . . .
6. ruling to the river . . . .
7. There were seven of them. The first was . . .
8. the second was a great animal . . . .
9. . . . . which any one . . . .
10. the third was a leopard . . . .
11. the fourth was a serpent . . . .
12. the fifth was a terrible . . . . which to . . . .
13. the sixth was a striker which to god and king did not submit,
14. the seventh was the messenger of the evil wind which . . . . made.
15. The seven of them messengers of the god Anu their king
16. from city to city went round
17. the tempest of heaven was strongly bound to them,
18. the flying clouds of heaven surrounded them,
19. the downpour of the skies which in the bright day
20. makes darkness, was attached to them
21. with a violent wind, an evil wind, they began,
22. the tempest of Vul was their might,
23. at the right hand of Vul they came,
24. from the surface of heaven like lightning they darted,
25. descending to the abyss of waters, at first they came.
26. In the wide heavens of the god Anu the king
27. evil they set up, and an opponent they had not.
28. At this time Bel of this matter heard and
29. the account sank into his heart.
30. With Hea the noble sage of the gods he took counsel, and
31. Sin (the moon), Shamas (the sun), and Ishtar (Venus) in the lower part of heaven to control it he appointed.
32. With Anu to the government of the whole of heaven he set them up.
33. To the three of them the gods his children,
34. day and night to be united and not to break apart,
35. he urged them.
36. In those days those seven evil spirits
37. in the lower part of heaven commencing,
38. before the light of Sin fiercely they came,
39. the noble Shamas and Vul (the god of the atmosphere) the warrior to their side they turned and

40. Ishtar with Anu the king into a noble seat
41. they raised and in the government of heaven they fixed.

Column II.

1. The god . . . . .
2. . . . . .
3. The god . . . . .
4. which . . . . .
5. In those days the seven of them . . . .
6. at the head in the control to . . . . .
7. evil . . . . .
8. for the drinking of his noble mouth . . . .
9. The god Sin the ruler . . . . mankind
10. . . . . of the earth
11. . . . . troubled and on high he sat,
12. night and day fearing, in the seat of his dominion he did not sit.
13. Those evil gods the messengers of Anu their king
14. devised with wicked heads to assist one another, and
15. evil they spake together, and
16. from the midst of heaven like a wind to the earth they carne down.
17. The god Bel of the noble Sin, his trouble
18. in heaven, he saw and
19. Bel to his attendant the god Nusku said:
20. “Attendant Nusku this account to the ocean carry, and
21. the news of my child Sin who in heaven is greatly troubled;
22. to the god Hea in the ocean repeat.”
23. Nusku the will of his lord obeyed, and
24. to Hea in the ocean descended and went.
25. To the prince, the noble sage, the lord, the god unfailing,
26. Nusku the message of his lord at once repeated.
27. Hea in the ocean that message heard, and
28. his lips spake, and with wisdom his mouth was filled.
29. Hea his son the god Merodach called, and this word he spake
30. “Go my son Merodach
31. enter into the shining Sin who in heaven is greatly troubled;
32. his trouble from heaven expel.
33. Seven of them the evil gods, spirits of death, having no fear,
34. seven of them the evil gods, who like a flood
35. descend and sweep over the earth.

36. To the earth like a storm they come down.

37. Before the light of Sin fiercely they came

38. the noble Shamas and Vul the warrior, to their side they turned and . . . .

The end of this legend is lost; it probably recorded the interference of Merodach in favour of Sin, the moon god.

In this story, which differs again from all the others, Bel is supposed to place in the heaven the Moon, Sun, and Venus, the representative of the stars. The details have no analogy with the other stories, and this can only be considered a poetical myth of the Creation.

This legend is part of the sixteenth tablet of the series on evil spirits; but the tablet contains other matters as well, the legend apparently being only quoted in it. There is another remarkable legend of the same sort on another tablet of this series published in “Cuneiform Inscriptions,” vol. iv. . The whole of this series concerns the wanderings of the god Merodach, who goes about the world seeking to remove curses and spells, and in every difficulty applying to his father Hea to learn how to combat the influence of the evil spirits, to whom all misfortunes were attributed.

CHAPTER VII. THE SIN OF THE GOD ZU.

God Zu. — Obscurity of legend. — Translation. — Sin of Zu. — Anger of the gods. — Speeches of Anu to Vul. — Vul's answer. — Speech of Anu to Nebo. — Answer of Nebo. — Sarturda. — Changes to a bird. — The Zu bird. — Bird of prey. — Sarturda lord of Amarda.

AMONG the legends of the gods, companion stories to the accounts of the Creation and Deluge, one of the most curious is the legend of the sin committed by the god Zu.

This legend stands alone among the stories, its incidents and its principal actor being otherwise almost unknown from cuneiform sources. I have at present only detected one copy of the story, and this is in so mutilated a condition that it cannot be connected with any other of the legends. From some similarity in style, I conjecture that it may form the first tablet of the series which I have termed the "Wars of the Gods." I have, however, no sufficient evidence to connect the two, and for this reason give it here a separate place, preceding the tablets of the "Wars of the Gods."

The principal actor in the legend is a being named Zu, the name being found in all three cases of an Assyrian noun Zu, Za and Zi. Preceding the name is the determinative of divinity, from which I judge Zu to have been ranked among the gods.

The story of the sin of Zu has sometimes reminded me of the outrage of Ham on his father Noah, and the mutilation of Ouranus by his son Saturn, but there is not sufficient evidence to connect the stories, and there are in the Assyrian account several very difficult words. One of these is particularly obscure, and I only transcribe it here by the ordinary phonetic values of the characters *um-sim-i*, it may possibly mean some talisman or oracle in the possession of Bel, which was robbed from him by Zu. There are besides the two difficult words *parzi* and *tereti*, which I have preferred merely transcribing in my translation. It must be added that the inscription is seriously mutilated in some parts, giving additional difficulty in the translation.

The tablet containing the account of the sin of Zu, K 3454, in the Museum collection, originally contained four columns of text, each column having about sixty lines of writing. The first and fourth column are almost entirely lost, there not being enough anywhere to translate from.

The single fragment preserved, belonging to the first column, mentions some being who was the seed or firstborn of Elu or Bel, with a number of titles, such as "warrior, soldier of the temple of Hamsi," and the name of the god Zu occurs, but not so as to prove these titles to be his.

The following is a partial translation of the remains of this tablet: —

K. 3454.

Column I. lost.

Column II.

1. the fate? going . . . . of the gods all of them he sent.
2. . . . . Zu grew old and
3. Zu? like . . . . Bel . . . . him
4. three? streams? of water in front and
5. the work Bel finished? he slept in it.
6. The crown of his majesty, the clothing of his divinity,
7. his *umsimi*, his crown? Zu stripped, and
8. he stripped also the father of the gods, the venerable of heaven and earth.
9. The desire? of majesty he conceived in his heart,
10. Zu stripped also the father of the gods, the venerable of heaven and earth.
11. The desire? of majesty he conceived in his heart:
12. Let me carry away the *umsimi* of the gods,
13. and the *tereti* of all the gods may it burn,
14. may my throne be established, may I possess the *parzi*,
15. may I govern the whole of the seed of the angels.
16. And he hardened his heart to make war,
17. in the vicinity of the house where he slept, he waited until the head of the day.
18. When Bel poured out the beautiful waters
19. spread out on the seat his crown? was placed,
20. the *umsimi* he took in his hand,
21. the majesty he carried off; he cast away the *parzi*,
22. Zu fled away and in his country concealed himself.
23. Then spread darkness, and made a commotion,
24. the father, their king, the ruler Bel.
25. . . . . he sent the glory of the gods

26. divinity was destroyed in . . . .
27. Anu his mouth opened, and spake
28. and said to the gods his sons:
29. Whoever will, let him slay Zu,
30. in all the countries may his name be renowned.
31. To Vul the powerful light the son of Anu
32. a speech he made to him, also and spake to him.
33. To Vul the powerful light the son of Anti
34. a speech he made to him, also and spake to him:
35. Hero Vul let there not be opposition in thee
36. slay Zu with thy weapon.
37. May thy name be renowned in the assembly of the gods,
38. in the midst of thy brothers, first set up,
39. . . . . made also fragrant with spices,
40. in the four regions they shall fix thy city.
41. May thy city be exalted like the temple,
42. they shall cry in the presence of the gods and praise thy name.
43. Vul answered the speech,
44. to his father Anu word he spake;
45. Father to a desert country do thou consign him.
46. Let Zu not come among the gods thy sons,
47. for the *umsimi* he took in his hand,
48. the majesty he carried off, he cast away the *parzi*,
49. and Zu fled away and in his country concealed himself.
50. . . . . opening his mouth like the venerable of heaven and earth
51. . . . . like mud
52. . . . . was, the gods swept away
53. . . . . I will not go he said.

(Sixteen lines lost here, part on this column, part on Column III.)

Column III.

1. and Zu fled away and in his country concealed himself.
2. . . . . opening his mouth like the venerable of heaven and earth
3. . . . . like mud
4. . . . . was, the gods swept away
5. . . . . I will not go he said.

6. To Nebo the powerful . . . . the child of Ishtar,

7. a speech he made to him also and spake to him:
8. Hero Nebo let there not be opposition in thee,
9. slay Zu with thy weapon.
10. May thy name be renowned in the assembly of the gods,
11. . . . . made also fragrant with spices,
12. in the four regions they shall fix thy city.
13. May thy city be exalted like the temple,
14. they shall cry in the presence of the gods and praise thy name.
15. Nebo answered the speech,
16. to his father Anu word he spake:
17. Father to a desert country do thou consign him.
18. Let Zu not come among the gods thy sons, l 9. for the *umsimi* he took in his hand,
20. the majesty he carried off he cast away the *parzi*,
21. and Zu fled away and in his country concealed himself.
22. . . . . opening his mouth like the venerable of heaven and earth
About ten lines lost here.
33. And thus the god . . . .
34. I also . . . .
35. and thus . . . .
36. He heard also . . . .
37. he turned . . . .
38. The god of noble face . . . .
39. to Anu . . . .

Column IV. lost.

Such are the fragments of the story so far as they can be translated at present. The divine Zu here mentioned whose sin is spoken of is never counted among the gods, and there would be no clue to his nature were it not for a curious tablet printed in “Cuneiform Inscriptions,” vol. iv. , from which it appears that he was in the likeness of a bird of prey. This tablet gives the following curious relation:

1. The god Sarturda (the lesser king) to a country a place remote [went],
2. in the land of Sabu . . . . . [he dwelt].

3. His mother had not placed him and had not . . . .
4. his father had not placed him and with him did not [go],
5. the strength of his knowledge . . . .

6. From the will of his heart a resolution he did not. . . .
7. In his own heart a resolution he made,
8. to the likeness of a bird he changed,
9. to the likeness of the divine storm bird (or Zu bird) he changed,
10. his wife forcibly he associated with,
11. the wife of the divine Zu bird, the son of the divine Zu bird,
12. in companionship he made sit.
13. The goddess Enna, the lady of Tigenna,
14. in the mountain he loved,
15. a female fashioned? of her mother in her likeness,
16. the goddess of perfumes a female fashioned? of her mother in her likeness
17. Her appearance was like bright ukni stone,
18. her girdle was adorned with silver and gold,
19. brightness was fixed in . . . .
20. brightness was set in . . . .

Many lines lost here, the story recommences on reverse.

1. . . . . the crown he placed on his head
2. from the nest of the divine Zu bird he came.

This Zu bird I suppose to be the same as the god Zu of the inscriptions, his nature is shown by a passage in the annals of Assurnazirpal ("Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. i. , col. ii. l. 107), where he says his warriors "like the divine zu bird upon them darted." This bird is called the cloud or storm bird, the flesh eating bird, the lion or giant bird, the bird of prey, the bird with sharp beak, and it evidently indicates some ravenous bird which was deified by the

Babylonians. Some excellent remarks on the nature of this bird are given by Delitzsch in his "Assyrische studien," p, 116.

In the legend of Sarturda it is said that he changed into a Zu bird. Sarturda which may be explained "the young king" was lord of the city of Amarda or Marad, and he is said to have been the deity worshipped by Izdubar.

The Zu of the legend, who offends against Bel, I suppose to be the same as the divine bird of prey mentioned in the other inscriptions, otherwise we have no mention in any other inscription of this personage.

In the story of the offence of Zu there is another instance of the variations which constantly occur in the Assyrian inscriptions with respect to the relationship of the gods. Nebo is usually called son of Merodach, but in this inscription he is called son of Anu.

In my translation of the legend on K 3454, the sin of Zu is very obscure, and I am quite unable to see through the allusions in the text; but it is quite evident that his sin was considered to be great, as it raises the anger of Bel, and causes Anu to call on his sons in succession to slay Zu; while the sons of the god Anu request that he may be expelled from the company of the gods.

The second legend, in which the god Sarturda changes into a Zu bird, is as obscure as the first, there being also in this doubtful words and mutilated passages.

Sarturda, although a celebrated god in early times, is seldom mentioned in the later inscriptions, and there is no information anywhere as to the females or goddesses mentioned in the legend. The idea of the gods sometimes changing themselves into animals was not uncommon in early times.

The explanation of these legends must be left until the meanings of several words in them are better known.

CHAPTER VIII. THE EXPLOITS OF LUBARA.

Lubara. — God of Pestilence. — Itak. — The Plague. — Seven warrior gods. — Destruction of people. — Anu. — Goddess of Karrak. — Speech of Elu. — Sin and destruction of Babylonians. — Shamas. — Sin and destruction of Erech. — Ishtar. — The great god and Duran. — Cutha. — Internal wars. — Itak goes to Syria. — Power and glory of Lubara. — Song of Lubara. — Blessings on his worship. — God Ner. — Prayer to arrest the Plague.

THE tablets recording this story (which I formerly called the "war of the gods") are five in number, but I have only discovered a few fragments of them. From the indications presented by these fragments I believe the first four tablets had each four columns of writing, and the fifth tablet was a smaller one of two columns to contain the remainder of the story.

The god whose exploits are principally recorded bears a name which I read with much hesitation as Lubara or Dabara and whom I conjecture on some doubtful grounds to be a form of the god Ninip.

The passages I have given in my "History of Assurbanipal" and in "Assyrian Discoveries," p, 340, 343, serve to show that this deity was the god of pestilence, or the personification of the plague, and the passage in the Deluge table ("Assyrian Discoveries," , l. 20), shows this name with the same meaning.

My reading Lubara is taken from the passage, "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. ii. , l. 13.

Lubara has a companion deity named Itak who marches before him, and seven gods who follow him in his destructive course.

The point of the story in these tablets appears to be, that the people of the world had offended Anu god of heaven, and that deity ordered Lubara to go forth and strike the people with the pest. It is evident here that exactly the same views prevailed in Babylonia as those among the Jews, visitations from pestilence or famine being always supposed to be sent by the deity in punishment for some sin.

The whole of this series of tablets may be described as a poetical picture of the destruction caused by a plague, sweeping over district after district, and destroying everything before it.

The fragment which appears to me to come first in the series is a very mutilated portion of a tablet, containing parts of three columns of writing. Only a fragment of the first column is perfect enough to

translate, and the characters on this are so worn that the translation cannot be other than doubtful. It appears to read

1. to capture he was turned . . . .
2. the fifth time . . . . above and below seeking
3. seven I? say? strengthened . . . .
4. the words of the account of the seven gods all of them Anu heard and
5. he said? to them also to Lubara the warrior of the gods may thy hand move
6. like of the people of the nations their pit . . . . he will strike
7. set thy heart also to make a destruction
8. the people of the dark races to ruin thou shalt strike with the desolation of the god Ner
9. and thy weapon against their swords may thy hand move
10. slay them and cast down their weapons.
11. He said to Lubara do thou go and
12. thy . . . . like an old man, thy son name? afterwards?
13. like a slaughter in the house, name in the house,
14. against the seat devised . . . .
15. like in war not . . . .

This passage appears to describe the forthcoming destruction, the god Anu commanding the slaughter. The next fragment is of a different character, but appears from its style to belong to this series.

1. . . . . he. . . .
2. . . spake to him and he . . . .
3. . . spake to him and he learned? . . .
4. Anu at the doing of Hea . .
5. the gods of heaven and earth all there were who thus answered
6. his will which was like the will of Anu who . . .
7. . . . . extending from the horizon of heaven to the top of heaven
8. . . . . looked and his fear he saw
9. . . . . Anu who hand? over him . . . . made
10. . . . of Hea his calamity made
11. . . . . strong to later days to . . . .
12. . . . . sin of mankind
13. . . . . triumphantly the net . . he broke
14. . . . . to heaven he ascended, she thus
15. . . . . 4,021 people he placed
16. . . . . the illness which was on the body of the people he placed
17. . . . . the illness the goddess of Karrak made to cease

The next portion of the legend is a considerable part of one of the tablets, probably the fourth, all four columns of writing being represented. There are many curious points in this tablet, beside the special purpose of the legend, such as the peoples enumerated in the fourth column, the action of the gods of the various cities, &c.

Column I.

1. . . . . his . . thou dost not sweep away
2. . . . . thou turnest his troop
3. . . . . dwelling
4. . . . . thou enterest within it
5. . . . . thou callest, like a tent
6. . . . . an appointment has not
7. . . . . thy . . . he gathers
8. . . . . he draws out his sword
9. . . . . he fills his bow
10. . . . . war is made
11. . . . . like a bird he flies
12. . . . . and he seeks
13. . . . . he destroys
14. . . . . great curse
15. . . . . strike their hands
16. . . . . the fire
17. . . . . taken
18. Elu his fierceness? covered? and
19. in his heart he said:
20. Lubara is couching at his gate, over the corpses of chiefs and slaves
21. thou placest his seat.
22. The wicked Babylonians watched it and
23. thou art their curse.
24. To the floor thou tramplest them and thou didst break through . . . .
25. Warrior Lubara.
26. Thou leavest also the land, thou goest out to another
27. . . . . thou destroyest the land, thou enterest the palace.
28. The people see thee and they reach their weapons.
29. The high priest the avenger of Babylon hardens his heart,
30. like the spoiling of enemies to spoil he sends forth his soldiers.
31. Before the face of the people they do evil violently.

32. To that city I send thee, thou man
33. shalt not fear, do not tremble at a man.
34. Small and great at once cast down and
35. . . . . of evil leaving fear? thou dost not save any one.
36. The collection of the goods of Babylon thou spoilest,
37. the people the king gathers, and enters the city,
38. shaking the bow, raising the sword
39. of the people spoiled who are punished by Anu and Dagon.
40. Their swords thou takest,
41. their corpses like the pouring down of rain thou dost cast down in the vicinity of the city,
42. and their treasures thou openest, thou dost sweep into the river.
43. The great lord Merodach saw and angrily spoke,
44. in his heart he resolved,
45. on an unsparing curse his face is set,
46. . . . . of the river fled not . . . .

Column II.

Many lines lost.
1. . . . . of the lord of the earth . . . .
2. a deluge he did not make . . . .
3. Against Shamas his tower thou destroyest thou dost cast . . . .
4. Of Erech the seat of Anu and Ishtar
5. the city of the ladies, Samhati and Harimati,
6. of Ishtar. Death they fear they are delivered into thy hands.
7. The Suti with the Suti are placed in . . . .
8. slay the house of heaven, the priests, the festival makers,
9. who to make the people of Ishtar fear, their manhood turn to . . . .
10. carrying swords, carrying *naklabi*, *dupe*, and *zurri*
11. who to raise the spirit of Ishtar trust . . . .
12. the high priest, hardened, bows his face over them day and night?
13. Their foundations, their countenance turn . . . .
14. Ishtar is angry and troubled over the city of Erech,
15. the enemies she strikes and like corn on the waters she scatters.
16. Dwelling in his . . . . Parra . . . .
17. he does not lead the expedition?
18. The enemies whom thou destroyest do not return to . . . .
19. The great god answered the speech
20. The city of Duran to blood . . . .

21. the people who are in the midst of it like reeds are trembling
22. like sick? before the waters their pit . . . .
23. and of me thou dost not leave me
24. to the Suti . . . . . .
25. I in my city Duran judge uprightly
26. I do not . . . . . .
27. evil? I do not give and . . . .
28. the upright people I leave . . . .
29. a fire is fixed . . . .

Four other broken lines.

Column III.

Many lines lost.

1. . . . . swear and the house . . . .
2. . . . . country and father . . . .
3. . . . . foundation and fixed . . . .
4. . . . . house built now . . . .
5. this all and the portion . . . .
6. the day he brought me fate I . . . .
7. him, his seat also he lays waste?
8. Afterwards may he waste to another . . . .
9. The warrior Lubara, the just also of Kutha?
10. and the unjust also of Kutha,
11. who sin against thee also in Kutha,
12. who do not sin against thee also in Kutha,
13. . . . . of the god of Kutha,
14. . . . . head of the king of Kutha?

Two other mutilated lines.

Column IV.

1. The planet Jupiter fearing and . . . .
2. to his might . . . .
3. not rejoicing . . . .
4. who the side carried him, destroyed . . . .
5. to the seat of the king of the gods may he send and . . . .
6. The warrior Lubara heard also
7. the words Itak spoke to him then . . . .
8. and thus spake the warrior Lubara:

9. The sea coast with the sea coast, Subarta with Subarta, Assyrian with Assyrian.

10. Elamite with Elamite

11. Cossean with Cossean

12. Sutu with Sutu

13. Goim with Goim

14. Lulubu with Lulubu

15. Country with country, house with house, man with man,

16. brother with brother, in the country close together, and may they destroy each other,

17. and afterwards may the people of Akkad increase, and

18. the whole of them may they destroy, and fight against them.

19. The warrior Lubara to Itak who goes before him a word spake:

20. Go also Itak, in the word thou hast spoken do according to all thy heart.

21. Itak to the land of Syria set his face,

22. and the seven warrior gods unequalled

23. marched after him.

24. To the country of Syria the warrior went,

25. his hand he also lifted and destroyed the land,

26. the land of Syria he took for his country,

27. the forests of people . . . . he broke through the ranks?

28. . . . like . . . .

The next fragments of the story are on a mutilated copy of the last tablet, K 1282. This tablet, as

I have before stated, is only a smaller supplemental one to include the end of the story, which could not be written on the fourth tablet.

K. 1282.

Obverse.

1. When Lubara . . . .

2. the gods all of them . . . .

3. the angels and spirits all . . . .

4. Lubara his mouth opened and . . . .

5. shake also the whole of you . . . .

6. I am placed? and in the first sin . . . .

7. my heart is angry and . . . .

8. like a flock of sheep may . . . .

9. against the setting up of boundaries . . . .

10. like spoiling the country right and . . . .
11. in the mouth of a dog noble?
12. and the place . . . .
Fifteen lines much broken here.
28. . . . . the land of Akkad its strength . . . .
29. one of thy seven chiefs like . . . .
30. his cities to ruins and mounds thou dost reduce . . . .
31. his great spoil thou dost spoil, to the midst of. . . .
32. the gods of the country strong thou removest afar off . . . .
33. the god Ner and . . . .
34. the productions of the countries . . . .
35. within it they gather . . . .
Four mutilated lines here.

Reverse.

1. For years untold the glory of the great lord. . . .
2. When Lubara was angry also to sweep the countries . . . .
3. he set . . . . his face
4. Itak his adviser quieted him and stayed . . . .
6. collecting his . . . . to the mighty one of the gods, Merodach son of . . . .
7. in the commencement of the . night he sent him, and like in the year . . . .
8. Not any one . . . .
9. . . . . and went not down against . . . .
10. his . . . . also Lubara received and before . . . .
11. . . . . Itak went before him rejoicing . . . .
12. . . . . all of them placed with him.
13. Any one who shall speak of the warrior Lubara
14. and that song shall glorify; in his place, thou wilt guard continually . . . .
15. . . . . cover and may he not fall? . . . . .
16. his name shall be proclaimed over the world.
17. Whoever my heroism shall recount,
18. an adversary may he not meet.
19. The prophet who shall cry it out, shall not die by the chastisement;
20. higher than king and prince he shall raise his people.
21. The tablet writer who studies it and flees from the wicked, shall be great in the land.

22. In the places of the people the established places, my name they proclaim,

23. their ears I open.

24. In the house the place where their goods are placed, when Lubara is angry

25. may the seven gods turn him aside,

26. may the chastising sword not touch him whose face thou establishest.

27. That song for ever may they establish and may they fix the part . . . .

28. the countries all of them may they hear, and glorify my heroism;

29. the people of all the cities may they see, and exalt my name.

Fifth tablet of the exploits of . . . .

Here we see a picture of Oriental feeling with reference to natural phenomenon or disaster to mankind.

It is supposed that some deity or angel stands with a sword over the devoted people and sweeps them into eternity.

What these Babylonians had been guilty of the record is not perfect enough to show. The first fragment shows the anger of Anu at their sin or supposed sin and his command to Lubara to take his weapon, slay the people, and desolate the land like the God Ner. This god Ner was a legendary being believed in at the time of Izdubar, who is mentioned as having a terrible name and being with Etana a dweller in Hades.

The next fragment exhibits the goddess of Karrak as healing the illness of some of the people, 4102 being mentioned as struck with disease.

In the next and largest fragment the story becomes a little more connected, it commences with a description of preparation for battle, and goes on through speeches and actions to describe the course of Lubara and his plague over Babylon, where he spares neither chief nor slave, and enters even the palace. It is supposed in lines 29–31 that the sin of the Babylonians arose from the chief priest or governor of the city arming the troops and sending them out to plunder the people. For this the plague is sent, and its progress is graphically described. The next city visited belongs to Shamas, being either Larsa, or Sippara, and then the plague reaches Erech. The character of this city is described, the Venus worship, the women of pleasure Samhati and Harimati, the priests and ceremonies, and the progress of the plague over the place. Then the great god the deity of Duran comes forward and pleads for his city, calling to

mind its uprightness and justice, and praying its exemption from the plague.

Cutha is next mentioned in the obscure third column, and then the fourth column describes a prophecy of Lubara that there should be internal war among the Mesopotamian peoples of the sea-coast, Subarti, Assyrians, Elamites, Cosseans, Guti, Goim, and Lulubu, from all which troubles benefit should come to the Akkadians or upper Babylonians.

Then according to his wish Lubara sends Itak his servant, with the seven warrior gods to destroy Syria, and Itak sweeps over the country and destroys it.

The last tablet deals in generalities pointing out the action of Lubara when his praise was neglected, and telling all the glories and good that should come to those who should spread a song in honour of this deity. On the spread of a plague it is evident that the Babylonians had no better means of arresting it than to pray and praise the supposed terrible deity of the scourge, that he might sheathe his sword of anger.

CHAPTER IX. BABYLONIAN FABLES.

Fables. — Common in the East. — Description. — Power of speech in animals. — Story of the eagle. — Serpent. — Shamas. — The eagle caught. — Eats the serpent. — Anger of birds. — Etana. — Seven gods. — Third tablet. — Speech of eagle. — Story of the fox. — His cunning. — Judgment of Shamas. — His show of sorrow. — His punishment. — Speech of fox: — Fable of the horse and ox. — They consort together. — Speech of the ox. — His good fortune. — Contrast with the horse. — Hunting the ox. —— Speech of the horse. — Offers to recount story. — Story of Ishtar. — Further tablets.

COMBINED with these stories of the gods, traditions of the early history of man, and accounts of the Creation, are fragments of a series in which the various animals speak and act. I call these tablets "Fables" to distinguish them from the others, but, as many of the others are equally fabulous and very similar in style, the name must not be taken to imply any distinctive character in this direction. It is probable that all these stories even in Babylonia were equally believed in by the devout and the ignorant, treated as allegories by the poets, and repudiated as fabulous by the learned. In the "Fables" or stories in which animals play prominent parts, each creature is endowed with the power of speech, and this idea was common even in that day in the whole of Western Asia and Egypt, it is found in various Egyptian stories, it occurs in Genesis, where we have a speaking serpent, in Numbers where Balaam's ass reproves his master, and in the stories of Jotham and Joash, where the trees are made to speak; again in the Izdubar legends, where the trees answer Heabani.

These legends so far as I have discovered are four in number.

The first contained at least four tablets each having four columns of writing. Two of the acting animals in it are the eagle and the serpent.

The second is similar in character, the leading animal being the fox or jackal, there are only four fragments, and I have no evidence as to the number of tablets; this may belong to the same series as the fable of the eagle.

The third is a single tablet with two columns of writing, it is a discussion between the horse and ox.

The fourth is a single fragment in which a calf speaks, but there is nothing to show the nature of the story.

I. The Story of the Eagle.

This story appears to be the longest and most curious of these legends, but the very mutilated condition of the various fragments gives as usual considerable difficulty in attempting an explanation. One of the actors in the story is an ancient monarch named Etana who is mentioned as already dead, and as being an inhabitant of the infernal regions in the time of Izdubar.

I am unable to ascertain the order of the fragments of these legends and must translate them as they come.

K 2527.

Many lines lost at commencement.

1. The serpent in . . .
2. I give command? . . . . . .
3. to the eagle . . . . . .
4. Again the nest . . . . . .
5. my nest I leave . . . . . .
6. the assembly? of my people . . . . . .
7. I go down and enter?
8. the sentence which Shamas has pronounced on me . . . . . .
9. I feel? Shamas thy sight? in the earth . . . .
10. thy stroke? this . . . .
11. in thy sight? let me not . . . .
12. doing evil the goddess Bau (Gula) was . . . .
13. The sorrow of the serpent [shamas saw and]
14. Shamas opened his mouth and word he spoke to. . . .
15. Go the way . . . . pass . . . .
16. I cut thee off? . . . .
17. open also his heart . . . .
18. . . . . he placed . . . .
19. . . . . birds of heaven . . .

Reverse.

1. The eagle with them . . . .
2. the god? knew . . . .
3. to enter to the food he sought . . . .
4. to cover the . . . .
5. to the midst at his entering . . . .
6. enclosed the feathers of his wings . . . .
7. his claws? and his pinions to . . . .
8. dying of hunger and thirst . . . .

9. at the work of Shamas the warrior, the serpent. . . .
10. he took also the serpent to . . . .
11. he opened also his heart . . . .
12. seat he placed . . .
13. the anger of the birds of heaven . . . .
14. May the eagle . . . .
15. with the young of the birds . . . .
16. The eagle opened his mouth . . . .

Five other mutilated lines.

On another fragment are the following few words: —

Obverse.

1. . . . issu to him also . . . .
2. . . . god my father . . . .
3. like Etana kill thee . . . .
4. like me . . . .
5. Etana the king . . . .
6. took him . . . .

Reverse.

1. Within the gate of Anu, Elu . . . .
2. . . . .we will fix . . . .
3. within the gate of sin, Shamas, Vul and . . . .
4. . . . . I opened . . . .
5. . . . . I sweep . . . .
6. . . . . in the midst . . . .
7. the king . . . .
8. turned? and . . . .
9. I cover the throne . . . .
10. I take also . . . .
11. and greatly I break . . . .
12. The eagle to him also to Etana . . . .
13. I fear the serpent?
14. the course do thou fix for me . . . .
15. . . . . make me great . . . .

The next fragment, K 2606, is curious, as containing an account of some early legendary story in Babylonian history. This tablet formed the third in the series, and from it we gain part of the title of the tablets.

K 2606.

1. . . . . placed . . . .
2. . . . back bone . . . .
3. this . . . . placed . . .
4. . . . . fixed its brickwork . . . .
5. . . . . to the government of them . . . .
6. Etana he gave them . . . .
7. . . . . sword . . . .
8. the seven spirits . . . .
9. . . . . they took their counsel . . . .
10. . . . . placed in the country . . . .
11. . . . . all of them the angels . . . .
12. . . . . they . . . .
13. In those days also . . . .
14. and a sceptre of ukni stone . . . .
15. to rule the country . . . .
16. the seven gods over the people they raised . . . .
17. over the cities they raised . . . .
18. the city of the angels Surippak?
19. Ishtar to the neighbourhood to . . . .
20. and the king flew . . . .
21. Inninna to the neighbourhood . . . .
22. and the king flew . . . .
23. Elu encircled the sanctuary of . . . .
24. he sought also . . . .
25. in the wide country . . . .
26. the kingdom . . . .
27. he took and
28. the gods of the country

Reverse.

Many lines lost.

1. from of old he caused to wait . . . .

2.. Third tablet of “The city they . . . .

3. The eagle his mouth opened and to Shamas his lord he spake

The next fragment is a small portion probably of the fourth tablet.

1. The eagle his mouth opened . . . .

2. . . . . .
3. the people of the birds . . . .
4. . . . . .
5. angrily he spake . . . .
6. angrily I speak . . . .
7. in the mouth of Shamas the warrior . . . .
8. the people of the birds . . . .
9. The eagle his mouth opened and . . . .
10. Why comest thou . . . .
11. Etana his mouth opened and . . . .
12. speech? . . . . he . . . .

Such are the principal fragments of this curious legend. According to the fragment K 2527, the serpent had committed some sin for which it was condemned by the god Shamas to be eaten by the eagle; but the eagle declined the repast.

After this, some one, whose name is lost, baits a trap for the eagle, and the bird going to get the meat, falls into the trap and is caught. Now the eagle is left, until dying for want of food it is glad to eat the serpent, which it takes and tares open. The other birds then take offence, and desire that the eagle should be excluded from their ranks.

The other fragments concern the building of some city, Etana being king, and in these relations the eagle again appears, there are seven spirits or angels principal actors in the matter, but the whole story is obscure at present, and a connected plot cannot be made out.

This fable has evidently some direct connection with the mythical history of Babylonia, for Etana is mentioned as an ancient Babylonian monarch in the Izdubar legends. His memory was cherished as belonging to one of the terrible monarchs who were inhabiting Hades, probably on account of their deeds.

II. Story of the Fox.

The next fable, that of the fox, is perhaps part of the same story, the fragments are so disconnected that they must be given without any attempt at arrangement.

K. 3641.

Column I.

1. To. . . .
2. the people . . . .
3. father . . . .

4. mother called . . . .
5. he had asked and . . . .
6. he had raised life . . . .
7. thou in that day also . . . .
8. thou knowest enticing? and cunning, thou . . . .
9. of . . . . chains, his will he . . . .
10. about the rising of the jackal also he sent me let not . . . .
11. in a firm command he set my feet,
12. again by his will is the destruction of life.
13. Shamas in thy sentence, the answer? let him not escape,
14. by wisdom and cunning let them put to death the fox.

15. The fox on hearing this, bowed his head in the presence of Shamas and wept.
16. To the powerful presence of Shamas he went in his tears:
17. With this sentence O Shamas do not destroy me,
(Columns II. and III. lost.)

Column IV.

1. Go to my forest, do not turn back afterwards
2. . . . shall not come out, and the sun shall not be seen,
3. thou, any one shall not cut thee off . . . .
4. by the anger of my heart and fierceness of my face thou shalt fear before me,
5. may they keep thee and I will not . . . .
6. may they take hold of thee and not . . . .
7. may they bind thee and not . . . .
8. may they fell thy limbs . . . .
9. Then wept the jackal . . . .
10. he bowed his head . . . .
11. thou hast fixed . . . .
12. taking the . . . .

Four other mutilated lines.

The next fragment has lost the commencements and ends of all the lines.

1. . . . . carried in his mouth . . . .
2. . . . . before his . . . .
3. . . . . thou knowest wisdom and all . .
4. . . . . in . . . . of the jackal it was . . . .

5. . . . . in the field the fox . . . .
6. . . . . was decided under the ruler the . . . .
7. . . . . all laying down under him and of . . . .
8. . . . . he . . . . also . . . . he fled . . . .
9 . . . . . angry command, and not any one . . . .
10. . . . . mayest thou become old . . . . and take. . . .
11. . . . . in those days also the fox carried . . . .
12. . . . . the people he spoke. Why . . . .
13. . . . . the dog is removed and . . . .

The following fragment is in similar condition.

1. . . . . The limbs not . . . .
2. . . . . I did not weave and unclothed I am not. . . .
3. . . . . stranger I know . . . .
4. . . . . I caught and I surrounded . . . .
5. . . . from of old also the dog was my brother . . .
6. . . . . he begot me, a good place . .
7. . . . . of the city of Nisin I of Bel . . . .
8. . . . . limbs and the bodies did not stand . . .
9. . . . . life I did not end . . . .
10. . . . . brought up . . . . me . . . .

The fourth fragment contains only five legible lines.

1. . . . . was placed also right and left . .
2. . . . . their ruler sought . . . . .
3. . . . . let it not be . . . .
4. . . . he feared and did not throw down his spoil . . .

5. . . . fox in the forest . . . .

The last fragment is a small scrap, at the end of which the fox petitions Shamas to spare him.

The incidental allusions in these fragments show that the fox or jackal was even then considered cunning, and the animal in the story was evidently a watery specimen, as he brings tears to his assistance whenever anything is to be gained by it. He had offended Shamas by some means and the god sentenced him to death, a sentence which he escaped through powerful pleading on his own behalf.

III. Fable of the Horse and Ox.

The next fable, that of the horse and the ox, is a single tablet with only two columns of text. The date of the tablet is in the reign of Assurbanipal, and there is no statement that it is copied from an earlier text. There are altogether four portions of the text, but only one is perfect

enough to be worth translating. This largest fragment, K 3456, contains about one third of the story.

K 3456.

(Several lines lost at commencement.)

1. . . . . the river . . . .
2. of food . . . . rest . . . .
3. height . . . . the Tigris situated
4. they ended . . . . was . . . .
5. in the flowers . . . . they disported in the floods?
6. the high places . . . . appearance
7. the vallies . . . . the country
8. at the appearance . . . . made the timid afraid
9. a boundless place . . . . he turned
10. in the side . . . .
11. of the waste . . . . earth were free within it
12. the tribes of beasts rejoiced in companionship and friendship,
13. between the ox and the horse friendship was made,
14. they rejoiced their . . . . over the friendship,
15. they consorted and pleased their hearts, and were prosperous.
16. The ox opened his mouth, and spake and said to the horse glorious in war:
17. I am pondering now upon the good fortune at my hand.
18. From the beginning of the year to the end of the year I ponder at my appearance.
19. He destroyed abundance of food, he dried up rivers of waters,
20. in the flowers he rolled, a carpet he made,
21. the vallies and springs he made for his country,
22. the high places he despised, he raged in the floods,
23. the sight of his horns make the timid afraid,
24. A boundless place is portioned for his . . . .
25. the man . . . . learned ceased . . . .
26. he broke the ropes and waited . . . .
27. and the horse will not approach a child, and he drives him . . . .
28. they catch thee thyself
29. he ascends also . . . .

Here the ox gives a good picture of his state and enjoyment, and looks with contempt on the horse because he is tamed.

After this comes a speech from the horse to the bull, the rest of the tablet being occupied by speeches and answers between the two animals.

Most of these speeches are lost or only present in small fragments, and the story recommences on the reverse with the end of a speech from the horse.

1. fate . . . .
2. strong brass? . . . .
3. like with a cloak I am clothed and . . . .
4. over me any one not suited . . . .
5. king, high priest, lord and prince do not seek . . . .

6. The ox opened his mouth and spake and said to the horse glorious . . . .
7. I say I am noble and thou gatherest . . . .
8. in thy fighting why . . . .
9. the lord of the chariot destroys me and desolation . . . .
10. in my body I am firm . . . .
11. in my inside I am firm . . . .
12. the warrior draws out of his quiver . . . .
13. strength carries a curse . . . .
14. the weapon of my masters over . . . .
15. he causes to see servitude like . . . .
16. . . . . in thee is not . . . .
17. he causes to go on the path over . . . .

18. The horse opened his mouth and spake arid said to the ox . . . .
19. In my hearing . . . .
20. the weapon . . . .
21. the swords . . . .
22. . . . . .
23. strength? of the heart which does not . . . .
24. in crossing that river . . . .
25. in the paths of thy country . . . .
26. I reveal? ox the story . . . .
27. in thy appearance, it is not . . . .
28. thy splendour is subdued? . . . .
29. like . . . . the horse . . . .

30. The ox opened his mouth and spake and said to the horse . . . .
31. Of the stories which thou tellest . . . .
32. open first (that of) “When the noble Ishtar. . . .

(Colophon)

Palace of Assurbanipal, king of nations, king . . .

It appears from these fragments that the story described a time when the animals associated together, and the ox and horse fell into a friendly conversation. The ox, commencing the discussion, praised himself; the answer of the horse is lost, but where the story recommences it appears that the ox objects to the horse drawing the chariot from which he (the ox) is hunted, and the horse ultimately offers to tell the ox a story, the ox choosing the story called “When the noble Ishtar “, probably some story of the same character as Ishtar’s descent into Hades.

It is uncertain if any other tablet followed this; it is, however, probable that there was one containing the story told by the horse. Although there is no indication to show the date of this fable, I should think, by the style and matter, it belonged to about the same date as the other writings given in this volume. The loss of the tablet containing the story of Ishtar, told by the horse to the ox, is unfortunate. It is evident that Ishtar was a very celebrated goddess, and her adventures formed the subject of many narratives. Some of the words and forms in these fables are exactly the same as those used in the Izdubar and Creation legends, and in all these stories the deity Shamas figures more prominently than is usual in the mythology. The last fable is a mere fragment similar to the others, containing a story in which the calf speaks. There is not enough of this to make it worth translation.

CHAPTER X. FRAGMENTS OF MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS.

Atarpi. — Sin of the world. — Mother and daughter quarrel. — Zamu. — Punishment of world. — Hea. — Calls his sons. — Orders drought. — Famine. — Building. — Nusku. — Riddle of wise man. — Nature and universal presence of air. — Gods. — Sinuri. — Divining by fracture of reed. — Incantation. — Dream. — Tower of Babel. — Obscurity of legend. — Not noticed by Berosus. — Fragmentary tablet. — Destruction of Tower. — Dispersion. — Locality Babylon. — Birs Nimrud. — Babil. — Assyrian representations.

I HAVE included in this chapter a number of stories of a similar character to those of Genesis, but which are not directly connected, and a fragment relating to the tower of Babel. The first and principal text is the story of Atarpi, or Atarpi-nisi. ‘This story is on a tablet in six columns, and there is only one copy. It is very mutilated, very little being preserved except Column III., and there are numerous repetitions throughout the text. The inscription has originally been a long one, probably extending to about 400 lines of writing, the text differs from the generality of these inscriptions, being very obscure and difficult. In consequence of this and other reasons, I only give an outline of most of the story.

We are first told of a quarrel between a mother and her daughter, and that the mother shuts the door of the house, and turns her daughter adrift. The doings of a man named Zamu have some connection with the affair; and at the close we are told of Atarpi, sometimes called Atarpi-nisi, or Atarpi the “man” who had his couch beside a river, and was pious to the gods, but took no notice of these things. Where the story next opens, the god Elu or Bel calls together an assembly of the gods his sons, and relates to them that he is angry at the sin of the world, stating also that he will bring down upon them disease, poison, and distress. This is followed by the statement that these things came to pass, and Atarpi then invoked the god Hea to remove these evils. Hea answers, and announces his resolve to destroy the people. After this the story reads:

1. Hea called his assembly he said to the gods his sons
2. . . . . I made them
3. . . . shall not stretch until before he turns.

4. Their wickedness I am angry at,
5. their punishment shall not be small,
6. I will look to judge the people,
7. in their stomach let food be exhausted,
8. above let Vul drink up his rain,
9. let the lower regions be shut up, and the floods not be carried in the streams,
10. let the ground be hardened which was overflown,
11. let the growth of corn cease, may blackness overspread the fields,
12. let the plowed fields bring forth thorns,
13. may the cultivation be broken up, food not arise and it not produce,
14. may distress be spread over the people,
15. may favour be broken off, and good not be given.

16. He looked also to judge the people,
17. in their stomach food he exhausted,
18. Above Vul drank up his rains,
19. the lower regions were shut up, and floods not carried in the streams,
20. The ground was hardened which had been overflown,
21. the growth of corn ceased, blackness spread over the fields,
22. the plowed fields brought forth thorns, the cultivation was broken up,
23. food did not rise, and it did not produce,
24. distress was spread over the people,
25. favour was broken off, good was not given.

This will serve to show the style of the tablet. The instrument of punishment was apparently a famine from want of rain, but there are some obscure words even in this passage.

Here the story is again lost, and where it recommences some one is making a speech, directing another person to cut something into portions, and place seven on each side, then to build brickwork round them. After this comes a single fragment, the connection of which with the former part is obscure.

1. I curse the goddess . . . .
2. to her face also . . . .

3. Anu opened his mouth and spake and said to Nusku

4. Nusku open thy gate thy weapons take
5. in the assembly of the great gods the will?
6. their speech?
7. Anu has sent me . . . .
8. your king has sent?

At present no satisfactory story can be made out of the detached fragments of this tablet, but it evidently belongs to the mythical portion of Babylonian history.

The next text is a single fragment, K 2407, belonging to a curious story of a wise man who puts a riddle to the gods.

K 2407.

(Many lines lost.)

1. which in the house is . . . .
2. which in the secret place is . . . .
3. which is in the foundation of the house . . . .
4. which on the floor? of the house stands, which. . . .
5. which in the vicinity . . . .
6. which by the sides of the house goes down . . . .
7. which in the ditch of the house open, lays down. . . .
8. which roars like a bull, which brays like an ass,
9. which flutters like a sail, which bleats like a sheep,
10. which barks like a dog,
11. which growls like a bear,
12. which into the breast of a man enters, which into the breast of a woman enters.
13. Sar-nerra heard the word which the wise son of man
14. asked, and all the gods he sent to:
15. Friends are ye I am unable? . . . . to you

After this there is a mutilated passage containing the names, titles, and actions of the gods who consider the riddle. It is evident that it is air or wind which the wise man means in his riddle, for this is everywhere, and in its sounds imitates the cries of animals.

Next we have another single fragment about a person named Sinuri, who uses a divining rod to ascertain the meaning of a dream.

1. Sinuri with the cut reed pondered . . . .
2. with his right hand he broke it, and Sinuri spake and thus said:
3. Now the plant of Nusku, shrub? of Shamas at thou,
4. Judge, thou judgest (or divinest), divine concerning this dream,
5. which in the evening, at midnight, or in the morning,
6. has come, which thou knowest, but I do not know.

7. If it be good may its good not be lost to me,
8. if it be evil may its evil not happen to me.

There are some more obscure and broken lines, but no indication as to the story to which it belongs.

One of the most obscure incidents in the Book of Genesis is undoubtedly the building of the Tower of

Babel. So far as we can judge from the fragments of his copyists, there was no reference to it in the work of Berosus, and early writers had to quote from writers of more than doubtful authority in order to confirm it.

There is also no representation on any of the Babylonian gems which can with any certainty be described as belonging to this story. I have, however, picked out three from a series of these carvings which I think may be distorted representations of the event. In these and some others of the same sort, figures have their hands on tall piles, as if erecting them; and there is a god always represented near, in much the same attitude. There is no proper proportion between the supposed structure and the men, and I would not urge more than a possible connection with the myth. The utter absence of any allusion to the tower, either in Berosus or the inscriptions, led me to doubt at one time if the story. ever formed part of the Babylonian history.

Early this year I was astonished to find, on having one of the Assyrian fragments cleaned, that it contained a mutilated account of part of the story of the tower. I have since searched through the whole collection, but have been unable to find any more of this tablet, except two minute fragments which add nothing to the text.

It is evident from the wording of the fragment that it was preceded by at least one tablet, describing the sin of the people in building the tower. The fragment preserved belongs to a tablet containing from four to six columns of writing, of which fragments of four remain. The principal part is the beginning of Column I.

Column I.

1. . . . . them? the father . . . .
2. . . . . of him, his heart was evil,
3. . . . . against the father of all the gods was wicked,
4. . . . of him, his heart was evil,
5. . . . . Babylon brought to subjection,

6. [small] and great he confounded their speech.
7. . . . . Babylon brought to subjection,
8. [small] and great he confounded their speech.
9. their strong place (tower) all the day they founded;
10. to their strong place in the night
11. entirely he made an end.
12. In his anger also word thus he poured out:
13. [to] scatter abroad he set his face
14. he gave this? command, their counsel was confused
15. . . . . the course he broke
16. . . . . fixed the sanctuary

There is a small fragment of Column II., but the connection with Column I. is not apparent.

Column II.

1. Sar-tul-elli . . . .
2. in front carried Anu . . . .
3. to Bel-sara his father . . . .
4. like his heart also . . . .
5. which carried wisdom . . . .
6. In those days also . . . .
7. he carried him . . . .
8. Nin-kina . . . .
9. My son I rise and . . . .
10. his number(?) . . . .
11. entirely . . . .

There is a third portion on the same tablet belonging to a column on the other side, either the third or the fifth.

Reverse Column III. or V.

1. In . . . .
2. he blew and . . . .
3. for a long time in the cities . . . .
4. Nunanner went . . . .
5. He said, like heaven and earth . . .
6. that path they went . . . .
7. fiercely they approached to the presence . . . .
8. he saw them and the earth . . . .

9. of stopping not . . . .
10. of the gods . . . .
11. the gods looked . . . .
12. violence(?) . . . .
13. Bitterly they wept at Babi . . . .
14. very much they grieved . . . .
15. at their misfortune and . . . .

These fragments are so remarkable that it is most unfortunate we have not the remainder of the tablet.

In the first part we have the anger of the gods at the sin of the world, the place mentioned being Babylon. The building or work is called tazimat or tazimtu, a word meaning strong, and there is a curious relation, lines 9 to 11, that what they built in the day the god destroyed in the night.

The remainder of the fragment and the two fragments of the other columns agree with the story as far as their mutilated condition allows. The fractured end of the 13th line of the third fragment has the beginning of a name Babi, which may be completed Babil or Babel, but I have not ventured on the restoration. In the case of the 6th and 8th lines of the first fragment I have translated the word “speech” with a prejudice; I have never seen the Assyrian word with this meaning.

The whole account is at present so fragmentary that I think it better to make no detailed comparisons until more of the text is obtained. The various notices which have come down to us seem to me to point to the great pile of Birs Nimrud, near Babylon, as the site of the tower, this opinion is held by Sir Henry Rawlinson and most other authorities of weight. This ruin has been examined by Sir Henry Rawlinson; details of his operations here are given in “Jour. Asiatic Soc.,” vol. xviii., and Rawlinson’s “Ancient Monarchies,” . Sir Henry discovered by excavation that the tower consisted of seven stages of brickwork on an earthen platform, each stage being of a different colour. The temple was devoted to the seven planets; the height of the earthen platform was not ascertained, the first stage, which was an exact square, was 272 feet each way, and 26 feet high, the bricks blackened with bitumen; this stage is supposed to have been devoted to the planet Saturn. The second stage was a square of 230 feet, 26 feet high, faced with orange-coloured bricks; supposed to be devoted to Jupiter. The third stage, 188 feet square, and 26 feet high, faced with red bricks, was probably dedicated to Mars. The fourth stage, 146 feet square, and 15 feet high, was probably devoted to the Sun, and is supposed by Sir H. Rawlinson to

have been originally plated with gold. The fifth stage is supposed to have been 104, the sixth 62, and the seventh 20 feet square, but the top was too ruinous to decide these measurements. These stages were probably devoted to Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. Each stage of the building was not set in the centre of the stage on which it rested, but was placed 30 feet from the front, and 12 feet from the back. The ruin at present rises 154 feet above the level of the plain, and is the most imposing pile in the whole country. The only other ruin which has any claim to represent the tower is the Babil mound within the enclosure of Babylon, which is the site of the Temple of Bel. I have given views of both ruins as the possible alternative sites.

In the Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures there are occasionally representations of towers similar in style to the supposed Tower of Babel; one of these is given on the stone of Merodach Baladan I., opposite of "Assyrian Discoveries;" another occurs on the sculptures at Nineveh, representing the city of Babylon; this tower is probably the Borsippa pile, which is supposed to represent the Tower of Babel. Birs Nimrud now consists of seven stages, but the top stages were only built by Nebuchadnezzar; before his time it probably presented the appearance shown in the Assyrian sculpture, and in the similar Babylonian representation figured opposite page 236 of "Assyrian Discoveries."

CHAPTER XI. THE IZDUBAR LEGENDS.

Account of Deluge. — Nimrod. — Izdubar. — Age of Legends. — Babylonian cylinders. — Notices of Izdubar. — Surippak. — Ark City. — Twelve tablets. — Extent of Legends. — Description. — Introduction. — Meeting of Heabani and Izdubar. — Destruction of tyrant Humbaba. — Adventures of Ishtar. — Illness and wanderings of Izdubar. — Description of Deluge and conclusion. — First Tablet. — Kingdom of Nimrod. — Traditions. — Identifications. — Translation. — Elamite Conquest. — Dates.

THESE legends, which I discovered in 1872, are principally of interest from their containing the Chaldean account of the Deluge. I have published the most perfect portions in various forms since, the most complete account being in my "Assyrian Discoveries." These legends have also been commented upon by M. Lenormant in his "Les Premières Civilizations," and by Mr. Fox Talbot in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology."

The Izdubar legends give, I believe, the history of the Biblical hero Nimrod. They record the adventures of a famous sovereign of Babylonia whom I provisionally call Izdubar, but whose name cannot at present be phonetically rendered. He appears to me to be the monarch who bears the closest resemblance in his fame and actions to the Nimrod of the Bible.

Since the first discovery of his history, very little light has been thrown on the age and exploits of Izdubar. Among all the references and allusions there is nothing exact or satisfactory to fix his place in the scheme of Babylonian history. The age of the legends of Izdubar in their present form is unknown, but may fairly be placed about B.C. 2000. As these stories were traditions in the country before they were committed to writing, their antiquity as traditions is probably much greater than that.

The earliest evidence we have of these traditions is in the carvings on early Babylonian cylindrical seals. Among the earliest known devices on these seals we have scenes from the legends of Izdubar, and from the story of the Creation. These seals belong to the age of the kings of Akkad and of Ur, and some of them may be older than B.C. 2000. The principal incidents represented on these seals are the struggles of Izdubar and his companion Heabani with the lion and the bull, the journey of Izdubar ih search of Hasisadra, Noah or Hasisadra in his ark, and the war between Tiamat the sea-dragon and the god Merodach. There is a

fragment of one document in the British Museum which claims to be copied from an omen tablet belonging to the time of Izdubar himself, but it is probably not earlier than B.C. 1600, when many similar tablets were written.

There is an incidental notice of Izdubar and his ship, in allusion to the story of his wanderings, in the tablet printed in "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. ii. . This tablet, which contains lists of wooden objects, was written in the time of Assurbanipal, but is copied from an original, which must have been written at least eighteen hundred years before the Christian era. The geographical notices on this tablet suit the period between B.C. 2000 and 1800, long before the rise of Babylon. In this tablet Surippak is called the ship or ark city, this name forming another reference to the Flood legends. Izdubar is also mentioned in a series of tablets relating to witchcraft, and on a tablet containing prayers to him as a god; this last showing that he was deified, an honour also given to several other Babylonian kings.

The legends of Izdubar are inscribed on twelve tablets, of which there are remains of at least four editions. Ail the tablets are in fragments, and none of them are complete; but it is a fortunate circumstance that the most perfect tablet is the eleventh, which describes the Deluge, this being the most important of the series. In chapter i. I have described the successive steps in the discovery of these legends, and may now pass on to the description and translation of the various fragments. All the fragments of our present copies belong, as I have before stated, to the reign of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, in the seventh century B.C. From the mutilated condition of many of them it is impossible at present to gain an accurate idea of the whole scope of the legends, and many parts which are lost have to be supplied by conjecture, the order even of some of the tablets cannot be determined, and it is uncertain if we have fragments of the whole twelve tablets; in my present account, however, I have conjecturally divided the fragments into groups corresponding roughly with the subjects of the tablets. Each tablet when complete contained six columns of writing, and each column had generally from forty to fifty lines of writing, there being in all about 3,000 lines of cuneiform text. The divisions I have adopted will be seen by the following summary, which exhibits my present knowledge of the fragments.

Part I. — Introduction.

Tablet I. — Number of lines uncertain, probably about 240. First column initial line preserved, second column lost, third column twenty-

six lines preserved, fourth column doubtful fragment inserted, fifth and sixth columns lost.

Probable subjects: conquest of Babylonia by the Elamites, birth and parentage of Izdubar.

Part II. — Meeting of Heabani and Izdubar.

Tablet II. — Number of lines uncertain, probably about 240. First and second columns lost, third and fourth columns about half preserved, fifth and sixth columns lost.

Tablet III. — Number of lines about 270. First column fourteen lines preserved, second, third, fourth and fifth columns nearly perfect, sixth column a fragment.

Probable subjects: dream of Izdubar, Heabani invited comes to Erech, and explains the dream.

Part III. — Destruction of the tyrant Humbaba.

Tablet IV. — Number of lines probably about 260. About one-third of first, second, and third columns, doubtful fragments of fourth, fifth, and sixth columns.

Tablet V. — Number of lines about 260. Most of first column, and part of second column preserved, third, fourth, and fifth columns lost, fragment of sixth column.

Probable subjects: contests with wild animals, Izdubar and Heabani slay the tyrant Humbaba.

Part IV. — Adventures of Ishtar.

Tablet VI. — Number of lines about 210. Most of first column preserved, second column nearly perfect, third and fourth columns partly preserved, fifth and sixth columns nearly perfect.

Tablet VII. — Number of lines probably about 240. First line of first column preserved, second column lost, third and fourth column partly preserved, fifth and sixth columns conjecturally restored from tablet of descent of Ishtar into Hades.

Probable subjects: Ishtar loves Izdubar, her amours, her ascent to heaven, destruction of her bull, her descent to hell.

Part V. — Illness and wanderings of Izdubar.

Tablet VIII. — Number of lines probably about 270. Conjectured fragments of first, second, and third columns, fourth and fifth columns lost, conjectured fragments of sixth column.

Tablet IX. — Number of lines about 190. Portions of all six columns preserved.

Tablet X. — Number of lines about 270. Portions of all six columns preserved.

Probable subjects: discourse to trees, dreams, illness of Izdubar, death of Heabani, wanderings of Izdubar in search of the hero of the Deluge.

Part VI — Description of Deluge, and conclusion.

Tablet XI. — Number of lines 294. All six columns nearly perfect.

Tablet XII. — Number of lines about 200. Portions of first four columns preserved, two lines of fifth column, sixth column perfect.

Probable subjects: description of Deluge, cure of Izdubar, his lamentation over Heabani.

In this chapter I give under the head of the first tablet an account of my latest conclusions on the subject of the personality of Nimrod, and his identity with the Izdubar of these legends.

Tablet I.

The opening words of the first tablet are preserved, they happen as usual to form the title of the series, but the expressions in the title are obscure, from want of any context to explain them. There are two principal or key words, *naqbi* and *kugar;* the meaning of *kugar* is quite unknown, and *naqbi* is ambiguous, having several meanings, one being "channel" or "water-course," which I have before conceived to be its meaning here; but it has another meaning, which I now think better fits the character of the legends, this meaning is "curse" or "misfortune." Taking this meaning, the opening line will read as the title of the legends, "Of the misfortune seen to happen to Izdubar." This makes the legends the story of a curse or misfortune which befell the great Babylonian king Izdubar; and, now that the fragments are put together and arranged in order, it appears that this is a correct description of the contents of these curious tablets.

After the heading and opening line there is a considerable blank in the story, two columns of writing being entirely lost. It is probable that this part contained the account of the parentage and previous history of Izdubar, forming the introduction to the story. In the subsequent portions of the history there is very little information to supply the loss of this part of the inscription; but it appears that the mother of Izdubar was named Dannat, which is only a title meaning "lady" or "wife of the chief." His father is not named in any of our present fragments, but he is referred to in the third tablet. He is most probably represented to be a god, and the most likely deity is Samas, who is supposed to interfere very much in his behalf. It was a common idea of antiquity, that men who distinguished themselves very much, although born of earthly mothers, had divine

fathers. Izdubar, whose parentage, like that of so many heroes of antiquity, is thus doubtful, appears as a mighty leader, a man strong in war and hunting, a giant who gained dominion in Babylonia. The whole of the Euphrates valley was at this time divided into petty kingdoms, and Izdubar by his prowess established a dominion over many of these, making thus the first empire in Asia.

The centre of the empire of Izdubar appears to have laid in the region of Shinar, at Babylon, Akkad, Erech, and Nipur, and agrees with the site of the kingdom of Nimrod, according to Genesis x. 8, 9, 10, where we read: "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." All these cities were ultimately within the dominion of Izdubar, whose character as hunter, leader, and king corresponds with that of

Nimrod, and the name of Shamas, or Samas the sun-god, who is most probably represented as his father, may read Kusu, the same name as that of the father of Nimrod.

The next passage in Genesis after the one describing Nimrod's dominion also in my opinion refers to Nimrod, and relates the extension of his kingdom into Assyria. Our version makes Assur the moving party here, but I prefer to read with the margin, "Out of that land he went forth to Assyria," instead of "Out of that land went forth Assur." These verses will then read (Genesis, x. 11, 12): "Out of that land he went forth to Assyria, and builded Nineveh, and Rehobothair, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."

As my identification of Izdubar with Nimrod has met with some objection, I think it will be useful to notice the various accounts of this hero, and the different hypotheses propounded with respect to his identification.

The two passages already quoted from Genesis afford the only reliable information with respect to Nimrod outside the cuneiform inscriptions. According to Genesis Nimrod was a "son of Cush," that is a Cushite, or Ethiopian, and he distinguished himself as a mighty hunter, his prowess being so great that his name passed into a proverb. He afterwards became king, commencing his reign in Shinar or Babylonia, and still later extended his empire into Assyria, where he laid the foundations of that state by the foundation of the four leading cities, Nineveh, Calah, Rehobothair, and Resen. The fame of Nimrod is again alluded to in the Bible, where Assyria is called the land of Nimrod.

After the date of the later books of the Old Testament we know nothing of Nimrod for some time; it is probable that he was fully mentioned by Berosus in his history, but his account of the giant hunter has been lost. The reason of this appears to be, that a false idea had grown up among early Christian writers that the Biblical Nimrod was the first king of Babylonia after the Flood, and looking at the list of Berosus they found that after the Flood according to him Evechous first reigned in Babylonia, and they at once assumed that the Evechous of Berosus was the Nimrod of the Bible, and as Evechous has given to him the extravagant reign of four ners or 2,400 years, and his son and successor, Chomasbelus, four ners and five sosses, or 2,700 years, this identification gives little hope of finding an historical Nimrod.

It is most probable that this false identification of Nimrod with Evechous, made by the early chronologists, has caused them to overlook his name and true epoch in the list of Berosus, and has thus lost to us his position in the series of Babylonian sovereigns.

Belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era are the works of various Jewish and Christian writers, who have made us familiar with a number of later traditions of Nimrod. Josephus declares that he was a prime mover in building the Tower of

Babel, an enemy of God, and that he reigned at Babylon during the dispersion. Later writers make him contemporary with Abraham, the inventor of idol worship, and a furious worshipper of fire. At the city of Orfa, in Syria, he is said to have cast Abraham into a burning fiery furnace because he would not bow down to his idols. These traditions have been taken up by the Arabs, and although his history has been lost and replaced by absurd and worthless stories Nimrod still remains the most prominent name in the traditions of the country; everything good or evil is attributed to him, and the most important ruins are even now called after his name. From the time of the early Christian writers down to to-day, men have been busy framing systems of general chronology, and as Nimrod was always known as a famous sovereign it was necessary to find a definite place for him in any chronological scheme. Africanus and Eusebius held that he was the Evechous of Berosus, and reigned first after the Flood. Moses of Khorene identified him with Bel, the great god of Babylon; and he is said to have extended his dominions to the foot of the Armenian mountains, falling in battle there when attempting to enforce his authority over Haic, king of Armenia. Some other writers identified Nimrod with Ninus, the mythical founder of the city of Nineveh. These remained the principal identifications before

modern research took up the matter; but so wide a door was open to conjecture, that one writer actually identified

Nimrod with the Alorus of Berosus, the first king of Babylonia before *the* Flood.

One of the most curious theories about Nimrod, suggested in modern times, was grounded on the "Book of Nabatean Agriculture." This work is a comparatively modern forgery, pretending to be a literary production of the early Chaldean period. What grounds there may be for any of its statements I do not know; but it is possible that some of the book may be compiled from traditions now lost. In this work, Nimrod heads a list of Babylonian kings called Canaanite, and a writer, whose name is unknown to me, argued with considerable. force in favour of these Canaanites being the Arabs of Berosus, who reigned about B.C. 1550 to 1300. Part of Arabia was certainly Cushite, and, as Nimrod is called a Cushite in Genesis, there was a great temptation to identify him with the leader of the Arab dynasty. This idea, however, gained little favour, and has not, I think, been held by any section of inquirers as fixing the position of Nimrod. The discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions threw a new light on the subject of Babylonian history, and soon after the decipherment of the inscriptions attention was directed to the question of the identity and age of Nimrod. Sir Henry Rawlinson, the father of Assyrian discovery, first seriously attempted to fix the name of Nimrod in the cuneiform inscriptions, and he endeavoured to find the name in that of the second god of the great Chaldean triad. (See

Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. .) The names of this deity are really Enu, Elu, Kaptu, and Bel, and he was evidently worshipped at the dawn of Babylonian history, in fact he is represented as one of the creators of the world; beside which, time has shown that the cuneiform characters on which the identification was grounded do not bear the phonetic values then supposed.

Sir Henry Rawlinson also suggested ("Ancient Monarchies,") that the god Nergal was a deification of Nimrod. Sir Henry rightly explains Hergal as meaning " great man," and his character as a warrior and hunter-god is similar to that of Nimrod, but even if Nimrod was deified under the name of Nergal this does not explain his position or epoch.

Canon Rawlinson, brother of Sir Henry, in the first volume of his "Ancient Monarchies," , and following, makes some judicious remarks on the chronological position of Nimrod, and suggests that he may have reigned a century or two before B.C. 2286; he also recognizes the historical character of his reign, and supposes him to have founded the

Babylonian monarchy, but he does not himself identify him with any king known from the inscriptions. At the time when this was written (1871), the conclusions of Canon Rawlinson were the most satisfactory that had been advanced since the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions. Since this time, however, some new theories have been started, with the idea of identifying Nimrod; one of these, brought forward by Professor Oppert, makes the word a geographical name, but such an explanation is evidently quite insufficient to account for the traditions attached to the name.

Another theory brought forward by the Rev. A. H. Sayce and Josef Grivel, "Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. part 2, p.243, and vol. iii. part 1, , identifies Nimrod with Merodach, the god of Babylon; but, beside other objections, we have the fact that Merodach was considered by the Babylonians to have been one of the creators of the world, and therefore they could not have supposed him to be a deified king whose reign was after the Flood. I have always felt that Nimrod, whose name figures so prominently in Eastern tradition, and whose reign is clearly stated in Genesis, ought to be found somewhere in the cuneiform text, but I first inclined to the mistaken idea that he might be Hammurabi, the first Arab king of Berosus, as this line of kings appeared to be connected with the Cosseans. This identification failing, I was entirely in the dark until I discovered the Deluge tablet in 1872, I then conjectured that the hero whose name I provisionally called Izdubar was the Nimrod of the Bible, a conjecture which I have strengthened by fresh evidence from time to time.

Considering that Nimrod was the most famous of the Babylonian kings in tradition, it is evident that no history of the country can be complete without some notice of him. His absence from previous histories, and the unsatisfactory theories which have been propounded to account for it, serve to show the difficulties which surround his identification.

The supposition that Nimrod was an ethnic or geographical name, which was slightly favoured by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and has since been urged by Professor Oppert, is quite untenable, for it would be impossible on this theory to account for the traditions which spread abroad with regard to Nimrod.

The idea that Nimrod was Bel, or Elu, the second god in the great Babylonian triad, was equally impossible for the same reason, and because the worship of Bel was, as I have already stated, much more ancient, he being considered one of the creators of the universe and the

father of the gods. Bel was the deification of the powers of nature on earth, just as Anu was a deification of the powers of nature in heaven. Similar objections apply to the supposition that Nimrod was Merodach, the god of Babylon, and to his identification with Nergal, who was the man-headed lion. Of course Nimrod was deified like several other celebrated kings, but in no case was a deified king invested as one of the supreme gods and represented as a creator; such a process could only come if a nation entirely forgot its history, and lost its original mythology.

My own opinion that he was the hero I have hitherto called Izdubar was first founded on the discovery that he formed the centre of the national historical poetry, and was the hero of Babylonian cuneiform history, just as Nimrod is stated to have been in the later traditions.

I subsequently found that he agreed exactly in character with Nimrod; he was a giant hunter, according to the cuneiform legends, who contended with and destroyed the lion, tiger, leopard, and wild bull or buffalo, animals the most formidable in the chase in any country. He ruled first in Babylonia over the region which from other sources we know to have been the centre of Nimrod's kingdom. He extended his dominion to the Armenian mountains, the boundary of his late conquests according to tradition, and one principal scene of his exploits and triumphs was the city of Erech, which, according to Genesis, was the second capital of Nimrod.

There remains the fact that the cuneiform name of this hero is undeciphered, the name Izdubar, which I applied to him, being, as I have always stated, a makeshift, only adhered to because some scholars were reluctant to believe he was Nimrod, and I thought it better to continue the use of a name which did not prejudice the question of his identity, and could consequently be used by all irrespective of their opinions. My own conviction is, however, that when the phonetic reading of the characters is found it will turn out to correspond with the name Nimrod. I have already evidence for applying this reading to the characters, but it is impossible to give the proofs in a popular work like the present. I believe that the translations and notes given in this book will lead to the general admission of the identity of the hero I call Izdubar with the traditional Nimrod, and when this result is established I shall myself abandon the provisional name Izdubar, which cannot possibly be correct.

At the time of the opening of this story, the great city of the south of Babylonia, and the capital of this part of the country, was Uruk or Aruk, called, in the Genesis account of Nimrod, Erech. Erech was devoted to

the worship of Anu, god of heaven, and his wife, the goddess Anatu, and was ruled at this time by a queen named Istar or Ishtar, who was supposed to be daughter of Anu and Anatu. Istar had been the wife of the chief of Erech, Dumuzi (the Tammuz of the Greeks), who like her was afterwards deified. On the death of Dumuzi, Ishtar had ruled at Erech, and according to the accounts had indulged in a dissolute course of life, which was the scandal of the whole country.

Here I provisionally place the first fragment of the Izdubar legends, K 3200. This fragment consists of part of the third column of a tablet, I believe of the first tablet; and it gives an account of a conquest of Erech by some enemy, which happened during the time of Istar and Izdubar. This fragment reads: —

1. his . . . . . he left
2. his . . . . . went down to the river,
3. in the river his ships were placed.
4. . . . were . . . . and wept bitterly
5. . . . placed, the city of Ganganna was powerless.
6. . . . their . . . . she asses
7. . . . their . . . . great.
8. Like animals the people feared,
9. like doves the slaves mourned.
10. The gods of Erech Suburi
11. turned to flies and fled away in droves.
12. The spirits of Erech Suburi
13. turned to Sikkim and went out in companies.
14. For three years the city of Erech could not resist the enemy,
15. the great gates were thrown down and trampled upon,
16. the goddess Istar before her enemies could not lift her head.
17. Bel his mouth opened and spake,
18. to Ishtar the queen a speech he made:
19. . . . in the midst of Nipur my hands have placed,
20. . . . my country? Babylon the house of my delight,
21. and my people? my hands have given.
22. . . . he looked at the sanctuaries
23. . . . in the day
24. . . . the great gods.

Here we have a graphic account of the condition of Erech, when the enemy overran the country, and the first question which occurs is, who were these conquerors? My original idea was that they were a tribe who held Erech for a short time, and were driven out by Izdubar, whose

exploit and subsequent assumption of the crown of Erech were related in the remainder of the first tablet (see "Assyrian Discoveries,"), but this conjecture has not been confirmed by my subsequent investigations; in fact it appears that Izdubar did not assume the crown until long after the events recorded on this tablet. It appears that Izdubar did not become king until after he had slain the tyrant Humbaba, and this leads directly to the conclusion that it was Humbaba, or at least the race to which he belonged, that conquered and tyrannized over Erech and probably over the whole of Babylonia.

The name of Humbaba, or Hubaba, as it is occasionally written, is evidently Elamite and composed of two elements, "Humba," the name of a celebrated Elamite god, and "ba," a verb, usually a contraction for ban, bana, and bani, meaning "to make," the whole name meaning "Humbaba has made [me]." Many other Elamite names compounded with Humba are mentioned in the inscriptions: Humba-sidir, an early chief; Humba-undasa, an Elamite general opposed to Sennacherib; Humba-nigas, an Elamite monarch opposed to Sargon; Tul-humba, an Elamite city, &c.

The notice of foreign dominion, and particularly of Elamite supremacy at this time, may, I think, form a clue from which to ascertain the approximate age of Izdubar; but I would first guard against the impression that the Elamites of this age were the same race as the Elamites known in later times. It is probable that new waves of conquest and colonization passed over all these regions between the time of Izdubar and the Assyrian period, although the same deities continued to be adored in the countries.

Looking at the fragments of Berosus and the notices of Greek and Roman authors, the question now arises, is there any epoch of conquest and foreign dominion which can approximately be fixed upon as the era of Izdubar? I think there is.

The earlier part of the list of Berosus gives the following dynasties or, more properly, periods from the Flood downwards: —

86 Chaldean kings reigned from the Flood down to the Median conquest, 34,080 or 33,091 years.

8 Median kings who conquered and held Babylon, 234, or 224, or 190 years.

11 other kings, race and duration unknown.

49 Chaldean kings, 458 years.

The last of these dynasties, the 49 kings, reigned, as I have already pointed out in , from about B.C. 2000 to 1550, and throughout their time the Izdubar legends were known, and allusions to them are found. The

time of Izdubar must therefore be before their period, and, as he headed a native rule after a period of conquest, the only possible place for him, according to our present knowledge, is at the head of the 11 kings, and succeeding the Medes of Berosus.

This position for Izdubar or Nimrod, if it should turn out correct, will guide us to several valuable conclusions as to Babylonian history. So far as the dynasty is concerned, which Berosus calls Median, it is most probable that these kings were Elamites; certainly we have no knowledge of the Arian Medes being on the Assyrian frontier until several centuries later, and it is generally conceded that Berosus, in calling them Medes, has only expressed their Eastern origin. Allowing them to be Elamites, or inhabitants of Elam, there remains the question, to what race did they belong?

The later Elamites are believed to have been either Turanians or Arians; but we are by no means certain that no new race had come into the country since the time of Izdubar. There was a constant stream of immigration from the east and north, which gradually but surely altered the character of several of the races of Western Asia.

In Babylonia itself it is believed that a change of this sort took place in early times, the original Turanian population having been conquered and enslaved by Semitic tribes, and there has always been a difficulty as to where the Semitic peoples originated.

The Semitic race was already dominant in Babylonia two thousand years before the Christian era, and before this time there is only one conquest recorded — that of Babylonia by the Medes or Elamites, and I think it is most likely that from Elam the

Semites first came. The usual theory is that the Semitic race came from Arabia; but this is quite unlikely, as there is no known conquest of Babylonia from this direction previous to the sixteenth century before the Christian era.

In the Book of Genesis Elam is counted as the first son of Shem or Semitic nation, and I think this may indicate a knowledge, at the time that book was written, that the Semitic race came from this direction; they were probably driven westward by the advance of the Arians, and these latter in their progress may have obliterated nearly all the traces of the Semites whom they dispossessed.

The next question which strikes an observer is as to the date of these events. Some years back I published a curious inscription, of which I gave the texts and translations in my “History of Assurbanipal,” p to 251, referring to the goddess Nana, the Ishtar of Erech, also called Uzur-amat-

sa. In these inscriptions a period of 1635 is mentioned as ending at the capture of Shushan, the capital of Elam, by the Assyrians, about B.C. 645, thus making the initial date B.C. 2280. At that time an image of Nana was carried into captivity from Erech by the Elamite king, Kudur-nanhundi, who, according to these inscriptions, appears to have then ruled over and oppressed the land of Babylonia. It is possible that the ravaging of the city of Erech, mentioned in the fragment of the first tablet of the Izdubar legends, recounts the very event alluded to by Assurbanipal. This date and the circumstances of the Elamite conquest form, I think, a clue to the age of Izdubar. Kudur-nanhundi, who plundered Erech, was probably one of the later kings of this dynasty, and Humba-ba was the last. A fragment which refers to this period in " Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. iii. , relates the destruction wrought in the country by the Elamites, and gives Kudur-nanhundi as following one of the other monarchs of this line, and as exceeding his predecessors in the injury he did to the country.

Putting together the detached notices of this period, I conjecture the following to be somewhere about the chronology, the dates being understood as round numbers.

B.C. 2450, Elamites overrun Babylonia.

B.C. 2280, Kudur-nanhundi, king of Elam, ravages Erech.

B.C. 2250, Izdubar or Nimrod slays Humba-ba, and restores the Chaldean power.

There is one serious objection to this idea. Although the date B.C. 2280 appears to be given in the inscription of Assurbanipal for the ravages of Kudur-nanhundi, yet the other mutilated notices of this Elamite monarch are combined with names of Babylonian monarchs who do not appear to be anything like so ancient. One of these, said in the inscription, "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. iii. , No. 2, to be contemporary with Kudur-nanhundi, is Bel-zakir-uzur. No name compounded in this form has yet been found earlier than B.C. 1500.

Although the dates transmitted through ancient authors are as a rule vague and doubtful, there are many independent notices which seem to point to somewhere about the twenty-third century before the Christian era for the foundation of the Babylonian and Assyrian power. Several of these dates are connected either directly or by implication with Nimrod, who first formed a united empire over these regions.

The following are some of these notices: —

Simplicius relates that Callisthenis, the friend of Alexander, sent to Aristotle from Babylon a series of stellar observations reaching back

1,903 years before the taking of Babylon by Alexander. This would make 1903 + 331 = B.C. 2234.

Philo-biblius, according to Stephen, made the foundation of Babylon 1,002 years before Semiramis and the Trojan war, as these later were supposed to have been in the thirteenth century B.C. This comes to about the same date.

Berosus and Critodemus are said by Pliny to have made the inscribed stellar observations reach to 480 years before the era of Phoroneus; the latter date was supposed to be about the middle of the eighteenth century B.C., 480 years before it, comes also to about the same date.

These three instances are given in Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," .

Diodorus makes the Assyrian empire commence a thousand years or more before the Trojan war.

Ctesius and Cephalion make its foundation early in the twenty-second century B.C.

Auctor Barbarus makes it in the twenty-third century B.C.

These and other notices probably point to about the same period, the time when Nimrod united Babylonia into one monarchy, and founded Nineveh in Assyria.

Before parting with the consideration of the first tablet, I will give a small fragment, which I provisionally insert here for want of a better place.

1. . . . to thee . . . . .
2. Bel thy father sent me . . . .
3. thus . . . . heard . . . .
4. When in the midst of those forests . . . .
5. he rejoiced at its fragrance and . . . .
6. at first . . . . .
7. Go and thou shalt take . . . .
8. Mayest thou rejoice . . . .

Of the latter part of the first tablet we have as yetno knowledge.

CHAPTER XII. MEETING OF HEABANI AND IZDUBAR.

Dream of Izdubar. — Heabani. — His wisdom. — His solitary life. — Izdubar's petition. — Zaidu. — Harimtu and Samhat. — Tempt Heabani. — Might and fame of Izdubar. — Speech of Heabani. — His journey to Erech. — The midannu or tiger. — Festival at Erech. — Dream of Izdubar. — Friendship with Heabani.

IN this chapter I have included the fragments of what appear to be the second and third tablets. In this section of the story Izdubar comes prominently forward, and meets with Heabani. I have already noticed the supposed parentage of Izdubar; the notice of his mother Dannat appears in one of the tablets given in this chapter.

Izdubar, in the Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures, is always represented with a marked physiognomy, and his peculiarities can be seen by noticing the photograph from a Babylonian gem at the beginning of the book, the engraving from an Assyrian sculpture in the last chapter, and the engraving in page 239 showing Izdubar and Heabani struggling with wild animals. In all these cases, and in every other instance where Izdubar is represented, he is indicated as a man with masses of curls over his head and a large curly beard. So marked is this, and different in cast to the usual Babylonian type, that I cannot help the impression of its being a representation of a distinct and probably Ethiopian type.

The deity of Izdubar was Sarturda, from which I suppose he was a native of the district of Amarda or Marad, where that god was worshipped. This district was probably the Amordacia or Mardocæa of Ptolemy, but I do not know where it was situated.

The fragments of the second and third tablets assume by their notices that Izdubar was already known as a mighty hunter, and it appeared a little later that he claimed descent from the old Babylonian kings, calling Hasisadra his "father."

Tablet II.

I have recovered a single fragment, which I believe to belong to this tablet; it is K 3389, and it contains part of the third and fourth columns of writing. It appears from this that Izdubar was then at Erech, and he had a curious dream. He thought he saw the stars of heaven fall to the ground, and in their descent they struck upon his back. He then saw standing over him a terrible being, the aspect of his face was fierce, and he was armed with claws, like the claws of lions. The greater part of the description of

the dream is lost; it probably occupied columns I. and II. of the second tablet. Thinking that the dream portended some fate to himself, Izdubar calls on all the wise men to explain it, and offers a reward to any one who can interpret the dream. Here the fragment Ii 3389 comes in:

Column III.

1. . . . . ru kili I . . . .
2. . . . . he and the princes may he . . .
3. . . . . in the vicinity send him,
4. . . . . may they ennoble his family,
5. . . . . at the head of his feast may he set thee
6. . . . . may he array thee in jewels and gold
7. . . . . may he enclose thee
8. . . . . in his . . . . seat thee
9. into the houses of the gods may he cause thee to enter
10. . . . . seven wives
11. . . . . cause illness in his stomach
12. . . . . went up alone
13. . . . . his heaviness to his friend
14. . . . . a dream I dreamed in my sleep
15. . . . . the stars of heaven fell to the earth
16. . . . . I stood still
17. . . . . his face
18. . . . . his face was terrible
19. . . . . like the claws of a lion, were his claws
20. . . . . the strength in me
21. . . . . he slew
22. . . . . me
23. . . . . over me
24. . . . . corpse . . . .

The first part of this fragment appears to contain the honours offered by Izdubar to any one who should interpret the dream. These included the ennobling of his family, his recognition in assemblies, his being invested with jewels of honour, and his wives being increased. A description of the dream of the hero, much mutilated, follows. The conduct of Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel, with reference to his dreams, bears some resemblance to that of Izdubar.

After this fragment we have again a blank in the story, and it would appear that in this interval application was made to a hermit named

Heabani that he would go to the city of Erech and interpret the dream of Izdubar.

Heabani appears, from the representations on seals and other objects on which he is figured, to have been a satyr or faun. He is always drawn with the feet and tail of an ox, and with horns on his head. He is said to have lived in a cave among the wild animals of the forest, and was supposed to possess wonderful knowledge both of nature and human affairs. Heabani was angry at the request that he should abandon his solitary life for the friendship of Izdubar, and where our narrative reopens the god Samas is persuading him to accept the offer.

Column IV.

1. . . . . me
2. . . . . on my back

3. And Shamas opened his mouth
4. and spake and from heaven said to him:
5. . . . . and the female Samhat (delightful) thou shalt choose
6. they shall array thee in trappings of divinity
7. they shall give thee the insignia of royalty
8. they shall make thee become great
9. and Izdubar thou shalt call and incline him towards thee
10. and Izdubar shall make friendship unto thee
11. he shall cause thee to recline on a grand couch
12. on a beautiful couch he shall seat thee
13. he will cause thee to sit on a comfortable seat a seat on the left
14. the kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet
15. he shall enrich thee and the men of Erech he shall make silent before thee
16. and he after thee shall take all . . . .
17. he shall clothe thy body in raiment and . . . .

18. Heabani heard the words of Shamas the warrior
19. and the anger of his heart was appeased
20. . . . . was appeased

Here we are still dealing with the honours which Izdubar promises to the interpreter of his dream, and these seem to show that Izdubar had some power at Erech at this time; he does not, however, appear to have been an independent king, and it is probable that the next two columns of

this tablet, now lost, contain negotiations for bringing Heabani to Erech, the subject being continued on the third tablet.

Tablet III.

This tablet is far better preserved than the two previous ones; it gives the account of the successful mission to bring Heabani to Ur, opening with a broken account of the wisdom of Heabani.

Column I.

1. . . . . knows all things
2. . . . . and difficult
3. . . . . wisdom of all things
4. . . . . the knowledge that is seen and that which is hidden
5. . . . . bring word of peace to . . .
6. from a far off road he will come and I rest and. . . .
7. . . . . on tablets and all that rests . . .
8. . . . . and tower of Erech Suburi
9. . . . . beautiful
10. . . . . which like . . . .
11. . . . . I strove with him not to leave . . . .
12. . . . . god? who from . . . .
13. . . . . carry . . . .
14. . . . . leave . . . .

(Many lines lost.)

Column II.

1. Izdubar did not leave . . . .
2. Daughter of a warrior . . . .
3. their might . . . .
4. the gods of heaven, lord . . . .
5. thou makest to be sons and family? . . . .
6. there is not any other like thee . . . .
7. in the depth made . . . .
8. Izdubar did not leave, the son to his father day and night . . . .
9. he the ruler also of Erech . . . .
10. he their ruler and . . . .
11. made firm? and wise . . . .
12. Izdubar did not leave Dannat, the son to his mother . . . .
13. Daughter of a warrior, wife of . . . .

14. their might the god . . . . heard and . . . .
15. Aruru strong and great, thou Aruru hast made . . . .
16. again making his strength, one day his heart . . . . . .
17. he changed and the city of Erech . . . . . .
18. Aruru on hearing this, the strength of Anu made in the midst . . . . . .
19. Aruru put in her hands, she bowed her breast and lay on the ground
20. . . . Heabani she made a warrior, begotten of the seed of the soldier Ninip
21. . . . . covered his body, retiring in companionship like a woman,
22. the features of his aspect were concealed like the corn god
23. possessing knowledge of men and countries, in clothing clothed like the god Ner
24. with the gazelles he eat food in the night
25. with the beasts of the field he consorted in the day
26. with the creeping things of the waters his heart delighted
27. Zaidu catcher of men
28. in front of that field confronted him
29. the first day the second day and the third in the front of that field the same
30. the courage of Zaidu dried up before him
31. and he and his beast entered into his house and
32. . . . . fear dried up and overcome
33. . . . . his courage grew before him
34. . . . . his face was terrible

Column III.

1. Zaidu opened his mouth and spake and said to . . . . .
2. My father the first leader who shall go . . . . .
3. in the land of . . . . .
4. like the soldier of Anu . . . . .
5. shall march over the country . . . . .
6. and firmly with the beast . . . . .
7. and firmly his feet in the front of the field . . .
8. I feared and I did not approach it
9. he filled the cave which he had dug
10. . . . . .

11. I ascended on my hands to the . . . .
12. I did not reach to the . . . . .

13. . . . . and said to Zaidu
14. . . . . Erech, Izdubar
15. . . . . ascend his field
16. . . . . his might
17. . . . . thy face
18. . . . . the might of a man
19. . . . .
20. . . . . like a chief
21. . . . . field
22 to 24 three lines of directions
25. According to the advice of his father . . . .
26. Zaidu went . . . .
27. he took the road and in the midst of Erech he halted
28. . . . . Izdubar . . . .
29. the first leader who shall go . . . .
30. in the land of . . . .
31. like the soldier of Anu . . . .
32. shall march over the country . . . .
33. and firmly with the beast . . . .
34. and firmly his feet . . . .
35. I feared and I did not approach it
36. he filled the cave which he had dug
37. . . . . .
38. I ascended on my hands . . . . .
39. I was not able to reach to the covert.

40. Izdubar to him also said to Zaidu:
41. go Zaidu and with thee the female Harimtu, and Samhat take,
42. and when the beast . . . in front of the field

43 to 45. directions to the female how to entice Heabani.
46. Zaidu went and with him Harimtu, and Samhat he took, and
47. they took the road, and went along the path.
48. On the third day they reached the land where the flood happened.
49. Zaidu and Harimtu in their places sat,
50. the first day and the second day in front of the field they sat,
51. the land where the beast drank of drink,

Column IV.

1. the land where the creeping things of the water rejoiced his heart.
2. And he Heabani had made for himself a mountain
3. with the gazelles he eat food,
4. with the beasts he drank of drink,
5. with the creeping things of the waters his heart rejoiced.
6. Samhat the enticer of men saw him
7 to 26. details of the actions of the female Sam-hat and Heabani.

27. And Heabani approached Harimtu then, who before had not enticed him.
28. And he listened . . . . and was attentive,
29. and he turned and sat at the feet of Harimtu.
30. Harimtu bent down her face,
31. and Harimtu spake; and his ears heard
32. and to him also she said to Heabani:
33. Famous Heabani like a god art thou,
34. Why dost thou associate with the creeping things in the desert?
35. I desire thy company to the midst of Erech Suburi,
36. to the temple of Elli-tardusi the seat of Anu and Ishtar,
37. the dwelling of Izdubar the mighty giant,
38. who also like a bull towers over the chiefs.
39. She spake to hint and before her speech,
40. the wisdom of his heart flew away and disappeared.
41. Heabani to her also said to Harimtu:
42. I join to Samhat my companionship,
43. to the temple of Elli-tardusi the seat of Anu and Ishtar,
44. the dwelling of Izdubar the mighty giant,
45. who also like a bull towers over the chiefs.
46. I will meet him and see his power,

Column V.

1. I will bring to the midst of Erech a tiger,
2. and if he is able he will destroy it.
3. In the desert it is begotten, it has great strength,
4. . . . . before thee
5. . . . . everything there is I know
6. Heabani went to the midst of Erech Suburi

7. . . . . the chiefs . . . made submission
8. in that day they made a festival
9. . . . . city
10. . . . . daughter
11. . . . . made rejoicing
12. . . . . becoming great
13. . . . . mingled and
14. . . . . Izdubar rejoicing the people
15. went before him
16. A prince thou becomest glory thou hast
17. . . . . fills his body
18. . . . . who day and night
19. . . . . destroy thy terror
20. . . . . the god Samas loves him and
21. . . . . and Hea have given intelligence to his ears
22. he has come from the mountain
23. to the midst of Erech he will ponder thy dream
24. Izdubar his dream revealed and said to his mother
25. A dream I dreamed in my sleep
26. . . . . the stars of heaven
97. . . . . struck upon my back
28. . . . . of heaven over me
29. . . . . did not rise over it
30. . . . . stood over . . . . .
31. . . . . him and
32. . . . . over him
33. . . . . his . . . .
34. . . . . .princess
35. . . . . me
36. . . . . I know
37. . . . . to Izdubar
38. . . . . of heaven
39. . . . . over thy back
40. . . . . over thee
41. . . . . did not rise over it
42. . . . . my . . . . .
43. . . . . thee

There is one other mutilated fragment of this and the next column with part of a relation respecting beasts and a fragment of a conversation between Izdubar and his mother.

The whole of this tablet is curious, and it certainly gives the successful issue of the attempt to bring Heabani to Erech, and in very fragmentary condition the dream of the monarch.

I have omitted some of the details in columns III. and IV. because they were on the one side obscure, and on the other hand appeared hardly adapted for general reading.

It appears that the females Samhat and Harimtu prevailed upon Heabani to come to Erech and see the exploits of the giant Izdubar, and he declared that he would bring a *Midannu*, most probably a tiger, to

Erech, in order to make trial of the strength of Izdubar, and to see if he could destroy it.

The Midannu is mentioned in the Assyrian texts as a fierce carnivorous animal allied to the lion and leopard; it is called *Midannu*, Mindinu, and Mandinu.

In the fifth column, after the description of the festivities which followed the arrival of Heabani, there appears a break between lines 15 and 16, some part of the original story being probably omitted here. I believe that the Assyrian copy is here defective, at least one line being lost. The portion here omitted probably stated that the following speech was made by the mother of Izdubar, who figures prominently in the earlier part of these legends.

CHAPTER XIII. DESTRUCTION OF THE TYRANT HUMBABA.

Elamite dominion. — Forest region. — Humbaba. — Conversation. — Petition to Shamas. — Journey to forest. — Dwelling of Humbaba. — Entrance to forest. — Meeting with Humbaba. — Death of Humbaba. — Izdubar king.

I HAVE had considerable difficulty in writing this chapter; in fact I have arranged the matter now three times, and such is the wretched broken condition of the fragments that I am even now quite uncertain if I have the correct order. The various detached fragments belong to the fourth and fifth tablets in the series, and relate the contest between Izdubar and Humbaba.

I have already stated my opinion that Humbaba was an Elamite, and that he was the last of the dynasty which, according to Berosus, conquered and held Babylonia for about two centuries, between B.C. 2450 and 2250. Humbaba held his court in the midst of a region of *erini* trees, where there were also trees of the specie called *Survan;* these two words are very vaguely used in the inscriptions, and appear to refer rather to the quality and appearance of the trees than to the exact species. *Erini* is used for a tall fine tree: it is used for the pine, cedar, and ash. I have here translated the word “pine,” and *survan* I have translated “cedar.” In one inscription Lebanon is said to be the country of *survan*, in allusion to its cedar trees.

This section of the Izdubar legends was undoubtedly of great importance, for, although it was disfigured by the poetical adornments deemed necessary to give interest to the narrative, yet of itself, as it described the overthrow of a dynasty and the accession of Izdubar to the throne, it has interest for us in spite of its mutilated condition. When I published my “Assyrian Discoveries” none of these fragments were in condition for publication, but I have since joined and restored some of them, and the new fragments have given sufficient aid to enable me now to present them in some sort, but it is quite possible that any further accession of new fragments would alter the arrangement I have here given.

I at first placed in this division a fragment of the story made up from three parts of a tablet, and containing a discourse of Heabani to some

trees, but subsequent investigation has caused me to withdraw this fragment and place it in the space of the eighth tablet.

In the case of the fourth tablet I think I have fragments of all six columns, but some of these fragments are useless until we have further fragments to complete them.

Tablet IV.

Column I.

1. . . . . mu . . . .
2. . . . . thy. . . .
3. . . . . me, return
4. . . . . the birds shall rend him
5. . . . . in thy presence
6. . . . . of the forest of pine trees
7. . . . . all the battle
8. . . . . may the birds of prey surround him
9. . . . . that, his carcass may they destroy
10. . . . . to me and we will appoint thee king,
11. . . . . thou shalt direct after the manner of a king

12. [Izdubar] opened his mouth and spake,
13. and said to Heabani:
14. . . . he goes to the great palace
15. . . . . the breast of the great queen
16. . . . . knowledge, everything he knows
17. . . . . establish to our feet
18. . . . . his hand
19. . . . . I to the great palace
20. . . . . .the great queen

(Probably over twenty lines lost here.)

It was this fragment, which gives part of the conversation between Heabani and Izdubar previous to the attack on Humbaba, which led me to the opinion that Izdubar was not yet king of Babylonia, for

Heabani promises (lines 10 and 11) that they will make Izdubar king when they have slain Humbaba and given his corpse to the vultures (lines 4, 8, and 9).

Column II.

1. . . . . enter
2. . . . . he raised
3. . . . . the ornaments of her . . . .
4. . . . . the ornaments of her breast
5. . . . . and her crown I divided
6. . . . . of the earth he opened
7. he . . . he ascended to the city
8. he went up to the presence of Shamas he made a sacrifice?
9. he built an altar. In the presence of Shamas he lifted his hands:
10. Why hast thou established Izdubar, in thy heart thou hast given him protection,
11. when the son . . . . and he goes
12. on the remote path to Humbaba,
13. A battle he knows not he will confront,
14. an expedition he knows not he will ride to,
15. for long he will go and will return,
16. to take the course to the forest of pine trees,
17. to Humbaba of [whom his city may] he destroy,
18. and every one who is evil whom thou hatest . . .
19. In the day of the year he will . . . .
20. May she not return at all, may she not . . .
21. him to fix . . . .

(About ten lines lost here.)

Here we see that Izdubar, impressed with the magnitude of the task he had undertaken, makes a prayer and sacrifice to Shamas to aid him in his task. The next fragment appears also to belong to this column, and may refer to preliminaries for sacrificing to Ishtar, with a view also to gain her aid in the enterprise.

This fragment of Column II. reads

1. . . . . neighbourhood of Erech . . . .
2. . . . . strong and . . .
3. he burst open the road . . . .
4. and that city . . . .
5. and the collection . . . .
6. placed the people together . . . .
7. the people were ended . . . .
8. like of a king . . . .
9. which for a long time had been made . . . .

10. to the goddess Ishtar the bed . . . .
11. to Izdubar like the god Sakim . . . .
12. Heabani opened the great gate of the house of assembly . . . .
13. for Izdubar to enter . . . .
14. . . . . in the gate of the house . . . .

Column III.

1. the corpse of . . . .
2. to . . . .
3. to the rising of . . .
4. the angels . . . .
5. may she not return . . . .
6. him to fix . . . .
7. the expedition which he knows not . . .
8. may he destroy also . . . .
9. of which he knows . . . .
10. the road . . . . .

Five more mutilated lines, the rest of the column being lost.

This fragment shows Izdubar still invoking the gods for his coming expedition. Under the next column I have placed a fragment, the position and meaning of which are quite unknown.

Column IV. — Uncertain Fragment.

1. he was heavy . . .
2. Heabani was . . . .
3. Heabani strong not rising . . . .
4. When . . . .
5. with thy song? . . . .
6. the sister of the gods faithful . . . .
7. wandering he fixed to . . . .
8. the sister of the gods lifted . . . .
9. and the daughters of the gods grew . . . .
10. I Heabani . . . . he lifted to . . . .

Somewhere here should be the story, now lost, of the starting of Izdubar on his expedition accompanied by his friend Heabani. The sequel shows they arrive at the palace or residence of Heabani, which is surrounded by a forest of pine and cedar, the whole being enclosed by

some barrier or wall, with a gate for entrance. Heabani and Izdubar open this gate where the story reopens on the fifth column.

Column V.

1. the sharp weapon
2. to make men fear him . . . .
3. Humbaba poured a tempest out of his mouth . . . .
4. he heard the gate of the forest [open]
5. the sharp weapon to make men fear him [he took]
6. and in the path of his forest he stood and [waited]

7. Izdubar to him also [said to Heabani]

Here we see Humbaba waiting for the intruders, but the rest of the column is lost; it appears to have principally consisted of speeches by Izdubar and Heabani on the magnificent trees they saw, and the work before them. A single fragment of Column VI., containing fragments of six lines, shows them still at the gate, and when the next tablet, No. V., opens, they had not yet entered.

Tablet V.

The fifth tablet is more certain than the last; it appears to refer to the conquest of Humbaba or Hubaba. I have only discovered fragments of this tablet, which opens with a description of the retreat of Humbaba.

Column I.

1. He stood and surveyed the forest
2. of pine trees, he perceived its height,
3. of the forest he perceived its approach,
4. in the place where Humbaba went his step was placed,
5. on a straight road and a good path.
6. He saw the land of the pine trees, the seat of the gods, the sanctuary of the angels,
7. in front? of the seed the pine tree carried its fruit,
8. good was its shadow, full of pleasure,
9. an excellent tree, the choice of the forest,
10. . . . . the pine heaped . . . .
11. . . . . for one kaspu (7 miles) . .
12. . . . . cedar two-thirds of it . . .
13. . . . . grown . .

14. . . . . like it . . .
. . . . . .
(About 10 lines lost here.)
25. . . . . he looked . . . .
26. . . . . he made and he . . . .
27. . . . drove to . . . .
28. . . . he opened and . . . .

29. Izdubar opened his mouth and spake, and said to [Heabani]:
30. My friend . . . .
31. . . . . with their slaughter . . . .
32. . . . . he did not speak before her, he made with him . . . .
33. . . . . knowledge of war who made fighting,
34. in entering to the house thou shalt not fear, ...
35. . . . . and like I take her also they . . . .
36. to an end may they seat . . . .
37. . . . . thy hand . . . .
38. . . . . took my friend first . . . .
39. . . . . his heart prepared for war, that year and day also
40. . . . . on his falling appoint the people
41. . . . . slay him, his corpse may the birds of prey surround
42. . . . . of them he shall make
43. . . . . going he took the weight
44. they performed it, their will they established

45. . . . . they entered into the forest

Column II.

(Five lines mutilated.)
6. they passed through the forest . . . .

7. Humbaba . . . .
8. he did not come . . . .
9. he did not . . . .
(Seven lines lost.)
17. heavy . . . .
18. Heabani opened his mouth . . . .
19. . . . . Humbaba in . . . .
20. . . . one by one and . . . .

(Many other broken lines.)

There are a few fragments of Columns III., IV., and V. and a small portion of Column VI. which reads:

1. . . . . cedar to . . . .
2. . . . . he placed and . . . .
3. . . . . 120 . . . . Heabani . . . .
4. . . . . the head of Humbaba . . . .

5. . . . . his weapon he sharpened . . . .
6. . . . . tablet of the story of fate of . . . .

It appears from the various mutilated fragments of this tablet that Izdubar and Heabani conquer and slay Humbaba and take his goods, but much is wanted to connect the fragments.

The conclusion of this stage of the story and triumph of Izdubar are given at the commencement of the sixth tablet. It appears, when the matter is stripped of the marvellous incidents with which the poets have surrounded it, that Izdubar and his friend went privately to the palace of Humbaba, killed the monarch and carried off his regalia, the death of the oppressor being the signal for the proclamation of Babylonian freedom and the reign of Izdubar.

CHAPTER XIV. THE ADVENTURES OF ISHTAR.

Triumph of Izdubar. — Ishtar's love. — Her offer of marriage. — Her promises. — Izdubar's answer. — Tammuz. — Amours of Ishtar. — His refusal. — Ishtar's anger. — Ascends to Heaven. — The bull. — Slain by Izdubar. — Ishtar's curse. — Izdubar's triumph. — The feast. — Ishtar's despair. — Her descent to Hades. — Description. — The seven gates. — The curses. — Uddusunamir. — Sphinx. — Release of Ishtar. — Lament for Tammuz.

IN this section I have included the sixth and seventh tablets, which both primarily refer to the doings of Ishtar.

Tablet VI.

The sixth tablet is in better condition than any of the former ones, and allows of something like a connected translation.

Column I.

1. . . . . his weapon, he sharpened his weapon,
2. Like a bull his country he ascended after him.
3. He destroyed him and his memorial was hidden.
4. The country he wasted, the fastening of the crown he took.
5. Izdubar his crown put on (the fastening of the crown he took).
6. For the favour of Izdubar the princess Ishtar lifted her eyes:
7. I will take thee Izdubar as husband,
8. thy oath to me shall be thy bond,
9. thou shalt be husband and I will be thy wife.
10. Thou shalt drive in a chariot of ukni stone and gold,
11. of which the body is gold and splendid its pole.
12. Thou shalt acquire days of great conquests,
13. to Bitani in the country where the pine trees grow.
14. May Bitani at thy entrance
15. to the river Euphrates kiss thy feet,
16. There shall be under thee kings, lords, and princes.
17. The tribute of the mountains and plains they shall bring to thee, taxes
18. they shall give thee, may thy herds and flocks bring forth twins,
19. . . . . mules be swift
20. . . . . in the chariot strong not weak

21. . . . . in the yoke. A rival may there not be.

22. Izdubar opened his mouth and spake, and
23. said to the princess Ishtar:
24. . . . . to thee thy possession
25. . . . . body and rottenness
26. . . . . baldness and famine
27. . . . . instruments of divinity
28. . . . . instruments of royalty
29. . . . . storm
30. . . . . he poured
31. . . . . was destroyed
32. . . . . thy possession
33. . . . . sent in
34. . . . after . . . . ended wind and showers
35. palace . . . . courage
36. beauty . . . . cover her
37. he said . . . . carry her
38. body glorious . . . . carry her
39. grand . . . . tower of stone
40. let not be placed . . . . land of the enemy
41. body . . . . her lord
42. let them not marry thee . . . . for ever
43. let not praise thee . . . . he ascended
44. I take also the torch? destroy thee

Column II.

1. Which alone . . . . her side
2. to Dumuzi the husband . . . . of thee,
3. country after country mourn his love.
4. The wild eagle also thou didst love and
5. thou didst strike him, and his wings thou didst break;
6. he stood in the forest and begged for his wings.
7. Thou didst love also a lion complete in might,
8. thou didst draw out by sevens his claws.
9. Thou didst love also a horse glorious in war,
10. he poured out to the end and extent his love,
11. After seven kaspu (fourteen hours) his love was not sweet,
12. shaking and tumultuous was his love.

13. To his mother Silele he was weeping for love.
14. Thou didst love also a ruler of the country,
15. and continually thou didst break his weapons.
16. Every day he propitiated thee with offerings,
17. Thou didst strike him and to a leopard thou didst change him,
18. his own city drove him away, and
19. his dogs tore his wounds.
20. Thou didst love also Isullanu the husbandman of thy father,
21. who continually was subject to thy order,
22. and every clay delighted in thy portion.
23. In thy taking him also thou didst turn cruel,
24. Isullanu thy cruelty resisted,
25. and thy hand was brought out and thou didst strike? . . . .
26. Isullanu said to thee:
27. To me why dost thou come
28. mother thou wilt not be and I do not eat,
29. of eaten food for beauty? and charms?
30. trembling and faintness overcome me
31. Thou hearest this . . . .
32. thou didst strike him, and to a pillar? thou didst change him,
33. thou didst place him in the midst of the ground. . . .
34. he riseth not up, he goeth not . . . .
35. And me thou dost love, and like to them thou [wilt serve me].

36. Ishtar on her hearing this,
37. Ishtar was angry and to heaven she ascended,
38. and Ishtar went to the presence of Anu her father,
39. to the presence of Anatu her mother she went and said:
40. Father, Izdubar hates me, and

Column III.

1. Izdubar despises my beauty,
2. my beauty and my charms.

3. Anu opened his mouth and spake, and
4. said to the princess Ishtar:
5. My daughter thou shalt remove . . . . .
6. and Izdubar will count thy beauty,
7. thy beauty and thy charms.

8. Ishtar opened her mouth and spake, and
9. said to Anu her father:
10. My father, create a divine bull and
11. Izdubar . . . .
12. when he is filled . . . .
13. I will strike . . . .
14. I will join . . . .
15. . . . . u. . . . .
16. over . . .

17. Anu opened his mouth and spake, and
18. said to the princess Ishtar:
19. . . . . thou shalt join . . . .
20. . . . . of noble names
21. . . . . *mashi* . . . .
22. . . . . which is magnified . . . .

23. Ishtar opened her mouth and spake, and
24. said to Anu her father:
25. . . . . I will strike
26. . . . . I will break
27. . . . . of noble names
28. . . . . reducer
29. . . . . of foods
30. . . . . of him
(Some lines lost here.)

Column IV.

(Some lines lost.)
1. . . . . warriors
2. . . . . to the midst
3. . . . . three hundred warriors
4. . . . . to the midst
5. . . . . slay Heabani
6. in two divisions he parted in the midst of it
7. two hundred warriors . . . . made, the divine bull. . .
8. in the third division . . . . his horns
9. Heabani struck? his might

10. and Heabani pierced . . . . joy . . . .
11. the divine bull by his head he took hold of . . . .
12. the length of his tail . . . .

13. Heabani opened his mouth and spake, and
14. said to Izdubar:
15. Friend we will stretch out . . . .
16. then we will overthrow . . . .
17. and the might . . . .
18. may it . . . .
(Three lines lost.)
22. . . . . hands . . . . to Vul and Nebo
23. . . . . *tarka* . . . . *um* . . . .
24. . . . . Heabani took hold . . . . the divine bull
25. . . . . he . . . . also . . . . by his tail
26. . . . . Heabani

Column V.

1. And Izdubar like a . . . .
2. . . . . might and . . . .
3. in the vicinity of the middle of his horns and. . . .
4. from the city he destroyed, the heart . . . .
5. to the presence of Shamas . . . .
6. he had extended to the presence of Shamas. . . . .
7. he placed at the side the bulk . . . .

8. And Ishtar ascended unto the wall of Erech Suburi,
9. destroyed the covering and uttered a curse:
10. I curse Izdubar who dwells here, and the winged bull has slain.
11. Heabani heard the speech of Ishtar,
12. and he cut off the member of the divine bull and before her threw it;
13. I answer it, I will take thee and as in this
14. I have heard thee,
15. the curse I will turn against thy side.
16. Ishtar gathered her maidens
17. Samhati and Harimati,
18. and over the member of the divine bull a. mourning she made.
19. Izdubar called on the people . . . .

20. all of them,
21. and the weight of his horns the young men took,
22. 30 manas of zamat stone within them,
23. the sharpness of the points was destroyed,
24. 6 gurs its mass together.
25. To the ark of his god Sarturda he dedicated it;
26. he took it in and worshipped at his fire;
27. in the river Euphrates they washed their hands,
28. and they took and went
29. round the city of Erech riding,
30. and the assembly of' the chiefs of' Erech marked it.
31. Izdubar to the inhabitants of Erech
32. . . . . a proclamation made.

Column VI.

1. "Any one of ability among the chiefs,
2. Any one noble among men,
3. Izdubar is able among the chiefs,

4. Izdubar is noble among men,
5. . . . . placed hearing
6. . . . . vicinity, not of the inhabitants
7. . . . . him."
8. Izdubar in his palace made a rejoicing,
9. the chiefs reclining on couches at night,
10. Heabani lay down, slept, and a dream he dreamed.
11. Heabani spake and the dream he explained,
12. and said to Izdubar.

Tablet VII.

The seventh tablet opens with the words, "Friend why do the gods take council." I am uncertain if I have found any other portion of this tablet, but I have provisionally placed here part of a remarkable fragment, with a continuation of the story of Ishtar. It appears that this goddess, failing in her attempt in heaven to avenge herself on Izdubar for his slight, resolved to descend to hell, to search out, if possible, new modes of attacking him.

Columns I. and II. are lost, the fragments recommencing on column III.

Column III.

1. . . . . people? to destroy his hand approached
2. . . . . raise in thy presence
3. . . . . like before
4. . . . . Zaidu shall accomplish the wish of his heart
5. with the female Samhat . . . . he takes
6. . . . . thee, the female Samhat will expel thee
7. . . . . ends and . . . . good
8. . . . . kept by the great jailor
9. . . . . like going down they were angry? let them weep for thee
10. . . . goods of the house of thy fullness
11. . . . like death . . . . of thy depression
12. . . . . for the females
13. . . . . let them bow
14. . . . . sink down
15. . . . . those who are collected
16. . . . . she
17. . . . . placed in thy house
18. . . . . occupy thy seat
19. . . . . thy resting place
20. . . . . thy feet
21. . . . . may they destroy
22. . . . . thee may they invoke
23. . . . . hey gave

. . . . . .

After many lines destroyed, the story recommences in the fourth column.

Column IV.

1. [To Hades the country unseen] I turn myself,
2. I spread like a bird my wings.
3. I descend, I descend to the house of darkness, to the dwelling of the god Irkalla:
4. To the house entering which there is no exit,
5. to the road the course of which never returns:
6. To the house in which the dwellers long for light,
7. the place where dust is their nourishment and their food mud.
8. Its chiefs also are like birds covered with feathers

9. and light is never seen, in darkness they dwell.
10. In the house my friend which I will enter,
11. for me is treasured up a crown;
12. with those wearing crowns who from days of old ruled the earth,
13. to whom the gods Anu and Bel have given terrible names.
14. The food is made carrion, they drink stagnant water.
15. In the house my friend which I will enter,
16. dwell the chiefs and unconquered ones,
17. dwell the bards and great men,
18. dwell the monsters of the deep of the great gods,
19. it is the dwelling of Etana, the dwelling of Ner,
20. . . . . the queen of the lower regions Ninkigal
21. the mistress of the fields the mother of the queen of the lower regions before her submits,
22. and there is not any one that stands against her in her presence.
23. I will approach her and she will see me
24. . . . and she will bring me to her

Here the story is again lost, columns V. and VI. being absent. It is evident that in the third column some one is speaking to Ishtar trying to persuade her not to descend to Hades, while in the fourth column the goddess, who is suffering all the pangs of jealousy and hate, revels in the dark details of the description of the lower regions, and declares her determination to go there.

There can be no doubt that this part of the legend is closely connected with the beautiful story of the Descent of Ishtar into Hades on a tablet which I published in the "Daily Telegraph," in fact I think that tablet to have been an extract from this part of the Izdubar legends, and it so closely connects itself with the story here that I give it as part of the sequel to this tablet.

The descent of Ishtar into Hades from K.

1. To Hades the land of . . . .
2. Ishtar daughter of Sin (the moon) her ear inclined;
3. inclined also the daughter of Sin her ear,
4. to the house of darkness the dwelling of the god Irkalla,
5. to the house entering which there is no exit,
6. to the road the course of which never returns,
7. to the house which on entering it they long for light,
8. the place where dust is their nourishment and their food mud.
9. Light is never seen in darkness they dwell,
10. its chiefs also are like birds covered with feathers,

11. over the door and bolts is scattered dust.
12. Ishtar on her arrival at the gate of Hades,
13. to the keeper of the gate a command she called:
14. Keeper of the waters open thy gate,
15. open thy gate that I may enter.
16. If thou openest not the gate and I am not admitted;
17. I will strike the door and the door posts I will shatter,
18. I will strike the hinges and I will burst open the doors;
19. I will raise up the dead devourers of the living,
20. over the living the dead shall triumph.
21. The keeper his mouth opened and spake,
22. and called to the princess Ishtar:
23. Stay lady do not do this,
24. let me go and thy speech repeat to the queen Ninkigal.
25. The keeper entered and called to Ninkigal:
26. this water thy sister Ishtar . . . .
27 of the great vaults . . . .
28. Ninkigal on her hearing this
29. like the cutting off of . . . .
30. like the bite of an insect it . . . .
31. Will her heart support it, will her spirit uphold it;
32. this water I with . . . .
33. like food eaten like jugs of water drank . . .
34. Let her mourn for the husbands who forsake their wives.
35. Let her mourn for the wives who from the bosom of their husbands depart.
36. for the children who miscarry let her mourn, who are not born in their proper time.
37. Go keeper open thy gate
38. and enclose her like former visitors.
39. The keeper went and opened his gate,
40. on entering lady may the city of Cutha be . .
41. the palace of Hades is rejoicing at thy presence.
42. The first gate he passed her through and drew her in, and he took away the great crown of her head.
43. Why keeper hast thou taken away the great crown of my head.
44. On Entering lady, the goddess of the lower regions does thus with her visitors.
45. The second gate he passed her through and drew her in, and he took away the earrings of her ears.

46. Why keeper hast thou taken away the earrings of my ears.
47. On entering Lady, the goddess of the lower regions does thus with her visitors.
48. The third gate he passed her through and drew her in, and he took away the necklace of her neck.
49. Why keeper hast thou taken away the necklace of my neck.
50. On entering Lady, the goddess of the lower regions does thus with her visitors.
51. The fourth gate he passed her through and drew her in, and he took away the ornaments of her breast.
52. Why keeper hast thou taken away the ornaments of my breast.
53. On entering Lady, the goddess of the lower regions does thus with her visitors.
54. The fifth gate he passed her through and drew her in, and he took away the binding girdle of her waist.
55. Why keeper hast thou taken away the binding girdle of my waist.
56. On entering lady, the goddess of the lower regions does thus with her visitors.
57. The sixth gate he passed her through and drew her in, and he took away the bracelets of her hands and her feet.
58. Why keeper hast thou taken away the bracelets of my hands and my feet.
59. On entering lady, the goddess of the lower regions does thus with her visitors.
60. The seventh gate he passed her through and drew her in, and he took away the covering cloak of her body.
61. Why keeper hast thou taken away the covering cloak of my body.
62. On entering lady, the goddess of the lower regions does thus with her visitors.
63. When a long time Ishtar to Hades had descended;
64. Ninkigal saw her and at her presence was angry,
65. Ishtar did not consider and at her she swore.
66. Ninkigal her mouth opened and spake,
67. to Simtar her attendant a command she called:
68. Go Simtar [take Ishtar from] me and
69. take her out to . . . . Ishtar
70. diseased eyes strike her with,
71. diseased side strike her with,
72. diseased feet strike her with,
73. diseased heart strike her with,

74. diseased head strike her with,
75. to her the whole of her [strike with disease].
76. After Ishtar the lady [to Hades had descended],
77. with the cow the bull would not unite, and the ass the female ass would not approach;
78. and the female slave would not approach the vicinity of the master.
79. The master ceased in his command,
80. the female slave ceased in her gift.

Column II.

1. Papsukul the attendant of the gods, set his face against them
2. turned . . . . full . . . .
3. Samas (the sun) went and in the presence of his father he wept,
4. into the presence of Hea the king he went in tears:
5. Ishtar to the lower regions has descended, she has not returned.
6. When a long time Ishtar to Hades had descended,
7. with the cow the bull would not unite, and the ass the female ass would not approach;
8. and the female slave would not approach the vicinity of the master.
9. The master ceased in his command,
10. the female slave ceased in her gift.
11. Hea in the wisdom of his heart considered,
12. and made Uddusu-namir the sphinx:
13. Go Uddusu-namir towards the gates of Hades set thy face;
14. may the seven gates of Hades be opened at thy presence;
15. may Ninkigal see thee and rejoice at thy arrival.
16. That her heart be satisfied, and her anger be removed;
17. appease her by the names of the great gods.
18. Raise thy heads, on the flowing stream set thy mind,
19. when command over the flowing stream shall be given, the waters in the midst mayest thou drink.
20. Ninkigal on her hearing this,
21. beat her breasts and wrung her hands,
22. she turned at this and comfort would not take:
23. go Uddusu-namir may the great jailor keep thee,
24. May food of the refuse of the city be thy food,
25. May the drains of the city be thy drink,
26. May the shadow of the dungeon be thy resting place,

27. May a slab of stone be thy seat
28. May bondage and want strike thy refuge
29. Ninkigal her mouth opened and spake,
30. to Simtar her attendant a command she called:
31. Go Simtar strike the palace of judgment,
32. the stone slab press upon with the pa-stone,
33. bring out the spirit, and seat it on the golden throne.
34. Over Ishtar pour the water of life and bring her before me.
35. Simtar went, he struck the palace of judgment,
36. the stone slab he pressed upon with the pa-stone,
37. he brought out the spirit and seated it on the golden throne.
38. On Ishtar he poured the water of life and brought her.
39. The first gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the covering cloak of her body.
40. The second gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the bracelets of her hands and her feet.
41. The third gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the binding girdle of her waist.
42. The fourth gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the ornaments of her breast.
43. The fifth gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the necklace of her neck.
44. The sixth gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the earrings of her ears.
45. The seventh gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the great crown of her head.
46. When her freedom she would not grant to thee to her also turn,
47. to Dumuzi the husband of her youth;
48. beautiful waters pour out beautiful boxes . . . .
49. in splendid clothing dress him, bracelets? of jewels place . . . .
50. May Samhat appease her grief,
51. and Belele give to her comfort.
52. Precious stones like eyes are not . . . .
53. her brother was slain? . . . . she struck, Belele gave her comfort.
54. Precious stones like birds' eyes are not better than thee,
55. my only brother thou didst never wrong me
56. In the day that Dumuzi adorned me, with rings of rubies, with bracelets of emeralds, with him adorned me,
57. with him adorned me, men mourners and women mourners,
58. on a bier may they raise, and gashes? may they cut?

This remarkable text shows Ishtar fulfilling her threat and descending to Hades, but it does not appear that she accomplished her vengeance against Izdubar yet.

At the opening of the sixth tablet we have the final scene of the contest with Humbaba. Izdubar, after slaying. Humbaba, takes the crown from the head of the monarch and places it on his own head, thus signifying that he assumed the empire. There were, as we are informed in several places, kings, lords, and princes, merely local rulers, but these generally submitted to the greatest power; and just as they had bowed to Humbaba, so they were ready now to submit to Izdubar. The kingdom promised to Izdubar when he started to encounter Humbaba now became his by right of superior force, and he entered the halls of the palace of Erech and feasted with his heroes.

We now come to a curious part of the story, the romance of Izdubar and Ishtar. One of the strange and dark features of the Babylonian religion was the Ishtar or Venus worship, which was an adoration of the reproductive power of nature, accompanied by ceremonies which were a reproach to the country. The city of Erech, originally a seat of the worship of Anu, was now one of the foremost cities in this Ishtar worship. Certainly Ishtar is represented in the legends as living at the time, and as being the widow of Dumuzi, the ruler of Erech, and it is possible there may have been some basis for the story in a tradition of some dissolute queen whose favour Izdubar refused; but we have to remember that these Izdubar legends were not intended for history, but for historical romance, and the whole story of Ishtar may be only introduced to show the hero's opposition to this worship, or to make an attack upon the superstition by quoting Izdubar's supposed defiance of the goddess.

The thirteenth to sixteenth lines of the first column appear to mark out the ultimate boundaries of the empire of Izdubar, and the limits mark somewhere about the extent assigned to the kingdom of Nimrod by tradition. The northern boundary was Bitani by the Armenian mountains, the eastern boundary the mountain ranges which separated Assyria and Babylonia from Media, and the south was the Persian Gulf, beyond which nothing was known, and the Arabian desert, which also bounded part of the west. On the western boundary his dominions stretched along the region of the Euphrates, perhaps to Orfa, a city which has still traditions of Nimrod.

In the course of the answer Izdubar gives to Ishtar, he calls to mind the various amours of Ishtar, and I cannot avoid the impression that the

author has here typified the universal power of love, extending over high and low, men and animals.

The subsequent lines show Ishtar obtaining from her father the creation of a bull called “the divine bull;” this animal I have supposed to be the winged bull so often depicted on Assyrian sculpture, but I am now inclined to think that this bull is represented without wings. The struggle with a bull, represented on the Babylonian cylinder, figured here, and numerous similar representations, seem to refer to this incident. There is no struggle with a winged bull on the Izdubar cylinders.

It would appear from the broken fragments of column IV. that Heabani laid hold of the bull by the head and tail while Izdubar killed it, and Heabani in the engraving is represented holding the bull by its head and tail.

At the close of the sixth tablet the story is again lost, only portions of the third and fourth columns of the next tablet being preserved, but light is thrown on this portion of the narrative by the remarkable tablet describing the descent of Ishtar into Hades. I think it probable that this tablet was in great part an extract from the seventh tablet of the Izdubar legends.

The tablet with the descent of Ishtar into Hades was first noticed by Mr. Fox Talbot in the “Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,” but he was entirely abroad as to the meaning of the words. After this I published a short notice of it in the “North British Review,” to clear up some of the difficulties, and it has been subsequently translated by Lenormant and Oppert, and re-translated by Mr. Fox Talbot. These translations and various notices of the Deluge tablets will be found in “Les Premières Civilisations” of Francois Lenormant, Paris, 1874, a small pamphlet on the Descent of Ishtar, by Professor Oppert, and various papers on these subjects by Mr. Fox Talbot, in the “Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,” vols. i., ii., and iii., and my own translation in the “Daily Telegraph,” August 19, 1873.

The story of the descent of Ishtar into Hades is one of the most beautiful myths in the Assyrian inscriptions; it has, however, received so much attention, and been so fully commented upon by various scholars, that little need be said on the subject here.

It is evident that we are dealing with the same goddess as the Ishtar, daughter of Anu, in the Izdubar legends, although she is here called daughter of Sin (the moon god) .

The description of the region of Hades is most graphic, and vividly portrays the sufferings of the prisoners there; but there are several

difficulties in the story, as there is no indication in some cases as to who acts or speaks. Uddusu-namir, created by Hea to deliver Ishtar, is described as a composite animal, half bitch and half man, with more than one head, and appears to correspond, in some respects, to the Cerberus of the classics, which had three heads according to some, fifty heads according to others.

The latter part of the tablet is obscure, and appears to refer to the custom of lamenting for Dumuzi or Tammuz.

CHAPTER XV. ILLNESS AND WANDERINGS OF IZDUBAR.

Heabani and the trees. — Illness of Izdubar. — Death of Heabani. — Journey of Izdubar. — His dream. — Scorpion men. — The Desert of Mas. — The paradise. — Siduri and Sabitu. — Urhamsi. — Water of death. — Ragmu. — The conversation. — Hasisadra.

OF the three tablets in this section, the first one is very uncertain, and is put together from two separate sources; the other two are more complete and satisfactory.

Tablet VIII.

I am uncertain again if I have discovered any of this tablet; I provisionally place here some fragments of the first, second, third, and sixth columns of a tablet which may belong to it, but the only fragment worth translating at present is one I have given in "Assyrian Discoveries," . In some portions of these fragments there are references, as I have there stated, to the story of Humbaba, but as the fragment appears to refer to the illness of Izdubar I think it belongs here.

Column I.

1. to his friend . . . .
2 and 3 . . . .
4. thy name . . .
5. . . . .
6. his speech he made . . . .
7. Izdubar my father . . . .
8. Izdubar . . . .
9. . . . .
10. joined . . .

11. Heabani his mouth opened and spake and
12. said to . . . .
13. I join him . . . .
14. in the . . . .
15. the door . . . .
16. of. . . .
17 and 18. . . .

19. in. . . .
20. Heabani . . . . carried . . .
21. with the door . . . . thy . . .
22. the door on its sides does not . . .
23. it has not aroused her hearing . . .
24. for twenty kaspu (140 miles) it is raised . . .
25. and the pine tree a bush I see . . .
26. there is not another like thy tree . . .
27. Six gars (120 feet) is thy height, two gars (40 feet) is thy breadth . . . .
28. thy circuit, thy contents, thy mass . . .
29. thy make which is in thee in the city of Nipur . . . .
30. I know thy entrance like this . . .
31. and this is good . . .
32. for I have his face, for I . . .
33. I fill . . . .
34. . . . .
35. for he took . . .
36. the pine tree, the cedar, . . .
37. in its cover . . .
38. thou also . . . .
39. may take . . .
40. in the collection of everything . . .
41. a great destruction . . .
42. the whole of the trees . . .
43. in thy land Izmanubani . . .
44. thy bush? is not strong . . .
45. thy shadow is not great . . .
46. and thy smell is not agreeable . . .

47. The Izmanubani tree was angry . . .
48. made a likeness?
49. like the tree . . .
. . . . . .

The second, third, fourth and fifth columns appear to be entirely absent, the inscription reappearing on a fragment of the sixth column.

Column II.

(Many lines lost.)

1. The dream which I saw . . . .
2. . . . made? the mountain . . . .
3. he struck . . . .
4. They like *nimgi* struck . . . .
5. brought? forth in the vicinity . . . .
6. He said to his friend Heabani the dream . . .
7. . . . good omen of the dream . . . .
8. the dream was deceptive . . . .
9. all the mountain which thou didst see . . . .
10. when we captured Humbaba and we . . . .
11. . . . of his helpers to thy . . . .
12. in the storm to . . . .

13. For twenty kaspu he journeyed a stage
14. at thirty kaspu he made a halt?
15. in the presence of Shamas he dug out a pit . . . .
16. Izdubar ascended to over . . . .
17. by the side of his house he approached . . . .
18. the mountain was subdued, the dream . . . .
19. he made it and . . . .

Column III.

1. The mountain was subdued, the dream . . . .
2. he made it and . . . .
3. . . . turban? . . . .
4. he cast him down and . . . .
5. the mountain like corn of the field . . . .
6. Izdubar at the destruction set up . . . .
7. Anatu the injurer of men upon him struck,
8. and in the midst of his limbs he died.
9. He spake and said to his friend:
10. Friend thou dost not ask me why I am naked,
11. thou dost not inquire of me why I am spoiled,
12. God will not depart, why do my limbs burn.
13. Friend I saw a third dream,
14. and the dream which I saw entirely disappeared,
15. He invoked the god of the earth and desired death.
16. A storm came out of the darkness,
17. the lightning struck and kindled a fire,

18. and came out the shadow of death.
19. It disappeared, the fire sank,
20. he struck it and it turned to a palm tree,
21. . . . and in the desert thy lord was proceeding.
22. And Heabani the dream considered and said to Izdubar.

The fourth and fifth columns of this tablet are lost. This part of the legend appears to refer to the illness of Izdubar.

Column VI.

1. My friend . . . the dream which is not . . .
2. the day he dreamed the dream, the end . . .

3. Heabani lay down also one day . . .
4. which Heabani in that evening . . .
5. the third day and the fourth day which . . .
6. the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth . . .
7. when Heabani was troubled . . .
8. the eleventh and twelfth . . .
9. Heabani in that evening . . .
10. Izdubar asked also . . .
11. is my friend hostile to me . . .
12. then in the midst of fight . . .
13. I turn to battle and . . .
14. the friend who in battle . . .
15. I in . . . . . .

. . . . . .

It must here be noted that my grounds for making this the eighth tablet are extremely doubtful, it is possible that the fragments are of different tablets; but they fill up an evident blank in the story here, and I have inserted them pending further discoveries as to their true position.

In the first column Heabani appears to be addressing certain trees, and they are supposed to have the power of hearing and answering him. Heabani praises one tree and sneers at another, but from the mutilation of the text it does not appear why he acts so. I conjecture he was seeking a charm to open the door he mentions, and that according to the story this charm was known to the trees. The fragment of the sixth column shows Heabani unable to interpret a dream, while Izdubar asks his friend to fight.

After this happened the violent death of Heabani, which added to the misfortunes of Izdubar; but no fragment of this part of the story is preserved.

Tablet IX.

This tablet is in a somewhat better state than the others, and all the narrative is clearer from this point, not a single column of the inscription being entirely lost. The ninth tablet commences with the sorrow of Izdubar at the death of Heabani.

Column I.

1. Izdubar over Heabani his seer
2. bitterly lamented, and lay down on the ground.
3. I had no judgment like Heabani;
4. Weakness entered into my soul;
5. death I feared, and lay down on the ground.
6. For the advice of Hasisadra, son of Ubaratutu
7. The road I was taking, and joyfully I went,
8. to the neighbourhood of the mountains I took at night.
9. a dream I saw, and I feared.
10. I bowed on my face, and to Sin (the moon god) I prayed;
11. and into the presence of the gods came my supplication;
12. and they sent peace unto me.
13. . . . . dream.
14. . . . . Sin, erred in life.
15. precious stones . . . to his hand.
16. were bound to his girdle
17. like the time . . . their . . . he struck
18. he struck . . . . fruit? he broke
19. and. . . .
20. he threw . . . .
21. he was guarded . . .
22. the former name . . . .
23. the new name . . . .
24. he carried . . . .
25. to. . . .

(About six lines lost here.)

The second column shows Izdubar in some fabulous region, whither he has wandered in search of Hasisadra. Here he sees composite monsters with their feet resting in hell, and their heads reaching heaven.

These beings are supposed to guide and direct the sun at its rising and setting. This passage is as follows: —

Column II.

1. Of the country hearing him . . . .
2. To the mountains of Mas in his course . . . .
3. who each day guard the rising sun.
4. Their crown was at the lattice of heaven,
5. under hell their feet were placed.
6. The scorpion-man guarded the gate,
7. burning with terribleness, their appearance was like death,
8. the might of his fear shook the forests.
9. At the rising of the sun and the setting of the sun, they guarded the sun.
10. Izdubar saw them and fear and terror came into his face.
11. Summoning his resolution he approached before them.
12. The scorpion-man of his female asked:
13. Who comes to us with the affliction of god on his body
14. To the scorpion-man his female answered:
15. The work of god is laid upon the man,
16. The scorpion-man of the hero asked,
17. . . . . of the gods the word he said:
18. . . . . distant road
19. . . . . come to my presence
20. . . . . of which the passage is difficult.

The rest of this column is lost. In it Izdubar converses with the monsters and where the third column begins he is telling them his purpose, to seek Hasisadra.

Column III.

(1 and 2 lost.)
3. He Hasisadra my father . . . . .
4. who is established in the assembly of the gods
5. death and life [are known to him]
6. The monster opened his mouth and spake
7. and said to Izdubar
8. Do it not Izdubar . . . .
9. of the country . . . .

10. for twelve kaspu (84 miles) [is the journey]

11. which is completely covered with sand, and there is not a cultivated field,

12. to the rising sun . . . .

13. to the setting sun . . . .

14. to the setting sun . . . .

15. he brought out . . . .

In this mutilated passage, the monster describes the journey to be taken by Izdubar; there are now many lines wanting, until we come to the fourth column.

Column IV.

1. in prayer . . . .

2. again thou . . . .

3. the monster . . . .

4. Izdubar . . . .

5. go Izdubar . . . .

6. lands of Mas . . . .

7. the road of the sun . . . .

8. 1 kaspu he went . . . .

9. which was completely covered with sand, and there was not a cultivated field,

10. he was not able to look behind him.

11. 2 kaspu he went . . . .

This is the bottom of the fourth column; there are five lines lost at the top of the fifth column, and then the narrative reopens; the text is, however, mutilated and doubtful.

Column V.

6. 4 kaspu he went . . . .

7. which was completely covered with sand, and there was not a cultivated field,

8. he was not able to look behind him.

9. 5 kaspu he went . . . .

10. which was completely covered with sand, and there was not a cultivated field,

11. he was not able to look behind him.

12. 6 kaspu he went . . . .

13. which was completely covered with sand, and there was not a cultivated field,
14. he was not able to look behind him.
15. 7 kaspu he went . . . .
16. which was completely covered with sand, and there was not a cultivated field,
17. he was not able to look behind him.
18. 8 kaspu he went . . . . turned? . . . .
19. which was completely covered with sand, and there was not a cultivated field,
20. he was not able to look behind him.
21. 9 kaspu he went . . . . to the north
22. . . . . his face
23. . . . . a field
24. . . . . to look behind him
25. 10 kaspu? he went? . . . . him
26. . . . . meeting
27. . . . . 4 kaspu
28. . . . . shadow of the sun
29. . . . . beautiful situation . . . .
30. to the forest of the trees of the gods in appearance it was equal.
31. Emeralds it carried as its fruit,
32. the branches were encircled to the points covered,
33. Ukni stones it carried as shoots?
34. the fruit it carried to the sight were large

Some of the words in this fragment are obscure, but the general meaning is clear. In the next column the wanderings of Izdubar are continued, and he comes to a country near the sea. Fragments of several lines of this column are preserved, but too mutilated to translate with certainty. The fragments are: —

Column VI.

(About six lines lost.)
1. the pine tree . . . .
2. its nest of stone . . . . ukni stone?
3. not striking the sea . . . . jet stones
4. like worms? and caterpillars . . . . gugmi
5. a bustard it caught? beautiful
6. jet stone, ka stone . . . . the goddess Ishtar

7. . . . . he carried
8. like . . . . *asgege*
9. which . . . . the sea
10. was . . . . may he raise
11. Izdubar [saw this] in his travelling
12. and he carried . . . . that

This tablet brings Izdubar to the region of the sea-coast, but his way is then barred by two women, one named Siduri, and the other Sabitu. His further adventures are given on the tenth tablet, which opens:

Tablet X.

1. Siduri and Sabitu who in the land beside the sea dwelt
2. dwelt also . . . .
3. making a dwelling, making . . . .
4. covered with stripes of affliction in . . . .
5. Izdubar struck with disease . . . .
6. illness covering his . . . .
7. having the brand of the gods on his . . . .
8. there was shame of face on . . . .
9. to go on the distant path his face was set.
10. Sabitu afar off pondered,
11. spake within her heart, and a resolution made.
12. Within herself also she considered:
13. What is this message
14. There is no one upright in . . . .
15. And Sabitu saw him and shut her place?
16. her gate she shut, and shut her place?
17. And he Izdubar having ears heard her
18. he struck his hands and made . . . .

19. Izdubar to her also said to Sabitu:
20. Sabitu why dost thou shut thy place?
21. thy gate thou closest . . . .
22. I will strike the . . . .

The rest of this column is lost, but I am able to say it described the meeting of Izdubar with a boatman named Urhamsi, and they commence together a journey by water in a boat on the second column.

Very little of this column is preserved; I give two fragments only here.

Column II.

1. Urhamsi to him also said to Izdubar
2. Why should I curse thee . . . .
3. and thy heart is tried . . . .
4. there is shame of face on . . . .
5. thou goest on the distant path . . . .
6. . . . . burning and affliction . . . .
7. . . . . thus thou . . . .
8. Izdubar to him also said to Urhamsi
9. . . . . my hand has not . . . .
10. . . . . my heart is not . . . .
11. . . . . shame of face on . . . .

Here again there are many wanting lines, and then we have some fragments of the bottom of the column.

1. . . . . said to Izdubar
2. . . . . and his lower part
3. . . . . the ship
4. . . . . of death
5. . . . . wide
6. . . . . ends
7. . . . . to the river
8. . . . . ship
9. . . . . in the vicinity
10. . . . . boatman
11. . . . . he burned
12. . . . . to thee

Here there are many lines lost, then recommencing the story proceeds on the third column.

Column III.

1. the friend whom I loved . . . .
2. I am not like him . . . .

3. Izdubar to him also said to Ur-hamsi
4. Again Ur-hamsi why . . . .
5. what brings (matters) to me if it . . . .
6. if carried to cross the sea, if not carried [to cross the sea]

7. Ur-hamsi to him also said to Izdubar
8. Thy hand Izdubar ceases . . . .

9. thou hidest in the place of the stones thou . . .
10. in the place of the stones hidden and they . . .
11. Take Izdubar the axe in thy hand . . . .
12. go down to the forest and a spear of five gar . . .
13. capture and make a burden of it, and carry it . . .
14. Izdubar on his hearing this,
15. took the axe in his hand . . . .
16. he went down to the forest and a spear of five gar. . . .
17. he took and made a burden of it, and carried it [to the ship]
18. Izdubar and Urhamsi rode in the ship
19. the ship the waves took and they . . . .
20. a journey of one month and fifteen days. On the third day in their course
21. took Urhamsi the waters of death . . . .

Column IV.

1. Urhamsi to him also said to Izdubar
2. the tablets? Izdubar . . .
3. Let not the waters of death enclose thy hand. . . .
4. the second time, the third time, and the fourth time Izdubar was lifting the spear . . . .
5. the fifth, sixth, and seventh time Izdubar was lifting the spear . . . .
6. the eighth, ninth, and tenth time Izdubar was lifting the spear . . . .
7. the eleventh and twelfth time, Izdubar was lifting the spear . . . .
8. on the one hundred and twentieth time Izdubar finished the spear
9. and he broke his girdle to . . . .
10. Izdubar seized the . . . . . .
11. on, his wings a cord he . . . .
12. Hasisadra afar off pondered,
13. spake within his heart and a resolution made.
14. Within himself also he considered:
15. Why is the ship still hidden
16. is not ended the voyage . . . .
17. the man is not come to me and . . . .
18. I wonder he is not . . . . .
19. I wonder he is not . . . .
20. I wonder . . . .

Here there is a blank, the extent of which is uncertain, and where the narrative recommences it is on a small fragment of the third and fourth

column of another copy. It appears that the lost lines record the meeting between Izdubar and a person named Ragmu-seri-ina-namari. I have conjectured that this individual was the wife of Hasisadra or Noah; but there is no ground for this opinion; it is possible that this individual was the gatekeeper or guard, by whom Izdubar had to pass in going to reach Hasisadra.

It is curious that, whenever Izdubar speaks to this being, the name Ragmua is used, while, whenever Izdubar is spoken to, the full name Ragmu-seri-ina-namari occurs. Where the story re-opens Izdubar is informing Ragmu of his first connection with Heabani and his offers to him when he desired him to come to Erech.

Column III. (fragment).

1. for my friend . . . .
2. free thee . . . .
3. weapon . . . .
4. bright star . . . .

Column IV. (fragment).

1. On a beautiful couch I will seat thee,
2. I will cause thee to sit on a comfortable seat on the left,
3. the kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet.
4. I will enrich thee and the men of Erech I will make silent before thee,
5. and I after thee will take all . . . .
6. I will clothe thy body in raiment and . . . .

7. Ragmu-seri-ina-namari on his hearing this
8. his fetters loosed . . . .

The speech of Ragmu to Izdubar and the rest of the column are lost, the narrative recommencing on Column V. with another speech of Izdubar.

Column V. (fragment).

1. . . . . to me
2. . . . . my . . . I wept
3. . . . . bitterly I spoke
4. . . . . my hand

5. . . . . ascended to me
6. . . . . to me

7. . . . . leopard of the desert

Column V.

1. Izdubar opened his mouth and said to Ragmu
2. . . . . my presence?
3. . . . . not strong
4. . . . . my face
5. . . . . lay down in the field,
6. . . . . of the mountain, the leopard of the field,
7. Heabani my friend . . . . the same.
8. No one else was with us, we ascended the mountain.
9. We took it and the city we destroyed.
10. We conquered also Humbaba who in the forest of pine trees dwelt.
11. Again why did his fingers lay hold to slay the lions.
12. Thou wouldst have feared and thou wouldst not have . . all the difficulty.
13. And he did not succeed in slaying the same
14. his heart failed, and he did not strike . . . . over him I wept,
15. he covered also my friend like a corpse in a grave,
16. like a lion? he tore? him
17. like a lioness? placed . . . . field
18. he was cast down to the face of the earth
19. he broke? and destroyed his defence? . . . .
20. he was cut off and given to pour out? . . . .

21. Ragmu-seri-ina-namari on hearing this

Here the record is again mutilated, Izdubar further informs Ragmu what he did in conjunction with Heabani. Where the story reopens on Column VI.

Izdubar relates part of their adventure with Humbaba.

Column VI.

1. . . . . taking
2. . . . . to thee

3. . . . . thou art great
4. . . . . all the account

5. . . . . forest of pine trees
6. . . . . went night and day
7. . . . . the extent of Erech Suburi
8. . . . . he approached after us
9. . . . . he opened the land of forests
10. . . . . we ascended
11. . . . . in the midst like thy mother
12. . . . . cedar and pine trees
13. . . . . with our strength
14. . . . . silent
15. . . . . he of the field
16. . . . . by her side
17. . . . . the Euphrates

Here again our narrative is lost, and where we again meet the story Izdubar has spoken to Hasisadra and is receiving his answer.

1. I was angry . . . .
2. Whenever a house was built, whenever a treasure was collected
3. Whenever brothers fixed . . . .
4. Whenever hatred is in . . . .
5. Whenever the river makes a great flood.
6. Whenever reviling within the mouth . . . .
7. the face that bowed before Shamas
8. from of old was not . . . .
9. Spoiling and death together exist
10. of death the image has not been seen.
11. The man or servant on approaching death,
12. the spirit of the great gods takes his hand.
13. The goddess Mamitu maker of fate, to them their fate brings,
14. she has fixed death and life;
15. of death the day is not known.

This statement of Hasisadra closes the tenth tablet and leads to the next question of Izdubar and its answer, which included the story of the Flood.

The present division of the legends has its own peculiar difficulties; in the first place it does not appear how Heabani was killed. My original idea, that he was killed by the poisonous insect *tambukku*, I find to be incorrect, and it now appears most likely either that he was killed in a

quarrel with Izdubar, as seems suggested by the fragment in , or that he fell in an attempt to slay a lion, which is implied in the passage .

In the ninth tablet I am able to make a correction to my former translation; I find the monsters seen by Izdubar were composite beings, half scorpions, half men. The word for scorpion has been some time ago discovered by Professor Oppert, and I find it occurs in the description of these beings; also on a fragment of a tablet which I found at Kouyunjik the star of the scorpion is said to belong to the eighth month, in which, of course, it should naturally appear.

This assists in explaining a curious tablet printed in "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. iii. , No. 1, which has been misunderstood. This tablet speaks of the appearance of comets, one of which has a tail "like a lizard (or creeping thing) and a scorpion."

The land of Mas or desert of Mas over which Izdubar travels in this tablet is the desert on the west of the Euphrates; on the sixth column the fragments appear to refer to some bird with magnificent feathers like precious stones, seen by Izdubar on his journey.

I have altered my translation of the passage in p, 256, which I now believe to relate that Izdubar at the direction of Urhamsi made a spear from one of the trees of the forest before going across the waters of death which separated the abode of Hasisadra from the world of mortals. I do not, however, understand the passage, as from the mutilated condition of the inscription it does not appear what he attacked with it.

CHAPTER XVI. THE STORY OF THE FLOOD AND CONCLUSION.

Eleventh tablet. — The gods. — Sin of the world. — Command to build the ark. — Its contents. — The building. — The Flood. — Destruction of people. — Fear of the gods. — End of Deluge. — Nizir. — Resting of ark. — The birds. — The descent from the ark. — The sacrifice. — Speeches of gods. — Translation of Hasisadra. — Cure of Izdubar. — His return. — Lament over Heabani. — Resurrection of Heabani. — Burial of warrior. — Comparison with Genesis. — Syrian nation. — Connection of legends. — Points of contact. — Duration of deluge. — Mount of descent — Ten generations. — Early cities. — Age of Izdubar.

THE eleventh tablet of the Izdubar series is the one which first attracted attention, and certainly the most important on account of its containing the story of the Flood. This tablet is the most perfect in the series, scarcely any line being entirely lost.

Tablet XI.

Column I.

1. Izdubar after this manner also said to Hasisadra afar off:
2. I consider the matter,
3. why thou repeatest not to me from thee,
4. and thou repeatest not to me from thee,
5. thy ceasing my heart to make war
6. presses? of thee, I come up after thee,
7. . . . how thou hast done, and in the assembly of the gods alive thou art placed.

8. Hasisadra after this manner also said to Izdubar:
9. Be revealed to thee Izdubar the concealed story,
10. and the judgment of the gods be related to thee,
11. The city Surippak the city where thou standest not . . . . placed,
12. that city is ancient . . . . the gods within it
13. . . . . their servant, the great gods
14. . . . . the god Anu,
15. . . . . the god Bel,
16. . . . . the god Ninip,

17. and the god . . . . lord of Hades;
18. their will he revealed in the midst . . . . and
19. I his will was hearing and he spake to me:
20. Surippakite son of Ubaratutu
21. . . . . make a ship after this . . . .
22. . . . . I destroy? the sinner and life . . . .
23. . . . . cause to go in? the seed of life all of it to the midst of the ship.
24. The ship which thou shalt make,
25. 600? cubits shall be the measure of its length, and
26. 60? cubits the amount of its breadth and its height.
27. . . . into the deep launch it.
28. I perceived and said to Hea my lord:
29. The ship making which thou commandest me,
30. when I shall have made,
31. young and old will deride me.
32. Hea opened his mouth and spake and said to me his servant:
33. . . . . thou shalt say unto them,
34. . . . . he has turned from me and
35. . . . . fixed over me
36. . . . . like caves . . . .
37. . . . above and below
38. . . . closed the ship . . .
39. . . . the flood which I will send to you,
40. into it enter and the door of the ship turn.
41. Into the midst of it thy grain, thy furniture, and thy goods,
42. thy wealth, thy woman servants, thy female slaves, and the young men,
43. the beasts of the field, the animals of the field all, I will gather and
44. I will send to thee, and they shall be enclosed in thy door.

45. Adrahasis his mouth opened and spake, and
46. said to Hea his lord:
47. Any one the ship will not make . . .
48. on the earth fixed . . . .
49. . . . . I may see also the ship . . . .
50. . . . . on the ground the ship . . . .
51. the ship making which thou commandest me . .
52. which in . . . .

Column II.

1. strong . . . .
2. on the fifth day . . . . it
3. in its circuit 14 measures . . . its frame.
4. 14 measures it measured . . . over it.
5. I placed its roof, it . . . . I enclosed it.
6. I rode in it on the sixth time; I examined its exterior on the seventh time;
7. its interior I examined on the eighth time.
8. Planks against the waters within it I placed.
9. I saw rents and the wanting parts I added.
10. 3 measures of bitumen I poured over the outside.
11. 3 measures of bitumen I poured over the inside.
12. 3 . . . men carrying its baskets, they constructed boxes
13. I placed in the boxes the offering they sacrificed.
14. Two measures of boxes I had distributed to the boatmen.
15. To . . . . were sacrificed oxen
16. . . . . dust and
17. . . . . wine in receptacle of goats 18. I collected like the waters of a river, also
19. food like the dust of the earth also
20. I collected in boxes with my hand I placed.
21. . . . . Shamas . . . . material of the ship completed.
22. . . . . strong and
23. the reed oars of the ship I caused to bring above and below.
24. . . . . they went in two-thirds of it.

25. All I possessed the strength of it, all I possessed the strength of it silver,
26. all I possessed the strength of it gold,
27. all I possessed the strength of it the seed of life, the whole
28. I caused to go up into the ship; all my male servants and my female servants,
29. the beast of the field, the animal of the field, the sons of the people all of' them, I caused to go up.
30. A flood Shamas made and
31. he spake saying in the night: I will cause it to rain heavily,
32. enter to the midst of the ship and shut thy door.
33. that flood happened, of which

34. he spake saying in the night: I will cause it to rain (or it will rain) from heaven heavily.
35. In the day I celebrated his festival
36. the day of watching fear I had.
37. I entered to the midst of the ship and shut my door.
38. To close the ship to Buzur-sadirabi the boatman
39. the palace I gave with its goods.

40. Ragmu-seri-ina-namari
41. arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide.
42. Vul in the midst of it thundered, and
43. Nebo and Saru went in front,
44. the throne bearers went over mountains and plains,
45. the destroyer Nergal overturned,
46. Ninip went in front and cast down,
47. the spirits carried destruction,
48. in their glory they swept the earth;
49. of Vul the flood reached to heaven.
50. The bright earth to a waste was turned,

Column III.

1. the surface of the earth like . . . . it swept,
2. it destroyed all life from the face of the earth. . . . .
3. the strong deluge over the people, reached to heaven.
4. Brother saw not his brother, they did not know the people. In heaven
5. the gods feared the tempest and
6. sought refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu.
7. The gods like dogs fixed in droves prostrate.
8. Spake Ishtar like a child,
9. uttered Rubat her speech:
10. All to corruption are turned and
11. then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil.
12. As I prophesied in the presence of the gods evil,
13. to evil were devoted all my people and I prophesied
14. thus: I have begotten my people and
15. like the young of the fishes they fill the sea.
16. The gods concerning the spirits were weeping with her,
17. the gods in seats seated in lamentation,

18. covered were their lips for the coming evil.
19. Six days and nights
20. passed, the wind, deluge, and storm, overwhelmed.
21. On the seventh day in its course was calmed the storm, and all the deluge
22. which had destroyed like an earthquake,
23. quieted. The sea he caused to dry, and the wind and deluge ended.
24. I perceived the sea making a tossing;
25. and the whole of mankind turned to corruption,
26. like reeds the corpses floated.
27. I opened the window, and the light broke over my face,
28. it passed. I sat down and wept,
29. over my face flowed my tears.
30. I perceived the shore at the boundary of the sea,
31. for twelve measures the land rose.
32. To the country of Nizir went the ship;
33. the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it it was not able.
34. The first day, and the second day, the mountain of Nizir the same.
35. The third day, and the fourth day, the mountain of Nizir the same.
36. The fifth, and sixth, the mountain of Nizir the same.
37. On the seventh day in the course of it

38. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and turned, and
39. a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
40. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and turned, and
41. a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
42. I sent forth a raven and it left.
43. The raven went, and the decrease of the water it saw, and
44. it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return.
45. I sent the animals forth to the four winds, I poured out a libation,
46. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain,
47. by sevens herbs I cut,
48. at the bottom of them I placed reeds, pines, and simgar.
49. The gods collected at its savour, the gods collected at its good savour;
50. the gods like flies over the sacrifice gathered.
51. From of old also Rubat in her course
52. The great brightness of Anu had created. When the glory

53. of those gods on the charm round my neck I would not leave;

Column IV.

1. in those days I desired that for ever I might not leave them.
2. May the gods come to my altar,
3. may Elu not come to my altar,
4. for he did not consider and had made a deluge,
5. and my people he had consigned to the deep.
6. From of old also Elu in his course
7. saw the ship, and went Elu with anger filled to the gods and spirits:
8. Let not any one come out alive, let not a man be saved from the deep,
9. Ninip his mouth opened, and spake and said to the warrior Elu
10. Who then will ask Hea, the matter he has done?
11. and Hea knew all things.
12. Hea his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel:
13. “Thou prince of the gods warrior,
14. when thou art angry a deluge thou makest;
15. the doer of sin did his sin, the doer of evil did his evil.
16. the just prince let him not be cut off, the faithful let him not be destroyed.
17. Instead of thee making a deluge, may lions increase and men be reduced;
18. instead of thee making a deluge, may leopards increase and men be reduced;
19. instead of thee making a deluge, may a famine happen and the country be destroyed;
20. instead of thee making a deluge, may pestilence increase and men be destroyed.”
21. I did not peer into the judgment of the gods.
22. Adrahasis a dream they sent, and the judgment of the gods he heard.
23. When his judgment was accomplished, Bel went up to the midst of the ship.
24. He took my hand and raised me up,
25. he caused to raise and to bring my wife to my side;
26. he made a bond, he established in a covenant, and gave this blessing,
27. in the presence of Hasisadra and the people thus:

28. When Hasisadra, and his wife, and the people, to be like the gods are carried away;

29. then shall dwell Hasisadra in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers.

30. They took me, and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers they seated me.

31. When to thee whom the gods have chosen also,

32. for the health which thou seekest and askest,

33. this be done six days and seven nights,

34. like sitting on the edge of his seat,

35. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him.

36. Hasisadra to her also said to his wife

37. I announce that the chief who grasps at health

38. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him.

39. His wife to him also said to Hasisadra afar off:

40. clothe him, and let the man be sent away;

41. the road that he came may he return in peace,

42. the great gate open and may he return to his country.

43. Hasisadra to her also said to his wife:

44. The cry of a man alarms thee,

45. this do his *kurummat* place on his head.

46. And the day when he ascended the side of the ship,

47. she did, his *kurummat* she placed on his head.

48. And the day when he ascended the side of the ship,

49. first the *sabusat* of his *kurummat*,

50. second the *mussukat*, third the *radbat*, fourth she opened his *zikaman*,

51. fifth the cloak she placed, sixth the *bassat*,

Column V.

1. seventh in a mantle she clothed him and let the man go free.

2. Izdubar to him also said to Hasisadra afar off:

3. In this way thou vast compassionate over me,

4. joyfully thou hast made me, and thou hast restored me.

5. Hasisadra to him also said to Izdubar.

6. . . . . thy *kurummit*,

7. . . . . separated thee,

8. . . . . thy *kurummat*,

9. second the *mussukat*, third the *radbat*,
10. fourth she opened the *zikaman*,
11. fifth the cloak she placed, sixth the *bassat*,
12. seventh in a cloak I have clothed thee and let thee go free.
13. Izdubar to him also said to Hasisadra afar off:
14. . . . . Hasisadra to thee may we not come,
15. . . . . collected
16. . . . . dwelling in death,
17. . . . . his back? dies also.

18. Hasisadra to him also said to Urhamsi the boatman:
19. Urhamsi . . . . . to thee we cross to preserve thee.
20. Who is beside the . . . . . of support;
21. the man whom thou comest before, disease has filled his body;
22. illness has destroyed the strength of his limbs.
23. carry him Urhamsi, to cleanse take him,
24. his disease in the water to beauty may it turn,
25. may he cast off his illness, and the sea carry it away, may health cover his skin,
26. may it restore the hair of his head,
27. hanging to cover the cloak of his body.
28. That he may go to his country, that he may take his road,
29. the hanging cloak may he not cast off, but alone may he leave.
30. Urhamsi carried him, to cleanse he took him,
31. his disease in the water to beauty turned,
32. he cast off his illness, and the sea carried it away, and health covered his skin,
33. he restored the hair of his head, hanging down to cover the cloak of his body.
34. That he might go to his country, that he might take his road,
35. the hanging cloak he did not cast off, but alone he left.
36. Izdubar and Urhamsi rode in the ship,
37. where they placed them they rode.

38. His wife to him also said to Hasisadra afar off:
39. Izdubar goes away, he is satisfied, he performs
40. that which thou hast given him, and returns to his country.
41. And he carried the spear? of Izdubar,
42. and the ship touched the shore.
43. Hasisadra to him also said to Izdubar:

44. Izdubar thou goest away, thou art satisfied, thou performest
45. that which I have given thee, and thou re-turnest to thy country.
46. Be revealed to thee Izdubar the concealed story;
47. and the judgment of the gods be related to thee.
48. This account like bitumen . . . .
49. its renown like the Amurdin tree . . . .
50. when the account a hand shall take . . . .
51. Izdubar, this in his hearing heard, and . . . .
52. he collected great stones . . . .

Column VI.

1. they dragged it and to . . . .
2. he carried the account . . . .
3. piled up the great stones . . . .
4. to his mule . . . .

5. Izdubar to him also said
6. to Urhamsi: this account . . . .
7. If a man in his heart take . . . .
8. may they bring him to Erech Suburi 9 speech . . . .
10. I will give an account and turn to. . . .
11. For 10 kaspu (70 miles) they journeyed the stage, for 20 kapsu (140 miles) they journeyed the stage
12. and Izdubar saw the hole . . .
13. they returned to the midst of Erech Suburi.
14. noble of men . . . .
15. in his return . . . .
16. Izdubar approached . . . .
17. and over his face coursed his tears, and he said to Urhamsi:
18. At my misfortune Urhamsi in my turning,
19. at my misfortune is my heart troubled.
20. I have not done good to my own self;
21. and the lion of the earth does good.
22. Then for 20 kaspu (140 miles) . . . .
23. . . . . then I opened . . . . the instrument
24. the sea not to its wall then could I get,
25. And they left the ship by the shore, 20 kaspu (140 miles) they journeyed the stage.

26. For 30 kaspu (210 miles) they made the ascent, they came to the midst of Erech Suburi.

27. Izdubar to her also said to Urhamsi the boatman:
28. Ascend Urhamsi over where the wall of Erech will go;
29. the cylinders are scattered, the bricks of its casing are not made,
30. and its foundation is not laid to thy height;
31. 1 measure the circuit of the city, 1 measure of plantations, 1 measure the boundary of the temple of Nantur the house of Ishtar,
32. 3 measures together the divisions of Erech . . .

The opening line of the next tablet is preserved, it reads: "Tammabukku in the house of the . . . . was left." After this the story is again lost for several lines, and where it reappears Izdubar is mourning for Heabani. In my first account in "Assyrian Discoveries" there are several errors which were unavoidable from the state of the twelfth tablet.

I am now able to correct some of these, and find the words tambukku and mikke do not refer to the author or manner of the death of Heabani, who most probably died in attempting to imitate the feat of Izdubar when he destroyed the lion.

The fragments of this tablet are: —

Column I.

1. Tammabukku in the house of the . . . . was left
(Several lines lost.)
1. Izdubar . . . .
2. When to . . . .
3. to happiness thou . . . .
4. a cloak shining . .
5. like a misfortune also . . . .
6. The noble banquet thou dost not share,
7. to the assembly they do not call thee:
8. The bow from the ground thou dost not lift,
9. what the bow has struck escapes thee:
10. The mace in thy hand thou dost not grasp,
11. the spoil defies thee:
12. Shoes on thy feet thou dost not wear,
13. the slain on the ground thou dost not stretch.

14. Thy wife whom thou lovest thou dost not kiss,
15. thy wife whom thou hatest thou dost not strike;
16. Thy child whom thou lovest thou dost not kiss,
17. thy child whom thou hatest thou dost not strike;
18. The arms of the earth have taken thee.
19. O darkness, O darkness, mother Ninazu, O darkness.
20. Her noble stature as his mantle covers him
21. her feet like a deep well enclose him.

This is the bottom of the first column. The next column has lost all the upper part, it appears to have contained the remainder of this lament, an appeal to one of the gods on behalf of Heabani, and a repetition of the lamentation, the third person being used instead of the second. The fragments commence at the middle of this:

1. his wife whom he hated he struck,
2. his child whom he loved he kissed;
3. his child whom he hated he struck,
4. the might of the earth has taken him.
5. O darkness, O darkness, mother Ninazu, O darkness
6. Her noble stature as his mantle covers him,
7. her feet like a deep well enclose him.
8. Then Heabani from the earth
9. Simtar did not take him, Asakku did not take him, the earth took him.
10. The resting place of Nergal the unconquered did not take him, the earth took him.
11. In the place of the battle of heroes they did not strike him, the earth took him.
12. Then . . . . ni son of Ninsun for his servant Heabani wept;
13. to the house of Bel alone he went.
14. “Father Bel, a sting to the earth has struck me,
15. a deadly wound to the earth has struck me,

Column III.

1. Heabani who to fly . . . .
2. Simtar did not take him . . . .
3. the resting place of Nergal the unconquered did not take him . . .
4. In the place of the battle of heroes they did not . . . .
5. Father Bel the matter do not despise . . . .
6. Father Sin, a sting . . . .

7. a deadly wound . . . .
8. Heabani who to fly . . . .
9. Simtar did not take him . . . .
10. the resting-place of Nergal . . . .
(About 12 lines lost, containing repetition of this passage.)
23. Simtar . . . .
24. the resting place of Nergal the unconquered
25. in the place of the battle of heroes they did not . . . .
26. Father Hea . . .
27. To the noble warrior Merodach . . . .
28. Noble warrior Merodach . . . .
29. the divider . . . .
30. the spirit . . . .
31. To his father . . . .
32. the noble warrior Merodach son of Hea
33. the divider the earth opened, and
34. the spirit (or ghost) of Heabani like glass (or transparent) from the earth arose:
35. . . . . and thou explainest,
36. he pondered and repeated this:

Column IV.

1. Terrible my friend, terrible my friend,
2. may the earth cover what thou hast seen, terrible,
3. I will not tell my friend, I will not tell,
4. When the earth covers what I have seen I will tell thee.
5. . . . . thou sittest weeping
6. . . . . may you sit may you weep
7. . . . . in youth also thy heart rejoice
8. . . . . become old, the worm entering
9. . . . . in youth also thy heart rejoice
10 full of dust
11. . . . . he passed over
12. . . . . I see

Here there is a serious blank in the inscription, about twenty lines being lost, and I conjecturally insert a fragment which appears to belong to this part of the narrative. It is very curious from the geographical names it contains.

1. . . . . I poured out . . . .

2. . . . . which thou trusted . . . .
3. . . . . city of Babylon *ri* . . . .
4. . . . . which he was blessed . . . .
5. . . . . may he mourn for my fault . . . .
6. . . . . may he mourn for him and for . . . .
7. . . . . Kisu and Harriskalama, may he mourn
8. . . . . his . . . . Cutha . . . .
9. . . . . Eridu? and Nipur . . . .

The rest of Column IV. is lost, and of the next column there are only remains of the two first lines.

Column V.

1. like a good prince who . . . .
2. like . . . .

Here there are about thirty lines missing, the story recommencing with Column VI., which is perfect.

Column VI.

1. On a couch reclining and
2. pure water drinking.
3. He who in battle is slain, thou seest and I see;
4. His father and his mother carry his head,
5. and his wife over him weeps;
6. His friends on the ground are standing,
7. thou seest and I see.
8. His spoil on the ground is uncovered,
9. of the spoil account is not taken,
10. thou seest and I see.
11. The captives conquered come after; the food
12. which in the tents is placed is eaten.

13. The twelfth tablet of the legends of Izdubar.

14. Like the ancient copy written and made clear. This passage closes this great national work, which even in its present mutilated form is of the greatest importance in relation to the civilization, manners, and customs of this ancient people. The main feature in this part of the Izdubar legends is the description of the Flood in the eleventh tablet,

which evidently refers to the same event as the Flood of Noah in Genesis.

In my two papers in “The Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society,” vol. ii. and vol. iii.

I have given some comparisons with the Biblical account and that of Berosus, and I have made similar comparisons in my work, “Assyrian Discoveries; “ but I have myself to acknowledge that these comparisons are to a great extent superficial, a thorough comparison of the Biblical and Babylonian accounts of the Flood being only possible in conjunction with a critical examination both of the Chaldean and Biblical texts. Biblical criticism is, however, a subject on which I am not competent to pronounce an independent opinion, and the views of Biblical scholars on the matter are so widely at variance, and some of them so unmistakably coloured by prejudice, that I feel I could not take up any of the prevailing views without being a party to the controversy.

There is only one point which I think should not be avoided in this matter: it is the view of a large section of scholars that the Book of Genesis contains, in some form, matter taken from two principal independent sources; one is termed the Jehovistic narrative, the other the Elohistic. The authorship and dates of the original documents and the manner, date, and extent of their combination, are points which I shall not require to notice, and I must confess I do not think we are at present in a position to form a judgment upon them. I think all will admit a connection of some sort between the Biblical narrative and those of Berosus and the cuneiform texts, but between Chaldea and Palestine was a wide extent of country inhabited by different nations, whose territories formed a connecting link between these two extremes. The Aramean and Hittite races who once inhabited the region along the Euphrates and in Syria have passed away, their history has been lost, and their mythology and traditions are unknown; until future researches on the sites of their cities shall reveal the position in which their traditions stood towards those of Babylonia and Palestine, we shall not be able to clear up the connection between the two.

There are some differences between the accounts in Genesis and the Inscriptions, but when we consider the differences between the two countries of Palestine and Babylonia these variations do not appear greater than we should expect. Chaldea was essentially a mercantile and maritime country, well watered and fiat, while Palestine was a hilly region with no great rivers, and the Jews were shut out from the coast, the maritime regions being mostly in the hands of the Philistines and

Phoenicians. There was a total difference between the religious ideas of the two peoples, the Jews believing in one God, the creator and lord of the Universe, while the Babylonians worshipped gods and lords many, every city having its local deity, and these being joined by complicated relations in a poetical mythology, which was in marked contrast to the severe simplicity of the Jewish system. With such differences it was only natural that, in relating the same stories, each nation should colour them in accordance with its own ideas, and stress would naturally in each case be laid upon points with which they were familiar. Thus we should expect beforehand that there would be differences in the narrative such as we actually find, and we may also notice that the cuneiform account does not always coincide even with the account of the same events given by Berosus from Chaldean sources.

The great value of the inscriptions describing the Flood consists in the fact that they form an independent testimony in favour of the Biblical narrative at a much earlier date than any other evidence. The principal points in the two narratives compared in their order will serve to show the correspondences and differences between the two.

		Bible — Genesis.	Deluge tablet.
1.	Command to build the ark	Chap. vi. v. 14	Col. I. l. 21
2.	Sin of the world	v. 5	l. 22
3.	Threat to destroy it	v. 7	l. 22
4.	Seed of life to be saved	v. 19	l. 23
5.	Size of the ark	v. 15	l. 25, 26
6.	Animals to go in ark	v. 20	l. 43
			Col. II.
7.	Building of ark	v. 22	l. 1–9
8.	Coated within and without with bitumen	v. 14	l. 10, 11

9.	Food taken in the ark	v. 21	l. 19
		Chap. vii.	
10.	Coming of flood	v. 11	l. 40
		Bible — Genesis.	Deluge tablet.
		Chap. vii.	Col. III.
11.	Destruction of people	v. 21	l. 1–15
12.	Duration of deluge	v.12, 17, 24,&c.	l. 19–21
		Chap. viii.	
13.	End of deluge	v. 13	l. 21–26
14.	Opening of window	v. 6	l. 27
15.	Ark rests on a mountain	v. 4	l. 33
16.	Sending forth of the birds	v. 7–12	l. 384–4
17.	Leaving the ark	v. 18, 19	l. 45
18.	Building the altar	v. 20	l. 46
19.	The sacrifice	v. 20	l. 47, 48
20.	The savour of the offering	v. 21	l. 49
21.	A deluge not to	Chap. ix.	Col.

	happen again		IV.
		v. 11	l. 17–20
22.	Covenant and blessing	v. 9	l. 26
23.	Translation of the patriarch (in Genesis of Enoch)	Chap. v. v. 24	l. 28

There is no unexpected or material difference in the first four of these points, but with reference to the size of the ark there is certainly a discrepancy, for although the Chaldean measures are effaced it is evident that in the inscription the breadth and height of the vessel are stated to be the same, while these are given in Genesis as fifty cubits and thirty cubits respectively.

With regard to those who were saved in the ark there is again a clear difference between the two accounts, the Bible stating that only eight persons, all of the family of Noah, were saved, while the inscription includes his servants, friends, and boatmen or pilots; but certainly the most remarkable difference between the two is with respect to the duration of the deluge. On this point the inscription gives seven days for the flood, and seven days for the resting of the ark on the mountain, while the Bible gives the commencement of the flood on the 17th day of the second month and its termination on the 27th day of the second month in the following year, making a total duration of one year and ten days. Here it may be remarked, that those scholars who believe in two distinct documents being included in Genesis, hold that in the Jehovistic narrative the statement is that the flood lasted forty days, which is certainly nearer to the time specified in the cuneiform text. Forty is, however, often an ambiguous word, meaning “many,” and not necessarily fixing exactly the number. There is again a difference as to the mountain on which the ark rested; Nizir, the place mentioned in the cuneiform text, being east of Assyria, probably between latitudes 35° and 36° (see “Assyrian Discoveries,” p, 217), while Ararat, the mountain mentioned in the Bible, was north of Assyria, near Lake Van. It is evident that different traditions have placed the mountain of the ark in totally different positions, and there is not positive proof as to which is the earlier traditionary spot. The word Ararat is derived from an old

Babylonian word *Urdu*, meaning "highland," and might be a general term for any hilly country, and I think it quite possible that when Genesis was written the land of Armenia was not intended by this term. My own view is that the more southern part of the mountains east of Assyria was the region of the original tradition, and that the other sites are subsequent identifications due to changes in geographical names and other causes.

In the account of sending forth the birds there is a difference in detail between the Bible and the Inscriptions which cannot be explained away; this and other similar differences will serve to show that neither of the two documents is copied directly from the other.

Some of the other differences are evidently due to the opposite religious systems of the two countries, but there is again a curious point in connection with the close of the Chaldean legend, this is the translation of the hero of the Flood.

In the Book of Genesis it is not Noah but the seventh patriarch Enoch who is translated, three generations before the Flood.

There appears to have been some connection or confusion between Enoch and Noah in ancient tradition; both are holy men, and Enoch is said, like Noah, to have predicted the Flood.

It is a curious fact that the dynasty of gods, with which Egyptian mythical history commences, shows some similar points.

This dynasty has sometimes seven, sometimes ten reigns, and in the Turin Papyrus of kings, which gives ten reigns, there is the same name for the seventh and tenth reign, both being called Horus, and the seventh reign is stated at 300 years, which is the length of life of the seventh patriarch Enoch after the birth of his son.

I here show the three lists, the Egyptian gods, the Jewish patriarchs, and Chaldean kings.

Egypt.	Patriarchs.	Chaldean Kings.
Ptah.	Adam.	Alorus.
Ra.	Seth.	Alaparus.
Su.	Enos.	Almelon.
Seb.	Cainan.	Ammenon.
Hosiri.	Mahalaleel	Amegalarus.
Set.	Jared.	Daonus.
Hor.	Enoch.	Ædorachus.

Tut	Methusaleh.	Amempsin.
Ma.	Lamech.	Otiartes.
Hor.	Noah.	Xisuthrus.

I think it cannot be accidental that in each case we have ten names, but on the other hand there is no resemblance between the names, which appear to be independent in origin. What connection there may be between the three lists we have at present no means of knowing. It is probable that the literature of the old Syrian peoples, if it should ever be recovered, may help us to the discovery of the connection between these various accounts.

The seal which I have figured, , belonged to a Syrian chief in the ninth century B.C., and the devices upon it, the sacred tree, and composite beings, show similar stories and ideas to have prevailed there to those in Babylonia.

One question which will be asked, and asked in vain is: “Did either of the two races, Jews or Babylonians, borrow from the other the traditions of these early times, and if so, when?”

There is one point in connection with this question worth noticing: these traditions are not fixed to any localities near Palestine, but are, even on the showing of the Jews themselves, fixed to the neighbourhood of the Euphrates valley, and Babylonia in particular; this of course is clearly stated in the Babylonian inscriptions and traditions.

Eden, according even to the Jews, was by the Euphrates and Tigris; the cities of Babylon, Larancha, and Sippara were supposed to have been founded before the Flood. Surippak was the city of the ark, the mountains east of the Tigris were the resting-place of the ark, Babylon was the site of the tower, and Ur of the Chaldees the birthplace of Abraham. These facts and the further statement that Abraham, the father and first leader of the Hebrew race, migrated from Ur to Harran in Syria, and from there to Palestine, are all so much evidence in favour of the hypothesis that Chaldea was the original home of these stories, and that the Jews received them originally from the Babylonians; but on the other hand there are such striking differences in some parts of the legends, particularly in the names of the patriarchs before the Flood, that it is evident further information is required before attempting to decide, the question. Passing to the next, the twelfth and last tablet, the picture there given, the lament for Heabani, and the curious story of his ghost rising from the ground at the bidding of Merodach, serve to make this as

important in relation to the Babylonian religion as the eleventh tablet was to the book of Genesis.

Asakku is the spirit of one of the diseases, and Simtar is the attendant of the goddess of Hades; the trouble appears to be that Simtar and Asakku would not receive the soul of Heabani, while he was equally repudiated by Nergal and shut out from the region appointed for warlike heroes. The soul of Heabani was confined to the earth, and, not resting there, intercession was made to transfer him to the region of the blessed. I at one time added to this tablet a fragment which then appeared to belong and which I interpreted to refer to Heabani's dwelling in hell and taking his way from there to heaven. The discovery of a new fragment has forced me to alter both the translation and position of this notice, which I now place in the seventh tablet. This considerably weakens my argument that the Babylonians had two separate regions for a future state, one of bliss, the other of joy.

Under the fourth column I have provisionally placed a curious fragment where Izdubar appears to call on his cities to mourn with him for his friend. This tablet is remarkable for the number of cities mentioned as already existing in the time of Izdubar. Combining this notice with other parts of the legends, the statements of Berosus and the notice of the cities of Nimrod in Genesis, we get the following list of the oldest known cities in the Euphrates valley.

1. Babylon.	*11. Sippara.*
2. Borsippa.	*12. Kisu.*
3. Cutha.	*13. Harriskalama.*
4. Larancha.	*14. Ganganna.*
5. Surippak.	*15. Amarda.*
6. Eridu.	*16. Assur.*
7. Nipur.	*17. Nineveh.*
8. Erech.	*18. Rehobothair.*
9. Akkad.	*19. Resen.*
10. Calneh.	*20. Calah.*

So far as the various statements go, all these cities and probably many others were in existence in the time of Nimrod, and some of them even before the Flood; the fact, that the Babylonians four thousand years ago believed their cities to be of such antiquity, shows that they were not recent foundations, and their attainments at that time in the arts and

sciences proves that their civilization had already known ages of progress. The epoch of Izdubar must be considered at present as the commencement of the united monarchy in Babylonia, and as marking the first of the series of great conquests in Western Asia, but how far back we have to go from our earliest known monuments to reach his era we cannot now tell.

It is probable that after the death of Izdubar the empire he had founded fell to pieces, and was only partially restored when Urukh, king of Ur, extended his power over the country and founded the Chaldean or Southern Sumerian dynasty.

Every nation has its hero, and it was only natural on the revival of his empire that the Babylonians should consecrate the memory of the king, who had first aimed to give them that unity without which they were powerless as a nation.

CHAPTER XVII. CONCLUSION.

Notices of Genesis. — Correspondence of names. — Abram. — Ur of Chaldees. — Ishmael. — Sargon. — His birth. — Concealed in ark. — Age of Nimrod. — Doubtful theories. — Creation. — Garden of Eden. — Oannes. — Berosus. — Izdubar legends. — Urukh of Ur. — Babylonian seals. — Egyptian names. — Assyrian sculptures.

SCATTERED through various cuneiform inscriptions are other notices, names, or passages, connected with the Book of Genesis. Although the names of the Genesis patriarchs are not in the inscriptions giving the history of the mythical period, the corresponding personages being, as I have shown (), all under different names, yet some of these Genesis patriarchal names are found detached in the inscriptions.

The name Adam is in the Creation legends, but only in a general sense as man, not as a proper name. Several of the other names of antediluvian patriarchs correspond with Babylonian words and roots, such as Cain with gina and kinu, to "stand upright," to be

"right," Enoch with Emuk or Enuk, "wise," and Noah with nuh, "rest," or "satisfaction;" but beyond these some of the names appear as proper names also in Babylonia, and among these are Cainan, Lamech, and Tubal Cain.

Cainan is found as the name of a Babylonian town Kan-nan; the meaning may be "fish canal," its people were- sometimes called Kanunai or Canaanites, the same name as that of the original inhabitants of Palestine. In early times tribes often migrated and carried their geographical names to their new homes; it is possible that there was some connection of this sort between the two Canaans.

Lamech has already been pointed out by Palmer ("Egyptian Chronicles," vol. i.), in the name of the Deified Phoenician patriarch Diamich; this name is found in the cuneiform texts as Dumugu and Lamga, two forms of a name of the moon.

Tubal Cain, the father or instructor of all metal workers, has been compared with the name of Vulcan, the god of smiths, the two certainly corresponding both in name and character. The corresponding deity in Babylonian mythology, the god of fire, melter of metals, &c., has a name formed of two characters which read Bil-kan.

Some of the names of patriarchs after the Flood are found as names of towns in Syria, but not in Babylonia; among these are Reu or Ragu,

Serug, and Harran.

The name of Abramu or Abram, called no doubt after the father of the faithful, is found in the Assyrian inscriptions in the time of Esarhaddon. After the captivity of the ten tribes, some of the Israelites prospered in Assyria, and rose to positions of trust in the empire. Abram was one of these, he was sukulu rabu or "great attendant" of Esarhaddon, and was eponym in Assyria, B.C. 677. Various other Hebrew names are found in Assyria about this time, including Pekah, Hoshea, and several compounded with the two Divine names Elohim and Jehovah, showing that both these names were in use among the Israelites. The presence of proper names founded on the Genesis stories, like Abram, and the use at this time of these forms of the Divine name, should be taken into consideration in discussing the evidence of the antiquity of Genesis.

It is a curious fact that the rise of the kingdom of Ur (cir. B.C. 2000 to 1850) coincides with the date generally given for the life of Abraham, who is stated (Genesis xi. 31) to have come out of Ur of the Chaldees, by which title I have no doubt the Babylonian city of Ur is meant. There is not the slightest evidence of a northern Ur and a northern land o the Chaldees at this period.

Some of the other Genesis names are found very much earlier, the first which appears on a contemporary monument being Ishmael. In the reign of Hammurabi, king of Babylonia, about B.C. 1550, among the witnesses to some documents at Larsa in Babylonia, appears a man named "Abuha son of Ishmael." This period in Babylonia is supposed to have been one of foreign and Arabian dominion, and other Hittite and Arabian names are found in the inscriptions of the time.

In the Babylonian records we might expect to find some notice of the wars of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, mentioned in Genesis xiv. Now although evidence has been found confirming the existence of a powerful monarchy in Elam at this age, and satisfactory proof of the correctness of the proper names mentioned in this chapter, no direct record of these conquests has been discovered, but we must remember that our knowledge of Babylonian history is yet in its infancy, and even the outlines of the chronology are unknown.

After the time of Abraham the book of Genesis is concerned with the affairs of Palestine, and of the countries in its immediate vicinity, and it has no connection with Babylonian history and traditions; there remains, however, one story which has a striking likeness to that of Moses in the ark, and which, although not within the period covered by Genesis, is of great interest in connection with the early history of the Jews.

Sargina or Sargon I. was a Babylonian monarch who reigned at the city of Akkad about B.C. 1600. The name of Sargon signifies the right, true, or legitimate king, and may have been assumed on his ascending the throne. Sargon was probably of obscure origin, and desiring to strengthen his claim to the throne put out the story given in this tablet to connect himself with the old line of kings. This curious story is found on fragments of tablets from Kouyunjik, and reads as follows:

1. Sargina the powerful king the king of Akkad am I.
2. My mother was a princess, my father I did not know, a brother of my father ruled over the country.
3. In the city of Azupiranu which by the side of the river Euphrates is situated
4. my mother the princess conceived me; in difficulty she brought me forth
5. She placed me in an ark of rushes, with bitumen my exit she sealed up.
6. She launched me on the river which did not drown me.
7. The river carried me, to Akki the water carrier it brought me.
8. Akki the water carrier in tenderness of bowels lifted me;
9. Akki the water carrier as his child brought me up,
10. Akki the water carrier as his husbandman placed me,
11. and in my husbandry Ishtar prospered me.
12. 45? years the kingdom I have ruled,
13. the people of the dark races I governed,
14. . . . . over rugged countries with chariots of bronze I rode,
15. I govern the upper countries
16. I rule? over the chiefs of the lower countries
17. To the sea coast three times I advanced, Dilmun submitted,
18. Durankigal bowed, &c. &c.

After this follows an address to any king who should at a later time notice the inscription.

This story is supposed to have happened about B.C. 1600, rather earlier than the supposed age of Moses; and, as we know that the fame of Sargon reached Egypt, it is quite likely that this account had a connection with the events related in Exodus ii., for every action, when once performed, has a tendency to be repeated.

In the body of my present work I have given the various fragments of the Legends describing the Creation, Flood, time of Nimrod, &c.; and I have indicated, as well as I can at present, the grounds for my present

conclusions respecting them, and what are their principal points of contact with the Bible narrative of Genesis.

I have also put forward some theories to account for various difficulties in the stories, and to connect together the fragmentary accounts.

The most hazardous of these theories is the one which makes Izdubar or Nimrod reign in the middle of the twenty-third century before the Christian era. I have founded this theory on several plausible, but probably merely superficial grounds; and if any one accepts my view on this point, it will be only for similar reasons to those which caused me to propose it; namely, because, failing this, we have no clue whatever to the age and position of the most famous hero in Oriental tradition.

I never lose sight myself of the fact, that apart from the more perfect and main parts of these texts, both in the decipherment of the broken fragments and in the various theories I have projected respecting them, I have changed my own opinions many times, and I have no doubt that any accession of new material would change again my views respecting the parts affected by it. These theories and conclusions, however, although not always correct, have, on their way, assisted the inquiry, and have led to the more accurate knowledge of the texts; for certainly in cuneiform matters we have often had to advance through error to truth.

In my theory for the position of Nimrod, one thing is certainly clear: I have placed him as low in the chronology as it is possible to make him.

Making the date of Nimrod so recent as B.C. 2250, I have only left from 200 to 250 years between his time and the age of the oldest known monuments. Looking at the fact that it is highly probable that these legends were written about B.C. 2000, the intervening period of two centuries does not appear too great. I think it probable that the traditions on which these legends were founded arose shortly after the death of Izdubar; in fact, I think that every tradition which has any foundation in fact springs up within a generation of the time when the circumstances happened. With regard to the supernatural element introduced into the story, it is similar in nature to many such additions to historical narratives, especially in the East; but I would not reject those events which may have happened, because in order to illustrate a current belief; or add to the romance of the story, the writer has introduced the supernatural.

There is, I think, now too general a tendency to repudiate the earlier part of history, because of its evident inaccuracies and the marvellous element generally combined with it. The early poems and stories of

almost every nation are, by some writers, resolved into elaborate descriptions of natural phenomena; and in some cases, if this were true, the myth would have taken to create it a genius as great as that of the philosophers who explain it.

The stories and myths given in the foregoing pages have, probably, very different values; some are genuine traditions — some compiled to account for natural phenomena, and some pure romances. At the head of their history and traditions the Babylonians placed an account of the creation of the world; and, although different forms of this story were current, in certain features they all agreed. Beside the account of the present animals, they related the creation of legions of monster forms which disappeared before the human epoch, and they accounted for the great problem of humanity — the presence of evil in the world — by making out that it proceeded from the original chaos, the spirit of confusion and darkness, which was the origin of all things, and which was even older than the gods.

The principal Babylonian story of the Creation, given in Chapter V., substantially agrees, as far as it is preserved, with the Biblical account. According to it, there was a chaos of watery matter before the Creation, and from this all things were generated.

We have then a considerable blank, the contents of which we can only conjecture, and after this we come to the creation of the heavenly orbs.

The fifth tablet in the series relates how God created the constellations of the stars, the signs of the zodiac, the planets or wandering stars, the moon and tine sun. After another blank we have a fragment, the first I recognized which relates the creation of wild and domestic animals; it is curious here that the original taming of domestic animals was even then so far back that all knowledge of it was lost, and the “animals of the city,” or domestic animals, were considered different creations to the “animals of the desert,” or wild animals.

Our next fragments refer to the creation of mankind, called Adam, as in the Bible; he is made perfect, and instructed in his various religious duties, but afterwards he joins with the dragon of the deep, the animal of Tiamat, the spirit of chaos, and offends against his god, who curses him, and calls down on his head all the evils and troubles of humanity.

This is followed by a war between the dragon and powers of evil, or chaos on one side and the gods on the other. The gods have weapons forged for them, and Merodach undertakes to lead the heavenly host against the dragon. The war, which is described with spirit, ends of

course in the triumph of the principles of good, and so far as I know the Creation tablets end here.

In Chapter V. I have given as far as possible translations and comments on these texts, and to meet the requirements of those who desire to study them in the cuneiform character I have arranged to publish copies of the principal fragments of the Creation tablets in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology."

The fragments I have selected for this purpose are: —

I. Fragment of the first tablet, describing the chaos at the beginning of the world.

II. Fragment of the fifth tablet, describing the creation of the heavenly bodies.

III. Obverse and reverse of the tablet, describing the fall of man.

IV. Obverse and reverse of the principal fragment, describing the conflict between the gods and the spirit of chaos.

Besides this account of the Creation I have given other fragments bearing upon the same events, these differing considerably from the longer account. The principal feature in the second account is the description of the eagle-headed men with their family of leaders — this legend clearly showing the origin of the eagle-headed figures represented on the Assyrian sculptures.

It is probable that some of these Babylonian legends contained detailed descriptions of the Garden of Eden, which was most likely the district of Karduniyas, as Sir Henry Rawlinson believes.

There are coincidences in respect to the geography of the region and its name which render the identification very probable; the four rivers in each case, two, the Euphrates and Tigris, certainly identical, the known fertility of the region, its name, sometimes Gan-dunu, so similar to Gan-eden (the Garden of Eden), and other considerations, all tend towards the view that it is the Paradise of Genesis.

There are evidences of the belief in the tree of life, which is one of the most common emblems on the seals and larger sculptures, and is even used as an ornament on dresses; a sacred tree is also several times mentioned in these legends, but at present there is no direct connection known between the tree and the Fall, although the gem engravings render it very probable that there was a legend of this kind like the one in Genesis.

In the history of Berosus mention is made of a composite being, half man, half fish, named Oannes, who was supposed to have appeared out of the sea and to have taught to the Babylonians all their learning. The

Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures have made us familiar with the figure of Oannes, and have so far given evidence that Berosus has truly described this mythological figure, but it is a curious fact that the legend of Oannes, which must have been one of the Babylonian stories of the Creation, has not yet been recovered.

Besides this, there are evidently many stories of early times still unknown, or only known by mere fragments or allusions.

The fables which I have given in Chapter IX. form a series now appearing to be separate from the others, and my only excuse for inserting them here was my desire to exhibit as clearly and fully as possible the literature of the great epoch which produced the Genesis tablets.

Most of the other stories, so far as I can judge, are fixed to the great period before the Flood, when celestial visitors came backwards and forwards to the earth, and the inhabitants of the world were very clearly divided into the good and bad, but the stories are only fables with a moral attached, and have little connection with Babylonian history.

Two of these stories are very curious, and may hereafter turn out of great importance; one is the story of the sin committed by the god Zu, and the other the story of Atarpi.

Berosus in his history has given an account of ten Chaldean kings who reigned before the Flood, and the close of this period is well known from the descriptions of the Deluge in the Bible, the Deluge tablet, and the work of Berosus. According to Berosus several of the Babylonian cities were built before the Flood, and various arts were known, including writing. The enormous reigns given by Berosus to his ten kings, making a total of 432,000 years, force us to discard the idea that the details are historical, although there may be some foundation for his statement of a civilization before the Deluge. The details given in the inscriptions describing the Flood leave no doubt that both the Bible and the Babylonian story describe the same event, and the Flood becomes the starting point for the modern world in both histories. According to Berosus 86 kings reigned for 34,080 years after the Flood down to the Median conquest. If these kings are historical, it is doubtful if they formed a continuous line, and they could scarcely cover a longer period than 1,000 years. The Median or Elamite conquest took place about B.C. 2450, and, if we allow the round number 1,000 years for the previous period, it will make the Flood fall about B.C. 3500. In a fragmentary inscription with a list of Babylonian kings, some names are given which appear to belong to the 86 kings of Berosus, but our information about

this period is so scanty that nothing can be said about this dynasty, and a suggestion as to the date of the Deluge must be received with more than the usual grain of salt.

We can see, however, that there was a civilized race in Babylonia before the Median Conquest, the progress of which must have received a rude shock when the country was overrun by the uncivilized Eastern borderers.

Among the fragmentary notices of this period is the portion of the inscription describing the building of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion, unfortunately too mutilated to make much use of it.

It is probable from the fragments of Berosus that the incursions and dominion of the Elamites lasted about two hundred years, during which the country suffered very much from them.

I think it probable that Izdubar, or Nimrod, owed a great portion of his fame in the first instance to his slaying Humbaba, and that he readily found the means of uniting the country under one sceptre, as the people saw the evils of disunion, which weakened them and laid them open to foreign invasion.

The legends of Izdubar or Nimrod commence with a description of the evils brought upon Babylonia by foreign invasion, the conquest and sacking of the city of Erech being one of the incidents in the story. Izdubar, a famous hunter, who claimed descent from a long line of kings, reaching up to the time of the Flood, now comes forward; he has a dream, and after much trouble a hermit named Heabani is persuaded by Zaidu, a hunter, and two females, to come to Erech and interpret the dream of Izdubar. Heabani, having heard the fame of Izdubar, brings to Erech a midannu or tiger to test his strength, and Izdubar slays it. After these things, Izdubar and Heabani become friends, and, having invoked the gods, they start to attack Humbaba, an Elamite, who tyrannized over Babylonia. Humbaba dwelt in a thick forest, surrounded by a wall, and here he was visited by the two friends, who slew him and carried off his regalia.

Izdubar was now proclaimed king, and extended his authority from the Persian Gulf to the Armenian mountains, his court and palace being at Erech. Ishtar, called Nana and Uzur-amatsa, the daughter according to some authorities of Anu, according to others of Elu or Bel, and according to others of Sin, the moon god, was widow of Dumuzi, a *rihu* or ruler. She was queen and goddess of Erech, and fell in love with Izdubar, offering him her hand and kingdom. He refused, and the goddess, angry at his answer, ascended to heaven and petitioned her father Anu to create

a bull for her, to be an instrument of her vengeance against Izdubar. Anu complied, and created the bull, on which Izdubar and Heabani collected a band of warriors and went against it. Heabani took hold of the animal by its head and tail, while Izdubar slew it.

Ishtar on this cursed Izdubar, and descended to Hell or Hades to attempt once more to summon unearthly powers against Izdubar. She descends to the infernal regions, which are vividly described, and, passing through its seven gates, is ushered into the presence of the queen of the dead. The world of love goes wrong in the absence of Ishtar, and on the petition of the gods she is once more brought to the earth, ultimately Anatu, her mother, satisfying her vengeance by striking Izdubar with a loathsome disease.

Heabani, the friend of Izdubar, is now killed, and Izdubar, mourning his double affliction, abandons his kingdom and wanders into the desert to seek the advice of Hasisadra his ancestor, who had been translated for his piety and now dwelt with the gods.

Izdubar now had a dream, and after this wandered to the region where gigantic composite monsters held and controlled the rising and setting sun, from these learned the road to the region of the blessed, and, passing across a great waste of sand, he arrived at a region where splendid trees were laden with jewels instead of fruit.

Izdubar then met two females, named Siduri and Sabitu, after an adventure with whom he found a boatman named Ur-hamsi, who undertook to navigate him to the region of Hasisadra.

Coining near the dwelling of the blessed, he found it surrounded by the waters of death, which he had to cross in order to reach the region.

On arriving at the other side, Izdubar was met by one Ragmu, who engaged him in conversation about Heabani, and then Hasisadra, taking up the conversation, described to him the Deluge. Izdubar was afterwards cured of his illness and returned with Urhamsi to Erech, where he mourned anew for his friend Heabani, and on intercession with the gods the ghost of Heabani arises from the ground where the body had lain.

The details of this story, and especially the accounts of the regions inhabited by the dead, are very striking, and illustrate, in a wonderful manner, the religious views of the people.

It is probable that Izdubar was, as I have already stated, Nimrod, and that he commenced his life as a hunter, afterwards delivering his country from foreign dominion, and slaying the usurper.

He then extended his empire into Assyria, which he colonized, and founded Nineveh. The empire founded by Nimrod probably fell to pieces at his death; but the Assyrian colonies grew into a powerful state, and after a brief period, Babylonia revived under Urukh, king of Ur, with whom commenced the monumental era.

Here the legendary and traditional age ends, and about this time the stories appear to have been committed to writing.

It is worth while here to pause, and consider the evidence of the existence of these legends from this time down to the seventh century B.C.

We have first the seals: of these there are some hundreds in European museums, and among the earliest are many specimens carved with scenes from the Genesis legends; some of these are probably older than B.C. 2000, others may be ranged at various dates down to B.C. 1500.

The specimens engraved in p, 91, 95, 100, 158, 159, 188, 239, 257, 262, 283 are from Babylonian seals, while those in p, 89, 99 are from Assyrian seals. One very fine and early example is photographed as the frontispiece of the present work. The character and style of the cuneiform legend which accompanies this shows it to be one of the most ancient specimens; it is engraved on a hard jasper cylinder in bold style, and is a remarkable example of early Babylonian art. Many other similar cylinders of the same period are known; the relief on them is bolder than on the later seals, on which from about B.C. 1600 or 1700, a change in the inscriptions becomes general.

The numerous illustrations to the present work, which I have collected from these early Babylonian seals, will serve to show the fact that the legends were at that time well known, and part of the literature of the country.

There is another curious illustration of the legends of Izdubar in the tablet printed, of "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. ii. Our copy of this tablet is dated in the seventh century B.C.; but the geographical notices on it show that the original must have been written during the supremacy of the city of Ur, between B.C. 2000 and 1850. In this tablet Surippak is called the ark city, and mention is made of the ship of Izdubar, showing a knowledge of the story of his voyage to find Hasisadra.

After B.C. 1500, the literature of Babylonia is unknown, and we lose sight of all evidence of these legends for some centuries. In the meantime Egypt supplies a few notices bearing on the subject, which serve to show that knowledge of them was still kept up. Nearly thirteen hundred years before the Christian era one of the Egyptian poems likens a hero to the

Assyrian chief, Kazartu, a great hunter. Kazartu probably means a "strong," "powerful," one, and it has already been suggested that the reference here is to the fame of Nimrod. A little later, in the period B.C. 1100 to 800, we have in Egypt many persons named after Nimrod, showing a knowledge of the mighty hunter there.

On the revival of the Assyrian empire, about B.C. 990, we come again to numerous references to the Genesis legends, and these continue through almost every reign down to the close of the empire. The Assyrians carved the sacred tree and cherubims on their walls, they depicted in the temples the struggle between Merodach and the dragon, the figure of Oannes and the eagle-headed man, they decorated their portals with figures of Nimrod strangling a lion, and carved the struggles of Nimrod and Heabani with the lion and the bull even on their stone vases.

Just as the sculptures of the Greek temples, the paintings on the vases and the carving on their gems were taken from their myths and legends, so the series of myths and legends belonging to the valley of the Euphrates furnished materials for the sculptor, the engraver, and the painter, among the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians.

In this way we have continued evidence of the existence of these legends down to the time of Assurbanipal, B.C. 673 to 626, who caused the present known copies to be made for his library at Nineveh.

Search in Babylonia would, no doubt, yield much earlier copies of all these works, but that search has not yet been instituted, and for the present we have to be contented with our Assyrian copies. Looking, however, at the world-wide interest of the subjects, and at the important evidence which perfect copies of these works would undoubtedly give, there can be no doubt that the subject of further search and discovery will not slumber, and that all I have here written will one day be superseded by newer texts and fuller and more perfect light.

ISHTAR AND IZDUBAR



Translated by Leonidas Le Cenci Hamilton

Ishtar and Izdubar is a Victorian poetic translation of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Izdubar is a literal translation of the ideograph for ‘Gilgamesh’ and was how the hero of the Gilgamesh saga was first known in the 1880’s. A lexicographic tablet was discovered several decades later in which Izdubar was equated with Gilgamesh.

At the time of composition of this translation, only fragments of the epic had been found and so Hamilton had to supply continuity and motivation in several cases. There are several differences between the Gilgamesh epic as known today and Hamilton’s translation. In Gilgamesh the King’s companion, Enkidu is originally a wild man, created to distract Gilgamesh. In *Ishtar and Izdubar* the equivalent character is a sage lured from the wilderness to interpret the King’s dreams. Humbaba is an ogre in Gilgamesh, a supernatural being, who Gilgamesh and Enkidu battle using supernatural means. In *Ishtar and Izdubar* he is a human being — a King that Izdubar defeats in combat. Hamilton also embellishes his text with extraneous material, such as religious hymns and magical incantations.

Nevertheless, *Ishtar and Izdubar* remains one of the earliest translations of the Gilgamesh saga and offers much interest with regards to how Assyrian literature was interpreted in the late Victorian era.

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ALCOVE I

TABLET I: COLUMN I

INVOCATION

O love, my queen and goddess, come to me;
My soul shall never cease to worship thee;
Come pillow here thy head upon my breast,
And whisper in my lyre thy softest, best.
And sweetest melodies of bright *Sami*,[1]
Our Happy Fields[2] above dear *Subartu*;[3]
Come nestle closely with those lips of love
And balmy breath, and I with thee shall rove
Through *Sari*[4] past ere life on earth was known,
And Time unconscious sped not, nor had flown.
Thou art our all in this impassioned life:
How sweetly comes thy presence ending strife,
Thou god of peace and Heaven's undying joy,
Oh, hast thou ever left one pain or cloy
Upon this beauteous world to us so dear?
To all mankind thou art their goddess here.
To thee we sing, our holiest, fairest god,
The One who in that awful chaos trod
And woke the Elements by Law of Love
To teeming worlds in harmony to move.
From chaos thou hast led us by thy hand,
Thus spoke to man upon that budding land: [5]
"The Queen of Heaven, of the dawn am I,
The goddess of all wide immensity,
For thee I open wide the golden gate
Of happiness, and for thee love create
To glorify the heavens and fill with joy
The earth, its children with sweet love employ."
Thou gavest then the noblest melody
And highest bliss — grand nature's harmony.
With love the finest particle is rife,
And deftly woven in the woof of life,
In throbbing dust or clasping grains of sand,
In globes of glistening dew that shining stand
On each pure petal, Love's own legacies
Of flowering verdure, Earth's sweet panoplies;

By love those atoms sip their sweets and pass
To other atoms, join and keep the mass
With mighty forces moving through all space,
Tis thus on earth all life has found its place.
Through Kisar,[6] Love came formless through the air
In countless forms behold her everywhere!
Oh, could we hear those whispering roses sweet,
Three beauties bending till their petals meet,
And blushing, mingling their sweet fragrance there
In language yet unknown to mortal ear.
Their whisperings of love from morn till night
Would teach us tenderly to love the right.
O Love, here stay! Let chaos not return!
With hate each atom would its lover spurn
In air above, on land, or in the sea,
O World, undone and lost that loseth thee!
For love we briefly come, and pass away
For other men and maids; thus bring the day
Of love continuous through this glorious life.
Oh, hurl away those weapons fierce of strife!
We here a moment, point of time but live,
Too short is life for throbbing hearts to grieve.
Thrice holy is that form that love hath kissed,
And happy is that man with heart thus blessed.
Oh, let not curses fall upon that head
Whom love hath cradled on the welcome bed
Of bliss, the bosom of our fairest god,
Or hand of love e'er grasp the venging rod.

Oh, come, dear Zir-ri,[7] tune your lyres and lutes,
And sing of love with chastest, sweetest notes,
Of Accad's goddess Ishtar, Queen of Love,
And Izdubar, with softest measure move;
Great Samas'[8] son, of him dear Zir-ri sing!
Of him whom goddess Ishtar warmly wooed,
Of him whose breast with virtue was imbued.
He as a giant towered, lofty grown,
As Babil's[9] great *pa-te-si*[10] was he known,
His armèd fleet commanded on the seas
And erstwhile travelled on the foreign leas;

His mother Ellat-gula[11] on the throne
From Erech all Kardunia[12] ruled alone.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Samu,” heaven.

[2] “Happy Fields,” celestial gardens, heaven.

[3] “Subartu,” Syria.

[4] “Sari,” plural form of “saros,” a cycle or measurement of time used by the Babylonians, 3,600 years.

[5] From the “Accadian Hymn to Ishtar,” terra-cotta tablet numbered “S, 954,” one of the oldest hymns of a very remote date, deposited in the British Museum by Mr. Smith. It comes from Erech, one of the oldest, if not the oldest, city of Babylonia. We have inserted a portion of it in its most appropriate place in the epic. See translation in “Records of the Past,” vol. v. p. 157.

[6] “Kisar,” the consort or queen of Sar, father of all the gods.

[7] “Zir-ri” (pronounced “zeer-ree”), short form of “Zi-aria,” spirits of the running rivers — naiads or water-nymphs.

[8] “Samas,” the sun-god.

[9] Babil, Babylon; the Accadian name was “Diu-tir,” or “Duran.”

[10] “Pa-te-si,” prince.

[11] “Ellat-gula,” one of the queens or sovereigns of Erech, supposed to have preceded Nammurabi or Nimrod on the throne. We have identified Izdubar herein with Nimrod.

[12] “Kardunia,” the ancient name of Babylonia.

COLUMN II

THE FALL OF ERECH

O Moon-god,[1] hear my cry! With thy pure light
Oh, take my spirit through that awful night
That hovers o’er the long-forgotten years,
To sing Accadia’s songs and weep her tears!
’Twas thus I prayed, when lo! my spirit rose
On fleecy clouds, enwrapt in soft repose;

And I beheld beneath me nations glide
In swift succession by, in all their pride:
The earth was filled with cities of mankind,
And empires fell beneath a summer wind.
The soil and clay walked forth upon the plains
In forms of life, and every atom gains
A place in man or breathes in animals;
And flesh and blood and bones become the walls
Of palaces and cities, which soon fall
To unknown dust beneath some ancient wall.
All this I saw while guided by the stroke
Of unseen pinions:

Then amid the smoke
That rose o'er burning cities, I beheld
White Khar-sak-kur-ra's[2] brow arise that held
The secrets of the gods — that felt the prore
Of Khasisadra's ark; I heard the roar
Of battling elements, and saw the waves
That tossed above mankind's commingled graves.
The mighty mountain as some sentinel
Stood on the plains alone; and o'er it fell
A halo, bright, divine; its summit crowned
With sunbeams, shining on the earth around
And o'er the wide expanse of plains; — below
Lay Khar-sak-kal-ama[3] with light aglow,
And nestling far away within my view
Stood Erech, Nipur, Marad, Eridu,
And Babylon, the tower-city old,
In her own splendor shone like burnished gold.
And lo! grand Erech in her glorious days
Lies at my feet. I see a wondrous maze
Of vistas, groups, and clustering columns round,
Within, without the palace; — from the ground
Of outer staircases, massive, grand,
Stretch to the portals where the pillars stand.
A thousand carvèd columns reaching high
To silver rafters in an azure sky,
And palaces and temples round it rise
With lofty turrets glowing to the skies,

And massive walls far spreading o’er the plains,
Here live and move Accadia’s courtly trains,
And see! the *pit-u-dal-ti*[4] at the gates,
And *masari*[5] patrol and guard the streets!
And yonder comes a *kis-ib*, nobleman,
With a young prince; and see! a caravan
Winds through the gates! With men the streets are filled!
And chariots, a people wise and skilled
In things terrestrial, what science, art,
Here reign! With laden ships from every mart
The docks are filled, and foreign fabrics bring
From peoples, lands, where many an empire, king,
Have lived and passed away, and naught have left
In history or song. Dread Time hath cleft
Us far apart; their kings and kingdoms, priests
And bards are gone, and o’er them sweep the mists
Of darkness backward spreading through all time,
Their records swept away in every clime.
Those alabaster stairs let us ascend,
And through this lofty portal we will wend.
See! richest Sumir rugs amassed, subdue
The tilèd pavement with its varied hue,
Upon the turquoise ceiling sprinkled stars
Of gold and silver crescents in bright pairs!
And gold-fringed scarlet curtains grace each door,
And from the inlaid columns reach the floor:
From golden rods extending round the halls,
Bright silken hangings drape the sculptured walls.

But part those scarlet hangings at the door
Of yon grand chamber! tread the antique floor!
Behold the sovereign on her throne of bronze,
While crouching at her feet a lion fawns;
The glittering court with gold and gems ablaze
With ancient splendor of the glorious days
Of Accad’s sovereignty. Behold the ring
Of dancing beauties circling while they sing
With amorous forms in moving melody,
The measure keep to music’s harmony.
Hear! how the music swells from silver lute

And golden-stringèd lyres and softest flute
And harps and tinkling cymbals, measured drums,
While a soft echo from the chamber comes.

But see! the sovereign lifts her jewelled hand,
The music ceases at the Queen's command;
And lo! two chiefs in warrior's array,
With golden helmets plumed with colors gay,
And golden shields, and silver coats of mail,
Obeisance make to her with faces pale,
Prostrate themselves before their sovereign's throne
In silence brief remain with faces prone,
Till Ellat-gula[6] speaks: "My chiefs, arise!
What word have ye for me? what new surprise?"
Tur-tau-u,[7] rising, says, "O Dannat[8] Queen!
Thine enemy, Khum-baba[9] with Rim-siu[10]
With clanging shields, appears upon the hills,
And Elam's host the land of Sumir fills."
"Away, ye chiefs! sound loud the *nappa-khu*![11]
Send to their post each warrior *bar-ru*!"[12]
The gray embattlements rose in the light
That lingered yet from Samas'[13] rays, ere Night
Her sable folds had spread across the sky.
Thus Erech stood, where in her infancy
The huts of wandering Accads had been built
Of soil, and rudely roofed by woolly pelt
O'erlaid upon the shepherd's worn-out staves,
And yonder lay their fathers' unmarked graves.
Their chieftains in those early days oft meet
Upon the mountains where they Samas greet,
With their rude sacrifice upon a tree
High-raised that their sun-god may shining see
Their offering divine; invoking pray
For aid, protection, blessing through the day.
Beneath these walls and palaces abode
The spirit of their country — each man trod
As if his soul to Erech's weal belonged,
And heeded not the enemy which thronged
Before the gates, that now were closed with bars
Of bronze thrice fastened.

See the thousand cars
And chariots arrayed across the plains!
The marching hosts of Elam's armèd trains,
The archers, slingers in advance amassed,
With black battalions in the centre placed,
With chariots before them drawn in line,
Bedecked with brightest trappings iridine,
While gorgeous plumes of Elam's horses nod
Beneath the awful sign of Elam's god.
On either side the mounted spearsmen far
Extend; and all the enginery of war
Are brought around the walls with fiercest shouts,
And from behind their shields each archer shoots.

Thus Erech is besieged by her dread foes,
And she at last must feel Accadia's woes,
And feed the vanity of conquerors,
Who boast o'er victories in all their wars.
Great Subartu[14] has fallen by Sutu[15]
And Kassi,[16] Goim[17] fell with Lul-lu-bu,[18]
Thus Khar-sak-kal-a-ma[19] all Eridu[20]
O'erran with Larsa's allies; Subartu
With Duran[21] thus was conquered by these sons
Of mighty Shem and strewn was Accad's bones
Throughout her plains, and mountains, valleys fair,
Unburied lay in many a wolf's lair.
Oh, where is Accad's chieftain Izdubar,
Her mightiest unrivalled prince of war?

The turrets on the battlemented walls
Swarm with skilled bowmen, archers — from them falls
A cloud of wingèd missiles on their foes,
Who swift reply with shouts and twanging bows;
And now amidst the raining death appears
The scaling ladder, lined with glistening spears,
But see! the ponderous catapults now crush
The ladder, spearsmen, with their mighty rush
Of rocks and beams, nor in their fury slacked
As if a toppling wall came down intact
Upon the maddened mass of men below.

But other ladders rise, and up them flow
The tides of armèd spearsmen with their shields;
From others bowmen shoot, and each man wields
A weapon, never yielding to his foe,
For death alone he aims with furious blow.
At last upon the wall two soldiers spring,
A score of spears their corses backward fling.
But others take their place, and man to man,
And spear to spear, and sword to sword, till ran
The walls with slippery gore; but Erech's men
Are brave and hurl them from their walls again.
And now the battering-rams with swinging power
Commence their thunders, shaking every tower;
And miners work beneath the crumbling walls,
Alas! before her foemen Erech falls.
Vain are suspended chains against the blows
Of dire assaulting engines.

Ho! there goes
The eastern wall with Erech's strongest tower!
And through the breach her furious foemen pour:
A wall of steel withstands the onset fierce,
But thronging Elam's spears the lines soon pierce,
A band of chosen men there fight to die,
Before their enemies disdain to fly;
The *masari*[22] within the breach thus died,
And with their dying shout the foe defied.
The foes swarm through the breach and o'er the walls,
And Erech in extremity loud calls
Upon the gods for aid, but prays for naught,
While Elam's soldiers, to a frenzy wrought,
Pursue and slay, and sack the city old
With fiendish shouts for blood and yellow gold.
Each man that falls the foe decapitates,
And bears the reeking death to Erech's gates.
The gates are hidden 'neath the pile of heads
That climbs above the walls, and outward spreads
A heap of ghastly plunder bathed in blood.
Beside them calm scribes of the victors stood,
And careful note the butcher's name, and check

The list; and for each head a price they make.
Thus pitiless the sword of Elam gleams
And the best blood of Erech flows in streams.
From Erech's walls some fugitives escape,
And others in Euphrates wildly leap,
And hide beneath its rushes on the bank
And many 'neath the yellow waters sank.

The harper of the Queen, an agèd man,
Stands lone upon the bank, while he doth scan
The horizon with anxious, careworn face,
Lest ears profane of Elam's hated race
Should hear his strains of mournful melody:
Now leaning on his harp in memory
Enwrapt, while fitful breezes lift his locks
Of snow, he sadly kneels upon the rocks
And sighing deeply clasps his hands in woe,
While the dread past before his mind doth flow.
A score and eight of years have slowly passed
Since Rim-a-gu, with Elam's host amassed,
Kardunia's ancient capital had stormed.
The glorious walls and turrets are transformed
To a vast heap of ruins, weird, forlorn,
And Elam's spears gleam through the coming morn.
From the sad sight his eyes he turns away,
His soul breathes through his harp while he doth play
With bended head his agèd hands thus woke
The woes of Erech with a measured stroke:

O Erech! dear Erech, my beautiful home,
Accadia's pride, O bright land of the bard,
Come back to my vision, dear Erech, oh, come!
Fair land of my birth, how thy beauty is marred!
The horsemen of Elam, her spearsmen and bows,
Thy treasures have ravished, thy towers thrown down,
And Accad is fallen, trod down by her foes.
Oh, where are thy temples of ancient renown?

Gone are her brave heroes beneath the red tide,
Gone are her white vessels that rode o'er the main,

No more on the river her pennon shall ride,
  Gargan-na is fallen, her people are slain.
Wild asses[23] shall gallop across thy grand floors,
  And wild bulls shall paw them and hurl the dust high
Upon the wild cattle that flee through her doors,
  And doves shall continue her mournful slave's cry.

Oh, where are the gods of our Erech so proud,
  As flies they are swarming away from her halls,
The Sedu[24] of Erech are gone as a cloud,
  As wild fowl are flying away from her walls.
Three years did she suffer, besieged by her foes,
  Her gates were thrown down and defiled by the feet
Who brought to poor Erech her tears and her woes,
  In vain to our Ishtar with prayers we entreat.

To Ishtar bowed down doth our Bel thus reply,
  "Come, Ishtar, my queenly one, hide all thy tears,
Our hero, Tar-u-man-i izzu Sar-ri,[25]
  In Kipur is fortified with his strong spears.
The hope of Kardunia,[26] land of my delight,
  Shall come to thy rescue, upheld by my hands,
Deliverer of peoples, whose heart is aright,
  Protector of temples, shall lead his brave bands."

Awake then, brave Accad, to welcome the day!
  Behold thy bright banners yet flaming on high,
Triumphant are streaming on land and the sea!
  Arise, then, O Accad! behold the Sami![27]
Arranged in their glory the mighty gods come
  In purple and gold the grand Tam-u[28] doth shine
Over Erech, mine Erech, my beautiful home,
  Above thy dear ashes, behold thy god's sign!

ENDNOTES.

[1] "O Moon-god, hear my cry!" ("Siu lici unnini!") the name of the author of the Izdubar epic upon which our poem is based.

[2] "Khar-sak-kur-ra," the Deluge mountain on which the ark of Khasisadra (the Accadian Noah) rested.

[3] “Khar-sak-kal-ama” is a city mentioned in the Izdubar epic, and was probably situated at the base of Khar-sak-kur-ra, now called Mount Elwend. The same mountain is sometimes called the “Mountain of the World” in the inscriptions, where the gods were supposed to sometimes reside.

[4] “Pit-u-dal-ti,” openers of the gates.

[5] “Masari,” guards of the great gates of the city, etc.

[6] “Ellat-gula,” the queen of Erech, the capital of Babylonia.

[7] “Tur-tan-u” was the army officer or general who in the absence of the sovereign took the supreme command of the army, and held the highest rank next to the queen or king.

[8] “Dannat” (the “Powerful Lady”) was a title applied to the Queen, the mother of Izdubar (Sayce’s ed. Smith’s “Chal. Acc. of Gen.,” p. 184). We have here identified her with Ellat-gula, the Queen of Babylon, who preceded Ham-murabi or Nammurabi, whom the inscriptions indicate was an Accadian. The latter we have identified with Nimrod, following the suggestion of Mr. George Smith.

[9] “Khumbaba” was the giant Elamitic king whom Izdubar overthrew. We identify him with the King of the Elamites who, allied with Rimsin or Rimagu, was overthrown by Nammurabi or Izdubar.

[10] “Rim-siu,” above referred to, who overthrew Uruk, or Karrak, or Erech. He was King of Larsa, immediately south of Erech.

[11] “Nap-pa-khu,” war-trumpet.

[12] “Bar-ru,” army officer.

[13] “Samas,” the sun-god.

[14] “Subartu” is derived from the Accadian “subar” (“high”), applied by the Accadians to the highlands of Aram or Syria. It is probable that all these countries, viz., Subartu, Goim, Lullubu, Kharsak-kalama, Eridu, and Duran, were at one time inhabited by the Accadians, until driven out by the Semites.

[15] “Sutu” is supposed to refer to the Arabians.

[16] “Kassi,” the Kassites or Elamites. The Kassi inhabited the northern part of Elam.

[17] “Goim,” or “Gutium,” supposed by Sir Henry Rawlinson to be the Goyim of Gen. xiv, ruled by Tidal or Turgal (“the Great Son”).

[18] “Lul-lu-bu,” a country northward of Mesopotamia and Nizir.

[19] "Kharsak-kala-ma," the city supposed to lie at the base of Kharsak-kurra, or Mount Nizir, or Mount Elwend. The same city was afterward called Echatana.

[20] "Eridu," the land of Ur, or Erech.

[21] "Duran," Babylonia.

[22] "Masari," guards of the palace, etc.

[23] See Sayce's translation in the "Chal. Acc. of Gen.," by Smith, p. 193.

[24] "Sedu," spirits of prosperity.

[25] "Tar-u-mani izzu Sarri," son of the faith, the fire of kings, or fire-king.

[26] "Kardunia," the ancient name of Babylon.

[27] "Sami," heavens (plural).

[28] "Tamu," dawn or sunrise, day.

COLUMN III

THE RESCUE OF ERECH BY IZDUBAR

Heabani, weary, eyes his native land,
And on his harp now lays his trembling hand;
The song has ended in a joyous lay,
And yet, alas! his hands but sadly play:
Unused to hope, the strings refuse their aid
To tune in sympathy, and heartless played.
Again the minstrel bows his head in woe,
And the hot tear-drops from his eyelids flow,
And chanting now a mournful melody,
O'er Erech's fall, thus sang an elegy:

"How long, O Ishtar, will thy face be turned, [1]
While Erech desolate doth cry to thee?
Thy towers magnificent, oh, hast thou spurned?
Her blood like water in Ul-bar,[2] oh, see!
The seat of thine own oracle behold!
The fire hath ravaged all thy cities grand,
And like the showers of Heaven them all doth fold.

O Ishtar! broken-hearted do I stand!
Oh, crush our enemies as yonder reed!
For hopeless, lifeless, kneels thy bard to thee,
And, oh! I would exalt thee in my need,
From thy resentment, anger, oh, us free!”

With eyes bedimmed with tears, he careful scans
The plain, “Perhaps the dust of caravans
It is! But no!! I see long lines of spears!
A warrior from the lifting cloud appears,
And chariots arrayed upon the plain!
And is the glorious omen not in vain?
What! no?” He rubs his eyes in wild surprise,
And drinks the vision while he loudly cries:
“Oh, joy! our standards flashing from afar!
He comes! he comes! our hero Izdubar!”
He grasps his harp inspired, again to wake
In song — the cry of battle now doth break.

“Nin-a-rad,[3] servant of our great Nin,[4]
Shall lead our hosts to victory!
God of the chase and war, o’er him, oh, shine!
Tar-u-ma-ni iz-zu sar-ri![5]

“Let Elam fall! the cause of Accad’s woes,
Revenge of Erech, be the cry!
This land our father’s blessed, our king they chose,
Tar-u-ma-ni iz-zu sar-ri!
Our holy fathers sleep upon this plain,
We conquer, or we here will die;
For victory, then raise the cry, ye men!
Tar-u-ma-ni iz-zu sar-ri!”

The minstrel ceases, lifts his hands on high,
And still we hear his joyful waning cry:
Now echoed by yon hosts along the sky,
“He comes! Tar-u-ma-ni iz-zu sar-ri!
Great Accad’s hosts arrayed with spears and shields
Are coming! see them flashing o’er the fields!
And he! bright flashing as the god’s attire,

Doth lead in burnished gold, our king of fire.
His armor shines through yonder wood and fen,
That tremble ‘neath the tread of armèd men.
See! from his jewelled breastplate, helmet, fly
The rays like Samas from the cloudless sky!
How martially he rides his sable steed,
That proudly treads and lifts his noble head,
While eagerly he gallops down the line,
And bears his princely load with porte divine;
And now, along the plains there sounds afar
The piercing bugle-note of Izdubar;
For Erech’s walls and turrets are in view,
And high the standards rise of varied hue.
The army halts; the twanging bows are strung;
And from their chariots the chieftains sprung.
The wheeling lines move at each chief’s command,
With chariots in front;

On either hand
Extend the lines of spears and cavalry,
A wingèd storm-cloud waiting for its prey:
And see! while Accad’s army ready waits,
The enemy are swarming from the gates.
The charge, from either host, the trumpets sound,
And bristling chariots from each army bound:
A cloud of arrows flies from Accad’s bows
That hides the sun, and falls among their foes.
Now roars the thunder of great Accad’s cars,
Their brazen chariots as blazing stars
Through Nuk-khu’s[6] depths with streams of blazing fire,
Thus fall upon the foe with vengeful ire.
The smoking earth shakes underneath their wheels,
And from each cloud their thunder loudly peals.
Thus Accad on their foes have fiercely hurled
Their solid ranks with Nin-rad’s flag unfurled,
The charging lines meet with a fearful sound,
As tempests’ waves from rocks in rage rebound;
The foe thus meet the men of Izdubar,
While o’er the field fly the fierce gods of war.
Dark Nin-a-zu[7] her torch holds in her hand.

With her fierce screams directs the gory brand;
And Mam-mit[8] urges her with furious hand,
And coiling dragons[9] poison all the land
With their black folds and pestilential breath,
In fierce delight thus ride the gods of death.

The shouts of Accad mingle with the cries
Of wounded men and fiery steeds, which rise
From all the fields with shrieks of carnage, war,
Till victory crowns the host of Izdubar.
The chariots are covered with the slain,
And crushed beneath lie dead and dying men,
And horses in their harness wounded fall,
With dreadful screams, and wildly view the wall
Of dying warriors piling o'er their heads,
And wonder why each man some fury leads;
And others break across the gory plain
In mad career till they the mountain gain;
And snorting on the hills in wild dismay,
One moment glance below, then fly away;
Away from sounds that prove their masters, fiends,
Away to freedom snuffing purer winds,
Within some cool retreat by mountain streams,
Where peacefully for them, the sun-light gleams.
At last the foe is scattered o'er the plain,
And Accad fiercely slays the flying men;
When Izdubar beholds the victory won
By Accad's grand battalions of the sun,
His bugle-call the awful carnage stays,
Then loud the cry of victory they raise.

ENDNOTES.

[1] The above elegy is an Assyrian fragment remarkably similar to one of the psalms of the Jewish bible, and I believe it belongs to the Irdubar epic (W.A. I. IV. 19, No. 3; also see "Records of the Past," vol. xi. p. 160).

[2] "Ul-bar," Bel's temple.

[3] "Nin-a-rad," literally "servant of Nin," or "Nin-mar-ad,"
"Lord of the city of Marad."

[4] “Nin,” the god of the chase and war, or lord.

[5] “Tar-u-ma-ni izzu sar-ri,” “son of the faith, the fire-king.”

[6] “Nuk-khu,” darkness (god of darkness).

[7] “Nin-a-zu,” god of fate and death.

[8] “Mam-mit,” or “Mam-mi-tu,” goddess of fate.

[9] “Dragons,” gods of chaos and death.

COLUMN IV

CORONATION OF IZDUBAR

A crowd of maidens led a glorious van;
With roses laden the fair heralds ran,
With silver-throated music chant the throng,
And sweetly sang the coronation song:
And now we see the gorgeous cavalcade,
Within the walls in Accad’s grand parade
They pass, led by the maidens crowned with flowers,
Who strew the path with fragrance; — to the towers
And walls and pillars of each door bright cling
The garlands. Hear the maidens joyful sing!

“Oh, shout the cry! Accadians, joyful sing
For our Deliverer! Oh, crown him King!
Then strew his path with garlands, tulips, rose,
And wave his banners as he onward goes;
Our mighty Nin-rad comes, oh, raise the cry!
We crown Tar-u-ma-ni iz-zu sar-ri!

Away to Samas’ temple grand, away!
For Accad crowns him, crowns him there!
He is our chosen Sar[1] this glorious day,
Oh, send the Khanga[2] through the air!

Then chant the chorus, all ye hosts above!
O daughters, mothers, sing for him we love!
His glory who can sing, who brings us joy?

For hope and gladness all our hearts employ.
He comes, our hope and strength in every war:
We crown him as our king, our Izdubar!

Away to Samas' temple grand, away!
For Accad crowns him, crowns him there!
He is our chosen Sar this glorious day,
Oh, send the Khanga through the air!"

Toward the temple filed the long parade,
The nobles led while Accad's music played;
The harps and timbrels, barsoms, drums and flutes
Unite with trumpets and the silver lutes.
Surrounded by his chieftains rides the Sar
In purple robes upon his brazen car.
Bedecked with garlands, steeds of whitest snow
The chariot draw in state with movement slow,
Each steed led by a *kisib*, nobleman,
A score of beauteous horses linked in span.
The army follows with their nodding plumes,
And burnished armor, trumpets, rolling drums,
And glistening spears enwreathed with fragrant flowers,
While scarfs are waving from the crowded towers,
And shouts of joy their welcome loud proclaim,
And from each lip resounds their monarch's name.

And now before the holy temple stands
The chariot, in silence cease the bands.
Around an altar stand the waiting priests,
And held by them, the sacrificial beasts.
The hero from his chair descends,
And bowing to the priests, he lowly bends
Before the sacred altar of the Sun,
And prays to Samas, Accad's Holy One.

"O Samas, I invoke thee, throned on high! [3]
Within the cedars' shadow bright thou art,
Thy footing rests upon immensity;
All nations eagerly would seek thy heart.
Their eyes have turned toward thee; O our Friend!

Whose brilliant light illuminates all lands,
Before thy coming all the nations bend,
Oh, gather every people with thy hands!
For thou, O Samas, knowest boundaries
Of every kingdom, falsehood dost destroy,
And every evil thought from sorceries
Of wonders, omens, dreams that do annoy,
And evil apparitions, thou dost turn
To happy issue; malice, dark designs;
And men and countries in thy might o'erturn,
And sorcery that every soul maligns.
Oh, in thy presence refuge let me find!
From those who spells invoke against thy King,
Protect one! and my heart within thine, oh, bind!
[4]Thy breath within mine inmost soul, oh, bring!
That I with thee, O Samas, may rejoice.
And may the gods who me created, take
Thy hands and lead me, make thy will my choice,
[5]Direct my breath, my hands, and of me make
They servant, Lord of light of legions vast,
O Judge, thy glory hath all things surpassed!"

The King then rises, takes the sacred glass,[6]
And holds it in the sun before the mass
Of waiting fuel on the altar piled.
The centring rays — the fuel glowing gild
With a round spot of fire and quickly, spring
Above the altar curling, while they sing!

"Oh, to the desert places may it fly, [7]
This incantation holy!
O spirit of the heavens, us this day
Remember, oh, remember!
O spirit of the earth, to thee we pray,
Remember! Us remember!

"O God of Fire! a lofty prince doth stand,
A warrior, and son of the blue sea,
Before the God of Fire in thine own land,
Before thy holy fires that from us free

Dread Darkness, where dark Nuk-khu reigns.
Our prince, as monarch we proclaim,
His destiny thy power maintains,
Oh, crown his glory with wide fame!

"With bronze and metal thou dost bless
All men, and givest silver, gold.
The goddess with the hornèd face
Did bless us with thee from of old.
From dross thy fires change gold to purity;
Oh, bless our fire-king, round him shine
With Heaven's vast sublimity!
And like the earth with rays divine,
As the bright walls of Heaven's shrine."

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Sar," king.

[2] "Khanga," chorus.

[3] One of the Accadian psalms is here quoted from "Chaldean Magic," by Lenormant, pp. 185, 186. See also "Records of the Past," vol. xi. pl. 17, col. 2.

[4] Literally, "Right into my marrow, O Lords of breath."

[5] Literally, "Direct the breath of my mouth!"

[6] Sacred glass, sun-glass used to light the sacred fire.

[7] Incantation to Fire ("Records of the Past," vol. xi. p. 137). The Accadian and Assyrian text is found in "C.I.W.A.," vol. iv. pl. 14, and on tablet K. 49,002, in the British Museum.

COLUMN V

ISHTAR AND HER MAIDS IN THE FAVORITE HAUNT OF IZDUBAR

The king while hunting where a forest grows,
Around sweet hyacinths and budding rose,
Where a soft zephyr o'er them gently flows
From the dark *sik-ka-ti*[1] where Kharsak[2] glows;
And Sedu[3] softly dances on the leaves,

And a rich odorous breath from them receives;
Where tulips peep with heliotrope and pink,
With violets upon a gleaming brink
Of silver gliding o'er a water-fall
That sings its purling treasures o'er a wall
Of rugged onyx sparkling to the sea:
A spot where Zir-ri[4] sport oft merrily,
Where Hea's[5] arm outstretched doth form a bay,
Wild, sheltered, where his sea-daughters play;
A jasper rock here peeps above the waves
Of emerald hue; with them its summit laves.

Around, above, this cool enchanting cove
Bend amorous, spicy branches; here the dove
Oft coos its sweetest notes to its own mate,
And fragrance pure, divine, the air doth freight,
To sport with gods no lovelier place is found,
With love alone the mystic woods resound.

Here witching Zi-na-ki[6] oft drag within
The waves unwilling Zi-si;[7] here the din
Of roars of sullen storms is never known
When tempests make the mighty waters groan;
Nor sound of strife is heard, but rippling rills,
Or softest note of love, the breezes fills.

And here the king in blissful dreams oft lies
'Mid pure ambrosial odors, and light flies
The tune in bliss; away from kingly care,
And hollow splendor of the courtly glare;
Away from triumphs, battle-fields afar,
The favorite haunt of huntsman Izdubar.

The Queen of Love the glowing spot surveys,
And sees the monarch where he blissful lays;
And watching till he takes his bow and spear
To chase the wild gazelles now browsing near,
She, ere the king returns, near by arrives
With her two maids; with them for love connives,
Joy and seduction thus voluptuous fly

Her Samkhatu,[8] Kharimtu[9] from the sky,
As gently, lightly as a spirit's wing
Oft carries gods to earth while Sedu sing.
Thus, they, with lightest step, expectant stood
Within this lovely spot beneath the wood.

Their snowy limbs they bare, undraped now stand
Upon the rock at Ishtar's soft command.
Like marble forms endued with life they move,
And thrill the air with welcome notes of love.
The *its-tu-ri Same mut-tab-ri*[10] sang
Their sweetest notes, and the *Khar-san-u*[11] rang
With songs of thrushes, turtle-doves and jays,
And linnets, with the nightingale's sweet lays,
Goldfinches, magpies and the wild hoopoes;
With cries of green-plumed parrots and cuckoos,
Pee-wits and sparrows join the piercing cries
Of gorgeous herons, while now upward flies
The eagle screaming, joyful spreads his wings
Above the forest; and the woodchuck rings
A wild tattoo upon the trees around;
And humming-birds whirr o'er the flowering ground
In flocks, and beat the luscious laden air
With emerald and gold, and scarlet, where
These perfect forms with godly grace divine,
In loveliness upon the rock recline.
Sweet joy is slender formed, with bright black eyes
That sparkle oft and dance with joy's surprise;
Seduction, with her rare voluptuous form,
Enchanteth all till wildest passions warm
The blood and fire the eye beneath her charm;
All hearts in heaven and earth she doth disarm.
The Queen with every perfect charm displayed
Delights the eye, and fills the heart, dismayed
With fear, lest the bright phantom may dissolve
To airy nothingness, till fierce resolve
Fills each who her beholds, while love doth dart
From liquid eyes and captivates the heart.
She is the queen who fills the earth with love
And reigns unrivalled in her realms above.

Beware, ye hearts! beware! who feel the snare
Of Ishtar, lest ye tread upon the air;
When ye her rosy chain of fragrance wear,
When blindness strikes the eye, and deaf the ear
Becomes, and heartstrings only lead you then,
Till ye return to common sense again;
Enthralled mayhap and captive led in chains,
Ye then will leisure have to bear your pains;
Or if perchance a joy hath come to thee,
Through all thy joyous life, then happy be!

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Sik-ka-ti," narrow mountain gorges.

[2] "Khar-sak," the Deluge mountain, where the ark rested.

[3] "Se-du," a spirit of the earth, and rivers.

[4] "Zir-ri," the spirits of the rivers, water-nymphs.

[5] "Hea," the god of the ocean.

[6] "Zi-na-ki," pronounced "zee-na-kee," spirits of purity.

[7] "Zi-si," corn-gods, or spirits of the corn.

[8] "Sam-kha-tu," one of the maids of Ishtar, "Joy."

[9] "Kha-rima-tu," one of the maids of Ishtar, "Seduction."

[10] "Its-tu-ri Same mut-tab ri," "the wingèd birds of heaven."

[11] "Khar-san-u," forest.

COLUMN VI

IZDUBAR FALLS IN LOVE WITH ISHTAR, THE QUEEN OF LOVE

The hour has come when Izdubar will seek
The cool enchantment of the cove, and slake
His thirst with its sweet waters bubbling pure,
Where Love has spread for him her sweetest lure,

The maids expectant listening, watch and wait
His coming; oft in ecstacies they prate
O'er his surprise, and softly sport and splash
The limpid waves around, that glowing flash
Like heaps of snowy pearls lung to the light
By Hea's[1] hands, his Zir-ri[2] to delight.
And now upon the rock each maid reclines,
While Ishtar's form beneath them brightly shines;
Beside the fountain stands the lovely god,
The graceful sovereign of Love's sweet abode.

"He comes; the shrubs of yonder jasmine near
Are rustling, oh, he comes! my Izdubar!"
And thus her love she greets: "Why art thou here?
Thou lovely mortal! king art thou, or seer?
We reck not which, and welcome give to thee;
Wouldst thou here sport with us within the sea?"
And then, as if her loveliness forgot,
She quickly grasped her golden locks and wrought
Them round her form of symmetry with grace
That well became a god, while o'er her face
Of sweetest beauty blushes were o'erspread;
"Thou see-est only Nature's robe," she said.
"'Tis all I wish while sporting with my maids,
And all alone no care have we for jades;
And if with thee we can in truth confide,
We here from all the world may cosey hide."
She hurls a glance toward him, smiling naïve,
Then bounding from the rock, peeps from a wave;
The waters fondling her surround, embrace
Her charms; and now emerging with rare grace,
She turning says:

"Make haste, my hearts!
Come forth! attend your queen!" and then she parts
The azure waves, to where, in dumb surprise,
The King enchanted stands, and fondly eyes
The Queen divine, while fascinating thrills
Sweep wildly through his breast; as fragrance fills
The rose-tree groves, or gardens of the gods,

Or breezes odorous from the Blest Abodes.
A longing, rising, fills his inmost soul
For this sweet queen who offers him a goal
His stormy life has never known, since he,
His loved one lost beneath the raging sea;
And all his calm resolves to seek no more
A joy which passed and left his heart forlore,
Are breaking, vanishing beneath her charms,
Dissolving as the mists, when sunlight warms
The earth, then scorching drinks the rising dews;
Till he at last no longer can refuse,
And love directs while he the goddess greets:
“Such wondrous beauty here no mortal meets;
But come, thou Zir-ru,[3] with me sweetly rest;
Primroses, gentians, with their charms invest
My mossy couch, with odorous citron-trees
And feathery palms above; and I will please
Thee with a mortal’s love thou hast not known;
In pure love mingling let our spirits run,
For earthly joys are sweeter than above,
That rarest gift, the honeyed kiss of love
On earth, is sweeter bliss than gods enjoy;
Their shadowy forms with love cannot employ
Such pleasure as a mortal’s sweet caress.
Come, Zi-ru, and thy spirit I will bless;
The Mandrake[4] ripened golden, glows around;
The fruit of Love is fragrant on the ground.”

Amid the Dud’im[5] plants he now reclines,
And to his welcome fate himself resigns;
The lovely queen beside him now doth lay,
And leads his soul along the blissful way
That comes to every heart that longs for love,
When purest joy doth bless us from above;
From her soft liquid eyes the love-light speaks,
And her warm hands she lays in his, and wakes
Beneath her touch a thrill of wild desire,
Until his blood now seems like molten fire.
Her eyes half closed begat a passion wild,
With her warm breast, her loves hath beguiled;

She nearer creeps with hot and balmy breath,
And trembling form aglow, and to him saith:
“My lips are burning for a kiss, my love!”
A prize like this, a heart of stone would move,
And he his arms around her fondly placed
Till she reclined upon his breast, embraced,
Their lips in one long thrilling rapture meet.
But hark! what are these strains above so sweet
That float around, above, their love surround?
An-nu-na-ci[6] from forests, mounts around,
And from the streams and lakes, and ocean, trees,
And all that haunt the godly place, to please
The lovers, softly chant and dance around
To cymbals, lyres until the rocks resound,
Of goddess Ishtar chant, and Izdubar,
The Queen of Love wed to the King of War.
And he alarmed starts up and springs away,
And furious cries, to Ishtar’s wild dismay:

“What meanest thou, thou wanton brazen thing?
Wouldst thou on me the direst curses bring?”
And lo! the goddess is transformed! the crown
Of her own silver skies shines like the sun,
And o’er her dazzling robes a halo falls;
Her stately form with glory him appals,
For Heaven’s dazzling splendor o’er her flows,
With rays celestial; o’er her brow there glows
A single star.

“Have I embraced a god?”
He horrified now cries; and she doth nod
Assent.

“But, oh! wilt thou thy queen forgive?
I love thee! stay! oh, stay! my heart you grieve!”

He springs beyond the mystic circling ring,
And from their sight thus glides the angry King,
Beneath the wood himself he doth disguise
In tattered garments, on his steed he flies;

And when he comes in sight of Erech's gate,
His beggar's mantle throws aside; in state
Again enrobed, composed his anxious face,
Through Erech's gates he rides with kingly grace;
O'er his adventure thus the King reflects:
"Alas my folly leads, my life directs!
'Tis true, the goddess hath seductive charms,
E'en yet I feel her warm embracing arms.
Enough! her love from me I'll drive away;
Alas! for me, is this unfruitful day!"

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Hea," god of the ocean.

[2] "Zir-ri," spirits of the river, the sea-daughters of Hea.

[3] "Zir-ru," water-nymph.

[4] "Mandrake," the "love-plant."

[5] "Dud'im" or "dudaim," [Hebrew: dud'im or Chald. [Hebrew: ibduchin] and Syr. [Hebrew: ibduch'] the "love-plant" or mandrake; perhaps also originally from "du-du" ("love") or ex. [Hebrew: du] ("particula"), Arab. "possessorem designante," et ex rad. Arab. [Hebrew: ddy] ("ægrotavit"), or [Hebrew: dud] or "amare." See Simoni's Lex. Man. Heb. et Chald. et Lat., pp. 204-206, and Park's Heb. Lex., p. 113, note +.]

[Transcriber's Note: The above "+" is my rendering of a footnote "cross" common in older books.]

[6] "An-nu-na-ci," spirits of the earth.

TABLET II — COLUMN I

ISHTAR'S MIDNIGHT COURTSHIP IN THE PALACE OF IZDUBAR.

As Samas' car sank in the glowing west,
And Sin the moon-god forth had come full drest
For starry dance across the glistening skies,
The sound of work for man on earth now dies,
And all betake themselves to sweet repose.
The silver light of Sin above bright flows,
And floods the figures on the painted walls,
O'er sculptured lions, softly, lightly falls;
Like grim and silent watch-dogs at the door
They stand; in marble check their leaping roar.
The King within his chamber went his way,
Upon his golden jewelled couch he lay.
The silken scarlet canopy was hung
In graceful drapery and loosely clung
Around his couch, and purple damask cloths
Embroidered with rare skill, preserved from moths
By rich perfumes, to the carved lintel clung
In graceful folds; thus o'er the entrance hung.

Queen Ishtar softly comes, and o'er his dreams
A mystic spell she draws, until it seems
While half awake he lies, that she is yet
Close nestling in his arms, as he had met
Her in the wood, and with her there reclined,
While her soft arms around him were entwined.
Thus while he sleeps she hovers o'er his bed
With throbbing heart, and close inclines her head
Until her lips near touch the sleeping King's,
But daring not to kiss.

She love thus brings,
All through his dreams; until one misty night,
While he yet restless tossed, the lovely sprite
Sunk him to deeper sleep with her soft lyre
While hanging o'er his couch consumed with fire

That nestling around her heart-strings fiercely burned
Until at last lulled by the strain he turned
Upon his couch at rest, and she now lay
Beside him closely, when she heard him say:
“My love thou art, but canst not be!” No more
He murmurs, then inflamed she sought the door.
“Perchance the *su-khu-li*[1] sleep not!” she said;
And satisfied, turned where her lover laid;
And to his royal couch she crept again;
Her bliss will have despite of gods and men.
Her hot and burning lips cannot resist
The tempting treasure lying there, nor missed
Shall be the dearest joys of love from her
Who rules all hearts in Heaven, earth, and air.
Her right divine that blessing sweet to take,
She will assert, her burning thirst to slake.

His couch the Heavenly Queen of Love now graces,
And on his breast her glorious head she places;
Embracing him, she softly through her lips
And his, the sweetest earthly nectar sips,
While he in sleep lies murmuring of love,
And she in blissful ecstasy doth move.
Her lips to his, she wildly places there,
Until to him it seems a fond nightmare.

And thus, against his will, she fondly takes
What he her shall deny when he awakes,
The stolen kisses both the lovers thrill:
Unquenched her warm desire would kiss him still,
But his hot blood now warms him in his dream
Which is much more to him than it doth seem;
And clasping her within convulsing arms,
Receives a thrill that all his nerves alarms,
And wakes him from the dreams she had instilled.
“What means this fantasy that hath me filled,
And spirit form that o’er my pillow leans;
I wonder what this fragrant incense means?
Oh, tush! ’tis but an idle, wildering dream,
But how delightful, joyous it did seem!

Her beauteous form it had, its breath perfume;
Do spirit forms such loveliness assume?”

The goddess yet dares not her form reveal,
And quickly she herself doth now conceal
Behind the damask curtains at the door.
When he awoke, sprang to the chamber floor,
As his own maid the queen herself transforms,
Says entering in haste:

“What wild alarms
Thee, Sar?” and then demure awaits reply,
In doubt to hear or to his bosom fly.
“My maid art thou? ’Tis well, for I have dreamed
Of spirits, as a Zi-ru fair it seemed.”

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Su-khu-li,” guards of the palace.

COLUMN II

THE KING’S SECOND DREAM AND EARLY RIDE UPON SUMIR’S PLAIN, AND HAND-TO-HAND CONFLICT ON THE BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES

The night is fleeing from the light of dawn,
Which dimly falls upon the palace lawn;
The King upon his royal *dum-khi*[1] sleeps,
And to his couch again Queen Ishtar creeps.
In spite his dream to dismal thoughts she turns,
Her victim tosses, now with fever burns:
He wildly starts, and from his *dum-khi* springs,
While loud his voice throughout the palace rings:
“Ho! vassals! haste to me! your King!” he cries,
And stamping fiercely while his passions rise.
The *sukhu-li*[2] and *masari*[3] rush in:
“What trouble, Sar? have foes here come within?”
Then searching around they in his chamber rush,
And eagerly aside the curtains push.
The King yet paces on the floor with strides

That show the trouble of his mind, and chides
Them all as laggards; “Soon the sun will rise:
My steed prepared bring hence!” he turning cries.
He mounts and gallops through the swinging gates,
Nor for attendance of his vassals waits.
Nor turns his face toward the *nam-za-khi*,[4]
Who quickly opened for the King to fly
Without the gates; across the plains he rides
Away unmindful where his steed he guides.
The horse’s hoofs resound upon the plain
As the lone horseman with bewildered brain,
To leave behind the phantoms of the night,
Rides fiercely through the early morning light,
Beyond the orange orchards, citron groves,
‘Mid feathery date-palms he reckless roves.
The fields of yellow grain mid fig-trees flash
Unseen, and prickly pears, pomegranates, dash
In quick succession by, till the white foam
From his steed’s mouth and quiv’ring flanks doth come;
Nor heeds the whitened flowing mane, but flies,
While clouds of dust him follow, and arise
Behind him o’er the road like black storm clouds,
While Zu[5] the storm-bird onward fiercely goads
The seven[6] raven spirits of the air,
And Nus-ku[7] opens wide the fiery glare
Of pent-up lightnings for fierce Gibil’s[8] hand,
Who hurls them forth at Nergal’s[9] stern command,
And Rimmon[10] rides triumphant on the air,
And Ninazu[11] for victims doth prepare,
The King rides from the road into the wild,
Nor thought of danger, his stern features smiled
As the worn steed from a huge lion shied,
Which turning glanced at them and sprang aside;
Now Zi-pis-au-ni[12] fly before the King.
And yellow leopards through the rushes spring.
Upon Euphrates’ banks his steed he reins,
And views the rosy wilds of Sumir’s plains.

He looked toward the east across the plain
That stretched afar o’er brake and marshy fen,

And clustering trees that marked the Tigris' course;
And now beyond the plain o'er fields and moors,
The mountain range of Zu[13] o'er Susa's land.
Is glowing 'neath the touch of Samas' hand;
For his bright face is rising in the east,
And shifting clouds from sea and rising mist,
The robes of purple, violet and gold,
With rosy tints the form of Samas fold.
The tamarisk and scarlet mistletoe,
With green acacias' golden summits glow,
And citron, olives, myrtle, climbing vine,
Arbutus, cypress, plane-tree rise divine;
The emerald verdure, clad with brilliant hues,
With rose-tree forests quaffs the morning dews.
The King delighted bares his troubled brow,
In Samas' golden rays doth holy bow.
But see! a shadow steals along the ground!
And trampling footsteps through the copses sound,
And Izdubar, his hand placed on his sword,
Loud cries:
"Who cometh o'er mine Erech's sward?"
An armèd warrior before him springs;
The King, dismounted, his bright weapon swings.
"'Tis I, Prince Dib-bara,[14] Lord Izdubar,
And now at last alone we meet in war;
My soldiers you o'erthrew upon the field,
But here to Nuk-khu's[15] son thine arm shall yield!"
The monarch eyes the warrior evil-born,
And thus replies to him with bitter scorn:
"And dost thou think that Samas' son shall die
By a vile foe who from my host did fly?
Or canst thou hope that sons of darkness may
The Heaven-born of Light and glory slay?
As well mayst hope to quench the god of fire,
But thou shalt die if death from me desire."
The giant forms a moment fiercely glared,
And carefully advanced with weapons bared,
Which flash in the bright rays like blades of fire,
And now in parry meet with blazing ire.
Each firmly stood and rained their ringing blows,

And caught each stroke upon their blades, till glows
The forest round with sparks of fire that flew
Like blazing meteors from their weapons true;
And towering in their rage they cautious sprung
Upon each, foiled, while the deep Suk-ha[16] rung.
At last the monarch struck a mighty blow,
His foeman's shield of gold, his blade cleft through;
And as the lightning swung again his sword,
And struck the chieftain's blade upon the sward,
A Sedu springs from out the tangled copse,
And at his feet the sword still ringing drops.
The King his sword placed at his foeman's throat
And shouted:

"Hal-ca[17] to yon waiting boat!
Or I will send thy body down this stream!
Ca is-kab-bu! va kal-bu![18] whence you came!"
The chief disarmed now slunk away surprised,
And o'er the strength of Sar-dan-nu[19] surmised.
The King returns, and rides within the gate
Of Erech, and the council entered late.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Dum-khi," couch.

[2] "Su-khu-li rabi," attendants of the King.

[3] "Masari," guards of the palace.

[4] "Nam-za-ki," openers of the gates.

[5] "Zu," the divine bird of the storm-cloud, the god worshipped by Izdubar, the god who stole the tablets of heaven.

[6] The seven wicked spirits in the form of men with faces of ravens.

[7] "Nus-ku," the gate-keeper of thunder.

[8] "Gibil," the god of fire and spells and witchcraft.

[9] "Ner-gal," director of the storms, the giant King of War, the strong begetter.

[10] “Rimmon,” the god of storms and hurricanes.

[11] “Nin-a-zu,” the goddess of fate and death.

[12] “Zi-pis-au-ni,” spirits of the papyri, or reeds.

[13] Mountain range of Zu. The ancient name is unknown, but as Susa takes its name from Zu, the divine bird of the storm-cloud, we have given the mountains of Susiana their probable ancient name.

[14] “Dib-bara” (“the darkening one”), the son of Nuk-khu. He is supposed to have been the viceroy of Khumbaba, and led the attack upon Erech.

[15] “Nuk-hu,” or “Nuk-khu,” the god of darkness and sleep. He is sometimes called “Cus-u.”

[16] “Suk-ha,” wood or grove, or a forest.

[17] “Hal-ca!” “Go!”

[18] “Ca is-kab-bu! va kal-bu!” “Thou fool and dog!” “Ca” (“thou”) is the short form of “cat-ta” or “ca’a”; generally it appears as “at-ta.”

[19] “Sar-dan-nu,” the great King.

COLUMN III

IZDUBAR RELATES HIS SECOND DREAM TO HIS SEERS, WHO CANNOT INTERPRET IT

The counsellors assembled round the throne
Within the council halls of *zam-at*[1] stone,
Now greet their monarch, and behold his face
With trouble written on his brow, and trace
Uneasiness within that eagle eye,
While he with stately tread, yet wearily
His throne approached; he turned to the mu-di,[2]
And swept a glance upon his khas-iz-i.[3]
Uneasy they all eyed his troubled face,
For he had ridden at a furious pace.
The *abuli*[4] had told them on that morn,
How he across the plains had wildly torn
To drive away some vision of the night.
One asked, “Hath our Sardan-nu’s dreams been light?

Or hath dread phantoms o'er thy pillow hung?
For trouble on thy countenance hath clung."
The monarch startled at the question eyes
The councillor, and to him thus replies:
"'Tis true, my counsellors and wisest men,
I dreamed a fearful dream Sat mu-si;[5] when
I have disclosed it, if one clear reveals
Its meaning all and naught from me conceals,
On him will I the greatest wealth bestow:
I will ennoble him, and the *sib-zu*[6]
A *ku-bar-ra*[7] for him shall rich prepare;
As my *tur-tan-u*[8] he shall be, and seer,
Decked with a golden chain shall next preside
At every feast, and break his bread beside
The King, and highest rank he shall attain
'Mong counsellors, and mine own favor gain;
And seven wives to him I will allow,
And a grand palace. This as King I vow,
The scribe it shall enroll above my seal
As Erech's Sar's decree beyond repeal.

"I dreamed upon my *dum-khi*[9] fast asleep,
The stars from heaven fell from yonder deep
To earth; and one, with fierceful heat my back
Did pierce as molten fire, and left its track
Of flames like some huge ball along my spine;
And then transformed, it turned its face to mine;
As some fierce god it glowed before my sight
Till agony was lost in dread affright.
I rooted stood, in terror, for its face
Was horrible; I saw in its feet's place
A lion's claws. It sprang, my strength it broke,
And slew me, gloating over me! Awoke,
I sprang, methought I was a corpse *ka-ra*
Va tal-ka mat sar, talka bu-la sha
Ra-pas-ti sat-ti, ar-id-da! ka-rat
Va hal-li-ka! lik-ru-bu ki-mi-ta![10]"
The seers in silence stand, perplexed and think;
But from the task at once the wisest shrink.

The King each face soon read:

"Ye tell me no?"
And nodding all, concealed from him their woe,
For they beheld within the dream some fate
Impending o'er him born of godly hate,
And durst not to their monarch prate their fears,
For flatterers of kings are all his seers.
The King impatient eyed them all with scorn,
And hid his thoughts by wildest passions born;
And then at last contemptuous to them said,
"So all my seers of trouble are afraid?
Or else in ignorance you turn away;
'Tis well! I sorely need a seer this day."
And they now prostrate fall before his throne,
"Forgive thy seers!" one cries, "O mighty One!
For we this dreadful dream do fear portends
Thy harm! a god some message to thee sends!
We know not what, but fear for thee, our Sar,
And none but one can augur it; afar
He lives, Heabani should before the King
Be brought from Za-Ga-bri[11] the *na-bu*[12] bring!"
"'Tis well! Prince Zaidu for the hermit send,
And soon this mystery your Sar will end."
The King distressed now to the temple goes
To lay before the mighty gods his woes;
This prayer recites to drive away bad dreams,
While Samas' holy altar brightly gleams:
"O Samas! may my prayer bring me sweet rest, [13]
And may my Lord his favor grant to me:
Annihilate the things that me invest!
This day, O God! distressed, I cry to thee!
O goddess! be thou gracious unto me,
Receive my prayer, my sins forgive I pray:
My wickedness and will arrayed 'gainst thee.
Oh, pardon me! O God, be kind this day,
My groaning may the seven winds destroy,
Clothe me with deep humility! receive
My prayers, as wingèd birds, oh, may they fly
And fishes carry them, and rivers weave

Them in the waters on to thee, O God!
As creeping things of the vast desert, cry
I unto thee outstretched on Erech's sod;
And from the river's lowest depths I pray;
My heart cause thou to shine like polished gold,
Though food and drink of Nin-a-zu[14] this day
Be mine, while worms and death thy servant fold.
Oh, from thine altar me support, protect,
In low humility I pray, forgive!
Feed me with joy, my dreams with grace direct;
The dream I dreamed, oh favorable give
To me its omen filled with happiness!
May Mak-hir,[15] god of dreams, my couch invest!
With visions of Bit-sag-gal my heart bless,
The temple of the gods, of Nin, with rest
Unbroken, and to Merodach I pray!
The favoring one, to prosper me and mine:
Oh, may thy entering exalted be! [16]
And thy divinity with glory shine,
And may our city shine with glowing meads,
And all my people praise thy glorious deeds."
Now to Euphrates' banks the Sar and seers
Their footsteps turn to pray into the ears
Of Hea,[17] where, in white, a band of priests
Drawn in a crescent, Izdubar invests.
Now at the water's edge he leans, his hands
Dips in the waves, and pours upon the sands
The sparkling drops, while all a hymn descant
To Hea, thus the incantation chant:

"O chant our incantation to the waters pure,
Euphrates' waters flowing to the sea!
Where Hea's holy face shines bright on every shore,
O Sabit[18] of Timatu[19] to ye
We pray! may your bright waters glowing shine
As Hea's face, and heaving breast divine!

"O Sabit, to your father Hea take our prayer!
And may Dao-ki-na,[20] your bright mother, hear!
With joy, oh shine, as peaceful as the sleeping light,

O ever may your throbbing waves be bright.
O spirit of the Heaven, hear!
Remember us, Remember!
O spirit of the earth, come near!
Remember us, Remember!
O hear us, Hea! hear us, dear Dao-ki-na!
Ca-ca-ma "ca-ca-ma "ca-ca-ma!"[21]

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Zam-at" stone, diamond, crystal or lapis lazuli.

[2] "Mu-di," seers.

[3] "Khas-i-zi," counsellors.

[4] "Ab-u-li," guard of the great gates of the city.

[5] "Sat mu-si," in the night-time, or last night.

[6] "Sib-zu," embroiderer.

[7] "Ku-bar-ra," robe of a prince.

[8] "Tur-tan-u," next in rank to the King.

[9] "Dum-khi" or "dun-khi," couch.

[10] "Ka-ra! va," etc., "Speak out! and if thou augurest the death of the King, or if thou augurest life of extended years, I have spoken! Speak out! and cast the lots! may they be propitious with us!"

[11] "Za-Ga-bri," the mountains of Zu, "Ga-bri" ("mountains"), and "Za," another form of "zu," the divine bird of the storm-cloud. They were at one time called the mountains of Susa, now the Kurdistan range of mountains. The name we have given we believe to be the probable ancient one.

[12] "Na-bu," prophet, seer.

[13] We have here quoted a prayer after a bad dream, the text of which is lithographed in "C.I.W.A.," vol. iv. 66, 2, and is supposed to be an ancient Accadian prayer. See "Records of the Past," vol. ix. p. 151.

[14] "Nin-a-zu," the goddess of darkness and death.

[15] "Mak-hir," the daughter of the sun, and goddess of dreams.

[16] Literally, "he that shows favor." The above prayer was translated for the first time by Rev. A.H. Sayce, M.A., in the "Records of the Past," vol. ix. p. 151. We have followed as literally as possible the original, and have given it its probable place in the epic.

[17] Hea, god of the ocean, the earth's surface, brightness, etc., and chief protector of men.

[18] "Sab-it," or "Sabitu" ("seven"), the seven winds, gods of the abyss or ocean.

[19] "Tiamatu," the abyss or ocean.

[20] "Dao-ki-na" or "Dao-ci-na," the wife of Hea, and goddess of the ocean.

[21] "Amen and Amen and Amen!" The Assyrian word is "Amanu." The original "ca-ca-ma" ("Amen") concludes the incantation; Heb. [Hebrew: amen See "C.I.W.A.," vol. iv. pl. 14; also "Records of the Past," vol. xi. p. 135.]

COLUMN IV

HEABANI, THE HERMIT SEER

Before a cave within the Gab-ri[1] wild,
A seer is resting on a rock; exiled
By his own will from all the haunts of men,
Beside a pool within a rocky glen
He sits; a turban rests upon his brow,
And meets the lengthened beard of whitest snow.
This morn an omen comes before his eyes,
And him disturbs with a wild eagle's cries
That fierce attacks a fox before his cave;
For he of beasts is the most cunning knave;
In wait upon the ground the fox hath lain
To lure the bird, which flying deems him slain.
He fiercely seizes it, as swooping down,
The bird with its sly quarry would have flown;
But the *a-si*[2] quick seized it by the throat,
While the wide wings with frantic fury smote
The beast, and the sharp talons deeply tore
Its foe — both greedy for the other's gore.

And lo! a voice from yonder sky resounds;
Heabani to his feet now quickly bounds,

And bowing, listens to the voice that comes
In gentleness; upon the winds it roams
From yon blue heights like sighing of the trees;
The seer in reverence upon his knees
Now holy bares his head in Samas' rays,
While the soft voice to him thus gently says:
"A messenger, Heabani, soon shall come
With offers rich, to leave thy lonely home.
This eagle sought its food and found a snare,
The messenger will come from Izdubar,
To learn from thee the meaning of his dream
Which goddess Ishtar sent, — a snare for him.
Then to the messenger prove not a snare,
As yonder *a-si* doth the eagle tear."

The seer in fury tore his beard of snow
And cried —

"Alas! my days shall end in woe
Within these wilds my happiness is mine,
No other joys I seek, my god divine;
I would upon these rocks lie down to die,
Upon my back here sleep eternally."
And Samas urging, to him thus replied:
"Heabani, hast thou not some manly pride?
And thinkest thou no joy thou here wilt lose?
The lovely Sam-kha-tu[3] the seer may choose.
Arrayed in trappings of divinity
And the insignia of royalty,
Heabani then in Erech shall be great,
And live in happiness and royal state;
And Izdubar shall hearken, and incline
His heart in warmest friendship, and recline
With thee upon a couch of luxury.
And seat thee on a throne of royalty,
On his left hand, a crown shall grace thy brow.
Kings of the earth shall to thee subject bow
And kiss thy feet, and Izdubar shall give
Thee wealth, and thou in luxury shalt live.
In silence Erech's men shall bow to thee,

In royal raiment thou shalt happy be.”
Heabani listened to the words that came
From Samas, and his brow was lit with shame
To hear the god of war urge him to go
To earthly happiness — mayhap to woe;
But he within his cave now listless turns
When Samas ceased; then to his rock returns,
And seats himself with calmness on his brow;
His thoughts in happy memories now flow,
And he recalls the blissful days of yore
When he as seer lived on Euphrates’ shore,
As the queen’s bard oft tuned a festive lay,
While soft-eyed maidens dance and cymbals play.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Gab-ri,” mountains.

[2] “A-si,” fox.

[3] “Sam-kha-tu” (“Joy”), one of the maids of Ishtar.

COLUMN V

EXPEDITION OF ZAIDU IN SEARCH OF THE SEER

Prince Zaidu on his steed now hastes away,
Upon the plains he travelled all that day;
Next morn the Za-Gabri he slow ascends,
Along the mountain sides the horseman wends
Beneath the Eri-ni,[1] and cliffs, and sees
The plains and mountains o’er the misty trees
From the wild summit, and old Khar-sak glow
Above them all with its twin crests of snow.
He plunges in the wild to seek the cave;
Three days unceasing sought young Zaidu brave,
And now at last within the glen he rode,
And near approached Heabani’s wild abode.
At last he sees the seer before his home,
And with his monster[2] now toward him come,

That walked subdued beside the hermit seer,
Thus they upon the rocks above appear.

“Why art thou here in warrior’s array?”
The hermit cries. “I know thee not! away!”

“O holy seer, ’tis Zaidu, from our Sar!
The king of Erech, chieftain Izdubar.”

“What seekest thou within my mountain lair?”
Heabani angry cried. “What brings thee here?”

“For thee! if true Heabani is thy name;
I seek the hermit seer of wondrous fame.
My king doth offer thee rich gifts of state,
And sent me to thee here to make thee great.”
“No empty honors do I seek, which void
Of all true happiness, all men have cloyed.
Return then to thy haunts of pleasure, pain,
For thy king’s embassy is all in vain.”
The seer returns within his lonely cave
And leaves the prince alone the beast to brave.
At last it slinks away within the gloom;
No more from their wild home doth either come,
Three days Prince Zaidu watches the dark lair,
But now his courage turns to blank despair:
The seer hath changed his mind since Samas sought
To urge him forth to leave his lonely lot.
The prince the mountain precipice now climbs,
And peers within while clinging to the limbs
Of stunted oaks, and views the mountain lair;
But all in vain his calls ring on the air.
Then mounting wearily his steed he turns
Away, and unsuccessful thus returns.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Eri-ni,” cedar-trees.

[2] A carnivorous animal supposed to have been either a lion or a tiger, more probably a lion.

COLUMN VI

HEABANI RESOLVES TO RETURN TO ERECH

As Zaidu sadly turns and rides away,
The hermit from his cave comes forth to pray:
“Alas! hath all these wilds their charms here lost?
And is my breast with wild ambition tost?
My lonely cot I look upon with shame;
Again I long to seek the fields of fame,
Where luxury my remaining years
May crown, and happiness may find — or tears;
’Tis true! I should have welcomed the *bar-ru;*[1]
But he hath since returned to Subartu.”[2]
His harp he took from its dust-covered case,
And kissed its carved and well-remembered face;
And tuning it, he glanced toward the wood,
And sang his farewell ode to solitude:

Farewell, ye mountains, woods and trees —
My heart doth long again for joy;
I love your wilds and mossy leas,
But oh, your solitude doth cloy!

I love to see the *bur-khi-is*[3]
Sweep stately o’er the mossy rocks;
And *tsabi*[4] in a wild like this,
Hear the tattoo of red woodchucks.

I love the cries of *lig-bar-ri*[5]
The *nes-i*[6] calling for their prey;
And leaping of the *na-a-li*[7]
That fly in wildest fear away.

I love the *bu-hir-tser-i*[8] all,
Khar-sa-a-nii sa-qu-u-tu;[9]
Hear *cu-uts-tsi*[10] with thunder roll
Across the skies within my view.

I love to see the *ca-ca-bi*[11]
Peep through the pine-trees o’er my home,

And watch the wild *tu-ra-a-khi*[12]
And *arme*[13] welcome, to me come.

Farewell! ye solitudes, farewell!
I will not moulder rotting lie
With no one's lips to wish me well;
O give me immortality!

But what is fame? A bubble blown
Upon the breeze, that bursts its shell,
And all our brightest hopes are flown,
And leaves our solitude a hell.

The holy minstrel bows his head in woe,
And sweeps the harpstrings with a movement slow;
Then lifts his eyes toward the setting sun,
His evening invocation thus begun:

[14]O Samas! to the lifting of my hands
Show favor! unto me thy servant turn!
What man before thy blessèd Light withstands?
O thou! what mortal thine own words can learn?
And who can rival them inviolate?
[15]Among the gods no equal thou hast found.
In Heaven who of all the gods is great?
O thou alone! art great through Heaven's bound!

On earth what man is great? alas! no one,
For thou alone art great! through earth's vast bounds.
When wide thy awful voice in Heaven resounds,
The gods fall prostrate to our Holy One;
When on the earth thy voice afar resounds,
The genii[16] bow to thee and kiss the dust.
In thee, O Samas! do I put my trust,
For thy great love and mercy wide abounds!

O my Creator, God, thy watchfulness
O'er me, oh may it never cease!
Keep thou the opening of my lips! the fleece
Of purest snow be my soul's daily dress.

Guard thou my hands! O Samas, Lord of Light!
And ever keep my life and heart aright!

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Bar-ru,” an army officer

[2] “Su-bar-tu,” Syria

[3] “Bur-khi-is,” antelopes

[4] “Tsabi,” gazelles

[5] “Lig-bar-ri,” hyenas

[6] “Nes-i,” lions

[7] “Na-a-li,” spotted stags

[8] “Bu-hir-tser-i,” beasts of the field

[9] “Khar-sa-a-nu sa-qu-u-tu,” forests thick

[10] “Cu-uts-tsi,” storms.

[11] “Ca-ca-bi,” stars.

[12] “Tu-ra-a-khi,” deer.

[13] “Arme,” wild goats.

[14] This prayer is made up from Assyrian fragments now in the British Museum.

[15] See “Records of the Past,” vol. iii. p. 136.

[16] “Genii,” spirits.

TABLET III — COLUMN I

HEABANI'S WISDOM — SONG OF THE KHAU-IK-I

The dark-eyed maids are dancing in the halls
Of Erech's palace: music fills the walls
Of splendor where the Sar-dan-nu[1] enthroned,
His hours is whiling by the maidens zoned;
A whirling garland chanting forth a song.
Accompanied with harps thus sang the throng:

"Heabani's wisdom chant and sing
To Erech's king our mighty Sar.[2]
When Hea did Heabani bring,
Who now to Erech comes afar,
He taught him then all hidden things
Of Ki[3] or bright Samu[4] above,
That to the Mu-di[5] mystery brings.
Oh, how Heabani we shall love!"

Chorus

"Then sing with joy ye Khau-ik-i![6]
The Khau-ga[7] chant with waving arms,
The Nin-uit[8] sing Au-un-na-ci[9]
Give to our Sar your sweetest charms.

"All knowledge that is visible
Heabani holds it in his glance,
Sees visions inconceivable,
The Zi[10] his wizard eyes entrance.
Sweet peace he brings from troubled dreams,
He comes to El-li-tar-du-si,[11]
From a far road by mountain streams;
Then sing with joy ye Khau-ik-i!

Chorus

"Then sing with joy ye Khau-ik-i!
The Khau-ga chant with waving arms,

The Nin-uit sing An-un-na-ci!
Give to our Sar your sweetest charms.

"E'en all that on the tablet rests,
In Erech's tower, the Su-bu-ri,[12]
The beautiful, with glorious crests,
He wrote for far posterity.
We plead with him to leave us not,
But Zi-Gab-ri[13] him led away,
When our great Shal-man[14] joy us brought,
And Elam fled to the blue sea.

Chorus

"Then sing with joy ye Khau-ik-i!
Il-gi-sa-kis-sat[15] from above,
The Nin-uit sing An-un-na-ci!
Oh, how Heabani we shall love!"

The maidens note their monarch's moody face,
And turn their songs to him with easy grace,
Of their great ruler tune a joyous lay,
And oft into his eyes hurl glances gay;
And trumpets join the chorus, rolling drums,
And wild applause from all the chieftains comes,
Till the grave seers and councillors now cry
In praise of him they love so tenderly:
With arms upraised the mighty chorus join,
Until his heart is filled with joy divine;
And thus they sing with more than royal praise,
Their love for him in every face doth blaze.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Sar-dan-nu," the great King.

[2] "Sar," king.

[3] "Ki," earth.

[4] "Samu," heaven.

[5] “Mu-di,” seers or wise men.

[6] “Khau-ik-i,” the choral band.

[7] “Khau-ga,” chorus.

[8] “Nin-uit,” song.

[9] “An-un-na-ci,” spirits of the earth.

[10] “Zi,” spirits of the earth, air, water, etc.

[11] “El-li-tar-du-si,” one of the temples of Erech.

[12] “Su-bu-ri,” the lofty.

[13] “Zi-Gab-ri,” spirits of the mountains.

[14] “Shal-man,” deliverer.

[15] “Il-gi-sa-kis-sat,” spirits of the hosts.

COLUMN II

SONGS IN PRAISE OF IZDUBAR AND HEABANI AS SUNG BY THE KHAU-IK-I

Our Izdubar dear Erech raised
  From her distress, when she did mourn;
With joy his glorious name be praised!
  Of a great warrior’s daughter born,
And Bel in his own might, him arms,
  To Erech’s sons and daughters save;
What other Sar hath glorious charms
  Like his, who saved proud Elam’s slave?

Chorus

No rival hath our mighty Sar,
  Thy cymbals strike and raise the cry!
All hail! All hail! great Izdubar!
  His deeds immortal glorify!

Our Izdubar our sons preserves
To all our fathers day and night,
And Erech's ruler well deserves
Our highest praise, whose matchless might
Delights the gods! All hail our Sar!
Whose firmness, wisdom need no praise!
Queen Daunat's son, our Izdubar,
His glory to the Sami[1] raise!

Chorus

Of a great warrior's daughter born,
The gods clothe him with matchless might;
His glory greets the coming morn,
Oh, how in him we all delight!

And thus of Seer Heabani they now chant
His birth and history and hyemal haunt.

Who can compare with thee, O Nin![2]
The son of Bel; thy hands didst lay
Upon Ar-ur-u, thine own queen,
With glory crowned her on that day.

To her thy strength did give, and blessed
Her with thy love and a dear son;
With Ami's strength within his breast,
And Ninip sped then to his throne.

When Queen Ar-u-ru hears her lord
From Erech's city far has gone,
She bows her head upon the sward,
With pleading hands in woe doth moan.

And to Heabani she gave birth,
The warrior, great Ninip's son,
Whose fame is spread through all the earth.
The queen with her own maids alone
Retired within her palace walls
For purity in Erech's halls.

Like the corn-god his face concealed,
Of men and countries he possessed,
Great wisdom by the gods revealed:
As Ner[3] the god, his limbs were dressed.
With wild gazelles he ate his food
While roaming with them in the night;
For days he wandered in the wood,
And bu-hir-tser-i[4] him delight.

The Zi-ar-ri[5] Heabani loves,
That play within the running streams;
With Zi-ti-am-a-ti[6] he roves
Upon the sands in warm sunbeams.

“The prince returns, O Sar!” the herald said,
And low before the throne he bowed his head;
“Our Zaidu, the bewitcher of all men,
Doth unsuccessful to us come again.
Before the cave the seer confronted him
Three days where Khar-sak’s snowy brow doth gleam.
Heabani with his beast in his cave went,
And Zaidu waited, but his courage spent
When he beheld the seer and beast remain
Within the cave, and all his words were vain.
The prince remains without with downcast face,
And beg of thee, his Sar, thy sovereign grace.”
The king to all the maidens waves his hand,
Then vanishes from sight the choral band.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Sami,” heavens.

[2] “Nin” or “Nin-ip,” the god of the chase and war.

[3] “Ner” or “Nergal,” the giant king of war, the strong begetter.

[4] “Bu-hir-tser-i,” beasts of the field.

[5] “Zi-ar-ri,” spirits of the rivers, water-nymphs.

[6] “Zi-ti-am-a-ti,” spirits of the sea, naiads or water-nymphs.

COLUMN III

ZAIDU'S RETURN, AND HIS INSTRUCTION TO TAKE TWO MAIDS WITH HIM TO ENTICE THE SEER FROM HIS CAVE

Prince Zaidu prostrate bows before the Sar,
Arises, thus narrates to Izdubar:
"Thy sovereign, Zaidu hath his king obeyed,
The royal mission I have thus essayed
As Amu's[1] soldier; I undaunted tried
To urge my mission which the seer denied.
I firmly met the beast that with him came:
Unmanly fear, confess I to my shame,
Came o'er me when I first beheld the beast,
In vain I plead, and in despair I ceased
When he refused, and angry from me passed
Within his cave, where cliffs and rocks are massed;
I climbed, but the wild entrance did not gain,
And for advice have I returned again."

"'Tis well, my son," the Sar to Zaidu said,
"Thy wisdom I commend for thy young head,
Again upon thy mission thou must go.
His might, and strength of purpose, thou dost know,
Before a maiden's charms will flee away;
For he doth love the Zi-Ga-bri[2] that play
Within the mountain gorges. Turn thy face
Again with manly portance; for I'll grace
Thine embassy with two of our sweet maids,
Who oft shall cheer thee through the mountain glades,
Whom thou shalt lead before Heabani's den
With their bright charms exposed within the glen.
Take Sam-kha-tu and sweet Khar-imatu:
They will entice the seer when he shall view
Their charms displayed before his wondering eyes.
With Sam-kha, Joy, the seer you will surprise;
Khar-im-tu will thy plans successful end,
To her seductive glance his pride will bend.
Sweet Sam-kha's charms are known, she is our Joy,
As Ishtar's aid her charms ne'er cloy;

Kharun-tu with her perfect face and form,
The hearts of all our court doth take by storm:
When joys by our sweet Sam-kha are distilled,
Kharun-tu's love overcomes us till we yield.
Thus, armed with Love's Seduction and her Joy,
The greatest powers of earth thou dost employ;
No flesh can face them but a heart of stone.
And all the world doth lie before them prone."

Three days Prince Zaidu sat with Kharun-tu
Before the cave within Heabani's view;
Beside the pool they waited for the seer:
From Erech three days' journey brought them here,
But where hath Joy, sweet Sam-kha, roving gone?
When they arrived at setting of the sun
She disappeared within with waving arms;
With bright locks flowing she displayed her charms.
As some sweet *zir-ru* did young Sam-kha seem,
A thing of beauty of some mystic dream.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Anu," the King of Heaven.

[2] "Zi-Gab-ri," spirits of the mountains.

COLUMN IV

THE TWO MAIDENS ENTICE THE SEER

Thus in Heabani's cave the maiden went,
And o'er the sleeping seer her form she bent;
O'er him who with gazelles oft eats his food;
O'er him who drinks with *bhu-ri*[1] in the wood;
O'er him who loves the *zir-ri,* — of them dreams,
And sports with them within the mountain streams.
And when the gay enticer saw the seer
Unconscious sleeping with sweet Joy so near,
She clasped him to her breast and kissed his brow.
The seer awakes, with wonder eyes her now:
"Thy glory thou hast brought to me!" he saith,

“Sweet Zir-ru comes to me with fragrant breath!”
And with delight he eyes her beauteous form,
His breast warm moved by the enticer’s charm.
He springs upon his feet and her pursues:
She laughing flees; to sport with him doth choose.

And now he eyes his hairy body, arms
Compared to Sam-kha’s snowy god-like charms,
She give to him her freshness, blooming youth?
She laughing comes again to him, — Forsooth!
Her glorious arms she opens, flees away,
While he doth follow the enticer gay.
He seizes, kisses, takes away her breath,
And she falls to the ground — perhaps in death
He thinks, and o’er her leans where she now lay;
At last she breathes, and springs, and flees away.
But he the sport enjoys, and her pursues;
But glancing back his arms she doth refuse.
And thus three days and four of nights she played;
For of Heabani’s love she was afraid.
Her joyous company doth him inspire
For Sam-kha, joy, and love, and wild desire.
He was not satisfied unless her form
Remained before him with her endless charm.
But when his *bhu-ri* of the field the sight
Beheld, the wild gazelles fled in affright.
And now without the cave they came in view
Of Zaidu waiting with sweet Kharim-tu,

And when Heabani saw the rounded form
Of bright Kharim-tu, her voluptuous charm
Drew him to her, and at her feet he sate
With wistful face, resigned to any fate.
Kharim-tu, smiling sweetly, bent her head,
Enticing him the tempter coyly said,
“Heabani, like a famous god thou art,
Why with these creeping things doth sleep thy heart?
Come thou with me to Erech Su-bu-ri[2]
To Anu’s temple Elli-tar-du-si,
And Ishtar’s city where great Izdubar

Doth reign, the glorious giant king of war;
Whose mighty strength above his chiefs doth tower,
Come see our giant king of matchless power."
Her flashing eyes half languid pierce the seer,
Until his first resolves all disappear.
And rising to his feet his eyes he turned
Toward sweet Joy,[3] whose love for him yet burned;
And eyeing both with beaming face he saith,
"With Sam-kha's love the seer hath pledged his faith;
And I will go to Elli-tar-du-si,
Great Anu's seat and Ishtar's where with thee,
I will behold the giant Izdubar,
Whose fame is known to me as king of war;
And I will meet him there, and test the power
Of him whose fame above all men doth tower.
A *mid-dan-nu*[4] to Erech I will take,
To see if he its mighty strength can break.
In these wild caves its strength has mighty grown;
If he the beast destroys, I will make known
His dream to him — e'en all the seer doth know;
And now with thee to Erech I will go.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Bhu-ri," wild-beasts, pets of the hermit seer.

[2] "Su-bu-ri," the lofty.

[3] "Sam-kha-tu" or "Samkha."

[Transcriber's Note: Footnote 3 looks like it should be two lines down from where it is; this is probably an error.]

[4] "Mid-dan-nu," a carnivorous animal, supposed to be a tiger; the Khorsabad sculpture, however, portrays it as a lion.

COLUMN V

FESTIVAL IN HONOR OF HEABANI, WHO ARRIVES AT ERECH — INTERPRETATION OF THE DREAM

The sounds of wild rejoicing now arise;
"Heabani comes!" resound the joyful cries,

And through the gates of Erech Suburi
Now file the chieftains, Su-khu-li rubi.[1]
A festival in honor of their guest
The Sar proclaims, and Erech gaily drest,
Her welcome warm extends to the famed seer.
The maidens, Erech's daughters, now appear,
With richest kirtles gaily decked with flowers,
And on his head they rain their rosy showers.
Rejoicing sing, while harps and cymbals play,
And laud him to the skies in their sweet way;
And mingling with their joy, their monarch rode
Before the seer, who stately after strode
Beside his beast, and next the men of fame.
The maids thus chant high honors to his name:

"A prince we make thee, mighty seer!
Be filled with joy and royal cheer!
All hail to Erech's seer!

Whom day and night our Sar hath sought,
O banish fear! for Hea taught
The seer, his glory wrought.

He comes! whom Samas loves as gold,
To Erech grace, our city old;
All wisdom he doth hold.

Great Hea doth to him unfold
All that remains to man untold;
Give him the chain of gold!

He cometh from the Za-Gab-ri
To our dear Erech Su-bu-ri.
Heabani glorify!

Thy dream he will reveal, O Sar!
Its meaning show to Izdubar,
Victorious king of war."

Within the council halls now lead the seers
With trepidation and with many fears,

To hear the seer explain their monarch's dream.
Beside the royal throne he sits supreme
Among the seers, the Sar, his scribe commands
To read his dream recorded as it stands
In Erech's Gi;[2] who reads it to the seer,
Who answers thus:
"In this there doth appear
A god, whose ardent love will lead to deeds
Of hate against thee, Sar; thy present needs
Are great, O king! as fire this love will burn
Until the wicked seven[3] on thee turn;
And blood, alone, will not their fury sate:
The gods will hurl upon thee some dread fate."
In silence, Izdubar the warning heard;
His blood with terror froze, and then was stirred
By passions wild, when he recalled the scene
Of Ishtar's love for him by man unseen;
When she so wildly then proclaimed her love;
And now with hate his inmost soul doth move,
And her bright form to a black dal-khu[4] turned
And furious passions on his features burned.
And then of the first dream he thought, and light
Across his vision broke:
"'Tis true! aright
Thy seer hath read! for Ishtar came to me
In the first dream, her face e'en yet I see!
Aye, more! her lips to mine again then fell!
Her arms I felt around me, — breath too well
I know! of fragrance, while perfume arose
Around my dream and fled not at the close;
As frankincense and myrrh it lingered, when
I woke. Ah yes! the queen will come again!"
Then to his counsellor who wondering stood,
Nor heard his murmuring, but saw subdued
His features were, at first, and then, they grand
Became with settled hate; he raised his hand;
"'Tis true!" he said, "Reward on him bestow!
Then to the waiting feast we all shall go."

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Su-khu-li ru-bi," attendants of the King.

[2] "Gi," literally a written tablet, a record.

[3] The seven wicked spirits of the earth, air, and ocean.

[4] "Dal-khu," an evil spirit, a demon.

COLUMN VI

IZDUBAR SLAYS THE MIDANNU IN THE FESTIVE HALL, AND HEABANI DECLARES HIM TO BE A GOD

The guests are seated round the festal board;
Heabani takes his seat beside his lord.
The choicest viands of the wealthy plain
Before them placed and fishes of the main,
With wines and cordials, juices rich and rare
The chieftains all enjoy — the royal fare.
This day, with Izdubar they laugh and joke
'Mid courtesies and mirth, and oft provoke
The ringing merry laughter through the halls.
When all are satisfied within the walls,
Their fill have eaten of the royal fare,
With wine they banish from them every care.

The Su-khu-li[1] with tinkling bells proclaim,
"Our Sar would speak! Our king of mighty fame,"
Who says: "My chieftains, lords, our seer requests
A test of strength before assembled guests;
Unarmed requires your Sar-dan-nu to slay
The Mid-an-nu[2] which he hath brought to-day.
So stand aside, my friends, behold the test!
Your Sar will satisfy his seer and guest."
The monster now is brought before the king,
Heabani him unchains to let him spring
Upon the giant king. His chieftains stand
In terror looking at their monarch grand,
Who smiling stands, his eyes on the beast fixed;
While they in wildest terror are transfixed.

Heabani claps his hands towards the king,
And the wild beast upon his form doth spring.
The giant grasps its throat in high mid-air,
And holds it ‘neath his arm without a fear. [3]
With sullen choking roars it struggling dies,
While shouts of joy from all the guests arise.
The mighty deed of strength the seer appals,
And at the feet of Izdubar he falls:
“Immortal king! illustrious of men!
Thy glorious strength reveals the gods again
On earth. To thee I bow in reverent fear,
A god returned thou art! O Erech, hear!
Of kingdoms thou art blessed with grandest fame,
That thou among thy kings a god can name.”
Again they gathered round the festal board,
And joy and revelry they soon restored.
The revels high are raised o’er sparkling wine;
Through all the night they praise their king divine.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Su-khu-li,” the attendants.

[2] “Mid-an-nu,” carnivorous animal, supposed to be a lion, the pet of the seer.

[3] This feat of Izdubar is portrayed on the bas-relief in the Louvre Museum, Paris, from the Khorsabad sculpture, and is also copied in Sayce’s edition of Smith’s “Chaldean Account of Genesis.” opposite p.

TABLET IV — COLUMN I

THE ANNUAL SALE OF THE MAIDENS OF BABYLON

Hail holy union! wedded love on earth! [1]
The highest bliss which crowns us from our birth,
Our joy! the mainspring of our life and aims,
Our great incentive when sweet love inflames
Our hearts to glorious deeds and ever wreathes
Around our brows, the happy smile that breathes
Sweet fragrance from the home of holy love,
And arms us with a courage from above.

O Woman! Woman! weave thy love around
Thy chosen lover, who in thee hath found
A loveliness and purity so sweet,
That he doth watch for coming of the feet
That brings him happiness and thrill his heart —
For one, of all thy kind who can impart
To him the holiest bliss, the sweetest joy,
That e'er can crown his life so tenderly;
He worships thee within a holy fane,
Let not his hope and joy be all in vain!

O thou, sweet Queen! we crown thee in our homes,
And give to thee our love that holy comes
From Heaven to inspire and bless our lives.
For this mankind all hope to take pure wives
To sacredest of all our temples, shrines,
And keep thee pure within sweet love's confines
That we may worship thee, and daily bring
Devotions to our altar, — to thee sing
Our orisons of praise, and sacred keep
Our homes till we shall softly drop asleep
Within the arms we love so tenderly,
And carry with us a sweet memory
Of purity and bliss that blessed our lives,
And children gave from sweetest of pure wives.

Thou art our all! O holy woman, pure
Forever may thy charms on earth endure!
Oh, trample not upon thy husband's love!
For true devotion he doth daily prove.
Oh, shackle not his feet in life's fierce strife,
His weary shoulders burden, — blast his life!
Or palsy those dear hands that work for thee,
And fill his eyes with tears of agony,
Till love shall turn as acid to his teeth,
And thorns shall tear his side with hellish wreath,
And daggers pierce his heart, and ice his soul,
And thou become to him a hated ghoul!

What married woman is untainted, pure? [2]
She, who when married spreads for men no lure,
Bestows caresses on no man but him
Who is her husband; she who doth not trim
Her form to catch the vulgar gaze, nor paints
Herself, or in her husband's absence taunts
Not her sweet purity; exposes not
Her form undraped, whose veil no freeman aught
Has raised;[3] or shows her face to others than
Her slaves; and loves alone her husbandman;
She who has never moistened her pure lips
With liquors that intoxicate;[4] nor sips
With others joys that sacred are alone
To him, her strength; who claims her as his own.

O Beauty, Purity, my theme inspire!
To woman's love of old, my muse aspire!
When her sweet charms were equally bestowed,
And fairest of the sex with hopes imbued
Of capturing men of wealth and lives of ease,
When loveliness at public sale[5] doth please
The nobles of the land to wealth bestow
Upon ill-favored sisters, maids of woe,
Who claimed no beauty, nor had lovely charms;
When crones and hags, and maids with uncouth forms,
Secured a husbandman despite of fate,
And love redeemed them from the arms of hate.

The proclamation Izdubar had made
To bring to the great plaza every maid,
For Beltis' feast and Hergal's now arrives,
When maidens are selected as the wives
Of noblemen or burghers of the towns
And cities of the kingdom; when wealth crowns
The nobles richest, ever as of old,
With beauty they have purchased with their gold.
The festival, the Sabat-tu[6] hath come!
The Sabat-tu of Elul! hear the hum
Of voices filling Erech's streets!
The maids are coming, how each gaily prates!
The day and hour has come for them to stand
And meet the bidders from all Sumir's land;
The day that ends their maidenhood, and brings
Them joy or not. Oh, how the poor young things
With throbbing hearts approach yon gathering throng
To hear their fate pronounced; but is it wrong?
The custom old, Accadia thinks is good,
They all are young and fresh with maidenhood;
The ugly ones as well, shall husbands have,
And their young lives from shame thus they will save.
No aged maids shall pass from yonder throng
With bitterness, — their heart's unuttered song
For some dear love to end their joyless woe,
And longings unallayed that e'er may flow.

But Love! O where art thou? art thou a thing
That gold may buy? Doth lucre thy bright wing
Unfold to hover over human hearts?
Oh, no! Thy presence to our soul imparts
A sweeter joy than selfishness can give,
Thou givest love that thou mayst love receive;
Nor asking aught of wealth, of rank, or fame.
True love in palace, hovel, is the same
Sweet joy, the holiest of sacred things.
For this we worship Ishtar, for she brings
Us happiness, when we ourselves forget
In the dear arms we love; no coronet
Of power, or countless gold, or rank, or fame,

Or aught that life can give, or tongue can name,
Can reach the heart that loyally doth love,
Nor hopes of heaven, nor fears of hell can move.

Mayhap, this Sabattu, some lover may
All wealth he claims abandon on this day,
For the dear heart that seeming pleads to him,
While her fond glistening eyes shall on him gleam.
A look, a glance; when mingling souls speak love,
Will in his breast undying longings move;
And let us hope that when the youths have lain[7]
Their all before the herald, that no men
Who see their sacrifice will rob their hearts
Of all that gives them joy or bliss imparts;
Or that this day alone will maidens see
Who have not loved, and they will happy be
With him who purchases her as his wife;
Or proud young beauties will enjoy the strife
Of bidders to secure their lovely charms,
And love may bring their husbands to their arms.

The day is sacred, dedicated old
To Love and Strength, when loving arms shall fold
A vigorous husband to a maiden's breast,
Where she may ever stay and safely rest.
The day of Ishtar, Queen of Love! the day
Of Nergal, the strong god, to whom they pray
For strength to bless with vigor Accad's sons.
For many anxious years this day atones.

This day their Sar the flesh of birds eats not, [8]
Nor food profaned by fire this day, nor aught
Of labor may perform nor *zubat*[9] change,
Nor snowy *ku-bar-ra*[10] anew arrange.
A sacrifice he offers not, nor rides
Upon his chariot this day, nor guides
His realm's affairs, and his Tur-tan-nu rests.
Of soldiers, and of orders, he divests
His mind; and even though disease may fall
Upon him, remedies he may not call.

The temple he shall enter in the night,
And pray that Ishtar's favor may delight
His heart; and lift his voice in holy prayer,
In Nergal's temple rest from every care,
Where he before the holy altar bends
With lifted hands, his soul's petition sends.

Around the square the palms and cedars shine,
And bowers of roses cluster round divine.
Beneath an arch of myrtles, climbing vines,
And canopy, — with wreathing flowers it shines,
There stands a wondrous garland-wreathèd throne,
Where maids are gathered; — each unmarried one.
The timid maids and bold of Babylon
Are each in turn led to the rosy throne;
The crowd of bidders round the herald stand,
The richest and the poorest of the land.

The queen of Accad's maids doth now appear,
We see the burnished chariot coming near,
Ten beauteous bays with proud steps, nodding plumes
Come first; behind, a train of nobles comes;
And now we see the close-drawn canopy
Thrown back by slaves, who step aside, that she
The queen of beauty crowned with lilies, rose,
May here alight. And see! she queenly goes
With dainty steps between the noblemen,
Who stand on either side the queen
Of beauty of the plains, who first this day
Shall reign upon the throne, and lead the way
For all the maids who shall be bought for gold,
And thus the first upon the throne is sold.

She takes her seat beneath the canopy,
Upon the throne high raised, that all may see;
As she her veil of fine spun gold flings back
From her sweet face and o'er her ringlets black,
Her large dark eyes, soft as a wild gazelle's,
Upon the richest nobles dart appeals.
Her bosom throbs 'neath gems and snowy lace,

And robes of broidered satin, velvets, grace
Her beauty with their pearly folds that fall
Around her form.

Hark! hear the herald's call!
"Behold this pearl! my lords and noblemen,
And who will bid for her as wife, my men?"
"Ana-bilti khurassi ash at ka!"[11]
"Akhadu khurassi ana sa-sa!"
"U sinu bilti khurassi!" two cried.
"Sal-sutu bilti!"[12] nobles three replied;
And four, and five, and six, till one bid ten,
A vast amount of gold for noblemen:

But see! the bidders in excitement stand
Around a youth who cries with lifted hand
And features pale and stern, who now began
To bid against a wealthy nobleman,
Whose countless herds graze far upon the plain,
His laden ships that ride upon the main
He counts by scores. He turns his evil eyes
And wolfish face upon the youth and cries,
"Khamisserit!"[13] The lover answering says:
"Esra'a!"[14] "U selasa'a!"[15] then brays
The gray-haired lover. "U irbaha!"[16] cries
The youth, and still the nobleman defies;
Who answers cooly, "Khausa'a;"[17] and eyes
The anxious youth, who wildly "Miha!"[18] cries.
"Mine! mine! she is! though you *alapu*[19] bid!"
"A fool thou art!" the noble, leaving, said.
"One hundred talents for a maid!" he sneered,
And in the crowd he growling disappeared.
The measures filled with shining gold are brought,
And thus the loveliest of all is bought.

The next in beauty on the throne is sold,
And thus the beautiful are sold for gold.
The richest thus select the beautiful,
The poor must take alone the dutiful
And homely with a dower which beauty bought,

And ugliness with gold becomes his lot.
The ugliest, unsightly, and deformed,
Is now brought forth; with many wriggles squirmed
She to the throne, where beauty late had sat:
Her ugliness distorted thus; whereat
The herald cries:
"Who will this woman take
With smallest dowry? She can cook and bake,
And many household duties well perform,
Although she does not claim a beauty's charm.
Who wants a wife?"
The ugly crone with blinks
Doth hideous look, till every bidder shrinks.
A sorry spectacle, mis-shapen, gross,
She is, and bidders now are at a loss
How much to ask to take the hag to wife.
At last one cries:
"Five *bilti,*[20] for relief
Of herald I will take, to start the bid!"
"And four of *bilti*, I'll take, with the maid!"
"Three and a half!" one cries with shaking head,
"And she is yours, my man!" the herald said,
And thus she bought a husband and a home.

And so the scare-crows, scraggy ones, now come
In turn; the lean, ill-favored, gawky, bald,
Long-nosed, uncouth, raw-boned, and those with scald
And freckled, frowsy, ricketty and squat,
The stumpy, bandy-leggèd, gaunt, each bought
A man; though ugly as a toad, they sold,
For every man with her received his gold.
The heaped-up gold which beauteous maids had brought
Is thus proportioned to the bidder's lot;
The grisly, blear-eyed, every one is sold,
And husbands purchased for a pile of gold,
And happiness diffused throughout the land;
For when the maid refused her husband's hand
She might return by paying back the gold.
And every maid who thus for wife was sold
Received a bond from him who purchased her,

To wed her as his wife, or else incur
The forfeit of his bond, and thus no maids
In all the land were found as grumbling jades,
Whose fate it was to have no husbandman,
For every woman had a husband then.

ENDNOTES.

[1] We have included in Tablet IV Tablets V and VI of the original, as classified by Mr. Sayce.

[2] The above is taken from an Assyrian fragment ("W.A.I.," ii. 35, No. 4) translated in "Records of the Past," vol. xi., pp. 159, 160, and presents the Assyrian view of purity and the customs of their people.

[3] Literally, "whose veil no freeman of pure race has raised." Before slaves and men of mean rank, women of the East are not obliged to veil the face.

[4] Literally, "who has never moistened her teeth with an intoxicating liquor." "Rec. of the Past," p. 160, l. 6.

[5] The public sale herein described is taken from the statement of Herodotus (see Herodotus, vol. i., p. 196. Compare "Nic. Dam. Fr.," 131, and Ælian. "Var. Hist.," iv. 1), who says all the marriageable virgins in all the towns of the empire or kingdom were sold at public auction. The beautiful maidens were sold to the highest bidder, and the proceeds were deposited before the herald. The ugly maidens in turn were then put up, and the bidders were called upon to take them as wives with the smallest dowry to be paid from the proceeds of the sales of the beautiful maids, and they were in turn awarded to those who would accept them with the smallest amount as dowry. The numerous contracts for the sales of women now in the British Museum may possibly be records of these transactions.

[6] "Sab-at-tu," a day of rest for the heart ("W.A.I.," ii. 32), the Sabbath day, which was dedicated to the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, and their gods, which were known by different names.

[7] "Lain," to lay, v.a. (pretr. "laid," part, passive "lain," from "liggan," Sax.), "to place along the ground." — Fenning's Royal Eng. Dic., London, MDCLXXV.

[8] From the Babylonian Festival Calendar ("C.I.W.A.," vol. iv., pls. 32, 33); also translated in "Records of the Past," vol. vii., pp. 162, 163.

[9] "Zubat," robes.

[10] "Ku-bar-ra," linen robes.

[11] "And two golden talents!"

[12] "Three talents!"

[13] “Fifteen!”

[14] “Twenty!”

[15] “And thirty!”

[16] “And forty!”

[17] “Fifty!”

[18] “One hundred!”

[19] “One thousand!”

[20] “Five bilti,” about £3,165 sterling, or $15,825.

COLUMN II

COUNCIL IN THE PALACE

The seers on silver couches round the throne;
The hangings of the carved lintel thrown
Aside; the heralds cried: “The Sar! The Sar!
The council opens our King Izdubar!”
The Sar walked o’er the velvets to his throne
Of gold inlaid with gems. A vassal prone
Before the Sar now placed the stool of gold,
Arranged his royal robes with glittering fold
Of laces, fringes rich inwove with pearls,
Embroidered with quaint figures, curious twirls.
Behind the throne a prince of royal blood
Arrayed in courtly splendor, waiting stood,
And gently waved a jewelled fan aloft
Above the Sar’s tiara; carpets soft
From Accad’s looms the varied tilings bright,
In tasteful order, part conceal from sight.

The glittering pillars stand with gold o’erlaid
In rows throughout the room to the arcade,
Within the entrance from a columned hall.
The ivory-graven panels on the wall
On every side are set in solid gold.

The canopy chased golden pillars hold
Above the throne, and emeralds and gems
Flash from the counsellor's rich diadems.
In silence all await the monarch's sign:
"This council hath been called, the hour is thine
To counsel with thy King upon a plan
Of conquest of our foes, who ride this plain,
Unchecked around; these Suti should be driven
From Sumir's plain. Have ye our wrongs forgiven?
Khumbaba hath enjoyed great Accad's spoils
Too long; with him we end these long turmoils.
What sayest thou, Heabani? — all my seers?
Hath Accad not her chariots and spears?"

Then one among the wisest seers arose
"To save our precious tune which hourly flows,
He should our seer, Rab-sak-i[1] first invite
To lay his plans before the Sar, and light
May break across our vision. I confess
Great obstacles I see, but acquiesce
In any plan you deem may bring success.
The gods, I feel our cause will gladly bless."
Another spoke, and all agree at last
To hear the seer whose wisdom all surpassed.

Heabani modestly arose and said,
And gracefully to all inclined his head:
"O Sar! thy seer will gladly counsel give
To thee, and all our seers; my thanks receive
For thy great confidence in my poor skill
To crush our foes who every country fill.
I with the Sar agree that we should strike
A blow against the rival king, who like
Our Sar, is a great giant king, and lives
Within a mountain castle, whence he grieves
All nations by his tyranny, and reigns
With haughty power from Kharsak to these plains.
I'll lead the way, my Sar, to his wild home;
'Tis twenty *kas-pu*[2] hence, if you will come.
A wall surrounds his castle in a wood,

With brazen gates strong fastened. I have stood
Beneath the lofty pines which dwindle these
To shrubs that grow in parks as ornate trees.
The mighty walls will reach six *gars*[3] in height,
And two in breadth, like Nipur's[4] to the sight.
And when you go, take with you many mules;
With men to bring the spoils, and needed tools
To break the gates, his castle overthrow:
To lose no time, to-morrow we should go.
To Erech, pines and cedars we can bring
With all the wealth of Elam's giant king,
And Erech fill with glorious parks and halls,
Remove these *man-u-bani,*[5] ruined walls.
Take to your hearts, ye seers, poor Erech's wrongs!
Her fall, the bards of Elam sing in songs.
I love dear Erech, may her towers shine!"
He seized his harp, thus sung the seer divine:

"O Erech! thy bright plains I love;
Although from thee thy seer did rove,
My heart remained with thee!
The foe destroyed thy beauteous towers,
Sa-mu forgot to rain her showers,
And could I happy be?

Mine eyes beheld thy fallen gates,
Thy blood warm flowing in thy streets,
My heart was broken then.
I raised mine eyes and saw thy Sar
In glory on his steed of war,
And joy returned again!

I saw the foe in wild dismay
Before him flee that glorious day.
With joy I heard the cry
Of victory resound afar,
Saw Elam crushed 'neath Accad's car:
I shouted, Victory!

Away! till birds of prey shall rend
His flesh and haughty Elam bend
Before our mighty Sar!
Beneath his forest of pine-trees
The battle-cry then loudly raise,
We follow Izdubar!

And may the birds of prey surround
Khumbaba stretched upon the ground,
Destroy his body there!
And Izdubar alone be king,
And all his people joyful sing,
With glory crown him here!

All hail! All hail! our giant King,
The *amaranti*[6] for him bring,
To crown him, crown him here,
As King of Accad and Sutu,
And all the land of Subar-tu!
So sayeth Hea's seer!"

The counsellors and chieftains wildly cry
Around the throne, "All hail *izzu sar-ri*
Of Su-bar-tu!" and shouting leave the halls
To summon Accad's soldiers from the walls
To hear the war proclaimed against their foes,
And Accad's war-cry from them loud arose.
King Izdubar Heabani warmly prest
Within his arms upon his throbbing breast,
And said, "Let us to the war temple go,
That all the gods their favor may bestow."
The seer replied, "Tis well! then let us wend
Our way, and at the altar we will bend, —
To Ishtar's temple, where our goddess queen
Doth reign, seek her propitious favor, then
In Samas' holy temple pray for aid
To crush our foe; — with glory on each blade,
Our hands will carry victory in war."
The chiefs, without the temple, join their Sar.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Rab-sak-i,” chief of the high ones, chief of the seers and counsellors; prime minister.

[2] “Twenty kaspu,” 140 miles; each kaspu was seven miles, or two hours’ journey.

[3] “Six gars,” 120 feet; each gar was a twenty-foot measure. Khumbaba’s walls were thus 120 feet high and forty feet thick — much like the walls of Babylon.

[4] “Nipur” was one of the cities of Izdubar’s kingdom, from whence he came to the rescue of Erech.

[5] “Man-u-ban-i,” a tree or shrub of unpleasant odor mentioned by Heabani. See Sayce’s revised edition Smith’s “Chald. Acc. of Genesis,” p. 254. The fragment translated by Mr. Sayce should be placed in another position in the epic.

[6] “Amaranti,” amaranth. “Immortal amaranth.”— “Par. Lost.”

COLUMN III

THE KING WORSHIPS AT THE SHRINE OF ISHTAR

The richest and the poorest here must stay, [1]
Each proud or humble maid must take her way;
To Ishtar’s temple grand, a lofty shrine,
With youth and beauty seek her aid divine.
Some drive in covered chariots of gold,
With courtly trains come to the temple old.
With ribbons on their brows all take their seats,
The richer maid of nobles, princes, waits
Within grand chambers for the nobler maids;
The rest all sit within the shrine’s arcades.
Thus fill the temple with sweet beauties, crones;
The latest maids are the most timid ones.

In rows the maidens sat along the halls
And vestibules, on couches, where the walls
Were carved with mystic signs of Ishtar’s feast;
Till at the inner shrine the carvings ceased.
Amid the crowd long silken cords were strung
To mark the paths, and to the pillows clung.
The King through the great crowd now pressed his way
Toward the inner shrine, where he may pray.
The jewelled maidens on the cushioned seats,
Now babbling hailed the King, and each entreats

For sacred service, silver or of gold,
And to him, all, their sweetest charms unfold.
Some lovely were, in tears besought and cried,
And many would a blooming bride provide;
While others were deformed and homely, old,
As spinsters still remained, till now grown bold,
They raised their bony arms aloft and bawled.
Some hideous were with harshest voices squalled,
And hags like *dal-khi* from the Under-World,
Their curses deep, growled forth from where they curled.
But these were few and silent soon became,
And hid their ugliness away in shame.
For years some maids had waited day and night,
But beauty hides the ugly ones from sight.

The King astounded, eyed them seated round;
Beneath their gaze his eyes fell to the ground.
"And hath great Accad lost so many sons,
And left so many maids unmarried ones?"
He eyed the image where the goddess stood
Upon a pedestal of cedar wood
O'erlaid with gold and pearls and *uk-ni* stones,
And near it stands the altar with its cones
Of gold adorned with gems and solid pearls, —
And from the golden censer incense curls.
Beside the altar stands a table grand
Of solid metal carved with skilful hand;
Upon it stands a mass of golden ware,
With wines and fruits which pious hands prepare.
The walls are glistening with gold and gems,
The priestesses all wear rich diadems.
The Sar now eyes the maidens, while they gaze;
Thus they expectant wait, while he surveys.
And see! he takes from them a charming girl
With Ishtar's eyes and perfect form, the pearl
Of beauty of them all; turns to the shrine,
When in her lap he drops a golden coin,
And says, "The goddess Ishtar, prosper thee!"[2]
She springs, for she from Ishtar's halls is free,
And kneels and weeps before the monarch's feet,

“O great and mighty Sar I thee entreat,
My will is thine, but all my sisters free:
Behold my sisters here imploring thee!”
The King gazed at the beauteous pleading face,
Which roused within his breast the noble race
Before her heavenly charms transfixed he stood.
Before her heavenly charms transfixed he stood.

“’Tis well! my daughter, I the favor grant!”
And to the priestess said, “Let here be sent
Great coffers filled with gold! for I release
These maids. Let all their weary waiting cease,
The price I’ll send by messengers to thee.”
And all rejoicing sing a psalmody.
A ring of maidens round the image forms;
With flashing eyes they sing, with waving arms,
A wilderness of snowy arms and feet,
To song and dance the holy measure beat;
A mass of waving ringlets, sparkling eyes.
In wildest transport round each maiden flies,
The measure keeps to sacred psalmody,
With music ravishing, — sweet melody.
The priestess leads for them the holy hymn,
Thus sing they, measure keep with body, limb:

[3]“Let length of days, long lasting years,
With sword of power, extend his holy life!
With years extended full of glory, shine,
Pre-eminent above all kings in strife.
Oh, clothe our king, our lord, with strength divine,
Who with such gifts to gods appears!

“Let his great empire’s limits be,
Now vast and wide, enlarged, and may he reign
(Till it shall spread before his eyes complete)
Supreme above all kings! May he attain
To silver hairs, old age, and nations greet
Our sovereign in his royalty!

"When gifts are ended of Life's days,
The feasts of the Land of the Silver Sky,
With bliss, the Blest Abode Refulgent Courts,
May he enjoy through all eternity,
Where Light of Happy Fields with joy transports
And dwell in life eternal, holy there
In presence of the gods with sacred cheer,
With Assur's gods walk blessèd ways!"

When they have ended all their joyful song,
They gratefully around their monarch throng;
And kneeling at his feet, they bathe his hands
With tears of joy, and kiss the 'broidered bands
Of his bright robes, then joyous haste away;
And Erech's shame was ended on that day.

And now the Sar as his libation pours
The sparkling sacred wine before the doors
That lead to Ishtar's glorious inner shrine.
He bows before her golden form divine,
Thus prays:

[4]"In thy fair shrine I bow to thee,
O Light of Heaven! bright thy majesty
As glowing flames upon the world doth dawn,
Bright goddess of the earth, thy fixed abode!
Who dawned upon the earth a glorious god!
With thee prosperity hath ever gone.
To gild the towers of cities of mankind!
Thou warrior's god, who rideth on the wind!
As a hyena fierce thou sendest war,
And as a lion comes thy raging car.
Each day thou rulest from thy canopy
That spreads above in glory, — shines for thee;
O come, exalted goddess of the Sun!"

Against the tyrant King I go to war, [5]
Attend mine arms, O Queen! with radiant car
Of battles! ride upon the giant King
With thy bright, fiery chargers! valor bring

To me at rising of the glistening car
Of Samas, send attendants fierce of war!
But goddess Mam-nutu of Fate and Death;
Oh, keep away from me her blasting breath;
Let Samas fix the hour with favor thine,
And o'er mine unknown path, Oh ride divine!
Thy servant strengthen with thy godly power
That he invincible in war may tower,
Against thy chosen city's greatest foe,
Who brought on Erech all her deepest woe."
And from the inner shrine with curtains hung,
The Oracle of Ishtar sweetly sung:

"O King of vast unnumbered countries, hear!
Thine enemy Khum-baba do not fear,
My hands will waft the winds for thee.
Thus I reveal!
Khum-baba falls! thine enemy!
Nor aught conceal.

"The harvest month[6] propitious shines,
Array great Accad's battle lines!
Before thy feet thy Queen descends,
Before thy will thine Ishtar bends,
To fight thine enemy,
To war I go with thee!
My word is spoken, thou hast heard,
For thee, my favor thou hast stirred.
As I am Ishtar of mine Or divine,
Thine enemy shall fall! Be glory thine!

"Before mine Izdubar I go,
And at thy side direct thy blow.
I go with thee, fear not, my King,
For every doubt and fear, I bring
Relief, to thy heart rest!
Of Sars, I love thee best!"

ENDNOTES.

[1] The account given by Herodotus of the worship of Beltis or Ishtar, if true (see Herodotus, i. 199), was one of the darkest features of Babylonian religion. It is probable that the first intention was only to represent love as heaven-born, and that it afterward became sensual in the time of Herodotus. (See Sayce's edition Smith's "C.A. of Gen.," p. 50.) The presence of the women may have been intended at first to present an innocent attraction. See also Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 21.

[2] See Herodotus, vol. i. p. 199. Ishtar was called Mylitta or Beltis in the time of Herodotus. We have taken the above description from Herodotus, whose work is mostly confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions.

[3] The above psalm is found in vol. iii. of Rawlinson's "British Museum Inscriptions," pl. 66, and was translated by H.F. Talbot, F.R.S., in vol. i. of the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," p. 108, and also by M. Lenormant in his "Premières Civilisations," p. 177. We have used Mr. Talbot's transcription.

[4] See terra-cotta tablet numbered "S. 954" in the British Museum; also translation by Rev. A.H. Sayce, M.A., in the "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 157.

[5] See fragment in Sayce's edition Smith's "Chald. Acc. of Gen.," p. 220, col. iii.

[6] The harvest month was the month of Sivan, which is mentioned by the Oracle of Ishtar of Arbela. See "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," vol. iv. pl. 68; also "Records of the Past," vol. xi. pp. 61-62.

COLUMN IV

THE KING GOES FROM ISHTAR'S TEMPLE TO THE TEMPLE OF SAMAS

He rose and raised the pendant mystic charms
And kissed them, and the jewels of her arms
And ornaments upon her breast divine,
And then her crown with jewels iridine
He placed upon his brow, and it returned;
And from the shrine in reverence he turned;
To Samas' temple all the chiefs of war
And seers, *pa-te-si,* go with Izdubar.

Before the fire he stands where holy burns
The flames of Samas. In a vase he turns
The crimson wine, to Samas, God, he pours
Libation, and his favor thus implores:

“O Samas, why hast thou established, raised
Me in thy heart? — protected? Men have praised
Thee, Holy One! my expedition bless
In thine own will, O God, I acquiesce.
I go, O Samas, on a path afar,
Against Khumbaba I declare this war;
The battle’s issue thou alone dost know,
Or if success attends me where I go.
The way is long, O may thy son return
From the vast pine-tree forest, I would earn
For Erech glory and renown! Destroy
Khumbaba and his towers! he doth annoy
All nations, and is evil to thy sight.
To-morrow I will go, O send thy Light
Upon my standards, and dark Nina-zu
Keep thou away, that I may wary view
Mine enemies, and fix for me the hour
When I shall strike and crush Khumbaba’s power.

To all the gods I humbly pray
To Izdubar propitious be!
[1]*Assur Samas “Marduk-u,*
Ana Sar bel-ni-ya lik-ru-bu!”

And thus the Oracle with sweetest voice
To him replied, and made his heart rejoice:

“Fear not, O Izdubar,
For I am Bel, thy strength in war.[2]
A heart of strength give I to thee!
To trust, we can but faithful be!
As thou hast shown to me.
The sixty gods, our strongest ones,
Will guide thy path where’er it runs;
The moon-god on thy right shall ride,
And Samas on thy left shall guide.
The sixty gods thy will commands
To crush Khumbaba’s bands.
In man alone, do not confide,
Thine eyes turn to the gods,

Who rule from their abodes,
And trust in Heaven where powers abide!”

With joyous heart the Sar comes from the shrine
To bathe his brow in Samas’ rays divine;
Upon the pyramid he stands and views
The scene below with its bright varied hues.
A peerless pile the temple grandly shone
With marble, gold, and silver in the sun;
In seven stages rose above the walls,
With archways vast and polished pillared halls.
A marble portico surrounds the mass
With sculptured columns, banisters of brass,
And winding stairways round the stages’ side,
Grand temples piled on temples upward glide,
A mass of colors like the rainbow hues,
Thus proudly rise from breezy avenues.
The brazen gates lead to the temple’s side,
The stairs ascend and up the stages glide.
The basement painted of the darkest blue
Is passed by steps ascending till we view
From them the second stage of orange hue
And crimson third! from thence a glorious view —
A thousand turrets far beneath, is spread
O’er lofty walls, and fields, and grassy mead;
The golden harvests sweep away in sight
And orchards, vineyards, on the left and right;
Euphrates’ stream as a broad silver band
Sweeps grandly through the glowing golden land,
Till like a thread of silver still in sight
It meets the Tigris gleaming in the light
That spreads along the glorious bending skies,
The brightest vault of all the emperies.

Now rested from the cushioned seats we rise
And to the stairway turn again our eyes;
The fourth stage plated o’er with beaten gold
We pass, and topaz fifth till we behold
The sixth of azure blue; to seventh glide,
That glows with silvery summit where reside

The gods, within a shrine of silvery sheen
Which brightly glows, and from afar is seen.
Without the temple, burnished silver shines;
Within, pure gold and gems in rare designs.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Assur Samas and Merodac" ("Unto the king, my lord, may they be propitious!"), the response of the priest to the prayer.

[2] See "Records of the Past," vol. xi. p. 63. These oracles seem to be formulas which are filled in with the monarch's name, and may apply to any king.

COLUMN V

EXPEDITION AGAINST KHUMBABA, AND BATTLE IN THE BLACK FOREST

At early dawn the shining ranks are massed,
And Erech echoes with the trumpet's blast;
The chosen men of Erech are in line,
And Ishtar in her car above doth shine.
The blazing standards high with shouts are raised,
As Samas' car above grand Sumir blazed.
The march they sound at Izdubar's command,
And thus they start for King Khumbaba's land;
The gods in bright array above them shine,
By Ishtar led, with Samas, moon-god Sin,
On either side with Merodac and Bel,
And Ninip, Nergal, Nusku with his spell,
The sixty gods on chargers of the skies,
And Ishtar's chariot before them flies.

Across Cazina's desert far have come,
The armies now have neared Khumbaba's home;
Beneath grand forests of tall cedar, pine,
And the dark shades near Khar-sak's brow divine.
A brazen gate before them high appeared,
And massive walls which their great foe had reared;
The mighty gates on heavy pivots hung,
They broke, and on their brazen hinges swung
With clanging roars against the solid wall,

And sent through all the wilds a clarion call.
Within his halls Khumbaba is enthroned,
In grand Tul-Khumba's walls by forests zoned
With her bright palaces and templed shrines,
The sanctuaries of the gods, where pines
Sigh on the wafting winds their rich perfumes;
Where Elam's god with sullen thunder dooms
From Kharsak's brow the wailing nation's round,
And Elam's hosts obey the awful sound.
The giant here his castled city old
Had strengthened, wrung his tributes, silver, gold;
His palace ceiling with pure silver shines,
And on his throne of gold from Magan's[1] mines
In all his pride the conqueror exults,
With wealth has filled his massive iron vaults.
Oft from his marble towers the plains surveys,
And sees his foes' most ancient cities blaze;
While his *pa-te-si* lead his allied hosts,
And o'er his famous victories he boasts.

With Rimsin he allied when Erech fell,
The King of Sarsa, whose great citadel
Was stormed by Nammurabi the great Sar,
Ninrad of Erech, our King Izdubar.
Khumbaba's ally was by him o'erthrown,
And thus appeared to take Khumbaba's throne.
And now within his palace came a sound
That roared through all the forest, shook the ground:
"Our foes! our foes! the gate! hear how it rings!"
And from his throne the giant furious springs:
"Ho! vassals! sound the trump! 'tis Izdubar,
To arms! our foes are on us from afar!"
His weapons seizes, drives his men in fear
Before him with his massive sword and spear,
And as a tempest from his lips he pours
His orders, while his warrior steed he spurs
Along his serried lines of bristling spears;
Among the pines the army disappears.

The men of Accad now in squadrons form,
Arrayed to take Khumbaba's towers by storm;
While Izdubar the forest black surveyed
Of pines and cedars thickly grown, and made
A reconnoitre of his hidden foe.
The road was straight; afar the turrets glow
With Samas' light, and all the gods arrayed,
Ride o'er the pines and flash through their dark shade.
The glorious blaze of Accad's glistening spears
One *kaspu* pass, and now the foe appears;
Beneath the deepest shadows of the pines
Khumbaba stands with solid battle lines
Before the marching host of Izdubar.
The forest echoes with the shouts of war,
As they sweep on with ringing battle cries,
Now loudly echoed from the woods and skies:
"*Kar-ro! kar-ra!*[2] we follow Izdubar!"
And through the forests fly the bolts of war.

The foe beheld the gods in wrath above,
And Accad's charging lines toward them move,
But bravely stand to meet the onset fierce,
Their mailed armor, shields, no arrows pierce.
And now in direst conflict meet the mass,
And furious still meets ringing bronze and brass,
Khumbaba on his mighty steed of war,
Above the ranks towers high a giant Sar,
And sweeps the men of Accad with his blade,
Till to his breast a heap of corpses made,
And fiercely urged his men to fight, to die;
And Izdubar, with helmet towering high,
His men has led with fury on the foe,
And massacres each man with one fell blow,
Who dares to stand in front with sword or spear,
And fighting by him stands his valiant seer.
The gods now rushing from the gleaming sky,
With blazing weapons carry victory;
The foe no longer stand before the sight,
And shouting fly away in wild affright.
Their monarch turned and slowly rode away;

And Accad's hosts his men pursue and slay,
Until the forest deep resounds with cries.
To save himself each man in terror flies.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Mag-an" or "Mizir," Egypt, or the famous mines of Africa.

[2] "Karra! kar-ra!" (cry out) "Hurrah! hurrah!"

COLUMN VI

HAND-TO-HAND CONFLICT OF THE RIVAL GIANTS — DEATH OF KHUMBABA

Now the black forest through, the Sar and seer
Sought for their foe, Khumbaba, far and near;
But he had fled when he beheld the gods
In fury rushing from their bright abodes.
Now from the battle-field the King and seer
The farthest limit of the forest near,
And passing on, the Sar thus to his seer:
"The gods have filled our foeman's heart with fear;
He comes not forth to meet us 'neath his walls."
But lo! within their sight, far from his halls,
Khumbaba stands beside his steed of snow
Held by his queen, and eyes his coming foe.
Heabani cries: "Behold the enemy!
And with his queen from us disdains to fly!"
And Izdubar turned to Heabani, said:
"My seer, methought this King from us had fled;
His army slain or scattered from us fly;
But by our hands this monarch here must die."
Heabani eyed Khumbaba, nor replied
Before the Queen, who wrung her hands and cried;
And Izdubar continued:
"He, of war,
It seems, doth lack in skill, and from afar
He scents the battle, while his fighting men
Their raids oft make, and here return again;
His castle we may enter without fear,

And thou his queen mayst have who standeth here,
And now we end the reign of Elam's throne;
So lend thy hand to strike this monarch prone.
My friend, if I mistake thee not, for war
Thou art prepared, since thou upon the car
Wast wont to ride in former years now gone;
And if he falls, a feast day of the Sun
We will appoint, and may the birds of prey [1]
Surround his carcass on this glorious day:
But stay! this giant I will slay alone,
Although his weight is many *gur-ri*[2] stone;
This giant's form the gods have surely made
An enemy well worthy of my blade."

And Izdubar upon his foe advanced,
Who waiting stood, and at him fiercely glanced,
And naught replied; but raised his glory blade.
Their furious glance, the giant's queen dismayed.
She wildly eyed the rivals towering high,
And breathless stood, then quickly turned to fly,
As Izdubar upon his heavy shield
Received Khumbaba's stroke, and then doth wield
His massive blade as lightning o'er his head,
He strikes the giant's helmet on the mead.
Khumbaba, furious, strikes a mighty blow,
Which staggers Izdubar, who on his foe
Now springs and rains upon him faster blows,
Until his blade with fire continuous glows.
Khumbaba caught his blows on sword and shield
With parries; thrusts returned, and naught would yield;
And thus they fought, the peerless kings of war.
Now Ishtar downward drove his raging car,
And in Khumbaba's eyes her rays she cast,
The giant turned his glance — it was his last;
Unwary caught, his foe has swung his sword,
Khumbaba's gory head rolls o'er the sward.

ENDNOTES.

[1] Smith's "Chald. Acc. of Gen.," Sayce's edition, p. 223, ls. 35 and 41.

[2] “Gur-ri,” a measurement of weight corresponding to “ton”(?). It [Transcriber’s note: missing, probably “was” also used as a measurement of ships.]

ALCOVE II

TABLET V — COLUMN I

CORONATION OF IZDUBAR AS KING OF THE FOUR RACES, AND APPEARANCE OF ISHTAR IN HIS ROYAL PRESENCE, WHO SUES FOR HIS HAND

To Erech's palaces returns the Sar,
Rich laden with Khumbaba's spoils of war.
The land of Ur with grandest glories shines —
And gleams with palaces and towers and shrines.
The plain with temples, cities, walls is filled,
And wide canals, and yellow harvests tilled.
Grand Erech to the sight presents no walls
In ruins laid, but glows with turrets, halls;
With splendor proudly shines across the plain.
And now with joy he meets his courtly train;
Their shouts of welcome rend the gleaming skies,
And happiness beams from his people's eyes.
Within the walls he rides with kingly pride,
And all his chiefs and seers beside him ride;
To his grand palace they now lead the way,
To crown him king of Subartu this day.

Arrayed in splendor on his throne, the Sar
Before him eyes the Kassite spoils of war,
Khumbaba's crown of gold, and blazing gems,
The richest of the Kassite diadems,
The royal sceptre of all Subartu,
Of Larsa, Ur, Kardunia and Sutu
The Sar upon his brow the crown now bound,
Receives the sceptre while his courts resound
With shouts for Sar-dan-nu of Subartu,
The Sar of Kip-rat arba[1] and Sutu,
Of Sumir, Accad, Nipur, Bar-ili,[2]
And Erech, Larsa, Mairu, and Kus-si,
Of Mal-al-nak, Kitu; — the sky resounds —
For Iz-zu-bar-ili,[3] from earth rebounds;
For Nam-mu-rabi, Bar-bels king of fire.
What king to his great glory can aspire?

The Zig-gur-at-u to the skies
His hands have built, where holy fires
To Samas burn; its flame ne'er dies,
To holiness lead man's desires.
He opens wide the fiery gates
Of all the gods at Dintir old,
Ka-ding-ir-a.[4] This day completes
His grandeur — may it far be told
Of our great Sar whose godly gate
Wide opens Heaven's joy for man,
Of Iz-zu-bar-ili the great,
Who rules from Khar-sak to the main.
Within the entrance to the royal rooms,
Queen Ishtar with her train in splendor comes,
Her radiant form with glistening gems ablaze,
And shining crescent with its glorious rays,
Glow with bright Heaven's unremitting flame;
Thus came the Queen of Love of godly fame.
The richest robe of gods her form enshrines,
With every charm of Heaven and earth she shines;
Of their wide splendors robs the farthest skies,
That she with love her hero may surprise.
Her train she robes with liveries of Heaven,
To her are all the dazzling splendors given.

The glittering court is filled with chiefs and seers,
When Ishtar at the entrance now appears,
The Ner-kalli,[5] her heralds at the door,
As some grand sovereign from a foreign shore.
The goddess proudly enters with her train,
The spirits of the earth, and tossing main,
From mountains, rivers, woods, and running streams;
And every spirit where the sunlight gleams,
Now fill the courts and palaces and halls,
And thousands glowing bright surround the walls;
Each wafting wind brings I-gi-gi[6] that soar
Above An-un-na-ci from every shore,
And herald Ishtar's presence, Queen of Love,
With music through the halls, around, above.
From lyres and lutes their softest wooings bring,

As Ishtar bows before her lover king.
A halo from the goddess fills the halls,
And shines upon the dazzling jewelled walls.
The Sar and seers in wonder were amazed
At the sweet strains, and glorious light that blazed;
Transfixed in silence stood, as she now spoke,
And sweeter music through the palace woke.
Like fragrant zephyrs, warbling from retreats
Of gardens of the gods, she thus entreats
From Izdubar her welcome, or a glance
Of love; and she the Sar would thus entrance:

“Thy wisdom, Sar, surpasses all mankind,
In thee, O king! no blemish do I find.
The Queen of Heaven favor seeks from thee,
I come with love, and prostrate bend the knee.
My follies past, I hope thou wilt forgive,
Alone I love thee, with thee move and live;
My heart’s affections to thee, me have led,
To woo thee to thine Ishtar’s marriage bed.
O kiss me, my beloved! I adore
Thee! Hear me! I renounce the godly shore
With all its hollow splendor where as queen
I o’er the heavenly hosts, unrivaled reign
In grandest glory on my shining throne;
And yet for thee my heart here pines alone,
I cannot live without my Izdubar!
My husband’s love and simple word shall far
Surpass the godly bond. O let me, king,
Rest on thy breast, and happiness will cling
To all the blissful days which shall be thine.
With glory of the skies, my love shall shine.
O Izdubar, my king! this love below
Is grander here than mortals e’er can know,
For this I leave my throne in yonder skies,
And at the feet of love thy queen now lies.
Oh, let me taste with thee the sweets of love,
And I my love for thee will grandly prove,
And thou shalt ride upon a diamond car,
Lined with pure gold; and jeweled horns of war

Shall stud it round like rays of Samas' fire.
Rich gifts whate'er my lover shall desire,
Thy word shall bring to thee, my Sar-dan-nu!
Lo! all the wealth that gods above can view,
I bring to thee with its exhaustless store.
Oh, come my love! within the halls, where more
Than I have named is found, all, all is thine;
Oh, come with me within our halls divine!
Amid the fragrant odors of the pines,
And all shrubs and flowers, vines,
Euphrates' *zir-ri* there shall sing for thee,
And dance around thy feet with zi-mu-ri[7]
And kings and lords and princes I will bring
To bow to thee, beloved, glorious king!
With tribute from the mountains and the plains,
As offerings to thee. Thy flocks shall twins
Bring forth; and herds of fattened, lowing kine
Shall fast increase upon the plains divine.
Thy warrior steeds shall prance with flowing manes,
Resistless with thy chariot on the plain.
Vast spoils, thy beasts of burden far shall bear,
Unrivaled then shall be my king of war;
And victory o'er all, thine eyes shall view,
And loud acclaims shall rend the bright Samu."

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Kip-rat arba," the four races or regions.

[2] "Bar-ili," from "bar," gate, and "ili," of the gods — Babel, Bab — originates from the Accadian word "bar," Semitic "bab;" thus Babel was originally called "bar-ili." See Taylor and Furst. The latter renders it "Bar-(Bir-)Bel," "town of Belus."

[3] "Izzu-bar-ili" we believe to be the original name of Izdubar, afterward shortened to Izdubar, and means literally the fire-king of "bar-ili," or the "fire-king of the gate of the gods." This identifies him with Nimrod, the founder of Bar-bet or Babylon.

[4] Ka-ding-ir-a (Acc.), "gate of God" — Pinches.

[5] "Ner-kalli," or "Ner-ekalli," chief of the palace.

[6] "I-gi-gi," pronounced "e-gee-gee," spirits of heaven.

[7] "Zi-mu-ri," spirits of the light.

COLUMN II

THE KING'S ANSWER AND ISHTAR'S RAGE

Amazed the sovereign sat upon his throne;
And while she wooed, his heart was turned to stone;
In scorn replied:

"Rise Ishtar, Heaven's high queen,
Though all thy wealth, possessions I had seen
Now piled before me, all in gems and gold,
Of all the wealth of Heaven there heaped of old,
I nakedness and famine would prefer
To all the wealth divine thou canst confer.
What carest thou for earthly royalty?
The cup of poison shall thy lovers see.
Thou sawest me within a haunt away
From men. I lingered on that direful day,
And took thee for a beauteous *zi-re-mu*[1]
Or *zi-ar-i-a* or a *zi-lit-tu*[2]
And thou didst cause to enter love divine.
As *zi-cur-un-i,* spirit of the wine,
Thou didst deceive me with thine arts refined,
And love escaped upon the passing wind.
Then to my palace come, and me there seek;
Didst place thy mouth upon my lips, and wake
Within my breast a dream of love and fire,
Till I awoke and checked thy wild desire;
Thou camest with the form of spirits fair,
Didst hover o'er me in my chamber there.
Thy godly fragrance from the skies above,
A sign did carry of the Queen of Love:
I woke, and thou didst vanish, then didst stand
As mine own servant in my palace grand.
Then as a skulking foe, a mystic spell
Didst weave, and scorch me with the fires of hell
While I was wrapped in sleep. Again I woke,
I saw around me *dal-khi*, sulphurous smoke,
Which thou didst send around my royal bed;

And I believed that I was with the dead,
With *dal-khi* gloating over me in hell.
My *su-khu-li* then sought thy presence fell.
Forever may thy wooing cease! for love
Hath fled, may godly praises never move
Upon the lips of holy gods, or men, —
Of thee, the god of Love ne'er speak again!
I loved thee once; with love my heart inflamed
Once sought thee, but my troubles I have blamed
Upon thee, for the dreams which thou didst send.
Go! rest thy heart; and to thy pleasures wend!

"For Tammuz of thy youth thy heart once wailed,
For years his weary form thy love assailed;
Allala next, the eagle, lovest, tore
His wings. No longer could he joyful soar
And float above the forest to the sky.
Thou leavest him with fluttering wings to die.
A lusty lion thou didst love, his might
Destroyed, and plucked his claws in fierce delight,
By sevens plucked, nor heard his piteous cry.
A glorious war-steed next thy love didst try,
Who yielded to thee, till his strength was gone:
For seven *kaspu*[3] thou didst ride upon
Him without ceasing, gave no food nor drink,
Till he beneath thee to the earth did sink,
And to his mistress, Sil-i-li, the steed
Returned with broken spirit, drooping head.
Thou lovest Tabulu, the shepherd king,
And from his love continuous didst wring
Sem-uk-ki[4], till he to appease thy love,
The mighty gods of heaven then sought to move
To pity with his daily offerings.
Beneath thy wand upon the ground he springs,
Transformed to a hyena; then was driven
From his own city — by his dogs was riven.
Next Is-ul-lan-u lov'st, uncouth, and rude,
Thy father's laborer, who subject stood
To thee, and daily scoured thy vessels bright:
His eyes from him were torn, before thy sight.

And chained before thee, there thy lover stood,
With deadly poison placed within his food.
Thou sayst:
'O Isullanu, stretch thy hand!
The food partake, that doth before thee stand!'
Then with thy hand didst offer him the food.
He said: 'What askest thou? It is not good!
I will not eat the poison thus prepared.'
Thy godly wand him from thy presence cleared,
Transformed him to a pillar far away.
And for my love Queen Ishtar comes this day?
As thou hast done with others, would thy love
Return to me, thine actions all doth prove."

The queen in fury from his presence turned,
In speechless rage the palace halls she spurned;
And proudly from the earth swept to the skies;
Her godly train in terror quickly flies.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Zi-re-mu," spirit of mercy or grace.

[2] "Zi-lit-tu," spirit of the mist.

[3] "Seven kaspu," fourteen hours; each kaspu was two hours.

[4] "Sem-uk-ki," translated by Sayce "stibium," antimony; by Talbot, "lütarish semukki," "thou who didst make evil with thy drugs." — "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.", vol. v. p. 110. Sayce's edition Smith's "C.A.G.," p. 229.

COLUMN III

ISHTAR COMPLAINS TO ANU, KING OF HEAVEN, WHO CREATES A WINGED BULL TO DESTROY ISHTAR

Before the throne of Anu, Ishtar cries,
And Anatu, the sovereigns of the skies:
"O Sar, this king my beauty doth despise,
My sweetest charms beholds not with his eyes."
And Anu to his daughter thus replied:
"My daughter, thou must crush his vaunting pride,

And he will claim thy beauty and thy charms,
And gladly lie within thy glorious arms."

"I hate him now, O Sar, as I did love!
Against the strength of Anu let him prove
His right divine to rule without our aid,
Before the strength of Anu let him bleed.
Upon this giant Sar so filled with pride,
Let Anu's winged bull[1] in fury ride,
And I will aid the beast to strike him prone,
Till he in death shall breathe his dying groan."
And Anu said: "If thou to it shall join
Thy strength, which all thy noble names define
Thy glories[2] and thy power thus magnified,
Will humble him, who has thy power defied,"
And Ishtar thus: "By all my might as queen
Of war and battles, where I proudly reign,
This Sar my hands shall strike upon the plain,
And end his strength and all his boastings vain.
By all the noble names with gods I hold
As queen of war, this giant monarch bold,
Who o'er mine ancient city thinks to reign,
Shall lie for birds of prey upon the plain.
For answering my love for thee with scorn,
Proud monarch! from thy throne thou shalt be torn!"

For Ishtar, Anu from the clouds creates
A shining monster with thick brazen plates
And horns of adamant;[3] and now it flies
Toward the palace, roaring from the skies.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Anu's winged bull," Taurus, constellation of the heavens.

[2] "Glories" ("maskhi"). This word is not translated by Mr. Sayce.

[3] "Horns of adamant." Sayce translates in I. 22, col. v., horns of crystal— "thirty manehs of crystal," etc. The meaning probably of "zamat stone," as given by Smith, was a hard substance, such as the diamond or adamant. By some translators it has been rendered onyx, and others lazuli.

COLUMN IV

THE FIGHT WITH THE WINGED BULL OF ANU

The gods appear above to watch the fight,
And Erech's *masari* rush in affright
To Izdubar, who sits upon his throne,
Before him fall in speechless terror prone.
A louder roar now echoes from the skies,
And Erech's Sar without the palace flies.
He sees the monster light upon the plain,
And calls Heabani with the choicest men
Of Erech's spearsmen armed, who fall in line
Without the gates, led by their Sar divine.

And now the monster rushed on Izdubar,
Who meets it as the god of chase and war.
With whirling sword before the monster's face,
He rains his blows upon its front of brass
And horns, and drives it from him o'er the plain,
And now with spreading wings it comes again,
With maddened fury; fierce its eyeballs glare.
It rides upon the monarch's pointed spear;
The scales the point have turned, and broke the haft.
Then as a pouncing hawk when sailing daft,
In swiftest flight o'er him drops from the skies,
But from the gleaming sword it quickly flies.
Three hundred warriors now nearer drew
To the fierce monster, which toward them flew;
Into their midst the monster furious rushed,
And through their solid ranks resistless pushed
To slay Heabani, onward fought and broke
Two lines and through the third, which met the shock
With ringing swords upon his horns and scales.
At last the seer it reaches, him impales
With its sharp horns: but valiant is the seer —
He grasps its crest and fights without a fear.
The monster from his sword now turns to fly;
Heabani grasps its tail, and turns his eye
Towards his king, while scudding o'er the plain.

So quickly has it rushed and fled amain,
That Izdubar its fury could not meet,
But after it he sprang with nimble feet.

Heabani loosed his grasp and stumbling falls,
And to his king approaching, thus he calls:
“My friend, our strongest men are overthrown:
But see! he comes! such strength was never known.
With all my might I held him, but he fled!
We both it can destroy! Strike at its head!”
Like Rimmon now he flies upon the air,
As sceptred Nebo,[1] he his horns doth bear,
That flash with fire along the roaring skies,
Around the Sar and seer he furious flies. [2]
Heabani grasps the plunging horns, nor breaks
His grasp; in vain the monster plunging shakes
His head, and roaring, upward furious rears.
Heabani’s strength the mighty monster fears;
He holds it in his iron grasp, and cries:
“Quick! strike!” Beneath the blows the monster dies;
And Izdubar now turned his furious face
Toward the gods, and on the beast doth place
His foot; he raised his gory sword on high,
And sent his shout defiant to the sky:
“’Tis thus, ye foes divine! the Sar proclaims
His war against your power, and highest names!
Hurl! hurl! your darts of fire, ye vile *kal-bi!*[3]
My challenge hear! ye cravens of the sky!”

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Nebo,” the holder of the sceptre of power; also the god of prophecy.

[2] “Around” (“tarka”), or it may mean “between.”

[3] “Kal-bi,” dogs.

COLUMN V

THE CURSE OF ISHTAR, AND REJOICING OF ERECH OVER THE VICTORY

The monarch and his seer have cleft the head
From Anu's bull prone lying on the mead.
They now command to bring it from the plain
Within the city where they view the slain.
The heart they brought to Samas' holy shrine,
Before him laid the offering divine.
Without the temple's doors the monster lays,
And Ishtar o'er the towers the bulk surveys;
She spurns the carcass, cursing thus, she cries:
"Woe! woe to Izdubar, who me defies!
My power has overthrown, my champion slain;
Accursèd Sar! most impious of men!"

Heabani heard the cursing of the Queen,
And from the carcass cleft the tail in twain,
Before her laid it; to the goddess said:
"And wherefore comest thou with naught to dread?
Since I with Izdubar have conquered thee,
Thou hearest me! Before thee also see
Thine armored champion's scales! thy beast is dead,"
And Ishtar from his presence furious fled,
And to her maids the goddess loudly calls
Joy and Seduction from the palace halls;
And o'er her champion's death she mourning cries,
And flying with her maids, sped to the skies.

King Izdubar his summons sends afar
To view the monster slain by Erech's Sar.
The young and old the carcass far surround,
And view its mighty bulk upon the ground.
The young men eye its horns with wild delight,
And weigh them on the public scales in sight
Of Erech. "Thirty *manehs* weighs!" they cry;
"Of purest *zamat* stone, seems to the eye
In substance, with extremities defaced."
Six *gurri* weighed the monster's bulk undressed.
As food for Lugul-turda, their Sar's god,
The beast is severed, placed upon the wood.
Piled high upon the altar o'er the fires.
Then to Euphrates' waters each retires

To cleanse themselves for Erech's grand parade,
As Izdubar by proclamation bade.
Upon their steeds of war with Izdubar
The chiefs and warriors extend afar
With chariots, and waving banners, spears,
And Erech rings with their triumphant cheers.
Before the chariot of their great Sar,
Who with his seer rides in his brazen car,
The seers a proclamation loud proclaim
And cheer their Sar and seer; and laud the name
Of their great monarch, chanting thus his praise,
While Erech's band their liveliest marches play:

"If anyone to glory can lay claim
Among all chiefs and warriors of fame,
We Izdubar above them all proclaim
Our Izzu-Ul-bar[1] of undying fame.
Sar gabri la isu,
Sar-dannu bu-mas-lu![2]

"He wears the diadem of Subartu,
From Bar-ili[3] he came to Eridu;
Our giant monarch, who of all *barri*[4]
Can rival him, our Nin-arad *rabi?*[5]
Sar-dannu ina mati basi,
Sar bu-mas-la e-mu-ki, nesi."[6]

Through the grand halls of Erech far resounds
The feast their Sar proclaimed through all the grounds
Of Erech's palaces; where he now meets
His heroes, seers and counsellors, and greets
Them in his crowded festal halls.
Grand banquets far are spread within the walls,
And sparkling rarest wines each freely drank,
And revels ruled the hour till Samas sank,
And shadows sweep across the joyous plain,
And Samas sleeps with Hea 'neath the main.
The jewelled lamps are lit within the halls,
And dazzling glory on the feasters falls.
The rays o'er gems and richest garments shone

Upon the lords and ladies round the throne;
While troops of dancing girls around them move
With cymbals, harps and lutes, with songs of love.
Again the board glows with rich food and wines,
Now spread before them till each man reclines
Upon his couch at rest in the far night,
And swimming halls and wines pass from their sight.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Izzu-Ul-bar," the fire of Bel's temple.

[2] "The King who has no rival. The powerful giant King." The royal titles of Izdubar.

[3] "Bar-ili," temple, or country of the gods.

[4] "Barri," chieftains, army, soldiers.

[5] "Nin-arad rabi," "the servant of Nin, the King."

[6] "Who is the great king (in the land) of all countries, the powerful giant king, the lion!" The royal titles of Izdubar.

COLUMN VI

ISHTAR WEAVES A MYSTIC SPELL OVER THE KING AND SEER, AND VANISHES — THE SEER ADVISES THE KING TO SEEK THE AID OF THE IMMORTAL SEER WHO ESCAPES FROM THE FLOOD.

The goddess Ishtar wrapped in darkness waits
Until the goddess Tsil-at-tu[1] the gates
Of sleep has closed upon the darkened plain;
Then lightly to the palace flies the Queen.
O'er the King's couch she weaves an awful dream,
While her bright eyes upon him furious gleam.
Then o'er Heabani's couch a moment stands,
And Heaven's curtains pulls aside with hands
Of mystic power, and he a vision sees —
The gods in council; — vanishing, she flees
Without the palace like a gleam of light,
And wakes the guard around in wild affright.

Next day the seer reveals to Izdubar
How all the gods a council held of war,
And gave to Anu power to punish them
For thus defying Ishtar's godly claim;
And thus the seer gave him his counsel, well
Considered, how to meet their plottings fell:

"To Khasisadra go, who from the flood
Escaped when o'er the earth the waters stood
Above mankind, and covered all the ground;
He at the river's mouth may yet be found.
For his great aid, we now the seer must seek,
For Anu's fury will upon us break.
Immortal lives the seer beside the sea;
Through Hades pass, and soon the seer mayst see."

Thus Izdubar replied, and him embraced:
"With thee, Heabani, I my throne have graced;
With thee I go, mine own companion dear,
And on the road each other we may cheer,"
"The way is long, my King, and if I live,
With thee I go, but oh, thou must not grieve,
For perils great attend the way, and old
Am I: the suppleness of youth to hold
My strength I need, but it alas! is gone.
My heart is ready, but I fear, my son,
These crippled limbs which Anu's bull hath left
Of my strong vigor, have thy seer bereft.
Too weak am I, for that long journey hard
To undertake; my presence would retard
Thee, — with these wounds; nor strength have I to last
To guard my body in the mountain fast.
But if thou wilt, my strength is thine, my King!
To do thy will my agèd form shall spring
With gladness, and all perils I'll defy;
If need be, for thee will thy servant die."

"Heabani, noble one! my chosen seer!
I love thee, bid thy loyal heart good cheer.
He steeds may take to ride through all the way,

With easy journeys on the road each day;
From perils I will guard thee, and defend;
To-morrow then we on our way will wend."

Equipped for the long journey they appear
Next morn and leave, while Erech's people cheer
Them on their way across the glowing plain,
To perils dire they go — distress and pain.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Tsil-at-tu," goddess of darkness, or shades of night.

TABLET VI — COLUMN I

ISHTAR'S DESCENT TO HADES — HER FEARFUL RECEPTION

To Hades' darkened land, whence none return,
Queen Ishtar, Sin's great daughter, now doth turn;
Inclined her ear and listened through the void
That lay beneath of every path devoid,
The home of darkness, of the Under-World,
Where god Ir-kal-la[1] from the heights was hurled.
The land and road from whence is no return,
Where light no entrance hath to that dark bourne;
Where dust to dust returns, devouring clods;
Where light dwells not in Tsil-lat-tus abodes;
Where sable ravens hovering rule the air;
O'er doors and bolts dust reigneth with despair.
Before the gates of gloom the Queen now stands,
And to the keeper Ishtar thus commands:
"O keeper of the waters! open wide
Thy gate, that I through these dark walls may glide;
But if thou open'st not the gate for me,
That I may enter, shattered thou shalt see
The doors and bolts before thee lying prone,
And from the dust shall rise each skeleton,
With fleshless jaws devour all men with thee,
Till death shall triumph o'er mortality."
The keeper to the Princess Ishtar said:
"Withhold thy speech! or Allat's fury dread!
To her I go to bid thee welcome here."
To Allat then the keeper doth appear:
"Thy sister Ishtar the dark waters seeks —
The Queen of Heaven," thus Allat's fury breaks.
"So like an herb uprooted comes this Queen,
To sting me as an asp doth Ishtar mean?
What can her presence bring to me but hate?
Doth Heaven's Queen thus come infuriate?"
And Ishtar thus replies: "The fount I seek,
Where I with Tammuz, my first love, may speak;
And drink its waters, as sweet nectar-wines,
Weep o'er my husband, who in death reclines;

My loss as wife with handmaids I deplore,
O'er my dear Tammuz let my teardrops pour."
And Allat said, "Go! keeper, open wide
The gates to her! she hath me once defied;
Bewitch her as commanded by our laws."
To her thus Hades opened wide its jaws.

"Within, O goddess! Cutha thee receives!
Thus Hades' palace its first greeting gives."
He seized her, and her crown aside was thrown.
"O why, thou keeper, dost thou seize my crown?"
"Within, O goddess! Allat thee receives!
'Tis thus to thee our Queen her welcome gives."
Within the next gate he her earrings takes,
And goddess Ishtar now with fury shakes.
"Then why, thou slave, mine earrings take away?"
"Thus entrance, goddess, Allat bids this day."
At the third gate her necklace next he takes,
And now in fear before him Ishtar quakes.
"And wilt thou take from me my gems away?"
"Thus entrance, goddess, Allat bids this day."
And thus he strips the goddess at each gate,
Of ornaments upon her breast and feet
And arms; her bracelets, girdle from her waist,
Her robe next took, and flung the Queen undrest
Within a cell of that dark solitude.
At last, before Queen Ishtar Allat stood,
When she had long remained within the walls,
And Allat mocked her till Queen Ishtar falls
Humiliated on the floor in woe;
Then turning wildly, cursed her ancient foe.
Queen Allat furious to her servant cries:
"Go! Naintar! with disease strike blind her eyes!
And strike her side! her breast and head and feet;
With foul disease her strike, within the gate!"

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Ir-kal-la," the King of Hades, who was hurled from the heights of heaven with the evil gods who rebelled with Tiamatu, the goddess of chaos, against the reign of the gods of heaven.

COLUMN II

EFFECT OF ISHTAR'S IMPRISONMENT IN HADES — LOVE DEPARTS FROM THE EARTH — THE EARTH'S SOLEMN DIRGE OF WOE.

When Ishtar, Queen of Love, from Earth had flown,
With her love fled, and left all nature prone;
From Earth all peace with love then fled amain.
In loneliness the bull stalked o'er the plain,
And tossed his drooping crest toward the sky,
In sadness lay upon the green to die;
On the far kine looked weary and bereaved,
And turned toward the gods, and wondering grieved.
The troubled kine then gravely chewed their cud,
And hungerless in the rich pastures stood.
The ass his mate abandoned, fled away,
And loveless wives then cursed the direful day;
And loving husbands kiss their wives no more,
And doves their cooing ceased, and separate soar;
And love then died in all the breasts of men,
And strife supreme on earth was reveling then.

The sexes of mankind their wars divide,
And women hate all men, and them deride;
And some demented hurl aside their gowns,
And queens their robes discard and jewelled crowns,
And rush upon the streets bereft of shame,
Their forms expose, and all the gods defame.
Alas! from earth the Queen of Love has gone,
And lovers 'void their haunts with faces wan
And spurn from them the hateful thought of love,
For love no longer reigns, all life to move.
An awful thrill now speeds through Hades' doors,
And shakes with horror all the dismal floors;
A wail upon the breeze through space doth fly,
And howling gales sweep madly through the sky;
Through all the universe there speeds a pang
Of travail. Mam-nu-tu[1] appalled doth hang
Upon her blackened pinions in the air,

And piteous from her path leads Black Despair,
“The queen in chains in Hades dying lies,
And life with her,” they cry, “forever dies!”
Through misty glades and darkened depths of space,
Tornadoes roar her fate to Earth’s sweet face;
The direful tidings from far Hades pour
Upon her bosom with their saddest roar;
Like moans of mighty powers in misery,
They bring the tale with awful minstrelsy.
And Earth her mists wrapped round her face in woe,
While icy pangs through all her breast deep flow.
Her bosom sobbing wails a mighty moan,
“Alas! forever my sweet queen hath flown!”
With shrieks of hurricane, and ocean’s groan,
And sobbing of the winds through heights unknown,
Through mountain gorges sweep her wails of woe,
Through every land and seas, her sorrows flow:
Oh, moan! oh, moan! dear mountains, lakes, and seas!
Oh, weep with me dear plants, and flowers, and trees!
Alas! my beauty fading now will die!
Oh, weep, ye stars, for me in every sky!
Oh, Samas, hide thy face! I am undone!
Oh, weep with me Ur-ru,[2] my precious son.
Let all your notes of joy, my birds, be stilled;
Your mother’s heart with dread despair is filled:

“Come back, my flowerets, with your fragrant dews;
Come, all my beauties, with your brightest hues;
Come back, my plants and buds and youngling shoots!
Within your mother’s bosom hide your roots.
Oh, children, children! Love hath fled away,
Alas! that life I gave should see this day!
Your queen lies dying in her awful woe,
Oh, why should she from us to Hades go?”

Wide Nature felt her woe, and ceased to spring,
And withered buds their vigor lost, and fling
No more their fragrance to the lifeless air;
The fruit-trees died, or barren ceased to bear;
The male plants kiss their female plants no more;

And pollen on the winds no longer soar
To carry their caresses to the seed
Of waiting hearts that unavailing bleed,
Until they fold their petals in despair,
And dying, drop to earth, and wither there.
The growing grain no longer fills its head,
The fairest fields of corn lie blasted, dead.
All Nature mourning dons her sad attire,
And plants and trees with falling leaves expire.
And Samas' light and moon-god's soothing rays
Earth's love no more attracts; recurring days
Are shortened by a blackness deep profound
That rises higher as the days come round.
At last their light flees from the darkened skies,
The last faint gleam now passes, slowly dies.
Upon a blasted world, dread darkness falls,
O'er dying nature, crumbling cities' walls.
Volcanoes' fires are now the only light,
Where pale-faced men collect around in fright;
With fearful cries the lurid air they rend,
To all the gods their wild petitions send.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Mam-nu-tu," goddess of fate.

[2] "Ur-ru," the moon-god.

COLUMN III

PAPSUKUL, THE GOD OF HOPE, AND HERALD OF THE GODS, FLIES FROM THE EARTH AND INTERCEDES FOR THE RELEASE OF ISHTAR, AND HEA GRANTS HIS PRAYER

O Hope! thou fleeting pleasure of the mind,
Forever with us stay, our hearts to bind!
We cling to thee till life has fled away;
Our dearest phantom, ever with us stay!
Without thee, we have naught but dread despair,
The worst of all our torments with us here;
Oh, come with thy soft pinions, o'er us shine!

And we will worship thee, a god divine:
The *ignis fatuus* of all our skies
That grandly leads us, vanishes and dies,
And we are left to grope in darkness here,
Without a ray of light our lives to cheer.
Oh, stay! sweet Love's companion, ever stay!
And let us hope with love upon our way!
We reck not if a phantom thou hast been,
And we repent that we have ever seen
Thy light on earth to lead us far astray;
Forever stay! or ever keep away!

When Papsukul beheld in man's abodes
The change that spread o'er blasted, lifeless clods,
And heard earth's wailing through the waning light,
With vegetation passing out of sight,
From the doomed world to Heaven he quickly flies,
While from the earth are rising fearful cries.
To Samas' throne he speeds with flowing tears,
And of the future dark he pours his fears.
To Sin, the moon-god, Pap-su-kul now cries
O'er Ishtar's fate, who in black Hades lies;
O'er Earth's dire end, which with Queen Ishtar dies;
To Hea he appeals with mournful cries:

"O Hea, our Creator, God and King!
Queen Ishtar now is lying prone.
To Earth, our godly queen again, oh, bring!
I trust thy love, O Holy One!
To all the gods who reign o'er us on high
I pray! thus Hope thine aid implores,
Release our queen! To Hades quickly fly!
Thy Pap-su-kul with faith adores.

"The bull hath left the lowing kine bereaved,
And sulking dies in solitude;
The ass hath fled away, his mates hath grieved,
And women are no more imbued
With love, and drive their husbands far away,
And wives enjoy not their caress;

All peace and love have gone from earth this day,
And love on earth knows not its bliss.

"The females die through all the living world,
Among all beasts, and men, and plants;
All love from them on earth have madly hurled,
For blissful love no more each pants;
And Samas' light is turned away from Earth,
And left alone volcanoes' fire;
The land is filled with pestilence and dearth,
All life on earth will soon expire."

When Hea heard the solemn chant of Hope,
From his high throne he let his sceptre drop,
And cried: "And thus, I rule o'er all mankind!
For this, I gave them life, immortal mind;
To earth's relief, my herald shall quick go,
I hear thy prayer, and song of Ishtar's woe."

"Go! At-su-su-namir, with thy bright head!
With all thy light spring forth! and quickly speed;
Towards the gates of Hades, turn thy face!
And quickly fly for me through yonder space.
Before thy presence may the seven gates
Of Hades open with their gloomy grates;
May Allat's face rejoice before thy sight,
Her rage be soothed, her heart filled with delight;
But conjure her by all the godly names,
And fearless be, — towards the roaring streams
Incline thine ear, and seek the path there spread.
Release Queen Ishtar! raise her godly head!
And sprinkle her with water from the stream;
Her purify! a cup filled to the brim
Place to her lips that she may drink it all.
The herald as a meteor doth fall,
With blazing fire disparts the hanging gloom
Around the gates of that dark world of doom."

COLUMN IV

RELEASE OF ISHTAR — HER ATTEMPTS TO BRING TO LIFE TAMMUZ, HER FIRST LOVER

When Allat saw the flaming herald come,
And his bright light dispelling all her gloom,
She beat her breast; and at him furious foams
In rage, and stamping shakes all Hades' domes,
Thus cursed the herald, At-su-su-namir:
"Away! thou herald! or I'll chain thee here
In my dark vaults, and throw thee for thy food
The city's garbage, which has stagnant stood,
With impure waters for thy daily drink,
And lodge thee in my prison till you sink
From life impaled in yonder dismal room
Of torture; to thy fate so thou hast come?
Thine offspring with starvation I will strike!"

At last obedient doth Allat speak:
"Go, Namtar! and the iron palace strike!
O'er Asherim[1] adorned let the dawn break!
And seat the spirits on their thrones of gold!
Let Ishtar Life's bright waters then behold,
And drink her fill, and bring her then to me;
From her imprisonment, I send her free."
And Namtar then goes through the palace walls,
And flings the light through all the darkened halls,
And places all the spirits on their thrones,
Leads Ishtar to the waters near the cones.
She drinks the sparkling water now with joy,
Which all her form doth cleanse and purify.
And he at the first gate her robe returns,
And leads her through the second; where he turns,
And gives her bracelets back; — thus at each door
Returns to her her girdle, gems; then o'er
Her queenly brow he placed her shining crown.
With all her ornaments that were her own,
She stands with pride before the seventh gate,
And Namtar bows to her in solemn state:

“Thou hast no ransom to our queen here paid
For thy deliverance, yet thou hast said
Thy Tammuz thou didst seek within our walls,
Turn back! and thou wilt find him in these halls.
To bring him back to life the waters pour
Upon him; they thy Tammuz will restore;
With robes thou mayst adorn him and a crown
Of jewels, and thy maid with thee alone
Shall give thee comfort and appease thy grief.
Kharimtu, Samkha come to thy relief!”

Now Ishtar lifts her eyes within a room
Prepared for her, and sees her maidens come,
Before a weird procession wrapped in palls,
That soundless glide within and fills the halls.
Before her now they place a sable bier
Beside the fount; and Ishtar, drawing near,
Raised the white pall from Tammuz’s perfect form.
The clay unconscious, had that mystic charm
Of Beauty sleeping sweetly on his face, —
Of agony or sorrow left no trace:
But, oh! that awful wound of death was there
With its deep mark; — the wound, and not the scar.

When Ishtar’s eyes beheld it, all her grief
Broke forth afresh, refusing all relief;
She smote her breast in woe, and moaning cried,
Nor the bright waters to his wound applied:
“O Tammuz! Tammuz! turn thine eyes on me!
Thy queen thou didst adorn, before thee see!
Behold the emeralds and diamond crown
Thou gavest me when I became thine own!
Alas! he answers not: and must I mourn
Forever o’er my love within this bourne?
But, oh! the waters from this glowing stream!
Perhaps those eyes on me with love will beam,
And I shall hear again his song of love.
Oh, quickly let these waters to me prove
Their claim to banish death with magic power!”

Then with her maids, she o’er his form doth pour
The sparkling drops of life —
“He moves! he lives!
What happiness is this my heart receives?
O come, my Tammuz! to my loving arms!”

And on breast his breathing form she warms;
With wondering eyes he stares upon his queen,
And nestling closed his eyes in bliss again.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Asherim,” literally “stone stakes” or “cones,” the symbols of the goddess Asherah or Ishtar (Sayce), but Calmet says that the god Ashima is a deity of very uncertain origin, and that the name “Ashima” may be very well compared with the Persian “asuman” (“heaven”); in “Zend,” “acmano,” so Gesenius in his Man. Lex., 1832. This also, according to the magi, is the name of the angel of death, who separates the souls of men from their bodies, Cal. Dic., p. 106. Cones are to be seen in the British Museum which are probably of the character which represented Elah-Gabalah, the sun-god, adored in Rome during the reign of Heliogabalus. The symbol and worship came from Hamath in Syria.

COLUMN V

TAMMUZ IS RESTORED TO LIFE BY THE WATERS OF LIFE — HIS SONG OF LOVE

The nectared cup the queen placed to his lips,
And o’er his heaving breast the nectar drips,
And now his arms are folded round his queen,
And her fond kisses he returns again;
And see! they bring to him his harp of gold,
And from its strings, sweet music as of old
His skilful hands wake through the sounding domes;
Oh, how his Song of Love wakes those dark rooms!

“My Queen of Love comes to my arms!
Her faithful eyes have sought for me,
My Love comes to me with her charms;
Let all the world now happy be!
My queen has come again!

Forever, dearest, let me rest
Upon the bosom of my queen!

Thy lips of love are honeyed best;
Come! let us fly to bowering green!
To our sweet bower again.

O Love on Earth! O Love in Heaven!
That dearest gift which gods have given,
Through all my soul let it be driven,
And make my heart its dearest haven,
For Love returns the kiss!

Oh! let me pillow there within
Thy breast, and, oh, so sweetly rest,
My life anew shall there begin;
On thy sweet charms, oh, let me feast!
Life knows no sweeter bliss.

Oh, let me feast upon thy lips,
As honey-bird the nectar sips,
And drink new rapture through my lips,
As honey-bee its head thus drips
In nectarine abyss!

O Love, sweet queen! my heart is thine!
My Life I clasp within mine arms!
My fondest charmer, queen divine!
My soul surrenders to thy charms,
In bliss would fly away.

No dearer joy than this I want;
If love is banished from that life
There bodyless, my soul would pant,
And pine away in hopeless grief,
If love be fled away.

If Love should hide and fold her wings
In bowers of yonder gleaming skies,
Unmeaning then each bard oft sings
Of bliss that lives on earth and dies, —
I want such love as this.

I want thy form, thy loving breast,
Mine arms of love surrounding thee,
And on thy bosom sweetly rest,
Or else that world were dead to me.
No other life is bliss.

If it is thus, my queen, I go
With joy to yonder blissful clime;
But if not so, then let me flow
To soil and streams through changing time,
To me would be more bliss.

For then, in blooming flowerets, I
Could earth adorn, my soul delight,
And never thus on earth could die;
For though I should be hid from sight,
Would spring again with joy!

And sing as some sweet warbling bird,
Or in the breezes wave as grain,
As yellow sun-birds there have whirred
On earth, could I thus live again,
That beauteous world enjoy!

‘Mid safflower-fields or waving cane,
Or in the honeysuckles lie,
In forms of life would breathe again,
Enjoy Earth’s sweetest revelry,
And ever spring again!

Each life to me new joys would bring,
In breast of beast or bird or flower,
In each new form new joys would spring,
And happy, ever, Love would soar!
Triumphant filled with joy!

In jujube or tamarisk
Perhaps would come to life again,
Or in the form of fawns would frisk
‘Mid violets upon the plain;
But I should live again!

And throb beneath the glistening dew,
In bamboo tufts, or mango-trees,
In lotus bloom, and spring anew,
In rose-tree bud, or such as these
On Earth return again!

And I should learn to love my mate,
In beast or singing bird or flower,
For kiss of love in hope could wait;
Perhaps I then would come that hour,
In form I have again!

And love you say, my queen, is there,
Where I can breathe with life anew?
But is it so? My Love, beware!
For some things oft are false, some true,
But I thee trust again!

We fly away! from gates away!
Oh, life of bliss! Oh, breath of balm!
With wings we tread the Silver Way,
To trailing vines and feathery palm,
To bower of love again."

COLUMN VI

ESCAPE OF TAMMUZ FROM HADES — HIS DEATH IN THE CLOUDS — FUNERAL PROCESSION OF THE GODS — ISHTAR'S ELEGY OVER THE DEATH OF TAMMUZ — HIS REVIVAL IN HADES, WHERE HE IS CROWNED AS THE LORD OF HADES — ISHTAR'S RETURN BRINGS LIGHT AND LOVE BACK TO EARTH.

But see! they pass from those dark gates and walls,
And fly upon the breeze from Hades' halls,
Hark! hark! the sounding harp is stilled! it falls
From Tammuz's hands! Oh, how its wailing calls
To you bright *zi-ni*[1] flying through the skies,
See! one sweet spirit of the wind swift flies
And grasps the wailing harp before it ends
Its wail of woe, and now beneath it bends,

With silent pinions listening to its strings,
Wild sobbing on the winds; — with wailing rings
The conscious harp, and trembles in her hands.
A rush of pinions comes from myriad lands,
With moanings sends afar the awful tale,
And mourners brings with every whispering gale.
And see! the queen's companion fainting sinks!
She lays him on that cloud with fleecy brinks!
And oh! his life is ebbing fast away!
She wildly falls upon his breast, and gray
Her face becomes with bitter agony.
She tearless kneels, wrapt in her misery
And now upon his breast she lays her head,
With tears that gods, alas! with men must shed;
She turning, sobs to her sweet waiting maids,
Who weeping o'er her stand with bended heads:
"Assemble, oh, my maids, in mourning here,
The gods! and spirits of the earth bring near!"

They come! they come! three hundred spirits high,
The heavenly spirits come! the I-gi-gi!
From Heaven's streams and mouths and plains and vales,
And gods by thousands on the wings of gales.
The spirits of the earth, An-un-na-ci,
Now join around their sisters of the sky.
Hark! hear her weeping to the heavenly throng,
Imploring them to chant their mournful song:

"With your gold lyres, the dirge, oh, sing with me!
And moan with me, with your sweet melody;
With swelling notes, as zephyrs softly wail,
And cry with me as sobbing of the gale.
O Earth! dear Earth! oh, wail with thy dead trees!
With sounds of mountain torrents, moaning seas!
And spirits of the lakes, and streams, and vales,
And Zi-ku-ri of mountains' trackless trail,
Join our bright legions with your queen! Oh, weep
With your sad tears, dear spirits of the deep!
Let all the mournful sounds of earth be heard,
The breeze hath carried stored from beast and bird;

Join the sweet notes of doves for their lost love
To the wild moans of hours, — wailing move;
Let choirs of Heaven and of the earth then peal,
All living beings my dread sorrow feel!
Oh, come with saddest, weirdest melody,
Join earth and sky in one sweet threnody!”

Ten thousand times ten thousand now in line,
In all the panoplies of gods divine;
A million crowns are shining in the light,
A million sceptres, robes of purest white!
Ten thousand harps and lutes and golden lyres
Are waiting now to start the Heavenly choirs.

And lo! a chariot from Heaven comes,
While halves rise from yonder sapphire domes;
A chariot incrusted with bright gems,
A blaze of glory shines from diadems.
See! in the car the queen o’er Tammuz bends,
And nearer the procession slowly wends,
Her regal diadem with tears is dimmed;
And her bright form by sorrow is redeemed
To sweeter, holier beauty in her woe;
Her tears a halo form and brighter flow.

Caparisoned with pearls, ten milk-white steeds
Are harnessed to her chariot that leads;
On snow-white swans beside her ride her maids,
They come! through yonder silver cloudy glades!
Behind her chariot ten sovereigns ride;
Behind them comes all Heaven’s lofty pride,
On pale white steeds, the chargers of the skies.
The clouds of snowy pinions rustling rise!
But hark! what is that strain of melody
That fills our souls with grandest euphony?
Hear how it swells and dies upon the breeze!
To softest whisper of the leaves of trees;
Then sweeter, grander, nobler, sweeping comes,
Like myriad lyres that peal through Heaven’s domes.
But, oh! how sad and sweet the notes now come!

Like music of the spheres that softly hum;
It rises, falls, with measured melody,
With saddest notes and mournful symphony.
From all the universe sad notes repeat
With doleful strains of woe transcendent, sweet;
Hush! hear the song! my throbbing heart be still!
The songs of gods above the heavens fill!

"Oh, weep with your sweet tears, and mourning chant,
O'er this dread loss of Heaven's queen.
With her, O sisters, join your sweetest plaint
O'er our dear Tammuz, Tammuz slain.
Come, all ye spirits, with your drooping wings,
No more to us sweet joy he brings;
Ah, me, my brother![2]

Oh, weep! oh, weep! ye spirits of the air,
Oh, weep! oh, weep! An-un-na-ci!
Our own dear queen is filled with dread despair.
Oh, pour your tears, dear earth and sky,
Oh, weep with bitter tears, O dear Sedu,
O'er fearful deeds of Nin-azu;
Ah, me, my brother!

Let joy be stilled! and every hope be dead!
And tears alone our hearts distil.
My love has gone! — to darkness he has fled;
Dread sorrow's cup for us, oh, fill!
And weep for Tammuz we have held so dear,
Sweet sisters of the earth and air;
Ah, me, my sister!

Oh, come ye, dearest, dearest Zi-re-nu,
With grace and mercy help us bear
Our loss and hers; our weeping queen, oh, see!
And drop with us a sister's tear.
Before your eyes our brother slain! oh, view;
Oh, weep with us o'er him so true;
Ah, me, his sister!

The sky is dead; its beauty all is gone,
Oh, weep, ye clouds, for my dead love!
Your queen in her dread sorrow now is prone.
O rocks and hills in tears, oh, move!
And all my heavenly flowerets for me weep,
O'er him who now in death doth sleep;
Ah, me, my Tammuz!

Oh, drop o'er him your fragrant dewy tears,
For your own queen who brings you joy,
For Love, the Queen of Love, no longer cheers,
Upon my heart it all doth cloy.
Alas! I give you love, nor can receive,
O all my children for me grieve;
Ah, me, my Tammuz!

Alas! alas! my heart is dying — dead!
With all these bitter pangs of grief
Despair hath fallen on my queenly head,
Oh, is there, sisters, no relief?
Hath Tammuz from me ever, ever, gone?
My heart is dead, and turned to stone;
Ah, me, his queen!

My sister spirits, O my brothers dear,
My sorrow strikes me to the earth;
Oh, let me die! I now no fate can fear,
My heart is left a fearful dearth.
Alas, from me all joy! all joy! hath gone;
Oh, Ninazu, what hast thou done?
Ah, me, his queen!"

To Hades' world beyond our sight they go,
And leave upon the skies Mar-gid-da's[3] glow,
That shines eternally along the sky,
The road where souls redeemed shall ever fly.
Prince Tammuz now again to life restored,
Is crowned in Hades as its King and Lord,[4]
And Ishtar's sorrow thus appeased, she flies
To earth, and fills with light and love the skies.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Zi-ni,” pronounced “Zee-nee,” spirits of the wind.

[2] “Ah, me, my brother, and, ah, me, my sister! Ah, me, Adonis (or Tammuz), and ah, me, his lady (or queen)!” is the wailing cry uttered by the worshippers of Tammuz or Adonis when celebrating his untimely death. It is referred to in Jer. xxii. 18, and in Ezek. viii. 14, and Amos viii. 10, and Zech. xii. 10, 11. See Smith’s revised edition of “Chal. Acc. of Genesis,” by Sayce, pp. 247, 248.

[3] “Mar-gid-da,” “the Long Road.” We have also given the Accadian name for “The Milky Way.” It was also called by them the “River of Night.”

[4] “Lord of Hades” is one of the titles given to Tammuz in an Accadian hymn found in “C.I.W.A.,” vol. iv. 27, 1, 2. See also translation in “Records of the Past,” vol. xi. p. 131.

TABLET VII — COLUMN I

THE KING AND SEER CONVERSING ON THEIR WAY TO KHASI-SADRA — INTERPRETATION OF THE KING'S DREAM IN THE PALACE ON THE NIGHT OF THE FESTIVAL

"The dream, my seer, which I beheld last night
Within our tent, may bring to us delight.
I saw a mountain summit flash with fire,
That like a royal robe or god's attire
Illumined all its sides. The omen might
Some joy us bring, for it was shining bright."
And thus the Sar revealed to him his dream.

Heabani said, "My friend, though it did seem
Propitious, yet, deceptive was it all,
And came in memory of Elam's fall.
The mountain burning was Khumbaba's halls
We fired, when all his soldiers from the walls
Had fled; — the *ni-takh-garri*,[1] — on that morn,
Of such deceptive dreams, I would thee warn!"

Some twenty *kaspu* they have passed this day,
At thirty *kaspu* they dismount to pray
And raise an altar, Samas to beseech
That they their journey's end may safely reach.
The tent now raised, their evening meal prepare
Beneath the forest in the open air;
And Izdubar brought from the tent the dream
He dreamed the festal night when Ishtar came
To him; — he reads it from a written scroll:
"Upon my sight a vision thus did fall:
I saw two men that night beside a god;
One man a turban wore, and fearless trod.
The god reached forth his hand and struck him down
Like mountains hurled on fields of corn, thus prone
He lay; and Izdubar then saw the god
Was Anatu,[2] who struck him to the sod.
The troubler of all men, Samu's fierce queen,
Thus struck the turbaned man upon the plain.

He ceased his struggling, to his friend thus said:
‘My friend, thou askest not why I am laid
Here naked, nor my low condition heed.
Accursèd thus I lie upon the mead;
The god has crushed me, burned my limbs with fire.’

“The vision from mine eyes did then expire.
A third dream came to me, which I yet fear,
The first beyond my sight doth disappear.
A fire-god thundering o’er the earth doth ride;
The door of darkness burning flew aside;
Like a fierce stream of lightning, blazing fire,
Beside me roared the god with fury dire,
And hurled wide death on earth on every side;
And quickly from my sight it thus did glide,
And in its track I saw a palm-tree green
Upon a waste, naught else by me was seen.”

Heabani pondering, thus explained the dream:
“My friend, the god was Samas, who doth gleam
With his bright glory, power, our God and Lord,
Our great Creator King, whose thunders roared
By thee, as through yon sky he takes his way;
For his great favor we should ever pray.
The man thou sawest lying on the plain
Was thee, O King, — to fight such power is vain.
Thus Anatu will strike thee with disease,
Unless thou soon her anger shalt appease;
And if thou warrest with such foes divine,
The fires of death shall o’er thy kingdom shine.
The palm-tree green upon the desert left
Doth show that we of hope are not bereft;
The gods for us their snares have surely weft,[3]
One shall be taken, and the other left.”

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Ni-takh-garri,” “the helpers,” or soldiers of Khumbaba.

[2] “Anatu,” the consort of Anu.

[3] "Weft," weaved.

COLUMN II

CONTEST WITH THE DRAGONS IN THE MOUNTAINS — THE SEER IS MORTALLY WOUNDED — HIS CALM VIEW OF THE HEREAFTER

"O Mam-mitu, thou god of fate and death! [1]
Thou spirit of fierce hate and parting breath,
Thou banisher of joy! O ghastly Law,
That gathers countless forces in thy maw!
A phantom! curse! and oft a blessing, joy!
All Heaven and earth thy hands shall e'er employ.
With blessings come, or curses to us bring,
The god who fails not with her hovering wing;
Nor god, nor man thy coming e'er may ken,
O mystery! thy ways none can explain."

If thou must come in earthquakes, fire, and flood,
Or pestilence and eftsoons cry for blood,
Thou comest oft with voice of sweetest love,
Our dearest, fondest passions, hopes, to move;
And men have worshipped thee in every form,
In fear have praised thee, sought thy feet to charm.
We reck not if you blessings, curses bring,
For men oft change thy noiseless, ghoulish wing.
And yet, thou comest, goddess Mam-mitu,
To bring with thee the feet of Nin-a-zu,
Two sister ghouls, remorseless, tearless, wan,
We fear ye not; ye *bu'i-du*,[2] begone!

Sweet life renews itself in holy love,
Your victory is naught! Ye vainly rove
Across our pathway with yours forms inane,
For somewhere, though we die, we live again.
The soul departed shall in glory shine, [3]
As burnished gold its form shall glow divine,
And Samas there shall grant to us new life;
And Merodac, the eldest son, all strife

Shall end in peace in yonder Blest Abode,
Where happiness doth crown our glorious God.

The sacred waters there shall ever flow, [4]
To Anat's arms shall all the righteous go;
The queen of Anu, Heaven's king, our hands
Outstretched will clasp, and through the glorious lands
Will lead us to the place of sweet delights;
The land that glows on yonder blessed heights
Where milk and honey from bright fountains flow.
And nectar to our lips, all sorrows, woe,
Shall end in happiness beside the Stream
Of Life, and Joy for us shall ever gleam;
Our hearts with thankfulness shall sweetly sing
And grander blissfulness each day will bring.

And if we do not reach that spirit realm,
Where bodyless each soul may ages whelm
With joy unutterable; still we live,
With bodies knew upon dear Earth, and give
Our newer life to children with our blood.
Or if these blessings we should miss; in wood,
Or glen, or garden, field, or emerald seas,
Our forms shall spring again; in such as these
We see around us throbbing with sweet life,
In trees or flowerets.

This needs no belief
On which to base the fabric of a dream,
For Earth her children from death doth redeem,
And each contributes to continuous bloom;
So go your way! ye sisters, to your gloom!

Far on their road have come the king of fame
And seer, within the land of Mas[5] they came,
Nor knew that Fate was hovering o'er their way,
In gentle converse they have passed the day.
Some twenty *kaspu* o'er the hills and plain,
They a wild forest in the mountain gain,
In a deep gorge they rode through thickets wild,

Beneath the pines; now to a pass they filed,
And lo! two dragons[6] near a cave contend
Their path! with backs upreared their coils unbend,
Extend their ravenous jaws with a loud roar
That harshly comes from mouths of clotted gore.

The sky overhead with lowering clouds is cast,
Which Anu in his rage above them massed.
Dark tempests fly above from Rimmon's breath,
Who hovers o'er them with the gods of death;
The wicked seven winds howl wildly round,
And crashing cedars falling shake the ground.
Now Tsil-lattu her black wings spreads o'er all,
Dark shrouding all the forest with her pall,
And from his steed for safety each dismounts,
And o'er their heads now break the ebon founts.
But hark! what is that dreadful roaring noise?
The dragons come! Their flaming crests they poise
Above, and nearer blaze their eyes of fire,
And see! upon them rush the monsters dire.

The largest springs upon the giant Sar,
Who parrying with the sword he used in war,
With many wounds it pierces, drives it back;
Again it comes, renews its fierce attack,
With fangs outspread its victims to devour,
High o'er the monarch's head its crest doth tower,
Its fiery breath upon his helm doth glow.

Exposed its breast! he strikes! his blade drives through
Its vitals! Dying now it shakes the ground,
And furious lashes all the forest round.
But hark! what is that awful lingering shriek
And cries of woe, that on his ears wild break?
A blinding flash, see! all the land reveals,
With dreadful roars, and darkness quick conceals
The fearful sight, to ever after come
Before his eyes, wherever he may roam.
The King, alas! too late Heabani drags
From the beast's fangs, that dies beneath the crags

Overhanging near the cave. And now a din
Loud comes from *dalkhi* that around them spin
In fierce delight, while hellish voices rise
In harsh and awful mockery; the cries
Of agony return with taunting groans,
And mock with their fell hate those piteous moans.

Amazed stands Izdubar above his seer,
Nor hears the screams, nor the fierce *dalkhi's* jeer;
Beneath the flashing lightnings he soon found
The cave, and lays the seer upon the ground.
His breaking heart now cries in agony,
"Heabani! O my seer, thou must not die!
Alas! dread Mam-mitu hath led us here,
Awake for me! arouse! my noble seer!
I would to gods of Erech I had died
For thee! my seer! my strength! my kingdom's pride!"

The seer at last revives and turns his face
With love that death touched not, his hand doth place
With friendly clasp in that of his dear king,
And says:
"Grieve not, beloved friend, this thing
Called death at last must come, why should we fear?
'Tis Hades' mist that opens for thy seer!

"The gods us brought, nor asked consent, and life
They give and take away from all this strife
That must be here, my life I end on earth;
Both joy and sorrow I have seen from birth;
To Hades' awful land, whence none return,
Heabani's face in sorrow now must turn.
My love for thee, mine only pang reveals,
For this alone I grieve."

A teardrop steals
Across his features, shining 'neath the light
The King has lit to make the cavern bright.
"But oh, friend Izdubar, my King, when I
From this dear earth to waiting Hades fly,

Grieve not; and when to Erech you return,
Thou shalt in glory reign, and Zaidu learn
As thy companion all that thine own heart
Desires, thy throne thou wilt to him impart.
The female, Samkha, whom he brought to me
Is false, in league with thine own enemy.
And she will cause thee mischief, seek to drive
Thee from thy throne; but do not let her live
Within the walls of Erech, for the gods
Have not been worshipped in their high abodes.
When thou returnest, to the temple go,
And pray the gods to turn from thee the blow
Of Anu's fury, the strong god, who reigns
Above, and sent these woes upon the plains.
His anger raised against thee, even thee,
Must be allayed, or thy goods thou shalt see,
And kingdom, all destroyed by his dread power.
But Khasisadra will to thee give more
Advice when thou shalt meet the ancient seer,
For from thy side must I soon disappear."
The seer now ceased, and on his couch asleep
Spoke not, and Izdubar alone doth weep.

And thus twelve days were past, and now the seer
Of the great change he saw was drawing near
Informed his King, who read to him the prayers,
And for the end each friendly act prepares,
Then said: "O my Heabani, dearest friend,
I would that I thy body could defend
From thy fierce foe that brings the end to thee.
My friend in battle I may never see
Again, when thou didst nobly stand beside
Me; with my seer and friend I then defied
All foes; and must thou leave thy friend, my seer?"
"Alas! my King, I soon shall leave thee here."

ENDNOTES.

[1] We have here quoted an Accadian hymn to the goddess of fate. ("Trans. Soc. of Bib. Arch.," vol. ii. p. 39.)

[2] “Bu’i-du,” ghosts.

[3] Accadian hymn on the future of the just. (“Trans. Soc. of Bib. Arch.,” vol. ii. p. 32.)

[4] Assyrian fragmentary hymn (“W.A.I.,” iv. 25, col. v.), translated in “Records of the Past,” vol. xi. pp. 161, 162.

[5] The land of Mas, Mr. Sayce supposes, was situated west of the Euphrates Valley.

[6] “Dragons.” The word for this animal is “tammabuk-ku.” It was probably one of the monsters portrayed on the Babylonian cylinders now in the British Museum.

COLUMN III

HEABANI REVEALS TWO WONDERFUL VISIONS TO THE KING, ONE OF DEATH AND OBLIVION, AND THE OTHER OF HEAVEN, AND DIES IN THE ARMS OF THE KING

“But, oh, my King! to thee I now reveal
A secret that my heart would yet conceal,
To thee, my friend, two visions I reveal:
The first I oft have dreamed beneath some spell
Of night, when I enwrapped from all the world,
With Self alone communed.
Unconscious hurled
By winged thought beyond this present life,
I seeming woke in a Dark World where rife
Was Nothingness, — a darksome mist it seemed,
All eke was naught; — no light for me there gleamed;
And floating ‘lone, which way I turned, saw naught;
Nor felt of substance ‘neath my feet, nor fraught
With light was Space around; nor cheerful ray
Of single star. The sun was quenched; or day
Or night, knew not. No hands had I, nor feet,
Nor head, nor body, all was void. No heat
Or cold I felt, no form could feel or see;
And naught I knew but conscious entity.
No boundary my being felt, or had;
And speechless, deaf, and blind, and formless, sad,
I floated through dark space, — a conscious blank!

No breath of air my spirit moved; I sank
I knew not where, till motionless I ceased
At last to move, and yet I could not rest,
Around me spread the Limitless, and Vast.
My cheerless, conscious spirit, — fixed and fast
In some lone spot in space was moveless, stark!
An atom chained by forces stern and dark,
With naught around me. Comfortless I lived
In my dread loneliness! Oh, how I grieved!
And thus, man's fate in Life and Death is solved
With naught but consciousness, and thus involved
All men in hopes that no fruition have?
And this alone was all that death me gave?
That all had vanished, gone from me that life
Could give, and left me but a blank, with strife
Of rising thoughts, and vain regrets, to float; —
Away from life and light, be chained remote!

"Oh, how my spirit longed for some lone crag
To part the gloom beneath, and rudely drag
My senses back! or with its shock to end
My dire existence; — to oblivion send
Me quickly! How I strove to curse, and break
That soundless Void, with shrieks or cries, to wake
That awful silence which around me spread!
In vain! in vain! all but my soul was dead.
And then my spirit soundless cried within:
'Oh, take me! take me back to Earth again!'
For tortures of the flesh were bliss and joy
To such existence! Pain can never cloy
The smallest thrill of earthly happiness!
'Twas joy to live on earth in pain! I'll bless
Thee, gods, if I may see its fields I've trod
To kiss its fragrant flowers, and clasp the sod
Of mother Earth, that grand and beauteous world!
From all its happiness, alas! was hurled
My spirit, — then in frenzy — I awoke!
Great Bel! a dream it was! as vanished smoke
It sped! and I sprang from my couch and prayed
To all the gods, and thus my soul allayed.

And then with blessings on my lips, I sought
My couch, and dropped away in blissful thought
In dream the second:

"Then the Silver Sky
Came to me. Near the Stream of Life I lie:
My couch the rarest flowers; and music thrills
My soul! How soft and sweet it sounds from rills
And streams, and feathered songsters in the trees
Of Heaven's fruits! — e'en all that here doth please
The heart of man was there. In a dear spot
I lay, 'mid olives, spices, where was wrought
A beauteous grotto; and beside me near,
Were friends I loved; and one both near and dear
With me reclined, in blissful converse, sweet
With tender thoughts.
Our joy was full, complete!
The ministering spirits there had spread
Before us all a banquet on the mead,
With Heaven's food and nectar for our feast;
And oh, so happy! How our joy increased
As moments flew, to years without an end!
To Courts Refulgent there we oft did wend.

"Beside a silver lake, a holy fane
There stood within the centre of the plain,
High built on terraces, with walls of gold,
Where palaces and mansions there enfold
A temple of the gods, that stands within
'Mid feathery palms and *gesdin*[1] bowers green,
The city rises to a dizzy height,
With jewelled turrets flashing in the light,
Grand mansions piled on mansions rising high
Until the glowing summits reach the sky.
A cloud of myriad wings, e'er fills the sky,
As doves around their nests on earth here fly;
The countless millions of the souls on earth,
The gods have brought to light from mortal birth,
Are carried there from the dark world of doom;
For countless numbers more there still is room.

Through trailing vines my Love and I oft wind,
With arms of love around each other twined.
This day, we passed along the Stream of Life,
Through blooming gardens, with sweet odors rife;
Beneath the ever-ripening fruits we walk,
Along dear paths, and sweetly sing, or talk,
While warbling birds around us fly in view,
From bloom to bloom with wings of every hue;
And large-eyed deer, no longer wild, us pass,
With young gazelles, and kiss each other's face.

"We now have reached the stately stairs of gold,
The city of the gods, here built of old.
The pearled pillars rise inlaid divine,
With lotus delicately traced with vine
In gold and diamonds, pearls, and unknown gems,
That wind to capital with blooming stems
Of lilies, honeysuckles, and the rose.
An avenue of columns in long rows
Of varied splendor, leads to shining courts
Where skilful spirit hands with perfect arts
Have chiselled glorious forms magnificent,
With ornate skill and sweet embellishment.
Their golden sculpture view on every hand,
Or carvèd images in pearl that stand
In clusters on the floor, or in long rows;
And on the walls of purest pearl there glows
The painting of each act of kindest deed
Each soul performs on earth; — is there portrayed.

"The scenes of tenderness and holy love,
There stand and never end, but onward move,
And fill the galleries of Heaven with joy,
And ever spirit artist hands employ.
The holiest deeds are carved in purest gold,
Or richest gems, and there are stored of old;
Within the inner court a fountain stood,
Of purest diamond moulded, whence there flowed
Into a golden chalice, — trickling cool,
The nectar of the gods, — a sparkling pool,

That murmuring sank beneath an emerald vase
That rested underneath; — the fountain's base.

"We entered then an arcade arching long
Through saph'rine galleries, and heard the song
That swelling came from temples hyaline;
And passed through lazite courts and halls divine,
While dazzling glories brighter round us shone.
How sweet then came the strains! with grander tone!
And, oh, my King! I reached the gates of pearl
That stood ajar, and heard the joyous whirl
That thrilled the sounding domes and lofty halls,
And echoed from the shining jasper walls.
I stood within the gate, and, oh, my friend,
Before that holy sight I prone did bend,
And hid my face upon the jacinth stairs.
A shining god raised me, and bade my fears
Be flown, and I beheld the glorious throne
Of crystaled light; with rays by man unknown.
The awful god there sat with brows sublime,
With robes of woven gold, and diadem
That beamed with blazing splendor o'er his head.
I thus beheld the god with presence dread,
The King of Kings, the Ancient of the Days,
While music rose around with joyous praise.
With awful thunders how they all rejoice!
And sing aloud with one commingled voice!

"What happiness it was to me, my King!
From bower to temple I went oft to sing,
Or spread my wings above the mount divine,
And viewed the fields from heights cerulean.
Those songs still linger on dear memory's ear,
And tireless rest upon me, ever cheer.
But from the Happy Fields, alas! I woke,
And from my sight the Heavenly vision broke;
But, oh, my King, it all was but a dream!
I hope the truth is such, as it did seem;
If it is true that such a Heavenly Land
Exists with happiness so glorious, grand,

Within that haven I would happy be!
But it, alas! is now denied to me.
For, oh, my King, to Hades I must go,
My wings unfold to fly to Realms of Woe;
In darkness to that other world unknown,
Alas! from joyous earth my life has flown.

“Farewell, my King, my love thou knowest well;
I go the road; in Hades soon shall dwell;
To dwelling of the god Irkalla fierce,
To walls where light for me can never pierce,
The road from which no soul may e’er return,
Where dust shall wrap me round, my body urn,
Where sateless ravens float upon the air,
Where light is never seen, or enters there,
Where I in darkness shall be crowned with gloom;
With crownèd heads of earth who there shall come
To reign with Anu’s favor or great Bel’s,
Then sceptreless are chained in their dark cells
With naught to drink but Hades’ waters there,
And dream of all the past with blank despair.
Within that world, I too shall ceaseless moan,
Where dwell the lord and the unconquered one,
And seers and great men dwell within that deep,
With dragons of those realms we all shall sleep;
Where King Etana[2] and god Ner doth reign
With Allat, the dark Under-World’s great queen,
Who reigns o’er all within her regions lone,
The Mistress of the Fields, her mother, prone
Before her falls, and none her face withstands;
But I will her approach, and take her hands,
And she will comfort me in my dread woe.
Alas! through yonder void I now must go!
My hands I spread! as birds with wings I fly!
Descend! descend! beneath that awful sky!”
The seer falls in the arms of Izdubar,
And he is gone;— ’tis clay remaineth here.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Gesdin,” the Tree of Life and Immortality.

[2] "Etana," Lord or King of Hades. He is mentioned in the Creation series of Legends as having reigned before the flood.

COLUMN IV

THE GRIEF OF THE KING OVER THE LOSS OF HIS SEER, AND HIS PRAYER TO THE MOON-GOD, WHO ANSWERS HIS PRAYER WITH A VISION

The King weeps bitterly with flowing tears
Above his seer when from him disappears
The last faint breath; and then in deepest woe
He cries: "And through that desert must I go?
Heabani, thou to me wast like the gods;
Oh, how I loved thee! must thou turn to clods?
Through that dread desert must I ride alone;
And leave thee here, Heabani, lying prone?
Alas, I leave thee in this awful place,
To find our Khasisadra, seek his face,
The son of Ubara-tutu, the seer;
Oh, how can I, my friend, thus leave thee here?
This night through those dark mountains I must go,
I can no longer bear this awful woe:
If I shall tarry here, I cannot sleep.
O Sin, bright moon-god, of yon awful deep!
I pray to thee upon my face, oh, hear
My prayer! my supplications bring thou near
To all the gods! grant thou to me, — e'en me,
A heart of strength and will to worship thee.

"Oh, is this death like that the seer hath dreamed?
Perhaps the truth then on his spirit gleamed!
If Land of Silver Sky is but a myth,
The other dream is true! e'en all he saith!
Oh, tell me, all ye sparkling stars,
That wing above thy glorious flight,
  And feel not Nature's jars;
But grandly, sweetly fling thy light
To our bright world beneath serene,
  Hath mortals on thee known

Or viewed beyond, — that great Unseen,
Their future fate by gods been shown?

“Oh, hear me, all ye gods on high!
To gods who love mankind I pray,
  Despairing, oh, I cry!
Oh, drive these doubts and fears away!
And yet — and yet, what truths have we?
O wondrous mortal, must thou die?
Beyond this end thou canst not see,
O Life! O Death! O mystery!

“The body still is here, with feeling dead!
And sight is gone! — and hearing from his head,
Nor taste, nor smell, nor warmth, nor breath of life!
Where is my seer? Perhaps, his spirit rife
E’en now in nothingness doth wander lone!
In agony his thoughts! with spirit prone!
In dread despair! — If conscious then, O gods!
He spake the truth! — His body to the clods
Hath turned! By this we feel, or hear, or see,
And when ’tis gone, — exist? — in agony!
To Hades hath he gone? as he hath thought!
Alas, the thought is torture, where have wrought
The gods their fearful curse! Ah, let me think!
The Silver Sky? Alas, its shining brink
He hath not crossed. The wrathful gods deny
Him entrance! Where, oh, where do spirits fly
Whom gods have cursed? Alas, he is condemned
To wander lone in that dark world, contemned
And from the Light of Happy Fields is barred!
Oh, why do gods thus send a fate so hard,
And cruel? O dear moon-god, moon-god Sin!
My seer hath erred. Receive his soul within
To joys prepared for gods and men! Though seer
He was, he immortality did fear,
As some unknown awakening in space.
Oh, turn upon him thy bright blessed face!
He was my friend! O moon-god, hear my prayer!
Imploring thee, doth pray thine Izdubar!”

And lo! a vision breaks before his eyes!
The moon-god hides the shadows of the skies,
And sweeps above with his soft, soothing light
That streams around his face; he drives the night
Before his rays, and with his hands sweet peace
He spreads through all the skies; and Strife doth cease!
A girdle spans the Heavens with pure light
That shines around the River of the Night,
Within the circling rays a host appears!
The singers of the skies, as blazing spheres!
Hark! Hear their harps and lyres that sweetly sound!
They sing! Oh, how the glowing skies resound!

"O King of Light and Joy and Peace,
Supreme thy love shall ever reign;
Oh, can our songs of bliss here cease?
Our souls for joy cannot restrain,
Sweep! Sweep thy lyres again!

The former things[1] are passed away,
Which we on earth once knew below;
And in this bright eternal day
We happiness alone can know
Where bliss doth ever flow."

ENDNOTES.

[1] Literally, "the former names," which appears on a fragment of the epic translated by Mr. Sayce. See Smith's "C.A. of Gen.," p. 259, which he has rendered "the former name, the new name."

COLUMN V

THE KING BURIES HIS SEER IN THE CAVE, AND CONTINUING HIS JOURNEY, HE MEETS TWO FIERY GIANTS WHO GUIDE THE SUN IN THE HEAVENS — THEY MAKE MERRY OVER THE KING, AND DIRECT HIM ON HIS WAY

The King within the cave his seer entombs,
And mourning sadly from the cavern comes;
The entrance closes with the rocks around,
Again upon his journey he is bound.

But soon within the mountains he is lost
Within the darkness, — as some vessel tost
Upon the trackless waves of unknown seas,
But further from the awful cavern flees.
The morning breaks o'er crags and lonely glens,
And he dismayed, the awful wild now scans.
He reins his steed and wondering looks around,
And sees of every side a mystic ground.
Before him stands the peak of Mount Masu,[1]
The cliffs and crags forlorn his eyes swift view,
And cedars, pines, among the rocks amassed,
That weirdly rise within the mountain fast.
Hark! hear that dreadful roaring all around!
What nameless horror thrills the shaking ground?

The King in terror stares! and see! his steed
Springs back! wild snorting, — trembling in his dread.
Behold! behold those forms there blazing bright!
Fierce flying by the earth with lurid light;
Two awful spirits, demons, or fierce gods,
With roaring thunders spring from their abodes!
From depths beneath the earth the monsters fly,
And upward lift their awful bodies high,
Yet higher! — higher! till their crests are crowned
By Heaven's gates; thus reaching from the ground
To heights empyrean, while downward falls
Each form, extending far 'neath Hades' walls.
And see! each god as molten metal gleams,
While sulphurous flame from hell each monster climbs!
Two fiery horrors reaching to the skies,
While wrathful lightning from each monster flies!

Hell's gate they guard with Death's remorseless face,
And hurl the sun around the realms of space
E'en swifter than the lightning, while it goes
Along its orbit, guided by their blows.
Dire tempests rise above from their dread blows,
And ever round a starry whirlwind glows;
The countless stars thus driven whirl around,
With all the circling planets circling round.

The King astounded lifts his staring eyes,
Into his face gray fear, with terror flies;
As they approach, his thoughts the King collects,
Thus over him one of the gods reflects.
“Who cometh yonder with the form of gods?”
The second says: “He comes from man’s abodes,
But with a mortal’s feebleness he walks;
Behold upon the ground alone he stalks.”

One lifts his mighty arm across the sky,
And strikes the sun as it goes roaring by;
The fiery world with whiter heat now glows,
While a vast flood of flame behind it flows,
That curling, forms bright comets, meteors,
And planets multiplies, and blazing stars;
The robe of flames spreads vast across the sky,
Adorned with starry gems that sparkling fly
Upon the ambient ether forming suns
That through new orbits sing their orisons;
Their pealing thunders rend the trembling sky,
The endless anthem of eternity.

The monster turning to the King then says,
When nearer now his awful form doth blaze:
“So thus you see, my son, the gods are strong,
And to provoke great power, is foolish, wrong;
But whither goest thou, thou sad-eyed King,
What message hast thou; — to us here would bring?”

The King now prostrate to the monsters prayed:
“Ye gods or demons, I within your glade
Of horrors, have unwilling come to seek
Our Khasisadra, who a spell can make
To turn the anger of the gods away.
Immortal lives the seer beside the sea,
He knoweth death and life, all secret things;
And this alone your servant to you brings.
The goddess sought my hand, which I denied,
And Anu’s fury thus I have defied;

This all my troubles caused, show me the way
To Khasisadra, this I ask and pray."

The god's vast face broke out with wondrous smiles,
And laughing, ripples rolled along for miles;
His mouth wide opened its abyss and yawned,
As earthquake gulf, far spreading through the ground.
His roaring laughter shakes the earth around,
"Ho! ho! my son! so you at last have found
The Queen can hate, as well as love her friends,
And on thy journey Ishtar's love thee sends?
A mortal wise thou wast, to her refuse,
For she can do with man what she may choose.
A mortal's love, in truth, is wondrous strong,
A glorious thing it is, Life's ceaseless song!
Within a cave upon the mountain side,
Thou there thy footsteps must to Hades guide,
Twelve *kaspu* go to yonder mountain gates,
A heart like thine may well defy the fates.
A darkness deep profound doth ever spread
Within those regions black, — Home of the Dead.
Go, Izdubar! within this land of Mas,
Thy road doth lead, and to the west[2] doth pass,
And may the maidens sitting by the walls
Refresh thee, lead thee to the Happy Halls."

The path they take behind the rising sun
The setting sun they pass, — with wings have flown
The scorpion men,[3] within wide space have gone,
Thus from his sight the monsters far have flown.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Mount Masu," the Mountains of Masius, or "Mons Masius" of Strabo (vi. 12, §§ 4, 14, 2, etc.), may be referred to by the author of the epic. These mountains are now known to the Turks as Jebel Tur and Karaiah Dag. — Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. pp. 9 and 25.

[2] Mr. Sayce translates thus: "the path of the sun."

[3] He also names the monsters "the scorpion men," and refers to an Assyrian cylinder on which two composite winged monsters are carved, with the winged emblem of the supreme god in the centre above them. The monsters have the feet of lions and the tails of scorpions. See illustration

in Smith's revised edition, by Sayce, "Chald. Acc. of Gen.," p. 276. The monsters were supposed to fly ahead of the sun, and as it passed guide it along its orbit.

COLUMN VI

IZDUBAR ENTERS HADES — THE SONG OF THE DALKHI IN THE CAVERN OF HORRORS — THE KING PASSES THROUGH HADES TO THE GARDEN OF THE GODS, AND SEES THE WONDERFUL FOUNTAIN OF LIFE'S WATERS

In a weird passage to the Under-World,
Where demon shades sit with their pinions furled
Along the cavern's walls with poisonous breath,
In rows here mark the labyrinths of Death.
The King with torch upraised, the pathway finds,
Along the way of mortal souls he winds,
Where shades sepulchral, soundless rise amid
Dark gulfs that yawn, and in the blackness hide
Their depths beneath the waves of gloomy lakes
And streams that sleep beneath the sulphurous flakes
That drift o'er waters bottomless, and chasms;
Where moveless depths receive Life's dying spasms.
Here Silence sits supreme on a drear throne
Of ebon hue, and joyless reigns alone
O'er a wide waste of blackness, — solitude
Black, at her feet, there sleeps the awful flood
Of mystery which grasps all mortal souls,
Where grisly horrors sit with crests of ghouls,
And hateless welcome with their eyes of fire
Each soul; — remorseless lead to terrors dire;
And ever, ever crown the god of Fate;
And there, upon her ebon throne she sate
The awful fiend, dark goddess Mam-mitu,
Who reigns through all these realms of La-Atzu.[1]

But hark! what are these sounds within the gloom?
And see! long lines of torches nearer come!
And now within a recess they have gone;
The King must pass their door! perhaps some one
Of them may see him! turn the hags of gloom
Upon him, as he goes by yonder room!

He nearer comes, and peers within; and see!
A greenish glare fills all the cave! and he
Beholds a blaze beneath a cauldron there;
Coiled, yonder lie the Dragons of Despair;
And lo! from every recess springs a form
Of shapeless horror! now with dread alarm
He sees the flitting forms wild whirling there,
And awful wailings come of wild despair:
But hark! the *dal-khis'* song rings on the air!
With groans and cries they shriek their mad despair:

Oh, fling on earth, ye demons dark,
  Your madness, hate, and fell despair,
And fling your darts at each we mark,
  That we may welcome victims here.

Then sing your song of hate, ye fiends,
  And hurl your pestilential breath,
Till every soul before us bends,
  And worship here the god of Death.

In error still for e'er and aye,
  They see not, hear not many things;
The unseen forces do not weigh,
  And each an unknown mystery brings.

In error still for e'er and aye,
  They delve for phantom shapes that ride
Across their minds alone, — and they
  But mock the folly of man's pride.

In error still for e'er and aye!
  They learn but little all their lives,
And Wisdom ever wings her way,
  Evading ever, — while man strives!

But hark! another song rings through the gloom,
  And, oh, how sweet the music far doth come!
Oh, hear it, all ye souls in your despair,
  For joy it brings to sorrowing ones e'en here!

"There is a Deep Unknown beyond,
That all things hidden well doth weigh!
On man's blind vision rests the bond
Of error still for e'er and aye!

"But to the mighty gods, oh, turn
For truth to lead you on your way,
And wisdom from their tablets learn,
And ever hope for e'er and aye!"

And see! the hags disperse within the gloom,
As those sweet sounds resound within the room;
And now a glorious light doth shine around,
Their rays of peace glide o'er the gloomy ground.
And lo! 'tis Papsukul, our god of Hope, —
With cheerful face comes down the fearful slope
Of rugged crags, and blithely strides to where
Our hero stands, amid the poisonous air,
And says:
"Behold, my King, that glorious Light
That shines beyond! and eye no more this sight
Of dreariness, that only brings despair,
For phantasy of madness reigneth here!"
The King in wonder carefully now eyes
The messenger divine with great surprise,
And says:
"But why, thou god of Hope, do I
Thus find thee in these realms of agony?
This World around me banishes thy feet
From paths that welcome here the god of Fate
And blank despair, and loss irreparable.
Why comest thou to woe immeasurable?"

"You err, my King, for hope oft rules despair;
I ofttimes come to reign with darkness here;
When I am gone, the god of Fate doth reign;
When I return, I soothe these souls again."
"So thus you visit all these realms of woe,
To torture them with hopes they ne'er can know?
Avaunt! If this thy mission is on Earth

Or Hell, thou leavest after thee but dearth!”
“Not so, my King! behold yon glorious sphere,
Where gods at last take all these souls from here!
Adieu! thou soon shalt see the World of Light,
Where joy alone these souls will e’er delight.”

The god now vanishes away from sight,
The hero turns his face toward the light;
Nine *kaspu* walks, till weird the rays now gleam,
As *zi-mu-ri* behind the shadows stream.
He sees beyond, umbrageous grots and caves,
Where odorous plants entwine their glistening leaves.
And lo! the trees bright flashing gems here bear!
And trailing vines and flowers do now appear,
That spread before his eyes a welcome sight,
Like a sweet dream of some mild summer night.
But, oh! his path leads o’er that awful stream,
Across a dizzy arch ‘mid sulphurous steam
That covers all the grimy bridge with slime.
He stands perplexed beside the waters grime,
Which sluggish move adown the limbo black,
With murky waves that writhe demoniac, —
As ebon serpents curling through the gloom
And hurl their inky crests, that silent come
Toward the yawning gulf, a tide of hate;
And sweep their dingy waters to Realms of Fate.

He cautious climbs the slippery walls of gloom,
And dares not look beneath, lest Fate should come;
He enters now the stifling clouds that creep
Around the causeway, while its shadows sleep
Upon the stream that sullen moves below, —

He slips! — and drops his torch! it far doth glow
Beneath him on the rocks! Alas, in vain
He seeks a path to bring it back again.
It moves! snatched by a *dal-khu’s* hand it flies
Away within the gloom, then falling dies
Within those waters black with a loud hiss
That breaks the silence of that dread abyss.

He turns again, amid the darkness gropes,
And careful climbs the cragged, slimy slopes,
And now he sees, oh, joy! the light beyond!
He springs! he flies along the glowing ground,
And joyous dashes through the waving green
That lustrous meets his sight with rays serene,
Where trees pure amber from their trunks distil,
Where sweet perfumes the groves and arbors fill,
Where zephyrs murmur odors from the trees,
And sweep across the flowers, carrying bees
With honey laden for their nectar store;
Where humming sun-birds upward flitting soar
O'er groves that bear rich jewels as their fruit,
That sparkling tingle from each youngling shoot,
And fill the garden with a glorious blaze
Of chastened light and tender thrilling rays.
He glides through that enchanted mystic world,
O'er streams with beds of gold that sweetly twirled
With woven splendor 'neath the blaze of gems
That crown each tree with glistening diadems.
The sounds of streams are weft with breezes, chant
Their arias with trembling leaves, — the haunt
Of gods! O how the tinkling chorus rings! —
With rhythms of the unseen rustling wings
Of souls that hover here where joy redeems
Them with a happiness that ever gleams.

The hero stands upon a damasked bed
Of flowers that glow beneath his welcome tread,
And softly sink with 'luring odors round,
And beckon him to them upon the ground.
Amid rare pinks and violets he lies,
And one sweet pink low bending near, he eyes.
With tender petals thrilling on its stem,
It lifts its fragrant face and says to him,
"Dear King, wilt thou love me as I do thee?
We love mankind, and when a mortal see
We give our fragrance to them with our love,
Their love for us our inmost heart doth move."
The King leans down his head, it kissing, says,

“Sweet beauty, I love thee? with thy sweet face?
My heart is filled with love for all thy kind.
I would that every heart thy love should find.”
The fragrant floweret thrills with tenderness,
With richer fragrance answers his caress.
He kisses it again and lifts his eyes,
And rises from the ground with glad surprise.

And see! the glorious spirits clustering round!
They welcome him with sweet melodious sound.
We hear their golden instruments of praise,
As they around him whirl a threading maze;
In great delight he views their beckoning arms,
And lustrous eyes, and perfect, moving forms.
And see! he seizes one bright, charming girl,
As the enchanting ring doth nearer whirl;
He grasps her in his arms, and she doth yield
The treasure of her lips, where sweets distilled
Give him a joy without a taint of guilt.
It thrills his heart-strings till his soul doth melt,
A kiss of chastity, and love, and fire,
A joy that few can dare to here aspire.
The beauteous spirit has her joy, and flees
With all her sister spirits ‘neath the trees.
And lo! the *gesdin*[2] shining stands,
With crystal branches in the golden sands,
In this immortal garden stands the tree,
With trunk of gold, and beautiful to see.
Beside a sacred fount the tree is placed,
With emeralds and unknown gems is graced,
Thus stands, the prince of emeralds,[3] Elam’s tree,
As once it stood, gave Immortality
To man, and bearing fruit, there sacred grew,
Till Heaven claimed again Fair Eridu.[4]

The hero now the wondrous fountain eyes;
Its beryl base to ruby stem doth rise,
To emerald and sapphire bands that glow,
Where the bright curvings graceful outward flow;
Around the fountain to its widest part,

The wondrous lazite bands now curling start
And mingle with bright amethyst that glows,
To a broad diamond band, — contracting grows
To *uk-ni* stone, turquoise, and clustering pearls,
Inlaid with gold in many curious curls
Of twining vines and tendrils bearing birds,
Among the leaves and blooming flowers, that words
May not reveal, such loveliness in art,
With fancies spirit hands can only start
From plastic elements before the eye,
And mingle there the charms of empery.
Beneath two diamond doves that shining glow
Upon the summit, the bright waters flow,
With aromatic splendors to the skies,
While glistening colors of the rainbow rise.

Here ends the tablet,[5] "When the hero viewed
The fountain which within the garden stood."

ENDNOTES.

[1] "La-Atzu," Hades, hell, the spirit-world.

[2] "Gesdin," the Tree of Life and Immortality.

[3] See Sayce's edition Smith's "Chald. Acc. of Gen.," p. 264.

[4] "Eridu," the Garden of Eden. Idem, pp. 84-86.

[5] "Tablet of the series; when the hero Izdubar saw the fountain." — Sayce's edition Smith's "Chald. Acc. of Gen.," p. 264, l. 14.

TABLET VIII — COLUMN I

THE KING'S ADVENTURE AT THE GATE OF THE GARDEN OF THE GODS WITH THE TWO MAIDENS — ONE OF THEM LEADS HIM INTO THE HAPPY HALLS — SONGS OF THE SABITU AND ZI-SI.

A gate half opened shows the silvery sea
Yet distant shining lambent on his way.
And now he sees young Siduri,[1] whose breast
Infuses life; all nature she hath blest,
Whose lips are flames, her arms are walls of fire,
Whose love yields pleasures that can never tire,
She to the souls who joy on earth here miss,
Grants them above a holier, purer bliss.
The maiden sits within a holy shrine
Beside the gate with lustrous eyes divine,
And beckons to the King, who nearer comes,
And near her glows the Happy Palace domes.

And lo! 'tis she his lips have fondly kissed
Within the garden, when like fleeing mist
She disappeared with the bright spirit Seven,[2]
The Sabit, who oft glide from earth to Heaven.
And lo! one of the Seven, Sabitu,
Emerging from the gate doth jealous view
The coming hero who hath kissed her mate,
She angry springs within to close the gate,
And bars it, enters then the inner halls,
And Izdubar to her now loudly calls,
"O Sabitu! what see-est thou, my maid?
Of Izdubar is Sabitu afraid?
Thy gate thou barrest thus before my face.
Quick, open for me! or I'll force the brass!"
The maid now frightened opens wide the door.
The Sar and Siduri now tread the floor
Of the bright palace where sweet joy doth reign.
Through crystal halls 'neath golden roofs the twain
Next go within a lofty ceilinged hall,
With shining pearled columns, golden wall,

And purple silken hangings at each door,
With precious gems inlaid upon the floor;
Where couches grand are spread for one to rest
Beneath the softened rays that sweet invest
The senses with a thrill of happiness;
Where Siduri with joy all souls doth bless.
The maid sits on a couch and turns her face
Toward the King with that immortal grace
That love to gods and men will e'er bestow.
Their eyes now mingling with a happy glow,
The maiden sweetly says: "Where wouldst thou go?
Within these Happy Halls we joy but know,
And if thou wilt, my King, my heart is thine!
Our love will ever bring us bliss divine."

"Alas, my maid, thy love to me is dear,
And sad am I that I must go from here.
I came from Erech by advice from one
I loved more than thou canst e'er know, but gone
From me is my Heabani, faithful seer.
Across a desert waste have I come here,
And he has there to dust returned, — to dust —
O how the love of my friend I did trust!
I would that we had never started here,
I now must find the great immortal seer."

The maiden turns her glowing eyes on him,
Replies: "My King, thou knowest joy may gleam,
Take courage, weary heart, and sing a song!
The hour of sorrow can never be long;
The day will break, and flood thy soul with joy,
And happiness thy heart will then employ!
Each day must end with all its sorrow, woe,
Oh, sing with me, dear heart! I love thee so!"
And lo! the curtains flung aside, now comes
The joyous Sabitu from yonder rooms,
And gathering round, a song they gayly sing,
Oh, how with music the bright walls now ring!
If evil thou hast done, my King,

Oh, pray! oh, pray!
And to the gods thy offerings bring,
And pray! and pray!
The sea is roaring at thy feet,
The storms are coming, rain and sleet;
To all the gods,
Oh, pray to them! oh, pray!

Chorus

To all the gods,
Oh, pray to them! oh, pray!

Thy city we will bless, O Sar!
With joy, with joy!
And prosper thee in peace and war
With joy, with joy!
And bless thee every day and night,
Thy kingly robes keep pure and bright;
Give thee bright dreams,
O glorious king of war!

Chorus

Give thee bright dreams,
O glorious king of war!

And if thy hand would slay thy foes
In war, in war!
With thee returning victory goes
In war, in war!
We grant thee victory, my King;
Like marshes swept by storms, we bring
Our power to thee
With victory in war!

Chorus

Our power to thee
With victory in war!

And if thou wouldst the waters pass,
The sea, the sea!
We'll go with thee in every place,
With thee, with thee!
To Hea's halls and glorious throne,
Where he unrivalled reigns alone,
To Hea go
Upon his throne of snow.

Chorus

To Hea go
Upon his throne of snow.

And if thine anger rules thy heart
As fire, as fire!
And thou against thy foes would start
With ire, with ire!
Against thy foes thy heart be hard,
And all their land with fire be scarred,
Destroy thy foes!
Destroy them in thine ire!

Chorus

Destroy thy foes!
Destroy them in thine ire!

And lo! young Siduri hath disappeared,
And with the Zisi crowned she now appeared;
The corn-gods in a crescent round their queen,
She waves before the king her Nusku[3] green,
And sings with her sweet voice a joyful lay,
And all the Zisi join the chorus gay:

[4]A heifer of the corn am I,
Kara! Kara![5]
Yoked with the kine we gayly fly,
Kara! Kara!
The ploughman's hand is strong and drives
The glowing soil, the meadow thrives!

Before the oxen
Sa-lum-mat-u na-si.[6]

Chorus

Before the oxen
Sa-lum-mat-u na-si.

The harvesters are in the corn!
Kara! Kara!
Our feet are flying with the morn,
Kara! Kara!
We bring thee wealth! it is thine own!
The grain is ripe! oh, cut it down!
The yellow grain
Sa-lum-mat-u na-si.

Chorus

The yellow grain
Sa-lum-mat-u na-si.

The fruit of death, oh, King, taste it not!
Taste not! taste not!
With fruit of Life the land is fraught
Around! around!
The fruit of Life we give to thee
And happiness, oh, ever see.
All joy is thine
Through Earth and Heaven's bound.

Chorus

All joy is thine
Through Earth and Heaven's bound.

Our corn immortal there is high
And ripe! and ripe!
And ever ripens 'neath that sky
As gold! as gold!
Our corn is bearded,[7] thus 'tis known,

And ripens quickly when ’tis grown.
Be joy with thee,
Our love around thee fold!

Chorus

Be joy with thee,
Our love around thee fold!

Our King from us now goes, now goes!
Away! away!
His royal robe behind him glows
Afar! afar!
Across the waves where Hea reigns
The waters swollen he soon gains!
To our great seer,
He sails to him afar!

Chorus

To our great seer,
He sails to him afar!

And he will reach that glorious land
Away! away!
Amid our fruit-trees he will stand
That day! that day!
Our fruit so sweet the King will eat,
Nor bitter mingle with the sweet.
In our seer’s land
That glows afar away!

Chorus

In our seer’s land
That glows afar away!

The singing spirits from them fled, and he
Alone stood thinking by young Siduri.

The King leaned on his bow, and eyed the maid,
A happy look came in his eyes, — and fled,
For lo! the curtain quick aside is pushed,
And Sabitu within upon them rushed.
She stately glides across the shining floor,
And eyes them both, then turns toward the door.
But Izdubar is equal to the task,
With grace now smiling, of the maid doth ask:
“O Sabitu! wouldst thou tell me the way
To Khasisadra? for I go this day.
If I the sea may cross, how shall I go?
Or through the desert? thou the path mayst know.”
The maiden startled looks upon his face,
And thus she answers him with queenly grace:
“So soon must go? Thou canst not cross the sea,
For thou wilt perish in the waves that way.
Great Samas once the way of me did ask,
And I forbade him, but the mighty task
He undertook, and crossed the mighty deep,
Where Death’s dark waters lie in wait asleep:
His mighty car of gold swept through the skies,
With fiery chargers now he daily flies.
When I approach thee, thou from me wouldst flee?
But if thou must so soon thus go, the sea
Perhaps thou too canst cross, if thou wilt ‘void
Death’s waters, which relentless ever glide.
But Izdubar, Ur-Hea, here hath come!
The boatman of the seer, who to his home
Returns. He with an axe in yonder woods
A vessel builds to cross the raging floods.
If thou desirest not to cross with him,
We here will welcome thee through endless time;
But if thou goest, may they see thy face
Thou seekest, — welcome thee, and thy heart bless.”

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Siduri,” the “pourer” or “shedder forth,” the “all-bountiful,” the goddess who brings the rain, and mists, and running streams to fill the vegetable world with its productions; the goddess who presides over productive nature. She was also called “the Goddess of Wisdom.”

[2] Seven spirits of the earth and heaven, the daughters of Hea.

[3] "Nusku," a budding or blooming shrub or branch, the wand of the Queen, used in magical incantations, which was called the plant of Nusku, the divining-rod.

[4] See Accadian songs, "C.I.W.A.," vol. ii. 15, 16, and translated by Mr. Sayce in "Records of the Past, vol. xi. pp. 154, 155.

[5] "Kara!" cry out, sing, shout.

[6] "Sa-lum-mat-u na-si," lift up the shadows, or be joyful.

[7] "Our corn is bearded." This refers to the heads of wheat which are bearded. See translation by Mr. Sayce, "the corn is bearded." ("Records of the Past," vol. xi. p. 156.)

COLUMN II

THE KING ON LEAVING THE HAPPY HALLS MEETS UR-HEA, THE BOATMAN OF THE SEER KHASISADRA — THEY BUILD A SHIP AND EMBARK ON AN UNKNOWN SEA, AND ON THEIR VOYAGE PASS THROUGH THE WATERS OF DEATH

And Izdubar turned from the Halls and goes
Toward a fountain in the park, whence flows
A merry stream toward the wood. He finds
An axe beside the fount, and thoughtful winds,
Through groves of sandal-wood and mastic-trees
And algum, umritgana. Now he sees
The sig-a-ri and ummakana, pines,
With babuaku; and ri-wood brightly shines
Among the azuhu; all precious woods
That man esteems are grown around, each buds
Continuous in the softened, balmy air.
He stops beneath a musrilkanna where
The pine-trees spread toward the glowing sea,
Wild mingled with the surman, sa-u-ri.

The King, now seated, with himself communes,
Heeds not the warbling of the birds, and tunes
Of gorgeous songsters in the trees around,
But sadly sighing gazes on the ground:
"And I a ship must build; alas! I know

Not how I shall return, if I thus go.
The awful Flood of Death awaits me there,
Wide-stretching from this shore — I know not where."
He rests his chin upon his hand in thought,
Full weary of a life that woe had brought;
He says: "When I remember Siduri,
Whose heart with fondest love would comfort me
Within these Happy Halls, why should I go
To pain and anguish, death, mayhap, and woe?
But will I thus desert my kingdom, throne?
For one I know not! What! my fame alone!
Mine honor should preserve! and royal state!
Alas! this Fame is but a dream of — Fate!

"A longing after that which does not cheer
The heart. Applause of men, or thoughtless sneer,
Is naught to me, I am alone! alone!
This Immortality cannot atone
For my hard fate that wrings mine aching heart.
I long for peace and rest, and I must start
And find it, leave these luring bright abodes, —
I seek the immortality of gods.
This Fame of man is not what it doth seem,
It sleeps with all the past, a vanished dream.
My duty calls me to my kingdom, throne!
To Khasisadra go, whose aid alone
Can save my people from an awful fate
That hangs above them, born of Fiends of hate.
And I shall there return without my seer!
I live; and he is dead. Why did I hear
His words advising me to come? Alas!
I sadly all my weary days shall pass;
No one shall love me as my seer, my friend.

"But what said Siduri? — There comes an end
At last to sorrow, joy will hopeful spring
On wings of Light! Oh, how my heart will sing!
I bless ye all, ye holy spirits here!
Your songs will linger with me, my heart cheer;
Upon my way I turn with joy again!

How true your joyful song! your memory then
Will keep me hopeful through yon darkened way;
How bright this land doth look beside the sea!”

He looks across the fields; the river glows
And winds beside taprani-trees, and flows
By teberinth and groves of tarpikhi
And ku-trees; curving round green mez-kha-i,
Through beds of flowers, that kiss its waves and spring
Luxuriant, — with songs the groves far ring.
Now thinking of the ship, he turns his eyes,
Toward the fountain, — springs up with surprise!
“’Tis he! the boatman comes! Ur-Hea comes!
And, oh! at last, I’ll reach the glistening domes
Of Khasisadra’s palaces, — at last
My feet shall rest, — upon that land be placed.”

And now Ur-Hea nearer makes his way,
And Izdubar addressing him, doth say:
“Ur-Hea is thy name? from yonder sea
Thou comest, from the seer across the way?”

“Thou speakest truth, great Sar, what wouldst thou have?”
“How shall I Khasisadra reach? The grave
He hath escaped, Immortal lives beyond,
For I to him upon my way am bound;
Shall I the waters cross or take my way
Through yon wide desert, for I start this day?”

“Across the sea we go, for I with thee
Return to him, — I know the winding way.
Thine axe of bronze with precious stones inlaid
With mine, we’ll use beneath the pine-trees’ shade.”

And now, within the grove a ship they made,
Complete and strong as wise Ur-Hea bade.
They fell the pines five *gar* in length, and hew
The timbers square, and soon construct a new
And buoyant vessel, firmly fixed the mast,
And tackling, sails, and oars make taut and fast.
Thus built, toward the sea they push its prow,

Equipped complete, provisioned, launch it now.
An altar next they raise and thus invoke
The gods, their evil-workings to revoke:

"[1]O Lord of Charms, Illustrious! who gives
Life to the Dead, the Merciful who lives,
And grants to hostile gods of Heaven return,
To homage render, worship thee, and learn
Obedience! Thou who didst create mankind
In tenderness, thy love round us, oh, wind!
The Merciful, the God with whom is Life,
Establish us, O Lord, in darkest strife.
O never may thy truth forgotten be,
May Accad's race forever worship thee."

One month and fifteen days upon the sea,
Thus far the voyagers are on their way;
Now black before them lies a barren shore,
O'ertopped with frowning cliffs, whence comes a roar
Of some dread fury of the elements
That shakes the air and sweeping wrath foments
O'er winds and seas.
  And see! a yawning cave,
There opens vast into a void dislave,
Where fremèd shadows ride the hueless waves.
Dread Ninazu whose deathless fury craves
For hapless victims lashes with a roar
The mighty seas upon that awful shore.
The Fiends of Darkness gathered lie in wait,
With Mammitu, the goddess of fierce hate,
And Gibil[2] with his spells, and Nibiru[3]
The twin-god of black Fate, and grim Nusku[4]
The keeper of red thunders, and Urbat[5]
The dog of Death, and fiend of Queen Belat;[6]
And Nuk-khu, and the black-browed Ed-hutu[7]
The gods of darkness here with Tsi-lat-tu.[8]

And see! Dark Rimmon[9] o'er a crag alone!
And Gibil with his blasting malisoun,
Above with his dark face maleficent,

Who wields a power o’er men omnipotent
Forlore! forlore! the souls who feel that blast
Which sweeps around that black forbidding coast!
Fierce whirling storms and hurricanes here leap,
With blasting lightnings maltalent and sweep
The furious waves that lash around that shore,
As the fierce whirl of some dread maëlstrom’s power!
Above the cavern’s arch! see! Ninip[10] stands!
He points within the cave with beckoning hands!
Ur-Hea cries: “My lord! the tablets[11] say,
That we should not attempt that furious way!
Those waters of black death will smite us down!
Within that cavern’s depths we will but drown.”
“We cannot go but once, my friend, that road,”
The hero said, “’Tis only ghosts’ abode!”
“We go, then, Izdubar, its depths will sound,
But we within that gloom will whirl around,
Around, within that awful whirlpool black, —
And once within, we dare not then turn back, —
How many times, my friend, I dare not say,
’Tis written, we within shall make our way.”

The foaming tide now grasped them with its power,
And billowed round them with continuous roar;
Away! they whirl! with growing speed, till now
They fly on lightnings’ wings and ride the brow
Of maddened tempests o’er the dizzy deep.
So swift they move, — the waves in seeming sleep
Beneath them, whirling there with force unseen.

But see! Updarting with a sulphurous gleen,
The hag of Death leaps on the trembling prow!
Her eyes, of fire and hate, turns on them now!
With famine gaunt, and haggard face of doom,
She sits there soundless in the awful gloom.

“O gods!” shrieked Izdubar in his despair,
“Have I the god of Fate at last met here?
Avaunt, thou Fiend! hence to thy pit of Hell!
Hence! hence! and rid me of thy presence fell!”

And see! she nearer comes with deathless ire,
With those fierce, moveless, glaring eyes of fire!
Her wand is raised! she strikes!

"O gods!" he screams;
He falls beneath that bolt that on them gleams,
And she is gone within the awful gloom.
Hark! hear those screams!
"Accurst! Accurst thy doom!"
And lo! he springs upon his feet in pain,
And cries:
"Thy curses, fiend! I hurl again!"
And now a blinding flash disparts the black
And heavy air, a moment light doth break;
And see! the King leans fainting 'gainst the mast,
With glaring eyeballs, clenched hands, — aghast!
Behold! that pallid face and scaly hands!
A leper white, accurst of gods, he stands!
A living death, a life of awful woe,
Incurable by man, his way shall go.
But oh! the seer in all enchantments wise
Will cure him on that shore, or else he dies.

And see! the vessel's prow with shivering turns,
Adown the roaring flood that gapes and churns
Beneath like some huge boiling cauldron black,
Thus whirl they in the slimy cavern's track.
And spirit ravens round them fill the air,
And see! they fly! the cavern sweeps behind!
Away the ship doth ride before the wind!
The darkness deep from them has fled away,
The fiends are gone! — the vessel in the spray
With spreading sails has caught the glorious breeze,
And dances in the light o'er shining seas;
The blissful haven shines upon their way,
The waters of the Dawn sweep o'er the sea!
They proudly ride up to the glowing sand,
And joyfully the King springs to the land.

ENDNOTES.

[1] This remarkable prayer is to be found among a collection of prayers which are numbered and addressed to separate deities. It seems that the prayers were originally Accadian, and were afterward adopted by the Assyrians, and made to apply to one god (Hea). Professor Oppert and Professor Sayce think, however, that they are connected in one hymn to Hea. This may have been so after the Assyrians adopted them, but they are distinct, and addressed to separate gods. The one we have selected is addressed to Hea, the Creator of Mankind, Sayce edition Smith's "C.A.G.," pp. 75 to 80. The one we have selected is found at the top of page 77, idem.

[2] "Gibil," the god of fire, of spells and witchcraft.

[3] "Nibiru," the god of fate, and ruler of the stars.

[4] "Nusku," the gatekeeper of thunders.

[5] "Urbat," the dog of Death.

[6] "Belat" or "Allat," the Queen of Hades.

[7] "Ed-hutu," god of darkness.

[8] "Tsi-lat-tu," shades of night.

[9] "Rimmon," god of storms.

[10] "Ninip," god of bravery and war.

[11] "Tablets." This may mean charts or scrolls similar to the charts used by modern navigators. Babylon communicated with all nations in commerce.

COLUMN III

KHASISADRA ON THE SHORE SEES THE VESSEL COMING, AND RETURNING TO HIS PALACE, SENDS HIS DAUGHTER MUA TO WELCOME IZDUBAR — MEETING OF THE KING AND SAGE

Beneath a ku-tree Khasisadra eyes
The spreading sea beneath the azure skies,
An agèd youth with features grave, serene,
Matured with godly wisdom; ne'er was seen
Such majesty, nor young, nor old, — a seer
In purpose high. The countenance no fear
Of death has marred, but on his face sublime
The perfect soul has left its seal through time.

“Ah, yes! the dream was clear, the vision true,
I saw him on the ship! Is it in view?
A speck! Ah, yes! He comes! he comes to me
My son from Erech comes across the sea!”
Back to his palace goes the holy seer,
And Mua[1] sends, who now the shore doth near;
As beautiful as Waters of the Dawn,
Comes Mua here, as graceful as a fawn.

The King now standing on the glistening sand,
Beholds the beauteous Mua where she stands,
With hands outstretched in welcome to the King,
“O thou sweet spirit, with thy snowy wing,
Oh, where is Khasisadra in this land?
I seek the aid of his immortal hand.”
“Great Sar,” said Mua, “hadst thou not a seer,
That thou shouldst come to seek my father here?”

“’Tis true, my daughter dear, a seer had I,
Whom I have lost, — a dire calamity;
By his advice and love I undertake
This journey. But alas! for mine own sake
He fell by perils on this lengthened way;
He was not strong, and feared that he should lay
Himself to rest amid the mountains wild.
He was a warrior, with him I killed
Khumbaba, Elam’s king who safely dwelt
Within a forest vast of pines, and dealt
Destruction o’er the plains. We razed his walls —
My friend at last before me dying falls.

“Alas! why did my seer attempt to slay
The dragons that we met upon the way,
He slew his foe, and like a lion died.
Ah, me! the cause, when I the gods defied,
And brought upon us all this awful woe;
In sorrow o’er his death, my life must flow!
For this I came to find the ancient seer,
Lead me to him, I pray, if he lives here.”

Then Mua leads him through the glorious land
Of matchless splendor, on the border grand
Of those wide Happy Fields that spread afar
O'er beaming hills and vales, where ambient air
With sweetest zephyrs sweeps a grand estrade,
Where softest odors from each flowering glade
Lull every sense aswoon that breathes not bliss
And harmony with World of Blessedness.
'Neath trees of luring fruits she leads the way,
Through paths of flowers where night hath fled away,
A wilderness of varied crystal flowers,
Where fragrance rests o'er clustering, shining bowers.
Each gleaming cup its nectared wine distils,
For spirit lips each chalice ever fills.

Beyond the groves a lucent palace shone
In grandest splendor near an inner zone;
In amethyst and gold divinely rose,
With glories scintillant the palace glows.
A dazzling halo crowns its lofty domes,
And spreading from its summit softly comes
With grateful rays, and floods the balustrades
And golden statues 'neath the high arcades;
A holy palace built by magic hand
With wondrous architecture, portals grand,
And aurine turrets piled to dizzy heights,
Oh, how its glory Izdubar delights!

Beneath majestic arcades carved, they pass,
Up golden steps that shine like polished glass,
Through noble corridors with sculptured walls,
By lofty columns, archways to the halls
Of glories, the bright harbinger of fanes
Of greater splendor of the Heavenly plains.
Beneath an arch of gems the King espies
A form immortal, he who death defies.
Advancing forth the sage his welcome gives,
"'Tis Izdubar who comes to me and lives!"
Embracing him he leads him in a room,
Where many a curious graven tablet, tome,

And scrolls of quaint and old forgotten lore
Have slept within for centuries of yore.
The tablets high are heaped, the alcoves full,
Where truth at last has found a welcome goal.
In wisdom's room, the sage his guest has led,
And seats him till the banquet high is spread;
Of Izdubar he learns his journeys great,
How he for aid has left his throne of state.

The maid now comes, him welcomes to the hall
Of banquets, where are viands liberal,
And fruits, immortal bread, celestial wines
Of vintage old; and when the hero dines,
They lead him to his private chamber room
That overlooks the wondrous garden's bloom
Across the plain and jasper sea divine,
To Heaven's mountains rising sapphirine.
Four beauteous streams of liquid silver lead
Across the plain; the shining sea they feed;
The King reclines upon his couch at rest,
With dreams of happiness alone is blest.

ENDNOTES.

[1] "Mua," the waters of the dawn, the daughter of Khasisadra.

COLUMN IV

THE KING IS CURED BY THE INCANTATIONS OF KHASISADRA AND HE BECOMES IMMORTAL

When Izdubar awakes, they lead the way
To the bright fount beside the jasper sea.
The seer, with Mua and Ur-Hea, stands
Beside the King, who holily lifts his hands
Above an altar where the glowing rays
Of sacred flames are curling; thus he prays:

"Ye glorious stars that shine on high,
Remember me! Oh, hear my cry,
Su-ku-nu,[1] bright Star of the West!

Dil-gan, my patron star, oh, shine!
O Mar-bu-du, whose rays invest
Dear Nipur[2] with thy light divine,
The flames that shines, upon the Waste!
O Papsukul, thou Star of Hope,
Sweet god of bliss, to me, oh, haste,
Before I faint and lifeless drop!
O Adar,[3] Star of Ninazu,
Be kind! O Ra-di-tar-tu-khu.
Sweet U-tu-ca-ga-bu,[4] dear Star
With thy pure face that shines afar!

"Oh, pardon me! each glorious Star!
Za-ma-ma,[5] hear me! O Za-ma-ma!
Ca-ca-ma "Ca-ca-ma."[6]

"[7]Remember him! O dear Za-ma-ma!
Ca-ca-ma "Ca-ca-ma."

As Izdubar doth end his holy prayer
He kneels, and they now bear his body where
A snowy couch doth rest beneath a shrine
That stands near by the glowing fount divine,
And Khasisadra lifts his holy hands,
His incantation chants, and o'er him stands.

"O Bel, Lord of An-nu-na-ci,
O Nina, Hea's daughter! Zi![8]
This Incantation aid,
Remember us, Remember!

"[9]Ye tempests of High Heaven, be still!
Ye raging lightnings, oh, be calm!
From this brave man his strength is gone,
Before thee see him lying ill!
Oh, fill with strength his feeble frame,
O Ishtar, shine from thy bright throne!
From him thine anger turn away,
Come from thy glowing mountains, come!
From paths untrod by man, oh, haste!
And bid this man arise this day.

With strength divine as Heaven's dome,
His form make pure and bright and chaste!
The evil curse, oh, drive away!

"Go! A-sac-cu-kab-bi-lu,[10] go!
O Nam-ta-ru-lim-nu,[11] oh, fly!
U-tuc-cu-lim-nu[12] from him flow!
A-lu-u-lim-nu,[13] hence! away!
E-ci-mu-lim-nu,[14] go! thou fiend!
Fly, Gal-lu-u-lim-nu,[15] afar!
Fly from his head! his life! I send
Thee, fiend! depart from Izdubar!
Go from his forehead, breast, and heart,
And feet! Avaunt! thou fiend! depart!
Oh, from the Curse, Thou Spirit High!
And Spirit of the Earth, come nigh!
Protect him, may his spirit fly!
O Spirit of the Lord of Lands,
And Goddess of the Earthly Lands,
Protect him! raise with strength his hands!

"Oh, make him as the Holy Gods,
His body, limbs, like thine Abodes,
And like the Heavens may he shine!
And like the Earth with rays divine!
Quick! with the khis-ib-ta[16] to bring
High Heaven's Charm — bind round his brow!
The sis-bu[17] place around his hands!
And let the sab-u-sat[18] bright cling!
The mus-u-kat[19] lay round him now,
And wrap his feet with rad-bat-bands,[20]
And open now his zik-a-man[21]
The sis-bu cover, and his hands
The bas-sat[22] place around his form!
From baldness and disease, this man
Cleanse, make him whole, head, feet, and hands!

"O Purity, breathe thy sweet charm!

“Restore his health and make his skin
Shine beautifully, beard and hair
Restore! make strong with might his loins!
And may his body glorious shine
As the bright gods! —

Ye winds him bear!
Immortal flesh to his soul joins!
Thou Spirit of this man! arise!
Come forth with joy! Come to the skies!”

And lo! his leprosy has fled away!
He stands immortal, — purged! released from clay!

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Su-ku-nu” or “Kak-si-di,” the star of the West.

[2] “Nipur,” the city from which Izdubar came.

[3] “Adar,” the star of Ninazu, the goddess of death, who cursed him with leprosy in the cavern. This star was also called “Ra-di-tar-tu-khu.”

[4] “U-tu-ca-ga-bu,” the star with the white or pure face.

[5] “Za-ma-ma,” another name for Adar. This is the deity for whom Izdubar or Nammurabi built the great temple whose top, in the language of the Babylonians, reached the skies. It was afterward called the “Tower of the Country” or “Tower of Babylon.” This was perhaps the Tower of Babel. He also restored another temple called “Bite-muris,” which was dedicated to the same goddess.

[6] “Amen and amen!” The word “amen” is usually repeated three times.

[7] The response of the priest Khasi-sadra.

[8] “Zi,” spirits.

[9] See “T.S.B.A.,” vol. ii. p. 31.

[10] “A-sac-cu-kab-bi-lu,” evil spirit of the head.

[11] “Nam-ta-ru-lim-nu,” evil spirit of the life or heart.

[12] “U-tuc-cu-lim-nu,” evil spirit of the forehead.

[13] “A-lu-u-lim-nu,” evil spirit of the breast.

[14] “E-ci-mu-lim-nu,” evil spirit of the stomach.

[15] “Gal-lu-u-lim-nu,” evil spirit of the hands.

[16] “Khis-ib-ta,” a strip of parchment or linen on which was inscribed a holy text, a charm like that used by the Jews, a philactery.

[17] “Sis-bu,” the same as the preceding.

[18] “Sab-u-sat,” was perhaps a holy cloth, also inscribed in the same manner.

[19] “Mus-u-kat,” was also of the same character as the preceding.

[20] “Rad-bat-bands,” similar bands to the khis-ib-ta.

[21] “Zik-a-man,” this is unknown, it perhaps was the inner garment.

[22] “Bas-sat,” supposed to be the outside or last covering placed over the person so treated. That some such ceremony was performed in the case of Izdubar seems to be undoubted. See “Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.,” vol. ii. p. 31; also Sayce’s edition Smith’s “C.A. of G.,” p. 290.

COLUMN V

IZDUBAR FALLS IN LOVE WITH MUA, AND OFFERS HER HIS HAND

“O Mua! thou bright Waters of the Dawn!
Oh, where art thou?” one cries as he doth run
Through the bright garden. See! ’tis Izdubar!
Immortal! glorious! our King of War!
And now in love is seeking Mua here.
He scarcely treads the ground as he comes near;
A glow of youth immortal on his cheek,
A form that sorrow, death, will never seek
Within these Happy Fields, his eyes with light
That Love alone may give, show his delight.

A dazzling pillared vista round him shines,
Where golden columns bear the bowering shrines,
With gemmèd domes that clustering round him rise,
‘Mid fruit-trees, flashing splendors to the skies.

He goes through silver grots along a zone,
And now he passes yonder blazing throne,
O'er diamond pavements, passes shining seats
Whereon the high and holy conclave meets
To rule the empires vast that spread away
To utmost bounds in all their vast array.
Around the whole expanse grand cestes spread
O'er paths sidereal unending lead.
As circling wheels within a wheel they shine,
Enveloping the Fields with light divine.
A noontide glorious of shining stars,
Where humming music rings from myriad cars,
Where pinioned multitudes their harps may tune,
And in their holy sanctity commune.

And see! here Mua comes! she stops and waits
Within a *gesdin* bower beside its gates.
Around, above her spreads a flowering vine,
And o'er a ruby fountain almandine.
And on a graven garnet table grand,
Carved cups of solid pearl and tilpe[1] stand.
A Zadu[2] reservoir stands near, which rounds
The fount wherein the fragrant nectar bounds.
The ground is strewn with pari[3] gems and pearls,
Wherefrom the light now softly backward hurls
Its rays o'er couches of paruti[4] stone,
Soft cushioned, circling in the inner zone
Beside the shining kami-sadi way,[5]
Where nectar fountains in their splendor play.
The path leads far along Life's beauteous stream,
That ever through this World of Joy doth gleam.

And see! the hero comes! and now doth near
The maiden, where with Love she waits him here.
She flings a flowering garland, weaves it round
His form as he comes by! He turns around,
And she enwraps his breast and arms, and says:

"Dear Izdubar! and thus my lover strays!
I'll bind thee with this fragrant chain to keep

Thee ever by my side! thy pleasant sleep
Hath kept my lover from my side too long!”

“O thou sweet spirit, like a warbling song
Thy words are to my heart! I sought for thee,
And thy bright face and presence did not see;
I come to tell thee that I must return,
When from thy father all the past shall learn.”

“And wilt thou go from me to earth again?
No! no! dear Izdubar, I thee enchain!”

“’Tis true, my love, I must return to men;
My duty calls me to my throne again.”

“Dear Izdubar! my friend! my love! my heart!
I cannot let thee from my soul depart!
Thou shinest in my breast as some bright star!
And shall I let thee from me go afar?”

“But Mua, we immortal are, and we
There might return; and thou on earth shalt see
The glories of my kingdom, — be my queen!
Upon a couch I’ll seat thee, there to reign
With me, my beauteous queen, — beside me sit;
And kings will come to us and kiss thy feet.
With all my wealth I’ll clothe thee, ever love
Thee, fairest of these glorious souls that move
Within this Happy World. My people there
Shall love us, — ever drive away all care!”

When Mua heard him offer thus his hand,
She then unbinds him, — thoughtful now doth stand.

ENDNOTES.

[1] “Tilpe,” a precious gem known only to the Babylonians.

[2] “Zadu,” a precious gem known only to the Babylonians.

[3] “Pari,” an unknown gem.

[4] “Paruti,” an unknown gem.

[5] “Kami-sadi” way, a path paved with unknown gems. These precious stones are mentioned on the various inscriptions in the list of precious jewels with gold, diamonds, pearls, etc., taken as spoils from their enemies.

COLUMN VI

MUA’S ANSWER

Sweet Mua lifts her eyes toward the heights
That glow afar beneath the softened lights
That rest upon the mountain’s crystalline.
And see! they change their hues incarnadine
To gold, and emerald, and opaline;
Swift changing to a softened festucine
Before the eye. And thus they change their hues
To please the sight of every soul that views
Them in that Land; but she heeds not the skies,
Or glorious splendor of her home; her eyes
Have that far look of spirits viewing men
On earth, from the invisible mane,
That erstwhile rests upon the mortal eye, —
A longing for that home beyond the sky;
A yearning for that bliss that love imparts,
Where pain and sorrow reach no mortal hearts.

A light now breaks across her beauteous face;
She, turning, says to him with Heavenly grace:

“Dear Izdubar, thou knowest how I love
Thee, how my heart my love doth daily prove;
And, oh, I cannot let thee go alone.
I know not what awaits each soul there gone.
Our spirits often leave this glorious land,
Invisible return on earth, and stand
Amidst its flowerets, ‘neath its glorious skies.
Thou knowest every spirit here oft flies
From earth, but none its secrets to us tell,
Lest some dark sorrow might here work its spell.

And, oh, I could not see dark suffering, woe
There spread, with power none to stop its flow!

“I saw thee coming to us struck with fire,
Oh, how to aid thee did my heart desire!
Our tablets tell us how dread sorrow spreads
Upon that world and mars its glowing meads.
But, oh, so happy am I, here to know
That they with us here end all sorrow, woe.
O precious Izdubar! its sights would strike
Me there with sadness, and my heart would break!
And yet I learn that it is glorious, sweet!
To there enjoy its happiness, — so fleet
It speeds to sorrowing hearts to turn their tears
To joy! How sweet to them when it appears,
And sends a gleam of Heaven through their lives!

“No! no! dear heart! I cannot go! It grieves
Thee! come, my dear one! quick to us return;
We here again will pair our love, and learn
How sweet it is to meet with joy again;
How happy will sweet love come to us then!”

She rests her head upon his breast, and lifts
Her face for Love’s sweet kiss, and from them drifts
A halo o’er the shining gesdin-trees
And spreads around them Heaven’s holy rays.
He kisses her sweet lips, and brow, and eyes,
Then turns his gaze toward the glowing skies:

“I bless thee, for thy sweetest spirit here!
I bless this glorious land, that brings me near
To one that wafts sweet Heaven in my heart;
From thy dear plains how can my soul depart?
O Mua, Mua! how my heart now sings!
Thy love is sweeter than all earthly things!
I would I were not crowned a king! — away
From this bright land — here would I ever stay!
As thou hast said, I soon will here return;
The earth cannot withhold me from this bourne,

And soon my time allotted there will end,
And hitherward how happy I will wend!”

“And when thou goest, how my love shall there
Guard thee, and keep thy heart with Mua here.
Another kiss!”

Her form doth disappear
Within the garden, gliding through the air.
He seats himself upon a couch and rests
His head upon his hand, and thought invests
Him round. His memory returns again
To Erech’s throne, and all the haunts of men.
He rises, turns his footsteps to the halls,
And thoughtful disappears within its walls.

The Contextual Works



Restored Adad Gate, Nineveh, an ancient Assyrian city of Upper Mesopotamia, located on the outskirts of Mosul in modern-day northern Iraq — the Standard version of the epic was discovered in the ruins of the palace of King Ashurbanipal, close to this site.

BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, LIFE AND CUSTOMS by A. H. Sayce



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Editor's Preface

Semitic studies, both linguistically and archæologically, have advanced by rapid strides during the last two decades. Fresh light has fallen upon the literary, scientific, theological, mercantile, and other achievements of this great branch of the human family. What these peoples thought and achieved has a very direct bearing upon some of the problems that lie nearest to the hearts of a large portion of the intelligent peoples of Christendom to-day. Classical studies no longer enjoy a monopoly of attention in the curricula of our colleges and universities. It is, in fact, more and more plainly perceived by scholars that among the early peoples who have contributed to the ideas inwrought into our present civilization there is none to whom we owe a greater debt than we do to the Semitic family. Apart from the genetic relation which the thought of these peoples bears to the Christianity of the past and present, a study of their achievements in general has become a matter of general human interest. It is here that we find the earliest beginnings of civilization historically known to us — here that early religious ideas, social customs and manners, political organizations, the beginnings of art and architecture, the rise and growth of mythological ideas that have endured and spread to western nations, can be seen in their earliest stages, and here alone the information is supplied which enables us to follow them most successfully in their development.

The object of this series is to present, in brief and compact form, a knowledge of the more important facts in the history of this family in a way that will be serviceable to students in colleges, universities, and theological seminaries, to the clergy, and to intelligent lay readers.

It has been the good fortune of the Editor and Publishers to secure the interest and co-operation of scholars who are fitted by their special knowledge of the subjects entrusted to them. Works written on Semitic subjects by those whose knowledge is gained from other than the original sources are sure to be defective in many ways. It is only the specialist whose knowledge enables him to take a comprehensive view of the entire field in which he labors who is able to gain the perspective necessary for the production of a general work which will set forth prominently, and in their proper relations, the salient and most interesting facts.

Each contributor to the Series presents his contribution subject to no change by the Editor. In cases where it may be deemed of sufficient

importance to notice a divergent view this will be done in a foot-note. The authors, however, will aim to make their several contributions consistent with the latest discoveries.

James Alexander Craig.
University of Michigan,
September, 1899.

Chapter I. Babylonia And Its Inhabitants

Babylonia was the gathering-place of the nations. Berossus, the Chaldean historian, tells us that after the creation it was peopled by a mixture of races, and we read in the book of Genesis that Babel, or Babylon, was the first home of the manifold languages of mankind. The country for the most part had been won from the sea; it was the gift of the two great rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, which once flowed separately into the Persian Gulf. Its first settlers must have established themselves on the desert plateau which fringes the Babylonian plain rather than in the plain itself.

The plain is formed of the silt deposited each year by the rivers that flow through it. It is, in fact, as much a delta as Northern Egypt, and is correspondingly fertile. Materials exist for determining approximately the rate at which this delta has been formed. The waters of the Persian Gulf are continually receding from the shore, and Ainsworth calculates that about ninety feet of land are added annually to the coast-line. But the rate of deposit seems to have been somewhat more rapid in the past. At all events, Mohammerah, which in 1835 was forty-seven miles distant from the Gulf, stands on the site of Spasinus Charax, which, in the time of Alexander the Great, was not quite a mile from the sea. In 2,160 years, therefore, no less than forty-six miles of land have been formed at the head of the Persian Gulf, or nearly one hundred and fifteen feet each year.

The deposit of soil, however, may not have been so rapid in the flourishing days of Babylonian history, when the canals were carefully attended to and the irrigation of the country kept under control. It is safer, therefore, to assume for the period preceding the rise of the Macedonian Empire a rate of deposit of not more than one hundred feet each year. The seaport of primitive Chaldea was Eridu, not far from Ur, and as the mounds of Abu-Shahrein or Nowâwis, which now mark its site, are nearly one hundred and thirty miles from the present line of coast, we must go back as far as 6500 B.C. for the foundation of the town. “Ur of the Chaldees,” as it is called in the Book of Genesis, was some thirty miles to the north, and on the same side of the Euphrates; the ruins of its great temple of the Moon-god are now known by the name of Muqayyar or Mugheir. It must have been founded on the sandy plateau of the Arabian desert at a time when the plain enclosed between the Tigris and the Euphrates was still too marshy for human habitation. As

the Moon-god of Ur was held to be the son of El-lil of Nippur, Dr. Peters is doubtless right in believing that Ur was a colony of the latter city. Nippur is the modern Niffer or Nuffar in the north of Babylonia, and recent excavations have shown that its temple was the chief sanctuary and religious centre of the civilized eastern world in the earliest epoch to which our records reach. Eridu, Ur, and Nippur seem to have been the three chief cities of primeval Babylonia. As we shall see in a future chapter, Eridu and Nippur were the centres from which the early culture and religion of the country were diffused. But there was an essential difference between them. Ea, the god of Eridu, was a god of light and beneficence, who employed his divine wisdom in healing the sick and restoring the dead to life. He had given man all the elements of civilization; rising each morning out of his palace under the waters of the deep, he taught them the arts and sciences, the industries and manners, of civilized life. El-lil of Nippur, on the contrary, was the lord of the underworld; magical spells and incantations were his gifts to mankind, and his kingdom was over the dead rather than the living. The culture which emanated from Eridu and Nippur was thus of a wholly different kind. Is it possible that the settlers in the two cities were of a different race?

Of this there is no proof. Such evidence as we have tells against it. And the contrast in the character of the cultures of Eridu and Nippur can be explained in another way. Eridu was a seaport; its population was in contact with other races, and its ships traded with the coasts of Arabia. The myth which told how Ea or Oannes had brought the elements of civilization to his people expressly stated that he came from the waters of the Persian Gulf. The culture of Eridu may thus have been due to foreign intercourse; Eridu was a city of merchants and sailors, Nippur of sorcerer-priests.

Eridu and Nippur, however, alike owed their origin to a race which we will term Sumerian. Its members spoke agglutinative dialects, and the primitive civilization of Babylonia was their creation. They were the founders of its great cities and temples, the inventors of the pictorial system of writing out of which the cuneiform characters subsequently developed, the instructors in culture of their Semitic neighbors. How deep and far-reaching was their influence may be gathered from the fact that the earliest civilization of Western Asia finds its expression in the Sumerian language and script. To whatever race the writer might belong he clothed his thoughts in the words and characters of the Sumerian people. The fact makes it often difficult for us to determine whether the

princes of primitive Chaldea whose inscriptions have come down to us were Semites or not. Their very names assume Sumerian forms.

It was from the Sumerian that the Semite learnt to live in cities. His own word for "city" was *âlu*, the Hebrew *'ohel* "a tent," which is still used in the Old Testament in the sense of "home;" the Hebrew *'îr* is the Sumerian *eri*. *Ekallu*, the Hebrew *hêkal*, "a palace," comes from the Sumerian *ê-gal* or "great house;" the first palaces seen by the Semitic nomad must have been those of the Chaldean towns.

But a time came when the Semite had absorbed the culture of his Sumerian teachers and had established kingdoms of his own in the future Babylonia. For untold centuries he lived in intermixture with the older population of the country, and the two races acted and re-acted on each other. A mixed people was the result, with a mixed language and a mixed form of religion. The Babylonia of later days was, in fact, a country whose inhabitants and language were as composite as the inhabitants and language of modern England. Members of the same family had names derived from different families of speech, and while the old Sumerian borrowed Semitic words which it spelt phonetically, the Semitic lexicon was enriched with loan-words from Sumerian which were treated like Semitic roots.

The Semite improved upon the heritage he had received. Even the system of writing was enlarged and modified. Its completion and arrangement are due to Semitic scribes who had been trained in Sumerian literature. It was probably at the court of Sargon of Akkad that what we may term the final revision of the syllabary took place. At all events, after his epoch the cuneiform script underwent but little real change.

Sargon was the founder of the first Semitic empire in Asia. His date was placed by the native historians as far back as 3800 B.C., and as they had an abundance of materials at their disposal for settling it, which we do not possess, we have no reason to dispute it. Moreover, it harmonizes with the length of time required for bringing about that fusion of Sumerian and Semitic elements which created the Babylonia we know. The power of Sargon extended to the Mediterranean, even, it may be, to the island of Cyprus. His conquests were continued by his son and successor Naram-Sin, who made his way to the precious copper-mines of the Sinaitic peninsula, the chief source of the copper that was used so largely in the work of his day. "The land of the Amorites," as Syria was called, was already a Babylonian province, and he could therefore march

in safety toward the south through the desert region which was known as Melukhkha.

How long the empire of Sargon lasted we do not know. But it spread Babylonian culture to the distant west and brought it to the very border of Egypt. It was, too, a culture which had become essentially Semitic; the Sumerian elements on which it was based had been thoroughly transformed. What Babylonian civilization was in the latest days of Chaldean history, that it already was, to all intents and purposes, in the age of Sargon. The Sumerian and the Semite had become one people.

But the mixture of nationalities in Babylonia was not yet complete. Colonies of Amorites, from Canaan, settled in it for the purposes of trade; wandering tribes of Semites, from Northern Arabia, pastured their cattle on the banks of its rivers, and in the Abrahamic age a line of kings from Southern Arabia made themselves masters of the country, and established their capital at Babylon. Their names resembled those of Southern Arabia on the one hand, of the Hebrews on the other, and the Babylonian scribes were forced to give translations of them in their own language.

But all these incomers belonged to the Semitic race, and the languages they spoke were but varieties of the same family of speech. It is probable that such was the case with the Kaldâ, who lived in the marshes at the mouth of the Euphrates, and from whom classical geography has derived the name of Chaldean. The extension of the name to the whole population of Babylonia was due to the reign of the Kaldâ prince, Merodach-baladan, at Babylon. For years he represented Babylonian freedom in its struggle with Assyria, and his "Chaldean" subjects became an integral part of the population. Perhaps, too, the theory is right which makes Nebuchadnezzar of Kaldâ descent. If so, there is a good reason why the inhabitants of Babylonia should have become "Chaldeans" in the classical age.

Of wholly different origin were the Kassites, mountaineers from the east of Elam, who conquered Babylonia, and founded a dynasty of kings which lasted for several centuries. They also gave their name to the population of the country, and, in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, accordingly, the natives of Babylonia are known as "Kassi." Sennacherib found their kinsfolk in the Elamite mountains, and here they still lived in the age of the Greek writers. Strabo calls them Kosseans, and it seems probable that they are the same as the Kissians, after whom the whole of Elam was named. At any rate the Kassites were neither Sumerians nor Semites; and their language, of which several words have been preserved, has no

known connections. But they left their mark upon the Babylonian people, and several family names were borrowed from them.

The Babylonian was thus a compound of Sumerian, Semitic, and Kassite elements. They all went to form the culture which we term Babylonian, and which left such enduring traces on Western Asia and the world. Mixed races are invariably the best, and the Babylonians were no exception to the rule. We have only to compare them with their neighbors, the more purely blooded Semitic Assyrians, to assure ourselves of the fact. The culture of Assyria was but an imitation and reflection of that of Babylonia — there was nothing original about it. The Assyrian excelled only in the ferocities of war, not in the arts of peace. Even the gods of Assyria had migrated from the southern kingdom.

The dual character of Babylonian civilization must never be forgotten. It serves to explain a good deal that would otherwise be puzzling in the religious and social life of the people. But the social life was also influenced and conditioned by the peculiar nature of the country in which the people lived. It was an alluvial plain, sloping toward the sea, and inundated by the overflow of the two great rivers which ran through it. When cultivated it was exceedingly fertile; but cultivation implied a careful regulation of the overflow, as well as a constant attention to the embankments which kept out the waters, or to the canals which drained and watered the soil.

The inhabitants were therefore, necessarily, agriculturists. They were also irrigators and engineers, compelled to study how best to regulate the supply of water, to turn the pestiferous marsh into a fruitful field, and to confine the rivers and canals within their channels. Agriculture and engineering thus had their natural home in Babylonia, and originated in the character of the country itself.

The neighborhood of the sea and the two great waterways which flanked the Babylonian plain further gave an impetus to trade. The one opened the road to the spice-bearing coasts of Southern Arabia and the more distant shores of Egypt; the other led to the highlands of Western Asia. From the first the Babylonians were merchants and sailors as well as agriculturists. The “cry” of the Chaldeans was “in their ships.” The seaport of Eridu was one of the earliest of Babylonian cities; and a special form of boat took its name from the more inland town of Ur. While the population of the country devoted itself to agriculture, the towns grew wealthy by the help of trade.

Their architecture was dependent on the nature of the country. In the alluvial plain no stone was procurable; clay, on the other hand, was everywhere. All buildings, accordingly, were constructed of clay bricks, baked in the sun, and bonded together with cement of the same material; their roofs were of wood, supported, not unfrequently, by the stems of the palm. The palm stems, in time, became pillars, and Babylonia was thus the birthplace of columnar architecture. It was also the birthplace of decorated walls. It was needful to cover the sun-dried bricks with plaster, for the sake both of their preservation and of appearance. This was the origin of the stucco with which the walls were overlaid, and which came in time to be ornamented with painting. Ezekiel refers to the figures, portrayed in vermilion, which adorned the walls of the houses of the rich.

The want of stone and the abundance of clay had another and unique influence upon Babylonian culture. It led to the invention of the written clay tablet, which has had such momentous results for the civilization of the whole Eastern world. The pictures with which Babylonian writing began were soon discarded for the conventional forms, which could so easily be impressed by the stylus upon the soft clay. It is probable that the use of the clay as a writing material was first suggested by the need there was in matters of business that the contracting parties should record their names. The absence of stone made every pebble valuable, and pebbles were accordingly cut into cylindrical forms and engraved with signs. When the cylinder was rolled over a lump of wet clay, its impress remained forever. The signs became cuneiform characters, and the Babylonian wrote them upon clay instead of stone.

The seal-cylinder and the use of clay as a writing material must consequently be traced to the peculiar character of the country in which the Babylonian lived. To the same origin must be ascribed his mode of burial. The tomb was built of bricks; there were no rocky cliffs in which to excavate it, and the marshy soil made a grave unsanitary. It was doubtless sanitary reasons alone that caused wood to be heaped about the tomb after an interment and set on fire so that all within it was partially consumed. The narrow limits of the Babylonian plain obliged the cemetery of the dead to adjoin the houses of the living, and cremation, whether partial or complete, became a necessity.

Even the cosmogony of the Babylonians has been influenced by their surroundings. The world, it was believed, originated in a watery chaos, like that in which the first settlers had found the Babylonian plain. The earth not only rested on the waters, but the waters themselves, dark and

unregulated, were the beginning of all things. This cosmological conception was carried with the rest of Babylonian culture to the West, and after passing through Canaan found its way into Greek philosophy. In the Book of Genesis we read that "darkness was on the face of the deep" before the creative spirit of God brooded over it, and Thales, the first of Greek philosophers, taught that water was the principle out of which all things have come.

The fertility of the Babylonian soil was remarkable. Grain, it was said, gave a return of two hundred for one, sometimes of three hundred for one. Herodotus, or the authority he quotes, grows enthusiastic upon the subject. "The leaf of the wheat and barley," he says, "is as much as three inches in width, and the stalks of the millet and sesamum are so tall that no one who has never been in that country would believe me were I to mention their height." In fact, naturalists tell us that Babylonia was the primitive home of the cultivated cereals, wheat and probably barley, and that from the banks of the Euphrates they must have been disseminated throughout the civilized world. Wheat, indeed, has been found growing wild in our own days in the neighborhood of Hit.

The dissemination of wheat goes back to a remote epoch. Like barley, it is met with in the tombs of that prehistoric population of Egypt which still lived in the neolithic age and whose later remains are coeval with the first Pharaonic epoch. The fact throws light on the antiquity of the intercourse which existed between the Euphrates and the Nile, and bears testimony to the influence already exerted on the Western world by the culture of Babylonia. We have, indeed, no written records which go back to so distant a past; it belongs, perhaps, to an epoch when the art of writing had not as yet been invented. But there was already civilization in Babylonia, and the elements of its future social life were already in existence. Babylonian culture is immeasurably old.

Chapter II. The Family

Two principles struggled for recognition in Babylonian family life. One was the patriarchal, the other the matriarchal. Perhaps they were due to a duality of race; perhaps they were merely a result of the circumstances under which the Babylonian lived. At times it would seem as if we must pronounce the Babylonian family to have been patriarchal in its character; at other times the wife and mother occupies an independent and even commanding position. It may be noted that whereas in the old Sumerian hymns the woman takes precedence of the man, the Semitic translation invariably reverses the order: the one has "female and male," the other "male and female." Elsewhere in the Semitic world, where the conceptions of Babylonian culture had not penetrated, the woman was subordinate to the man, his helpmate and not his equal.

In this respect nothing can be more significant than the changes undergone by the name and worship of the goddess Istar, when they were carried from Babylonia to the Semites of the West. In Babylonia she was a goddess of independent power, who stood on a footing of equality with the gods. But in Southern Arabia and Moab she became a male divinity, and in the latter country was even identified with the supreme god Chemosh. In Canaan she passed into the feminine Ashtoreth, and at last was merged in the crowd of goddesses who were but the feminine reflections of the male. A goddess whose attributes did not differ from those of a god was foreign to the religious ideas of the purely Semitic mind.

It was otherwise in Babylonia. There the goddess was the equal of the god, while on earth the women claimed rights which placed them almost on a level with the men. One of the early sovereigns of the country was a queen, Ellat-Gula, and even in Assyria the bas-reliefs of Assur-bani-pal represent the queen as sitting and feasting by the side of her husband. A list of trees brought to Akkad in the reign of Sargon (3800 B.C.) speaks of them as having been conveyed by the servants of the queen, and if Dr. Scheil is right in his translation of the Sumerian words, the kings of Ur, before the days of Abraham, made their daughters high-priestesses of foreign lands.

Up to the last the Babylonian woman, in her own name, could enter into partnership with others, could buy and sell, lend and borrow, could appear as plaintiff and witness in a court of law, could even bequeath her property as she wished. In a deed, dated in the second year of Nabonidos

(555 B.C.), a father transfers all his property to his daughter, reserving to himself only the use of it during the rest of his life. In return the daughter agrees to provide him with the necessaries of life, food and drink, oil and clothing. A few years later, in the second year of Cyrus, a woman of the name of Nubtâ, or "Bee," hired out a slave for five years in order that he might be taught the art of weaving. She stipulated to give him one *qa*, or about a quart and a half of food, each day, and to provide him with clothing while he was learning the trade. It is evident that Nubtâ owned looms and traded in woven fabrics on her own account.

Nubtâ was the daughter of Ben-Hadad-amara, a Syrian *settled* in Babylonia who had been adopted by another Syrian of the name of Ben-Hadad-nathan. After the latter's death his widow brought an action before the royal judges to recover her husband's property. She stated that after their marriage she and Ben-Hadad-nathan had traded together, and that a house had been purchased with a portion of her dowry. This house, the value of which was as much as 110 manehs, 50 shekels, or £62 10s., had been assigned to her in perpetuity. The half-brother Aqabi-il (Jacob-el), however, now claimed everything, including the house. The case was tried at Babylon before six judges in the ninth year of Nabonidos, and they decided in favor of the plaintiff.

One of the documents that have come down to us from the age of Abraham records the gift of a female slave by a husband to his wife. The slave and her children, it was laid down, were to remain the property of the wife in case either of divorce or of the husband's death. The right of the woman to hold private property of her own, over which the male heirs had no control, was thus early recognized by the law. In later times it is referred to in numberless contracts. In the reign of Nebokin-abla, for instance, in the eleventh century B.C., we find a field bequeathed first of all to a daughter and then to a sister; in the beginning of the reign of Nabonidos we hear of a brother and sister, the children of a naturalized Egyptian, inheriting their father's property together; and in the fourth year of Cyrus his son Cambyses sued for the payment of a loan which he had made to a Babylonian on the security of some house-property, and which was accordingly refunded by the debtor's wife. Other deeds relate to the borrowing of money by a husband and his wife in partnership, to a wife selling a slave for a maneh of silver on her own account, to a woman bringing an action before six judges at the beginning of the reign of Nabonidos to recover the price of a slave she had sold, and to another woman who two years previously was the witness to the sale of a house. Further proofs are not needed of the independent position of the woman,

whether married or single, and of her equality with the man in the eyes of the law.

It would seem that she was on a level with him also in the eyes of religion. There were priestesses in Babylonia as well as priests. The oracles of Istar at Arbela were worked by inspired prophetesses, who thus resembled Deborah and Huldah and the other prophetesses of Israel. When Esar-haddon inquired of the will of heaven, it was from the prophetesses of Istar that he received encouragement and a promise of victory. From the earliest period, moreover, there were women who lived like nuns, unmarried and devoted to the service of the Sun-god. The office was held in high honor, one of the daughters of King Ammi-Zadok, the fourth successor of Khammurabi or Amraphel, being a devotee of the god. In the reign of the same king we find two of these devotees and their nieces letting for a year nine feddans or acres of ground in the district in which the "Amorites" of Canaan were settled. This was done "by command of the high-priest Sar-ilu," a name in which Mr. Pinches suggests that we should see that of Israel. The women were to receive a shekel of silver, or three shillings, "the produce of the field," by way of rent, while six measures of corn on every ten feddans were to be set apart for the Sun-god himself. In the previous reign a house had been let at an annual rent of two shekels which was the joint property of a devotee of the Sun-god Samas and her brother. It is clear that consecration to the service of the deity did not prevent the "nun" from owning and enjoying property.

Like Samas, the Sun-god, Istar was also served by women, who, however, do not seem to have led the same reputable lives. They were divided into two classes, one of which was called the "Wailers," from the lamentations with which each year they mourned the death of the god Tammuz, the stricken favorite of Istar. The Chaldean Epic of Gilgames speaks of the "troops" of them that were gathered together in the city of Erech. Here Istar had her temple along with her father, Anu, the Sky-god, and here accordingly her devotees were assembled. Like the goddess they served, it would appear that they were never married in lawful wedlock. But they nevertheless formed a corporation, like the corporations of the priests.

Babylonian law and custom prevailed also in Assyria. So far as can be gathered from the contracts that have come down to us, the Assyrian women enjoyed almost as many privileges as their sisters in Babylonia. Thus, in 668 B.C., we find a lady, Tsarpî by name, buying the sister of a man whose slave she was, for reasons unknown to us, and paying half a

maneh of silver (£4 10s.) for the girl. Tsarpî was a "prefectess," like another lady who is called "the prefectess of Nineveh," and who, in 683 B.C., purchased seventeen slaves and a garden. It is plain from this that women could hold civil offices and even act as governors of a city.

In fact, wherever Babylonian culture and law extended, the principles and practice of it were necessarily in force. The Amorite colonies from Canaan established in Babylonia for the purposes of trade in the age of Abraham were naturally subject to the Babylonian laws, and the women among them possessed all the rights of their Babylonian neighbors. At the very beginning of the dynasty to which Khammurabi belonged, an Amorite lady, a certain Kuryatum, brought an action for the recovery of a field which had been the property of her father, Asalia, and won her suit. Kuryatum and her brother were themselves subsequently sued by three other "Amorites," the children of Izi-idrê, one of whom was a woman, for a field and house, together with some slaves and palm-trees, of which, it was asserted, they had wrongfully taken possession. The judges, however, after hearing both sides, dismissed the case.

It is not strange that the same laws and principles should have held good in Canaan itself, which was so long a Babylonian province. Sarah, who was of Babylonian origin, owned a female slave (Gen. xvi. 2, 6, 8, 9), and the Kennizzite Caleb assigned a field with springs to his daughter Achsah in the early days of the invasion of Canaan (Josh. xv. 18, 19). A Canaanitish lady takes part in the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence, and writes to the Pharaoh on matters of state, while the Mosaic Law allowed the daughter to inherit the possessions of her father (Numb. xxxvi. 8). This, however, was only the case where there was no son; after the Israelitish conquest of Canaan, when the traditions of Babylonian custom had passed away, we hear no more of brothers and sisters sharing together the inheritance of their father, or of a wife bequeathing anything which belongs to her of right. As regards the woman, the law of Israel, after the settlement in Canaan, was the moral law of the Semitic tribes. We must go back to the age of Abraham and Sarah to find a Hebrew woman possessed of the same powers as the Babylonian lady who, in the fifth year of Cambyses, sold a slave for two manehs and five shekels of silver, her husband and mother guaranteeing the value of the chattel that was thus sold.

The dowry which the woman brought with her on marriage secured of itself her independence. It was her absolute property, and she could leave it by will as she pleased. It protected her from tyrannical conduct on the part of her husband, as well as from the fear of divorce on insufficient

grounds. If a divorce took place the dowry had to be restored to her in full, and she then returned to her father's house or set up an establishment of her own. Where no dowry had been brought by the bride, the husband was often required by the marriage contract to pay her a specified sum of money in case of her divorce. Thus a marriage contract made in Babylon in the thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar stipulates that, if the husband marries a second wife, the act shall be equivalent to a divorce of the first wife, who shall accordingly receive not only her dowry, but a maneh of silver as well. The payment, in fact, was a penalty on the unfaithfulness of the husband and served as a check upon both divorce and polygamy.

The dowry consisted not of money alone, but also of slaves and furniture, the value of which was stated in the marriage contract. In the contract just referred to, for instance, part of the dowry consisted of a slave who was valued at half a maneh. Sometimes the dowry included cattle and sheep. In the sixth year of Nabonidos we hear of three slaves and "furniture with which to stock the house," besides a maneh of silver (£6), being given as the marriage-portion. In this instance, however, the silver was not forthcoming on the wedding-day, and in place of it a slave valued at two-thirds of a maneh was accepted, the remaining third being left for payment at a subsequent date. Where the dowry could not be paid at once, security for the payment of it was taken by the bridegroom.

The payment was made, not by the bridegroom, as among the Israelites and other Semitic peoples, but by the father of the bride. If he were dead, or if the mother of the bride had been divorced and was in the enjoyment of her own property, the mother took the place of the father and was expected to provide the dowry. In such a case she also naturally gave permission for the marriage, and it was from her accordingly that consent to it had to be obtained. In one instance, however, in a deed dated in the sixteenth year of Nabonidos, a sister is given in marriage by her two brothers, who consequently furnish the dowry, consisting of a piece of ground inherited from the mother, a slave, clothes, and furniture. It is evident that in this case both the parents must have been dead.

It was the bridegroom's duty and interest to see that the dowry was duly paid. He enjoyed the usufruct of it during his life, and not unfrequently it was employed not only to furnish the house of the newly married couple, but also to start them in business. It was with his wife's dowry that Ben-Hadad-nathan bought in part the house to which his widow laid claim after his death, and we read of instances in which the

husband and wife enter into partnership in order to trade with the wife's money. More frequently the wife uses her dowry to transact business separately, her purchases and loans being made in her own name; this is especially the case if she otherwise has property of her own.

At times the son-in-law found it difficult to get the dowry paid. From a deed dated in the third year of Cambyses we gather that the dowry, instead of being delivered "into the hand" of the bridegroom, as ought to have been done at the time of the marriage, was still unpaid nine years later. Sometimes, of course, this was due to the inability of the father-in-law to discharge his debt, through bankruptcy, death, or other causes. Where, therefore, the money was not immediately forthcoming, security was taken for its future payment. If payment in full was impossible, owing to pecuniary losses incurred after the marriage contract had been drawn up, the bridegroom was entitled to claim a proportionate amount of it on behalf of his wife. The heirs were called upon to pay what was due if the father-in-law died between the drawing-up of the contract and the actual marriage, and when the wife died without children it returned to her "father's house."

If the husband died and his widow married again, she carried her former dowry with her. In such a case the children of the first marriage inherited two-thirds of it upon her death, the remaining third going to the children of the second husband. This was in accordance with a law which regulated the succession to the property of a father who had married a second time, the children of the first marriage receiving two-thirds of it and the remainder being reserved for the children of the second wife. The law could only be overruled by a will made during the man's lifetime, and properly attested by witnesses.

The dowry could not be alienated by the wife without the consent of her parents, if they were still alive. In the year of Nergal-sharezer's accession, for example, a certain Nergal-ballidh and his wife Dhibtâ wished to sell a slave, who had constituted the dowry of Dhibtâ, for twenty-five shekels, but the sale was not considered valid until the consent of both her father and mother had been obtained.

The dowry was not the only property the woman was able to hold. She had similar power to hold and dispose of whatever else had come to her by inheritance or gift. The gains she made in business, the proceeds of the sale of her estates, and the interest upon the capital she lent, all belonged to herself, and to herself alone. For purposes of succession they were reckoned along with the dowry as constituting her property during

life. In the thirty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, for instance, a father stipulates that the creditors of his daughter's father-in-law should have no claim either upon her dowry or upon any other part of her possessions.

The power of the married woman over her property was doubtless the result of the system which provided her with a dowry. The principle of her absolute control over the latter once admitted, it was extended by the law to the rest of her estate. She thus took rank by the side of the man, and, like him, could trade or otherwise deal with her property as she chose. The dowry, in fact, must have been her original charter of freedom.

But it was so because it was given by her father, and not by the bridegroom. Where it was the gift of the bridegroom it was but a civilized form of purchasing the bride. In such a case the husband had a right to the person and possessions of the wife, inasmuch as he had bought her; as much right, in fact, as he had to the person and possessions of a slave. The wife was merely a superior slave.

Where, however, the dowry was the gift of the bride's father the conditions were reversed. The husband received not only a wife, he received also an estate along with her. He it was upon whom the benefit was conferred, and he had to accept the conditions offered him, not to make them. In a commercial state like Babylonia, property represented personalty, and the personalty of the wife accordingly remained with the family from which her property was derived, rather than with the husband, to whom the use of it was lent. Hence the independence of the married woman in Babylonia and her complete freedom of action as regards her husband. The property she possessed, the personalty it represented, belonged to herself alone.

Traces, however, may be detected of an older order of things, which once existed, at all events, in the Semitic element of the Babylonian population. The dowry had to be paid to the husband, to be deposited, as it were, in his "hand." It was with him that the marriage contract was made. This must surely go back to an age when the marriage portion was really given to the bridegroom, and he had the same right over it as was enjoyed until recently by the husband in England. Moreover, the right of divorce retained by the husband, like the fact that the bride was given away by a male relation, points in the same direction. According to an early Sumerian law, while the repudiation of the wife on the part of the husband was punishable only with a small fine, for the repudiation of the husband by the wife the penalty was death. A deed drawn up in the time

of Khammurabi shows that this law was still in force in the age of Abraham. It lays down that if the wife is unfaithful to her husband she may be drowned, while the husband can rid himself of his wife by the payment only of a maneh of silver. Indeed, as late as the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the old law remained unrepealed, and we find a certain Nebo-akhi-iddin, who married a singing-woman, stipulating in the marriage contract that if he should divorce her and marry another he was to pay her six manehs, but if, on the contrary, she committed adultery, she should be put to death with "an iron sword."

In this instance, however, the husband married beneath him, and in view of the antecedents of the wife the penalty with which she was threatened in case of unfaithfulness was perhaps necessary. She came to him, moreover, without either a dowry or family relations who could give her away. She was thus little better than the concubines whom the Babylonian was allowed to keep by the side of his lawful wife. But even so, the marriage contract had to be made out in full legal form, and the penalty to be paid for her divorce was as much as £54. With this she could have lived comfortably and probably have had no difficulty in finding another husband.

The concubine was usually a slave who had been bought by the bridegroom. Occasionally, by agreement with the parents, the wife herself was in much the same position. Thus Dagil-ili, who married the daughter of a lady named Khammâ, gave the mother one and a half manehs of silver and a slave worth half a maneh, and agreed that if he married another wife he would give her daughter a maneh and send her back to her old home. Here the husband practically buys his wife, though even so the law obliged him to divorce her if he married again, and also fined him for doing so. Khammâ was apparently in financial difficulties, and consequently, instead of furnishing her daughter with a dowry, received money from the bridegroom. It was a private arrangement, and utterly opposed to the usual custom. The parents had, however, the power of selling their children before they came of age, and where the parents were dead, the same power was possessed — at any rate in Assyria — by a brother in the case of a sister. Doubtless the power was restricted by law, but the instances in which we hear of its being exercised are so rare that we do not know what these restrictions were.

Nor do we know the reasons which were considered sufficient to justify divorce. The language of the early laws would seem to imply that originally it was quite enough to pronounce the words: "Thou art not my wife," "Thou art not my husband." But the loss of the wife's dowry and

the penalties attached to divorce must have tended to check it on the part of the husband, except in exceptional circumstances. Perhaps want of children was held to be a sufficient pretext for it; certainly adultery must have been so. Another cause of divorce was a legal one: a second marriage invalidated the first, if the first wife was still alive.

This is a very astonishing fact in a country where polygamy was allowed. It proves that polygamy was greatly restricted in practice, and that the tendency of the law was to forbid it altogether. Among the multitudinous contracts of the second Babylonian empire it is difficult to find any which show that a man had two legitimate wives living at one and the same time. The high position of the mother of the family, her independence and commercial equality with her husband, were all against it. It is only where the wife is a bought slave that polygamy can flourish.

In early times, it is true, the rich Babylonian indulged in the possession of more than one wife. Some contracts of the age of Khammurabi, translated by Mr. Pinches, are particularly instructive in this respect. We hear in them of a certain Arad-Samas, who first married a lady called Taram-Sagila and then her adopted sister Iltani. Iltani, it is ordained, shall be under the orders of her sister, shall prepare her food, carry her chair to the Temple of Merodach, and obey her in all things. Not a word is said about the divorce of the first wife; it is taken for granted that she is to remain at the head of the household, the younger and second wife acting as her servant. The position of Iltani, in fact, is not very different from that of a slave, and it is significant that neither wife brought a dowry with her.

As we have seen in the case of Dagil-ili, the law and custom of later Babylonia display a complete change of feeling and practice. Marriage with a second wife came to involve, as a matter of course, divorce from the first, even where there had been a *mésalliance* and the first wife had been without a dowry. The woman had thus gained a second victory; the rule that bound her in regard to marriage was now applied to the man. The privilege of marrying two husbands at once had been denied her; usage was now denying a similar privilege to him. It was only when the first wife was dead or divorced that a second could be taken; the wife might have a successor, but not a rival.

The divorced wife was regarded by the law as a widow, and could therefore marry again. A deed of divorce, dated in the reign of the father of Khammurabi, expressly grants her this right. To the remarriage of the widow there was naturally no bar; but the children by the two marriages

belonged to different families, and were kept carefully distinct. This is illustrated by a curious deed drawn up at Babylon, in the ninth year of Nabonidos. A certain Bel-Katsir, who had been adopted by his uncle, married a widow who already had a son. She bore him no children, however, and he accordingly asked the permission of his uncle to adopt his step-son, thereby making him the heir of his uncle's property. To this the uncle objected, and it was finally agreed that if Bel-Katsir had no child he was to adopt his own brother, and so secure the succession of the estate to a member of his own family. The property of the mother probably went to her son; but she had the power to leave it as she liked. This may be gathered from a will, dated in the seventh year of Cyrus, in which a son leaves property to his father in case of death, which had come to him from his maternal grandfather and grandmother. The property had been specially bequeathed to him, doubtless after his mother's death, the grandmother passing over the rest of her descendants in his favor.

The marriage ceremony was partly religious, partly civil; no marriage was legally valid without a contract duly attested and signed. The Babylonians carried their business habits into all departments of life, and in the eyes of the law matrimony was a legal contract, the forms of which had to be duly observed. In the later days of Babylonian history the legal and civil aspect of the rite seems to have been exclusively considered, but at an earlier period it required also the sanction of religion; and Mr. Pinches has published a fragmentary Sumerian text in which the religious ceremony is described. Those who officiated at it, first placed their hands and feet against the hands and feet of the bridegroom, then the bride laid her neck by the side of his, and he was made to say to her: "Silver and gold shall fill thy lap; thou art my wife; I am thy husband. Like the fruit of an orchard will I give thee offspring." Next came the ceremony of binding the sandals on the feet of the newly wedded pair and of handing them the latchet wherewith the shoes should be tied, as well as "a purse of silver and gold." The purse perhaps symbolized the dowry, which was given by the father of the bride. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar the ceremony was restricted to joining together the hands of the bride and bridegroom.

Contact with the Assyrians and Babylonians in the Exilic period introduced the Babylonian conception of the legal character of marriage among the Israelites, and, contrary to the older custom, it became necessary that it should be attested by a written contract. Thus, Raguel, when he gave his daughter "to be wife to Tobias," "called Edna, his wife,

and took paper and did write an instrument of covenants, and sealed it" (Tobit vii. 14).

According to Herodotus, a gigantic system of public prostitution prevailed in Babylonia. Every unmarried woman was compelled to remain in the sacred enclosure of Mylitta — by which Istar is apparently meant — until some stranger had submitted to her embraces, while the sums derived from the sale of their personal charms by the handsome and good-looking provided portions for the ugly. Of all this there is not a trace in the mass of native documents which we now possess. There were the devotees of Istar, certainly — the *ukhâtu* and *kharimâtu* — as well as public prostitutes, who were under the protection of the law; but they formed a class apart, and had nothing to do with the respectable women of the country. On the contrary, in the age of Khammurabi it was customary to state in the marriage contracts that no stain whatever rested on the bride. Thus we read in one of them: "Ana-Â-uzni is the daughter of Salimat. Salimat has given her a dowry, and has offered her in marriage to Bel-sunu, the son of the artisan. Ana-Â-uzni is pure; no one has anything against her." The dowry, as we have seen, was paid by the near relations of the wife, and where there was none, as in the case of the singing-woman married by Nebo-akhi-iddin, there was no dowry at all. The dowries provided for the ugly by the prostitution of the rich must be an invention of the Greeks.

Within what degree of relationship marriage was permitted is uncertain. A man could marry his sister-in-law, as among the Israelites, and, in one instance, we hear of marriage with a niece. In the time of Cambyses a brother marries his half-sister by the same father; but this was probably an imitation of the Persian custom.

The children, as we have seen, whether boys or girls, inherited alike, subject to the provisions of the parent's will. The will seems to have been of Babylonian origin. Testamentary devolution of property went back to an early period in a country in which the legal relations of trade had been so fully developed. Trade implied private property and the idea of individual possession. The estate belonging to a person was his absolutely, to deal with pretty much as he would. He had the same right to alienate it as he had to increase it. In a commercial community there could be no community of goods.

As far back, therefore, as our materials carry us, the unit in the Babylonian state is the individual rather than the family. It is he with whom both the law and the government deal, and the legal code of

Babylonia is based upon the doctrine of individual responsibility. Private ownership is the key-note of Babylonian social life.

But the whole of this social life was fenced about by a written law. No title was valid for which a written document could not be produced, drawn up and attested in legal forms. The extensive commercial transactions of the Babylonians made this necessary, and the commercial spirit dominated Babylonian society. The scribe and the lawyer were needed at almost every juncture of life.

The invention of the will or documentary testament, followed naturally. The same legal powers that were required to protect a man's property during his lifetime were even more urgently required when he was dead. The will was at first the title which gave the heir his father's estate. Gradually it developed, until at last it came to be an instrument by means of which the testator retained control over his property even after his death. As an example of the form which it usually assumed, we may take one which was drawn up in the seventh year of the reign of Cyrus as King of Babylon (532 B.C.):

Nebo-baladan, the son of Samas-palassar, the son of the priest of the Sun-god, has, of his own free-will, sealed all his estate, which he had inherited from Nebo-balasu-iqbi, the son of Nur-Ea, the son of the priest of the Sun-god, the father of his mother, and from Kabtâ, the mother of Assat-Belit, his grandmother, consisting of a piece of land, a house and the slaves or serfs attached to it, in accordance with the will (*literally* tablet) which his maternal grandfather, Nebo-balasu-iqbi, and his maternal grandmother, Kabtâ, had sealed and bequeathed to Nebo-baladan, the son of their daughter, and has bequeathed them for ever to Samas-palassar, the son of Samas-ina-esi-edher, the son of the priest of the Sun-god. As long as Nebo-baladan lives the piece of ground, the house, the slaves, and all the rest of his property shall continue in his own possession, according to the terms of this his will. Whoever shall attempt to change them, may Anu, Bel, and Ae curse him; may Nebo, the divine scribe of Ê-Saggil, cut off his days! This will has been sealed in the presence of Sula, son of Bania, son of Epes-ilu; of Bel-iddin, son of Bel-natsir, son of the priest of Gula; of Nebo-sum-yukin, son of Sula, son of Sigua; of Nebo-natsir, son of Ziria, son of Sumâti; … of Nebo-sum-lisir, son of Nebo-sum-iskun, son of the wine-merchant (?), and the scribe Samas-zir-yusabsi, son of Zariqu-iddin, son of the architect. (Written at) Babylon, the 19th day of Sebat (February), the seventh year of Cyrus, king of Babylon and the world.

In this case it is a son who makes over his property to his father should he be the first to die. The will shows that the son was absolute master of his own possessions even during his father's lifetime, and could bequeath it as he chose.

A remarkable instance of the application of the principles underlying testamentary devolution is to be found in the case of Ninip-Sum-iskun, the son of a land-surveyor who handed over his property to his daughter Dhabtu, while he was still alive, stipulating only for the usufruct of it. The text begins by saying that the testator called to his daughter: "Bring me writing materials, for I am ill. My brother has deserted me; my son has offended me. To you therefore I turn. Have pity on me, and while I live support me with food, oil, and clothes. The income from my surveying business, in which I have two-thirds of a share with my brother, do I hand over to you." After this preamble the deed is drawn up in due form, attested, dated, and sealed. The whole of the testator's property is assigned to his daughter "for ever," "the usufruct of his income" only being reserved to himself "as long as he shall live." He undertakes accordingly not to "sell" it, not to give it to another, not to pawn it or alienate a portion of it. By way of doubly securing that the deed shall take effect, the gods are invoked as well as the law.

Another case in which a kind of will seems to have been made which should take effect during the lifetime of the testator, is a document drawn up by order of the Assyrian King Sennacherib. We may gather from it that Esar-haddon, though not his eldest, was his favorite son, a fact which may explain his subsequent assassination by two of his other sons, who took advantage of their brother's absence in Armenia at the head of the army, to murder their father and usurp the throne. In the document in question Sennacherib makes a written statement of his desire to leave to Esar-haddon certain personal effects, which are enumerated by name. "Gold rings, quantities of ivory, gold cups, dishes, and necklaces, all these valuable objects in plenty, as well as three sorts of precious stones, one and one-half maneh and two and one-half shekels in weight, I bequeath to Esar-haddon, my son, who bears the surname of Assur-etil-kin-pal, to be deposited in the house of Amuk." It will be noticed that this document is not attested by witnesses. Such attestation was dispensed with in the case of the monarch; his own name was sufficient to create a title. Whether it would have been the same in Babylonia, where the king was not equally autocratic and the commercial spirit was stronger than in Assyria, may be questioned. At all events, when Gigitu,

the daughter of the Babylonian King Nergal-sharezer, was married to one of his officials, the contract was made out in the usual form, and the names of several witnesses were attached to it, while the deeds relating to the trading transactions of Belshazzar when heir-apparent to the throne differ in nothing from those required from the ordinary citizen.

Besides possessing the power of making a will, the head of the family was able to increase it by adoption. The practice of adoption was of long standing in Babylonia. The right to become King of Babylon and so to claim legitimate rule over the civilized world was conferred through adoption by the god Bel-Merodach. The claimant to sovereignty "took the hand of Bel," as it was termed, and thereby became the adopted son of the god. Until this ceremony was performed, however much he might be a sovereign *de facto*, he was not so *de jure*. The legal title to rule could be given by Bel, and by Bel alone. As the Pharaohs of Egypt were sons of Ra the Sun-god, so it was necessary that the kings of Babylon should be the sons of the Babylonian Sun-god Merodach. Sonship alone made them legitimate.

This theory of adoption by a god must have been derived from a practice that was already well known. And the power of adopting children was exercised by the Babylonians up to the last. It has been suggested that it was due to ancestor-worship, and the desire to prevent the customary offerings from being discontinued through the extinction of the family. But for this there is no evidence. Indeed, it is questionable whether there was any worship of ancestors in Babylonia except in the case of the royal family. And even here it had its origin in the deification of the kings during their lifetime.

The prevalence of adoption in Babylonia had a much less recondite cause. It was one of the results of the recognition of private property and the principle of individual ownership. The head of the family naturally did not wish his estate to pass out of it and be transferred to a stranger. Wherever monogamy is the general rule, the feeling of family relationship is strong, and such was the case among the Babylonians. The feeling shows itself in the fact that when inherited land is sold we find other members of the family signing their assent by their presence at the sale. The father or mother, accordingly, who adopted a child did so with the intention of making him their heir, and so keeping the estate they had inherited or acquired in the hands of their own kin.

That this is the true explanation of the Babylonian practice of adoption is clear from the case mentioned above in which Bel-Katsir was prevented from adopting his step-son, because his uncle and adoptive

father, whose property would then have passed to the latter, objected to his doing so. It was entirely a question of inheritance. Bel-Katsir had been adopted in order that he might be his uncle's heir, and consequently the uncle had the right of deciding to whom his estate should ultimately go. He preferred that it should be the brother of Bel-Katsir, and the brother accordingly it was settled to be.

The fact that women could adopt, also points in the same direction. The woman was the equal of the man as regards the possession and management of property, and like the man, therefore, she could determine who should inherit it.

A slave could be adopted as well as a free man. It was one of the ways in which a slave obtained his freedom, and contracts for the sale of slaves generally guarantee that they have not been adopted into the family of a citizen. A curious suit that was brought before a special court at Babylon in the tenth year of Nabonidos illustrates the advantage that was sometimes taken of the fact. The action was brought against a slave who bears the Israelitish name of Barachiel, and may, therefore, have been a Jew, and it was tried, not only before the ordinary judges, but before special commissioners and "elders" as well. The following is a translation of the judgment which was delivered and preserved in the record office:

"Barachiel is the slave of Gagâ, the daughter of … , redeemable with money only. In the thirty-fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon (570 B.C.), he was given to Akhi-nuri, son of Nebo-nadin-akhi, as security for a debt of twenty-eight shekels. Now he claims that he is the adopted son of Bel-rimanni, who has joined the hands of Samas-mudam-miq, the son of Nebo-nadin-akhi, and Qudasu, the daughter of Akhi-nuri, in matrimony. The case was pleaded before the commissioners, the elders, and the judges of Nabonidos, King of Babylon, and the arguments were heard on both sides. They read the deeds relating to the servile condition of Barachiel, who from the thirty-fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, to the seventh year of Nabonidos, King of Babylon, had been sold for money, had been given as security for a debt, and had been handed over to Nubtâ, the daughter of Gagâ, as her dowry — Nubtâ, had afterward, by a sealed deed, given him with a house and other slaves to her son, Zamama-iddin, and her husband, Nadin-abla — and they said to Barachiel: You have brought an action and called yourself an adopted son. Prove to us your adoption. Barachiel thereupon confessed: Twice did I run away from the house of my master

and for many days was not seen. Then I was afraid and pretended to be an adopted son. My adoption is non-existent; I was the slave of Gagâ, redeemable with money. Nubtâ, her daughter, made a present of me, and by a sealed deed transferred me to her son, Zamama-iddin, and her husband, Nadin-abla. After the death of Gagâ and Nubtâ, I was sold by sealed contract to Itti-Merodach-baladhu, the son of Nebo-akhi-iddin, the son of Egibi. I will go and [perform each of my duties. The commissioners,] the elders, and the judges heard his evidence and restored him to his servile condition, and [confirmed] his possession by Samas-mudammiq [the son of Nebo-nadin-akhi] and Qudasu, the daughter of Akhi-nuri, who had given him as a dowry (to his daughter)." Then follow the names of the judges and secretary, and the date and place where the judgment was delivered, two of the judges further affixing their seals to the document, as well as a certain Kiribtu who calls himself "the shield-bearer," but who was probably one of the commissioners sent to investigate the case.

After a slave had been adopted, it was in the power of the adoptive father to cancel the act of adoption and reduce him to his former state of servitude if he had not performed his part of the contract and the parties who had witnessed it were willing that it should be cancelled. We learn this from a deed that was drawn up in the thirteenth year of Nabonidos. Here we read:

"Iqisa-abla, the son of Kudurru, the son of Nur-Sin, sealed a deed by which he adopted his servant, Rimanni-Bel, usually called Rimut, in return for his receiving food and clothing from Rimanni-Bel. But Rimanni-Bel, usually called Rimut, has violated the contract ever since the deed by which he was adopted was sealed, and has given neither food, oil, nor clothing, whereas Ê-Saggil-ramat, the daughter of Ziria, the son of Nabâ, the wife of Nadin-Merodach, the son of Iqisa-abla, the son of Nur-Sin, has taken her father-in-law, has housed him, and has been kind to him and has provided him with food, oil, and clothing. Iqisa-abla, the son of Kudurru, the son of Nur-Sin, has, therefore, of his own free will, cancelled the deed of adoption, and by a sealed deed has given Rimanni-Bel to wait upon Ê-Saggil-ramat and Nubtâ, the daughter of Ê-Saggil-ramat and Nadin-Merodach, the grandson of Nur-Sin; Ê-Saggil-ramat and Nubtâ, her daughter, shall he obey. After the death of Ê-Saggil-ramat he shall wait on Nubtâ, her daughter. Whoever shall change these words and shall destroy the deed which Iqisa-abla has drawn up and given to Ê-Saggil-ramat and Nubtâ, her daughter, may Merodach and the goddess Zarpanit denounce judgment upon him!" Then come the

names of four witnesses and the clerk, the date and place of writing, and the statement that the deed was indented in the presence of Bissâ, the daughter of Iqisa-abla.

It is clear that the testator had little or no property of his own, and that he was too old, or otherwise incapacitated, to earn anything for himself. It is also clear that the adopted slave, who is described by the milder term *gallu*, or "servant," had acquired some wealth, and that this was the motive for his adoption. He, however, deserted and neglected his adopted father after his freedom had been secured to him, and thereby failed to carry out his part of the contract. Iqisa-abla accordingly had the legal right to break it also on his side.

One of the effects of the system of adoption was to give the privileges of Babylonian citizenship to a good many foreigners. The foreign origin of Barachiel, as evidenced by his name, was no obstacle to his claim to be a citizen, and the numerous contracts in which it is certified of a foreign slave that he has never been adopted prove the fact conclusively. A commercial community cannot afford to be exclusive on the ground of race and nationality.

Such, then, was the family system in the Babylonia of the historical period. Polygamy was rare, and the married woman possessed full rights over her property and could employ or bequeath it as she chose. The dowry she brought from her father or other near relation made her practically independent of her husband. Sons and daughters alike were able to inherit, and the possessor of property had the power of making a will. The law seems to have placed but few restrictions upon the way in which he could bestow his wealth. A family could be increased or prevented from dying out by means of adoption, and new blood could thus be introduced into it.

The rights and duties of the individual were fully recognized; it was with him alone that the law had to deal. Nevertheless, a few traces survived of that doctrine of the solidarity of the family which had preceded the development of individual ownership and freedom of action. The bride was given in marriage by her parents, or, failing these, by her nearest male relations, and when an estate was sold which had long been in the possession of a certain family, it was customary for the rest of the family to signify their consent by attending the sale. We may gather, however, that the sale was not invalidated if the consent was not obtained. In the older days of Babylonian history, moreover, it was usual for the property of a deceased citizen to be divided among his heirs

without the intervention of a will. It went in the first instance to his widow, and was then divided equally among his children, whether body heirs or adopted ones, the eldest son alone receiving an additional share in return for administering the estate. But disputes frequently arose over the division, and the members of the family went to law with one another. In such cases it became the custom to place the whole of the property in the hands of the priests of the city-temple, who thus corresponded to the English Court of Chancery, and made the division as they judged best. The results, however, were not always satisfactory, and it was doubtless in order to avoid both the litigation and the necessity of appointing executors who were not members of the family, that the will came to play so important a part in the succession to property. In bequeathing his possessions the head of the family was expected to observe the usual rule of division, but it ceased to be obligatory to do so.

Chapter III. Education And Death

One of the lesson-books used in the Babylonian nursery contains the beginning of a story, written in Sumerian and translated into Semitic, which describes the adventures of a foundling who was picked up in the streets and adopted by the King. We are told that he was taken "from the mouth of the dogs and ravens," and was then brought to the *asip* or "prophet," who marked the soles of his feet with his seal. What the precise object of this procedure was it is difficult to say, but the custom is alluded to in the Old Testament (Job xiii. 27). Certain tribes in the south of China still brand the soles of a boy's feet, for the purpose, it is said, of testing his strength and hardihood.

After the operation was performed the boy was handed over to a "nurse," to whom his "bread, food, shirt, and (other) clothing were assured for three years." At the same time, we may assume, he received a name. This giving of a name was an important event in the child's life. Like other nations of antiquity the Babylonians conformed the name with the person who bore it; it not only represented him, but in a sense was actually himself. Magical properties were ascribed to the name, and it thus became of importance to know what names were good or bad, lucky or unlucky. An unlucky name brought evil fortune to its possessor, a lucky name secured his success in life. A change of name influenced a man's career; and the same superstitious belief which caused the Cape of Storms to become the Cape of Good Hope not unfrequently occasioned a person's name to be altered among the nations of the ancient East.

The gods themselves were affected by the names they bore. A knowledge of the secret and ineffable name of a deity was the key to a knowledge of his inner essence and attributes, and conferred a power over him upon the fortunate possessor of it. The patron god of the dynasty to which Khammurabi belonged was spoken of as "the Name," Sumu or Samu, the Shem of the Old Testament; his real title was too sacred to be uttered in speech. The name of a thing was the thing itself, and so too the name of a god or person was the actual god or person to whom it was attached.

A large proportion of Babylonian names includes the name of some divinity. In spite of their length and unwieldiness they tended to increase in number as time went on. In ordinary life, however, they were frequently shortened. In the contract given in the last chapter, the slave Rimanni-Bel is said to have been usually called Rimut, the one name

signifying “Love me, O Bel,” the other “Love.” In other instances we find Samas-musezib contracted into Samsiya and Suzub, Kabti-ilâni-Merodach into Kabtiya, Nebo-tabni-uzur into Tabniya. The Belesys of Greek writers is the Babylonian Balasu, which is a shortened form of Merodach-balasu-iqbi, and Baladan, which is given in the Old Testament as the name of the father of Merodach-baladan, has lost the name of the god with which it must originally have begun.

Sometimes a change in the form of the name was due to its being of foreign origin and consequently mispronounced by the Babylonians, who assimilated it to words in their own language. Thus Sargon of Akkad was properly called Sargani, “The Strong One,” or, more fully, Sargani-sar-ali, “Sargani, the King of the City,” but his Sumerian subjects turned this into Sar-gina or Sargon, “The Established King.” The grandson of Khammurabi bore the Canaanitish name of Abesukh, the Abishua of the Israelites, “The Father of Welfare,” but it was transformed by the Babylonians into Ebisum, which in their own dialect meant “The Actor.” Eri-Aku or Arioch was an Elamite name signifying “The Servant of the Moon-god;” the Babylonians changed it into Rim-Sin and perhaps even Rim-Anu, “Love, O Moon-god,” “Love, O Sky-god.”

At other times the name was changed for political or superstitious reasons. When the successful general Pul usurped the throne of Assyria he adopted the name of one of the most famous of the kings of the older dynasty, Tiglath-pileser. His successor, another usurper, called Ululâ, similarly adopted the name of Shalmaneser, another famous king of the earlier dynasty. It is probable that Sargon, who was also a usurper, derived his name from Sargon of Akkad, and that his own name was originally something else. Sennacherib tells us that Esar-haddon had a second name, or surname, by which he was known to his neighbors. In this respect he was like Solomon of Israel, who was also called Jedidiah.

It is doubtful whether circumcision was practised in Babylonia. There is no reference to it in the inscriptions, nor is it mentioned by classical writers as among Babylonian customs. In fact, the words of the Greek historian Herodotus seem to exclude the practice, as the Babylonians are not one of the nations of Western Asia who are said by him to have learnt the rite from the Egyptians. Moreover, Abraham and his family were not circumcised until long after he had left Babylonia and had established himself in Canaan. Africa, rather than Asia, seems to have been the original home of the rite.

If the boy were the son of well-to-do parents he was sent to school at an early age. One of the texts which, in Sumerian days, was written as a

head-line in his copy-book declared that “He who would excel in the school of the scribes must rise like the dawn.” Girls also shared in the education given to their brothers. Among the Babylonian letters that have been preserved are some from ladies, and the very fact that women could transact business on their own account implies that they could read and write. Thus the following letter, written from Babylon by a lover to his mistress at Sippara, assumes that she could read it and return an answer: “To the lady Kasbeya thus says Gimil-Merodach: May the Sun-god and Merodach, for my sake, grant thee everlasting life! I am writing to enquire after your health; please send me news of it. I am living at Babylon, but have not seen you, which troubles me greatly. Send me news of your arrival, so that I may be happy. Come in the month Marchesvan. May you live forever, for my sake!” The Tel-el-Amarna collection actually contains letters from a lady to the Egyptian Pharaoh. One of them is as follows: “To the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, thus says Nin, thy handmaid: At the feet of the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, seven times seven I prostrate myself. The king my lord knows that there is war in the land, and that all the country of the king my lord has revolted to the Bedâwin. But the king my lord has knowledge of his country, and the king my lord knows that the Bedâwin have sent to the city of Ajalon and to the city of Zorah, and have made mischief (and have intrigued with) the two sons of Malchiel; and let the king my lord take knowledge of this fact.”

The oracles delivered to Esar-haddon by the prophetesses of Arbela are in writing, and we have no grounds for thinking that they were written down by an uninspired pen. Indeed, the “bit riduti,” or “place of education,” where Assur-bani-pal tells us he had been brought up, was the woman’s part of the palace. The instructors, however, were men, and part of the boy’s education, we are informed, consisted in his being taught to shoot with the bow and to practise other bodily exercises. But the larger part of his time was given to learning how to read and write. The acquisition of the cuneiform system of writing was a task of labor and difficulty which demanded years of patient application. A vast number of characters had to be learned by heart. They were conventional signs, often differing but slightly from one another, with nothing about them that could assist the memory; moreover, their forms varied in different styles of writing, as much as Latin, Gothic, and cursive forms of type differ among ourselves, and all these the pupil was expected to know. Every character had more than one phonetic value; many of them, indeed, had several, while they could also be used ideographically to

express objects and ideas. But this was not all. A knowledge of the cuneiform syllabary necessitated also a knowledge of the language of the Sumerians, who had been its inventors, and it frequently happened that a group of characters which had expressed a Sumerian word was retained in the later script with the pronunciation of the corresponding Semitic word attached to them, though the latter had nothing to do with the phonetic values of the several signs, whether pronounced singly or as a whole.

The children, however, must have been well taught. This is clear from the remarkably good spelling which we find in the private letters; it is seldom that words are misspelt. The language may be conversational, or even dialectic, but the words are written correctly. The school-books that have survived bear testimony to the attention that had been given to improving the educational system. Every means was adopted for lessening the labor of the student and imprinting the lesson upon his mind. The cuneiform characters had been classified and named; they had also been arranged according to the number and position of the separate wedges of which they consisted. Dictionaries had been compiled of Sumerian words and expressions, as well as lists of Semitic synonyms. Even grammars had been drawn up, in which the grammatical forms of the old language of Sumer were interpreted in Semitic Babylonian. There were reading-books filled with extracts from the standard literature of the country. Most of this was in Sumerian; but the Sumerian text was provided with a Semitic translation, sometimes interlinear, sometimes in a parallel column. Commentaries, moreover, had been written upon the works of ancient authors, in which difficult or obsolete terms were explained. The pupils were trained to write exercises, either from a copy placed before them or from memory. These exercises served a double purpose — they taught the pupil how to write and spell, as well as the subject which the exercise illustrated. A list of the kings of the dynasty to which Khammurabi belonged has come to us, for instance, in one of them. In this way history and geography were impressed upon the student's memory, together with extracts from the poets and prose-writers of the past.

The writing material was clay. Papyrus, it is true, was occasionally used, but it was expensive, while clay literally lay under the feet of everyone. While the clay was still soft, the cuneiform or "wedge-shaped" characters were engraved upon it by means of a stylus. They had originally been pictorial, but when the use of clay was adopted the pictures necessarily degenerated into groups of wedge-like lines, every

curve becoming an angle formed by the junction of two lines. As time went on, the characters were more and more simplified, the number of wedges of which they consisted being reduced and only so many left as served to distinguish one sign from another. The simplification reached its extreme point in the official script of Assyria.

At first the clay tablet after being inscribed was allowed to dry in the sun. But sun-dried clay easily crumbles, and the fashion accordingly grew up of baking the tablet in a kiln. In Assyria, where the heat of the sun was not so great as in the southern kingdom of Babylonia, the tablet was invariably baked, holes being first drilled in it to allow the escape of the moisture and to prevent it from cracking. Some of the early Babylonian tablets were of great size, and it is wonderful that they have lasted to our own days. But the larger the tablet, the more difficult it was to bake it safely, and consequently the most of the tablets are of small size. As it was often necessary to compress a long text into this limited space, the writing became more and more minute, and in many cases a magnifying glass is needed to read it properly. That such glasses were really used by the Assyrians is proved by Layard's discovery of a magnifying lens at Nineveh. The lens, which is of crystal, has been turned on a lathe, and is now in the British Museum. But even with the help of lenses, the study of the cuneiform tablets encouraged short sight, which must have been common in the Babylonian schools. In the case of Assur-bani-pal this was counteracted by the out-of-door exercises in which he was trained, and it is probable that similar exercises were also customary in Babylonia.

A book generally consisted of several tablets, which may consequently be compared with our chapters. At the end of each tablet was a colophon stating what was its number in the series to which it belonged, and giving the first line of the next tablet. The series received its name from the words with which it began; thus the fourth tablet or chapter of the "Epic of the Creation" states that it contains "one hundred and forty-six lines of the fourth tablet (of the work beginning) 'When on high unproclaimed,' " and adds the first line of the tablet which follows. Catalogues were made of the standard books to be found in a library, giving the name of the author and the first line of each; so that it was easy for the reader or librarian to find both the work he wanted and the particular chapter in it he wished to consult. The books were arranged on shelves; M. de Sarzec discovered about 32,000 of them at Tello in Southern Chaldea still in the order in which they had been put in the age of Gudea (2700 B.C.).

Literature of every kind was represented. History and chronology, geography and law, private and public correspondence, despatches from generals and proclamations of the king, philology and mathematics, natural science in the shape of lists of bears and birds, insects and stones, astronomy and astrology, theology and the pseudo-science of omens, all found a place on the shelves, as well as poems and purely literary works. Copies of deeds and contracts, of legal decisions, and even inventories of the property of private individuals, were also stored in the libraries of Babylonia and Assyria, which were thus libraries and archive-chambers in one. In Babylonia every great city had its collection of books, and scribes were kept constantly employed in it, copying and re-editing the older literature, or providing new works for readers. The re-editing was done with scrupulous care. Where a character was lost in the original text by a fracture of the tablet, the copyist stated the fact, and added whether the loss was recent or not. Where the form of the character was uncertain, both the signs which it resembled are given. Some idea may be formed of the honesty and care with which the Babylonian scribes worked from the fact that the compiler of the Babylonian Chronicle, which contains a synopsis of later Babylonian history, frankly states that he does "not know" the date of the battle of Khalulê, which was fought between the Babylonians and Sennacherib. The materials at his disposal did not enable him to settle it. It so happens that we are in a more fortunate position, as we are able to fix it with the help of the annals of the Assyrian King.

New texts were eagerly collected. The most precious spoils sent to Assur-bani-pal after the capture of the revolted Babylonian cities were tablets containing works which the library of Nineveh did not possess. The Babylonians and Assyrians made war upon men, not upon books, which were, moreover, under the protection of the gods. The library was usually within the walls of a temple; sometimes it was part of the archives of the temple itself. Hence the copying of a text was often undertaken as a pious work, which brought down upon the scribe the blessing of heaven and even the remission of his sins. That the library was open to the public we may infer from the character of some of the literature contained in it. This included private letters as well as contracts and legal documents which could be interesting only to the parties whom they concerned.

The school must have been attached to the library, and was probably an adjacent building. This will explain the existence of the school-exercises which have come from the library of Nineveh, as well as the

reading-books and other scholastic literature which were stored within it. At the same time, when we remember the din of an oriental school, where the pupils shout their lessons at the top of their voices, it is impossible to suppose that the scribes and readers would have been within ear-shot. Nor was it probable that there was only one school in a town of any size. The practice of herding large numbers of boys or girls together in a single school-house is European rather than Asiatic.

The school in later times developed into a university. At Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon, where the library had been established in the temple of Nebo, we learn from Strabo that a university also existed which had attained great celebrity. From a fragment of a Babylonian medical work, now in the British Museum, we may perhaps infer that it was chiefly celebrated as a school of medicine.

In Assyria education was mainly confined to the upper classes. The trading classes were perforce obliged to learn how to read and write; so also were the officials and all those who looked forward to a career in the diplomatic service. But learning was regarded as peculiarly the profession of the scribes, who constituted a special class and occupied an important position in the bureaucracy. They acted as clerks and secretaries in the various departments of state, and stereotyped a particular form of cuneiform script, which we may call the chancellor's hand, and which, through their influence, was used throughout the country. In Babylonia it was otherwise. Here a knowledge of writing was far more widely spread, and one of the results was that varieties of handwriting became as numerous as they are in the modern world. The absence of a professional class of scribes prevented any one official hand from becoming universal. We find even the son of an "irrigator," one of the poorest and lowest members of the community, copying a portion of the "Epic of the Creation," and depositing it in the library of Borsippa for the good of his soul. Indeed, the contract tablets show that the slaves themselves could often read and write. The literary tendencies of Assur-bani-pal doubtless did much toward the spread of education in Assyria, but the latter years of his life were troubled by disastrous wars, and the Assyrian empire and kingdom came to an end soon after his death.

Education, as we have seen, meant a good deal more than merely learning the cuneiform characters. It meant, in the case of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians, learning the ancient agglutinative language of Sumer as well. In later times this language ceased to be spoken except in learned society, and consequently bore the same relation to Semitic Babylonian that Latin bears to English. In learning Sumerian, therefore,

the Babylonian learned what was equivalent to Latin in the modern world. And the mode of teaching it was much the same. There were the same paradigms to be committed to memory, the same lists of words and phrases to be learned by heart, the same extracts from the authors of the past to be stored up in the mind. Even the "Hamiltonian" system of learning a dead language had already been invented. Exercises were set in translation from Sumerian into Babylonian, and from Babylonian into Sumerian, and the specimens of the latter which have survived to us show that "dog-Latin" was not unknown.

But the dead language of Sumer was not all that the educated Babylonian or Assyrian gentlemen of later times was called upon to know. In the eighth century before our era Aramaic had become the common medium of trade and diplomacy. If Sumerian was the Latin of the Babylonian world, Aramaic was its French. The Aramaic dialects seem to have been the result of a contact between the Semitic languages of Arabia and Canaan, and the rising importance of the tribes who spoke them and who occupied Mesopotamia and Northern Arabia caused them to become the language of trade. Aramaic merchants were settled on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and conveyed the products of Babylonia and Phœnicia from one country to the other. Many of the commercial firms in Babylonia were of Aramaic origin, and it was natural that some part at least of their business should have been carried on in the language of their fathers.

Hence it was that, when the Rab-shakeh or Vizier of Sennacherib appeared before Jerusalem and summoned its inhabitants to submit to the Assyrian King, he was asked by the ministers of Hezekiah to speak in "Aramæan." It was taken for granted that Aramaic was known to an Assyrian official and diplomatist just as it was to the Jewish officials themselves. The Rab-shakeh, however, knew the Hebrew language as well, and found it more to his purpose to use it in addressing the Jews.

Here, then, we have an Assyrian officer who is acquainted not only with Sumerian, but also with two of the living languages of Western Asia. And yet he was not a scribe; he did not belong to the professional class of learned men. Nothing can show more clearly the advanced state of education even in the military kingdom of Assyria. In Babylonia learning had always been honored; from the days of Sargon of Akkad onward the sons of the reigning king did not disdain to be secretaries and librarians.

The linguistic training undergone in the schools gave the Babylonian a taste for philology. He not only compiled vocabularies of the extinct

Sumerian, which were needed for practical reasons, he also explained the meaning of the names of the foreign kings who had reigned over Babylonia, and from time to time noted the signification of words belonging to the various languages by which he was surrounded. Thus one of the tablets we possess contains a list of Kassite or Kossean words with their signification; in other cases we have Mitannian, Elamite, and Canaanite words quoted, with their meanings attached to them. Nor did the philological curiosity of the scribe end here. He busied himself with the etymology of the words in his own language, and just as a couple of centuries ago our own dictionary-makers endeavored to find derivations for all English words, whatever their source, in Latin and Greek, so, too, the Babylonian etymologist believed that the venerable language of Sumer was the key to the origin of his own. Many of the words in Semitic Babylonian were indeed derived from it, and accordingly Sumerian etymologies were found for other words which were purely Semitic. The word *Sabattu*, "the Sabbath," for instance, was derived from the Sumerian *Sa*, "heart," and *bat*, "to cease," and so interpreted to mean the day on which "the heart ceased" from its labors.

History, too, was a favorite subject of study. Like the Hebrews, the Assyrians were distinguished by a keen historical sense which stands in curious contrast to the want of it which characterized the Egyptian. The Babylonians also were distinguished by the same quality, though perhaps to a less extent than their Assyrian neighbors, whose somewhat pedantic accuracy led them to state the exact numbers of the slain and captive in every small skirmish, and the name of every petty prince with whom they came into contact, and who had invented a system of accurately registering dates at a very early period. Nevertheless, the Babylonian was also a historian; the necessities of trade had obliged him to date his deeds and contracts from the earliest age of his history, and to compile lists of kings and dynasties for reference in case of a disputed title to property. The historical honesty to which he had been trained is illustrated by the author of the Babylonian Chronicle in the passage relating to the battle of Khalulê, which has been already alluded to. The last king of Babylonia was himself an antiquarian, and had a passion for excavating and discovering the records of the monarchs who had built the great temples of Chaldea.

Law, again, must have been much studied, and so, too, was theology. The library of Nineveh, however, from which so much of our information has come, gives us an exaggerated idea of the extent to which the pseudo-science of omens and portents was cultivated. Its royal

patron was a believer in them, and apparently more interested in the subject than in any other. Consequently, the number of books relating to it are out of all proportion to the rest of the literature in the library. But this was an accident, due to the predilections of Assur-bani-pal himself.

The study of omens and portents was a branch of science and not of theology, false though the science was. But it was based upon the scientific principle that every antecedent has a consequent, its fallacy consisting in a confusion between real causes and mere antecedents. Certain events had been observed to follow certain phenomena; it was accordingly assumed that they were the results of the phenomena, and that were the phenomena to happen again they would be followed by the same results. Hence all extraordinary or unusual occurrences were carefully noted, together with whatever had been observed to come after them. A strange dog, for instance, had been observed to enter a palace and there lie down on a couch; as no disaster took place subsequently it was believed that if the occurrence was repeated it would be an omen of good fortune. On the other hand, the fall of a house had been preceded by the birth of a child without a mouth; the same result, it was supposed, would again accompany the same presage of evil. These pseudo-scientific observations had been commenced at a very early period of Babylonian history, and were embodied in a great work which was compiled for the library of Sargon of Akkad.

Another work compiled for the same library, and containing observations which started from a similarly fallacious theory, was one in seventy-two books on the pseudo-science of astrology, which was called "The Illumination of Bel." But in this case the observations were not wholly useless. The study of astrology was intermixed with that of astronomy, of which Babylonia may be considered to be the birthplace. The heavens had been mapped out and the stars named; the sun's course along the ecliptic had been divided into the twelve zodiacal signs, and a fairly accurate calendar had been constructed. Hundreds of observations had been made of the eclipses of the sun and moon, and the laws regulating them had been so far ascertained that, first, eclipses of the moon, and then, but with a greater element of uncertainty, eclipses of the sun, were able to be predicted. One of the chapters or books in the "Illumination of Bel" was devoted to an account of comets, another dealt with conjunctions of the sun and moon. There were also tables of observations relating to the synodic revolution of the moon and the synodic periods of the planet Venus. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, an intercalary month being inserted from

time to time to rectify the resulting error in the length of the year. The months had been originally called after the signs of the zodiac, whose names have come down to ourselves with comparatively little change. But by the side of the lunar year the Babylonians also used a sidereal year, the star Capella being taken as a fixed point in the sky, from which the distance of the sun could be measured at the beginning of the year, the moon being used as a mere pointer for the purpose. At a later date, however, this mode of determining time was abandoned, and the new year was made directly dependent on the vernal equinox. The month was subdivided into weeks of seven days, each of which was consecrated to a particular deity.

These deities were further identified with the stars. The fact that the sun and moon, as well as the evening and morning stars, were already worshipped as divinities doubtless led the way to this system of astro-theology. But it seems never to have spread beyond the learned classes and to have remained to the last an artificial system. The mass of the people worshipped the stars as a whole, but it was only as a whole and not individually. Their identification with the gods of the state religion might be taught in the schools and universities, but it had no meaning for the nation at large.

From the beginning of the Babylonian's life we now pass to the end. Unlike the Egyptian he had no desert close at hand in which to bury his dead, no limestone cliffs, as in Palestine, wherein a tomb might be excavated. It was necessary that the burial should be in the plain of Babylonia, the same plain as that in which he lived, and with which the overflow of the rivers was constantly infiltrating. The consequences were twofold. On the one hand, the tomb had to be constructed of brick, for stone was not procurable; on the other hand, sanitary reasons made cremation imperative. The Babylonian corpse was burned as well as buried, and the brick sepulchre that was raised above it adjoined the cities of the living.

The corpse was carried to the grave on a bier, accompanied by the mourners. Among these the wailing women were prominent, who tore their hair and threw dust upon their heads. The cemetery to which the dead was carried was a city in itself, to which the Sumerians had given the name of Ki-makh or "vast place." It was laid out in streets, the tombs on either side answering to the houses of a town. Not infrequently gardens were planted before them, while rivulets of "living water" flowed through the streets and were at times conducted into the tomb. The water symbolized the life that the pious Babylonian hoped to enjoy

in the world to come. It relieved the thirst of the spirit in the underground world of Hades, where an old myth had declared that “dust only was its food,” and it was at the same time an emblem of those “waters of life” which were believed to bubble up beneath the throne of the goddess of the dead.

When the corpse reached the cemetery it was laid upon the ground wrapped in mats of reed and covered with asphalt. It was still dressed in the clothes and ornaments that had been worn during life. The man had his seal and his weapons of bronze or stone; the woman her spindle-wheel and thread; the child his necklace of shells. In earlier times all was then thickly coated with clay, above which branches of palm, terebinth, and other trees were placed, and the whole was set on fire. At a more recent period ovens of brick were constructed in which the corpse was put in its coffin of clay and reeds, but withdrawn before cremation was complete. The skeletons of the dead are consequently often found in a fair state of preservation, as well as the objects which were buried with them.

While the body was being burned offerings were made, partly to the gods, partly to the dead man himself. They consisted of dates, calves and sheep, birds and fish, which were consumed along with the corpse. Certain words were recited at the same time, derived for the most part from the sacred books of ancient Sumer.

After the ceremony was over a portion of the ashes was collected and deposited in an urn, if the cremation had been complete. In the later days, when this was not the case, the half-burnt body was allowed to remain on the spot where it had been laid, and an aperture was made in the shell of clay with which it was covered. The aperture was intended to allow a free passage to the spirit of the dead, so that it might leave its burial-place to enjoy the food and water that were brought to it. Over the whole a tomb was built of bricks, similar to that in which the urn was deposited when the body was completely burned.

The tombs of the rich resembled the houses in which they had lived on earth and contained many chambers. In these their bodies were cremated and interred. Sometimes a house was occupied by a single corpse only; at other times it became a family burial-place, where the bodies were laid in separate chambers. Sometimes tombstones were set up commemorating the name and deeds of the deceased; at other times statues representing them were erected instead.

The tomb had a door, like a house, through which the relatives and friends of the dead man passed from time to time in order to furnish him with the food and sustenance needed by his spirit in the world below. Vases were placed in the sepulchre, filled with dates and grain, wine and oil, while the rivulet which flowed beside it provided water in abundance. All this was required in that underworld where popular belief pictured the dead as flitting like bats in the gloom and darkness, and where the heroes of old time sat, strengthless and ghostlike, on their shadowy thrones.

The kings were allowed to be burned and buried in the palace in which they had lived and ruled. We read of one of them that he was interred in "the palace of Sargon" of Akkad, of another that his burial had taken place in the palace he himself had erected. A similar privilege was granted to their subjects only by royal permission.

Want of space caused the tombs of the dead to be built one upon the other, as generations passed away and the older sepulchres crumbled into dust. The cemetery thus resembled the city; here, too, one generation built upon the ruins of its predecessor. The houses and tombs were alike constructed of sun-dried bricks, which soon disintegrate and form a mound of dust. The age of a cemetery, like the age of a city, may accordingly be measured by the number of successive layers of building of which its mound or platform is composed. In Babylonia they are numerous, for the history of the country goes back to a remote past. Each city clustered round a temple, venerable for its antiquity as well as for its sanctity, and the cemetery which stood near it was consequently under the protection of its god. At Cutha the necropolis was so vast that Nergal, the god of the town, came to be known as the "lord of the dead." But the cemeteries of other towns were also of enormous size. Western Asia had received its culture and the elements of its theology from Babylonia, and Babylonia consequently was a sacred land not only to the Babylonians themselves, but to all those who shared their civilization. The very soil was holy ground; Assyrians as well as Babylonians desired that their bodies should rest in it. Here they were in the charge, as it were, of Bel of Nippur or Merodach of Babylon, and within sight of the ancient sanctuaries in which those gods were worshipped. This explains in part the size of the cemeteries; the length of time during which they were used will explain the rest. As Dr. Peters says of each: "It is difficult to convey anything like a correct notion of the piles upon piles of human relics which there utterly astound the spectator. Excepting only the triangular space between the three principal ruins, the whole remainder

of the platform, the whole space between the walls, and an unknown extent of desert beyond them, are everywhere filled with the bones and sepulchres of the dead. There is probably no other site in the world which can compare with Warka in this respect."

Babylonia is still a holy land to the people of Western Asia. The old feeling in regard to it still survives, and the bodies of the dead are still carried, sometimes for hundreds of miles, to be buried in its sacred soil. Mohammedan saints have taken the place of the old gods, and a Moslem chapel represents the temple of the past, but it is still to Babylonia that the corpse is borne, often covered by costly rugs which find their way in time to an American or European drawing-room. "The old order changes, giving place to new," but the influence of Chaldean culture and religion is not yet past.

Chapter IV. Slavery And The Free Laborer

Slavery was part of the foundation upon which Babylonian society rested. But between slavery as it existed in the ancient oriental world and slavery in the Roman or modern world there was a great difference. The slave was often of the same race as his master, sometimes of the same nationality, speaking the same language and professing the same religion. He was regarded as one of the family, and was not infrequently adopted into it. He could become a free citizen and rise to the highest offices of state. Slavery was no bar to his promotion, nor did it imprint any stigma upon him. He was frequently a skilled artisan and even possessed literary knowledge. Between his habits and level of culture and those of his owners was no marked distinction, no prejudices to be overcome on account of his color, no conviction of his inferiority in race. He was brought up with the rest of the family to which he was considered to belong and was in hourly contact with them. Moreover, the large number of slaves had been captives in war. A reverse of fortune might consign their present masters to the same lot; history knew of instances in which master and slave had changed places with one another. There were some slaves, too, who were Babylonians by birth; the law allowed the parent to sell his child, the brother his sister, or the creditor his debtor under certain circumstances, and the old Sumerian legislation ordained that a son who denied his father should be shorn and sold as a slave. In times of famine or necessity a man even sold himself to be quit of a debt or to obtain the means of subsistence. A slave was always fed and clothed; the free laborer at times could get neither food nor clothing.

There were three classes of slaves — those who were the property of a private individual, the serfs who were attached to the soil which they cultivated, and the temple slaves who had been dedicated to the service of the gods. Of the second class but few traces are found in Babylonia. Agriculture was carried on there either by free laborers, or by the slaves of the private land-owners. Where the land belonged to priests, it was of course usually the temple slaves who tilled it. What was the exact legal position of the Jews and other exiles who were transported to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar we do not know, but they were neither serfs nor slaves. The practice of transportation had been borrowed from Assyria, and under the Assyrian system the exiled population was treated as a colony. Israelites appear among the Assyrian officials in contracts of the

second Assyrian empire, and Jewish names are found in the Babylonian contracts of the age of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors.

The Babylonians were not a military people, and after the Kassite conquest their wars of aggression were not sufficiently numerous or extensive to provide them with a supply of captives who could be made into slaves. Slave-merchants are rarely, if ever, referred to in the Babylonian contract tablets, and the slaves must have been home-born, the children and descendants of those who had been slaves before them. In the age of Abraham it was doubtless different. Then the power of Babylonia extended throughout Western Asia, and the constant wars in the East and West must have filled the market with foreign captives. The white slaves brought from Kurdistan and the north were especially prized. Thus in the reign of Ammi-Zadok, the fourth successor of Khammurabi, some "white Kurdish slaves" were sold for 3 homers and 24⅔ *qas* of oil, which were valued at 20⅔ shekels, and in the time of his son Samsu-ditana "a white slave" from Suri or Northern Mesopotamia fetched as much as 20 shekels, or £3.

The earliest code of Sumerian laws known to us takes the slave under its protection. It assumes the principle that the life of the slave is not absolutely at his master's disposal, and enacts that, if the slave is killed, beaten, maimed, or injured in health, the hand that has so offended shall pay each day a measure of wheat. This must mean that the payment shall be continued until the slave recovers from his ill-treatment. Light is thrown upon it by a later Babylonian law, according to which, if the services of a slave have been hired by a second person and the slave falls ill or is otherwise rendered incapable of work, the hirer is fined for as long a time as the illness or incapacity continues. The object of the law is clear. It was intended to prevent the slave from being overworked by one who had not, as it were, a family interest in him. It protected the slave and at the same time protected the master to whom he belonged.

There are several instances of its application. Thus in the eighth year of Cyrus a slave named Nidinti was apprenticed for six years by his master and mistress to a certain Libludh in order that he might learn the trade of fulling. It was stipulated that he was to learn it thoroughly, and if at any time he was unable to work Libludh was to pay each day 3 *qas* (or about 4½ quarts) of wheat for his support. At the end of the period, when the trade had been learned, Libludh was to receive a cloth worth 4 shekels (12 s.) and hand over Nidinti to the service of the Sun-god of Sippara. In the same year another slave was apprenticed to the stone-cutter Quddâ, who was himself a slave and belonged to the heir-apparent,

Cambyses. Quddâ undertook to teach his trade to the apprentice in four years, and if he failed to do so was to be fined 20 shekels. Six years earlier Qubtâ, the daughter of Iddina-Merodach, had given the slave of another person to a weaver for a period of five years, in order that he might be taught the art of weaving, at the same time agreeing to provide him with 1 *qa* (1 ⅗ quarts) of food each day and to pay his teacher something besides. If, however, he was incapacitated from learning, the weaver was required to pay a daily fine of half a "measure" of wheat, which we are told was the wage of the slave. Any infringement of the contract would be punished by a penalty of 20 manehs.

The slave was able to apprentice himself without the intervention of his owners. Thus in the sixth year of Cyrus one slave apprenticed himself of his own accord to another in order to learn a trade. In this case also the penalty for not being taught the trade was half a "measure" of wheat each day, which is again stated to be the wage of the slave. The wage, however, it would seem, had to be paid to the master, at all events in some cases; this is clear from a document which relates to the conclusion of the apprenticeship in which Nubtâ took part. The slave she had apprenticed had learnt his trade, and his master accordingly received from the teacher 5 shekels, which it was calculated were the equivalent of the services the apprentice had rendered. Ordinarily the 5 shekels would have been considered a return for the slave's maintenance during the term of his apprenticeship; but in this instance, for reasons unknown to us, the maintenance had been provided by a lady and the payment for the slave's services was consequently clear gain.

The slave, however, was allowed to accumulate capital for himself, to trade with it, and even to become rich enough to lend money to his own master or to purchase his own freedom. That a similar privilege was allowed to the slaves of the Israelites we may gather from the fact that Saul's slave offered to pay the seer Samuel a quarter of a shekel which he had about him, though it is true that this might have been the property of his master. In Babylonia the possession of property by the slave was not at all uncommon. In the sixth year of Cambyses, for example, a female slave named Khunnatu received a large quantity of furniture, including five beds, ten chairs, three dishes, and various other kitchen utensils, and agreed to pay the rent of the house in which she deposited them. Her master also lent her 122 shekels of silver, which were expended in buying fifty casks of beer, besides other things, and upon which she was to pay interest. Apparently she wanted to set up an inn or drinking-shop; the fact that the money was lent to her by her master

proves that she must have been engaged in business on her own account. In other contracts we find the slave taking a mortgage and trading in onions and grain or employing his money in usury. In one case a slave borrows as much as 14 manehs 49 shekels, or £138 3s., from a member of the Egibi firm. In another case it is a considerable quantity of grain in addition to 12 shekels of silver that is borrowed from the slave by two other persons, with a promise that the grain shall be repaid the following month and the money a year later. The contract is drawn up in the usual way, the borrowers, who, like the witnesses, are free-born citizens, giving the creditor a security and assuming a common responsibility for the debt. The grain, however, was to be repaid in the house of the slave's master; it seems evident, therefore, that the slave had no private house of his own. The slave, nevertheless, could own a house or receive it in payment of a debt. This is illustrated by an interesting contract in which reference is made to Ustanni, the Tatnai of the Book of Ezra, who is called "the governor of Ebir-nâri," "the other side of the river." The contract is as follows:

"Two manehs of silver lent by Kurrulâ, the slave of Ustanni, the governor of Babylon and Ebir-nâri, to Merodach-sum-ibni, the son of Sula, the son of Epes-ilu. The house of the latter, which is by the side of the road of the god Bagarus, is Kurrulâ's security. No one else has any prior claim to it. The house is not to be let or interest taken upon the loan." Then come the names of five free-born witnesses, and the document is dated at Babylon in the third year of Darius. The terms of the contract are precisely the same as those exacted by Cambyses, when he was crown-prince, from a certain Iddin-Nebo, to whom he had lent money through the agency of his secretary, receiving a house as security for the debt.

In some instances the slave was merely the confidential agent of his master, to whom therefore all or most of the profits went. Thus a deed dated in the ninth year of Cyrus describes a field situated opposite the gate of Zamama at Babylon, which had been assigned by "the judges" to a lady named Ê-Saggil-belit, and afterward mortgaged by her to a slave of Itti-Merodach-baladhu, one of the members of the Egibi firm. The lady, however, still wanted money, and accordingly proposed to Itti-Merodach-baladhu that if he would make her a "present" of 10 shekels she would hand over to him her title-deeds. This was done, and the field passed into the possession of Itti-Merodach-baladhu, with whom the mortgage had really been contracted.

In spite of the privileges possessed by the Babylonian slave, he was nevertheless a chattel, like the rest of his master's property. He could constitute the dowry of a wife, could take the place of interest on a debt or of the debt itself, and could be hired out to another, the wages he earned going into the pocket of his master. In the age of Khammurabi we find two brothers hiring the services of two slaves, one of whom belonged to their father and the other to their mother, for ten days. The slaves were wanted for harvest work, and it was agreed that a *gur* (or 180 *qas*) of grain should be paid them. This, of course, ultimately went to their owners. In the reign of Cambyses a man and his wife, having borrowed 80 shekels, gave a slave as security for the repayment of the loan; the terms of the contract are the same as if the security had been a house. On another occasion a slave is security for only part of a debt which amounted to a maneh and twenty shekels, interest being paid upon the shekels. His service was regarded as equivalent to the interest upon the maneh.

When a slave was sold the seller guaranteed that he was not disobedient, that he had not been adopted by a free citizen, that there was no prior claim to him, and that he had not been impressed into the royal service, or, in the case of female slaves, been a concubine of the king. Purchasers had to be on their guard on all these points. Strict honesty was not always the rule in the Babylonian commercial world, and a case which came before the judges in the early part of the reign of Nabonidos shows that ladies were capable of sharp practice as well as men. The judicial record states that a certain "Belit-litu gave the following evidence before the judges of Nabonidos, King of Babylon: 'In the month Ab, in the first year of Nergal-sharezer, King of Babylon, I sold my slave, Bazuzu, for thirty-five shekels of silver to Nebo-akhi-iddin, the son of Sulâ, the descendant of Egibi; he has pretended that I owed him a debt, and so has not paid me the money.' The judges heard the charge, and caused Nebo-akhi-iddin to be summoned and to appear before them. Nebo-akhi-iddin produced the contract which he had made with Belit-litu; he proved that she had received the money and convinced the judges. And Ziria, Nebo-sum-lisir and Edillu gave (further) evidence before the judges that Belit-litu, their mother, had received the silver. The judges deliberated and condemned Belit-litu to (pay) fifty-five shekels (by way of fine), the highest fine that could be inflicted on her, and then gave it to Nebo-akhi-iddin."

The prices fetched by slaves varied naturally. We have seen that in the Abrahamic age 20 shekels (£3) were given for a white slave from the

North, the same price as that for which Joseph was sold. In the reign of Ammi-zadok 4½ shekels only were paid for a female slave. In later times prices were considerably higher, though under Nebuchadnezzar we hear of a slave given as part of a dowry who was valued at 30 shekels, and of a female slave and her infant child whose cost was only 19 shekels. In the first year of Nergal-sharezer a slave-merchant of Harran sold three slaves for 45 shekels, while a little later 32 shekels were given for a female slave. The same sum was given for a slave who was advanced in years, while a slave girl four years of age only was sold for 19 shekels. In the sixth year of Cambyses an Egyptian and her child three months old, whom the Babylonian Iddin-Nebo had "taken, with his bow," was sold by him for 2 manehs or 120 shekels, a bond for 240 *gurs* of dates being handed over to him as security for the payment of the sum. The Egyptian, it may be noted, received a Babylonian name before being put up for auction. In the same reign we hear of 3 manehs being paid for two slaves, of a maneh for a single slave, and of 7 manehs 56 shekels for three female slaves. This would be at the rate of 2 manehs 38 shekels or £23 14s. for each. On the whole, however, the average price seems to have been about 30 shekels. This, at any rate, was the case among the Israelites, not only in the Mosaic period (Exod. xxi. 32) but also in the time of the Maccabees (II. Macc. viii. 9, 10).

The fact that slaves sometimes ran away from their masters, like Barachiel, who pretended to be a free citizen, and that in contracts for their sale their obedience is expressly guaranteed, proves that they were not always content with their lot. Indeed, it is not strange that it should have been so. They were merely chattels, subject to the caprices and tyranny of those who owned them, and their lives were as little valued as that of an ox. Thus in the fortieth year of Nebuchadnezzar a judgment was delivered that, if it could be proved by witnesses that a certain Idikhi-ilu had murdered the slave of one of the Arameans settled in the town of Pekod, he was to be fined a maneh of silver; that was all the slave's life was worth in the eyes of the law, and even that was paid to the master to compensate him for the loss of his property. Sometimes the name of the slave was changed; as we have seen, the captive Egyptian woman received a Babylonian name, and a contract of the time of Khammurabi, relating to the female slave of a Babylonian lady, who had been given to her by her husband, and who, it is stipulated, shall not be taken from her by his sons after his death, mentions that the name of the slave had been changed. In this case, however, the reason seems to have been that the girl was adopted by her mistress, though the adoption was

not carried out in legal form and was therefore technically invalid. The contract accordingly describes her by her proper name of Mutibasti, but adds that "she is called Zabini, the daughter of Saddasu," her mistress.

That the law should nevertheless have regarded the slave as a person, and as such possessed of definite rights, appears strange. But Babylonian law started from the principle of individual responsibility and individual possession of property, and since the slave was a human being and could, moreover, hold property of his own, it necessarily seemed to place him more and more on a footing of equality with the free-born citizen. The causes which brought about the legal emancipation of women worked in the same direction in favor of the slave. Hence the power he had of purchasing his freedom out of his own earnings and of being adopted into a citizen's family. Hence, too, the claim of the law to interfere between the slave-owner and his property.

A slave, in fact, could even act as a witness in court, his testimony being put on the same legal level as that of a native Babylonian. He could also be a party to a suit. Thus we find a slave called Nergal-ritsua, in the tenth year of Nabonidos, bringing a suit for the recovery of stolen property. He had been intrusted by his master with the conveyance of 480 *gur* of fruit to the ships of a Syrian, named Baal-nathan, who undertook to carry it to Babylon, and to be responsible for loss. On the way part of the fruit was stolen, and Baal-nathan, instead of replacing it, absconded, but was soon caught. The slave accordingly appeared against him, and the five judges before whom the case was brought gave a verdict in his favor.

A slave could even own another slave. In the twenty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, for example, the porter of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara, who was "the slave of Nebo-baladh-yulid," purchased a female slave for two-thirds of a shekel (2s.). The amount was small, but the purchaser did not possess so much at the moment, and credit was consequently allowed him. The list of witnesses to the contract is headed by a slave.

The condition of the slave in Assyria was much what it was in Babylonia. The laws and customs of Assyria were modelled after those of Babylonia, whence, indeed, most of them had been derived. But there was one cause of difference between the two countries which affected the character of slavery. Assyria was a military power, and the greater part of its slaves, therefore, were captives taken in war. In Babylonia, on the contrary, the majority had been born in the country, and between them and their masters there was thus a bond of union and sympathy

which could not exist between the foreign captive and his conqueror. In the northern kingdom slavery must have been harsher.

Slaves, moreover, apparently fetched higher prices there, probably on account of their foreign origin. They cost on the average as much as a maneh (£9) each. A contract, dated in 645 B.C., states that one maneh and a half was given for a single female slave. One of the contracting parties was a Syrian, and an Aramaic docket is accordingly attached to the deed, while among the witnesses to it we find Ammâ, "the Aramean secretary." Ammâ means a native of the land of Ammo, where Pethor was situated. About the same time 3 manehs, "according to the standard of Carchemis," were paid for a family of five slaves, which included two children. Under Esar-haddon a slave was bought for five-sixths of a maneh, or 50 shekels, and in the same year Hoshea, an Israelite, with his two wives and four children, was sold for 3 manehs. With these prices it is instructive to compare the sum of 43 shekels given for a female slave in Babylonia only four years later.

As a specimen of an Assyrian contract for the sale of slaves we may take one which was made in 709 B.C., thirteen years after the fall of Samaria, and which is noticeable on account of the Israelitish names which it contains: "The seal of Dagon-melech," we read, "the owner of the slaves who are sold. Imannu, the woman U —— , and Melchior, in all three persons, have been approved by Summa-ilâni, the bear-hunter from Kasarin, and he has bought them from Dagon-melech for three manehs of silver, according to the standard of Carchemish. The money has been fully paid; the slaves have been marked and taken. There shall be no reclamation, lawsuit, or complaints. Whoever hereafter shall at any time rise up and bring an action, whether it be Dagon-melech or his brother or his nephew or any one else belonging to him or a person in authority, and shall bring an action and charges against Summa-ilâni, his son, or his grandson, shall pay 10 manehs of silver, or 1 maneh of gold (£140), to the goddess Istar of Arbela. The money brings an interest of 10 (*i.e.*, 60) per cent. to its possessors; but if an action or complaint is brought it shall not be touched by the seller. In the presence of Addâ the secretary, Akhiramu the secretary, Pekah the governor of the city, Nadab-Yahu (Nadabiah) the bear-hunter, Bel-kullim-anni, Ben-dikiri, Dhem-Istar, and Tabnî the secretary, who has drawn up the deed of contract." The date is the 20th of Ab, or August, 709 B.C.

The slaves are sold at a maneh each, and bear Syrian names. Addâ, "the man of Hadad," and Ben-dikiri are also Syrian; on the other hand, Ahiram, Pekah, and Nadabiah are Israelitish. It is interesting to find them

appearing as free citizens of Assyria, one of them being even governor of a city. It serves to show why the tribes of Northern Israel so readily mingled with the populations among whom they were transported; the exiles in Assyria were less harshly treated than those in Babylonia, and they had no memories of a temple and its services, no strong religious feeling, to prevent them from being absorbed by the older inhabitants of their new homes.

In Assyria, as in Babylonia, parents could sell their children, brothers their sisters, though we do not know under what circumstances this was allowed by the law. The sale of a sister by her brother for half a maneh, which has already been referred to, took place at Nineveh in 668 B.C. In the contract the brother is called "the owner of his sister," and any infringement of the agreement was to be punished by a fine of "10 silver manehs, or 1 maneh of gold," to the treasury of the temple of Ninip at Calah. About fifteen years later the services of a female slave "as long as she lived" were given in payment of a debt, one of the witnesses to the deed being Yavanni "the Greek." Ninip of Calah received slaves as well as fines for the violation of contracts relating to the sale of them; about 645 B.C., for instance, we find four men giving one to the service of the god. Among the titles of the god is that of "the lord of workmen;" and it is therefore possible that he was regarded as in a special way the patron of the slave-trader.

It seems to have been illegal to sell the mother without the children, at all events as long as they were young. In the old Sumerian code of laws it was already laid down that if children were born to slaves whom their owner had sold while still reserving the power of repurchasing them, he could nevertheless not buy them back unless he bought the children at the same time at the rate of one and a half shekels each. The contracts show that this law continued in force down to the latest days of Babylonian independence. Thus the Egyptian woman who was sold in the sixth year of Cambyses was put up to auction along with her child. We may gather also that it was not customary to separate the husband and wife. When the Israelite Hoshea, for instance, was put up for sale in Assyria in the reign of Esar-haddon, both his wives as well as his children were bought by the purchaser along with him. It may be noted that the slave was "marked," or "tattooed," after purchase, like the Babylonian cattle. This served a double purpose; it indicated his owner and identified him if he tried to run away.

In a country where slaves were so numerous the wages of the free workmen were necessarily low. There were, however, two classes of free

workmen, the skilled artisan and the agricultural laborer. The agricultural character of the Babylonian state, and the fact that so many of the peasantry possessed land of their own, prevented the agriculturist from sinking into that condition of serfdom and degradation which the existence of slavery would otherwise have brought about. Moreover, the flocks and cattle were tended by Bedâwin and Arameans, who were proud of their freedom and independence, like the Bedâwin of modern Egypt. In spite, therefore, of the fact that so much of the labor of the country was performed by slaves, agriculture was in high esteem and the free agriculturist was held in honor. Tradition told how Sargon of Akkad, the hero of ancient Babylonia, had been brought up by Akki the irrigator, and had himself been a gardener, while the god Tammuz, the bridegroom of Istar, had tended sheep. Indeed, one of the oldest titles of the Babylonian kings had been that of "shepherd."

At the same time there was a tendency for the free laborer to degenerate into a serf, attached to the soil of the farm on which he and his forefathers had been settled for centuries. A contract dated in the first year of Cyrus is an illustration of the fact. It records the lease of a farm near Sippara, which belonged to the temple of the Sun-god, and was let to a private individual by the chief priest and the civil governor of the temple. The farm contained 60 *gur* of arable land, and the lease of it included "12 oxen, 8 peasants, 3 iron plough-shares, 4 axes, and sufficient grain for sowing and for the support of the peasants and the cattle." Here the peasants are let along with the land, and presumably would have been sold with it had the farm been purchased instead of being let. They were, in fact, irremovable from the soil on which they had been born. It must, however, be remembered that the farm was the property of a temple, and it is possible that serfdom was confined to land which had been consecrated to the gods. In that case the Babylonian serfs would have corresponded with the Hebrew Nethinim, and might have been originally prisoners of war.

We learn some details of early agricultural life in Babylonia from the fragments of an old Sumerian work on farming which formed one of the text-books in the Babylonian schools. Passages were extracted from it and translated into Semitic for the use of the students, and difficult words and expressions were noted and explained. The book seems to have resembled the "Works and Days" of the Greek poet Hesiod, except that it was not in verse. We gather from it that the agricultural year began, not with Nisan, or March, but with Tisri, or September, like the Jewish civil year; at all events, it was then that the tenure of the farmer began and that

his contract was drawn up with the landlord. It was then, too, after the harvest, that he took possession of the land, paying his tax to the government, repairing or making the fences, and ploughing the soil.

His tenure was of various kinds. Sometimes he undertook to farm the land, paying half the produce of it to the landlord or his agent and providing the farming implements, the seeds, and the manure himself. Sometimes the farm was worked on a co-operative system, the owner of the land and the tenant-farmer entering into partnership with one another and dividing everything into equal shares. In this case the landlord was required to furnish carts, oxen, and seeds. At other times the tenant received only a percentage of the profits — a third, a fourth, a fifth, or a tenth, according to agreement. He had also to pay the *esrâ* or tithe.

The most common form of tenure seems to have been that in which a third of the produce went to the lessor. Two-thirds of the rent, paid either in dates or in their monetary equivalent, was delivered to the landlord on the last day of the eighth month, Marchesvan, where the dates had been gathered and had been laid out to dry. By the terms of the lease the tenant was called upon to keep the farm buildings in order, and even to erect them if they did not exist. His own house was separate from that in which the farm-servants lived, and it was surrounded by a garden, planted for the most part with date-palms. If the farm-buildings were not built or were not kept in proper repair a fine was imposed upon him, which in the case quoted by the writer of the agricultural work was 10 shekels, or 30s. The tenant was furthermore expected to pay the laborers their wages, and the landlord had the power of dismissing him if the terms of the contract were not fulfilled.

The laborers were partly slaves, partly freemen, the freemen hiring themselves out at so much a month. A contract of the age of Khammurabi, for instance, states that a certain Ubaru, had thus hired himself out for thirty days for half a shekel of silver, or 1s. 6d., but he had to offer a guarantee that he would not leave his master’s service before the expiration of the month. In other cases it was a slave whose services were hired from his owner; thus, in a document from Sippara, of the same age as the preceding, we read: “Rimmon-bani hires Sumi-izitim as a laborer for his brother, for three months, at a wage of one shekel and a half, 3 measures of grain and 1½ *qa* of oil. There shall be no withdrawal from the agreement. Ibni-A-murru and Sikni-Ea have confirmed it. Rimmon-bani hires the laborer in the presence of Abum-ilu (Abimael), the son of Ibni-Samas, Ilisu-ibni, the son of Igas-Rimmon,

and Arad-Bel, the son of Akhuwam. (Dated) the first day of Sivan." The wages evidently went to the slave, so that he was practically in the position of a free laborer.

When we come down to a later period, we find in contract, dated at the end of the second year of a Cyrus, Bunene-sar-uzur, "the son of Sum-yukin," hired, as a servant for a year, "from the month Nisan to the month Adar," for 3 shekels of silver. These were paid beforehand to a third person, and the payment was duly witnessed and registered. Bunene-sar-uzur was not a slave, though 9 shillings does not seem much as wages for a whole year. However, three years later only 1 *pi*, or about 50 quarts of meal, were given for a month's supply of food to some men who were digging a canal. The hours of work doubtless lasted from sunrise to sunset, though we have a curious document of the Macedonian period, dated in the reign of Seleucus II., in which certain persons sell the wages they receive for work done in a temple during the "sixth part" of a day. The sum demanded was as much as 65 shekels.

The Aramean Bedâwin, who acted as shepherds, or cattle-drovers, probably received better wages than the native Babylonians. They were less numerous and were in more request; moreover, it was necessary that they should be trustworthy. The herds and flocks were left in their charge for weeks together, on the west bank of the Euphrates, out of sight of the cultivated fields of Babylonia and exposed to the attacks of marauders from the desert. Early Babylonian documents give long lists of the herdsmen and shepherds, and of the number of sheep or oxen for which they were responsible, and which were the property of some wealthy landowner. In the seventeenth year of Nabonidos, five of the shepherds received one shekel and a half of silver, as well as a *gur*, or about 250 quarts, of grain from the royal granary.

Some of the songs have been preserved to us with which the Babylonian laborer beguiled his work in the fields. They probably formed part of the treatise on agriculture which has already been described; at any rate, we owe their preservation to the educational text-books, in which they have been embodied, along with Semitic translations of the original Sumerian text. Here is one which the peasants sang to the oxen as they returned from the field:

My knees are marching,
My feet are not resting;
Taking no thought,
Drive me home.

In a similar strain the ploughman encouraged his team with the words:

A heifer am I,
To the mule I am yoked.
Where is the cart?
Go, look for grass;
It is high, it is high!

Or again, the oxen, while threshing, would be addressed with the refrain:

Before the oxen,
As they walk,
Thresh out the grain.

Ploughing, harrowing, sowing, reaping, and threshing constituted the chief events of the agricultural year. The winters were not cold, and the Babylonian peasant was consequently not obliged to spend a part of the year indoors shivering over a fire. In fact fuel was scarce in the country; few trees were grown in it except the palm, and the fruit of the palm was too valuable to allow it to be cut down. When the ordinary occupations of the farmer had come to an end, he was expected to look after his farm buildings and fences, to build walls and clean out the ditches.

The ditches, indeed, were more important in Babylonia than in most other parts of the world. Irrigation was as necessary as in Egypt, though for a different reason. The Chaldean plain had originally been a marsh, and it required constant supervision to prevent it from being once more inundated by the waters and made uninhabitable. The embankments which hindered the overflow of the Euphrates and Tigris and kept them within carefully regulated channels, the canals which carried off the surplus water and distributed it over the country, needed continual attention. Each year, after the rains of the winter, the banks had to be strengthened or re-made and the beds of the canals cleared out. The irrigator, moreover, was perpetually at work; the rainy season did not last long, and during the rest of the year the land was dependent on the water supplied by the rivers and canals. Irrigation, therefore, formed a large and important part of the farmers' work, and the bucket of the irrigator must have been constantly swinging. Without the irrigator the labors of the farmer would have been of little avail.

Chapter V. Manners And Customs

Babylonia was a land of bricks. Stone was not found nearer than the mountains of Elam on the one side or the desert plains of Northern Arabia on the other. Clay, on the contrary, was plentiful, and the art of making bricks and building a house by means of them must have been invented by the first settlers in the country. The bricks were dried in the sun, the heat of which was sufficient to harden them. The clay was further bound together by being mixed with chopped reeds, though the use of the latter was not universal, at all events in the earlier times. In the later days of Babylonian history, however, they were generally employed, and we learn from the contracts that a bed of reeds grown for the sake of the brick-makers' trade was by no means an unprofitable investment. Either clay or bitumen took the place of mortar; the bitumen was procured from Hit or from the Kurdish hills, where there are still springs of naphtha; after the conquest of Canaan it may have been brought from the neighborhood of the Dead Sea. Some scholars have thought that this is referred to by Gudea, the priest-king of Lagas (2700 B.C.).

The employment of brick had a very direct effect upon the character of Babylonian architecture. Thick walls, supported by buttresses and devoid of sculpture, were necessitated by it. The buildings of Babylonia were externally plain and flat; masses of brick were piled up in the form of towers or else built into long lines of wall of unbroken monotony. The roofs were made of the stems of palm-trees, which rested on the stems of other palm-trees, where the space between one brick wall and another was too great to be safely spanned. The upright stems became columns, which were imitated first in brick and then in stone. Babylonia was thus the birthplace of columnar architecture, and in the course of centuries columns of almost every conceivable shape and kind came to be invented. Sometimes they were made to stand on the backs of animals, sometimes the animal formed the capital. The column which rested against the wall passed into a brick pilaster, and this again assumed various forms.

The monotony of the wall itself was disguised in different ways. The pilaster served to break it, and the walls of the early Chaldean temples are accordingly often broken up into a series of recessed panels, the sides of which are formed by square pilasters. Clay cones were also inserted in

the wall and brilliantly colored, the colors being arranged in patterns. But the most common form of decoration was where the wall was covered with painted stucco. This, indeed, was the ordinary mode of ornamenting the internal walls of a building; a sort of dado ran round the lower part of them painted with the figures of men and animals, while the upper part was left in plain colors or decorated only with rosettes and similar designs. Ezekiel refers to the figures of the Chaldeans portrayed in vermilion on the walls of their palaces, and the composite creatures of Babylonian mythology who were believed to represent the first imperfect attempts at creation were depicted on the walls of the temple of Bel.

Among the tablets which have been found at Tello are plans of the houses of the age of Sargon of Akkad. The plans are for the most part drawn to scale, and the length and breadth of the rooms and courts contained in them are given. The rooms opened one into the other, and along one side of a house there usually ran a passage. One of the houses, for example, of which we have a plan, contained five rooms on the ground floor, two of which were the length of the house. The dimensions of the second of these is described as being 8 cubits in breadth and 1 *gardu* in length. The *gardu* was probably equivalent to 18 cubits or about 30 feet. In another case the plan is that of the house of the high priest of Lagas, and at the back of it the number of slaves living in it is stated as well as the number of workmen employed to build it. It was built, we are told, in the year when Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, made the pavement of the temples of Bel at Nippur and of Istar at Nin-unu.

The temple and house were alike erected on a platform of brick or earth. This was rendered necessary by the marshy soil of Babylonia and the inundations to which it was exposed. The houses, indeed, generally found the platform already prepared for them by the ruins of the buildings which had previously stood on the same spot. Sun-dried brick quickly disintegrates, and a deserted house soon became a mound of dirt. In this way the villages and towns of Babylonia gradually rose in height, forming a *tel* or mound on which the houses of a later age could be erected.

In contrast to Babylonia the younger kingdom of Assyria was a land of stone. But the culture of Assyria was derived from Babylonia, and the architectural fashions of Babylonia were accordingly followed even when stone took the place of brick. The platform, which was as necessary in Babylonia as it was unnecessary in Assyria, was nevertheless servilely copied, and palaces and temples were piled upon it like those of the Babylonians. The ornamentation of the Babylonian

walls was imitated in stone, the rooms being adorned with a sculptured dado, the bas-reliefs of which were painted in bright colors. Even the fantastic shapes of the Babylonian columns were reproduced in stone. Brick, too, was largely used; in fact, the stone served for the most part merely as a facing, to ornament rather than strengthen the walls.

The Babylonian princes had themselves set the example of employing stone for the sake of decoration. Stone was fetched for the purpose from the most distant regions, regardless of cost. Gudea, the priest-king of Lagas, imported limestone from the Lebanon and from Samalum, near the Gulf of Antioch, while the statues which adorned his palace, and are now in the Louvre, are carved out of diorite from the Peninsula of Sinai. The diorite doubtless came by sea, but the blocks of hewn stone that were brought from "the land of the Amorites" must have been conveyed overland.

Even more precious materials than stone were used for decorative purposes. Gold and silver, bronze and ivory, lapis-lazuli and colored glass, ornamented the cornices and other parts of the interior of the palace. Gudea tells us that he had sent to the deserts which bordered on Egypt for gold-dust and acacia-wood, to Arabia for copper, and to Mount Amanus for beams of cedar. The elephant was still hunted on the banks of the Euphrates near the city of Carchemish, and lapis-lazuli was furnished by the mountains of Persia.

A garden was planted by the side of the house. The Babylonians were an agricultural people, and even the cities were full of the gardens attached to the houses of all who could afford to have them. Originally the garden was little more than a grove of palms. But herbs and vegetables soon began to be grown in it, and as habits of luxury increased, exotic trees and shrubs were transplanted to it and flowers were cultivated for the sake of their scent. Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria tells us how he had "taken and planted in the gardens of his country cedars" and other trees "from the lands he had conquered, which none of the kings his predecessors had ever planted before," and how he had "brought rare vines which did not exist in Assyria and had cultivated them in the land of Assyria." At a later date Sennacherib laid out a pleasure-garden or "paradise" by the side of the palace he erected, filling it with cypresses and other trees as well as fragrant plants, and digging a lake in the midst of it by means of which it could be watered. One of the bas-reliefs in the palace of Assur-bani-pal represents the King and Queen dining in the royal garden under the shadow of its palms, while an attendant drives away the insects with a fan. The Assyrians did but

imitate their Babylonian neighbors, and in the gardens of Nineveh we must see many copies of the gardens that had been laid out in Babylonia long ages before. The very word "paradise," which in the Persian age came to signify a pleasure-park, was of Babylonian origin. It is given in the exercise-book of a Babylonian school-boy as the name of a mythical locality, and an etymological pun attempts to derive it from the name of the god Esu.

It was, of course, only the houses of the rich and noble which were artistically furnished or provided with a garden. The poorer classes lived in mud huts of conical form, which seldom contained more than one or two rooms. Air and light were admitted through the door or through small apertures in the walls. In the better class of houses, on the other hand, the windows were of large size, and were placed near the ceiling. The air was excluded by means of curtains which were drawn across them when the weather was cold or when it was necessary to keep out the sunlight. The houses, moreover, consisted of more than one story, the upper stories being approached by a flight of steps which were open to the air. They were usually built against one of the sides of a central court, around which the rooms were ranged, the rooms on the upper floors communicating with one another by means of a covered corridor, or else by doors leading from one chamber to the other. The apartments of the women were separate from those of the men, and the servants slept either on the ground-floor or in an outbuilding of their own.

The furniture, even of the palaces, was scanty from a modern point of view. The floor was covered with rugs, for the manufacture of which Babylonia was famous, and chairs, couches, and tables were placed here and there. The furniture was artistic in form; a seal-cylinder, of the age of Ur-Bau, King of Ur, the older contemporary of Gudea, represents a chair, the feet of which have been carved into the likeness of those of oxen. If we may judge from Egyptian analogies the material of which they were formed would have been ivory. The Assyrian furniture of later days doubtless followed older Babylonian models, and we can gain from it some idea of what they must have been like. The chairs were of various kinds. Some had backs and arms, some were mere stools. The seats of many were so high that a footstool was required by those who used them. The employment of the footstool must go back to a considerable antiquity, since we find some of the Tel-el-Amarna correspondents in the fourteenth century before our era comparing themselves to the footstool of the King. Chairs and stools alike were furnished with cushions which were covered with embroidered tapestries. So also were the couches and

bedsteads used by the wealthier classes. The poor contented themselves with a single mattress laid upon the floor, and since everyone slept in the clothes he had worn during the day, rising in the morning was not a difficult task.

The tables had four legs, and the wood of which they were composed was often inlaid with ivory. Wood inlaid with ivory and other precious materials was also employed for the chairs and sofas. Tripods of bronze, moreover, stood in different parts of the room, and vases of water or wine were placed upon them. Fragments of some of them have been found in the ruins of Nineveh, and they are represented in early Babylonian seals. The feet of the tripod were artistically shaped to resemble the feet of oxen, the clinched human hand, or some similar design. At meals the tripod stood beside the table on which the dishes were laid. Those who eat sat on chairs in the earlier period, but in later times the fashion grew up, for the men at any rate, to recline on a couch. Assur-bani-pal, for example, is thus represented, while the Queen sits beside him on a lofty chair. Perhaps the difference in manners is an illustration of the greater conservatism of women who adhere to customs which have been discarded by the men.

Vases of stone and earthenware, of bronze, gold, and silver, were plentifully in use. A vase of silver mounted on a bronze pedestal with four feet, which was dedicated to his god by one of the high-priests of Lagas, has been found at Tello, and stone bowls, inscribed with the name of Gudea, and closely resembling similar bowls from the early Egyptian tombs, have also been disinterred there. A vase of Egyptian alabaster, discovered by the French excavators in Babylonia, but subsequently lost in the Tigris, bore upon it an inscription stating it to have been part of the spoil obtained by Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon of Akkad, from his conquest of the Sinaitic peninsula. In Assyrian days the vases were frequently of porcelain or glass; when these were first introduced is still unknown. Various articles of furniture are mentioned in the later contracts. Under Nabonidos, 7 shekels, or 21 shillings, were given for a copper kettle and cup, the kettle weighing 16 manehs (or 42 pounds troy) and the cup 2 manehs (5 pounds 7 ounces troy). These were left, it may be noted, in the safe-keeping of a slave, and were bought by a lady. At a later date, in the third year of Cambyses, as much as 4 manehs 9 shekels, or £36 7s., were paid for a large copper jug and *qulla*, which was probably of the same form as the *qullas* of modern Egypt. The female slave who seems to have started an inn in the sixth year of Cambyses provided herself with five bedsteads, ten chairs, three dishes, one

wardrobe (?), three shears, one iron shovel, one syphon, one wine-decanter, one chain (?), one brazier, and other objects which cannot as yet be identified. The brazier was probably a Babylonian invention. At all events we find it used in Judah after contact with Assyria had introduced the habits of the farther East among the Jews (Jer. xxxvi. 22), like the gnomon or sun-dial of Ahaz (Is. xxxviii. 8), which was also of Babylonian origin (Herod., ii., 109). The gnomon seems to have consisted of a column, the shadow of which was thrown on a flight of twelve steps representing the twelve double hours into which the diurnal revolutions of the earth were divided and which thus indicated the time of day.

What the chairs, tables, footstools, and couches were like may be seen from the Assyrian bas-reliefs. They were highly artistic in design and character, and were of various shapes. The tables or stands sometimes had the form of camp-stools, sometimes were three-legged, but more usually they were furnished with four legs, which occasionally were placed on a sort of platform or stand. At times they were provided with shelves. Special stands with shelves were also made for holding vases, though large jars were often made to stand on tripods.

If we may judge from the old lists of clothing that have come down to us, the Babylonians must have been fond of variety in dress. The names of an immense number of different kinds of dress are given, and the monuments show that fashions changed from time to time. Thus the earliest remains of Chaldean art exhibit three successive changes in the head-dress, and similar changes are to be noticed in the dress of the Assyrian kings as it is represented in the bas-reliefs.

To the last, however, the principal constituents of Babylonian dress remained the same. There were a hat or head-dress, a tunic or shirt, and a long robe which reached to the ankles, to which in cold weather was added a cloak. The hat or cap was made of some thick substance like felt and was sometimes quilted. The Babylonian King Merodach-nadin-akhi (1100 B.C.) is represented in a square cap which is ornamented with a row of feathers; below these is a band of rosettes. The Assyrian King generally wore a lofty tiara; this was a survival of the tiara of the early Babylonians. Above his head was carried a parasol to protect him from the sun; but the use of the parasol was confined to the upper classes, if not to the royal family alone.

The tunic was of linen, or more often of wool, which was manufactured in Babylonia on a large scale. It reached half-way down the knees and was fastened round the waist by a girdle. Under it a second

tunic or vest was sometimes worn in cold weather. Drawers were seldom used, though in the time of the second Assyrian empire the cavalry and heavy-armed bowmen wore tightly fitting drawers of plaited leather, but the custom was probably introduced from the north. A bilingual vocabulary, however, gives a Sumerian word for this article of dress, which may therefore have been occasionally adopted in pre-Semitic days.

The long robe was usually sleeveless and ornamented with a fringe. It opened in front, and in walking allowed the left leg to be seen. The girdle was often tied around it instead of round the tunic. The Assyrian King is sometimes represented as wearing a sort of richly embroidered cape over the robe. The cape or cloak, however, was specially characteristic of the Babylonians, as the Assyrians found it inconvenient in war or active exercise, and accordingly preferred to discard it. Most of them wore it only on state occasions or when in full dress.

The feet were shod with sandals, though the Babylonians, as a rule, went barefoot. So also did the lower classes among the Assyrians, as well as a portion of the army. The sandals were attached to the foot by leather thongs, and the heel was protected by a cap. The boot, however, was introduced from the colder regions of the north before the twelfth century B.C. At all events, Merodach-nadin-akhi is depicted as wearing soft leather shoes, and Sennacherib adopted a similar foot-covering. This was laced in front like the high-laced boots with which the Assyrian cavalry were provided toward the end of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III.

The priest was distinguished by a curiously flounced dress, made perhaps of a species of muslin, which descended to the feet, and is often pictured on the early seals. Over his shoulders was flung a goat's skin, the symbol of his office, like the leopard's skin worn by the priests in Egypt.

In the early Babylonian period the dress of all classes was naturally much more simple than that of a later date. The poor were contented with a short kilt, the King and his family with a long one. One of the early rulers of Lagas, for instance, is represented as wearing only a skull-cap and a kilt which reaches nearly to the ankles. It was under the Semitic empire of Sargon of Akkad that the long robe seems first to have become common. But it was worn over the left shoulder only, and as the tunic was not yet introduced into ordinary use, the right shoulder was left bare. Even Naram-Sin, the conqueror of Sinai, is depicted as clad in this simple costume in a bas-relief found near Diarbekr. The robe is quilted, and on the King's head is a conical cap of felt. The statues of the age of

Gudea also show no sign of the tunic. The development out of the kilt must belong to a later age.

The costume of the women does not appear to have differed much from that of the men. Both alike adopted the long robe. But representations of women are unfortunately rare. The Queen of Assur-bani-pal is dressed in a long, sleeveless robe, over which is a fringed frock reaching to the knees, and over this again a light cape, also fringed and embroidered with rosettes. This may, therefore, be regarded as the official dress of a grand lady in the closing days of the Assyrian empire.

Both men and women were fond of jewelry, and adorned themselves with rings, bracelets, ear-rings, and necklaces. The women also wore anklets, like many of the Oriental women of to-day. The men carried a stick in the street, and all who could afford it had a small engraved cylinder of stone attached to the wrist by a ring which passed through an orifice in the cylinder. The cylinder served the purpose of a seal, and was constantly required in business transactions. No deed was valid without the seal or mark of the contracting parties; when either of them was too poor to possess a seal, a nail-mark was impressed upon the clay of the contract tablet, and a note added stating to whom it was that the mark belonged.

The seal-cylinder was a Babylonian invention. In a land where there were no stones every pebble was of value, and the Babylonians accordingly became expert gem-cutters at a very early period. Gem-cutting, in fact, was a highly developed art among them, and the seal-cylinder of Ibni-sarru, the librarian of Sargon of Akkad, which is now in a private collection in Paris, is one of the most beautiful specimens of the art that has ever been produced. The pebble was cut in a cylindrical shape, and various figures were engraved upon it. The favorite design was that of a god or goddess to whom the owner of the seal is being introduced by a priest; sometimes the King takes the place of the deity, at other times it is the adventures of Gilgames, the hero of the great Chaldean Epic, that are represented upon the stone. The design is usually accompanied by a few lines of inscription, giving the name of the owner of the seal, as well as that of his father, and stating of what god or King he was “the servant.” The seals were often kept in stock by their makers, a blank space being left for the inscription, which was to be engraved upon them as soon as they had found a purchaser. Hence it is that at times the names have never been filled in.

The style and pattern of the cylinder changed in the course of centuries, as well as the favorite materials of which it was made. Under

the dynasty of Ur, which preceded that of Khammurabi, for instance, hæmatite was more especially in vogue; in the age of Nebuchadnezzar crystal became fashionable. At one period, moreover, or among the artists of a particular local school, the representation of a human sacrifice was common. Between the inscription on the cylinder, however, and the subjects engraved upon it there is seldom, if ever, any connection, except when a portrait is given of the god or King of whom the owner calls himself the servant.

A hole was drilled through the length of the cylinder, and through this a string was passed. Instead of the string a rod of metal or ivory was often employed; this was fixed in a frame of gold or bronze, and the cylinder was thus able to turn upon it. When the seal was used it was rolled over the soft clay, leaving an indelible impression behind. Among the objects found at Tello are balls of clay, which were attached to papyrus documents, like the seals of mediæval deeds, and sealed with the cylinders of the post-masters of Sargon and Naram-Sin. Above the seal comes the address, in one case to Naram-Sin, in another to the high-priest of Lagas. It is evident that a postal system had already been established between Lagas and Agade or Akkad, the capital of Sargon's empire. The impressions show that the seals must have been very beautiful specimens of workmanship. They all belonged to high officials; one to Dada, "the seer of the palace," another to the high-priest of Lagas himself.

Great attention was paid to the hair of the head and beard. But this was more especially the case among the Semites, who were a bearded race. The older Sumerian population had but little hair upon the face, and to the last the typical Babylonian was distinguished from the Assyrian by the greater absence of beard. The result was that while the Semite encouraged his hair to grow, the Sumerian shaved it except in the case of old men. Most of the Sumerian heads which have been discovered in the excavations of Tello have smooth faces and shorn heads. The figures represented on the so-called Stela of the Vultures, one of the earliest examples of Chaldean art, are without beards, and on the early seal-cylinders the gods alone, as a rule, are permitted to wear them. We are reminded of the Egyptian custom which forbade the beard except to the King and the god. The barber, in fact, occupied an important position in ancient Babylonia, and the old Sumerian code of laws enjoins that a son who denies his father shall be shorn and sold as a slave.

With the rise of Semitic supremacy, however, there is a great change. Naram-Sin, in the bas-relief of Diarbekr, wears beard and whiskers and

mustache like the Assyrians of a later day, and like them also his hair is artificially curled, though to a lesser extent. The same long beard also distinguishes Khammurabi in a piece of sculpture in which he is entitled "the king of the land of the Amorites." The gods, too, now assume a mustache as well as a beard and take upon them a Semitic character.

The use of cosmetics must have become widely spread, and many of the small stone vases in which they were kept and which have been found on the sites of Babylonian cities were doubtless intended for the hair-dresser. The oil that was poured upon the hair made it bright and shining and it was worn long whether it grew on the head or on the face. The Babylonians had long been known as "the people of the black heads," perhaps in contrast to the fairer inhabitants of the Kurdish mountains to the north, and the black hair, frizzled and curled, was now allowed to be visible. The working classes bound it with a simple fillet; the wealthier members of society protected it with caps and tiaras. But all alike were proud of it; the days were past when a beardless race had held rule in Western Asia.

Chapter VI. Trades, Houses, And Land; Wages And Prices

Babylonia, as we have seen, was essentially an industrial country. In spite of its agricultural basis and the vast army of slaves with which it was filled, it was essentially a land of trades and manufactures. Its manufacturing fame was remembered into classical days. One of the rooms in the palace of Nero was hung with Babylonian tapestries, which had cost four millions of sesterces, or more than £32,000, and Cato, it is said, sold a Babylonian mantle because it was too costly and splendid for a Roman to wear. The wool of which the cloths and rugs of Babylonia were made was derived from the flocks which fed on the banks of the Euphrates, and a large body of artisans was employed in weaving it into tapestries and curtains, robes and carpets. They were woven in bright and vari-colored patterns; the figures of men and animals were depicted upon them and the bas-relief or fresco could be replaced upon the wall by a picture in tapestry. The dyes were mainly vegetable, though the kermes or cochineal-insect, out of which the precious scarlet dye was extracted, was brought from the neighborhood of the Indus. So at least Ktesias states in the age of the Persian empire; and since teak was found by Mr. Taylor among the ruins of Ur, it is probable that intercourse with the western coast of India went back to an early date. Indeed an old bilingual list of clothing gives *sindhu* as the name of a material which is explained to be "vegetable wool;" in this we must see the cotton which in the classical epoch was imported from the island of Tylos, in the Persian Gulf, but which, as its name declares, must have originally been "the Indian" plant.

The looms and weavers of Babylonia are, as is natural, repeatedly referred to in the contracts, many of which, moreover, relate to the sale and purchase of wool. One of them even shows us Belshazzar, the son and heir-apparent of the King Nabonidos, as a wool-merchant on a considerable scale. "The sum of 20 manehs for wool," it says, "the property of Belshazzar, the son of the king, which has been handed over to Iddin-Merodach, the son of Basa, the son of Nur-Sin, through the agency of Nebo-zabit, the servant of the house of Belshazzar, the son of the king, and the secretaries of the son of the king. In the month Adar (February) of the eleventh year (of Nabonidos) the debtor shall pay the money, 20 manehs. The house of —— the Persian and all the property of Iddin-Merodach in town and country shall be the security of Belshazzar, the son of the king, until he shall pay in full the money aforesaid. The

money which shall (meanwhile) accrue upon (the wool) he shall pay as interest." Then follow the names of five witnesses and a priest, as well as the date and the place of registration. This was Babylon, and the priest, Bel-akhi-iddin, who helped to witness the deed was a brother of Nabonidos and consequently the uncle of Belshazzar.

The weight of the wool that was sold is unfortunately not stated. But considering that 20 manehs, or £180, was paid for it, there must have been a considerable amount of it. In the reign of Cambyses the amount of wool needed for the robe of the image of the Sun-goddess Â was as much as 5 manehs 5 shekels in weight. Wealthy land-owners kept large flocks of sheep, chiefly for the sake of their wool. Their prices varied greatly. Thus in the fourth year of Nabonidos, 6 shekels, or 18s., were given for a sheep, while in the thirteenth year of the same King, 18 sheep fetched only 35 shekels, or less than 6s., each. In the first year of Cyrus, 6 lambs were sold for 8¼ shekels, and 5 other lambs for 7¼ shekels, while 1 sheep cost only one shekel and a quarter; in his sixth year the price of a single sheep had risen to 4 shekels (12s.). Under Cambyses we find sheep selling for 7 and 7¼ shekels apiece. In the eighth year of Nabonidos, 100 sheep were sold for 50 shekels after they had been slaughtered; it is clear, therefore, that the dead animal was considered less valuable than the living one.

On the other hand, sheep cost a good deal to feed when the grazing season was over, and they had to be fed "in the stall." A document dated in the seventh year of Cyrus states that 32 sheep required each day 1 *pi* 28 *qas* (or about 95 quarts) of grain, while 160 full-grown animals consumed daily 4 *pi* 16 *qas*, or more than 240 quarts. In the reign of Cambyses 1 *pi* 4 *qas* of fodder were needed daily for 20 old sheep, 100 *qas* for 100 younger sheep, and the same amount also for 200 lambs. At this time 2 *pi* of grain cost 6½ shekels; consequently the cost of keeping the 20 old sheep alone was about 10s 6d. a day. To this had to be added the wages of the shepherds, who were free Bedâwin. Hence, it is not wonderful that the owner demanded 7 shekels, or 21s., for the sheep he had to sell.

In the *Edin* or "field," however, their keep came to but little. The pasturage was common property, and it was only the wages of the Aramean shepherds who looked after the flock which involved an outlay. The five shepherds who, in the tenth year of Nabonidos, were paid for their services by the overseer of the royal flocks in the town of Ruzabu received 30 shekels of silver and a *gur* of grain. The *gur* contained 180 *qas*, and since in the first year of Cyrus two men received 2 *pi* 30 *qas*, or

102 *qas*, of grain for their support during a month of thirty days, we may, perhaps, infer that the wages were intended to cover the third part of a month. In this case each man would have been paid at the rate of 9 shekels, or 37s., a month. It is, however, possible that the wages were really intended for the full month. The ancient Greeks considered a quart of wheat a sufficient daily allowance for a grown man, and 180 *qas* would mean about 1⅗ of a quart a day for each man.

We may gather from a contract dated the 5th of Sivan in the eighteenth year of Darius that it was not customary to pay for any sheep that were sold until they had been driven into the city, the cost of doing so being included in the price. The contract is as follows: "One hundred sheep of the house of Akhabtum, the mother of Sa-Bel-iddin, the servant of Bel-sunu, that have been sold to La-Bel, the son of Khabdiya, on the 10th day of the month Ab in the eighteenth year of Darius the king: The sheep, 200 in number, must be brought into Babylon and delivered to Supêsu, the servant of Sa-Bel-iddin. If 15 manehs of silver are not paid for the sheep on the 10th of Ab, they must be paid on 20th of the month. If the money, amounting to 15 manehs, is not paid, then interest shall be paid according to this agreement at the rate of one shekel for each maneh per month." Then come the names of eight witnesses and a priest, the date, and the place of registration, which was a town called Tsikhu.

The contract is interesting from several points of view. The sheep, it will be seen, belonged to a woman, and not to her son, who was "the servant" of a Babylonian gentleman and had another "servant" who acted as his agent at Babylon. The father of the purchaser of the sheep bears the Hebrew name of ʻAbdî, which is transcribed into Babylonian in the usual fashion, and the name of the purchaser himself, which may be translated "(There is) no Bel," may imply that he was a Jew. Akhabtum and her son were doubtless Arameans, and it is noticeable that the latter is termed a "servant" and not a "slave."

Before entering the city an *octroi* duty had to be paid upon the sheep as upon other produce of the country. The custom-house was at the gate, and the duty is accordingly called "gate-money" in the contracts. In front of the gate was an open space, the *rébit*, such as may still be seen at the entrance to an Oriental town, and which was used as a market-place. The *rébit* of Nineveh lay on the north side of the city, in the direction where Sargon built his palace, the ruins of which are now known as Khorsabad. But besides the market-place outside the walls there were also open spaces inside them where markets could be held and sheep and cattle sold. Babylon, it would seem, was full of such public "squares,"

and so, too, was Nineveh. The *suqi* or "streets" led into them, long, narrow lanes through which a chariot or cart could be driven with difficulty. Here and there, however, there were streets of a broader and better character, called *suli*, which originally denoted the raised and paved ascents which led to a temple. It was along these that the religious processions were conducted, and the King and his generals passed over them in triumph after a victory. One of these main streets, called Â-ibur-sabu, intersected Babylon; it was constructed of brick by Nebuchadnezzar, paved with large slabs of stone, and raised to a considerable height. It started from the principal gate of the city, and after passing Ê-Saggil, the great temple of Bel-Merodach, was carried as far as the sanctuary of Istar. When Assur-bani-pal's army captured Babylon, after a long siege, the "mercy-seats" of the gods and the paved roads were "cleansed" by order of the Assyrian King and the advice of "the prophets," while the ordinary streets and lanes were left to themselves.

It was in these latter streets, however, that the shops and bazaars were situated. Here the trade of the country was carried on in shops which possessed no windows, but were sheltered from the sun by awnings that were stretched across the street. Behind the shops were magazines and store-houses, as well as the rooms in which the larger industries, like that of weaving, were carried on. The scavengers of the streets were probably dogs. As early as the time of Khammurabi, however, there were officers termed *rabiani*, whose duty it was to look after "the city, the walls, and the streets." The streets, moreover, had separate names.

Here and there "beer-houses" were to be found, answering to the public-houses of to-day, as well as regular inns. The beer-houses are not infrequently alluded to in the texts, and a deed relating to the purchase of a house in Sippara, of the age of Khammurabi, mentions one that was in a sort of underground cellar, like some of the beer-houses of modern Germany.

Sippara lay on both sides of the Euphrates, like Babylon, and its two halves were probably connected by a pontoon-bridge, as we know was the case at Babylon. Tolls were levied for passing over the latter, and probably also for passing under it in boats. At all events a document translated by Mr. Pinches shows that the quay-duties were paid into the same department of the government as the tolls derived from the bridge. The document, which is dated in the twenty-sixth year of Darius, is so interesting that it may be quoted in full: "The revenue derived from the bridge and the quays, and the guard-house, which is under the control of

Guzanu, the captain of Babylon, of which Sirku, the son of Iddinâ, has charge, besides the amount derived from the tolls levied at the bridge of Guzanu, the captain of Babylon, of which Muranu, the son of Nebo-kin-abli, and Nebo-bullidhsu, the son of Guzanu, have charge: Kharitsanu and Iqubu (Jacob) and Nergal-ibni are the watchmen of the bridge. Sirku, the son of Iddinâ, the son of Egibi, and Muranu, the son of Nebo-kin-abli, the son of the watchman of the pontoon, have paid to Bel-asûa, the son of Nergal-yubal-lidh, the son of Mudammiq-Rimmon, and Ubaru, the son of Bel-akhi-erba, the son of the watchman of the pontoon, as dues for a month, 15 shekels of white silver, in one-shekel pieces and coined. Bel-asûa and Ubaru shall guard the ships which are moored under the bridge. Muranu and his trustees, Bel-asûa and Ubaru, shall not pay the money derived from the tolls levied at the bridge, which is due each month from Sirku in the absence of the latter. All the traffic over the bridge shall be reported by Bel-asûa and Ubaru to Sirku and the watchmen of the bridge."

House-property was valuable, especially if it included shops. As far back as the reign of Eri-Aku, or Arisch, 2¼ shekels were given for one which stood on a piece of ground only 1⅝ *sar* in area, the *sar*, if Dr. Reisner is right, being the eighteen-hundredths part of the *feddan* or acre. In the twentieth year of Assur-bani-pal, just after a war which had desolated Babylonia, a house was sold in the provincial town of Erech for 75 shekels (£11 5s.), and in the beginning of the reign of Nabonidos a carpenter's shop in Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon, which was not more than 7 rods, 5 cubits, and 18 inches in length, was bought by the agent of the Syrian Ben-Hadad-nathan and his wife for 11½ manehs, or £103 10s. On the other hand, in the reign of Cambyses, we hear of smaller prices being given for houses in Babylon, 4½ manehs for a house with a piece of land attached to it, and 2 manehs for one that had been the joint property of a man and his wife; while in the ninth year of Nergal-sharezer a house was sold for only 52½ shekels.

Houses, however, were more frequently let than sold. Already, in the age of Khammurabi, we have the record of the lease of a house for eight years. At a later date contracts relating to the renting of houses are numerous. Thus in the sixth year of Cyrus a house was let at a yearly rent of 10 shekels, part of which was to be paid at the beginning of the year and the rest in the middle of it. The tenant was to renew the fences when necessary and repair all dilapidations. He was also expected to send a present to his landlord thrice a year in the months of Nisan, Tammuz, and Kisleu. Other houses in Babylon in the Persian age were let at yearly

rents of 5 shekels, 5½ shekels, 7½ shekels, 9 shekels, 15 shekels, 20 shekels, 23 shekels, and 35 shekels, the leases running for two, three, five, and more years. The tenant usually undertook to keep the property in repair and to make good all dilapidations. Loss in case of fire or other accidents also fell upon him. Most of the houses seem to have been inhabited by single families; but there were tenements or flats as well, the rent of which was naturally lower than that of a whole house. Thus we find a woman paying only 2 shekels, or 6s., a year for a tenement in the reign of Cambyses.

Any violation of the lease involved a fine, the amount of which was stated in the contract. A house, for instance, was let at Babylon in the first year of Cambyses for 5 shekels a year, the rent to be paid in two halves "at the beginning and in the middle of the year." In this case a breach of the contract was to be punished by a fine of 10 shekels, or double the amount of the rent. In other cases the fine was as much as a maneh of silver.

Occasionally the primitive custom was retained of paying the rent in kind instead of in coin. We even hear of "six overcoats" being taken in lieu of rent. The rent of a house might also take the place of interest upon a loan, and the property be handed over to the creditor as security for a debt. Thus in the second and last year of the reign of Evil-Merodach (560 B.C.), and on the fourth of the month Ab, the following agreement was drawn up at Babylon: "Four manehs of silver belonging to Nadin-akhi, the son of Nur-Ea, the son of Masdukku, received from Sapik-zeri, the son of Merodach-nazir, the son of Liu-Merodach. The house of Sapik-zeri, which is in the street Khuburru, and adjoins the houses of Rimut-Bel, the son of Zeriya, the son of the Egyptian, and of Zeriya, the son of Bel-edheru, shall be handed over as security to Nadin-akhi. No rent shall be paid for it, and no interest demanded for the debt. Sapik-zeri shall have it for three years. He must renew the fences and repair all injuries to the walls. At the end of the three years Sapik-zeri shall repay the money — namely, four manehs — to Nadin-akhi, and the latter shall vacate the house. The rent of the warehouse of the eunuch is included, of which Sapik-zeri enjoys the use. Whatever doors Nadin-akhi may have added to the house during his tenancy he shall take away." Then come the names of three witnesses, one of them being the brother of the creditor, as well as of the clerk who drew up the document.

A few years later, in the fifth year of Nabonidos (551 B.C.), we find the heir-apparent, Belshazzar, receiving house-property on similar terms. "The house of Nebo-akhi-iddin, the son of Sula, the son of Egibi," we

read, “which adjoins the house of Bel-iddin, the son of Birrut, the son of the life-guardsman, is handed over for three years as security for a loan of 1½ manehs to Nebo-kin-akhi, the agent of Belshazzar, the son of the king, on the following conditions: no rent shall be paid for the house, and no interest paid on the debt. The tenant shall renew the fences and make good all dilapidations. At the end of three years the 1½ manehs shall be paid by Nebo-akhi-iddin to Nebo-kin-akhi, and Nebo-kin-akhi shall vacate the house of Nebo-akhi-iddin. Witnessed by Kab-tiya, the son of Talnea, the son of Egibi; by Sapik-zeri, the son of Nergal-yukin, the son of Sin-karab-seme; by Nebo-zer-ibni, the son of Ardia, and the clerk, Bel-akhi-iqisa, the son of Nebo-balasu-ikbi, at Babylon, the 21st day of Nisam (March) and the fifth year of Nabonidos, King of Babylon.”

This was not the only transaction of the kind in which Belshazzar appears, though it is true that his business was carried on by means of agents. Six years later we have another contract relating to his commercial dealings which has already been quoted above. It illustrates the intensely commercial spirit of the Babylonians, and we may form some idea of the high estimation in which trade was held when we see the eldest son of the reigning King acting as a wool merchant and carrying on business like an ordinary merchant.

An interesting document, drawn up in Babylonia in the eleventh year of Sargon (710 B.C.), shortly after the overthrow of Merodach-Baladan, contains an account of a lawsuit which resulted from the purchase of two “ruined houses” in Dur-ilu, a town on the frontier of Elam. They had been purchased by a certain Nebo-liu for 85 shekels, with the intention of pulling them down and erecting new buildings on the site. In order to pay the purchase money Nebo-liu demanded back from “Bel-usatu, the son of Ipunu,” the sum of 30 shekels which he claimed to have lent him. Bel-usatu at first denied the claim, and the matter was brought into court. There judgment was given in favor of the plaintiff, and the defendant was ordered to pay him 45 shekels, 15, or half the amount claimed, being for “costs.” Thereupon Bel-usatu proposed:

“ ’Instead of the money, take my houses, which are in the town of Der.’ The title-deeds of these houses, the longer side of which was bounded to the east by the house of Bea, the son of Sulâ, and to the west by the entrance to a field which partly belonged to the property, while the shorter side was bounded to the north by the house of Ittabsi, and to the south by the house of Likimmâ, were signed and sealed by Nebo-usatu, who pledged himself not to retract the deed or make any subsequent claim, and they were then handed over to Nebo-liu.” The

troubles of the latter, however, were not yet at an end. "Ilu-rabu-bel-sanât, Sennacherib, and Labasu, the sons of Rakhaz the [priest] of the great god, said to Nebo-liu: 'Seventy-three shekels of your money you have received from our father. Give us, therefore, 50 shekels and we will deliver to you the house and its garden which belonged to our father.' The house, which was fit only to be pulled down and rebuilt, along with a grove of forty date-bearing palms, was situated on the bank of the canal of Dûtu in Dur-ilu, its longer side adjoining on the north the house of Edheru, the son of Baniya, the priest of Â, and on the south the canal of Dûtu, while its shorter side was bounded on the east by the house of Nergal-epus, and on the west by the street Mutaqutu. Nebo-liu agreed, and looked out and gave Rakhaz and his sons 50 shekels of silver, together with an overcoat and two shekels by way of a *bakshish* to bind the bargain, the whole amounting to 52 shekels, paid in full." The custom of adding a *bakshish* or "present" to the purchase-money at the conclusion of a bargain is still characteristic of the East. Other examples of it are met with in the Babylonian contracts, and prove how immemorially old it is. Thus in the second year of Darius, when the three sons of a "smith" sold a house near the Gate of Zamama, at Babylon, to the grandson of another "smith," besides the purchase money for the house, which amounted to 67½ shekels, the buyer gave in addition a *bakshish* of 2½ shekels (7s. 6d.) as well as "a dress for the lady of the house." Three shekels were further given as "a present" for sealing the deed. So too, the negotiations for the sale of some land in the second year of Evil-Merodach were accompanied by a *bakshish* of 5 shekels.

Lawsuits connected with the sale or lease of houses do not seem to have been uncommon. One of the documents which have come down to us from the ancient records of Babylon is a list of "the judges before whom Sapik-zeri, the son of Zirutu, and Baladhu, the son of Nasikatum, the slave of the secretary for the Marshlands," were called upon to appear in a suit relating to "the house and deed which Zirutu, the father of Sapik-zeri, had sealed and given to Baladhu," who had afterward handed both of them over to Sapik-zeri. Among the judges we find the governor of the Marshlands, who acted as president, the sub-governor, the mayor of Erech, the priest of Ur, and one of the governors of the district "beyond" the Euphrates. The list is dated the 6th of Nisan or March, in the seventeenth year of Nebuchadnezzar.

The value of land was proportionate to that of house-property. In the early days of Babylonia its value was fixed by the amount of grain that could be grown upon it, and it was accordingly in grain that the owner

was paid by the purchaser or lessee. Gradually, however, a metal currency took the place of the grain, and in the later age of Babylonian history even the rent was but rarely paid in kind. We learn from a lawsuit decided in the reign of Samsu-iluna, the son of Khammurabi, that it was customary for an estate to be "paced round" by the *rabianum* or "magistrates" of the city. The ceremony was equivalent to "beating the bounds" of a parish in modern England, and it is probable that it was performed every year. Such at least is the custom in Egypt, where the limits of a piece of property are measured and fixed annually. The Babylonian document in which the custom is referred to relates to a dispute about a plantation of acacias which grew in the neighborhood of the modern Tel Sifr. The magistrates, before whom it was brought, are described as looking after not only the city but also "the walls and streets," from which we may gather that municipal commissioners already existed in the Babylonian towns. The plaintiff made oath before them over the copper libation-bowl of the god of Boundaries, which thus took the place of the Bible in an English court of law.

A few years later, in the reign of Ammi-zadok, three men rented a field for three years on terms of partnership, agreeing to give the owner during the first two years 1 *gur* of grain upon each *feddan* or acre. The whole of the third harvest was to go to the lessees, and the partners were to divide the crop in equal shares "on the day of the harvest."

When we come to the twelfth century B.C., however, the maneh and shekel have been substituted for the crops of the field. Thus we hear of 704 shekels and a fraction being paid for a field which was calculated to produce 3 *gur* of corn, and of 110 shekels being given for another estate which contained a grove of date-palms and on which 2 *gur* of grain were sown. How much grain could be grown on a piece of land we can gather from the official reports of the cadastral survey. In the sixth year of Cyrus, for example, the following report was drawn up of the "measurement of a corn-field and of the corn in the ear" belonging to a Babylonian taxpayer:

Length of the field on its longer side.	Length of the field on its narrower side.	Amount of crop.	Value in grain.	Tenant.

1020	395	13 *gur*, 18 *qa*, of which 1 *gur*, 18 *qa*, are destroyed.	Each 25 *gur* is worth 300 *gur* of grain.	Nadbanu.
540	550	10 *gur*, 2 *pi*, 29 *qa*, of which 3 *gur* are destroyed.	Each 20 *gur* is worth 130 *gur*.	Arad-Bel.

The cadastral survey for purposes of taxation went back to an early period of Babylonian history. It was already at work in the age of Sargon of Akkad. The survey of the district or principality of Lagas (now Tello) which was drawn up in that remote epoch of history is in our hands, and is interesting on account of its reference to a "governor" of the land of the Amorites, or Canaan, who bears the Canaanitish name of Urimelech. The survey states that the district in question contained 39,694 acres, 1,325 *sar*, as well as 17 large towns and 8 subdivisions.

Another cadastral survey from Lagas, but of the period of Khammurabi, which has recently been published by Dr. Scheil, tells us that the towns on the lower banks of "the canal of Lagas" had to pay the treasury each year 35⅚ shekels of silver according to the assessment of the tax-collector Sin-mustal. One of the towns was that of the Aramean tribe of Pekod. Another is called the town of the Brewers, and another is described as "the Copper-Foundry." Most of the towns were assessed at half a shekel, though there were some which had to pay a shekel and more. Among the latter was the town of Ninâ, which gave its name to the more famous Nineveh on the Tigris. The surveyor, it should be added, was an important personage in Babylonian society, and the contract tablets of the second Babylonian empire not unfrequently mention him.

Assyria, like Babylonia, has yielded us a good many deeds relating to the sale and lease of houses and landed estate. We can estimate from them the average value of house-property in Nineveh in the time of the second Assyrian empire, when the wealth of the Eastern world was being poured into it and the Assyrian kings were striving to divert the trade of

Phœnicia into their own hands. Thus, in 694 B.C., a house with two doors was sold for 3 manehs 20 shekels, and two years subsequently another which adjoined it was purchased for 1 maneh "according to the royal standard." The contract for the sale is a good example of what an Assyrian deed of sale in such a case was like. "The nail-marks of Sar-ludari, Akhassuru, and Amat-Suhla, the wife of Bel-suri, the official, the son of the priest, and owner of the house which is sold. The house, which is in thorough repair, with its woodwork, doors, and court, situated in the city of Nineveh and adjoining the houses of Mannu-ki-akhi and Ilu-ittiya and the street *Sipru*, has been negotiated for by Zil-Assur, the Egyptian secretary. He has bought it for 1 maneh of silver according to the royal standard from Sar-ludari, Akhassuru, and Amat-Suhla, the wife of Bel-duri. The money has been paid in full, and the house received as bought. Withdrawal from the contract, lawsuits, and claims are hereby excluded. Whoever hereafter at any time, whether these men or others, shall bring an action and claims against Zil-Assur, shall be fined 10 manehs of silver. Witnessed by Susanqu-khatna-nis, Murmaza the official, Rasuh the sailor, Nebo-dur-uzur the champion, Murmaza the naval captain, Sin-sar-uzur, and Zidqa (Zedekiah). The sixteenth of Sivan during the year of office of Zaza, the governor of Arpad (692 B.C.)." It is noticeable that the first witness has a Syrian name.

One of the characteristics of the Assyrian deeds is that so few of the parties who appear in them are able to write their names. Nail-marks take the place of seals even in the case of persons who hold official positions and who are shown by the contracts to have been men of property. In this respect Assyria offers a striking contrast to Babylonia, where "the nail-mark" seldom makes its appearance. Closely connected with this inability to write is the absence of the seal-cylinder, which was part of the ordinary dress of the Babylonian gentleman. In the Assyrian contracts, on the other hand, it is conspicuous by its absence. The use of it in Assyria was an imitation of Babylonian manners, and was confined for the most part to the scribes and higher official class, who had received a literary education.

Land in Assyria was measured by homers rather than by *feddans* or acres as in Babylonia. In 674 B.C. an estate of 35 homers, in the town of Sairi, was sold for 5 manehs, any infringement of the contract being punished by a fine of 10 manehs of silver or one of gold, to be paid into the treasury of the temple of Istar. We learn incidentally from this that the value of gold to silver at the time was as one to ten. Five years previously 6 homers of land in another small Assyrian town had been let

at an annual rent of 1 maneh of silver "according to the standard of Carchemish." In the reign of Assur-bani-pal a homer of corn-land was rented for six years for 10 shekels a year. The land was calculated to produce 9 *qas* of grain, and at the end of the first three years it was stipulated that there should be a rotation of crops. About the same time two fields, enclosing an area of 3⅔ homers, were leased by a certain Rimu-ana-Bel of Beth-Abimelech, whose father's name, Yatanael, shows that he was of Syrian origin. The steward of "the son of a king" took them for six years at an annual rent of 12 shekels. One of the fields contained a well, and yielded 15 *qas* of grain to each homer. It is stated in the contract that the fields had no mortgage upon them, and that the lessee had a right to the whole of the crop which they produced.

It was not in Assyria only that plots of ground could be leased and sold in accordance with the provisions of Assyrian law. Conquest had brought landed property into the hands of Assyrians in other parts of the Eastern world, and it could be put up to auction at Nineveh, where the proprietors lived. About 660 B.C., for instance, a considerable estate was thus sold in the oasis of Singara, in the centre of Mesopotamia. It lay within the precincts of the temple of Istar, and contained a grove of 1,000 young palms. It included, moreover, a field of 2 homers planted with terebinths, house-property extending over 6 homers, a house with a corn-field attached to it, and another house which stood in the grove of Yarkhu, the Moon-god. The whole was sold for 4 shekels of silver "according to the standard of Carchemish," and the penalty for any infringement of the contract was again to be the payment of a maneh of gold (£90) to the treasury of the goddess Istar. When one of the parties to the contract was of Aramean descent, it was usual to add an explanatory docket in Aramaic to the deed of sale. Indeed, this seems to have been sometimes done even where there were no Arameans in the case, so thoroughly had Aramaic become the common language of trade. Thus in the year of Sennacherib's office as eponym (687 B.C.) we hear of the sale of three shops in Nineveh on the part of a certain Dain-kurban, whose name is written in Aramaic letters on the outer envelope of the deed of sale. Thirty shekels were paid for them, and a fine of 10 manehs imposed upon anyone who should attempt to invalidate the sale. The shops seem to have been situated in the Syrian quarter of the city, as we are told that they were opposite the tenement of Nakharau, "the man of Nahor."

It will have been noticed how frequently it is stated that a "plantation" or grove of palms is attached to the house or field which is rented and sold. In Babylonia, in fact, an estate was not considered complete without its garden, which almost invariably included a clump of palms. The date-palm was the staple of the country. It was almost the only tree which grew there, and it grew in marvellous abundance. Stem, leaves, and fruit were all alike turned to use. The columns and roofing-beams of the temples and houses were made of its stem, which was also employed for bonding the brick walls of the cities. Its fibres were twisted into ropes, its leaves woven into baskets. The fruit it bore was utilized in many ways. Sometimes the dates were eaten fresh, at other times they were dried and exported to foreign lands; out of some of them wine was made, out of others a rich and luscious sugar. It was little wonder that the Babylonian regarded the palm as the best gift that Nature had bestowed upon him. Palm-land necessarily fetched a higher price than corn-land, and we may conclude, from a contract of the third year of Cyrus, that its valuation was seven and one-half times greater.

Trade partnerships were common, and even commercial companies were not unknown. The great banking and money-lending firm which was known in Babylonia under the name of its founder, Egibi, and from which so many of the contract-tablets have been derived, was an example of the latter. It lasted through several generations and seems to have been but little affected by the political revolutions and changes which took place at Babylon. It saw the rise and fall of the empire of Nebuchadnezzar, and flourished quite as much under the Persian as under the native kings.

As far back as the reign of Samsu-iluna we find women entering into partnership with men for business purposes on a footing of absolute equality. A certain Amat-Samas, for instance, a devotee of the Sun-god, did so with two men in order to trade with a maneh of silver which had been borrowed from the treasury of the god. It was stipulated in the deed which was indentured when the partnership was made that in case of disagreement the capital and interest accruing from it were to be divided in equal shares among the three partners.

In the later Babylonian period the contract was drawn up in much the same form, though with a little more detail. In the report of a trial dated the eighth day of Sebat or January, in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar II., we have the following reference to one that had been made twenty-one years before: "A partnership was entered into between Nebo-yukin-abla and his son Nebo-bel-sunu on the one side and

Musezib-Bel on the other, which lasted from the eighteenth year of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, to the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. The contract was produced before the judge of the judges. Fifty shekels of silver were adjudged to Nebo-bel-sunu and his father Nebo-yukin-abla. No further agreement or partnership exists between the two parties.… They have ended their contract with one another. All former obligations in their names are rescinded."

One of the latest Babylonian deeds of partnership that have come down to us is dated in the fifth year of Xerxes. It begins with the statement that "Bel-edheru, son of Nergal-edheru and Ribâta, son of Kasmani, have entered into partnership with one another, contributing severally toward it 2½ manehs of silver in stamped shekel-pieces and half a maneh of silver, also in stamped shekel-pieces. Whatever profits Ribâta shall make on the capital — namely, the 3 manehs in stamped shekel-pieces — whether in town or country, [he shall divide with] Bel-edheru proportionally to the share of the latter in the business. When the partnership is dissolved he shall repay to Bel-edheru the manehs contributed by him. Ribâta, son of Kasmani, undertakes all responsibility for the money." Then come the names of six witnesses.

Money, however, was not the only subject of a deed of partnership. Houses and other property could be bought and sold and traded with in common. Thus we hear of Itti-Merodach-baladh, the grandson of "the Egyptian," and Merodach-sapik-zeri starting as partners with a capital of 5 manehs of silver and 130 empty barrels, two slaves acting as agents, and on another occasion we find it stipulated that "200 barrels full of good beer, 20 empty barrels, 10 cups and saucers, 90 *gur* of dates in the storehouse, 15 *gur* of chickpease (?), and 14 sheep, besides the profits from the shop and whatever else Bel-sunu has accumulated, shall be shared between him" and his partner.

The partners usually contributed in equal parts to the business, and the profits were divided equally among them. Where this was not the case, provision was made for a proportionate distribution of profit and loss. All profits were included, whether made, to use the language of Babylonian law, "in town or country." The partnership was generally entered into for a fixed term of years, but could be terminated sooner by death or by agreement. One of the partners could be represented by an agent, who was often a slave; in some instances we hear of the wife taking the place of her husband or other relation during his absence from home. Thus in a deed dated in the second year of Nergal-sharezer (559

B.C.) we read: “As long as Pani-Nebo-dhemi, the brother of Ili-qanua, does not return from his travels, Burasu, the wife of Ili-qanua, shall share in the business of Ili-qanua, in the place of Pani-Nebo-dhemi. When Pani-Nebo-dhemi returns she shall leave Ili-qanua and hand over the share to Pani-Nebo-dhemi.” As one of the witnesses to the document is a “minister of the king” who bears the Syrian name of Salammanu, or Solomon the son of Baal-tammuh, it is possible that Pani-Nebo-dhemi was a Syrian merchant whose business obliged him to reside in a foreign country.

That partnerships in Babylonia were originally made for the sake of foreign trade seems probable from the name given to them. This is *kharran*, which properly means a “road” or “caravan.” The earliest partners in trade would have been the members of a caravan, who clubbed together to travel and traffic in foreign lands and to defend themselves in common from the perils of the journey.

The products of the Babylonian looms must have been among the first objects which were thus sent abroad. We have already described the extensive industry which brought wealth into Babylonia and made it from the earliest ages the centre of the trade in rugs and tapestries, cloths and clothing. A large part of the industrial population of the country must have been employed in the factories and shops where the woven and embroidered fabrics were produced and made ready for sale. Long lists exist giving the names of the various articles of dress which were thus manufactured. The goodly “Babylonish garment” carried off by Achan from the sack of Jericho was but one of the many which found their way each year to the shores of the Mediterranean.

The trades of the dyer and the fuller flourished by the side of that of the cloth-maker. So, too, did the trade of the tanner, leather being much used and finely worked. The shoes of the Babylonian ladies were famous; and the saddles of the horses were made with elaborate care.

The smith, too, occupied an honorable position. In the earlier period of Babylonian history, gold, silver, copper, and bronze were the metals which he manufactured into arms, utensils, and ornaments. At a later date, however, iron also came to be extensively used, though probably not before the sixteenth century B.C. The use of bronze, moreover, does not seem to go back much beyond the age of Sargon of Akkad; at all events, the oldest metal tools and weapons found at Tello are of copper, without any admixture of tin. Most of the copper came from the mines of the Sinaitic Peninsula, though the metal was also found in Cyprus, to which reference appears to be made in the annals of Sargon. The tin was

brought from a much greater distance. Indeed, it would seem that the nearest sources for it — at any rate in sufficient quantities for the bronze of the Oriental world — were India and the Malayan Peninsula on the one hand, and the southern extremity of Cornwall on the other. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should have been rare and expensive, and that consequently it was long before copper was superseded by the harder bronze. Means, however, were found for hardening the copper when it was used, and copper tools were employed to cut even the hardest of stones.

The metal, after being melted, was run into moulds of stone or clay. It was in this way that most of the gold and silver ornaments were manufactured which we see represented in the sculptures. Stone moulds for ear-rings have been found on the site of Nineveh, and the inscriptions contain many references to jewelry. The gold was also worked by the hand into beaded patterns, or incised like the silver seals, some of which have come down to us. Most of the gold was originally brought from the north; in the fifteenth century before our era the gold mines in the desert on the eastern side of Egypt provided the precious metal for the nations of Western Asia.

A document found among the records of the trading firm of Murasu at Nippur, in the fifth century B.C., shows that the goldsmith was required to warrant the excellence of his work before handing it over to the customer, and it may be presumed that the same rule held good for other trades also. The document in question is a guarantee that an emerald has been so well set in a ring as not to drop out for twenty years, and has been translated as follows by Professor Hilprecht: “Bel-akh-iddina and Bel-sunu, the sons of Bel, and Khatin, the son of Bazuzu, have made the following declaration to Bel-nadin-sumu, the son of Murasu: As to the gold ring set with an emerald, we guarantee that for twenty years the emerald will not fall out of the ring. If it should fall out before the end of twenty years, Bel-akh-iddina [and the two others] shall pay Bel-nadin-sumu an indemnity of ten manehs of silver.” Then come the names of seven witnesses and of the clerk who drew up the deed, and the artisans add their nail-marks in place of seals.

Many of the articles of daily use in the houses of the people, such as knives, tools of all kinds, bowls, dishes, and the like, were made of copper or bronze. They were, however, somewhat expensive, and as late as the reign of Cambyses we find that a copper libation-bowl and cup cost as much as 4 manehs 9 shekels, (£37 7s.), and about the same time 22 shekels (£3 3s.) were paid for two copper bowls 7½ manehs in

weight. If the weight in this case were equivalent to that of the silver maneh the cost would have been nearly 4d. per ounce. It must be remembered that, as in the modern East, the workman expected the metal to be furnished by his customer; and accordingly we hear of 3 manehs of iron being given to a smith to be made into rods for bows. Three manehs of iron were also considered sufficient for the manufacture of six swords, two oboe-rings, and two bolts. All this, of course, belongs to the age of the second Babylonian empire, when iron had taken the place of bronze.

The carpenter's trade is another handicraft to which there is frequent allusion in the texts. Already, before the days of Sargon of Akkad, beams of wood were fetched from distant lands for the temples and palaces of Chaldea. Cedar was brought from the mountains of Amanus and Lebanon, and other trees from Elam. The palm could be used for purely architectural purposes, for boarding the crude bricks of the walls together, or to serve as the rafters of the roof, but it was unsuitable for doors or for the wooden panels with which the chambers of the temple or palace were often lined. For such purposes the cedar was considered best, and burnt panels of it have been found in the sanctuary of Ingurisa at Tello. Down to the latest days panels of wood were valuable in Babylonia, and we find it stipulated in the leases of houses that the lessee shall be allowed to remove the doors he has put up at his own expense.

But the carpenter's trade was not confined to inartistic work. From the earliest age of Babylonian history he was skilled in making household furniture, which was often of a highly artistic description. On a seal-cylinder, now in the British Museum, the King is represented as seated on a chair which, like those of ancient Egypt, rested on the feet of oxen, and similarly artistic couches and chests, inlaid with ivory or gold, were often to be met with in the houses of the rich. The Assyrian sculptures show to what perfection the art of the joiner had attained at the time when Nineveh was the mistress of the civilized world.

The art of the stone-cutter had attained an even higher perfection at a very remote date. Indeed, the seal-cylinders of the time of Sargon of Akkad display a degree of excellence and finish which was never surpassed at any subsequent time. The same may be said of the bas-relief of Naram-Sin discovered at Diarbekr. The combination of realism and artistic finish displayed in it was never equalled even by the bas-reliefs of Assyria, admirable as they are from many points of view.

The early stone-cutters of Chaldea tried their skill upon the hardest materials, and engraved upon them the minutest and most delicate designs. Hæmatite was a favorite material for the seal-cylinder; the

statues of Tello are carved out of diorite, which was brought from the Sinaitic Peninsula, and stones of similar hardness were manufactured into vases. That such work should have been attempted in an age when iron and steel were as yet unknown seems to us astonishing. Even bronze was scarce, and the majority of the tools employed by the workmen were made of copper, which was artificially hardened when in use. Emery powder or sand was also used, and the lathe had long been known. When iron was first introduced into the workshops of Babylonia is doubtful. That the metal had been recognized at a very early period is clear from the fact that in the primitive picture-writing of the country, out of which the cuneiform syllabary developed, it was denoted by two characters, representing respectively "heaven" and "metal." It would seem, therefore, that the first iron with which the inhabitants of the Babylonian plain were acquainted was of meteoric origin.

In the age of the Egyptian empire in Asia, at the beginning of the seventeenth century B.C., iron was passing into general use. Objects of iron are referred to in the inscriptions, and a couple of centuries later we hear of iron chariots among the Canaanites, and of ironsmiths in Palestine, who repair the shattered vehicles of Egyptian travellers in that country. It must have been at this time that the bronzesmith in Babylonia became transformed into an ironsmith.

Carving in ivory was another trade followed in Babylonia and Assyria. The carved ivories found on the site of Nineveh are of great beauty, and from a very early epoch ivory was used for the handles of sceptres, or for the inlaid work of wooden furniture. The "ivory couches" of Babylonia made their way to the West along with the other products of Babylonian culture, and Amos (vi. 4) denounces the wealthy nobles of Israel who "lie upon beds of ivory." Thothmes III. of Egypt, in the sixteenth century B.C., hunted the elephant on the banks of the Euphrates, not far from Carchemish, and, as late as about 1100 B.C., Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria speaks of doing the same. In the older period of Babylonian history, therefore, the elephant would have lived on the northern frontier of Babylonian domination, and its tusks would have been carried down the Euphrates along with other articles of northern trade.

Quite as old as the trade of the carver in ivory was that of the porcelain-maker. The walls of the palaces and temples of Babylonia and Assyria were adorned with glazed and enamelled tiles on which figures and other designs were drawn in brilliant colors; they were then covered

with a metallic glaze and fired. Babylonia, in fact, seems to have been the original home of the enamelled tile and therewith of the manufacture of porcelain. It was a land of clay and not of stone, and while it thus became necessary to ornament the plain mud wall of the house, the clay brick itself, when painted and protected by a glaze, was made into the best and most enduring of ornaments. The enamelled bricks of Chaldea and Assyria are among the most beautiful relics of Babylonian civilization that have survived to us, and those which adorned the Persian palace of Susa, and are now in the Museum of the Louvre, are unsurpassed by the most elaborate productions of modern skill.

Our enumeration of Babylonian trades would not be complete without mention being made of that of the brick-maker. The manufacture of bricks was indeed one of the chief industries of the country, and the brick-maker took the position which would be taken by the mason elsewhere. He erected all the buildings of Babylonia. The walls of the temples themselves were of brick. Even in Assyria the slavish imitation of Babylonian models caused brick to remain the chief building material of a kingdom where stone was plentiful and clay comparatively scarce. The brick-yards stood on the outskirts of the cities, where the ground was low and where a thick bed of reeds grew in a pond or marsh. These reeds were an important requisite for the brick-maker's art; when dried they formed a bed on which the bricks rested while they were being baked by the sun; cut into small pieces they were mixed with the clay in order to bind it together; and if the bricks were burnt in a kiln the reeds were used as fuel. They were accordingly artificially cultivated, and fetched high prices. Thus, in the fourteenth year of Nabonidos, we hear of 2 shekels being given for 200 bundles of reeds for building a bridge across a canal, and a shekel for 100 bundles to be made into torches. At the same time 55 shekels were paid for 8,000 loads of brick. The possession of a bed of reeds added to the value of an estate, and it is, therefore, always specified in deeds relating to the sale of property. One, situated at Sippara, was owned by a scribe, Arad-Bel, who has drawn up several contracts, as we learn incidentally from a document dated in the seventh year of Cyrus, in which Ardi, the grandson of "the brick-maker," agrees to pay two-thirds of the bricks he makes to Arad-Bel, on condition of being allowed to manufacture them in the reed-bed of the latter. This is described as adjoining "the reed-bed of Bel-baladan and the plantation of the Sun-god."

The brick-maker was also a potter, and the manifold products of the potter's skill, for which Babylonia was celebrated, were manufactured in

the corner of the brick-field. Here also were made the tablets, which were handed to the professional scribe or the ordinary citizen to be written upon, and so take the place of the papyrus of ancient Egypt or the paper of to-day. The brick-maker was thus not only a potter, but the provider of literary materials as well. He might even be compared with the printer of the modern world, since texts were occasionally cut in wood and so impressed upon moulds of clay, which, after being hardened, were used as stamps, by means of which the texts could be multiplied, impressions of them being mechanically reproduced on other tablets or cylinders of clay.

Another Babylonian trade which must be noticed was that of the vintner. Wine was made from dates as well as from grapes, while beer, called *sikaru*, was also manufactured, probably from some cereal grain. Mention is found of a "wine" that was made from sesame. The vine was not a native of Babylonia, but must have been introduced into it from the highlands of Armenia at a very early date, as it was known there long before the days of Sargon of Akkad. Large quantities of wine and beer were drunk in both Babylonia and Assyria, and reference has already been made to the bas-relief in which the Assyrian King, Assur-bani-pal, and his Queen are depicted drinking wine in the gardens of his palace, while the head of his vanquished foe, the King of Elam, hangs from the branch of a neighboring tree. A receipt, dated the eleventh day of Iyyar, in the first year of Nabonidos, is for the conveyance of "75 *qas* of meal and 63 *qas* of beer for the sustenance of the artisans;" and in the thirty-eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar 20 shekels were paid for "beer," the amount of which, however, is unfortunately not stated. But two "large" casks of new wine cost 11 shekels, and five other smaller casks 10 shekels. Moreover, the inventory of goods to be handed over to the slave Khunnatu, in the sixth year of Cambyses, includes fifty casks of "good beer," which, together with the cup with which it was drawn, was valued at 60 shekels (£9).

Whether any grape-wine was made in Babylonia itself was questionable; at any rate, the greater part of that which was drunk there was imported from abroad, more especially from Armenia and Syria. The wines of the Lebanon were specially prized, the wine of Khilbunu, or Helbon, holding a chief place among them. The wines, some of which were described as "white," were distinguished by the names of the localities where they were made or in which the vines were grown, and Nebuchadnezzar gives the following list of them: The wine of Izalla, in Armenia; of Tuhimmu, of Zimmini, of Helbon, of Amabanu, of the

Shuhites, of Bit-Kubati, in Elam; of Opis and of Bitati, in Armenia. To these another list adds: "The wine reserved for the king's drinking," and the wines of Nazahzê, of Lahû, and of the Khabur.

The wine was kept in wine-cellars, and among the Assyrian letters that have come down to us are some from the cellarers of the King. In one of them it is stated that the wine received in the month Tebet had been bottled, and that there was no room in the royal cellars in which it could be stored. The King is therefore asked to allow new cellars to be made.

The various trades formed guilds or corporations, and those who wished to enter one of these had to be apprenticed for a fixed number of years in order to learn the craft. As we have seen, slaves could be thus apprenticed by their owners and in this way become members of a guild. What the exact relation was between the slave and the free members of a trading guild we do not know, but it is probable that the slave was regarded as the representative of his master or mistress, who accordingly became, instead of himself, the real member of the corporation. We perhaps have a parallel in modern England, where a person can be elected a member of one of the "city companies," or trade guilds, without being in any way connected with the trade himself. Since women in Babylonia were able to carry on a business, there would be no obstacle to a slave being apprenticed to a trade by his mistress. Hence it is that we find a Babylonian lady named Nubtâ, in the second year of Cyrus, apprenticing a slave to a weaver for five years. Nubtâ engaged to provide the apprentice with clothing and 1 *qa* (nearly 2 quarts) of grain each day. As in ancient Greece a quart of grain was considered a sufficient daily allowance for a man, the slave's allowance would seem to have been ample. The teacher was to be heavily fined if he failed to teach the trade, or overworked the apprentice and so made him unable to learn it, the fine being fixed at 6 *qas* (about 10 quarts) *per diem*. Any infringement of the contract on either side was further to be visited with a penalty of 30 shekels of silver.

As 30 shekels of silver were equivalent to £4 10s., 6 *qas* of wheat at the time when the contract was drawn up would have cost about 1s. 3d. Under Nebuchadnezzar we find 12 *qas*, or the third part of an ardeb, of sesame sold for half a shekel, which would make the cost of a single quart a little more than a penny. In the twelfth year of Nabonidos 60 shekels, or £9, were paid for 6 *gur* of sesame, and since the *gur* contained 5 ardebs, according to Dr. Oppert's calculation, the quart of sesame would have been a little less than 1½d. When we come to the

reign of Cambyses we hear of 6½ shekels being paid for 2 ardebs, or about 100 quarts, of wheat; that would give 2½d. as the approximate value of a single *qa*. It would therefore have cost Nubtâ about 2½d. a day to feed a slave.

It must, however, be remembered that the price of grain varied from year to year. In years of scarcity the price rose; when the crops were plentiful it necessarily fell. To a certain extent the annual value was equalized by the large exportation of grain to foreign countries, to which reference is made in many of the contract-tablets; the institution of royal or public store-houses, moreover, called *sutummê*, tended to keep the price of it steady and uniform. Nevertheless, bad seasons sometimes occurred, and there were consequent fluctuations in prices. This was more especially the case as regards the second staple of Babylonian food and standard of value — dates. These seem to have been mostly consumed in Babylonia itself, and, though large quantities of them were accumulated in the royal storehouses, it was upon a smaller scale than in the case of the grain. Hence we need not be surprised if we find that while in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar a shekel was paid for 1-1/3 ardebs of dates, or about a halfpenny a quart, in the thirtieth year of the same reign the price had fallen to one-twenty-fifth of a penny per quart. A little later, in the first year of Cambyses, 100 *gur* of dates was valued at 2½ shekels (7s. 6d.), the *gur* containing 180 *qas*, which gives 2d. per each *qa*, and in the second year of Cyrus a receipt for the payment of "the workmen of the overseer" states that the following amount of dates had been given from "the royal store-house" for their "food" during the month Tebet: "Fifty *gur* for the 50 workmen, 10 *gur* for 10 shield-bearers, 2 *gur* for the overseer, 1 *gur* for the chief overseer; in all, 63 *gurs* of dates." It was consequently calculated that a workman would consume a *gur* of dates a month, the month consisting of thirty days.

About the same period, in the first year of Cyrus, after his conquest of Babylon, we hear of two men receiving 2 *pi* 30 *qas* (102 *qas*) of grain for the month Tammuz. Each man accordingly received a little over a *qa* a day, the wage being practically the same as that paid by Nubtâ to the slave. On the other hand, a receipt dated in the fifteenth year of Nabonidos is for 2 *pi* (72 *qas*) of grain, and 54 *qas* of dates were paid to the captain of a boat for the conveyance of mortar, to serve as "food" during the month Tebet. As "salt and vegetables" were also added, it is probable that the captain was expected to share the food with his crew. A week previously 8 shekels had been given for 91 *gur* of dates owed by the city of Pallukkatum, on the Pallacopas canal, to the temple of Uru at

Sippara, but the money was probably paid for porterage only. At all events, five years earlier a shekel and a quarter had been paid for the hire of a boat which conveyed three oxen and twenty-four sheep, the offering made by Belshazzar "in the month Nisan to Samas and the gods of Sippara," while 60 *qas* of dates were assigned to the two boatmen for food. This would have been a *qa* of dates *per diem* for each boatman, supposing the voyage was intended to last a month. In the ninth year of Nabonidos 2 *gur* of dates were given to a man as his nourishment for two months, which would have been at the rate of 6 *qas* a day. In the thirty-second year of the same reign 36 *qas* of dates were valued at a shekel, or a penny a *qa*.

In the older period of Babylonian history prices were reckoned in grain, and, as might be expected, payment was made in kind rather than in coin. In the reign of Ammi-zadok, for instance, 3 homers 24⅔ *qas* of oil, though valued at 20⅔ shekels of silver, were actually bought with "white Kurdish slaves," it being stipulated that if the slaves were not forthcoming the purchaser would have to pay for the oil in cash. A thousand years later, under Merodach-nadin-akhi, cash had become the necessary medium of exchange. A cart and harness were sold for 100 shekels, six riding-horses for 300 shekels, one "ass from the West" for 130 shekels, one steer for 30 shekels, 34 *gur* 56 *qas* of grain for 137 shekels, 2 homers 40 *qas* of oil for 16 shekels, two long-sleeved robes for 12 shekels, and nine shawls for 18 shekels.

From this time forward we hear no more of payment in kind, except where wages were paid in food, or where tithes and other offerings were made to the temples. Though the current price of wheat continued to fix the market standard of value, business was conducted by means of stamped money. The shekel and the maneh were the only medium of exchange.

There are numerous materials for ascertaining the average prices of commodities in the later days of Babylonian history. We have already seen what prices were given for sheep and wool, as well as the cost of some of the articles of household use. In the thirty-eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar 100 *gur* of wheat were valued at only 1 maneh — that is to say, the *qa* of wheat was worth only the hundredth part of a shilling — while at the same time the price of dates was exactly one-half that amount. On the other hand, in the fourth year of Cambyses 72 *qas* of sesame were sold at Sippara for 6½ shekels, or 19s. 6d. This would make the cereal worth approximately 1½d. a quart, the same price as that at

which it was sold in the twelfth year of Nabonidos. In the second year of Nergal-sharezer twenty-one strings of onions fetched as much as 10 shekels, and a year later 96 shekels were given for onion bulbs for planting. Sheep in the reign of Cambyses fetched 7 and 7¼ shekels each, while 10 shekels were given for an ox, and 22½ shekels for a steer two years old. In the twenty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar 13 shekels had been paid for a full-grown ox, and as much as 67 shekels in the fourth year of Nabonidos, while in the first year of Evil-Merodach a cow was sold for 15 shekels. The ass was in more request, especially if it was of "Western" breed. In the reign of Merodach-nadin-akhi, it will be remembered, as much as 130 shekels had been paid for one of these, as compared with 30 shekels given for an ox, and though at a subsequent period the prices were lower, the animal was still valued highly. In the year of the death of Cyrus a Babylonian gentleman bought "a mouse-colored ass, eight years old, without blemish," for 50 shekels (£7 10s.), and shortly afterward another was purchased for 32 shekels. At the same time, however, an ass of inferior quality went for only 13 shekels. When we consider that only three years later a shekel was considered sufficient wages for a butcher for a month's work, we can better estimate what these prices signify. Nevertheless, the value of the ass seems to have been steadily going down in Babylonia; at all events, in the fourth year of Nabonidos, 1 maneh, or 60 shekels, was demanded for one, and the animal does not seem to have been in any way superior to another which was sold for 50 shekels a few years afterward.

Clothes and woven stuffs were naturally of all prices. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar a cloak or overcoat used by the mountaineers cost only 4½ shekels, though under Cambyses we hear of 58 shekels being charged for eight of the same articles of dress, which were supplied to the "bowmen" of the army. Three years earlier 7½ shekels had been paid for two of these cloaks. About the same time ten sleeved gowns cost 35 shekels.

Metal was more expensive. As has already been noticed, a copper libation-bowl and cup were sold for 4 manehs 9 shekels (£37 7s.), and two copper dishes, weighing 7½ manehs (19 pounds 8 ounces. troy), were valued at 22 shekels. The skilled labor expended upon the work was the least part of the cost. The workman was supplied with his materials by the customer, and received only the value of his labor. What this was can be gathered from a receipt dated the 11th day of Chisleu, in the fourteenth year of Nabonidos, recording the payment of 4 shekels to

"the ironsmith," Suqâ, for making certain objects out of 3⅝ manehs of iron which had been handed over to him.

The cost of bricks and reeds has already been described. Bitumen was more valuable. In the fourteenth year of Nabonidos a contract was made to supply five hundred loads of it for 50 shekels, while at the same time the wooden handle of an ax was estimated at one shekel. Five years previously only 2 shekels had been given for three hundred wooden handles, but they were doubtless intended for knives. In the sixth year of Nabonidos the grandson of the priest of Sippara undertook to supply "bricks, reeds, beams, doors, and chopped straw for building the house of Rimut" for 12 manehs of silver, or £108. The wages of the workmen were not included in the contract.

With these prices it is instructive to compare those recorded on contract-tablets of the age of the third dynasty of Ur, which preceded that under which Abraham was born. These tablets, though very numerous, have as yet been but little examined, and the system of weights and measures which they contain is still but imperfectly known. We learn from them that bitumen could be purchased at the time at the rate of half a shekel of silver for each talent of 60 manehs, and that logs of wood imported from abroad were sold at the rate of eight, ten, twelve, and sixty logs a shekel, the price varying according to the nature of the wood. Prices, however, as might be expected, are usually calculated in grain, oil, and the like, and the exact relation of these to the shekel and maneh has still to be determined.

The average wages of the workmen can be more easily fixed. Contracts dated in the reign of Khammurabi, the Amraphel of Genesis, and found at Sippara, show that it was at the rate of about 4 shekels a year, the laborer's food being usually thrown in as well. Thus in one of these contracts we read: "Rimmon-bani has hired Sumi-izzitim for his brother, as a laborer, for three months, his wages to be one shekel and a half of silver, three measures of flour, and 1 *qa* and a half of oil. There shall be no withdrawal from the agreement. Ibni-amurru and Sikni-Anunit have endorsed it. Rimmon-bani has hired the laborer in the presence of Abum-ilu (Abimael), the son of Ibni-samas, of Ili-su-ibni, the son of Igas-Rimmon; and Arad-Bel, the son of Akhuwam." Then follows the date. Another contract of the same age is of much the same tenor. "Nur-Rimmon has taken Idiyatum, the son of Ili-kamma, from Naram-bani, to work for him for a year at a yearly wage of 4½ shekels of silver. At the beginning of the month Sebat, Idiyatum shall enter upon his service, and in the month Iyyar it shall come to an end and he shall

quit it. Witnessed by Beltani, the daughter of Araz-za; by Beltani, the daughter of Mudadum; by Amat-Samas, the daughter of Asarid-ili; by Arad-izzitim, the son of Samas-mutasi; and by Amat-Bau, the priestess (?); the year when the Temple of the Abundance of Rimmon (was built by Khammurabi).” It will be noticed that with one exception the witnesses to this document are all women.

There was but little rise in wages in subsequent centuries. A butcher was paid only 1 shekel for a month’s work in the third year of Cambyses, as has been noticed above, and even skilled labor was not much better remunerated. In the first year of Cambyses, for instance, only half a shekel was paid for painting the stucco of a wall, though in the same year 67 shekels (£10 1s.) were given to a seal-cutter for a month’s labor. Slavery prevented wages from rising by flooding the labor market, and the free artisan had to compete with a vast body of slaves. Hence it was that unskilled work was still so commonly paid in kind rather than in coin, and that the workman was content if his employer provided him with food. Thus in the second year of Nabonidos we are told that the “coppersmith,” Libludh, received 7 *qas* (about 8½ quarts) of flour for overlaying a chariot with copper, and in the seventeenth year of the same reign half a shekel of silver and 1 *gur* of wheat from the royal storehouse were paid to five men who had brought a flock of sheep to the King’s administrator in the city of Ruzabu. The following laconic letter also tells the same tale: “Letter from Tabik-zeri to Gula-ibni, my brother. Give 54 *qas* of meal to the men who have dug the canal. The 9th of Nisan, fifth year of Cyrus, King of Eridu, King of the World.” The employer had a right to the workman’s labor so long as he furnished him with food and clothing.

Chapter VII. The Money-Lender And Banker

Among the professions of ancient Babylonia, money-lending held a foremost place. It was, in fact, one of the most lucrative of professions, and was followed by all classes of the population, the highest as well the lowest. Members of the royal family did not disdain to lend money at high rates of interest, receiving as security for it various kinds of property. It is true that in such cases the business was managed by an agent; but the lender of the money, and not the agent, was legally responsible for all the consequences of his action, and it was to him that all the profits went.

The money-lender was the banker of antiquity. In a trading community like that of Babylonia, where actual coin was comparatively scarce, and the gigantic system of credit which prevails in the modern world had not as yet come into existence, it was impossible to do without him. The taxes had to be paid in cash, which was required by the government for the payment of a standing army, and a large body of officials. The same causes which have thrown the fellahin of modern Egypt into the hands of Greek usurers were at work in ancient Babylonia.

In some instances the money-lender founded a business which lasted for a number of generations and brought a large part of the property of the country into the possession of the firm. This was notably the case with the great firm of Egibi, established at Babylon before the time of Sennacherib, which in the age of the Babylonian empire and Persian conquest became the Rothschilds of the ancient world. It lent money to the state as well as to individuals, it undertook agencies for private persons, and eventually absorbed a good deal of what was properly attorney's business. Deeds and other legal documents belonging to others as well as to members of the firm were lodged for security in its record-chambers, stored in the great earthenware jars which served as safes. The larger part of the contract-tablets from which our knowledge of the social life of later Babylonia is derived has come from the offices of the firm.

In the early days of Babylonia the interest upon a loan was paid in kind.

But the introduction of a circulating medium goes back to an ancient date, and it was not long before payment in grain or other crops was replaced by its equivalent in cash. Already before the days of Amraphel

and Abraham, we find contracts stipulating for the payment of so many silver shekels per month upon each maneh lent to the borrower. Thus we have one written in Semitic-Babylonian which reads: "Kis-nunu, the son of Imur-Sin, has received one maneh and a half of silver from Zikilum, on which he will pay 12 shekels of silver (a month). The capital and interest are to be paid on the day of the harvest as guaranteed. Dated the year when Immerum dug the Asukhi canal." Then follow the names of three witnesses.

The obligation to repay the loan on "the day of the harvest" is a survival from the time when all payments were in kind, and the creditor had a right to the first-fruits of the debtor's property. A contract dated in the reign of Khammurabi, or Amraphel, similarly stipulates that interest on a loan made to a certain Arad-ilisu by one of the female devotees of the Sun-god, should be paid into the treasury of the temple of Samas "on the day of the harvest." The interest was reckoned at so much a month, as in the East to-day; originally it had to be paid at the end of each month, according to the literal terms of the agreement, but as time went on it became usual to reserve the payment to the end of six months or a year. It was only where the debtor was not considered trustworthy or the security was insufficient that the literal interpretation of the agreement was insisted on.

The rate of interest, as was natural, tended to be lower with the lapse of time and the growth of wealth. In the age of the Babylonian empire and the Persian conquest the normal rate was, however, still as high as 1 shekel a month upon each maneh, or twenty per cent. But we have a contract dated in the fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar in which a talent of silver is lent, and the interest charged upon it is not more than half a shekel per month on the maneh, or ten per cent. Three years later, in another contract, the rate of interest is stated to be five-sixths of a shekel, or sixteen and two-thirds per cent, while in the fifteenth year of Samas-sum-yukin the interest upon a loan of 16 shekels is only a quarter of a shekel. At this time Babylonia was suffering from the results of its revolt from Assyria, which may explain the lowness of the rate of interest. At all events, six years earlier, Remut, one of the members of the Egibi firm, lent a sum of money to a man and his wife without charging any interest at all upon it, and stipulating only that the money should be repaid when the land was again prosperous.

At times, however, money was lent upon the understanding that interest would be charged upon it only if it were not repaid by a specified date. Thus in the ninth year of Samas-sum-yukin half a maneh was lent

by Suma to Tukubenu on the fourth of Marchesvan, or October, upon which no interest was to be paid up to the end of the following Tisri, or September, which corresponded with "the day of the harvest" of the older contracts; but after that, if the money were still unpaid, interest at the rate of half a shekel a month, or ten per cent., would be charged. At other times the interest was paid by the year, as with us, and not by the month; in this case it was at a lower rate than the normal twenty per cent. In the fourteenth year of Nabopolassar, for example, a maneh of silver was lent at the rate of 7 shekels on each maneh per annum — that is to say, at eleven and two-thirds per cent. — and under Nebuchadnezzar money was borrowed at annual interest of 8 shekels for each maneh, or thirteen and one-third per cent.

Full security was taken for a loan, and the contract relating to it was attested by a number of witnesses. Thus the following contract was drawn up in the third year of Nabonidos, a loan of a maneh of silver having been made by one of the members of the Egibi firm to a man and his wife: "One maneh of silver, the property of Nadin-Merodach, the son of Iqisa-bel, the son of Nur-sin, has been received by Nebo-baladan, the son of Nadin-sumi, and Bau-ed-herat, the daughter of Samas-ebus. In the month Tisri (September) they shall repay the money and the interest upon it. Their upper field, which adjoins that of Sum-yukin, the son of Sa-Nebo-sû, as well as the lower field, which forms the boundary of the house of the Seer, and is planted with palm-trees and grass, is the security of Nadin-Merodach, to which (in case of insolvency) he shall have the first claim. No other creditor shall take possession of it until Nadin-Merodach has received in full the capital and interest. In the month Tisri the dates which are then ripe upon the palms shall be valued, and according to the current price of them at the time in the town of Sakhrin, Nadin-Merodach shall accept them instead of interest at the rate of thirty-six *qas* (fifty quarts) the shekel (3s.). The money is intended to pay the tax for providing the soldiers of the king of Babylon with arms. Witnessed by Nebo-bel-sunu, the son of Bau-akhi, the son of Dahik; Nebo-dîni-ebus, the son of Kinenunâ; Nebo-zira-usabsi, the son, Samas-ibni Bazuzu, the son of Samas-ibni; Merodach-erba, the son of Nadin; and the scribe Bel-iddin, the son of Bel-yupakhkhir, the son of Dabibu. Dated at Sakhrinni, the 28th day of Iyyar (April), the third year of Nabonidos, King of Babylon."

In Assyria the rate of interest was a good deal higher than it was in Babylonia. It is true that in a contract dated 667 B.C., one of the parties

to which was the son of the secretary of the municipality of Dur-Sargon, the modern Khorsabad, it is twenty per cent., as in Babylonia, but this is almost the only case in which it is so. Elsewhere, in deeds dated 684 B.C., 656, and later, the rate is as much as twenty-five per cent., while in one instance — a deed dated 711 B.C. — it rises to thirty-three and a third per cent. Among the witnesses to the last-mentioned deed are two "smiths," one of whom is described as a "coppersmith," and the other bears the Armenian name of Sihduri or Sarduris. The money is usually reckoned according to the standard of Carchemish. That the rate of interest should have been higher in Assyria than in Babylonia is not surprising. Commerce was less developed there, and the attention of the population was devoted rather to war and agriculture than to trade. It seems to have been the conquest of Western Asia, the subjugation of the Phœnician cities, and above all the incorporation of Babylonia in the empire, which introduced a commercial spirit into Nineveh, and made it in the latter days of its existence an important centre of trade. Indeed, one of the objects of the Assyrian campaigns in Syria was to divert the trade of the Mediterranean into Assyrian hands; the fall of Carchemish made Assyria mistress of the caravan-road which led across the Euphrates, and of the commerce which had flowed from Asia Minor, while the ruin of Tyre and Sidon meant prosperity to the merchants of Nineveh. Nevertheless, the native population of Assyria was slow to avail itself of the commercial advantages which had fallen to it, and a large part of its trading classes were Arameans or other foreigners who had settled in the country. So large, indeed, was the share in Assyrian trade which the Arameans absorbed that Aramaic became the *lingua panca*, the common medium of intercommunication, in the commercial world of the second Assyrian empire, and, as has been already stated, many of the Assyrian contract-tablets are provided with Aramaic dockets, which give a brief abstract of their contents.

A memorandum signed by "Basia, the son of Rikhi," furnishes us with the relative value of gold and silver in the age of Nebuchadnezzar. "Two shekels and a quarter of gold for twenty-five shekels and three-quarters of silver, one shekel worn and deficient in weight for seven shekels of silver, two and a quarter shekels, also worn, for twenty-two and three-quarters shekels of silver; in all five and a half shekels of gold for fifty-five and a half shekels of silver." Gold, therefore, at this time would have been worth about eleven times more than silver. A few years later, however, in the eleventh year of Nabonidos, the proportion had risen and was twelve to one. We learn this from a statement that the

goldsmith Nebo-edhernapisti had received in that year, on the 10th day of Ab, 1 shekel of gold, in 5-shekel pieces, for 12 shekels of silver. The coinage, if we may use such a term, was the same in both metals, the talent being divided into 60 manehs and the maneh into 60 shekels. There seems also to have been a bronze coinage, at all events in the later age of Assyria and Babylonia, but the references to it are very scanty, and silver was the ordinary medium of exchange. One of the contract-tablets, however, which have come from Assyria and is dated in the year 676 B.C., relates to the loan of 2 talents of bronze from the treasury of Istar at Arbela, which were to be repaid two months afterward. Failing this, interest was to be charged upon them at the rate of thirty-three and a third per cent., and it is implied that the payment was to be in bronze.

The talent, maneh, and shekel were originally weights, and had been adopted by the Semites from their Sumerian predecessors. They form part of that sexagesimal system of numeration which lay at the root of Babylonian mathematics and was as old as the invention of writing. So thoroughly was sixty regarded as the unit of calculation that it was denoted by the same single wedge or upright line as that which stood for "one." Wherever the sexagesimal system of notation prevailed we may see an evidence of the influence of Babylonian culture.

It was the maneh, however, and not the talent, which was adopted as the standard. The talent, in fact, was too heavy for such a purpose; it implied too considerable an amount of precious metal and was too seldom employed in the daily business of life. The Babylonian, accordingly, counted up from the maneh to the talent and down to the shekel.

The standard weight of the maneh, which continued in use up to the latest days of Babylonian history, had been fixed by Dungi, of the dynasty of Ur, about 2700 B.C. An inscription on a large cone of dark-green stone, now in the British Museum, tells us that the cone represents "one maneh standard weight, the property of Merodach-sar-ilani, and a duplicate of the weight which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, had made in exact imitation of the standard weight established by the deified Dungi, an earlier king." The stone now weighs 978.309 grammes, which, making the requisite deductions for the wear and tear of time, would give 980 grammes, or rather more than 2 pounds 2 ounces avoirdupois. The Babylonian maneh, as fixed by Dungi and Nebuchadnezzar, thus agrees in weight rather with the Hebrew maneh of gold than with the "royal" maneh, which was equivalent to 2 pounds 7½ ounces.

It was not, however, the only maneh in use in Babylonia. Besides the "heavy" or "royal" maneh there was also a "light" maneh, like the Hebrew silver maneh of 1 pound 11 ounces, while the Assyrian contract-tablets make mention of "the maneh of Carchemish," which was introduced into Assyria after the conquest of the Hittite capital in 717 B.C. Mr. Barclay V. Head has pointed out that this latter maneh was known in Asia Minor as far as the shores of the Ægean, and that the "tongues" or bars of silver found by Dr. Schliemann on the site of Troy are shekels made in accordance with it.

A similar "tongue" of gold "of fifty shekels weight" is referred to in Josh. vii. 21, in connection with that "goodly Babylonish garment" which was carried away by Achan from among the spoils of Jericho. It is probable that the shekels and manehs of Babylonia were originally cast in the same tongue-like form. In Egypt they were in the shape of rings and spirals, but there is no evidence that the use of the latter extended beyond the valley of the Nile. In Western Asia it was rather bars of metal that were employed.

At first the value of the bar had to be determined by its being weighed each time that it changed hands. But it soon came to be stamped with an official indication of its weight and value. A Cappadocian tablet found near Kaisariyeh, which is at least as early as the age of the Exodus and may go back to that of Abraham, speaks of "three shekels of sealed" or "stamped silver." In that distant colony of Babylonian civilization, therefore, an official seal was already put upon some of the money in circulation. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar the coinage was still more advanced. There were "single shekel" pieces, pieces of "five shekels" and the like, all implying that coins were issued representing different fractions of the maneh. The maneh itself was divided into pieces of five-sixths, two-thirds, one-third, one-half, one-quarter, and three-quarters. It is often specified whether a sum of money is to be paid in single shekel pieces or in 5-shekel pieces, and the word "stamped" is sometimes added. The invention of a regular coinage is generally ascribed to the Lydians; but it was more probably due to the Babylonians, from whom both Lydians and Greeks derived their system of weights as well as the term *mina* or maneh.

The Egibi firm was not the only great banking or trading establishment of which we know in ancient Babylonia. The American excavators at Niffer have brought to light the records of another firm, that of Murasu, which, although established in a provincial town and not

in the capital, rose to a position of great wealth and influence under the Persian kings Artaxerxes I. (464-424 B.C.) and Darius II. (424-405 B.C.). The tablets found at Tello also indicate the existence of similarly important trading firms in the Babylonia of 2700 B.C., though at this period trade was chiefly confined to home products, cattle and sheep, wool and grain, dates and bitumen.

The learned professions were well represented. The scribes were a large and powerful body, and in Assyria, where education was less widely diffused than in Babylonia, they formed a considerable part of the governing bureaucracy. In Babylonia they acted as librarians, authors, and publishers, multiplying copies of older books and adding to them new works of their own. They served also as clerks and secretaries; they drew up documents of state as well as legal contracts and deeds. They were accordingly responsible for the forms of legal procedure, and so to some extent occupied the place of the barristers and attorneys of to-day. The Babylonian seems usually, if not always, to have pleaded his own case; but his statement of it was thrown into shape by the scribe or clerk like the final decision of the judges themselves. Under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors such clerks were called "the scribes of the king," and were probably paid out of the public revenues. Thus in the second year of Evil-Merodach it is said of the claimants to an inheritance that "they shall speak to the scribes of the king and seal the deed," and the seller of some land has to take the deed of quittance "to the scribes of the king," who "shall supervise and seal it in the city." Many of the scribes were priests; and it is not uncommon to find the clerk who draws up a contract and appears as a witness to be described as "the priest" of some deity.

The physician is mentioned at a very early date. Thus we hear of "Ilu-bani, the physician of Gudea," the High-priest of Lagas (2700 B.C.), and a treatise on medicine, of which fragments exist in the British Museum, was compiled long before the days of Abraham. It continued to be regarded as a standard work on the subject even in the time of the second Assyrian empire, though its prescriptions are mixed up with charms and incantations. But an attempt was made in it to classify and describe various diseases, and to enumerate the remedies that had been proposed for them. The remedies are often a compound of the most heterogeneous drugs, some of which are of a very unsavory nature. However, the patient, or his doctor, is generally given a choice of the remedies he might adopt. Thus for an attack of spleen he was told either to "slice the seed of a reed and dates in palm-wine," or to "mix calves' milk and bitters in palm-wine," or to "drink garlic and bitters in palm-wine." "For

an aching tooth," it is laid down, "the plant of human destiny (perhaps the mandrake) is the remedy; it must be placed upon the tooth. The fruit of the yellow snakewort is another remedy for an aching tooth; it must be placed upon the tooth.… The roots of a thorn which does not see the sun when growing is another remedy for an aching tooth; it must be placed upon the tooth." Unfortunately it is still impossible to assign a precise signification to most of the drugs that are named, or to identify the various herbs contained in the Babylonian pharmacopœia.

As time passed on, the charms and other superstitious practices which had at first played so large a part in Babylonian medicine fell into the background and were abandoned to the more uneducated classes of society. The conquest of Western Asia by the Egyptian Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty brought Babylonia into contact with Egypt, where the art of medicine was already far advanced. It is probable that from this time forward Babylonian medicine also became more strictly scientific. We have indeed evidence that the medical system and practice of Egypt had been introduced into Asia. When the great Egyptian treatise on medicine, known as the Papyrus Ebers, was written in the sixteenth century B.C., one of the most fashionable oculists of the day was a "Syrian" of Gebal, and as the study of the disease of the eye was peculiarly Egyptian, we must assume that his science had been derived from the valley of the Nile. It must not be supposed, however, that the superstitious beliefs and practices of the past were altogether abandoned, even by the most distinguished practitioners, any more than they were by the physicians of Europe in the early part of the last century. But they were invoked only when the ordinary remedies had failed, and when no resource seemed left except the aid of spiritual powers. Otherwise the doctor depended upon his diagnosis of the disease and the prescriptions which had been accumulated by the experience of past generations.

At the head of the profession stood the court-physician, the Rab-mugi or Rab-mag as he was called in Babylonia. In Assyria there was more than one doctor attached to the royal person, but letters have come down to us from which we learn that the royal physicians were at times permitted to attend private individuals when they were sick. Thus we have a letter of thanks to the Assyrian King from one of his subjects full of gratitude to the King for sending his own doctor to the writer, who had accordingly been cured of a dangerous disease. "May Istar of Erech," he says, "and Nana (of Bit-Anu) grant long life to the king my lord, for he has sent Basa, the royal physician, to save my life, and he has cured me; may the great gods of heaven and earth be therefore gracious to the king

my lord, and may they establish the throne of the king my lord in heaven for ever, since I was dead and the king has restored me to life." Another letter contains a petition that one of the royal physicians should be allowed to visit a lady who was ill. "To the king my lord," we read, "thy servant, Saul-miti-yuballidh, sends salutation to the king my lord: may Nebo and Merodach be gracious to the king my lord for ever and ever. Bau-gamilat, the handmaid of the king, is constantly ill; she cannot eat a morsel of food. Let the king send orders that some physician may go and see her." In this case, however, it is possible that the lady, who seems to have been suffering from consumption, belonged to the harîm of the monarch, and it was consequently needful to obtain the royal permission for a stranger to visit her, even though he came professionally.

We can hardly reckon among Babylonian professions that of the poet. It is true that a sort of poet-laureate existed at the court, and that we hear of a piece of land being given by the King to one of them for some verses which he had composed in honor of the sovereign. But poetry was not a separate profession, and the poet must be included in the class of scribes, or among those educated country gentlemen who possessed estates of their own. He was, however, fully appreciated in Babylonia. The names of the chief poets of the country were never forgotten, and the poems they had written passed through edition after edition down to the later days of Babylonian history. Sin-liqi-unnini, the author of the "Epic of Gilgames," Nis-Sin, the author of the "Adventures of Etana," and many others, never passed out of literary remembrance. There was a large reading public, and the literary language of Babylonia changed but little from century to century.

It was otherwise with the musicians. They formed a class to themselves, though whether as a trade or as a profession it is difficult to say. We must, however, distinguish between the composer and the performer. The latter was frequently a slave or captive, and occupied but an humble place in society. He is frequently depicted in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, and in one instance is represented as wearing a cap of great height and shaped like a fish. Musical instruments were numerous and various. We find among them drums and tambourines, trumpets and horns, lyres and guitars, harps and zithers, pipes and cymbals. Even the speaking-trumpet was employed. In a sculpture which represents the transport of a colossal bull from the quarries of Balad to the palace of Sennacherib, an overseer is made to stand on the body of the bull and issue orders through a trumpet to the workmen.

Besides single musicians, there were bands of performers, and at times the music was accompanied by dancing or by clapping the hands. The bands were under the conduct of leaders, who kept time with a double rod. In one instance the Assyrian artist has represented three captives playing on a lyre, an interesting illustration of the complaint of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia that their conquerors required from them "a song."

The artist fared no better than the musical performer. The painter of the figures and scenes on the walls of the chamber, the sculptor of the bas-reliefs which adorned an Assyrian palace, or of the statues which stood in the temples of Babylonia, the engraver of the gems and seals, some of which show such high artistic talent, were all alike skilled artisans and nothing more. We have already seen what wages they received, and what consequently must have been the social admiration in which they were held. Behind the workman, however, stood the original artist, who conceived and drew the first designs, and to whom the artistic inspiration was primarily due. Of him we still know nothing. Probably he belonged in general to the class of priests or scribes, and would have disdained to receive remuneration for his art. As yet the texts have thrown no light upon him, and it may be that they never will do so. The Babylonians were a practical and not an artistic people, and the skilled artisan gave them all that they demanded in the matter of art.

Chapter VIII. The Government And The Army

The conception of the state in Babylonia was intensely theocratic. The kings had been preceded by high-priests, and up to the last they performed priestly functions, and represented the religious as well as the civil power. At Babylon the real sovereign was Bel Merodach, the true "lord" of the city, and it was only when the King had been adopted by the god as his son that he possessed any right to rule. Before he had "taken the hands" of Bel, and thereby become the adopted son of the deity, he had no legitimate title to the throne. He was, in fact, the vicegerent and representative of Bel upon earth; it was Bel who gave him his authority and watched over him as a father over a son.

The Babylonian sovereign was thus quite as much a pontiff as he was a king. The fact was acknowledged in the titles he bore, as well as in the ceremony which legitimized his accession to the throne. Two views prevailed, however, as to his relation to the god. According to one of these, sonship conferred upon him actual divinity; he was not merely the representative of a god, but a god himself. This was the view which prevailed in the earlier days of Semitic supremacy. Sargon of Akkad and his son Naram-Sin are entitled "gods;" temples and priests were dedicated to them during their lifetime, and festivals were observed in their honor. Their successors claimed and received the same attributes of divinity. Under the third dynasty of Ur even the local prince, Gudea, the high-priest of Tello, was similarly deified. It was not until Babylonia had been conquered by the foreign Kassite dynasty from the mountains of Elam that a new conception of the King was introduced. He ceased to be a god himself, and became, instead, the delegate and representative of the god of whom he was the adopted son. His relation to the god was that of a son during the lifetime of his father, who can act for his father, but cannot actually take the father's place so long as the latter is alive.

Some of the earlier Chaldean monarchs call themselves sons of the goddesses who were worshipped in the cities over which they held sway. They thus claimed to be of divine descent, not by adoption, but by actual birth. The divinity that was in them was inherited; it was not merely communicated by a later and artificial process. The "divine right," by grace of which they ruled, was the right of divine birth.

At the outset, therefore, the Babylonian King was a pontiff because he was also a god. In him the deities of heaven were incarnated on earth. He shared their essence and their secrets; he knew how their favor could be

gained or their enmity averted, and so mediated between god and man. This deification of the King, however, cannot be traced beyond the period when Semitic rule was firmly established in Chaldea. It is true that Sumerian princes, like Gudea of Lagas, were also deified; but this was long after the rise of Semitic supremacy, and the age of Sargon of Akkad, and when Sumerian culture was deeply interpenetrated by Semitic ideas. So far as we know at present the apotheosis of the King was of Semitic origin.

It is paralleled by the apotheosis of the King in ancient Egypt. There, too, the Pharaoh was regarded as an incarnation of divinity, to whom shrines were erected, priests ordained, and sacrifices offered. In early times he was, moreover, declared to be the son of the goddess of the city in which he dwelt; it was not till the rise of the fifth historical dynasty that he became the "Son of the Sun-god" of Heliopolis, rather than Horus, the Sun-god, himself. This curious parallelism is one of many facts which point to intercourse between Babylonia and Egypt in the prehistoric age; whether the deification of the King originated first on the banks of the Euphrates or of the Nile must be left to the future to decide.

Naram-Sin is addressed as "the god of Agadê," or Akkad, the capital of his dynasty, and long lists have been found of the offerings that were made, month by month, to the deified Dungi, King of Ur, and his vassal, Gudea of Lagas. Here, for example, are Dr. Scheil's translations of some of them: "I. Half a measure of good beer and 5 *gin* of sesame oil on the new moon, the 15th day, for the god Dungi; half a measure of good beer and half a measure of herbs for Gudea the High-priest, during the month Tammuz. II. Half a measure of the king's good beer, half a measure of herbs, on the new moon, the 15th day, for Gudea the High-priest. One measure of good wort beer, 5 *qas* of ground flour, 3 *qas* of cones (?), for the planet Mercury: during the month of the festival of the god Dungi. III.… Half a measure of good beer, half a measure of herbs, on the new moon, the 15th day, for the god Gudea the High-priest: during the month Elul, the first year of Gimil-Sin, king [of Ur]."

The conception of the King as a visible god upon earth was unable to survive the conquest of Babylonia by the half-civilized mountaineers of Elam and the substitution of foreigners for the Semitic or Semitized Sumerian rulers of the country. As the doctrine of the divine right of kings passed away in England with the rise of the Hanoverian dynasty, so, too, in Babylonia the deified King disappeared with the Kassite conquest. But he continued to be supreme pontiff to the adopted son of the god of Babylon. Babylon had become the capital of the kingdom, and

Merodach, its patron-deity, was, accordingly, supreme over the other gods of Chaldea. He alone could confer the royal powers that the god of every city which was the centre of a principality had once been qualified to grant. By "taking his hands" the King became his adopted son, and so received a legitimate right to the throne.

It was the throne not only of Babylonia, but of the Babylonian empire as well. It was never forgotten that Babylonia had once been the mistress of Western Asia, and it was, accordingly, the sceptre of Western Asia that was conferred by Bel Merodach upon his adopted sons. Like the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages, Babylonian sovereignty brought with it a legal, though shadowy, right to rule over the civilized kingdoms of the world. It was this which made the Assyrian conquerors of the second Assyrian empire so anxious to secure possession of Babylon and there "take the hands of Bel." Tiglath-pileser III., Shalmaneser IV., and Sargon were all alike usurpers, who governed by right of the sword. It was only when they had made themselves masters of Babylon and been recognized by Bel and his priesthood that their title to govern became legitimate and unchallenged.

Cyrus and Cambyses continued the tradition of the native kings. They, too, claimed to be the successors of those who had ruled over Western Asia, and Bel, of his own free choice, it was alleged, had rejected the unworthy Nabonidos and put Cyrus in his place. Cyrus ruled, not by right of conquest, but because he had been called to the crown by the god of Babylon. It was not until the Zoroastrean Darius and Xerxes had taken Babylon by storm and destroyed the temple of Bel that the old tradition was finally thrust aside. The new rulers of Persia had no belief in the god of Babylon; his priesthood was hostile to them, and Babylon was deposed from the position it had so long occupied as the capital of the world.

In Assyria, in contrast to Babylonia, the government rested on a military basis. It is true that the kings of Assyria had once been the high-priests of the city of Assur, and that they carried with them some part of their priestly functions when they were invested with royal power. But it is no less true that they were never looked upon as incarnations of the deity or even as his representative upon earth. The rise of the Assyrian kingdom seems to have been due to a military revolt; at any rate, its history is that of a succession of rebellious generals, some of whom succeeded in founding dynasties, while others failed to hand down their power to their posterity. There was no religious ceremony at their coronation like that of "taking the hands of Bel." When Esar-haddon was

made King he was simply acclaimed sovereign by the army. It was the army and not the priesthood to whom he owed his title to reign.

The conception of the supreme god himself differed in Assyria and Babylonia. In Babylonia, Bel-Merodach was "lord" of the city; in Assyria, Assur was the deified city itself. In the one case, therefore, the King was appointed vicegerent of the god over the city which he governed and preserved; in the other case the god represented the state, and, in so far as the King was a servant of the god, he was a servant also of the state.

In both countries there was an aristocracy of birth based originally on the possession of land. But in Babylonia it tended at an early period to be absorbed by the mercantile and priestly classes, and in later days it is difficult to find traces even of its existence. The nobles of the age of Nebuchadnezzar were either wealthy trading families or officers of the Crown. The temples, and the priests who lived upon their revenues, had swallowed up a considerable part of the landed and other property of the country, which had thus become what in modern Turkey would be called *wakf*. In Assyria many of the great princes of the realm still belonged to the old feudal aristocracy, but here again the tendency was to replace them by a bureaucracy which owed its position and authority to the direct favor of the King. Under Tiglath-pileser III. this tendency became part of the policy of the government; the older aristocracy disappeared, and instead of it we find military officers and civil officials, all of whom were appointed by the Crown.

While, accordingly, Babylonia became an industrial and priestly state, Assyria developed into a great military and bureaucratic organization. It taught the world how to organize and administer an empire. Tiglath-pileser III. inaugurated a course of policy which his successors did their best to carry out. He aimed at reviving the ancient empire of Sargon of Akkad, of uniting the civilized world of Western Asia under one head, but upon new principles and in a more permanent way. The campaigns which his predecessors had carried on for the sake of booty and military fame were now conducted with a set purpose and method. The raid was replaced by a carefully planned scheme of conquest. The vanquished territories were organized into provinces under governors appointed by the Assyrian King and responsible to him alone. By the side of the civil governor was a military commander, who kept watch upon the other's actions, while under them was a large army of administrators. Assyrian colonies were planted in the newly acquired districts, where they served as a garrison, and the native inhabitants were transported to other parts of

the Assyrian empire. In this way an attempt was made to break the old ties of patriotism and local feeling, and to substitute for them fidelity to the Assyrian government and the god Assur, in whose name its conquests were made.

The taxes of the empire were carefully regulated. A cadastral survey was an institution which had long been in existence; it had been borrowed from Babylonia, where, as we have seen, it was already known at a very early epoch. The amount to be paid into the treasury by each town and province was fixed, and the governor was called upon to transmit it each year to Nineveh. Thus in the time of Sennacherib the annual tribute of Carchemish was 100 talents, that of Arpad 30, and that of Megiddo 15, while, at home, Nineveh was assessed at 30 talents, and the district of Assur at 20, which were expended on the maintenance of the fleet, the whole amount of revenue raised from Assyria being 274 talents. Besides this direct taxation, there was also indirect taxation, as well as municipal rates. Thus a tax was laid upon the brick-fields, which in Babylonia were economically of considerable importance, and there was an *octroi* duty upon all goods, cattle, and country produce which entered a town. Similar tolls were exacted from the ships which moored at the quays, as well as from those who made use of the pontoon-bridges which spanned the Euphrates or passed under them in boats.

Long lists of officials have been preserved. Certain of the governors or satraps were allowed to share with the King the privilege of giving a name to the year. It was an ingenious system of reckoning time which had been in use in Assyria from an early period and was introduced into Cappadocia by Assyrian colonists. From Asia Minor it probably spread to Greece; at all events, the eponymous archons at Athens, after whom the several years were named, corresponded exactly with the Assyrian *limmi* or eponyms. Each year in succession received its name from the eponym or officer who held office during the course of it, and as lists of these officers were carefully handed down it was easy to determine the date of an event which had taken place in the year of office of a given eponym. The system was of Assyrian invention and never prevailed in Babylonia. There time was dated by the chief occurrences of a king’s reign, and at the end of the reign a list of them was drawn up beginning with his accession to the throne and ending with his death and the name of his successor. These lists went back to an early period of Babylonian history and provided the future historian with an accurate chronology.

Immediately attached to the person of the Assyrian monarch was the Rab-saki, “the chief of the princes,” or vizier. He is called the Rab-shakeh in the Old Testament, by the side of whom stood the Rab-saris, the Assyrian Rab-sa-risi, or “chief of the heads” of departments. They were both civil officers. The army was under the command of the Tartannu, or “Commander-in-Chief,” the Biblical Tartan, who, in the absence of the King, led the troops to battle and conducted a campaign. When Shalmaneser II., for example, became too old to take the field himself, his armies were led by the Tartan Daian-Assur, and under the second Assyrian empire the Tartan appears frequently, sometimes in command of a portion of the forces, while the King is employing the rest elsewhere, sometimes in place of the King, who prefers to remain at home. In earlier days there had been two Tartans, one of whom stood on the right hand side of the King and the other on his left. In order of precedence both of them were regarded as of higher rank than the Rab-shakeh.

The army was divided into companies of a thousand, a hundred, fifty, and ten, and we hear of captains of fifty and captains of ten. Under Tiglath-pileser III. and his successors it became an irresistible engine of attack. No pains were spared to make it as effective as possible; its discipline was raised to the highest pitch of perfection, and its arms and accoutrements constantly underwent improvements. As long as a supply of men lasted, no enemy could stand against it, and the great military empire of Nineveh was safe.

It contained cavalry as well as foot-soldiers. The cavalry had grown out of a corps of chariot-drivers, which was retained, though shrunken in size and importance, long after the more serviceable horsemen had taken its place. The chariot held a driver and a warrior. When the latter was the King he was accompanied by one or two armed attendants. They all rode standing and carried bows and spears. The chariot itself ran upon two wheels, a pair of horses being harnessed to its pole. Another horse was often attached to it in case of accidents.

The chariots were of little good when the fighting had to be done in a mountainous country. In the level parts of Western Asia, where good roads had existed for untold centuries, they were a powerful arm of offence, but the Assyrians were constantly called upon to attack the tribes of the Kurdish and Armenian mountains who harassed their positions, and in such trackless districts the chariots were an incumbrance and not a help. Trees had to be cut down and rocks removed in order to make roads along which they might pass. The

Assyrian engineers indeed were skilled in the construction of roads of the kind, and the inscriptions not infrequently boast of their success in carrying them through the most inaccessible regions, but the necessity for making them suitable for the passage of chariots was a serious drawback, and we hear at times how the wheels of the cars had to be taken off and the chariots conveyed on the backs of mules or horses. It was not wonderful, therefore, that the Assyrian kings, who were practical military men, soon saw the advantage of imitating the custom of the northern and eastern mountaineers, who used the horse for riding purposes rather than for drawing a chariot. The chariot continued to be employed in the Assyrian army, but rather as a luxury than as an effective instrument of war.

At first the cavalry were little more than mounted horsemen. Their only weapons were the bow and arrow, and they rode without saddles and with bare legs. At a later period part of the cavalry was armed with spears, saddles were introduced, and the groom who had run by the side of the horse disappeared. At the same time, under Tiglath-pileser III., the rider's legs were protected by leathern drawers over which high boots were drawn, laced in front. This was an importation from the north, and it is possible that many of the horsemen were brought from the same quarter. Sennacherib still further improved the dress by adding to it a closely fitting coat of mail.

The infantry outnumbered the cavalry by about ten to one, and were divided into heavy-armed and light-armed. Their usual dress, at all events, up to the foundation of the second Assyrian empire, consisted of a peaked helmet and a tunic which descended half-way down the thighs, and was fastened round the waist by a girdle. From the reign of Sargon onward they were divided into two bodies, one of archers, the other of spearmen, the archers being partly light-armed and partly heavy-armed. The heavy-armed were again divided into two classes, one of them wearing sandals and a coat-of-mail over the tunic, while the other was dressed in a long, fringed robe reaching to the feet, over which a cuirass was worn. They also carried a short sword, and had sandals of the same shape as those used by the other class. Each had an attendant waiting upon him with a long, rectangular shield of wicker-work, covered with leather. The light-armed archers were encumbered with but little clothing, consisting only of a kilt and a fillet round the head. The spearmen, on the contrary, were protected by a crested helmet and circular shield, though their legs and face were usually bare.

Changes were introduced by Sennacherib, who abolished the inconveniently long robe of the second class of heavy-armed archers, and gave them leather greaves and boots. The first class, on the other hand, are now generally represented without sandals, and with an embroidered turban with lappets on the head. Sennacherib also established a corps of slingers, who were clad in helmet and breastplate, leather drawers, and short boots, as well as a company of pioneers, armed with double-headed axes, and clothed with conical helmets, greaves, and boots. These pioneers were especially needed for engineering the way through the pathless defiles and rugged ground over which the extension of the empire more and more required the Assyrian army to make its way.

The heads of the spears and arrows were of metal, usually of bronze, more rarely of iron. The helmets also were of bronze or iron, a leather cap being worn underneath them, and the coats-of-mail were formed of bronze scales sewn to a leather shirt. Many of the shields, moreover, were of metal, though wicker-work covered with leather seems to have been preferred. Battering-rams and other engines for attacking a city were carried on the march.

Baggage wagons were also carried, as well as standards and tents. The tents of the officers were divided into two partitions, one of which was used as a dining-room, while the royal tent was accompanied by a kitchen. Tables, chairs, couches, and various utensils formed part of its furniture. One of these chairs was a sort of palanquin in the shape of an arm-chair with a footstool, which was borne on the shoulders of attendants.

The Assyrian army was originally recruited from the native peasantry, who returned to their fields at the end of a campaign with the spoil that had been taken from the enemy. Under the second Assyrian empire, however, it became a standing army, a part of which was composed of mercenaries, while another part consisted of troops drafted from the conquered populations. Certain of the soldiers were selected to serve as the body-guard of the King; they had a commander of their own and doubtless possessed special privileges. The army was recruited by conscription, the obligation to serve in it being part of the burdens which had to be borne by the peasantry. They could be relieved of it by the special favor of the government just as they could be relieved of the necessity of paying taxes.

The Babylonian army of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors was modelled on that of the Assyrians. We can gather from the receipts for the provisions and accoutrements furnished to it how the army of

Tiglath-pileser or Sennacherib must have been fed and paid. Thus in the first year of Nabonidos, 75 *qas* of flour and 63 *qas* (nearly 100 quarts) of beer were provided for the troops in the camp near Sippara, and in the second year of the same King 54 *qas* of beer were sent on the 29th of Nisan for "the soldiers who had marched from Babylon." Similarly in the tenth year of the same reign we have a receipt for the despatch of 116 *qas* of food on the 14th of Iyyar for "the troops which had marched [to Sippara] from Babylon," as well as for 18 *qas* of "provisions" provided each day for the same purpose from the 15th to the 18th of the same month. In the first year of Nabonidos 3 *gur* of sesame had been ordered for the archers during the first two months of the year, and as in his thirteenth year 5 *gur* of wheat were provided for fifteen soldiers, we may calculate that rather more than two and one-half bushels were allotted to each man. It may be added that at the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign we find a contractor guaranteeing "the excellence of the beer" that had been furnished for the "army that had entered Babylon," though it is possible that here artisans rather than soldiers are meant.

A register of the soldiers was kept, but it would seem that those who were in charge of it sometimes forgot to strike off the names of those who were dead or discharged, and pocketed their pay. At any rate, the following official document has come down to us:—"(The names) of the deserters and dead soldiers which have been overlooked in the paymaster's account, the 8th day of Nisan, the eighth year of Cyrus, king of Babylon and of the world: Samas-akhi-iddin, son of Samas-ana-bitisu, deserted; Muse-zib-Samas, son of the Usian, *ditto*; Itti-Samas-eneya junior, of the family of Samas-kin-abli, *ditto*; Itti-Samas-baladhu, son of Samas-erba *ditto*; Taddannu, son of Rimut, *ditto*; Samas-yuballidh, his brother, *ditto*; Kalbâ, son of Samas-kin-abli, son of the painter(?), *ditto*; in all seven deserters. Libludh, son of Samas-edher, dead; Nebo-tuktê-tirri, *ditto*; Samas-mupakhkhiranni, *ditto*; Samas-akhi-erba, son of Samas-ana-bitisu, *ditto*; in all four dead. Altogether eleven soldiers who have deserted or are dead."

If Babylonia copied Assyria in military arrangements, the converse was the case as regards a fleet. "The cry of the Chaldeans," according to the Old Testament, was "in their ships," and in the earliest age of Babylonian history, Eridu, which then stood on the sea-coast, was already a sea-port. But Assyria was too far distant from the sea for its inhabitants to become sailors, and the rapid current of the Tigris made even river navigation difficult. In fact, the rafts on which the heavy monuments were transported, and which could float only down stream,

or the small, round boats, resembling the *kufas* that are still in use, were almost the only means employed for crossing the water. When the Assyrian army had to pass a river, either pontoons were thrown across it, or the soldiers swam across the streams with the help of inflated skins. The *kufa* was made of rushes daubed with bitumen, and sometimes covered with a skin.

So little accustomed were the Assyrians to navigation that, when Sennacherib determined to pursue the followers of Merodach-baladan across the Persian Gulf to the coast of Elam, he was obliged to have recourse to the Phœnician boat-builders and sailors. Two fleets were built for him by Phœnician and Syrian workmen, one at Tel-Barsip, near Carchemish, on the Euphrates, the other at Nineveh on the Tigris; these he manned with Syrian, Sidonian, and Ionian sailors, and after pouring out a libation to Ea, the god of the sea, set sail from the mouth of the Euphrates. It was probably for the support of this fleet that the 20 talents (£10,800) annually levied on the district of Assur were intended. The Phœnician ships employed by the Assyrians were biremes, with two tiers of oars.

Of the Babylonian fleet we know but little. It does not seem to have taken part in the defence of the country at the time of the invasion of Cyrus. But the sailors who manned it were furnished with food, like the soldiers of the army, from the royal storehouse or granary. Thus in the sixteenth year of Nabonidos we have a memorandum to the effect that 210 *qas* of dates were sent from the storehouse in the month Tammuz "for the maintenance of the sailors." The King also kept a state-barge on the Euphrates, like the dahabias of Egypt. In the twenty-fourth year of Darius, for instance, a new barge was made for the monarch, two contractors undertaking to work upon it from the beginning of Iyyar, or April, to the end of Tisri, or September, and to use in its construction a particular kind of wood.

While we hear but little about the fleet, cargo and ferry-boats are frequently mentioned in letters and contracts. Reference has already been made to the shekel and a quarter paid by the agent of Belshazzar for the hire of a boat which conveyed three oxen and twenty-four sheep to the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara, in order that they might be sacrificed at the festival of the new year. Sixty *qas* of dates were at the same time given to the boatmen. In the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, 3 shekels were paid for the hire of a grain-boat, and in the thirty-sixth year of the same King 4½ shekels were given for the hire of another boat for the transport of wool.

Some documents translated by Mr. Pinches throw light on the building and cost of the ships. One of them is as follows: “A ship of six by the cubit beam, twenty by the cubit the seat of its waters, which Nebo-baladan, the son of Labasi, the son of Nur-Papsukal, has sold to Sirikki, the son of Iddinâ, the son of Egibi, for four manehs, ten shekels of silver, in one-shekel pieces, which are not standard, and are in the shape of a bird’s tail (?). Nebo-baladan takes the responsibility for the management (?) of the ship. Nebo-baladan has received the money, four manehs ten shekels of white (silver), the price of his ship, from the hands of Sirikki.” The contract, which was signed by six witnesses, one of whom was “the King’s captain,” was dated at Babylon in the twenty-sixth year of Darius. Another contract relates to one of the boats of the pontoon-bridge which ran across the Euphrates and connected the two parts of Babylon together: “[Two] manehs ten shekels of white (silver), coined in one-shekel pieces, not standard, from Musezib, the son of Pisaram, to Sisku, the son of Iddinâ, the son of Egibi. Musezibtum and Narum, his female slaves — the wrist of Musezibtum is tattooed with the name of Iddinâ, the father of Sisku, and the wrist of Narum is tattooed with the name of Sisku — are the security of Musezib. There is no hire paid for the slaves or interest on the money. Another possessor shall not have power over them until Musezib receives the money, two manehs ten shekels of white silver, in one-shekel pieces. Sisku, the son of Iddinâ, takes the responsibility for the non-escape of Musezibtum and Narum. The day when Musezibtum and Narum go elsewhere Sisku shall pay Musezib half a measure of grain a day by way of hire. The money, which is for a ship for the bridge, has been given to Sisku.” This contract is also dated in the twenty-sixth year of Darius.

A letter written in the time of Khammurabi, or Amraphel, throws some light on the profits that were made by conveying passengers. There were ships which conveyed foreign merchants to Babylon if they were furnished with passports allowing them to travel and trade in the dominions of the Babylonian King. They took their goods and commodities along with them; on one occasion, we are told, the boat in which some of them travelled had been used for the conveyance of 10 talents of lead. It must, therefore, have been of considerable size and draught.

That the army and navy should have been recruited from abroad was in accordance with that spirit of liberality toward the foreigner which had distinguished the Babylonians from an early period. It was partly due to the mixed character of the race, partly to the early foundation of an

empire which embraced the greater portion of Western Asia, partly, and more especially, to the commercial instincts of the people. We find among them none of that jealous exclusiveness which characterized most of the nations of antiquity. They were ready to receive into their midst both the foreigner and his gods. Among Assyrian and Babylonian officials we meet with many who bear foreign names, and among the gods whose statues found a place in the national temples of Assyria were Khaldis of Armenia, and the divinities of the Bedâwin. The policy of deporting a conquered nation was dictated by the same readiness to admit the stranger to the rights and privileges of a home-born native. The restrictions placed upon Babylonian and Assyrian citizenship seem to have been but slight.

When Abraham was born at Ur of the Chaldees, Babylonia was governed by a dynasty of South Arabian origin whose names had to be translated into the Babylonian language. Throughout the country there were colonies of "Amorites," from Syria and Canaan, doubtless established there for the purposes of trade, who enjoyed the same rights as the native Babylonians. They could hold and bequeath land and other property, could buy and sell freely, could act as witnesses in a case where natives alone were concerned, and could claim the full protection of Babylonian law.

One of these colonies, known as "the district of the Amorites," was just outside the walls of Sippara. In the reign of Ammi-zadok, the fourth successor of Khammurabi, a dispute arose about the title to some land included within it, and the matter was tried before the four royal judges. The following record of the judgment was drawn up by the clerk of the court: "Twenty acres by thirteen of land in the district of the Amorites which was purchased by Ibni-Hadad, the merchant. Arad-Sin, the son of Edirum, has pleaded as follows before the judges: The building land, along with the house of my father, he did not buy; Ibku-Anunit and Dhab-Istar, the sons of Samas-nazir, sold (it) for money to Ibni-Hadad, the merchant. Iddatum and Mazitum, the sons of Ibni-Hadad the merchant, appeared before the judges; they lifted up (their hands) and swore that it had been put up for sale; it had been bought by Edirum and Sin-nadni-sû who handed it over to Samas-nazir and Ibku-Anunit, selling it to them for money. The estate, consisting of twenty-two acres of land enclosed by thirty other acres, as well as eleven trees [and] a house, in the district of the Amorites, bounded at the upper end by the estate of —— , and at the lower end by the river Bukai (?), is contracted in width, and is of the aforesaid nature. Judgment has been given for Arad-Sin, the

son of Edirum, as follows: At the entrance to Sippara the property is situated (?), and after being put up for sale was bought by Samas-nazir and Ibku-Anunit, to whom it was handed over; power of redemption is allowed (?) to Arad-Sin; the estate is there, let him take it. Before Uruki-mansum the judge, Sin-ismeani the judge, Ibku-Anunit the judge, and Ibku-ilisu the judge. The 6th day of the month Tammuz, the year when Ammi-zadok the king constructed the very great aqueduct (?) for the mountain and its fountain (?) for the house of Life."

If we may argue from the names, Arad-Sin, who brought the action, was of Babylonian descent; and in this case native Babylonians as well as foreigners could hold land in the district in which the Amorites had settled. At any rate, in the eyes of the law, the native and the foreign settler must have been upon an equal footing; they were tried before the same judges, and the law which applied to the one applied equally to the other. It is clear, moreover, that the foreigner had as much right as the native to buy, sell, or bequeath the soil of Babylonia.

Whether or not this right was restricted to particular districts, we do not know. In Syria, in later days, "streets," or rows of shops in a city, could be assigned to the members of another nationality by special treaty, as we learn from I Kings xx. 34, and at the end of the Egyptian eighteenth dynasty we hear of a quarter at Memphis being given to a colony of Hittite merchants, but such special assignments of land may not have been the custom in ancient Chaldea. The Amorites of Canaan may have been allowed to settle wherever they liked, and the origin of the title "district of the Amorites" may have simply been due to the tendency of foreign settlers to establish themselves in the same locality. The fact that Arad-Sin seems to have been a Babylonian, and that his action was brought before Babylonian judges, is in favor of the view that such was the case.

Moreover, as Mr. Pinches has pointed out, Amorites could rise to the highest offices of state. Not only could they serve as witnesses to a deed, to which all the other parties were native Babylonians, they could also hold civil and military appointments. On the one hand we find the son of Abi-ramu, or Abram, who is described as "the father of the Amorite," acting as a witness to a contract dated in the reign of the grandfather of Khammurabi, or Amraphel; on the other hand, "an Amorite" has the same title of "servant" of the King as the royal judge Ibku-Anunit, and among the Assyrians of the second empire, who were slavish imitators of Babylonian custom and law, we meet with more than one example of a foreigner in the service of the Assyrian government. Thus, in the reign of

Sargon, thirteen years after the fall of Samaria, the Israelites, Pekah and Nadabiah, who appear as witnesses to the sale of some slaves, are described, the one as "the governor of the city," the other as a departmental secretary. The founder, again, of one of the leading commercial families at Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors is entitled "the Egyptian," and the clerk who draws up a contract in the first year of Cambyses is the grandson of a Jew, Bel-Yahu, "Bel is Yahveh," while his father's name, Ae-nahid, "Ae is exalted," implies that the Israelitish Yahveh had been identified with the Babylonian Ae. Hebrew and Canaanite names appear in legal and commercial documents of the age of Khammurabi and earlier by the side of names of purely native stamp; Jacob-el and Joseph-el, for instance, Abdiel and Ishmael, come before us with all the rights and privileges of Babylonian citizens. The name of Ishmael, indeed, is already met with on a marble slab from Sippara, which is as early as about 4,000 B.C. In the time of Sargon of Akkad the Babylonian "governor" of Syria and Canaan bears the Canaanitish name of Uru-Malik, or Urimelech, and under the later Assyrian empire, the "tartan" of Comagene, with the Hittite name of Mar-lara, was an eponym, who gave his name to the year.

Mr. Pinches is probably right in seeing the name "Israel" itself in that of a high-priest who lived in the district of the Amorites outside Sippara in the reign of Ammi-zadok. His name is written Sar-ilu, and it was by his order that nine acres of ground "in the district of the Amorites" were leased for a year from two nuns, who were devotees of the Sun-god, and their nieces. Six measures of grain on every ten acres were to be paid to the Sun-god at the gate of Malgia, the women themselves receiving a shekel of silver as rent, and the field was to be handed back to them at harvest-time, the end of the agricultural year. That the women in the Amorite settlements enjoyed the same freedom and powers as the women of Babylonia is shown by two documents, one dated in the reign of the second King of the dynasty to which Khammurabi belonged, the other in the reign of Khammurabi's great-grandfather. In the first, Kuryatum, the daughter of an Amorite, receives a field of more than four acres of which she had been wrongfully deprived; in the second, the same Kuryatum and her brother Sumu-rah are sued by the three children of an Amorite, one of whom is a woman, for the recovery of a field, house, slaves, and date-palms. The case was brought before "the judges of Bit-Samas," "the Temple of the (Babylonian) Sun-god," who rejected the claim.

At a very early period of Babylonian history the Syrian god Hadad, or Rimmon, had been, as it were, domesticated in Babylonia, where he was known as Amurru, "the Amorite." He had come with the Amorite merchants and settlers, and was naturally their patron-deity. His wife, Asratu, or Asherah, was called, by the Sumerians, Nin-Marki, "the mistress of the Amorite land," and was identified with their own Gubarra. Nin-Marki, or Asherah, presided over the Syrian settlements, the part of the city where the foreigners resided being under her protection like the gate which led to "the district of the Amorites" beyond the walls. The following lawsuit which came before the courts in the reign of Khammurabi shows that there were special judges for cases in which Amorites were concerned and that they sat at "the gate of Nin-Marki." "Concerning the garden of Sin-magir which Nahid-Amurri bought for money. Ilu-bani claimed it for the royal stables, and accordingly they went to the judges, and the judges sent them to the gate of Nin-Marki and the judges of the gate of Nin-Marki. In the gate of Nin-Marki Ilu-bani pleaded as follows: I am the son of Sin-magir; he adopted me as his son, and the seal of the document has never been broken. He further pleaded that ever since the reign of the deified Rim-Sin (Arioch) the garden and house had been adjudged to Ilu-bani. Then came Sin-mubalidh and claimed the garden of Ilu-bani, and they went to the judges and the judges pronounced that 'to us and the elders they have been sent and in the gate of the gods Merodach, Sussa, Nannar, Khusa, and Nin-Marki, the daughter of Merodach, in the judgment-hall, the disputants (?) have stood, and the elders before whom Nahid-Amurri first appeared in the gate of Nin-Marki have heard the declaration of Ilu-bani.' Accordingly they adjudged the garden and house to Ilu-bani, forbidding Sin-mubalidh to return and claim it. Oaths have been taken in the name of the Moon-god, the Sun-god, Merodach, and Khammurabi, the king. Before Sin-imguranni the president, Edilka-Sin, Amil-izzitim, Ubarrum, Zanbil-arad-Sin, Ak-hiya, Kabdu-gumi, Samas-bani, the son of Abia-rak-has, Zanik-pisu, Izkur-Ea the steward, and Bauila. The seals of the parties are attached. The fourth day of Tammuz, the year when Khammurabi the king offered up prayer to Tasmit."

While a portion of the land was thus owned by foreigners, there was a considerable part of it which belonged to the temples. Another part consisted of royal domains, the revenue of which went to the privy purse of the King. The King could make grants of this to his favorites, or as a reward for services to the state. The Babylonian King Nebo-baladan, for example, gave one of his officials a field large enough, it was calculated,

to be sown with 3 *gur* of seed, and Assur-bani-pal of Assyria made his vizier, Nebo-sar-uzur, the gift of a considerable estate on account of his loyalty from the time that the King was a boy. All the vizier's lands, including the serfs upon them, were declared free from taxation and every kind of burden, the men upon them were not to be impressed as soldiers, nor the cattle and flocks to be carried away. It was also ordered that Nebo-sar-uzur, on his decease, should be buried where he chose, and not in the common cemetery outside the walls of the city. Like the monarch, he might have his tomb in the royal palace or in his own house, and imprecations were called down on the head of anyone who wished to disturb his final resting-place. The deed of gift and privilege was sealed, we are told, with the King's own "signet-ring."

A grant of immunity from taxation and other burdens could be made to the inhabitants of a whole district. A deed exists, signed by a large number of witnesses, in which Nebuchadnezzar I. of Babylon (about 1200 B.C.) makes a grant of the kind to the district of Bit-Karziyabku in the mountains of Namri to the east of Babylonia. We read in it that, throughout the whole district, neither the royal messengers nor the governor of Namri shall have any jurisdiction, no horses, foals, mares, asses, oxen, or sheep shall be carried off by the tax-gatherers, no stallions shall be sent to the royal stables, and no taxes of grain and fruit shall be paid to the Babylonian treasury. Nor shall any of the inhabitants be impressed for military service. It speaks volumes for the commercial spirit of the Babylonians that a royal decree of this character should have been thrown into legal form, and that the names of witnesses should have been attached to it, just as if it had been a contract between two private persons. The contrast is striking with the decree issued by the Assyrian King, Assur-bani-pal, to his faithful servant Nebo-sar-uzur. All that was needed where the King of Assyria was concerned was his signet-seal and royal command. But Assur-bani-pal was an autocrat at the head of a military state. The Babylonian sovereign governed a commercial community and owed his authority to the priests of Bel.

Chapter IX. The Law

Babylonian law was of early growth. Among the oldest records of the country are legal cases, abstracts of which have been transcribed for future use. The first law-book, in fact, was ascribed to Ea, the god of culture, and it was told how he had enacted that the King should deal uprightly and administer justice to his people. “If he regard not justice,” it was said, “Ea, the god of destiny, shall change his fortune and replace him by another.… But if he have regard to the injunction of Ea, the great gods shall establish him in wisdom and the knowledge of righteousness.”

The Ea of the cuneiform text seems to be the Oannes of the Chaldean historian Berossos, who was said to have risen out of the waters of the Persian Gulf, bringing with him the elements of civilization and the code of laws which were henceforth to prevail in Babylonia. The code of Oannes has perished, but fragments of another and more historical one have been preserved to us in a reading-book which was intended to teach the Semitic pupil the ancient language of the Sumerians. The original Sumerian text is given with its Semitic equivalent, as well as a list of technical legal terms. “If a son,” it is said, “denies his father, his hair shall be cut, he shall be put into chains and sold for silver. If he denies his mother, his hair also shall be cut, city and land shall collect together and put him in prison.… If the wife hates her husband and denies him, they shall throw her into the river. If the husband divorces his wife, he must pay her fifty shekels of silver. If a man hires a servant, and kills, wounds, beats, or ill-uses him or makes him ill, he must with his own hand measure out for him each day half a measure of grain.”

We have already seen that the last regulation was in force up to the latest period of Babylonian history. It betrays a humane spirit in the early legislation and shows that the slave was regarded as something more than a mere chattel. It provided against his being over-worked; as soon as the slave was rendered unfit for labor by his hirer’s fault, the latter was fined, and the fine was exacted as long as the slave continued ill or maimed. The law which pronounced sentence of death by drowning upon the unfaithful wife was observed as late as the age of Khammurabi. Such at least is the evidence of some curious documents, from which we learn that a certain Arad-Samas married first a daughter of Uttatu and subsequently a half-sister of his wife. In the contract of marriage it is stipulated that unfaithfulness to the husband on the part of both the wives would be punished with drowning, on the part of the second only with

slavery. On the other hand he could divorce them on payment of a maneh of silver — that is to say, of 30 shekels apiece. Under Nebuchadnezzar the old power of putting the wife to death in case of adultery was still possessed by the husband, where the wife was of lower rank than himself and little better than a concubine. It was a survival of the *patria potestas* which had once belonged to him. The wife who came from a wealthy and respectable family, however, stood on a footing of equality with her husband, and he could not venture to put in force against her the provisions of the ancient Sumerian law.

Babylonian law resembled that of England in being founded upon precedents. The code which was supposed to have been revealed by Ea, or Oannes, belonged to the infancy of Chaldean society and contained only a rudimentary system of legislation. The actual law of the country was a complicated structure which had been slowly built up by the labors of generations. An abstract was made of every important case that came before the judges and of the decision given in regard to it; these abstracts were carefully preserved, and formed the basis of future judgments.

The judges before whom the cases were brought were appointed by the King, and acted in his place. They sat under a president, and were usually four or five in number. They had to sign their names at the end of their judgments, after which the date of the document was added. It is probable that they went on circuit like Samuel in Israel and the "royal judges" of Persia.

Where foreigners were involved the case was first tried before special judges, who probably belonged to the same nationality as the parties to the suit; if one of the latter, however, was a Babylonian it was afterward brought again before a native tribunal. Sometimes in such cases the primitive custom was retained of allowing "the elders" of the city to sit along with the judges and pronounce upon the question in dispute. They thus represented to a certain extent an English jury. Whether they appeared in cases in which Babylonians alone were engaged is doubtful. We hear of them only where one at least of the litigants is an Amorite from Canaan, and it is therefore possible that their appearance was a concession to Syrian custom. In Babylonia they had long been superseded by the judges, the royal power having been greater there from the outset than in the more democratic West, and consequently there would have been but little need for their services. If, however, the foreign settlers had been accustomed at home to have their disputes determined by a council of elders, we can understand why they were still

allowed in Babylonia to plead before a similar tribunal, though it could do little more than second the decisions of the judges.

Plaintiff and defendant pleaded their own causes, which were drawn up in legal form by the clerks of the court. Witnesses were called and examined and oaths were taken in the names of the gods and of the King.

The King, it must be remembered, was in earlier times himself a god. In later days the oaths were usually dropped, and the evidence alone considered sufficient. Perhaps experience had taught the bench that perjury was not a preventable crime.

Each case was tried by a select number of judges, who were especially appointed to inquire into it, as we may gather from a document dated at Babylon the 6th day of Nisan in the seventeenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. "[These are] the judges," it runs, "before whom Sapik-zeri, the son of Zirutu, [and] Baladhu, the son of Nasikatum, the servant of the secretary of the Marshlands, have appeared in their suit regarding a house. The house and deed had been duly sealed by Zirutu, the father of Sapik-zeri, and given to Baladhu. Baladhu, however, had come to terms with Sapik-zeri and handed the house over to him and had taken the deed (from the record-office) and had given it to Sapik-zeri. Nebo-edher-napisti, the prefect of the Marshlands; Nebo-suzzizanni, the sub-prefect of the Marshlands; Merodach-erba, the mayor of Erech; Imbi-ilu, the priest of Ur, Bel-yuballidh, the son of Merodach-sum-ibni, the prefect of the western bank; Abtâ, the son of Suzubu, the son of Babutu; Musezib-Bel, the son of Nadin-akhi, the son of the adopted one; Baniya, the son of Abtâ, the priest of the temple of Sadu-rabu; and Samas-ibni, the priest of Sadu-rabu." The list of judges shows that the civil governors could act as judges and that the priests were also eligible for the post. Neither the one class nor the other, however, is usually named, and we must conclude, therefore, that, though the governor of a province or the mayor of a town had a right to sit on the judicial bench, he did not often avail himself of it.

The charge was drawn up in the technical form and attested by witnesses before it was presented to the court. We have an example of this dated at Sippara, the 28th day of Adar in the eighth year of Cyrus as King of Babylon: "Nebo-akhi-bullidh, the son of Su — , the governor of Sakhrin, on the 28th of Adar, the eighth year of Cyrus, king of Babylon and of the world, has brought the following charge against Bel-yuballidh, the priest of Sippara: I have taken Nanâ-iddin, son of Bau-eres, into my house because I am your father's brother and the governor of the city.

Why, then, have you lifted up your hand against me? Rimmon-sar-uzur, the son of Nebo-yusezib; Nargiya and Erba, his brothers; Kutkah-ilu, the son of Bau-eres; Bel-yuballidh, the son of Barachiel; Bel-akhi-uzur, the son of Rimmon-yusallim; and Iqisa-abbu, the son of Samas-sar-uzur, have committed a crime by breaking through my door, entering into my house, and leaving it again after carrying away a maneh of silver." Then come the names of five witnesses and the clerk.

A suit might be compromised by the litigants before it came into court. In the reign of Nebuchadnezzar a certain Imliya brought witnesses to the door of the house of an official called Bel-iddin, and accused Arrali, the superintendent of the works, of having stolen an overcoat and a loin-cloth belonging to himself. But it was agreed that there would be no need on the part of the plaintiff to summon witnesses; the stolen goods were returned without recourse to the law.

The care taken not to convict without sufficient evidence, and the thoroughness with which each case was investigated, is one of the most striking features in the records of the Babylonian lawsuits which have come down to us. Mention has already been made of the case of the runaway slave Barachiel, who pretended to be a free citizen and the adopted son of a Babylonian gentleman. Every effort seems to have been made to get at the truth, and some of the higher officials were associated with the judges before whom the matter was brought. Eventually cross-examination compelled Barachiel to confess the actual facts. It is noticeable that no torture was used to compel confession, even though the defendant was not a free citizen. No allusion, in fact, is ever made to torture, whether by the bastinado or otherwise; the evidence of witnesses and the results of cross-examination are alone depended upon for arriving at the truth. In this respect the legal procedure of Babylonia offers an honorable contrast to that of ancient Greece or Rome, or even of Europe down to the middle of the last century.

Two cases which were pleaded before the courts in the reign of Nabonidos illustrate the carefulness with which the evidence was examined. One of them was a case of false witness. Beli-litu, the daughter of Bel-yusezib, the wine merchant (?), "gave the following testimony before the judges of Nabonidos, king of Babylon: In the month Ab, the first year of Nergal-sharezer, king of Babylon, I sold my slave Bazuzu for thirty-five shekels of silver to Nebo-akhi-iddin, the son of Sula of the family of Egibi, but he now asserts that I owed him a debt and so has not paid me the money. The judges heard the charge, and caused Nebo-akhi-iddin to be summoned and to appear before them.

Nebo-akhi-iddin produced the contract which he had made with Beli-litu; he proved that she had received the money, and convinced the judges. And Ziriya, Nebo-suma-lisir, and Edillu gave further testimony before the judges that Beli-litu, their mother, had received the silver." The judges deliberated and condemned Beli-litu to a fine of 55 shekels, the highest fine that could be inflicted on her, and then gave it to Nebo-akhi-iddin. It is possible that the prejudice which has always existed against the money-lender may have encouraged Beli-litu to commit her act of dishonesty and perjury. That the judges should have handed over the fine to the defendant, instead of paying it to the court or putting it into their own pockets, is somewhat remarkable in the history of law.

The second case is that of some Syrians who had settled in Babylonia and there been naturalized. The official abstract of it is as follows: "Bunanitum, the daughter of the Kharisian, brought the following complaint before the judges of Nabonidos, king of Babylon: Ben-Hadad-nathan, the son of Nikbaduh, married me and received three and one-half manehs of silver as my dowry, and I bore him a daughter. I and Ben-Hadad-nathan, my husband, traded with the money of my dowry, and we bought together a house standing on eight roods of ground, in the district on the west side of the Euphrates in the suburb of Borsippa, for nine and one-third manehs of silver, as well as an additional two and one-half manehs, which we received on loan without interest from Iddin-Merodach, the son of Iqisa-ablu, the son of Nur-Sin, and we invested it all in this house. In the fourth year of Nabonidos, king of Babylon, I claimed my dowry from my husband Ben-Hadad-nathan, and he of his own free will gave me, under deed and seal, the house in Borsippa and the eight roods on which it stood, and assigned it to me for ever, stating in the deed he gave me that the two and one-half manehs which Ben-Hadad-nathan and Bunanitum had received from Iddin-Merodach and laid out in buying this house had been their joint property. This deed he sealed and called down in it the curse of the great gods (upon whoever should violate it). In the fifth year of Nabonidos, king of Babylon, I and my husband, Ben-Hadad-nathan, adopted Ben-Hadad-amara as our son and subscribed to the deed of adoption, and at the same time we assigned two manehs ten shekels of silver and the furniture of the house as a dowry for my daughter Nubtâ. My husband died, and now Aqabi-ilu (Jacob-el), the son of my father-in-law, has raised a claim to the house and property which was willed and assigned to me, as well as (a claim) to Nebo-nur-ilani, whom we bought for money through the agency of Nebo-akhi-iddin.

"I have brought him before you; pass judgment. The judges heard their pleas; they read the deeds and contracts which Bunanitum produced in court, and disallowed the claim of Aqabi-ilu to the house in Borsippa, which had been assigned to Bunanitum in lieu of her dowry, as well as to Nebo-nur-ilani, whom she and her husband had bought, and to the rest of the property of Ben-Hadad-nathan; they confirmed Bunanitum and Ben-Hadad-amara in their titles. (It was further added that) Iddin-Merodach should receive in full the sum of two and one-half manehs which he had given toward the purchase of the house, and that then Bunanitum should take in full three and one-half manehs, the amount of her dowry, and that part of the property (which had not been bequeathed to Nubtâ). Nebo-nur-ilani was to be given to Nubtâ in accordance with the will of her father. The following judges were present at the delivery of this judgment: Nergal-banunu the judge, the son of the architect; Nebo-akhi-iddin the judge, the son of Egibi; Nebo-sum-ukin the judge, the son of Irani; Bel-akhi-iddin the judge, the son of —— ; Nebo-balasu-iqbi the judge, the son of —— ; and the clerks Nadin and Nebo-sum-iskun. Babylon, the 29th day of Elul, the ninth year of Nabonidos, king of Babylon."

The term used in reference to the loan made by Iddin-Merodach implies that the lender accepted a share in the property that was bought instead of demanding interest for his money. Hence it was that, when the estate came to be settled after the death of Ben-Hadad-nathan, it was necessary to pay him off. What the grounds were upon which Aqabi-ilu laid claim to the property we are not told, and the *dossier* in which it was set forth has not been found. His name, however, is interesting, as it proves that the old Western Semitic name of Jacob-el, of which the Biblical Jacob is a shortened form, still survived in a slightly changed shape among the Syrian settlers in Babylonia. Indeed, Iqubu, or Jacob itself, is found in a contract of the tenth year of Nabonidos as the name of a coppersmith at Babylon. Two thousand years before there had been other Semitic settlers in Babylonia from Western Asia who had also taken part in the legal transactions of the country, and among whom the name of Ya'qub-ilu was known. The name had even spread to the Assyrian colonists near Kaisarîyeh, in Cappadocia, who have left us inscriptions in uniform characters, and among them it appears as Iqib-ilu. Iqib-ilu and Aqabi-ilu are alike kindred forms of Ya'qub-ilu (or Yaqub-ilu), the Jacob-el of Canaan.

Death, more especially with "an iron sword," was the punishment of the more serious offences; imprisonment and scourging of lighter ones.

Imprisonment might be accompanied by chains or the stock, but the prisoner might also be left unfettered and be allowed to range freely through the court or cell of the prison. Whether the penalty of imprisonment with hard labor was ever inflicted is questionable; in a country where slavery existed and the *corvée* was in force there would have been but little need for it.

The prisoner could be released on bail, his surety being responsible for his appearance when it was required. Thus in the seventh year of Cyrus one of the officials of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara was put into "iron fetters" by the chief priest of the god, but was afterward released, bail being given for him by another official of the temple. The latter undertook to do the work of the prisoner if he absconded. The bail was offered and accepted before "the priests and elders of the city," and the registration of the fact was duly dated and attested by witnesses. At a later date a citizen of Nippur was allowed to become surety for the release of his nephew from prison on condition that the latter did not leave the city without permission. The prison is called *bit-karê*, or "House of Walls."

There was another *bit-karê*, which had a very different meaning and was used for a very different purpose. This was "the House of Cereals," the storehouse or barn in which were stored such tithes of the temples as were paid in grain. The name is also sometimes applied to the *sutumme*, or royal storehouses, where the grain and dates collected by the tax-gatherers were deposited, and from which the army and the civil servants were provided with food. The superintendent of these storehouses was an important personage; he was the paymaster of the state officials, in so far as they received their salaries in kind, and the loyalty of the standing army could be trusted only so long as it could be fed. Similar storehouses existed in Egypt, from the age of the eighteenth dynasty downward, and it is probable that the adoption of them was due to Babylonian influence. They gave the King a powerful hold upon his subjects, by enabling him to supply them with grain in the years of scarcity, or to withhold it except upon such terms as he chose to make with them.

The exportation of the grain, moreover, was a yearly source of wealth and revenue which flowed into the royal exchequer. In Babylonia, as in Egypt, the controller of the granaries was master of the destinies of the people.

Chapter X. Letter-Writing

We are apt to look upon letter-writing as a modern invention, some of us, perhaps, as a modern plague. But as a matter of fact it is an invention almost as old as civilization itself. As soon as man began to invent characters by means of which he could communicate his thoughts to others, he began to use them for holding intercourse with his absent friends. They took the place of the oral message, which was neither so confidential nor so safe. Classical scholars have long been familiar with the fact that letter-writing was one of the accomplishments of an educated Greek and Roman. The letters of Cicero and Pliny are famous, and the letters of Plato and Aristotle have been studied by a select few. Even Homer, who seems to avoid all reference to the art of writing as if it were an unclean thing, tells us of "the baleful characters" written on folded tablets, and sent by Prœtos to the King of Lycia. Criticism, it is true, not so long ago doubted the facts of the story and tried to resolve the characters and the tablets into a child's drawings on the slate. But archæology has come to the rescue of Prœtos, and while we now know that letters passed freely backward and forward in the world in which he is supposed to have moved, Mr. Arthur Evans has discovered the very symbols which he is likely to have used. Even the Lycians, to whom the letter was sent, have been found, not only on the Egyptian monuments, but also in the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna.

Letter-writing in the East goes back to a remote antiquity. In the book of Chronicles it is stated that the messages that passed between Hiram and Solomon were in writing, but the age of Solomon was modern when compared with that to which some of the letters we now possess actually belong. Centuries earlier the words "message" and "letter" had become synonymous terms, and in Hebrew the word which had originally signified a "message" had come to mean a "book." Not only is a message conceived of as always written, but even the idea of a book is taken from that of a letter. Nothing can show more plainly the important place occupied by literary correspondence in the ancient Oriental world or the antiquity to which the art of the letter-writer reaches back.

While in Egypt the letter was usually written upon papyrus, in Western Asia the ordinary writing material was clay. Babylonia had been the nurse and mother of its culture, and the writing material of Babylonia was clay. Originally pictorial hieroglyphics had been drawn upon the clay, but just as in Egypt the hieratic or running-hand of the scribe

developed out of the primitive pictographs, so too in Babylonia the pictures degenerated into cuneiform characters which corresponded with the hieratic characters of the Egyptian script. What we call cuneiform is essentially a cursive hand.

As for books, so also for letters the clay tablet was employed. It may seem to us indeed a somewhat cumbrous mode of sending a letter; but it had the advantage of being solid and less likely to be injured or destroyed than other writing materials. The characters upon it could not be obliterated by a shower of rain, and there was no danger of its being torn. Moreover, it must be remembered that the tablet was usually of small size. The cuneiform system of writing allows a large number of words to be compressed into a small space, and the writing is generally so minute as to try the eyes of the modern decipherer.

Some of the letters which have been discovered during the last few years go back to the early days of the Babylonian monarchy. Many of them are dated in the reign of Khammurabi, or Amraphel, among them being several that were written by the King himself. That we should possess the autograph letters of a contemporary of Abraham is one of the romances of historical science, for it must be remembered that the letters are not copies, but the original documents themselves. What would not classical scholars give for the autograph originals of the letters of Cicero, or theologians for the actual manuscripts that were written by the Evangelists? And yet here we have the private correspondence of a prince who took part in the campaign against Sodom and Gomorrah!

One of the letters which has found a resting-place in the Museum of Constantinople refers to another of the actors in the campaign against the cities of the cunei-plain. This was the King of Elam, Chedor-laomer, whose name is written Kudur-Loghghamar in the form. The Elamites had invaded Babylonia and made it subject and tributary. Sin-idinnam, the King of Larsa, called Ellasar in the book of Genesis, had been compelled to fly from his ancestral kingdom in the south of Chaldea, and take refuge in Babylon at the court of Khammurabi. Eri-Aku, or Arioch, the son of an Elamite prince, was placed on the throne of Larsa, while Khammurabi also had to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Elamite King. But a time came when Khammurabi believed himself strong enough to shake off the Elamite yoke, and though the war at first seemed to go against him, he ultimately succeeded in making himself independent. Arioch and his Elamite allies were driven from Larsa, and Babylon became the capital of a united monarchy. It was after the overthrow of the Elamites that the letter was written in which mention is

made of Chedor-laomer. Its discoverer, Père Scheil, gives the following translation of it: “To Sin-idinnam, Khammurabi says: I send you as a present (the images of) the goddesses of the land of Emutalum as a reward for your valor on the day of (the defeat of) Chedor-laomer. If (the enemy) annoy you, destroy their forces with the troops at your disposal, and let the images be restored in safety to their old habitations.”

The letter was found at Senkereh, the ancient Larsa, where, doubtless, it had been treasured in the archive-chamber of the palace. Two other letters of Khammurabi, which are now at Constantinople, have also been translated by Dr. Scheil. One of them is as follows: “To Sin-idinnam, Khammurabi says: When you have seen this letter you will understand in regard to Amil-Samas and Nur-Nintu, the sons of Gis-dubba, that if they are in Larsa, or in the territory of Larsa, you will order them to be sent away, and that one of your servants, on whom you can depend, shall take them and bring them to Babylon.” The second letter relates to some officials about whom, it would seem, the King of Larsa had complained to his suzerain lord: “To Sin-idinnam, Khammurabi says: As to the officials who have resisted you in the accomplishment of their work, do not impose upon them any additional task, but oblige them to do what they ought to have performed, and then remove them from the influence of him who has brought them.”

Long before the age of Khammurabi a royal post had been established in Babylon for the conveyance of letters. Fragments of clay had been found at Tello, bearing the impressions of seals belonging to the officials of Sargon of Akkad and his successor, and addressed to the viceroy of Lagas, to King Naram-Sin and other personages. They were, in fact, the envelopes of letters and despatches which passed between Lagas and Agadê, or Akkad, the capital of the dynasty.

Sometimes, however, the clay fragment has the form of a ball, and must then have been attached by a string to the missive like the seals of mediæval deeds. In either case the seal of the functionary from whom the missive came was imprinted upon it as well as the address of the person for whom it was intended. Thousands of letters seem to have passed to and fro in this manner, making it clear that the postal service of Babylonia was already well organized in the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin. The Tel-el-Amarna letters show that in the fifteenth century before our era a similar postal service was established throughout the Eastern

world, from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Nile. To what an antiquity it reached back it is at present impossible to say.

At all events, when Khammurabi was King, letters were frequent and common among the educated classes of the population. Most of those which have been preserved are from private individuals to one another, and consequently, though they tell us nothing about the political events of the time, they illustrate the social life of the period and prove how like it was to our own. One of them, for instance, describes the writer's journey to Elam and Arrapakhitis, while another relates to a ferry-boat and the boat-house in which it was kept. The boat-house, we are told, had fallen into decay in the reign of Khammurabi, and was sadly in want of repair, while the chief duty of the writer, who seems to have been the captain of the boat, was to convey the merchants who brought various commodities to Babylon. If the merchant, the letter states, was furnished with a royal passport, "we carried him across" the river; if he had no passport, he was not allowed to go to Babylon. Among other purposes for which the vessel had been used was the conveyance of lead, and it was capable of taking as much as 10 talents of the metal. We further gather from the letter that it was the custom to employ Bedâwin as messengers.

Among the early Babylonian documents found at Sippara, and now in the Museum at Constantinople, which have been published by Dr. Scheil, are two private letters of the same age and similar character. The first is as follows: "To my father, thus says Zimri-eram: May the Sun-god and Merodach grant thee everlasting life! May your health be good! I write to ask you how you are; send me back news of your health. I am at present at Dur-Sin on the canal of Bit-Sikir. In the place where I am living there is nothing to be had for food. So I am sealing up and sending you three-quarters of a silver shekel. In return for the money, send some good fish and other provisions for me to eat." The second letter was despatched from Babylon, and runs thus: "To the lady Kasbeya thus says Gimil-Merodach: May the Sun-god and Merodach for my sake grant thee everlasting life! I am writing to enquire after your health; please send me news of it. I am living at Babylon, but have not seen you, which troubles me greatly. Send me news of your coming to me, so that I may be happy. Come in the month of Marchesvan (October). May you live for ever for my sake!"

It is plain that the writer was in love with his correspondent, and had grown impatient to see her again. Both belonged to what we should call the professional classes, and nothing can better illustrate how like in the

matter of correspondence the age of Abraham was to our own. The old Babylonian's letter might easily have been written to-day, apart from the references to Merodach and the Sun-god. It must be noticed, moreover, that the lady to whom the letter is addressed is expected to reply to it. It is taken for granted that the ladies of Babylon could read and write as well as the men. This, however, is only what might have been concluded from the other facts of Babylonian social life, and the footing of equality with the man upon which the woman was placed in all matters of business. The fact that she could hold and bequeath property, and trade with it independently, implies that she was expected to know how to read and write. Even among the Tel-el-Amarna we find one or two from a lady who seems to have taken an active part in the politics of the day. "To the king my lord," she writes in one of them, "my gods, my Sun-god, thus says Nin, thy handmaid, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the king my lord, my gods, my Sun-god, seven times seven I prostrate myself. Let the king my lord wrest his country from the hand of the Bedâwin, in order that they may not rob it. The city of Zaphon has been captured. This is for the information of the king my lord."

The letters of Tel-el-Amarna bridge over the gulf that separates the early Babylonia of Khammurabi from the later Assyria of Tiglath-pileser III. and his successors. The inner life of the intervening period is still known to us but imperfectly. No library or large collection of tablets belonging to it has as yet been discovered, and until this is the case we must remain less intimately acquainted with it than we are with the age of Khammurabi on the one hand, or that of the second Assyrian empire on the other.

It is true that the library of Nineveh, of which Assur-bani-pal was such a munificent patron, has preserved copies of some of the earlier epistolary literature of the country. Thus we have from it a fragment of a letter written by a King of Babylonia to two kings of Assyria, at a time when Assyria still acknowledged the supremacy of Babylon. But such documents are very rare, and apart from the Tel-el-Amarna tablets we have to descend to the days of the second Assyrian empire before we find again a collection of letters.

These are the letters addressed to the Assyrian government, or more generally to the King, in the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III., Shalmaneser IV., Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Assur-bani-pal. They were preserved in the royal library of Nineveh, principally on account of their political and diplomatic importance, and are now in the British Museum. As might have been expected from their character, they throw more light

on the politics of the day than on the social condition of the people. A few of them, however, are private communications to the King on other than political matters, and we also find among them reports in the form of letters from the royal astronomers, as well as upon such subjects as the importation of horses from Asia Minor for the royal stud. The letters have been copied by Professor R. F. Harper, who is now publishing them in a series of volumes. How numerous the letters are may be gathered from the fact that no less than 1,575 of them (including fragments) have come from that part of the library alone which was excavated by Sir A. H. Layard, and was the first to be brought to England.

Many of them are despatches from generals in the field or from the governors of frontier towns who write to inform the Assyrian government of the movements of the enemy or of the political events in their own neighborhood. It is from these letters, for example, that we learn the name of the King of Ararat who was the antagonist of Sennacherib and the predecessor of the King Erimenas, to whom his murderers fled for protection. The details, again, of the long Elamite war, which eventually laid Susa at the feet of Assyria, have been given us by them. It is needless, therefore, to insist upon the value they possess for the historian.

Among them, however, as has been already said, are some of a more private character. Here, for instance, is one which reminds us that human nature is much the same in all ages of the world: "To the king my lord, thy servant, Saul-miti-yuballidh: Salutation to the king my lord; may Nebo and Merodach for ever and ever be gracious to the king my lord. Bau-gamilat, the handmaid of the king, is constantly ill; she cannot eat a morsel of food; let the king send orders that some physician may go and see her." In another letter the writer expresses his gratitude to the King for his kindness in sending him his own doctor, who had cured him of a serious disease. "May Istar of Erech," he says, "and Nana (of Bit-Ana) grant long life to the king my lord, for he sent Basa the physician of the king my lord to save my life and he has cured me; therefore may the great gods of heaven and earth be gracious to the king my lord, and may they establish the throne of the king my lord in heaven for ever; since I was dead, and the king has restored me to life." In fact there are a good many letters which relate to medical matters. Thus Dr. Johnston gives the following translation of a letter from a certain Arad-Nana, who seems to have been a consulting physician, to Esar-haddon about a friend of the prince who had suffered from violent bleeding of the nose: "As regards the patient who has a bleeding from the nose, the Rab-Mag (or chief

physician) reports: ‘Yesterday, toward evening, there was a good deal of hæmorrhage.’ The dressings have not been properly applied. They have been placed outside the nostrils, oppressing the breathing and coming off when there is hæmorrhage. Let them be put inside the nostrils and then the air will be excluded and the hæmorrhage stopped. If it is agreeable to my lord the king I will go to-morrow and give instructions; (meanwhile) let me know how the patient is.” Another letter from Arad-Nana translated by the same Assyriologist is as follows: “To the king my lord, thy servant Arad-Nana: May there be peace for ever and ever to the king my lord. May Ninip and Gula grant health of soul and body to the king my lord. All is going on well with the poor fellow whose eyes are diseased. I had applied a dressing covering the face. Yesterday, toward evening, undoing the bandage which held it (in place), I removed the dressing. There was pus upon the dressing, the size of the tip of the little finger. If any of your gods set his hand thereto, let him say so. Salutation for ever! Let the heart of the king my lord be rejoiced. Within seven or eight days the patient will recover.”

The doctors were not alone in writing to the Assyrian King. Besides the reports which they were bound to make, the astronomers also sent letters to him on the results of their observations. Among the letters published by Professor Harper is an interesting one — unfortunately defaced and imperfect — which was sent to Nineveh from one of the observatories in Babylonia. After the ordinary compliments the writer, Abil-Istar, says: “As for the eclipse of the moon about which the king my lord has written to me, a watch was kept for it in the cities of Akkad, Borsippa, and Nippur. We observed it ourselves in the city of Akkad.” Abil-Istar then goes on to describe the progress of the eclipse, but the lines are so broken as to be untranslatable, and when the text becomes perfect again we find him saying that he had written an exact report of the whole occurrence and sent it in a letter to the King. “And whereas the king my lord ordered me to observe also the eclipse of the sun, I watched to see whether it took place or not, and what passed before my eyes I now report to the king my lord. It was an eclipse of the moon that took place.… It was total over Syria and the shadow fell on the land of the Amorites, the land of the Hittites, and in part on the land of the Chaldees.” We gather from this letter that there were no less than three observatories in Northern Babylonia: one at Akkad, near Sippara; one at Nippur, now Niffer; and one at Borsippa, within sight of Babylon. As Borsippa possessed a university, it was natural that one of the three observatories should be established there.

As nothing is said about the eclipse of the sun which the astronomers at the Assyrian court had led the King to expect, it is probable that it did not take place, or at all events that it did not occur so soon as was anticipated. The expression "the land of the Amorites (and) the land of the Hittites" is noteworthy on account of its biblical ring; in the mind of the Assyrian, however, it merely denoted Palestine and Northern Syria. The Babylonians at an early age called Palestine "the land of the Amorites," the Assyrians termed it "the land of the Hittites," and it would appear that in the days of the second Assyrian empire, when Babylonia had become a province of its Assyrian rival, the two names were combined together in order to denote what we should entitle "Syria."

Letters, however, were written to the King by all sorts of people, and upon all sorts of business. Thus we find Assur-bani, the captain of a river-barge, writing about the conveyance of some of those figures of colossal bulls which adorned the entrance to the palace of Sennacherib. The letter is short and to the point: "To the king my lord, thy servant Assur-bani: Salutation to the king my lord. Assur-mukin has ordered me to transport in boats the colossal bulls and cherubim of stone. The boats are not strong enough, and are not ready. But if a present be kindly made to us, we will see that they *are* got ready and ascend the river." The unblushing way in which *bakshish* is here demanded shows that in this respect, at all events, the East has changed but little.

Of quite a different character is a letter about some wine that was sent to the royal cellars. The writer says in it: "As for the wine about which the king my lord has written to me, there are two homers of it for keeping, as well as plenty of the best oil." Later on, in the same letter, reference is made to a *targu-manu,* or "dragoman," who was sent along with the wine, which probably came from the Armenian highlands. It may be noted that in another letter mention is made of a "master of languages," who was employed in deciphering the despatches from Ararat.

A letter from the cellarers of the palace has been translated as follows by Dr. Johnston: "To the king our lord, thy servants … Bel-iqisa and Babi-lû: Salutation to the king our lord! May Assur, … Bel, and Nebo grant long life and everlasting years to the king our lord! Let the king our lord know that the wine received during the month Tebet has been bottled, but that there is no room for it, so we must make (new) cellars for the king our lord. Let the king our lord give orders that a (place for) the cellars be shown to us, and we shall be relieved from our

embarrassment (?). The wine that has come for the king our lord is very considerable. Where shall we put it?"

A good deal of the correspondence relates to the importation of horses from Eastern Asia Minor for the stables of the Assyrian King. The following is a specimen of what they are like: "To the king my lord, thy servant Nebo-sum-iddin: Salutation to the king my lord; for ever and ever may Nebo and Merodach be gracious to the king my lord. Thirteen horses from the land of Kusa, 3 foals from the land of Kusa — in all 16 draught-horses; 14 stallions; altogether 30 horses and 9 mules — in all 39 from the city of Qornê: 6 horses from the land of Kusa; 3 foals from Kusa — in all 9 draught-horses; 14 stallions; altogether 23 horses and 9 mules — in all 28 from the city of Dâna (Tyana): 19 horses of Kusa and 39 stallions — altogether 57 from the city of Kullania (Calneh); 25 stallions and 6 mules — in all 31 from the city of Arpad. All are gelded. Thirteen stallions and 10 mules — altogether 23 from the city of Isana. In all 54 horses from Kusa and 104 stallions, making 148 horses and 30 mules — altogether 177 have been imported. (Dated) the second day of Sivan."

The land of Kusa is elsewhere associated with the land of Mesa, which must also have lain to the north-west of Syria among the valleys of the Taurus. Kullania, which is mentioned as a city of Kusa, is the Calneh of the Old Testament, which Isaiah couples with Carchemish, and of which Amos says that it lay on the road to Hamath. The whole of this country, including the plains of Cilicia, has always been famous for horse-breeding, and one of the letters to the Assyrian King specially mentions Melid, the modern Malatiyeh, as exporting them to Nineveh.

Here the writer, after stating that he had "inscribed in a register the number of horses" that had just arrived from Arrapakhitis, goes on to say: "What are the orders of the king about the horses which have arrived this very day before the king? Shall they be stabled in the garden-palace, or shall they be put out to grass? Let the king my lord send word whether they shall be put out to grass or whether they are to be stabled?"

As is natural, several of the letters are upon religious matters. Among those which have been translated by Dr. Johnston there is one which throws light on the religious processions which were held in honor of the gods. "To the son of the king my lord, thy servant Nebo-sum-iddina: salutation to the son of the king my lord for ever and ever! May Nebo and Merodach be gracious unto the son of the king my lord! On the third day of the month Iyyar the city of Calah will consecrate the couch of Nebo, and the god will enter the bed-chamber. On the fourth day Nebo

will return. The son of the king my lord has (now) received the news. I am the governor of the temple of Nebo thy god, and will (therefore) go. At Calah the God will come forth from the interior of the palace, (and) from the interior of the palace will go to the grove. A sacrifice will be offered. The charioteer of the gods will go from the stable of the gods, will take the god out of it, will carry him in procession and bring him back. This is the course of the procession. Of the vase-bearers, whoever has a sacrifice to make will offer it. Whoever offers up one *qa* of his food may enter the temple of Nebo. May the offerers fully accomplish the ordinances of the gods, to the life and health of the son of the king my lord. What (commands) has the son of the king my lord to send me? May Bel and Nebo, who granted help in the month Sebat, protect the life of the son of the king my lord, and cause thy sovereignty to continue to the end of time!"

There is another letter in which, if Dr. Johnston's rendering is correct, reference is made to the inscriptions that were written on the walls of the temples like the texts which the book of Deuteronomy orders to be inscribed on the door-posts and gates (Deut. vi. 9, and xi. 20). "To the king my lord, thy servant Istar-Turi: salutation to the king my lord! I am sending Nebo-sum-iddina and Nebo-erba, the physicians of whom I spoke to the king, [with] my messenger to the presence of the king my lord. Let them be admitted to the presence of the king my lord; let the king my lord converse with them. I have not disclosed to them the real facts, and tell them nothing. As the king my lord commands, so is it done. Samas-bel-utsur sends word from the city of Der that 'there are no inscriptions which we can place on the walls of the Beth-el.' I send accordingly to the king my lord in order that an inscription may be written and despatched, (and) that the rest may be soon written and placed on the walls of the Beth-el. There has been a great deal of rain, (but) the harvest is gathered. May the heart of the king my lord rejoice!"

While the letters which have been found on the site of Nineveh come from the royal archives and are therefore with few exceptions addressed to the King, those which have been discovered in Babylonia have more usually been sent by one private individual to another. They represent for the most part the private correspondence of the country, and prove how widely education must have been diffused there. Most of them, moreover, belong to the age of Khammurabi or that of the kings of Ur who preceded the dynasty to which he belonged, and thus cast an unexpected light on the life of the Babylonian community in the times of Abraham. Here, for example, is one that was written by a tenant to his

landlord: “To my lord says Ibgatum, your servant. As, my lord, you have heard, an enemy has carried away my oxen. Though I never before wrote to you, my lord, now I send this letter (*literally* tablet). O my lord, send me a cow! I will lie up five shekels of silver and send them to my lord, even to you. O my lord, by the command of Merodach you determine whatever place you prefer (to be in); no one can hinder you, my lord. O my lord, as I will send you by night the five shekels of silver which I am tying up, so do you put them away at night. O my lord, grant my request and do glorify my head, and in the sight of my brethren my head shall not be humbled. As to what I send you, O my lord, my lord will not be angry (?). I am your servant; your wishes, O my lord, I have performed superabundantly; therefore entrust me with the cow which you, my lord, shall send, and in the town of Uru-Batsu your name, O my lord, shall be celebrated for ever. If you, my lord, will grant me this favor, send [the cow] with Ili-ikisam my brother, and let it come, and I will work diligently at the business of my lord, if he will send the cow. I am tying up the five shekels of silver and am sending them in all haste to you, my lord.”

Ibgatum was evidently the lessee of a farm, and he does his best to get a cow out of his landlord in order to make up for the loss of his oxen. The 5 shekels probably represented the rent due to the landlord, and his promptitude in sending them was one of the arguments he used to get the cow. The word rendered “tie up” means literally “to yoke,” so that the shekels would appear to have been in the form of rings rather than bars of metal.

A letter in the collection of Sir Henry Peck, which has been translated by Mr. Pinches, is addressed to the landlord by his agent or factor, whose duty it was to look after his country estates. It runs as follows: “Letter from Daian-bel-ussur to Sirku my lord. I pray to-day to Bel and Nebo for the preservation of the life of my lord. As regards the oxen which my lord has sent, Bel and Nebo know that there is an ox [among them] for them from thee. I have made the irrigation-channel and wall. I have seen thy servant with the sheep, and thy servant with the oxen; order also that an ox may be brought up thence [as an offering?] unto Nebo, for I have not purchased a single ox for money. I saw fifty-six of them on the 20th day, when I offered sacrifice to Samas. I have caused twenty head to be sent from his hands to my lord. As for the garlic, which my lord bought from the governor, the owner of the field took possession of it when [the sellers] had gone away, and the governor of the district sold it for silver; so the plantations also I am guarding there [?], and my lord has asked:

Why hast thou not sent my messenger and [why] hast thou measured the ground? about this also I send thee word. Let a messenger take and deliver [?] thy message."

Another letter of the same age is interesting as showing that the name of the national God of Israel, Yahum or Yahveh, was known in Babylonia at a much earlier date than has hitherto been suspected: "To Igas-Nin-sagh thus says Yahum-ilu: As thou knowest, Adâ-ilu has obtained for me the money … for the maid-servant Khisam-ezib. Mida [?] the merchant has settled the price with me [?]. Now let the notary of Babylon send Arad-Istar in …, the three shekels of silver which you have in hand and the two shekels which you have put out at interest, and I will straightway bring the money [and] Arad-Istar. Do not hinder Arad-Istar and I will straightway bring him to the government."

Yahum-ilu is the Joel of the Old Testament, with the final *m* which distinguished the languages of early Babylonia and Southern Arabia, and the name probably belonged to one of those "Amorites" or natives of Syria and Palestine who were settled in Babylonia. Yahum-ilu, however, might also have been a native of Southern Arabia. The important fact is the occurrence of the name at so early a date.

That the clay tablet should ever have been used for epistolary purposes seems strange to us who are accustomed to paper and envelopes. But it occupied no more space than many modern official letters, and was lighter to carry than most of the packages that pass through the parcel-post. Now and then it was enveloped in an outer covering of clay, on which the address and the chief contents of it were noted; but the public were usually prevented from knowing what it contained in another way. Before it was handed over to the messenger or postman it was "sealed," which generally appears to mean that it was deposited in some receptacle, perhaps of leather or linen, which was then tied up and sealed. In fact, Babylonian and Assyrian letters were treated much as ours are when they are put into a post-bag to which the seals of the post-office are attached. There were excellent roads all over Western Asia, with post-stations at intervals where relays of horses could be procured. Along these all letters to or from the King and the government were carried by royal messengers. It is probable that the letters of private individuals were also carried by the same hands.

The letters of Tel-el-Amarna give us some idea of the wide extension of the postal system and the ease with which letters were constantly being conveyed from one part of the East to another. The foreign correspondence of the Pharaoh was carried on with Babylonia and

Assyria in the east, Mesopotamia and Cappadocia in the north, and Palestine and Syria in the west. The civilized and Oriental world was thus bound together by a network of postal routes over which literary intercourse was perpetually passing. They extended from the Euphrates to the Nile and from the plateau of Asia Minor to the confines of Arabia. These routes followed the old lines of war and trade along which armies had marched and merchants had travelled for unnumbered generations.

The Tel-el-Amarna tablets show us that letter-writing was not confined to Assyria and Babylonia on the one hand, or to Egypt on the other. Wherever the ancient culture of Babylonia had spread, there had gone with it not only the cuneiform characters and the use of clay as a writing material, but the art of letter-writing as well. The Canaanite corresponded with his friends and neighbors quite as much as the Babylonian, and his correspondence was conducted in the same language and script. Hiram of Tyre, in sending letters to Solomon, did but carry on the traditions of a distant past. Long before the Israelites entered Palestine both a foreign and an inland postal service had been established there while it was still under Babylonian rule. The art of reading and writing must have been widely spread, and, when it is remembered that for the larger number of the Tel-el-Amarna writers the language and system of writing which they used were of foreign origin, it may be concluded that the education given at the time was of no despicable character.

The same conclusion may be drawn from another fact. The spelling of the Babylonian and Assyrian letters is in general extraordinarily correct. We meet, of course, with numerous colloquialisms which do not occur in the literary texts, and now and then with provincial expressions, but it is seldom that a word is incorrectly written. Even in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, where all kinds of local pronunciation are reproduced, the orthography is usually faultless, in spite of the phonetic spelling. All this shows how carefully the writers must have been instructed at school. The correctness of the spelling in the Assyrian letters is really marvellous, especially when we consider all the difficulties of the cuneiform script, and what a tax it must have been to the memory to remember the multitudinous characters of the syllabary with their still more multitudinous phonetic and ideographic values. It gives us a high idea of the perfection to which the teachers' art had already been brought.

In Assyria, however, the writers usually belonged to the special class of scribes who employed the same conventional hand and devoted their lives to the acquisition of learning. It is probable that they acted as private secretaries as well as public clerks, and that consequently many of the letters which purport to come from other members of the community were really written by the professional scribes. But in Babylonia it is difficult to find any traces of the public or private letter-writer who is still so conspicuous a figure in the East. It is seldom if ever that the Babylonian, whoever he may be, betrays any ignorance of the art of reading and writing, and the endless variety of handwritings and the execrable character of many of them indicate pretty plainly that the aid of the professional letter-writer was rarely invoked. In a commercial community like that of Babylonia an ability to write was of necessity a matter of primary importance.

Chapter XI. Religion

As in other countries, so too in Babylonia, the official and the popular religion were not in all respects the same. In the popular faith older superstitions and beliefs still lingered which had disappeared from the religion of the state or appeared in it in another form. The place of the priest was in large measure taken by the sorcerer and the magician, the ceremonies of the public cult were superseded by charms and incantations, and the deities of the official creed were overshadowed by a crowd of subordinate spirits whose very existence was hardly recognized among the more cultured classes. The Babylonian was inordinately superstitious, and superstition naturally flourished most where education was least.

The official creed itself was an artificial amalgamation of two different currents of belief. The Babylonian race was mixed; Sumerian and Semite had gone to form it in days before history began. Its religion, therefore, was equally mixed; the religious conceptions of the Sumerian and the Semite differed widely, and it was the absorption of the Sumerian element by the Semitic which created the religion of later days. It is Semitic in its general character, but in its general character alone. In details it resembles the religions of the other Semitic nations of Western Asia only in so far as they have been influenced by it.

The Sumerian had no conception of what we mean by a god. The supernatural powers he worshipped or feared were spirits of a material nature. Every object had its *zi*, or "spirit," which accompanied it like a shadow, but unlike a shadow could act independently of the object to which it belonged. The forces and phenomena of nature were themselves "spirits;" the lightning which struck the temple, or the heat which parched up the vegetation of spring, were as much "spirits" as the *zi*, or "spirit," which enabled the arrow to reach its mark and to slay its victim. When contact with the Semites had introduced the idea of a god among the Sumerians, it was still under the form of a spirit that their powers and attributes were conceived. The Sumerian who had been unaffected by Semitic teaching spoke of the "spirit of heaven" rather than of the god or goddess of the sky, of the "spirit of Ea" rather than of Ea himself, the god of the deep. Man, too, had a *zi*, or "spirit," attached to him; it was the life which gave him movement and feeling, the principle of vitality which constituted his individual existence. In fact, it was the display of vital energy in man and the lower animals from which the whole conception

of the *zi* was derived. The force which enables the animate being to breathe and act, to move and feel, was extended to inanimate objects as well; if the sun and stars moved through the heavens, or the arrow flew through the air, it was from the same cause as that which enabled the man to walk or the bird to fly.

The *zi* of the Sumerians was thus a counterpart of the *ka*, or "double," of Egyptian belief. The description given by Egyptian students of the *ka* would apply equally to the *zi* of Sumerian belief. They both belong to the same level of religious thought; indeed, so closely do they resemble one another that the question arises whether the Egyptian belief was not derived from that of ancient Sumer.

Wholly different was the idea which underlay the Semitic conception of a spiritual world. He believed in a god in whose image man had been made. It was a god whose attributes were human, but intensified in power and action. The human family on earth had its counterpart in the divine family in heaven. By the side of the god stood the goddess, a colorless reflection of the god, like the woman by the side of the man. The divine pair were accompanied by a son, the heir to his father's power and his representative and interpreter. As man stood at the head of created things in this world, so, too, the god stood at the head of all creation. He had called all things into existence, and could destroy them if he chose.

The Semite addressed his god as Baal or Bel, "the lord." It was the same title as that which was given to the head of the family, by the wife to the husband, by the servant to his master. There were as many Baalim or Baals as there were groups of worshippers. Each family, each clan, and each tribe had its own Baal, and when families and clans developed into cities and states the Baalim developed along with them. The visible form of Baal was the Sun; the Sun was lord of heaven and therewith of the earth also and all that was upon it. But the Sun presented itself under two aspects. On the one side it was the source of light and life, ripening the grain and bringing the herb into blossom; on the other hand it parched all living things with the fierce heats of summer and destroyed what it had brought into being. Baal, the Sun-god, was thus at once beneficent and malevolent; at times he looked favorably upon his adorers, at other times he was full of anger and sent plague and misfortune upon them. But under both aspects he was essentially a god of nature, and the rites with which he was worshipped accordingly were sensuous and even sensual.

Such were the two utterly dissimilar conceptions of the divine out of the union of which the official religion of Babylonia was formed. The popular religion of the country also grew out of them though in a more unconscious way. The Semite gave the Sumerian his gods with their priests and temples and ceremonies. The Sumerian gave in return his belief in a multitude of spirits, his charms and necromancy, his sorcerers and their sacred books.

Unlike the gods of the Semites, the "spirits" of the Sumerian were not moved by human passions. They had, in fact, no moral nature. Like the objects and forces they represented, they surrounded mankind, upon whom they would inflict injury or confer benefits. But the injuries were more frequent than the benefits; the sum of suffering and evil exceeds that of happiness in this world, more especially in a primitive condition of society. Hence the "spirits" were feared as demons rather than worshipped as powers of good, and instead of a priest a sorcerer was needed who knew the charms and incantations which could avert their malevolence or compel them to be serviceable to men. Sumerian religion, in fact, was Shamanistic, like that of some Siberian tribes to-day, and its ministers were Shamans or medicine-men skilled in witchcraft and sorcery whose spells were potent to parry the attacks of the demon and drive him from the body of his victim, or to call him down in vengeance on the person of their enemy.

Shamanism, however, pure and simple, is incompatible with an advanced state of culture, and as time went on the Shamanistic faith of the Sumerians tended toward a rudimentary form of polytheism. Out of the multitude of spirits there were two or three who assumed a more commanding position than the rest. The spirit of the sky, the spirit of the water, and more especially the spirit of the underground world, where the ghosts of the dead and the demons of night congregated together, took precedence of the rest. Already, before contact with the Semites, they began to assume the attributes of gods. Temples were raised in their honor, and where there were temples there were also priests.

This transition of certain spirits into gods seems to have been aided by that study of the heavens and of the heavenly bodies for which the Babylonians were immemorially famous. At all events, the ideograph which denotes "a god" is an eight-rayed star, from which we may perhaps infer that, at the time of the invention of the picture-writing out of which the cuneiform characters grew, the gods and the stars were identical.

One of the oldest of the Sumerian temples was that of Nippur, the modern Niffer, built in honor of Mul-lil or El-lil, “the lord of the ghost-world.” He had originally been the spirit of the earth and the underground world; when he became a god his old attributes still clung to him. To the last he was the ruler of the *lil-mes*, “the ghosts” and “demons” who dwelt in the air and the waste places of the earth, as well as in the abode of death and darkness that lay beneath it. His priests preserved their old Shamanistic character; the ritual they celebrated was one of spells and incantations, of magical rites and ceremonies. Nippur was the source and centre of one of the two great streams of religious thought and culture which influenced Sumerian Babylonia.

The other source and centre was Eridu on the Persian Gulf. Here the spirit of the water was worshipped, who in process of time passed into Ea, the god of the deep. But the deep was a channel for foreign culture and foreign ideas. Maritime trade brought the natives of Eridu into contact with the populations of other lands, and introduced new religious conceptions which intermingled with those of the Sumerians. Ea, the patron deity of Eridu, became the god of culture and light, who delighted in doing good to mankind and in bestowing upon them the gifts of civilization. In this he was aided by his son Asari, who was at once the interpreter of his will and the healer of men. His office was declared in the title that was given to him of the god “who benefits mankind.”

Two strongly contrasted streams of religious influence thus flowed from Nippur in the north of Babylonia and from Eridu in the south. The one brought with it a belief in the powers of darkness and evil, in sorcery and magic, and a religion of fear; the other spoke of light and culture, of gods who poured blessings upon men and healed the diseases that afflicted them. Asari was addressed as “he who raises the dead to life,” and Ea was held to be the first legislator and creator of civilized society.

How far the foreign influence which moulded the creed of Eridu was of Semitic origin it is impossible to say. Semitic influences, however, began to work upon Sumerian religion at a very early date. The Semite and the Sumerian intermingled with one another; at first the Semite received the elements of culture from his more civilized neighbor, but a time came when he began to give something in return. The result of this introduction of Semitic and Sumerian beliefs and ideas was the official religion of later Babylonia.

The “spirits” who had ranked above the rest now became gods in the Semitic sense of the term. Mul-lil of Nippur became the Semitic Baal or Bel, the supreme lord of the world, who governs the world below as well

as the world above. He it was who conferred empire over mankind upon his worshippers and whose ministers and angels were the spirits of popular belief. Ea wanted but little to become a true god; his name remained unchanged and his dominion extended to all waters whatever, wherever they might be. His son Asari passed into Merodach, the patron-deity of Babylon, who, when his city became the capital of Babylonia, took the place of Bel of Nippur as the supreme Bel. As in Greek mythology the younger Zeus dethroned his father, so in Babylonia the younger Bel of Babylonia dethroned the older Bel of Nippur.

Similarly, Anu, the spirit of the sky, became the Semitic Sky-god Anu, whose temple stood at Erech. Ur, on the western bank of the Euphrates, was dedicated to the Moon-god under the name of Sin, like Harran in Mesopotamia; Larsa was dedicated to the Sun-god. When Borsippa became a suburb of Babylon its presiding deity became at the same time the minister and interpreter of Merodach under the title of Nabium or Nebo "the prophet." The Semitic god everywhere took the place of the Sumerian "spirit," while those among the "spirits" themselves who had not undergone the transforming process merged in the three hundred spirits of heaven and the six hundred spirits of earth. They formed the "hosts of heaven," of whom Bel was the lord.

But Semitic belief necessitated the existence of a goddess by the side of the god. It was, indeed, a grammatical necessity rather than a theological one; the noun in the Semitic languages has a feminine as well as a masculine gender, and the masculine Bilu or Bel, accordingly, implied a female Belit or Beltis. But the goddess was little more than a grammatical shadow of the god, and her position was still further weakened by the analogy of the human family where the wife was regarded as the lesser man, the slave and helpmeet of her husband.

One goddess only escaped the general law which would have made her merely the pale reflection of the god. This was Istar. Istar was an independent deity, owing no allegiance to a husband, and standing on a footing of equality with the gods. But this was because she had once been one of the chief objects of Sumerian worship, the spirit of the evening star. In the Sumerian language there was no gender, nothing that could distinguish the goddess or the woman from the god or man, and the "spirits," therefore, were indifferently of both sexes. Moreover, the woman occupied an important place in the Sumerian family; where the Semitic translation speaks of "man and woman" the Sumerian original makes it "woman and man." To the Sumerian mind, accordingly, the female "spirit" was as powerful as the male, acting independently and

possessing the same attributes. Hence it was that in taking Istar over from their Sumerian predecessors the Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia took over at the same time a goddess who was the equal of a god.

Among the mixed population of Babylonia, with its mixed culture and language and religion, the character and position of Istar underwent but little change. But when the conquerors of Sargon of Akkad and his predecessors carried the civilization of Babylonia to the West, Istar assumed a new form. Among the Canaanites she became Ashtoreth with the feminine termination, and was identified with the Moon, the consort and reflection, as it were, of Baal the Sun-god. But even so, the existence, of an independent goddess by the side of Baal seemed strange to the Semitic imagination, and among the Semites of Southern Arabia she was transformed into a male god, while the Moabites made her one with the god Chemosh. Even among the learned classes of Semitic Babylonia it was whispered that she was of both sexes, a goddess when imaged in the evening star, a god when visible in the star of the morning.

Closely connected with the worship of Istar was that of Tammuz. Tammuz among the Sumerians appears to have been the “spirit” of the rivulets and waters of spring, and his name signified literally “the son of life” or “of the spirit.” But among the Semites he became the young and beautiful shepherd, the beloved of Istar, slain by the boar’s tusk of winter, or, as others held, of the parching heats of the summer. He symbolized the fresh vegetation of the spring and the Sun-god who called it forth. Once each year, in the sultry heats of June, the women wept and tore their hair in memory of his untimely death, and Istar, it was said, had descended into Hades in the vain hope of bringing him back to life. One of the most famous of Babylonian poems was that which told of the descent of Istar through the seven gates of the underground world, and which was chanted at the annual commemoration of his death. At each gate, it is said, the goddess left behind her some one of her adornments, until at last she arrived stripped and naked before the throne of the goddess of the infernal world. The poem was composed at a time when astronomical conceptions had laid hold of the old mythology, and the poet has interwoven the story of the waning and waxing of the moon into the ancient tale.

The world was generally believed to have originated out of a watery chaos, and to float, as it were, upon the deep. This belief was derived from Eridu, where it was also taught that the deep surrounded the earth like the coils of a serpent.

But other ideas about the origin of things prevailed elsewhere. Inland it was supposed that the firmament of heaven rested on the peak of a mountain— "the mountain of the East," or "of the World," as it was commonly called — where the gods lived in an Olympus of their own and the stars were suspended from it like lamps. The firmament was regarded as a kind of extinguisher or as the upturned hull of one of the round coracles that plied on the Euphrates. Other ideas again were prevalent in other parts of the country. Thus at Eridu the place of "the mountain of the World" was taken by a magical tree which grew in the midst of the garden of Eden, or "plain" of Babylonia, and on either side of which were the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. It is probably to be identified with the tree of life which figures so frequently in the sculptures of Assyria and on the seal-cylinders of Chaldea, but it may be the tree of knowledge of which we hear in the old Sumerian texts, and upon which "the name of Ea was written." At all events it is "the holy tree of Eridu," of whose "oracle" Arioch calls himself "the executor."

The sun, it was believed, rose and set from between the twin mountains whose gates were guarded by men with the bodies of scorpions, while their heads touched the skies and their feet reached to Hades. The scorpion was the inhabitant of the desert of Northern Arabia, the land of Mas, where the mountains of the sunset were imagined to be. Beyond them were the encircling ocean and the waters of Death, and beyond these again the island of the Blest, where the favorites of the gods were permitted to dwell. It was hither that Xisuthros, the Chaldean Noah, was translated for his piety after the Deluge, and it was here, too, that the flower of immortality blossomed.

For the ordinary mortal a very different fate was reserved. He had to descend after death into the underground world of Hades, where the spirits of the dead flitted about like bats in the darkness, with dust only for their food. It was a land of gloom and forgetfulness, defended by seven gates and seven warders, who prevented the dead from breaking forth from their prison-house and devouring the living under the form of vampires. The goddess Allat presided over it, keeping watch over the waters of life that bubbled up under her golden throne. Before her sat the shades of the heroes of old, each crowned with a shadowy crown and seated on a shadowy throne, rising up only that they might salute the ghost of some human potentate who came to join them from the upper world. In later days, it is true, brighter and higher conceptions of the after

life came to prevail, and an Assyrian poet prays that his King, when he dies, may pass away to "the land of the silver sky."

The various cosmological speculations and beliefs of ancient Chaldea were collected together in later times and an attempt made to combine them into a philosophical system. What this was like we learn from the opening lines of the epic which recounted the story of the Creation. In the beginning, we are told, was the chaos of the deep, which was the mother of all things. Out of it came first the primeval gods, Lakhum and Lakhamu, whose names had been handed down from the Sumerian age. Then came An-sar and Ki-sar, the Upper and Lower Firmaments, and, lastly, the great gods of the Semitic faith, Anu, Bel of Nippur, and Ea. All was ready at last for the creation of the present heavens and earth. But a struggle had first to be carried on between the new gods of light and order and Tiamat, the dragon of the "Deep," the impersonation of chaos. Merodach volunteered the task; Tiamat and her demoniac allies were overthrown and the sky formed out of her skin, while her blood became the rivers and springs. The deep was placed under fetters, that it might never again break forth and reduce the world to primeval chaos; laws were laid down for the heavenly bodies, which they were to keep forever and so provide a measure of time, and the plants and animals of the earth were created, with man at the head to rule over them. Though man was made of the dust, he was, nevertheless, the "son" of the gods, whose outward forms were the same as his.

It is not to be supposed that this philosophizing of the old myths and legends made its way beyond the circle of the learned classes, but the myths and legends themselves were known to the people and served instead of a cosmology. The struggle between Tiamat and Merodach was depicted on the walls of the temple of Bel at Babylon, and the belief that this world has arisen out of a victory of order over chaos and anarchy was deeply implanted in the mind of the Babylonian. Perhaps it goes back to the time when the soil of Babylonia was won by the cultivator and the engineer from wild and unrestrained nature.

Babylonian religion had its sacred books, and, like the official cosmology, a real knowledge of them was probably confined to the priests and educated classes. But a considerable part of their contents must have been more widely known.

Some of the hymns embodied in them, as well as the incantations and magical ceremonies, were doubtless familiar to the people or derived from current superstitions. The work in which the hymns were collected and procured, and which has been compared with the Veda of India, was

at once the Bible and the Prayer-book of Chaldea. The hymns were in Sumerian, which thus became a sacred language, and any mistake in the recitation of them was held to be fatal to the validity of a religious rite. Not only, therefore, were the hymns provided with a Semitic translation, but from time to time directions were added regarding the pronunciation of certain words. The bulk of the hymns was of Sumerian origin, but many new hymns, chiefly in honor of the Sun-god, had been added to them in Semitic times. They were, however, written in the old language of Sumer; like Latin in the Roman Catholic Church, that alone was considered worthy of being used in the service of the gods. It was only the rubric which was allowed to be written in Semitic; the hymns and most of the prayers were in what had come to be termed "the pure" or "sacred language" of the Sumerians. Each hymn is introduced by the words "to be recited," and ends with *amanû*, or "Amen."

The religious services were incessant. Every day the sacrifice was offered, accompanied by a special ritual, and the festivals and fasts filled up each month of the year. There were services even for the night as well as for the day. The new moons were strictly observed, and the seventh day was one of solemn rest. The very name Sabattu or "Sabbath" was derived by the native etymologists from the Sumerian words *sa*, "heart," and *bat*, "to end," because it was "a day of rest for the heart." Not only were there Sabbaths on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month, there was also a Sabbath on the nineteenth, that being the end of the seventh week from the first day of the previous month. On these Sabbaths no work was permitted to be done. The King, it was laid down, "must not eat flesh cooked at the fire or in the smoke; must not change his clothes; must not put on white garments; must not offer sacrifices; must not drive in his chariot; or issue royal decrees." Even the prophet was forbidden to practise augury or give medicine to the sick.

From time to time extraordinary days of public humiliation or thanksgiving were ordered to be observed. These were prescribed by the government and were generally the result of some political crisis or danger. When the Assyrian empire, for instance, was attacked by the nations of the north in the early part of Esar-haddon's reign, public prayers and fasts "for one hundred days and one hundred nights" were ordained by the "prophets" in the hope that the Sun-god might "remove the sin" of the people and stave off the threatened attack. So, again, when Assur-bani-pal had suppressed the Babylonian revolt and taken Babylon

after a long siege, he tells us that “at the instance of the prophets he purified the mercy-seats and cleansed the processional roads that had been polluted; the wrathful gods and angry goddesses he appeased with special prayers and penitential psalms.”

The temple was erected on ground that had been consecrated by libations of wine, oil, and honey, and was a square or rectangular building enclosing an open court, on one side of which was a *ziggurat*, or “tower.” The tower was built in successive stages, and in the topmost stage was the shrine of the god. Each “tower” had a name of its own, and was used for astronomical purposes. It corresponded with “the high-place” of Canaan; in the flat plain of Babylonia it was only by means of a tower that the worshipper could “mount up to heaven” and so approach the gods. Herodotus states that the topmost story of the tower attached to the temple of Bel Merodach at Babylon contained nothing but a couch and a table.

The image of the god stood in the innermost shrine or Holy of Holies of the temple itself. In front of it was the golden table on which the shew-bread was laid, and below was the *parakku*, or “mercy-seat,” whereon, according to Nebuchadnezzar, at the festival of the new year, “on the eighth and eleventh days, the king of the gods of heaven and earth, Bel, the god, seats himself, while the gods of heaven and earth reverently regard him, standing before him with bowed heads.” It was “the seat of the oracles” which were delivered from it by the god to his ministering priests.

In front of the shrine was an altar cased in gold, and another altar stood in the outer court. Here also was the great bason of bronze for purificatory purposes, which was called “the deep,” and corresponded with the “sea” of Solomon’s temple. Like the latter, it sometimes stood on the heads of twelve bronze oxen, as we learn from a hymn in which the construction of one of these basons is described. They were supposed to represent the primeval “deep” out of which the world has arisen and on which it still floats.

The chapel found by Mr. Hormund Rassam at Balawât, near Nineveh, gives us some idea of what the inner shrine of a temple was like. At its north-west end was an altar approached by steps, while in front of the latter, and near the entrance, was a coffer or ark in which two small slabs of marble were deposited, twelve and one-half inches long by eight wide, on which the Assyrian King Assur-nazir-pal in a duplicate text records his erection of the sanctuary. It is not surprising that when the Nestorian

workmen found the tablets, they believed that they had discovered the two tables of the Mosaic Law.

The temple sometimes enclosed a Bit-ili or Beth-el. This was originally an upright stone, consecrated by oil and believed to be animated by the divine spirit. The "Black Stone" in the kaaba of the temple of Mecca is a still surviving example of the veneration paid by the Semitic nations to sacred stones. Whether, however, the Beth-els of later Babylonian days were like the "Black Stone" of Mecca, really the consecrated stones which had once served as temples, we do not know; in any case they were anchored within the walls of the temples which had taken their place as the seats of the worship of the gods. Offerings were still made to them in the age of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors; thus we hear of 765 "measures" of grain which were paid as "dues to the Beth-el" by the serfs of one of the Babylonian temples. The "measure," it may be stated, was an old measure of capacity, retained among the peasantry, and only approximately exact. It was calculated to contain from 41 to 43 *qas*.

The offerings to the gods were divided into sacrifices and meal-offerings. The ox, sheep, lamb, kid, and dove were offered in sacrifice — fruit, vegetables, bread, wine, oil, and spices where no blood was required to be shed. There were also sin-offerings and heave-offerings, when the offering was first "lifted up" before the gods. A contract dated in the thirty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar tells something about the parts of the animals which were sacrificed, though unfortunately the meaning of many of the technical words used in it is still unknown: "Izkur-Merodach, the son of Imbriya, the son of Ilei-Merodach, of his own free will has given for the future to Nebo-balasu-iqbi, the son of Kuddinu, the son of Ilei-Merodach, the slaughterers of the oxen and sheep for the sacrifices of the king, the prescribed offerings, the peace-offerings (?) of the whole year — viz., the caul round the heart, the chine, the covering of the ribs, the …, the mouth of the stomach, and the …, as well as during the year 7,000 sin-offerings and 100 sheep before Iskhara, who dwells in the temple of Sa-turra in Babylon (not excepting the soft parts of the flesh, the trotters (?), the juicy meat, and the salted (?) flesh), and also the slaughterers of the oxen, sheep, birds, and lambs due on the 8th day of Nisan, (and) the heave-offering of an ox and a sheep before Pap-sukal of Bit-Kiduz-Kani, the temple of Nin-ip and the temple of Anu on the further bank of the New Town in Babylon." The 8th of Nisan, or March, was the first day of the festival of the New Year.

The hierarchy of priests was large. At its head was the *patesi*, or high-priest, who in the early days of Babylonian history was a civil as well as an ecclesiastical ruler. He lost his temporal power with the rise of the kings. But at first the King was also a *patesi*, and it is probable that in many cases at least it was the high-priest who made himself a king by subjecting to his authority the *patesis* or priestly rulers of other states. In Assyria the change of the high-priest into a king was accompanied by revolt from the supremacy of Babylonia.

With the establishment of a monarchy the high-priest lost more and more his old power and attributes, and tended to disappear altogether, or to become merely the vicegerent or representative of the King. The King himself, mindful of his sacerdotal origin, still claimed semi-priestly powers. But he now called himself a *sangu* or "chief priest" rather than a *patesi*; in fact, the latter name was retained only from antiquarian motives. The individual high-priest passed away, and was succeeded by the class of "chief priests." Under them were several subordinate classes of temple servants. There were, for instance, the *enû*, or "elders," and the *pasisû*, or "anointers," whose duty it was to anoint the images of the gods and the sacred vessels of the temple with oil, and who are sometimes included among the *ramkû*, or "offerers of libations," as well. By the side of them stood *asipu*, or "prophet," who interpreted the will of heaven, and even accompanied the army on its march, deciding when it might attack the enemy with success, or when the gods refused to grant it victory. Next to the prophet came the *makhkhû* or interpreter of dreams, as well as the *barû*, or "seer."

A very important class of temple-servants were the *kalî*, or "eunuch-priests," the *galli* of the religions of Asia Minor. They were under a "chief *kalû*," and were sometimes entitled "the servants of Istar." It was indeed to her worship that they were specially consecrated, like the *ukhâtu* and *kharimâtu*, or female hierodules. Erech, with its sanctuary of Anu and Istar, was the place where these latter were chiefly to be found; here they performed their dances in honor of the goddess and mourned over the death of Tammuz.

Closely connected with the *kalî* was a sort of monastic institution, which seems to have been attached to some of the Babylonian temples. The *Zikari*, who belonged to it, were forbidden to marry, and it is possible that they were eunuchs like the *kalî*. They, too, were under a chief or president, and their main duty was to attend to the daily sacrifice and to minister to the higher order of priests. In this respect they resembled the Levites at Jerusalem; indeed they are frequently termed

"servants" in the inscriptions, though they were neither serfs nor slaves. They could be dedicated to the service of the Sun-god from childhood. A parallel to the dedication of Samuel is to be found in a deed dated at Sippara on the 21st of Nisan, in the fifth year of Cambyses, in which "Ummu-dhabat, the daughter of Nebo-bel-uzur," whose father-in-law was the priest of the Sun-god, is stated to have brought her three sons to him, and to have made the following declaration before another priest of the same deity: "My sons have not yet entered the House of the Males (*Zikari*); I have hitherto lived with them; I have grown old with them since they were little, until they have been counted among men." Then she took them into the "House of the Males" and "gave" them to the service of the god. We learn from this and other documents that the *Zikari* lived together in a monastery or college within the walls of the temple, and that monthly rations of food were allotted to them from the temple revenues.

The ordinary priests were married, though the wife of a priest was not herself a priestess. There were priestesses, however, as well as female recluses, who, like the *Zikari*, were not allowed to marry and were devoted to the service of the Sun-god. They lived in the temple, but were able to hold property of their own, and even to carry on business with it. A portion of the profits, nevertheless, went to the treasury of the temple, out of whose revenues they were themselves supplied with food. From contracts of the time of Khammurabi we gather that many of them not only belonged to the leading families of Babylonia, but that they might be relations of the King.

Wholly distinct from these devotees of the Sun-god were the female hierodules or prostitutes of Istar, to whom reference has already been made. Distinct from them, again, were the prophetesses of Istar, who prophesied the future and interpreted the oracles of the goddess. One of their chief seats was the temple of Istar at Arbela, and a collection of the oracles delivered by them and their brother prophets to Esar-haddon has been preserved. It is thus that he is addressed in one of them: "Fear not, O Esar-haddon; the breath of inspiration which speaks to thee is spoken by me, and I conceal it not. Thine enemies shall melt away from before thy feet like the floods in Sivan. I am the mighty mistress, Istar of Arbela, who have put thine enemies to flight before thy feet. Where are the words which I speak unto thee, that thou hast not believed them? I am Istar of Arbela; thine enemies, the Ukkians, do I give unto thee. I am Istar of Arbela; in front of thee and at thy side do I march. Fear not, thou art in the midst of those that can heal thee; I am in the midst of thy host. I

advance and I stand still!" It is probable that these prophetesses were not ordained to their office, but that it depended on their possession of the "spirit of inspiration." At all events, we find men as well as women acting as the mouth-pieces of Istar, and in one instance the woman describes herself as a native of a neighboring village "in the mountains."

The revenues of the temples and priesthood were derived partly from endowments, partly from compulsory or voluntary offerings. Among the compulsory offerings were the esrâ, or "tithes." These had to be paid by all classes of the population from the King downward, either in grain or in its equivalent in money. The "tithe" of Nabonidos, immediately after his accession, to the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara was as much as 5 manehs of gold, or £840. We may infer from this that it was paid on the amount of cash which he had found in the treasury of the palace and which was regarded as the private property of the King. Nine years later Belshazzar, the heir-apparent, offered two oxen and thirty-two sheep as a voluntary gift to the same temple, and at the beginning of the following year we find him paying a shekel and a quarter for a boat to convey three oxen and twenty-four sheep to the same sanctuary. Even at the moment when Cyrus was successfully invading the dominions of his father and Babylon had already been occupied for three weeks by the Persian army, Belshazzar was careful to pay the tithe due from his sister, and amounting to 47 shekels of silver, into the treasury of the Sun-god. As Sippara was in the hands of the enemy, and the Babylonian forces which Belshazzar commanded had been defeated and dispersed, the fact is very significant, and proves how thoroughly both invaders and invaded must have recognized the rights of the priesthood.

Tithe was also indirectly paid by the temple-serfs. Thus in the first year of Nergal-sharezer, out of 3,100 measures of grain, delivered by "the serfs of the Sun-god" to his temple at Sippara, 250 were exacted as "tithe." These serfs must be distinguished from the temple-slaves. They were attached to the soil, and could not be separated from it. When, therefore, a piece of land came into the possession of a temple by gift and endowment, they went along with it, but their actual persons could not be sold. The slave, on the other hand, was as much a chattel as the furniture of the temple, which could be bought and sold; he was usually a captive taken in war, more rarely a native who had been sold for debt. All the menial work of the temple was performed by him; the cultivation of the temple-lands, on the contrary, was left to the serfs.

It is doubtful whether the "butchers," or slaughterers of the animals required for sacrifice, or the "bakers" of the sacred cakes, were slaves or

freemen. The expression used in regard to them in the contract of Izkur-Merodach quoted above is open to two interpretations, but it would naturally signify that they were regarded as slaves. We know, at all events, that many of the artisans employed in weaving curtains for the temples and clothing for the images of the gods belonged to the servile class, and the gorgeousness of the clothing and the frequency with which it was changed must have necessitated a large number of workmen. Many of the documents which have been bequeathed to us by the archives of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara relate to the robes and head-dresses and other portions of the clothing of the images which stood there.

A considerable part of the property of a temple was in land. Sometimes this was managed by the priests themselves; sometimes its revenues were farmed, usually by a member of the priestly corporation; at other times it was let to wealthy "tenants." One of these, Nebo-sum-yukin by name, who was an official in the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, married his daughter Gigîtum to Nergal-sharezer in the first year of the latter's reign.

The state religion of Assyria was a copy of that of Babylonia, with one important exception. The supreme god was the deified state. Assur was not a Baal any more than Yahveh was in Israel or Chemosh in Moab.

He was, consequently, no father of a family, with a wife and a son; he stood alone in jealous isolation, wifeless and childless. It is true that some learned scribe, steeped in Babylonian learning, now and then tried to find a Babylonian goddess with whom to mate him; but the attempt was merely a piece of theological pedantry which made no impression on the rulers and people of Nineveh. Assur was supreme over all other gods, as his representative, the Assyrian King, was supreme over the other kings of the earth, and he would brook no rival at his side. The tolerance of Babylonian religion was unknown in Assyria. It was "through trust in Assur" that the Assyrian armies went forth to conquer, and through his help that they gained their victories. The enemies of Assyria were his enemies, and it was to combat and overcome them that the Assyrian monarchs declare that they marched to war. Cyrus tells us that Bel-Merodach was wrathful because the images of other deities had been removed by Nabonidos from their ancient shrines in order to be gathered together in his temple of Ê-Saggil at Babylon, but Assur bade his servants go forth to subdue the gods of other lands, and to compel their worshippers to transfer their allegiance to the god of Assyria. Those who believed not in him were his enemies, to be extirpated or punished.

It is true that the leading Babylonian divinities were acknowledged in Assyria by the side of Assur. But they were subordinate to him, and it is difficult to resist the impression that their recognition was mainly confined to the literary classes. Apart from the worship of Istar and the use of the names of certain gods in time-honored formulæ, it is doubtful whether even a knowledge of the Babylonian deities went much beyond the educated members of the Assyrian community. Nebo and Merodach and Anu were the gods of literature rather than of the popular cult.

But even in Babylonia the majority of the gods of the state religion was probably but little remembered by the mass of the people. Doubtless the local divinity was well known to the inhabitants of the place over which he presided and where his temple had stood from immemorial times. Every native of Ur was doubtless a devoted adorer of Sin, the Moon-god, and for the inhabitants of Babylon Bel-Merodach was the highest object of worship. But the real religion of the bulk of the population consisted in charms and magic. The Babylonian was intensely superstitious, the cultivated classes as much so as the lowest. Sorcery and divination were not only tolerated by the priests, they formed part of the religious system of the state. Prophets and diviners and interpreters of dreams served in the temples, and one of the sacred books of the priesthood was a collection of incantations and magical rites. Among the people generally the old Shamanistic faith had never been eradicated; it was but partially overlaid with the religious conceptions of the Semite, and sorcery and witchcraft flourished down to the latest days of Babylonian history.

The gods and goddesses were believed to utter oracles and predictions through the lips of inspired men and women. Figures of winged bulls and serpents were placed at the entrance of a building to prevent the demons of evil from passing through it. Before the gates of Babylon Nebuchadnezzar “set up mighty bulls of bronze and serpents which stood erect,” and when Nabonidos restored the temple of the Moon-god at Harran two images of the primeval god, Lakhum, were similarly erected on either side of its eastern gate to “drive back” his “foes.” These protecting genii were known as *sêdi* and *kurubi*, the *shédim* and *cherubim* of the Old Testament. *Sédi*, however, was a generic term, including evil as well as beneficent genii, and the latter was more properly classed as the *lamassi*, or “colossal forms.” The whole world was imagined to be filled with malevolent spirits ever on the watch to attack and torment mankind. The water that was drunk, the food that was

eaten, might contain a demon, whom it would be necessary to exorcise. The diseases that afflict our bodies, the maladies that prey upon our spirits, were all due to the spirits of evil, and could be removed only by the proper incantations and charms. Madness and epilepsy were more especially the direct effect of demoniac possession. The magician alone knew how to cure them; and the priest taught that his knowledge had first been communicated to him by the god Ea through his interpreter, Merodach. Books were written containing the needful formulæ and ritual for counteracting the malevolence of the evil spirits and for healing the sick. Pure or "holy" water and the number seven were regarded as endowed with mysterious power in the performance of these magical rites; thus magical threads were ordered to be bound seven times round the limbs of the sick man, with phylacteries attached to them on which were inscribed "sentences from a holy book."

It was at night-time that the spirits of evil were more especially active. It was then that vampires escaped from the bodies of the dead or from the realm of Hades to suck the blood of the living, and that the nightmare lay upon the breast of its victim and sought to strangle him. At the head of these demons of the night was Lilat, the wife of Lil, "the ghost;" from the Babylonians she was borrowed by the Jews, and appears in the book of Isaiah under the name of Lilith.

The demons were served by a priesthood of their own. These were the wizards and witches, and the sorcerers and sorceresses, with whom were associated the public prostitutes, who plied their calling under the shadow of night.

It was then that they lay in ambush for the unwary passenger, for whom they mixed deadly philters which poisoned the blood. They were devotees of Istar, but the Istar they worshipped was a wholly different goddess from the Istar of the official cult. She was a goddess of witchcraft and darkness, of whom it was said that she "seized" on her victim "at night," and was "the slayer of youths." She it was who was dreaded by the people like the witches and "street-walkers," who ministered before her, and against whom exorcisms of all kinds were employed. To guard against her and her agents, small images of Lugal-gira and Allamu, the teraphim of the Babylonians, were made and placed to the right and the left of the door that they might "tear out the hearts of the wicked" and "slay the witch." The Fire-god, moreover, was invoked that he might destroy the ministers of wickedness, and figures of the witch or wizard were moulded in wax and melted in the fire. As the wax

dissolved, so, it was prayed, might "the wizard and witch run, melt, and dissolve."

The exorcisms had to be repeated by the victims of witchcraft. This is clear from the words which come at the end of each of them: "I, So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so and goddess So-and-so, I turn to thee, I seek for thee, I kiss thy hands, I bow myself under thee. Consume the wizard and the witch; annihilate the lives of the sorcerer and the sorceress who have bewitched me. Then shall I live and gladden thy heart."

In strange contrast to these utterances of popular superstition are the hymns and prayers that were addressed by the cultivated Babylonian to the gods of the official creed. They were gods of light and healing, who punished, indeed, the sins of the wicked, but were ready to listen to the petitions of the penitent and to forgive them their transgressions. Bel-Merodach was "the merciful one who raises the dead to life," and Ea was ever on the watch to send aid to suffering humanity and foil the demons who warred against man. Here, for example, are some extracts from one of those penitential psalms whose authors seem to have sprung from Eridu and which formed part of the Babylonian Bible long before the age of Abraham:

The heart of my lord is wroth; may it be appeased!
May the god whom I know not be appeased!
May the goddess whom I know not be appeased!
May both the god I know and the god I know not be appeased!…
O lord, my sins are many, my transgressions are great!…
The sin that I sinned I knew not,
The transgression I committed I knew not.…

The lord in the wrath of his heart has regarded me,
God in the fierceness of his heart has revealed himself to me.…
I sought for help, and none took my hand;
I wept, and none stood at my side;
I cried aloud, and there was none that heard me.
I am in trouble and hiding; I dare not look up.
To my god, the merciful one, I turn myself, I utter my prayer;
The feet of my goddess I kiss and water with tears.…
The sins I have sinned turn into a blessing;
The transgressions I have committed let the wind carry away!
Strip off my manifold wickednesses as a garment!

O my god, seven times seven are my transgressions; forgive my sins!

O my goddess, seven times seven are my transgressions; forgive my sins!

To the same early period belongs a hymn to the Moon-god, originally composed for the services in the temple of Ur, the birthplace of Abraham, and afterward incorporated in the sacred books of the state religion. It is thus that the poet speaks of his god:

Father, long-suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholdeth the life of all mankind!…

First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may fathom it!…

In heaven who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces.

As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground.

At times the language of the hymn rises to that of monotheism of a pure and exalted character. That a monotheistic school actually existed in one of the literary circles of Babylonia was long ago pointed out by Sir Henry Rawlinson. It arose at Erech, an early seat of Semitic influence, and endeavored to resolve the manifold deities of Chaldea into forms or manifestations of the "one god," Anu. It never made many converts, it is true; but the tendency toward monotheism continued among the educated part of the population, and when Babylon became the capital of the country its god, Merodach, became not only a Bel or "Lord," but the one supreme lord over all the other gods. Though the existence of the other gods was admitted, they fell, as it were, into a background of shadow, and the worshipper of Merodach, in his devotion to the god, almost forgot that they existed at all. The prayers of Nebuchadnezzar are a proof how narrow was the line which divided his faith from that of the monotheist. "To Merodach my lord," he says, "I prayed; I began to him my petition; the word of my heart sought him, and I said: O prince, thou that art from everlasting, lord of all that exists, for the king whom thou lovest, whom thou callest by name, as it seems good unto thee, thou guidest his name aright, thou watchest over him in the path of righteousness! I, the prince who obeys thee, am the work of thy hands; thou hast created me and hast entrusted to me the sovereignty over multitudes of men, according to thy goodness, O lord, which thou hast

made to pass over them all. Let me love thy supreme lordship, let the fear of thy divinity exist in my heart, and give what seemeth good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life."

The man who could thus pray was not far from the kingdom of God.

Appendix: Weights And Measures

In the preceding pages the equivalence of the *qa* in modern English measures has been given in accordance with the calculations of Dr. Oppert. Other scholars, however, would assign to it a different value, identifying it with the Hebrew *qab* and making it equal to about two litres. This, indeed, seems to have been its value in the age of Abraham, but in the later days of Babylonian history a different system certainly prevailed.

Weights.

360 se ("grains")	1 shekel
60 shekels	1 maneh (*mana*)
60 manehs	1 talent

The silver maneh was equivalent to £9, the shekel being 3s., while the gold maneh was ten times its value. The maneh was originally a weight more than one kind of which was in use: (1) The heavy maneh of 990 grammes; (2) the light maneh of 495 grammes; (3) the gold maneh (for weighing gold) of 410 grammes; and (4) the silver maneh of 546 grammes. At Sippara, however, the heavy maneh weighed 787 grammes; the light maneh, 482 grammes; and the gold maneh, 392 grammes; while the standard maneh fixed by Dungi weighed 980 grammes. The maneh of Carchemis contained 561 grammes.

Measures of Capacity.

1 *qa* (Heb. *qab*)	1.66 litres
1 *pi* or ardeb (Heb. homer)	36 *qas*
1 *bar* (Heb. se'ah)	60 *qas*
1 homer in Assyria	60 *qas*
1 *gur* (Heb. kor)	180 *qas*

In the Abrahamic age other systems were in use in Babylonia according to which the *gur* sometimes contained 360 *qas* and sometimes 300 *qas*.

The tonnage of ships was reckoned by the *gur*.

Measures of Length.

1 *uban* or finger-breadth	16.6 millimetres

(divided into 180 parts)

30 finger-breadths	1 *ammat* or cubit (498 mm.)
2 cubits	1 great cubit (996 mm.)
6 great cubits	1 *qanu* or reed
2 reeds	1 *gar*
60 *gars*	1 *soss* or stade
30 *sosses*	1 *kasbu* or parasang (21 kilometres)
2 *kasbus*	1 great *kasbu*

Superficial Measures.

In the Abrahamic age 180 *se* were probably equivalent to 1 *gin*, 60 *gin* to one *sar* or "garden," 1,800 *sar* to 1 feddân (*padânu*) or "acre." The latter was called *bur-gan* in Sumerian, or "10 acres," to distinguish it from a smaller acre, which contained only 180 *sar*.

Time was reckoned by the *kasbu* or "double hour," and in early times the weight was divided into three watches of 2 *kasbus* or 4 hours each. The months were originally lunar, and consisted of 30 days, an intercalary month being inserted in the calendar every six years. The zodiac was divided into 360 degrees.

Mathematics were based upon a sexagesimal system, sixty, called the *soss*, being the unit. The *ner* was equivalent to 10 *sosses* and the *sar* to 6 *ners*.

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LAWS, CONTRACTS AND LETTERS by C. H. W. Johns



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DEDICATION

TO

MY MOTHER

IN MEMORY OF LOVING HELP

PREFACE

The social institutions, manners, and customs of an ancient people must always be of deep interest for all those to whom nothing is indifferent that is human. But even for modern thinkers, engrossed in the practical problems of our advanced civilization, the records of antiquity have a direct value. We are better able to deal with the complicated questions of the day if we are acquainted with the simpler issues of the past. We may not set them aside as too remote to have any influence upon us. Not long ago men looked to Greece and Rome for political models. We can hardly estimate the influence which that following of antiquity has had upon our own social life.

But there is a deeper influence even than Greek politics and Roman law, still powerfully at work among us, which we owe to a more remote past. We should probably resent the idea that we were not dominated by Christian principles. So far as they are distinct from Greek and Roman ideals, most of them have their roots in Jewish thought. When a careful investigation is made, it will probably be found that the most distinctive Christian principles in our times are those which were taken over from Jewish life, since the Old Testament still more widely appeals to us than the New. But those Jewish ideas regarding society have been inherited in turn from the far more ancient Babylonian civilization. It is startling to find how much that we have thought distinctively our own has really come down to us from that great people who ruled the land of the two streams. We need not be ashamed of anything we can trace back so far. It is from no savage ancestors that it descends to us. It bears the "hall mark," not only of extreme antiquity but of sterling worth.

The people, who were so highly educated, so deeply religious, so humane and intelligent, who developed such just laws, and such permanent institutions, are not unprofitable acquaintances. A right-thinking citizen of a modern city would probably feel more at home in ancient Babylon than in mediæval Europe. When we have won our way through the difficulties of the language and the writing to the real meaning of their purpose and come into touch with the men who wrote and spoke, we greet brothers. Rarely in the history of antiquity can we find so much of which we heartily approve, so little to condemn. The primitive virtues, which we flatter ourselves that we have retained, are far more in evidence than those primitive vices which we know are not extinct among us. The average Babylonian strikes us as a just, good man, no wild savage, but a law-abiding citizen, a faithful husband, good

father, kind son, firm friend, industrious trader, or careful man of business. We know from other sources that he was no contemptible warrior, no mean architect or engineer. He might be an excellent artist, modelling in clay, carving rocks, and painting walls. His engraving of seals was superb. His literary work was of high order. His scientific attainments were considerable.

When we find so much to approve we may naturally ask the reason. Some may say it is because right was always right everywhere. Others will try to trace our inheritance of thought. At any rate, we may accord our praise to those who seized so early in the history of the race upon views which have proved to be of the greatest and most permanent value. Perhaps nowhere else than in the archives of the old Assyrian and Babylonian temples could we find such an instructive exhibition of the development of the art of expressing facts and ideas in written language. The historical inscriptions, indeed, exhibit a variety of incidents, but have a painful monotony of subject and a conventional grandeur of style. In the contracts we find men struggling for exactness of statement and clearness of diction. In the letters we have untrammelled directness of address, without regard to models of expression. In the one case we have a scrupulous following of precedent, in the other freedom from rule or custom. One result is that while we are nearly always sure what the contract said and intended, we often are completely unable to see why the given phrases were used for their particular purpose. Every phrase is technical and legal, to a degree that often defies translation. On the other hand, the letters are often as colloquial in style as the contracts are formal. Hence they swarm with words and phrases for which no parallel can be found. Unless the purpose of the letter is otherwise clear, these words and phrases may be quite unintelligible. Any side issue may be introduced, or even a totally irrelevant topic. While the point of these disconnected sentences may have been perfectly clear to the recipient of the message, we cannot possibly understand them, unless we have an intimate acquaintance with the private life and personal relations of the two correspondents.

Hence, quite apart from the difficulties of copying such ancient inscriptions, often defaced, originally ill-written, and complicated by the personal tastes of individual scribes for odd spellings, rare words, or stock phrases; besides the difficulties of a grammar and vocabulary only partly made out; the very nature of both contracts and letters implies special obscurities. But the peculiarities of these obscurities are such as to excite curiosity and stimulate research.

The wholesome character of the subject-matter, the absence of all possibility of a revision in party interests, the probable straightforward honesty of the purpose, act like a tonic to the ordinary student of history. Nowhere can he find more reliable material for his purpose, if only he can understand it. The history he may reconstruct will be that of real men, whose character and circumstances have not yet been misrepresented. He will find the human nature singularly like what he may observe about him, once he has seen through superficial manners and customs.

One important point cannot be too strongly insisted upon. Numerous as our documents are, they do not form a continuous series. One collection is chiefly composed of temple archives, another comes from a family deed-chest, where only such documents were preserved as were of value to the persons who collected them. At one period we may have a great number of documents relating to one sort of transaction. In the next period we may have hardly any reference to similar transactions, but very complete evidence regarding other matters. We may assume that, in such a conservative country as Assyria or Babylonia, things went on for ages in much the same way. Conclusions rightly drawn for early times are probably true for the later periods also. As far as we can test this assumption, it holds good. We may even assume that the converse is true, but that is more doubtful.

Thus, we find that the practice of taking a pledge as security for debt is fully established for later times and we may therefore hesitate to deny its existence in early periods, although we have no direct evidence on the point. This absence of evidence may be due to the nature of the early collections. It may be an accident. It may also be due to the fact that the tablet acknowledging a loan was usually broken up on the return of the sum. But it might also be the fact that pledges were not usual in early times. Such was, indeed, formerly the conclusion drawn from the absence of documents referring to pledges; but Dr. B. Meissner pointed out that the legal phrase-books bore witness to the existence of the custom. The discovery of the Code of Ḥammurabi has shown that the practice not only existed, but was regulated by statute in his time. Hence the argument from silence is once more shown to be fallacious.

On the other hand, it is well to avoid a dogmatic statement of the existence of a practice before the date at which we have direct evidence of it: thus, it has been stated that the tithe was paid in Babylonia “from time immemorial.” The only direct evidence comes from the time of

Nebuchadrezzar II. and later. In view of such an early antiquity as that, the use of the phrase "time immemorial" was perhaps once justified. But we are now equipped with documentary evidence concerning customs two or three thousand years earlier. Until we can discover some direct evidence there of tithe, we must content ourselves with saying that it was regularly paid under the Second Empire of Babylonia. We may be firmly convinced that a custom so widespread did not spring into being all at once. But the tithe may have been a composition for earlier dues, and as such may have been introduced from Chaldea by Nabopolassar. It may therefore not have been of native Babylonian growth.

In this and many similar cases it is well not to go beyond the evidence.

To some extent the plan of this work must necessarily be different from that of the rest of the series. When a historical inscription is once well translated its chief bearings can be made out and it is its own interpreter to a large extent. But the object in a contract is to legally bind certain parties to a course of action, and there its translation ends. We do not find much interest now in the obligations of these parties, save in so far as they illustrate the progress of civilization. It is the conclusion we are to draw which gives the interest. When we have reached that, a thousand more contracts of the same type add nothing to that point. We may use them to make a study of proper names, or to correct our notions of chronology by their dates, or to draw up genealogies, or even to elaborate statistics of occurrences of particular forms of words, of prices, and the like; or try to reconstruct the topography of a town; but from the point of view of a student of law and history, a thousand are little better than one.

As a rule, however, we rarely find a fresh example of an old type without some small deviation, which is worth recording. But to translate it, for the sake of that small difference, would fill a book with examples, so similar as to be wearisome in their monotony. The only way then is to select some bold example, translate it as a fair average specimen, and then collect in an introduction and notes the most interesting additional items of information to be gathered from others of the type. Hence most of the types here selected have involved the reading and study of scores of texts, though but one is given in translation. Other points of great interest arise, as for example, the obligations to public service, which are not the direct subject of any one text. Hence, no single example can be selected for translation. The data of many texts must be collected, and only a sentence here and there can be utilized for translation. Hence,

while other volumes of the series are properly translations, with brief introductions and a few notes, this must consist of copious introductions and many notes with a few translations.

Of course, all technical, philological and historical discussions must be avoided. Those who wish to find further examples, illustrating the points given, will be referred to the sources and commentaries which give almost endless repetitions of the same type. As a rule, a fresh example, which has not been translated before, will be used here. In some cases, however, where the most typical examples have already been used, they are reproduced.

The more important and new details are substantiated by references in foot-notes. When several references could be given, it has been the rule to give only one. For fuller information the literature of the subject may be consulted. But where the Assyrian or Babylonian words are given, the reader will consult the lexicons first. There are many admirable glossaries attached to the editions of texts, which for students are a valuable supplement to the lexicons. All philological discussions are, of course, excluded. As a rule, doubtful interpretations will be ignored or at least queried. It is, on the other hand, impossible to give detailed proofs of what is certain to the writer, when it disagrees with recognized authorities. Nor is it desirable to puzzle the reader with alternative views, when there is no opportunity for him to judge of their merits.

Every attempt will be made to discard non-essentials. Thus, in order to insure that there should be no mistake as to the persons intended, the ancient scribe usually gave not only the name, but the father's name, and often added the name of his tribe, or his occupation. For example, "Ardi-Ishtar, son of Ashur-bânî, the son of Gaḥal," might be the scribe's careful specification of one party to some transaction. But unless some other party is a relation and the transaction explicitly concerns what could take place between relations, the whole line gives us no information of value for illustrating the subject for which it is quoted. Indeed, in most cases, the name itself is of no interest. It is true that the names have a value of their own; but that is aside from the purpose of this book. The examples are selected to illustrate legal points, not for the sake of the names. And indeed, the few interesting names so given would be insufficient to serve any useful purpose; they might even be misused, for no permanent results can be obtained by picking up here and there a name, with some fanciful likeness to Abraham, or Jacob, unless a complete list of similar names be available to check and control the readings.

Hence, as a rule, the name of a party is condensed into a single letter, chosen usually in order to suggest the part played by the person in the transaction. Thus S stands for the seller, B for the buyer, J for the judge, C for the creditor, L for the lender, D for the debtor or borrower, and so on. These abbreviations may be used without any detriment to the argument, as the context usually defines the relation and there is no need to remember what they mean. This seems preferable, for the most part, to the Continental system of using A-A-G for the above name.

As a further abbreviation, all lists of witnesses are excluded. The date is usually suppressed, for, unless we are following a series of transactions between the same parties, nothing more than the epoch is of importance. As the material is arranged by epochs, there can be no question in this regard. If any evolution of process or any reference to former transactions is involved, so that the date is important, it is given.

A collection of legal documents may be studied in a variety of ways.

Perhaps the least productive plan is to ransack them for illustrations of a theory, or a particular point. When the theory is already well known, as in the case of Roman or mediæval law, such a procedure is justifiable, but when the theory has to be made out, it is wellnigh inexcusable. Some valuable monographs have followed this method, but they can hardly expect to give permanent results. For comparative purposes our material is so new, and so little worked, that it is sheer waste of time to seek for parallels elsewhere until everything is clearly made out to which parallels are to be sought. The whole bulk of material must be read through and classified. Until this is done, some important point may easily be overlooked.

The first attempts at classification will be provisional. A certain amount of overlapping is sure to occur. For example, slave sales obviously form a provisional group. But slaves were sold along with lands or houses. Shall these sales be taken into the group? The sales of lands may be another group. To which group shall we assign the sale of a piece of land and the slaves attached to it? To answer that question we may examine the sales of slaves and the sales of lands to see if either group has peculiarities, the recurrence of which in a sale of land and slaves might decide. But we soon find that a slave was sold exactly like a piece of land or any chattel. The only exception is that certain guarantees are expected with the slave, which differ from those demanded with a piece of land. On the whole, then, the chief group will be “sales,” with subdivisions according to the class of property used. Hence we cannot assume that there was already present to legal consciousness a difference

between real and personal property, or in any other sense that a slave was a person. He was a chattel.

The classification which will be adopted is not one that will suit modern legal ideas. It depends on the form of document alone. If two documents have the same type of formula, they will be grouped together. A future revision will, no doubt, assign to many of these a place in modern schemes. But it is very easy to be premature in assigning an ancient document to modern categories.

The groups will be subdivided according to subject-matter. The order of the groups will be determined by the greater or less complexity of the documents. It is best to take those first which can be easily made out. The experience gained in discussing them will be of great service in dealing with more complicated cases. The reader must not, however, suppose that no obscurities will remain. Subsequent investigation will lead to redistribution. Each such revision will, however, bring us nearer to sound results.

One of the most interesting and instructive methods of dealing with a large collection of documents is to group together the transactions, distributed over a number of years, of one man, or of a single family. This method has often been adopted and makes most fascinating reading.

Thus, M. V. Revillout, in the appendix to M. E. Revillout's lectures entitled *Les obligations en droit egyptien*, under the title of *Une famille des commerçants*, discussed the interrelations of a large number of tablets published by Strassmaier. These had a special connection, being found, and practically kept, together. They are concerned chiefly with the business transactions of three persons and their descendants. The three men do not seem to have been related, but to have become partners. The first transaction in which they are concerned is an equitable division of property which they had held in common. They and their descendants lived side by side in Larsa and gradually extended their possessions on every side. They were neighbors to two wealthy landowners from whom and from whose descendants they gradually acquired lands and houses. Especially did two brothers, sons of one of the original three, buy up, piece by piece, almost all the property of these two neighboring families. Further, in acquiring a piece of land, they seem to have come into possession of the deeds of sale, or leases, of that plot, which had been executed by previous owners. Thus, we can, in some cases, follow the history of a plot of land during several reigns.

Such a collection of documents probably did not come from the public archives, but from the muniment-chest of a private family, or of a

firm of traders. That duplicates of some of these tablets should have been found in other collections, points either to the collections having been purchased from native dealers, who put together tablets from all sources, or to the duplicates having been deposited in public archives, as a kind of registration of title.

In Assyrian times the transactions of the great Rîmâni-Adadi, the chief charioteer and agent of Ashurbânipal, who for some thirteen years appears almost yearly, as buyer or seller, lender or borrower, on some forty tablets, may serve as a further example, or we may note how Baḥiânu appears, chiefly as a corn lender, year after year, for thirty-three years, on some twenty-four tablets.

For the Second Empire of Babylonia, Professor J. Kohler and Dr. F. E. Peiser have given some fine examples of this method. Thus, for the bankruptcy of Nabû-aplu-iddin, they show that the creditors distrained upon the bankrupt's property and found a buyer for most of it in a great Neriglissar, afterwards King of Babylon. The first creditor was paid in full, another received about half of the amount due to him, a third about the same, while a fourth obtained less than a quarter of what was owed him. They also follow out the fortunes of the great banking firm of Egibi for fully a century. The sketch, of course, is not complete, and can only be made so by a prolonged search through thousands of documents in different museums; but it is intensely interesting and written with wonderful insight and legal knowledge. Another example is the family, or guild, of the priests of Gula. This is less fully made out but most valuable, as far as it goes. In both cases a genealogy is given extending over many generations.

Later still, the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, in the ninth volume of Cuneiform Texts, gives a collection of the business documents of one firm, "Murashu Sons, of Nippur," in the reign of Artaxerxes I. Here we have to do with a family deed-chest, a collection of documents found together and fortunately kept together.

But this method, attractive though it is, cannot be followed here. The reader is best led on from the known to the unknown. Those things must be taken first which must be understood in order to appreciate what is placed later. We consider first the law and the law-courts. The reader can thus follow the references to procedure which occur in the other sections. The rights of the State, the family, and the private individual come next. Then we learn of the classes of property and the various ways of disposing of it. After that is taken up a variety of disconnected topics,

whose order is mainly indifferent. Some overlapping of divisions is sure to occur in any order. This system has been found, after many permutations, to present the least inconvenience.

While it is hoped that this volume will give a fairly complete account of what is really known and also point out some things that are reasonably conjectured to be true, it is fully recognized that much remains to be done. Indeed, it may serve by its omissions to redirect attention to openings for future fruitful work.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. B. R. *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben.* Professor J. Kohler and Dr. F. E. Peiser. Leipzig, 1890-.

A. D. B. *Assyrian Doomsday Book.* Vol. XVII of *Assyriologische Bibliothek*. Leipzig, 1901.

A. D. D. *Assyrian Deeds and Documents.* In three vols. Cambridge, 1898-.

A. J. S. L. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.* Chicago.

A. O. F. *Altorientalische Forschungen.* Dr. H. Winckler. Leipzig, 1893-.

B. A. L. *Babylonian and Assyrian Life.* Professor A. H. Sayce. New York, 1901. (Semitic Series.)

B. A. S. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie.* Professors Delitzsch and Haupt. Leipzig, 1890-.

B. E. P. *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.* Series A. Cuneiform Texts. 1898-.

B. V. *Babylonische Verträge.* Dr. F. E. Peiser. Berlin, 1890.

C. T. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum.* London, 1896-.

D. E. P. *Délégation en Perse, Memoires.* Pub. by French Ministry of Instruction. Professor V. Scheil. 1900-.

E. B. H. *Early Babylonian History.* Dr. H. Radau. New York, 1900.

H. A. B. L. *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.* Professor R. F. Harper. Chicago, 1892-.

H. W. B. *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.* Professor Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1894.

I R., II R., III R., IV R., V R. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.* H. C. Rawlinson. London, 1861, 1866, 1870, 1880-4.

K. A. S. *Keilinschriftliche Aktenstücke.* Dr. F. E. Peiser. Berlin, 1889.

K. B. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.* Professor Eb. Schrader. Berlin, 1889-.

K. L. Ḥ. *The Letters and Inscriptions of Ḥammurabi.* Three vols. L. W. King, M.A. London, 1898-.

K. P. See A. B. R.

L. H. See K. L. Ḥ.

H. A. P. *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht.* Dr. Br. Meissner. Leipzig, 1893.

P. S. B. A. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.* London, 1872-.

Rev. Ass. Revue d'Assyriologie. Professors J. Oppert and E. Ledrain. Paris, 1884-.

Z. A. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.* Professor C. Bezold. Leipzig, 1886-.

Z. K. F. *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.* Professor C. Bezold. Leipzig, 1884-.

Camb., *Cyr.*, *Dar.*, *Ev. Mer.*, *Nbd.*, *Nbk.*, *Nerig.*, denote the volumes of *Babylonische Texte*; *Inschriften von Cambyses*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Evil Merodach*, *Nabonidus*, *Nebuchodonosor*, *Neriglissar*, pub. by Pater J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1887-.

H denotes the text published in H. A. B. L.

K denotes a text from Kouyunjik, now in the British Museum.

S denotes a text at Constantinople, from Sippara.

V. A. Th. denotes a text in the Berlin Museum.

B, B, B denote texts of the collections "from Warka," Bu. 88-5-12, and Bu. 91-5-9.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Character of the available material

The chief sources from which is derived our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian law are the contemporary inscriptions of the people themselves. These are not supplemented to any appreciable extent by the traditions of classical authors. So far as they make any references to the subject, their opinions have to be revised by the immeasurably greater knowledge that we now possess, and seem to be mostly based upon "travellers' tales" and misapprehensions.

These inscriptions are now preserved in great numbers in European and American museums, and have only been partly published. The bibliography is very extensive. For the earlier attempts to read and explain these documents the reader may refer to Professor C. Bezold's *Kurzgefässter Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Litteratur*, which gives a fairly complete account up to 1887. Of course, many books and memoirs there mentioned have now only a historical interest for the story of decipherment and explanation. These, however, may be studied with the greatest profit after having first become acquainted with the more recent works.

Division of subject

The division which is adopted in this work, "law, contracts, and letters," is only conventional. The three groups have much that is common and mutually supplement one another. Previous publications have often treated them more or less together, both as inscriptions and as minor sources of history. Hence it is not possible to draw up separate lists of books treating each division of the subject. Only those books or articles will be referred to which are most valuable for the student. Many of them give excellent bibliographies of their special subject.

Laws and contracts

The contemporary sources include actual codes of law, or fragments of them, legal phrase-books, and legal instruments of all sorts. From the last-mentioned source almost all that is known of ancient Babylonian law has been derived. The historical and religious inscriptions contribute very little. The consequence is that, except from the recently discovered Code of Ḥammurabi scarcely anything is known of the law in respect to crimes. Contracts and binding agreements are found in great profusion; but there is nothing to show how theft or murder was treated. Marriage-contracts tell us how adultery was punished. Agreements or legal

decisions show how inheritance was assigned. Consequently our treatment of law and contracts must regard them as inseparable, except that we may place first the fragments of actual codes which exist.

Letters

The letters are much more distinct. Each is a separate study, except in so far as it can be grouped with others of the same period in attempts to disentangle the historical events to which they refer. The deductions as to life and manners are no less valuable than those made from legal documents. In both wording and subject-matter they often illustrate legal affairs and even directly treat of them.

Chronologically treated

A first duty will be carefully to distinguish epochs. Great social and political changes must have left some mark upon the institutions we are to study. As far as possible, the material has been arranged for each subject chronologically.

The Code of Ḥammurabi

The longest and by far the most important ancient code hitherto discovered is that of Ḥammurabi (*circa* 2250 b.c.). The source for this is a block of black diorite about 2.25 metres high, tapering from 1.90 to 1.65 metres in circumference. It was found by De Morgan at Susa, the ancient Persepolis, in December, 1901, and January, 1902, in fragments, which were easily rejoined. The text was published by the French Ministry of Instruction from "squeezes" by the process of photogravure, in the fourth volume of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*. It was there admirably transcribed and translated by Professor V. Scheil. In all, the monument now preserves forty-four columns with some three thousand six hundred lines. There were five columns more, which were once intentionally erased and the stone repolished, probably by the order of some monarch of Susa, who meant to put his own name and titles there. There have been found other monuments in the French explorations at Susa, where the Elamite monarch has erased the inscription of a Babylonian king and inserted his own. This method of blotting out the name of a king was a favorite device in the ancient East and is frequently protested against and cursed in the inscription set up in Babylonia. This particular inscription did not fail to call down similar imprecations, which perhaps the Elamite could not read. But he stayed his hand, and we do not even know his name, for he wrote nothing on the vacant space.

It seems probable that the stone, or at any rate its original, if it be a copy, was set up at Sippara; for the text speaks of *Êbarra šuati*, "this

Ebarra," which was the temple of Shamash at Sippara. At the head of the obverse is a very interesting picture of Ḥammurabi receiving his laws from the seated sun-god Shamash. Some seven hundred lines are devoted to the king's titles and glory; to enumerating the gods he reverenced, and the cities over which he ruled; to invoking blessings on those who preserved his monument and respected his inscription, with the usual curses on those who did the opposite. These belong to the region of history and religion and do not concern us here. We may note, however, that the king expected that anyone injured or oppressed would come to his monument and be able there to read for himself what were the rights of his case.

Later copies

The whole of this inscription is not entirely new matter. The scribes of Ashurbânipal somewhere found a copy, or copies, of this inscription and made it into a series of tablets. Probably their originals were Babylonian tablets, for we know that in Babylonia the Code had been made into a series which bore the name of *Nînu ilu ṣîrum*, from the opening words of the stele. But, judging from the colophon of the Assyrian series, the scribes knew that the inscription came from a stele bearing the "image" of Ḥammurabi. A number of fragments belonging to such copies by later scribes were already published, by Dr. B. Meissner and Dr. F. E. Peiser. These were further commented upon by Professor Fr. Delitzsch, who actually gave them the name "Code Hammurabi." Some of these fragments enable us to restore one or two sections of the lost five columns.

These fragments are now easily set in order and will doubtless lead to the discovery of many others, the meaning of which has not yet been recognized. They exhibit some variants of interest, showing that they were not made directly from this particular monument. Even at Susa another fragment was found of a duplicate stele. Hence we may hope to recover the whole text before long.

Bibliography of this Code

The publication of the Code naturally excited great interest among scholars. It appeared in October, 1902, and, during the next month, Dr. H. Winckler issued a German translation of the Code under the title, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis Königs von Babylon um 2250 v. Chr. Das Älteste Gesetzbuch der Welt*, being *Heft 4* of the fourth *Jahrgang* of *Der alte Orient*. This marked an advance in some points on Scheil's rendering, but is not entirely satisfactory. The present writer read a paper in October, 1902, before the Cambridge Theological Society, an abridged

report of which appeared in the January *Journal*. He further published a baldly literal translation in February, 1903, entitled, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*. In the *Journal des Savants* for October and November, 1902, M. Dareste gave a luminous account of the subject-matter of the Code, especially valuable for its comparisons with the other most ancient law-codes. This of course was based on Scheil's renderings. In the *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* for January, 1903, Dr. H. Winckler, reviewing the fourth volume of the *Mémoires*, gave a useful account of the Code comparing it with some of the previously published fragments.

Mosaic parallels

The comparison with the Mosaic Code was sure to attract notice, especially as Professor F. Delitzsch had called the attention of the public to it, in his lecture entitled *Babel und Bibel*, even before more of the Code was known than the fragments from Nineveh. Dr. J. Jeremias has published a small book called *Moses und Hammurabi*, in which he deals with the relations pretty thoroughly. Professor C. F. Kent has also examined them in his article entitled *The Recently Discovered Civil Code of Hammurabi*, in *The Biblical World* for March, 1903. Some remarks on the subject are to be found in the *New York Independent*, December 11, 18, 1902, and January 8, 15, 22, 1903, accompanying a translation. All the above follow Winckler's renderings.

The translation here given makes use of the above works, but must be regarded as independent. It is impracticable to detail and justify the changes made. The renderings can hardly be regarded as final, where actual contracts do not occur to illustrate the Code; but there is very little doubt that we know the tenor of these laws with substantial accuracy.

Professor V. Scheil divided the text of the Code into sections according to subject-matter. But there are no marks of a division on the monument and Scheil's division is not adhered to in this work. For convenience of reference, however, his original section-numbers are given in connection with each law or sub-section of a law.

The legal phrase-books

Among the treasures preserved in the library of Ashurbânipal and in the archives of the Babylonian temples were a number of tablets and fragments of tablets which recorded the efforts made by Semitic scribes to render Sumerian words and phrases into Semitic. A large number of these are concerned with legal subjects. A fairly complete list of those now in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum will be found

in the fifth volume of Dr. Bezold's catalogue, page 2032. The greater part of them have been published either in the British Museum *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, in Dr. P. Haupt's *Keilschrifttexten*, Vol. I. of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, or in Dr. F. Hommel's *Sumerische Lesestücke*. In the latter will be found references to other publications. Dr. B. Meissner further published a number of later Babylonian editions of the same or allied series.

Their plan

The plan of the series to which most of these tablets belong is well seen in Dr. Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, fourth edition, p-14. The name by which the series is usually known, to which most of these tablets belong, is the Semitic rendering of the first Sumerian phrase given there, *ana ittišu*, "to his side." The sections into which the series is divided each deal with some simple idea and its expression in Sumerian. But the principle of arrangement is not very clear. We may take one section for example. "With him, with them, with me, with us, with thee, with you," are given in two columns, the first being the Sumerian for these phrases, the second the Semitic rendering. Owing to the form of treatment some of these texts have been called "paradigms."

Sumerian family laws

But the scribes also gave some fairly long and connected prose extracts in Sumerian with their Semitic renderings. What these were extracted from is still a question. Some of the clauses are known to have been employed in the contracts. But some of these even may well have been extracts from a code of laws. The name of "Sumerian Family Laws" has been given to certain sections. Others seem to have been extracted from a Sumerian work on agriculture, with which Hesiod's *Works and Days* has been compared. But at present we are not in possession of the complete works from which these extracts are taken.

Such as they are, they have a value beyond that of enabling us to read Sumerian documents. They often afford evidence of customs and information which we get nowhere else. The information given by them will be utilized in the subsequent portions of this work. Their translation here would serve no purpose, since they are very disconnected, but an example may be of interest. One section reads, "He fastens the buckets, suspends the pole, and draws up the water." This is a vivid picture of the working of a watering-machine, from which we learn its nature as we could not from its name only.

Legal documents

Legal documents constitute by far the larger portion of the inscriptions which have come down to us from every period of Babylonian and Assyrian history. In the library of Ashurbânipal alone they are exceeded by the letters and even more by the works dealing with astrology and omens. In some periods, however, we have only a few inscriptions from monuments, or bricks.

Real character of the contract tablets

To some extent the term "contracts," which has commonly been applied to them, is misleading. The use of the term certainly was due to a fundamental misunderstanding, they being once considered as contracts to furnish goods. They were even thought to be promises to pay, which passed from hand to hand, like our checks, and so formed a species of "clay money." These views were both partially true, but do not cover the whole ground.

They were binding legal agreements, sealed and witnessed. They were binding only on the parties named in them. They were drawn up by professional scribes who wrote the whole of the document, even the names of the witnesses. Hence it is inaccurate to speak of them as "signed" by anyone but the scribe, who often added his name at the end of the list of witnesses. The parties and witnesses did impress their own seals at one period, but later one seal, or two at most, served for all. It is not clear whose seal was then used. But the document usually declares it to be the seal of the party resigning possession.

Their external form

As to external form, most of those which may be called "deeds" consist of small pillow-shaped, or rectangular, cakes of clay. In many cases these were enclosed in an envelope, also of clay, powdered clay being inserted to prevent the envelope adhering. Both the inner and outer parts were generally baked hard; but there are many examples where the clay was only dried in the sun. The envelope was inscribed with a duplicate of the text. Often the envelope is more liberally sealed than the inner tablet. This sealing, done with a cylinder-seal, running on an axle, was repeated so often as to render its design difficult to make out, and to add greatly to the difficulty of reading the text. When the envelope has been preserved unbroken, the interior is usually perfect, except where the envelope may have adhered to it. Such double tablets are often referred to as "case tablets." The existence of two copies of the same deed has been of great value for decipherment. One copy often has some variant in spelling, or phrasing, or some additional piece of information, that is of great assistance. The envelope was rather fragile

and in many cases has been lost, either in ancient times, or broken open by the native finders, in the hope of discovering gold or jewels within. But in any case, the envelope, so long as it lasted, was a great protection; and there are few tablets better preserved than this class of document.

In Assyrian times, few "case" tablets are preserved, they seem to have gone out of fashion except for money-loans and the like. But it may be merely an accident that so few envelopes are preserved. In the case of letters, where the same plan of enclosing the letter in an envelope was followed, hardly any envelopes have been found, because they had to be broken open to read the letter. The owner of a deed may have had occasion to do the same, but here there was less excuse, as the envelope was inscribed with the full text.

In early times, another method of sealing was adopted. A small clay cone was sealed and the seal attached to the document by a reed, which ran through both. The seal thus hung down, as in the case of many old parchment deeds in Europe.

How kept

The deeds were often preserved in private houses, usually in some room or hiding-place below ground. In the case of the tablets from Tell Sifr, which were found by Loftus *in situ*, three unbaked bricks were set in the form of a capital U. The largest tablet was laid upon this foundation and the next two in size at right angles to it. The rest were piled on these and on the bricks and the whole surrounded by reed matting. They were covered by three unbaked bricks. This accounts for their fine preservation.

Others were stored in pots made of unbaked clay. The pots, as a rule, have crumbled away, but they kept out the earth around. Sometimes this broke in and crushed the tablets. In some cases they were laid on shelves round a small room; but in others they seem to have been kept in an upper story, and so were injured, when the floor fell through.

The parties possessing copies

It seems certain that as a rule all deeds were executed in duplicate, each party receiving a copy. The scribe often appears to have kept another. At one time copies were also deposited in the public archives, most probably the city temple or the governor's palace. There are indications that copies of deeds executed in the provinces were sent to the capital. Whether this was in pursuit of a general policy of centralization or only accidental in the few cases known to us is not quite clear. In many instances we actually possess duplicates, sometimes three copies of the same deed.

Scope of legal documents

These documents are exceedingly varied in contents. The most common are deeds relating to the sale or lease of houses, fields, buildings, gardens, and the like; the sale or hire of slaves and laborers; loans of money, corn, dates, wool, and the like; partnerships formed or dissolved; adoption, marriage, inheritance, or divorce. But almost any alienation, exchange, or deposit of property was made the subject of a deed. Further, all legal decisions were embodied in a document, which was sealed by the judge and given to both parties to the suit. These were often really deeds by which the parties bound themselves to accept and abide by the decisions. Some are bonds or acknowledgments of debt. A great many closely allied documents are lists of money or goods which had been given to certain persons. They were evidence of legal possession and doubtless a check on demand for repayment.

General works on the subject

The bibliography of the subject is best dealt with under each general division; but reference must be made to works dealing with the subject as a whole. Professor J. Oppert's *Documents Juridiques* was the first successful attempt to deal with contracts in general and laid the foundation of all subsequent work. Dr. F. E. Peiser and Professor J. Kohler's *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben* deals with the later Babylonian documents as far as they throw light upon social life and custom. Professor Sayce's *Babylonians and Assyrians* makes large use of the data given by the contracts. Dr. T. G. Pinches's *The Old Testament in the Light of the Monuments of Assyria and Babylonia* also gives a very full account of what may be gleaned from them. The present writer's *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* makes an attempt to treat one branch fully. This work can only present the most essential facts. The whole amount of material is so vast, so much is yet unpublished, so many side-issues arise, all worth investigating, that it can only serve to introduce the reader to a fascinating and wide field of study.

Different epochs represented

The material with which we have to deal, for the most part, falls very naturally into epochs. The early Babylonian documents, though very numerous, are mostly of the nature of memoranda and include few letters or contracts. The documents of the First Dynasty of Babylon are extremely rich in examples of both contracts and letters. Then the Tell Amarna letters form a distinct group. The Ninevite contracts and letters of the Sargonid Dynasty are well marked as separate from the foregoing. Lastly, those of the New Babylonian Empire are a group by themselves.

A few scattered examples survive which form intermediate groups, usually too small to be very characteristic, and certainly insufficient to justify or support any theory of the intermediate stages of development.

Local features

It must be observed that to a great extent these groups are not only separated by wide intervals of time — several centuries as a rule — but that they are locally distinct. The first comes from Telloh, the larger part of the second from Sippara, the third from Egypt (or Syria), the fourth from Assyria, the last from Babylonia. Whether the documents of Sippara in the third period showed as great divergence from those of the second period as the Tell Amarna letters do, or whether each group is fairly characteristic of its age in all localities using the cuneiform script, are questions which can only be answered when the other documents of that period are available for comparison.

Characteristics of each group

The documents of each group have marked characteristics in form of script, in orthography, in language. So great are the differences that a slight acquaintance with these characteristics will suffice to fix the epoch of a given document. For the most part, however, these characteristics are not such as can appear in translation. They will be pointed out as far as possible in the opening sections dealing with each group. The aim will be to select characteristic specimens of each group for translation and to append a summary of what can be obtained by a study of the group.

The thousands of documents dealt with under these groups would, if translated, require a library of volumes. In the case of the contracts the repetition of scores of examples of the same sort would be wearisome. In the case of the letters, the translation alone would be almost as obscure as the original, without copious comment on the relationships, customs, and events referred to. In both cases it must be noted that many of the most interesting examples are incomplete and unavailable as specimens. The object of this work is to show what are the most important laws or legal documents of each period and to point out the chief subjects of information to be gained from them. For the letters no such summary of information can be given, partly because they are so many and varied, partly because so few are yet available.

First period: the early Babylonian

The first epoch is to be considered as one period only because its contribution to the subject is as yet small and chronologically precedes the first great group. It ranges from the earliest beginnings of history to

somewhere about b.c. 2300. The dates are largely conjectural, but for the most part the sequence of the events is known. It is the period covered by Dr. H. Radau's *Early Babylonian History*.

Some very ancient documents fall under this period. The early tablets which show the nearest approach to the original picture-writing are transfers of property. As a rule, however, such votive inscriptions do not come under the head of contracts. One of the earliest of our monuments, the Stele of Manistusu, King of Kish, records the sale of land. Another very early monument of similar style deals with the sale of plots of land. Others will be found in the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*.

But by far the greatest number of inscriptions belong to the finds of Telloh, made by De Sarzec in his explorations for the French Government. His greatest find, some thirty thousand tablets which were in the archives there, was dispersed by the Arabs, and has found its way into various museums. They have been sold in Europe, as coming from different localities. It is certain that other finds of the same period and same general character have been made elsewhere, so that it is often difficult now to determine their place of discovery.

A very large number of these tablets, from the collection of T. Simon, now in the Berlin museums, were copied and edited by G. Reisner, as *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*. The admirable abstracts of the contents there given will furnish all the information that anyone but a specialist will need. They consist of lists of all sorts of natural products, harvests from fields, seed and other expenses allowed for cultivating fields, lists of the fields with their cultivators, numerous receipts for loans or grants, accounts of sheep and cattle, stipends or allowances for certain people; but only one, number 125, is doubtfully said to concern a sale of some slaves.

Dr. H. Radau, in his *Early Babylonian History*, gives the texts of a large number of similar tablets. He also classified, transliterated, and tentatively translated most of them. The kind of information to be obtained is well brought out in his notes and comments. They contain receipts, accounts of all sorts, lists of animals, skins, wool, oil, wine, grain, pitch, and honey; but none relate to the usual subjects treated in contract-tablets.

M. Thureau-Dangin edited and discussed a number of tablets of the same character in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*. Especially valuable is his

memoir, *L'accomptabilité agricole en Chaldée*, where many interesting facts are collected and published.

The second period: the First Dynasty of Babylon

A very large number of texts of this period were published by Mr. L. W. King, in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*. These have been discussed in a few instances by various writers in scientific journals. In the short descriptions prefixed to these editions mention is made of "contracts," but it is difficult to see to which the term could be properly applied.

A number of extracts from early "contracts" are given by Professor V. Scheil in the recent files of the *Receuil de Travaux*. According to the descriptions given, many of them are legal instruments. Besides advances of grain and receipts for the same, or sales of land, we have a legal decision concerning a marriage. Of several of these only a few lines are given and the description of others is misleading. They are mostly preserved at Constantinople. Some are purely Sumerian, others Semitic. The same remarks apply to this author's publications in his *Une Saison de fouilles à Sippar*. Valuable as are the portions available, they chiefly make us long for more.

A very large number of tablets belonging to the second period are now in Europe and America. They seem to have been purchased from dealers, either in the East or West; and may be presumed to have been discovered by the natives. No reliable information can therefore be had as to their origin. Various places are mentioned: Sippara, Abu Habba, Senkereh, Telloh, Warka, have all been stated to be the place of discovery. There seems no good reason why tablets of this period should not be found anywhere in Babylonia. But on examination it is found that collections said to be from widely different places contain duplicates; while the same collection contains tablets dated at different cities and with dates a thousand years apart. It is conceivable that the records of important transactions, especially the transfers of land, were deposited by order in the archives at the capital, wherever that was for the time being. We may imagine that the archives at Sippara or Larsa were afterwards transferred to Babylon, for safety, or in pursuance of a policy of centralization. Certain it is that a large number of the texts imply a devotion to Shamash as chief deity, while others ascribe the pre-eminence to Marduk or Sin. But this fact is quite consistent with the archives having been discovered in either Babylon or Sippara.

Present location of the tablets: London

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the apparent centralization is of purely modern production. The dealers put together tablets from all sources and ascribe the collection to the place of origin which best suits their fancy. As a consequence, scarcely any collection contains a homogeneous series belonging either to one period or source. This is the more deplorable because so few are competent to date a tablet by the style of writing upon it, and internal indications are often lacking.

In the British Museum we have the following collections:

I. A number of "case" tablets brought from Tell Sifr by Loftus in 1850. Owing to a misleading statement in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, , these have generally been taken to be from Warka, the ancient Erech. But the account given on pages 270-72 of Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, leaves no doubt of the place and date of their discovery. These are usually denoted by B.

II. A number of tablets now in the Kouyunjik Collections. It is certain that these do not come from Nineveh, and in the British Museum Catalogue they are usually ascribed to Warka, but with an implied doubt. One or two are dated at Erech. The D. T. Collection also contains many tablets, said to be "not from Kouyunjik."

III. The collection 81-7-1 contains some forty at least, comprising the accounts of the temple of Ninib, from the time of Ammiditana and Ammizaduga.

IV. The collection 82-7-14 also has a few tablets of this period.

V. The collection 82-9-18 has at least one contract.

VI. The collection Bu. 88-5-18, purchased by Dr. E. A. W. Budge in the East, consists of some seven hundred tablets. They are said to come from Sippara; and date from *b.c.* 2300 to the time of Darius. These will be denoted by B.

VII. The collection Bu. 91-5-9, also purchased by Dr. E. A. W. Budge in the East, consists of some three thousand tablets. These will be denoted by B.

The purchases for the British Museum also include a large number of other tablets of this period. They are now numbered consecutively, thus Bu. 91-5-9, 606 is known as Brit. Mus. No. 92,679. This renders it difficult to further particularize the contents of the collections; or to know whether a given tablet belongs to one of the above collections.

Paris

In the Museum of the Louvre at Paris are a few tablets belonging to this epoch. Seven of them are published in M. Heuzey's *Découvertes en Chaldée*.

Berlin

At the Berlin Museum is a collection known by the name of Homsy.

The tablets are marked V. A. Th., but this mark includes other tablets widely separated in date and found at different sites.

Philadelphia

At the University of Pennsylvania collections known as J. S., Kh., and H. contain tablets of this period. Professor E. F. Harper, writing in *Hebraica*, gives some account of these collections; from which it appears that the J. S. collection contains tablets of Ḥammurabi, Samsuiluna, and Ammiditana; while the Kh. collection has tablets of Ḥammurabi, Samsuiluna, Ammiditana, and Ammizaduga. He announced the discovery of the name of Abêshu on contemporary documents, belonging to that reign. The two collections contain over a thousand tablets. The H collection has six hundred and thirty-two tablets, many of this epoch.

Constantinople

In the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople are a large number of tablets of this period. They are denoted by N, the Nippur collection found by the American explorers there; S, the Sippar collection from the explorations conducted by Pater V. Scheil at Abu Habba; the T or Telloh collection from the explorations of De Sarzec.

A few tablets are owned by Sir Henry Peek, Bart.

A few tablets exist in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the gift of Mr. Bosanquet.

The Rev. J. G. Ward possesses a tablet, published by Dr. T. G. Pinches in *P. S. B. A.*, XXI., p-63, of the time of Mana-balte-el, which seems to be of this period.

A number of other tablets of the period are known to be in different museums or in the hands of private individuals.

Publications

The historical value of the events used in dating these tablets was recognized by G. Smith, who published the dates of a number of the Loftus tablets, in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, .

The earliest publication of the texts was by Pater J. N. Strassmaier in the *Verhandlungen des V Internationalen Orientalistischen Congresses zu Berlin*, 1881. In the *Beilage* he gave the lithographed text of one hundred and nine tablets under the title of *Die altbabylonischen Verträge aus Warka*. He made many important observations upon their character and style, and gave a valuable list of words and names. As was to be

expected from a first attempt, both his readings of the texts and his transcriptions from them leave room for some improvement. He arranged his texts according to the reigns of the kings mentioned.

This edition formed the subject of M. V. Revillout's article, *Une Famille commerçant de Warka*, and of numerous articles by other scholars in the journals. Dr. B. Meissner seems to have collated a number of these texts for his *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*.

In 1888, Dr. T. G. Pinches published *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.* It was followed by other parts and by *Babylonian and Assyrian Cylinder-seals and Signets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.*, in 1890. These are most valuable for their full treatment — photographs of the originals, drawings, and descriptions of the seals, transliterations, translations, and comments, giving a better idea of what these documents are like than can be obtained without actually handling the originals. Dr. Pinches in his introduction assigns their discovery to the ruins of Sippara. The texts published by him only include three from our period, Nos. 1, 13, 14; but nowhere will a beginner find more assistance in his studies of this class of tablet.

In 1893 Dr. B. Meissner published his invaluable *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, Vol. XI. of Delitzsch and Haupt's *Assyriologische Bibliothek*. This gave a full transliteration and translation of one hundred and eleven texts published in autography. Full notes and comments were added giving practically all that could then be said on the subject. His introduction summarized the information, to be extracted from his texts, bearing on the social institutions of Babylonia. By arranging the texts in classes according to their purport and contents he was able to elucidate each text by comparison with similar documents and so to gain a very clear idea of the meaning of separate clauses, even when the exact shade of meaning of individual words remained obscure. Any advance which the interpretation of these documents may make must be based on his researches and follow his methods. He gave a useful glossary, but no list of proper names.

In the fourth volume of Schrader's *Keilinscriftliche Bibliothek*, 1896, Dr. F. E. Peiser adopted the plan of arranging the then known contract-texts in chronological order. He gave, in transliteration and translation, the texts of thirty-one tablets of this period. Of these many had been previously published by Strassmaier and Meissner, but Dr. Peiser's renderings and short notes are of great value.

In 1896 began the grand series of publications, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, printed by order of the Trustees*, which has been continued to the present date. Volumes II., IV., VI., and VIII. contain copies by Dr. T. G. Pinches of no fewer than three hundred and ninety-five texts from the B and B Collections. They also contain a number of letters and other texts, some of a date as late as Xerxes, but from the same two collections.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,1897 and 1899, Dr. T. G. Pinches gives transliterations, translations, and comments upon fifteen of these texts.

A word of notice must be given to the excellent Guides published by the trustees of the British Museum. The *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, with four autotype plates, 1885, and the *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon* are now superseded by the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* with thirty-four plates, photographic reproductions of the originals, 1900. On pages 104-13 will be found a most useful account of the class of tablet and short descriptions of ninety-four exhibited case tablets. Most of these tablets have been published by Strassmaier or in *Cuneiform Texts*, but are now indicated by their new registration numbers.

It will be evident from the above remarks that only a small proportion of the material in our museums has yet been published. It is greatly to be desired that every existing tablet should be published, as in no other way can we hope to solve many important problems. Not only the chronology but much of the actual history can be recovered from these tablets, while the names of the witnesses and parties to the transactions will settle the order of the years which are still doubtful. It is from these deeds that the greater part of this work will be constructed. They form the groundwork, while later documents fill in details.

The chronological system

The years were given names. Thus the second year of Ḥammurabi is called “the year in which Ḥammurabi the king established the heart of the land in righteousness.” The year often received its name from the capture of some city. Are we to suppose that these events actually occurred on the first day of the year? If not, by what name was the year called up to the occurrence of the event in question? There is evidence that some years passed by two names, one of which was probably conferred after the year had begun. An examination of all dated tablets would doubtless result in fixing the time of the year at which the new year-name came into use. This can only be achieved by the custodians of

our great collections. But, speaking generally, it seems obvious that names were often given to the years which attached to them a memory of the previous rather than a record for the current year. When in after years scribes drew up lists of the dates of a reign, they may well have made mistakes as to the exact year in which an event took place and have also credited a king with too long a reign, by counting as separate years two dates which were really the alternatives for one and the same year. In this way we may perhaps account for the discrepancies between the Chronicle and the King Lists.

Key to the order of events in a reign

The tablets often mention the name of the reigning king as well as the year-name; thus we read as a date, "the year when Samsuiluna was king," followed by "the year in which the canal of Samsuiluna named Ḥegallu was dug," which was the year-name of Samsuiluna's fourth year. Also the parties often swore an oath to observe their contract by the name of one or more gods and of the reigning king. Hence, very often, when the date is not preserved at all, we know what reign was concerned. On the other hand, in some reigns we have dated tablets from almost every year. If all the tablets were published, the witnesses and other parties would enable us to fix the sequence of the years. As these year-names each give a prominent event for the year we could thus reconstruct a skeleton history of the reign. Indeed, the present writer had already determined the order of several years, in more than one reign, from consideration of the persons named in each. Of course, no assurance could thus be had that some intermediate years were not omitted in such a scheme, since there is no certainty that we know the name-dates for each year of a reign. The order of the kings themselves and the lengths of their reigns were already known from the King List published by Dr. T. G. Pinches.

The chronicle of the king

It seemed probable that the scribes of those days would have made lists of the year-names, in order to know how much time had elapsed since a given event had occurred. Hence great was the excitement and delight when in *C. T. VI.* was published a tablet which once contained a list of year-names from Sumuabu to Ammizaduga. This was followed by the publication in Mr. L. H. King's *Letters of Ḥammurabi* of a duplicate, which served to restore and complete the list down to the tenth year of Ammizaduga's reign. Mr. King further added the year-names actually used on the dated tablets then published; thus showing how the year-names of the list were quoted and either abbreviated or expanded. He

very appropriately called this the *Chronicle of the Kings of Babylon*. In the meantime Professor A. H. Sayce had given a translation of the first published list. In the fourth volume of the *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Dr. E. Lindl has given a full discussion of the first published list. He further adds a small list of the same character giving the year-names in order for part of the reigns of Ḥammurabi and Samsuiluna. Dr. Lindl used the published dates of the contracts to complete and restore the first list. Thus a great deal of excellent work has been done on these lists. None of them are complete for the whole dynasty, nor even for the part which they originally covered, and the known dated documents do not serve to fully restore them. But so far as they go, they must take the precedence of the King List, being almost contemporary documents.

Other kings mentioned

Besides the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon the collections above referred to designate several other persons as kings. Thus the B collection of the British Museum names Nûr-Adadi, Sin-idinnam, and Rim-Sin as kings. The texts enable us to fix all these as kings of Larsa. Hence evidently the Tell Sifr, where these tablets were found, was in the territory of Larsa. The whole question is well discussed by Dr. Lindl. The date on the tablet B. 34a refers to the setting-up of a throne for Shamash by Nûr-Adadi. The date on B. 35 refers to the completion of a temple in Eridu by Sin-idinnam, King of Larsa. It is scarcely conceivable that these refer to other than the Nûr-Adadi, who set up the kingdom of Larsa in the south of Babylonia about the same time as Sumuabi founded the dynasty of Babylon. Sin-idinnam, his son, succeeded him as King of Larsa and claimed to be King of Shumer and Akkad. Elam, however, under Kudurnanhundi I., invaded the south, defeated Sin-idinnam and set up Rim-Sin as King of Larsa. It seems that Rim-Sin reigned thirty-seven years, partly as vassal of Ḥammurabi, from the seventeenth year of Sin-mubalit until the thirty-first of Ḥammurabi. Whether Sin-idinnam was then restored to his throne as vassal of Ḥammurabi, or whether Rim-Sin was succeeded by a second Sin-idinnam, or whether the restoration of Sin-idinnam, after a temporary expulsion of Rim-Sin, took place within the thirty-seven years of the latter's reign, is not yet clear.

Era of Isin

Of great interest is the fact of the use of an era in the south of Babylonia. A large number of tablets are dated by the years after the capture of Isin. Thus tablets are dated in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 13th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 30th years after

the capture of Isin. Most of them are related to the kingdom ruled by Rim-Sin, which clearly included Tell Sifr, Nippur, Eridu, as well as Larsa. The first year of this era was probably the seventeenth year of Sin-mubalit.

Various historical identifications

A king Immeru is mentioned, usually alone, but once with Sumu-lâ-ilu; where the form of the oath, "by Shamash and Immerum, by Marduk and Sumu-lâ-ilu," suggests that while Sumu-lâ-ilu was king of Babylon, the Marduk city, Immeru was king of a Shamash city. As he comes first, he was probably king of Sippara, where Shamash was the city god, and whence the collections, B, B, and V. A. Th., seem, on other grounds, to have come. That it was needful to name Sumu-lâ-ilu also points to that king being overlord of Sippara at the time.

The king Ilu-ma-ilu, named in the oaths, associated with Shamash, may well be a vassal king of Sippara, though Professor Delitzsch suggests that he may be the first king of the second dynasty of Babylon, whose name appears in the King list B as Ilu-ma(ilu).

The king Mana-balte-el, on the Rev. J. G. Ward's tablet, seems to belong to the First, or Second, Dynasty, perhaps as a vassal king, but may have preceded them by some short period.

The king Bungunu-ilu, mentioned by King, was associated with Sumu-lâ-ilu. Probably he was vassal king of Sippara before Immeru.

The third epoch: the Kassite kings

A number of extracts from the legal documents of the third period have been given by Father V. Scheil in the *Receuil de Travaux*. The full text is rarely given and there is consequently nothing for use here. They come from Nippur and are at Constantinople. The Semitic language is used largely, but a few Sumerian phrases remain. All the names of persons except those of the kings are pure Babylonian. The determinative of personality before proper names is common, but not before a king's name. The tablets are dated by regnal years, no longer by year-names. The kings have a determinative of divinity before their names. The money in use is either gold or bronze, silver is hardly named, while in other epochs it is almost always used. Gold was now legal tender, as silver was afterwards.

The many extremely fine charters of this period are of great value for the questions concerning land tenure. Descriptions and figures of some of them will be found in the Guide. The text of several was published by Dr. C. W. Belser, under the title *Babylonische Kudurru-inschriften*. Some of these are transliterated and translated in Schrader's *Keilschriftliche*

Bibliothek, where references to the literature will be found. In many cases these charters or boundary-stones are the only monumental evidence for their period. They therefore figure largely in the histories.

Some of the best examples are found in the second volume of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, beautifully reproduced by photogravure, admirably transliterated and translated by Professor V. Scheil. Some fine examples are also to be found in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*.

Of the time of Marduk-shum-iddin, b.c. 853-833, we have a black boundary-stone, published by Dr. F. E. Peiser, in *Keilschriftliche Actenstücke*, No. 1. It is dated in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Nabû-aplu-iddina, *circa* b.c. 858, and the eleventh year of Marduk-shum-iddina, *circa* b.c. 842. It rehearses the contents of two or more deeds by which a certain Kidinu came into possession of property in the city of Dilbat.

The Cappadocian tablets

The Cappadocian tablets are still somewhat of a problem. The first notice of them was given by Dr. T. G. Pinches. According to the dealer's account one acquired by the British Museum had come from Cappadocia. The script was then quite unfamiliar and it was thought that they were written in a language neither Semitic nor Akkadian. Various attempts, which are best forgotten, were made to transcribe and translate them under complete misapprehension of the readings of the characters. But in 1891 Golénischeff published twenty-four tablets of the same stamp, which he had acquired at Kaisarieh. His copies were splendidly done for one who could make out very little meaning. But he showed that many words were Assyrian and read many names. Professor Delitzsch made a most valuable study of them, and laid the foundation for their thorough understanding. Professor P. Jensen added greatly to our knowledge of their reading and interpretation. Dr. F. E. Peiser then gave a transcription and translation of nine texts of contracts.

They are now recognized to be purely Semitic. They must have been written in some place where Assyrian influence was all-powerful. There are many names compounded of Ashur. They are dated by eponyms as in Assyria. The discovery of many more of them at Boghaz Keui, Kara Eyuk, and elsewhere published by Professor V. Scheil in the *Mémoires de la Mission en Cappadoce par Ernest Chantre*, and commented on by M. Boissier, make it certain that they are from this region.

If subject to Assyria, their date may be before the earliest eponyms whose date is known from the Canon lists. They may be contemporary with the very earliest kings of Assyria. But it is not impossible that the eponyms referred to were local only and not Assyrian in origin. Dr. Peiser put them after the First Dynasty of Babylon, but before the Third Dynasty.

They are full of unusual forms of words and have a phraseology of their own. They cannot as yet be translated with any confidence. In general they are very similar to the contracts, money-loans, and letters of the First Dynasty of Babylon. As far as they can be understood, they offer no new features of interest. The obscure phrases and words give rise to many speculations which will be found in the above-mentioned works. These are of great interest, but need further data for elucidation. They are too questionable to be profitably embodied here.

The Elamite contracts

The Elamite contract-tablets were found at Susa and are published by Professor V. Scheil in Tome IV. of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*.

In external form they closely resemble the Babylonian documents of a similar nature. They are drawn up in practically the same way. But there is a blunt directness about them which recalls the usages of the First Dynasty of Babylon, rather than Assyria, or the Second Babylonian Empire. Hence we have little to indicate date. Until we are better acquainted with the Elamite script at various periods we cannot hope to date them.

They have many peculiar words and phrases. Some may be Elamite, or that form of Semitic which obtained in Elam, but the rest of the language is ordinary Babylonian. It is possible that some characters had a value in Elam not known in Babylonia, or ideographic values not yet recognized. But, as a rule, the general sense is fairly clear.

The fourth epoch: Assyria

The legal documents of Assyria are in many respects a separate group. They are sometimes said to have come from the library of Ashurbânipal, which Mr. H. Rassam claims to have discovered at Kouyunjik in 1852-54. But it seems far more probable that, as large numbers were already found by Layard in 1849-51, we have rather to do with the contents of some archives. The absence of any large number of temple-accounts seems to exclude the probability that they were connected with a temple; but the fact that nearly every tablet has for one

principal party some officer of the king, lends great probability to the view that the transactions were really made on behalf of the king; or — to be more exact — of the palace in Nineveh. The exceptions may be accounted for as really deeds concerned with former sales; or mortgages of property, finally bought in for the king. The conjecture is raised to a moral certainty by the contents of such a collection as Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, found together with them; which consisted of copies of the requests and inquiries made of the Sun-god oracle regarding the troubles and difficulties of the king and royal family, domestic as well as public, in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbânipal. The letters too, found in the same collection, are the letters received by the king from his officers in all parts of his realm. The lists are connected with expenses of his household. Such votive tablets as are preserved are concerned with offerings of the royal family, or such high officers as probably were permanent inmates of the palace. We have, in fact, the contents of the muniment chests of the Sargonid kings of Assyria. That the royal library was mixed up with these documents may be due to the contents of an upper chamber falling, when its floor was burnt out; but the mixing may have been done by the discoverers.

In a very real sense these come from a record office, but are confined to royal rather than state documents; though a few duplicates of charters occur. Hence we look in vain for many classes of documents, such as are common in the archives of temples or private families. We have no marriage settlements, no adoptions, no partnerships.

Can we believe that such transactions were less common in Nineveh than fifteen centuries before in Sippara, or Larsa, or Babylon; or later in Babylon, Sippara, or Nippur? There cannot be a shadow of doubt that such documents exist in shoals somewhere in the ruins of Nineveh and will one day be found. Hence we must regard it as extremely improbable that the ordinary citizens of Nineveh contributed the records of their transactions to the Kouyunjik Collections now in the British Museum. They either kept them in their own houses or in some temple archives. As will be seen later, a few have already been found; but it is extremely difficult to locate them exactly. It is quite certain that a few of the tablets in the British Museum were found at other localities, such as Sherif Khan, Ashur, Kalah, Erech, Larsa, and Babylon.

For the most part these appear to have been placed in one collection by the discoverers, and only internal evidence can now decide where they were found. But the great bulk of the Kouyunjik Collections, as far as contracts, legal documents, and kindred tablets are concerned, are the

result of explorations conducted on the site of the ancient Nineveh, by Layard and Rassam. They probably came from palace archives, and as a result possess a special character of their own.

Aramaic dockets

Aramaic dockets very early attracted the attention of Assyriologists. The presence of short inscriptions in Aramaic on a few contract-tablets naturally raised hopes, in the early days of decipherment, of finding some check upon the reading of cuneiform. So far as these went they were by no means inconsistent with the readings of the cuneiform. But they were too few, too disconnected, and in themselves too uncertain, to be of great value. Indeed, for many of them, it is the cuneiform that now gives the key to their possible sense. The whole of these Aramaic inscriptions have now been published by Dr. J. H. Stevenson in his *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes*, where references to the literature will be found.

The collections of tablets

In connection with these Aramaic legends a number of the texts of Assyrian contracts were published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, *Pars Secunda*, *Tomus I*. A number more were published in Vol. III. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, by Sir H. C. Rawlinson. A few others were published in various journals; and by Oppert in his epoch-making treatise on the juristic literature, *Documents Juridiques*; by Peiser, in Vol. IV. of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; and by Strassmaier in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis*. The whole of the texts of the Assyrian contracts from the Kouyunjik Collections in the British Museum are now published in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents recording the Transfer of Property, etc.* (three volumes published). A bibliography will be found there, on page ix of the preface to Vol. I.

Their peculiar style

The very remarkable style which most of these tablets show is so unlike the contemporary documents in Babylonia that we may expect that transactions between private citizens in Assyria at this time were quite different. A few such documents exist. Professor V. Scheil, in the *Receuil de Travaux*, published the text of four which are quite unlike any of the Kouyunjik examples.

The plan of arrangement in the volume

In *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* the same plan of arrangement was followed, to some extent, as in this work. Being all of one epoch and

showing no signs of any development the tablets were grouped, provisionally, according to subjects. The arrangement in each group was to place first the best specimens of the group and then the injured and fragmentary specimens, which thus received illustration, and in some cases, could be restored. It would, however, be an error to regard the Assyrian documents as the intermediate link between the old and new Babylonian documents, though they belong chronologically to an interval which precedes the latter immediately. The Assyrian scribe used a formula that was closer to the Old Babylonian than to the contemporary Babylonian. It had an independent development, looking rather to the royal charters as models than to the private document. In fact, the closest parallels of all are to be found on the Babylonian boundary-stones and charters. When, therefore, in our chronologically arranged sketch of a given subject, reference is made to Assyrian usage, next to that of the First Dynasty of Babylon, it will be understood that only the nature of the transaction is akin; and that, as a rule, the verbal treatment of it is quite distinct.

Contemporary Babylonian documents

A few contemporary documents have reached us from the cities of Babylonia. They have little or no affinity with the immediately preceding groups, but carry on the local development from the second epoch. They come from many sites and are published in a variety of journals. A tentative list of them will be found in the Appendix. They refer to transactions in the reigns of Shalmaneser IV., Sargon II., Merodach-baladan II., Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Shamash-shum-ukin, Kandalanu, Ashur-etil-ilâni, and Sin-shar-ishkun. In style they belong to the next epoch.

Fifth epoch: the second Babylonian empire

The second Babylonian empire, commencing with Nabopolassar and extending to the end of the independent existence of a Babylonian empire, is represented by thousands of tablets in our museums. A small part of these has been published. Pater J. N. Strassmaier has given some one thousand six hundred in his *Babylonische Texte*. Dr. Peiser published many more in his *Keilinschriftliche Acten-stücke and Babylonische Verträge*. The Rev. B. T. A. Evetts, Dr. Moldenke, Dr. Pinches and others have published many more. A detailed list will be found in the Appendix.

Persian Empire, and later

In the times of the Persian kings very many documents were drawn up very similar to these. The series is quite unbroken, down through

Macedonian rule, the Arsacid period, to as late as b.c. 82. The list will be found in the Appendix.

Of the whole period we may say that the variety and quantity of written evidence are amazing. Every sort of transaction that could be made the subject of a deed or memorandum was written down. They come from most of the chief cities in Babylonia.

Classification

The classification of this material is no easy task. As in the case of the Bibliography, so here, the first and apparently the only attempt has been made by Dr. C. Bezold in his invaluable *Kurzgefasster Überblick*.

The view taken there depended upon Professor Oppert's estimate of the nature of the documents and that again was often founded on imperfect copies of the text. A great advance has since been made in understanding the contents of the texts then published, and the number published has enormously increased.

The publications, where accompanied by translations, have generally given some classification. Dr. Peiser, in the fourth volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, gives most suggestive indexes. Dr. Tallqvist, in his *Sprache der Contrakte Nabunâ'id's* gives a very valuable classification. Dr. Meissner classified his texts in *Altbabylonische Privatrecht*.

A number of monographs have been written collecting the different texts from many sources bearing on one subject, thus acting as a kind of classification. A complete work on the subject is still needed.

Monographs

Of great importance are Dr. F. E. Peiser's *Jurisprudentiæ Babylonicæ quæ supersunt, Cöthen*, 1890 (Inaug. Diss.); Dr. B. Meissner's *De Servitute babylonico-assyriaca*, Leipzig, 1882 (Inaug. Diss.); and Dr. V. Marx, *Die Stellung der Frauen in Babylonien (Nebuchadnezzar to Darius b.c. 604-485)* published in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. IV., p-77. These should certainly be read by any serious student of the times. To reproduce their contents would occupy too much space.

On the whole subject of social life, as illustrated by these contracts, there is a valuable study by Dr. F. E. Peiser, called *Skizze der Babylonischen Gesellschaft*. Professor Sayce's *Babylonians and Assyrians* in the *Semitic Series*, 1900, is an excellent account, though in some respects not sufficiently critical. But in all such preliminary work it is easy to feel sure of conclusions which have to be revised with fuller knowledge. Time will doubtless show this to be true of what is said in

the present work. But wherever doubt is felt by the writer, it will be indicated.

LAWS AND CONTRACTS

I. THE EARLIEST BABYLONIAN LAWS

Nature of the oldest Babylonian laws

We are still completely in the dark as to the rise of law in Babylonia. As far back as we can trace the history or its written monuments, there is no time of which we can say, "As yet there was no law." Our chief object to-day is to discover what the law was. For the most part, and until lately, we were compelled almost entirely to infer this from such contracts as were drawn up between parties and sworn to, witnessed, and sealed. Among them were a large number of legal decisions which recorded the ruling of some judicial functionary on points of law submitted to him. These and the hints given by the legal phrase-books had allowed us to attain considerable knowledge of what was legal and right in ancient Babylonia or Assyria.

Data hitherto uncertain

But the question remained, Was it "right" or "law"? Were there enactments by authority, making clear what was right, and in some cases creating right, where there was none before? There was much to suggest the existence of enacted law, even of a code of laws, and the word "law" had been freely applied. But there was no known ascription of any law to a definite legislator. There was no word for "law," only the terms "judgments," "right," and "wrong." It was significant that the parties to a suit always seemed to have agreed on what was right between man and man, and then to have sworn by their gods to observe the "right."

Evidence that there were very ancient codes

We definitely know of one great code of laws, that of Ḥammurabi, and we are greatly strengthened in the view that there were laws, and even codes, centuries before him. The way in which contracts quote the phrases of his code is exactly parallel to the way in which far earlier contracts quote phrases which are evidently extracts, in the phrase-books, from some connected work. Hence we are warranted in thinking that these extracts come from a Sumerian code of laws. We do not yet know to whom we should ascribe its compilation.

Codes antecedent to that of Ḥammurabi

For the Code of Ḥammurabi is also a compilation. He did not invent his laws. Phrases found in them appear in contracts before his time. Doubtless he did enact some fresh laws. But he built for the most part on other men's foundations. The decisions already passed by the judges had made men ready to accept as "right" what was now made "law." But the

question is only carried back a stage further. Did not those judges decide according to law? In some cases we know they did, for we have the law before them. When we try to penetrate further into the background of history we can only surmise. Documents fail us to prove whether judges first made or administered the law. But we have now a very high antiquity for laws recognized and obeyed as right.

Sumerian laws found in the phrase-books

That laws were already enacted in the pre-Semitic or Sumerian days we may regard as certain. The legal phrase-books drawn up by later scribes, especially those known as forming the series called *ana ittišu*, give as specimens certain laws. These were evidently given by the scribes as examples of connected prose in Sumerian, accompanied by a rendering into Semitic. Their object was primarily grammatical, or at any rate educational; but they are most valuable because they contain specimens of the Sumerian legislation. Owing to their limited scope they were at first regarded as family laws. But there can be little doubt that they really are extracts from something like a code of laws. We are as yet quite ignorant of the date of their first promulgation, place of origin, and legislator. The seventh tablet of the series *ana ittišu*, Col. III. l. 22 to Col. IV. l. 22, gives the seven following laws:

Repudiation of father by son

I. If a son has said to his father, "You are not my father," he may brand him, lay fetters upon him, and sell him.

It may be doubted whether this applies to any but adopted sons. "You shall not be my father" is a possible rendering. But the phrase may only refer to rebellious conduct. The word rendered "brand" has often been taken to mean "shave." The cutting short of the hair was a mark of degradation. The Semitic Babylonians wore their hair long, while slaves, and perhaps also Sumerians as a race, are represented as hairless. However that may be, the same word is used of "branding" cattle and it implies cutting or incision. It may mean a tattooed mark. The word rendered "fetter" seems also to be used of a branded body-mark. The whole law means that the rebellious son is to be degraded to the status of a slave and treated as such.

Repudiation of mother by son

II. If a son has said to his mother, "You are not my mother," one shall brand his forehead, drive him out of the city, and make him go out of the house.

Here the same ambiguity about branding is found. Some take the word rendered "forehead" to mean the hair of the head. His head would

then be shaved. “To go out from the house” means “to be cut off from kith and kin.” But here the son retains his freedom, only he is an exile and homeless. In this case it is not the mother who exacts the penalty. The verb is plural and may be taken impersonally. The family or the city magistrates are probably the ones to execute the law.

Disinheritance of son by father

III. If a father has said to his son, “You are not my son,” he shall leave house and yard.

Here the father has power to repudiate a son, who must go. The word for “leave” is literally “take himself up,” “go up out of.” The word “yard” is simply “inclosure” and may mean the city walls, as a symbol of shelter.

Disinheritance of son by mother

IV. If a mother has said to her son, “You are not my son,” he shall leave house and property.

Here we expect, by analogy with Laws I. and II., that this penalty is rather less than that in III. The “property” means “house furniture.” The son must leave home and can take no house furniture with him. He has no claim to inherit anything. But he need not leave the city. Hence it seems likely that III. denied him the right of city shelter.

Repudiation of husband by wife

V. If a wife hates her husband and has said, “You are not my husband,” one shall throw her into the river.

Repudiation of wife by husband

VI. If a husband has said to his wife, “You are not my wife,” he shall pay half a mina of silver.

The contrast in the penalties is startling. Note the impersonal form of V. The executioners here are the family, or city, not the husband. Publicity is therefore implied. It is not a private quarrel, but a refusal of conjugal rights. In the second case the man divorces, or puts away, his wife, but pays a heavy fine.

Responsibility of employer

VII. If a man has hired a slave and he dies, is lost, has fled, has been incapacitated, or has fallen sick, he shall measure out 10 *ḲA* of corn *per diem* as his wages.

Here the Sumerian text differs from the Semitic. In the former the employer is said to “cause” the slave to suffer these detriments, in the latter he is said to come by them. The verb rendered “lost” is used in that sense in the later Code of Ḥammurabi. What is the exact sense of the

verb rendered “has been incapacitated” is not clear. Professor Hommel renders *durchbrennen*, Delitzsch renders *weichen, entweichen, oder zu arbeiten aufhören*. But it is clear that the employer is to pay a daily fine for injury done to the slave, or for loss to his owner, caused or connived at by him. The slave’s refusal to work could not be made the ground for fining him. If anyone paid for that it would be the owner. The employer pays for his work, but is bound to keep him safe and treat him reasonably well and return him in good condition to his owner. In later times the owner often took the risk of death and flight, but then he probably charged more hire. At any rate it is clear that the owner is not named in this law.

It is not profitable to discuss these mere fragments of a code. The most interesting thing is their existence. We may one day recover the Code in full. These are not retranslations into Sumerian, by learned scribes, of late laws. For exactly these words and phrases occur in the contracts of the First Dynasty of Babylon, before and after the Code of Ḥammurabi, which deals with the same cases, but in different words. In fact, this Sumerian Code is quoted, as the later Code was quoted, in documents which embody the sworn agreement of the parties to observe the section of the Code applying to their case. This is indeed the characteristic of the early contracts: after indicating the particulars of the case, an oath is added to the effect that the parties will abide by the law concerning it. Even where no reference is made to a law, it is because either no law had been promulgated on the point, or because the law was understood too well to need mention. Later this law-abiding spirit was less in evidence and the contract became a private undertaking to carry out mutual engagements. But even then it was assumed that a law existed which would hold the parties to the terms of an engagement voluntarily contracted.

II. THE CODE OF ḤAMMURABI

Witchcraft and the ordeal by water

§ 1. If a man has accused another of laying a *nêrtu* (death spell?) upon him, but has not proved it, he shall be put to death.

§ 2. If a man has accused another of laying a *kišpu* (spell) upon him, but has not proved it, the accused shall go to the sacred river, he shall plunge into the sacred river, and if the sacred river shall conquer him, he that accused him shall take possession of his house. If the sacred river shall show his innocence and he is saved, his accuser shall be put to death. He that plunged into the sacred river shall appropriate the house of him that accused him.

False witness in capital suit

§ 3. If a man has borne false witness in a trial, or has not established the statement that he has made, if that case be a capital trial, that man shall be put to death.

In civil case

§ 4. If he has borne false witness in a civil law case, he shall pay the damages in that suit.

Judgment once given not to be altered

§ 5. If a judge has given a verdict, rendered a decision, granted a written judgment, and afterward has altered his judgment, that judge shall be prosecuted for altering the judgment he gave and shall pay twelvefold the penalty laid down in that judgment. Further, he shall be publicly expelled from his judgment-seat and shall not return nor take his seat with the judges at a trial.

Burglary and acceptance of stolen goods

§ 6. If a man has stolen goods from a temple, or house, he shall be put to death; and he that has received the stolen property from him shall be put to death.

Dealings with irresponsible persons

§ 7. If a man has bought or received on deposit from a minor or a slave, either silver, gold, male or female slave, ox, ass, or sheep, or anything else, except by consent of elders, or power of attorney, he shall be put to death for theft.

Theft

§ 8. If a patrician has stolen ox, sheep, ass, pig, or ship, whether from a temple, or a house, he shall pay thirtyfold. If he be a plebeian, he shall return tenfold. If the thief cannot pay, he shall be put to death.

Procedure in case of the discovery of lost property

§ 9. If a man has lost property and some of it be detected in the possession of another, and the holder has said, “A man sold it to me, I bought it in the presence of witnesses”; and if the claimant has said, “I can bring witnesses who know it to be property lost by me”; then the alleged buyer on his part shall produce the man who sold it to him and the witnesses before whom he bought it; the claimant shall on his part produce the witnesses who know it to be his lost property. The judge shall examine their pleas. The witnesses to the sale and the witnesses who identify the lost property shall state on oath what they know. Such a seller is the thief and shall be put to death. The owner of the lost property shall recover his lost property. The buyer shall recoup himself from the seller’s estate.

§ 10. If the alleged buyer on his part has not produced the seller or the witnesses before whom the sale took place, but the owner of the lost property on his part has produced the witnesses who identify it as his, then the [pretended] buyer is the thief; he shall be put to death. The owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

§ 11. If, on the other hand, the claimant of the lost property has not brought the witnesses that know his lost property, he has been guilty of slander, he has stirred up strife, he shall be put to death.

§ 12. If the seller has in the meantime died, the buyer shall take from his estate fivefold the value sued for.

Judgment by default

§ 13. If a man has not his witnesses at hand, the judge shall set him a fixed time not exceeding six months, and if within six months he has not produced his witnesses, the man has lied; he shall bear the penalty of the suit.

Kidnapping

§ 14. If a man has stolen a child, he shall be put to death.

Abduction of slave

§ 15. If a man has induced either a male or female slave from the house of a patrician, or plebeian, to leave the city, he shall be put to death.

Harboring a fugitive slave

§ 16. If a man has harbored in his house a male or female slave from a patrician’s or plebeian’s house, and has not caused the fugitive to leave on the demand of the officer over the slaves condemned to public forced labor, that householder shall be put to death.

The capture of a fugitive slave

§ 17. If a man has caught either a male or female runaway slave in the open field and has brought him back to his owner, the owner of the slave shall give him two shekels of silver.

§ 18. If such a slave will not name his owner, his captor shall bring him to the palace, where he shall be examined as to his past and returned to his owner.

§ 19. If the captor has secreted that slave in his house and afterward that slave has been caught in his possession, he shall be put to death.

§ 20. If the slave has fled from the hands of his captor, the latter shall swear to the owner of the slave and he shall be free from blame.

Burglary

§ 21. If a man has broken into a house he shall be killed before the breach and buried there.

Highway robbery

§ 22. If a man has committed highway robbery and has been caught, that man shall be put to death.

§ 23. If the highwayman has not been caught, the man that has been robbed shall state on oath what he has lost and the city or district governor in whose territory or district the robbery took place shall restore to him what he has lost.

§ 24. If a life [has been lost], the city or district governor shall pay one mina of silver to the deceased's relatives.

Theft at a fire

§ 25. If a fire has broken out in a man's house and one who has come to put it out has coveted the property of the householder and appropriated any of it, that man shall be cast into the self-same fire.

Duties and privileges of an officer over the levy

§ 26. If a levy-master, or warrant-officer, who has been detailed on the king's service, has not gone, or has hired a substitute in his place, that levy-master, or warrant-officer, shall be put to death and the hired substitute shall take his office.

§ 27. If a levy-master, or warrant-officer, has been assigned to garrison duty, and in his absence his field and garden have been given to another who has carried on his duty, when the absentee has returned and regained his city, his field and garden shall be given back to him and he shall resume his duty.

Rights and duties of his son

§ 28. If a levy-master, or warrant-officer, has been assigned to garrison duty, and has a son able to carry on his official duty, the field

and garden shall be given to him and he shall carry on his father's duty.

§ 29. If the son be a child and is not able to carry on his father's duty, one-third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother to educate him.

Penalty for neglect of his benefice

§ 30. If such an official has neglected the care of his field, garden, or house, and let them go to waste, and if another has taken his field, garden, or house, in his absence, and carried on the duty for three years, if the absentee has returned and would cultivate his field, garden, or house, it shall not be given him; he who has taken it and carried on the duty connected with it shall continue to do so.

§ 31. If for one year only he has let things go to waste and he has returned, his field, garden, and house shall be given him, and he himself shall carry on his duty.

His ransom, if captured

§ 32. If such an official has been assigned to the king's service (and captured by the enemy) and has been ransomed by a merchant and helped to regain his city, if he has had means in his house to pay his ransom, he himself shall do so. If he has not had means of his own, he shall be ransomed by the temple treasury. If there has not been means in the temple treasury of his city, the state will ransom him. His field, garden, or house shall not be given for his ransom.

Duties of district governors

§ 33. If either a governor or a prefect has appropriated to his own use the corvée, or has accepted and sent on the king's service a hired substitute in his place, that governor, or prefect, shall be put to death.

Governors not to oppress subordinates

§ 34. If either a governor, or a prefect, has appropriated the property of a levy-master, has hired him out, has robbed him by high-handedness at a trial, has taken the salary which the king gave to him, that governor, or prefect, shall be put to death.

The benefice of a levy-master, warrant-officer, or tributary inalienable

§ 35. If a man has bought from a levy-master the sheep, or oxen, which the king gave him, he shall lose his money.

§ 36. The field, garden, or house, of a levy-master, warrant-officer, or tributary shall not be sold.

§ 37. If a man has bought field, garden, or house, of a levy-master, a warrant-officer, or tributary, his title-deed shall be destroyed and he shall lose his money. He shall return the field, garden, or house to its owner.

Not to be bequeathed to his family

§ 38. A levy-master, warrant-officer, or tributary, shall not bequeath anything from the field, garden, or house of his benefice to his wife or daughter, nor shall he give it for his debt.

§ 39. From the field, garden, or house which he has bought and acquired, he shall make bequests to his wife, or daughter, or shall assign for his debt.

The obligation resting upon a buyer of real estate

§ 40. A votary, merchant, or resident alien may sell his field, garden, or house, and the buyer shall discharge the public service connected with the field, garden, or house that he has bought.

A benefice not to be exchanged

§ 41. If a man has given property in exchange for the field, garden, or house, of a levy-master, warrant-officer, or tributary, such an official shall return to his field, garden, or house, and he shall appropriate the property given in exchange.

Responsibilities of land-tenants

§ 42. If a man has hired a field to cultivate and has caused no corn to grow on the field, he shall be held responsible for not doing the work on the field and shall pay an average rent.

§ 43. If he has not cultivated the field and has left it alone, he shall give to the owner of the field an average rent, and the field which he has neglected he shall break up with mattocks and plough it, and shall return it to the owner of the field.

The rent of unbroken land

§ 44. If a man has taken a piece of virgin soil to open up, on a three years' lease, but has left it alone, has not opened up the land, in the fourth year he shall break it up, hoe it, and plough it, and shall return it to the owner of the field, and shall measure out ten *GUR* of corn for each *GAN* of land.

Loss of crop by storm apportioned between landlord and tenant

§ 45. If a man has let his field to a farmer and has received his rent for the field but afterward the field has been flooded by rain, or a storm has carried off the crop, the loss shall be the farmer's.

§ 46. If he has not received the rent of his field, whether he let it for a half, or for a third, of the crop, the farmer and the owner of the field shall share the corn that is left in the field, according to their agreement.

Landlord cannot restrain a satisfactory tenant from subletting

§ 47. If a tenant farmer, because he did not start farming in the early part of the year, has sublet the field, the owner of the field shall not object; his field has been cultivated; at harvest-time he shall take rent, according to his agreement.

Abatement of debt on account of storm, flood, or drought

§ 48. If a man has incurred a debt and a storm has flooded his field or carried away the crop, or the corn has not grown because of drought, in that year he shall not pay his creditor. Further, he shall post-date his bond and shall not pay interest for that year.

Rights in a crop pledged for debt

§ 49. If a man has received money from a merchant and has given to the merchant a field, planted with corn, or sesame, and has said to him, "Cultivate the field and reap and take the corn, or sesame, that shall be grown"; if the bailiff has reared corn, or sesame, in the field, at harvest-time the owner of the field shall take what corn, or sesame, has been grown in the field and shall pay corn to the merchant for his money that he took of him and its interest, and for the maintenance of the bailiff.

§ 50. If the field he gave was [already] cultivated, or the sesame was grown up, the owner of the field shall take the corn, or sesame, that has been grown in the field, and shall return the money and its interest to the merchant.

§ 51. If he has not money enough, he shall give to the merchant sesame, or corn, according to its market price, for the money which he took from the merchant and its interest, according to the king's standard.

§ 52. If the bailiff has not reared corn or sesame in the field the debtor's obligation shall not be lessened.

Riparian responsibilities

§§ 53, 54. If a man has neglected to strengthen his dike and has not kept his dike strong, and a breach has broken out in his dike, and the waters have flooded the meadow, the man in whose dike the breach has broken out shall restore the corn he has caused to be lost. . If he be not able to restore the corn, he and his goods shall be sold, and the owners of the meadow whose corn the water has carried away shall share the money.

Penalty for neglect to shut off water

§ 55. If a man has opened his runnel for watering and has left it open, and the water has flooded his neighbor's field, he shall pay him an average crop.

§ 56. If a man has let out the waters and they flood the young plants in his neighbor's field, he shall measure out ten *GUR* of corn for each *GAN*

of land.

Damage done to growing crop by sheep

§ 57. If a shepherd has not agreed with the owner of the field to allow his sheep to eat off the green crop and without consent of the owner has let his sheep feed off it, the owner of the field shall harvest his crop, but the shepherd who without consent of the owner of the field caused his sheep to eat it shall give to the owner of the field, over and above his crop, twenty *GUR* of corn for each *GAN* of land.

§ 58. If, after the sheep have come up out of the meadows and have passed into the common fold at the city gate, a shepherd has placed his sheep in a field and caused his sheep to feed in the field, the shepherd shall keep the field he has grazed, and, at harvest-time, he shall measure out to the owner sixty *GUR* of corn for each *GAN* of land.

Cutting down a tree without permission

§ 59. If a man without the consent of the owner has cut down a tree in an orchard, he shall weigh out half a mina of silver.

Rent of a garden-plot

§§ 60, 61. If a man has given a field to a gardener to plant a garden and the gardener has planted the garden, he shall train the garden four years; in the fifth year the owner of the garden and the gardener shall share the garden equally, the owner of the garden shall gather his share and take it. . If the gardener, in planting the garden, has not planted all, but has left a bare patch, he shall reckon the bare patch in his share.

§ 62. If he has not planted the field which was given him as a garden; then, if it was arable land, the gardener shall measure out to the owner of the field an average rent for the years that were neglected, and shall perform the stipulated work on the field (*i.e.*, make it into a garden), and return it to the owner of the field.

§ 63. If the land was uncultivated, he shall do the stipulated work on the field, and return to the owner of the field and shall measure out for each year ten *GUR* of corn for each *GAN*.

Garden rented on shares

§ 64. If a man has given his garden to a gardener to farm, the gardener, as long as he holds the garden, shall give the owner of the garden two-thirds of the produce of the garden and shall take one-third himself.

§ 65. If the gardener has not tilled the garden and has diminished the yield, the gardener shall pay an average rent.

Here came the five erased columns, of which the three following sections are restored from copies in Ashurbânipal's library:

Obligations of owner to gather a date-crop assigned for debt

§ X. [If a man has borrowed money of a merchant and has given a date grove] to the merchant and has said to him, "Take the dates that are in my grove for your money"; that merchant shall not consent, the owner of the grove shall take the dates that are in the grove and shall answer to the merchant for the money and its interest, according to the tenor of his agreement, and the owner of the grove shall take the surplus of the dates that are in the grove.

Eviction of house-tenant

§ Y. [If a man has let a house] and the tenant has paid to the owner of the house the full rent for a term of years, and if the owner of the house has ordered the tenant to leave before his time is up, the owner of the house, because he has ordered his tenant to leave before his time is up, [shall repay a proportionate amount] from what the tenant has paid him.

Acceptance of goods in payment of debt, in default of money or corn

§ Z. [If a man has borrowed money of a merchant] and has not corn or money wherewith [to pay], but has goods; whatever is in his hands, he shall give to the merchant, before the elders. The merchant shall not object; he shall receive it.

After the loss of about thirty-five sections the Code resumes:

Responsibility of a travelling salesman

§ 100. [If an agent has received money of a merchant, he shall write down the amount] and [what is to be] the interest of the money, and when his time is up, he shall settle with his merchant.

§ 101. If he has not had success on his travels, he shall return double what he received to the merchant.

Robbery, substantiated by oath, a valid excuse

§§ 102, 103. If the merchant has given money, as a speculation, to the agent, who during his travels has met with misfortune, he shall return the full sum to the merchant. . If, on his travels, an enemy has forced him to give up some of the goods he was carrying, the agent shall specify the amount on oath and shall be acquitted.

Responsibility to be indicated by legal receipts

§ 104. If a merchant has given to an agent corn, wool, oil, or any sort of goods, to traffic with, the agent shall write down the money value, and shall return that to the merchant. The agent shall then take a sealed receipt for the money that he has given to the merchant.

§ 105. If the agent forgets and has not taken a sealed receipt for the money he gave to the merchant, money that has not been acknowledged by receipt shall not be put down in the accounts.

Punishment of fraud of an agent

§ 106. If an agent has taken money of a merchant, and his principal suspects him, that principal shall prosecute his agent, put him on oath before the elders, as to the money taken; the agent shall pay to the merchant threefold what he misappropriated.

Fraud practiced by principal

§ 107. If the principal has overcharged the agent and the agent has [really] returned to his principal whatever his principal gave him, and if the principal has disputed what the agent has given him, that agent shall put his principal on oath before the elders, and the merchant, because he has defrauded the agent, shall pay to the agent sixfold what he misappropriated.

Fraud in ordinary drink-traffic

§ 108. If the mistress of a beer-shop has not received corn as the price of beer or has demanded silver on an excessive scale, and has made the measure of beer less than the measure of corn, that beer-seller shall be prosecuted and drowned.

Connivance at unlawful assemblages

§ 109. If the mistress of a beer-shop has assembled seditious slanderers in her house and those seditious persons have not been captured and have not been haled to the palace, that beer-seller shall be put to death.

Drink-traffic forbidden to votaries

§ 110. If a votary, who is not living in the convent, open a beer-shop, or enter a beer-shop for drink, that woman shall be put to death.

Rate of payment with produce

§ 111. If the mistress of a beer-shop has given sixty *ḲA* of *sakani* beer in the time of thirst, at harvest, she shall take fifty *ḲA* of corn.

Carrier’s liability for misappropriation of goods

§ 112. If a man staying abroad has given silver, gold, precious stones, or portable goods to another man to transport, and if that man has not delivered the consignment, where he has carried it, but has appropriated it, the owner of the consignment shall prosecute him, and the carrier shall give to the owner of the consignment fivefold whatever was intrusted to him.

Unauthorized seizure of goods denied a creditor

§ 113. If a man has a debt of corn, or money, due from another and without the consent of the owner of the corn has taken corn from the granary, or barn, the owner of the corn shall prosecute him for taking the corn from the granary, or barn, without his consent, and the man shall return all the corn he took, and further lose whatever it was that he had lent.

Punishment of vexatious distraint

§ 114. If a man has no debt of corn or money due from a man on whom he has levied a distraint, for each such distraint he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

Creditor responsible for fair treatment of a man held as security for debt

§ 115. If a man has corn or money due from another man and has levied a distraint and the hostage has died a natural death in the house of the creditor, he cannot be held responsible.

§ 116. If the hostage has died of blows or want in the house of the creditor, the owner of the hostage shall prosecute his creditor, and if the deceased were free born, the creditor's son shall be put to death; if a slave, the creditor shall pay one-third of a mina of silver, Further, he shall lose whatever it was that he lent.

Limitations on the holding of such hostages

§ 117. If a man owes a debt, and he has given his wife, his son, or his daughter [as hostage] for the money, or has handed someone over to work it off, the hostage shall do the work of the creditor's house; but in the fourth year he shall set them free.

§ 118. If a debtor has handed over a male or female slave to work off a debt, and the creditor proceeds to sell same, no one can complain.

§ 119. If a man owes a debt, and he has assigned a maid who has borne him children for the money, the owner of the maid shall repay the money which the merchant gave him and shall ransom his maid.

Responsibility of owners of warehouses

§ 120. If a man has deposited his corn for safe keeping in another's house and it has suffered damage in the granary, or if the owner of the house has opened the store and taken the corn, or has disputed the amount of the corn that was stored in his house, the owner of the corn shall declare on oath the amount of his corn, and the owner of the house shall return him double.

Rate of payment for storage of corn

§ 121. If a man has stored corn in another man's house he shall give, on each *GUR* of corn, five *ḲA* of corn, yearly, as the rent for storage.

Receipt for deposit of valuables

§ 122. If a man has given another gold, silver, or any goods whatever, on deposit, all that he gives shall he show to witnesses, and take a bond and so give on deposit.

§ 123. If he has given on deposit without witnesses and bonds, and has been defrauded where he made his deposit, he has no claim to prosecute.

Responsibility of bankers

§ 124. If a man has given on deposit to another, before witnesses, gold, silver, or any goods whatever, and his claim has been contested, he shall prosecute that man, and [the man] shall return double what he disputed.

Their own losses no excuse

§ 125. If a man has given anything whatever on deposit, and, where he has made his deposit, something of his has been lost together with something belonging to the owner of the house, either by house-breaking or a rebellion, the owner of the house who is in default shall make good all that has been given him on deposit, which he has lost, and shall return it to the owner of the goods. The owner of the house shall look after what he has lost and recover it from the thief.

Depreciation of property

§ 126. If a man has said that something of his is lost, which is not lost, or has alleged a depreciation, though nothing of his is lost, he shall estimate the depreciation on oath, and he shall pay double whatever he has claimed.

Slander of votary or married woman

§ 127. If a man has caused the finger to be pointed at a votary, or a man's wife, and has not justified himself, that man shall be brought before the judges, and have his forehead branded.

Marriage-bonds

§ 128. If a man has taken a wife and has not executed a marriage-contract, that woman is not a wife.

Punishment of flagrant adultery

§ 129. If a man's wife be caught lying with another, they shall be strangled and cast into the water. If the wife's husband would save his wife, the king can save his servant.

Rape of a betrothed virgin

§ 130. If a man has ravished another's betrothed wife, who is a virgin, while still living in her father's house, and has been caught in the act, that man shall be put to death; the woman shall go free.

Suspicion of adultery cleared by oath

§ 131. If a man's wife has been accused by her husband, and has not been caught lying with another, she shall swear her innocence, and return to her house.

Ordeal of water permissible to accused wife

§ 132. If a man's wife has the finger pointed at her on account of another, but has not been caught lying with him, for her husband's sake she shall plunge into the sacred river.

Rights and duties of the wives of those who have been taken captive in war

§ 133. If a man has been taken captive, and there was maintenance in his house, but his wife has left her house and entered into another man's house; because that woman has not preserved her body, and has entered into the house of another, that woman shall be prosecuted and shall be drowned.

§ 134. If a man has been taken captive, but there was not maintenance in his house, and his wife has entered into the house of another, that woman has no blame.

§ 135. If a man has been taken captive, but there was no maintenance in his house for his wife, and she has entered into the house of another, and has borne him children, if in the future her [first] husband shall return and regain his city, that woman shall return to her first husband, but the children shall follow their own father.

Right of a deserted wife to remarry

§ 136. If a man has left his city and fled, and, after he has gone, his wife has entered into the house of another; if the man return and seize his wife, the wife of the fugitive shall not return to her husband, because he hated his city and fled.

Rights of a divorced woman who has borne children

§ 137. If a man has determined to divorce a concubine who has borne him children, or a votary who has granted him children, he shall return to that woman her marriage-portion, and shall give her the usufruct of field, garden, and goods, to bring up her children. After her children have grown up, out of whatever is given to her children, they shall give her one son's share, and the husband of her choice shall marry her.

Rights of a divorced woman who is childless

§ 138. If a man has divorced his wife, who has not borne him children, he shall pay over to her as much money as was given for her bride-price and the marriage-portion which she brought from her father's house, and so shall divorce her.

§ 139. If there was no bride-price, he shall give her one mina of silver, as a price of divorce.

§ 140. If he be a plebeian, he shall give her one-third of a mina of silver.

Status of a worthless wife

§ 141. If a man's wife, living in her husband's house, has persisted in going out, has acted the fool, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, he shall prosecute her. If her husband has said, "I divorce her," she shall go her way; he shall give her nothing as her price of divorce. If her husband has said, "I will not divorce her," he may take another woman to wife; the wife shall live as a slave in her husband's house.

Status of a wife who repudiates her husband

§ 142. If a woman has hated her husband and has said, "You shall not possess me," her past shall be inquired into, as to what she lacks. If she has been discreet, and has no vice, and her husband has gone out, and has greatly belittled her, that woman has no blame, she shall take her marriage-portion and go off to her father's house.

§ 143. If she has not been discreet, has gone out, ruined her house, belittled her husband, she shall be drowned.

Marriage with a votary

§ 144. If a man has married a votary, and that votary has given a maid to her husband, and so caused him to have children, and, if that man is inclined to marry a concubine, that man shall not be allowed to do so, he shall not marry a concubine.

§ 145. If a man has married a votary, and she has not granted him children, and he is determined to marry a concubine, that man shall marry the concubine, and bring her into his house, but the concubine shall not place herself on an equality with the votary.

A votary's rights against a maid assigned to her husband

§ 146. If a man has married a votary, and she has given a maid to her husband, and the maid has borne children, and if afterward that maid has placed herself on an equality with her mistress, because she has borne children, her mistress shall not sell her, she shall place a slave-mark upon her, and reckon her with the slave-girls.

§ 147. If she has not borne children, her mistress shall sell her.

Status of a wife afflicted with a disease

§ 148. If a man has married a wife and a disease has seized her, if he is determined to marry a second wife, he shall marry her. He shall not divorce the wife whom the disease has seized. In the home they made together she shall dwell, and he shall maintain her as long as she lives.

§ 149. If that woman was not pleased to stay in her husband's house, he shall pay over to her the marriage-portion which she brought from her father's house, and she shall go away.

Wife's right to property deeded to her by her husband

§ 150. If a man has presented field, garden, house, or goods to his wife, has granted her a deed of gift, her children, after her husband's death, shall not dispute her right; the mother shall leave it after her death to that one of her children whom she loves best. She shall not leave it to her kindred.

Marital responsibility for ante-nuptial debts

§ 151. If a woman, who is living in a man's house, has persuaded her husband to bind himself, and grant her a deed to the effect that she shall not be held for debt by a creditor of her husband's; if that man had a debt upon him before he married that woman, his creditor shall not take his wife for it. Also, if that woman had a debt upon her before she entered that man's house, her creditor shall not take her husband for it.

§ 152. From the time that that woman entered into the man's house they together shall be liable for all debts subsequently incurred.

Connivance at husband's murder by a wife

§ 153. If a man's wife, for the sake of another, has caused her husband to be killed, that woman shall be impaled.

Incest with own daughter

§ 154. If a man has committed incest with his daughter, that man shall be banished from the city.

Incest with daughter-in-law

§ 155. If a man has betrothed a maiden to his son and his son has known her, and afterward the man has lain in her bosom, and been caught, that man shall be strangled and she shall be cast into the water.

§ 156. If a man has betrothed a maiden to his son, and his son has not known her, and that man has lain in her bosom, he shall pay her half a mina of silver, and shall pay over to her whatever she brought from her father's house, and the husband of her choice shall marry her.

Incest with mother

§ 157. If a man, after his father's death, has lain in the bosom of his mother, they shall both of them be burnt together.

Incest with step-mother

§ 158. If a man, after his father's death, be caught in the bosom of his step-mother, who has borne children, that man shall be cut off from his father's house.

Penalty for breach of promise

§ 159. If a man, who has presented a gift to the house of his prospective father-in-law and has given the bride-price, has afterward looked upon another woman and has said to his father-in-law, "I will not marry your daughter"; the father of the girl shall keep whatever he has brought as a present.

Rights of a rejected suitor

§ 160. If a man has presented a gift to the house of his prospective father-in-law, and has given the bride-price, but the father of the girl has said, "I will not give you my daughter," the father shall return double all that was presented him.

Slandering rival not to profit by his calumny

§ 161. If a man has brought a gift to the house of his prospective father-in-law, and has given the bride-price, but his comrade has slandered him and his father-in-law has said to the suitor, "You shall not marry my daughter," [the father] shall return double all that was presented him. Further, the comrade shall not marry the girl.

Disposal of a wife's marriage-portion

§ 162. If a man has married a wife, and she has borne him children, and that woman has gone to her fate, her father shall lay no claim to her marriage-portion. Her marriage-portion is her children's only.

§ 163. If a man has married a wife, and she has not borne him children, and that woman has gone to her fate; if his father-in-law has returned to him the bride-price, which that man brought into the house of his father-in-law, her husband shall have no claim on the marriage-portion of that woman. Her marriage-portion indeed belongs to her father's house.

§ 164. If the father-in-law has not returned the bride-price, the husband shall deduct the amount of her bride-price from her marriage-portion, and shall return her marriage-portion to her father's house.

Effect upon the inheritance of a father's gift to a favorite son

§ 165. If a man has presented field, garden, or house to his son, the first in his eyes, and has written him a deed of gift; after the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers share, he shall keep the present his

father gave him, and over and above shall share equally with them in the goods of his father's estate.

Reservation of a bride-price for a young unmarried brother

§ 166. If a man has taken wives for the other sons he had, but has not taken a wife for his young son, after the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers share, they shall set aside from the goods of their father's estate money, as a bride-price, for their young brother, who has not married a wife, over and above his share, and they shall cause him to take a wife.

Inheritance of children in case of two fruitful marriages

§ 167. If a man has taken a wife, and she has borne him children and that woman has gone to her fate, and he has taken a second wife, and she also has borne children; after the father has gone to his fate, the sons shall not share according to mothers, but each family shall take the marriage-portion of its mother, and all shall share the goods of their father's estate equally.

Disinheritance of a son

§ 168. If a man has determined to disinherit his son and has declared before the judge, "I cut off my son," the judge shall inquire into the son's past, and, if the son has not committed a grave misdemeanor such as should cut him off from sonship, the father shall disinherit his son.

§ 169. If he has committed a grave crime against his father, which cuts off from sonship, for the first offence he shall pardon him. If he has committed a grave crime a second time, the father shall cut off his son from sonship.

Status of children by a slave-woman

§ 170. If a man has had children borne to him by his wife, and also by a maid, if the father in his lifetime has said, "My sons," to the children whom his maid bore him, and has reckoned them with the sons of his wife; then after the father has gone to his fate, the children of the wife and of the maid shall share equally. The children of the wife shall apportion the shares and make their own selections.

§ 171. And if the father, in his lifetime, has not said, "My sons," to the children whom the maid bore him, after the father has gone to his fate, the children of the maid shall not share with the children of the wife in the goods of their father's house. The maid and her children, however, shall obtain their freedom. The children of the wife have no claim for service on the children of the maid.

The rights of a widow in personal property

The wife shall take her marriage-portion, and any gift that her husband has given her and for which he has written a deed of gift and she shall dwell in her husband's house; as long as she lives, she shall enjoy it, she shall not sell it. After her death it is indeed her children's.

§ 172. If her husband has not given her a gift, her marriage-portion shall be given her in full, and, from the goods of her husband's estate, she shall take a share equal to that of one son.

Her rights in the home

If her children have persecuted her in order to have her leave the house, and the judge has inquired into her past, and laid the blame on the children, that woman shall not leave her husband's house. If that woman has determined to leave, she shall relinquish to her children the gift her husband gave her, she shall take the marriage-portion of her father's estate, and the husband of her choice may marry her.

Dower rights of her children by second marriage

§ 173. If that woman, where she has gone, has borne children to her later husband, after that woman has died, the children of both marriages shall share her marriage-portion.

§ 174. If she has not borne children to her later husband, the children of her first husband shall take her marriage-portion.

Property rights of the children of slave-father and free mother

§ 175. If either a slave of a patrician, or of a plebeian, has married the daughter of a free man, and she has borne children, the owner of the slave shall have no claim for service on the children of a free woman. And if a slave, either of a patrician or of a plebeian, has married a free woman and when he married her she entered the slave's house with a marriage-portion from her father's estate, be he slave of a patrician or of a plebeian, and from the time that they started to keep house, they have acquired property; after the slave, whether of a patrician or of a plebeian, has gone to his fate, the free woman shall take her marriage-portion, and whatever her husband and she acquired, since they started house-keeping. She shall divide it into two portions. The master of the slave shall take one half, the other half the free woman shall take for her children.

§ 176. If the free woman had no marriage-portion, whatever her husband and she acquired since they started house-keeping he shall divide into two portions. The owner of the slave shall take one half, the other half the free woman shall take for her children.

Property rights of the young children of a widow who remarries

§ 177. If a widow, whose children are young, has determined to marry again, she shall not marry without consent of the judge. When she is allowed to remarry, the judge shall inquire as to what remains of the property of her former husband, and shall intrust the property of her former husband to that woman and her second husband. He shall give them an inventory. They shall watch over the property, and bring up the children. Not a utensil shall they sell. A buyer of any utensil belonging to the widow's children shall lose his money and shall return the article to its owners.

The property rights of a votary

§ 178. If a female votary, or vowed woman, has had given her by her father a portion, as for marriage, and he has written her a deed, and in the deed which he has written her he has not written that she may leave it as she pleases, and has not granted her all her desire; after her father has gone to his fate, her brothers shall take her field, or garden, and, according to the value of her share, shall give her corn, oil, and wool, and shall content her heart. If they do not give her corn, oil, and wool, according to the value of her share, and do not satisfy her, she shall let her field and garden to a farmer, whom she chooses, and the farmer shall support her. The field, garden, or whatever her father gave her, she shall enjoy, as long as she lives. She shall not sell it, nor mortgage it. The reversion of her inheritance indeed belongs to her brothers.

Her right to convey property

§ 179. If a female votary, or vowed woman, has had a portion given her by her father, and he has written her a deed, and in the deed that he has written her has [declared] that she may give it as she pleases, and has granted her all her desire; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall leave it as she pleases; her brothers shall make no claim against her.

Her right of inheritance

§ 180. If the father has not given a portion to his daughter, who is a female votary, or vowed woman; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall share in the property of her father's house, like any other child. As long as she lives, she shall enjoy her share; after her, it indeed belongs to her brothers.

Her proportion of her father's property

§ 181. If a father has vowed his daughter to a god, as a temple maid, or a virgin, and has given her no portion; after the father has gone to his fate, she shall share in the property of her father's estate, taking one-third of a child's share. She shall enjoy her share, as long as she lives. After her, it belongs to her brothers.

Additional privileges of votary of Marduk of Babylon

§ 182. If a father has not given a portion, as for marriage, to his daughter, a votary of Marduk of Babylon, and has not written her a deed; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall share with her brothers from the goods of her father's estate, taking one-third of a child's share. She shall not be subject to duty. The votary of Marduk shall leave it after her to whom she pleases.

Rights of a daughter by a concubine, if provided for by father on marriage

§ 183. If a father has given a portion, as for marriage, to his daughter by a concubine, and has given her to a husband, and has written her a deed; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall not share in the goods of her father's house.

If not so provided for by father

§ 184. If a man has not given a portion, as for marriage, to his daughter by a concubine, and has not given her to a husband; after her father has gone to his fate, her brothers shall present her with a marriage-portion, according to the wealth of her father's estate, and shall give her to a husband.

Adoption of natural son

§ 185. If a man has taken a young child, a natural son of his, to be his son, and has brought him up, no one shall make a claim against that foster child.

Adoption of child of living parents

§ 186. If a man has taken a young child to be his son, and after he has taken him, the child discover his own parents, he shall return to his father's house.

§ 187. The son of a royal favorite, of one that stands in the palace, or the son of a votary shall not be reclaimed.

Responsibilities of a craftsman to his adopted child

§§ 188, 189. If a craftsman has taken a child to bring up and has taught him his handicraft, he shall not be reclaimed. If he has not taught him his handicraft that foster child shall return to his father's house.

Rights of inheritance of an adopted son

§ 190. If a man has brought up the child, whom he has taken to be his son, but has not reckoned him with his sons, that foster child shall return to his father's house.

Obligations on discarding an adopted son

§ 191. If a man has brought up the child, whom he took to be his son, and then sets up a home, and after he has acquired children, decides to

disinherit the foster child, that son shall not go his way [penniless]; the father that brought him up shall give him one-third of a son's share in his goods and he shall depart. He shall not give him field, garden, or house.

Punishment for the repudiation of adoptive parents

§ 192. If the son of a palace favorite or the son of a vowed woman has said to the father that brought him up, "You are not my father," or to the mother that brought him up, "You are not my mother," his tongue shall be cut out.

§ 193. If the son of a palace favorite or the son of a vowed woman has come to know his father's house and has hated his father that brought him up, or his mother that brought him up, and shall go off to his father's house, his eyes shall be torn out.

Penalty of substituting one infant for another

§ 194. If a man has given his son to a wet-nurse to suckle, and that son has died in the hands of the nurse, and the nurse, without consent of the child's father or mother, has nursed another child, they shall prosecute her; because she has nursed another child, without consent of the father or mother, her breasts shall be cut off.

Assault on a father

§ 195. If a son has struck his father, his hands shall be cut off.

Graded penalties for assault and battery

§ 196. If a man has knocked out the eye of a patrician, his eye shall be knocked out.

§ 197. If he has broken the limb of a patrician, his limb shall be broken.

§ 198. If he has knocked out the eye of a plebeian or has broken the limb of a plebeian, he shall pay one mina of silver.

§ 199. If he has knocked out the eye of a patrician's servant, or broken the limb of a patrician's servant, he shall pay half his value.

§ 200. If a patrician has knocked out the tooth of a man that is his equal, his tooth shall be knocked out.

§ 201. If he has knocked out the tooth of a plebeian, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

Brutal assault

§ 202. If a man has smitten the privates of a man, higher in rank than he, he shall be scourged with sixty blows of an ox-hide scourge, in the assembly.

§ 203. If a man has smitten the privates of a patrician of his own rank, he shall pay one mina of silver.

§ 204. If a plebeian has smitten the privates of a plebeian, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

§ 205. If the slave of anyone has smitten the privates of a free-born man, his ear shall be cut off.

Fatal assault

§ 206. If a man has struck another in a quarrel, and caused him a permanent injury, that man shall swear, “I struck him without malice,” and shall pay the doctor.

§ 207. If he has died of his blows, [the man] shall swear [similarly], and pay one-half a mina of silver; or,

§ 208. If [the deceased] was a plebeian, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

Assaults upon pregnant women

§ 209. If a man has struck a free woman with child, and has caused her to miscarry, he shall pay ten shekels for her miscarriage.

§ 210. If that woman die, his daughter shall be killed.

§ 211. If it be the daughter of a plebeian, that has miscarried through his blows, he shall pay five shekels of silver.

§ 212. If that woman die, he shall pay half a mina of silver.

§ 213. If he has struck a man’s maid and caused her to miscarry, he shall pay two shekels of silver.

§ 214. If that woman die, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

Gradation of surgeon’s fees

§ 215. If a surgeon has operated with the bronze lancet on a patrician for a serious injury, and has cured him, or has removed with a bronze lancet a cataract for a patrician, and has cured his eye, he shall take ten shekels of silver.

§ 216. If it be plebeian, he shall take five shekels of silver.

§ 217. If it be a man’s slave, the owner of the slave shall give two shekels of silver to the surgeon.

Penalties for unskilful operations

§ 218. If a surgeon has operated with the bronze lancet on a patrician for a serious injury, and has caused his death, or has removed a cataract for a patrician, with the bronze lancet, and has made him lose his eye, his hands shall be cut off.

§ 219. If the surgeon has treated a serious injury of a plebeian’s slave, with the bronze lancet, and has caused his death, he shall render slave for slave.

§ 220. If he has removed a cataract with the bronze lancet, and made the slave lose his eye, he shall pay half his value.

Cure of limb or bowel

§ 221. If a surgeon has cured the limb of a patrician, or has doctored a diseased bowel, the patient shall pay five shekels of silver to the surgeon.

§ 222. If he be a plebeian, he shall pay three shekels of silver.

§ 223. If he be a man's slave, the owner of the slave shall give two shekels of silver to the doctor.

Fees for the treatment of the diseases of animals

§ 224. If a veterinary surgeon has treated an ox, or an ass, for a severe injury, and cured it, the owner of the ox, or the ass, shall pay the surgeon one-sixth of a shekel of silver, as his fee.

§ 225. If he has treated an ox, or an ass, for a severe injury, and caused it to die, he shall pay one-quarter of its value to the owner of the ox, or the ass.

Brander's liabilities

§ 226. If a brander has cut out a mark on a slave, without the consent of his owner, that brander shall have his hands cut off.

§ 227. If someone has deceived the brander, and induced him to cut out a mark on a slave, that man shall be put to death and buried in his house; the brander shall swear, "I did not mark him knowingly," and shall go free.

Builder's fee and liabilities for bad workmanship

§ 228. If a builder has built a house for a man, and finished it, he shall pay him a fee of two shekels of silver, for each *SAR* built on.

§ 229. If a builder has built a house for a man, and has not made his work sound, and the house he built has fallen, and caused the death of its owner, that builder shall be put to death.

§ 230. If it is the owner's son that is killed, the builder's son shall be put to death.

§ 231. If it is the slave of the owner that is killed, the builder shall give slave for slave to the owner of the house.

§ 232. If he has caused the loss of goods, he shall render back whatever he has destroyed. Moreover, because he did not make sound the house he built, and it fell, at his own cost he shall rebuild the house that fell.

§ 233. If a builder has built a house for a man, and has not keyed his work, and the wall has fallen, that builder shall make that wall firm at his own expense.

Boatmen’s fees and liabilities

§ 234. If a boatman has built a boat of sixty *GUR* for a man, he shall pay him a fee of two shekels of silver.

§ 235. If a boatman has built a boat for a man, and has not made his work sound, and in that same year that boat is sent on a voyage and suffers damage, the boatman shall rebuild that boat, and, at his own expense, shall make it strong, or shall give a strong boat to the owner.

Hire of boats

§ 236. If a man has let his boat to a boatman, and the boatman has been careless and the boat has been sunk or lost, the boatman shall restore a boat to the owner.

Responsibility of boatmen carrying goods

§ 237. If a man has hired a boat and boatman, and loaded it with corn, wool, oil, or dates, or whatever it be, and the boatman has been careless, and sunk the boat, or lost what is in it, the boatman shall restore the boat which he sank, and whatever he lost that was in it.

§ 238. If a boatman has sunk a man’s boat, and has floated it again, he shall pay half its value in silver.

§ 239. If a man has hired a boatman, he shall pay him six *GUR* of corn yearly.

Law of collision

§ 240. If a boat, on its course, has run into a boat at anchor, and sunk it, the owner of the boat that was sunk shall estimate on oath whatever was lost in his boat, and the owner of the moving vessel, which sank the boat at anchor, shall make good his boat and what was lost in it.

Working ox not to be distrained

§ 241. If a man has levied a distraint on a working ox, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

Hire of oxen and cows

§ 242. If a man has hired a working ox for one year, its hire is four *GUR* of corn.

§ 243. As the hire of a milch cow one shall give three *GUR* of corn to its owner.

Liability for loss of ox or ass by accident

§ 244. If a man has hired an ox, or an ass, and a lion has killed it in the open field, the loss falls on its owner.

Compensation for loss of ox by ill-treatment

§ 245. If a man has hired an ox and has caused its death, by carelessness, or blows, he shall restore ox for ox, to the owner of the ox.

§ 246. If a man has hired an ox, and has broken its leg, or cut its neck (?), he shall restore ox for ox, to the owner of the ox.

§ 247. If a man has hired an ox, and knocked out its eye, he shall pay to the owner of the ox half its value.

Responsibility for unavoidable accidents to a hired ox

§ 248. If a man has hired an ox, and has broken its horn, cut off its tail, or torn its muzzle, he shall pay one-quarter of its value.

§ 249. If a man has hired an ox, and God has struck it, and it has died, the man that hired the ox shall make affidavit and go free.

Death by goring, accidental

§ 250. If a bull has gone wild and gored a man, and caused his death, there can be no suit against the owner.

Responsibility for a vicious ox

§ 251. If a man's ox be a gorer, and has revealed its evil propensity as a gorer, and he has not blunted its horn, or shut up the ox, and then that ox has gored a free man, and caused his death, the owner shall pay half a mina of silver.

§ 252. If it be a slave that has been killed, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

Responsibility of a tenant farmer

§ 253. If a man has set another over his field, hired him, allotted him tools, and intrusted him with oxen for cultivating the field and provided harnesses for them, and if that man has appropriated the seed or provender, and they have been found in his possession, his hands shall be cut off.

§ 254. If he has taken the provender or rations and has enfeebled the oxen, he shall make it good from the corn he has hoed.

§ 255. If he has let out the man's oxen for hire, or stolen the seed-corn, or has not produced a crop, that man shall be prosecuted, and he shall pay sixty *GUR* of corn for each *GAN*.

§ 256. If he is not able to pay his compensation, he shall be torn in pieces on that field by the oxen.

Wages of laborers

§ 257. If a man has hired a field-laborer, he shall pay him eight *GUR* of corn yearly.

§ 258. If anyone has hired an ox-herd he shall pay him six *GUR* of corn yearly.

Theft of agricultural instruments

§ 259. If a man has stolen a watering-machine from the meadow, he shall pay five shekels of silver to the owner of the watering-machine.

§ 260. If a man has stolen a *shadduf*, or a plough, he shall pay three shekels of silver.

Wages of herdsmen

§ 261. If a man has hired a herdsman, to pasture oxen, or sheep, he shall pay him *eight GUR* of corn yearly.

Their liability

§ 262. If a man has intrusted ox or ass to ... [Passage mutilated.]

§ 263. If he has lost the ox, or ass, given to him, he shall restore ox for ox, and ass for ass to its owner.

§ 264. If a herdsman, who has had oxen or sheep given to him to pasture, has received his wages for the business, and been satisfied, then diminish the herd or lessen the offspring, he shall give increase and produce according to the nature of his agreements.

§ 265. If a herdsman, to whom oxen or sheep have been given, has defaulted, has altered the price, or sold them, he shall be prosecuted, and shall restore oxen, or sheep, tenfold, to their owner.

§ 266. If lightning has struck a fold, or a lion has made a slaughter, the herdsman shall purge himself by oath, and the owner of the fold shall bear the loss of the fold.

§ 267. If the herdsman has been careless, and a loss has occurred in the fold, the herdsman shall make good the loss in the fold; he shall repay the oxen, or sheep, to their owner.

Hire of animals for threshing

§ 268. If a man has hired an ox, for threshing, its hire is twenty *ḲA* of corn.

§ 269. If he has hired an ass, for threshing, its hire is ten *ḲA* of corn.

§ 270. If he has hired a young animal, for threshing, its hire is one *ḲA* of corn.

Hire of wagon, oxen, and driver

§ 271. If a man has hired oxen, a wagon, and its driver, he shall pay one hundred and sixty *ḲA* of corn daily.

§ 272. If a man has hired the wagon alone, he shall pay forty *ḲA* of corn daily.

Graded wages of day-laborers

§ 273. If a man has hired a laborer from the beginning of the year to the fifth month, he shall pay six *ŠE* of silver daily; from the sixth month to the close of the year, he shall pay five *ŠE* of silver daily.

Wages of artisans

§ 274. If a man has hired an artisan, he shall pay as his daily wages, to a ... five *ŠE* of silver, to a potter five *ŠE* of silver, to a tailor five *ŠE* of silver, to a stone-cutter ... *ŠE* of silver, to a ... *ŠE* of silver, to a ... *ŠE* of silver, to a carpenter four *ŠE* of silver, to a rope-maker four *ŠE* of silver, to a ... *ŠE* of silver, to a builder ... *ŠE* of silver.

Hires of various boats

§ 275. If a man has hired a boat, its hire is three *ŠE* of silver daily.

§ 276. If he has hired a fast boat he shall pay two and a half *ŠE* daily.

§ 277. If a man has hired a ship of sixty *GUR* he shall pay one-sixth of a shekel of silver daily for its hire.

Compensation for defect discovered in a slave after sale

§ 278. If a man has bought a male or female slave and the slave has not fulfilled his month, but the bennu disease has fallen upon him, he shall return the slave to the seller and the buyer shall take back the money he paid.

§ 279. If a man has bought a male or female slave and a claim has been raised, the seller shall answer the claim.

Manumission of native slaves taken captive and bought back by travelling merchant

§ 280. If a man, in a foreign land, has bought a male, or female, slave of another, and if when he has come home the owner of the male or female slave has recognized his slave, and if the slave be a native of the land, he shall grant him his liberty without money.

Of foreign slaves

§ 281. If the slave was a native of another country, the buyer shall declare on oath the amount of money he paid, and the owner of the slave shall repay the merchant what he paid and keep his slave.

Punishment for repudiating a master

§ 282. If a slave has said to his master, “You are not my master,” he shall be brought to account as his slave, and his master shall cut off his ear.

General character of the Ḥammurabi Code

This is not the place to write a commentary on the Code, but there are a few necessary cautions. One of the first is that most clauses are permissive rather than positive. The verb “shall” is not an imperative, but a future. Doubtless in case of heinous crimes the death-penalty had to be inflicted. But there was always a trial, and proof was demanded on oath. In many cases the “shall” is only permissive, as when the Code says a widow “shall” marry again. There is no proof that the jury decided only

facts and found the prisoner guilty or not, leaving the judge no option but to inflict the extreme penalty. The judge, on the contrary, seems to have had much legislative power. When this view is taken, the Code appears no more severe than those of the Middle Ages, or even of recent times, when a man was hanged for sheep-stealing. There are many humanitarian clauses and much protection is given the weak and the helpless. One of the best proofs of its inherent excellence is that it helped to build up an empire, which lasted many centuries and was regarded with reverence almost to the end.

III. LATER BABYLONIAN LAW

Bibliography

Very little is yet known regarding later Babylonian law. Dr. F. E. Peiser published in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1889, p ff.) a very interesting fragmentarily preserved text (82-7-14, 988, in the British Museum), which contains either a collection of abstracts of cases which have been decided, or precedents, or else an extract from some code later than that of Ḥammurabi. Dr. Peiser thought that the date was the second year of Ashurbânipal, king of Babylon. This seems rather unlikely, but may, of course, be true.

In his inaugural dissertation, Dr. Peiser, under the title of *Jurisprudentiae Babylonicae quae supersunt*, commented upon and illustrated the above text by numerous examples of cases, actually occurring during the period of the second empire. But the whole collection of fragments of law with which he had to deal was too small to do more than show what may be hoped for as the result of future discoveries.

As specimens of these laws we may take the following:

Agent not able to recover without power of attorney

Law A. [Col. II. 4-14.]

The man who has sealed a tablet, by the name of another, in favor of an owner of a field, or has sealed a bond, and has not caused to be executed a deed giving him power of attorney, or has not taken a duplicate of such a tablet [cannot take possession]; the man, in whose name the tablet, or bond, is written, shall take that field, or house.

If a man acted as buyer, or lender, for another, he incurred liabilities, for which he could not indemnify himself, unless he had secured from his principal a deed empowering him so to act. But, if without such power of attorney, A had acted for B, and bought a house, or field, of C, and had the conveyance made out to B, of course paying C; or had lent money to C, in the name of B; and the transaction had been completed, by sealing the deed of sale or bond; then B was the owner of the field, or house, or the creditor for the loan. A could not plead that he was the real owner, even if he had not been able to recover the purchase-money or loan from B, in whose name he had made it. B, whose name appeared in the deed or in the bond, was the rightful owner.

Responsibility of one who sells

Law B. [Col. II. 15-23.]

The man, who has sold a female slave and has had an objection made concerning her, shall take her back. The seller shall give to the buyer the price named in the deed of sale, to its exact amount, and shall pay half a shekel of silver for each of the children born to her.

How long after sale objection could be raised is not stated. In early times a month was allowed for fever to develop; in Assyrian contracts a hundred days were allowed for fever or seizure. But a *sartu*, or "vice," could be pleaded, at any time, as ground for returning the slave. Here it is clear that time was allowed for a slave to bear one or more children, before the repudiation lost effect. It is noteworthy that the seller had to buy back such children. The maid may have been bought to bear her master children, and if these were not sound, the master had ground for complaint and could not be held responsible for them. Also it was objectionable to separate mother and children. The price named is trifling. Compare § 278 of the Code, where, however, no mention is made of the children of a maid.

The next law is unintelligible at present, owing to the *lacunae*, and doubtful readings of the text, which, moreover, is only given in transcription. It appears to concern a woman and her interests in a field or plantation and the trees in it, and its produce.

Permanent settlements at marriage between father of bride and the bridegroom

Law C. [Col. III. 3-15.]

A man has given his daughter to a freeborn man and the father has fixed something in a deed and given to his son, and the first-named has fixed a marriage-portion for his daughter and they have mutually executed deeds of settlement. They shall not alter their deeds. The father shall give in full the settlement (*nuṣurru*), which he had promised his son by deed, to the father-in-law, and deliver it.

The father here named appears to be the father of the bridegroom. He must make a settlement on his son, as well as the father of the bride on his daughter. The point of the law seems to be that these settlements on the part of the parents to the young couple are irrevocable. No subsequent engagements entered into can affect them. This settlement by the bridegroom's father on his son, which he has to pay over to the bride's father, evidently takes the place of the *terḫatu*, or "bride-price" of the Code. The obligation of a father to find his son the means for a bride-

price appears in the Code, § 166; but there is no section which answers directly to this law. The marriage-portion is now *nudunnu*, in the Code it was *šeriktu*, while *nudunnu* was the husband's gift to the wife.

Inheritance rights of children of second marriage

Law D. [Col. III. 16-22.]

When the father [of the bridegroom] has had his wife taken away by fate, has taken to himself a second wife, and she has borne him sons, the sons of the second wife shall take a third of his property remaining.

This appears as part of the same section as Law C, and is enacted again in Law K, page 69. It is not easy to see why it is here, except to make plain that settlements on marriages of the sons of the first family are a first charge on the father's property. The second family takes a third, not of all the father once had, but of what is left after these gifts by deed have been taken out. The married sons of the first family are not disinherited by virtue of these gifts, but take among them two-thirds of what is left. This is against the Code, § 167.

Procedure in case the father-in-law is unable to carry out his promise of dowry

Law E. [Col. III. 23-31.]

A man who has promised a marriage-portion to his daughter, or has written her a deed of gift, and afterward his means have diminished, shall give to his daughter a marriage-portion according to his means that are left. Father-in-law and son-in-law shall not quarrel one with the other.

Dr. Peiser has shown that the marriage-portion was often held back a long time. Suits were brought to recover it from fathers-in-law. There is no corresponding section in the Code.

Marriage-portion of childless wife

Law F. [Col. III. 32-37.]

A man has given a marriage-portion to his daughter and she has neither son nor daughter and fate has carried her off; her marriage-portion returns to her father's house.

Exactly as in the Code, § 163.

The first seven lines of Col. IV. are too fragmentary to give a connected sense, but are still concerned with the marriage-portion.

Rights of inheritance of a childless widow

Law G. [Col. IV. 8-24.]

A wife, whose marriage-portion her husband has received, who has no son or daughter, and fate has carried off her husband, shall be given from her husband's property the marriage-portion, whatever that was. If her husband has made her a gift, she shall receive the gift of her husband

with her marriage-portion and take it away. If she had no marriage-portion, the judge shall estimate the property of her husband and, according to her husband's means, shall grant her something.

It is noteworthy that in the above laws the old usage is reversed. Now the *nudunnu* is the marriage-portion, given with the bride, and the *šeriktu* is the husband's assignment to the wife. With this alteration the law agrees with the Code, § 171. But there she has a family.

The rights of a widow with children in case of re-marriage

Law H. [Col. IV. 25-45.]

A man has married a wife and she has borne him children; after that man has been carried off by fate, and that woman has set her face to enter the house of another, she shall take the marriage-portion which she brought from her father's house, and whatever her husband presented her as a gift, and shall marry the husband of her choice. As long as she lives, she shall enjoy food and drink from them. If there be children of this husband, they and the children of the former husband shall share her marriage-portion. The sisters....

This is practically the same as Code, § 170, but it is differently arranged and the phrases differ markedly. Note that the sisters were separately treated.

Division of the estate of a man twice married

Law K. [Col. V. 33-46.]

A man has married a wife and she has borne him children, and fate has carried off his wife; he has married a second wife and she has borne him children; after the father has gone to his fate, the children of the former wife shall take two-thirds of the goods of their father's house, the children of the second wife shall take one-third. Their sisters who are dwelling in their father's house....

This must be contrasted with § 167 of the Code. There all sons share equally. Here the first family take two-thirds. The sisters were also treated separately. It is clear that we have to do with a code which preserves many features of the early times, but has many new features of its own. It is greatly to be desired that further portions should be published.

IV. THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ANCIENT BABYLONIAN STATE

The three great classes of the population: the gentry, the common men, and the slaves

The State appears in the light of the Ḥammurabi Code to have been composed of three great classes, the *amêlu*, the *muškênu*, and the *ardu*. To the first class belonged the king and the chief officers of state, and also the landed proprietors. Their liabilities for fines and punishments were higher. Also in their case the old law of "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" still held; while others came under a scale of compensations and damages. This may point to a racial difference. The ancient laws of Arabia may have been carried with them by Ḥammurabi's tribal followers, while the older subject-residents accepted the more commercial system of fines. The old pride of the Arab tribesman may have forbidden his taking money as payment for his damaged eye, or tooth. But the *muškênu* was more "humble," as his name denotes, and may well have formed the bulk of the subject-population. He was a free man, not a beggar. He was not without considerable means, as we see from the sections referring to theft from him. He had slaves, and seems to have been liable to conscription. His fees to a doctor or surgeon were less than those paid by an *amêlu*. He paid less to his wife for a divorce, and could assault another poor man more cheaply than could an *amêlu*. There can be no doubt that the *amêlu* was the "gentleman" or "nobleman," and the *muškênu* a common man, or poor man. But the exact force of the terms is uncertain.

In process of time *amêlu* came to be used, like our "sir," and even "esquire," of those who had no special qualifications for the title. Like the "gentleman's gentleman" of the servant's hall, he was only a respectable person. So, even in the Code, *amêlu* usually means no more than "man." It already appears as a mere determinative of personality in the titles of laborers and artisans, when it cannot stamp them as landed proprietors. But it may mark them as members of the guilds of craftsmen and recall the respect due to such. If, however, we press this, we must admit a guild of day laborers.

There is no suggestion of any legal disability on the part of a *muškênu*; he is merely a person of less consideration. Whether or not his ranks were recruited from the children of slaves by free parents is not clear, but it is very probable that they were.

The slave was at his master's command and, like a child in his father's house, to some extent a chattel. He could be pledged for debt, as could a wife or child. He was subject to the levy, and his lot was so far unpleasant that we hear much of runaway slaves. It was penal to harbor a slave, or to keep one caught as a fugitive. Any injury done to him was paid for, and his master received the damages. But he was free to marry a free woman and the children were free. So a slave-girl was free on her master's death, if she had borne him children; and the children were also free. He was subject to mutilation for assaulting a free man, or repudiating his master. But his master had to pay for his cure, if sick. He was not free to contract, except by deed and bond. Yet he and his free wife could acquire property, half of which would fall to his wife and children on his death.

The levy-master and the warrant-officer

The Code reveals the existence of a class of men, who were indeed known from the letters of Ḥammurabi and the contemporary contracts, but whose functions are not easy to fix. They were the *rîd ṣâbî* and the *bâ´iru*. By their etymology these titles seemed to mean "slave-driver," and "catcher." But the Code sets them in a clearer light. They were closely connected, if not identical, officials. They had charge of the levy, the local quota for the army, or for public works. Hence "levy-master" and "warrant-officer" are suggestive renderings. For the former official, "taskmaster," the one over the gang of forced laborers and reminiscent of the old time press-gang officers, is a fair translation. "Field cornet" would perhaps suit the military side. For some aspects of their office the ancient "reeve" may be compared. Whether the "catcher" actually was a local policeman, whose chief duty was to apprehend criminals and reluctant conscripts, is not yet clear. The same name is used of "fishermen," who were "catchers" in another sense, and of hunters. A really satisfactory rendering is impossible, as we have now no officials whose duties actually correspond to theirs.

Their compensation

Each of these officials held what may be called a benefice, or perhaps a feoff. It consisted of land, house, and garden, certain sheep and cattle as stock, and a salary. It was directly ascribed to the king as benefactor. We may compare the Norman lords settled in England by the Conqueror, or the Roman soldier-colonists. The men may well have been the followers of the first founder of the dynasty. In a very similar way the Chaldean conqueror, Merodach-baladan II., long after, settled his Chaldean troops in Babylonia. We may regard these men as retainers of

the king, and probably as originally foreigners. The benefice was held by them for personal service. They were to go "on the king's errand" when ordered. It was a penal offence to send a substitute. The errand might take them away from home and detain them a very long time. In such enforced absence the official might delegate his son to take his place and carry on his duty. This implies that there was a local duty besides the personal service. Further, this needed a grown man to discharge it. The *locum tenens* enjoyed the benefice, with a reserve of one-third for the wife to bring up the children of the absent official. An official by neglecting the care of his benefice ran the risk of forfeiture. This came about by his absence giving the *locum tenens* opportunity to acquire a prescriptive right, which he might do in three years, if he showed himself a more worthy holder. But this was only if the absentee had been neglectful, and a one-year tenancy conferred no such right.

The risks of public service

The service on which the official might be engaged was evidently military and had risks. It is not certain whether the *dannatu* is really a "fortress," or a "defeat." The word has both meanings. It does not really matter. Either way the official is captured by the enemy of the king. He was bound to pay for his own ransom, if he had the means; or if not, his town must ransom him and, failing that, the state. But he could not raise money on his benefice. Moreover, while it could descend to his son, it was inalienable. No diminution by bequest to his female relatives, no sale of part of it, no mortgage on it, nor even its exchange for other like estate, was allowed.

Further, the official and his benefice were protected. He could not be hired out by his superior officers, nor in any way plundered or oppressed. He held tax free, subject only to his feudal duty.

The tributary

In some cases the tributary there is associated with these two officials. No duty is set down for him, beyond that implied in his name of paying a tribute. It is not clear that all land was held on one or the other scheme, but it is so in parts of the East still. Some land is held by personal service, some on payment of a tax. This tax later became the tithe. The personal service was later compounded for by furnishing a soldier or two for the army. The liability to serve in the levy continued to be borne by slaves and the lower classes.

All land subject to royal taxation

That all land did owe either personal service, or tax, is probably to be deduced from § 40, where we read that though a levy-master, warrant-

officer, or tributary could alienate nothing of their holdings, other land-owners could do so. But they did so subject to the buyer taking over the duty, or service, of the land so transferred. One of the classes here named, the votary, appears subject to service elsewhere. The votary of Marduk is expressly exempt from this service. The merchant, who represents another class, appears very often to have been a foreigner, only temporarily resident in the country.

The votaries

The votary was already known to us from the contracts, but there was little to fix her functions. As seen in the Code, she was a highly favored person. Vowed to God, usually to Shamash at Sippara, or Marduk at Babylon, there seems little to connect her with the prostitute-votaries of Ishtar at Erech. She ordinarily lived in the convent, or "bride-house" of Shamash. She was given a portion, exactly like a bride, on taking her vow and becoming the "bride" of Shamash. But her property did not go to the convent. At her father's death, with her consent, her estate might be administered by her brothers, or she could farm it out. At any rate, she was provided for during her lifetime. But at her death, unless her father had specially given her power to bequeath it, her property went back to her family. She was not, however, doomed to spend all her days in the convent. She could leave it and even marry. But she was expected to maintain a high standard of respectability. For her to open a beer-shop or even enter one for drink was punished by burning. She remained a virgin, even if married. She could have no children and must provide her husband with a maid, if he wished to have a family. But she was carefully guarded from any reproach as childless. She ranks as a married woman, even if unmarried, and is protected from slander. Many noble ladies, and even kings' daughters, were votaries.

The merchant

The merchant continually appears. Some passages suggest that he was a state official. But this is really pressing far the interest which the state took in him. He was, doubtless, like the Jew of the Middle Ages, a valuable asset to the king. He seems to have been the usual moneylender, so much so that in many places "merchant" and "creditor" are interchangeable. A man is usually said to borrow of "his merchant," as we say "of his banker." Doubtless, the king also borrowed from him. It is certain that the Code was very lenient to him. But the merchant also did business in the way of ordinary trade. As a capitalist he sent out his travellers and agents with goods far and wide, even into domains where the king's authority did not reach. Much of the Code is occupied with

regulating the relations between the merchant and his agent. The agency was that form of *commenda* which is so characteristic of the East at the present. The agent takes stock or money of his principal, signs for it, agrees to pay so much profit, and goes off to seek a market, making what profit he can. There is much to suggest that the merchant was not usually a Babylonian. In later times, the Arameans were the chief merchants, and travelled all over Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and into Asia Minor.

V. JUDGES, LAW-COURTS, AND LEGAL PROCESSES

Antiquity of the judicial organization

Partly because specific references to judges and legal processes are not necessarily to be expected in historical inscriptions, and partly because we do not really know which are the earliest monuments of the race, it is impossible to decide when law-courts first came into existence. It is generally admitted, however, that the stele of Manistusu is one of the earliest known monuments. There we read of Galzu, a judge. There also we find many of the officials, who later acted as judges upon occasion. Hence it may fairly be said that judges were to be found in ancient Babylonia from time immemorial. They must have decided what was right when there was no written law to which to appeal. With the judges were associated as assessors the elders of the city. This was so marked a feature, that in some cases we read, that after hearing the complaint the judge "assembled the city" to hear the case. In Babylonia the maxim, *littera scripta manet*, was so well understood that hardly anything of importance was done without committing it to writing. Hence we are as well informed about domestic affairs in Babylonia as about those of Europe in the Middle Ages.

Sources of our knowledge of early legal procedure

It seems best to consider legal usages first, because they are essential to the understanding of all others. When we have a simple contract between two parties we do not at once see where the reference to the law comes in. But the contract was not valid unless sealed and witnessed. The sealing was accompanied by an oath. The oath probably had to be made in court. The witnesses seem often to have been a body of men who could only be found at the court. Even when there is least trace of the law and the judge, the case is similar to others where the judge appears explicitly. It is also worthy of remark that, partly owing to our possession of the Code and partly owing to the fuller nature of the legal decisions, we know far more of this subject, as of many others, in the early periods than in the later. Hence the discussion of early legal usage is unusually full. When the evidence from later times merely supports this, it will not be noticed. Only divergences are worthy of record. As a rule, the procedure changes very little for many centuries.

Judges not often mentioned

1. **JUDGES.** The references to judges are less numerous than one would expect in the Code. But it seems probable that the sentences there

laid down had to be pronounced by the judge, if not carried out by him. We are, however, still in complete ignorance as to the machinery of police administration. We may argue from analogy in other countries and ages, but this is not a theoretical treatise on comparative sociology. We must content ourselves with direct evidence.

Their varied duties

Some sections deal explicitly with the duties of a judge. Thus, if a judge had given a judgment, decided the case, and embodied it in a legal decision, he was subjected to severe penalties for afterwards revoking his decision. If he had inflicted a penalty, he had now to repay it twelvefold to him from whom it was exacted. Further he was to be publicly deposed from his office, expelled from his seat of judgment, *kussû daianûtišu*, and no longer be permitted to sit with the judges. It is, of course, assumed that when he was called to account he could not justify his former judgment, or else could not justify the change. But, as the law reads, it seems simply calculated to render a judgment, once pronounced, irrevocable, — at any rate, for that judge. Probably its revocation, in the case of injustice, was provided for by the right of appeal.

He had to consider the words of the witnesses, *amâtišunu amâru*, literally, "to see their words," perhaps implying that the depositions were written, but there are instances where *amâru* simply means "to consider."

In a criminal case, where a man had to produce witnesses to save his life from a death-sentence, the judge might grant him six months' grace in which to produce his witnesses. In later times we have many examples of such a stay of process that evidence might be produced.

Special directions to judges

Special directions are also given to a judge as to his procedure, when a father was minded to disinherit his son; or, when a widow with a young family wished to marry again. A slanderer was summoned before the judge, a son could not be cut off without referring the case to a judge, the children who wished to turn their widowed mother out of her house had to appear before a judge.

Position, rank, and qualifications

For the most part judges constituted a distinct profession, but it must not be understood that they had no other means of livelihood. Indeed, there is no hint anywhere that they received any remuneration for their services. But it was a high honor and by no means subsidiary to another office. Among those who officiated as judges we find most of the higher officials. Doubtless the king himself acted as judge on occasions, and probably no great official of the realm was wholly free from the call to

act in a judicial capacity. But, as a rule, the judge is simply noted as "judge." That the priests were judges is quite unproved. The judges were men of great importance and high rank, but there is nothing to show that they were priests. An age qualification is more likely.

Method of appointment

The judge was a professional man. We often find a man, bearing the title "judge," acting as party to a suit, or witness to a deed, when he is certainly not acting in his judicial capacity. To a certain extent he was a territorial officer, had his own district for jurisdiction, and was jealous of cases being taken elsewhere. How the ranks of the judges were filled we do not know, but there is a hint of royal appointment in the phrase, "the king's judges." On the other hand, there is clear evidence of the office being hereditary. Thus, Ibik-Anunîtum had no less than three sons, Idin-Ishtar, Marduk-mushallim, and Nannar-idinnam, all judges. Whether a right to the office descended in the female line is not quite clear, but we find a lady, Ishtar-ummu, among the judges, on occasion. She was also the scribe.

The chief-justice

Though many high officials acted as judges, and so doing are named before the simple "judge," there is no evidence of the existence of any "chief judge." The order of names appears to be that of seniority alone. This may be due to the nature of our documents. The phrase-books name a "chief judge" for Sumerian times. In the later Assyrian period the chief-justice was called *sartênu*, evidently because he fixed the *sartu*, or fine, on the condemned party. Then also many high officials acted as judges.

The scribes

2. **SCRIBES.** — The scribe exercised his craft as a profession. One often meets with a scribe, *tupšarru*, acting in a private capacity, as party to a suit, or as witness. He retains the title even when the deed is drawn up by another writer. The class was very numerous. Almost every document is drawn up by a fresh scribe, so far as the scribe's name is recorded, for he often omits his title. Generally he is the last of the witnesses, but not always so.

Their duties

He wrote the whole of the document, including the names of the witnesses. There is no evidence that anyone else ever wrote a word on the document. As a rule, even when the names of the fathers of the witnesses are given, the scribe is content to write only his title after his

name. Hence we have no evidence whether the office was hereditary or not.

Female scribes

Women certainly were scribes. Out of a total of ninety names of scribes known, at least ten were women. Here a difficulty arises from the way in which women's names occur. At this period proper names are usually written without the determinative which marks sex. Nor do the names decide, for both men and women bore the same name. Thus Taribatum is the name of two men and also of two women. Only when the title *tupšarru* is given, is the feminine determinative prefixed to that. We have, however, ten clear examples.

In the later times the scribe usually was a man, but female scribes are known. The Aramaic scribe is often named, also the Egyptian. The scribe usually "held" the agreement, which probably means that the parties were willing to leave it in his safe-keeping.

The scribe not a judge

The scribe was not a judge. It may be true that he sometimes acted as judge or became one, but then the higher office overshadowed the lower. He was no longer scribe but judge. A judge may sometimes have written down his legal decision and so acted as scribe, but we have no evidence of such a case. The judge seems never to have dispensed with the services of the scribe.

The scribe not a priest

The scribe was not a priest. There is no evidence whatever that either priests were all scribes, or could all write, or that scribes were necessarily priests. As a matter of fact, the same man may have acted both as scribe and priest. But the offices are distinct and no one man ever bears both titles. That in later times the *amêlu* RID, whose title can be read *šangû*, usually acts as scribe is due to the peculiar nature of the documents. These concern transactions in which the property of the temple, or of its officials, was in question, and one of the college of priests attached to that temple was charged with the duty of notary where temple interests were concerned. One might as well say that every clerk in the Middle Ages was a priest, because all the deeds of the monastery with which we were dealing were drawn up by Brother A, whose name was entered in some monastery list of the brethren as a priest. Whether the scribes were clerics, and always attached to some temple, in minor orders, is not clear. On the whole, the evidence is against this conclusion.

The witnesses

3. **WITNESSES.** — The word used to designate a witness is *šîbu*, which denotes those who are "gray-headed," but it is not certain that it can have no other meaning. It may mean those who were "present." In actual use we can distinguish three classes of persons to whom the term "witness" can be applied.

The elders of a city

First we have the elders, the *šîbu*, of a city. Possibly the Kar-sippar, by which some men swore, or in presence of which a contract was drawn up, were these elders of Sippar. They formed the *puḫru*, or "assembly," in whose presence a man was scourged, from which a prevaricating judge was expelled. They may have been nominated, or at least approved, by the king; for we read of *šîbê šarri*. They were not exclusively men, for we have *šîbê û šîbatu*. The recurrence of the same names, at the same dates, indicates that a body of official witnesses were held in readiness to act on such occasions. Many of them were temple officials, or members of the guild of Shamash votaries.

Their jury duties

Sometimes they are associated with the judges in such a way as to show that they were assessors. They included judges sometimes, at any rate "this witness" is attached to a list of names which included a *nâgiru* of Babylon, a judge, and other high officials. In the time of Nûr-Adadi they sent a case before the king. They actually gave judgment. We may regard them as a jury, especially a grand jury, qualified by their own knowledge to understand the rights of the case and to judge of evidence. The judge gave the sentence.

Trial witnesses

Secondly, we may distinguish the witnesses examined on oath. It is not clear that these were called by the same name. In the Code we read of *šîbi mûdi*, "the witnesses that know," who seem to resemble very closely the Greek *Histores*. These, of course, were usually not on the jury. They testified, and were chosen by the parties to the suit. But the judge might examine persons who, in his opinion, would know. He selected and sent for them, directing the parties whom to produce. He might even adjourn the case for the production of witnesses.

Witnesses to deeds

Thirdly, we may distinguish the witnesses to a document. Very often we can discern that these had an interest in the case. They might be relatives of the parties, neighbors of the estate in question, officials whose rights were concerned. In later times they received the special name of *mukinnu*, "the establishers." They may be presumed to have

known at least the general purport of the deed which they witnessed. When the deed was called in question, they would be cited to state what they knew. In the case of legal decisions, both judges and jury occur as witnesses in this sense. Hence, in a great many cases the distinctions drawn above do not hold. Whether the term *šîbu* was ever applied to the third class is doubtful. Their names are usually preceded by the sign which means "before," however it was read.

Settlements out of court

4. **CASES OF DISPUTE SETTLED OUT OF COURT.** — When parties disagreed, they might discuss their difference between themselves and arrive at an agreement. Then they procured a scribe, who embodied the agreement in a binding compact, *duppu lâ ragâmi*. This took the form of a contract, the parties mutually undertaking not to withdraw from the agreement, re-open the dispute, or bring legal action, one against the other. To give sanction to this agreement, they swore by the gods and the king. Witnesses were called upon to be cognizant of and attest the contract; and their names were added to the contract. To authenticate their names both parties and witnesses often impressed their seals or, in default of seals, made a nail-mark. The date was then added. Each party seems to have taken a copy of the agreement and the scribe held a third, or deposited it in the archives. Such cases may be said to have been settled "out of court." At any rate they contain no reference to a judge, or court. But it is possible that the administration of the oath was a judicial, or perhaps a sacerdotal function. Further, the witnesses may have been drawn from a body of men held in readiness at court to perform that function. It is certain in some cases, that agreements arrived at independently were taken to a judge for confirmation, and the Code expressly directs some cases to be taken to a judge. But it is probable that many cases were settled by mutual agreement.

Recourse to a judge

When the intervention of a judge was deemed essential, one of the parties "complained." The word really means to "cry out," "protest"; but it is used in the freest way as equivalent to bringing the action. There is no evidence that anyone then submitted to wrong "under protest." Whether the people were naturally litigious, or simply because access to the courts was so easy, a protest usually involved a suit.

The advocate

The plea was made by the principals to the suit. There is no mention of an advocate, or solicitor. But the verb generally used of the plea *ragâmu*, gives rise to *targumânu*, the original of the modern dragoman.

He usually appears in later texts as the "interpreter," but may originally have been the "advocate." At any rate, in the bilingual days he might well have combined the offices. Another verb common at this period, *pakâru*, gave rise to *pâkirânu*, later the usual word for "plaintiff," or "claimant."

The plaintiff in the reports

Here may be noted a peculiarity of the scribe's conception of the case. It will be found that, as he puts the case, the plaintiff generally loses. This is because the scribe will not prejudge the case by saying who was right. He writes "A claimed the property of B." In actual fact it may have been that B laid claim to what he proved was his. But that excludes the scribe from saying that B claimed the property of A, because it never was A's. Hence, writing after the event, he ascribes the property to the rightful owner from the start of his document, and regards the wrongful holder as laying claim to it. Hence, we must not assume that the parties were not both claimants. In fact, both parties agreed, as a rule, so far as to submit their case to a judge. This is clear from the statements which follow the statement of the cause of dispute. Both parties "went to the judges," or rather quaintly, "they captured a judge." The preliminary discussion between the parties resulted in agreement to submit the case to a judge. Both were willing to abide by the decision. Once, it is true, the plaintiff is said to have caught the defendant; but there is no evidence of unwillingness to submit. So too, when the parties are said to "receive a judge," they evidently both sought him.

Summons before the judge

Sometimes affairs did not go so smoothly. One party had to act and bring the other before the judges or "caused them to come before the judge."

There are indications that the judges sometimes had to summon a party before them, or as the scribe puts it, "bring him before the other party." This is also expressed by the judges "sending up" a party.

Appeals

There is considerable evidence that cases might be sent before the judges by a higher party, the king himself. These cases were probably on the suit of a plaintiff. In the letters of the First Dynasty we have examples of the king sending to the local judges his own decision on the case, which they had to carry out; or in other cases he simply sent the case for trial.

Various places for holding a court

The parties, having found a judge and obtained a day for hearing, "entered," or "went down to," the great temple of Shamash, at Sippara, called Ebabbarim. There, as we know, Ḥammurabi set up one of the copies of the Code. The case was heard sometimes at the "old gate." At Babylon, the parties were taken to the temple of Merodach, Esagila. At Larsa, the "gate" of *NIN-MAR-KI*, or the temple of Sin, might be chosen. The temple of Ishhara is also named.

Legal procedure

5. **PROCEDURE.** — We have only scattered hints regarding legal procedure. The Code says that the judges "saw the pleas." The scribe uses the same expression. As a rule, he records the plaintiff's statement of claim first. Then he records a counter-statement. There is a strong suggestion that he quotes from written documents. The judges read these, or heard the verbal statements.

The deity the theoretical source of all judicial authority

As part of the legal process, the object in dispute, or, at any rate, the deeds relating to it, were brought into court, and resigned into the hands of the god. He was to discern the rightful owner and restore the object to him. Hence the decision was "the judgment of Shamash in the house of Shamash, the judgment of the house of Shamash." So the defendant was said "to make his account before Shamash." In bringing a suit the parties "sought the altar of Shamash." In case of loss or damage, the claimant recounted it "before god."

Summoning witnesses

In confirmation of the statements alleged witnesses might be called for, who were put on oath before god and the king. They were supposed to know the object claimed and whose it was, or to know that a transaction had taken place.

Bribing witnesses

Tampering with witnesses, or with a jury, was penalized by the Code. The judges might refuse to accept the witness, and then might decide the case on the sworn deposition of the plaintiff.

Different kinds of testimony

Documentary evidence might be demanded. The judges might decide to take the evidence of their own senses and go to see an estate or a house in dispute. Or they might determine that it was a case for the accused to purge himself, which he did by oath.

Rendering the decision

Having thus informed themselves of the rights of the case the judges proceeded to pronounce a decision, "they caused them to receive

judgment." This phrase nearly always occurs in the legal decisions. The decision might be called "the judgment of the particular judge," for example, *dîn Išarlim*, "Israel's judgment." The sentence is sometimes stated in the words of the judges themselves, introduced by *ikbu*, "they said." Thus we read "the tablet which A granted to B is good, they said."

The collection of damages

If one party was in the wrong, the judges "laid the wrong on him," or "put him in the wrong." When the suit was to recover a debt, or find compensation, the judges might name a sum which they paid over to the proper person. This was damages, not a fine.

Breaking a contract-tablet

A ceremony which often took place on the annulment of a former agreement, or cancelling of a deed was the breaking of the tablet embodying the former contract. The same ceremony took place on repayment of a debt, or on dissolution of a partnership, apparently without recourse to judges. This was ordered by the Code in case of purchases of property which it was illegal to sell or buy, such as the benefice of a reeve or runner. So when an adopted child had failed to carry out the bond to nourish and care for the adoptive parent, the deed of adoption was formally broken by the judges.

For later times we have little evidence. What there is was collected by Kohler-Peiser, and agrees in general with the above.

The legal decision

6. **THE DECISION.** — In these ways the judges "quieted the strife," "composed the complaint." It was the standard conception of a legal decision that it should be irrevocable. The Code enacts the deprivation and deposition of a judge for revoking his judgment. The legal decisions lay down the stipulation that the losing party shall not "turn back," shall not "complain." These phrases nearly always occur, as they do also in contracts. To insure compliance with the decision the judges again exacted an oath. Whether both parties swore, or only the losers, is not clear. The statement usually is "they swore," without mention of the persons who did so.

Documentary form

The decision, being complete, was embodied in a document drawn up by the scribe, regularly witnessed, often by the judges, and sealed. Thus it was that the judges granted him an irrevocable tablet. These irrevocable tablets, practically imperishable also, have now come after thousands of years, to tell their tale.

Administration of oaths

7. **ADMINISTRATION OF THE OATH.** — The ceremony of swearing to the truth of evidence, or the terms of a compact, is continually mentioned. The exact form of words used in taking the oath is not certain; but in actual suits, in the law-court procedure, the judges administered an oath to both parties and witnesses. In the Code oaths were admitted for purgation of alleged crime, as evidence of loss, deposit, injury; and the reception of a sworn deposition is recorded. References to oaths continually occur in the contracts.

Form of the oath

The judges "gave them to the oath before Shamash and Adad," or, more briefly, "gave him to the oath of god." The name of the god by whom men swore is usually given. As might be expected, the god who figured most prominently in the Code was Shamash, the chief deity of Sippara, often associated with his consort, Aia, or Malkatu. Sometimes the oath was "by the king." Often one or more gods and the king are named together. When Babylon became supreme it was usual to swear by Marduk and the local gods as well. The significance of these oaths for historical purposes is great, both as indicating political relationships, and as often affording by the name of the king the only clew to the date of the document. Mr. King, in his edition of the Chronicle, and Dr. Lindl, have made skilful use of these oaths in determining chronology.

The place where it was administered

The administration of the oath took place before the censer of Shamash or at the shrine, *Šašaru*, of Shamash, in Sippara; or before the emblematic dragon sculptured on the doors of the Marduk temple at Babylon. Other places are named which we are not yet able to identify. A kind of magical conjuration appears sometimes to have been employed, which is not yet understood.

Its purport

The purport of the oath was, not to give false evidence, or, in the case of contracts, not to alter the stipulated agreements. It is often followed by the words, "whoever shall alter or dispute the words of this tablet," evidently a quotation of the words of the oath; but the consequence of so doing is not given. Either it was too well known, or too awful, for the scribe to write it down.

Its gradual decrease in importance

In Assyrian times the oath did not play such an important part. Still, it was in use occasionally. The oath is generally found in documents of the grand style, such as royal charters. Oaths also are of interest for the pantheon of Assyria. A common way of expressing the same thing was

to call on a god to be judge of the case, as for example, “Shamash be judge,” or “Shamash be advocate,” that is, “take up the case.” So the king’s son, or crown prince, is invoked to be the advocate. An appeal was also made to the decision of the king. The gods, “Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, and Nabû, the gods of Assyria, shall require it at his hands” is another way of putting the case. These examples illustrate the meaning of the older oaths. There do not seem to be any cases of the witnesses being put on oath.

Its preservation as an antique form

But the oath lingered on into very late Babylonian times, when we have some very full forms. If anyone shall change or alter the agreement, “may Marduk and Zarpanit decree his destruction.” In Persian times we find a curse on the same breach of faith in the terms, “whosoever shall attempt to alter this agreement, may Anu, Bêl, and Ea curse him with a bitter curse, may Nabû, the scribe of Esagila, put a period to his future.” It is curious thus to note a recrudescence of old forms in these later times. Was it merely an antiquarian fashion or had the Persians earlier come under strong Babylonian influence and preserved the old forms which had died out in their native home? The Elamite contracts suggest exactly the same question. In them it seems evident that Elam, once under Babylonian influence, adopted and preserved, under native rulers, forms of which we have no trace in Babylonia, but which clearly came from that country. Assyria is another case in point. She kept forms which we know date back before the time of her independence and which had disappeared from the contemporary Babylonian documents. In the later Babylonian times we still find the parties and the witnesses in a law-court put to the oath.

Penalties for perjury

8. **PENALTIES.** — An unsuccessful suitor was not allowed to get off merely with the loss of his suit. He had been put on his oath and been unable to justify himself, or the word that he had spoken. According to the Code, if the suit was a capital suit, this was punished with death. But even if the case was less serious, it was slander to have brought a false accusation, and the penalty for slander was branding. This penalty was inflicted on an unsuccessful suitor for possession of a house sold by his father. Another form of penalty for unsuccessful litigation was that the suitor should not only lose his case but actually be condemned to pay the penalty which he, if successful, would have brought on the other party. That this is what was really intended by the clauses is shown by the case of Belilitum, who as late as b.c. 555,having brought a suit to

recover a debt which she alleged was not paid, was convicted of perjury by the production of the receipt, and by the evidence of her own children, and not only lost her case, but was condemned to pay the sum for which she had sued to him from whom she sought to obtain it. This was of course a form of retaliation.

Forfeits

In Assyrian times the parties usually bound themselves not to litigate, nor attempt to disturb the settlement made between them, under heavy forfeits to the treasury of a god, often tenfold the value of the object in dispute, and sometimes prohibitive in amount. Such sums as two talents of silver, or two talents of gold, controvert the idea that these forfeits were looked upon as possible deposits by a claimant desiring to reopen the case. They were terrific penalties intended to deter any attempt at litigation.

Nature of the forfeits

The forfeit sometimes took the form of white horses, or foals (?), which were dedicated to a divinity. Very interesting is the mention of the dedication of the eldest child to a god, or goddess. This is worded as if the dedication was to be by fire. The additional mention of incense or cedarwood, as accompanying the offering, renders it probable that it was really meant that the litigant should be punished by the sacrifice of his child as a "burnt offering" to the god. But this only makes it clearer that such penalties were simply meant to be deterrent. We have no proof that such an offering ever took place. It was a memory of bygone horrors, but not less interesting as showing what had once been possible. A more natural and extremely common penalty was the payment of a tenfold value to the disturbed owner. In later times this was twelvefold. This was an example of the multiple restitution so common in the Code.

The ordeal

Something very like an ordeal was occasionally imposed. The very fragmentary condition of the texts which give it adds to its obscurity. But it appears to have consisted in the litigant being compelled to eat a mina weight of some magically concocted food and to drink the contents of an inscribed bowl. What the result was expected to be is not stated. One fragmentary text appears to name the ingredients of the magic potion. All that can be made out points to an ordeal, somewhat similar to that inflicted upon a suspected wife in Numbers v. 12-31.

9. **PENALTIES FOR WRONG-DOING.** — We are chiefly indebted to the Code for our knowledge of the penalties which the judge and his assessors might inflict.

The death-penalty

Foremost we may place the death-penalty. This was inflicted by the Code for witchcraft, for theft, for corruption of justice, for rape, for causing death by assault, for neglect of duties by certain officials, for allowing a seditious assembly, for causing death by bad building, and for varieties of these crimes. It is curious that no mention is made of murder pure and simple. But this is only accidental. It is evidently assumed. For the Code brings several cases of murder under this penalty. Procuring the death of a husband is punished by it; even a fatal assault, as that on a pregnant woman who dies of miscarriage as the result. The need of an oath to establish lack of malice in giving a blow in a quarrel which led to death tends to show that murder was punished by death, and that it was regarded as death intentionally caused. An explicit statement was clearly not needed. We do not yet know how this sentence was carried out. Usually the Code only says "he shall be killed"; by whom, or how, is not stated. For special cases the manner is described.

Drowning

Death by drowning was inflicted on a beer-seller for selling beer too cheaply; on a woman for adultery, for being a bad wife, for incest, or for desertion of her husband's house. In every case the victim was a woman. When men were drowned they shared a woman's fate. In two cases, adultery and incest, we read of the criminals being bound. In the latter, § 155, it seems that the man was "bound" and the woman drowned. In the former, § 129, both were "bound" and both drowned. It is hardly likely that "bound" can mean merely tied up, or imprisoned, in the case of the man who committed incest. I would suggest that in both cases it means "strangled." The alternative would be that the confusion in § 155 is due to the scribe.

Burning

Death by fire is directly ordered for a votary who opens or enters a beer-shop, for a man and his mother in incest, and indirectly for a thief at a fire.

Impalement

Impalement on a stake is ordered for a wife procuring her husband's death.

Ordeal by water

Indirectly the death-penalty would often be the consequence of an appeal to the ordeal by water, in §§ 2, 132.

Mutilations

The various sorts of mutilation named are of two types: (1) retaliation for bodily disfigurement, (2) symbolical of the offence itself. Thus eye for eye, tooth for tooth, limb for limb, are pure retaliations. But the hands cut off mark the sin of the hands in striking a father, in unlawful surgery, or in branding. The eye torn out was the punishing of unlawful curiosity. The ear cut off marked the sin of the organ of hearing and obedience. The tongue was cut out for the ingratitude evidenced in speech.

Scourging

Scourging is the only other form of corporal punishment. It was done with an ox-hide scourge, or thong, and sixty strokes were ordered to be publicly inflicted for a gross assault on a superior.

Banishment

Banishment from the city was the penalty for incest.

Simple restitution

Restitution may, perhaps, hardly be regarded as a penalty. Thus a man who was found in possession of lost property had to restore it. In case of loss caused by neglect or ill-treatment of hired property, or of goods deposited or intrusted, or by want of care in treating diseased limbs, restitution, goods for goods, ox for ox, ass for ass, *et cetera*, was ordered.

Multiple restitution

But restitution of many times the damage inflicted is a distinct penalty. The Code orders threefold for cheating a principal, fivefold for loss or theft of goods by carrier, sixfold for defrauding an agent, tenfold for theft by a poor man, or for careless loss by shepherd or herdsman, twelvefold for a false sentence by a judge, thirtyfold for theft on the part of a gentleman.

Retaliation

The infliction of the same loss on a criminal that he caused another is seen in the cases of mutilation, eye for eye, limb for limb, tooth for tooth, but also in the penalty of son for son, daughter for daughter, slave for slave; and in the rule that a vexatious suitor shall pay the penalty which his suit was calculated to bring on the defendant.

Vicarious punishment

This retaliation is the explanation of what seems to be vicarious punishment, where a man suffers in the person of his son, or daughter, for the loss he has caused to the son or daughter of another.

Loss of claim

Another penalty was the voidance of a claim. If a man took the law into his own hands to repay his debt, he lost all claim to recover it

through the courts. When the purchase was illegal and void, as that of an officer's benefice or of a ward's property, the purchaser had to return his purchase and lose what he had paid for it.

Cases where no claim is allowed

In certain cases no suit was allowed to gain standing. Contributory negligence, the natural death of hostage for debt, the accidental goring of a man by a wild bull, are excluded from litigation. Such events cancel all further claim or are expressly said to have no remedy. There is no case for prosecution.

Compensation

Compensation for loss caused by crime, or neglect, is ordered on a scale fixed by the Code. Where a tenant takes a field on produce-rent his neglect to cultivate caused a loss to the landlord. He was thus bound to pay an average yield, or a crop like his neighbor's, or that of the next field. In later times, the vagueness of this rule, which might give rise to dispute, was avoided by stating in the lease the average rent to be expected. For certain classes of land, where no comparison with the next field could be instituted, a fixed rate was set down. Compensation for premature ejectment was ordered.

VI. LEGAL DECISIONS

Meaning of the term

By a legal decision we understand a "judgment" pronounced by some judicial authority upon a case submitted. It is not easy to say whether the Babylonians had a separate name for this sort of transaction; but it had some peculiarities by which it can be easily recognized. It usually opens with the words, *duppu ana*, "tablet on," followed by the statement of the object in dispute. This is very often abbreviated to a simple *ana*, "on," or *aššum = ana šum*, "concerning," or *eli* with the same sense.

These usages explain the curious tablet where we have a long series of sections each containing names associated with other names by the word *aššum*. Thus we read:

"Nishînishu, daughter of Rîsh-Sin, *aššum* Shamash-ellatsu, son of Itti-Sin-dinim."

Technical terms used

It is not clear whether Shamash-ellatsu was the adversary of Nishînishu, or the subject of her suit. But we clearly have here a "trial list" of seventeen cases. Whether they were all decided in one day, month, or year, or whether they were reserved for the royal audience, we have no means of telling. It is merely a list. The object in dispute, "two *SAR* of land," is occasionally given; or the court is named "the temple of Shamash," or "at the gate of Shamash." The whole text is too fragmentary to be translated, but we may note that some lady or other is always a party to the suit. If we could find the tablets referring to the decisions intended and they should turn out to be of different years, this list might prove of value for chronology.

Their arrangement

Legal decisions relate to all manner of subjects and consequently are difficult to arrange. Dr. Meissner adopted the excellent plan of appending them to the groups concerned with the class of property dealt with under them. Thus a legal decision concerned with the sale of a house would be grouped with the house sales. But this does not suit all cases, and both in formula and subject the legal decisions are really distinct. Most legal decisions add nothing to our knowledge of the law, merely recording that "A sued B and lost the day and is now bound over not to renew the litigation." A large number go only a little further, thus:

Suit concerning inheritance

Ribatum, daughter of Salâ, was sued by the sons of Erib-Sin, Shumma-ilu and Mâr-erṣitim, concerning what Salâ, her father, and Mullubtim, her mother, had left her. They took judges who restored to her one-half *GAN* of land, her property. Shumma-ilu and Mâr-erṣitim, sons of Erib-Sin, shall not renounce this agreement nor dispute it. They swore by Shamash, Malkat, Marduk, and Samsu-iluna the king. Four judges appear as witnesses. Dated the 10th of Elul, in the second year of Samsu-iluna.

Here it is not stated what was the ground on which the parties disagreed, nor that they laid claim to more than one-half *GAN* of land. They lost the case. That is all we know in many other cases. Often we do not know the object in dispute. Other cases are quite full and often very instructive. Thus:

Suit for paternal power over daughter

About the maid Adkallim, whom Aiatîa had left to her daughter Ḫulaltum. Ḫulaltum had taken care of her mother Aiatîa; while Sin-nâṣir, the husband of Aiatîa, who was in Buzu for twenty years, had left Aiatîa to her fate, loved her not. Now after Aiatîa was dead, Sin-nâṣir laid claim on whatever Aiatîa had, and on Ḫulaltum for the maid Adkallim. Isharlim, the *rabiânu* of Sippar, with the Kar-Sippar, assigned sentence; they laid the blame on him. He shall not renounce the agreement, nor dispute it. They swore by Shamash, Marduk, and Ḫammurabi the king. The judgment of Isharlim. Four witnesses. Dated in Elul, the 9th year of Ḫammurabi.

This was a bad case of desertion. The husband, Sin-nâṣir, deserted his wife for twenty years, but on her death came back and claimed her property. This he was not allowed to do, by the Code. In his absence, Ḫulaltum had cared for Aiatîa, either as his real, or only adopted, daughter. In either case, Aiatîa had left Ḫulaltum a slave-girl, Adkallim, whom Sin-nâṣir now claimed. His claim was disallowed.

The decisions which we now possess give little further information as to the legal procedure, but a series of abstracts will illustrate the legal points which they raise.

Ṣilli-Ishtar and Amêl-ili, sons of Ilu-eriba, were sued by Eribam-Sin, son of Ubar-Sin, concerning a house, etc., which they bought of Sin-mubaliṭ and his brothers. They say that they bought with money which Ṣilli-Ishtar received from his mother and which formed no part of that which they had in common with plaintiff as partners. Deposition accepted. Ḫammurabi 34.

The sons of Zâziâ sue Sin-imgurâni and Sin-uzilli for rights in a house next the temple of Ningirsu, five days' income in the temple of Sin, sixteen days' income in the shrine of Bêlit, and eight days' income in the shrine of Gula. Claim not made out. Era of Isin 6.

Idin-Adadi and Mattatum have no claim on property which Ḥishatum has or shall inherit. Rim-Sin (?).

Adadi-idinnam and Ardi-Martu agree on dissolution of partnership. Zabum 1.

Brothers of Ur-ilishu agree not to proceed against Sala-ilu and Ur-ilishu concerning property left by latter. Apil-Sin (?).

Family of Urra-gâmil sue Erib-Sin for account of his partnership with and his indebtedness to Urra-gâmil deceased. Erib-Sin settles. N. D.

Sin-ellâtsu gave a ring to Ramê-Ishḫara. The children of Sin-ellâtsu agree not to sue her for it. Ḥammurabi (?).

Private settlement of claims to property. N. D.

In the above cases there is no explicit mention of judges. The next group are cases before judges where fact of suit, subject and result are given, but not the pleas presented.

Imgur-Sin and Ilu-eriba sue Iatratum concerning a house which she bought of their father. Nonsuited. Before judges of Babylon and Sippara.

Ṣilli-Ishtar and Eribam-Sin entered into partnership. On dissolution of their partnership they chose judges, paid in their common stock and shared equally. The shares are scheduled in the deed of settlement. Ḥammurabi 34.

Pala-Shamash and Apil-itishu dispute concerning a division of property. They obtain judges and city witnesses. The whole house and income is shared equally and each agrees to waive further claim. Ḥammurabi (?).

The two sons of Ḳû-Ishtar disagreed as to their shares. Nidnat-Sin, the *rab* Martu, makes equitable division. Ḥammurabi 33.

Apil-ilishu and Pala-Shamash dispute the latter's right to a house, ship, servants, money, and property in his possession. The city elders from Ḥuda and Shibabi gave judgment and confirmed the title of Pala-Shamash.

The sons of Nûr-Shamash sue Bêlitum for the property left her. Before judges. Nonsuited. Sumu-lâ-ilu.

Shunu-ma-ili and Mâr-erṣitim sue Ribatum concerning her right to the legacy of Salâ and Mullubtim. The judges assign her an income, *ḫibiltu*. Samsu-iluna 2.

Marduk-mubaliṭ and Sin-idinnam sue Shâd-Malkat concerning her house in Bît Gagim. Judges confirm her title. Apil-Sin.

Ḫuzalum and Pî-Malkat, children of Nabi-Shamash implead Shidi-lamazatanḫu of Gagim concerning various rights to incomes and rations in the temple of Shamash. The judges assign shares to each. Samsu-iluna (?).

Aliḳu and Sumu-ramê sue Shakumâtim about a house they sold him. Nonsuited. N. D.

Shamash-bêl-ili repudiates a sale of land to the Lady Mannashi. He is nonsuited. Ḫammurabi 15.

Family of Ardi-rabish against Erib-Sin on account of property left them by Ardi-rabish. Nonsuited. Sin-mubalit 20.

Ḫamaziru sues Manutum for house and property but is nonsuited. Sumu-lâ-ilu.

Kasha-Upi bought a house of Itti-itishu and his sons, Bêlshunu and Ilushu-bânî. Amêl-Ninshuna, son of Bêlshunu, brought a suit about the house. Judges condemn him to be branded on the forehead and confirm Kasha-Upi's title. Sin-mubalit.

Nishinishu sues Ana-erishti-Malkat for three *SAR* of land before the king's judges. Nonsuited. Samsu-iluna 2.

Malkat-kuzub-mâtim sues Ani-talime for restitution of a field, before the judges of Babylon and Sippara. The witnesses sustain her claim, which is granted. Samsu-iluna 3.

The family of Izidaria sue the family of Azalîa about the property of Izidaria deceased. Their title is confirmed. Zabum 12.

Shamash-bêl-ili sues Nidnusha concerning a house bought by him of her. The judges grant him two shekels of silver. Ḫammurabi 1.

Shî-lamazi sues her brothers for a field and wins her case.

Before Lushtamar, *nâgiru* of Babylon, Adadi-idinnam and Ibku-Ishtar, judges, Zariku was put to the oath and replied to Erib-Sin. He was told that as his domicile was at Sippara, he must not make his appeal to the judges of Babylon. So his case was dismissed. Ḫammurabi 28. The record is defective.

Cases before judges where the plea and its result can be made out with some certainty are as follows:

Ardi-Sin, son of Eṭiru, sued the sons of Shamash-nâṣir who had sold a plot of land, two and a half *GAN* in area, to Ibni-Adadi the merchant. He claimed the land as ancestral domain, *bît abišu*, and denied that he had ever alienated it. The sons of Ibni-Adadi, now in possession, produced

the deed of sale, *duppu šimâti*, which Eṭiru and Sin-nâdin-shûmi, his brother, had executed to Shamash-nâṣir and his son. The judges assigned a small portion of the land, about a sixth, to Ardi-Sin, but make up the rest, apparently, from another quarter. Ammizaduga (?).

Mâr-Martu bought the garden of Sin-mâgir. Ilubânî disputed the legality, *ṣimdattu*, of the sale. Before the judges at the gate of Nin-marki he deposed that he was the adopted son of Sin-mâgir, which adoption had never been revoked. In the time of Rim-Sin the house and garden had been awarded to Ilubânî and then Sin-mubaliṭ had brought a suit against Ilubânî, which was regularly heard before judges and witnesses from Nin-marki. They had awarded the house and garden to Ilubânî. Sin-mubaliṭ was now bound over to dispute the title no more. Ḫammurabi.

Here it seems that on the deposition of Rim-Sin by Ḫammurabi, Sin-mubaliṭ, excluded by his bond from disputing Ilubânî's title, sold his claim to Mâr-Martu, who attempted to enter into possession. Possibly it was thought that the new rulers would reverse the old decision.

Right of a widow on remarriage to her husband's property or gifts

The sons of Namiatum sue their mother, Iashuḫatum, about her share of their father's property. She appears before the judges of Babylon and puts in an inventory to show that she has taken nothing from the family possessions. Then the sons of Namiatum renounce further claim on the ground of family possession to the property of Idin-Adadi, Iashuḫatum and their descendants. Samsu-iluna 2.

It seems that, after the death of Namiatum, Iashuḫatum married again. The children of the first marriage bring an action to secure judgment that she shall not take with her any property of their father's. She had, as we know, a right to take with her her marriage-portion, but not her husband's gifts to her.

Amêl-Ninsaḫ sues Garudu for the rent of a field. The debtor not paying was ejected. Apil-Sin.

Shûmi-erṣitim sues for right to a sheep and some corn, the *naptánu* of a god. Judges grant him half share. Ḫammurabi 9.

Judges summon Ibik-iltum before Elali-bânî to account for corn. He purges himself on oath. N. D.

Amat-Shamash claims to be the adopted daughter of Shamash-gâmil and his wife Ummi-Araḫtum. Her witnesses proving unsatisfactory, her claim was disallowed on the oath of Ummi-Araḫtum that they had never adopted her. Ḫammurabi (?).

Ilushu-abushu hired a pack-ass, *imer bilti*, of Ardi-Sin and Ṣilli-Ishtar and lost it. The judges awarded them sixteen shekels of silver as compensation. Apil-Sin 5.

Babilîtum sued Erish-Saggil, Ubar-Nabium, and Marduk-nâṣir for a share of her family possessions, *bît abiša*. The judges assigned her a share. Samsu-iluna 5.

Nidnusha and Shamash-abilu sue the daughter of Sin-eribam about property which she claimed to have inherited. They charge her with having forged the will of Amti-Shamash in her favor. The judges went to Gagim, where the property was, and examined witnesses who proved that Amti-Shamash had left the property to the daughter of Sin-eribam. The judges therefore confirmed her title. N. D.

Mâr-erṣitim left a female slave Damiḳtum to Erib-Sin. His wife Mazabatum and his brother Ibni-Shamash dispute this legacy. The judges inspect a document by which Erib-Sin, on the suit of Mâr-erṣitim, had granted Damiḳtum to Mazabatum and Ibni-Shamash. The judges return Damiḳtum to Mazabatum. Ḥammurabi (?).

Legal practice of Assyrian times

In Assyrian times we have comparatively few legal decisions. The judges who appear are the *sartênu*, or chief-justice; the *ḫazânu*, the chief civil magistrate of a city, the parallel of the ancient *rabiânu*; the *sukallu*, or chamberlain; and one or two others, besides the simple *daiânu*, or judge. Some of these are not judicial officers, but act in that capacity.

Usually the judge is said to lay the blame on the guilty party, *arnam eli A emêdu*; or to lay the penalty upon one, *sartu eli A emêdu*. The sentence itself was a *dienu*, or "judgment." As in former times, the legal decisions refer to all manner of cases, and here more than anywhere else a mere translation does not convey much meaning to the reader.

Thus: a scribe A prosecuted a farmer B for the theft of a bull. They came before Nabû-zêr-kênish-lîshir, the deputy *ḫazânu* of Nineveh. Restitution, bull for bull, was imposed on the defendant, who meantime was held for the fine. "On the day that he shall have made good the value of the bull he shall go free." Dated the 12th of Elul. Eponymy of Mushallim-Ashur. Twelve witnesses.

Again: A stole four slaves of B, who summoned him before the *sukallu*. The judge laid on him a fine of two hundred and ten minas of copper. B then deposited a pledge with A, either himself, or a slave, to perform work equivalent to the amount of the debt. If B, or any representative of his, pays the money, the pledge is void. "Whoever shall

withdraw from this agreement, Ashur and Shamash shall be his judges, he shall pay ten minas of silver and ten minas of gold, he shall pay it in the treasury of Bêlit." Dated the 10th of Adar, b.c. 678. Eleven witnesses.

Here is another case, relating to a breach of trust:

Damages for loss by agent

The decision of the chief-justice, which he laid on Ḥanî. Three hundred sheep, with their belongings, property of the king's son were lost, or killed by the shepherds. Each shepherd was condemned to pay two talents of bronze as his fine. Ḥanî, and his people, and his fields, were taken as security for the payment for the three hundred sheep, and the fines due from the shepherds. "Whoever shall demand him, his *šaknu*, his *rab kiṣir*, or any representative of his, shall pay for three hundred sheep and the fines for the shepherds and then Ḥanî shall be released." Dated 27th of Sebat, b.c. 679. Four witnesses.

The defendant had been intrusted with three hundred sheep, which he had to return in full, with a proper increase of lambs. But, evidently in the disorders which arose on the death of Sennacherib, Ḥanî had lost or made away with them. If he had intrusted them to shepherds, either the shepherds had killed them, or, as some take it, Ḥanî had killed the shepherds. In the former case he owed two talents of bronze as fine from each shepherd, in the latter he had to pay the same amount for each. Either way, he was held responsible for the value of three hundred sheep and two talents of bronze for each shepherd. He and all he had were seized for the liability. It is interesting to note that his district governor, or the colonel of the regiment to which he belonged, was thought likely to liberate him; but some other representative might do so. The lost property belonged to the king's son. This may have been Esarhaddon, or one of Sennacherib's other sons. But, at any rate, it is clear that Esarhaddon was putting his household in order.

Additional cases

The other examples known to us do not add to our legal knowledge. The subjects are chiefly misappropriations of property and there is little variety.

Later Babylonian decisions

The later Babylonian tablets throw some light upon legal procedure in Babylon. The greater detail exhibited by them is due largely to the fact that for this period we have so many private documents. The greater portion of the material for this part of the subject has been worked over by Professor J. Kohler and Dr. F. E. Peiser, in their valuable treatise *Aus*

Babylonische Rechtsleben. Little can be added beyond additional examples and illustration.

Method of procedure

The judges acted as a college and not separately. There might be present at a case a chief judge and several judges assisting. Other cases were decided before a single judge. The *šibûtu* continue to act as a jury. They were the elders of the city, competent to decide the rights of the case. But the exact form of the organization is not yet quite clear.

The process began with the charge. The plaintiff preferred this himself, or by a messenger. His plea was heard and his proofs considered. Then the court caused the accused to come before them and answer the charge.

The possible complications

The process admitted of a third person intervening. Thus, A had pledged a plot of land to B for thirty-two shekels. Then he sold the property to C. C, dying, left the property to D, who wished to take possession from B, who continued to hold it in pledge. B goes to the judges and complains against D. A, being yet alive, intervenes and probably has to pay B. But the tablet being defective, we are not able to follow the case further. Only we see the sort of right which each had.

Dispute for the possession of a sum of money

Another case is where two parties dispute as to the possession of a sum which is actually in the hands of a banker. The banker accordingly undertakes to produce the sum and its interest in court, and to pay it over to the successful party in the suit. The decision was written down and the notary of the court gave a copy to the plaintiff, if not also to the defendant, and kept one copy for the archives. The plaintiff thus obtained a guarantee against the defendant. But how it was enforced we have no evidence.

Suit regarding loan on mortgage

The kind of points in dispute and decided are, as before, exceedingly varied. The decisions for the most part illustrate other subjects rather than the processes in court; but a few examples may be of interest: A made an advance of forty-four shekels to B, who pledged a house for it. This state of affairs continued until both were dead. Their sons inherited. A's son demanded forty-four shekels of B's son who refused to pay. Both came before the judges. B's son, pleaded that the money was never loaned or else repaid long ago. The judges demanded evidence. Either the contract or a receipt must be produced. The claimant was able to

present the contract, but no receipt was produced. So the judges assigned the claimant a plot of land belonging to the defendant as satisfaction for the proved debt. Here we have the tablet witnessed by the chief judge, the judges, and the notary. What is curious is that the claimant was not content to keep the pledge. But it is probable that the debt was secured on a house which the creditor did not take into his possession. It is also surprising that the judges did not order the house to be handed over to the claimant. That may have been avoided, because of the family rights over the house. The debtor might thus have been rendered houseless, or have lost "his father's house." The widow may still have been an inmate. A great part of the document is taken up with the specification of the land handed over to the claimant. Hence a complete translation is not given.

Regarding possession of a slave

A common type of case was a vindication of right to some sort of property. Thus A had sold B a slave, but C came forward and said: "He is my slave who fled from me," and took an oath by Bêl and Nabû, that he knew where that slave was living with A. The judges decide that C shall go where the slave is, and when he has proved that he is with A, the slave shall return to C.

Acknowledgment of a debt

We have an acknowledgment before the court and a promise to pay the debt. This promise was usually made on oath, or guarantees were given. Here is an involved case. A is father of B's mother. B's father is long dead. The property of A, his grandfather, has now come into B's hands. He finds an old bond for an advance from A to C and D. The latter D is also dead but had a son E, who inherited. Hence B now sues C and E for the money. The bond is shown to C, who remembers and acknowledges the debt and he now undertakes to bring his fellow-debtor E and discharge the debt.

Settlement out of court

Men did not always stand their trial, but sometimes settled the case by an agreement out of court. A and his wife sued B for some slaves, people of their house. B dreads the trial and does not appear. The wife was B's mother, evidently remarried. B brings the slaves whom he still has and offers four minas as payment for one who has died in his house. The offer is accepted and parties agree to be quit.

A private settlement

The decision of a dispute was not always referred to professional judges. A very interesting example occurs, when the eldest member of the family and *kinatti aplišu*, "the family of his son," act as judges. The plaintiff is an old lady, who had been married, and had a daughter married. These facts are not rehearsed in the tablet itself, which concerns a division of property, but are collected from a number of tablets, spread over some sixty years. The way in which information is thus collected is an instructive example of the manner in which the different documents illustrate and explain one another.

Agreements to appear in court

Connected with legal decisions are the undertakings to appear before the court, of which we have several examples. Thus, A undertakes to bring B to Babylon and answer the complaint of C. Or again, a certain gardener spoke to A before an official of the *mâr banûtu*. This official was subpœnaed, as we should say, and swore by Bêl, Nabû, and Darius, that on the 8th of Sebat, two days hence, he would come and take up the case.

Production of witnesses

The production of witnesses is the subject of not a few undertakings. Thus, by a fixed date, five days hence, A shall bring B to be questioned about some asses belonging to the royal household. Again, N swears to come, six days hence, and bring another, on account of the witness about A. He further undertakes to establish the partnership. What was the exact cause of quarrel was not stated. These agreements to abide by the testimony of a named witness may have been entered into without reference to judges, but the oath may have been administered before the court. Thus, two parties agree to waive their dispute and abide by witness produced. This they do before the *atû* official of the gate of the temple. Again, A is to bring witnesses on the second of Ab, to the door of the *tikkalu's* house, and prove when and to whom he gave certain garments. If this be proved, that B had received them, B will restore the said garments to A; if not, B is free. Further, if B does not appear on that day, he shall be bound to restore the garments. Several other examples illustrate the point.

Production of bond

A common method was, as has already been shown, to produce the bond or other document, establishing the claim. If, for some reason, the document was not producible, the oath of the scribe who wrote it might be admitted. The witnesses whose names appear on the document do not seem to have been summoned. But in one case, when two Persians had

sold two slave-girls, also Persians, to a Babylonian; a third Persian, who had been witness to the sale, was called on to swear, “I know that the money was paid,” and he sealed the document.

VII. PUBLIC RIGHTS

The mixed population of Babylonia

The early inhabitants of Babylonia are usually regarded as a non-Semitic race, whom we term Sumerians. Upon them was superimposed a layer of Semitic peoples. The first dynasty of Babylon is now often called Arabian. But the evidence of a previous admixture of peoples is not lacking. The subsequent history bears witness to many invasions by Kassites, Elamites, and nomad tribes, some Semitic, some probably not. Later came Persians and Medes, not to speak of Greeks and Parthians.

Position and rights of resident aliens

The foreign wars brought slaves from all the surrounding countries, even as far away as Egypt. We cannot here enter into any discussion of the foreign elements in the population; but it is important to note what the attitude of the Babylonians was to the foreigners resident in their midst. The evidence on the whole is very slight. It may be said, that as a rule, resident aliens became citizens and were under no disabilities. One section of the Code, if we correctly understand it, allows an alien to purchase an estate, provided he bears the liabilities to the state which lay upon it. The "merchant" was probably usually an alien, and only temporarily resident. In the contracts of the Ḥammurabi period, with the exception of the frequent West-Semitic names, we have little trace of aliens. When the Kassites came we may expect the conquering race to have had full rights. In Assyria there is no trace of disability. Egyptians, Elamites, Armenians, Jews, Arameans, contract exactly like natives. In later Babylonian times we find the same freedom. Of course Persians, and, later, Greeks, were under no disabilities. Hence there is very little at any time to chronicle under this head.

We have marriages between Persians and Egyptians, with witnesses, Babylonian, Persian, Aramean, and Egyptian. Medes rent a Babylonian's house, and live there. A Persian buys of a Babylonian. A Persian father gives Babylonian names to his children. A vivid picture of the mixed nationality in the time of Artaxerxes II. is given in the "Business Documents of Murashû Sons," and the list of proper names attached to Professor Hilprecht's edition sufficiently illustrates the point.

Tax on landed property

Ownership of land carried its liabilities of tax or service. These were carefully guarded and it was the mark of an oppressor to exceed the normal demand. That, however, seems to have been regularly and

continually paid. A very good illustration of public rights over land, or the relation between the state and the private owner, is afforded by the construction, in the reign of Cyrus, of a canal of Shamash by the priest of Sippara. It was to pass through certain lands and the consent of the owners had to be obtained. The magistrates and honorables of the city A, through which it would pass, and the peoples of the neighboring fields were assembled. They were asked to swear, as Susians, subjects of the King of Susa, that they would raise no difficulty. Then the priest took on himself the cost of the work on the canal, but stipulated that when it was completed, the neighbors should keep it in repair. Also he forbade the construction of any rival canal. Riparians were responsible for the care of the canal as shown in the Code.

State liabilities

The state undertook some duties. In the Code we note that the palace would, failing other means, redeem an official from captivity.

District liabilities

There were certain local liabilities of a public nature. Thus the Code shows that the magistrate and his district were held responsible for highway robbery or brigandage in their midst. It may be assumed that the funds to meet such liabilities were furnished by the city temple, for we note that if an official were captured, and his private means were not sufficient for his ransom, his city temple had to furnish the money.

General system of taxation

The whole question of taxation is full of difficulties. There were certain persons who paid tribute, that is, some proportionate part of their produce, others did personal service. There is frequent mention of dues of various sorts, at ferries, market-places and the like. Demands were made on the stock or crops of the farmers. But we are not yet in a position even to sketch the system of taxation.

VIII. CRIMINAL LAW

Reason for the lack of information regarding criminal law

Cases concerned with criminal law were naturally not embodied in contracts. Some cases doubtless may be inferred from the legal decisions, but these are only where the penalty had already been commuted from death or punishment to payment or restitution. They are better taken as examples of civil law. But this distinction is not the cause of their rarity or absence. When a man had to be put to death, scourged, or exiled, there was no need for a written bond. Hence the only references which we have outside the Code and the phrase-books, are the penalties set down in marriage-contracts for conjugal infidelity, or for breach of contract voluntarily agreed to by the parties to it.

Blood-vengeance commuted for a gift

We have one case from Assyrian times of the assignment of a slave-girl, as composition for manslaughter. Atarkâmu, a scribe, had caused the death of Samaku, whose son Shamash-ukîn-aḫi had the right to exact vengeance. Whether as the result of a legal decision or not, Atarkâmu hands over a slave-girl to Shamash-ukîn-aḫi and they agree to be at peace. The name of Ashurbânipal occurs in a position which strongly suggests that the king himself sat in judgment upon the case. The tablet is so fragmentary that little else can be made out, but it seems to have been stipulated that the slave should be handed over "at the grave."

Imprisonment

In later Babylonian times we have a reference to imprisonment arising out of a case of guarantee. The priest of Shamash at Sippara had put A in prison in fetters; B, a fellow-official of his of the same standing, bails him out, giving guarantee to the priests and *šibûtu* that A shall not go away, or if he does, that B will do his work.

Assault

A case of assault and forcible entry into a house occurs. But the tablet is so defective that we cannot make out the rights of the case. The superintendent of the city Shaḫrin, in the eighth year of Cyrus complained to the priest of Shamash at Sippara, to the following effect: He had taken into his house, as a prisoner, a certain man A. He pleads that he is uncle to the priest and chief magistrate of the city. Why then has the priest raised his hand over him? Further, seven men, who are armed, have burst in his door and entered his house and taken a mina of

gold. Whether this was a rescue by relatives of the prisoner, or by order of the priest, does not appear. As a result of this complaint, the elders of the city were assembled and depositions made. Beyond the plea on the part of the house-breakers that someone had paid them to break in the door, and that the prisoner A was someone's pledge, we get no further information.

Tempting a slave to desert

A case of procuration of desertion, forbidden by the Code under pain of death, was condoned by the injured party. A caused a maid of B's to leave her master's house. B received her back, pardoned A, and took no money of him.

Adultery and its punishment

Adultery was punished in the Code by drowning. The Code in this and similar cases of sexual irregularity is explicit that the case must be flagrant. Suspicion was not enough. But conduct leading to scandal had to be atoned for by submission to the ordeal. The Code did not take a higher ground than public opinion. The private contracts name death as punishment for adultery. Usually it is drowning, but being thrown from a high place, temple, tower, or pillar is named. In the later contracts death was still the penalty for a wife's adultery, but the penalty had ceased to be drowning only. The adulteress might be put to the sword.

A woman's procuring her husband's death, for love of another, was punished by impalement.

The punishment of incest

Incest on the part of a man with his own daughter involved his banishment. Incest with a daughter-in-law, if she was his son's full wife, was apparently punished by his being drowned. The Code is obscure here and we are not sure whether she was drowned also. If the girl was not yet fully married, the case was treated as one of ordinary seduction, and the culprit was fined half a mina.

If a man committed incest with his own mother, both were burned. If a man had intercourse with his foster-mother, or step-mother, who had borne children to his father, he was disinherited.

IX. THE FAMILY ORGANIZATION

The sources of information

Marriage is the bond which unites the different members of the family. The married pair, their children, slaves, and adjuncts, one side or the other, constitute the family unit. The Sumerian laws presuppose marriage; but, so far as known, merely attached penalties to repudiation of the wedded ties. The Code is very full and explicit and forms the basis of all our knowledge. The contemporary documents extend it in some particulars. In Assyrian times we know little or nothing about the laws concerning marriage. In later Babylonian times very little is known until the Persian period, when we have many illustrations. But what we know, or can gather from scattered hints, makes it clear that the state of things represented in the Code remained practically unchanged for the whole period.

The marriage-contract and its obligations

The Code is explicit that a woman was not a wife without "bonds." This was a marriage-contract; of which the essentials were that the names of the parties and their lineage were given, the proper consents obtained and the declaration of the man that he has taken so-and-so to wife inserted. As a rule, stringent penalties are set down for a repudiation of the marriage-tie. In these bonds a man might be required to insert the clause that his wife was not to be held responsible for any debts he might have incurred before marriage. The Code enacts that such a clause shall be held to act both ways; if it is inserted, then the man shall not be liable for his wife's debts before marriage. But, if no such bond existed, the wedded pair were one body as far as liability for debt was concerned, by whichever it had been contracted and, in spite of such a bond, both were liable together for all debts contracted after marriage.

Family relations

The family relationship was of primary importance. Whatever may be said about traces of matriarchy in Babylonia, we have no legal documents which recognize the institution. The father is the head of the family and possesses full power over his wife and family. But the woman is not in that degraded condition in which marriage by capture, or purchase, left her. She was a man's inferior in some respects, but his helper and an honorable wife.

Ancient *gentes*

Not only was the family, which consisted of the wedded pair and their dependents, a unit, but there was also a connection with ancestors and posterity which enlarged the family to a clan or *gens*. In this sense it often appears. The family thus constituted had definite rights over its members. It was very important to a man to be sure of his family connection. We may note the importance attached at all epochs to a man's genealogy as distinguishing his individuality. His family identified him. There was a very large number of well-marked and distinguished families, which took their names from a remote ancestor. So far as our evidence goes, these ancestors were by no means mythical, but actually lived in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. To all appearances they date back "to the Conquest." Unfortunately no attempt has yet been made to work out the family histories. But men of such families were the *mâr bânê*, or "sons of ancestors," and had special privileges, which continually emerge into notice. We may compare the hundred families of China and the patricians of many nations. There were other families of scarcely less antiquity and consideration. They do not name their ancestor, but refer to him as a tradesman. They were sons of "the baker," of "the measurer," *et cetera*, with which we may compare our proper names Baker and Lemesurier. There was a court of ancestry, *bît mâr bânûti*, which investigated questions arising from claims to belong to such families and which doubtless preserved in its archives the genealogical lists of these exclusive families. They must have registered the birth of all fresh members and all adoptions; for men were adopted freely into such families.

Guilds of working-men

It is not clear whether all members of a family which traced descent, real or putative, from a trade-father, actually carried on that trade. If so, we should have examples of a workmen's guild. Certainly many men who carried on a trade were "sons" of the trade-father, but apparently not all. The Code notes the adoption of a child by an artisan who teaches him his trade. In certain cities the trades had their quarters. We read of the "city of the goldsmiths" in Nineveh.

Their rivals

It may well be that these guilds were close corporations at first and continued so to be in the less crowded trades, but rivals outside the guild also came to be tolerated. The slaves were artisans in great numbers and their increase may have led to the decay of the old artisan guilds of free workers.

Public registration of family events

The importance of descent was not a sentimental matter only. The laws of inheritance involved a careful distinction between proper heirs and a variety of claimants. Hence it seems likely that there was a registration of births, deaths, and marriages, at least covering the patrician families. We have such examples as a man claiming to be of same father as another, claiming brotherhood. The other repudiates the claim. The tablet is too fragmentary for us to follow the arguments. The slave Bariki-ilu claimed to be a *mâr bânû* and his claim was heard before the court of the *mâr bânê*.

Entailed family property

Further, as the wife's marriage-portion, if she died childless, went back to the "house of her father," and as a man who died without issue had to leave his property to his "father's house," and as many had only a life-interest in their property, while the family usually had a right of pre-emption in the case of proposed sales, we see that the family always had a strong hold over property. Not only was it for the man's interest to be registered as of a certain family, but it was also for the family's interest to register all its members.

Responsibilities of family to its individual members

There are suggestions that the family assumed certain responsibilities over the man; for in Assyria it appears that the family might come forward and liberate a man from his debt. A free man, who had been sold as a slave to Ashnunnak, and who escaped to Babylon, after five years, being claimed as a slave by the levy-masters there, chose to serve his father's house. His brothers swore by Marduk and Ammiditana the king, making an irrevocable declaration that as long as he lived he should take up the duties of his father's house with his brothers. In the later Babylonian times, the head of the family, though only a distant relation, was called upon to act as judge in a dispute concerning the disposition of property.

X. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Amount of the bride-price

The suitor came with presents to the parents of the girl. Most writers see in this a survival of the purchase of the bride. The name of this gift, *terḫatu*, is undoubtedly connected with the name of the bride, *marḫitu*. This present, or bride-price, differed greatly with the circumstances of the parties. Both money and slaves were given, but a simple sum of money was more common. In cases where the bride was rich or highly placed the amount seems less. A very usual amount was ten shekels, but we have examples from one shekel up to three minas. The Code assessed it at one mina of silver for a patrician and a third of a mina for a plebeian.

Its disposal

Without this bride-price the young man could not take a wife. Hence it was expressly secured to him by the Code, if his father died before he was of age to marry, and reserved as a first charge on the father's estate. There is some evidence that a woman might make this present to her future husband. But that may have been because he was too poor to make it himself and she found him the means. As a rule, the parents gave this money to the bride. But we are not in a position to say whether they did so at once, on the consummation of the marriage, or on the birth of a child. The suggestion that it was her *Morgengabe* remains without support. Certain it is that it was not returned always. In the contracts it seems to be given to the bridegroom with the bride. On a wife dying without children, the husband was bound to return her marriage-portion to her family. But if the bride-price which he had given for her had not been returned to him, he could deduct its value. On a divorce, he was bound to let his wife have not only her marriage-portion, but the bride-price paid back to him. If there had been none, he must give her a fixed sum instead of it.

Its presentation

From the phrase-books we may gather that there was a sort of ceremony about presenting the bride-price to the father: it was placed on a salver and brought in before the parents. This was probably a part of the ceremony of betrothal.

If the father rejected the suitor, he was bound to return the bride-price offered. A curious section of the Code enacts that if the suitor's comrade

intrigued to break off the match, he was excluded from marrying the girl himself.

Penalty for breach of promise

If, after he had brought in the bride-price to his prospective father-in-law, the suitor took a fancy to another girl, he might withdraw from the suit. But he then forfeited what he had offered. If this really was the result of having taken a dislike to a plain girl, we may suppose that such a maiden might accumulate several bride-prices and so acquire some wealth. This may explain Herodotus's idea that the handsome girls made a dowry for the plain ones. But there is not a shred of evidence for their doing so in the way he suggests. A girl was a virgin when she was married.

Preliminaries of marriage

Of interest in the later Babylonian texts is the fact that the preliminaries of the marriage are more fully illustrated. Thus we read of the wedding of the daughter of Neriglissar: Nabû-shum-ukîn, the *êrib bîti* of Nabû, judge of Êzida, spoke to the King Neriglissar, saying thus: "Give to me Gigîtum, your young daughter, to wife." The tablet has only preserved a few lines, from which we cannot be sure that the marriage took place. The tablet was called a duplicate of Êzida, showing that it was preserved in the Nabû temple at Borsippa.

The following case is one of the clearest:

Negotiation of a father for his son

Nabû-nâdin-aḫi, son of Bêl-aḫê-iddin, grandson of Ardi-Nêrgal, spoke thus to Shûm-ukîn, son of Mushallimu, saying: "Give me thy daughter, Ina-Esaggil-banat, the maiden, to wife, for Uballitsu-Gula, my son." Shûm-ukîn listened to him and gave his maiden daughter, Ina-Esaggil-banat to Uballitsu-Gula, his son. He gave also one mina of silver, three female slaves named, and house furniture, with Ina-Esaggil-banat, his daughter, as a marriage-portion to Nabû-nâdin-aḫi. Nanâ-kishirat, the maid of Shûm-ukîn in lieu of two-thirds of a mina of silver, her full price, Shûm-ukîn gave to Nabû-nâdin-aḫi out of the one mina of silver for her marriage-portion. The deficiency, one-third of a mina of silver, Shûm-ukîn will give Nabû-nâdin-aḫi, and then her marriage-portion is paid. Each took a writing.

Here the father negotiates for his son. There is no evidence of any bride-price being paid. But the examples of this kind of document are too few for us to establish any fixed conclusions. In the following case something very like it appears.

Negotiation with a mother for her daughter

Dâgil-ilâni, son of Zambubu, spoke thus to Ḥammâ, daughter of Nêrgal-iddin, son of Babûtu, saying: "Give me thy daughter, Latubashinni, she shall be my wife." Ḥammâ listened to him and gave him her daughter, Latubashinni, to wife; and Dâgil-ilâni, in the joy of his heart, gave to Ḥammâ for Latubashinni, her daughter, Ana-eli-bêli-âmur, a maid, for half a mina of silver and a mina and a half of silver to boot. The day that Dâgil-ilâni shall take a second wife, Dâgil-ilâni shall give Latubashinni a mina of silver and she shall go back where she was before. With the cognisance of Shûm-iddin, son of Ina-êšhi-eter, son of Sin-damaku.

Here the man himself negotiates. The mother gives the bride. Whether he really buys her is hard to say. The mother may have adopted the girl to care for her old age, as was often done. The bridegroom may have compensated the mother with means to adopt another daughter. What *locus standi* Shûm-iddin had is not clear. He may have been the real father of the bride and so had to be satisfied that she was fairly treated by the change in her position. Or his consent to the bridegroom's alliance may have been needed. The penalty set down for divorce is not high and the bride was probably poor; we see she was portionless. In other cases it was as high as six minas of silver. Occasionally the deed of marriage also named a penalty for adultery on the part of the wife.

Rôle of the contracting parties

Women were given in marriage. The suitor for her hand did not perhaps see her until marriage, but this is not likely, since he is contemplated by the Code as capable of having cast his eyes upon another, and so desiring to retreat from his suit. At any rate, he brought presents to her father, who accepted or rejected him. There is no hint that the woman had any choice. The result of this power over the child's marriage was that conditions might be imposed on the marriage. The bride might be required to do service to an existing wife, or to the bridegroom's mother. Further, the disposal of property was not entirely free after marriage. It depended upon what the father had laid down in the marriage-settlement on his daughter. It was strictly limited to the woman's children, and if there were none it went back to her father's house.

Giving away the bride

In early times, the father usually gives the bride. But in a great many cases this duty fell on the mother. How this came about we do not usually know. The father being dead, or the girl illegitimate, seem the

best explanations, as a rule. In the absence of father and mother, the brother as head of the family assumed the duty. The examples of this are common enough.

For later times also the examples are numerous of the power of agnates to give in marriage. It may perhaps be deduced that the children, in these cases, were young.

Widows free to dispose of themselves

Women once married, were free to marry again of their own choice, whether divorced, separated, or widowed. A betrothed girl, or bride, if her marriage were not yet consummated, being seduced by her father-in-law, in whose house she had gone to live, was also free to marry. But it does not seem that women who were yet virgins could choose their own husbands. Even princesses were given in marriage.

Consent of bridegroom's father or guardian requisite for a legal marriage

The man was not altogether free to marry. The Code contemplates a boy left by the death of his father too young to marry. The brothers, when they divided the father's property, were bound to set aside for him, in addition to his share of his father's property, a sum for a bride-price, and take him a wife. It seems probable that men married while still young and living at home. For the Code contemplates the bride being brought to live in her father-in-law's house.

In later Babylonian times, at any rate, the son could not marry without his father's consent. This we learn from a suit in high life, in the time of Cyrus. A high official of the king's, A, brought a suit against B, who was "over the house," before the nobles and the king's judges. A accused B and C, an official of his house, of having given a tablet of marriage-contract of D, a sister of C's, to A's son without A's consent. Put to the oath, B swore that he did not seal the tablet. Then D was questioned. Then C acknowledged that he had drawn up and sealed with B's seal the marriage-contract of D to A's son. The judges ordered D to return to her brother's house. The tablet was to be broken whenever found. If afterward D should be seen with A's son, she was to bear the sign of a concubine.

The court of registration

From other examples the conclusion is inevitable that if a woman desired to be a full and proper wife she had to obtain the consent of her bridegroom's father. Thus we read: "The day that the woman A is seen with B he shall bring her to the wedding-house. If she does not say to the master of the wedding-house: Send for C, the father of B, then she shall

wear the sign of a concubine." Her mother was present at the sealing of this agreement. From this we may deduce that weddings took place at a definite spot, called the "wedding-house." The name was literally "house of the males," or "of the named ones," and also house of the *mâr bânê*, or "sons of ancestors." It is clear that this was a registration court where all who had pretensions to ancestry, or were people of position, were enrolled. One whose name was found there was a man "with a name," also a "son of an ancestor." He was probably registered there at birth, marriage, and death. The master of that house was a registrar and evidently could marry people. It was expected in this case that the woman, if she wished to be properly married, would send for the bridegroom's father, whose consent was necessary. Another name for the house was *bît pirṣatum*, the meaning of which is obscure. But as Ishtar was *bêlit parṣê*, the "lady of *the parṣê*," we may connect it also with weddings.

The bride's dowry

We have seen that the *terḫatu*, or present made to the parents by the suitor before marriage, was usually handed over to the bride on her going to her husband's house. There is frequent reference to this essential preliminary. It had to be carefully laid aside for the young man by his mother or brethren, if he had not married in his father's lifetime, and was secured to him by law, apart from and above what might come to him as a share of his father's property. Otherwise he would suffer loss in having to find it out of his own pocket, when his married brothers had been provided with the means during their father's lifetime. Usually it was an amount of silver, one shekel up to three minas. In later Babylonian times there is little evidence of the parents receiving gifts. We now and then find it so. Thus a man gave a slave and a mina and a half of silver for his wife to her mother, but it is not clear whether or not this was to buy her.

Her marriage-portion

A far more valuable endowment of the bride was her marriage-portion. If her father was not alive to give it to her, the duty fell on his heirs, and she had a right to it over and above her daughter's share of his property. Thus we find that the brothers, on giving their sister a share, contract to further endow her if she marries.

Her trousseau

We have one or two lists that show what might be expected as a trousseau by a Babylonian bride. One which illustrates the Code extremely well, narrates first what had been given a notary and *NU-BAR* of Marduk by her father on her taking her vow and entering the temple of

Anunitum. This was his "grant" to her and was known by the same name as the marriage-portion of a bride. It included half a shekel of gold for a nose-ring (?), two shekels of silver as a finger-ring, another ring of silver of one shekel, one *malumsa*, three cloaks, three turbans, one small seal worth five minas, two jewels of unknown character, one bed, five chairs, five different sorts of things apparently made of reeds, the concubine Suratum, her step-mother. Unfortunately many of these renderings are still quite conjectural. It is interesting to note that the father left to his daughter his concubine, who was probably a slave, and possibly really the girl's mother. But now this girl is about to marry and her own mother, Shubultum, at any rate, her father's full wife, together with her brothers and sisters, give her all this property and cause it to enter her husband's house. They had a reversionary right to her property, since as a votary she could not alienate it from her family. So now they waive their right, as it will after her marriage pass to her children, if she has any. So they are said to "give" her what her father had already "granted" her. Further, they return to her husband the *terḫatu*, of one-third of a mina of silver, which he had presented to them. The marriage-portion could not be reclaimed by the wife's family at her death if she had children. If she had none, it went back to her family.

Nature of the marriage-portion

Another long list, also a "grant" to a votary, is found in two documents which contain apparently a complaint of oppression made to the king. Neither is sufficiently complete to be decisive as to the purpose of the letters or reports which are written in the first person. But they are duplicates as far as they preserve the list and in many other long phrases. Here is the list:

Four ... of gold, two rings ... each of them one ... two dishes, carved with *karakku* birds, one dish carved as a lion, whose head is of *AB* wood, and its border of *KU* wood, one chair of *KU* wood, three chairs (of different makes) of *AB* wood, one oil-pot, *šalla*, one oil-pot containing two hundred *ḲA* of Carchemish work, one mixing-pot of copper, one *dupru kanku* containing thirty *ḲA*, two *kundulu* of copper, one ... two ..., one for ...

Although this list is full of words of which the meaning is obscure as yet, one can see the main drift of it, jewelry, household furniture, pots and pans, and whatever went to the domestic equipment of the house. It is of interest to note that already Carchemish was celebrated for its wares.

With these lists may be compared the Tell-el-Amarna lists given in transcription, with a few hints at translation, by Dr. Winckler. They are lists of presents sent by a king of Egypt to a king of Babylon; by Dushratta, King of Mitanni, to Nimuria, King of Egypt, as the marriage-portion of his daughter, Taduḫipa, and another list of her dowry. The greater part of the names of these articles defy translation.

Later usage

During the Fourth Dynasty of Babylon, the celebrated Michaux Stone records the gift of lands by a father to his daughter on her marriage. From Kassite times we have a list similar to the above, but not easily translatable. The supposed examples of dowry in Assyrian times are not really such. But in the later Babylonian era the marriage-portion was still given by the father. It bears, however, the name *nudunnu*, once reserved for the husband's free gift to his wife. The *nudunnu*, in one case, is ten minas of silver, four maid-servants, house-furniture, and the like. It might include sheep and oxen. See also the later Babylonian laws about the marriage-portion. A long list might be made out from these sources of the house-furniture, but as before we do not know what half of the terms mean.

Payment of the marriage-portion

There are many examples of receipts given for the marriage-portion received in full. Sometimes it was merely promised. It was not always paid promptly. Law C made a note of this. The father might have promised a portion, and even given a deed of gift for it to his daughter. But if his means have diminished he cannot be held to a literal fulfilment of the promise. He may do what he can. The law adds significantly that "father-in-law and son-in-law shall not oppress one another." We find that actions were frequently brought to obtain a marriage-portion. We have an instance where the payment was withheld for nine years.

Wife's pin-money

A husband might make a settlement on his wife. In the time of the Code this was called a *nudunnu*. It had to be by deed of gift. It might cover income-producing estate as well as personal property. But it was hers only for life. She could leave it as she chose among her children of the marriage, but not to members of her own family. We may regard it as pin-money. Her husband's heirs could not disturb her possession of it as long as she lived. But she forfeited it, if she married again.

The period of betrothal

The betrothed maiden did not at once leave her father's house. This we learn from the Code, which enacts a penalty on one who should

seduce a betrothed maiden living in her father's house. It seems that on both sides betrothal took place in early life and that the arrangements were in the hands of the parents. A father was expected to take a wife for his son.

The wedding-ceremony

Neither the Code nor any contracts throw light upon the marriage-ceremony, but a tablet published by Dr. Pinches in the Proceedings of the Victoria Institute, 1892-93, reprinted as "*Notes on some recent discoveries in the realm of Assyriology*," contains certain suggestions. It is very fragmentary and in the form of an interlinear translation from the Sumerian. It is not always clear who are the actors referred to, but we may perhaps take it that the officiating ministers, priests, or elders, first placed their hands and feet against the hands and feet of the bridegroom, then the bride laid her head on his shoulder and he was made to say to her: "I am the son of nobles, silver and gold shall fill your lap, you shall be my wife, I will be your husband. Like the fruit of a garden I will give you offspring." Then there is a wide gap. But in the next column we seem to have a further part of the wedding-ritual. The officiating ministers ceremoniously bound sandals on the feet of the newly wedded pair, gave them a leather girdle (? or strap) and fastened to it a pouch or purse of silver and gold. The further ceremony included placing them somewhere in the desert. Then turning their faces to the sunset and addressing the man, the minister says: "I swear by the great gods and you may go." He bids him not to put off the garment of Ea, nor something belonging to Marduk of Eridu. Then comes a wide gap, but the fourth column seems to read "until you have settled in the house, until you have reached the city, eat no food and drink no water, taste not the waters of the sea, sweet waters, bitter waters, the waters of the Tigris, the waters of the Euphrates, waters of the well, nor waters of the river, to fly up to heaven direct not your wings, to burrow in the earth set not your dwelling. As a hero, the son of his god, let him be pure."

The passage is very difficult and much of the rendering is conjectural, but the point of the address seems to be that the young man was to go straight home, live with his wife, and be good, as a true child of God. The first column seems to be an enumeration of men who are cursed with misfortunes, for example, "one whom his mother brought forth with weeping," and perhaps forms part of a prayer that the bridegroom may not ever be like such men. We must hope some day to find a fuller text and so to determine the connection of the various columns. But it is

difficult to imagine what else the text can be than part of a wedding-ceremony.

The first home

The young couple did not always set up a house of their own; they often went to live with the bridegroom's father. This is shown by the penalty fixed by the Code for the seduction of a daughter-in-law by a father-in-law. The daughter-in-law was living in his house.

Monogamy prevalent in early days

In the earlier days monogamy prevailed. A man ordinarily had one wife. Polygamy, however, was not unknown. For a variety of reasons men did sometimes have two wives, but these cases were treated as exceptions. A man might also have a concubine or a slave-girl to bear him children. These did not bear legitimate children. He might adopt them, but was not bound to do so. If a man married twice, the children of both marriages shared equally in his possessions; but they did not put their mothers' marriage-portions into a common fund and divide that equally. The children of the first wife divided among themselves their own mother's marriage-portion, and the children of the second marriage did likewise.

Polygamy in later times

In Assyrian times there is clear evidence that among the slaves and serfs, at least, polygamy was fairly common. In the later Babylonian era polygamy also existed. Wives might be sisters. We read of a "second wife." But taking a second wife was held to be a slight upon the first, in whose marriage-contract the clause was inserted that in such a case the husband must pay her a mina of silver and allow her to go back to her father's house. In that case the man was hardly bigamous. It was a case of divorce, and perhaps a legal ceremony before judges was also necessary.

Concubinage

A man might form a connection with a woman other than his wife. A concubine was a free woman, but had not the status of a wife; nevertheless she might bring with her a marriage-portion, over which she had the same rights as a legal wife. She was taken into the same house as the wife, but she might not rival her. A man's excuse for taking a concubine was that his wife was childless. He was not allowed to take a concubine, even if his wife was childless, if she gave him a maid to bear him children. Only when the wife was herself childless and would not allow him a maid, was he allowed to bring a concubine into his house. This second wife was married to him. She often seems to have been

bound to serve the first wife and treat her as her mistress. But she had the same rights as a wife. If she were put away, the husband had to return her marriage-portion, if she had any. She had the usufruct of house, field, and goods. She was not deprived of her children, but had the custody and education of them. When they entered into possession of their father's property, she shared with them, taking the same share as a child. Then she was free to marry again. It seems that in any case, the children of a concubine were full children and with the same standing as the children of the first wife. The father might dower his daughter for a concubine; she then had no claim to share with her brothers and sisters at his death. But, if her father had given her no marriage-portion, her brothers must give her one at the division of his property.

The maid as the wife of her master

The case was different with the maid — a slave who by her mistress's consent bore children to her master. She was still a slave and if she rivalled her mistress, or was impertinent to her, she could be put back again among the slaves; perhaps even branded. But, if she had borne children, she was not to be sold as a slave. At the death of her master she was free. Her children by him were free in any case. If her master were so minded, he might make them full sons by verbal acknowledgment. It was enough to say, "my sons." But that he had done so probably had to be proved by a witness. A family unacknowledged by the father would on his death have only a mother. In such a family the mother was the obvious ruler. We must be on our guard against mistaking her position, or that of the concubine above, for examples of matriarchy. If she was pledged for debt, she could not be sold, she must be bought back.

Marriages and inheritance among slaves

That a slave usually was married to a slave-girl with his master's consent and even by his direction is quite the rule. Masters even went so far as to buy a slave-girl to be wife to a slave. There is no reason to think that the master did not respect the slave's matrimonial rights. But the slave's wife was not always owned by the slave's master. Sometimes she was owned by a different master, or was free. There was no especial disgrace attaching to becoming the wife of a slave. A free woman might not only marry a slave, but bring with her a marriage-portion, as if she had married in her own rank. The man had no ancestral property, he was "a son of no one." Hence when he died all the property to be divided consisted of what the married couple had acquired together, and the wife's marriage-portion. To the latter she had full and unquestioned right. The master was his slave's heir. So the property which the pair had

acquired during their married life was divided into two equal portions. The master took one half, the wife the other for herself and her children. The children were all free. When both father and mother were slaves, so were the children. There was no property then for the slave-children to inherit.

Data from the contracts

Some further evidence from the contracts is worth noting here. Documents relating to marriage are not very common and may have owed their presence in the archives to some peculiarity in their form. Some are perhaps rather a memorandum that the proper formalities have been complied with. Thus we read that "A has taken to wife B, the daughter of C, from C and D his wife, and has paid ten shekels as *terḫatu* to C, her father." The rest is lost. If it only laid down the penalties for infidelity on either side, this was quite normal.

Fatherless girls

Whenever the mother alone appears, as giving her daughter in marriage, we may suspect that the father was dead, or the mother divorced. When the mother is a votary, we know that such a person was not entitled to have a daughter at all, and hence we are not surprised that the *terḫatu* offered for the girl is small, five shekels or even one shekel. So the penalty laid upon the man for divorcing such a wife is only ten shekels. On the other hand if she was unfaithful she was to be drowned.

The marriage of votaries

Very singular are the cases in which a votary marries. We know from the Code that this sometimes took place; but the votary seems to have been expected, though married, to keep her vow of virginity. In one case we read that a woman first devotes her daughter, *ullilši*, then marries her, and declares at the same time that she is vowed, *ellit*, and that no one has any claim on her.

Power of agnates

Marriage of a king's daughter

In some cases a sister had the power to give her sister in marriage, with the declaration that no one has any claim on her. We may imagine the sisters orphans, without brothers. The name of their father is, however, given; and his sons and daughters are mentioned. It seems to be closely parallel to the case of the marriage of a king's daughter where a sister also gives a sister in marriage. Here Elmeshu, daughter of the king Ammiditana, is given in marriage by Zirtum, also daughter of king Ammiditana, on the order of her brother, Shumum-libshi. The bridegroom was Ibku-Anunitum, son of Shamash-limir and Taram-

shullim, his wife. The parents paid for their son only four shekels as *terḫatu*, which Shumum-libshi and Zirtum received. If the bridegroom repudiated his bride, he had to pay half a mina. It is not clear what penalty the bride had to pay if she repudiated her husband. This is dated in the reign of Ammiditana; but in which year of his reign does not appear, as the traces of the year-name do not agree with any in the Chronicle. It must then have fallen somewhere between the seventh and the twenty-second years. Hence the father of the princess was alive at the time. Why had he no hand in the marriage? The history of the reign is not very well known. Perhaps he was away from home. His son and successor, Ammizaduga, whom we may imagine to have been the eldest son, does not appear in the case. Perhaps he also was away. But it is remarkable that the king never does directly take part in any contract. That is probably due to his sacred character. The young princess was not treated with overmuch consideration, judging by the smallness of her dowry.

Marriage of two sisters to one man

We have a very singular case in the marriage of two sisters to one man. This has already been translated and commented upon by Meissner, Pinches, and Sayce. It is, however, too important to omit here. There are two tablets concerned with it. The first is the contract between the husband and his wives. We may render it thus:

Ardi-Shamash took to wife Taram-Saggil and Iltâni, daughters of Sin-abushu. If Taram-Saggil and Iltâni say to Ardi-Shamash, their husband, "You are not my husband," one shall throw them down from the *AN-ZAG-GAR-KI*; and if Ardi-Shamash shall say to Taram-Saggil and Iltâni his wives, "You are not my wives," he shall leave house and furniture. Further, Iltâni shall obey the orders of Taram-Saggil, shall carry her chair to the temple of her god. The provisions of Taram-Saggil shall Iltâni prepare, her well-being she shall care for, her seal she shall not appropriate (?).

Then follow ten witnesses, but no date.

The second document seems to be drawn up rather from the point of view of the sisters. We may render it thus:

Iltâni, the sister of Taram-Saggil, Ardi-Shamash, son of Shamash-ennam, took to wife, from Uttatum, their father. Iltâni shall prepare the provisions of her sister, shall care for her well-being, shall carry her chair to the temple of Marduk. The children which she has borne, or shall bear, shall be their children. [If Taram-Saggil] shall say to Iltâni, her sister, "you are not my sister" [the penalty is lost]. [If Iltâni shall say to Taram-

Saggil her sister], "You are not my sister," one shall brand her, and sell her. If Ardi-Shamash shall say to his wife, "You are not my wife," he shall pay one mina of silver; and if they say to Ardi-Shamash their husband, "You are not our husband," one shall tie them up and throw them into the river.

Here there are eleven witnesses, but again no date.

Meissner deduces from the mention of children that Taram-Saggil was already married. The exact relation between the sisters is not clear. In one case they seem to be daughters of Uttatum, in the other of Sin-abushu. Or it may be that Iltâni alone was daughter of Sin-abushu. If so, perhaps Uttatum had adopted her. Sayce clearly thinks so. But they might be daughters of the same mother by different fathers, one of whom is mentioned in one case, the other in the other. Or they might really be children of Sin-abushu, if their mother afterwards married Uttatum, who was thus their step-father. It is clear that Iltâni was to wait on her sister, and, if she repudiated her, was to be treated as a slave. This is exactly parallel to the status of the slave-maid, whom a wife or votary in the Code provided for her husband. Perhaps Taram-Saggil had become a chronic invalid. A comparison of the two texts is interesting in other respects. The penalties differ curiously. If Ardi-Shamash repudiates his wives, in one case, he loses house and furniture; in the other case, he pays one mina. Was one the penalty for repudiating Taram-Saggil, the other for repudiating Iltâni? But if they repudiate him, the penalties are different in the two documents, unless indeed the *AN-ZAG-GAR-KI* be an ideogram for the "steep place" from which they were to be thrown into the water.

Marriage with attached conditions

Marriages are not infrequent which impose conditions upon the husband and wife with relation to outside parties. Thus a mother gives her daughter in marriage to a man, on condition that she shall continue to support her mother as long as she lives. In this case, if the husband put away his wife, he was to pay one mina of silver; while, if she hated her husband, she was to be thrown from a pillar, *dimtu*. This pillar may be the real meaning of the *AN-ZAG-GAR-KI*, which looks very like an attempt to express *zigguratu*, a tower, in an ideographic way. A very similar case is where a lady takes a girl to be wife to her son but stipulates that the wife shall treat her as mistress. If she shall say to her mother-in-law, "Thou art not my mistress," she shall be branded and sold. As long as the mother lives, they two together shall support her. One may suspect that such maternal power, as is here shown over the

children, arises from their having been adopted by their mother in order to provide for her in her old age. This was often done. The children may have been slaves before adoption. In the second case, the mother leaves her son all she has, or may acquire.

XI. DIVORCE AND DESERTION

Early regulations regarding divorce

Divorce is regulated by the Code. The Sumerian laws seem to regard the marriage-tie as dissoluble on the part of the man by an act of simple repudiation, accompanied by a *solatium*, fixed at half a mina. The wife, however, was punished by death for repudiating her husband. The Code limits the facility of divorce for the man and renders it possible for the woman to obtain.

Rights of a divorced wife

Divorce of either a wife or concubine involved her being given a maintenance. The divorced wife had the custody of her children, if any. They were not disinherited by the divorce. The divorced woman retained the marriage-portion which she had brought to the home. She had a share with her children in the divorced husband's property at his death. If he married again, the children of both marriages shared equally. She was also free to marry again, but apparently not until her children had come into their share of the late husband's property, therefore not during his life.

Grounds of divorce

Divorce was permitted on the ground of childlessness. The husband gave back to his wife all her marriage-portion. Also he had to give the bride-price which he had paid to her parents during his courtship, and which they had returned to him, as a rule, on marriage. If this bride-price had not been given, then he paid her a fixed sum of money; one mina, if he was a patrician, a third, if he was only a plebeian. A slave does not seem to have had the liberty of divorce.

Protection of the wife's rights

The wife might take a dislike to her husband and set her face to leave him and deny him conjugal rights. This was probably equivalent to desertion. Then a judicial inquiry was required. If his ill treatment or neglect was made clear and she was blameless, a divorce was granted. She took her marriage-portion and went back to her family. But as this was of her own seeking, she received no alimony. It is assumed that it was an unhappy marriage from the first and that there were no children.

If it were proved that she was a bad wife, she was treated as an adulteress and drowned. On the other hand, even if she were a bad wife, the husband might repudiate her simply without paying any price for divorce. In this case there was no suspicion of her infidelity. Or the

husband might degrade her to the position of a slave. There is no mention in these cases of a return to her father's house.

Chronic illness on the part of a wife was not a ground for divorce. The husband had to maintain her. He might, however, take a second wife. If she did not care to remain in his house in such conditions, she could leave him, take her marriage-portion and return to her family.

Illustrations from the contracts

We have already seen that the Code regulates the questions arising out of divorce. The examples at this period are but few. In one case a man put away his wife and she received her price of divorce. It is expressly stated that she may marry another man and her former husband will not complain. This document is, however, little more than an agreement to abide by the terms of the divorce.

In another case a marriage-contract names the penalty a man shall pay for divorcing his wife. In all these cases the word for divorce, *ezêbu*, is literally "to put away." But a man divorced his wife by the simple process of saying, "You are not my wife." He then paid her a fine, returned her marriage-portion and so on, as laid down in the Code. It was far harder for a woman to secure a divorce from her husband. She could do so, however, but only as the result of a lawsuit. As a rule, the marriage-contracts mention death as her punishment, if she repudiates her husband. The death by drowning is usually named. This was in accordance with Law V. of the Sumerian Code.

We may regard repudiation of husband and wife, one by the other, and desertion as leading to divorce; and therefore these may be appropriately considered next.

Involuntary desertion

Desertion of a wife by her husband might be involuntary. The Code deals with the case of a man captured by the enemy. If the wife were left at home well provided for, she was bound to be true to her absent husband. If she entered another man's house, she was condemned to death as an adulteress. But if she was not provided for, she might enter another man's house without blame. There she might bear children. But, if so, she yet had to go back to her original husband on his return. The children she had borne in his absence were to be counted to their real father. That the law provides for such cases points to the existence of frequent wars, in which fortune was not always on the side of Babylonia.

Voluntary desertion

But the husband might desert his wife voluntarily. Then, if she was left unprovided for, the wife might enter another man's house. The errant husband, when he returned, could not reclaim his wife.

We have a legal decision in a case where a man had deserted his wife for twenty years and "left her to her fate, did not love her." During this time a daughter, whether real or adoptive we are not told, took care of her mother. To her the mother left property, among other things, a slave. The mother being dead, the truant husband returned and claimed the slave from the daughter. He was nonsuited.

Among the provocations which gave the wife cause for divorce was the "going out" of the husband, probably a euphemism for adultery on his part. Belittling his wife was another ground for her complaint. What this means is not quite clear, but we may regard it as persistent neglect.

XII. RIGHTS OF WIDOWS

The authority of the widow in the home

The Code makes clear what was the position of the widow. She had a right to stay on in her husband's house until she died, but was not compelled to do so. If she remained, she was the head of the family. To her the young sons looked to furnish them with means to court a wife, and the daughters for a marriage-portion. She acted in these matters with the consent and assistance of her grown-up children. But she might elect to leave the home and remarry.

Rights of inheritance

As long as she remained in her husband's home she enjoyed to the full whatever she had brought there as a marriage-portion, whatever her husband had settled upon her, and also received a share from her husband's goods at his death. The widow's share was the same as a child's. But she had no power to alienate any of these possessions. The Code expressly declares that they were her children's after her. The children had no power to turn her out. If they desired her to leave, the matter came before the law-courts, and her private wishes were consulted. If she wished to remain, she might do so, and the judge bound over the children to allow her to do so.

Later usages

A very clear example of the permanence of the Code regulations on this subject meets us in the fifth year of Cambyses. Ummu-tâbat, daughter of Nabû-bêl-usur, wife of Shamash-uballiṭ, son of Bêl-ebarra, a Shamash priest, who was dead, whose sons were Shamash-eṭir, Nidittum, and Ardi-Ḫar, swore to Bêl-uballiṭ, priest of Sippara, saying, "I will not remarry, I will live with my sons, I will bring up my sons to manhood, until they are numbered with the people." On the day that Ummu-ṭâbat remarries, according to her bond, the property [of her late husband] which is in the possession of Bêl-uballiṭ, the priest of Sippara, [she shall forfeit]. The tablet is defective here, but on the edge of the tablet we see that the care of her sons was given her. To remarry is expressed here by the words, "going into the *bît zikari*."

Remarriage of a widow

A widow could remarry at her discretion. She no longer had to be given in marriage. She was free to marry the man of her choice. She might take with her her marriage-portion to her new home, but she had to leave behind any settlement which her former husband had given her, or

any share of his goods that had come to her at his death. Her family were not called upon to find any fresh marriage-portion for her. But she was not completely mistress of even her marriage-settlement. If she had children of the former marriage, they and any children of her second marriage shared her marriage-portion equally. Only she had the enjoyment of it for life. If there were no children of the second marriage, those of the first took all she left.

Disposal of her first husband's property

We have assumed that when her husband died her children were old enough to care for themselves. If they were not, she had no power to enter upon a second marriage and desert her first family. She was not free to marry at all without consent of the law-court. But there is no evidence that this could be withheld, if proper conditions were observed. The first husband's property was inventoried and consent for the second marriage being granted, she and her new husband were bound by deed to preserve the whole estate of the late husband for his children. With that proviso, the newly married pair entered into full use of the deceased's property and were bound to educate the children until grown up. They had no inducement to neglect them, as in any case none of the deceased's property could ever be theirs. If the children died, it would all revert to the family of the deceased. The newly married pair had no further interest in it than the enjoyment of it until the children could manage for themselves. They could not alienate any of it. The sale of even a utensil was not possible.

XIII. OBLIGATIONS AND RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

Absoluteness of the paternal power over the family

It is customary to say that the father had absolute power over his children, but it is better to state only what is known with certainty regarding the extent of his power. The father could treat his child, or even his wife, equally with a slave, as a chattel to be pledged for his debts. We may therefore conclude that he could sell his child. An actual example cannot be cited from early times, but they are very common later.

The son was not capable of entering into an independent contract with an outside person. We may assume that this means simply while yet living in his father's house. The father had rights over what his son earned. A man could also hire out his child and take the wages.

His power of preference

The father had the right to prefer one son above the rest. He could endow him with house, field, and garden. But this must be done in his lifetime and by written deed. This gift did not in any way affect the son's claim to inherit equally with his brethren on the father's death, when he took a full share over and above what he had by gift.

His control of his daughters

The father had full power to dispose of his daughters in marriage. But he was expected to furnish them with a marriage-portion. This was not obligatory, being probably a matter of negotiation with the parents of the bridegroom. In later times the obligation evidently became irksome and oppressive, and Law E was passed to relieve the strain. A father was bound to do his best to fulfil his promise to dower his daughter, but no more. A father could not hinder his daughter from becoming a votary. If he approved her choice, he might give her a portion, as if for marriage, but he was not compelled to do so. A father could give his daughter to be a concubine.

The father's consent was also needed to his son's marriage. He had to provide the youth with a bride-price, and secure a wife for him.

The age of majority

It is not easy to determine when children ceased to be under the paternal power. Betrothed daughters remained in their father's house; so did married sons sometimes. Whether the birth of a child, making the young man himself a father, freed him as head of a family, or whether it was entering a house of his own, we cannot yet say.

Punishment of unfilial conduct

The Sumerian laws are very severe upon a child's repudiation of a father. That degraded him to the status of a slave. He might also be branded. Obviously he was disinherited. The repudiation is expressed in the words, "You are not my father," but it may be intended to cover all unfilial conduct. The Code is more explicit. If a son struck his father, his hands were cut off.

Disinheritance

The Sumerian laws preserved the father's rights to disinherit the son by a simple repudiation, saying, "You are not my son." The son then had to leave house and enclosure. The Code limits this power. It insists on legal process and good reason alleged. Also it was not allowed for a first offence on the son's part.

Relations of mothers and sons

The mother was in much the same position of authority as the father. A son who repudiated his mother was branded and expelled from house and city. He was not, however, sold as a slave. The Sumerian laws also reserved to the mother the right to repudiate her son, and he must quit house and property. The Code gives no such power to mothers. Indeed, we find examples of a son disputing with a mother. Mothers took up the father's place toward the children on the death of the father as regards marriage-portions, bride-price, and other family affairs. But they usually acted in concert with the elder children.

Duties to adoptive parents

The repudiation of adoptive parents was a very grievous sin, especially on the part of those who were children of parents who were forbidden to have children. Something worse than illegitimacy was their lot. The penalties of having the eye torn out, or the tongue cut out, show the abhorrence felt for their ingratitude.

XIV. THE EDUCATION AND EARLY LIFE OF CHILDREN

Number and importance of scribes

Much has been made of the knowledge of writing shown by the Babylonians and Assyrians. The ability to draw up deeds and write letters seems at first sight to have been widely diffused. In the times of the First Dynasty of Babylon almost every tablet seems to have a fresh *tupšar*, or scribe. Many show the handiwork of women scribes. But most of the persons concerned in these documents were of the priestly rank. There is no evidence that the shepherds or workpeople could write. In the Assyrian times the scribe was a professional man. We find *aba* or *tupšar* used as a title. So, too, in later Babylonian times. The witnesses to a document can only be said to sign their names in so far as that they impressed their seals. This was done, at any rate, in early times. In the Assyrian period the only parties who sealed were the owners of the property transferred to a new owner. The whole of a tablet shows the same handwriting throughout. Anyone who reads carefully through the facsimile copies in *Cuneiform Texts* can readily see this. Different scribes, especially in early times, wrote differently, but this was still the case in Assyrian days. Yet no change of hand can be noted anywhere in one document, save where, as in the forecast tablets, a date or note was added by a different person, often in Assyrian script, to a text written in Babylonian. The only safe statement to make is that from the earliest times a very large number of persons existed, at any rate in the larger towns, who could write and draw up documents.

Sumerian words and expressions in the legal literature

The use of Sumerian terms and phrases in the body of a document written in Semitic Babylonian might be ascribed to a mere tradition. But they were no meaningless formulæ. The many variations, including the substitution of completely different though synonymous words, show that these Sumerian phrases were sufficiently understood to be intelligently used. In later times they either disappear altogether, or are used with little variation. They had become stereotyped and were conventional signs, doubtless read as Semitic, though written as Sumerian. Our own retention of Latin words is a close parallel. The First Dynasty of Babylon was bilingual at any rate in its legal documents, though the letters are all pure Semitic. The earlier documents show few

signs of Semitic origin, though its influence can be traced as far back as we can go.

Schools

The discovery at Sippara of a school dating from the First Dynasty of Babylon is very fully worked out by Professor Scheil in *Une Saison de fouilles à Sippara*, p-54. Professor Hilprecht gives further details in *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p-28 and *passim*.

The methods of learning to write and the lessons in Sumerian are well described by these authors, and illustrated by numerous extant examples of practice-tablets. The subjects were very numerous and included arithmetic, mensuration, history, geography, and literature. As Dr. Pinches has shown by his edition of some of these practice-tablets, these contain very valuable fragments of otherwise lost or imperfectly known texts.

Apprenticeship

Slaves were often bound as apprentices to learn a trade or handicraft. A man might adopt a child to teach him his trade, and his duty to him was sufficiently discharged by doing so.

Naming of children

We do not yet know in any authoritative way, when or with what ceremonies children were named. In the case of slaves we have a boy, still at the breast, or a girl of three months, not named. On the other hand, a girl still at the breast is named. Hence Meissner concludes, that at the end of one year, at latest, the child was given a name. But the usage with respect to slaves is hardly a rule, and, as appears from the above, they were not consistently named.

Rearing of babies

A child seems often to have been put out to nurse. From the phrase-book we learn that a father might "give a child to a wet-nurse to be suckled, and give the wet-nurse food and drink, oil for anointing, and clothing for three years." That this was not only done with adopted children is clear from the Code; where we find a severe penalty laid on a wet-nurse, who substitutes another child for the one intrusted to her, without the parents' consent.

Number of children who could read and write

It will hardly do to interpret the phrase-book as meaning that all children were made to learn writing. But that this was commonly done is evident from the number, both of men and women, who could act as scribes.

XV. ADOPTION

Frequency and reasons for adoption

Adoption primarily means a process by which parents could admit to the privileges of sonship children born of other parents. There were many reasons which might impel them to such a course. If they were childless, a natural desire for an heir might operate. But under the Babylonian law a man might take a second wife, or a maid, if his wife were childless, to bear him children. A more operative cause was that children were a source of profit to their parents while they remained with them. But it seems that men married early. Hence this alone does not seem sufficient to account for the great frequency of adoption. Besides, in that case, what induced a parent to part with his child for adoption? It seems that the real cause most often was that the adopting parents had lost by marriage all their own children and were left with no child to look after them. They then adopted a child whose parents would be glad to see him provided for, to look after them until they died, leaving him the property they had left after portioning their own children.

Children who might be adopted

The Code admits all kinds of adoption, but regulates the custom. A man might adopt an illegitimate son, or the child of a votary or palace-warder, who had no right to children, or the child of living parents. In the latter case alone was the parents' consent necessary. We have examples of cases of adoption of relatives, of entirely unrelated persons, of a slave even. We learn from the series *ana ittišu* that a man might take a young child, put it out to nurse, provide the nurse with food, oil for anointing, and clothing, for a space of three years; and then have it taught a trade or profession, such as that of scribe.

The method of procedure

Adoption was effected by a deed, drawn up and sealed by the adoptive parents, duly sworn to and witnessed. Such contracts definitely state the relationship, which was in all respects the same as that of a son born in matrimony. But it laid down the obligations of the son, while it stipulated what was the inheritance to which he might expect to succeed. It brought responsibilities to both parties and fixed them. The son was bound to do that which a son would naturally have done, explicitly, to maintain his parents while they lived. The parents were bound, not only to leave him property, but to treat him as a son. But, as a rule, all was matter of contract and carefully set down. If such a contract was not

drawn up, although the adoptive parents had brought him up, the child must return to his father's house. Only, for an artisan, it was sufficient to have taught the child his trade.

So far as our examples go, some color might be given to the suggestion that adoption was always merely for the convenience of old people who wanted to be taken care of. But we know that children were adopted on other grounds. That they were children and not always grown-up men and women is clear from the above. This we may regard as adoption pure and simple. Other cases are a legal method of making provision for old age, or for other purposes for which an heir as legal representative was desirable. In the case of no legal heir, the property went back to the next of kin.

Adoption pure and simple

That such a process did take place in Babylonia is made clear by the Code. But few examples are known where a father takes into his family an additional child. The case, in which the son is not only adopted by parents who have a family living, but is ranked as their eldest son, deserves reproducing in full.

Ubar-Shamash, son of Sin-idinnam, from Sin-idinnam, his father, and Bititum, his mother, have Beltum-abi and Taram-ulmash taken to sonship, and let him be the son of Beltum-abi and Taram-ulmash. Ubar-Shamash shall be their eldest son. The day that Beltum-abi, his father, and Taram-ulmash, his mother, say to Ubar-Shamash, their son, "You are not our son," he shall leave house and furniture. The day that Ubar-Shamash shall say to Beltum-abi, his father, or Taram-ulmash, his mother, "You are not my father or my mother," one shall brand him, put fetters upon him, and sell him.

Both parents of the adopted son were living. That the son is to be reckoned eldest implies that the adopting parents had other children. This is made clear in one case where the adoptive parents are expressly said to have five children. In another case where a child is adopted a certain person is expressly said to be his brother.

Consent of other members of the family involved

The existing members of the family had a real interest in the proceeding. For, as inheriting with them, the addition of another son could not but affect their prospects. We may wonder what influenced them to consent. That they did consent is clear from the often-occurring covenant by which they bound themselves not to object. One explanation may be that they had grown up and left home and were anxious for the

welfare of their parents, but could not arrange to look after them themselves. Hence for their parents' sake they were willing to forego their share, or submit to a stranger taking precedence of them, or in some cases to give up all claim to the property in their parents' possession in return for being relieved of the responsibility of looking after them. Of course, when the adopted son was only taken in as one, even the eldest, among several, he would only have a share at the parents' death. But it even seems that the children might of their own motion adopt a brother to be son to their parents.

Disinheritance of a son

The clause which implies disinheritance in case the parents repudiate the son, or he repudiates them, could only be enforced by a law-court. But it was nevertheless most regularly inserted in the contract. In one case the document merely consists of it, leaving us to infer that an adopted son was concerned. But this is not absolutely certain. The son might have been rebellious to his mother, who was therefore minded to cut him off, and this may be the result of her bringing her son before the judge. The judge was bound to try and conciliate the parties. Hence, not infrequently the son was bound over not to repeat the offence on pain of disinheritance, while the mother retained her right to disinherit. There was no mention of his being sold for a slave, or branded, as was usual when a son was adopted and then repudiated his parents.

According to the contracts entered into by the parties, parents could repudiate adopted sons. This was contrary to the law by which the consent of the judge was needed for disinheritance. It seems to be an attempt to contract without the support of the law. The son was then to take a son's share and go away.

Form of adoption

The word *aplûtu*, abstract of *aplu*, "son," and therefore literally "sonship," being also used to denote the relation of a daughter to a parent, came to denote the "share" which a son or daughter received. If a man adopted a son, he granted him an *aplûtu*, or "sonship," and this carried with it a material property. But the father, while still living, might grant the son his *aplûtu* and stipulate for maintenance during the rest of his life. Such a grant begins with *aplûtu ša* B, where B is the son. But it by no means follows that B is an adopted son. The question is only decided for us when the parentage of B is given. If he is said to be the "son of C," then we know that A giving him "sonship" must mean that A adopted him. But if B is merely indicated as the son of A, we cannot tell whether he was born to A, or only adopted by A.

Phrases which express the idea

So when the property given to B is in his power to dispose of later as he may choose, this privilege is expressed by the words, “he may give his sonship to whom he chooses.” The choice is sometimes expressed as “that which is good to his heart,” or “in his eyes,” or “whom he loves.” A modified choice is often mentioned, as when it is said that a votary may leave her “sonship” after her to whom she likes “among her brothers.”

Settlements which assume adoption

We have a large number of documents which make reference to the *aplûtu* of a certain person, which we can render here by “heritage.” These are especially common on the part of votaries. As we have seen, they were not supposed to have children of their own, but possessed the right to nominate their heir within limits. In return for exercising this right in favor of a certain person, they usually stipulated that such person shall maintain them as long as they live and otherwise care for them. Even outside actual deeds of heritage, we find references to property derived from votaries subject to certain duties. Such dispositions of property are closely related to a will or testament, but anticipate the death of the testator. They are really settlements for the future, which exactly answers to the title given them by the Babylonian scribes, *ridit warkati*.

The following example makes these details clear:

The heritage of Eli-eriṣa, votary of Shamash, daughter of Shamash-ilu. Belisunu, votary of Shamash, daughter of Nakarum, is the caretaker of her future life. One-third *GAN* of unreclaimed land in Karnamkarum, next the field of Issurîa, one *SAR* house in Ḥalḫalla, next the house of Nakarum, one-third *SAR* four *GIN* in Gagim, one maid Shala-beltum, price ten shekels of silver, all this for the future in its entirety, what Eli-eriṣa, votary of Shamash, daughter of Shamash-ilu, has or shall acquire, she gives to Belisunu, votary of Shamash, daughter of Nakarum. Every year Belisunu shall give to Eli-eriṣa three *GUR* of corn, ten minas of bronze, and twelve *ḲA* of oil.

Precautions against suits

The *aplûtu* thus given was in many cases an alienation of property on which some relative had claims. Even where their consent was not necessary it was desirable that they should not involve the heir in legal processes. Hence, such relatives are called up to covenant that they will raise no objection to the heir’s peaceable succession.

Duties of adopted child to parents’ support

The obligation to support the adoptive parent is emphasized. The amount of sustenance varies much. Another list of yearly allowances reads one shekel of silver, woollen yarn, six *ḲA* of oil, four *išinni Shamašh*, ten *ḲA* of fat, one side, two *GUR* of corn. Many others could be instanced, but they make no great addition to our knowledge.

Service

The obligation might be service; as when a lady adopts a maid to serve her for life and inherit a certain house. In another case a lady adopts a son to bring up her daughter and give her to a husband. "If he vexes his adoptive mother, she will cut him off. He shall not have claim on any of the goods of his adoptive mother, but shall inherit her field and garden." Evidently the mother intended her personal effects to be her daughter's and to form her marriage-portion. The obligation did not always last long. Thus we find that Lautum, who was adopted by a votary and was herself a votary, two years later was in a position to adopt as her daughter another votary. She handed on the same property, indicating that her adoptive mother was dead.

The adoption of a child by a lady of fortune was evidently a good settlement for the child, and usually the real parents raised no objection. We even find the father of a girl adopted by a lady, making an addition to her heritage in the form of a gift to the adopting mother on her effecting the deed of adoption. He gave them two male and two female slaves. Here also the girl covenanted to support the adoptive mother.

Punishment for neglect of these duties

Occasionally the adopted child did not carry out his duties. This was good ground for disinheriting him. But disinheritance was not to be inflicted without the sanction of the judges. Hence we find that when a lady had adopted a daughter who failed to give her food and drink, the judges summoned them to the great temple of Shamash in Sippara, there cut off the daughter from her heritage, took away the tablet of adoption granted her, and destroyed it.

Care of aged parents

A curious case is where A, the daughter of B and C, endows D to take care of B and C. As long as D lives A covenants to allow her so much. When she dies A will herself perform the duties. Here A evidently expected her parents would not live long, but also D must have been aged, or infirm, as A contemplates the chance of her parents outliving D. This is not a case of adoption, but is so similar in purpose to those above as to deserve a place here.

Inheritance rights

Occasionally, however, the adopting parent reserved the usufruct of the property for life only, fixing by deed the rightful heir. This was, in effect, a will or testament, since the inheritance did not take effect until after the death of the testator.

XVI. RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE

The division of an inheritance

The division of property among the children invariably followed the death of the father. We have a very large number of contracts bearing on this custom. The contract sets forth the particulars of the division and includes a sworn declaration on the part of the recipients to make no further claim. There were certain reservations to be made in the case of minors, for whom a portion had to be set aside to provide for their making the proper gifts to the parents of their brides on marriage.

Usage as illustrated by the contracts

The Code deals at length with the laws of inheritance, which are best treated under the head of marriage. The actual examples occurring in the documents of the period serve to illustrate the practical working of these laws, but hardly add to our knowledge. They are usually occupied with the division of property among brothers. Sometimes we have some light on the reservations made in favor of other members of the family. Thus two brothers divide the property of their "father's house" and of their sister, a votary. The sister did not take her property, but the brothers were trustees for her enjoyment of it during her life, when it reverted to them in full. The document merely states the amount of one brother's share and the other's agreement to be content with the division. In another case, where four brothers share the property of their "father's house," no details of their shares are given, but only their agreement to abide by the division made. In another case the eldest brother allots to each of two younger brothers a share and takes a woman slave and her children as his portion. He is said to do this of his "own power," *ina emur ḳamanišu*, and to have given them this of his "own graciousness," *ina tûbâtišu*. The brothers swear to make no further claim on the "grant," *maršîtu*, of their father. Either the property to which they were legally entitled had already been allotted them, or possibly they had no legal claim on any. The eldest brother is a high official, a *pa-pa*, and perhaps had succeeded his father in office. The father's property would then be the endowment of his office, a grant from the king, and as such inalienable from the office to which the eldest son had succeeded. The three slaves may have thus been all the private property of the father which was available for division. But the context seems to suggest that what the brothers received was a concession from the eldest brother on which they had no claim. He may in consideration of his succeeding to his father's appointment have made

this concession to his brothers as a consolation. In another case a mother gives certain sums to her three sons. She had still left two sons and two daughters, and the first three agree to make no claim on all that she and these four children have or shall acquire. It is noteworthy that one of the three receives ten shekels as the *terḫatu* of the wife he shall marry. He was evidently not of marriageable age, or, at any rate, still unmarried. In such a case the Code directed that on partition of the father's property, a special sum should be laid aside for this necessary present to the bride's father. So we find two brothers giving a sister a share consisting of one-third *SAR* of a house, next her brother's, one maid, a bed and a chair, with the promise that on the day that she marries and enters her husband's house she shall receive further two-thirds *GAN* of land and slaves. The list of property is often given, especially where brothers give shares to their sisters. Sometimes the relationship is less close. Thus a man shares with two sons of his father's brother, *i.e.*, with two cousins, ten *SAR* of unreclaimed land, taking three and a half *SAR* as his share. Sometimes the property included the mother's marriage-portion. Thus three brothers divide their property and two of them, as her sons, share their mother's marriage-portion:

Division of property between three brothers

One *SAR* of built land and granary, next the house of Ubarrîa and next that of Bushum-Sin, two exits to the street, the property of Urra-nâṣir, which he divided with Sin-ikisham and Ibni-Shamash. From mouth (?) to gold the share is complete. Brother shall not dispute with brother. By Shamash, Malkat, Marduk, and Sin-mubaliṭ they swore. Nine witnesses. Thirteenth year of Sin-mubaliṭ.

The property which fell to Urra-nâṣir was a house occupying one *SAR* of land. The text means not that the three men, Urra-nâṣir, Sin-ikisham, and Ibni-Shamash, divided the house among them, but that at the division this house was the share of the first named. What the two, Sin-ikisham and Ibni-Shamash, had as their share we are not here told. But the three agreed not to call in question the division of property, which probably came to them from their father or mother. Fortunately we know in this case what the others got. Thus we find:

One *SAR* of built land, (and) granary, next the house of Ibni-Shamash and next the street, its exit to the street, the property of Sin-ikisham, which he divided with Ibni-Shamash and Urra-nâṣir. From mouth (?) to gold the share is complete. Brother shall not dispute with brother. By Shamash, Malkat, and Sin-mubaliṭ they swore. Nine witnesses. Thirteenth year of Sin-mubaliṭ.

And again:

One *SAR* of built land, (and) granary, next the house of Sin-ikisham and next the house of Ishtar-Ummasha, two exits to the street, the property of Ibni-Shamash, which he divided with Sin-ikisham and Urra-nâṣir. From mouth (?) to gold the share [is complete]. Brother shall not dispute with brother. By Shamash, Malkat, Marduk, and Sin-mubaliṭ they swore. Nine witnesses. Thirteenth year of Sin-mubaliṭ.

Thus we see that each brother, if they were brothers, obtained exactly the same share, one *SAR* of land on which a house was built. Two of them, Sin-ikisham and Ibni-Shamash, were next door to each other. Ibni-Shamash had the street on the other side of him, in fact, occupied a corner house. The third brother, Urra-nâṣir, had a house in another part of the town. We therefore must understand the word "divided" in the sense "obtained on division." In the second and third case the word rendered share is literally "all." But the first text shows that "all is complete" means "the share is complete." The meaning of the expression, "from mouth (?) to gold," is still obscure. It is not certain that *bi-e* really means "mouth." But as Meissner has shown, it exchanges with the ideogram for "mouth." He therefore suggests that the whole phrase means "from the first verbal discussion of the division to its consummation by payment the partition of the property is now at an end." That seems probable enough, but we may yet find a different explanation. If this be correct, it is of interest to note that while silver seems to have been the usual money, this phrase seems to assume that gold would be used in payment. A curious parallel is the fact that while in later times we always find the order gold and silver, in Sumerian texts it is silver and gold. We must not press this too far, but it really looks as if in early times silver was more valued, or at any rate, less in use than gold.

It will be noted that the second text omits Marduk from the oath, while the others name him. The third text omits *gamru*, "is complete." The nine witnesses and the date are the same for all three. In the first and last the names of the witnesses only are given, but in the second the name of the father is added to several of them.

The great difficulty of interpreting details in testamentary documents

In the case of testamentary documents, using the phrase in a loose way to cover gifts embodied in a deed, we usually find a list of property donated. These lists give rise to insuperable difficulties to the translator. The difficulties are not so much due to the imperfections of our knowledge of Babylonian methods of writing as to the practical

impossibility of finding exact terms in one language for the terms relating to domestic furniture in another. Even in the case of languages so well known to us as French and German are, we are obliged to transfer their words unaltered into our own tongue. The most skilled translator must leave a French or German *menu* untranslated. We know for instance that the signs, *GIŠ-GU-ZA* were used to denote the Babylonian *kussû*. When a god or king sat upon a *kussû* we may be satisfied with the rendering "throne," but when we find a lady leaving her daughter six *kussê* we feel that "throne" is rather too grand. But whether we elect to call them chairs, stools, or seats, we are guilty of some false suggestion. A careful examination of the sculptured and pictured monuments may give us a clearer idea of what seats were used. The reader may consult Perrot and Chipiez, or the dictionaries of the Bible, under the articles: chairs, couches, *et cetera*, for illustrations. Unless we can find a picture with a named article upon it we are still left a wide margin of conjecture. The picture of Sennacherib receiving the tribute and submission of Lachish gives the contemporary representation of a *kussû nimedu*, but we cannot argue that every *kussû* was of the same pattern.

We may decline to attempt a solution and merely give the original word, we may make a purely arbitrary rendering, or we may accompany the original word with an approximate indication of what is known of its nature. In neither case do we translate, for that is clearly impossible. But the reader needs a word of caution against the translations which show no signs of hesitancy. They are not indicative of greater knowledge, but of less candor. Further, to scholars a reminder is needed that even the syllabaries and bilingual texts do not give exact information. Thus alongside *GIŠ-GU-ZA* we find a number of other ideograms, all of which are in certain connections rendered *kussû*, adequately enough no doubt, but that they all denoted exactly the same article of furniture is far from likely. A closer approximation to an exact rendering may come with the knowledge of a large number of different contexts, each of which may shade off something of the rough meaning. One of the great difficulties of the translator is that the same word often occurs again and again, but always in exactly the same context. This is especially the case in the legal documents, filled as they are with stock phrases.

Disinheritance in the Sumerian laws

According to the Sumerian laws disinheritance appears to have been simply the result of repudiation of a child by a parent, who has said to him, "You are not my son." The penalty for a child's repudiation of parents is to be reduced to the condition of a slave. There may also be a

reference to renunciation on the part of an adopted child, but there are no legal documents to clear up the point.

In the Code of Ḥammurabi

The Code is much clearer. Here the father is minded to cut off his son. But the disinheritance must be done in legal form. The father must say to a judge, "I renounce my son." The judge must then inquire into the grounds of this determination. A grave fault must be alleged. What this was we are not told. But rebellious conduct, idleness, and failure to provide for parents are probable. A parent had the right to his son's work. An adoptive parent had a right by the deed of adoption to maintenance. If the fault could be established as a first offence, the judge was bound to try and reconcile the father. If it was repeated, disinheritance took place legally. It was done by a deed duly drawn up. The Sumerian laws show that a mother had the same power as the father. Whether this was only exercised when there was no father, or whether a wife could act in this way independently of her husband in disinheriting children, does not appear. But possibly she had power in this respect only over her own property.

It has been suggested that disinheritance sometimes took place as a legal form and with consent of a child, in order to admit of his adoption into another family or to free the parents from responsibility for the business engagements of the son.

In the case of adopted children

An adoptive parent, who had brought up a child and afterwards had children of his own, could not entirely disinherit his adopted child. He was bound to allow him one-third of a child's share. But he could not alienate to him real estate.

XVII. SLAVERY

The slave a chattel

In modern thought slavery concerns personal rights. But it was not thus regarded by the Babylonians, for the slave was an inferior domestic, and, like the son in his father's house, *minor capitis*. That he was actually a chattel is clear from his being sold, pledged, or deposited. He was property and as such a money equivalent. He might be made use of to discharge a debt, according to his value. Hence, while some account of slavery belongs with the discussion of the family, it is also a part of the section dealing with property, since the slave was a piece of property.

Rights of a slave

But the slave had a great amount of freedom, and was in no respect worse off than a child or even a wife. He could acquire property, marry a free woman, engage in trade, and act as principal in contract with a free man. Only, his property, at his death, fell to his master. He was bound to do service without pay, though he had the right to food and drink. He could not leave his master's service at his own will, but he might acquire enough property to buy his freedom. He was tied to one spot, not being allowed to leave the city, but might be sent anywhere at command.

Complexity of the evidence regarding slavery

His status was, however, a complex of seeming inconsistencies. Yet it was so well understood that we rarely get any hints as to the exact details. It is only by collecting a vast mass of statements as to what actually occurred that we can deduce some idea of the actual facts. Professor Oppert in his tract, *La Condition des Esclaves à Babylone, Comptes Rendues*, 1888, p ff.; and Dr. B. Meissner, in his dissertation, *De Servitute Babylonico-Assyriaca*, have gathered together the chief facts to be gleaned from the scattered hints in the contracts. Professor Kohler and Dr. Peiser discussed the question thoroughly in their *Aus Babylonische Rechtsleben*. Many articles discussing the contracts, and most of the histories touch upon the subject. We shall come back to it later under the head of Sales of Slaves. It is very difficult to disentangle facts from the mass of scattered hints, often consisting of no more than a word or two in a long document.

Its very early existence

The institution of slavery dates back to the earliest times. We cannot in any way attempt to date its rise.

Already in the stele of Manistusu we find a slave-girl used as part of the price of land and worth thirteen shekels; while nine other slaves, male and female, are reckoned for one-third of a mina apiece. This remained a fair average price for a slave in Babylonia down to the time of the Persian conquest. For the variations, see later under Sales of Slaves. The Code shows that the slave was not free to contract except by power of attorney, and that it was penal to seduce him from his master's service, or to harbor him when fugitive. It fixes a reward for his recapture, makes it penal to retain a recaptured slave, and deals with his re-escape. It shows that he was subject to the "levy." It also determines the position of a slave-woman who bears children to her master, or of a slave who marries a free woman. In each case the children are free. It fixes the fees to be paid by the slave's master for his cure, deals with injuries done to a slave, damages being paid to his master; enacts that if captured and sold abroad he must be freed, if re-patriated, and a native of Babylonia, otherwise he returned to his master.

Sale of slaves

By far the greatest number of references to the slave condition occur in documents relating to the sale of slaves. These may be summarized here. One peculiarity always marked the sale of a slave, it was not so irrevocable as that of a house or field. For a slave might not be all he seemed. He might be diseased, or subject to fits, he might have vices of disposition, especially a tendency to run away. A female slave might be defective in what constituted her chief attraction. Hence there was usually a stipulation that if the buyer had a legitimate cause of complaint he could return his purchase and have his money back. In fact, an undisclosed defect would invalidate the sale. These defects might be physical, inherent, contingent, or legal.

Diseases regarded as just cause for a repudiation of the contract to buy a slave

There seems to have been a dreaded disease called the *bennu*. Professor Jensen has shown how largely it bulks in the literature, and what dire effects are ascribed to it. But it was not the only severe disease from which men suffered then. It is associated with several others as bad. Hence in legal documents we may take it as a typical example of a serious disease, which would so detract from the value of a slave that the purchaser would not keep him. It is evident that it was something that the purchaser could not detect at sight. Perhaps it was a disease which took some time to show itself. It is mentioned in the Code and in the sales of slaves of the First Dynasty of Babylon. It also occurs in Assyrian deeds

of sale, down to the end of the seventh century b.c. The Code and the contemporary contracts allow one month within which a plea could be raised that the slave had the *bennu*. The purchaser could then return him and have his money back. In the Assyrian deeds one hundred days is allowed.

In the Assyrian deeds *ṣibtu* is also allowed a hundred days. This is often associated with *bennu* in the mythological texts as equally dreaded. It affected the hands or the mouth. We may render it "seizure," and think of some form of "paralysis."

Legal defects

The objections which come under the head of legal defects are summed up in the Code as a *bagru*, or "complaint." In the contracts and Code this could be pleaded at any time. So in Assyrian times a *sartu*, "a vice," could be the ground for repudiation at any time. This might arise from the disposition of the slave. The sale might also be invalidated by a claim on him for service to the state; by a lien held by a creditor; by a claim to free citizenship. But we are not yet in a position to state definitely what was the exact nature of these claims. Doubtless the recovery of further codes will fix them finally.

In later Babylonian times Law B specially provides for the return of the slave at any time, if a claim be made on him.

Assyrian usages regarding slaves

In Assyrian times sales of slaves are very frequent, and we learn much more about the status of the slave. The slave was certainly a social inferior, but probably had more freedom than any other who ever bore the name. He certainly had his own property and could contract like a free man. A young slave lived in his master's house up to a certain age, when his master found a wife for him. This was usually a slave-girl. The female slaves remained in the house as domestic servants to old age, unless they were married to a slave. Married slaves lived in their own houses for the most part. Many such men seem to have taken up out-door work, gardening, agricultural labor, or the like, on their master's estates. Others engaged in business on their own account. But from all the master had a certain income. This was, within a little, the average interest on the money-value of a slave. And that interest was usually twenty-five per cent. per annum in Assyria.

Right of a slave to the enjoyment of his property and family

Theoretically a master owned his slave's property. What this ownership amounted to is hard to say. But the slave was rarely separated from it. His family at any rate was sacred. When sold, he was sold with

his family. This, of course, does not exclude the sale of a young man at a time when he would naturally leave his father's home. Young women were taken into domestic service, and after a time sold. But there was none of that tearing of children from parents, which so shocked people in the modern examples. It is probable that a slave could not marry without his master's consent. He certainly could not live where he liked. But he was free to acquire fair wealth, and his property was so far his own that he could buy his own freedom with it.

The serfs

In Assyria there was a large body of serfs, *glebae adscripti*. They could be sold with the land. But they were free to work as they chose. Usually they cultivated a plot of their master's, but often had lands and stock of their own. They were not free to move, and probably paid a rent, one or two thirds of their produce. But they were mostly on the metayer system, and could claim seed, implements, stock, and other necessary supplies from their master. This class evidently possessed privileges highly esteemed, for their ranks were recruited from all classes of artisans in the towns, cooks, brewers, gardeners, washermen, and even scribes. Some of these were probably free men, others certainly had been slaves.

Advantages of slavery

The three classes, domestic slaves, married slaves, and serfs, were continually exchanging their condition. Not a few free men, whether from debt, judicial sentence, or choice, were added to these classes. For these men, if dependent, were cared for and provided with the necessaries of life. They were, if domestic, clothed, housed, and fed; if they married and lived out, they were given a house, and either were provided with land that brought them a living, or engaged in business.

Liability for forced labor

The army and corvée, or levy for forced labor, were chiefly obtained from the slaves, and above all from the serfs. A head of a family, or mother, was not liable. But young men and women had to serve a certain number of terms of service, seemingly six. Hence it was of importance to the buyer of a slave to receive a guarantee that this claim had been satisfied.

Opportunity to acquire skill as artisans

We have many examples of slaves who were skilled artisans. They had been taught a handicraft. Later we shall come across cases of apprenticeship of slaves to learn a craft. But all the artisans were not

slaves. Indeed, some of the craftsmen, as goldsmiths, silversmiths, carpenters, were wealthy persons.

The slave an independent asset

As a rule, though the slave is named, his father is not. But, just as in mediæval times, a serf's father is named. The serf's holding seems to have been hereditary. But we have too few examples to be sure of our ground here. The slave's father was not concerned in the sale, and that may be the sole reason why he is not named. Fathers sometimes sold their children to be slaves, then they are named. Such sales are not so unnatural as they appear. It was a sure provision for life for a child to sell him as slave to a family in good position.

The later disappearance of the serf

In the later Babylonian times, the almost total disappearance of the serf has been noted as very remarkable. But this may be entirely due to the nature of our documents. The temples owned a great deal of land and their slaves were in the condition of serfs.

Slave sales

In later Babylonian times we have a very large number of examples of slave sales. So far as the formula of a deed of sale is concerned, there is nothing to distinguish from a sale of the ordinary type, thus marking the slave as a chattel.

Guarantees exacted in such deeds:

But there are several clauses, which directly illustrate the possession of slaves, their position and liabilities. One clause, frequent when slaves were either pledged or sold, was a guarantee on the part of the owner against a number of contingencies. These are not easy to understand.

Against rebellions (?)

First we have the *amêlu siḫû*. *Siḫu* means rebellion or civil war. Sennacherib was slain in such an uprising. It may be that then the slave would be impressed for defence of law and order. Or it may be that *amêlu siḫû* is the rebel, or mob, who might carry off the slave. Or the contingency contemplated may be that the slave should turn rebel and refuse to do his master's bidding. The fact that a ship was also guaranteed against *amêlu siḫû*, renders this less likely. A ship could not turn rebel. It is not unlikely that slaves often joined in the rebellions.

Against flight

That a slave would escape by flight was always a danger. The slave had great freedom and many opportunities of getting away. The only security was that wherever he went he was likely to be recognized as a

slave and anyone might recapture him. However, the captor had a right to a reward and so the owner would have to pay to get him back, besides losing his services for a time. Hence a slave who had a fancy for running away was likely to be troublesome and costly. That might lead to his being sold. But the purchaser protected himself by a guarantee on the seller's part that the slave would not run away. Then if the slave fled and was brought back, the captor gave a receipt for the sum paid him, and the owner reclaimed it from the seller.

Against untimely death

The captor might retain the slave until he was paid. In other cases the seller had to recover the slave for the buyer. In Assyrian times the seller guaranteed also against death. Here it has been argued that the guarantee meant only that the slave had not fled or was not dead at the time of sale. This is not likely in the case of death. Surely no man could buy a slave who was dead. He would not pay, if the slave was not delivered. But he might bargain for recompense, if the slave died within a short time after purchase, as the seller might have had reason to know that he was ill.

Against unexpected claims

A guarantee was also given against the *pakirânu*. This is literally "the claimant." What claim he had is not stated. When the slave was pledged, this might be a creditor to whom he had previously been pledged. But it covers all claims on the slave.

Against over-exaction in the public service

Another indemnity is the *arad šarrûtu*, or in the case of female slaves, the *amat šarrûtu*. This was the status of an *arad šarri*, or *amat šarri*, king's man or maid. The king, or state, had a right to the services of certain slaves. How long this was for, how it was discharged, and how a private person could give a guarantee against it, we do not exactly know. It may have been limited to slaves taken in war; it probably consisted in forced service; it may have been for a limited period, so that the guarantee amounted to an assurance that it was over. But it is possible that it would be compounded for, or a substitute provided. At any rate the seller held the buyer indemnified against this claim.

Against redemption as men of family

There was also a guarantee against *mârbanûtu*, the status of a *mâr banû*, or "son of an ancestor." The difficulty which this raised was that, if a man was a scion of a noble family, he might be redeemed by it. The same result would follow from his being adopted. Hence some consider *mâr banû* to mean "adopted son." But it does not always mean that. We

have no good example of a slave being redeemed on this ground. But we know that they sometimes laid claim to be free men. This would of course involve a loss and at any rate a trouble to the owner. But we have not yet very full information on the point.

Against illegal enslavement

Finally there is mentioned a claim called *šušanûtu*. This occurs in Persian times only and may be the status of a *šušanu*, *i.e.*, a Susian, or one of the conquering race. Such it may have been illegal to buy or hold in slavery. But in Assyrian times an official in the service of the royal house is called *šušanu*. We do not yet know what his duties were, but it may be that this official was one who could be called up for service at any time and therefore was undesirable as a slave.

The branding or tattooing of slaves

The *abuttu* which the Code contemplates a mistress putting on an insolent maid and so reducing her to slavery, or which the phrase-books contemplate a master laying upon a slave, or which an adoptive parent may set on a rebellious adopted son before selling him into servitude, has usually been taken to be a fetter. But in the case of a man, who being sold as a slave, had escaped and was claimed by the levy-master, we find the latter saying, *ellita abuttaka gullubat*, "thy *abuttu* is clearly branded," or tattooed. Hence it may only be a mark.

The other ways of indicating servitude

There is frequent mention in early times of a mark upon slaves. The Code talks of marking a slave, but in a way that is difficult to understand. The verb usually rendered "brand" has been shown by Professor P. Jensen to include incised marks. Hence the penalty which was once rendered "shear his front hair" is thought to mean "brand his forehead." The Code fixes a severe penalty for the putting of an indelible mark on a slave without his owner's consent. This could hardly be enforced for merely giving the slave a bald forehead, like the Hebrew *peôt*, or like a "tonsure." The mark borne on the forehead by Cain, or by the "sealed" in the Apocalypse, is far more to the point as a parallel. The slaves also wore little clay tablets with the name of their owner inscribed upon them. There are a number of these preserved in the Louvre. On one now in the British Museum we have this inscription: "Of the woman Ḥipâ, who is in the hands of Sin-êresh. Sebat, eleventh year of Merodach-baladan, King of Babylon." How these were attached to the slave is not very clear. But they must have been anything but an indelible mark. In the later Babylonian times we have a slave marked by a sign on his ears and a white mark in his eye. Both may denote natural marks. A more definite

example is a slave “whose right hand has written upon it the name of Ina-Esagil-lilbur”; and another “on whose left hand was written the name of Meskitu.” These were the names of the owners, not of the slaves themselves. This renders it probable that the branding and the like was always an incised mark, a species of tattoo, which of course was indelible. That the same person who tattooed men should brand animals, or even shear them, is not an insuperable objection. But there is no reason to suppose that the brander ever was a sheep-shearer.

Significance of slave-names

In respect to the names of slaves we may regard them with some interest as helping to determine the sources from which slaves were recruited. Some bear good Babylonian names, and perhaps when the father’s name is also Babylonian we may conclude that they had been born free, but were either sold into slavery by the head of the family, or, having once been adopted, had been repudiated and reduced to slavery again, or had been sold for debt. We have examples of all such cases. A father and mother sold their son; a mother who had adopted two girls repudiated them again; a brother gave a younger brother as a pledge.

Foreign-born slaves

When the slave’s name is not Babylonian or Assyrian, a foreign nationality is nearly certain. These names are very valuable when they can be assigned to their nationalities, as confirming the historical claims of the kings to conquest. Sometimes they are actual gentile names, as Miṣirai, “Egyptian,” Tubalai, “man from Tubal.” But many may have been directly purchased abroad and sold to Babylonians. A great many foreign slaves doubtless received native names. Thus an Egyptian woman was called Nanâ-ittîa. Some of the names of slaves are true Babylonian, but of a rare and odd form, which has caused some to imagine them to be foreign. But this is not necessary. Servants are often renamed after the families to which they belong, and finally become known by names which were never theirs. Masters seem sometimes to have given their own names to slaves. Their names are often contracted, and some even appear to have had two.

Various methods of making slaves

The slaves were not only captives taken in war, but were bought abroad, and not a few were reduced to that condition from being freeborn citizens. Slavery awaited the rebellious child or the contentious wife. But it was not allowed by the Code for a man to sell his maid outright, who had borne him children. And if he sold his wife or child to pay a debt, the buyer could not keep them beyond a certain time. But in all periods

parents sold their children, and there does not seem to be any clause demanding any future release.

A slave's right to hold and use property

The slave had private property which was secured to him. He paid a sort of rent for it. This was an annual fixed sum called his *mandattu*, the same word as for the tribute of a prince to his overlord. In the case of a female slave this was twelve shekels *per annum*. Further, he paid a percentage on his profits. The slave might hold another slave as pledge, lend money, and enter into business relations with another slave even of the same house. He might borrow money of another slave. Hence he was very free to do business. But when he entered into business relations with another master's slave, or a free man, he sometimes met with a difficulty. He seemingly could not enforce his own rights against a free man. At any rate, we find that in such cases his master assumed the liability and pleaded for him. In fact, the master had to acknowledge his undertakings, though he did not guarantee them. Subject to this protection from his master, the slave was free to engage in commerce. He lent to free men, entered into partnership, and owned a scribe.

A slave's evidence not good against a free man

Here is an example illustrating one of the above points. S had taken a loan of L. His master, A, became aware of it and guaranteed its repayment. He then put S into L's hands as his pledge to pay it off. Now, A died, and his son, B, sells S to C, as part of his own property. But L still holds possession of S. C demands S from L. L says "Not until my money is paid off. If C will do this he may have S. But until he can prove that it has been done he cannot have S." The proof probably lay in B's hands, if he had preserved it from his father A's records. Delay is granted for C to produce the proof that S has worked off the debt. It is clear that the evidence of S was not admitted on this point.

A slave's value proportioned to his producing power

That in the case of some slaves their value to their master consisted in their *mandattu* is clear from the fact when a master sold a slave and did not at once hand him over, the seller had to pay a proportional amount of this fee to the buyer. Of course, in transferring a slave to another owner, the seller could not separate him from his property. That was his own. A slave who had acquired a fair amount of wealth, or was earning well in trade, would produce a higher income to his master and sell for more. What was sold then, was an interest, the master's, in his slave's work. Hence prices varied very much. We are not always able to see what was the reason of the high price, but it was evident then to those who made

the bargain. An average price in the later Babylonian era seems to have been twenty shekels, the interest on which at the usual twenty per cent. would be four shekels. This, then, was the annual value of a slave above his keep. If the keep amounted to about eight shekels *per annum*, that gives the value of a slave's work as twelve shekels yearly. This is what an unskilled slave was worth to his master. If, then, a man married a slave-girl, he ought to pay her master about twelve shekels a year for his loss of her services. Of course, the master retained his right over her, but it seems to have been a tacit understanding that he could not sell her away from her husband. So really what he sold was, after all, only a right to income from her husband of twelve shekels a year. The children were also his born slaves, if the father was his slave. We do not know how matters would be arranged if the man was slave to one master, the wife to another. Probably this was provided against by the master giving his slave a wife from his own maids, or buying a slave-girl as wife for him.

The history of the slave Bariki-ilu

It occasionally happens that we can trace the history of a particular slave for some time. Thus, Bariki-ilu was pledged for twenty-eight shekels to Aḫinûri, in the thirty-fifth year of Nebuchadrezzar. In the next year we find him in the possession of Piru, his wife Gagâ, and a cousin Zirîa. What they gave for him does not appear. But they now sold him for twenty-three shekels to Nabû-zêr-ukîn. He must have fled from his new master, for four years later, the same three people pledged him. But he seems to have been unsatisfactory as a pledge. For next, we find that Gagâ's daughter (Piru having probably died), being about to be married to Iddin-aplu, this slave was set down as part of her marriage-portion. She gave him over to her husband and his son. In their possession he remained awhile, but on the death of his mistress, was handed over to the great banker, Itti-Marduk-balâṭu. These events, extending from the thirty-fifth year of Nebuchadrezzar to the seventh year of Nabonidus, were all put in evidence when Bariki-ilu tried later to prove that he was a free man. He pretended to be the adopted son of Bêl-rimâni. He had to confess that he had twice run away from his master and had been many days in hiding. Then he was afraid and pretended to have been an adopted son. This, if proved, would have freed him. But he confessed that it was a pretence, and had to return to his servitude. The case was decided in the tenth year of Nabonidus.

A runaway slave not always returnable

It seems clear that when a slave ran away to his old owners, they did not always deliver him up again to the man who bought him of them.

They probably had to return the purchase-money. The buyer probably would not accept him again.

Apprenticing slaves to a trade

One feature which the later Babylonian contracts show us for the first time, but which probably was always in force, is the apprenticing of slaves to a trade. Instances of this are fairly numerous. The person to whom the slave was apprenticed was usually a slave himself. The teacher was bound to teach the trade thoroughly. The owner of the slave gave him up to the teacher for a fixed term of years, differing for different trades. He had to furnish a daily allowance of food and a regular supply of clothing. At the end of the term, the slave might remain with his teacher on payment of a fixed *mandattu* or income to the owner. Penalties were fixed for neglecting to teach him properly. The trades named are weaving, five years' term; baking, a year and a quarter; stone-cutting, four years; fulling, six years; besides others not yet recognized.

Fee paid by service

The teacher had no fee, but only the apprentice's work for his trouble. The owner was therefore bound to allow the apprentice to remain a fair time.

Relative proportion of slaves to free men

A question of considerable interest which needs to be worked out is the relative number of slaves in the population. In early times the impression one gets is that they were few. Even in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the evidence at the disposal of Dr. Meissner in 1892 did not allow him to exceed four as the number in the possession of one man at a time. But since then further evidence is available. Thus we read of twelve slaves at once, seven males and five females, given by a father to his daughter, at Sippara. In Assyrian times the number in an average household rarely exceeds one or two, but we have as many as thirty mentioned at one time. So in later times there are generally only one or two in a household, but the number is occasionally much more.

Price of a slave

As to the value of a slave, we have in very early times an average set down as twenty shekels, with examples as low as thirteen shekels. In the time of the Second Dynasty prices varied from as low as four and a half shekels for a maid, or ten shekels for a man, up to eighty-four shekels. The Code estimates the average value of a slave as twenty shekels. In Assyrian times the price of a single male slave varies from twenty to one hundred and thirty shekels, but the usual price is thirty shekels. A female slave could be had for as little as two and a half shekels, but might cost

as much as ninety shekels. A common price was thirty shekels. In later Babylonian times also, prices vary widely, but the commonest price and usual pledge-value was twenty shekels.

XVIII. LAND TENURE IN BABYLONIA

Distinction between real and personal property

The idea of real as opposed to personal property is common in Babylonian law; for we notice that in the Code, while certain persons may inherit from the goods of their parents, they may not inherit land, garden, or house. He then had no share in his father's house; he was not one of the family. The distinction is important, for, as we shall see later, the word "house" had a wider signification than mere bricks and mortar. It was the ancestral estate. Over it the family had rights. It went back in default of heirs to the family of the last owner. We are therefore confronted with private ownership of land, but also with a sort of entail.

Entailed property

The amount of land might be increased by purchase, but there is a strong presumption that it thus became family property and did not remain at the disposal of the buyer. For if so, in the case above the law should have stated that the parent could not donate land that was family property, but might do so with what he had bought. This does not exclude the possibility of sale. Only the family had apparently the right of pre-emption.

Natural features of Babylonia in their influence on property rights

In looking back upon the primitive state of the country, its natural features must be taken into account as helping to shape the course of development. In such a low-lying country as the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris, floods naturally occur every year. Every spot of land that stood above the level of the annual floods was thereby marked out for a residence. Throughout the literature of Babylonia the hill or the mountain is a refuge and a place protected by the gods. But when the floods were gone, man's great need for his land was water. Hence irrigation was synonymous with cultivation. The unclaimed land grew rank with grass and natural food for cattle, but dried up to dust in the summer. Hence the control of the flood, its diversion into desired channels, regulation, storage, and all the processes implied by canals and irrigation were forced upon the inhabitants of Babylonia by stern necessity. The only alternative was to migrate with flocks and herds to higher lands when the floods came.

Primitive land tenure

Settled society was ultimately founded upon the cultivation of a plain. Every eminence might become a hamlet occupied by the abodes of men,

whose fields were water meadows. The meadows which grew their corn lay around the village and below its level; and beyond those which were needed to grow crops lay the pastures. But for security the cattle and sheep must come back, before the floods came, to the village, there to be folded and fed, as it seems, upon straw and also grain. The land of the village extended itself in time, as the population grew and needed more corn. More and more of the unreclaimed land beyond the cornfields was brought into cultivation and the flocks went farther afield for pasture. This continued until the pastures forming the outlying ring had met the pastures of another village.

Ownership of cultivated land

Such is an ideal sketch of the growth of land tenure. But in historical times this simplicity had vanished. Land was owned, not merely held. It does not appear that pasture was owned, even as late as the First Dynasty of Babylon. It seems that the flocks were confided to shepherds, who were bound to bring them back from the pastures and expected to account for all they took out and for a reasonable increase in the flock from breeding. The pasture was common land; at any rate, to the sheep-owners of the same village. No one claims to buy and sell pasture land, only cultivated land, fields, gardens, and plantations, ultimately irrigated land. But unreclaimed land, that is, such as only required cultivation to make it fields and gardens, is often sold, or let, to be reclaimed. Was this a trespass on the pasture held in common? If so, it was not resented as such. We do not know yet how a man acquired a title to such unreclaimed land. Perhaps to have brought it into cultivation sufficed originally to establish title.

Theoretical ownership of the land by the local deity

A settled hamlet soon had its temple. Some think that the god was ideally landlord of all the village land and that every title represented simply the rental of the land from the nominal owner. We do indeed find the temples as owners of vast estates and, like monastic institutions in the Middle Ages, letting lands and houses. To the temples poor men went for temporary accommodation for sowing, for wages at harvest-time, and for ransom from the enemy. These they had a right by custom to receive without paying interest. Undoubtedly the temples became the first centres of progressive civilization. The *patêsi*, as chief-priest of the god, was the regent of the community. In process of time, as villages combined and grew into towns and districts, the *patêsi*, in virtue of his town's supremacy, became the king, who, as regent of the state and

representative of the gods, owned all. We know that, in later times, the king in Babylon was the adoptive son of Bel-Merodach.

Private ownership absolute in historical periods

In historical times no such conditions prevail. Doubtless the tribal ownership had become theoretically transferred to the god, or to the town. That the town had a theoretical personality of its own is clear enough from the oaths sworn to confirm a sale. Men swore by the gods, the king, and also by Sippara, or Kar Sippara. But there is no indication that points to the god, or the town, or the king as having any power to intervene to prevent a sale, or to claim payment for consent. It is clear that the land was sold subject to its dues, and they were many. But the private ownership, subject to such reservation, was absolute. The one danger to a purchaser was that the family of the seller should claim a right of redemption and annul the sale. Against this the seller undertook to indemnify him.

Right to retain ancestral estates

Exact statements as to the rights possessed by the family to reclaim land sold by a member of the family are not to be found, but they are to be inferred with certainty from a few notices which we have. Thus, a man claimed a certain plot of land as ancestral domain which two others had sold. There are several such cases among the legal decisions of the First Dynasty of Babylon. In most of the Assyrian deeds of sale we have a long list of representatives of the seller, who are explicitly bound not to interfere and attempt to upset the sale. Their right existed or they would not be called upon to enter into a contract nor to insist upon it.

Different kinds of real property

From the point of view of the ancient Babylonian, as from that of the modern lawyer, there was a great similarity about all classes of real property. The deeds of sale or conveyances, as well as the leases, treated them with much the same formula. It was the land which was the main consideration. It was as land, built upon indeed, but essentially as land, that the house was sold. The house is rarely described by what to modern views would be its most important features, the number of stories, rooms, conveniences, and the like. Instead its area was stated. This is remarkable, as we do not buy houses by the area. We need not suppose that the building actually covered all the land sold. In fact, we often see that it had a garden. But it was *bîtu epšu*, a “built-on plot” of land, according to the Babylonian conveyancer. Perhaps there was in this usage a recollection of how fast the Babylonian house of sun-dried brick sank down to a mound of clay, perhaps, too, a far-off echo of the

nomad's scorn for the town-dweller, in both cases a recognition that the land was the one thing permanent, the one thing that could not "run away."

Terms used in descriptions of real property

The plot of land was the *bîtu*, Hebrew *beth*, represented by the Sumerian *Ê*. When it had the additional advantage of a house upon it, it was *bîtu epšu*, a "built-on plot." Gradually the edifice, in towns at least, absorbed the whole significance, and in common parlance *bîtu* meant a "house," but in legal phraseology it always retained its inclusive meaning of the plot of land. Even as late as the Assyrian Empire it retained some shade of a still earlier meaning, that of a plot, parcel, or share, just what it meant when the first settlers divided the land among them. Thus one might use *bîtu* of a "lot" of slaves, or of a lot of land including its slaves and cattle. That *bîtu* is to be referred to a root *banû*, "to make," may still be true, though *banû* cannot have come to mean "build" when *bîtu* was formed from it. If *bîtu* was originally the "house," perhaps only a tent-house, then it could mean all that constituted the house, the man's house in a wider sense, as in tribe names, like Bît Adini or the phrase, "House of Israel." But *bîtu*, when used of a house, does not carry with it the implication of bricks and mortar, only of a fixed site occupied for dwelling. The edifice was implied by the addition *epšu*, marking the site "built upon." So a house was "landed property"; land was of various sorts, one of which is "built on land." To be accurate one must also specify the kind of building.

The field was called *eḳlu* (compare Acel-dama, "the field of blood"), denoted by the Sumerian *A-ŠAG-GA*. The term does not denote open waste land, but a cultivated plot. Indeed, it is probable that its Sumerian name implies "irrigation." In any case it was fenced, if only by a raised ridge; it was cultivated and watched over; the birds were scared away, robbers and stray animals driven off. So much at least is expressed in as many words in the undertakings of tenants to treat a field properly. The field was also *bîtu* as land, usually "*bîtu*, so much *eḳlu*."

The garden was reckoned as land, but here a fuller specification was needed. For a plot of land, a garden, *kirû* was not exact enough. It was usual to designate further of what sort it was, whether vegetable garden, orchard, or palm-grove. The scribe would even add "planted with such and such a crop." The term might include vineyards. In many cases the actual number of bushes, or fruit-trees, or vine-stocks, would be named.

But it was always primarily land, and as such *bîtu*, with the qualifications enumerated.

Systems of land measures: (1) computation by area

For land measures there were two systems in use, one purely areal, the other with a reference to the average yield. In the former case the scale of measures was discovered and formulated by Dr. G. Reisner, in the *Sitzungsberichte Berliner Akademie*, 1897, f., and is completely known. In this scale *1 GAN = 1,800 SAR*, *1 SAR = 60 GIN*, *1 GIN = 180 ŠE*. We do not know how these words *GAN*, *SAR*, *GIN*, *ŠE* were read; they may be ideograms or Sumerian words. There was also a very large measure of area, *3,600 GAN*, perhaps called a *karu*. Mr. Thureau-Dangin has further shown that the *SAR* was the square of the measure *GAR-DU*, which seems at one time to have measured *12 U*. The *U* is often taken to be a cubit, but seems at this time to have been nine hundred and ninety millimetres, which is sometimes called "a double cubit." On these suppositions the *SAR* would be a square, each side measuring about twenty-two yards, about one-tenth of an acre, or four ares on the metrical system. But it is certain that both in early times and during the First Dynasty of Babylon the *GAR* was only *12 U*, and the *U*, if a cubit, would not be much over eighteen inches. This would make the *SAR* a square of about eighteen feet on each side. The fact that a *SAR* was a fairly common size for a house seems rather against the smaller area. What is yet wanted is some cuneiform statement of the size or area of something which can be exactly identified and measured. With further exploration this is almost sure to be found.

(2) Computation by an average yield

The other system applied to land the names of measures of capacity used for measuring crops. We read of so many *GUR* and *ḲA* of land, where *1 GUR = 300 ḲA*, as shown by Dr. Reisner. We may guess that a *GUR* of land was so called because it took a *GUR* of corn to sow it, or because it yielded a *GUR* of corn as an average harvest. These are mere guesses and we must remain in ignorance until further evidence connects a *GUR* of land on one side with its length and breadth, or some other relation between the *GUR* and the *GAN* can be deduced. Then we shall want to know the size of the *GUR* of corn, of which at present we have no knowledge. But already in Susa a broken pot has been found with its original contents marked upon it. When others are found, from which an approximate estimate of contents can be made, and an inscription read giving the capacity, we shall be able to make a definite statement. At

present the data are insufficient and what the metrologists write is only ingenious speculation.

Descriptions and plans of plots of land

A piece of land had, so to speak, an individuality of its own. Once marked out, and that probably from time immemorial, it was rarely divided. It seems probable that corn-land at any rate was divided into long, narrow strips. But the plots became gradually of all sizes and shapes, as the many plans of estates show. The lengths of the sides are usually given on such plans, and much labor has been expended with small result on reconciling the given dimensions with the area ascribed to the plot. But it is certain that these were often recorded merely for purposes of identification. The area of the field was well known, and its average crop also, without any need of resort to calculations.

Boundary-stones

These plots often bear their owner's name, and that long after he had passed away. The boundary-stones of the field were sacred. Not a few were inscribed with some sort of history of the plot. Especially was this the case when the land was granted to fresh owners, by sale, or charter. No inconsiderable portion of what we know of history is derived from inscribed boundary-stones. They are the oldest monuments and rarely deeply buried. Hence they are easy to find. They have even been brought to London, as ship's ballast, in times before they could be read. They would be invaluable, if found *in situ*, for a modern survey of the country and a reconstruction of its ancient history. As a rule they are splendidly preserved.

Inviolability of landmarks

Encroaching on the highway

In ancient days great importance was attached to their preservation. The kings taxed their powers of cursing in order to terrify men from removing their neighbor's landmark. The dangers to the stone contemplated were its removal to another place, its being thrown into the water, or into the fire, its being built into a wall, being buried in the dust, placed where it cannot be seen, put in a house of darkness, erased and overwritten with other records. Akin to the crime of encroaching upon old landmarks was that of building upon or otherwise encroaching on the highway. To do this might subject the builder to the danger of being hanged, as a warning on a gallows erected above his own house.

The king's power over land

That the land was sold subject to certain territorial obligations, we can glean from many hints. One of the most important is that, when a

favorite, or well-deserving official, had acquired a large estate, the king by charter granted him an immunity from these obligations. These charters were often inscribed on large blocks of stone or water-worn pebbles of great size, and seem to have been set up as boundary-stones. Some were reproduced from tablets written on clay. They are very numerous and in some periods of the history are the only monuments that have reached us. A glance through any history of Babylonia will show the reader how much depends on them. But here our only concern is with the light they throw on land tenure and its conditions. One of the points which at once becomes clear is that, although the king was representative of the god and titular head of all the tribes, he could not appropriate land just where he chose. Manistusu, King of Kish, when he was seeking to acquire a fine estate to present to his son, Mesilim, had to buy land at what seems to have been an average price. He paid for the land in corn at three and one-third *GUR* of corn per *GAN*, the *GUR* being worth one shekel of silver. This was the price. But, as was usual later in private purchases, a present to the former owner was given. The list of these presents is most interesting, — silver and copper vessels and rich vestments being the chief items. Of great importance is the reference to the leading men of each hamlet as sellers. The king's own land was a definite area, so definite as to be cited as a boundary.

Recognition of private rights of possession

A celebrated passage in Sargon's cylinder says, "according to the interpretation of my name, Sharru-kînu, righteous king, which bade me observe right and justice, repel the impious, not oppress the weak; as the great gods had bidden me, I gave money for the pieces of land, of each city; according to written contracts, in silver and bronze, to their owners, in order to do no injustice; and to those who would not take money, a field for a field, where they preferred, I gave." That this was no idle boast is proved from the tablet which records how Sargon, in the year b.c. 713, having taken possession of some lands in Maganuba to form part of his new city of Dûr-Sargon, found that he was displacing an old endowment given by Adadi-nirâri to the god Ashur. It was held by a family descended from the original recipients. Sargon increased their holding and charged it with an increased monthly offering to the temple. He gave "field for field," but also added largely to the endowments. He acted much the same in Babylonia, where the Suti had encroached upon the lands of the people. He drove out the invaders, restored the lands, but laid them under obligations, *kidinûtu*, making them render a monthly due to the temples, as before.

Royal grants to temples and favorites

On the other hand, we find that the kings granted large grants of land to temples and private persons. From what source these grants were made does not appear. Probably from his own personal property. The property so presented was free of imposts. But we may not assume that the king was always the poorer. The beneficiary may have bought the land and presented it to the king, to be received back free of imposts in perpetuity.

Thus, Nazimaruttash presents a large estate to Merodach, and another to Kashakti-Shugab, his servant. Kurigalzu granted an estate to Eṭir-Marduk for his conduct in a war against Assyria, and Bitiliashu confirmed it. A coppersmith who fled from the land of Ḫanigalbat made a fine specimen of his work for Bitiliashu, and the king rewarded him with a grant of land. Adadi-shum-uṣur made another grant of land to an unknown servant of his. Melishiḫu made a grant of land to his son, Merodach-baladan I., and granted it exemption from all imposts. Another grant he made to a servant of his. So when Shamû and Shamûa, his son, two priests of Eria in Elam, fled from their own king and took refuge with Nebuchadrezzar I., he espoused their cause, plundered Elam, brought back their god, Eria, to Babylon, and they having taken the hands of Bêl, the king granted them an estate in Babylonia and freed it from imposts. Nabû-aplu-iddina granted an estate to a namesake of his, which, however, seems to have been claimed as ancestral property. Melishiḫu granted lands to Ḫasardu, a servant of his. Merodach-baladan I. granted lands to Marduk-zâkir-shumi. Marduk-nâdin-aḫi granted Adadi-zêr-iḳisha, for his services against Assyria, lands in the district of Bît-Ada, which seem to have been ancestral domains of one Ada. Some fragments of clay copies of similar grants by Adadi-nirari, Tiglath-pileser III., Ashurbânipal, and Ashur-eṭil-ilâni are preserved in the British Museum's Collections from Nineveh. They all appear to record grants to favorite officials, who had deserved well of the king.

Restoration of ancestral estates

The king also appears as not only confirming grants made by predecessors, but as restoring ancestral property, or temple endowments, which had come into other hands, on suit of the legal descendants of the original owners. Thus, certain land which had come into the possession of Târim-ana-ilishu and Ur-bêlit-muballiṭat-mîtûti, was claimed by Marduk-kudur-uṣur in the reigns of Adadi-shum-iddina and Adadi-nâdin-aḫi, and finally granted him in perpetuity by Melishiḫu. The land which Gulkishar, King of the Sea Land, gave to a goddess had remained

in her possession 696 years, until, in the time of Nebuchadrezzar I., the Governor of Bît Sin-mâgir had secularized it. Bêl-nâdin-apli restored it.

Granting of especial privileges

A rather different grant was made by Nebuchadrezzar I. to Ritti-Marduk for his services against Elam. This faithful vassal had been governor of a district on the borders of Elam, but the privileges of his country had been much curtailed by a neighboring King of Namar. They were now restored and apparently augmented. They were, that the King of Namar had no right of entry, could not levy taxes on horses, oxen, or sheep, nor take dues from gardens and date-plantations; could not make bridges nor open roads. The Babylonians, or men of Nippur, who came to live there were not to be impressed for the Babylonian army. Further, the towns of the district were freed from dues to the Babylonian governors. Marduk-nâdin-aḫi in his first year remitted some obligations on an unknown estate.

Temple endowments

Of another kind are the monuments recording the actual endowments of temples by certain kings. A very fine example is the stone enclosed in a clay coffer referring to the endowments of the temple of Shamash at Sippara. It records the restorations made by Simmash-shiḫu, É-ulmash-shâ-kin-shum, Nabû-aplu-iddina, and Nabopolassar at wide intervals. There are, however, no lands concerned.

An illustration

A very archaic tablet in the E. A. Hoffman Collection, the General Theological Seminary, New York City, published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, which seems to be older than the celebrated Blau monuments and which Professor G. A. Barton would date about 5500 b.c., deals directly with a presentation of land to a temple. In it the area of the land is given in *GAN* and the sides in figures only, probably denoting the lengths in *U*. Being written in very archaic, semi-picture writing, and some of the signs not yet being identified with certainty, it will not do to build much upon it. All the sides but one appear to be thirty-six thousand and fifty, that one being thirty-six thousand, while the full area is three thousand and five *GAN*. This gives the *GAR* as roughly = fifteen *U*.

The metayer system

Land was let under a variety of systems of tenure. The metayer system was one of the most common and persistent. The use of this term is justified by the similarity of actual cases to what is known to prevail in Italy, under this name. It is a co-operative system. The landlord not only

allows his land to be cultivated for a consideration, but finds the means to meet expenses. He provides bullocks, tools, seed, and many other things, according to the usage of the locality.

Illustrations from the Code

In the Code of Ḥammurabi we have proof of the existence of the system. A man finds his tenant tools, oxen, and harness, but hires him to reside on the field and do the work. Actual examples are rare among the contemporary contracts. But Amat-Shamash, a votary, let out,

"Six oxen, among them two cows; an irrigator, Amêl-Adadi; two tenders of an ox-watering machine, his nephews; three watering-machines for oxen; a female servant who tended the machines; half a *GAN* of land for corn-growing; to Gimillu and Ilushu-banî. They shall make the yield of the field according to the average (?). They shall cause the corn to grow and measure it out to Amat-Shamash, daughter of Marduk-mushallim. In the time of harvest they shall measure out the corn to Amat-Shamash."

In spite of several obscurities due to uncertain readings, which render the translation doubtful in places, this must be regarded as a good example of the kind.

From the Assyrian period

There are fewer data from the Assyrian period, but the frequent loans, *ana pûḫi*, without any interest, at seed-time or harvest, may be due to this relation between landlord and tenant.

From the Persian period

The best example is to be found in the time of Cyrus, where a certain Shulâ proposes to take the fields of Shamash, in the district of Birili, in the county of Sippara. It was sixty *GUR* of corn-land. The temple was to find him twelve oxen, eight laborers (literally irrigators), three iron ploughs, four harrows (or hoes), and five measures of seed-corn, which also included food for the laborers and fodder for the oxen. At the end of the year he was to hand over three hundred *GUR* of corn as the temple share.

Another good example from the time of Artaxerxes I. relates to the assignment of two trained irrigation-oxen and seven *GUR* of corn for seed by a member of the Murashû firm to three brothers, who undertake to pay seventy-five *GUR* of corn *per annum* for three years. It does not appear that they hired the land as well. Here the hirer returns more than ten times his loan as yearly rent.

The system of shares

The usual method of hiring land was on shares. The Code contemplates that this would be for a proportion fixed by contract, either one-half or one-third of the produce going to the owner, in the case of a field or irrigated meadow and two-thirds in the case of a garden. The difference was due to the fact that in the former case the owner furnished the land only, possibly with its water-supply; in the latter case he also furnished the plants. In the contemporary contracts we have but few cases where the crop is shared. In these cases the owner and tenant share equally. The tenant was also to erect a *manaḫtu*, or "dwelling." It was needful that he should reside on the property to take care of the crop. This was stipulated for and the clause added that he should hand over the dwelling to the landlord. For such dwellings compare the "cottage in the wilderness" of Isaiah 1. 8.

Duties of tenants

The tenant, of course, was bound to cultivate the land. The duties which fell to his share were "to plough, harrow, weed, irrigate, drive off birds," but these duties are but rarely stipulated. The Code protects the tenant, however, from any unfair compulsion in the matter, so long as the landlord gets his fair rent.

Fixed rental

Fields were also let at a fixed rent, usually payable in kind. The contracts of the First Dynasty of Babylon give a large number of examples of this sort. The kinds of field are distinguished as *AB-SIN*, or *šerû*, and *KI-DAN*. The average rent for the former was eight *GUR* of corn per *GAN*; of the latter, eighteen *GUR* per *GAN*. The former class may include land with corn standing upon it, or simply corn-land; the latter land as yet unbroken, or fallow. The latter class seems to have been much more fertile.

This rent later became more fixed because the average yield per area was set down in the lease and the yield in corn was estimated in money according to the ordinary value of corn. Thus the rent is stated to be so much money.

Improving lease

Land was often let to reclaim, or plant. The Code lays down as law what was evidently a common practice. In the case of waste land given to be reclaimed the tenant was rent free for three whole years. In the fourth year he paid a fixed rent in corn, ten *GUR* per *GAN*. Land let to be turned into a garden was rent free for four years. In the fifth year the tenant shared the produce equally with the landlord.

Contracts illustrating this form of lease are quite common in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Manorial obligations

Freedom from various obligations might be granted by royal charter. In fact, it is from these charters that we know of the existence of the obligations for the most part. The land so freed was called *zakû*. Land sold is often said to be *zakû*, and we may suppose it was so because it had once been freed by charter. But this is not quite certain. The charter was granted to a person and his heirs. Doubtless, as long as they held it, it would be free, but it is not clear that they could sell it as freed forever. But we only know that some land was free. On whom then fell the obligations? So far as they were due to the king, they may have been abolished, but such obligations as repairs of the canal banks must surely have been taken up by others. If not, the granting of charters must have been a fruitful source of trouble and distress to the land.

Their basis in the obligation of fair maintenance

The obligations were of various kinds. Some were directly extensions of the duty of a tenant to exercise proper care of the estate. A very prominent duty was the care of the canals. To see that they were kept in proper order was the mark of good government. To allow them to fall into disrepair was probably the result of weak government, or the exhaustion due to defeat in war. But it very soon led to the impoverishment of the country. The Code contemplates the care of the canal banks, or dikes, as the duty of the land-owner adjoining. It holds him responsible for any damage done to the neighbors' crops by his neglect to close a breach, or leaving the feed-pipe running beyond the time needed to water his field. But the canal was also liable to silt up or become choked with water-weeds, and the care of dredging it out was that of the district governor. He might carry out this duty by summoning the riparian owners to clean out the bed of the canal, or by a levy for the purpose. Soldiers, or at any rate, forced labor, might be used. Later, in the time of Nebuchadrezzar I., we find men, hired for the purpose, called *ḳallê nâri*, or canal laborers.

XIX. THE ARMY, CORVÉE, AND OTHER CLAIMS FOR PERSONAL SERVICE

The levy

There was always a militia, *Landwehr*, or territorial levy of troops. Each district had to furnish its quota. These are called *ṣâbê*, or *ummanâte*. We have no direct statements about them, but a great multitude of references. They were called out by the king, *adki ummanâtîa*, "I called out my troops," is a stock phrase. The calling out was the *dikûtu*. Not easily to be distinguished from this was the *šisîtu* of the *nâgiru*. That officer seems to have been an incarnate War Office. It is not clear whether he always acted solely for military purposes. The "levy" seems to have been equally made for public works. The men were "the king's men," whether they fought or built. The obligation to serve seems to have chiefly affected the slaves and the poorer men, the *muškênu*. In the Code of Ḥammurabi it was punishable with death to harbor a defaulter from this "levy."

Forced labor

Claims might also be made for work on the fields. This was called *ḫubšu* and we know little about it more than that Sargon II. charged his immediate predecessors on the throne with having outraged the privileges of the citizens of the old capital Asshur, by putting them to work on the fields.

The obligation to provide a soldier for the state was tied to a definite plot, or at any rate, to all estates of a certain size. The *ilku*, or obligation of the land, was transferred with it. In Assyrian times, the military unit was the bowman and his accompanying pikeman and shield-bearer. The land which was responsible for furnishing a "bow," *ḳaštu*, in this fashion, was itself called a "bow" of land.

Exemption of certain cities

Some cities claimed for their citizens a right of exemption from "the levy." In Sargon's time, we find that cities like Asshur had been subjected by Shalmaneser IV. to this service, and Sargon restored their rights. He freed them from *dikûtu mâti*, *šisîtu nagiri*, and *miksu kâri*. The city had not known the *ilku dupsikku*. Later, we find an officer, Tâb-ṣil-ešarra, complaining that, when he was desirous of doing some repairs to the queen's palace in Asshur, of which city he was *šaknu*, Sargon's freeing of the city had rendered the *ilku* of the city unavailable to him.

In the so-called “Tablet of warnings to kings against injustice,” the cities of Borsippa, Nippur, and Babylon are freed from *dupsikku* and *šisîtu nâgiri*. This was drawn up in the time of Ashurbânipal, but whether it was original with him is not clear. At any rate, later, under Cambyses and Darius, these cities were again subject to the “levy.”

Classes subject to the levy

This obligation to perform forced labor, or serve in the army, fell on the agricultural population primarily. Indeed, it seems that the men who discharged it might be called upon to do field labor, and it was an aggravation of the insults put upon the old capital Asshur, that its citizens were set to do field labor. On all country estates, there were a number of serfs, *glebae adscripti*, sold with the estate, but not away from it. These, as the Ḥarran census shows, often had land of their own. But they were bound to till the soil for the owner. They included the *irrišu*, or

Service at the royal weaving establishments

irrigator, the husbandman in charge of date-plantations, gardens, or vineyards. From these were drawn the men who served in the army as “king’s men,” and on public works. They seem to have been liable to five or six terms of service, season’s work probably, or campaigns, and then were free. At any rate, the heads of families seem to be free. The daughters as well as sons were subject to service, probably to repair to the great weaving houses in the towns. We read of these weaving establishments from early times. M. Thureau-Dangin has called attention to their occurrence in the Telloh tablets of the Second Dynasty of Ur.

The amounts of wool assigned to different cities to work up are the subject of many tablets. In the great cities, the temples or the palaces were the home of this industry; but quantities of stuff were served out under bond to private establishments to be worked up and returned or paid for. The work on these industries constituted the *amat šarrûti*, or obligation to serve as “king’s handmaid.” It lay also upon slaves. It is doubtful whether the obligation included domestic service. From the second Babylonian Empire we have a host of tablets relating to these weaving accounts. They will be found fully discussed by Dr. Zehnpfund in his *Weberrechnungen*.

Obligations of slave to the state

The married slave, even in the city, usually lived in his own house. His children were born to slavery, but were usually not separated in early life from their parents. They entered their master’s service, and might be sold when grown up. They might learn a trade and so earn a living, paying a fixed sum to their master. They might become agricultural

laborers, and so attain a fixity of tenure as serfs. But on all these subject classes, slaves, whether domestic or living out, serfs, and artisans, there lay the obligation to do forced work for the king. After a certain number of terms of service, they were exempt.

Public obligations

The obligations to public institutions which existed in Babylonia in later times have not yet been made the subject of a thorough study. Kohler and Peiser have noted several of the more important indications, and to them we owe what has been done up to the present.

To take a share in the expense of warfare

The most noteworthy obligation was what they call the *ḳablu*. This has the same sign as so commonly used in the phrase, *ḳablu u taḫâzu*, for "war and fighting." But it is also the ideogram for *šisîtu*, the call of the *nâgiru* to war or the corvée. There is no doubt that it indicates the levy for war. The *rikis ḳabli* was the money due from certain persons to furnish a soldier for the war. Thus we have seventy shekels paid to a certain man, in the fifth year of Darius, to go to the city Shiladu. Again, a certain Bêl-iddin had to find twenty-five shekels to pay a substitute to go for him to the presence of the king. Another man paid the wages of a soldier for two years. This was an *æs militare*. In another case we find the *rikis ḳabli* for a horseman for a certain troop, for three years. It consisted of an ass worth fifty shekels, thirty-six shekels for its keep, twelve coats, twelve breastplates (?), twelve *mušapallatum*, twelve leather *mîṭu*, twenty-four shoes, thirty *ḲA* of oil, sixty *ḲA* of bdellium sixty *ḲA* of some aromatic, all as equipment, *ṣiditum*, to go to the camp (?). This may be described as *æs equestre*. So the burgomaster of Babylon paid *rikis ḳabli* for three years for a certain soldier, receiving the amount from single citizens. How this arose, what dues it was a composition for, and whether it antedates Persian times, are details not yet clear.

To pay dues for the land

Besides the personal obligation to contribute "work," *dullu*, a liability for contributions in kind, *ilku*, dues from the land, existed. We are in the dark as yet as to the exact form these took. In the Code, the *ilku*, or duty from an estate held as the benefice of an office, was the fulfilment of the functions of the office. The word does not seem to denote contributions. But the word literally is what "comes" of any holding, income, or what is "taken" from it. In a charter of Melišhiḫu, we have a long list of powers which could be exercised by the king's officials over land. They are levies or forced contributions of wood, crops, straw, corn, wagons,

harness, asses or men, rights to abstract water from canals, to drink from the water, to pasture herbage, or set on the royal flocks or herds, to pasture sheep, to construct roads or bridges. These are referred to as either a *dullu* or *ilku*. The governor is named as likely to demand right of pasture for his flocks and herds or work for roads and bridges. But we are left without information as to the proportion these levies bore to the property. All we can conclude is that the king had a right to impress such things or such labor. Few, if any, other documents are so full and explicit as to the dues exacted from the land, but all these dues are mentioned again, one or two together, in almost all the charters.

The temple tithe

This is one of the most important dues from land. It was paid to the temple. Some are inclined to see it in the *niširtu*, from which many charters exempt land; but others consider this merely a word for "diminution," or levy in general. There is no means of deciding yet as to the time at which the tithe first became a fixed institution.

In Assyria

There seems to be no trace in Assyrian times of any payment of a tithe. The tithe *rab ešrite*, which has been rendered "tithe collector," is more likely to be a commander of ten, a decurion.

Common among Neo-Babylonians

The evidence for the existence of tithe in the later Babylonian period is very full. All seem to have paid it, from the king downward. Nabonidus paid, on his accession, to the temple at Sippara, five minas of gold. It was a very large sum, but may have been a sort of succession duty rather than an income-tax. It is curious that we also find Belshazzar named as paying tithe, due from his sister, and that when the Persian army was already in possession of Sippara. This shows that the Persians were friendly invaders and respected the rights of private property and of the temples. Belshazzar also paid tithe, through his major-domo, to Bêl, Nabû, Nêrgal, and Bêlit of Erech.

Often paid collectively

It was paid for a group of persons by one of their company, or perhaps we might say that certain persons collected tithe from their district and paid it in. Thus we have a document recording the payment by one man of the tithe due from a number of shepherds, cultivators, and gardeners, in the city of Maḫâz-Shamshi. In the time of Artaxerxes I., Hilprecht has shown that in some cases "the bow" of land also paid tithe.

Usually in kind

Tithe was usually paid in kind, on all natural products, corn, oil, sesame, dates, flour or meal, oxen, sheep, asses, and the like, but also was liquidated by a money payment. The tablets relating to it are very numerous, but in nearly every case amount to no more than a receipt for its payment.

Tithe became property apparently and was negotiable. So at least appears from Nebuchadrezzar 270. We thus have property in income from land.

Octroi duties

The various dues, *miksu*, seem to have been a sort of octroi duty. They were levied at the quay, *miksu kâri*, at the ferry, *miksu nibiri*. They are only mentioned in the charters, granting exemptions from them, to certain estates or their owners. Closely related to these were the *mikkasu*, which seem to be some sort of due or tax levied upon all *naturalia*, and even upon the dues which were paid into the temples. We have frequent mention of them in later times, in the temple accounts.

XX. THE FUNCTIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE TEMPLE

The great importance of the temple

The temple exerted an overwhelming financial influence in smaller towns. Only in certain large cities was it rivalled by a few great firms. Its financial status was that of the chief, if not the only, great capitalist. Its political influence was also great. This was largely enlisted on the side of peace at home and stability in business.

Varieties and origin of temple dues

The importance of the temple was partially the result of the large dues paid to it. These consisted primarily of a *ginû*, or fixed customary daily payment, and a *sattukku*, or fixed monthly payment. How these arose is still obscure. They were paid in all sorts of natural products, paid in kind, measured by the temple surveyor on the field. Doubtless, these were due from temple lands, and grew out of the endowments given to the temple. These often consisted of land, held in perpetuity by a family, charged with a payment to the temple. The land could not be let or sold by the temple, nor by the family. Such land was usually freed from all other state dues. The endowment was thus at the expense of the state. An enormous number of the tablets which have reached us from the later Babylonian times concern the payment of these dues. They mostly consisted of corn and sesame, or other offerings, and the tablets are receipts for them. In Assyrian times the *ginû* also included flesh of animals and birds. In some few cases we have long lists of these daily dues, accompanied by precious gifts in addition. The gifts were perishable, but were accompanied by a note specifying them, and the good wishes or purpose of the donor. These notes were preserved as mementos of the donor's good-will.

The temples as owners of rented land

Temples, however, also possessed lands which they could let. They also held houses which they might let. In fact, the temples could hold any sort of property, but apparently could not alienate any. Some lands the temple officials administered themselves, having their own work-people. We have mention of these lands from the earliest times (*e.g.*, the very early tablet referred to above), right down through the Sumerian period. We have almost endless temple accounts, many of which relate to the fields of the temple, giving their dimensions and situation, with the names of the tenants, or serfs, and the rents or crops expected of them.

Then, in the First Dynasty of Babylon, we find the lands, gardens, courts, *et cetera*, of the gods named. We no longer have the temple accounts, but the private business transactions of the citizens, whose neighbors are often the gods themselves, as direct land-owners. In Assyrian times the mention of temple lands is very common. In later Babylonian times there is abundant evidence of the same custom. Dr. Peiser devotes a considerable portion of the introduction to his *Babylonische Verträge* to this subject. How the temple became possessed of these lands we do not know. We do know of large gifts of land by kings, rich land-owners and the like, but we do not know whether originally the temple started with land. When a king speaks of building a temple to a god, we may understand that he really rebuilt it, or erected a new temple on the site. Before kings, the *patêsis* did the same. But did a *patêsi* precede a temple or *vice versâ*? and did the first founder, or the town, grant the first temple lands?

Their income from private sources

The temples had further a variable revenue from private sources. There were many gifts and presents given voluntarily, often as thank-offerings. The temple accounts give extensive lists of these from the earliest times to the latest. They were of all sorts, most often food or money. But they were often accompanied by some permanent record, a tablet, vase, stone or metal vessel, inscribed with a votive inscription. These form our only materials for history in long spaces of time.

Share of the temple in the sacrifices

Sacrifices were, of course, largely consumed by the offerers and those invited to share the feast. But the temple took its share. The share was a fixed or customary right to certain parts. For one example, the temple of Shamash at Sippara had its fixed share of the sacrifice, taking “the loins, the hide, the rump, the tendons, half the abdominal viscera and half the thoracic viscera, two legs, and a pot of broth.” The usage was not the same at all temples. In the temple of Ashur and Bêlit at Nineveh we have a different list. For the parallels with Mosaic ritual, and the Marseilles sacrificial tablet, see Dr. J. Jeremias, *Die Cultus Tafel von Sippar*. The list was drawn up by Nabû-aplu-iddin, King of Babylon b.c. 884-860.

Sometimes sold for cash

This was of course a variable source of income, depending upon the popularity of the cult and the population of the district. It was also perishable and could not be stored. It is certain that in some cases this source of income was so large that the temple sold its share for cash.

This must be carefully distinguished from the *ginû* and *sattukku* mentioned on page 208, which were constant and regular supplies.

The temple as a business institution

The temple was also a commercial institution of high efficiency. Their accumulations of all sorts of raw products were enormous. The temple let out or advanced all kinds of raw material, usually on easy terms. To the poor, as a charity, advances were made in times of scarcity or personal want, to their tenants as part of the metayer system of tenure, to slaves who lived outside its precincts, and to contractors who took the material on purely commercial terms. The return was expected in kind, to the full amount of advance, or with stipulated interest. Also in some cases, especially wool and other clothing stuffs, in made-up material. Definite fabrics, mostly garments and rugs or hangings, were expected back. Some quantity was needed for garments and vestments for temple officials, some for the gods. But a great deal was used for trade. We have references to temple treasuries and storehouses from the earliest times to the latest.

The temple as a place of deposit and traffic

The temples did a certain amount of banking business. By this we mean that they held money on deposit against the call of the depositor. Whether they charged for safekeeping or remunerated themselves by investing the bulk of their capital, reserving a balance to meet calls, does not yet appear. But the relatively large proportion of loans, where the god is said to be owner of the money, points to investment as the source of a considerable income. Here a careful distinction must be made between the loans without interest, or with interest only charged in default of payment to time, and those where interest is charged at once. The latter are banking business, the former were probably only the landlord's bounden duty to his tenant by the custom of his tenure. The temples also bought and sold for profit.

The temple staff

The greater officials, of course, appear often at court. The king was accompanied by a staff of priestly personages. They frequently appear in the inscriptions and on the monuments. His court reproduced that of the gods above. The officials in one answered, man for man and office for office, with those above.

The priestly influence over the king

The king, by his religion, could do nothing without religious sanction. The support of the priestly party was essential. In the more unsettled times they were to a great extent king-makers. To estrange the priests

was a dangerous policy always. Besides their immense wealth they had the sanctions of religion on their side. To all men certain things were right, and the priests then had what right there was on their side. A king was under obligation to come to Babylon to take the hands of Bêl-Merodach each New Year's Day. If he did not, he not only offended the priests, but also committed a wrong in the eyes of his people.

Their influence on the whole predominantly ethical

But the kings were often inclined to rely upon conjurers, soothsayers, magicians, and the like. It would be a fatal mistake to confuse these with the priests. The best kings were those who set their face against magic and supported the more rational local or national worships. Sargon II., Esarhaddon, Nebuchadrezzar II., are examples of the latter, while Ashurbânipal is a great example of the magic-ridden kings. Ḥammurabi apparently strove to put down magic. The eternal struggle between the "science" (falsely so-called) of magic and divination on the one hand and the higher claims of religious duty on the other, is the key to much that is misunderstood in the politics of the time. It would be too much to say that the priestly party were always on the side of morality, or that they were not often allied with the soothsayers, but it is certain that what ethical progress there was, was due to them. In religious texts alone have we aspiration after higher ideals. Who can fancy a wizard troubled about ethics?

Honors paid to priesthood

The priest proper, *šangû*, was a person of the highest rank. He appears very little on the whole. His chief function was to act as mediator between god and man, as over the sacrifice offered.

Additional duties

He had public duties outside his priestly office. He inspected canals. He often acted as a judge.

Their college

There was a college of priests attached to some temples, over which was a *šangû maḫḫu* or "high-priest."

Their exact functions uncertain

The general idea that *mašmašu*, "charmer"; *kalû*, "restrainer"; (?) *maḫḫû*, "soothsayer"; *surru*; *lagaru*; *šâ'ilu*, "inquirer"; *mušêlu*, "necromancer"; *âšipu*, "sorcerer"; all properly "magicians," are subdivisions of the general term *šangû*, is yet to be proved. Except when, in rare cases, the same man was both, the scribes carefully distinguish them. The idea seems to arise from the same modern confusion of thought which starts by calling an unknown official first a eunuch, then a

priest. We do not yet fully know the functions or methods of these officials. They remain to be studied.

The warden

The *ḳêpu*, or "warden," was over the temple servants. He let the temple lands. He inspected the temple slaves and work-people.

The steward

The *šatammu* was over the revenues. This name is clearly connected with the *šutummu* or storehouse.

Certain officials, as surveyors or measurers, scribes, *et cetera*, may have been of priestly rank and held these offices as well. But as a rule, a man appears with an official title, without our being able to see whether he was a priest or not.

The workmen

The temple kept its artificers, who had board and wages. It had its serfs, or land laborers, not actual slaves, but free except for their duty to the temple. They lived on the produce of their holdings, subject to a fixed, or produce-rent.

There were temple slaves, who performed the menial offices without wages, but were clothed and fed.

Within these classes doubtless came some of those who appear as slaughterers, water-carriers, doorkeepers, bakers, weavers, and the like. A temple also had its shepherds, cultivators, irrigators, gardeners, *et cetera*; but it is far from easy to determine the exact degree of dependence in each case.

The temple even had its own doctor.

Similarity of the temple to the monastic system

In all these cases we may compare the monastic institutions of the Middle Ages. We are not as a rule able to see whether they were "lay brothers," or had become "clerics," as well as "clerks." But there is no sign of celibacy. Even the priests were married.

Attached to the temple were votaries. In not a few cases the above offices might also be held by women, even such an office as surveyor might be held by a woman. There were many female "clerks." All the temple staff were maintained by the temple, boarded, fed, and clothed, at the temple expense. But private persons might undertake to keep a definite temple official, perhaps were bound to do so, by the terms of some endowment.

Hereditary rights

The right to serve in certain offices was hereditary in some families. As these multiplied, the office was held in turn by members of the family

for a short time, so that it may well be that an individual priest only exercised his functions for a very limited part of the year.

Origin of clan names

Great families took their clan name from their office; for example, the Gula priests in later Babylonian times, or as the *mandidu*, "measurer," or "surveyor," attached to a temple, became a clan name.

Proprietary rights to share in temple incomes

Hence arose property in temple incomes. That these were considerable we know from the lists of temple accounts. These form the bulk of the earliest documents. From them we learn that each day certain officials received certain allowances, mostly food and drink. From later documents we learn that men apparently not connected with the temple had become lay impropriators of the temple allowances originally intended only for temple officers.

These rights negotiable

The right to receive these was a valuable and negotiable asset. Thus we read of a right to five days per year in the temple of Nannar, sixteen days per year in the temple of Bêlit, and eight days in the shrine of Gula as being the *namḫar* of Sin-imgurâni and Sin-uzili. This was confirmed to them by a legal decision in the time of Rîm-Sin. We read also of a right to act as *šatammu*, for six days per month, in the temple of Shamash. In later times the *mandidûtu*, or surveyorship, to the temple of Anu, Ib, and Bêlit-êkalli, exercised in the temple, storehouse, and field, was sold, shared, and pledged. Another such right was given on condition that it was not sold for money, granted to another, pledged, nor diminished in any way, and should pass to the possessor's daughter on his death. The porter's post at Bâb Salimu was given as a pledge. Shares in these incomes were regularly traded in, sold, and pledged.

Other endowments of office

The position of a priest, or other official, carried with it an endowment. On this point the Code is very explicit for the cases of the *ridû ṣâbê* and the *bâ'iru*, officials charged with the collection of local quotas for the army and public works. They were recruiting sergeants, press-gang officers, and post-office officials. The office was endowed by royal grant. They were liable to be called on in the discharge of their duties to make lengthy journeys and be absent from home for a length of time, even years. In their absence, their duties could be delegated to a son, if old enough, otherwise a substitute was put in. They could claim

reinstatement within a certain time. But their endowment was inalienable from the office and could not be treated as private property.

Also the great offices at court

Quite similarly the great state officials in Assyria had endowments which were not personal, but went with the office. Thus we learn from the Ḥarran census that certain lands paid rent or crops to certain offices.

These rights maintained by inheritance

In later times the rights to income are very prominent, perhaps solely in virtue of the class of documents which has reached us. Occasionally we are able to learn exactly what they were. For example, the surveyor for the temple of Anu had a right to two *GUR* of corn, two *GUR* of dates, fifty *ḲA* of wheat, six *ḲA* of sesame, on every eighteen *ḲA* of land. When the corn and dates were harvested, on one *GUR*, six *ḲA* were levied.

The relation to the state

It is not clear that a temple had any direct duties to the state. Peiser thinks that they collected dues for the state. Certainly they had attached to them the king's storehouses. Certain amounts were paid in for certain state officials. In the Code of Ḥammurabi we see that a temple might be called upon to ransom a member of the town who had been taken captive.

The loaning of money

In certain circumstances the king's officials might borrow of the temples. Thus Nikkal-iddina borrowed of the temple of Bêlit of Akkad a vessel of silver, weight fifteen minas, when the Elamites invaded the land.

Forced loans

Some kings laid hands on the treasures of the temple for their own use. Doubtless this was done under bond to repay. The cases in which we read of such practices are always represented as a wrong. When Shamash-shûm-ukîn sent the bribes to the King of Elam, Ummanigash, he spoiled the treasuries of Merodach at Babylon, of Nabû at Borsippa, and of Nêrgal at Cutha, and this was reckoned one of his evil deeds, which led to his downfall. But if he had been successful and had repaid his forced loans, doubtless it would have been excused, and his memory would have been blessed.

The temple a trading institution

Much confusion is introduced by the fact that we do not know when a temple official acts in his own private capacity and when on behalf of the temple. The deeds, which do not expressly state that the money or

property belongs to the god, or the temple, may often be only concerned with private transactions, but were preserved in the temple archives on account of the official position of the parties. But there are plenty of cases, where no doubt exists, to justify us in regarding the temple as acting in all the capacities of a private individual, or a firm of traders.

XXI. DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS

Alienation of property

Alienation of property might be complete or partial. Of complete alienation we may instance donation, sale, exchange, dedication, testament. The latter was rarely complete in Babylonia. Examples of partial alienation are loan, lease, pledge, deposit.

Importance of the fact of ownership

We may note as a common mark of all these transactions the care taken to fix and define ownership. The transfer is "from" A to B. In early times the property is usually first stated to belong to A. Then he is often said in Assyrian times to be the *bêlu* of it, its full and legitimate owner. The new owner had to be satisfied that A was competent to part with it. This is often made clearer by saying, in later times, that no one else has any claim upon it. Hence arise guarantees against defeasor, redemptor, *et cetera*. This subject of guarantees is most interesting, though often obscure. The investigation of the varied rights which were likely to interfere with freedom of transfer is most important.

Peculiar forms of assignments

In certain cases we shall find a sort of hypothecation of property, as when it is assigned as security, but not given up. The possession is not free, but it is not alienated. We have also a *donatio retento usufructu*, which only gives a reversion of the property. Here also certain rights may be reserved against the ultimate possessor.

Another interesting point is that property may be credited to a man, and set off against other liabilities, so that he may never actually be in possession, but only nominally passing it on to others, and even, eventually, it may come back to the first owner, who may never part with it at all.

Restrictions on free gifts

Undoubtedly men were at liberty in daily life to make presents one to another. But the rights of the family were so strong that for the most part all the property of the parents was jealously regarded as tied to the children, or other legal heirs. When a man died, his property was divided according to a rigid law of inheritance. When a woman left her father's house to be married, the father gave her the share of his goods which fell to her, without waiting until his death to divide his substance. In this case she had nothing further at his death. But the property was not her husband's, though he and she shared its use; it was entailed to her

children. If she had none, it went back to her father's house: to her brothers, if she had any, or to her father's other heirs. Unless a man legally adopted his natural sons, they did not inherit. Hence neither man nor woman was wholly free to give. But, hedged about with consents and reservations, donations took place.

The conditions of any gift

We have a great variety of types of donation, not always easy to classify, and often obscure, in some details. The common characteristics are that deeds of gift were duly executed, sealed, and witnessed; and that the consents of the parties, whose expectations were thus diminished, or restricted, had to be obtained.

Establishment of a daughter who became a votary

A daughter might be portioned off for marriage and this involved a gift, which might be treated as a donation, but rather comes under the head of marriage-portion, in the chapter on marriage. Precisely the same portioning took place when the daughter either became a votary or was dedicated to the service of a god. Such gifts may be included here. They usually contain a list of property: sharing houses, land, slaves, jewels, money, clothes, household furniture, even pots of honey or jars of wine. As a rule, in our present state of knowledge, nothing that could pretend to be an accurate translation can be given of the items of such a gift, only a general idea of the nature of the whole. Such a gift, however, evidently set the lady up in an establishment of her own, with all she could require for maintenance and comfort for the rest of her life.

Rights in a gift made by a votary

Here these donations split up into separate classes. The recipient might have only a life interest in her gift, or it might be hers outright. The latter case could not be presumed. The heirs of her parents, "her father's house," would maintain their claim at her death, unless they had specially contracted to waive it. Then the clause was inserted that she might "give her sonship to whomever she pleased," *ašar eliša tâbum aplûtsa inadin*. By "sonship" is meant "heirship." Such cases do not seem common and are probably to be explained as due to the fact that as a votary she had no legitimate heir. It is important to note that there is no hint that, if she died without heirs, the temple would inherit.

Gifts made by a father to a daughter

A modified freedom is allowed by a father who gives his daughter house, land, sheep, slaves, and the like, but limits her power of gift to her brothers. But among them she may "give it to him who loves and serves her." It is assumed that one of her brothers will care for her and manage

her estate and be rewarded by the reversion of it. As a rule, it is only a life interest which the recipient has.

A different sort of gift is where the donor reserves to himself a use of the property as long as he lives, or stipulates for a life allowance from it. These are usually accompanied by formal adoption. The recipient is one who has not already a claim to inherit, but undertakes the care or maintenance of the donor. Such gifts are best classed under adoption, even where the fact of adoption is not stated. When a parent makes an arrangement of this kind with a son or daughter, these were possibly adopted by a previous act. At any rate, it seems likely that such a child was either unmarried or again free to wait upon the donor. But whatever the actual state of relationships, we find a mother giving property to a daughter, reserving the use of it as long as she lives. Similarly a brother undertakes to give one shekel *per annum* to his brother. Here the grounds of the undertaking are not stated, but a contract to do this is duly sealed and witnessed. Further, maintenance is stipulated for, though the relationship is not stated, nor grounds given. This may not be based upon a gift, but follow the order of some judge, for other reasons.

Pin-money for a wife

The husband might settle upon his wife a fixed amount of property. This was frequently done and was called the *nudunnu*. It might include a house, two maids, clothes, jewelry, and household furniture. Here the sons are expressly said to have no claim, she may give it to whoever serves her and "as her heart desires." Probably she was a second wife without children, and is thus secured a life of comfort and the faithful service of her step-sons. As a rule these gifts are best considered under the head of marriage, but they were also free gifts on the donor's part. The wife in any case had her right to inherit with her step-sons, if her husband made no such settlement.

Consent of heirs to the disposal of property

The consent of the legal heirs of the donor to such alienation of their reversionary rights was needed. Thus in one case, when a man gives his daughter a house, his son appears as the first witness. A father and his son give their daughter and sister a house, which she is free to give to her son, "whom she loves." Had the house merely come to her as her share in the usual way, it must have been shared by her sons. If she had none, then her brother would be the next heir. That she can leave it as she will must be a matter of legal instrument. The brother must consent to the exception to the rule.

Donation in Assyria

In Assyrian times, donation is rarely represented within the group of documents which have reached us. Here is one case:

The household which Bêl-nâ'id gave to his daughter, Baltêa-abate. A house in Nineveh, before the great gate of the temple of Shamash. (Then come the servants, a *šaḳu* or head man, a washerman, a *šaknu*, and others, male and female, in all eleven souls.) Dated the fourteenth of Adar, in the Eponymy of Marduk-shar-uṣur. Nine witnesses.

This may be donation, or adoption, or even a marriage-portion.

At all times, a difficulty arises from the phraseology of the deeds of gift. When we are told that "A has given B such and such things," we do not know the ground of the gift. "To give for money," *nadânu ana kaspi*, is the usual expression for "to sell." In the older documents *šarâḳu*, "to present," often occurs, but has in most cases the derived technical sense "to dower," or "give a marriage-portion." Hence, we are not able to judge whether what appears as "gift" may not really be "a sale," or some payment meant to complete the portioning off of a daughter, on marriage or taking vows.

In the Second Babylonian Empire

There are, however, a large number of deeds of gift which have reached us from the Second Babylonian Empire. The characteristic formula may be taken to be *ina ḫûd libbišu iknukma pâni ušadgil*, "in the joy of his heart (*i.e.*, of his own free will, implying that no consideration was taken *per contra*) he has sealed and placed at the disposal of." As a rule, we may suspect these to be "gifts" to which the recipient had a right. Thus, mother to son, brother to sister, man to wife and daughter, mother to daughter, are not free from suspicion. But when a man gives maintenance to wife and son, brother gives dower to sister, father-in-law gives son-in-law arrears of his daughter's dower, and wherever there is a hint that the "gift" was a *nudunnû*, or a *šeriḳtu*, we may regard the case as not properly "donation," but "dower."

An example

The following example shows the limitations on free gift that still remained in later times. Zêrûtu had married and had a son, Shâpik-zêri. Then he had an intrigue with Nasikâtum, daughter of the Sealand scribe, who bore him a son, Balâṭu. He gave Balâṭu a house, but did not adopt him. After Zêrûtu died, Shâpik-zêri demanded the house as his father's heir. The judges gave it to him and also the deed of gift.

Dedications

The dedication of land to a temple or of a child to the service of a god may be considered as examples of free gift; but they are of a nature

deserving separate consideration. We have already noticed some cases of such donations by the kings. We know from the Code that a father might dedicate a child as a votary, and he might portion that child; but this did not bring a free gift to the temple, for the family had the reversion of the votary's property.

As a further example of dedication by a private owner, we may take the following:

To the chief priest of a temple

As temple of the god Lugalla (the king) and his consort Shullat, Nûr-ilishu, son of Bêl-nada, has dedicated to his god one *SAR* of improved land, for his life (salvation), has devoted it to his god. Pî-sha-Shamash shall be the priest of the temple. Nûr-ilishu shall lay no claim to the priesthood. The curse of Shamash and of Sumulâ-ilu be on him who disputes the settlement. Seven witnesses.

This is total alienation. The donor is not making an indirect provision for himself, but waives all claims to be the chief priest of the temple.

Of children to Shamash

Here is an example of a dedication of children:

Tablet of Ishtar-ummi and Aḫatâni, daughters of Innabatum. Innabatum, daughter of Bur-Sin, has dedicated them to Shamash. As long as Innabatum lives, Ishtar-ummi and Aḫatâni shall support her, and after Innabatum, their mother [is dead], no one among her sons, their brothers, shall have any claim on them for anything whatever. They have sworn by Shamash, Malkat, Marduk, and Apil-Sin. Fifteen witnesses (of whom the first two are probably the brothers, the rest females, probably all votaries of Shamash and members of the convent.)

In another case, a mother dedicates her son to Shamash, with the stipulation that the son shall support her as long as she lives.

To secure divine favor

In Assyrian times we have an example of a dedication of a son to Ninip, by his mother, with consent of her brothers and their sons. A father also dedicates his son to Ninip for the well-being of Ashurbânipal, King of Assyria. This is interesting as showing that the dedicator acquired merit, which he could transfer to another. Both tablets are defective. In another case, Aḫi-dalli, the lady governor of one quarter of Nineveh, purchases a large estate and presents it to some god "for the health of the king." Votive tablets giving the presentation of various articles to some god are common enough at all periods.

Testaments or bequests

Testamentary devolution of property was not the rule in Assyria or Babylonia, where the law of inheritance was so firmly fixed that it would be naturally illegal. As a rule, children did not inherit under their fathers' will, but by right. However, the Code allows a father to give his married or vowed daughter power to leave her property as she will, and it is probable that he had the same power over at least some of his property. The very frequent cases of adoption, where the adopted child becomes heir, on condition of supporting the parent as long as he lives, and the cases of gift *retento usufructu*, are a sort of testamentary disposition of property.

This developed with time into something very like testament. But we always have to bear in mind that conditions may have been understood which are not actually expressed.

Later Babylonian examples

Some examples from later Babylonian times will serve to illustrate how near these transactions came to testament. A very interesting case is where a son, probably childless, if not unmarried, and perhaps not in good health, gives his father his property. The document is very involved, but the chief points are these: A married B and they had a daughter C, who married D. The son of C and D is the testator. He leaves to his father D all the property which he inherited from A and B, which they had left to their daughter's son. It consisted of a house, fields, and slaves. He leaves it to his father "forever," only he is to retain the enjoyment of it as long as he lives. He therefore expects his father to survive him.

Here is another interesting example:

The division which A made with his sons B and C. The benefice of dagger-bearer (official slaughterer) in the Ishḫara temple he assigns to B. The benefice of the shrine of Papsukal in the temple of Bêlit-shami-erṣiti, situated on the bank of the canal, and the sown corn-field on the Dubanîtu canal he gave to his younger son C. All his property out in business he assigned to his mother and his two sisters. Certain dates in the possession of two of his debtors he gave to his two sisters. A fugitive slave, not yet recovered, to his mother and sisters. The house, which by a former deed he had given to his mother and sisters, shall be theirs according to the former deed. As long as his mother lives, she shall enjoy the property formerly assigned her. The benefice of the dagger-bearership in the temple of Ishḫara, which he had formerly assigned to his mother, she has freely intrusted to his son B. As long as she lives, B and C shall live in the house with her. The income of his mother his sons

shall enjoy with her. She shall give marriage-portions to his sisters, her daughters, from her own marriage-portion.

This is very like a last will and testament. The man clearly expected to die shortly. He had married and had two sons, but seems to have lost his wife. He had evidently brought his mother and sisters to live with him. He provides for his sons, his mother, and sisters. Evidently his mother is the guardian of the boys. She is expected to leave the boys all the property that was his and to dower the sisters from her own fortune.

XXII. SALES

Their importance

Alienation of property in perpetuity was a matter for serious consideration, where all property was as much that of the family as of the individual. A change of ownership, particularly in the case of land or house, also directly concerned the neighbors. Hence the deeds of sale are imposing documents. Whether the object sold was a piece of land, a house, or a slave, the same general treatment was accorded to it.

The formal preliminaries

There were the same formalities as in all deeds. First the purchaser approached the vendor and there was an interchange of ideas, often through a third party, prolonged over a considerable space of time. When etiquette had been satisfied and all the preliminary haggling was over, the parties agreed upon a scribe, who was made acquainted with the terms of the sale, already verbally agreed upon, and he set down in the imperishable clay the legal instrument which should bind the parties to their contract forever.

The registration of titles

Undoubtedly both parties took a copy, and it seems clear that a third was deposited in the temple archives as a sort of registration of title. It seems probable that each party sealed the copy held by the other, but this surmise awaits confirmation. As a rule, the same seal seems to have been used for all copies, and the witnesses in early times also affixed their seals. A more exhaustive study must be made before this can be regarded as certain. Even where duplicates exist in our museums, it has been usual to publish only one.

The method of identifying the property transferred and the parties concerned

As a rule, the scribe followed a very definite plan. First he made clear the identity of the property. This was the specification. In the case of land, neighbors were set down, boundaries given, in some cases the size of the plot. In each sale the specification is very important. The personal identity of the parties was usually sufficiently fixed by appending to their names those of their fathers. In many cases, the office or rank held by a party is added. Occasionally the name of the grandfather, or clan-father is added. When either party was a stranger, his nationality, or city, or tribe, is given. As a rule, the same information is attached to the names of witnesses. These notes of personal identity are very valuable, for they

furnish means for reconstructing long genealogies, and they throw much light on the intercourse of varied peoples. Babylonia seems always to have had a very mixed population.

Means of protecting the buyer from fraud

Having made it impossible for any mistake to arise as to the property sold or the parties concerned, the scribe proceeded to guard against errors regarding the nature of the transaction. The house or other property "was sold," "the money paid," "in full," and so on. Then he sought to make it clear that there could be no withdrawal from the bargain, nor after-claims raised. There was danger that the family might put in a claim to the property. An illustration of this is a suit brought to reclaim a house sold, which was the claimant's reversion — an actual redemption of ancestral property. From such perils the buyer was protected by heavy penalties on the seller, who in fact engaged to indemnify him.

The legal verbiage

These and many other complicated questions must have long been the subject of consideration in Babylonian legal circles. As a consequence, the scribe usually drew up the deed, in set terms, with a formula consecrated by long use, every turn of which was important.

The following is a good example of the way a scribe drew up a deed of sale:

A specimen deed of sale

Tappum, son of Iarbi-ilu, "has bought two *GAN* of field, in the Isle, next to the field of Ḥasri-kuttim, and the field of Sin-abushu, son of Ubar-Ishtar, from Salatum, daughter of Apilia, the *GI-A-GI* (?) and has paid its full price in silver. The business is completed, the contract is valid, his heart is content. In future, man with man, neither shall take exception. By the name of Shamash, Marduk, Sin-mubaliṭ and the city of Sippara, they swore."

Then follows a list of about twenty witnesses, the names of whose fathers are also given. Usually the date is added. Here, however, it is either omitted or has been lost.

The body of the document in Sumerian

In this particular case the words within quotation marks are written in Sumerian. The variations are slight as a rule, but enough to show that the scribe understood what he wrote and could make correct changes when needful. The use of such a large amount of Sumerian in these deeds, along with Semitic names and specifications, has often been compared to the retention of Latin words in the body of legal documents in European

countries, almost to the present day. It will be noted that this portion constitutes the formal body of the document, and might well have been kept ready written, blanks being left to fill in the names and specifications. It is not, however, easy to find proof that this was done in early times.

Later deeds often in Semitic only

Somewhat later, in the time of the First Dynasty, a number of these Sumerian words and expressions are replaced by their Semitic equivalent. Indeed, some deeds are Semitic only. We can by comparison make a fairly complete study of Sumerian legal terms. To some extent this was already done by the scribes who drew up the series of phrase-books called *ana ittišu*. But many new forms occur in these deeds.

The specifications of the deeds the items of permanent interest

To translate all the contract-tablets would be useless, for all the deeds of sale are exactly alike, except the names of parties, witness, or neighbors, and the specification of the property. The repetitions were necessary, for each deed required an exact statement. But it is sufficient, having once noted the style of document, to call attention to the peculiarities of the specifications.

The earnest money

Common in later Babylonian deeds

Very interesting are the references to earnest money, or the gift presented to close the bargain. As early as the time of Manistusu we find not only a price paid, but also a present given to the seller as a good-will offering. These are of a most varied and valuable nature. As already pointed out by Meissner, in the purchase of a slave for four and a half shekels, a little present of fifteen *ŠE*, or one-twelfth of a shekel, was thus added. Likewise when another slave and her baby were sold we find that in addition to the price of eighty-four shekels, one shekel is thrown in as a present. I do not recall the occurrence of this custom in Assyrian times, but in the later Babylonian documents it is common. There it is often referred to as the *atru*, or "over-plus." Thus we find that in the sale of a house in the time of Nebuchadrezzar III., besides the "full agreed price," *šîmu gamrûtu*, of half a mina of silver, the buyer gave one shekel of silver, *kî atri*, "as an addition," and "a dress for the lady of the house." The whole payment thus made of thirty-one shekels was called the *šibirtu*. So in the time of Darius (?) we find that, in addition to the full price of three minas, five shekels of silver, the buyer adds, *kî atri*, six shekels of silver and a dress for the lady of the house, making three minas, eleven shekels of silver as the *šibirtum*, or simply to a price of

two minas of bright silver he adds two shekels, *kî pî atar*, making a *šibirtu* of two minas, two shekels of bright silver.

The notary's fee

Equally interesting are the sums charged as fees to the scribe. This was paid to him expressly for obtaining the seller's seal or nail-mark as a conclusion of the contract. Thus at the end of a deed of sale of a single male slave, executed by three owners by affixing three impressions of the same seal, and drawn up by one scribe, we read "Seven shekels of silver for their seal." The price was about one hundred and forty shekels. Thus the scribe received a fee of five per cent. on the sale price. The ratio was not constant. It might be as low as two per cent. Thus in the case of a sale of a slave by two owners, who made four nail-marks in lieu of seals, we read "one mina of bronze for their nail-marks." There was but one scribe, and the price was fifty minas of bronze. Hence we cannot think that this fee was paid for the scribe's seal, as some have done. The seal, or nail-mark, was not "the authenticating subscription by the notary," but by the seller.

Assyrian deeds of greater length

In Assyrian times the deed of sale was a much longer document. The same general form is observed, but the document starts with a heading giving the information that the seller had sealed the document, or, in the absence of a seal, had impressed his nail-mark. No one but the seller ever seals or impresses his nail-mark. The seller is usually described as the *bêlu*, or "legitimate" owner of the property made over. Then first after the seal, or in a space left for it, comes the specification of the property. Next it is stated that the buyer has made a bargain and taken the property for so much. But the bulk of the document is devoted to a contract that the seller, his representatives, heirs, and assigns, shall never rescind the sale, or bring any suit to recover possession, under specified and heavy penalties. The wording of these passages recalls most strikingly the imprecations of the kings in their charters upon those who, in after times, should dare to render their gifts inoperative. This grand style is one of the many indications that for the Assyrian period most of the deeds we have were drawn up on behalf of the king's household.

Various interests regarded as having claims which must be distinctly met

It is usually stated that the purchase is complete, the full price paid and delivery of possession made. But in some cases this was a mere conventional statement, and both payment and delivery were delayed. There was to be no return of the goods, no turning back from the bargain;

the pleading of a suit of nullity of sale is expressly barred. It is of interest to notice who were regarded as competent, or likely to take action to recover the property. Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, are all named. The enumeration clearly included females of the same nearness of kinship. Sisters are actually named. All these relatives are included in the term "his people." In some cases the *šaknu*, or governor of the district, is named, especially where slaves are sold, or the estate involved the transfer of serfs. The *šaknu* clearly had rights over lands and slaves within his district. The transfer of property might act injuriously to his rights. It was usual to stipulate that he had no such rights. How they had been annulled we do not know. Perhaps by some previous charter conferring exemption. The *ḫazânu* also appears to have had the right to intervene. The country seems to have been split up into districts which were called on to furnish fifty units, each consisting of an archer and a spearman or shield-bearer. Hence, the *rab ḫanšâ*, or "captain of fifty," was really in command of a hundred men. Whether this obligation lay on a group of a hundred families or not, it is clear that the transfer of ownership of land might lead to embarrassment of the official. Hence, the *rab ḫanšâ* was likely to intervene also. There was service on public works also concerned in the matter. Whatever official was *bêl ilki*, or had right to "the levy," might intervene. The chief of a certain district was called a *rab kiṣir*; he was also commander of a section of the army, and he had the right to intervene. Other officials as the *šâpiru*, *ḳurbu*, are named, but in all cases the nature of the claim must have been similar. The object of the buyer was to stipulate that the seller should hold him exempt from such claims. How this could be done does not appear.

Occasional use of the oath of confirmation

The oath to observe the contract made between the parties still appears, but is not common. As before, these oaths are of interest, for the light which they throw upon local cults. The gods were invoked as being the avengers of wrong. The decision of the king was also still regarded as a source of vengeance, since he was bound to see right done.

Penalties for the failure to carry out a contract

The penalties most commonly invoked were payments to the treasury of a temple. These were in the nature of forfeits. The sum set down in the deed rarely bears any exact relation to the value of the property, but is merely a large amount. Usually, a sum in both silver and gold is stated, but no relation between the relative worths of the metals can be deduced. The forfeit might take the form of presenting two or more white horses to the god. In a few cases, the penalty consisted in the devotion of a child,

usually the eldest son or daughter, to a god. The verb used for "devoting" a child literally means to "burn." This seems to point to an earlier sacrifice of children by fire. But variants show that it was now used in a more general sense of dedication. The "cedar wood of Ishtar" is named as the spot where a daughter was to be dedicated. Further, other objects might be dedicated as a forfeit. A great bow of bronze to Ninip of Kalḫu is named.

A deterrent penalty was to return the price "tenfold" to the seller. Once or twice the penalty is "twelvefold." A further penalty was to pay a talent of lead to the governor of the city or state. Very curious is the penalty of being required to eat a mina of some food, possibly a magical compound, and drink an *agannu* pot of some drink. That this drink was taken from a bowl inscribed with magical formulæ seems to be the best way of reading the signs. The penalty was, therefore, an ordeal. Then, if the contention was right, the plaintiff would be immune; if he was merely litigious, perhaps he would be sick or even die.

Rights of the purchaser

Finally, it is often laid down that, if either party (especially the seller) shall attempt to bring a suit about the property, the judge shall not hear him, or if he insists, he shall lose the action. Throughout it is clear that the buyer tries to make the seller contract to waive all rights to recover his property, but he holds to certain rights of his own. Thus, in the sale of slaves, a clause is frequently inserted which claims a hundred days within which to set up a claim to repudiate the purchase, on the ground that the slave is afflicted with certain diseases, the *ṣibtu* and *bennu*, the character of which is not exactly known. Also he bargains that a blemish may be at any time an excuse for annulling the bargain. These really amount to demanding a guarantee from the seller that the slave was free from disease or other undisclosed weakness.

Late tablets include the details of bargaining

The later Babylonian tablets do not illustrate much that is of great interest. They often record the initial verbal discussion. Thus we find that when A bought of B, some phrase like the following is recorded: A said thus to B: "Give me thy property and I will give thee so much silver." Then we read that "B listened to him and gave A his property and A gave him so much silver." It is a curious little touch of verisimilitude.

Deferred payments

Sales usually were for the full price, or the agreed price, paid down at once. This is expressly stated. But in the later Babylonian times we have some examples of deferred payment, which may also have been common

during earlier periods. Thus, a man sold a slave for fifty shekels and received twenty-five shekels as advance price. The rest was to be paid later. The payment was probably made soon. Thus we find a lady selling four female slaves to a certain man and taking a bond of him to pay four shekels, the balance of the price, on the second of Kislev, a week later. The interval might be two days only; but sometimes a much longer period of grace was allowed — as much as two months and seven days — although the purchase was taken away at once.

Return of purchase on failure to pay

It is occasionally stipulated that if the purchase-money is not paid by a certain date, the object purchased shall be returned. Thus S, having sold B some slaves, took a bond of him that, if B did not pay in a week, he would return them.

Retention of purchase without settlement

A long retention of the thing purchased — especially when it was profitable — without payment, was of course a loss to the seller. Hence, we find the seller of a slave taking a bond of the buyer that, if he did not pay on the date fixed, he should return the slave and his *mandattu*, or the income which a slave paid to his master.

Fraud

A distinct case of fraud occurs in the sale of a slave belonging to A by his brother B without A's knowledge. To make the matter worse, B had the contract drawn up in A's name. This was doubtless represented to be a case of agency, but there is no conclusive evidence.

The records of sales found at an early date

One of the earliest inscriptions, the stele of Manistusu, records the purchase of large estates to form a possession for his son Mesalim, afterwards King of Kish. The whole inscription is splendidly published in photogravure in the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Tome II., p-52. It is divided into a number of sections each recording a separate purchase. One example will suffice as characteristic of all:

A field of seventy-three *GAN*, its price being two hundred and forty-three and seven-fifteenths *GUR* of corn, at the rate of one shekel of silver a *GUR* of corn; price in silver, four minas, three shekels, and one "little mina," the price of the field, and half a mina, six shekels and a fraction of silver, as a present to close the bargain; one garment for A, son of B, in presence of C, priest of Zamama (god of Kish); one garment for D, son of E. Total, two garments present for the field. Total, two men serfs of the field and food and money for the sons of C, priest of Zamama.

Their varied information

Here are many noteworthy pieces of information. The price of corn is fixed with relation to silver. It remained the same down to late Babylonian times. A present was given in addition to the price, as in many sales even to the latest times. The serfs go with the land. Certain food and money allowances are reserved to the priest C and his descendants. This was probably a territorial charge. Many other points of interest are furnished by the other sections. Thus, among the presents given are numerous vessels of gold, silver, and copper. The garments are of various kinds. The men who receive presents do not appear to be merely the sellers, but also elders of the city or district. This indicates a tribal or district right of control over the alienation of land. The boundaries of the estates are often given and are of great interest for topography. A number of persons are named as witnesses to the separate sales. In one way or another some five hundred persons and about forty places are named. Over forty titles or names of professions are given. Among them we note many familiar in later times, the *abrakku*, *nagiru*, *patêsi*, *Šakkanak*, as well as a king. We see already judges, merchants, scribes, irrigators, boatmen, carpenters, singers, shepherds, seers, branders, as well as slaves. We read of sheep, asses, goats, oxen. And all this from one inscription. It is a fine example of the kind of information this class of documents may afford. Not least in importance is the fact that many Semitic, as well as Sumerian, names and words occur.

Method of legally describing real estate

In the case of landed property the deeds of sale usually specify its position. In the case of fields and gardens four neighbors are often specified. Their plots of land then completely enclosed the plot concerned. What rights of access to such a plot existed does not appear, but where the boundaries were low mounds or ridges, it may be assumed that the tops of these were common to all for access and carriage. In towns, more usually three neighbors are named, the fourth side is often said to be on the street. Sometimes four neighbors are given for a house, but then an exit, *mûṣû*, is specified, which doubtless means a right of way through, or past, another house to the street. When more than four neighbors are named, it is probably the case that on one side the plot was conterminous, at least partly, with two of them. Very commonly only two neighbors are given, one each side. We may then presume that there were streets or lanes both front and back. If we could press the term *bîtu* to mean “house,” we might conclude from many cases that the old Babylonian cities contained streets of houses, which were one

conterminous block of buildings. But they seem in very many cases to have had some open ground, and often gardens were attached.

Importance of these boundary inscriptions

These boundaries are of great interest both from the point of view of population and geography. Were we able to consult all the documents which were once stored in the archives of one great temple, we might map out a city and assign each plot to its owner; and then extend our map and the names of owners to the fields and plantations which lay around the city. For outside the city walls the *ugaru* or town-land extended to a considerable distance from the city walls. We may even soon be able to determine what was the approximate extent of this margin about the city, a belt of land often called a *ḳablu* or "girdle."

Many of the details puzzling

Usually the plots are said to be in a city whose name is given. Thus we conclude the close proximity of Laḫî, Ishkun-Ishtar, Malgia, Ḥalḫalla, to Sippara. Indeed, they were probably conterminous with it. Often the plot is stated to be in some quarter, or ward of the city. For the most part the names of these wards, as for example Gagim, Karim, are difficult to understand. Why or how they obtained these names we cannot tell. It is noteworthy that one ward was called Amurru, "the Amorite land." Much has been made of this by Professors Hommel and Sayce, but we are still far from clear ideas on the point. With respect to other indications of locality, it must be noted that they are usually at the end of the first line at the right-hand top corner of the tablet, and have suffered defacement more often than any other detail, so that they are often illegible.

Plots often, but not invariably rectangular

From many considerations it appears that most of these plots were rectangular, but it is curious to note that many plans of houses and fields exist which show that this was not always the case. Perhaps it was the irregularity of the outline which made plans necessary and they may be an indirect witness to the rarity of such a feature.

Plans of houses

As a rule the private houses seem to have been small and to have had a few small rooms. The palaces, or mansions of the great, had much more extensive conveniences. One reads of several specially defined rooms, but their names do not as a rule tell us much of their use. Wash-houses, shops, stables, granaries, and vacant plots, as well as gardens and orchards, are often attached. Apparently one had to leave the house to

enter these. The houses were built of brick and their roofs were supported by strong beams. In many plans, while the doorways for internal communication are carefully marked, there seems to be no access from the street. Perhaps this is a peculiarity of the architect's ideas of a plan, the door to the street being understood. At any rate, doors, bolts, posts, and a lintel are frequently named. These were often put in by the tenant and, like the beams, taken away by him. A door might be pledged alone. But it is possible that some houses had no door proper, being entered by steps leading to the roof. This may be the explanation of the oft-mentioned *mûṣû* or right of way out, either between, through, or over, other house property. When a house had other houses touching it on each of four sides, something of the kind was necessary.

Probably the house did not usually have an upper story; but, perhaps, as a remarkable exception, an "upper house" is occasionally mentioned. There is reason to think that some were in the form of a quadrangle, around an inner court; as there are wells, or fountains, mentioned as being "within the house." In some parts of the city, at any rate, the block of buildings was continuous. But there were many streets, and canals also, in the cities. The streets, *suḳê*, were as a rule only narrow lanes or passages. As shown by the excavations at Nippur, houses stood for a long time. When first used, the floors were above the street level, but after the footpaths had been some time in use, they rose to the level of, and finally above, the floor, so that there were steps leading down into the house.

It seems evident that great efforts were made to provide drains for the foundations; and perhaps other sanitary appliances were found in the better class of houses. But we must await more extensive exploration, not necessarily in the more important mounds, before we are able to give a clear account of an ancient Babylonian house.

Description of houses in the contracts of sale

In the sale of a house it was often stated that the house was in good condition. In this respect many particulars might be recited, or the whole summed up in one concise phrase. In the early Babylonian documents no good example is yet published in which all the points are mentioned. We must refer to an example of Assyrian times, where all the chief points occur together. Early Babylonian tablets mention nearly all of these items, but only one or two at a time. Thus we have a note that the beams and doors are sound. Wood was scarce, and a tenant usually stipulated to take away the beams and doors, if he put them in. The fact that a man might pledge a door suggests that the modern theory of interchangeable

parts was anticipated in Babylonia, so that a door would as a rule fit any house. What the beams were for is far from clear. To carry screens or curtains of skins over a central court seems most likely. Actual roof-beams were probably included in the "roof" itself, which is mentioned separately from the beams. The threshold, or perhaps, rather, the lintel of the doorway, may be meant; and, with the door-posts, be included under beams. The bolt or crossbar of the door is often associated with these beams.

The streets mentioned as boundaries

Streets are more frequently named as boundaries of a house than in any other connection. The "great street," or "wide street," occurs continually. Whether this was the main street of Sippara, or only one principal thoroughfare, is not always clear. Streets are often named after a god; thus the street of Lugal-amgaba, of Ishtar, of Bunene, of Bêlit-nuḫshi occur. They were named after people; Immerum the king, or Kât-Ninsaḫ, whose house adjoined the street named after him. The gate of Sin and his garden are named. Canals, especially the *Nâr tupsarrûti*, the *Nâr Bilîa*, are named. Roads, as that to Ishkun-Ishtar, are sometimes given.

A deed of the First Babylonian Dynasty

The following is a good example of a deed of sale at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, translated literally and illustrating the usual order of words:

One and two-thirds *SAR* of land built on,
next to the house of Nabi-ilishu,
and next to the house of Ilushu-ellatzu;
upper end, the house of Ḫaiabni-ilu,
its exit to that of Immarum,
šar irbitim
which is his own also;
from Nabi-ilishu,
Lamazi, the votary of Shamash,
daughter of Kasha-Upi,
by her written order

has bought,
its full price
in cash has paid.
In future, party with party,
they shall not dispute.

By the name of Shamash, of Marduk,
and of Apil-Sin they have sworn.
Then follow the names of five witnesses, but there is no date given.
Its interesting historical information

The house was in Sippara, since it is known that Nabi-ilishu resided there. The "exit," that is to say, the front door, opened on the road to the house of Immarum. The scribe means to say that Ḥaiabni-ilu, who was a neighbor, owned the house of Immarum. It appears that Immarum was *šar irbitim*, "king of the four quarters," a title often borne by Babylonian kings. There is a great probability then that Immarum was no other than the Immerum, once King of Sippara, in the reign of Sumu-lâ-ilu. It is not necessary to suppose him still alive. This deed was executed in the reign of Apil-Sin, whose father, Ṣâbum, had reigned fourteen years after the death of Sumu-lâ-ilu. Further, one of the witnesses, Sin-ublam, is said to be a son of Immerum.

Thus we may conclude that Immarum, or Immerum — the difference in spelling is slight for these times — King of Sippar, bore the title of "king of the four quarters," and as such was still remembered in Sippara. The exact meaning of the term has been disputed, but Sippara was a fourfold city: Sippar the great, Sippar Amnânu of the goddess Anunitum, Sippar Edinna, and Sippar Iḫrurum are named in the tablets of this dynasty. Perhaps the four quarters of Sippara are meant.

Lamazi, the buyer, daughter of Kasha-Upi, votary of Shamash, bought another house in the nineteenth year of Sinmubaliṭ, borrowed a quantity of lead in the first year of Ḥammurabi, and bought a female slave in a year of Ḥammurabi's reign, the date of which is not yet fixed. The name Lamazi is common and was borne by several votaries of Shamash whom we know to be daughters of other men than Kasha-Upi. But she may well be the same as the lady who figures without such marks of identity in several other documents. For example, she is named as being a neighbor of Ilushu-ellatzu.

Mention of the business agent

The phrase *ina šapiriša*, "by her order," occurs often. It implies that Lamazi acted through an agent, when she borrowed the lead, she acted through a *mâr šipri*, a messenger and agent. She bought her other house in the same way. This does not imply any disability on the part of women to enter into business, for they were as free and competent to act as men. Nor does it arise from her being a votary of Shamash, for these ladies are concerned in by far the larger part of the transactions recorded at Sippara. It is merely the fact that on these occasions, as was frequently

done, Lamazi employed a business agent, who is not named. Her father, Kasha-Upi, is referred to again as buying a house from the sons of Nabi-ilushu, where we learn that the latter was a son of Shamash-ina-mâtim and brother of Kasha-Upi. Lamazi was therefore a niece of Nabi-ilushu.

Mention of the price of a house

It will be noted that the price paid for the house is not given. This is often the case. But more commonly the price is named. As Dr. Meissner has already pointed out, prices varied greatly. Houses in a small provincial town like Tell Sifr naturally did not bring the same price as those in Sippara. But variation was probably even more due to situation and size. The lowest price per *SAR* was four shekels, the highest thirty shekels. This gives a wide margin.

An Assyrian deed for sale of a house

While there are many examples of the sale of houses in Assyrian times, they do not as a rule exhibit any important peculiarities. The best example comes from Erech and may be taken as a representative specimen:

The house of Ina-êshi-eṭir, son of Nabû-eṭir, a well-built house, furnished with door-frames, a roofed house, the door and crossbar of which are firm, in the quarter of Bît Kuzub-shamê-erṣiti, which is in Erech; upper side next Sulâ, Nabû-nâṣir and Bêl-aḫê-erba, sons of Eṭeru; lower side next Ereshu, son of Shama; upper end next Ṣillâ, son of Nabû-aḫiddin; lower end next Ereshu, son of Nabû-bêlâni; on each side the house of Ina-êshi-eṭir, son of Nabû-eṭir, more or less, so much as there is, for one mina fifteen shekels of silver, as price, he has intrusted to Ereshu. It is given, received, paid for, freed. An exception to the sale cannot be taken, there is no going back, neither shall implead the other. Hereafter, in future, in days to come, neither brothers, sons, family, relations on either side of the house of Ina-êshi-eṭir shall arise and lay claim or cause claim to be laid on this house, shall alter or complain saying [the usual pleas are understood here but omitted]. If so, he shall pay twelvefold. At the sealing of this tablet were present [then follow the names of five witnesses]. Dated in the twentieth year of Ashurbânipal. Ina-êshi-eṭir has impressed his nail-mark in lieu of a seal.

Various parts of the house

This example contains a full description of a house. The specification is rarely so full. But doors are always named, as many as six, in one case. Most of the Assyrian deeds of sale mention various adjuncts of the house. Thus the *tar-baṣu* or “court” is named. This was perhaps an attached walled enclosure.

It is the name given in the Code to the fold where sheep and oxen are kept. Vines might grow in it, and butter was kept there. A *bît kutalli*, or out-house, is named. Often *bît rimki*, or "wash-house," is also mentioned. This was a chamber within the house, and may be rather meant for lustration, than for ordinary washing. One house had three of these rooms. Sometimes there was a *bûru*, a "well," or cistern, within the house. A "shop," or *bît ḳâtâti*, was often attached. Stables, *bît abusate*, are named. What is meant by *bît irši* is difficult to determine, perhaps some chamber fitted with beds and couches. The *bît akulli* had a well in it, but what it was is not clear. The *bîtu elîtu* may be an "upper story." If so, most houses were one-storied only.

The burial-vault

Another interior apartment is called a *kimaḫḫu*. This has usually been taken to be a "tomb." We know that the old Babylonian kings were buried in the palace of Sargon. But this was when the palace was no longer the abode of the living. Ashurbânipal's charter to his faithful general and tutor-in-arms, Nabû-shar-uṣur, seems to contemplate that general's being buried in the palace, though this is not certain. However, the explorations of Nippur demonstrate the existence of vaults for burial, built over with brickwork. It may be that such vaults did exist within the house, and were sold with it.

A "portico," *bît mutirrêti*, is named once. Beside the "great house," *bîtu dannu*, or *bitannu*, a "second house," *bît šanû*, is mentioned. The exit from the house, *mûṣû*, a way to the street, was often named, being very important where the house was bounded on four sides by others.

Block houses in Nineveh

Most of the houses, of which we have deeds of sale, were situated in Nineveh itself. Occasionally, the house is shut in by more than three others, most often only by three. Then the fourth side is said or implied to be on the street. Hence, we may be sure that in parts of Nineveh, there were continuous blocks of houses, on each side of a street. Sometimes, however, we have a garden, or orchard, as one boundary.

Size not mentioned

Contrary to the practice in Babylonia, the size of the house is rarely given. We have the size of the *bîtu akulli* given, in one case, as forty-three cubits long and twenty cubits broad. What seem to be the dimensions of an ordinary house were twenty-two by fourteen cubits.

The usual cost

Houses in Assyria sold for from half a mina up to twelve minas; but as long as we are so ignorant of the form, nature, and dimensions of the

house and its adjuncts, the information is of very little interest.

Side buildings

A number of other buildings or parcels of land were sold with houses or separately. Thus, we read of a *papaḫu*, or chamber, which was beneath an adjoining beer-shop. The beer-shop is often mentioned, and was a state-regulated institution.

Unimproved land

A term which was long somewhat of a puzzle, the *ki-gallu*, usually written *Ê-KI-GÀL*, or *Ê-KI-DAN*, is shown definitely by the Code to be a plot of uncultivated land. This might be rented for cultivation and was not necessarily poor land, for it was expected to yield ten *GUR* per *GAN*. But it might also lie in a city bounded on four sides by houses, or, as often, by three houses and the street. It was then, of course, a building site. Its price was usually about two shekels per *SAR*, but might be as high as eight shekels per *SAR*.

Granaries

Another common object of sale was a building called *Ê KISLAḪ*, shown by the Code to be really a "granary," or barn, read *maškanu*. These are usually in the city, and the prices paid for them varied from one-third of a shekel to fifteen shekels per *SAR*. They might be surrounded by houses on all four sides, or by a canal, road, and street.

The term *bîtu* means not only "house," but "field"

These examples serve to show that *bîtu* as often denoted a "plot" of land as a "house." In Assyrian times we find the same usage. A fairly common object of sale is what I take to be a "fuller's field," or a "bleaching ground," *bîtu ḳaḳḳiri pûṣê*. It was usually in the city, of small size, given in cubits each way, or a trifle over a homer in area. It was near a stream. It sold for a very high price. Once we find half of it used as a garden. It seemed to have been fenced in. Unfortunately, no one example is perfectly preserved; and the deeds are of no special interest beyond the peculiar nature of the plot.

Sales of gardens

The gardens in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon are generally said to be planted with dates, and sold for "full" price. Once two shekels are given for a garden of fifteen *SAR*.

These sales less frequent in Assyrian times

There are not many examples of these sales in Assyrian times, but they give some welcome information. There is nothing peculiar about the sale formula. The only interest is in the specifications. The garden is usually said to be planted with the *iṣu tillit*, almost certainly "the vine."

Hence, we may regard them as "vineyards." The number of plants in them is often given, being as high as two thousand four hundred. Of other plants grown in a Babylonian garden we can recognize with more or less certainty in The Garden Tablet, garlic, onion, leek, kinds of lettuce, dill, cardamom, saffron, coriander, hyssop, mangold, turnip, radish, cabbage, lucerne, assafœtida, colocynth.

Other gardens are said to be *kirû urḳîtu*, "vegetable gardens." In later times the date-plantations are continually in evidence. Beyond the specification, "planted with dates," and certain obscure references to the condition of the crop at the time of sale, there is nothing to be noted.

Sales of fields: in First Dynasty of Babylon

The sales of fields are very numerous. They were usually situated outside the city walls, in the *ugaru*, or townland. They were not, however, reckoned outside the "town." For the town extended beyond its walls, like a parish in England; and was bounded, as a rule, by adjoining towns. In the case of Sippara, many of these *ugarê* are named; but as a rule, the names do not explain themselves. Thus, Azarim, Ḥiganim, and Shikat Malkat may be named after persons or temples. Other names, like Shutpalu, Nagû, Iblê, Tapirtum, may well be significant. Certainly, Ebirtim appears to mean "across" the Euphrates. Once the field is said to be in Sippara, once in Ḥalḫalla, but we cannot press these statements to mean "within the walls" of those cities. Usually, the boundaries of a field are four other fields, with now and then a road, or canal. The price per *SAR* varied from one-thirtieth of a shekel to more than a mina. Very frequently, indeed, the price is simply said to be "full."

In Assyrian times

The fields in Assyrian times are often mentioned. Nearly always when a field, *eḳlu*, is sold, it is somewhere else referred to as *bîtu*, or plot, usually of so many homers in size. There is nothing distinctive about the sale formula. The specifications give most interesting and valuable data as to the topography of the land around Nineveh. The accessories of a field may be named. Sometimes it was corn-land, *šê zêr*, part was *tabrû*, "open land," part *adru*, enclosed by a wall or fence. Pits or wells, canals or ditches, courts or folds, occur frequently as adjuncts of a field.

Great estates

Larger estates are built up of the simple elements which we have noted. Sometimes the estate was so large as to be styled a "city," *alu šê*. These "cities" are generally called after the name of some one, probably a former owner. But the number of people sold in them does not justify the use of any larger designation than "hamlet." A large estate, with a

few people on it, obviously its bailiffs and the serfs of its landlord, constituted the *alu*. Hence, this term, like *bîtu*, must have a wider signification than that usually given it. Such hamlets were, doubtless, the germs of future cities, but the term evidently denotes simply a settled abode of a group of people.

Plans of estates

From very early times the Babylonians drew plans of estates, which are in many ways very instructive. The seated statue of Gudea, found by De Sarzec at Telloh, has a plan of his city upon a tablet on his lap, accompanied by a scale of dimensions or a standard of length.

Professor Oppert, Dr. Eisenlohr, M. Thureau-Dangin, and others have discussed at length the plan of a field, which has the sides of several plots given in linear measure and the areas in square measure. From this was obtained a great variety of results regarding the relations between the measures.

XXIII. LOANS AND DEPOSITS

Records of loans of an early period

In the first epoch there are many examples of loans. The characteristic word *ŠU-BA-TI*, or *ŠU-BA-AN-TI*, which means "he has borrowed," has been used as a title and they are often called *ŠUBATI* tablets. They are the receipts given for the loans by the borrowers. Here is an example:

"Sixty *GUR* of corn, royal quality, from L have been received by B." Date. Seal of borrower.

In place of corn we may have money, dates, wool, or almost anything. Sometimes a date for repayment is given. In the examples there are usually no references to the interest to be paid for the loan. They may be regarded as advances made to temple tenants, or serfs, to be repaid at harvest from crops.

Their value for chronology

The greatest value of these tablets lies in their dates. The dates are usually events. Many of these have already been collected and registered, especially by Dr. H. Radau. But there is even more to be done, when further examples are published. Many tablets contain two dates referring to loans contracted at different times. By this means the sequence can gradually be determined. The seals are also of great interest and often of value, as may be seen from Dr. Radau's work.

Second Epoch. Repayments in kind or its stated equivalent

Advances of all sorts were freely made both with and without interest. For convenience we may separate money from corn loans and advances of all kinds of commodities; but we must not forget that corn, at any rate, was legal tender; and silver loans might be repaid in corn. This, however, was early recognized as an inconvenience and it is quite common to find a direct stipulation that what was lent shall be repaid in kind. It soon became usual to state that if the loan was repaid otherwise, it must be according to a fixed ratio between silver and corn.

Promissory notes

A very large number of loans take the form of *Abstract schuldscheine*, loans without statement of any cause for the debt. They are merely promises to pay, that is, acknowledgments of indebtedness. Thus we read: "Five shekels of silver which A has given to B. On such a date B shall pay five shekels of silver to A." A penalty may be added for not paying on the fixed date. Usually this takes the form of interest. The rate is one shekel *per mina* each month, or twelve shekels *per mina yearly*,

that is, twenty per cent. There is no clear case of money lent as an investment to bear interest. That was done in quite another way. The lender entered into relationship with an agent, to whom he furnished capital and who traded with the money and repaid it with interest.

Temporary loans at harvest-time

Most of the loans were evidently contracted to meet temporary embarrassment. Usually it was in connection with the need of cash to pay the expenses at harvest-time. The loan was then repaid at harvest. It might be repaid in corn. The time was usually short — fifteen days is named. The lender had his reward in obtaining his money's worth in corn, when its price was cheapest. But he was evidently not expected to charge interest. A similar kind of loan is half a mina of silver to pay the price of a piece of land. Here the money was lent until the land was bought, and was to be repaid with interest of three *GUR* of corn. So half a mina for certain land to be paid, when the land was cultivated.

Loans for the payment of taxes

Another reason for borrowing was the need of money to pay taxes, *ana ilkim suddanim*. In one of these cases the stipulation is added that the borrower shall bring the receipt of the tax-collector and then may take back his bonds. Here the "sealed tablet" is in one case the receipt for the tax, in the other the receipt which the borrower gave for his loan. But there is no mention of his repayment. Perhaps the lender owed the tax, half a mina, and as it was a considerable sum, sent it by a third party, but made him give a receipt for it. But such a receipt would differ in no respect from the sort of bond mentioned above, and would render the messenger liable to repay the money; so he was to have his receipt back, on handing over the tax-collector's receipt showing that he had paid the tax.

The temple as places of temporary loans

In several cases the god is represented as lending the money. It is obvious that such advances were made from the temple treasury. It is usual from such instances to expatiate on the temple, or the priests, as the great moneylenders. This is a view easily misunderstood. It is quite true that the temples were great landowners, and had steady incomes, and possessed treasuries; but there is no evidence that they lent on usury. It seems rather that these loans without interest (except as a fine for undue retention of the loan) were a kindly accommodation. We know that under certain circumstances a man might appeal to the temple treasury to ransom him from the enemy. He might also borrow in case of necessity

without interest. Moneylending proper existed, but was kept in narrow bounds by the temple itself.

Current coin

In view of the many questions that arise as to the nature of the money at this period, it should be noted that the silver is often said to be *kanku;* literally "sealed." Whether this means that the silver bars, or ingots, were sealed while the metal was soft enough to receive a mark which would authenticate its weight and purity, or whether it means that the money was enclosed in sealed sacks, is hard to say. Against the latter may be urged that such a small sum as one and two-thirds shekels would not be sealed up. But it may be that *kanku* means "sealed for," that is, acknowledged by the receipt.

Loans of corn

Even more common than money loans are the corn loans. Here the loans were generally for a short time just before harvest, when the repayment was expected. The period is usually short, five days, or a month. Interest is sometimes demanded, at the rate of *one hundred ḲA per GUR*, or one-third, that is, *thirty-three and a third per cent*. This was probably the rate *per mensem, four hundred per cent. per annum*. But in one case the interest is *one hundred ḲA per GUR per annum*, once it is expressly said to be nothing, usually it is not referred to at all. Sometimes a loan was partly in money, partly in corn.

Other loans of produce

Other things were lent, as sesame, skins, bricks, and the like, but these loans exhibit no peculiarity. They are merely letting the borrower have goods on credit, to be paid for, or returned, after a time.

We may take, as an example of this kind of transaction, a rather more complicated case:

Record of a loan

Two and seven-thirtieths of a *GUR* of corn, Shamash standard measure, which Ilu-kasha, son of Sharru-Shamash, gave to Belshunu, Ilushu-abushu, and Ikash-Ninsaḫ. Ilu-kasha brought the corn and returned one *GUR* and one-tenth and took for himself two hundred and twenty *ḲA*. Later he paid one-tenth of a *GUR* to Ilushu-bânî, Ikash-Ninsaḫ, and Shumma-Shamash, and they remitted in all three *GUR*, the former and later debt.

In the second case only one of the former debtors is left. The loan was partly repaid, a fresh loan contracted, and then partly repaid. It is not clear whether the arrears were remitted or extracted by distraint. Nor is it

clear whether Ilukasha was debtor or creditor. As a rule such points are clear. It is only the conciseness of the formula which here causes the obscurity.

Loans or allowances in series

Another fairly common type of document contains a number of sections, each containing the record of one sum. But it is not clear that these were loans. They may be allowances for food or salary. Thus in B 247 we have so much corn for the women weavers, so much more for the votaries, so much for other officials, from the first of one month to the thirtieth, so much for the Sutî who was watching the field, so much for a boatman, and so on. These are perhaps a temple steward's accounts. Their interest lies only in the incidental notices. We also note that here a month had thirty days. It is interesting to find that the celebrated Sutî nomads who later gave so much trouble, were already in the country and were employed to watch the fields. Was this watching done on the principle of "setting a thief to catch a thief"? Perhaps it was necessary to employ a Sutî as custodian, of course at a salary, if one was to preserve the crop from the depredations of his fellow-tribesmen.

Some of these tablets expressly state the amount of corn loaned, giving the date for repayment. Hence we see what a narrow margin divides the proper bond from the mere receipt, or even the memorandum of the loan.

Formal advances of working materials

A number of tablets deal with advances of wool or woollen yarn made by temple officials to weavers and dyers to work up. As a rule they contain a number of words connected doubtless with the weaver's craft which are not yet made out. The following is a fairly simple example:

One talent of wool belonging to the palace, price ten shekels of silver, property of Utul-Ishtar the *abi ṣâbê*, which Ishme-Sin, son of Sin-bêl-aplim, Marduk-mushallim, son of Sin-idinnam, Ilushu-ibni and Bêlshunu, sons of Sin-eribam have borrowed. The day that the tax-collector of the palace demands it they shall pay the money of the palace.

Elsewhere the time of loan may be stated, two months for example. The price is always reckoned at six minas of wool for a shekel. It seems that the borrowers were not obliged to repay until a certain date, or until a demand was made for certain taxes. They then must pay in silver.

Assyrian loans *ana pûḫi*

In the Assyrian examples of money-loans the same general features constantly recur. The most common are loans *ana pûḫi*, which may be

taken to mean "for consideration," as the word *pûḫu* means an "exchange." But there is never any statement of what the consideration was. Some have thought, that as the bond was invariably given to the creditor to be broken up on the repayment of the loan, the exchange referred to was a restoration of the bond in return for the money. But the consideration, which is a legal presumption, may have lain in the fact that the borrowers were tenants on the metayer system and had a right to borrow of their landlord, free of interest, at seed-time and harvest. On such loans interest is only demanded when the debtor fails to repay at the fixed date.

Usual rate of interest

The rate of interest charged as a penalty for non-payment or late payment was *twenty-five per cent. per mensem, three hundred per cent. per annum*. This interest was intended to secure prompt payment, but was not unfair in view of the increase of value obtained by investing it in corn and then sowing that. Other rates were one-third and one-eighth, but there is no fixed rate of interest for the loan of money, except when it was *ana pûḫi.*

For the use of corn

The interest on corn was *thirty ḲA per homer*. Some think the homer had sixty *ḲA*, which would make the interest fifty per cent. But no case has yet been found which gives the number of *ḲA* in a homer.

The coinage

The money lent is often said to belong to a god. Ashur, Ishtar of Arbela, or Ishtar of Nineveh, are the most common. Sometimes it is said to be in "Ishtar heads," which has been taken to mean ingots stamped with a head of Ishtar. The frequent reference to the mina of Carchemish alongside the king's mina is eloquent as to the commercial eminence of the old Hittite capital.

An example is the following:

Sixteen shekels of silver, from A to B, *ana pûḫi*, he has taken. On the first day of Tammuz he shall pay the money. If not, it shall increase by a quarter. Dated the eleventh of Nisan, in the Eponymy of Bêl-ludâri. Three witnesses.

Loans on property often mere advances of material

Loans or advances were also made of various kinds of property. Thus we have an advance of ten minas of silver, Carchemish standard, seventy-five sheep, one cow, made by Ashurbânipal's chief steward to four men, *ana pûḫi*. The sheep and cow they are to return in Adar. If they do not return the sheep, they must breed them. The interest on the money

is to be one-third. Dated the twenty-fifth of Tebet, b.c. 664. Thirteen witnesses. Such a loan seems to be on the metayer system.

Property on approval

Here again we have an exceptional case:

L lends two dromedaries, "which they called double-humped," to three men, who shall return them on the first of the month, or pay six minas of silver. If they do not pay the money, interest shall accrue at the rate of five shekels per mina. Dated the fourteenth of Tishri, b.c. 674.

These animals were rare and evidently highly valued. What could the three borrowers want with a pair of such animals? Were they for exhibition in a menagerie? Perhaps they were for breeding. We may have here a case of goods taken on approval, for a fortnight or so, perhaps for sale to another party.

The same lender lent to the same three men, two hundred sheep, one hundred and fifty goats, two hundred and thirty yearling lambs, in all five hundred and eighty small cattle. They were to return the animals by a fixed date, or pay. Dated the seventh of Iyyar, b.c. 673. The same lender had lent seventy-two sheep to two other men, in Sivan, b.c. 680. They had to return the sheep in Ab, or pay for them at the market-rate in Nineveh. Bêl-êresh acted as agent for the borrowers.

A loan of wine

Other goods, such as wine, or oil, were advanced. Here we probably have to do with the transactions of the royal chief steward and the king's agents. For example:

L intrusts five homers of wine, according to the royal measure, to D. On the first of Nisan he shall return the wine, otherwise he shall pay for the wine according to the market-rate in Nineveh. Dated fifth of Adar, b.c. 674. Five witnesses.

Again:

Of oil

L advances six homers of pure oil, price ten *ḲA* of bronze per homer, to D, the major-domo at Carchemish. He shall repay the oil in Sebat; if not, it shall be doubled. Dated twenty-first of Ab, b.c. 681. Six witnesses.

We may deduce the interesting fact that Esarhaddon was at Carchemish in Ab, b.c. 681. The advance was made for the use of the royal household there.

Of corn

Advances of corn were made exactly as in the earlier times. Thus:

L advances thirty homers of corn to D, the messenger from the city of Maganiṣi, by the hands of E, a colonel in the army. He shall pay the corn in Marchesvan, in the city of Maganiṣi, or pay the full value of it in Nineveh. Dated the seventeenth of Sebat, b.c. 665. Eight witnesses.

The peculiar shape of the tablets recording loans of corn

One peculiarity of the corn loans is that they are chiefly recorded upon what have been called heart-shaped tablets. These were lumps of clay through which a string passed and came out at the upper shoulders. The string was probably tied around the neck of a sack containing the corn. They thus served both as labels, seals, and as bonds. Many of them have Aramaic dockets, which have been collected and edited by Dr. J. H. Stevenson, in his *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts, with Aramaic reference-notes*.

These loans made by the king

Thus the above example bears the words in Aramaic, "*barley, assignment, which is from Nabû-dûri.*" These Aramaic legends, in the case of such labels, may have served as addresses. But the general purpose is obscure. All the corn advances seem to have been made by officials of the royal household to inferior officers, in charge of farms or otherwise dependent for supplies.

Often made just before harvest

Sometimes at seed-time

They show by their dates that the corn was usually advanced just before harvest, when corn was dearest. Some of them name the reapers; others give the number of them. We conclude that these advances were made as food for the harvesters, or as wages for their labor. Occasionally, however, the loan was made at seed-time. Most of the loans are *ana pûḫi*, which supports the view that the meaning of this phrase is really "for management expenses" and presupposes the metayer system.

Receipts for payment of a loan of money

Closely connected with money or other loans are receipts for payment. These are somewhat rare. The more usual practice was to break the tablet, or promise to pay, which was returned to the debtor. But we have two good examples, thus:

The four minas of silver, interest, belonging to C, which were due from D, D has paid and given to C. One with the other, neither shall litigate. Dated seventh of Sivan, b.c. 683. Three witnesses.

Here we are not aware of the circumstances which lead to the loan. But, in one case, we have records both of the loan and its repayment, thus:

Of a loan of corn

Baḫiânu advanced two homers of corn, for food, to Nabû-nûr-nammir; and one homer each to Latubashâni-ilu and Ṣabutânu, *ana pûḫi*. Dated the twenty-ninth of Elul, b.c. 686.

And we find also:

Ṣabutânu and Latubashâni-ilu repay each one homer. Nabû-nûr-nammir does not repay. Dated Iyyar, b.c. 685.

Whether or not the defaulter paid later is not known; but we probably owe our knowledge of the repayment to the fact that all three did not pay together. We note that each paid exactly what he borrowed. No interest was charged.

Of a fine

In one case we have a receipt for a fine, or damages, imposed by a law-court. Thus:

Forty minas of bronze, without rebate, which the *sukallu* imposed as a fine. Paid to the *šakintu*. Dated the tenth of Adar, b.c. 693. Four witnesses.

There is no statement who owed, or paid, the fine. But the lady governor who received the money gave this receipt for it.

Explicitness of the Code regarding legal responsibility

The Code makes very clear the legal aspect of this transaction. A minor or a slave could only deposit under power of attorney. A deposit was not recoverable unless made by a deed, or delivered in presence of witnesses and duly acknowledged by a receipt. The receiver was liable for all loss occurring to the goods in his possession on deposit, even when the loss was such as involved the loss of his own goods as well. For corn, the Code fixed a yearly fee for warehousing of one-sixtieth the amount deposited.

The bond destroyed on payment

As we learn from the few actual cases which occur, the receipt given for the goods was returned to the recipient on the return of the goods and the tablet broken as cancelling the responsibility. One form which it might take is illustrated by the following:

Ten shekels of silver, which according to a sealed receipt was deposited for the share of Ṣili-Shamash, he has taken from Ṣili-Ishtar and Amêl-ili, his brothers. His heart is contented; he will not dispute. Oath by Ḥammurabi, the king. Seven witnesses. Fourth year of Ḥammurabi.

Here apparently three brothers share, but one being absent the two hold their brother’s share for him, giving a sealed receipt for it. This the

judge delivered to him and he claimed and received his share.

Examples of deposit rare

Actual examples of deposit are rare; probably because our collections refer to temple transactions, rather than to private family deeds. We have a deposit of lead, from which we learn that silver was worth twice as much as lead. It was to be sent from Ashnunna, on demand. Here is another:

Receipts

"Concerning the silver which Zikrum and Ṣabitum gave to Ṣili-Ishtar on deposit. They have received it; their hearts are content. They gave up their bond and it was broken."

Instead of a receipt by the recipient there is often found a list concluding with the word *apkida*, "I have intrusted." Then comes the date and the names of witnesses. It is not clear, however, that these things were meant to be returned. They may only be memoranda of allowances given out. They chiefly occur in Scheil's *Saison de fouilles à Sippar*.

No examples in later literature

In Assyrian documents no examples of this kind of transaction are found. Nor are any very clear examples producible from later Babylonian times. But it must not be overlooked that some cases, where a receipt is given for a sum or quantity of goods, without mention of interest to be paid, may very well be acknowledgments of a deposit; they have usually been taken to be loans.

XXIV. PLEDGES AND GUARANTEES

Pledges given as security in early times

Very little is known about pledges in early times, though Meissner had argued for their existence from certain passages of the series *ana ittišu*, such as "on account of the interest of his money he shall cause house, field, garden, man-servant, or maid-servant, to stand on deposit"; followed later by, "if he bring back the money he can re-enter his house; if he bring back the money, he can plant his garden again; if he bring back the money, he can stand in his field; if he bring back the money, he can take away his maid; if he bring back the money, one shall return his slave." Consequently the creditor held the pledge in his possession until the loan was returned, when he had to give it back. The pledges here mentioned are antichretic, that is, such that they produce an income or return to the holder, which is a set-off against the interest of his money.

Similarity of this custom to distraint

The Code recognizes the taking of property in satisfaction of a debt. But this is rather a process of distraint upon the goods of the debtor, in case of non-payment, than a case of pledge. Since it was usually expected that the property so taken would be returned on payment of the debt, we can hardly distinguish it from pledge. Indeed, where a debtor gave up his wife, child, or slave to work off a debt, we have a case of antichretic pledge for the debt and interest.

The practice in later periods

In times subsequent to the First Babylonian Dynasty, the pledge is common. As a rule, it is antichretic, such that income or profit derived from the pledge is a fair equivalent for the interest of the loan. The lender acquires the right of enjoying the pledge. As a rule this is assigned him absolutely, so that no account is needed to be kept of interest on one side and profit on the other. If the profit exceeds the interest due, the excess may be returned, or it may be credited towards the discharge of the debt. If the interest exceeds the profit on the pledge, then the amount by which the loan exceeds the capitalized profit must pay interest.

Very frequent in Assyria

In Assyrian times loans on security are fairly common. Here also we have antichretic loans, where the profit on the pledge was a set-off against the interest of the money. The pledge is expressly stated to be "in lieu of interest." But it seems that the property was often expected also to

extinguish the debt. Or it was merely pledged, as a security, which the creditor would keep in case he could not get his money back. We may illustrate these by examples:

A loan secured by land and seven slaves

The lady Addati, the *šakintu*, lends two minas of silver, Carchemish standard, exact sum, to D, the deputy of the chief of the city. In lieu of the two minas of silver, a plot of twelve homers of land in the outskirts of Nineveh, Kurdi-Adadi, his wife and three sons, Kandilânu and his wife, in all seven people, and twelve homers of land, are pledged. On the day that one returns the money, the other shall release the land and people. Dated the first of Marchesvan, b.c. 694. Ten witnesses.

The point about the phrase, "exact sum," seems to be that the advance was made without any rebate. Here the security is worth little more than the loan. Its profits would, however, be a good security for the interest of the loan. No time is given for repayment, but the creditor undertakes to accept repayment and release the pledge at any time.

Again:

A loan secured by a vineyard and slaves

The lady Indibî lends sixteen minas of silver, royal standard, to D. In the month of Tishri, he shall pay the money in full; if not, interest shall be two shekels per mina monthly. A vineyard in the village of Bêl-aḫê, next to that of Ḥabašu, next to that of Si'banik, next to that of the chief scribe; also these slaves, Dâri-Bêl, his wife, three sons, and two daughters, along with his household, four fat cows (?); Ḥudi-sharrûtu and his daughter; all are pledged as security. If they die or run away, the loss shall be D's. The day that D shall refund the money, with the interest, his slaves and vineyard shall be released. Dated the ninth of Ab, b.c. 688. Six witnesses.

Or again:

A loan secured by a field

Five homers of land belong to D, in the city Kâr-Au. The lender L gives D two-thirds of a mina of silver. This two-thirds of a mina of silver L shall acquire from the field and when D thus has given L his money back, he shall release the field. Dated the sixteenth of Iyyar, b.c. 680.

In the following case a maid is assigned outright for a loan. It is doubtful whether this is a sale, or a pledge:

By the service of a maid

In lieu of money, Bêlit-ittîa, the maid of the *šakintu*, is assigned to the lady Sinki-Ishtar. As long as she lives, she shall serve her. Dated the fourteenth of Iyyar, b.c. 652.

By the borrower's service

A very similar case occurs in the loan of corn and a cow by the *bêl paḫâti* of the Crown Prince, to a certain Nargî of the city of Bamatu. Nargî was to serve the lender for the corn and cow. When his service had become equivalent to the value of the advance, he could go free.

Antichretic pledge was very common in later Babylonian times. The most typical examples are houses. The lender

In later Babylonian times by the free use of a house

has a house in pledge. To him it is rent-free until the loan is repaid. Hence the common phrase "rent is nought, interest is nought." There was then no reckoning made one against the other. The creditor might not, however, care to take the pledge in perpetuity against interest of a loan, never repaid. Usually a date was fixed for repayment, at which time the debtor was bound to take back his pledge. Thus a house might be pledged definitely for three years.

Relations between profits and interest

A reckoning might also be made, to check off profit against interest. Thus D pledges a field to L, but on condition that, if in any year the crop is less than will meet the interest due, he shall pay the difference; but if, on the other hand, it be worth more, he shall take the balance.

Second mortgages barred

The value of the pledge might, however, be such that it would outweigh both loan and interest. At any rate, it should be as valuable as the loan. Hence it could not be used as a further pledge to another. There is often a guarantee that the pledge given has not been already pledged, that no other creditor has a lien upon it.

The creditor's responsibility

In these cases the creditor enters into possession of the pledge and enjoyment of it. He has some responsibilities towards it. He cannot destroy it, or waste it. As a rule, he assumed full liability for all cases for wear and tear. He also fed and clothed a slave pledged to him. Now and then we find the debtor responsible for clothing the slave pledged by him. It is not essential, however, to the idea of pledge that it should come into the possession of the creditor, only it is hypothecated to him. This practice was very common in later Babylonian times.

Pledges often anticipated and readily transferable

Such pledges give an eventual possession. Something like a reversion occurs in the pledge of a share not yet divided. Thus a sum was borrowed on the understanding that if not returned by the proper time, a slave shall be handed over as an antichretic pledge. The man who gives a

pledge may not be in actual possession of it, but pledges it on the understanding that he will hand it over as soon as it becomes his. Thus B bought a slave and her two young children for sixty-five shekels, but before they were handed over, he pledged them for fifty-five shekels. Nine months later he sold them for sixty shekels.

Mortgages

A common case is where the debtor pledges all he has to the creditor, a pledge usually greatly in excess of the value of the loan and its interest for a reasonable term, but remains in possession himself. Hence the creditor has only a right over the pledge, a lien upon it, but no usufruct. For this he had the bond. This also gives only an eventual possession.

The creditor in free use, within his needs, of pledged property

We often meet with after-pledge. The creditor, being in possession of the pledge, might traffic in its profits. If he held a house as pledge, he was not bound to live in it, but could sublet it. Hence he might pledge the rent of it. Or he could repay himself his loan by repledging the house to another. He could also pledge the loan which was due to him. This makes a rather complicated case.

Possible complications

Thus L makes an advance *a* to D and receives a pledge *p*. He may then pledge both *a* and *p*. If these are given to two separate persons, *a* to A and *p* to P, then P has a cause for uneasiness. If D comes in and pays up *a*, he has a right to the pledge *p* which is in P's possession. But the money he advanced is not thereby paid to him. Further, A has a right to the money *a* just paid in by D, which is all that is in evidence. Hence L will have succeeded in getting two sums, and unless he can succeed in realizing his investments of them, is called on to pay both A and P with one amount. Either A or P may suffer. But if L pledges both *a* and *p* to one man C, then C is quite independent of the relations of L to D. Now D simply has to pay C and gets his pledge back. C is sure of his money.

Method of securing the holder of a second mortgage

Such a transfer of the responsibility of D from L to C was effected by handing over to C, with the pledge, also D's bond to L. C now holds this bond, which, with his pledge, D wishes to get back. The following is a complicated case illustrating these points: D had a house and pledged it to L, who lived in it. Two others were guarantees that D would repay the loan. The pledge was antichretic, "rent nothing, interest nothing." Now L wanted money; so he pledged the house to C. But he did not wish to vacate. So he hired it of C, at such a rate that he would repay C's loan in about five years. It is clear that this house was not good security for C,

since D might turn out L at any time by repaying him. L would then owe money to C for which C had no security at all. But L in addition pledged all his own property, his slave, and all his goods in town and country. Further, he not only pledged the house, but handed over D's bond to him. C thus held the house in after-pledge, and the advance with its security in pledge. He was therefore amply secured, since D must pay him.

Now L died and was succeeded by his son M. L had already paid nearly a third of his debt. M thus owed less interest on the loan still due and was accepted by C as tenant at a lower rent. By this means M really made a small profit to himself. In three years M had paid off the whole sum borrowed by his father, and due from him as heir and executor, so he gave back his father's bond to C, also D's bond to L. Now D paid back his loan to M. His bond to L was destroyed. The claim of C on D was annulled, the guarantees of D were free. A final deed of settlement was drawn up, in which C acknowledged that he had no claims on D or M, nor on D's sureties. He had to say this, because he was not only creditor to M, but as long as he held transferred to him the pledge of D, and the credit of L, he was a creditor with claims on D also. Further, M declares that he has no credit on D.

The occasion for guarantees

A guarantee arises from certain persons undertaking to fulfil a responsibility which is legally incumbent on another, in case he fails to do so himself; or to secure that he shall fulfil it himself. Thus, guarantees are very frequent at all times, especially in the later Babylonian period, and are of many different kinds.

Guarantees for debt

A guarantee for debt was an additional security to the creditor. Of course, the original debtor is the security that the guarantor shall not lose. A good example showing all sides is the following bond for three minas due from D to L. G and W come in and guarantee that D will pay; if not, they will. To protect themselves, they take as a pledge of D some of his people. But D paid and received back his people, so that the bond was returned to D. Why D did not give his people as pledge to L direct is not clear. G and W were probably persons of greater credit and perhaps related to D. The guarantor was sometimes called on to pay. Thus G guarantees for D, is called on to pay and D repays him. The guarantor was legally protected against the defaulting debtor.

For appearance

A guarantee for appearance may have been only to come and pay, as when G guarantees the creditor, a temple, that D will come on a fixed

date, and pay his debt; or if not, G will himself pay. It may be a guarantee that a man will not go away; by which may be meant escape payment, or fail to appear for judgment. This is called a guarantee "for the foot of" the person thus indorsed. The "foot" is said to be in the "hand" of him who demands the guarantee. It often refers to debt. G guarantees for the foot of D, out of the hand of L. If he goes away, G will pay thirty-five *GUR* of dates. Here G is the mother of D. So, probably on account of debt, G guarantees for the foot of D, his son-in-law, from the hand of L; again, G guarantees for D to L that D will come on a certain day. G takes the responsibility for all D owes to L, and will pay if D does not come. Or, G guarantees for D and E that they will not leave for another place. If they do, he will pay six minas.

For a witness's appearance

But the appearance may be needed for a different purpose. G guarantees to bring a witness to Opis, and give witness against L that one who was guarantee for the foot of someone to L shall return at the right time. If the guarantee shall prove that L was paid, he is free; if not, he is bound to pay.

D owed L a debt. L ceded this debt to M, but had to guarantee that D will come and pay.

Joint responsibility

Solidarity is in some cases a form of guarantee. Thus two men D and E owe a debt to L. Each is taken as guarantee for the other that they will pay. This is one of the commonest forms of guarantee. The debt could then be recovered in its entirety from either.

Against theft

An example of a guarantee against theft is also found.

Of full value of property sold

A warrant against defects in a slave is very common. The seller warrants that if the slave prove to have certain undisclosed defects, vices, or liabilities, which would detract from his value to the buyer, the seller will indemnify the buyer. This indemnification seems to be effected by a return of the purchase-money and accepting the slave back. But, in some cases, the seller returned part of the purchase-money according to a fixed scale of allowances. In the sale of an estate, the seller guarantees that he will indemnify the buyer in case of any defect of title to sell, or any lien upon the estate.

Against suits at law

Very common at all times was a personal guarantee not to dispute the compact entered into. In fact, this may always be said to be assumed.

The oaths by which parties swore to observe the terms of the compact are a form of this guarantee. The penalties, so prominent in Assyrian times, are voluntary undertakings to forfeit stated sums, if found attempting to go behind the contract.

Of the value of securities

As the pledge did not always leave the debtor's possession, the creditor only had a lien upon it. Hence the giver of the pledge had to guarantee that no creditor had a previous lien upon it. This is also extremely common. A slave pledged for debt might run away. His labor as the offset against the interest was thus annulled. The borrower then becomes liable for the interest lost to the creditor.

XXV. WAGES OF HIRED LABORERS

Free labor in demand

Despite the existence of slaves, who were for the most part domestic servants, there was considerable demand for free labor in ancient Babylonia. This is clear from the large number of contracts relating to hire which have come down to us. The variability of the terms agreed upon is witness for the existence of competition. As a rule, the man was hired for the harvest and was free directly after. But there are many examples in which the term of service was different — one month, half a year, or a whole year.

Slaves or dependents secured from owners

One might hire labor from the master of a slave, or from the parents of a young man, not yet independent, and then the wages were small, a shekel or two. These wages were paid to the master or parents, not to the laborer himself.

Reapers for the harvest had half a shekel, or two shekels, each. The first may be the daily wages, the latter the price for a specific job. It is probable that the *GUR* of corn for ten days also represents the wages for the whole period.

Wages subject to adjustment

Average wages have been estimated by Meissner to be six shekels per year, according to the Code, and some actual examples of contracts. But it was evidently a matter of agreement, for we have rates as low as four shekels and as high as eight. Usually the employer paid down a sum, for example, a shekel, as earnest-money; the rest was paid by a monthly or daily rate, or in a lump sum at the end of the term of service. Occasionally the wages might be paid down at the start, but this was rare and the amount less.

Often paid in produce

Very frequently, of course, the wages were paid in corn instead of money. Many difficulties lie in the way of finding an equivalent of the shekel in corn. Harvest labor was probably far dearer than any other, because of its importance, the skill and exertion demanded, and the fact that so many were seeking for it at once. Further, after harvest, when the wages were paid, corn was at its lowest price. Meissner's actual examples show that two hundred and fifty *ḲA* might be accepted as yearly wages. We have such a variety of rates that it is difficult to draw any clear conclusion, but two young slaves at harvest could earn three

hundred *ḲA*, and for a whole year the wages might be over six hundred *ḲA*, or even as much as three *GUR*, or nine hundred *ḲA*. The Code names ten *ḲA* as daily wages. The average value of a *GUR* of corn was a shekel, hence this gives a yearly rate of twelve shekels. In this case we may suppose that the laborer supported himself.

The labor duly guaranteed

The laborer had to be bound to perform his task. A penalty was attached to his failure to appear at the proper time, and guarantees were sometimes taken for his appearance. In other cases it is stipulated that the penalty for non-appearance shall be fixed by the king's decision.

Duration of service fixed

It was usual to name expressly the time of his commencing and leaving off his work. These clauses are incidentally of importance as fixing the names and sequence of the months at this period. Thus, from the example below we see that the month Tirinu preceded Elul.

Living usually included

Of course, the employer took all responsibility for the slave whom he hired. He fed and clothed him during his term of service. If he suffered any injury, the employer had to compensate the master. Occasionally the slave clothed himself, and then his wages were higher.

As an example we may take the following:

Nâmir-nûrshu from Rutum, Rîsh-Shamash, son of Marduk-nâṣir, for wages, for one year, has hired. His wages for one year, twenty-four *ḲA* of oil, he shall pay, and he shall clothe him. In Elul he shall enter, in Tirinu he shall leave. Two witnesses. Dated in the reign of Ḥammurabi.

Assyrian contracts name both wages and time-limit of work

In the Assyrian times we have certain examples of advances of corn, or money, at harvest-time for the payment of reapers, which have already been noticed under loans. An advance of money and food to workmen may perhaps be put here. But it is also a contract to do work. It reads thus:

Shamash-bâni-aplu, Latubashâni, Ukîn-abîa, Aḫu ... in all four workmen. Two talents of bronze, three homers one *ŠE* of cooked corn. On the tenth of the month they shall do the work. All the repairs and the beams they shall make fast. They shall fix the balks, and set up the roof. If the bricks are not sufficient ... the month they do not give, they shall work and finish. Then follow seven witnesses. Dated on the sixth of some month, b.c. 734.

Unfortunately, parts of the tablet are injured and so the sense is not at all clear; but the workmen seem to have had four days in which to do the

work. The price offered was considerable.

In later Babylonian times we do not obtain much further information. Here is a good example:

From the twentieth of Nisan to the tenth of Ab, Zamama-iddin, son of Shamash-uballiṭ, son of the smith, shall be at the disposal of Nabû-usallim, son of Limnîa, and he shall pay him as his wages ten shekels of silver. He shall pay half the wages in Nisan and the rest in Tammuz. Whoever breaks the contract shall pay five shekels of silver.

The hire is nearly thirty shekels a year, as in the next example:

Bultâ, son of Ḫabaṣiru, son of the oxherd, has put himself in the hands of Marduk-nâṣir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balâṭu, son of Egibi, for wages of half a mina of silver for one year. From the first of Sebat shall Bultâ be at the disposal of Marduk-nâṣir-apli. Bultâ has received one-third of a mina of silver from Marduk-nâṣir-apli.

XXVI. LEASE OF PROPERTY

Form of house-rental

In case of lease, the specifications of the house are usually the same as in a sale. But this is often not so full, since the identity of the house is less in evidence. A very interesting text referring to the sale or lease of a house next to the palace, in the district of Tirḳa, a house belonging to gods Shamash, Dagan, and Idur-mêr is published by M. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*. It belonged to the King of Ḥana, whose seal it bears. His name was Isar-lim, son of Idin-Kakka. The receiver was Kaki-Dagan's son. The oath was by Shamash, Dagan, Idur-mêr and Isar-lim the king. The names are very interesting — Igid-lim, an official of the god Amurrû; Idin-abu, king's son; Ili-esuḫ, a judge; Idin-Nani, son of Idin-Marduk; Sin-ukûr, son of Amur-sha-Dagan; Iazi-Dagan; Ṭuri-Dagan; Ṣilli-Shamash. These prove that the land of Ḥana, already known by a votive offering of one of its kings, Tukulti-mêr, was largely Semitic. The names are either of the Babylonian or Aramaic type. It is, of course, not easy to date, as the style of writing in Ḥana may have been different from that in Babylonia at the same epoch.

The rental variable

Meissner estimates the average rent of a house to be one shekel per annum. But there are noteworthy variations which, with our available data, cannot be explained. Perhaps the best way is to take account of the size of the house, usually given in the Babylonian fashion by the area of its ground-plan. Rents were often paid in corn, but are so variable that a value for corn in money cannot safely be deduced.

The usual conditions of tenancy

A small part of the rent was usually paid as earnest-money to close the bargain. In the case of short leases the rest was paid on quitting the house, in longer leases half-yearly. Usually the term of tenancy was carefully stated. It was most commonly one year. The cost of repairs fell on the tenant, according to the Code, but he was forbidden to make any alterations until he had paid over the earnest-money. The Code perhaps only means to forbid his closing the door and fastening it, until the deposit was made. The landlord, in fact, preserved the right of free entry until then.

Fields rented for a limited term

The usual term of lease for fields was three years. It is not possible as yet to explain why three years was stipulated, but it was probably due to

something more than an accident of custom. Possibly a rotation of crops or an alternation of crop and fallow may have been in vogue.

Usual conditions of tenancy

According to the Code the tenant was bound to keep the land in good condition. His duties included the ploughing or trenching, sowing the seed, snaring or driving off the birds and stray beasts, weeding, watering, and harvesting. Gardens he had to fence. The watering-machines were of great importance and had to be kept in order. They were worked by oxen — often as many as eight oxen were required to work them. A certain amount of stock was frequently leased with the land. It is not clear that oxen were used for the plough; they may have been kept for the watering-machines.

Land often taken on shares

The landlord was in a very real sense a partner with his tenant, though he may be described as a "silent partner".

In the case of the great temple landowners it seems to have been the custom to supply a very large amount of the tenant's necessities. Seed-corn was frequently furnished, also corn for food for farmer and men, until the crop was gathered. The stock and farm implements were also provided by the landlord. This metayer system of leasing land probably accounts for loans without interest. It is not clear that such a system was already in vogue in early times.

Stipulations regarding improvements

In hiring a field it might be stipulated that the lessee should place a dwelling upon it, *manaḫtu ana eḳlim išakkanu*. Here the field was at a distance from the city, "beyond the upper stream." If the crop was to be properly looked after, protected from birds, stray beasts, and robbers the farmer must live there some part of the year. There was no dwelling. The lessee was therefore called on to erect a dwelling. Probably a simple edifice sufficed. At the end of the tenancy the tenant was called on to resign this building.

Varying rentals

There were two sorts of land. That called *AB-SIN* or *šeru'*, seems always to have paid six to eight *GUR* of corn per *GAN*. The other sort, *KI-DAN*, probably read *kigallu*, and certainly meaning land, not cultivated but to be brought into cultivation, was exceedingly variable in quality. It is set down for a rent of from three up to eighteen *GUR* per *GAN*, but some land is rented at seventy-two *GUR* per *GAN*.

Allowances for maintenance sometimes a part of the agreement

On account of the hire, some deposit was usually made, which seems to bear no direct relation to amount of rent. But while this was in many cases money — one to three shekels — a number of cases exhibit a list of quantities of food and drink. What these were it is difficult to say, as the terms are written ideographically. But joints of meat, pieces of flesh, drinks, bread and oil, seem to be intended. The custom is obscure. Possibly these are set down as weekly or monthly rations secured on the whole rent and to be set off against it later. That the quantities are in some sense distributive is certain, "so much each," but whether "each person," "each day," "each month," or "each year" is not stated. One plausible suggestion is that the landlord, like the votary in the Code whose brothers do not content her, let the farm to a man who covenanted to support or maintain him. The contention is strengthened by the fact that the cases known to us are all female landlords, and may actually be examples of what the Code contemplates. Having only a life interest in the property and being without capital, they could not afford to wait until harvest to receive the rent, but needed a frequent allowance for maintenance.

Life leases rare

One such tablet known, but difficult to localize

The lease of an estate for a term exceeding a few years was always rare. One is found on a tablet which is one of the most interesting of all those supposed to be of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The script and the language recall Assyrian types most vividly and it is full of non-Babylonian names, which suggest Hittite, or even Armenian, origin. Unfortunately, it is not dated. It might well have been found at Kalaḫ, or Asshur, and belong to somewhat early Assyrian times, perhaps before Assyrian independence of Babylonia. Not one person named in it occurs in the other tablets of the Bu. 91-5-9 Collection — a thing which cannot be said of another of them. If this was really found with them, we can only suppose that centralization was carried to such a pitch that important legal documents, even when executed as far away as Assyria, or Mesopotamia proper, had to be sent in duplicate to the capital of Babylonia. Or was it possible that the principal party came to the capital with this document in his possession, deposited it in the temple archives there, and died, leaving no one to reclaim it.

Dr. T. G. Pinches gave a transcription and translation of the text in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897, p ff., with many interesting and valuable comments:

Six homers of corn [land] belonging to Ishtar-KI-TIL-LA, son of Teḫip-TIL-LA, Kibîa, son of Palîa, Urḫîa, son of Itḫip-sharru, and Irishenni, son of Iddin-PU-SI, have taken for three homers of land, to harvest and transport. As long as Ishtar-KI-TIL-LA lives, Kibîa, Urḫîa, and Irishenni shall transport the crop of three homers of land and shall deliver the same in caldrons. If Kibîa, Urḫîa, and Irishenni do not harvest and transport and deliver the same in caldrons, and the corn perish, they shall pay in full one mina of silver and one mina of gold to Ishtar-KI-TIL-LA. Each is surety for the other. Before Aḫli-Têshup, son of Taishenni; before Ukuia, son of Geshḫai; before Shellu, son of Wantia; before Kushshu, son of Ḥuluḳḳu; before Durar-Têshup, son of Gil-Têshup; before Aḫli-Babu, the *ḫazânu*, son of Nubananu; before Zinu, son of Kiannibu, the scribe.

The names of the witnesses seem to be North Semitic

The names of the witnesses are here given in full because of their exceptional interest. Until we are sure of his nationality it is scarcely safe to suppose the principal's name was really pronounced Ishtar-kitilla — the latter part of the name may well be an ideogram. The name of his father ending also in *TIL-LA* suggests that that group of signs is separable. If so, the signs read Ishtar-*KI* may perhaps be ideographic also. It is evident that Teḫip is from the same root as Itḫip, and the form looks Semitic.

Kibîa, Palîa, Urḫîa are Semitic, but Irishenni and Taishenni remind one of the Erisinni, of the son of U'alli, King of the Mannai in Ashurbânipal's time. Still, neither can be said to be non-Semitic with certainty, when we recall the many names ending in *enni* or *inni* formed from verbs and compare the names formed from *erêšu*, *erêsu*. Names containing the name of the god Teshup were known long ago, as Ḥu-Teshup, Kali-Teshup, Kili-Teshup, where the other element of the name does not seem to be Semitic. Egyptian records give us other compounds of the name of this god, who was the sky-god among the pre-Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia

Here we have Aḫli-Teshup, Gil-Teshup, and Durar-Teshup. With the former, Professor Hommel compares Aḫlib-shar. With the next compare the Mitanni name Gilîa, also Gilûa. Aḫli-Babu is a closer parallel.

Of the other names, Shellu, Kushshu, Ḥuluḳḳu, and Zinu seem to be Semitic; at any rate they occur frequently, or in cognate forms, well known among the Assyrians and Babylonians. The others are all very unfamiliar. We are as yet so imperfectly acquainted with the onomastics of the nations surrounding the Semites that it is hazardous to attempt to

locate these people. Supposing them to be all of one race, they may belong to a colony settled near Sippara, but the whole style of the language is so unlike the Sippara documents that we can hardly suppose that to be the case.

XXVII. THE LAWS OF TRADE

The fitting-out of traders by capitalists a very early practice

The oldest form of business in Asiatic life is *commenda*: the commendatist gives a fixed sum of money to the agent with which he does his business. The former takes a fixed share of the profit, say half, in addition to the original sum invested. The agent usually secures guarantees for the capital. This method of carrying on business is customary in the early times. The Code regulates the relations between principal and agent. The former is called *tamkaru*, usually rendered "merchant," and the latter is *šamallû*, often rendered "apprentice." The merchant is, however, a trader in many ways, and in the Code he is usually named, where we expect lender or creditor. Hence there is little doubt that his name is derived from *magâru*, or *makâru*, with a meaning "to traffic" (?). He seems to have been a monied man, who was ready to make to cultivators advances on their crops — a practice always liable to great abuses, which the Code aims to check.

The agent repaid the value of the outfit with interest

The merchant principal also furnished goods, among which are mentioned corn, sesame, oil, wool, wine, and manufactured articles. The agent did the trading, and regularly rendered his accounts to his principal. He travelled from place to place to find a market for his goods, or to make purchases, which could be profitably sold at home. The principal paid no salary, but received again his capital, or the value of his goods, and an interest or share of the profit. It is clear that the merchant also moved from place to place, and there is evidence that many of them were foreigners. The travelling agents with their goods formed the caravan.

Legal memoranda essential as security

This kind of trading was regulated by the Code. Unfortunately, the opening sections of the part dealing with the relations of principal and agent are lost; but from what is left we see that it insisted on exact accounts being taken, on both sides, of the amounts of money or value of goods thus invested. If the merchant intrusted money to his agent, he was to take a receipt for it. If the agent received goods, he was to enter their money value and obtain his principal's acknowledgment of the amount of his debt. If he suffered loss of goods from his caravan by bandits, or in an enemy's land, he could swear to his loss, and be exempt from repayment to his principal. But if he did not prosper in his business, or

sold at a loss, he had to make good the capital, at least, to his principal. The Code leaves nothing to chance. If the agent is foolish enough not to obtain a sealed memorandum of the amounts received, or a receipt for what he pays to his principal, it is enacted that money not sealed for cannot be put in the accounts. Much was clearly left to the good faith of the agent. The principal was tolerably secure of receiving back his money and had hope of profit. Against that he had to set possible loss by robbery of the caravan. But he was not bound again to employ the same agent. An agent detected defrauding his principal had to pay threefold. But it speaks well for the Code as protector of the weak that it made the capitalist who defrauded the agent repay sixfold.

This business done mainly by caravans

From the contemporary documents we learn that the name for the business was *girru*. That this was also the name for an "expedition," warlike as well as peaceable, points to its connection with the caravan trade. The sign for *girru*, also used for *ḫarrânu*, a "journey," came in later times to be used for all kinds of business transactions. That the relations noted in the Code actually were carried out in practice, many tablets show. Thus we read:

One shekel of silver, price of one hundred and eighty *ŠE*, and three shekels of silver which Zuzana lent Aplâ son of Edishu, for five *years*, to enter on his *girru*. He shall pay one hundred and eighty *ŠE* and three shekels of silver to take back his sealed receipt.

Here the capital intrusted was a quantity of corn worth a shekel, and three shekels in money. This was in order to enter on a business journey. The agent Aplâ had to return the capital in full, as the Code enacts, to take back his bond. There is no agreement as to profits, which might be wanting; that was left to be understood. As a rule, the time was shorter, generally "one year." The agent appears to have often borne the name of *muttalliku*, "one who wanders about," "a hawker." The same may be denoted by *AḪ-ME-ZU-AB*, a group of signs whose reading is not yet clear, but may be a variant of the ideogram for *šamallû*.

Speculation not unknown

Business was also done, as the Code shows, as speculation in futures. Thus we read:

Sibbat-asê-iddina hired as "business" the produce of a field from three men. The produce of the business was to be three and seven-fifteenths *GUR* of corn, according to the standard measure of Shamash paid in Kar-Sippar, and one shekel was to be profit.

This was what he had to pay, and evidently, if the crop yielded more, that was his profit; if less, he had to stand the loss. Similarly, other crops were let on the terms that at harvest, or at the end of the "business," a specified amount should be paid.

Caravan trade

We learn from many hints, that caravan trade was always active. The name of Ḥarran in Mesopotamia is supposed to be derived from the numerous caravan routes that crossed there. The Tell el Amarna tablets tell us of the complaints made by the kings of Babylonia of the robbery of caravans in districts nominally under the control of Egypt.

These dealings frequent in later times

In the more private documents of the later Babylonian times, there is again plentiful evidence that this form of trade was common. The money was loaned out "to buy and sell." It was given *ana ḫarrânu*, "for hawking trade." Then whatever profit was made upon the money, the agent "will give" to the principal. The agent binds himself to undertake no other agency. He gives a guarantee for the money. The principal had no further responsibility for the business, and would not meet any further call. It is obvious that in a sense the principal and agent were partners, and many transactions in later times are difficult to distinguish from cases of partnership in the ordinary sense.

Importance of the canals for commerce

It has long been recognized that the canals controlled the prosperity of the country, but it is only lately that their importance as waterways has been fully realized. In the early period we read of flour sent by ship to Nippur for certain officials.

Navigation laws for shipping of great number and variety

The Code has much to say about ships. Temples owned them, as well as private persons. It was a crime, punishable with death, to steal a ship. We read of fees for building or navigating various ships. The responsibilities and damages in collisions and wrecks are apportioned. A shipowner might hire a captain to navigate a ship for him, or might hire the captain and ship together. The usual freight included corn, wool, oil, and dates, but many other things were also carried. The wages of a captain was six *GUR* of corn yearly. There are frequent references to ships in the contemporary letters. They were named according to their carrying capacity, which was five or more *GUR*. A ship of seventy-five *GUR* is named. They carried wood, for King Ḥammurabi ordered seven thousand two hundred pieces of *abba* wood to be brought to Babylon, three hundred pieces in a ship. A number of boat captains or perhaps

shipping agents were ordered to proceed from Larsa to Babylon and arrive with their ships in Adar. He gave orders for the furnishing of the crews. We further have a correspondence concerning the invasion of certain fishing rights by boats from another district. In the contemporary contracts we meet with several long lists of ships divided into little groups, of five, six, or seven, each with its captain named, each group under a head captain, all set down as at anchor at the port of Shamash, or the like. There is a case of the hire of a boat of six *GUR* freight by two persons for two months.

In Assyrian tablets

In Assyria, canals served chiefly for water-supply. Except when the Assyrian kings went outside their own lands to Babylonia or Mesopotamia, we hardly read of ships. Sennacherib's ships were built abroad and served abroad. There is no hint of their ever coming up to the walls of Nineveh. The contracts only once mention a ship in which booty was brought from somewhere.

Boat hire a regular stipulation in Babylonia

In the later Babylonian times there are many references to the hire of boats and their crews. They appear to be a regular conveyance of goods:

One shekel and a quarter of silver for the hire of a ship which brought three oxen and twenty-four sheep from the king's son [Belshazzar], for Shamash and the gods of Sippara. Further, fifty *ḲA* of dates for the rations of the two boatmen.

Thus the receiver paid carriage and expenses. The daily hire of a boat is now one shekel, and the wages of the crew amount to half as much. A boat might be bought for twenty shekels or half a mina. The wages of the boatmen included corn, dates, salt, and onions. The freight was exceedingly varied as before. One boat appears to have carried fresh meat.

The maintenance of roads

There are less obvious references to roads in the literature; but that they were in excellent condition has been conjectured from the many evidences of postal service and ready carriage even in early times. Convoys travelled from Agade to Lagash as early as the time of Sargon I. Innumerable labels are found on lumps of clay with the name and address of the consignee. These were attached to consignments of money and goods.

A regular tariff for land-transportation

The Code contemplates consignments being sent from a great distance, even from abroad. It regulates the charges for a wagon, with

oxen and driver, or a wagon alone. There are several cases in the contracts of the hire of wagons, for varied prices per year, one-third of a shekel to twelve shekels; but it is not certain that these were for conveyance from place to place. They may have been for agricultural purposes only. The usual means of conveyance seems to have been by asses.

Roads in Assyria of prime importance

In Assyrian times we find it part of the duty of a founder of a city to open up the roads leading to it. The land was intersected with roads in all directions, so that a field often had two roads as its boundaries. The whole plain outside Nineveh was cut up by roads, which here take the place of the canals of Babylonia. In this period we find horses and camels in use as beasts of burden as well as the asses.

XXVIII. PARTNERSHIP AND POWER OF ATTORNEY

Partnership in business common from early times

Association, or partnership, makes its appearance very early and in a highly developed state. Some forms are very simple, as when two or more men buy or hire a piece of land together. There may, or may not, be any family relationship between the partners. In some cases we learn nothing about the terms of partnership. But where we are able to discern them, they follow the natural course that profits were divided, *pro rata,* according to the capital contributed. More obscure is the question how far the personal exertions of each partner were pledged to the benefit of the firm. There is a suggestion that some partners were content with furnishing capital, and obtaining a fair return upon it, while the others were actively engaged in the business of the firm. Prolonged study and comparison are, however, needed before all these points can be definitely decided.

Origin of the word for partner

The name for a "partner" is *tappû*, and the sign *TAP* serves as ideogram. This sign consists of the two horizontal strokes used to denote "two," and may have been used to denote "union," or partnership, and so from its name *tap* have given rise to the name for "partner." In the new Babylonian times the ideogram is the sign usually read *ḫarrânu*, also formed of the two horizontal strokes crossed by two connecting strokes or bonds. There is little doubt that in early times this was read *girru*, when denoting "business," undertaken in association. Later the dualism of the partnership was marked by the addition of the dual sign to *ḫarrânu*. That both *ḫarrânu* and *girru* are used as words for "way," "journey," "expedition," may well point to the prominence of the idea of trade journeys with caravans. But partnerships were made with less ambitious aims and confined to holding and sharing in common varied sources of income.

The usual conditions

To make a partnership, *tapputam epêšu*, it seems that each partner contributed a certain amount of capital, *ummânu*. Yearly accounts were rendered and the profit then shared. This took place by a formal dissolution of partnership, when each partner took his share. This in no way prevented a renewal of partnership. For the satisfaction of the partners sworn declarations as to the property held in common and the profit made were deposed before judicial authorities. These often take

the form of a suit by one partner against the other, but it seems that they might be only formal suits to clear up the points at issue and secure a legal settlement.

Always legally defined

A considerable number of tablets are drawn up to embody a settlement on dissolution of partnership. Some do not make any reference to a law officer as arbitrator; but all contain a careful setting-forth of each partner's share and an oath to make no further claim. It is practically certain that these were drawn up with the cognizance of the local law-court.

The Code silent

The Code has nothing to say as to partnership, unless its regulations on the point were embodied in the lost five columns.

A good example of partnership documents is the following:

Erib-Sin and Nûr-Shamash entered into partnership and came into the temple of Shamash and made their plan. Silver, merchandise, man-servant, and maid-servant, abroad or at home, altogether they shared. Their purpose they realized. Money for money, man-servant and maid-servant, merchandise abroad or at home, from mouth to interest, brother with brother will not dispute. By Shamash and Malkat, by Marduk and Ḥammurabi, they swore. Then follow seventeen witnesses. The document is not dated.

Explanation of the terminology

The word for plan, *ṭêmu*, means the basis of partnership, that is, its terms. Here it was "share and share alike." The phrase *babtum*, "merchandise," includes all the material in which they traded, excluding the living agents. The phrase *ša ḫarrânim*, literally "on the road," may well have denoted the merchandise not in warehouse, but in circulation. Whether *ḫarrânu* actually referred to a caravan may be doubtful. We often read of goods *ša suḳi*, "on the street," in the same sense, "out on the market." If the partners dealt in corn, and had a quantity lent out on interest, that was *ša suḳi*. Whether a distinction between *ša ḫarrânim* and *ša suḳi* was kept up is not clear. But if they invested their capital in merchandise which they sent to a distant market for sale, the former phrase would be more appropriate, while if they bought wool to manufacture into cloth or garments and to sell in the bazaars of their own town, *ša suḳi* would be more suitable. The gate of the city was a market, and money or goods *ša bâbi*, "at the gate," was as we should say "on the market." In contrast to these phrases, *ina libbi alim*, "in the midst of the town," answers to our "in stock." While the term *mitḫariš* literally means

"altogether," "without reservation," it implies exact equality of share. The *amâtu* was the "word," literally, but, applied to business, means the agreement as to their mutual transactions. The completion of that was reached when they took the profits and divided them. It might include the mutual reckoning of profit and loss. The phrase "from mouth to interest" is very idiomatic. The "mouth," or verbal relationships, included all they said, the terms they agreed upon. The word "interest" here replaces the more usual "gold;" both mean the "profit," or the balance due to each. Usually we have the words "is complete," the idea being that no verbal stipulation has been overlooked, no money or profit left out of reckoning.

Evidence of long-established commercial customs

As will be remarked, such pregnant forms of expression evidently presuppose a long course of commercial activity. They can only have arisen as abbreviations of much longer sentences. Clear enough to the users of them, they do not admit of literal rendering, if they are to be intelligible to us. But they are eloquent witnesses of an advanced state of commerce.

In Assyrian literature

Traces of partnership are difficult to find in the Assyrian tablets which have reached us. We must not confuse with partnership the holding in common of property or lands, which may be due to heritage. Two or more brothers may sell their common property, for greater ease of division, but they are not exactly partners.

In later Babylonian times such evidence common

In the later Babylonian times, as is natural to expect with the larger number of private documents, there is much evidence regarding the many forms of association for business. We have such simple forms as the following:

One mina which A and B have put together for common business. All that it makes is common property.

Or thus:

Two minas each, A and B, have as *ḫarrânu*. All that it makes, in town and country, is in common. Rent of the house to be paid from capital.

The many varied details

They had a house, as shop and warehouse, the rent of which was a charge upon the business. Slaves might be partners with free men, even with their masters. A partner might merely furnish the capital or both might do so, and commit it to the hands of a slave or a free man with which to do business. The slave took his living out of such capital, and

the free man received either provisions or a fixed payment. Thus we read:

Five minas and six hundred and thirty pots of aromatics belong to A and B as partners. This stock is given to C, a slave, and D, another slave, with which to do business. Whatever it makes is A and B's in common. C and D take food and clothing from the profits where they go.

It is not unlikely that each slave was to look after his own master's interests. For we read:

Six minas belong to A and B and are given to C the slave of B as capital. A and B share what it makes. A will give another slave D to help C.

Even women entered into business as agents. We read:

Two-thirds of a mina belonging to A and B are given to a free woman with which to trade.

A formal dissolution of partnership

As in earlier times, the dissolution of partnership usually involved a reference to the law-courts. Thus we have a reckoning before judges of two brothers and a third who were in a partnership from the eighth year of Nabopolassar to the eighteenth of Nebuchadrezzar. "The business is dissolved" (*girru paṭrat*). All the former contracts were broken and shares are assigned to each. The first two brothers were in possession of fifty shekels which were to be divided.

Reckonings

Provisional reckonings were constantly made at frequent intervals, but did not involve dissolution of partnership, nor need to be referred to a law-court. Some cases are interesting for additional items of information. Thus we note:

A manufacturing partnership

Two partners put in each fifty *GUR* of dates. Whatever it makes is to be in common. They take a house in Borsippa for one year at rent of half a mina. The rent is to be paid out of profits. B holds the house and apparently carries on the business. At the end of the year he returns it and all the utensils to A.

It seems likely that he carried on some kind of manufacture. A held the south house, next door. B also paid the tithes. A similar case where some manufacture from dates is supposed, is thus stated:

A lends one hundred *GUR* of dates, fifty *GUR* of corn, sixty large pots, to B and C two of his slaves, on a partnership. They are to take in common whatever it makes, in town and country. The venture is to last

three years. But, in this case, they are to pay interest two minas *per annum*. At the end of the three years, the two slaves returned all.

They were given a house for which they paid no rent.

Power of attorney recognized and frequently used

Closely allied with agency is the power of attorney. In the Code a son in his father's house could not contract, buy or sell, or give on deposit, except by power of attorney empowering him to act for his father. The same was true of the slave. The contemporary documents contain many references to business done by agents on the order of their principals. The Assyrians also make frequent mention of persons acting as *bêl ḳâtâti*, having the power of another's hands, being in fact allowed to act as their attorney or agent. The king was represented in the law-courts by his agent. Sometimes the agent was called *bêl paḫâti* of the king's son. It even seems to be the case that *ḳâtâtu* acquired the sense of agency, or business, and *bît ḳâtâti* came to mean a "shop," or bazaar. In many cases "agency" was expressed by *ša ḳâtâ*, "by the hands of." Aliens had to act through such an agent. When three men borrow a quantity of straw, one alone sealed the receipt and bond to repay, and was said to be *bêl ḳâtâti ša tibni*, "agent for the straw." A female slave was sued for property said to be due from her master, in his absence. A free man, perhaps the judge, was *bêl ḳâtâti* for the woman that her master would take up the case on his return, and undertook to satisfy the suitor, if she could not do so.

Protection of the rights of the principal

In later Babylonian times the phrase survived. The commissary acted "with the hand" of his principal. We may take this to be the hand-sign, or seal, representing written authority. It involved a reckoning with his master, and naturally gave rise to a number of delicate questions. If a man bought a house for another, having been commissioned so to do, his principal must of course pay the price. But was he bound to accept his agent's selection? Could he not demur regarding the price? One of these points at least was dealt with by the later Code. Law A deals with the man who has concluded a purchase for another, without having a power of attorney from him in a sealed deed. If he has had the deed made out in his own name, he is the possessor. Of course, he can sell again to his principal, but he could not do so at a profit. Nor is the principal under any obligation to accept the purchase at the price the agent gave for it. Actual examples are far from rare: A buys a field, crop, date-palms and all, for C and D. This purchase was made on condition that all copies of the transaction be destroyed. The condition was not observed, as we still possess one of them. Later A received from C, one of his principals,

about half the price he had paid. But it does not appear that D ever paid his share, and this is why the condition was not carried out. Presumably A and C remained owners of the field.

Representative action

There is no limit to the varieties of agency or representative action. At all periods we meet with a brother, usually the eldest, acting for his other brothers. A brother acting with the hand of his brother also occurs in the time of Evil Merodach.

Power of attorney over funds

The power of attorney was also given to receive money and give a receipt, under seal. Again: A bought some slaves of B and paid in full. B gave receipt for the money, but did not undertake to deliver the slaves at A's house. A can send a messenger or agent to take the slaves, and B agrees to deliver them to such. Whatever is born or dies from among the slaves is credited to A.

XXIX. ACCOUNTS AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

Account-books

There are lists which are not formal contracts, but may have been used as legal evidence. The stewards of the great temples, of the palaces, and even of wealthy men in business, kept most careful accounts. These lists have some features peculiar to themselves and are not without considerable interest.

Those of the first epoch mainly temple accounts

The tablets which have reached our museums from Telloh, Nippur, and elsewhere, belonging to the ages before the First Dynasty of Babylon, are for the most part temple accounts. They often concern the offerings made by various persons, often officials of high standing, and some may well have been the notes sent with the offerings. But many were drawn up as records of the receipts for a certain day, month, or year. Interesting as they are for the class of offerings, for the names of offerers, or of priests, and for the cult of particular gods, or the localities near Telloh and Nippur, and often containing valuable hints for the history and chronology of those times, they do not give us the same insight into the daily life of the people that the longer legal documents do, in later periods.

Receipts for loans

An important class consists of receipts for loans. Those drawn up at full length and witnessed, have already been considered. But the majority may only contain a list of articles delivered, with the name of the receiver, the lender being the holder as a temple official, while the receiver is a subordinate. These may have been as effective as the fuller bonds, but they furnish little information, except regarding the current prices of articles.

Accounts of repairs or expenses

Some tablets are concerned with hire. The amounts paid by the temple for repairs, fresh robes for gods and officials, even maintenance of the workmen, are all set down with their totals for a week, or a month.

Records of measurements

An important class consists of the records of the measurements, length, breadth, and area of fields, together with the amounts of corn which they were expected to produce. Were these available for a widely extended area, we might be able to map out the district round the temple from whose archives they come.

The conditions of service with flock and herds

The temples and large landowners had great flocks and herds. Consequently, there is much evidence concerning the pastoral occupations of the people of Babylonia. The Code regulates the relations of the shepherds and herdsmen to the flock-masters. Thus an owner might hire a shepherd, *nâkidu*, for his sheep or cattle, at the wages of eight *GUR* of corn *per annum*. The shepherd or herdsman took out the flock or herd to the pasture and was responsible to the owner for them. They were intrusted to him, and if sheep or ox were lost through his fault, he had to restore ox for ox and sheep for sheep. If he was hired and had received satisfactory wages, he had no power to diminish, or abstract from, the flock or herd for his keep or private use. He entered into a contract with the owner, and that stipulated for the restoration of the entire flock or herd, together with a proper increase due to the breeding of the flock or herd. He had to make any deficiency good, by statute. This applied also to the stipulated profit in wool or other produce. It seems clear that his own profit was any excess above the stipulated return. Otherwise it is difficult to see what source he had from which to make good the loss to his master. He was forbidden to alter the agreement into which he had entered in any particular, or to sell any of the flock, under penalty of a tenfold restitution. He was, however, protected from liability for loss by wild beasts or accident. But, if the loss was due to his fault, by neglecting to keep the fold secure, he had to make up the loss.

Herdsmen's accounts

It is obvious that he gave a receipt for what was intrusted to him and made his account on return from the pastures. These accounts are plentiful among the temple accounts in the earliest periods, but being written for the most part in Sumerian, have still many obscurities for us. As a rule, each deals with the liabilities of one man, whose "account," *nikasu*, it is said to be. At the beginning are recounted the details of his trust, so many oxen, cows, sheep or goats, of varied ages and qualities. Here it is very difficult to translate. Anyone who knows the variety of names which are given to an animal by agriculturists according to its age, sex, and use, need not be surprised to find that the Babylonians had many names for what we can only render by "sheep." As a rule, we know when the ram, ewe, or lamb is intended. But this by no means exhausts the variety. Anyone who glances through an Arabic lexicon must notice how many different names the Arabs have for the camel in its different aspects. But in our case we often have no clew to what was

meant by the signs beyond some variety of sheep, ox, or goat. At any rate, the first section enumerates the cattle or sheep delivered to the herdsman. Then follows a section devoted to those "withdrawn," taken back by the owner, or exacted as some due from the flock. Others are noted as taken for sacrifice, used for the wages or support of the herdsman, or else dead or otherwise missing. These the herdsman was allowed to subtract and then had to return the balance. There are similar lists of asses or goats. The tablets hardly lend themselves to connected translation because of the absence of verbs. The following is an example:

Forty-three ewes, forty-three rams, seven ewe-lambs, seven he-lambs, three she-goats, one sucking kid, to start with. Expended in ewes and rams, none; six ewes, seventeen rams, snatched away; no lambs lost: no ewes, one ram, no lambs. Total: one hundred and four to start with. Total expended: none. Total: twenty-three snatched away. Total: one lost. Namḫâni, shepherd. Overseer: Duggazidda. At Girsu. The year after the king devastated Kimash.

The meaning of the words is somewhat conjectural. "Expended" may mean used for the shepherd's own maintenance. "Snatched away" means probably deducted for revenue purposes, about one in five. The scribe did not write "none." He merely left a blank.

Lists of second epoch unavailable

The similar lists for the second epoch are not yet available for study. Only one appears to have been published, but there are many still unpublished. It is not easy to translate them, because, though many Semitic names occur, there is still a tendency to use the old Sumerian, or ideographic writings. Such a list as:

Eight oxen, twenty-three work-oxen (for watering-machines), eleven milch cows, sixteen steers, sixteen heifers. In all seventy-four oxen (or cattle) belonging to Marduk-uballiṭ in the hands of Bêlshunu, fifth day,

may serve as an example, but does not convey much information to us. These lists are chiefly valuable for the means of comparison they afford. A three-year-old ox was worth half a mina of silver.

The Assyrian lists indicate new varieties of animals

For Assyrian times we have a few interesting examples, just enough to show that the same customs survived. There are no less than thirty-five kinds of sheep and goats, and fifteen kinds of cattle named in the lists; also eleven kinds of birds. Here is a specimen list of asses which gives some prices:

One male working ass for one and a half minas seven shekels, one she-ass for thirty-seven shekels, a second she-ass for one mina, a third

she-ass for one royal mina, a fourth she-ass for thirty-two shekels, in all five and a half minas two shekels.

There is nothing to show for whom or why the list was drawn up, but if the total is correct, we learn that a royal mina was worth one mina forty-six shekels of the ordinary standard. The lists of horses are now very numerous, some dozen varieties being distinguished. Many of these lists give the numbers of horses of different kinds which entered a certain city on a certain day. The horses are often distinguished as coming from certain countries, being called Kusai, or Mesai, horses. The camels are frequently mentioned, and we learn that one was worth a mina and a third. Dromedaries are also named and seem to have been worth three minas apiece.

Memoranda regarding wool

Wool accounts play an important part in documents of the early times. They may be regarded as of two kinds. The first are shearers' accounts returned by the shepherd of a flock; the second are concerned with the amounts of wool given out to weavers.

The four kinds of wool

Shearers' accounts enumerate four sorts or qualities of wool. The best was called royal wool, that which was of the highest quality. The others were second, third, and fourth quality. Poor wool and black wool are also named. Sometimes we are told from what part of the sheep's body it was taken. Other terms applied are less easy to recognize. This wool was received by weight.

Black wool very highly valued

The weavers' accounts give a list of quantities of wool, with the same distinctions as to quality, and the price at which it was assessed. This was doubtless the sum to be paid by the weaver, if the wool was not returned made up. The values attached show very clearly the difference in quality. Thus, while two looms of royal wool were worth thirty minas, seven looms of second quality went for the same value, eleven looms of third quality for a talent, and thirty-two looms of fourth quality for one talent, one loom of another sort for one talent, and the same amount of black wool for the same value. It is evident that the black wool was highly valued. The loom, literally, "beam," of wool, was some measure, perhaps what would occupy one weaver. The price was probably fixed in silver. The price of the same quality varied from time to time.

Sheep-shearing

In the letters of Ḥammurabi and his successors there are frequent references to the shearing, and orders for the inspection of flocks and

herds. The Code does not refer to sheep-shearing, though it mentions wool. The shearing was concluded by the New Year feast in Nisan. In the contemporary contracts there are several wool accounts. As a rule, one talent, or sixty minas' weight, of wool was served out to several men who were to pay for it, to the palace, at the rate of one shekel of silver *per mina*.

The weaving accounts

In Assyrian times we have great wool and weaving accounts. Some deal with the huge amounts of wool received as tribute from the great cities of the empire and then served out to bodies of weavers in various palaces with specifications of the species of cloth or sorts of garments which were to be returned. In the later Babylonian times we have a large number of wool accounts recording the amounts given out from the temple to various persons to weave or make up into garments.

Memoranda regarding skins of animals

Skins are also named in the accounts. They are distinguished as the skins of certain kinds of animals. Various amounts are credited to different persons, but whether as giving or receiving, and in what capacity, is not clear. Sheep and goat skins are most common, but ox and cow hides are named.

Leather

The Code does not refer to these, nor the letters of Ḥammurabi and his successors, but we have lists of skins and carcasses of animals. The purpose of the lists is not clear. In Assyrian times there are frequent references to hides. There was a distinct grade of official called a *ṣârip taḫšê*, "dyer of skins." Large quantities were bought in the markets of Kalaḫ and Ḥarrân. The price was about two shekels of silver for a skin. The articles made of leather are very numerous; shoes, harness, pouches, even garments, are named. It was used for buckets, baskets, bottles, shields, and many other things not clearly recognized.

Amounts allowed for the food of animals

Fairly frequent also are accounts of the quantities of corn expended for the keep of flocks and herds. The amounts allowed *per diem* are the chief items of interest. Sheep were allowed from one to one and a half *ḲA* a day, lambs half a *ḲA*, oxen six to eight *ḲA*. In the Code we find allowances for the keep of animals. There are very frequent lists in Assyrian times of amounts of corn given to various animals. These also occur at later times. The amounts allowed per day are various and by no means uniform. A very good example gives as the allowance of corn for

a full-grown sheep two *ḲA per diem*, for a young sheep, one *ḲA*, for a lamb one-half *ḲA*.

Acknowledgment of advances

Acknowledgments of advances, or loans, occur in the first epoch. As a rule, we are not told what was the ground of the loan. The fact that these loans were to be repaid is not stated, and we may take the tablets to be merely receipts for things given out to officials who had a right to them. The substances were corn of different kinds, wine, beer, sesame-wine, butter, flour and other food-stuffs, wool, and other supplies. We sometimes learn prices from these tablets. Thus a *GUR* of corn cost one shekel.

Stewards' accounts

Long lists of accounts are very common at all epochs. They relate what sums or amounts were paid out to various officials for certain goods or for wages, keep, and the like. In fact, they are stewards' accounts. Unfortunately, the way in which most collections have been formed, and even more the way in which they have since been preserved, renders it impossible for us to make the use of them which has often been made of mediæval accounts. Otherwise we could obtain from them many interesting items. They are, however, most valuable for prices and names.

The earliest mention of iron

Thus, in such lists we find mention of articles which would otherwise remain unsuspected. The first reference to iron is in the Ḥammurabi period, whence we learn that a shekel of silver would buy eight times its weight of iron. Sometimes we get an important contribution to chronology. It is well known that there is no certainty as to the order of the Eponyms after b.c. 648, but we know their names for at least forty years later. Any contribution to the order of these names would be welcomed with avidity. Thus, one scribe writes: "Income from the Eponymy of Sagab to the Eponymy of Nabû-shar-aḫêshu, for six years, which was paid in as maintenance, eleven talents ... besides twenty-seven plates of silver." We cannot say whose income it was, but the previous section dealt with the income of the crown prince, and this may be only a *résumé* of the last. But we now know that from Sagab to Nabû-shar-aḫêshu was six years in all.

Thus, from the most varied and often most unpromising sources are derived those important details which make it possible to attain an exact and realistic conception of Babylonian and Assyrian history and life.

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LETTERS

I. LETTERS AND LETTER-WRITING AMONG THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

External form of the letters

Their envelope

The ancient Babylonians early discovered the convenience of written communication between friends at a distance. The origin of letter-writing is not yet clear; for, when we first meet with letters, they are fully developed. A piece of clay, usually shaped like a miniature pillow, was inscribed and then enclosed in an envelope made of a thin sheet of clay. On the envelope was written the address. As a rule, the letter was baked hard before being put into its envelope. Powdered clay was inserted to prevent sticking. The envelope, after being inscribed, was also baked hard. Of course, the letter could not be read without breaking the envelope, which was therefore a great protection to the interior letter. The envelope was naturally thrown away after being broken. Hence, extremely few envelopes have been preserved.

Their dates

The practice of dating letters does not seem to have been common. We have dated letters at all epochs, but they are few. In some cases the date may have been on the envelope. It is more common for the writer to give the day of the month, sometimes also the month. But the date of a letter was probably not then of any great importance.

Another method of insuring privacy

Some letters seem to have been covered with coarse cloth, on which was impressed a lump of clay, to act as a seal and bind down the edges. The lumps were then sealed with a signet-ring, or cylinder-seal. The clay envelopes were also sealed, before baking, with the sender's seal. So usual was this habit, that the word for seal, *unḳu*, is often used to denote a sealed letter. Thus when an official acknowledges the receipt of the king's "seal," it means a sealed order or rescript.

Style of the opening address

The early Babylonian letters usually open with the formula, "To A say: Thus saith B." The formula probably goes back to the times when the message was verbally delivered. These would be the words used to a messenger who had to remember the message. The verb "saith" is not expressed exactly. The word used is *umma*, which is often rendered "saying"; it introduces a direct quotation. We might render, "In the name of B." But the written letter replaced the spoken message. Some think the letter was read by a professional reader. Such readers are common still,

where education is not widely diffused. It is very clear that the letter was generally written by a scribe. Thus, all Ḥammurabi's letters show the same hand, while those of Abêshu or Ammi-ditana are quite different. In the case of private letters we have less proof. But it is possible that the king sometimes wrote with his own hand. Some terms of expression render that very likely. It is, however, quite impossible to be certain on such points.

Variations of the formula

The same opening formula also appears in the Tell el Amarna letters. It is not known in Assyrian letters, but survived in Babylonia to a late period. In Assyria the formula is nearly the same; with the omission of the *ḳibi*, or "say," it reads "To A thus B." In addresses to superiors, B usually adds "thy servant." Polite letters generally add good wishes for the recipient. These are exceedingly varied. The word *šulmu* plays a great part in them. Literally it denotes "peace." "Peace be to thee" is very common. But it soon came to mean the "greeting of peace."

Thus "I have sent *ana šulmika*" means "I have sent to wish thee peace," "to greet thee." But it also takes the more general meaning of well-being. Thus *šulmu iâši* means "I am well," "it is peace with me"; not only absence from war, but health and all prosperity was included. Hence Joram's inquiry of Jehu, "Is it peace, Jehu?" means "Is everything all right?" "Be thou at peace" may be rendered loosely, "I hope you are well," in the fullest sense that "all is well with you." No consistent rendering can be given for such phrases as these.

References to a former correspondence

Very often letters quote the previous message of the present recipient, *ša tašpuranni*, "what thou didst send me." But the quotation is often omitted and then this becomes an awkward rendering. We have to fill up some general sentence such as, "as to what you sent about." A very difficult sort of construction arises when the writer sets down a list of questions, which he has been asked, and the answer to each. As there are no capitals, periods, or question-marks, there is often some difficulty in separating a question from its answer. This may be done differently by different translators, with startlingly different results.

Elliptical phrases

Very many sentences are elliptical. Thus, it was common to add at the end of the letter something like, "I leave it to you to decide." This might be put, "As the king, my lord, sees fit, let him do." But a scribe would often merely say, "As the king sees fit." Such elliptical sentences are

often very difficult to complete. They were obviously clear to the recipient. To us they leave a wide margin for conjecture.

Inscribed seals on packages

Very early indeed in the history of Babylonia a sort of postal system had been developed. At any rate, in the time of Sargon I., b.c. 3800, an active exchange of commodities existed between Agade and Shirpurla. Packages or vessels of produce or goods were forwarded and with them small blocks of clay, impressed with seals and inscribed with the address of the recipient. These were probably used to prevent the fastenings of the packages from being untied, and on their backs may be seen the impressions of the strings which fastened the packages. As it happens, no letters have yet been published from the era preceding the First Dynasty of Babylon; but we can hardly doubt that such exist.

Letters of the First Dynasty of Babylon

In the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon letters appear frequently in the collections of tablets brought to our museums. The volumes of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, published by order of the Trustees*, contain a large number of letters from copies made by Mr. T. G. Pinches. These have been made the subject of a study by Dr. Mary Williams Montgomery. Mr. L. W. King, in his work, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Ḥammurabi*, published fifty-five letters of Ḥammurabi to his subordinate officer, Sin-idinnam, six letters of Samsuiluna, thirteen of Abêshu', two of Ammiditana, five of Ammizaduga, and two private letters. These were all transcribed, translated, annotated, and, with a number of other contemporary inscriptions, issued with admirable introductions, glossary, and index. Nowhere can a more vivid picture be obtained of the great empire and the manifold duties of a Babylonian king. A number of the texts published in the first volume were translated and commented upon by Dr. G. Nagel under the title, *Die Briefe Ḥammurabi's an Sin-idinnam*. Professor Delitzsch added some valuable notes. Dr. B. Meissner had already published the text of four letters as *Altbabylonische Briefe*. Professor V. Scheil gave the text of two letters of this period, found by him at Sippara, in the *Recueil de Travaux* and noticed others, and some more in his *Une Saison de fouilles a Sippar*. These are preserved at Constantinople, but the text has not yet been published. They are chiefly private letters and of a business nature. There are a great many other letters in American and European museums, the publication of which should not be longer delayed.

Of the subsequent period

For the long period before the Tell el Amarna times, *circa* b.c. 1500, nothing of any extent seems to have been published, though letters are also known to exist of this period. A late copy of one such letter, addressed by Adadi-Shumnâṣir, King of Babylon, to Ashur-narara and Nabû-dâni, kings of Assyria, about b.c. 1250, is partly preserved in the British Museum.

The Tell el Amarna letters

The Tell el Amarna tablets, some three hundred in number, were discovered in 1887-88, at the ruins of the palace of Amenophis IV., in Egypt. They will form the subject of a separate volume of this series. They consist of the letters or despatches sent to kings of Egypt by the kings of Babylon, Assyria, Mitanni, and the subject-rulers of many Syrian and Palestinian cities and states. From these can be obtained a very clear view of the state of Syria and Palestine just before the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. Naturally, these letters have formed the subject of a very large literature. The most complete edition of the texts is by Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna*. With these should be compared Dr. J. A. Knudtzon's *Ergebnisse einer Collation der El Amarna Tafeln* and *Weitere Studien zu den El Amarna Tafeln*. A full transcription with translation and glossary to these texts has been given by Winckler, as *Die Thontafeln von Tell el Amarna*. An excellent English translation by J. P. Metcalf is to be had. There are a few of these tablets, which found their way into private hands, or to other museums than London, Berlin, and Gizeh, whence Winckler's copies were obtained. It is a duty to science that these should now be published. In the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale*, t. II., published at Cairo, Professor Scheil gives the text of two more of these important letters. The explorer, Dr. F. Bliss, found another in the ruins of Lachish. It is included in Winckler's work above. Professor Sellin has lately found several tablets, which by their script and personal references are shown to belong to this period. They were found at Ta'annek, and are published by Dr. Hronzy in the *Anzeige der philos. hist. Klasse der Wiener Akademie*. The interest of these additions lies in the fact that they were found in Palestine itself.

Cappadocian letters

The numerous Cappadocian tablets are now generally recognized by their language and script to belong to this period. They also show considerable affinity with the documents of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and the Tell el Amarna letters preserve many characteristic expressions.

Assyrian letters

The subsequent periods in Babylonia are represented by few letters. It is not until we come down to the end of the eighth century and the Sargonide times that we meet with many letters. The archives of Nineveh contained immense numbers. A great many of these are now in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum. There they early attracted attention. Being written by the imperial officials to the kings of Assyria, they contain most valuable material

Published texts

for history. George Smith in 1871 gave extracts from several of them in his *History of Ashurbanipal*. A number were published in Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Mr. S. A. Smith, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1887-89, and in the second and third volumes of his *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals* gave some seventy more. Professor Delitzsch also published a number in his *Zur assyrisch-babylonischen Briefliteratur*, and in his translations and comments laid the real foundation for their interpretation. In 1892 Professor R. F. Harper began the colossal task of publishing the text of all the letters from Nineveh, in his *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K Collections of the British Museum*, of which eight volumes are already published.

Translations

A considerable number of scholars have busied themselves with the translation and elucidation of these texts. Professor C. Johnston in his work, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*; C. van Gelderen, *Ausgewählte babylonisch-assyrische Briefe*; A. J. Delattre, *Quelques Lettres Assyriennes*; G. R. Berry, *The Letters of the Rm. 2 Collection*, in *American Journal of Semitic Literature*, xi., p-202; F. Martin, *Lettres assyriennes et babyloniennes* — besides the many articles by other scholars on particular words or subjects — have contributed to the understanding of these difficult texts. Professor R. F. Harper has published a few preliminary studies on these texts. Dr. H. Winckler not only gave several important texts in his *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*, but translations and comments on them in his *Altorientalische Forschungen*.

Late Babylonian letters

The letter-texts of the latter Babylonian period at present published are extremely few. Some may be found in Strassmaier's great collection of *Babylonische Texte*, among the contracts. A list of those for the reigns of Nabonidus and Nebuchadrezzar is given in Dr. K. L. Tallqvist's *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nâ'ids*, p. xviii.

Historical value of the letters

One of the uses to which the letters may be put is to illustrate the history of the time. From the letters of Ḥammurabi we can gather a great deal of information as to the civil policy of the reign. From the Tell el Amarna tablets we may reconstruct almost a complete survey of the condition of politics in Palestine. From the Assyrian letters we can rewrite the history of affairs in Armenia at the end of Sargon's reign, or the wars with Elam in Ashurbânipal's time.

General value

The letters are also a rich mine of information on all sorts of topics, and those very often on which almost all other literatures are silent. We gain here a closer and more intimate acquaintance with humanity than at any other period of ancient history. We must not expect finality in our translations for a long while to come. Fresh documents will continually be found or published that will help us to revise our views. But that is the perennial interest of the letters. We may read and reread them, always finding something fresh to combine with every new piece of information.

Methods of classification

Several different methods of classifying the letters suggest themselves. One plan would be to group those letters which illustrate some phase of civil life. Thus we may collect the references to medical cases, or the illustrations of religious life, or the contributions to astronomy and astrology. But none of these methods will be exhaustive or generally applicable. A letter rarely deals with only one subject. The only scientific classification seems to be that adopted by Professor Harper in his edition of the Nineveh letters, or Mr. King in his letters of Ḥammurabi. This is to place together all the letters written by one scribe. Here we have two difficulties. There may be more than one scribe of the same name. Thus it is practically certain that in Professor Harper's groups of letters apparently assigned to one man, more than one person is often really involved. Again, a very large number of letters no longer preserve the name of their scribe. Only a prolonged study can reduce these difficulties; it is not likely that we shall ever quite eliminate error.

Royal letters

There is one large group that has a claim to separate consideration. Many letters are written by, or to, a king. They are on various subjects. A subdivision might be made of reports sent by officials concerning public affairs. But even these often contain side-references; and at the last we have really to consider each letter as a separate document.

II. THE LETTERS OF ḤAMMURABI

Great historical value of this collection

The letters of Ḥammurabi are by far the most important collection of letters hitherto published for the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon. They had a certain adventitious value at one time, because one of them was thought to contain the name of Chedorlaomer, and this association with Ḥammurabi, as Amraphel, was exploited in the interests of a defence of the historical value of Genesis xiv. Mr. L. W. King's edition of the letters, however, showed that such a use was unwarranted. But it served a much more useful end, giving us a very full picture of the times of the founder of the First Babylonian Empire. The excellent account given by Mr. King of the contents of these letters is fairly exhaustive. The importance of such sources for history cannot be overestimated. They are contemporary. They are not written to impress posterity, but with absolute fidelity to fact. We may disbelieve some of the excuses made for misconduct, but in the references to current events or general customs we have a sure witness, if only we can understand them. This is often difficult because a letter presupposes relations between the correspondents which we must conjecture.

The letters to Sin-iddinam

Since Mr. King's introduction to his first volume gives a full account of the few letters previously published, this need not be reproduced here. Of Ḥammurabi's letters fifty-three are addressed to one and the same man, Sin-iddinam. It is doubtful whether he was the King of Larsa who bore this name, or the official who in the next reign seems to be Governor of Sippara. There are many persons who bore this name known at this period. However, several mentions of the temple of Shamash at Larsa occur in these letters and there is a certain presumption that Sin-iddinam of Larsa was the person intended.

Ḥammurabi as an administrator

Ḥammurabi's ability as an administrator, which these letters reveal, and his care even for small details of his rule, may well be the reason why his empire proved so stable. He established a tradition which was long followed by his successors. He organized his land, appointed governors, and held them responsible to himself. He had a direct interest in their doings and sent minute written instructions, demanding reports, summoning defaulters to his presence, or directing their punishment where they were. The dates for his reign, as for others of the dynasty,

show, not only raids and conquests, but chiefly public works of utility. The construction or repair of canals, public buildings, temples, the ordering of justice, are works that repaid his care.

His care for the revenues of the temples

Ḥammurabi was a man of many business enterprises. The collection of the temple revenues was an object of his attention. There is no evidence that these were available for his use, but he had a personal interest in all that was right and just. To him the herdsmen and shepherds of the temple flocks and herds had to report. He often appears as restoring, rebuilding, or adorning shrines, and he was careful of his religious duties. Thus he postponed a case because of a festival at Ur, which he seems to have found demanded the presence of one of the parties.

The ordering of the calendar

He had to settle important questions concerning the calendar; whether or not reports of astronomical observations were then received is not clear, but at any rate the king decided when the intercalary months should be inserted. Thus he told Sin-iddinam there was to be a second Elul.

His supervision of justice

The administration of justice was also no small part of his work. Not only did he promulgate a code, but he also superintended its execution. There was a right of appeal to his judgment. He actively supervised his judges in the provinces. Thus a case of bribery was reported from Dûr-gurgurri and he instructed Sin-iddinam to investigate the case and send the guilty parties to Babylon for punishment. He upheld a merchant's claim against a city governor, for the recovery of a loan. He protected the landowners against money-lenders. He examined claims to land and sent instructions to Sin-iddinam to carry out his decision. Thefts of corn, loans withheld, rents, were adjudicated by him. He summoned not only the parties, but the witnesses, to Babylon. Prisoners were sent under escort, and arrests ordered.

His private property

The king's own herds and flocks were a personal care to him. They were stationed in various parts of the country. He received reports about them, or sent inspectors to report upon them. On one occasion he summoned forty-seven shepherds to come and report to him in Babylon. He ordered additional shearers to assist those already at work. He regulated supplies of wood, dates, seed, and corn. These were often sent

by ship, and there is evidence of a large number of ships being employed, of varied capacities.

His building enterprises

Public buildings demanded large gangs of workmen. They were drawn from the slave and serf population. A great many letters are concerned with the supply and movements of these laborers. Whether forced labor was inflicted as a punishment may be doubted. But the *corvée* was in full operation. The hire of laborers is referred to, and it is probable that the forced laborers were fed and clothed at the expense of the state. Thus we see that Ḥammurabi was a busy man and worked hard to build up his empire. His successors, though we have fewer of their letters, seem to have been fully as active.

The return of the goddesses of Emutbal to their homes

It is not easy to select specimens for this period. Each letter has an interest of its own, and it is tempting to include most of them. But we may take the two letters referring to the goddesses of Emutbal, because one of them by a series of misreadings and misunderstandings was made to contain the famous reference to Chedorlaomer. The first may be rendered.

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: Now I am sending Zikir-ilishu, the *AB-AB-UL*, and Ḥammurabi-banî, the *DU-GAB*, to bring the goddesses of Emutbal. Do thou forthwith embark the goddesses in a procession-boat (state barge) and let them come to Babylon. Let the hierodules come with them. For the sustenance of the goddesses embark food, drink, sheep, ship's furniture, and travelling expenses for the hierodules, until they reach Babylon. Appoint men to draw the ropes, and *biḫru* men, that the goddesses may come safely to Babylon. Let them not delay but come quickly to Babylon.

The date of their capture

These goddesses were very likely captured during an expedition to Emutbal which was a border province of Elam. It is natural to associate this with the thirty-first year of Ḥammurabi, for which the full date is:

"The year of Ḥammurabi, the king, in which by the help of Anu and Bêl he established his good fortune, and his hand cast to the earth the land of Iamutbal and Rim-Sin, the king."

The transport of the goddesses was made possible by the system of canals. Intercommunication was in an excellent state, for Ḥammurabi ordered a man to be sent to Babylon from Larsa, and allowed him two days, travelling day and night. The hierodules are the female attendants of the goddesses. The officers whom Ḥammurabi sent bear titles not yet

clearly recognized. The name Ḥammurabi-banî points to a deification of the king. Whether the goddesses reached Babylon and there brought misfortune on the country and so were sent back again, or whether their restoration to their shrines in Emutbal was part of the king's policy for a pacification of the conquered country, does not appear. But we read in another letter:

"To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: The goddesses of Emutbal, which are in thy command, the troops of Inuḫsamar shall bring safely to thee. When they shall reach thee, combine the troops with those in thy hands and restore the goddesses to their shrines."

The construction of the passage seems to imply that the goddesses had protected Inuḫ-samar. The latter was in command of troops that were within Sin-iddinam's jurisdiction; for when Sin-mâgir complained to Ḥammurabi that Inuḫ-samar had impressed some of his servants for military service contrary to a bond given him by the king, Ḥammurabi referred the matter to Sin-iddinam, ordering the servant to be given up. It was this name Inuḫ-samar that Scheil misread as Kudur-nûḫ-gamar.

The care of the canals

A number of letters concern the canals of the country. Thus we read:

"To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: Summon the people who hold fields on the side of the Damanu canal, that they may scour the Damanu canal. Within this present month let them finish scouring the Damanu canal."

Here we are introduced to the duty which lay upon riparians to keep the canals running alongside their land in order. This was part of the *ilku*, or customary obligation. It lay with the governor to enforce it. In another letter the king complains that a canal which had been partly cleared had not been cleared as far as Erech, and so the boats could not enter that city. Here Sin-iddinam was ordered to do the work with the men at his disposal and complete it in three days. After that he was to go on with the work he had already been ordered to do. In another fragmentary letter the king orders the clearing away of the water-plants which had obstructed the course of the Euphrates between Ur and Larsa. One is reminded of the *sudd* on the Nile.

A case of bribery

The case of bribery is referred to in a way that leaves it rather doubtful whether a theft may not be meant. The meaning of the word rendered "bribe" by King is unknown, and his identification of *tâtu* with *da'tu* is not certain. But at any rate the wrong was brought under the cognizance of Ḥammurabi, and he writes:

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: Shumma-ilu-lâ-ilu saith thus, so saith he, “In Dûr-gurgurri bribery has taken place. The people who took the bribe and the witnesses who know the affair are here.” Thus he saith. Now I will send this same Shumma-ilu-lâ-ilu, a *DU-GAB* and a ... to thee. When this letter is seen inquire into the matter. If there is bribery, take the money, or what was given as a bribe, seal it up and send to my presence. The people that received the bribe, and the witnesses who know the case, whom Shumma-ilu-lâ-ilu will disclose, send to me.

A case of oppression redressed

A case of oppression by a governor is complained of, and redressed by the king. He writes:

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: Lalu, the *kadurru*, hath informed me thus, saith he, “Ani-ellati, the governor *rabiânu*, has laid claim to [alienated] the field which I have held since ... and [taken] the corn of the field.” Thus he hath informed me. The tablet can be seen in the palace. Lalu holds two *GAN* of land. Why has Ani-ellati, the governor, laid claim to Lalu’s field? Inquire into the matter. If Ani-ellati has lent on mortgage to Lalu, the *kadurru*, grant him his debt and lay the blame on Ani-ellati, who lent on pledge.

It is clear that Lalu was one of those privileged officials who held lands by royal charter, and who could not be dispossessed of their land. The Code directs that a governor shall not lend on mortgage to a reeve or runner or tributary, under pain of death. Although a *kadurru* is not there named, this letter makes it probable he was similarly protected. It is interesting to notice where the record was to be found. The palace, or “great house,” was the residence of the governor. The tablet probably recorded the appointment of Lalu to his benefice; it therefore was his title-deed. An interesting question may be raised here. Did Ḥammurabi mean in his own palace? It may be so, for he writes in another letter:

The depository for deeds

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: One *GAN* of water-meadow, a field in the district of Dûr-gurgurri is an old possession of Ea-lubanî. In a tablet it is inscribed as his. Give the field to Ea-lubanî.

Now how could Ḥammurabi know this unless the tablet had been shown to him? Perhaps the claimant brought his tablet with him when he came to lay his plea before the king. That is quite possible, but it may well be that the king insisted that all title-deeds be deposited in the capital.

Restitutions ordered

An order for the restoration of stolen corn appears in another letter:

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: Ṭummumu of Nippur hath informed me thus, saith he, "I deposited seventy *GUR* of corn in a granary in Unabu and Amêl-ili has opened the granary and taken the corn." Thus he hath informed me. Now I will send Ṭummumu himself to thee. Send and let them bring Amêlili to thee. See what they have to say. The corn belonging to Ṭummumu which Amêl-ili took let him return to Ṭummumu.

Another letter reads thus:

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: Ilushu-iḳîsh, the merchant, over five, has informed me thus, saith he, "Thirty *GUR* of corn I gave to Sin-mâgir, the *Šakkanak*, and I took his receipt. I have asked for it for three years and he has not given back the corn." Thus hath he informed me. I have seen his receipt. Cause Sin-mâgir to give up the corn and its interest and give it to Ilu-shu-iḳîsh.

The title "over five" seems to be meant literally. He was a superior merchant. Like many another hint, this speaks for the strict organization of each class of the community. The *Šakkanak* was usually the superior official, "governor," of a city, or of a ward of a city. We are not told what was Sin-mâgir's district. But it was under Sin-iddinam's rule. In other letters we read of a Sin-mâgir being sent to Babylon. Perhaps he refused to give up the corn.

Another letter illustrates the incidence of taxes and the relations of landlord and tenant:

About taxes

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: As to what I sent to thee about the corn that is the tax on the field of Ibni-Martu, which is in the hands of Etil-bi-Marduk, to be given to Ibni-Martu; thou didst say, "Etil-bi-Marduk hath said thus, saith he, 'I have cultivated another field together with the field of Ibni-Martu, and the corn is all garnered in one place, let them declare on oath before God how much corn was from the field of Ibni-Martu and let them take the tax.' Thus he said. But Ibni-Martu did not agree. Saith he, 'Without Ibni-Martu one can do nothing.' Thus he said, and went away." As to what thou didst send, "the corn, as much as was in his field, should be declared before God and the tax given him." As thou didst send, let them declare before God how much corn was in the field of Ibni-Martu, and pay Ibni-Martu the corn that is the tax on his field.

The case is not quite clear, but Ibni-Martu owed a tax on his field. He had either mortgaged or let his field to another. This tenant had not given him the corn to pay the tax and excused himself on the ground that the produce of the field was now mixed up with that of another field. Hence he could not say how much the tax should be; clearly it was proportionate to the yield. The method of solving the difficulty was that a sworn estimate had to be taken from competent witnesses and the tax levied on that basis. This course was recommended by Sin-iddinam in a previous report on the situation. The amount was to be given to the landlord, who then had to pay the tax. He clearly had no rent in corn from the land; but he could not sell or mortgage his crop except subject to the tax. The mortgagee was liable for the tax and the owner was bound to pay. The mortgagee must furnish him the means to do so; he had no right to claim the part of the crop due as tax, whatever bargain he had made with the owner of the land.

Commerce under strict control by the State

The collection of taxes

While agriculture was in the hands of free men who only paid on produce, there are indications that commerce was very strictly controlled by the State. The merchant was the only money-lender as a rule. He also seems to have acted as contractor, or farmer of taxes. The merchant, or factor, was under the king's protection and also directly responsible to him. Hence some have regarded him as a royal official. But this is hardly correct. He was to Ḥammurabi what the Jew of the Middle Ages was to the king then, or the Stock Exchange or Bourse is now. Probably we should not be far wrong in applying to him the term "publican," in the New Testament sense. He owed a certain amount to the treasury, which he recouped from the taxes due from the district for which he contracted. If he did not secure enough, he had to make up the deficit. The following letter deals with what was probably common, namely, an evident reluctance on the part of such officials to settle accounts:

To Sin-iddinam say, thus Ḥammurabi: Concerning the chief collector, Shêp-Sin, I wrote to thee, saying, "send him with one thousand eight hundred *GUR* of sesame and nineteen minas of silver, due from him, as well as Sin-mushtal, the chief collector, with eighteen hundred *GUR* of sesame and seven minas of silver, due from him, send them to Babylon, and send with them the market rates (?)..." But thou didst say that these chief collectors had said, "Just now is harvest-time, after harvest we will go." Thus they said, and thou didst tell me. Now the harvest is over. On receipt of this tablet, when I have sent to thee, send Shêp-Sin, the chief

collector, with one thousand eight hundred *GUR* of sesame and nineteen minas of silver, his due, and Sin-mushtal, the chief collector, with one thousand eight hundred *GUR* of sesame and seven minas of silver, his due, to Babylon; and with them thy trustworthy guard, and with all their property let them come and appear before me.

The title which I have rendered "chief collector" may be read "scribe of the merchants." The sign *PA*, read *aklu,* does in some of its connections mean "scribe," as *tamkaru* does mean "merchant." But the sign often denotes merely an overseer. Hence we may take it that this was the derived meaning. The reason may well be that over a group of shepherds or merchants, one was always set who could keep accounts. Hence the term *aklu*, properly a "scribe," came to be an "overseer." Such a high official as the *PA Martu* would be the Superintendent of Martu. The person referred to in this letter, Shêp-Sin, occurs also in two other letters of Ḥammurabi. In one, Sin-iddinam is told to send him to Babylon with money; in the other, he complains of not being able to collect money due to a temple, and having to make up the deficit himself.

Illegal impressment for public service

The officials who were under obligation to furnish men for public work and the army, doubtless often found a difficulty in making up their quota, and impressed men who were not strictly liable for duty. Such men as those called *KA-DUR*, *KAPAR*, *MU*, *PATESI*, are named on the letters as exempt from the service. But even this is not conclusive. They are not exempted because they are of these ranks, but because they have been wrongly assigned to the service. Their masters may have been exempt from the liability to furnish a man; or already engaged in royal service. Slaves and poor men were subject, as we know from the Code. Here is one of the letters on the question:

To Sin-iddinam say, thus saith Ḥammurabi: Naram-Sin, the shepherd, hath said thus, saith he, "The herdsmen in my hands have been put in the *corvée*." Thus he said. The herdsmen which are the property of Apil-Shamash and Naram-Sin shall not be put in the *corvée*. Now summon Etil-bi-Marduk and the officials and order them to return the herdsmen of Apil-Shamash and Naram-Sin, whom they have taken.

Here the *KABAR*, or herdsmen, are the employees of the shepherd, his "sheep-boys." Their absence would be a danger to the flocks. The delinquent Etil-bi-Marduk was often in fault. Several other complaints against him appear in the letters, in his capacity of money-lender. On two occasions he was sent for by the king, evidently with a view to

punishment. Further, a *patêsi* in his service appealed to be transferred to another master.

III. THE LETTERS OF SAMSU-ILUNA AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS

Few in number

The discovered letters of Samsu-iluna are as yet comparatively few. They are not all addressed to one man. We may take one or two specimens.

About change of air for a goddess

Like his father Ḥammurabi, Samsu-iluna cared for the health of the goddesses, providing them with an occasional change of scene. This time it is the goddess Anunitum, who makes a journey:

To Haiab ... say, thus saith Samsu-iluna: Concerning Anunitum's going to Sippar-edina, I have sent an officer. Forthwith let Anunitum go to Sippar-edina.

The name of the official to whom the letter is sent is broken and it could be completed in several different ways. Sippar-edina was one quarter of Sippara.

Temple dues

The following letter is concerned with the supply of corn for the Shamash temple at Larsa. It is addressed to three officials:

To Sin-ilu, Bîtu-rabi, and Nîḳ-Sin say, thus saith Samsu-iluna: The corn for the treasure-house of the temple of Shamash of Larsa, the property of Igmil-Sin which ye deliver, verily ye shall deliver. Forthwith, from the corn that is in your hands, give corn for the supply of food for the treasure-house of the temple of Shamash; what is now standing due make up.

The "treasure-house" may be only a "store-house" in general. Instead of "make up," we may render "buy."

Fishing rights

Samsu-iluna looked into the details of his government quite as closely as his father. We see him regulating fishing rights:

To Sin-iddinam, Kâr-Sippar, and the judges of Sippara, say, thus saith Samsu-iluna: They tell me that the ships of the fishermen go down to the districts of Rabî and Shamkâni and catch fish. I am sending an official of the palace-gate; when he shall reach thee [summon] the ships of the fishermen (who have been catching fish) in the districts of Rabî and Shamkâni, and let it not occur again that the ships of the fishermen go down to the districts of Rabî and Shamkâni.

Clearly each district owned its own fishing rights, as it was responsible for the repairs of the banks and scouring the beds of the water-ways in it. It is far from unlikely that Kâr-Sippar denotes some ruling body in Sippara, for in the contracts we find that cases were brought before the Kâr-Sippar. As they are associated with the judges of Sippara, they may be the town elders. Sin-iddinam here is hardly the official of Larsa to whom Ḥammurabi usually wrote, though he might have been promoted to Sippara in the meantime.

Business details

Two other letters were addressed to him by Samsu-iluna, one about corn due from certain persons, the other about a contingent of men sent to strengthen the walls of Sippar-Amnanu. In another letter, the king summons to Babylon, Sin-iddinam, Ibni-Marduk, the Kâr-Sippar, and the judges of Sippara, but the letter is too defaced for us to determine the reason. It was to be "at seed-time."

Letters of Abêshu'

The letters of Abêshu' are somewhat more numerous. Mr. King published thirteen. They are all more or less defective, and add nothing to our knowledge beyond the fact that the same policy of centralization went on.

Of Ammi-ditana

The letters of Ammi-ditana, two in number, are more interesting. One deals with the supply of corn for men at work on the citadel of Shagga, a town probably near Sippara. The king orders the authorities of Sippara to make up and send on the supply, and adds that the soothsayers were to be consulted as to favorable auspices for sending the corn. The other deals, as do three letters of Abêshu', with tribute due in wool from Sippar-iaḫruru. The report from the superintendent of this source of revenue in each case is that the tribute is over-due and the king sends a peremptory order for it to be sent forthwith to Babylon.

Of Ammi-zadûga

Ammi-zadûga's letters, five in number, all happen to be concerned with the annual sheep-shearing at Babylon. They differ slightly, in the person addressed, and the date assigned for the shearing. Thus one reads:

To Ibni-Sin, son of Marduk-nâṣir, say, thus saith Ammi-zadûga: A sheep-shearing will take place in the House of the New Year's Festival. On receipt of this note, take the sheep ... and the sheep which are sealed, which thou shall set in motion, and come to Babylon. Delay not, reach Babylon on the first of Adar.

Of Sin-iddinam

The one letter written by Sin-iddinam is addressed to the *rabiânu* of Katalla, ordering him to send the plaintiff in a suit to him. Very interesting is a letter from Tabbi-Wadi and Mâr-Shamash to Aḫâti, the wife of Sin-iddinam, asking her to intercede for them with Sin-iddinam. He had himself referred them to her, perhaps because their offence immediately concerned her. They say that they are ill acquainted with the ways of the court. From several unusual forms of expression it may be concluded that they were strangers who had settled in Babylonia. They do not state either their offence or the grounds on which they would be excused, but ask for an interview, that they may remove Aḫâti's resentment against them.

Periphrasis for "king"

Some letters are addressed to "the man whom may Marduk make to flourish." Some have taken this as a proper name. But that seems very unlikely. Others regard it as a sort of polite address to a superior. Winckler suggested that it was an address to the king. The Code has made it clear that the *amêlu* was the "gentleman," or "noble," who lived in a "palace," or "great house." Hence, these letters may be addressed to any great official. But many turns of expression support the view that the king is really meant; he was thus the "First Gentleman" of Babylonia. It was not till Ḥammurabi that the title "king" was generally given. Perhaps the old nobles were slow to admit a king over them.

Freeing of runaway slaves

As an example we may take:

To "the man whom may Marduk make to flourish" say, thus saith Ashtamar-Adadi: May Shamash and Marduk ever make thee flourish. The gardeners, inhabitants of Sippara, have spoken concerning their servants who fled and have been recaptured. Therefore I have sent a note thus to thee, I sent those men to thee. Accept their petition (?) and may they be acceptable to thee before Shamash. Grant their entreaty and set them free. If they come not to Babylon, do this in my name.

It is probable that recaptured runaway slaves, who would not name their owners, were forfeit to the State. The king is the only one who would have power to release such slaves. It is clear that the recipient of the letter was at Babylon.

IV. PRIVATE LETTERS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

Many details uncertain

In these cases, as a rule, we know neither the sender nor receiver, beyond their names, and what we can gather from the letter itself. Hence a great deal must always remain uncertain. Here is a letter which comes from a prisoner, who says he is nearly starved and does not know why he was imprisoned:

A prisoner's plea to his master for deliverance

To my lord say, thus saith Bêlshunu, thy servant: From the time that I was shut up in the house of the *abarakku*, thou, my lord, hast kept me alive. What is the reason that my lord has neglected me for five months? The house where I am imprisoned is a starvation-house. Now have I made the jailer carry a letter to my lord. When thou, my lord, shalt make an end of my misery, send, and the imprisonment, since it has been ended by thee, I will cause to conduce to thy blessing (I will even thank thee for). I am ill ... ten *ḲA* of *SU-DA*, thirty-one *ḲA ZAG-ḪI-LI* ... two *ḲA SAR-SAR EL-SAR* send me that I die not; and clothing send me that I may cover my nakedness. A *ḫubidu* has come upon me on account of thee, my lord. Either half a shekel of silver, or two minas of wool, send to me, for my service, let him bring it. Let not the jailer be sent away empty-handed. If he comes empty-handed, the dogs may eat me. As thou, my lord, and the people of Sippara and Babylon, all of them know, I am imprisoned, not for robbery, nor was I caught at burglary. Thou, my lord, didst send me with oil across the river, but the Sutû fell upon me and I was imprisoned. Speak a friendly word to the servants of the king's *abarakku*. Send, that I die not in the house of misery. Send a *ḲA* of oil and five *ḲA* of salt. That which thou didst lately send no one gave me. Whatsoever thou sendest, send it fastened up (?).

There are many obscurities about this letter. Some are caused by the difficulty of reading the defaced characters. Some by the fact that the signs, printed here in capitals, are ideograms whose meaning is not yet clear. The prisoner, if his plea is true, was sent on an errand for his master, apparently to trade for him. He was either robbed by the nomad Sutû, or compelled to give up his oil to them. Why this led to imprisonment is not clear, unless it was regarded as furnishing supplies to the enemy. But though his master did not get him out of prison, it seems that he had sent him supplies from time to time. The word

rendered “jailer” is perhaps a name, Mâr-abulli, “son of the gate.” But it may be a title used as a name, “Mr. Jailer.” The prisoner thinks that it is in the power of his master to put an end to his imprisonment and promises to be grateful. But he does not seem sure whether his master can do this. He asks, however, for further supplies, if he is to live. Let us hope he was released or at least fed. We may perhaps conclude that imprisonment was the punishment due for robbery and burglary.

A father reminded of a broken promise

Here is a letter reminding a father of a broken promise:

To my father say, thus saith Elmeshu: Shamash and Marduk fill with well-being the days of my father perpetually. My father, be thou well, flourish; the God that preserves my father direct my father’s source of grace. I have sent to greet my father. May my father’s peace endure before Shamash and Marduk. From the time that Sin Amurrû named my father’s name, and I answered for my fault, thou, my father, didst say, “When I shall go to Dûr-Ammi-zadûga, which is on the River Sharḳu, I will forward a sheep and five minas of silver, in a little while, to thee.” This thou saidest, my father, and my expectation was from my father. But thou hast not sent; and now, my father, thou hast returned to the presence of Taribu, the Queen. I have sent a note to my father’s presence. My father, thou shalt not ask the purport of my note, until Lashêr has brought me my father’s note. My father has not sent one to bring even a single shekel, in accordance with thy promise. Like Marduk and Sin Amurrû, who hearken to my father, my ears are attentive. Let my father send and let not my heart be vexed. Before Shamash and Marduk, may I pray for my father.

The letter suggests that the father was king, by the phrase so common in the historical inscriptions, “named his name,” usually equivalent to “nominated” to rule. The word rendered “fault” is *sardu*, which may be for *sartu*. There is nothing to show whether Elmeshu is a man or woman. There was an Elmeshu (the name means “Diamond”) who was daughter of Ammi-ditana. But the mention of Dûr-Ammi-zadûga seems to demand a date at least as late as that in which this wall or city was built. But Ammi-zadûga succeeded Ammi-ditana. Unless the latter built Dûr-Ammi-zadûga and called it after his son, we can hardly identify this Elmeshu with the daughter of Ammi-ditana. The mention of Sin Amurrû is not quite clear. We may suppose two gods, Sin and Amurrû, or take the latter name as an epithet, “Sin of the Amorites.” To have “the ears attentive,” is to be in a state of expectation. In the last sentence, Elmeshu seems to hint that, if she does not have a favorable answer, she will not

be able to pray for her father. This may be regarded as an un-Christian attitude, but people then thought more of the efficacy of prayer; and it was a threat, if so meant, likely to have great weight with the father. But it may mean that Elmeshu being vowed to a religious life, yet needed material means to maintain her alive, and she merely hopes, by her father's continued sustenance of her, to be long spared to pray for him.

Request from a tenant for the grant of a good cow

Another letter is apparently from a tenant, or serf, to his landlord:

To my lord say, thus saith Ibgatum thy servant: As, my lord, thou hast heard, the enemy has carried off my oxen. Never before have I sent to thee, my lord. Now I have caused a letter to be brought to thee, my lord. Do thou, my lord, send me one young cow. I will weigh out and send five shekels of silver to thee, my lord. My lord, what thou sayest, under the command of Marduk, thy protector, what pleases thee, no one can hinder thee, my lord. My lord, do thou make her worth the five shekels of silver that I have weighed out and sent to thee. Do thou, my lord, treat seriously this request, do not trifle with my wish. Let my lord not wonder at this request, which I send my lord. I am thy servant. I will do thy will, my lord. As to the young cow, which thou, my lord, dost send, let her be on credit, and either to Baṣu, or wherever is convenient to my lord, do thou send. With Ili-iḳîsham, my brother, let the young cow come. And I, in order that my lord should quickly consent and send the young cow, will forthwith weigh out and send fifteen shekels of silver to thee, my lord.

Evidently, the wise man sent only five shekels on deposit with his brother, holding back the rest of the price, till he had seen what sort of a cow he was to get for his money. It was from this letter that Winckler deduced a meaning for *ṣamâdu* something like "weigh out," "pay," whence a better meaning for *ṣimittu* than "yoke" was readily obtained. As Dr. Peiser pointed out, the word is also used in the Cappadocian tablets in a way that leaves small doubt of its meaning. It may have come to mean simply "pay," but must have ordinarily meant "measure," or "weigh," according as it was applied to grain, or money.

Authorization to compel a creditor to pay his debts

Here is a very interesting example showing how the merchants of those days transacted business at a distance:

To Erib-Sin say, thus saith Ibni-Nabû, I am here (?): As to the case of Ardi-ilishu, son of Ibni-Dibbara, I gave him two-thirds of a mina of silver, and it was acknowledged in writing, in the presence of my

witnesses. He went to Assyria. He did not give the money to Shamaiatu. I and Shamaiatu met in Daganna and disputed over the affair. Said I, "I sent thee money by Ardi-ilishu." He said, "If Ardi-ilishu has paid the money, let him [*here come some uncertain signs*]." And concerning what thou didst send about Shamash-bêl-ilâni's fourteen shekels, I did not give him the money. There is two-thirds of a mina due from Ardi-ilishu; take Ardi-ilishu and cause him to weigh out the money, and its interest, more or less, and from that take the fourteen shekels and send the surplus.

The two, Erib-Sin and Ibni-Nabû, are either partners, or agents. The former had asked the latter to pay over fourteen shekels to a certain Shamash-bêl-ilâni, either because the latter had money of his, or had promised to honor his order. But this particular order was not honored. Ibni-Nabû had intrusted a sum of forty shekels to one Ardi-ilishu, with which to pay Shamaiatu. But Ardi-ilishu had gone off to Assyria without discharging the obligation. So Shamaiatu had demanded payment and perhaps the doubtful signs express the fact that Ibni-Nabû had to pay a second time. Fortunately, he could prove that Ardi-ilishu had had the money, having taken a receipt. He seems to think that Erib-Sin can find Ardi-ilishu. Was the former resident in Assyria? If so, this must be a copy of the letter sent him. But perhaps Erib-Sin was to arrest the defaulter on his return to Sippara. At any rate, this was a warrant for so doing. That, perhaps, is why the letter was kept. If Erib-Sin could get forty shekels and the interest, he had a fair margin from which to pay the fourteen shekels, due to him from Ibni-Nabû. But he had to take risks. If Shamash-bêl-ilâni had given Erib-Sin consideration for his order on Ibni-Nabû for fourteen shekels, he was badly served.

A warning connected with the filing of a suit

Here is a letter, warning a man of a suit brought against him in his absence:

To my lord, say, thus saith Sin-taiar: May Shamash and Marduk give thee health. As to the case of the field about which thou didst send, belonging to the sons of Sin-rêmêni, which is in Bitûtu, which my lord sold me for five minas of silver; Sin-aḫam-iddinam, Marduk-taiar, and Nabû-malik, have gone about to the king, and have turned over this title to Nûr-parim. Hasten, come, save thy title from Nûr-parim.

The word of most difficulty is *nistu*, rendered "title." It may mean something different, but the "title" seems the most likely thing to be disputed.

A request for fish and other food

A letter to a father from an absent son is interesting for its personal character:

To my father say, thus saith Zimri-eraḫ, may Shamash and Marduk give thee health forever. Be thou well. I have sent for thy health. Tell me how thou art. I am located at Dûr-Sin on the canal Kashtim-sikirim. There is no meat fit to eat. Now I have made them bring two-thirds of a shekel of silver to thee. For this money send some nice fish and something to eat.

A love-letter

The following is what may be fairly described as a love-letter, though the real relation between the correspondents is not certain:

To Bibêa say, thus saith Gimil-Marduk: May Shamash and Marduk for my sake preserve thy health forever. I have sent for thy health. Tell me how thou art. I went to Babylon and did not see thee. I was greatly disappointed. Send me the reason of thy leaving, and let me be cheered. In Marchesvan do thou come. For my sake keep well always.

It is certain that Bibêa was a lady, perhaps the writer's wife.

Assyrian copies of old Babylonian letters

The interest which these ancient letters inspire in us was felt in the seventh century b.c., for there are two Assyrian copies of early Babylonian letters, preserved in the remains of Ashurbânipal's library. One was a letter from the Babylonian King Adadi-shum-uṣur to Ashur-nirari and Nabûdaian, kings of Assyria, about b.c. 1250. It is too fragmentary to translate. Another is a letter from a King of Assyria to his father, who is King of Babylon. The names are lost, and its contents cannot now be made out. It was a copy made for Ashurbânipal, and has his "library mark."

V. SENNACHERIB'S LETTERS TO HIS FATHER, SARGON

The proof that the letters are Sennacherib's

Among the Ninevite collections we can single out several periods where the history is supplemented by the letters. Thus Sennacherib's letters to his father, Sargon, chiefly deal with events in Armenia, which must have transpired during Sargon's last few years, when his annals and other historical inscriptions are silent. This view of them was first worked out by the present writer, and later with increased material by R. C. Thompson. Briefly put, the argument from them is this: a person called Sennacherib, who might be any officer from the times of Sargon onward, writes to the king, whom he does not address as his father, on the reports which have reached him from a number of officials, concerning events in Armenia. We have, however, two letters which refer to the same events, naming the same officials and certainly from the same Sennacherib. In one of them he is twice referred to as the king's son. The officials named are all found in documents of the reign of Sargon, or the early part of Sennacherib's reign. The King of Armenia is named Argista in one of these reports to the king, which belongs to the same group. The King of Assyria himself is said to be at Babylon at the time. One report quoted comes from Tabal, and is brought by the major-domo of the Princess Aḫat-abisha, probably the daughter of Sargon, who was married by him to the King of Tabal. We have independent copies of these reports, quoted by Sennacherib, which enlarge our knowledge of the events. Hence, there can be no doubt that we have here Sennacherib's letters to his father, Sargon, while that king was absent in Babylonia. We are, therefore, able to reconstruct a chapter of Assyrian history, on which the historical monuments have nothing to say. The first letter reads thus:

A letter concerning events in Armenia

To the king, my lord, thy servant Sennacherib. Peace be to the king, my lord. There is peace in Assyria, peace in the temples, peace in all the fortresses of the king. May the heart of the king, my lord, be abundantly cheered. The land of the Ukkai has sent to me, saying, when the King of Armenia came to the land of Gamir, his forces were utterly defeated; he, his commanders, and their forces were driven off; [*then comes a broken space from which the few traces left refer to "two commanders," someone who "came," someone or something "was captured," someone "came to me," something "of his country," something "he appointed."*]

This was the news from the land of the Ukkai. Ashur-riṣûa has sent, saying, “News from Armenia. What I sent before, that is so. A great slaughter took place among them. Now his land is quiet. His nobles are dead. He has come into his own land. Ḳaḳḳadânu, his tartan, is taken, and the King of Armenia is in the land of Uazaun.” This is the news from Ashur-riṣûa. Nabû-li’, the commander of Ḥalṣu, has sent to me, saying, “Concerning the garrisons of the fortresses which are on the border, I sent to them for news of the King of Armenia. They report that when he came to the land of Gamir, his forces were all slain, three of his nobles together with their forces were killed, he himself fled and entered into his own land; but that as yet his camp is not attacked.” This is the news from Nabû-li’. The King of Muṣaṣir, his brother, and his son, have gone to greet the King of Armenia. A messenger from Ḥupushkia has gone to greet him. The garrisons of the fortresses which are on the boundary all send news like this. The letter of Nabû-li’, the major-domo of Aḫat-abisha, brought from Tabal; to the king, my lord, I have sent it on.

Another letter regarding the movements of the Armenian king

The second letter began in exactly the same way, so far as one can judge from the traces of the first seven lines. As before, Sennacherib quotes reports, which he has received, in the sender’s own words. From what is left of the first report we learn that the King of Armenia had ordered the forces at his command to capture the commanders of the King of Assyria and bring them alive to him. The city of Kumai is named as the place where these commanders were. As yet the sender “is cut off” and has not withdrawn from his post. But, as he has heard, so he has sent to the king’s son:

“Now let him quickly send forces. This is the news from Ariê: On the fourteenth of Elul, a letter came to me from Ashur-riṣûa, saying that the King of Armenia, when the Zikirtai brought things to him, at least obtained nothing, they returned empty-handed; that he went to the city Uesi with his forces and entered it, that his forces are in the city Uesi, that he and his forces are few, that they are with him with their possessions.”

This seems to be the end of Ashur-riṣûa’s news. A few traces refer to news from the Mannai concerning some “letter,” “as yet” something has “not” happened.

“As I have heard I have sent, that the commander in the district, in the midst of the city Uesi, he and his forces are assembled; that with his troops he has set out and driven him out of Uesi, that he has not seen the roads (to some place), that he has made good the bridges, that as he has

heard, whatever takes place, whether he comes with his forces, or whether he goes off free, I will quickly send to the king's son."

These fragments of the report are difficult to disentangle, as the person referred to seems sometimes to be the King of Armenia, sometimes another person. But all may be news sent from the Mannai to Ashur-riṣûa.

This is the news from Ashur-riṣûa: The land of Arzabia sends word, saying, The land of the Ukkai has broken away from me (?), that now they are killing me; you care for yourselves. I have sent my body-guards to the Ukkai. The messengers of Arzabia said, ...

Then follow a few traces from which we gather that a messenger came to the writer and brought a present; that the "Mannai said" something, someone "returned" and "I appointed him" something, that a messenger from the land of Sadudai came to Kalaḫ, that "I received and sealed" something, and "I appointed" something. Again we have a reference to the month of Elul, a letter, and the word "brought."

These letters explained by a comparison with those of Ashur-riṣûa

This letter is very obscure from the many lacunæ. We naturally turn to the letters of Ashur-riṣûa. This man may well be the same as the witness, *shaḳû*, and scribe of the queen, at Kalaḫ in b.c. 709. We have nine letters of his referring to Armenian affairs. In one of them he announces that "at the commencement of Nisan the King of Armenia set out from Ṭurushpîa and went to Eliṣada, that Ḳaḳḳadânu, his tartan, went into the city Uesi, that all the forces of Armenia have gathered to Eliṣada." The rest of the letter is obscure. At the end of another he says: "I have heard, saying, 'the king has come into the midst of Uesi, as yet he has not left.' " In the same letter he reports that "three thousand foot-soldiers, with their officers, belonging to Sêtini, his military commander, have set out to Muṣaṣir, crossed the river by night, that Sêtini has camels with him, and that Sunâ, who is in command among the Ukkai, has started with his troops for Muṣaṣir." It is clear from these that the movements here refer to the beginning of the year after that in which, in Elul, the King of Armenia was in Uesi, and before the defeat of Armenia by the Gimirri.

A mere glance at the contents of his other letters will show their connection with these events. In one, he sends Naragê, a colonel, with twenty men who had plotted against the king and were caught. He mentions the capture of a second tartan, Urṣini, in Ṭurushpîa and the mission of Urṣini's brother, Apli-uknu, to see him there. The King of Armenia had entered Ṭurushpîa with a number of restless men. In

another, he reports the return to Assyria of a messenger from the Ukkai, who had gone up into Armenia; and mentions Muṣaṣir. In a third, he reports that "Gurânia, Nagiu, the fortresses of Armenia and Gimirri, are giving tribute to Armenia." But that "when the Armenians went to Gimirri, they were badly defeated." The rest is so injured as to give little sense. In another, he names Ariê and Arisâ, Dûr-Shamash, Barzanishtun, the city of Ishtar-dûri, and Shulmu-bêl-lashme; but the text is so defective that one cannot discern what he had to say about them. In another, he acknowledges the king's order to send scouts into the neighborhood of Ṭurushpîa. In another, he writes that "the Mannai in the cities of Armenia on the coast of the sea rebelled, that Apli-uknu, the commander of Muṣaṣir, and Ṭunnaun, the commander of Kar-Sippar, went to the borders of the Mannai, to garrison Armenia and made a slaughter there, that all the commanders are present." But these are not the only references to him. Ṭâb-shâr-Ashur writes to the king that he has received a letter from Ashur-riṣûa: "Thus it is written in it, saying, a messenger of the Ukkai went to Armenia, he has sent a letter to the palace, and these are the contents of the letter, on the morning of the sixth, this letter came to me; he sent, saying, the Ukkai have heard concerning Ariê that he went against him (the king of Armenia) and his city." Then the letter becomes very defective, but we hear again of Kumai and Eliṣ (clearly the Elişada above). Ṭâb-shâr-Ashur again mentions Ashur-riṣûa, saying that a letter of his was brought, which referred to the King of Armenia entering some city. But too little is preserved to make out the message. In a report about beams of wood, collected by Ashur-riṣûa, he is associated with Ariê, and Uriṣâ, evidently the Arişâ above, and the city Kumai. Finally, on a letter by Gabbu-ana-Ashur he is mentioned in a most significant way. The writer says: "Concerning the news which the king gave me about the garrisons of Armenia, from the time that I entered the city Kurban, my messengers went to Nabû-li', to Ashur-bêl-danân, to Ashur-riṣûa; they came to me." After a break he goes on, "Like this I have heard; the Armenian (king) has not gone out of Ṭurushpîa." After some more uncertain traces, he adds: "On the twenty-third of Tammuz I entered into Kurban, on the twentieth of Ab I sent a letter to the king, my lord." It is evident that Nabû-li', Ashur-bêl-danân, and Ashur-riṣûa were the commanders most concerned in these events. Nabû-li', we have already seen, sent reports to Sennacherib; no letters of Ashur-bêl-danân, yet published, seem to refer to these events. But clearly the king was concerned to hear from other

quarters than Kalaḫ, where Sennacherib evidently was. Ashur-riṣûa is also named elsewhere on fragments not yet published.

We may now pursue the clew given by the fact that Uesi was the city which seems to have been the bone of contention. Thus Urzana, whose name recalls that of the King of Muṣaṣir, who may have been reinstated as a vassal by Sargon, writes to the *nâgiru* of the palace:

"What thou didst send me, saying, Has the King of Armenia with his troops moved away? He has gone. Where is he dwelling? The commander of Uesi, the commander of the district of the Ukkai, came, they sacrificed in the temple, they say that the king has gone, he is dwelling in Uesi; the commanders returned and went away. In Muṣaṣir they sacrificed. What thou didst send, saying, Without the king's order let no one put his hand to the work, when the king of Assyria shall come, I will serve him, what I have [always] done I will keep doing, and this according to his hand (?)."

Evidently Urzana lived in Muṣaṣir and was anxious to be thought a faithful vassal. An unknown writer tells the king that

"five commanders of Armenia entered the city of Uesi, Sêteni [*of whom we heard above*] commander of ... teni, Ḳaḳḳadânu of the writer's district, or of Ukkai, Sakuatâ of Ḳaniun, Siblia of Alzi, Ṭutu of Armiraliu, these are their names. With three underlings, they entered Uesi. Now their forces are weak and weakening (?), the forces are (?), the king has set out from Ṭurushpîa, he has come into Kaniun. What the king, my lord, sent me, saying, 'Send scouts,' I have sent a second time. The spies (?) came, these are the words they say, and the spies as yet have not started."

The whole tone of the letter and the fact that Ashur-riṣûa above acknowledges having received an order to send scouts make us think he is the unknown writer. But, of course, the king may have sent the order to other commanders as well. In an unpublished text we read that the commander of Uesi was slain.

The references to Ṭurushpîa are also significant. We know that this city was once the stronghold of Sardaurri, King of Armenia, and was doubtless still attached to its old rulers. We have a letter written by Upaḫḫir-Bêl, doubtless the Eponym of b.c. 706, and governor of Amedi. He writes in the same style as Sennacherib and Ashur-riṣûa:

Concerning news of Armenia I sent scouts, they have returned; thus they say: "The commander of that district, and the deputy-commander with him, in Ḥarda, the district of the *sukallu*, keep ward from city to city

as far as Ṭurushpîa; weakness is written down, the messenger of Argista has come,"

and so on. The rest does not concern us here. But another letter, evidently from the same writer, gives news from Armenia and a message from Argista, which the writer says he has answered, as the king directed. It also states that the commander keeps ward in Ḥarda. Ṭurushpîa is also mentioned on fragments not yet published.

Other fragments occur which clearly belong to this group. Thus a letter from an unknown writer names Ashur-riṣûa in connection with Kumai, Babutai, Ukkai, and Uliai, and narrates something about ten commanders. The loss of nine commanders in Armenia, at one time, is the subject of a very fragmentary letter, but it is not clear that it refers to this period.

To the same period seems to belong another letter of Sennacherib, probably to his father Sargon. It begins with precisely the same formulæ of greeting in the first seven lines. Then it goes on:

The chieftains of the land of Kumuḫai (Commagene) have come and brought tribute. Seven mule mares apiece they brought and tribute with the mules. The chieftains are in the house appointed for the Kumuḫai. They are fed at their own expense, they would journey on to Babylon [where Sargon evidently is]. They have brought *šaklâ* (?), they have received them here. As we have told the king, my lord, let him send quickly. They brought cloth and fruit each of them. The factors say that we have received seven talents from them, that the Kumuḫai are not contented, saying, "Our produce is reduced, let them bring the king's weavers and let them take charge." Let the king, my lord, send word to whom they shall assign them.

A letter about the chieftains of the Kumuḫai

Another letter-fragment only preserves the opening address. Another very defective letter with the same introduction refers to Dûr-Sargon,

"in the district of Kurban are excessively great floods, they go on."

We know from another source that this was the case, in b.c. 708, when the floods came into the lower part of the city, and the tribute could not be levied in the district. Yet another fragment, opening in precisely the same manner, refers to a certain Nabû-eṭir-napshâte and the city of Kalḫu. Here also we have too little left to make out any connected sense.

VI. LETTERS FROM THE LAST YEAR OF SHAMASH-SHUM-UKÎN

The period well known

Another period on which the letters throw considerable light is the close of the reign of Shamash-shum-ukîn in Babylon. This was coeval with the suppression of a great combined rebellion against the rule of Assyria. From the historical texts of Ashurbânipal's reign we know the names of many of the actors in that great struggle. They are frequently referred to in the letters. Already G. Smith, in his *History of Assurbanipal*, 1871, had used the information given by some of the letters. This was utilized by C. P. Tiele in his *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*.

The case of Nabû-bêl-shumâte

But much more may be made out when the letters are fully available. Thus Nabû-bêl-shumâte, grandson of Merodach Baladan II., had been made King of the Sealands on the death of his uncle, Nâ'id-Marduk. When the revolt broke out, Ashurbânipal sent Assyrian troops to help Nabû-bêl-shumâte to repel Shamash-shum-ukîn. During the long process of suppressing the revolt, it is clear that Nabû-bêl-shumâte conceived the idea of reasserting the independence of the Sealands. He endeavored to gain the alliance of the Assyrian garrison, some he imprisoned, others may have joined him. On the fall of Babylon, in b.c. 648, he saw that Ashurbânipal's vengeance must overtake him, so he fled to Elam. He took with him a certain number of Assyrians, evidently to hold as hostages. Ashurbânipal had a long score to settle with Elam. He began by demanding of Indabigash the surrender of Nabû-bêl-shumâte and the Assyrians with him. But before the ambassador could deliver the message, Indabigash had been succeeded by Ummanaldash. Nabû-bêl-shumâte was evidently a difficult person to lay hands upon. At any rate, Ummanaldash's land was invaded and devastated. But when the Assyrian troops were gone, he again returned to his capital, Madaktu, and Nabû-bêl-shumâte joined him there. Again Ashurbânipal sent to demand his surrender. Rather than further embarrass his host, and quite hopeless of protection or pardon, Nabû-bêl-shumâte ordered his armor-bearer to slay him. Ummanaldash attempted to conciliate Ashurbânipal by sending the body of the dead man and the head of the armor-bearer to him. Such is the story as Ashurbânipal tells it in his great cylinder inscription.

Letters about him

The letters make no less than fifty distinct references to him. The officers write many bad things of Nabû-bêl-shumâte, and it is plain that he had been a very vicious enemy. We have a number of letters from a writer of his name, who may well be the King of the Sealands before he broke with Assyria. Thus we read:

A letter reporting the dethronement of the King of Elam

To the king, my lord, thy servant Nabû-bêl-shumâte. Verily peace be to the king, my lord; may Ashur, Nabû, and Marduk be gracious to the king, my lord. Cheer of heart, health of body, and length of days may they grant the king, my lord. As I hear, the King of Elam is deposed and many cities have rebelled against him, saying, "We will not come into thy hands." According to what I hear I have sent to the king, my lord. I have inhabited the Sealands from the time of Nâ'id-Marduk. The brigands and fugitives who came to the Gurunammu, five hundred of them, did Sin-balâṭsu-iḳbi, when he caught them, lay in fetters and hand over to Natânu, the King of the Uṭṭai, their ruler, whom the king had given them.

Then come a number of defective lines, from which not much can be made out. But there can be little doubt that this letter was written in the days when policy still kept him faithful to Assyria. There was another Nabû-bêl-shumâte, whose letters begin quite differently, and refer to horses and troops. There is even a third, a *ḳêpu* of Birati, named by Tâb-ṣil-esharra, who was concerned in repelling a raid on Sippara, and is named in a contract of b.c. 686. It is just possible that the second and third are the same man. But while we must exercise care in assigning the references of the letters, we have a guide in the historical connection.

Bêl-ibnî's letters

Bêl-ibnî was a very important officer who held the position of a *manzâz pâni*, having the right of access to the royal presence and a place near the king on all state occasions. He is probably to be distinguished from the Bêl-ibnî set on the throne of Babylon by Sennacherib in b.c. 702. He is a frequent writer to the king during this period. Ashurbânipal placed him over the Sealand after the flight of Nabû-bêl-shumâte. The king's proclamation to the Sealanders reads thus:

Letter appointing him governor of the Sealands

Order of the king to the Sealanders, elders and juniors, my servants: My peace be with you. May your hearts be cheered. See now how my full gaze is upon you. And before the sin of Nabû-bêl-shumâte, I

appointed over you the courtesan of Menânu. Now I have sent Bêl-ibnî, my *dubašu*, to go before you. Whatever order is good in my opinion which is [written] in my letters [obey].

Then after some defaced lines, he threatens that if they do not obey,

"I will send my troops."

This order is dated the fifth of Iyyar, b.c. 650. By that date Nabû-bêl-shumâte had fled. It is not easy to say whether Ashurbânipal had appointed a lady, once the *ḫarimtu*, or courtesan, of Menânu, as ruler of the Sealand before Nabû-bêl-shumâte, or whether he means to call Nabû-bêl-shumâte by this opprobrious epithet. Who is meant by Menânu is hard to see, unless it be the Elamite King, Umman-minana, the contemporary of Sennacherib, who had protected the family of Merodach-Baladan II.

Letter of Ummanaldash offering to give up Nabû-bêl-shumâte

We have a fragmentary letter from the King of Elam, Ummanaldash, to Ashurbânipal, which says:

Letter of Ummanaldash, King of Elam, to Ashurbânipal, King of Assyria, peace be to my brother. From the beginning, the Martenai [*Elamite name for the Sealanders, from Marratu, "the Salt Marshes"*] have been sinners against thee. Nabû-bêl-shumâte came from there. The crossing of the land ... over against Elam I broke down, [to keep him out]. Thou hast sent letters [*or forces?*] saying, "Send Nabû-bêl-shumâte." I will seize Nabû-bêl-shumâte and will send him to thee. The Martenai whom from the beginning Nabû-bêl-shumâte brought us ... they are people who came by water from ... it entered into their minds and they came, they broke into Laḫiru and there they are. I will send to their border my servants against them and by their hands I will send those who have sinned against us. If they are in my land, I will send them by their hands; and, if they have crossed the river, do thou [take them].

The rest of the letter is hard to make out. It was dated on the twenty-sixth of Tammuz, in the Eponymy of Nabû-shar-aḫêshu, probably b.c. 645.

Letter of Bêl-ibnî accusing Nabû-bêl-shumâte of imprisoning his brother

Bêl-ibnî had a great hatred for Nabû-bêl-shumâte. For the latter had years before laid hands upon Bêl-ibnî's eldest brother, Bêlshunu, and put him in prison. This we learn from a letter to the king, which, although the name of the writer is lost, is clearly from Bêl-ibnî. The first few lines yield no connected sense, but name Umman-shimash and the nobles with him:

When they assembled they spoke evil words against their king. From those days they kept on plundering his land. Before the forces of the lord of kings, my lord, want, like a pestilence, entered the land. When the forces of the lord of kings, my lord, have arrived at Dûr-ili, they shall not take a holiday; that smitten of Bêl, accursed of the gods, Nabû-bêl-shumâte, and the sinners with him, they shall capture and give them to the lord of kings, my lord. And the Assyrians, as many as are with them, they shall release and send to the lord of kings, my lord. Bêlshunu, my eldest brother, a servant of the lord of kings, my lord, now four years ago, did that smitten of Bêl, that accursed of the gods, Nabû-bêl-shumâte, when he revolted, bind hand and foot with bronze and imprison him.

The rest is obscure, but names Ṣalmu-shar-iḳbi as sending news to the palace.

Bêlshunu's identity

The Bêlshunu here named is probably the Eponym of b.c. 648, who was then governor of Ḫindana, who also dates a letter from the king to Umman-shimash, which names Bêl-ibnî. There are over fifty references in the letters to Bêl-ibnî, most of which directly connect him with these events. His duties in command of the Sealand brought him into relations with the many Elamites, who in the frequent revolutions in that land, fled for refuge to the Assyrians. Here is one of the best of his letters to the king:

His letter about the fugitive Shumâ

To the lord of kings, my lord, thy servant Bêl-ibnî. May Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk decree length of days, cheer of heart, and health of body to the lord of kings, my lord. Shumâ, son of Shum-iddina, son of Gaḫal, sister's son to Tammaritu, fled from Elam and came to the Daḫḫai. From the Daḫḫai, when I had taken him, I made him cross over. He is ill. As soon as he has completely recovered his health, I will send him to the king, my lord. A messenger is here from Natan and the Pukudu, who are in Til-Ḫumba, to say that they came before Nabû-bêl-shumâte at the city Targibâti. They took an oath, by God, one with another, saying, "According to agreement we will send thee all the news we hear." And according to contract they furnished fifty oxen for money at his hands, and said to him, "Let our sheep come and among the Ubânât in the pasture let them graze among them. Thou mayest have confidence in us." Now let a messenger of the king, my lord, come and make Natan learn in his mind, that "if thou dost send anything for sale to

Elam, or one sheep be allotted to pasture in Elam, I will not suffer thee to live." I have sent trustworthy reports to the king, my lord.

The incident here referred to, the reception of the fugitive Shumâ, who probably on account of his illness was unable to join his uncle Tammaritu, is very similar to that related of Tammaritu himself. This King of Elam succeeded his cousin Ummanigash, whom he dethroned, but after a short reign was himself dethroned by the usurper Indabigash. He and his brothers and family and eighty-five princes of Elam, his supporters, fled by sea from Elam to the marshes at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. There he fell sick. But Ashurbânipal sent him a friendly message, and he came before the Assyrian governor, and kissed the ground in token of submission. We learn that Marduk-shar-uṣur was the officer who received him, and a very mutilated letter seems to refer to it. He was probably the Rabshakeh to whom Bêl-ibnî wrote complaining of certain slanders about him. So even the faithful servant was not entirely free from court intrigues. In another letter Bêl-ibnî refers to his having received and sent on to the king, Tammaritu, his brothers, family, and nobles.

Many letters of this period

Like Ummanigash and Indabigash, Tammaritu corresponded with Ashurbânipal. We have letters from him to the King of Assyria and from Ashurbânipal to him. Unfortunately these letters are very imperfect, or not yet published. He is mentioned continually in the letters. There were several of the name: (1) son of Urtaku, third brother of Teumman, (2) son of Teumman, slain with his father, (3) son of Ummanigash, King of Elam, succeeded his cousin Ummanigash, whom he dethroned, (4) son of Attamitu. To which of these a reference is made is often hard to decide.

VII. LETTERS REGARDING AFFAIRS IN SOUTHERN BABYLONIA

Their character that of forecasts or omens

Their great value

Another group refers to the events at Ur, in the far south of Babylonia. Sin-tabni-uṣur, son of Ningal-iddina, was governor there during the time of Shamash-shum-ukîn's great rebellion. This we learn from some of the forecast tablets, published in George Smith's *Assurbanipal*. The greater part of these tablets is unintelligible, containing a record of the omens observed, probably on inspection of the entrails of the slaughtered sacrifices. What these symptoms were cannot yet be determined. Much has been done by Boissier in his *Textes Assyriens relatifs au Présage*, and many articles contributed to various journals. The omens are generally such as also occur in the tablets published by Dr. Knudtzon in his *Gebete on den Sonnengott*, and ably discussed by him there. The tablet evidently was meant to submit these omens to some oracle that a prediction might be given on their authority. The king also usually stated his cause of anxiety and asked for guidance and direction. These forecast tablets, many of which are dated, are of the greatest service for the chronology of the period. They have been partly discussed by the present writer. Thus the two, which refer to Sin-tabni-uṣur, announce that he is governor of Ur, and seem to inquire whether he can be relied upon to prove faithful. We may conclude that his appointment took place in Ab, b.c. 648.

A letter of the governor of Erech

From a letter, which G. Smith ascribes to Kudur, governor of Erech, we learn that he had heard from Sin-tabni-uṣur, who reports that a messenger had arrived from Shamash-shum-ukîn, inciting the people to rebel against Ashurbânipal. As a result,

"the Gurunammu have rebelled against me. Re-enforce me at once."

The good Kudur sent five or six hundred archers and joined Aplîa, the governor of Arrapḫa, and Nûrêa, governor of Ṣameda, and went to Ur. He was able to seize the leaders of the revolt, among them Nabû-zêr-iddin. But someone had captured Sin-tabni-uṣur. Bêl-ibnî is named, and later Nabû-ushêzib, the archer, but the text is too mutilated to make out a clear account. But it seems likely that Sin-tabni-uṣur was rescued, and

being re-enforced, held out well for his master. Ashurbânipal writes to assure him of his continued confidence.

The king's reply

Message of the king to Sin-tabni-uṣur: It is well with me. May thy heart be cheered. Concerning Sin-shar-uṣur, what thou didst send. How could he say evil words of thee and I hear anything of them? Shamash perverted his heart and Ummanigash slandered thee before me and would give thee to death. Ashur, my god, withholds me. I would not willingly slay my servant, and the support of my father's house. In that case, thou wouldst perish with thy lord's house. I would not see that. He and Ummanigash have compassed thy death, but because I know thy faithfulness I have increased my favor and bestowed honor upon thee. Is it not so? For these two years thou hast not caused hostility or want to thy lord's house. What could they say against a servant who has loved his lord's house and I believe it? And with respect to the service which thou and the Assyrians, thy brothers, have done, what thou sendest, all that thou hast done and the guard thou hast kept, ... which is pleasing before me [I will reward] and return thee favors to thy children's children.

The persons mentioned

It is clear that Sin-shar-uṣur and Ummanigash had been intriguing against Sin-tabni-uṣur. There are several persons of the name Sin-shar-uṣur about this time. No less than three Eponyms bear the name after b.c. 648. The *aba mâti*, or governor of Hindana, or the *arḳû* might be meant here. But there was a brother of Sin-tabni-uṣur, of this name, who perhaps coveted his post. Among the many unpublished texts which refer to him one may, perhaps, be found to explain the hostility. Nor is it clear which Ummanigash is meant. There was one of the three sons of Urtaku, who took refuge at the court of Ashurbânipal, when their father was murdered and dethroned by his brother, Teumman. When the Assyrian king espoused his cause, he was enabled by Assyrian troops to defeat and slay the usurper Teumman and take the throne of Elam. But he was faithless and allied himself with Shamash-shum-ukîn. He was dethroned by his cousin, Tammaritu, shortly before the fall of Shamash-shum-ukîn. That he, while at the Assyrian Court, should have slandered the governor of Ur, is quite in accordance with his character, but what was his purpose, or what he alleged, we do not know. There was another Ummanigash, brother of Urtaku; another, son of Umbadara; another, a son of Amedirra. The latter raised a rebellion against Ummanaldash, as

we learn from a report by Bêl-ibnî. After his usual salutations, Bêl-ibnî reports,

Bêl-ibnî's letter about Ummanigash

When I left the Sealand, I sent five hundred soldiers, servants of my lord, the king, to the city Ṣabdânu, saying, "Hold a fort in Ṣabdânu and make raids into Elam, slay and make prisoners." When they went against Irgidu, a city two leagues this side of Susa, they slew Ammaladin, the sheik of Iashi'ilu, his two brothers, three brothers of his father, two of his brother's sons, Dalâ-ilu, son of Abi-iadi', and two hundred well-born citizens of that city. They had a long journey before them. They took one hundred and fifty prisoners. The sheiks of Laḫiru and the people of Nugû', when they saw that my raiders had extended on their farther side, were full of fear, sent word and took the oath to Mushêzib-Marduk, my sister's son, a servant of the king, my lord, whom I had appointed over the fort, saying, "We will be servants of the King of Assyria." When they had gathered their bowmen, as many as they had, they went with Mushêzib-Marduk, and marched into Elam.

Here follows a bad break in the narrative, but Iḳisha-aplu is named, and Bêl-ibnî promised to send on to the king whatever they captured and brought to him. The letter then resumes:

News from Elam: they say that Ummanigash, son of Amedirra, has rebelled against Ummanaldash. From the river Ḥudḫud as far as the city Ḥa'adânu they have sided with him. Ummanaldash has gathered his forces, and they are now encamped on the river opposite one another. Iḳisha-aplu, whom I have sent to the palace, has penetrated their designs. Let one question him in the palace.

Kudur's letters about the king's favorite

Kudur, governor of Erech, who sent news of the outbreak of rebellion in the south, gives us further information about Mushêzib-Marduk, who was a favorite with the king. After a long salutation occupying nearly the whole of the obverse, with a short reference to a certain Upaḳu, the reverse side goes on:

Mushêzib-Marduk, Bêl-ibnî's sister's son, who has come two or three times into the presence of the king, my lord, on a message from Bêl-ibnî, Bêl-ibnî has appointed him concerning it (the case in hand). The gate-keepers have told him that those soldiers are not lovers of the house of my lord. It is not good for them to cross over to our midst. They will give news of the land of the king, my lord, to Elam, and if there be a famine in Elam, they will furnish them provisions. To the king, my lord, I have sent; let the king, my lord, do what he sees fit.

The king's reply

The king himself writes to Bêl-ibnî in a most friendly way about Mushêzib-Marduk:

Message of the king to Bêl-ibnî: I am well. May thy heart be cheered. Mushêzib-Marduk, about whom thou didst send, in the fulness of time he shall enter my presence, I will appoint the paths for his feet (*i.e.*, make a way for his advancement). The holiday in Nineveh is not finished.

Mushêzib-Marduk is also mentioned by Nabû-zêr-ukîn, in a letter to the king, in close connection with Shum-iddin, the governor of Dûr-ilu. It is not clear what the writer had to say of him, but farther on in the letter Bêl-ibnî is named. The same Nabû-zêr-ukîn is mentioned in a tablet of epigraphs, where he is associated with Shamash-shum-ukîn, Tammaritu and Indabigash. He is there said to be son of Nabû-mushêṣi. In another letter he writes with Adadi-shum-uṣur, Nabû-shum-iddin, Ardi-Ea, and Ishtar-shum-êresh to the king, but hardly anything remains except a mention of Nineveh. The same group of writers is elsewhere associated with Nabû-mushêṣi. Of another letter from him to the king only the introduction is found.

Kudur's letters about the rebellion

Kudur, governor of Erech, was a frequent correspondent with the king. A score of letters from him to the king, or from the king to him, are preserved. They are nearly all concerned, more or less, with the events during the great rebellion. There were several others of the name, one an Elamite prince, son of Ummanaldash. The name itself may be Elamite and may point to a strong admixture of Elamite blood in Erech. The element Kudur occurs in such names as Kudur-Mabug, Kudur-Naḫunte, and Kudur-lagamar, the prototype of Chedorlaomer. There was another Kudur, son of Dakkuri, who was brought captive to Assyria with Shum-iddin. We may take as one example:

To the king of countries, my lord, thy servant Kudur. May Bêl and Nabû decree peace, health, and length of days for the king, my lord, forever. Since I was in the enemy's country the Puḳudu have made an end of the Bît-Amuḳâni, servants of my lord, the king, by their attacks. The cities which were to be held for the king, my lord, they captured. Let the servants of the king, my lord, march. They have occupied the cities, killed the men and ravished the women. Also they have attacked Ṣâbâ, the body-guard. The day they reached Bît-Amuḳâni, it is said, the attackers attacked the body-guard. I sent soldiers, saying, "Go, slay 'Ala' with the pike, save the garrison and take them captive." When on the king's canal they attacked Nabû-shar-uṣur, the colonel, he took them

captive. Let the king, my lord, inquire of them, as he can. The king, my lord, knows how Bît-Amuḳâni is destroyed. The Puḳudu keep their land. The soldiers with us have not set out, and they are the attackers, and we abhor the alienation of territory. Let the king, my lord, give orders and the soldiers shall set out against the cities, where they dwell.

It seems that the men of Pekod (see Jer. i. 21, Ez. xxiii. 23) had made an attack upon Bît-Amuḳâni and nearly destroyed the country. Kudur moved into the country, but sent for explicit orders as to what he should do. He changes his subject rather abruptly at times and it is not quite clear always of whom he is speaking. The most obscure sentence is where he says that "we abhor the alienation of territory," literally "the sin of the land." It seems that a land sinned when it was occupied by an enemy.

Ashurbânipal was deeply attached to his faithful servant, as the following letter shows:

His affectionate letter of thanks for the king's favors

To the king of countries, my lord, thy servant Kudur. Erech and E-anna (the temple there) be gracious to the king of countries, my lord. Daily I pray to Ishtar of Erech and Nanâ for the health of the king, my lord's life. Iḳîsha-aplu, the doctor, whom the king, my lord, sent to heal me, has restored me to life. The great gods of heaven and earth make themselves gracious to the king, my lord, and establish the throne of the king, my lord, in the midst of heaven forever. I was one who was dead and the king, my lord, has restored me to life. The benefits of the king, my lord, toward me are manifold. I will come to see the king, my lord. I say to myself, I will go and I will see the face of the king, my lord; then I will return and live. The chief baker made me return to Erech from the journey, saying, "A special messenger has brought a sealed despatch to thee from the palace, thou must return with me to Erech." He sent me this order and made me return to Erech. The king, my lord, must know this.

The king had sent a doctor who had restored Kudur, when he had despaired of himself. Then he started to come and thank the king in person, but when on the road the chief baker (if that was his right title) recalled him, because a sealed despatch had reached Erech addressed to him from the king. He sends at once this letter, not having reached Erech again; at any rate, he does not refer to the contents of the despatch.

LETTERS ABOUT ELAM AND SOUTHERN BABYLONIA

The downfall of Elamite power

In Elam, during the reign of Ashurbânipal, there was a protracted series of revolutions, interspersed with invasions of, or by, Assyria. The result was the utter decay of Elamite power, and after Ashurbânipal's final reduction of the country and sack of Susa, the land was an easy prey to the Aryan invaders. From the story, as told by Ashurbânipal, the Elamites richly deserved their fate, and lest we should suspect him of undue partiality, the matter-of-fact letters of his officers give us substantial grounds for crediting his view. It seems that Urtaku, who came to the throne of Elam in b.c. 675, was always on good terms with Assyria. We have a letter from Esarhaddon to him in very friendly terms. It begins:

A friendly letter from Esarhaddon to Urtaku

Letter of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, to Urtaku, King of Elam: I am well. Peace to thy gods and goddesses. There is peace in my land and with my nobles, peace be to Urtaku, King of Elam, my brother. There is peace with my sons and my daughters, peace be to thy nobles and thy land. Now what Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods ... have said, I have (fully?) accomplished.

This friendship at first maintained by Ashurbânipal

The rest is obscure by reason of lacunæ. The reverse seems to be inscribed with numerals, perhaps relating to items of presents sent. Ashurbânipal kept up the friendship, and, when a famine broke out in Elam, allowed some

The Elamites invade Babylonia

The punishment

Elamites to take refuge in his land, and afterwards restored them to their country. He also sent grain into Elam itself. But, perhaps as consequence of having spied out the land, the Elamites contrived to make Urtaku attack Assyria. He was incited to this act by Bêl-iḳisha, prince of the Gambûlai, who inhabited the marshes about the mouth of the Uknû, or Blue River, perhaps the modern Karoon, bordering on Elam. Bêl-iḳisha rebelled against Assyria, and with his troops joined Elam. Nabû-shum-êresh, the *TIK-EN-NA*, apparently sheik of the district of Dupliash, another Assyrian subject, seems to have done the same. Marduk-shum-ibnî, the general of Urtaku, who led the invasion, was

evidently not an Elamite, but perhaps a Chaldean, or renegade Babylonian. At any rate, the Elamites invaded Akkad and covered the land like grasshoppers. They laid siege to Babylon. On the approach of the Assyrian army, the invaders fled. Urtaku died. Bêl-iḳisha was killed by a wild boar. Nabû-shum-êresh was smitten with dropsy and died. "In one year the gods cut them off." The throne of Elam fell to Teumman, a brother of Urtaku, who maintained a hostile attitude. Dunânu, son and successor of Bêl-iḳisha, joined Teumman. Ashurbânipal accordingly invaded Elam, defeated and slew Teumman, ravaged the land of Gambulû and captured Dunânu, who was taken to Nineveh and made to march in the triumphal procession, with the head of Teumman slung about his neck, and was finally tortured to death.

Nabû-ushabshi's letters as governor of Southern Babylonia

All the time that Shamash-shum-ukîn was king in Babylon, Ashurbânipal seems to have retained the rule over Southern Babylonia. At any rate, the governors of the cities there wrote to him as their king and lord. The above-mentioned revolt in Gambulû was a direct concern of the governor of Erech, who seems to have suffered severely. As late as the twentieth year of Ashurbânipal, Nabû-ushabshi was governor there. We have many letters from him to the king. One refers to the above events:

To the king of countries, my lord, thy servant Nabû-ushabshi. Erech and E-anna (the temple of Ishtar at Erech), be gracious to the king of countries, my lord. Daily I pray to Ishtar of Erech and Nanâ for the well-being of the life of the king, my lord. The king, my lord, sent, saying, "Take troops and send against Gambulû. The gods of the king, my lord, assuredly know how, from the time that Bêl-iḳisha revolted from the hands of the king, my lord, and went to Elam, he plundered my father's house and went about to kill my brother."

Then comes a break, in which the fragments indicate that Nabû-ushabshi prayed daily for revenge. Then we read:

Now as the king, my lord, has sent, I will go and fulfil all his bidding. If on any ground, over there, the inhabitants of Gambulû will not obey, if it be pleasing to the king, my lord, let a messenger come and let us assemble all Akkad and we will go with him, we will win back the land and give it to the king, my lord. I have sent. Let the king, my lord, do what he will. Preserve this letter.

The last request is very unusual, but we are glad it was obeyed. Another of his letters refers to the intrigues of Pir'-Bêl, son of Bêl-eṭir. This Bêl-eṭir may be the son of Nabû-shum-êresh, who, with his brother,

Nabû-nâ'id, was carried captive to Nineveh, along with Dunânu, and there made to desecrate the bones of their father. But it seems possible that we have here to do with another Bêl-eṭir, as these events seem earlier in the history. After the same introduction as before, the letter reads:

Pir'-Bêl, the son of Bêl-eṭir, sometime after he and his father went, some ten years ago, to Elam, came again from Elam to Akkad, he and his father. When they came, whatever was evil against Assyria, they kept on doing in Erech. Afterwards when they went back to Elam, Bêl-eṭir, his father, died in Elam; and he in Marchesvan brought letters to me, and to Aplîa, the governor, we sent the letters on by Daru-Sharru, the body-guard.

After some broken lines:

"Now a certain servant of ... came with him to Erech."

we read:

If he say to the king, my lord: "I have come from the land of Elam," let not the king, my lord, believe him. From the time when in the month of Marchesvan, he brought the letters and we sent them to the king, my lord, until now, he has not returned to Elam. If the king, my lord, desire to verify these words, Idûa, a servant of Kudur, who brought him to Erech, the contents are known to him [*there are some very obscure phrases in the next two lines*], and those letters, what lies are written, let him tell the king, my lord, and as to those letters, which, in the month of Marchesvan we sent to the king, my lord, by the hands of Daru-sharru, if the king, my lord, does not understand, let the king, my lord, ask Daru-sharru, the body-guard. To the king, my lord, I have sent, let the king, my lord, be aware.

Letters about presents sent to the sanctuary of Erech

One event, very characteristic of the times, is the subject of three letters. The sanctuary of Ishtar, at Erech, was celebrated far and wide, and on one occasion the King of Elam sent gifts to it. These Nabû-ushabshi seems to have been unable to possess himself of, or to send to the king. Thus, we read:

To the king of countries, my lord, thy servant, Nabû-ushabshi [*after the same introduction as before*]; the sheep of the temple and of the city Puḳudu are detained in the city Ru'ua, two shepherds of them, one belonging to the temple, and the second from Puḳudu, three white horses with harness and trappings of silver, and fittings of bronze. On the trappings were written ... which the King of Elam had sent to Ishtar of Erech. The horses, which they brought, I will now preserve. Before the king, my lord, I was afraid and in the temple I will not place them, until

the shepherds bring the three horses. To the king, my lord, I have sent, and the bronze inscribed fittings, when I see them, I will send on to the king, my lord. What the king my lord will, let him do.

The king replied:

To Nabû-ushabshi, concerning the horses about which thou didst send, as yet thou hast not sent them to me. I have sent Ashur-gimil-tirru, the *abarakku*, and troops with him. Whatever is good to do, that do; whether the River Ḥarru be dammed, or whether those people come, and as to the contents of the letter which thou didst send. Bêl-eṭir, Arbaia, the colonels, two hundred horses in their hands, I have sent to thee; let them stand on your side, let them do the work.

Evidently in consequence of this, we have another letter, where both writer and recipient are unknown. It is much injured, and while there are a few sentences intelligible, it is not easy to say to what they refer. But on the reverse after the first six or seven lines, the words of the last letter are repeated verbatim. It is perhaps another letter from the king to Nabû-ushabshi. The governors of Laḫiru and Arbaḫa are said to be with the receiver of the letter.

IX. MISCELLANEOUS ASSYRIAN LETTERS

Letters about omens and predictions

A very interesting group may be made up of letters concerned with omens and predictions. The Assyrian kings were firm believers in omens. They did not venture upon any great undertaking without consulting the augurs. We have numerous letters telling the king what days were propitious for certain projects which he had formed. For the most part, the whole point is obscure to us. We know neither the purpose he had, the omens relied on, nor the real grounds of the decision. Very often translation is impossible. In some cases the publication of the innumerable omen texts may give some light on the subject, but usually it is quite impossible to see how these were made to apply to the actual case. It is very like the case of Nebuchadrezzar's dream. We are without any data to work from.

About a fox's falling into a well

Here is an example of some interest, and more easily understood than many:

To the king, my lord, thy servant Nabûa. May Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the king, my lord. On the seventh of Kislev a fox entered into the city, and fell into a well, in the grove of Ashur. They got him out, and killed him.

Whether this was a good or evil omen, or even an omen at all, we do not know. Nabûa is a very common name. There are fourteen or fifteen astrological reports which bear his name. In these he appears as an inhabitant of the city Asshur. The name occurs some forty times in the contracts, but it is clear that there were several of the name. Perhaps the scribe who appears from b.c. 668 down to post-canon times may be our writer, but, as he lived at Nineveh, that is doubtful.

Regarding auspicious days for a journey

Another case which is fairly intelligible is a letter of Balasi and Nabû-aḫê-erba, on a question of auspicious days for a journey. It reads:

To the king, our lord, thy servants, Balasi and Nabû-aḫê-erba. Peace be to the king, our lord. May Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the king, our lord. As to Ashur-mukîn-palêa, about whom the king, our lord, has sent to us, may Ashur, Bêl, Sin, Shamash, and Adad be gracious to him. May the king, our lord, see his well-being. Things are auspicious for a journey. The second is auspicious. The fourth extremely auspicious.

We have fairly frequent references to Ashur-mukîn-palêa in a way that shows that he was delicate. From a letter of Ardi-Nabû's we learn that the order of seniority in the family of Esarhaddon was Ashurbânipal, Shamash-shum-ukîn, Sherûa-eṭirat (a princess), Ashur-mukin-palêa, Sharru-shame-erṣiti-balâṭsu-(iḳbi). He is often named in the letters, usually as king's son. But despite his delicate health he survived to be made high-priest of Sin at Ḥarrân, by his royal brother, and even as late as b.c. 648 his name occurs in the contracts.

Balasi's letters about astrology

Balasi is a frequent writer of astrological reports, some five and twenty being preserved, besides some fifteen letters. In the latter he is associated with Nabû-aḫê-erba no less than seven times, once with Ishtar-shum-êresh also. In these cases we probably have the same person. But the name occurs often in the contracts, and there belongs to at least three different men. Nabû-aḫê-erba was the writer of some five and thirty astrological reports, besides some seven or eight letters, usually with Balasi. The name belongs to several persons named in the contracts.

Ardi-Êa's letters of congratulation

Ardi-Êa was also a frequent writer to the king. Besides three or four astrological reports, he wrote nine letters to the king. He is generally associated with Adadi-shum-uṣur, Ishtar-shum-êresh, Akkullânu, or Marduk-shâkin-shum. But one letter, written to Sargon II., and mentioning Merodach-Baladan II., clearly belongs to another Ardi-Êa. Most of his letters are defective. The most intelligible reads thus:

To the king, my lord, thy servant Ardi-Êa. Peace be to the king, my lord. May Nabû, Marduk, Sin, Ningal, and Nusku be gracious to the king, my lord. Sin, Ningal (and other gods) shall grant health, long days, to the king, my lord. Day and night I pray for the life of the king, my lord.

Adadi-shum-uṣur's letters

The great group of writers with whom he is associated is responsible for a large number of letters. Adadi-shum-uṣur wrote some thirty-five letters and five or six astrological reports. He is especially prolix in his introduction. Here is a specimen:

To the king, my lord, thy servant Adadi-shum-uṣur. Peace be to the king, my lord. May Nabû and Marduk be excessively gracious to the king, my lord. The king of gods shall decree the name of the king, my lord, to the kingdom of Assyria. Shamash and Adad, in their changeless regard to the king, my lord, have confirmed him in the kingdom of all lands. A gracious reign, settled days, years of righteousness, plenteous

rains, copious floods, high prices. The gods are reverenced, the fear of God increased, the temples are flourishing. The great gods of heaven and earth are exalted in the reign of the king, my lord. Old men dance, young men sing, the women and girls are given in marriage, the bridegrooms marry wives, marriages are consummated, sons and daughters are begotten, children are born. To those that have sinned and look for death, the king, my lord, has given new life. Those that for many years

A plea for his son to be appointed to the court

were captive, thou hast freed. They that many days were sick have recovered. The hungry are satisfied. The lean grow fat. The plantations are covered with fruits. Only I and Ardi-Gula among them have our soul depressed, our heart disturbed. Lately has the king, my lord, shown love for Nineveh, to his people, to his chiefs, saying, "Bring your sons, let them stand before me." Ardi-Gula, my son is he, let him stand with them, before the king, my lord. We with all the people will rejoice indeed, and dance for joy. My eyes are set upon the king, my lord. They that stand in the palace, all of them, love me not. There is not a friend of mine among them, to whom I might give a present, and they would receive it, and take up my cause. Let the king, my lord, take pity on his servant. Among all those people, I hope none of my slanderers may see the purpose of their hearts against me.

Judging from the frequent mention of Ardi-Gula in other letters and that he wrote to the king about his sons, Ashurbânipal and Shamash-shum-ukîn, we may be sure the old courtier got his request, and that he was writing to Esarhaddon. The letters of Adadi-shum-uṣur concern domestic affairs, the sickness of one, an auspicious day, the health of another, rarely does he mention any news of public interest. The persons about whom he writes are the members of the royal family, Esarhaddon's children and the above-named circle of officials. The king sent him to see certain sick folk, he writes about an eclipse, or a ring, or something of the sort. He usually gives a very long introduction; often the real message occupies only a few lines.

Miscellaneous letters

Marduk-shâkin-shum is another of the same group, with twenty-five letters. They are of the same domestic nature as the last. Ishtar-shum-êresh is the writer of a score of letters and about thirty astrological reports. He was evidently a younger member of the group, son of Nabû-zêr-lîshir, and chief scribe to Ashurbânipal. In the reign of Esarhaddon he ranked as a *mašmašsu*. Akkullânu, who was an *êrib bîti*, of Asshur, writes sixteen letters and some dozen astrological reports.

Nabûa's letters about the calendar

We have seen that in the second epoch the king had to fix the time when intercalary months should be inserted. In this period the calendar was very carefully regulated by astronomical observations. As a new month began on the day on which the new moon was seen, it is clear that a month would often exceed twenty-nine days, but that a new moon might sometimes be seen on the twenty-ninth. Nabûa, the astronomer of the city Asshur, sends a number of such letters as:

On the twenty-ninth, we kept watch, we did not see the moon. Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the king, my lord. From Nabûa of Asshur.

So Nabû-shum-iddin writes:

To the Gardener, my lord, thy servant Nabû-shum-iddin, the *rabûte* of Nineveh. Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the Gardener, my lord. On the fourteenth we kept watch on the moon. The moon suffered an eclipse.

The gardener, or rather irrigator, may be a royal title. At present these observations are useless to us in our attempts to fix chronology, as we do not know the month and year of many of them.

The queen-dowager's importance

The queen-mother was always an important personage in the state and she had very great influence indeed at court. But probably few ladies ever obtained a higher degree of power than did Naki'a, or Zakutu as she was also called, the wife of Sennacherib and mother of Esarhaddon. She had a sister Abirami. The queen-mother resided in Laḫiru, but there seem to have been more than one city of the name. Her necklace, or some part of it, is in private possession and has been described by Professor Scheil. She survived her son, and, with her grandsons, Ashurbânipal, Shamash-shum-ukîn, and the nobles of Assyria, issued a proclamation to the empire, declaring Ashurbânipal the true heir to the throne.

Letter of Nâ'id-Marduk to her

It is, of course, uncertain whether the person addressed as mother of the king is always Zakûtu, since we cannot always date the letters. But the letter of Nâ'id-Marduk, which names Ummanigash as King of Elam, was certainly addressed to her. Nâ'id-Marduk was a son of Merodach Baladan, who, in the reign of Esarhaddon, when his brother Nabû-zêr-kînish-lîshir was killed by Ummanaldash II., threw himself on the mercy of Esarhaddon and was by him made ruler of his ancestral domain of Bît Jakin, as a vassal king. He speaks for himself:

To the mother of the king, my lord, thy servant Nâ'id-Marduk. Peace be to the mother of the king, my lord. May Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk give health to the king, my lord. May they decree the cheer of heart of

the mother of the king, my lord. From Elam they came to me, saying, "They have seized the bridge." When they came, I sent to the mother of the king, my lord. Now let the bridge be restored and the bolts of the bridge strengthened. They say, "They have burnt it." I have not sent them, we do not know. They came, it was gone. To the mother of the king, my lord, I will send. Do thou, my lord, send troops. The son of Ningal-iddina has gone to the King of (Elam?) and taken the side of Ḫubanigash. [*Several lines follow with only fragments of sentences.*] "Since these are trustworthy reports, whatever the Chaldees in future send to the gods of the king, my lord. If a messenger of the King of Elam does not bring messages to me, he shall enter and I will see him, and whatever is his message, he shall explain until I understand." They came on the second of Ab, his messenger came to me to the border; he did not pass over to hinterland, and I sent my messenger to the palace. My lord, may he decide, and what is right for the house of my lord, fulfil.

It is evident that the writer regards the queen-mother as so thoroughly identical with the king that he does not scruple to address her as "my lord." Despite several lacunæ the general sense is clear. After the break the passage in quotation marks seems to be quoted from a report made to the writer. The sons of Ningal-iddina were Sin-tabni-uṣur, Sin-balâṭsu-iḳbi, and Sin-shar-uṣur, all of whom were in important commands in Southern Babylonia. It seems probable that the events referred to in this letter are those which led up to the Elamite invasion of Babylonia, when they came raiding as far as Sippara. Esarhaddon was away at the time in the west. There is no record of how they were driven back.

Here is a letter from the king to his mother:

King's letter to her

Message of the king to the king's mother: I am well. Peace be to the king's mother. Concerning Amushe's servant, what thou didst send me, as the king's mother has told me, I will at once order. What thou hast said is extremely good. Wherefore should Ḫamunai go?

The meaning is obscured for us by our complete lack of information as to the persons concerned. We may conjecture that Ḫamunai was the servant of Amushe, but we do not know. However, we see that the queen mother gave good advice.

Aplîa's cordial letter to her

Zakûtu must often have been a prey to great anxiety, left in command as she was in Assyria, with her warrior son nearly always away and such awkward neighbors as the Elamites. But she was on the whole faithfully

served. It seems that the proud nobles of Assyria became restless during Esarhaddon's long absences, for we learn from the Babylonian Chronicle that, in b.c. 670, Esarhaddon put a number of them to death. Here is a letter, however, from an attached subject:

To the mother of the king, my lady, thy servant Aplîa. May Bêl and Nabû be gracious to the mother of the king, my lady. Every day I pray Nabû and Nanâ for life and health and length of days, for the king of lands, my lord, and for the mother of the king, my lady. May the mother of the king, my lady, be bright. A messenger of good news from Bêl and Nabû has come from the king of lands, my lord.

There is a suggestion in the mention of Nanâ that Aplîa wrote from Erech. He may be the Aplîa afterwards associated with Bêl-ibnî and Kudur in the south. If so, we may suppose that the messenger came from Esarhaddon, from Egypt, by way of Southern Babylonia. One would suppose that a messenger from Canaan, or the west, would reach Nineveh, before Chaldea. But, of course, the queen-mother may have been at Laḫiru. Only it is doubtful whether she lived there, while Esarhaddon was away.

It is more likely still that the Aplîa is the same as the *râb ali* of Laḫiru, who in b.c. 678 was over the house of the queen-mother there.

Asharîdu's letter of loyalty

Another letter conveys assurance of fidelity:

To the mother of the king, my lord, thy servant Asharîdu. May Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the mother of the king, my lord. Daily I pray to Nêrgal and Lâz for the life and health of the king, and the king's mother, my lords. There is peace in the city and temples of the king and now I keep the watch for the king, my lord.

That Asharîdu is the same as the writer of some thirty astrological reports who was the son of Dankâ, a *ḳatnu*, and servant of the king, may be doubted. He is more likely to be the author of several letters who seems to have been connected with Borsippa. Another letter is from Nêrgal-sharâni in response to another about some sacrifices, sent by the queen-mother. He prays for a thousand years of rule for Esarhaddon, so there can be no mistake about the period. He recounts the preparations made — an ox, two sheep, and two hundred geese. But he says that Ninḳai, the handmaid of the queen-mother, for some reason, will not perform the sacrifice. The queen-mother is asked to send authority for someone to open the treasury and perform the work. The letter is defective and obscure by reason of unknown words. Nêrgal-sharâni may

be the same Ashur-shum-uṣur who so often writes to the king about this time. Again Nabû-shum-lîshir writes to the queen-mother about a woman, Kallati, who was intrusted to the writer in the house of Shama', and about some sheep.

Medical letters

Medical records numerous

Another group includes the letters which refer to medical treatment. Here especially Dr. C. Johnston, himself a medical man, has made a most valuable start in his Assyrian *Epistolary Correspondence*, and we can hardly do better than to follow his guidance. As a rule, what these ancient peoples said and thought of disease is very obscure to us. Many terms were then, as now, used in the medical vocabulary which were well known in ordinary language, but which were given a distinctly different technical meaning. Great attention was paid to surgery and medicine, as is shown by the clauses in the Code. There are also a great number of tablets dealing with medicine, some of which have been published. Long ago Professor Sayce discussed one such text under the title, "An Ancient Babylonian Work on Medicine," and from the British Museum Catalogue fully four hundred and fifty such texts are known. Dr. C. F. H. Küchler in his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Assyrischen Medicin* has made great progress toward settling the reading and meaning of certain words and phrases. Dr. Baron Felix von Oefele, who has devoted much study to ancient medicine in general, has made noteworthy contributions to the study, by his articles in learned journals. Still, the

Exorcism as well as healing the duty of a physician

great obstacle is that so much of the materia medica, which was a very full one, is unknown; and the diseases appear under names which do not assist us in determining the meaning. The medical treatises considered affections of all parts of the body, and made much of symptoms. They prescribe roots and oils and a great variety of powdered drugs. Some of the treatment is evidently based on extended trial and observation. But also much reliance was placed on charms, and diseases were associated with demons. To drive away the demon, as well as cure the pain, was the doctor's duty. There was full recognition of the mental factor in sickness.

A letter reporting the progress of a disease

With considerable hesitation the following two letters from the physician Ardi-Nanâ to the king Esarhaddon are given, in which Dr. C. Johnston's rendering is closely followed. In the first, Ardi-Nanâ reports

on the state of a patient, perhaps one of the young princes, who was suffering from a disease of the eyes, or perhaps facial erysipelas. He was progressing so well that the physician piously opines that some god has taken the case under his care. The gods who were special patrons of the healing art were Ninip and Gula, whose blessing the physician accordingly invokes. We read:

To the king, my lord, thy servant Ardi-Nanâ. May it be peace in the highest degree to the king, my lord; may Ninip and Gula give cheer of heart and health of body to the king, my lord. It is extremely well with that poor man whose eyes are diseased. I had applied a dressing to him, it covered his face. Yesterday, at evening, I undid the bandage which held it, I removed the dressing which was upon him. There was pus upon the dressing as much as the tip of the little finger. Thy gods, if any of them has put his hand to the matter, he has indeed given his order. It is extremely well. Let the heart of the king, my lord, be cheered. In seven or eight days he will be well.

There is also another letter from Ardi-Nanâ to the king, but part of it is too defective to render. It begins in exactly the same way as before, save that greeting is also sent to the king's son.

For the cure which we wrought on ... we were given five-sixths of a shekel. The day he came, he recovered, he recovered his strength, he stayed until.... Concerning the patient who had blood run from his nose, the messenger has told me, saying, "Yesterday, at evening, much blood ran." Those dressings are not with knowledge. They have been placed upon the breathing passages of the nose and oppress the breathing and come off, because of the bleeding. Let them be placed within the nostrils, they will preserve the breath and the blood will be held back. If it is right in the sight of the king, in the morning I will come and prescribe for him. Now let me hear his well-being.

The messenger here was a *RAB MU-GI*, in which title it has been proposed to see the original of the Rabmag of Jeremiah xxxix. 3. He was a high official charged with the care of horses and chariots, and here sent to hear news of the patient. There is no evidence that he had any medical knowledge himself. In another letter, Ardi-Nanâ writes concerning Ashur-mukîn-palêa, a younger son of Esarhaddon and brother of Ashurbânipal. He bids the king not to fear. The young prince seems to have been in the doctor's care. Further he writes about the health of a tooth (of the prince's?) about which the king had sent to inquire. He had greatly improved its condition (literally, uplifted its head). In another

letter, also partly defective, he directs the king to anoint himself as a protection against draughts (?), to drink pure water, and to wash his hands frequently in a bowl. Presently the rash (?) will disappear. In another still more defective letter he mentions the plant *martakal*, to which magical efficacy was ascribed. Another long letter, after the same complimentary opening as the others, goes on:

Continually has the king, my lord, said to me, thus, "The nature of my disease is this, thou hast not seen to it, its recovery thou hast not effected." Formerly I said before the king, my lord, "The ulcer is incurable (?), I cannot prescribe for it." Now, however, I have sealed a letter and sent it. In the presence of the king, let them read it, I will prescribe for the king, my lord. If it be agreeable to the king, my lord, let a magician do his work on him. Let the king apply a lotion (?). Shortly the sore will be loosed. This lotion of oils (?) let the king apply two or three times. The king will know if the king says ...

The rest is obscure, simply because we do not know what the disease, or remedy, was.

Shamash-mîtu-uballiṭ, probably the youngest son of Esarhaddon, writes to the king, but whether to his father or his brother Ashurbânipal does not seem clear, about the health of a lady, in whose well-being the king seemed to take interest.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Shamash-mîtu-uballiṭ. Verily peace be to the king, my lord, may Nabû and Marduk be excessively gracious to the king, my lord. Verily the king's handmaid, Bau-gâmelat is excessively ill, she can eat nothing. Forsooth let the king, my lord, send an order and let a doctor come and see her.

Letters regarding the appointment of officials

There is also an interesting letter concerning the appointment of a successor to a dead official, sent by a writer whose name is lost:

To the king, my lord, thy servant, ... verily peace to the king, my lord. May Ashur and Beltu be gracious to the king, my lord. Concerning the overseer of the house of the seers, who is dead, as I said in the presence of the king, my lord, to wit, his son, his brother's son, are alive. Now his son, his brother's son, and Simânai, the son of Nabû-uballiṭ, and the son of the father's brother, of Ashur-nâ'id, the deputy priest, with them, shall come into the presence of the king, my lord. Whoever shall find favor in the sight of the king, my lord, let the king, my lord, appoint.

It is clear that succession was not purely hereditary. Even when the son was alive, he might be passed over in favor of a cousin, or for a still more distant relation. There are many other interesting cases where the

king inquires for the proper persons to be placed in the offices vacated through death or deposition. For example, when Esarhaddon began to set in order the temple services, he heard the following report:

To the king, my lord, thy servant Akkullânu. Peace be to the king, my lord. Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the king, my lord. In the long desuetude of the customary rights of Ashur, regarding which the king, my lord, sent word to his servant, saying, "Who among the magnates have not complied, have not given, be it much or little (their default)," yesterday I could not write to the king, my lord. Now these are the magnates who have not given their dues: the governors of Barḫalza, Raṣappa, Kalzi, Isana, Bêlê, Kullania, Arpadda; these have failed to pay their dues. Raṣappa, Barḫalza, Diḳuḳina, the chief of the vineyards, Daian-Adadi, Isana, Ḫalziatbar, Birtu, Arzuḫina, Arbailu, Guzana, Sharish, Diḫnunna, Rimusu, all these have not given the barley and wheat due from them. And as to the overseer of the bakehouse, the overseer of the larder and the chief purveyors, concerning whom the king, my lord, inquired, they are removed from their posts, and this is alleged as the reason: The overseer of the bakehouse is a child, Sennacherib removed him; Ashur-zêr-iddin, the priest of Nineveh, slandered him. I was frightened at the troubles. He had not committed any great crime.... The overseer of the larder had broken (?) a dish of Ashur's, for this deed thy father removed him from charge of Ashur's dish, and appointed a turban-maker's son; he is without education. And concerning the chief purveyors, Sennacherib made a reduction of their allowances, and the son of the turban-maker receives the rest. Now for six years he has been dead and his son indeed stands in his office. Justice has been in abeyance since Sargon. Sennacherib was the remover. This is according to their reasons. The king, my lord, as he will, let him do.

The text is difficult, partly because some signs are defaced, partly because some words could be read more ways than one, and others are obscure. It seems quite clear that the cult of Ashur had greatly suffered. We know from the Ḥarrân census that certain lands were charged with dues to the temples, others with salaries to officials. The list of defaulters is of geographical value. The deposition of rightful temple officers and the intrusion of unworthy substitutes, on slight grounds, is charged to Sennacherib. He was evidently estranged from the cult of Ashur. Doubtless a comparison of other letters will clear up some of the obscurities, but sufficient is clear to indicate the importance of such documents.

Women's letters

It is of interest to note that we have a few letters sent by women. We may select the following:

To the scribe of the palace, my lord, thy handmaid Sarai. Bêl, Bêltu (of Nineveh?), Bêltu of Babylon, Nabû, Tashmetum, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, be gracious to my lord. Long days, health of mind, health of body, may they give to my lord. The servants of my lord, whom the governor of Bît Naialani took, seven souls in all, he gave to Marduk-erba. Now the people are here, they have come to me and say thus: "Say to the scribe of the palace, Do not cause them to enter into the house of Marduk-erba." The *šâḳu* has sealed for them, now he is with them.

Evidently the lady Sarai had great influence with the scribe of the palace; perhaps she was his wife. The reason why the governor took certain servants of his and gave them to Marduk-erba is not clear. Perhaps they were sold for some government claim. It seems that the lady wished to keep them back, but that the purchaser had called and was about to take them away, unless the scribe in some way intervened.

Private letters

A few quite private letters found their way into the archives of Nineveh, unless indeed this is a mere freak of the discoverers. Thus:

Note from Marduk to Kurigalzu, his brother: Bêl and Nabû seek the peace of my brother. Wherefore have I not seen thy messenger? Until he enter Borsippa, when I see thy messenger, my heart shall drink the wine of joy. Let my brother send so many pots.

Here is another from Borsippa:

Note from Bêl-upaḳ to Kunâ, his father: Peace be to my father. Daily I pray to Nabû and Nanâ for my father's health of life and I have fulfilled the duty to Ezida (the temple of Nabû at Borsippa) for thy sake. When I inquired of Mâr-bîti (a divine name) for thy sake, a fixed time of peace was taken up to the fourth day. Thy workman is informed concerning everything whatever is safe according to his (the god's) word.

Reports and lists

As before remarked, many letters are notices of the movements of horses. These are really obscure in that we do not know what the real purpose of the reports was. They are very similar to many reports which lack the form of address that marks a letter. Many of the terms applied to the horses are also obscure and there is no way to translate them. In other cases we have reports to the king or his officials on various every-day subjects. A list of slaves assigned to one or more men, a list of guests, men of high rank, sent to stay with certain officials, lists of furniture and

effects, including books, sent to Ḥarrân with one of the princes, all serve to throw light upon the daily life at the court of Nineveh. Incidentally we have many hints for history as well as life and manners. But such lists and reports do not lend themselves to translation.

Inquiries of the oracles

A group of texts, very similar to the letters, only with an especial character of their own, are the inquiries addressed by Esarhaddon and Ashurbânipal to the oracle of the sun-god. Their great interest lies in the fact that they usually state the events which cause the king's anxiety and so make important contributions to history. But the larger part of them consist of a detailed statement of what omens have been observed by the augurs on examining the entrails of the sacrifices. On these it is probable that the sun-god was to base his opinion. He would know and declare what they portended.

Metrology

Occasionally a letter serves to make a contribution to some subject which is of interest apart from the events of the day. Thus, information is furnished regarding metrology in a letter primarily concerned with materials for the repair of a temple or palace. There we read of "six articles of *mismakanna* wood, six *ḲA* apiece, one cubit long and one cubit thick." The thickness is clearly a cubit each way, and we learn that a cubit cube contained six *ḲA*. There are many letters and fragments which concern beams of wood and stones sent from great distances for buildings and repairs. When these are all published and considered together, no doubt they will clear up the difficulties which at present render translation impossible.

Diary of a journey

A fragmentary report — it may have been a letter — gives a diary of a journey. If we could complete it, or find a few more like it, we should have a knowledge of geography such as we have not for any other part of the world for early times. We may summarize it as follows: On the sixth, the writer went from Bagarri to Sarî, from Sarî to Arzuḫina, from Arzuḫina to Tel-Arzuḫina. He stated the distances from city to city, but these are now lost. This was the first journey. The second journey was from Tel-Arzuḫina to Dûr-sisite. The third journey was from Dûr-sisite to Maturaba, from Maturaba to Dûr-Taliti. The fourth journey was from Dûr-Taliti to Babiti, from Babiti to Lagabgalagi. The fifth journey was from Lagabgalagi to the river Radânu, thence to Asri. The sixth journey was from Asri to Arrakdi. The seventh journey was from Ḥualsundi to Napigi, thence to Dûr-Ashur. Here we get the whole distance from

Arrakdi to Dûr-Ashur as *two kaspu, twenty-four uš, twenty-four u*. The identification of these places would be of enormous value for a determination of the Assyrian measures of length. The distances are correct to the cubit. The eighth journey was from Dûr-Ashur to Tarzini, thence to Banbala. The ninth journey was from Banbala to Ishdi-dagurrai, thence to Gupni-Bêl-Ḥarrân, *one kaspu, five uš, fifty-four u*. The tenth journey was from Gupni-Bêl-Ḥarrân to Dûr-Adadi-rîmâni, thence to Dûr-Tukulti-apil-esharra, on the seventeenth. Several of these places are already known. Others may be identified with some certainty. The whole would have a great value if preserved complete.

X. LETTERS OF THE SECOND BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

Business letters

Some Babylonian letters of the Second Empire are to be found in the great collections published by Strassmaier. For the most part they are of a business nature, asking for some payment to be made or some object sent on.

Thus, one reads:

Order for seed

Note from Nabû-shum-lîshir to Bêl-uballiṭ and Ki ... my brothers. Bêl and Nabû decree the well-being of my brothers. Two *GUR* of dates to Bêl-nâṣir, two *GUR* to Shamash-pir'-uṣur, from the store for seed let my brothers give. Adar the ninth, year eleven, Nabonidus, King of Babylon.

Or,

Another for supplies

Note from Shamash-erba to Ḥâr-ibnî, my brother: When I send Shamash-uballiṭ to thy presence, do thou send ninety *ḲA* of meal by his hand. Verily thou knowest. Besides the twelve *ḲA* of meal before is this. Adar the thirteenth.

A somewhat longer but imperfect letter reads:

Explanation of the filling of an order

Note of Nadinu to the priest of Sippara, my brother: Verily, peace be with thee. To my brother, may Bêl and Nabû decree the well-being of my brother. When to my brother I [send], to the presence of my lord.... Thou, my lord, knowest why seeds for the *kêpu* of Raḫza I sent, and money for the seeds I gave him. He received it. Let me hear news and the welfare of my brother.

Of some interest for the nature of public works is:

Note from Shâpik-zêr to Ḥâr-ibnî, my brother: The gods decree thy well-being. Give ninety-six *ḲA* of meal to the men who are digging the canal. Kislîmnu, the twentieth, fifth year, Cyrus, King of Babylon, king of lands.

Or this:

Requisition for supplies for canal digging

Note from the priests to Ḥâr-ibnî, our brother: The gods decree thy welfare. Give thirty-six *ḲA* of meal to Ardi-Ḥâr, for the king's men who dig the canal. Kislîmnu the twenty-fifth, year five, Cyrus, King of Babylon, king of lands.

The following is another of the best-preserved letters of this period:

Request for some money

Note from Nêrgal-aḫ-iddin to Iddin-Marduk, my father: Bêl and Nabû decree the health and well-being of my father. Concerning the money my father sent; the money is little, which has been given for dates. Two minas of silver is needed. Let my father send it. Concerning that (?), as it is good to thee. I have none. See, Nabû-mattûa I have sent to my father. The governor has gone to Babylon. As long as he is not here (?) at his side, he demands. Let me hear news of my father. Whether it be corn or whether it be anything that is with me, I will give to my father. Thy word is indisputable with me.

Fragmentary notes

For the most part the others are fragmentary and of no special interest. It is noteworthy that they all begin with much the same form of greeting.

Dr. T. G. Pinches published the text of three letters of this period in *Recueil des Travaux*. Two are very fragmentary; the third reads thus:

Note from Suḳâ to Bêl-zêr-ibnî, my father: May Bêl and Nabû decree health and wealth to my father. Now I am going without the ass. Give the ass to Shamash-eṭir; let him send it. Give him the clothes (?).

Here is an interesting letter:

Note from Daian-bêl-uṣur to Shirḳu, my lord: Every day I pray to Bêl and Nabû for the health of my lord's life. Concerning the lambs, which my lord sent, Bêl and Nabû know that there is a lamb from before thee. I have set the crop and fixed the stable. I have seen thy servant with the sheep; send thy servant with the lambs, and direct that one lamb from among them be offered as a gift to Nabû. I have not turned so much as one sheep into money. On the twentieth I worked [or sacrificed] for Shamash. I saw fifty-six. From his hands I sent twenty head to my lord. The garlic which the governor received from my lord, the owners of the field, when they came, took possession of; the governor of fields sold it for money. I am deprived of the yoke of the harrow (?). As to what my lord said to me, saying, "Wherefore hast thou not sent a messenger and measured out the crop?" Forthwith (?) I will send to thee, let a messenger of thy appointing (?) take it and keep it.

Several words in this text are not found elsewhere, but very strangely we know much about the persons. Shirḳu, whose other name was Marduk-nâṣir-aplu, son of Iddinâ, was of the important commercial house of Egibi, and lived in the reign of Darius. He was a great ship-owner, and had the tolls of a certain bridge. He travelled to Elam in the

fifth year of Darius. A great many of his business transactions are detailed by Dr. Pinches. Daian-bêl-uṣur and his wife Nanâ-bêl-uṣri were slaves of Shirḳu, who pledged them with their six children, at one time. In the sixteenth year of Darius their master gave them as part of her dowry, to Amat-Bau, daughter of Kalbâ. They lived in the town of Suppatum.

The reader has now before him a few specimens of this extremely valuable but very obscure class of literature. As time and study avail to clear up the obscurities, much more will be learned of the life and customs of these ancient peoples. Enough may have been given to stimulate research, and interest a wider circle of readers. It is the writer's hope that many may be led, even by these scattered and disjointed specimens, to undertake such studies as may render more perfect his slight contribution and rescue from oblivion the heroes of a bygone civilization.

APPENDIX

I. THE PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE TO THE CODE OF ḪAMMURABI

The prologue and epilogue of the Code are very difficult to translate. Often the phrases are simply stock expressions which occur in most of the royal inscriptions. The meanings of many of these have degenerated to mere titles of courtesy and their original significance is obscure. But early translators found no difficulty in guessing the most complimentary things to say, and more recent scholars in their efforts to be exact become grotesque. When an ancient king called himself a "rabid buffalo" it doubtless gave him satisfaction, but it would be very rude for us to do so. On the other hand, it is very tiresome to an English reader to read a sentence of three hundred lines in length before coming to a principal verb. Such a sentence, a string of epithets and participles, is here broken up into short clauses and the participles turned into finite verbs. This is done, not because the translator is entirely ignorant of grammar, but in pity for the reader. This further necessitates turning the third person singular, in which the king speaks of himself, like a modern acceptance of an invitation to dinner, into the more simple direct narration in the first person. Anyone who wishes to compare this translation with the original will please recall that this is done for ease in understanding, not because the original was misunderstood.

A more serious difficulty is, that, as it was customary to apply the same honorific titles to both a god and the king, it is often uncertain to which the original meant to apply them. This may have been left intentionally vague. Some translators have taken on themselves to settle to which they will refer the epithet, to the god or to the king. Such translations are only interesting as a record of private opinions. They settle nothing, do not even give a presumption in favor of anything. It is more honest to leave the translation as vague as the original, when this can be done. This part of the stele is full of rare words, or what is just as bad, words which invariably occur in the same context. If a king calls himself by some strange honorific title, it is no assistance to understanding the meaning of it that a score of successors should do the same. Of many words, all we can conjecture is that the king was honored by them. There is nothing to indicate what they really meant. In some cases "mighty" is as likely to be correct as "wise." There is no reason why we should prefer either rendering. Both can hardly be right, neither may really be. Some king may once have prided himself on being an expert potter, as a modern monarch might on being a photographer. If he

called himself on a monument a “superb potter,” all his successors would keep the title, though they never made a pot in their lives. We have only to peruse the titles of modern monarchs to be sure of the fact. It is, therefore, to be hoped that no one will build any far-reaching theories upon logical deductions from the translations given here or elsewhere of such honorific titles.

Prologue To The Code Of Ḥammurabi

When the most high God (Anu), king of the spirits of heaven (Anunnaki), (and) Bêl, lord of heaven and earth, who settles the fates of all, allotted to Marduk, the first-born of Ea, the lord God of right, a rule over men and extolled him among the spirits of earth (Igigi), then they nominated for Babylon a name above all, they made it renowned in all quarters, and in the midst of it they founded an everlasting sovereignty, whose seat is established like heaven and earth; then did God (Anu) and Bêl call me by name, Ḥammurabi, the high prince, god-fearing, to exemplify justice in the land, to banish the proud and oppressor, that the great should not despoil the weak, to rise like the sun over the black-headed race (mankind) and illumine the land, to give health to all flesh. Ḥammurabi the (good) shepherd, the choice of Bêl, am I, the completer of plenty and abundance, the fulfiller of every purpose. For Nippur, and Dûrili (epithet of Nippur or part of it?), I highly adorned Ê-KUR (the temple of Bêl there). In powerful sovereignty I restored Eridu and cleansed Ê-ZU-AB (temple of Ea there). By onslaughts on every side (the four quarters) I magnified the name of Babylon and rejoiced the heart of Marduk my lord. Every day I stood in Ê-SAG-GIL (the temple of Marduk at Babylon). Descendant of kings whom Sin had begotten, I enriched the city of Ur, and humbly adoring, was a source of abundance to Ê-NER-NU-GAL (the temple of Sin at Ur). A king of knowledge, instructed by Shamash the judge, I strongly established Sippara, reclothed the rear of the shrine of Aya (the consort of Shamash), and planned out Ê-BAB-BAR (temple of Shamash at Sippara) like a dwelling in heaven. In arms I avenged Larsa (held by the Elamite, Rim-Sin), and restored Ê-BAB-BAR (temple of Shamash at Larsa) for Shamash my helper. As overlord I gave fresh life to Erech, furnishing abundance of water to its people, and completed the spire of Ê-AN-NA (temple of Nanâ at Erech). I completed the glory of Anu and Ninni. As a protector of my land, I reassembled the scattered people of Nisin (recently reconquered from the Elamites) and replenished the treasury of Ê-GAL-MAḪ (temple of Nisin). As the royal potentate of the city and own brother of its god Zamama, I enlarged the palace at Kish and surrounded

with splendor Ê-ME-TE-UR-SAG (the temple at Kish). I made secure the great shrine of Ninni. I ordered the temple of Ḥarsagkalama Ê-KI-SAL-nakiri, by whose assistance I attained my desire. I restored Kutha and increased everything at Ê-SID-LAM (the temple there). Like a charging bull, I bore down my enemies. Beloved of TU-TU (a name of Marduk) in my love for Borsippa, of high purpose untiring, I cared for Ê-ZI-DA (temple of Nabû there). As a god, king of the city, knowing and farseeing, I looked to the plantations of Dilbat and constructed its granaries for IB (the god of Dilbat) the powerful, the lord of the insignia, the sceptre and crown, with which he invested me. As the beloved of MA-MA (consort of IB), I set fast the bas-reliefs at Kish and renewed the holy meals for Erishtu (goddess of Kish). With foresight and power I ordered the pasturages and watering-places for Sirpurla and Girsu and arranged the extensive offerings in Ê-50 (the temple of "the fifty" at Sirpurla). I scattered my enemies. As the favorite of Telitim (a god), I fulfilled the oracles of Ḥallab and rejoiced the heart of GIS-DAR (its goddess). Grand prince, whose prayers Adad knows well, I soothed the heart of Adad, the warrior in Bît Karkara. I fastened the ornaments in Ê-UD-GAL-GAL (temple there). As a king who gave life to Adab, I repaired Ê-MAḪ (temple at Adab). As hero and king of the city, unrivalled combatant, I gave life to Mashkan-Shabri and poured forth abundance on SIT-LAM (temple of Nêrgal there). The wise, the restorer, who had conquered the whole of the rebellious, I rescued the people of Malkâ in trouble. I strengthened their abodes with every comfort. For Ea and DAM-GAL-NUN-NA I increased their rule and in perpetuity appointed the lustrous offerings. As a leader and king of the city, I made the settlements on the Euphrates to be populous. As client of Dagan, who begat me, I avenged the people of Mera and Tutul. As high prince, I made the face of Ninni to shine, making the lustrous meals of NIN-A-ZU secure. I reunited my people in famine by assuring their allowances within Babylon in peace and security. As the shepherd of my people, a servant whose deeds were acceptable to GIS-DAR in E-UL-MASH (temple of Anunit) in the midst of Agade, noted for its wide squares, I settled the rules and set straight the Tigris. I brought back to Asshur the gracious colossus and settled the altar (?). As king of Nineveh I made the waters of Ninni to shine in Ê-DUP-DUP. High of purpose and wise in achievement for the great gods, descendant of Sumu-lâil, eldest son of Sin-muballiṭ, long descended scion of royalty, great king, a very Shamash (or sun) of Babylon, I caused light to arise upon Sumer and Akkad. A king who commanded obedience in all the four quarters,

beloved of Ninni am I. When Marduk brought me to direct all people and commissioned me to give judgment, I laid down justice and right in the provinces, I made all flesh to prosper. Then — (*the words of the Code are the completion of the sentence. The king implies that its regulations were the outcome of this legislative decision*).

The Epilogue

The judgments of righteousness which Ḥammurabi, the powerful king, settled, and caused the land to receive a sure polity and a gracious rule.

I am Ḥammurabi, the superb king. Marduk gave me to shepherd the black-headed race, whom Bêl had assigned me. I did not forget, I did not neglect, I found for them safe pastures, I opened the way through sharp rocks, and gave them guidance. With the powerful weapon that Zamama and Ishtar granted me, by the foresight with which Ea endowed me, with the power that Marduk gave me, I cut off the enemy above and below, I lorded it over the conquered. The flesh of the land I made to rejoice. I extended the dwellings of the people in security. I left them no cause to fear. The great gods chose me and I am the shepherd that gives peace, whose club is straight; of evil and good in my city I was the director. I carried all the people of Sumer and Akkad in my bosom. By my protection, I guided in peace its brothers. By my wisdom, I provided for them. That the great should not oppress the weak, to counsel the widow and orphan, in Babylon, the city of Anu and Bêl, I raised up its head (the stele's) in Ê-SAG-GIL (temple of Marduk there), the temple whose foundation is firm as the heaven and earth. To judge the judgment of the land, to decide the decisions of the land, to succor the injured, I wrote on my stele the precious words and placed them before my likeness, that of a righteous king. The king that is gentle, king of the city, exalted am I. My words are precious, my power has no rival. By the order of Shamash, the judge supreme, of heaven and earth, that judgment may shine in the land; by the permission of Marduk, my lord, I set up a bas-relief, to preserve my likeness in Ê-SAG-GIL that I love, to commemorate my name forever in gratitude. The oppressed who has a suit to prosecute may come before my image, that of a righteous king, and read my inscription and understand my precious words and may my stele elucidate his case. Let him see the law he seeks and may he draw in his breath and say: "This Ḥammurabi was a ruler who was to his people like the father that begot them. He obeyed the order of Marduk his lord, he followed the commands of Marduk above and below. He delighted the heart of Marduk his lord, and granted happy life to his people forever. He

guided the land." Let him recite the document. Before Marduk, my lord, and Ṣarpanitum, my lady, with full heart let him draw near. The colossus and the gods that live in Ê-SAG-GIL, or the courts of Ê-SAG-GIL, let him bless every day before Marduk, my lord, and Ṣarpanitum, my lady.

In the future, in days to come, at any time, let the king who is in the land, guard the words of righteousness which I have written on my stele. Let him not alter the judgment of the land which I judged nor the decisions I decided. Let him not destroy my bas-relief. If that man has wisdom and is capable of directing his land, let him attend to the words which I have written upon my stele, let him apprehend the path, the rule, the law of the land which I judged, and the decision I decided for the land, and so let him guide forward the black-headed race; let him judge their judgment and decide their decision, let him cut off from his land the proud and violent, let him rejoice the flesh of his people. Ḥammurabi, the king of righteousness, to whom Shamash has granted rights, am I. My words are precious, my deeds have no rival. Above and below I am the whirlwind that scours the deep and the height. If that man has hearkened to my words which I have written on my stele and has not frustrated justice, has not altered my words, has not injured my bas-reliefs, may Shamash make lasting his sceptre; like me, as a king of righteousness, let him guide his people in justice.

But if that man does not hearken to my words which I wrote on my stele, forgets my curses, fears not the malediction of God, sets aside the judgment which I judged, alters my words and destroys my bas-reliefs, effaces my inscribed name and writes in his own name; or, for fear of these curses has charged another to do so; that man, be he king, lord, patêsi, or noble, whose name is ever so renowned, may the great god (Anu), the father of gods, who named my reign, turn him back, shatter his sceptre in pieces, curse his fortunes; may Bêl the lord who fixes the fates, whose command is not set aside, who extended my sovereignty, cause for him an endless revolt, an impulse to fly from his home, and set for his fortune a reign of sighs, short days, years of want, darkness that has no ray of light and a death in the sight of all men. May he decree with his heavy curse the ruin of his city, the scattering of his people, the removal of his sovereignty, the disappearance of his name and his race from the land. May Beltu, the great mother, whose command is weighty in Ê-KUR, the lady who made my plans prosperous, make his words in the matter of justice and law to be hateful before Bêl. May she bring about the downfall of his country, the loss of his people, the efflux of his life like water, by the order of the Bêl, the king. May Ea, the grand

prince, whose destiny takes premier rank, the messenger of the gods, who knows all, who has prolonged my life, distort his understanding and intellect, curse him with forgetfulness, dam up his rivers at their source. In his land may Ashnan (the deity of wheat), the life of the people, not grow. May Shamash, great judge of heaven and earth, who governs the creatures of life, the lord of help, cut off his sovereignty; judge not his judgment; carry away his path; annihilate the march of his armies; cast an evil look upon him to uproot his rule, and fix for him the loss of his land. May the evil sentence of Shamash quickly overwhelm him; deprive him of life among the living above; and below in the earth, deprive his ghost of water. May Sin, the lord of the sky, the god who creates, whose ray is splendid among the gods, deprive him of crown and throne of kinship; surround him with a great shirt of pain, a heavy penalty, that will not leave his body, and make him finish his days, month by month, through the years of his reign, in tears and sighs. May he multiply for him the burden of royalty. May he grant him as his lot a life that can only be likened to death. May Adad, lord of abundance, great bull of the sky, and the earth, my helper, withdraw the rain from the heavens, the floods from the springs; destroy his land with hunger and want; thunder in wrath over his city, and turn his land to deluge mounds. May Zamama, great warrior, first born of *Ê-KUR*, who goes at my right hand on the battlefield, shatter his weapon and turn for him day into night. May he place his enemy over him. May Ishtar, the lady of conflict and battle, who prospered my arms, my gracious protector, who loved my reign, in her heart of rage, her boundless fury, curse his sovereignty; turn all his mercies to curses, shatter his weapon in conflict and battle, appoint him trouble and sedition, strike down his heroes, and make the earth drink of their blood, scatter the plain with heaps of the carcasses of his troops, grant them no burial; deliver himself into the hands of his enemy, cause him to be carried in chains to the enemy's land. May Nêrgal, the powerful one of the gods, who meets with no rival, who caused me to obtain my triumphs, burn up his people with a fever like a great fire among the reeds. With his powerful weapon may he drink him up, with his fevers crush him like a statue of clay. May Erishtu, the exalted lady of all lands, the creator-mother, carry off his son and leave him no name. May he not beget a seed of posterity among his people. May Nin-karrak, the daughter of Anu, the completer of my mercies in *Ê-KUR*, award him a severe malady, a grievous illness, a painful wound, which cannot be healed, of which the physician knows not the origin, which cannot be soothed by the bandage; and rack him with palsy, until she has mastered

his life; may she weaken his strength. May the great gods of heaven and earth, the Anunnaki, in their assembly, who look after the halls and the courts of this Ê-bar-ra (temple of Shamash at Sippara, where the stele was clearly set up), curse with a bitter curse his dynasty, his land, his soldiers, his people, and his subjects. May the judgments of Bêl, which in his mouth are irrevocable, curse him and quickly overcome him.

II. CHRONOLOGY

The following tables make no pretence to finality. In Babylonian history no date before b.c. 747 can be considered absolutely fixed. In Assyrian history the Eponym Canon certainly goes back to about b.c. 893. Then scattered notices in later writers enable us to approximate to earlier dates and the varied synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian kings render the dates probable, as far back as the First Dynasty of Babylon. There is only one fixed date before that, the period of Sargon I., which depends on a statement of Nabonidus.

The sequence of monarchs is, however, very probably correct. As knowledge increases, more names will be added to fill up the gaps, and dated documents will give the lengths of the reigns. A discussion of the grounds for the dates cannot be given here. The reader may refer to Dr. P. Rost, in the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1897, No. 2, and *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, 1900, p, 175, 212. Radau's *Early Babylonian History* may be consulted for the earliest dates.

In the early periods, a vertical line between two names denotes that the second was son of the former. This is often all we know, but it is useful to mark the fact, as we cannot then insert other rulers between them. Names printed in capitals are either Sumerian or their true pronunciation is unknown. When these capitals are in Roman type, we know that they were kings or Patesis; when they are printed in italic, we only know that they were the parents of those whose names follow. We do not then know whether they reigned or not.

For Assyrian chronology, see *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, by Budge and King, 1902.

Assyria
Early Patesis, Dates Conjectural, Order Uncertain
Ushpia,
Ilushuma,
|
Irishum, *circa* b.c. 2100
|
Ikunum,
Ishme-Dagan, *circa* b.c. 1930
|
Shamshi-Adad I., *circa* b.c. 1910

Igur-kapkapu,
|
Shamshi-Adad II.,
Bêl-upaḫḫir (?),
|
Shamshi-Adad III.

Early Kings, Dates Conjectural

circa b.c.
Bêl-ibni,
Sulili (?),
Bêl-kapkapu, 1700
Ashur-bêl-nishêshu, 1500
Puzur-Ashur, 1470
Ashur-nâdin-aḫê, 1430
Ashur-uballiṭ, son, 1420
Bêl-nirari, son, 1400
Pudi-ilu, son, 1397
Adad-nirari I., son, 1395
Shulmanu-asharid (Shalmaneser) I., son, 1380
Tukulti-Ninip I., son, 1340
Ashur-nâṣir-pal I., 1330
Ashur-narara, 1300
Nabû-daian, 1295
Bêl-kudur-uṣur, 1290
Ninip-apil-esharra, 1285
Ashur-dan, son, 1260
Mutakkil-Nusku, son, 1250
Ashur-rêsh-ishi, son, 1220
Tukulti-apil-esharra (Tiglath-pileser) I., son, 1200
Ashur-bêl-kala, son, 1090
Shamshi-Adad IV., brother, 1080
Ashur-nâṣir-pal II., 1050
Erba-Adad (?),
Ashur-nâdin-aḫê,
Ashur-erbi,
Tukulti-apil-esharra (Tiglath-pileser) II., 950
Ashur-dan II., son, 930
Adad-nirari II., son, 911

Dates Certain From Eponym Canon

b.c.
Tukulti-Ninip II., son, 890
Ashur-nâṣir-pal III., son, 884
Shulmanu-asharid (Shalmaneser) II., 859
Shamshi-Adad V., 824
Adad-nirari III., 811
Shulmanu-asharid (Shalmaneser) III., 782
Ashur-dan III., 772
Ashur-nirari II., 754
Tukulti-apil-esharra (Tiglath-pileser, Pul) III., 745
Shulmanu-asharid (Shalmaneser) IV., 726
Sharru-ukin (Sargon) II., 721
Sin-aḫê-erba (Sennacherib), son, 704
Ashur-aḫ-iddin (Esarhaddon), son, 680
Ashur-bâni-pal (Asnapper), son, 668
Ashur-etil-ilâni, son, 625
Sin-shum-lîshir, (?)
Sin-shar-ishkun, (?)
Fall of Nineveh, 607

III. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

I. Weights

1 shekel = 180 *šê*.

1 mina = 60 shekels.

1 talent = 60 minas.

The weight of the mina may be reckoned in round numbers as 500 grams.

II. Measures Of Capacity

Early Scale

1 GIN = 180 *šê* (?).

1 ḲA = 60 GIN.

1 GUR = 300 ḲA.

Later Scale

1 GUR = 180 ḲA.

III. Measures Of Length

1 ell (U) = 60 *ubanu*.

1 *ḳânu* = 6 ells.

1 GAR = 2 *ḳânu*.

1 KASBU = 1,800 GAR.

On other measures see A. D. D., ii., p-218. The ell is about half a metre.

IV. Measures Of Surface

1 GIN = 180 *šê*.

1 SAR = 60 GIN.

1 GAN = 1,800 SAR.

The area of the SAR was one GAR square, or 6 metres square. Areas were also measured by the amount of corn required to sow them, or their average yield, that is by the GUR and ḲA.

V. Measures Of Time

1 day = 12 double hours.

1 month = 30 days, average.

1 year = 12 months, average.

Further details may be obtained from Zimmern's *Das Princip unserer Zeit-und Raumteilung*, in the *Berichten d. philolog. histor. Classe d. Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*. November 14, 1901.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE LATER PERIODS

The New Babylonian Empire

NABOPOLASSAR. — Strassmaier published nineteen texts in *Z. A.*, iv., p-45, of which three are transcribed and translated in *K. B.*, iv., p-81. Dr. Pinches gave another, *C. T.*, iv., , and another in Peek-Pinches, . Dr. Moldenke gave nine other texts in his *Cuneiform Texts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*.

NEBUCHADREZZAR II. — Strassmaier published 460 texts in *Hefts V.-VI.*, of the *Babylonische Texte*, of which thirty-one are transcribed and translated in *K. B.*, iv., p-201, and forty are discussed in Kohler-Peiser's *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben*. Two texts are published by Pinches, *C. T.*, iv., , two more in Peiser's *Babylonische Verträge*, six texts from the Liverpool Museum were published by Strassmaier in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1883*. Some of the above texts belong, however, to the reign of Nebuchadrezzar III.

EVIL-MERODACH. — Evetts published twenty-four texts in *Babylonische Texte, Heft VI., B*, of which *K. B.*, iv., p-3, gives transcriptions and translations of two. Kohler-Peiser discuss eight in *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben* and add one more. Strassmaier published two from the Liverpool Museum in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1883*.

NERIGLISSAR. — Evetts published seventy-two texts in *Babylonische Texte, Heft VI., B*, p-82. Of these four are transcribed and translated in *K. B.*, iv., p-7 and Kohler-Peiser discussed fourteen in *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben*. In *Babylonische Verträge*, Peiser published another; and Strassmaier published three from the Liverpool Museum in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1883*.

LABOROSOARCHOD. — Evetts published six texts, *Babylonische Texte, Heft VI., B*, p-90. Of these, one is transcribed and translated in *K. B.*, iv., p-7. Strassmaier published four in the *Actes du VIII. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1889*.

NABONIDUS. — Strassmaier published 1134 texts in *Babylonische Texte, Heft I.-IV.* Of these, *K. B.*, iv., p-59, gives transcriptions and

translations of fifty-six, and three fresh texts from copies by Peiser, Pinches, and Revillout. Kohler-Peiser discuss sixty-five of them in *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben* and add one more. Pinches published two, *C. T.*, iv., p-41, and four in Peek-Pinches. Dr. Peiser gave another in *Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke*, No. 3, two from the British Museum. Strassmaier published six from the Liverpool Museum in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1883*. Dr. Moldenke gave forty-two texts in his *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*.

Persian Period

CYRUS. — Strassmaier published 384 texts in *Babylonische Texte, Heft VII.*, of which *K. B.*, iv., p-85 gives transcriptions and translations of twenty-four, and Kohler-Peiser discussed thirty-four in *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, adding four new texts. In *Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke*, Peiser gave two more; in *Babylonische Verträge*, fourteen more. Strassmaier gave two from the Liverpool Museum, in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1883*. Pinches published another in Peek-Pinches, Dr. Budge another in *Z. A.*, vii., .

CAMBYSES. — Strassmaier gave 441 texts in *Babylonische Texte, Heft VIII.-IX.*, but in these no distinction is made between the reigns of Cambyses and Cyrus, Cambyses alone, Cyrus alone. *K. B.*, iv., p-63 gives transcription and translation of four, followed by twenty-five of Cambyses alone and fourteen of Cyrus alone. Kohler-Peiser discussed twenty-one in *Aus Babylonische Rechtsleben*. Peiser gave seventeen more in *Babylonische Verträge* from the Berlin Museum and one from the British Museum. Strassmaier gave three from the Liverpool Museum, and one in possession of Golenischeff in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes*. Pinches published one in *C. T.*, iv., one in Peek-Pinches. Dr. G. A. Barton published two in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages, January, 1900*.

BARZIA. — Strassmaier published nine texts, *Z. A.*, iv., p ff., of which four are transcribed and translated, *K. B.*, iv., p-98. Peiser gave three more in *Babylonische Verträge*. Strassmaier published one from the Liverpool Museum in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1883*.

NEBUCHADREZZAR III. — In *K. B.*, iv., p-303, three are transcribed and translated from those published above and ascribed to Nebuchadrezzar II.

DARIUS. — Strassmaier has published 579 texts in *Babylonische Texte, Heft X.-XII.*, of which *K. B.*, iv., p-11 gives transcription and translation of nine. Kohler-Peiser discuss ninety-six in *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben* and add seven more. Pinches published six in *C. T.*, ii., ; iv., p, 32, 41, 43, 44; and twelve in Peek-Pinches. Peiser gave fifteen in *Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke*, and fifty-five in *Babylonische Verträge* from the Berlin Museum, twenty-four from the British Museum. Dr. G. A. Barton gave twenty-seven in *American Journal of Semitic Languages, January, 1900*. Strassmaier gave six from the Liverpool Museum in the *Actes du VI. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1883*. Dr. Budge published three in *Z. A.*, iii., p ff.

SHAMASH-ERBA. — Strassmaier published one text of this period in *Z. A.*, iii., f.

XERXES. — Evetts published four texts, *Babylonische Texte, Heft VI., B*, p-94; of these *K. B.*, iv., p-11 gives transcription and translation of one. Pinches published one, *C. T.*, iv., , Dr. G. A. Barton gave one in *American Journal of Semitic Languages, January, 1900*. Strassmaier published seven in the *Actes du VIII. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1889*.

ARTAXERXES. — Professor Hilprecht and Dr. Clay have published 119 texts with transcriptions and translations of twelve, in the ninth volume of the series of Cuneiform Texts of the collections of the University of Philadelphia. Kotalla has given transcriptions and translations of others in *B. A. S.*, iv. Dr. Peiser gave a transcription and translation of one from his own copy, *K. B.*, iv., p-13. Kohler-Peiser give two more in *Aus Babylonischen Rechtsleben*. Dr. G. A. Barton gave four in *American Journal of Semitic Languages, January, 1900*. Strassmaier published nine in the *Actes du VIII. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1889*, and one in *Z. A.*, iii., .

Macedonian Period

ALEXANDER IV. — Strassmaier, *Z. A.*, iii., , transcribed and translated one, also *K. B.*, iv., p-13. Pinches gave one, *C. T.*, iv., .

SELEUCUS II. — Oppert, *Doc. Jur.*, p ff., gave two, one given again, *K. B.*, iv., p-17. Pinches gave another, *C. T.*, iv., . Strassmaier published one in *Actes du VIII. Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, 1889*; and one, *Z. A.*, iii., f.

DEMETRIUS. — Strassmaier published two, *Z. A.*, iii., p-50.

ANTIOCHUS III. — Strassmaier published one, *Z. A.*, iii., f., transcribed and translated also, *K. B.*, iv., p-17.

Arsacide Period

Strassmaier published sixteen texts, *Z. A.*, iii., p ff., one is given in transcription and translation, *K. B.*, iv., p-19.

ASSYRIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: A SOURCE STUDY by A. T. Olmstead



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CHAPTER I. ASSYRIAN HISTORIANS AND THEIR HISTORIES

To the serious student of Assyrian history, it is obvious that we cannot write that history until we have adequately discussed the sources. We must learn what these are, in other words, we must begin with a bibliography of the various documents. Then we must divide them into their various classes, for different classes of inscriptions are of varying degrees of accuracy. Finally, we must study in detail for each reign the sources, discover which of the various documents or groups of documents are the most nearly contemporaneous with the events they narrate, and on these, and on these alone, base our history of the period.

To the less narrowly technical reader, the development of the historical sense in one of the earlier culture peoples has an interest all its own. The historical writings of the Assyrians form one of the most important branches of their literature. Indeed, it may be claimed with much truth that it is the most characteristically Assyrian of them all. [Footnote: This study is a source investigation and not a bibliography. The only royal inscriptions studied in detail are those presenting source problems. Minor inscriptions of these rulers are accorded no more space than is absolutely necessary, and rulers who have not given us strictly historical inscriptions are generally passed in silence. The bibliographical notes are condensed as much as possible and make no pretense of completeness, though they will probably be found the most complete yet printed. Every possible care has been taken to make the references accurate, but the fact that many were consulted in the libraries of Cornell University, University of Chicago, Columbia University, and the University of Pennsylvania, and are thus inaccessible at the time when the work is passing through the press, leaves some possibility of error. Dr. B. B. Charles, Instructor in Semitics in the University of Pennsylvania, has kindly verified those where error has seemed at all likely. — For the English speaking reader, practically all the inscriptions for the earlier half of the history are found in Budge-Kjing, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria. 1*. For the remainder, Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, is adequate, though somewhat out of date. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the, Old Testament*, gives an up to date translation of those passages which throw light on the Biblical writings. Other works cited are generally of interest only to specialists and the most common are cited by abbreviations which will be found at the close of the study.]

The Assyrians derived their historical writing, as they did so many other cultural elements, from the Babylonians. In that country, there had existed from the earliest times two types of historical inscriptions. The more common form developed from the desire of the kings to commemorate, not their deeds in war, but their building operations, and more especially the buildings erected in honor of the gods. Now and then we have an incidental reference to military activities, but rarely indeed do we find a document devoted primarily to the narration of warlike deeds. Side by side with these building inscriptions were to be found dry lists of kings, sometimes with the length of their reigns, but, save for an occasional legend, there seem to have been no detailed histories. It was from the former type that the earliest Assyrian inscriptions were derived. In actual fact, we have no right to call them historical in any sense of the word, even though they are our only sources for the few facts we know about this early period. A typical inscription of this type will have the form "Irishum the vice gerent of the god Ashur, the son of Ilushuma the vice gerent of the god Ashur, unto the god Ashur, his Lord, for his own life and for the life of his son has dedicated". Thus there was as yet little difference in form from their Babylonian models and the historical data were of the slightest. This type persisted until the latest days of the Assyrian empire in the inscriptions placed on the bricks, or, in slightly more developed form, in the inscriptions written on the slabs of stone used for the adornment of palace or temple. For these later periods, they rarely have a value other than for the architectural history, and so demand no further study in this place. Nevertheless, the architectural origin of the historical inscription should not be forgotten. Even to the end, it is a rare document which does not have as its conclusion a more or less full account of the building operations carried on by the monarch who erected it.

It was not long until the inscriptions were incised on limestone. These slabs, giving more surface for the writing, easily induced the addition of other data, including naturally some account of the monarch's exploits in war. The typical inscription of this type, take, for example that of Adad nirari I, [Footnote: BM. 90,978; IV. R. 44 f.; G. Smith, *Assyr. Discoveries*, 1875, 242 ff.; Pognon, JA. 1884, 293 ff.; Peiser, KB. I. 4 ff.; Budge-King, 4 ff.; duplicate Scheil, RT. XV. 138 ff.; Jastrow, ZA. X. 35 ff.; AJSL. XII 143 ff.] has a brief titulary, then a slightly longer sketch of the campaigns, but the greater portion by far is devoted to the narration of his buildings. This type also continued until the latest days of the

empire, and, like the former, is of no value where we have the fuller documents.

When the German excavations were begun at Ashur, the earliest capital of the Assyrian empire, it was hoped that the scanty data with which we were forced to content ourselves in writing the early history would soon be much amplified. In part, our expectations have been gratified. We now know the names of many new rulers and the number of new inscriptions has been enormously increased. But not a single annals inscription from this earlier period has been discovered, and it is now becoming clear that such documents are not to be expected. Only the so-called "Display" inscriptions, and those with the scantiest content, have been found, and it is not probable that any will be hereafter discovered.

It was not until the end of the fourteenth century B. C. with the reign of Arik den ilu, that we have the appearance of actual annalistic inscriptions. That we are at the very beginning of annalistic writing is clear, even from the fragmentary remains. The work is in annals form, in so far as the events of the various years are separated by lines, but it is hardly more than a list of places captured and of booty taken, strung together by a few formulae. [Footnote: Scheil, OLZ. VII. 216. Now in the Morgan collection, Johns, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, 33.]

With this one exception, we do not have a strictly historical document nor do we have any source problem worthy of our study until the time of Tiglath Pileser I, about 1100 B.C. To be sure, we have a good plenty of inscriptions before this time, [Footnote: L. Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*. I. Berlin 1911; *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*; cf, D. D. Luckenbill, AJSL. XXVIII. 153 ff.] and the problems they present are serious enough, but they are not of the sort that can be solved by source study. Accordingly, we shall begin our detailed study with the inscriptions from this reign. Then, after a gap in our knowledge, caused by the temporary decline of Assyrian power, we shall take up the many problems presented by the numerous inscriptions of Ashur nasir apal (885-860 B.C.) and of his son Shalmaneser III (860-825 B.C.). In the case of the latter, especially, we shall see how a proper evaluation of the documents secures a proper appreciation of the events in the reign. With these we shall discuss their less important successors until the downfall of the dynasty. The revival of Assyrian power under Tiglath Pileser IV (745-728 B.C.) means a revival of history writing and our problems begin again. The Sargonidae, the most important of the various Assyrian dynasties, comprising Sargon (722-705 B.C.),

Sennacherib (705-686 B.C.), Esarhaddon (686-668 B.C.), and Ashur bani apal (668-626 B.C.), furnish us a most embarrassing wealth of historical material, while the problems, especially as to priority of date and as to consequent authority, become most complicated.

Before taking up a more detailed study of these questions, it is necessary to secure a general view of the situation we must face. The types of inscriptions, especially in the later days of the empire, are numerous. In addition to the brick and slab inscriptions, rarely of value in this later period, we have numerous examples on a larger scale of the so called "Display" inscriptions. They are usually on slabs of stone and are intended for architectural adornment. In some cases, we have clay tablets with the original drafts prepared for the workmen. Still others are on clay prisms or cylinders. These latter do not differ in form from many actual annals, but this likeness in form should not blind us to the fact that their text is radically different in character.

All the display inscriptions are primarily of architectural character, whether intended to face the walls of the palace or to be deposited as a sort of corner stone under the gates or at the corners of the wall. We should not expect their value to be high, and indeed they are of but little worth when the corresponding annals on which they are based has been preserved. For example, we have four different recensions of a very long display inscription, as well as literally scores of minor ones, also of a display character, from the later years of Sargon. The minor inscriptions are merely more or less full abstracts of the greater and offer absolutely nothing new. The long display inscription might be equally well disregarded, had not the edition of the annals on which it is based come down to us in fragmentary condition. We may thus use the Display inscription to fill gaps in the Annals, but it has not the slightest authority when it disagrees with its original.

It is true that for many reigns, even at a fairly late date, the display inscriptions are of great value. For the very important reign of Adad nirari (812-785 B.C.), it is our only recourse as the annals which we may postulate for such a period of development are totally lost. The deliberate destruction of the greater portion of the annals of Tiglath Pileser IV forces us to study the display documents in greater detail and the loss of all but a fragment of the annals of Esarhaddon makes for this period, too, a fuller discussion of the display inscriptions than would be otherwise necessary. In addition, we may note that there are a few inscriptions from other reigns, for example, the Nimrud inscription of Sargon, which are

seemingly based on an earlier edition of the annals than that which has come down to us and which therefore do give us a few new facts.

Since, then, it is necessary at times to use these display inscriptions, we must frankly recognize their inferior value. We must realize that their main purpose was not to give a connected history of the reign, but simply to list the various conquests for the greater glory of the monarch. Equally serious is it that they rarely have a chronological order. Instead, the survey generally follows a geographical sweep from east to west. That they are to be used with caution is obvious.

Much more fortunate is our position when we have to deal with the annalistic inscriptions. We have here a regular chronology, and if errors, intentional or otherwise, can sometimes be found, the relative chronology at least is generally correct. The narrative is fuller and interesting details not found in other sources are often given. But it would be a great mistake to assume that the annals are always trustworthy. Earlier historians have too generally accepted their statements unless they had definite proof of inaccuracy. In the last few years, there has been discovered a mass of new material which we may use for the criticism of the Sargonide documents. Most valuable are the letters, sometimes from the king himself, more often from others to the monarch. Some are from the generals in the field, others from the governors in the provinces, still others from palace officials. All are of course absolutely authentic documents, and the light they throw upon the annals is interesting. To these we may add the prayers at the oracle of the sun god, coming from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashur bani apal, and they show us the break up of the empire as we never should have suspected from the grandiloquent accounts of the monarchs themselves. Even the business documents occasionally yield us a slight help toward criticism. Add to this the references in foreign sources such as Hebrew or Babylonian, and we hardly need internal study to convince us that the annals are far from reliable.

Yet even internal evidence may be utilized. For example, when the king is said to have been the same year in two widely separated parts of the empire, warring with the natives, it is clear that in one of these the deeds of a general have been falsely ascribed to the king, and the suspicion is raised that he may have been at home in Assyria all the time. That there are many such false attributions to the king is proved by much other evidence, the letters from the generals in command to their ruler; an occasional reference to outside authorities, as when the editor of the book of Isaiah shows that the famous Ashdod expedition was actually

led by the Turtanu or prime minister; or such a document as the dream of Ashur bani apal, which clearly shows that he was a frightened degenerate who had not the stamina to take his place in the field with the generals whose victories he usurped. Again, various versions differ among themselves. To what a degree this is true, only those who have made a detailed study of the documents can appreciate. Typical examples from Sargon's Annals were pointed out several years ago. [Footnote: Olmstead. *Western Asia in the Reign of Sargon of Assyria*, 1908.] The most striking of these, the murder of the Armenian king Rusash by — the cold blooded Assyrian scribe, — has now been clearly proved false by a contemporaneous document emanating from Sargon himself. Another good illustration is found in the cool taking by Ashur bani apal of bit after bit of the last two Egyptian campaigns of his father until in the final edition there is nothing that he has not claimed for himself.

The Assyrians, as their business documents show, could be exceedingly exact with numbers. But this exactness did not extend to their historical inscriptions. We could forgive them for giving us in round numbers the total of enemies slain or of booty carried off and even a slight exaggeration would be pardonable. But what shall we say as to the accuracy of numbers in our documents when one edition gives the total slain in a battle as 14,000, another as 20,500, the next as 25,000, and the last as 29,000! Is it surprising that we begin to wonder whether the victory was only a victory on the clay tablet of the scribe? What shall we say when we find that the reviser has transformed a booty of 1,235 sheep in his original into a booty of 100,225! This last procedure, the addition of a huge round number to the fairly small amount of the original, is a common trick of the Sargonide scribe, of which many examples may be detected by a comparison of Sargon's Display inscription with its original, the Annals. So when Sennacherib tells us that he took from little Judah no less than 200,150 prisoners, and that in spite of the fact that Jerusalem itself was not captured, we may deduct the 200,000 as a product of the exuberant fancy of the Assyrian scribe and accept the 150 as somewhere near the actual number captured and carried off.

This discussion has led to another problem, that of the relative order of the various annals editions. For that there were such various editions can be proved for nearly every reign. And in nearly every reign it has been the latest and worst edition which has regularly been taken by the modern historians as the basis for their studies. How prejudicial this may be to a correct view of the Assyrian history, the following pages will show. The procedure of the Assyrian scribe is regularly the same. As

soon as the king had won his first important victory, the first edition of the annals was issued. With the next great victory, a new edition was made out. For the part covered by the earlier edition, an abbreviated form of this was incorporated. When the scribe reached the period not covered by the earlier document, he naturally wrote more fully, as it was more vividly in his mind and therefore seemed to him to have a greater importance. Now it would seem that all Assyriologists should have long ago recognized that *any one of these editions is of value only when it is the most nearly contemporaneous of all those preserved. When it is not so contemporaneous, it has absolutely no value when we do have the original from which it was derived.* Yet it still remains true that the most accessible editions of these annals are those which are the latest and poorest. Many of the earlier and more valuable editions have not been republished for many years, so that for our most contemporaneous sources we must often go to old books, long out of print and difficult to secure, while both translation and commentary are hopelessly behind the times. Particularly is this the case with the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Ashur bani apal. The greatest boon to the historian of Assyria would be an edition of the Assyrian historical inscriptions in which would be given, only those editions or portions of editions which may be considered as contemporaneous and of first class value. With such a collection before him, notable as much for what it excluded as for what was included, many of the most stubborn problems in Assyrian history would cease to be problems.

The historian of Assyria must test his sources before he can use them in his history. To do this, he must first of all be able to distinguish the primary sources which will reward future study from those which are secondary and are based on other and more contemporary documents which even now are actually in our possession. When these latter are cast aside as of no practical value, save perhaps as they show the peculiar mental operations of the Assyrian editor, we are then ready to test the remainder by the various methods known to the historian. The second part of this task must be worked out by the historian when he studies the actual history in detail. It is the discovery of what are the primary sources for the various reigns and of the value of the contributions which they make to Assyrian history that is to be the subject of the more detailed discussion in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II. THE BEGINNINGS OF TRUE HISTORY

(Tiglath Pileser I)

We shall begin, then, our detailed study of the sources for Assyrian history with the data for the reign of Tiglath Pileser I (circa 1100 B.C.). Taking up first the Annals, we find that the annalistic documents from the reign may be divided into two general groups. One, the Annals proper, is the so called Cylinder, in reality written on a number of hexagonal prisms. [Footnote: Photographs of B and A, Budge-King, xliii; xlvii; of the Ashur fragments, of at least five prisms, Andrä, *Anu-Adad Tempel*, Pl. xiii ff. I R. 9 ff.; Winckler, *Sammlung*, I. 1 ff.; Budge-King, 27 ff., with variants and BM numbers. Lotz, *Inschriften Tiglathpilesers* I, 1880; Winckler, KB. I. 14 ff. Rawlinson, Hincks, Talbot, Oppert, JRAS. OS. XVIII. 150 ff.; Oppert, Histoire des empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie, 1865, 44f; Menant, 35 ff.; Rawlinson, Rp1, V. 7 ff. Sayce RP², I. 92 ff.; Muss-Arnolt in Harper, llff.; MDOG. 25, 21f; 28, 22; 29, 40; 47, 33; King, *Supplement*, 116; Andrä, *Tempel*, 32 ff.] First comes the praise of the gods and self praise of the ruler himself. Then follow the campaigns, not numbered as in the more developed style of later rulers, but separated into six sections, for the six years whose events are narrated, by brief glorifications of the monarch. Next we have the various hunting exploits of the king, and the document ends with an elaborate account of the building operations and with threats against the later ruler who should destroy the inscription or refuse credit to the king in whose honor it was made.

No relationship has been made out between the fragments, but the four-fairly complete prisms fall into two groups, A and C, B and D, as regards both the form of writing and the character of the text. All date seemingly from the same month of the same year, though from separate days. The most fragmentary of these, D, seems the best, as it has the smallest number of unique readings and has also the largest number of omissions, [Footnote: II. 21b-23a; III. 37b-39a; IV. 36.] all of which are clearly interpolations in the places where they are given. This is especially true of the one [Footnote: IV. 36.] which refers to the Anu-Adad and Ishtar temples, for not only is the insertion awkward, we know from the Obelisk [Footnote: II. 13.] that the Anu-Adad temple was not completed till year five, so that it must be an interpolation of that date. In spite of its general resemblance to D, especially in its omissions, B is very poorly written and has over two hundred unique readings. One of its

omissions would seriously disarrange the chronology, [Footnote: IV. 40-42.] others are clearly unwarranted, [Footnote: II. 79081; V.4; VIII. 29b-33.] and one long addition [Footnote: VII. 17-27; also I. 35; different in VI. 37.] further marks its peculiar character. Our conclusion must be that it is a poor copy of a good original. C is between A and B, agreeing with the latter in a strange interpolation [Footnote: III. 2a-c.] and in the omission of the five kings of the Muski. [Footnote: I. 63b. King, *Supplement*, 116 follows C.] A is the latest but best preserved, while the character of the text warrants us in making this our standard as it has but few unique readings and but one improbable omission. [Footnote: VII. 105-8.] The same account, in slightly different form and seemingly later in date [Footnote: K.2815 is dated in the eponomy of Ninib nadin apal, the LAH MA GAL E official. He probably is after the rab bi lul official in whose year the hexagons are dated.] is also found in some tablet inscriptions. [Footnote: Budge-King, 125 n.3; K.2815, with different conclusion; 81-2-4, 220, where reverse different; K.12009; K.13840; 79-7-8, 280; 89-4-26, 28; Rm. 573: Winckler, AOF. III. 245.]

A second annalistic group is that postulated as the original of the so called Broken Obelisk. Of documents coming directly from Tiglath Pileser himself, the only one that can with any probability be assigned to this is the tiny fragment which refers to the capture of Babylon. [Footnote: K. 10042; Winckler, AOF. I. 387.] But that such a group did exist is proved by the extracts from it in the obelisk prepared by a descendant of Tiglath Pileser, probably one of his sons, Shamshi Adad or Ashur bel kala. [Footnote: Photograph, Budge-King, li; Paterson, *Assyr. Sculptures*, 63. I R. 28; III R. 4, 1; Budge-King, 128 ff. Lotz, *op. cit.*, 196 ff.; Peiser, KB. I. 122 ff.; Talbot, JRAS. OS. XIX. 124 ff.; Houghton-Finlay, RP(1), XI. 9 ff.; Oppert, *Hist.*, 132 ff.; Hommel, *Gesch.*, 532 ff.; Menant, 49 ff. Proved to Tiglath Pileser, Lotz, *op. cit.*, 193 f.; cf. Budge-King, 131 n. 4, though Streck, ZA. XVIII. 187 ff., still believes that it belongs to an earlier king. Found at Nineveh, though it deals with Ashur constructions.] Only the upper portion, probably less than half to judge by the proportions, is preserved, and even this is terribly mutilated. Fortunately, the parts best preserved are those relating to the years not dealt with in the Annals. The first half of the document is devoted to the campaigns of Tiglath Pileser, then come his hunting exploits, and only a bit at the end is reserved for the building operations of the unknown ruler under whom it was erected. Its source seems to have had the same relation to the earliest form of the Annals that the Obelisk of Shalmaneser III had to the Monolith, that is, it gave the data for the

earlier part of the reign, that covered by the other source, very briefly, only expanding as it reached a period where the facts were not represented by any other document. That our earlier Annals, or perhaps rather, one of its sources, was a main source of our second type, is proved by the coincidences in language in the two, in one case no less than twenty signs the same, [Footnote: In year V we have *ishtu…adi alu Kargamish sha matu Hatte…isu elippe pl mashku tahshe*.] not to speak of the hunting expeditions. But this earlier Annals was not the only, or at least not the direct source for the Obelisk, nor was that source merely a fuller recension of it. Data for the first six years, not found in the earlier Annals, are given in the Obelisk, [Footnote: Obl. I. 17, reference to Marduk nadin ahe, King of Akkad; II. 1, one thousand men of land of…; II. 2, four thousand of them carried prisoner to Assyria, the position of which shows that it cannot, with Budge-King, 132 n., be referred to Ann. III. 2, the Kashi; II. 12, the Mushki (?); II. 13, temple of Ami and Adad. These all precede the Carchemish episode.] while our document also, for the first time in Assyrian historical inscriptions, dates the events by the name of the eponym for the year, and, still more unusual, by the month as well. That the Obelisk may be considered merely a resume of this original source is shown by the statement that he conquered other lands and made many wars, but these he did not record. [Footnote: Obl. IV. 37.] As they seem to have been given after the hunting feats, in the lost lower part of column IV, we may assume that all that preceded is taken from that source. Furthermore, we are given the other hunting exploits "which my [father] did not record." [Footnote: Obl. IV. 33.] The numbers of beasts killed, which the scribe intended especially to emphasize, have never, curiously enough, been inscribed in the blanks left for their insertion. [Footnote: E.g., Obl. IV. 4.]

Opposed to the Annals proper are the Display inscriptions in which chronological considerations and details as to the campaigns are subordinated to the desire to give a general view of the monarch's might. Two have been found in foreign lands, one at the source of the Tigris, [Footnote: Discovery, J. Taylor, cf. H. Rawlinson, *Athenaeum*, 1862, II. 811; 1863, I. 229. III R. 4, 6; Schrader, *Abh. K. Preuss. Akad.*, 1885, I. Winckler, *Sammlung*, I. 30: Budge-King, 127 n. 1. Meissner, *Chrestomathie*, 6; Abel-Winckler, 5; Menant, 49. Winckler, KB. I. 48 f. Dated after the Arvad expedition as shown by reference to Great Sea of Amurru, and of same date as Melazgerd inscription, Belck, *Verh. Berl*.] the other near Melazgerd in Armenia. [Footnote: From Gonjalu, near Melazgerd, Belck-Lehmann, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.* 1898, 574.

Photograph, Lehmann, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1900, 627. Is this one of the "cuneiform inscriptions near Moosh" reported to Taylor, *Athenaeum*, 1863, I. 229?] Drafts for similar inscriptions have been found on clay tablets, written for the use of the workmen who were to incise them on stone. Of these, one, which is virtually complete as regards number of lines, seems to date from year four as it has no reference to later events. [Footnote: S. 1874; K. 2805, Tabl. I of Budge-King, 109 ff. III R. 5; Winckler, *Sammlung*, I. 26 ff.; cf. Lotz, *op. cit.*, 193; Tiele, Gesch., 159 n. 2; Meissner, ZA. IX. 101 ff. Meissner's restoration of these as parts of one tablet in chronological order will not stand in view of the fact that I is complete in itself while there are variations in the order of Nairi and totally different endings.] It would then be our earliest extant source. It is also of value in dating the erection of the palace whose mention shows that the tablet is complete. That the compiler had before him the document used by the Annals in its account of the Nairi campaign [Footnote: Ann. IV. 71 ff.] is proved by his writing "from Tumme to Daiene" for these are the first and last names in the well known list of Nairi states. The order of the tablet is neither chronological nor geographical. Another tablet dates from year five to which most of its data belong. In the first half, it follows the order of Tablet I, and in the remainder follows closely the words of its source in the Annals, merely abbreviating. [Footnote: K. 2806 with K. 2804, Tabl. II of Budge-King, 116 ff.] Possibly in its present form, it may be later than year five [Footnote: The badly damaged reverse of K. 2806 has one reference to the Euphrates which *may* be connected with Obl. III. 24, probably of year IX.] for a third tablet of year ten duplicates this first part. [Footnote: K. 2804, Tabl. V of Budge-King, 125 f.] Unfortunately, this latter gives next to no historical data, but its reference to the "Lower Zab" and to the "Temple of Ishtar" may perhaps allow us to date to this same tenth year the highly important tablet which gives a full account of the campaign in Kirhi and Lulume and which also ends with the restoration of the Ishtar temple. [Footnote: K. 2807; 91-5-9, 196. III R. 5, 4; Tablet IV of Budge-King, 121 ff. Winckler, AOF. III. 246. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 511 f.] Here too and not with the Annals must be placed the fragment with the Arvad episode. [Footnote: Scheil, RT. XXII. 157. Restorations, Streck, ZA. XVIII. 186 n. 2. First attributed to Tiglath Pileser, Peiser, OLZ. III. 476; Winckler, ibid. IV. 296; cf. AOF. III. 247. — Bricks I R. 6, 5; Scheil, *op. cit.* 37; Winckler, *Sammlung*, I. 31; Budge-King, 127. Other inss., King, *Supplement*, 453, 488.]

CHAPTER III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL WRITING

(Ashur nasir apal and Shalmaneser III)

After the death of Tiglath Pileser, there is a period of darkness. A few bricks and other minor inscriptions give us the names of the rulers and possibly a bit of other information, but there is not a single inscription which is important enough to furnish source problems. It is not until we reach the reign of Tukulti Ninib (890-885) that we again have an Annals [Footnote: Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip* II, 1909; cf. Winckler, OLZ. XIII. 112 ff.] and not until the reign of his son Ashur nasir apal (885-860) that we have problems of the sources.

The problem of the sources for the reign of Ashur nasir apal may be approached from a somewhat different angle than we took for those of Tiglath Pileser. Here we have a single document, the so called Annals, which gives practically all the known data of the reign. Earlier writers on the history of Assyria have therefore generally contented themselves with references to this one document, with, at most, an occasional reference to the others. This should not blind us, however, to the fact that the problem of the sources is by no means as simple as this. Indeed, for far the greater portion of the events given in the Annals, we have earlier and better sources. We may therefore best attack the problem as to the sources of the reign by working out the sources of the Annals.

Taking up the introduction to the Annals, [Footnote: I R. 17 ff.; Budge-King, 254 ff. Le Gac, *Les Inscriptions d'Assur-Nasir-Aplu* III. 1907, 1 ff. Peiser, KB. I. 50 ff. H. Lhotzky, *Annalen Asurnazirpals*, 1885. Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, 1863, I. 311 ff.; Rodwell, RP¹, III. 37 ff.; Sayce, RP², II. 134 ff.; Menant, 67 ff.; *Manuel*, 1880, 335 ff.] it at once strikes us as curious that it consists of a hymn to Ninib, at the entrance to whose temple these slabs were placed, and not of a general invocation to the gods, beginning with Ashur, such as we are accustomed to find in other annalistic inscriptions. Further, we have other slabs in which this Ninib hymn occurs as a separate composition, [Footnote: Slabs 27-30, Budge-King, 255 n. — Other invocations are the Bel altar at Kalhu, BM. 71, Budge-King 160; Strong, JRAS. 1891, 157; and the Ishtar lion BM. 96, II R. 66, 1; S. A. Strong, RP², IV. 91 f.; dupl. Budge-King, 206 ff.] and this leads us to assume that it is not the original introduction. This is still further confirmed by the fact that we do find such a required invocation in the beginning of the Monolith inscription.

Clearly, this is the original invocation. The second section of the Annals begins with the praise of the monarch, and here too begins the parallelism with the Monolith. The last events mentioned in the Monolith date from 880 and it is thus far earlier than our present edition of the Annals, which contains events from so late a date as 867. To this extent, then, the Monolith is a better document. It was not, however, the direct source of the Annals, as is shown by certain cases where the latter has preserved the better readings of proper names. Indeed, we should not over rate the Monolith, for it too is a compilation like its younger sister, and is by no means free from obvious mistakes, though in general better than the Annals. [Footnote: BM. 847. Photograph, Budge-King, lxix; Paterson, *Assyr. Sculptures,* 64. I R. 27; Budge-King, 242 ff.; cf. 254 ff.; Le Gac, 129 ff. Peiser, KB. I. 118 ff. Menant, 66 f. Talbot, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.,* VII. 189 ff.; RP[1], VII. 15 ff.] For some portions of this earlier section, we have also separate slabs with small portions of the text, [Footnote: BM. 90830, cf. Budge-King, 255 n.; L. 48 f.] and these regularly agree with the Monolith as against the Annals. [Footnote: I. 57, transposition; I. 69, the significant omission of *shadu;* and a large number of cases where they agree in spelling as against the Annals.]

For the last of these years, 880, we have also the inscription from Kirkh, [Footnote: III R. 6; Budge-King, 222 ff.; Le Gac, 137 ff. Peiser, KB. I. 92 ff.] which contains data for this year alone, and ends abruptly with the return from Nairi. This might be expected from its location at Tushhan, on the border of that country, and we are therefore warranted in assuming that it was set up here immediately after the return from the campaign and that in it we have a strictly contemporaneous document. Judged by this, the Annals, and even the Monolith, do not rank very high. Important sections are omitted by each, in fact, they seem to agree in these omissions, though in general they agree fairly closely with the account set up in the border city. It would seem as if the official narrative of the campaign had been prepared at Kirkh, immediately after its close, by the scribes who followed the army. [Footnote: Cf. Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, II. 168.] One copy of this became the basis of the Kirkh inscription while another was made at Kalhu and it was from this that the Monolith and Annals are derived. [Footnote: Ann. II. 109, where Mon. has 300 as against 700 of Kir. and Ann., shows Ann. did not use Kir. through Mon.; Kir. has 40 as against 50 of the others in II. 111, and 200 for 2000 in II. 115; proper names such as Tushha for Tushhan show nearness of Mon. to Kir., but the likeness can hardly be considered

striking.] From this, too, must have been derived the slab which gives a fourth witness for this section. [Footnote: L. 48 f.]

With this year, 880, the Monolith fails us. But even if we had no other document, the Annals itself would show us that the year 880 was an important one in the development of our sources. At the end of the account for this year, we have a closing paragraph, taken bodily from the Ninib inscription, which may thus be assigned to 880. This is further confirmed by the manner in which, this passage in the Annals abstracts the last lines of the Monolith, [Footnote: Ann. II. 125-135a is the same as the Ninib inscription l-23a (BM. 30; Budge-King, 209 ff.), and this in turn is merely a resume of the close of the Monolith.] which is repeated almost in its entirety at the close of the Annals itself. The column thus ends a separate document, whose last line, giving a list of temples erected, seems to go back to one recension of the Standard inscription, which in its turn goes back to the various separate building inscriptions.

That the Annals itself existed in several recensions is indicated by the fact that, while there are no less than at least seventeen different duplicates of Column I, [Footnote: Le Gac, *Introd.*] there are but seven of II and five of III; that there is one of II only [Footnote: Le Gac, iii.] and one of III; [Footnote: Ibid. 126 f.] and that there is still another, in at least three exemplars, in which parts of the Standard and Altar inscriptions are interpolated between the Ninib invocation and the main inscription. [Footnote: Ibid, ii; 123 f. (B).]

The year 880 marks also the removal of the capital from Nineveh to Kalhu, [Footnote: First mentioned as starting point of an expedition in 879, Ann. III. 1.] which indicates that to this year we are to attribute the majority of the building inscriptions. But, as they are all more or less identical with the closing section of the Annals, we may best discuss them in that place. Continuing with the Annals, we now reach a section where it is the only source. And just here the Annals is lacking in its most essential feature, an exact chronology, no doubt because the dated year was not given in the source, though the months are carefully noted! In the last of the years given in this section, probably 876, we are to place the various bull and lion inscriptions, which in general agree with this portion of the Annals. [Footnote: Bulls 76, 77; Lions 809, 841. Budge-King, 189 ff. Le Gac, 181 ff. Made up of brief attribution to king, then regular building text, then duplicates of Ann. III. 84 ff.] One of these bull inscriptions, as well as the text of the great altar, adds a good bit in regard to the hunting expeditions, which may be dated, so far as they can be dated at all, to this year. [Footnote: Bull 77; Budge-King,

201 ff.; Peiser KB. I. 124 f.; Altar, L. 43 ff.; Le Gac, 171 ff.] Here too we must place the Mahir document, [Footnote: V R. 69 f.; Budge-King, TSBA. VII. 59 ff.; Budge-King, 167 ff. S. A. Strong, RP², IV. 83 ff.; Harper, 29 ff.] describing the erection of a temple to that deity at Imgur Bel, as is shown by the specific reference to a campaign to the Lebanon for the purpose of securing cedar. The years 875-868 seem to have been years of peace, for the only reference we can attribute to them is an expedition to the Mehri land for beams to erect a temple at Nineveh [Footnote: Ann. III. 91 f.] and so to this period we must assign the Ishtar bowl inscriptions. [Footnote: III R. 3, 10; Budge-King, 158 ff.; S. A. Strong, RP², II. 95.] Finally, we have the campaign of 867, the last fixed date in the reign of Ashur nasir apal, and the reason for compiling the latest edition of the Annals. For this year, and for this alone, this latest edition has the value of a strictly contemporaneous document. [Footnote: Ann. III. 92 ff.]

The last section of the Annals consists of the building account, found also in nearly all the other inscriptions, though naturally here it is in the form it last assumed. It may be seen in greater or less fulness in the so called Standard Inscription, [Footnote: L. 1 ff.; Schrader, *Inschrift Asur-nasir-abals*; Talbot, *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries of Scotland*, VI. 198 ff.; Meissner, *Chestomathie*, 7 f.; Abel-Winckler, 6. RP¹, VII. 11 ff.; Ward, *Proc. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, X. xcix; Budge-King, 212 ff.; Le Gac, 153 ff. The number of slabs containing this inscription which may be found in the various Museums of Europe and America is simply amazing. No full collection or collation of these has ever been made. Many are still exposed to the destructive effects of the atmosphere at Nimrud and are rapidly being ruined. Squeezes of these were taken by the Cornell Expedition. Others at Ashur, MDOG., xxi. 52; KTA. 25. Several are in the newly opened section of the Constantinople Museum, cf. Bezold, *Ztf. f. Keilschriftforschung*, I. 269. An unknown number is in the British Museum, and were utilized by Budge-King, 1. c. Streck, ZA. XIX. 258, lists those published from European Museums. These are Edinburgh, Talbot 1. c.; Copenhagen, Knudtzon, ZA. XII. 256; St. Petersburg, Jeremias, ZA. I. 49; Bucharest, D. H. Müller, *Wiener Ztf, f. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, XIII. 169 ff.; Dresden, Jeremias, *l. c.*; Zürich, Bezold, *Literatur*, 71; Cannes, Le Gac, ZA. IX. 390; Lyons, Ley, RT. XVII. 55; Rome, O. Marucchi, *Museo Egizio Vaticano*, 334; Bezold, ZA. II. 229. In addition, there are, according to Budge-King, *l. c.*, copies at Paris, Berlin, Munich, the Hague, etc. For the Berlin inscriptions, cf. *Verzeichnis der vorderasiatischen Altertümer*, 92 ff.; 101. No less than

59 are known to have been or to be in America. The majority have been listed by Ward, *op. cit.*, xxxv, and Merrill, *ibid.* xci. ff.; cf. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, xxxii. 320 ff. Twelve in the possession of the New York Historical Society have not been on exhibition since the society moved into its new quarters, and are completely inaccessible, the statements in the guide books to the contrary notwithstanding. The Andover slab is published by Merrill, *op. cit.* lxxiii, and the one from Amherst by Ward, *l. c.* These were presented by Rawelinson and Layard to missionaries, and by them to the institutions named, as were the following: Yale University; Union College, Schenectady; Williams College; Dartmouth College; Middlebury College; Bowdoin College; Auburn (N. Y.) Theological Seminary; Connecticut Historical society at Hartford; Meriden (Conn.) Public Library; Theological Seminary of Virginia; Mercantile Library of St. Louis. An inscribed relief to which my attention has been called by Professor Allan Marquand, has been presented by Mr. Garrett to Princeton University. Three similar slabs, loaned by the late Mr. J. P. Morgan, are in the Metropolitan Museum in New York City. — In this place we may also note the brick inscriptions in America, listed by Merrill, *l. c.*, as well as the statute inscription, III R. 4, 8; Menant, 65; Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*,² 184.] the short account so monotonously repeated on the slabs at Kalhu and so familiar to all who have visited any Museum where Assyrian antiquities are preserved. There seem to be two recensions, a longer and a shorter, [Footnote: Le Gac, xvii.] and some, to judge from the variations in the references, are much later than 880. The same inscription essentially is also found as the ending of the Ishtar, Mahir, Calah Palace, [Footnote: Budge-King, 173 ff.; Le Gac, 188 ff.] Calah wall, [Footnote: Budge-King, 177 ff.] Bulls, and Ninib inscriptions, [Footnote: Budge-King, 209 ff.] Variants are few, but are not without value in fixing the relative dates of the various recensions. For example, some of the Standard inscriptions, as well as the Ishtar and Mahir ones, insert a reference to "Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea" which would place them after 876, and this is confirmed by the reference to Liburna of Patina which occurs in the Annals and the Calah wall inscription. Of course, this gives only the upper limit, for it would be dangerous to suggest a lower one in the case of documents which copy so servilely. Some of the Standard inscriptions, as well as the Bulls, have a reference to Urartu, of great importance as the first in any literature to the country which was soon to become the worthy rival of Assyria. Absence of such reference in the regular Annals is pretty conclusive evidence that there were no warlike

relations, so that these too are to be dated after 876. With this is to be compared the addition telling of the conquest of Nairi, found in the Ishtar, Mahir, and Calah Palace inscriptions, and which would seem to refer to the same period. The Suhi, Laqe, and Sirqu reference, through its omission in the Monolith, is also of value as adding proof that that inscription dates to 880. [Footnote: Minor inscriptions, L. 83 f.; G. Smith, *Disc*., 76; Budge-King, 155 ff., Le Gac, 172; the very fragmentary Obelisk, Le Gac, 207 ff.; KTA. 25; MDOG. 20, 21 ff.; 21, 15 ff. King, *Supplement*, no. 192, 470, 1805. Hommel. *Zwei Jagdinschriften*, 1879, with photographs; Andrä, *Tempel*, 86 ff.]

Much the same situation as regards the sources is found in the reign of his son Shalmaneser III (860-825). Aside from a few minor inscriptions, our main source is again the official account which has come down to us in several recensions of different date. The process by which these recensions were made is always the same. The next earlier edition was taken as a basis, and from this were extracted, generally in the exact words of the original, such facts as seemed of value to the compiler. When the end of this original was reached, and it was necessary for the editor to construct his own narrative, the recital becomes fuller, and, needless to say, becomes also a better source. If, then, we have the original from which the earliest portion of a certain document was copied or abstracted, we must entirely cast aside the copy in favor of the contemporary writing. This would appear self evident, but failure to observe this distinction has led to more than one error in the history of the reign. [Footnote: The majority of the inscriptions for the reign were first given in Layard, *Inscriptions*, and in the Rawlinson publication, cf. for first working over, Rawlinson, JRAS. OS. XII. 431 ff. The edition of Amiaud-Scheil, *Les inscriptions de Salmanasar* II, 1890, though without cuneiform text, is still valuable on account of its arrangement by years, as well as of its full notes, cf. also Winckler-Peiser, KB. I. 128 ff. The one edition which is up to date is N. Rasmussen, *Salmanasser den II's Indschriften*, 1907, though the same may be said of the selections in Rogers, 293 ff.]

Each of these editions ends with the account of some important campaign, the need of writing up which was the reason for the collection of the events of previous years which were not in themselves worthy of special commemoration. The first of these is the one which ends with the famous battle of Qarqara in 854. This has come down to us in a monumental copy which was set up at Kirkh, the ancient Tushhan, and which has been named the Monolith inscription. [Footnote: III R 7f;

Rasmussen, cf.; 2 ff. Photograph, Rogers, 537; *Hist*., o. Amiaud-Scheil, *passim*; Peiser, KB. I. 15off. Menant, 105 ff.; Sayce, RP[1], III. 83 ff.; Scheil, RP[2], IV. 55 ff.; Craig, *Hebraica*, III. 201ff.; Harper, 33 ff.; cf. Jastrow, AJSL. IV. 244 ff.] For the events of 860-854, then, we need go no further than this, for it is strictly contemporaneous with the events it describes. No actual errors can be pointed out in it, a seeming distortion of the chronology being due simply to the desire of the scribe to indicate the unity of two campaigns, carried out in different years, but against the same country. [Footnote: II. 66.] How moderate are its numbers is shown by comparing its 14,000 killed at Qarqara with the 20,500 of the Obelisk, the 25,000 of the Bulls, and the 29,000 of the recently discovered statue from Ashur. As we shall see below, it is correct in giving no campaign for 855, though the Bulls inscription, written a generation later, has not hesitated to fill the gap. This is the only edition which seems to be entirely original and a comparison with those which are in large part compilations is favorable to it in every way. In fact, the oft repeated reproach as to the catalogue nature of the Shalmaneser writings, is due to the taking of the Obelisk as a fair sample, whereas it stands at the other extreme, that of a document almost entirely made up by abridgement of other documents, and so can hardly be expected to retain much of the literary flavor of its originals. The Monolith, on the other hand, free from the necessity of abridging, will hold its own in literary value with the other historical writings of the Assyrians.

The next edition was prepared in 851, at the conclusion of the Babylonian expedition. The document as a whole is lost, but we have excerpts in the Balawat inscription. [Footnote: Pinches, PSBA. VII. 89 ff.; *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat*, 1880; Rasmussen, XIff.; Amiaud-Scheil, *passim*; Delitzsch, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, VI. 133 ff.; Winckler KB. I. 134 ff. Scheil, RP[2], IV. 74 ff.] For the years 859, 857, and 856, the excerpts are very brief, but fortunately this is of no importance as we have their originals in the Monolith. No mention is made of the years following until 852-851 which are described so fully that we may believe we have here the actual words of the document. It is interesting to notice that there is no particular connection between the reliefs on the famous bronzes [Footnote: Pinches, *Bronze Ornaments*, a magnificent publication. A cheaper edition of the reliefs, with valuable analysis of and comments on the sculptures, Billerbeck; *Beitr. z. Assyr.* VI. 1 ff. Additional reliefs owned by G. Schlumberger, Lenormant, *Gazette Arch.*, 1878 p1. 22 ff. and ff. Still others, de Clerq, *Catalogue*, II 183 ff., quoted Billerbeck, 2. I have not yet seen King, *Bronze Reliefs*

from the Gates of Shalmaneser, 1915.] and the inscription which accompanies them. The latter ends in 851, the pictures go on to 849. The more conspicious pictures were brought up to date, but, for the inscription which few would read, a few extracts, borrowed from the edition of two years previous, sufficed. Incidentally, it shows us that no new edition had been made in those two years. For the years before 853, the practical loss of this edition need trouble us little as it seems merely to have copied the original of the Monolith. That it might have had some slight value in restoring the text of that lost original seems indicated by a hint of a fuller text in one place [Footnote: II.6 f.] and a more moderate number of enemies slaughtered in another. [Footnote: Balawat kills but 300 while Monolith slaughters 3400.] For the events of 853, as given in this edition, we have only the abstract of it in the Bulls inscription. [Footnote: Bull 75 ff.]

The year 845, the year of the expedition to the sources of the Tigris, seems to mark the end of a third period, commemorated by a third edition, extracts from which are given in the inscriptions on the Bulls. [Footnote: Discovery, Layard, NR. I. 59. L. 12 ff.; 46 f.; Rasmussen, XVff.; 42 ff. Amiaud-Scheil, *passim*; Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, 144 ff.; Menant, 113 ff.] That it actually began with the year 850 is shown by the use of a new system of dating, by the king's year and the number of the Euphrates crossing. Comparison with passages preserved in the Balawat extracts shows that the work of excerpting has been badly done by the editor of the third edition. The capture of Lahiru is placed in the wrong year, [Footnote: Bull 79; cf. Balawat IV. 6.] the graphical error of Ukani for Amukkani shows it derived from the Balawat edition, while variations between the two copies of the bull inscription indicate that we cannot be sure of the exact words of the original. [Footnote: Variants in Amiaud-Scheil, *passim*. The most striking is the different text with which they end, of. Amiaud-Scheil, 58 n. 1.] And we can also point to deliberate falsification in the insertion of an expedition to Kashiari against Anhitti of Shupria, when the older edition, the Monolith, knew of no expedition for the year 855. It has already been shown elsewhere that this is closely connected with the attempt of the turtanu (prime minister) Dan Ashur to date his accession to power to 856 instead of 854, and to hide the fact of the palace revolution which seems to have marked the year 855. [Footnote: Cf. below under the Obelisk, and, for fuller discussion, Olmstead, *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* XXXIV. 346 f.]

From various hints, it is possible to prove that a fourth edition was prepared in 837, the end of the wars with Tabal. The most striking

evidence for this is the fact that, after this year, the Obelisk suddenly becomes much fuller, a clear proof that the author knew that he was now dealing with events not previously written up. We may see, then, in the Obelisk account from 844 to 837 an abstract of the lost edition of 837. But we are not confined to this. One actual fragment of this edition is the fragment which deals with the events of 842 and is so well known because of its reference to Jehu. [Footnote: III R. 5, 6; Rasmussen, XXI; 56; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*, 51f Amiaud-Scheil, 58; Winckler, KB. I. 140; Ungnad, I. 112; Rogers, 303 f.] The first half of this is also intercalated after the introduction to one of the Bull inscriptions, and before year four, thus showing that it was inserted to bring the edition of 845 up to date. [Footnote: L. 12f; Rasmussen, XIX; 53.] Based on this edition, though only in very brief abstract, seems also the so called throne inscription from Ashur, whose references to Damascus, Que, Tabal, and Melidi form a group which can best be correlated with the events of the years 839, 840, 838, and 837, respectively. [Footnote: Discovery, Layard, NR. II. 46 ff.; cf. G. Smith, TSBA. I. 77. L. 76f; Craig, *Hebraica*, II 140 ff.; Rasmussen, XXXVIII; 84 ff.; Amiaud-Scheil, 74 ff.; Delitzsch, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, VI. 152f; cf. Jastrow, *Hebraica*, V. 230 ff.] Another Ashur inscription on a royal statute gives selections from the events of the reign, up to 835, but its main source is evidently the same. [Footnote: Andrä, MDOG. 21, 20 ff. 39 ff.; Delitzsch, *ibid*. 52; KTA. 30; Langdon, *Expository Times*, XXIII, 69; Rogers, 298f; 529.]

But the strongest proof of the existence of this edition is to be found in the two fragments of clay tablets which are not, like all the preceding, epigraphical copies of the originals, but form part of the original itself. [Footnote: Boissier, RT. XXV. 82 ff.] These two bits are written in the cursive style, and, though their discoverer believed them to belong to separate documents, the fact that one so closely supplements the other, and that they have the same common relation to the other editions, justifies us in assuming that they really do belong together. At first sight, it might be argued that they are to be restored from the text of the Obelisk, with which they often agree verbally. Closer inspection shows, however, that they contain matter which is not found in that monument, and that therefore they belong to an earlier and fuller edition, yet the resemblance to the Obelisk is so close that they cannot be much earlier. On the other hand, the Bulls inscription can be compared for the events of 854-852 and this has all that our tablets have, plus a good bit more. They therefore belong between these two editions, and the only time we can place them is 837. Since the clay tablets so fully abstract the Bulls

inscription wherever the latter is available for comparison, we may assume that in 857-855 they give the minimum of that inscription. Thus we have the editions of 845, of 837, and of 829, in a common line of descent. Although for 857-856, there are numerous verbal coincidences with the Balawat excerpts, it must be noted that not all the plus of our tablets appears in that document, and we can only assume a common source, a conclusion which well agrees with our characterization of the Balawat inscription as a series of mere extracts. That this common source was also the source of the Monolith seems proved by a certain similarity of phraseology as well as by the reference to Tiglath Pileser in connection with Pitru, but this similarity is not great enough fully to restore our plus passages. Unfortunately for the student of history, our tablets do not add any new facts, for, in the parts preserved, we already had the earlier representatives of the original sources from which the edition was derived. It does, however, throw a most interesting light on the composition and development of these sources.

Last and least valuable of all is the Obelisk. [Footnote: Discovery at Kalhu, Layard, NR. II. 282. Layard, *Monuments of Nineve*, I. 53 ff.; L. 87 ff.; Abel-Winckler, 7f; Rasmussen, XXXIIIff.; 80 ff. Amiaud-Scheil, *passim*; Winckler, KB. I. 128 ff.Oppert, *Expèd.* I. 342; *Hist.* 108 ff.; Menant, 97 ff. Sayce, RP[1], V. 29 ff.; Scheil, RP[2], IV. 38; Jastrow, *Hebraica*, V. 230. Mengedoht, *Bab. Or. Rec.*, VIII, lllff.; 141ff.; 169 ff. Photographs and drawings too frequent for notice. Casts are also common, e. g., in America, Metropolitan Museum, N. Y. City; University of Pennsylvania; Haskell Museum, University of Chicago; Boston Museum of Fine Arts.] Because of its most interesting sculptures and because it gives a summary of almost the entire reign, it has either been given the place of honor, or a place second to the Monolith alone. The current view is given by one of our most prominent Assyriologists as follows: “The first rank must be ascribed to the Black Obelisk, and for the reason that it covers a greater period of Shalmaneser’s reign than any other…. It is clear then, that for a study of the reign of Shalmaneser II the black obelisk must form the starting point, and that, in direct connection with it, the other inscriptions may best be studied, grouping themselves around it as so many additional fragmentary manuscripts would around the more complete one which we hit upon, for a fundamental text.” [Footnote: Jastrow, *l. c.*]

This view might be accepted were the problem one of the “lower criticism”. Unfortunately, it is clearly one for the “higher” and accordingly we should quote the Black Obelisk only when an earlier

edition has not been preserved. There is no single point where, in comparison with an earlier one, there is reason to believe that it has the correct text, in fact, it is, as might be expected in the case of a show inscription, filled with mistakes, many of which were later corrected, while in one case the engraver has been forced to erase entire lines. [Footnote: Cf. the textual commentary in Amiaud-Scheil, *passim*, and especially 65 n. 6.] Its date is 829, a whole generation later than the facts first related, and it can be shown that it is a formal apology for the turtanu (prime minister), Dan Ashur, glorifies him at the expense of his monarch, and attempts to conceal the palace revolution which marked his coming into power by changing the date of his eponomy from 854 to 856 and by filling in the year 855 with another event. Nor is it without bearing in this connection that it was prepared in 829, the very year in which the revolt of Ashur dan apal broke out as a protest against the control of his father by the too powerful turtanu. [Footnote: Cf. Olmstead, *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc., l. c.*] As these last years of the reign were years of revolt, there is no reason for believing that there was another edition prepared, and the narrative of this revolt in the Annals of his son Shamshi Adad points in the same direction.

Of documents which do not belong to this connected series, the most important is the recently discovered lion inscription from Til Barsip. Aside from its value in identifying the site of that important city and an extra detail or two, its importance is not great, as it is the usual type of display inscription. [Footnote: R. C. Thompson, PSBA. XXXIV. 66 ff.; cf. Hogarth, *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, o.] The Tigris Tunnel inscription also has its main importance from the locality in which it was found. [Footnote: Scheil, RT. XXII. 38.] Other brief inscriptions add a bit as to the building operations, which, curiously enough, are neglected in the official annals series. [Footnote: L. 77 f.; Amiaud-Scheil, 78; Rasmussen, XLI; 88 f. Layard, NR. II. 46; I. 281. Bricks in America, Merrill, *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, X. c; *Bibl. Sacra.* XXXII. 337 ff.; Streck, *Ztf. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.*, 1908, 758; Scheil, RT. XXVI. 35 ff.; Pinches, PSBA. XXXII. 49 f., of year I; KTA. 26 ff.; 77; MDOG. 21, 20f; 22, 29 ff.; 22, 77; 28, 24f; 31, 15; 32, 15 ff.; 36, 16 ff.; 48, 27; Andrä, *Tempel*, 41ff; Taf. XX. XXIIf.]

CHAPTER IV. SHAMSHI ADAD AND THE SYNCHRONISTIC HISTORY

The main source for the reign of Shamshi Adad (825-812) is the official Annals which exists in two recensions. One, written in archaistic characters, from the south east palace at Kalhu, has long been known. After the usual introduction, it deals briefly with the revolt of Ashur dan apal. No attempt is made to differentiate the part which deals with his father's reign from that of his own, and the single paragraph which is devoted to it gives us no real idea of its importance or of its duration. Then follow four expeditions, the first two given very briefly, the last rather fully. As the years of the reign are not indicated, there is considerable difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory chronology. [Footnote: IR. 29 ff. Scheil, *Inscription Assyr. Archaïque de Samsi Ramman IV*, 1889. Abel, KB. I. 174 ff. Oppert, *Hist.*, 122 ff.; Menant, 119 ff.; Sayce, RPi, I. 11 ff. Harper, 45 ff. For errors in writing cf. Scheil, VI; for use of rare words, *ibid.* VII.] The other carries the record two years further, but has not yet been published. [Footnote: MDOG. 28, 31 f. Through the courtesy of Dr. Andra, I was permitted to see this in the excavation house at Ashur in 1908. — Cf. also the palace brick, Scheil, RT. XXII. 37.]

The long list of expeditions which the Assyrian Chronicle attributes to the reign of Adad nirari (812-783) indicates that he must have composed Annals, but they have not as yet been discovered. Of extant inscriptions, the earliest is probably that on the statue base of Sammuramat (Semiramis), in which she is placed before her son and emphasis is laid on the fact that she is the widow of Shamshi Adad rather than that she is the mother of the reigning monarch. [Footnote: MDOG. 40, 24 ff. 42, 34 ff.] Next in time comes the inscription on the famous Nabu statue in which Adad nirari is placed first, but with Sammuramat at his side, and which accordingly marks the decline of the queen mother's power. [Footnote: Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, II. 118 n. 7; Photograph, Rogers, 511; *Religion*, o; I. R. 35, 2; Abel-Winckler, 14; Abel, KB. I. 192 f.; Rogers, 307 f.; Winckler, *Textbuch*3, 27 f.; Meissner, *Chrestomathie*, 10; Menant, 127 f.] Near the end of his reign must be placed the two Kalhu inscriptions in which Sammuramat is not mentioned. One refers to the conquests from the sea of the rising sun to the sea of the setting sun, a statement which would be possible only after the conquest of Kis in 786. This is the document which throws a vivid light on the early history of Assyria, but the remainder is lost [Footnote: Layard, NR. II. 20. L. 70; I.

R. 35, 3; Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*2, 99; Abel-Winckler, 13. Abel, KB. I. 188 ff. Sayce, RP[1], I. 3 ff.; S. A. Strong, RP[2], IV. 88f; Harper, 50 f.] and a duplicate adds nothing new. [Footnote: L. 70.] The other Kalhu inscription adds considerable material, but in a condensed form which makes it most difficult to locate the facts in time. The historical portion is divided into three sections which seem roughly to correspond with the chronological order. First comes a list of the peoples conquered on the eastern frontier, arranged geographically from south to north. As but two of these names are listed in the Assyrian Chronicle, and as each occurs several times, it is impossible to locate them exactly in time. The second section deals in considerable detail with an expedition against Damascus but the Chronicle does not list one even against central Syria. The fulness of this account shows that it took place not far from the subjugation of Kaldi land, the narrative of which ends the document and shows it to have been written not far from 786, its date in the Chronicle. [Footnote: Rawlinson, *Athenaeum*, 1856, 174; I R. 35, 1; Winckler, *Textbuch*3, 26 f. Abel, KB. I. 190 ff. Ungnad, I. 112 f.; Rogers, 306 f. Talbot, JRAS. XIX. 182 ff.; Harper, 51 f.; Meissner, *Chrestomathie*, 9; Menant, 126 f. — Nineveh brick, I R. 35, 4. Abel, KB. I. 188 f. Ashur inscriptions, KTA. 35 f.; MDOG. 22, 19; 26, 62.]

For the remaining reigns of the dynasty, we have only the data in the Assyrian Chronicle. No annals or in fact any other inscription has come down to us, and, so far at least as the annals are concerned, there is little likelihood of their discovery, as there is no reason to believe that any were composed in this period of complete decline. But, curiously enough, from this very period comes the document which throws the most light on the earliest period of Assyrian expansion, the so called Synchronistic history. [Footnote: II R. 65, 1; III R. 4, 3; Winckler, *Untersuch*., 148 ff.; CT. XXXVI. 38 ff.; cf. the introduction of Budge-King; King, *Tukulti Ninib.* Peiser-Winckler, KB. I. 194 ff.; G. Smith, *Disc*. 250 f.; Sayce, TSBA. II. 119 ff.; RP[1], III. 29 ff.; RP[2], IV. 24 ff.; Barta In Harper, 195; cf. Winckler, AOF. I. 114 ff.; Belck, *Bettr. Geog. Gesch.*, I. 5 ff.] Adad nirari is the last ruler mentioned, but the fact that he is named in the third person shows that it was compiled not earlier than the reign of his successor Shalmaneser IV.

Our present copy is a tablet from the library of a later king, seemingly Ashur bani apal. [Footnote: Maspero, *Hist*., II. 595, dates its composition to this reign.] In form, it marks an advance over any historical document we have thus far studied, for it is an actual history for many centuries of the relations between Assyria and Babylonia. But it is as dry as possible,

for only the barest facts are given, with none of the mass of picturesque details which we have learned to expect in the annals of the individual kings. Nevertheless, its advance over preceding documents should not be over estimated. Its emphasis on treaties and boundaries has led to the idea that it was compiled from the archives as a sort of diplomatic pièce justificative in a controversy with Babylonia over the possession of a definite territory. [Footnote: Peiser-Winckler, KB. I. 194 n. 1.] Its true character, however, is clearly brought out in its closing words "A succeeding prince whom they shall establish in the land of Akkad, victory and conquest may he write down, and on this inscribed stone (naru), eternal and not to be forgotten, may he [add it]. Whoever takes it, may he listen to all that is written, the majesty of the land of Ashur may he worship continually. As for Shumer and Akkad, their sins may he expose to all the regions of the world." [Footnote: IV. 32 ff.]

Obviously, then, this tablet of clay is only a copy of an earlier *naru* or memorial inscription on stone, and we should expect it to be only the usual display inscription. This is still further proved by the introduction, mutilated as it is, "… to the god Ashur … his prayer … before his face I speak…. eternally a [tablet] with the mention…. the majesty and victory [which the kings of Ashur mad]e, they conquered all, [the march] of former [expedi]tions, who conquered….. [their booty to their lands they br]ought…" Clearly, this is the language of a display inscription and not of a diplomatic piece justificative. So we can consider our document not even a history in the true sense of the word, merely an inscription erected to the glory of Ashur and of his people, but with the "sins of Shumer and Akkad," in other words, with the wars of the Babylonians against "the land" [Footnote: Cf. Belck, *Beitr. Geog. Gesch. I.* 5 ff. — The double mention of Ashur bel kala and Shalmaneser points to double sources, one the original of BM. 27859, Peiser, OLZ. XI. 141.] and with the sinful destruction of Assyrian property they caused, also in mind. When we take this view, we are no longer troubled by the numerous mistakes, even to the order of the kings, which so greatly reduce the value of the document where its testimony is most needed. [Footnote: Cf. Winckler, AOF. I. 109 ff.] We can understand such "mistakes" in a display inscription, exposed to view in a place where it would not be safe for an individual to point out the truth. But that it could have been used as a piece justificative, with all its errors, when the Babylonians could at once have refuted it, is incredible.

The accession of Tiglath Pileser IV (745-728) marks a return to warfare, and the consequent prosperity is reflected in an increase of the

sources both in quantity and in quality. [Footnote: For inscriptions of reign, cf. Rost, *Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III*; cf. also Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser*, 1 ff.] Tiglath Pileser prepared for the walls of his palace a series of annals, in three recensions, marked by the number of lines to the slab, seven, twelve, or sixteen, and seemingly by little else. Originally they adorned the walls of the central palace at Kalhu, but Esarhaddon, a later king of another dynasty, defaced many of the slabs and built them into his south west palace. Thus, even with the three different recensions, a large part of the Annals has been lost forever. For years, the great problem of the reign of Tiglath Pileser was the proper chronological arrangement of this inscription. Thanks to the aid of the Assyrian Chronicle, it is now fairly fixed, though with serious gaps. Once they are arranged, little further criticism is needed, for they are the usual type, rather dry and uninteresting to judge from the extant fragments. [Footnote: Detailed bibliography of the fragments, Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser*, 3 ff.; Discovery, Layard, NR. II. 300. L. 19 ff.; III R. 9 f. Rost, *de inscriptione Tiglat-Pileser III quae vocatur Annalium*, 1892; Rost, Iff.; 2 ff.; Winckler, *Textbuchs*^{3}, 28 ff. Ungnad I. 113 ff.; Rogers, 313 ff.; Schrader KB. II. 24 ff.; Rodwell, RP^{1}, V. 45 ff.; Menant, 144 ff. For discussion of arrangements of fragments, cf. G. Smith, *Ztf. f. Aegyptologie*, 1869, 9 ff.; *Disc.*, 266; Schrader, *Keilschrift und Geschichtsforschung*, 395 ff.; *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1880; Tiele, *Gesch.*, 224; Hommel, *Gesch*., 648 ff.] Perhaps separate notice should be given to the sculptured slabs in Zürich with selections from the Annals. [Footnote: Boissier, PSBA. I have not seen his *Notice sur quelque Monuments Assyr. a l'université de Zürich*, 1912.]

Next to the Annals comes the clay tablet from Kalhu, from which, if we are to judge by the proportions, less than a half has survived. [Footnote: Usually called the Nimrud inscription, a cause of confusion. K. 3751. Photograph of obverse, "but upside down, Rogers, 541; *History*, o. II R. 67; *Rost*, XXXVff; 54 ff. Schrader, KB. II. 8 ff.; Erneberg, JA. VII. Ser. VI. 441ff.; Menant, 14oft; Smith, *Disc.*, 25eff.; Strong, RP^{3}, V. 115 ff.; J. M. P. Smith, in Harper, 52 ff.; Rogers, 322.] Thus, owing to the method used by the Assyrians in turning the tablet for writing, only the first and last parts are preserved. Unfortunately, the greater part of what is preserved is taken up with an elaborate introduction and conclusion which we would gladly exchange for more strictly historical data. The other contents are, first an elaborate account of the wars in Babylonia, next of the wars on the Elamite frontier, a brief paragraph on Ulluba and Kirbu, and then the beginning of the war with

Urartu. Each of these paragraphs is marked off by a line across the tablet. Thus far, it is clear, we have a geographical order for the paragraphs. After the break, we have an account of the Arab tribes on the border of Egypt. It is therefore clear that the order was continued in the break which must have contained the most of the Urartu account and whatever was said about Syria. The fulness with which the extant portion chronicles the Babylonian affairs makes it probable that the part now lost in the break dealt with Armenian and Syrian relations with equal fulness. The next paragraph seems to be a sort of summary of the various western rulers who had paid tribute, and the length of this list is another proof of the large amount lost. The very brief Tabal and Tyre paragraphs, out of the regular geographical order, are obvious postscripts and this dates them to year XVII (729), unless we are to assume that the scribe did not have them in mind when he wrote the reference to that year in the introduction. That they really did date to the next year, 728, is indicated by the fact that the Assyrian Chronicle seems to have had a Tyre expedition in that year. [Footnote: Cf. Olmstead, *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, XXXIV. 357.] If so, then our inscription must date from the last months of Tiglath Pileser's reign. Though written on clay, it is clearly a draft from which to engrave a display inscription on stone as it begins "Palace of Tiglath Pileser." The identity of certain passages [Footnote: I. 5, 9 ff., 16, 22, 47.] with the Nimrud slab shows close connection, but naturally the much fuller recital of the tablet is not derived from it. We have also a duplicate fragment from the Nabu temple at Kalhu and this is marked by obvious Babylonianisms. [Footnote: DT. 3. Schrader, *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1880, 15 ff., with photograph. For the Babylonian character, cf. Rost, 11.]

With the Nimrud clay tablet is easily confused the Nimrud slab. [Footnote: Layard, NR. II. 33. L. 17 f. Schrader, KB. II. 2 ff.; Rost, 42 ff.; Oppert, *Exped.*, 336; Smith, *Disc.*, 271; Meissner, *Chrestomathie*, 10 f.; Menant, 138 ff.] This dates from 743 and is thus the earliest inscription from the reign. But its account is so brief that it is of but trifling value. It assists a little in, conjecturing what is lost from the tablet and mention of an event here is naturally of value as establishing a minimum date. But where both have preserved the same account, the tablet is the fuller, and, in general, better, even though it is so much later. [Footnote: Other inscriptions, III R. 10, 3, the place list; 83-1-18, 215, Winckler, AOF. II. 3 f.; painted fragments, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 140 f.]

CHAPTER V. SARGON AND THE MODERN HISTORICAL CRITICISM

The sources for the reign of Sargon (722-705) [Footnote: Collected in Winckler, *Kellschrifttexte Sargons*, 1889.] have already been discussed in detail elsewhere. All that is here needed is a summary of results. [Footnote: Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, 1908, 1 ff.] They fall into three well marked groups. The first includes the early inscriptions of the reign, which are miscellaneous in character. [Footnote: *Sargon*, 17 ff.] The circumstances under which Sargon came to the throne are indicated by a tablet from the second year which is of all the more value in that it is not a formal annals or display inscription. [Footnote: K. 1349; Winckler, *Sammlung*, II, 1; AOF. I. 401 ff.] The Nimrud inscription comes from Kalhu, the earliest capital of Sargon. Unfortunately, it is very brief and is not arranged in chronological order. Aside from the rather full account of Pisiris of Carchemish, sufficient to date the inscription soon after its capture, we have only the briefest of references, and its value would be nothing, could we only secure the original, perhaps the earliest edition of the Annals, on which it is based. [Footnote: L. 33f; Winckler, *Sargon*, I. 168 ff. II. 48; Lyon, *Assyr. Manual*, 9f; Pelser, KB, II. 34 ff.; Menant, 204 ff.] A brief fragment may be noted because of its mention of the sixth year, though we cannot be sure of the class to which it belongs. [Footnote: K. 1660; Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 4.] Other fragments are either unpublished or of no importance. [Footnote: K. 221+2669; K. 3149; K. 3150; K. 4455; K. 4463, Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 6; K. 4471, *ibid*. II. 4; DT. 310; 83-1-18, 215. The unpublished fragments known from Bezold, *Catalogue, ad loc*.]

As a proved source for the second group, the newly discovered tablet should begin our study. [Footnote: Thureau-Dangin, *Relation de la Huitieme Campagne de Sargon*, 1912.]From the standpoint of source study, it is of exceptional value as it is strictly contemporaneous and yet gives a very detailed account in Annals form of the events of a single year. The tablet was “written”, probably composed, though it may mean copied, by Nabu shallimshunu, the great scribe of the King, the very learned, the man of Sargon, the eldest son of Harmaki, — seemingly an Egyptian name, — and inhabitant of the city of Ashur. It was brought (before the God Ashur?) in the limmu or eponym year of Ishtar duri, 714-713, and tells us of the events of 714. It is written on an unusually

large tablet of clay and is in, the form of a letter. It begins "To Ashur the father of the gods… greatly, greatly may there be peace. To the gods of destiny and the goddesses who inhabit Ehar sag gal kurkurra, their great temple, greatly, greatly may there be peace. To the gods of destiny and the goddesses who inhabit the city of Ashur their great temple, greatly, greatly may there be peace. To the city and its inhabitants may there be peace. To the palace which is situated in the midst may there be peace. As for [Footnote: So Thureau-Dangin, *ad hoc*.] Sargon the holy priest, the servant, who fears thy great godhead, and for his camp, greatly, greatly there is peace." So this looks like a letter from the king to the god Ashur, to the city named from him, and to its inhabitants. Yet it is a very unusual rescript, very different from those which have come down to us in the official archives, especially in the use of the third person in speaking of the king, while in the regular letters the first is always found. Further, in the body of the supposed letter, the king, as is usual in the official annals, speaks in the first person.

However it may be with the real character of the "letter," there can be no doubt as to its great value. To be sure, we may see in its boast that in the campaign but six soldiers were lost a more or less severe stretching of the truth, but, at least in comparison with the later records, it is not only much fuller, but far more accurate. Indeed, comparison with the later Annals shows that document to be even worse than we had dared suspect.

Comparison of the newly discovered inscription with the parallel passages of the broken prism B shows that this is simply a condensed form of its original. The booty seems to have been closely copied, but the topographical details are much abbreviated. The discovery of this tablet, while supplying the lacunae in Prism B, has made this part useless. But all the more clearly is brought out the superiority, in this very section, of the Prism over the later Annals. Naturally, we assume the same to be true in the other portions preserved, in fact, the discovery of the tablet has been a brilliant confirmation of the proof long ago given that this was superior to the Annals. [Footnote: Olmstead, *Sargon*, 11 ff., with reconstruction of the order of the various fragments, as against Prasek, OLZ. XII. 117, who sharply attacked me "über den historischen wert den Stab zu brechen."] Unfortunately but a part of these fragments has been published [Footnote: Winckler, *Sargon*, II. 45 ff. cf. I. xif. Photograph, Ball, *Light from the East*, 185. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 76 ff.] and the difficulties in the way of copying these fragments have made many mistakes. [Footnote: To judge by a comparison of Winckler's text

with that prepared by King for Thureau-Dangin, *l.c.*] But a few of these fragments have as yet been translated or even discussed. [Footnote: Winckler, *Sargon*, I. 186 f.; AOF. II. 71 ff.; *Mitth. Vorderas. Gesell.*, 1898, 1, 53; Thureau-Dangin, *l.c.*] For all parts of the reign which they cover, save where we have the tablet, they are now clearly seen to be our best authorities, nearer in date to the events they chronicle and much freer from suspicion than the Annals. The most urgent need for the history of the reign is that the fragments which are still unpublished [Footnote: Cf. Bezold, ZA. 1889, 411 n. 1.] should be published at once with a collation of those previously given. Even a translation and examination of the fragments already published would mark a considerable advance in our knowledge of the period. [Footnote: For detailed study of Prism B, cf. Olmstead, *l.c.*]

Very similar to Prism B is our other broken prism, A. [Footnote: Winckler. *Sargon*, II. 44; 1. 186 ff.; *Untersuch. Altor. Gesch.*, 118 ff.; *Textbuch*3, 41 f.; Rogers, 329 f.; G. Smith, *Disc.*, 288 ff. Boscawen, *Bab. Or. Rec.* IV. 118 ff. The Dalta episode and the beginning and end are still untranslated.] Both were found at Nineveh [Footnote: G. Smith, *Disc.*, 147.] and this of itself proves a date some distance from the end of the reign when Sargon was established at Dur Sharruken. [Footnote: Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 14 n.] Prism A is of much the same type as the other, in fact, when we see how the Ashdod expedition, begun in the one, can be continued in the other, [Footnote: As in Winckler, *Sargon*, I. 186 ff.] we are led to believe that the two had a similar text. If, however, the Dalta episode in each refers to the same event, then they had quite different texts in this part of the history. Which of the two is the earlier and more trustworthy, if they did not have identical texts, and what are their relative relations cannot be decided in their fragmentary state, but that they are superior to the Annals is clear. Like Prism B, Prism A is worthy of better treatment and greater attention than it has yet been given.

The third group consists of the documents from about the year 707, which have come down to us inscribed on the walls of Sargon's capital, Dur Sharruken. [Footnote: For discussion of this group, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 6 ff.] The earliest document of this group is naturally the inscription of the cylinders which were deposited as corner stones, [Footnote: Place, *Nineve*, II. 291 ff.; Oppert, *Dour Sarkayan*, 11 ff.; I R. 36; Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 1 ff. Winckler, *Sargon*, II. 43; Menant, 199 ff.; Peiser, KB. II. 38 ff. Barta, in Harper, 59 ff.] indeed, it closely agrees with the deed of gift which dated to 714. [Footnote: Cf.

Olmstead, *Sargon*, 178 f.] The same inscription is also found on slabs. [Footnote: Menant, RT. XIII. 194.] It is the fullest and best account of the building of Dur Sharruken, and from it the other documents of the group seem to have derived their building recital. Nor are other phases of the culture life neglected, as witness, for example, the well known attempt to fix prices and lower the high cost of living by royal edict.

The remaining inscriptions of the group are all closely related and all seem derived from the Annals. The display inscription gives the data of the Annals in briefer form and in geographical order. Numbers are very much increased, and its only value is in filling the too numerous lacunæ of its original. [Footnote: Botta, *Mon. de Nineve*, 95 ff.; Winckler, *Sargon*, II. 30 ff.; I. 97 ff. Oppert-Menant, *Fastes de Sargon*.-JA. 1863 ff.; Menant, 18 ff.; Oppert, RP[1], IX. 1 ff.; Peiser, KB. II. 52 ff.] Imperfect recognition of its character has led many astray. [Footnote: The error in connecting Piru and Hanunu, for example, already pointed out by Olmstead, *Sargon*, 10, is still held by S. A. Cook, art. Philistines, in the new *Encyclopedia Britannica*.] Other inscriptions of the group are incised on bulls, on founda-slabs, on bricks, pottery, and glass, or as labels on the sculptures. Save for the last, they are of absolutely no value for the historian as they simply abstract from the Annals. As for the Cyprus stole, its location alone gives it a factitious importance. [Footnote: For full bibliography of the minor inscriptions, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 6 f. For others since found at Ashur, cf. KTA. 37-42; 71; MDOG. 20, 24; 22, 37; 25, 28, 31, 35; 26, 22; 31, 47; Andrä, *Tempel*, 91ff.; Taf. XXI; Genouillac-Thureau-Dangin, RA. X. 83 ff.]

The one important document of the group, then, is the Annals. That, with all its value, it is a very much over estimated document, has already been shown. [Footnote: Olmstead, *Sargon*, 3 ff.] There are four recensions, some of which differ widely among themselves and from other inscriptions. For example, there are three accounts of the fate of Merodach Baladan. In one, he is captured; [Footnote: Display 133.] in the second he begs for peace; [Footnote: Annals V.] in the third, he runs away and escapes. [Footnote: Annals 349.] Naturally, we are inclined to accept the last, which is actually confirmed by the later course of events.

But it is only when we compare the Annals with earlier documents that we realize how low it ranks, even among official inscriptions. Already we have learned the dubious character of its chronology. The Assyrian Chronicle has “in the land” for 712, that is, there was no campaign in that year. Yet for that very year, the Annals has an expedition against Asia Minor! It is prism B which solves the puzzle. In

the earliest years, it seems to have had the same chronology as the Annals. Later, it drops a year behind and, at the point where it ends, it has given the Ashdod expedition as two years earlier than the Annals. [Footnote: Cf. Ohmstead, *Sargon*, 11.] Even with the old data, it was clear that the Prism was earlier and therefore probably more trustworthy; and it was easy to explain the puzzle by assuming that years "in the land" had been later padded out by the Annals, just as we have seen was done for Dan Ashur under Shalmaneser III. Now the discovery of the tablet of the year 714 has completely vindicated the character of Prism B while it has even more completely condemned the Annals as a particularly untrustworthy example of annalistic writing.

In the first place, it shows us how much we have lost. The tablet has 430 lines, of which a remarkably small portion consists of passages which are mere glorifications or otherwise of no value. Out of this mass of material, the Annals has utilized but 36 lines. That this is a fair sample of what we have lost in other years is hardly too much to suspect. Further, it would seem that the Annals used, not the tablet itself, but, since it has a phrase common to the Annals and the Prism, [Footnote: Ann. 125 f.; Prism B, Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 76 f.] but not found in the tablet, either the Prism itself or a common ancestor.

The cases where we can prove that the editor of the Annals "improved" his original are few but striking. It is indeed curious that he has in a few cases lowered the numbers of his original, even to the extent of giving three fortified cities and twenty four villages [Footnote: Ann. 105.] where the tablet has twelve fortified cities and eighty four villages. [Footnote: Tabl. 89.] On the other hand, by a trick especially common among the Sargonide scribes, the 1,235 sheep of the tablet [Footnote: Tabl. 349.] has reached the enormous total of 100,225! [Footnote: Ann. 129; of. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 68, n. 4 for comparison of numbers. The same phenomenon can be constantly seen in the huge increases of the numbers of the Display inscription as compared with its original, the Annals.] More serious, because less likely to be allowed for, is the statement that Parda was captured [Footnote: Ann. 106.] when the original merely says that it was abandoned by its chief. [Footnote: Tabl. 84.] But the most glaring innovation of the scribe is where, in speaking of the fate of Rusash, the Haldian king, after his defeat, he adds "with his own iron dagger, like a pig, his heart he pierced, and his life he ended." [Footnote: Ann. 139.] This has long been doubted on general principles, [Footnote: Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 111.] but now we have the proof that it is only history as the scribe would like it to have been written. For the

new inscription, while giving the conventional picture of the despair of the defeated king, says not a word of any suicide. [Footnote: Tabl. 411ff.] However, the tablet does elsewhere mention the sickness of Rusash, [Footnote: *Ibid.* 115.] and it may well be that it is to this sickness that we must attribute his death later. [Footnote: Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, xix.] The complete misunderstanding of the whole campaign by earlier writers [Footnote: Compare, for example, the brief and inaccurate account in Olmstead, *Sargon*, 112 ff., with that in thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* on the basis of the new tablet] furnishes the clearest indication of the unsatisfactory character of our recital so long as we must rely entirely on the Annals. It is the discovery of conditions like these which forces us to subject our official inscriptions to the most rigid scrutiny before we dare use them in our history. [Footnote: Botta, *Monuments de Ninive*, pi. 70 ff.; 104 ff.; 158f£.; Winckler, *Sargon* II. pl. 1 ff. Oppert in Place, *Ninive*, II. 309 ff.; *Les Inscriptions de Dour Sarkayan*, 29 ff.; RP: VII. 21 ff.; Menant, 158 ff.; Winckler, *De inscriptione quae vocatur Annalium*, 1886; *Sargon*, I. 3 ff.]

CHAPTER VI. ANNALS AND DISPLAY INSCRIPTIONS

(Sennacherib and Esarhaddon)

Of the sources for the reign of Sennacherib (705-686), [Footnote: The only fairly complete collection of sources for the reign is still Smith-Sayce, *History of Sennacherib*, 1878, though nearly all the data needed for a study of the Annals are given by Bezold, KB. II. 80 ff. Extracts, Rogers, 340 ff. Cf. also Olmstead, *Western Asia in the reign of Sennacherib, Proceedings of Amer. Historical Assn.*, 1909, 94 ff.] the chief is the Annals, added to at intervals of a few years, and so existing in several editions. As usual, the latest of these, the Taylor inscription, has been accorded the place of honor, so that the earliest edition, the so called Bellino Cylinder, can be called by a well known historian "a sort of duplicate of" the Taylor inscription. [Footnote: Maspero, *Histoire*, III. 273 *n. 1.*] As we have seen repeatedly, the exact reverse should be our procedure, though here, as in the case of Ashur nasir apal, the evil results in the writing of history are less serious than in the case of most reigns. This is due to the unusual circumstances that, with comparatively few exceptions, there was little omission or addition of the earlier data. Regularly, the new edition simply added to the old, and, as a result, the form of the mass of clay on which these Annals were written changes with the increased length of the document, the earlier being true cylinders, while the latter are prisms. [Footnote: King, *Cuneiform Texts*, XXVI. 7 f.] At the same time that the narrative of military events was lengthened, the account of the building operations followed suit. A serious defect is the fact that these documents are dated, not by years, but by campaigns, with the result that there are serious questions in chronology. The increase in the number of our editions, however, has solved many of these, as the date of the campaign can now usually be fixed by observing in which dated document it last occurs.

Of the more than twenty five more or less complete documents, the first is the so called Bellino Cylinder which dates from October, 702. The fact that it has been studied separately has tended to prevent the realization that it is actually only a recension. As a first edition, it is a trifle fuller, but surprisingly little. [Footnote: K. 1680. Grotefend, *Abh. Göttingen, Gesell.* 1850. L. 63 f. Smith-Sayce, 1 f., 24 ff., cf. 43 ff. Oppert, *Exped.* I. 297 ff.; Menant, 225 ff.; Talbot, JRAS. XVIII. 76 ff.; *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* VIII, 369 ff.; RP[1], I. 23 ff. It is the Bl. of Bezold.] Next comes Cylinder B, now represented by six complete and seven

fragmentary cylinders. It includes campaign three and is dated in May, 700. [Footnote: Smith-Sayce, 30, 70 f., cf. 24, 43, 53; Evetts, ZA. III. 311 ff.; for list of tablets, cf. Bezold, *l. c.*] Cylinder C dates from 697 and contains the fourth expedition. [Footnote: K. 1674; Smith-Sayce, 14, 76, cf. 30, 43, 53, 73, 78. The A 2 of Bezold.] The mutilated date of Cylinder D may be either 697 or 695, but as it has one campaign more than Cylinder C of 697, we should probably date it to the latter year. [Footnote: BM. 22,508; K. 1675; Smith-Sayce, 24, 30, 43, 53, 73, 79; King, *Cuneiform Texts*, XXVI. 38, cf. , n. 2. The A 8 of Bezold.] From this recension seems to have been derived the display inscription recently discovered on Mt. Nipur, which was inscribed at the end of campaign five. [Footnote: Inscription at Hasanah (Hassan Agha?) King, PSBA. XXXV. 66 ff.]

Somewhat different from these is the newest Sennacherib inscription, [Footnote: BM. 103,000; King, *Cuneiform Texts, XXVI*; cf. Pinches, JRAS. 1910, 387 ff.] which marks the transition from the shorter to the longer cylinders. [Footnote: King, *op. cit.*, 9.] After the narrative of the fifth campaign, two others are given, and dated, not by the number of campaign as in the documents of the regular series, but by the eponyms, so that here we have actual chronology. The two campaigns took place in 698 and 695 respectively, the inscription itself being dated in 694. That they are not dated by the campaigns of the king and that they are not given in the later editions is perhaps due to the fact that the king did not conduct them in person. [Footnote: King, *op. cit.*, .] The occasion for this new edition is not to be found, however, in these petty frontier wars, but in the completion of the new palace, in the increase in the size of the city of Nineveh, in the building of a park, and in the installation of a water supply, as these take up nearly a half of the inscription. The recovery of this document has also enabled us to place in the same group two other fragments, now recognized as duplicates. [Footnote: BM. 102, 996, King, *Cuneiform Texts*, XXVI. 38; cf. , n. 1; K. 4492, ibid. 39, not a reference to Tarbisi, as Meiasner-Rost, *Bauinschriften*, 94f; as is shown by King, n. 1.]

At about the same time must be placed the various inscriptions on the bulls which were intended to decorate this new palace. One contains only five expeditions, [Footnote: Bull 2, Smith-Sayce, 3, 24, 30 f., 43, 51 f., 53, 67 f., 73, 78 f.,86. L. 60 ff. (Bull 1 occurs only Smith-Sayce, 3.)] the other has a brief sketch of the sixth, [Footnote: Bull 3, Smith-Sayce, *l. c.*, and also 88 f.] but both have references to the enthronement of the crown prince Ashur nadin shum in Babylon. [Footnote: Smith-Sayce, 30 f.] Still

another gives a very full account of the sixth expedition, but there is no mention of Ashur nadin shum. [Footnote: Bull 4, Smith-Sayce, 3 f., 24, 32 ff., 43, 51, 53, 65 ff.; 73, 77 ff., 89 ff.; A. Paterson, *Palace of Sinacherib*, 5 f.; III R. 12 f.; L. 38 ff.] This dates very closely the inscriptions of the period. The new inscription was written in August of 694. At this time as well as when the inscription was placed on Bull II, the news of the sixth expedition, that across the Persian Gulf to Nagitu, had not yet come in. When this arrived, a brief account was hastily compiled and added to Bull III. But before a fuller narrative could be prepared, news came of the capture of Ashur nadin shum, which took place, as we know, soon after the Nagitu expedition, seemingly in the beginning of November. [Footnote: Bab. Chron. II. 36 ff.; for *kat Tashriti* in line 40, cf. Delitzsch, *Chronik, ad loc*.] The inscription on Bull IV accordingly had an elaborate narrative of the Nagitu expedition, but all mention of the captured prince was cut out.

The last in the series of Annals editions is the Taylor Prism of 690, generally taken as the standard inscription of the reign, and substantially the same text is found on seven other prisms. [Footnote: BM. 91,032, often given in photograph, especially in the "*Bible Helps*." A good photograph, Rogers, 543; *Hist*. o. I R. 37 ff. Smith-Sayce, *passim*; Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, 54 ff.; Abel-Winckler, 17 ff. Hörnung, *Das Sechsseitige Prisma des Sanherib*, 1878; Bezold, KB. II. 80 ff., with numbers of the duplicates; Oppert, *Les Ins. Assyr. des Sargonides*, 41ff.; Menant, 214 ff.; Talbot, RP¹, I. 33 ff.; Rogers, RP², VI. 80 ff.; Harper, 68 ff. Here also seem to belong the fragments 79-7-8, 305; K. 1665; 1651; S. 1026, as their text inclines toward that of the Taylor Prism.] As has already been made evident, this is of no value for the earlier parts of the reign, since for that we have much better data, but it ranks well up in its class as comparatively little has been omitted or changed. Slightly earlier than the Taylor Cylinder is the Memorial or Nebi Yunus inscription, now at Constantinople, which ends about where the other does. Here and there, it has the same language as the Annals group, but these coincidences are so rare that we must assume that they are due only to the use of well known formulae. In general, it is an abridgement of earlier records, though a few new facts are found. But for the second half of the sixth expedition, the revolt of Babylon, it is our best source. Not only is it fuller than the Taylor prism, it gives a quite different account in which it is not the king but his generals who are the victors. Yet curiously enough, in the seventh expedition the Taylor cylinder is fuller and better. [Footnote: I R. 43; A. Paterson, *Palace of Sinacherib*, 3;

Smith-Sayce, 7 f., 39 f., 68 f., 86 f., 102 ff., lllff., 127 ff.; Bezold, KB. II. 118 f.; cf. King, *Cuneiform Texts*, XXVI. n. 1. Seen at Constantinople in 1907-1908.]

Here too we may discuss the Bavian inscription, the display inscriptions cut in the rock where began the irrigation works constructed to carry water to the capital. In their historical portions, they parallel the last campaign of the Taylor Prism, though in such different fashion that they may be considered separate sources. They then add the final capture and destruction of Babylon, of which they are the only Assyrian authority. [Footnote: III R. 14; Pognon,*L'inscription de Bavian*, 1879; Smith-Sayce, 129 ff. 157; King, *Tukulti Ninib*, 114 ff. Menant,*Nineve et l'Assyrie*, 234 ff.; Pinches, RP[1], IX. 21ff.; Bezold, KB. II. 116 ff. The order of date is B, C, A, D, Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften*, 67. Squeezes were secured by the Cornell Expedition.] Here too may be mentioned the two fragments from the later part of the reign, on which is based a later expedition of Sennacherib against Palestine, [Footnote: Smíth-Sayce, 137 f.; the later fragment, Scheil, OLZ. VII. 69f; Ungnad, *Vorderas. Denkmäler*, I. 73 ff.; in Gressmann, I. 121; Rogers, 345 f.] as well as a tablet which seems to be a draft of an inscription to be set up in Kirbit in commemoration of the flight of Merodach Baladan. [Footnote: III R. 4, 4; Strong, JRAS. XXIII. 148 ff.]

To complete our study of the sources for the reign, the more specifically building inscriptions may be noted. [Footnote: Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, 1893.] The greater part of what we know concerning the building operations of the reign comes from the documents already discussed. Of the specifically building inscriptions, perhaps the most important is the New Year's House inscription from Ashur, [Footnote: MDOG. 33, 14.] and the excavations there have also given a good number of display inscriptions on slabs [Footnote: KTA. 43 ff., 73 f.; MDOG. 21, 13 ff.; 22, 17 ff.; 26, 27 ff. 43, 31; 44, 29.] and on bricks, [Footnote: I. R. 7, VIII. H; Bezold, KB. 114f; KTA. 46-49; 72; MDOG. 20, 24; 21, 12 ff. 22, 15; 25, 36 f.] as well as some building prisms. [Footnote: MDOG. 21, 37; 25, 22f; 47, 39.]

Esarhaddon (686-668), [Footnote: Inscriptions of the reign collected by Budge,*History of Esarhaddon*, 1880.] like the others of his dynasty, prepared elaborate Annals. [Footnote: First reference, G. Smith, TSBA. III. 457. Boscawen, *ibid*. IV. 84 ff.; III R. 35, 4; Budge, 114 ff.; Rogers, *Haverford Studies*, II. Winckler, *Untersuch z. altor. Gesch.*, 97f; Winckler, *Textbuch*, 52 ff.; Ungnad, I. 123; Rogers, 357 ff. Cf. also G. Smith, *Disc*. 311ff.; Delattre, *L'Asie*, 149; Olmstead, *Bull. Amer. Geog.*

Soc., XLIV. 1912, 434.] It is a poetic justice rarely found in history that the man who so ruthlessly destroyed the Annals of Tiglath Pileser IV is today known to us by still smaller fragments of his own. Aside from five mutilated lines from the ninth expedition, only a part of the first expedition against Egypt has survived and that in a very incomplete manner. We are accordingly dependent for our knowledge of the reign on the display inscriptions, with all their possibilities for error, and only the Babylonian Chronicle gives a little help toward fixing the relative order of events.

The greater part of the history of the reign must be secured from the three most important cylinders. A and C are complete and are practically identical. [Footnote: 48-10-31, 2; L. 20 ff.; I R. 45 ff.; Abel-Winckler, 22 ff.; Budge, 32 ff.; Harper, *Hebraica*, III. 177 ff. IV. 99 ff. Abel, KB. II. 124 ff.; Oppert, *Ins. des Sargonides*, 53 ff.; Talbot, *Jour. Sacr. Lit*., IX. 68 ff. *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit*., VII. 551 ff.; RP[1], III 109 ff.; Menant, 241ff; Harper, 81ff. C was used by R. for restoring A. Text, Harper, *Hebraica*, IV. 18 ff., with the parallels 80-7-19, 15, and K. 1679. Also King, *Supplement*, 108 f.] B is broken and was originally considerably fuller, but seems to be from the same general series. [Footnote: 48-11-4, 315; III R. 15 f.; Budge, 20 ff.; 97 ff.; Harper, *Hebraica*, III. 177 ff.; IV. 146 ff.; Abel-Winckler, 25 f. Winckler, KB, II. 140 ff. Harper, 80 f.; Menant, 248 ff.; Talbot, RP[1], III. 102 ff.; *North Brit. Rev*., 1870, quoted Harper, *Hebr. l. c*.] The date of all three is probably 673. [Footnote: C is dated in the month Abu, cf. Harper, *Hebr*, IV. 24; B, according to Budge, *ad loc*., has Abu of the year 673, but Winckler, *l. c*., omits the month. If the month is to be retained, the identity of month points to identity of year, and there is nothing in B to prevent this conjecture. A is from Nebi Yunus, B from Koyunjik.] In comparing the texts of A-C and B, we note that in the first part, there seem to be no important differences, save that B adds an account of the accession. In the broken part before this, B must have given the introduction and the murder of Sennacherib. Computation of the minimum in each column of B, based on the amount actually preserved in A and C, will give us some idea of what has been lost. Column II of B must have been devoted in part to the final defeat of the rebels and in part to the introduction to the long narrative concerning Nabu zer lishir. As at least four lines were devoted to this introduction in the usually much shorter D, it must have been fairly long in B. Why A omitted all this is a question. That these two events are the first in the reign is made clear by the Babylonian Chronicle, so that thus far the chronological order has been followed. The next event in B and the first

in A is the story of the Sidon troubles, and again the Chronicle shows it to be in chronological order. Since A has no less than 49 lines to deal with the events in the lost beginning of column III, it is clear that the much fuller B has here lost much. In the gap in Column IV, we are to place the Aduma narrative and the traces where we can begin to read show that they are in the conclusion of the Median troubles. [Footnote: *Shepashun* of B. is the *elishun ukin* is virtually the same as *ukin sirushun*.] For the lost part of the fifth column, we must count the Iadi and Gambulu expeditions, and a part of the building narrative. About the same building account as in A must be placed at the commencement of column VI. The irregularity in the minimum numbers for the different columns, on the basis of A, shows that B had in some cases much longer accounts than in others, and this is confirmed where B gives a complete list of Arabian and of Syrian kings while A does not. These minimum numbers also indicate that but about one-fourth of B has been preserved. However, the overlapping gives us some reason to hope that nearly all its facts have been preserved in the one or the other edition.

We have already seen that strict chronology is followed by B, strange to relate, in the order, punishment of the assassins, 681, Babylon, 680, and Sidon, 677. Then A gives the Kundu troubles which, according to the Chronicle, follow in 676, and Arzani and the brook of Egypt, which fit well enough with the Egyptian expedition given under 675. These are the only sections we can date chronologically, and the order is chronologically correct. But whether we can assume this for all the events mentioned may be doubted in the light of the disagreement between A and B in their order. In placing the Arabs before Bazu, or the Babylonian Nabu zer lishir before Bit Dakkuri, A is clearly attempting a more geographical order. We shall then use B as our main source whenever preserved, supplemented by A when the former is missing, but we must not forget that all are simply display inscriptions.

Another display inscription of the same type we shall call D. It is close to B as is shown in the story of Nabu zer lishir, is seemingly briefer than that document, but is certainly fuller than A, and is independent of both. The order of events is Babylon, Egypt, Hubushna. As D omits Sidon and the Cilician cities, found in one of the others and proved to the period by the Babylonian Chronicle, it is clear that we have here only extracts, even though the events narrated are given more fully than in A. [Footnote: K. 2671; Winckler, ZA. II. 299 ff.; AOF. I. 522.] Still another document of similar character may be called E. As it mentions the Uabu rebellion which is not in A, it should date after 673, and its order,

Chaldaeans, Gambulu, Egypt, Arabs, Sidon, Asia Minor, is not chronological but geographical. It has some striking variants in the proper names, for example, we have here Musur, universally recognized as meaning Egypt, where A has Musri, and thus we have exact proof that Musri does equal Egypt, the advocates of the Musri theory, if any still survive, to the contrary notwithstanding. [Footnote: Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 56 ff.] It is also longer than A in the River of Egypt section, and than B in the Elam account. As a late document, it is of value only for the Uabu affair. [Footnote: Winckler, ZA. II pl. II; AOF. I. 526 ff.] We may also note here another prism fragment [Footnote: 80-7-19, 15; Winckler, *Untersuch. z. altor. Gesch.*, 98. Cf. King, *Supplement*, 109.] and a slab with a brief account of many campaigns. The first, that against Bazu, we know dates to 676. The others, to Uruk, to Buesh king of an unknown land, Akku, and the king of Elam, are of doubtful date, but are almost certainly later. [Footnote: K. 8544; Winckler, AOF. I. 532. — I have been unable to see Scheil, *Le Prisme S d'Assarhaddon.*]

Finally, we must discuss two display inscriptions from the very end of the reign, whose importance is in no small degree due to the locality in which they were found. One is the famous stele discovered amid the ruins of the North Syrian town of Sinjirli. It dates after the capture of Memphis, 671, and seems to have been composed on the spot, as it shows no relationship to other inscriptions. [Footnote: Photograph and text, Schrader, in Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, I. 11 ff., and pl. cf. Rogers, 551; *Hist*, o; Paterson, *Sculptures*, 103. Harper, 90 ff. I have been able to consult squeezes in the library of Cornell University.] The same is probably true of the equally famous rock cut inscription at the Dog River (Nahr el Kelb), north of Berut. Though the oldest Assyrian inscription to have a cast taken, it seems never to have been published. It is rapidly disappearing, as the fact that it was cut through a very thin layer of hard rock has caused much flaking. Esarhaddon is called King of Babylon and King of Musur and Kusi, Egypt and Ethiopia, and the expedition against Tarqu, which ended with the capture and sack of Memphis, is given. Thus it agrees with the Sinjirli inscription and may well date from the same year. [Footnote: Translation, G. Smith, *Eponym Canon*, 167 ff. The text, so far as I know, has never been published, even in connection with the elaborate study of the Nahr el Kelb sculptures by Boscawen, TSBA. VII. 345. I have been able to use the squeeze taken in 1904 in connection with Messrs. Charles and Wrench, but much less can now be seen than what Smith evidently found on the cast. Cast, Bonomi,

Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., III. 105; *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 5 f. 86. 142 ff., 367.]

We have a considerable number of building inscriptions, but there are few source problems in connection with them. [Footnote: Collected in Meissner-Rost, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, III. 189 ff. Thureau-Dangin, *Rev. Assyr.* XI, 96 ff.] Perhaps the most important is the prism which tells so much in regard to the earliest days of Assyria. [Footnote: KTA. 51; MDOG. 25, 33.] Another important document is the Black Stone, a four sided prism with archaistic writing. It was found at Nineveh, though it deals with the rebuilding of Babylon, and seems to date from the first year. [Footnote: I R. 49; Winckler, KB. II. 120 ff.; Meissner-Rost, 218 ff. Oppert, *Exped.*, I. 180 f.; Menant, 248; *Babylone et Chaldée*, 167 f.; Harper, 88 f. King, *Supplement*, 38, dates from Aru of accession year.] Two others date after 675 as the one on a stone slab from the south west palace at Kalhu states that he took captive the king of Meluh, [Footnote: L. 19a. Winckler, KB. II. 150 f. Oppert, *Exped.*, I. 324; Menant, 240.] and the other stone tablet gives him Egyptian titles, [Footnote: I R. 48, 5; Winckler, KB. II. 150 f.; Meissner-Rost, 204 ff.; Menant, 249.] so that they must be placed after the capture of that country. We may also mention in conclusion the one which gives the restoration of the Ishtar temple at Uruk [Footnote: 81-6-7, 209: Winckler, KB, II. 120 n. 1; Barton, *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1891, cxxx.] and the various ones found at Ashur by the German excavators. [Footnote: KTA. 51-55; 75; MDOG. 20, 26 ff.; 22, 12 f.; 25, 33, 65; 26, 20 f.; 26, 41ff.; 28, 13, 49, 10 f. Weissbach, in Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon*, 71.]

CHAPTER VII. ASHUR BANI APAL AND ASSYRIAN EDITING

The reign of Ashur bani apal (668-626), stands preeminent for the mass of material available, and this has twice been collected. [Footnote: G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, 1871; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, 1887 ff.] Yet in spite of all this, the greater number of the inscriptions for the reign are not before us in adequate form, and there are problems which only a renewed study of the originals can solve.

Once again we have the usual Annals as our main source. Earlier scholars have in general satisfied themselves with the publication and study of the latest edition, sometimes supplemented by more or less full extracts from the others. There are reigns, such as that of Sennacherib, where such procedure results in comparatively little distortion of the history. But in no reign is the distortion of the earlier statements more serious, indeed one can hardly recognize the earlier documents in their later and "corrected" form. Accordingly, in no reign is it more imperative that we should disentangle the various sources and give the proper value to each. When we have discovered which document is our earliest and most authentic source for any given event, we have already solved some of the most stubborn problems in the history of the reign. The various conflicting accounts of the Egyptian campaigns, for example, have caused much trouble, but if we recognize that each is a step in the movement toward increasing the credit the king should receive for them, and trust for our history only the first in date, we have at last placed the history of the reign on a firm basis.

Our very earliest document furnishes a beautiful illustration of this principle. It is a detailed narrative of the unimportant Kirbit expedition, which is ascribed to the governor Nur ekalli umu. Cylinder E gives a briefer account and Cylinder F one still shorter. Both vaguely ascribe it to the "governors" but do not attempt to claim it for the king. It remained for Cylinder B, a score of years later, to take the final step, and to inform us that the king in person conducted the expedition. Further, the formal conclusion, which immediately follows the Kirbit expedition in our earliest document, shows that this event, unimportant as it was, was the only one which could be claimed for the "beginning of the reign." This campaign is further fixed by the Babylonian Chronicle to the accession year. Yet later cylinders can place before it no less than two expeditions against Egypt and one against Tyre! Our earliest document alone would

be enough to prove that these had been taken over from the reign of his father, even did we not have some of this verified by that father himself. [Footnote: K. 2846; Winckler, AOF. I. 474 ff.]

Next in date and therefore in value we are probably to place Cylinder E, a decagon fragment, which contains a somewhat less full account of the Kirbit campaign, and a picturesque narrative of the opening of diplomatic relations with Lydia. Before these events, it placed an account of the Egyptian expedition. Although only a portion is preserved, it is sufficient to show that the "first Egyptian expedition" at least was credited to his father. [Footnote: G. Smith, 34f, 76 f., 82f; K. 3083 is identical for a line each with Cyl. E and F.]

A third account, which we may call F, gave credit for the earlier half of the Egyptian campaigns to his father and for the latter half to his own lieutenants. The references to Tabal and Arvad indicate that some time had elapsed in which memorable events in his own reign could have taken place, and this is confirmed by the much more developed form of the Lydian narrative, with its dream from Ashur to Gyges, and its order for servitude. That this account is of value as over against the later ones has been recognized, [Footnote: Tiele, *Gesch*. 372.] but we should not forget that it already represents a developed form of the tradition. [Footnote: K. 2675; III R. 28 f.; G. Smith, 36 ff., 56 ff., 73 ff., 80 ff.; cf. 319 and S. A. Smith, II. 12 ff., for ending giving erection of moon temple at Harran, a proof that we have the conclusion and so can date approximately; Winckler, *Untersuch. z. altor. Gesch.*, 102 ff.; Jensen, KB. II. 236 ff. A fragmentary stone duplicate from Babylon, Delitzsch, MDOG., XVII 2 n.*] Somewhat later would seem to be the account we may call G. Here the Egyptian wars are still counted as one expedition, but a second has been stolen for Ashur bani apal by taking over that campaign of his father against Baal of Tyre which is given in the Sinjirli inscription. [Footnote: K. 3402; G. Smith, 78.]

With Cylinder B, we reach the first of what is practically a new series, so greatly has the older narrative been "corrected" in these later documents. Both the Egyptian wars have now been definitely assigned to the king, and the making of two expeditions into Egypt has pushed the one against Baal of Tyre up to the position of third. The octagon B dates from the midst of the revolt of Shamash shum ukin and is a most highly "corrected" document. [Footnote: G. Smith, *passim;* Jensen, KB. II. 240 ff.; Menant, 278 ff.; for the duplicate K. 1729 from which most of the B text is taken, cf. Johns, PSBA. XXVII. 97.]

The story of the Shamash shum ukin revolt is continued by Cylinder C, a decagon, whose form points to the fact that it is a fuller edition. In general, its text holds an intermediate position between A and B, the lists of Syrian and Cypriote kings, which are copied verbatim from the Cylinder B of Esarhaddon, [Footnote: V. 13 ff.] being found only in it. [Footnote: Rm. 3; G. Smith, 30 ff., 178 ff., cf. 15, 52, 151, 319; S. A. Smith, II. 25 ff.; Menant, 277 f. Jensen, KB. II. 238 ff., 266 ff.] With C should in all probability be listed two decagons one of which is called Cylinder D. [Footnote: G. Smith, 317 f. K. 1794; III. R. 27a; S. A. Smith, II. 18, cf. G. Smith, 319.] Then comes a document which we may call H, with several duplicates, and as the Ummanaldas episode is dealt with in fuller form than in A, it probably dates earlier. [Footnote: K. 2656; G. Smith, 215 ff. Are the duplicates mentioned here to be found in K. 2833 and K. 3085, G. Smith, 205?] For the Tamaritu events, we have a group of tablets of unknown connections. [Footnote: K. 1364; 3062; 2664; 3101; 2631; G. Smith, 243 ff.-Where we are to place the cylinder Rm. 281, dealing with Urtaki's reign, Winckler, AOF. I. 478 n. 2, cannot be told until it is published.]

All the documents thus far considered are fuller and more accurate in dealing with the events they narrate than is the group which has so long been considered the standard. The first known was Cylinder A, a decagon, whose lines divide the document into thirteen parts. It is dated the first of Nisan (March) in the eponymy of Shamash dananni, probably 644. [Footnote: G. Smith, *passim*, III R. 17 ff. RP[1], IX 37 ff.; Menant, 253 ff.] Earlier scholars made this the basis of study, but it has since been supplanted by the so called Rassam cylinder, a slightly better preserved copy, found in the north palace of Nineveh, and dated in Aru (May) of the same year. [Footnote: BM. 91,026; Rm. 1; Photograph, Rogers, 555; *Hist*. o. V.R. 1-10; Abel-Winckler, 26 ff.; Winckler, *Sammlung*, III; S.A. Smith, I. Jensen, KB. II. 152 ff. J.M.P. Smith, in Harper, 94 ff.; Lau & Langdon, *Annals of Ashurbanapal*, 1903.] Still a third is dated in Ululu (September) of this year. [Footnote: G. Smith, 316.]

That this document is by no means impeccable has long been recognized. Already George Smith had written "The contempt of chronology in the Assyrian records is well shown by the fact that in Cylinder A, the account of the revolt of Psammitichus is given under the third expedition, while the general account of the rebellion of [Shamash shum ukin] is given under the sixth expedition, the affair of Nebobelzikri under the eighth expedition, and the Arabian and Syrian events in connection are given under the ninth expedition." [Footnote: *Ibid*., 202

n.*] If this severe criticism is not justified by a study of the Assyrian sources as a whole, the reference to Cylinder A may well begin our consideration of the shortcomings of that group. The Karbit and Urtaki episodes are entirely omitted. The omission of Karbit has dropped the Manna from the fifth to fourth and the omission of the latter has made the Teumman campaign the fifth instead of the seventh as in B, while the Gambulu expedition is also listed in the fifth though B makes it the eighth! The death of Gyges is added immediately after the other Lydian narrative, without a hint that years had intervened. The elaborate account of Teumman given by B has been cut decidedly and the interesting Ishtar dream is entirely omitted.

The same is true of the Gambulu narrative. While B and C have the data as to the Elamite side of the revolt of Shamash shum ukin, the introduction and conclusion as well as many new details are found only in A. It is curious to find here, for the first time, the greater part of the long list of conquered Egyptian kings, written down when Egypt was forever freed from Assyrian rule. That Cylinder B was not its immediate source is shown by the fact that in the first Egyptian expedition it gives the pardon of Necho, which is not in B, but is found in the earlier F.

Although this document has regularly been presented as the base text, largely because it gives a view of the greater part of the reign, enough should have been said in the preceding paragraph to prove how unworthy of the honor it is. Of all the cases where such procedure has caused damage, this is the worst. For the years from which we have no other data, we must use it, and we may hope that, as this period was nearer the time of its editors, its information may here be of more value. But we should recognize once and for all that the other portions are worthless and worse than worthless, save as they indicate the “corrections” to the actual history thought necessary by the royal scribes.

Later than this in date, in all probability, is the document we may call I. To be sure, the Arabian expedition already occurs in B, but I has also sections which appear only in A, and which therefore probably date later. The one indication that points to its being later than A is the fact that, while A ascribes these actions to his generals, our document speaks of them in the first person. [Footnote: K. 2802; G. Smith, 290 ff.] Still later are the Beltis [Footnote: II R. 66; G. Smith 303 ff.; S. A. Smith, II. 10 ff.; cf. I. 112; Jensen, KB. II. 264 ff.; Menant, 291 ff.] and Nabu inscriptions, [Footnote: S. A. Smith, I. 112 ff.; III. 128 ff.; Strong, RA. II. 20 ff.] though as these are merely display inscriptions, the date matters little. Here too belongs J in spite of its references to the accession. [Footnote:

K. 2867; S. A. Smith, II. 1 ff.; cf. Olmstead, *Bull. Amer. Geog. Soc.*, XLIV. 434. — The various British Museum fragments, cited in King, *Supplement*, seem to be of no special importance for this study as they are duplicates with few variants.] And to this very late period, when the empire was falling to pieces, is to be placed the hymn to Marduk which speaks of Tugdami the Cilician. [Footnote: S. A. Strong, JA. 1893, 1. 368 ff.]

We have already crossed the boundary which divides the really historical narratives from those which are merely sources. Among the latter, and of the more value as they open to us the sculptures, are the frequent notes inscribed over them, [Footnote: Scattered through the work of G. Smith, cf. also Menant, 287 ff.] while a number of tablets give much new historical information from the similar notes which the scribe was to thus incise. [Footnote: K. 2674; III R. 37; G. Smith, 140 ff.; S. A. Smith, III. 1 ff. K. 4457; G. Smith, 191 ff. K. 3096; G. Smith, 295 ff.] The Ishtar prayer is a historic document of the first class, the more so as its author never dreamed that some day it might be used to prove that the king was not accustomed, as his annals declare, to go forth at the head of his armies, that he was, in fact, destitute of even common bravery. [Footnote: K. 2652; III R. 16, 4; G. Smith, 139 f.; S. A. Smith, III. 11 ff.; cf. Jensen, KB. II. 246 ff. Talbot, TSBA. I. 346 ff.]

For the period after the reign of Ashur bani apal, we have only the scantiest data. The fall of the empire was imminent and there were no glories for the scribe to chronicle. Some bricks from the south east palace at Kalhu, [Footnote: I R. 8, 3; Winckler, KB. II. 268f; Menant, 295.] some from Nippur, [Footnote: Hilprecht, ZA. IV. 164; *Explorations*, 310.] and some boundary inscriptions [Footnote: K. 6223, 6332; Winckler, AOF. II. 4f; Johns. PSBA. XX. 234.] are all that we have from Ashur itil ilani and from Sin shar ishkun only fragments of a cylinder dealing with building. [Footnote: K. 1662 and dupl. I R. 8, 6; Schrader, *SB. Berl. Gesell.* 1880, 1 ff.; Winckler, *Rev. Assyr.* II. 66 ff.; KB. II. 270 ff.; MDOG. XXXVIII. 28.] We have no contemporaneous Assyrian sources for the fall of the kingdom, our only certain knowledge being derived from a mutilated letter [Footnote: BM. 51082; Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters* 248.] and from a brief statement of the Babylonian king Nabu naid a generation later. [Footnote: Messerschmidt, *Mitth. Vorderas. Gesell.*, 1896. I.]

CHAPTER VIII. THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE AND BEROSSUS

This concludes our detailed study of the "histories" of the reigns which were set forth with the official sanction. Before summing up our conclusions as to their general character, it will be well to devote a moment to the consideration of certain other sources for the Assyrian period. Many minor inscriptions have been passed by without notice, and a mere mention of the mass of business documents, letters, and appeals to the sun god will here be sufficient, though in a detailed history their help will be constantly invoked to fill in the sketch secured by the study of the official documents, and not infrequently to correct them. Of foreign sources, those of the Hebrews furnish too complicated a problem for study in this place, [Footnote: Cf. Olmstead, AJSL. XXX. Iff.; XXXI, 169 ff. for introduction to these new problems.] and the scanty documents of the other peoples who used the cuneiform characters hardly furnish source problems.

Even the Babylonians have furnished us with hardly a text which demands source study. To the end, as is shown so conspiciously in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, scores of long inscriptions could be devoted to the building activities of the ruler while a tiny fragment is all that is found of the Annals. Even his rock cut inscriptions in Syria, those in the Wadi Brissa and at the Nahr el Kelb, are almost exclusively devoted to architectural operations in far away Babylon! [Footnote: It may be noted that the Cornell Expedition secured squeezes of both these inscriptions.]

Yet if the Babylonians were so deficient in their appreciation of the need of historical annals for the individual reigns, they seem to have been, the superiors of the Assyrians when it came to the production of actual histories dealing with long periods of time. While the Babylonians have preserved to us numerous lists of kings and two excellent works which we have every reason to call actual histories, the Babylonian Chronicle and the Nabunaid-Cyrus Chronicle, the Assyrians have but the Eponym Lists, the so called Assyrian Chronicle, and the so called Synchronous History. The last has already been discussed, and we have seen how little it deserved the title of a real history, yet it marks the greatest advance the Assyrians made along this line. The Eponym lists are merely lists of the officials who dated each year in rotation, and they seem to have been compiled for practical calendar purposes. The so called Assyrian Chronicle is in reality nothing but a chronological table

in three columns, the first with the name of the eponym for the year, the second with his office, and the third with the most important event, generally a campaign, of the year. As a historical source, more can be made out of this dry list than has previously been suspected, and this has been pointed out elsewhere. [Footnote: Olmstead, *Jour. Amer. Or. 80c.*, XXXIV. 344 ff.] But, as a contribution to the writing of history, it holds a distinctly low place.

On the other hand, the Babylonian Chronicle is a real, if somewhat crude history. In fact, it can be said without fear of contradiction that it is the best historical production of any cuneiform people. Our present copy is dated in the twenty second year of Darius I of Persia, 500 B.C., but, as it was copied and revised from an earlier exemplar, which could not always be read, its original must be a good bit earlier. Only the first tablet has come down to us, but the mention of the first proves that a second existed. What we have covers the period 745-668, a period of seventy-seven years. The second tablet would cover a period nearer the time of the writer and would naturally deal with the events more in detail, so that a smaller number of years would be given on this tablet. If but two tablets were written, the end of the work would be brought down close to the time when the Assyrian Empire fell (608). It is a tempting conjecture, though nothing more, that it was the fall of Assyria and the interest in the relations between the now dominant Babylonia and its former mistress, excited by this event, which led to the composition of the work. Be that as it may, the author is remarkably fair, with no apparent prejudice for or against any of the nations or persons named. The events chosen are naturally almost exclusively of a military or political nature, but within these limits he seems to have chosen wisely. In general, he confines himself to those events which have an immediate bearing on Babylonian history, but at times, as, for example, in his narration of the Egyptian expeditions, he shows a rather surprising range of interest. If we miss the picturesque language which adds so much to the literary value of the Assyrian royal annals, this can hardly be counted an objection by a generation of historians which has so subordinated the art of historical writing to the scientific discovery of historical facts. In its sobriety of presentation and its coldly impartial statement of fact, it may almost be called modern. [Footnote: Photograph, Rogers, 515, C. T. XXXIV 43 ff. Abstract, Pinches, PSBA. VI. 198 ff. Winckler, ZA. II. 148 ff.; Pinches, JRAS. XIX. 655 ff. Abel-Winckler, 47 f. Duplicates, Bezold, PSBA. 1889, 181; Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, 137 ff. Schrader, KB. II. 274 ff.; Delitzsch, *Bab. Chronik*; Rogers, 208 ff.; Barta, in Harper,

200 ff. Sarsowsky, *Keilschriftliches Urkundenbuch*, 49 ff.; Mercer, *Extra Biblical Sources*, 65 ff.]

We know the name of our other Babylonian historian, and we also know his date, though unfortunately we do not know his work in its entirety. This was Berossus, the Babylonian priest, who prepared a Babyloniaca which was dedicated to Antiochus I. When we remember that it is this same Antiochus who is the only one of the Seleucidae to furnish us with an inscription in cuneiform and to the honor of one of the old gods, [Footnote: Best in Weissbach, *Achämeniden Inschriften*, 132 ff., cf. xxx for bibliography.] it becomes clear that this work was prepared at the time when fusion of Greek and Babylonian seemed most possible, and with the desire to acquaint the Macedonian conquerors with the deeds of their predecessors in the rule of Babylonia. The book was characteristically Babylonian in that only the last of the three books into which it was divided, that beginning with the time of Nabonassar, can be considered historical in the strictest sense, and even of this only the merest fragments, abstracts, or traces, have come down to us. And the most important of these fragments have come down through a tradition almost without parallel. Today we must consult a modern Latin translation of an Armenian translation of the lost Greek original of the Chronicle of Eusebius, [Footnote: A, Schoene, "*Eusebii Chronicorum libri duo*, 1866 ff.; cf. Rogers, *Parallels*, 347 ff.; J. Karst, *Eusebius Werke*, V.] who borrowed in part from Alexander Polyhistor who borrowed from Berossus direct, in part from Abydenus who apparently borrowed from Juba who borrowed from Alexander Polyhistor and so from Berossus. To make a worse confusion, Eusebius has in some cases not recognized the fact that Abydenus is only a feeble echo of Polyhistor, and has quoted the accounts of each side by side! And this is not the worst. Although his Polyhistor account is in general to be preferred, Eusebius seems to have used a poor manuscript of that author. Furthermore, there is at least one case, that of the name of one of Sennacharib's sons, which can be secured only by assuming a mistake in the Armenian alphabet.

It is in Eusebius that we find our most useful information, some of the facts being very real additions to our knowledge. But Berossus was also used by the early Apollodorus Chronicle, some time after 144 B. C., from which some of his information may have drifted into other chronological writings. Alexander Polyhistor was used by Josephus, and Abydenus by Cyrillus, Syncellus, and the Armenian historian, the pseudo Moses of Chorene. So in these too, or even in others not here named,

may lurk stray trifles from the work of Berossus. Perhaps from this, or from a similar source, comes the Babylonian part of the list of Kings known as the Canon of Ptolemy, which begins, as does the Babylonian Chronicle, with the accession of Nabonassar. [Footnote: The most convenient edition Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 304 ff.; cf. Rogers, 239.] Though directly of Egyptian origin, as is shown by the system of dating, it undoubtedly goes back to a first class Babylonian source, as do the astronomical data in the Almagest of the same author, though here too the Egyptian calendar is used. [Footnote: Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 34 f.] Summing up, practically all the authentic knowledge that the classical world has of the Assyrians and Babylonians came from Berossus. [Footnote: Of the literature on Berossus, we may quote here only Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, II. 495 ff.; and the various articles by Schwartz, on Abydenus, Alexandros 88, and Berossus, in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encyclopädie*.] Herodotus may furnish a bit and something may be secured from the fragments of the Assyriaca of Ctesias, but it is necessary to test each fact from other sources before it can be accepted.

And now what shall we say by way of summing up the Assyrian writing of history? First of all, it was developed from the building inscription and not from the boast of the soldier. That this throws a new light on the Assyrian character must be admitted, though here is not the place to prove that the Assyrian was far more than a mere man of war. All through the development of the Assyrian historiography, the building operations play a large part, and they dominate some even of the so called Annals. But once we have Annals, the other types of inscriptions may generally be disregarded. The Annals inscriptions, then, represent the height of Assyrian historical writing. From the literary point of view, they are often most striking with their bold similes, and that great care was devoted to their production can frequently be proved. But in their utilization, two principles must constantly be kept in mind. One is that the typical annals inscription went through a series of editions, that these later editions not only omitted important facts but “corrected” the earlier recitals for the greater glory of the ruler, real or nominal, and that accordingly only the earliest edition in which an event is narrated should be at all used. Secondly, we should never forget that these are official documents, and that if we can trust them in certain respects the more because they had better opportunities for securing the truth, all the greater must be our suspicion that they have concealed the truth when it was not to the advantage of the monarch glorified. Only when we have

applied these principles in detail to the various documents can we be sure of our Assyrian history and only then shall we understand the mental processes of the Assyrian historians.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abel-Winckler:

L. Abel, H. Winckler, Keilschrifttexte, 1890.

AJSL

American Journal of Semitic Languages.

Amiaud-Scheil

A. Amiaud, V. Scheil, Les inscriptions de Salmanassar II, 1890.

AOF

H. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, 1893 ff.

BM

British Museum number; special collections are marked K., S., Rm., DT., or by the year, month, and day, as 81-2-3, 79.

Budge

E. A. W. Budge, History of Esarhaddon, 1880.

Budge-King

E. A. W. Budge, L. W. King, Annals of Kings of Assyria, I. 1902.

G. Smith

G. Smith, History of Assurbanipal, 1871.

Harper

R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Literature, 1901.

JA

Journal Asiatique.

JRAS

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

KB

E. Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, 1889 ff.

KTA

L. Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, I. 1911.

L

A. H. Layard, Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character, 1851.

Le Gac

Y. le Gac, Les inscriptions d'Assur-nasir-apal III, 1907.

MDOQ

Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft.

Menant

Menant, Annales dee rois d'Assyrie, 1874.

NR

A. H. Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, 1851.

OLZ

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

PSBA

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

R

H. C. Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, 1861 ff.

Rasmussen

N. Rasmussen, Salmanasser den IPs Indskriften.

Rogers

R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, 1912.

Rost

P. Rost, Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers, 1893.

RP

Records of the Past, Ser. I. 1875 ff.; Ser. II. 1889 ff.

RT

Recueil de Travaux.

S. A. Smith

S. A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals, 1887 ff.

Smith-Sayce

G. Smith, A. H. Sayce, History of Sennacherib, 1878.

TSBA

Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

Ungnad

A. Ungnad, in H. Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte, 1909.

ZA

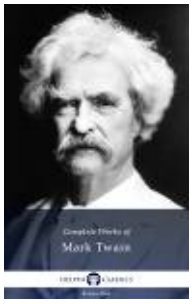
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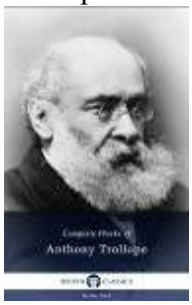
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Leo Tolstoy
Louisa May Alcott
Mark Twain
Oscar Wilde
Robert Louis Stevenson
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
Sir Walter Scott
The Brontës
Thomas Hardy
Virginia Woolf

Wilkie Collins
William Makepeace Thackeray



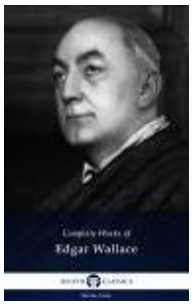
Series Two

Alexander Pushkin
Alexandre Dumas (English)
Andrew Lang
Anthony Trollope
Bram Stoker
Christopher Marlowe
Daniel Defoe
Edith Wharton
F. Scott Fitzgerald
G. K. Chesterton
Gustave Flaubert (English)
H. Rider Haggard
Herman Melville
Honoré de Balzac (English)
J. W. von Goethe (English)
Jules Verne
L. Frank Baum
Lewis Carroll
Marcel Proust (English)
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Nikolai Gogol
O. Henry
Rudyard Kipling
Tobias Smollett
Victor Hugo
William Shakespeare



Series Three

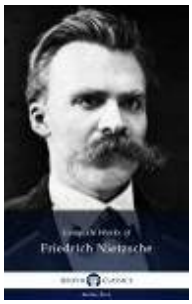
Ambrose Bierce
Ann Radcliffe
Ben Jonson
Charles Lever
Émile Zola
Ford Madox Ford
Geoffrey Chaucer
George Gissing
George Orwell
Guy de Maupassant
H. P. Lovecraft
Henrik Ibsen
Henry David Thoreau
Henry Fielding
J. M. Barrie
James Fenimore Cooper
John Buchan
John Galsworthy
Jonathan Swift
Kate Chopin
Katherine Mansfield
L. M. Montgomery
Laurence Sterne
Mary Shelley
Sheridan Le Fanu
Washington Irving



Series Four

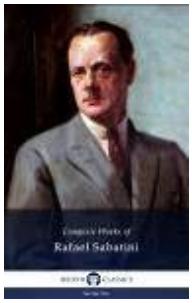
Arnold Bennett
Arthur Machen
Beatrix Potter
Bret Harte
Captain Frederick Marryat
Charles Kingsley
Charles Reade
G. A. Henty
Edgar Rice Burroughs
Edgar Wallace
E. M. Forster
E. Nesbit
George Meredith
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Jerome K. Jerome

John Ruskin
Maria Edgeworth
M. E. Braddon
Miguel de Cervantes
M. R. James
R. M. Ballantyne
Robert E. Howard
Samuel Johnson
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Zane Grey



Series Five

Algernon Blackwood
Anatole France
Beaumont and Fletcher
Charles Darwin
Edward Bulwer-Lytton
Edward Gibbon
E. F. Benson
Frances Hodgson Burnett
Friedrich Nietzsche
George Bernard Shaw
George MacDonald
Hilaire Belloc
John Bunyan
John Webster
Margaret Oliphant
Maxim Gorky
Oliver Goldsmith
Radclyffe Hall
Robert W. Chambers
Samuel Butler
Samuel Richardson
Sir Thomas Malory
Thomas Carlyle
William Harrison Ainsworth
William Dean Howells
William Morris



Series Six

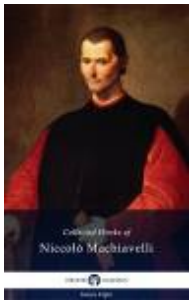
Anthony Hope
Aphra Behn
Arthur Morrison
Baroness Emma Orczy
Captain Mayne Reid
Charlotte M. Yonge
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
E. W. Hornung
Ellen Wood
Frances Burney
Frank Norris
Frank R. Stockton
Hall Caine
Horace Walpole
One Thousand and One Nights
R. Austin Freeman
Rafael Sabatini
Saki
Samuel Pepys
Sir Issac Newton
Stanley J. Weyman
Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Middleton
Voltaire
William Hazlitt
William Hope Hodgson



Series Seven

Adam Smith
Benjamin Disraeli
Confucius
David Hume

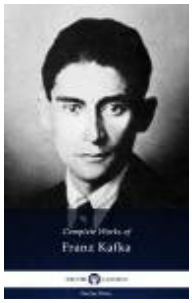
E. M. Delafield
E. Phillips Oppenheim
Edmund Burke
Ernest Hemingway
Frances Trollope
Galileo Galilei
Guy Boothby
Hans Christian Andersen
Ian Fleming
Immanuel Kant
Karl Marx
Kenneth Grahame
Lytton Strachey
Mary Wollstonecraft
Michel de Montaigne
René Descartes
Richard Marsh
Sax Rohmer
Sir Richard Burton
Talbot Mundy
Thomas Babington Macaulay
W. W. Jacobs



Series Eight

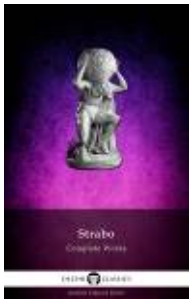
Anna Katharine Green
Arthur Schopenhauer
The Brothers Grimm
C. S. Lewis
Charles and Mary Lamb
Elizabeth von Arnim
Ernest Bramah
Francis Bacon
Gilbert and Sullivan
Grant Allen
Henryk Sienkiewicz
Hugh Walpole
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
John Locke
John Muir
Joseph Addison
Lafcadio Hearn
Lord Dunsany
Marie Corelli

Niccolò Machiavelli
Ouida
Richard Brinsley Sheridan
Sigmund Freud
Theodore Dreiser
Walter Pater
W. Somerset Maugham



Series Nine

Aldous Huxley
August Strindberg
Booth Tarkington
C. S. Forester
Erasmus
Eugene Sue
Fergus Hume
Franz Kafka
Gertrude Stein
Giovanni Boccaccio
Izaak Walton
J. M. Synge
Johanna Spyri
John Galt
Maurice Leblanc
Max Brand
Molière
Norse Sagas
R. D. Blackmore
R. S. Surtees
Sir Thomas More
Stephen Leacock
The Harvard Classics
Thomas Love Peacock
Thomas Paine
William James



Ancient Classics

Achilles Tatius
Aeschylus
Ammianus Marcellinus
Apollodorus
Appian
Apuleius
Apollonius of Rhodes
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arrian
Athenaeus
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Bede
Cassius Dio
Cato
Catullus
Cicero
Claudian
Clement of Alexandria
Cornelius Nepos
Demosthenes
Dio Chrysostom
Diodorus Siculus
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Diogenes Laërtius
Euripides
Frontius
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hippocrates
Homer
Horace
Isocrates
Josephus
Julian
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Livy
Longus
Lucan
Lucian

Lucretius
Marcus Aurelius
Martial
Nonnus
Ovid
Pausanias
Petronius
Pindar
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
Sallust
Sappho
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sextus Empiricus
Sidonius
Sophocles
Statius
Strabo
Suetonius
Tacitus
Terence
Theocritus
Thucydides
Tibullus
Varro
Virgil
Xenophon



Delphi Poets Series

A. E. Housman
Alexander Pope
Alfred, Lord Tennyson
Algernon Charles Swinburne

Andrew Marvell
Beowulf
Charlotte Smith
Christina Rossetti
D. H Lawrence (poetry)
Dante Alighieri (English)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
Delphi Poetry Anthology
Edgar Allan Poe (poetry)
Edmund Spenser
Edward Lear
Edward Thomas
Edwin Arlington Robinson
Ella Wheeler Wilcox
Elizabeth Barrett Browning
Emily Dickinson
Epic of Gilgamesh
Ezra Pound
Friedrich Schiller (English)
George Chapman
George Herbert
Gerard Manley Hopkins
Gertrude Stein
Hafez
Heinrich Heine
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Isaac Rosenberg
James Russell Lowell
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
John Clare
John Donne
John Dryden
John Gower
John Keats
John Milton
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
Joseph Addison
Kahlil Gibran
Leigh Hunt
Lord Byron
Ludovico Ariosto
Luís de Camões
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Prior
Michael Drayton
Nikolai Nekrasov
Paul Laurence Dunbar
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Petrarch
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Robert Browning
Robert Burns
Robert Frost

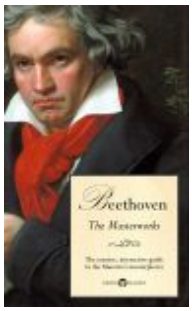
Robert Southey
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sir Philip Sidney
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Thomas Chatterton
Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hood
Thomas Moore
Torquato Tasso
T. S. Eliot
W. B. Yeats
Walter Savage Landor
Walt Whitman
Wilfred Owen
William Blake
William Cowper
William Wordsworth



Masters of Art

Albrecht Dürer
Amedeo Modigliani
Artemisia Gentileschi
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Caravaggio
Caspar David Friedrich
Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
Diego Velázquez
Donatello
Edgar Degas
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch
El Greco
Eugène Delacroix
Francisco Goya
Giotto
Giovanni Bellini

Gustave Courbet
Gustav Klimt
Hieronymus Bosch
Jacques-Louis David
James Abbott McNeill Whistler
J. M. W. Turner
Johannes Vermeer
John Constable
Leonardo da Vinci
Michelangelo
Paul Cézanne
Paul Gauguin
Paul Klee
Peter Paul Rubens
Piero della Francesca
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Sandro Botticelli
Raphael
Rembrandt van Rijn
Thomas Gainsborough
Tintoretto
Titian
Vincent van Gogh
Wassily Kandinsky

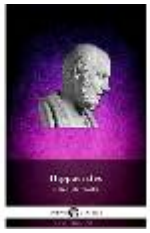


Great Composers

Antonín Dvořák
Franz Schubert
Johann Sebastian Bach
Joseph Haydn
Ludwig van Beethoven
Piotr Illitch Tchaïkovsky
Richard Wagner
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Alphabetical List of Titles






A. E. Housman
Achilles Tatius
Adam Smith
Aeschylus
Albrecht Dürer
Aldous Huxley
Alexander Pope
Alexander Pushkin
Alexandre Dumas (English)
Alfred, Lord Tennyson
Algernon Blackwood
Algernon Charles Swinburne
Ambrose Bierce
Amedeo Modigliani
Ammianus Marcellinus
Anatole France
Andrew Lang
Andrew Marvell
Ann Radcliffe
Anna Katharine Green
Anthony Hope
Anthony Trollope
Anton Chekhov
Antonín Dvořák
Aphra Behn
Apollodorus
Apollonius of Rhodes
Appian
Apuleius
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arnold Bennett
Arrian
Artemisia Gentileschi
Arthur Machen
Arthur Morrison
Arthur Schopenhauer
Athenaeus
August Strindberg
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Baroness Emma Orczy
Beatrix Potter
Beaumont and Fletcher
Bede
Ben Jonson

Benjamin Disraeli
Beowulf
Booth Tarkington
Bram Stoker
Bret Harte
C. S. Forester
C. S. Lewis
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Captain Frederick Marryat
Captain Mayne Reid
Caravaggio
Caspar David Friedrich
Cassius Dio
Cato
Catullus
Charles and Mary Lamb
Charles Darwin
Charles Dickens
Charles Kingsley
Charles Lever
Charles Reade
Charlotte M. Yonge
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
Charlotte Smith
Christina Rossetti
Christopher Marlowe
Cicero
Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Claudian
Clement of Alexandria
Confucius
Cornelius Nepos
D. H Lawrence (poetry)
D.H. Lawrence
Daniel Defoe
Dante Alighieri (English)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
David Hume
Delphi Poetry Anthology
Demosthenes
Dickensiana Volume I
Diego Velázquez
Dio Chrysostom
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Donatello
E. F. Benson
E. M. Delafield
E. M. Forster
E. Nesbit

E. Phillips Oppenheim
E. W. Hornung
Edgar Allan Poe
Edgar Allan Poe (poetry)
Edgar Degas
Edgar Rice Burroughs
Edgar Wallace
Edith Wharton
Edmund Burke
Edmund Spenser
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch
Edward Bulwer-Lytton
Edward Gibbon
Edward Lear
Edward Thomas
Edwin Arlington Robinson
El Greco
Elizabeth Barrett Browning
Elizabeth Gaskell
Elizabeth von Arnim
Ella Wheeler Wilcox
Ellen Wood
Émile Zola
Emily Dickinson
Epic of Gilgamesh
Erasmus
Ernest Bramah
Ernest Hemingway
Eugène Delacroix
Eugene Sue
Euripides
Ezra Pound
F. Scott Fitzgerald
Fergus Hume
Ford Madox Ford
Frances Burney
Frances Hodgson Burnett
Frances Trollope
Francis Bacon
Francisco Goya
Frank Norris
Frank R. Stockton
Franz Kafka
Franz Schubert
Friedrich Nietzsche
Friedrich Schiller (English)
Frontius
Fyodor Dostoyevsky
G. A. Henty
G. K. Chesterton
Galileo Galilei
Geoffrey Chaucer
George Bernard Shaw

George Chapman
George Eliot
George Gissing
George Herbert
George MacDonald
George Meredith
George Orwell
Gerard Manley Hopkins
Gertrude Stein
Gertrude Stein
Gilbert and Sullivan
Giotto
Giovanni Bellini
Giovanni Boccaccio
Grant Allen
Gustav Klimt
Gustave Courbet
Gustave Flaubert (English)
Guy Boothby
Guy de Maupassant
H. G. Wells
H. P. Lovecraft
H. Rider Haggard
Hafez
Hall Caine
Hans Christian Andersen
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Heinrich Heine
Henrik Ibsen
Henry David Thoreau
Henry Fielding
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry James
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Henryk Sienkiewicz
Herman Melville
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hieronymus Bosch
Hilaire Belloc
Hippocrates
Homer
Honoré de Balzac (English)
Horace
Horace Walpole
Hugh Walpole
Ian Fleming
Immanuel Kant
Isaac Rosenberg
Isocrates
Ivan Turgenev
Izaak Walton
J. M. Barrie
J. M. Synge

J. M. W. Turner
J. W. von Goethe (English)
Jack London
Jacques-Louis David
James Abbott McNeill Whistler
James Fenimore Cooper
James Joyce
James Russell Lowell
Jane Austen
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Jerome K. Jerome
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
Johann Sebastian Bach
Johanna Spyri
Johannes Vermeer
John Buchan
John Bunyan
John Clare
John Constable
John Donne
John Dryden
John Galsworthy
John Galt
John Gower
John Keats
John Locke
John Milton
John Muir
John Ruskin
John Webster
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
Jonathan Swift
Joseph Addison
Joseph Addison
Joseph Conrad
Joseph Haydn
Josephus
Jules Verne
Julian
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Kahlil Gibran
Karl Marx
Kate Chopin
Katherine Mansfield
Kenneth Grahame
L. Frank Baum
L. M. Montgomery
Lafcadio Hearn
Laurence Sterne
Leigh Hunt
Leo Tolstoy
Leonardo da Vinci
Lewis Carroll

Livy
Longus
Lord Byron
Lord Dunsany
Louisa May Alcott
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Ludovico Ariosto
Ludwig van Beethoven
Luís de Camões
Lytton Strachey
M. E. Braddon
M. R. James
Marcel Proust (English)
Marcus Aurelius
Margaret Oliphant
Maria Edgeworth
Marie Corelli
Mark Twain
Martial
Mary Shelley
Mary Wollstonecraft
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Prior
Maurice Leblanc
Max Brand
Maxim Gorky
Michael Drayton
Michel de Montaigne
Michelangelo
Miguel de Cervantes
Molière
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Niccolò Machiavelli
Nikolai Gogol
Nikolai Nekrasov
Nonnus
Norse Sagas
O. Henry
Oliver Goldsmith
One Thousand and One Nights
Oscar Wilde
Ouida
Ovid
Paul Cézanne
Paul Gauguin
Paul Klee
Paul Laurence Dunbar
Pausanias
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Peter Paul Rubens
Petrarch
Petronius

Piero della Francesca
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Pindar
Piotr Illitch Tchaïkovsky
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
R. Austin Freeman
R. D. Blackmore
R. M. Ballantyne
R. S. Surtees
Radclyffe Hall
Rafael Sabatini
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Raphael
Rembrandt van Rijn
René Descartes
Richard Brinsley Sheridan
Richard Marsh
Richard Wagner
Robert Browning
Robert Burns
Robert E. Howard
Robert Frost
Robert Louis Stevenson
Robert Southey
Robert W. Chambers
Rudyard Kipling
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Saki
Sallust
Samuel Butler
Samuel Johnson
Samuel Pepys
Samuel Richardson
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sandro Botticelli
Sappho
Sax Rohmer
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sextus Empiricus
Sheridan Le Fanu
Sidonius

Sigmund Freud
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
Sir Issac Newton
Sir Philip Sidney
Sir Richard Burton
Sir Thomas Malory
Sir Thomas More
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Walter Scott
Sophocles
Stanley J. Weyman
Statius
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Stephen Leacock
Strabo
Suetonius
T. S. Eliot
Tacitus
Talbot Mundy
Terence
The Brontës
The Brothers Grimm
The Harvard Classics
Theocritus
Theodore Dreiser
Thomas Babington Macaulay
Thomas Carlyle
Thomas Chatterton
Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Gainsborough
Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hood
Thomas Love Peacock
Thomas Middleton
Thomas Moore
Thomas Paine
Thucydides
Tibullus
Tintoretto
Titian
Tobias Smollett
Torquato Tasso
Varro
Victor Hugo
Vincent van Gogh
Virgil
Virginia Woolf
Voltaire
W. B. Yeats
W. Somerset Maugham

W. W. Jacobs
Walt Whitman
Walter Pater
Walter Savage Landor
Washington Irving
Wassily Kandinsky
Wilfred Owen
Wilkie Collins
William Blake
William Cowper
William Dean Howells
William Harrison Ainsworth
William Hazlitt
William Hope Hodgson
William James
William Makepeace Thackeray
William Morris
William Shakespeare
William Wordsworth
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
Xenophon
Zane Grey

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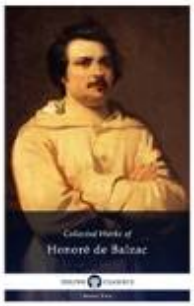
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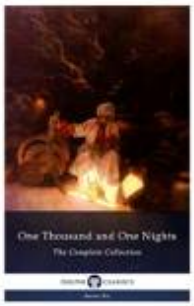
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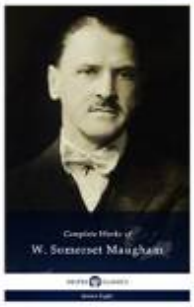
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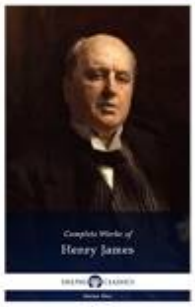
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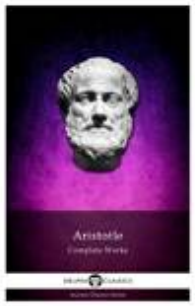


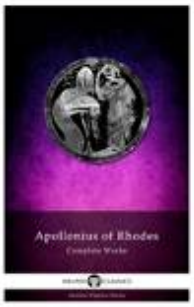


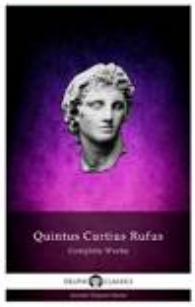




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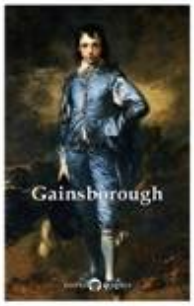




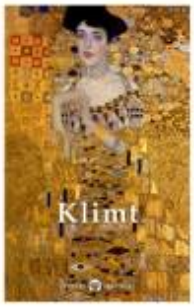




DELPHI MASTERS OF ART



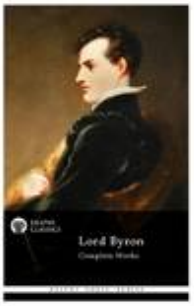




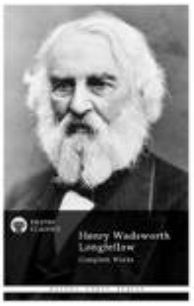


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University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1892 — the location of one of the key tablets of the Old Babylonian version