

## EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

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THIS account of the Early History of Babylonia is taken from the lecture delivered before the Society of Biblical Archæology on the 6th of June 1871. *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. i., p. 1. Since that date there have been several new discoveries but these have not yet been published in the Society's volumes and therefore are not included here. As the bulk of this paper consists of translations from early Babylonian documents it is as well to notice that there is considerable difficulty in reading some of the proper names, and since my paper was written I have

proposed to read the name of the moon-god in some cases "Agu" instead of "Sin," which will alter those proper names in which this name occurs.

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NOTE.—For the convenience of readers, I have generally placed (*g*) before the names of deities, (*c*) before the names of cities, and [ ] to include restorations.



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WHEN the light of monumental history first dawns upon Babylonia we find that country inhabited by two races, the Sumir and Akkad ; they spoke two different languages, one Turanian the other Semitic, but we have no information as to which race spoke either language, and we do not know their geographical distribution in the country, but probably they were mixed in most parts, as many of the cities have both Turanian and Semitic names. The name of the Sumir was written Kame or Ke-en-gi in Turanian, and Su-mi-ri in Semitic, and the Akkad were called Urdu in Turanian, and Ak-ka-di in Semitic. The Turanian people, who appear to have been the original inhabitants of the country, invented the cuneiform mode of writing ; all the earliest inscriptions are in that language, but the proper names of most of the kings and principal persons are written in Semitic, in direct contrast to the body of the inscriptions. The Semites appear to have conquered the Turanians, although they had not yet imposed their language on the country. Babylonia at this time contained many great cities, some of the principal being Nipur, written Mul-kit-ki in Turanian, and Nipur in Semitic ; this city was probably the earliest seat of empire, and long continued the centre of the Babylonian religion. Eridu or Ridu, written Nun-ki in Turanian, and Eridu and Ridu in Semitic ; Ur, written Urlab-ki in Turanian, and Ur in Semitic ; Karrak, written Nisinna in Turanian, and Karrak in Semitic ; Uruk (Erech) written Lab-ki in Turanian, and Uruk and Arka in Semitic ; Larsa, written Ud-lab-ki in Turanian, and Larsa in Semitic ; Sippara, written Ud-kip-nun-ki in Turanian, and Sippar and

Sipar in Semitic ; Zergulla, and Agadi which I have recently discovered to be the city of Akkad, the third capital of Nimrod.

Berosus, a Chaldean priest in the third century B.C., wrote a history of Chaldea, from which the following fragments of chronology have been preserved ; they may be compared with the monumental notices :—

*Chronological Scheme of Berosus.*

10 kings before the Flood, commencing with	}	432,000 years.
Al-orus - - - - -		
86 kings after the Flood, to the Median	}	3,4080 or 3,3091 years.
Conquest - - - - -		
8 Median kings - - - - -		224 or 190 years
11 other kings - - - - -		duration unknown.
49 Chaldean kings - - - - -		458 years.
9 Arabian kings - - - - -		245 years.
45 kings - - - - -		526 years.

After whom came Pul and Sennacherib.

A similar system of chronology was probably believed in during the later historic period. Sargon, king of Babylon, B.C. 710-705, says,<sup>1</sup> "350 ancient kings before me the dominion of Assyria ruled and governed the dominion of BEL (Babylonia)"; and in another place, "From the days remote the time of (*g*) Ur to the Kings my fathers of Assyria and Karduniyas (Babylonia)." The god Ur here spoken of is evidently the first mythical king of Berosus, Al-orus. Assurbanipal king of Assyria, B.C. 668-626, states,<sup>2</sup> that Babylonia was conquered by an Elamite named Kudur-nanhundi, 1635 before his own capture of Shushan, or about B.C. 2280. This conquest by Kudur-nanhundi I have conjectured to be the same as the Median conquest of Berosus, but Kudurnanhundi has left no monuments, unless he be the same as the Kudur-mabug who built at Ur.

<sup>1</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> "History of Assurbanipal," p. 250.

No approximate date can be fixed for any Babylonian monarch before Kara-indas, who reigned about B.C. 1475, and the period of the rulers whom we know to have preceded him must be acknowledged to be at present quite uncertain.

The annals of the early monarchs of Babylonia are for the most part lost, but there are sufficient remains of their works to show that their dominion was a most important one. All the great temples of Babylonia were founded by the kings who preceded the conquest by Hammurabi the king of the Kassi, and the date of this conquest cannot be placed later than the 16th century B.C. Bricks and stone tablets, with inscriptions of these early Babylonian monarchs, have been found at most of the sites, and the vast size of their works shows their great power. The civilization of this early period is proved by the works on Geography, Astrology, Mythology, Grammar, Mathematics, etc., parts of which inscribed on clay tablets are now in the British Museum.

The civil administration and laws of the country are partly shown by a number of sale, loan and law tablets belonging to the close of the period in question (about the time of Hammurabi); and the state of the fine arts can be estimated by the thousands of beautifully engraved seals belonging to this age, now in various European Museums.

The titles of the early rulers of Babylonia were pa-te-si, and sar; patesi means deputy or viceroy, and is equivalent to the Semitic "is-sak-ku"; when combined with the name of a deity, as Patesi (*g*) Assur "viceroy of the god Assur," it may denote an independent ruler, but the patesi of towns in Babylonia were most probably governors or viceroys of the kings; I will here give their inscriptions first, for convenience.

The monumental kings of Babylonia divide themselves naturally into three groups,—1st, the Chaldean or native kings before the conquest of the Kassi; 2nd, the kings of the Kassi dynasty; and 3rd, the Chaldean or native kings, successors of the Kassi.

The Babylonian monarchs usually took their titles from their capital cities, and probably formed in some cases contemporary lines of kings, the country being not always united under one sceptre; this fact, combined with our want of information respecting the earlier periods of Babylonian history, makes it impossible to present the list of kings in chronological order. The following arrangement of the names must, therefore, be considered as only provisional.

1 MI-(?)—SA—NANA—KALAM—MI(?).

The name of this ruler is Turanian; only one of his inscriptions is preserved. Nothing is known respecting the extent of his dominions, or the position of his capital.

INSCRIPTION ON A CONE (UNPUBLISHED).

“MI—SA—NANA—KALAMMI, viceroy of (c.) Ridu,  
High Priest of *mati* . . . *num* . . .  
son of BE . . . HUK.”

2 I—DA—DU.

This governor ruled at the same city as the former one. Eridu his capital was one of the greatest Babylonian cities. The name Idadu is Semitic.

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK (UNPUBLISHED).

“To (g.) NINRIDU, his King,  
for the preservation of IDADU, Viceroy of (c.) Ridu,  
the servant the delight of (g.) NINRIDU.”

## 3 BEL-SAMU.

Bel-samū, whose name is written in Turanian Va-anna, was ruler of Zirgulla, probably represented by the mounds of Zerghul, east of the river Hye, in Babylonia.

INSCRIPTION ON A CONE (UNPUBLISHED).

“BEL-SAMU, Viceroy of (*c.*) Zirgulla.  
NANA (*g.*) his delight *iḫ* . . . . he built,  
Bitanna of the east country he completed.”

4 GU-DE-A.<sup>1</sup>

The name of Gudea is evidently Turanian, its Semitic equivalents being *nagagu*, *hababu*, and *nabu*. Gudea was ruler at Zirgulla. There are numerous inscriptions of this governor, but most of them are of the two types translated here. The records of Gudea are found over a considerable extent of country, and on the sites of important cities.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GUDEA.

- <sup>2</sup> “To (*g.*) NINIP the King, his King,  
GUDEA Viceroy of (*c.*) Zirgulla, his house built.”  
<sup>3</sup> “To (*g.*) NANA the Lady, Lady splendid (?)  
His Lady, GUDEA Viceroy of (*c.*) Zirgulla . . . . raised.”

There are two other texts of this ruler in the British Museum, one on a black stone statue, the other on a brick ; these are too mutilated to translate.

## 5 KU-DUR-NA-AN-HU-UN-DI.

This monarch is mentioned by Assurbanipal in the following passage,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reading Gudea for the name of this governor is based on the passage C.I., Vol. 2, p. 20, line 24.

<sup>2</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIII, 1, on cones from *Warka* (Erech) and Babylon.

<sup>3</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIII, 2, on a cone from Zerghul (Zirgulla).

<sup>4</sup> “*History of Assurbanipal*,” p. 250.

“KUDUR-NANHUNDI the Elamite who the worship  
of the great gods did not (fear),  
who in an evil resolve to his own force (trusted)  
on the temples of Akkad his hands he had laid  
and he oppressed Akkad . . . . .  
the days were full . . . . .  
for 2 ner 7 sos and 15 years under the Elamites.”

This period, 2 ner 7 sos 15 years, which elapsed from the time of Kudur-nanhundi, equals 1635 years; according to other inscriptions, at the close of this period, Assurbanipal conquered Elam and recovered an image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried away from Babylonia in this early conquest.

#### 6 ZA-BU-U.

This ancient king of Babylonia is only known to us from the broken cylinder of Nabonidus, according to which he founded the temples of Anunit (Venus) and Samas (the Sun) at Sippara; these temples having fallen into decay, were restored by Saga-saltias; an early Babylonian monarch, and again falling into decay one was repaired by Nabonidus. The notice of Zabū is as follows:

“Then Bit-parra the house of  
(g.) SAMAS of (c.) Sippara my Lord,  
and Bit-ulmas the house of  
(g.) ANUNIT of (c.) Sippara, (g.) ANUNIT my Lady, which  
were from the time of ZABU in ancient days;  
their chamber walls had fallen in.”

#### 7 UR(?) - UKH(?).

According to the statements of the excavators, the bricks

<sup>1</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 69, lines 27-31.



of Uruk were found in the foundations of buildings, the upper parts of which were constructed of bricks bearing inscriptions of other early Chaldean kings; the remains of his buildings even now exceed those of every other Chaldean monarch except Nebuchadnezzar, so that his reign must have been a long and important one.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the earliest temples of Babylonia were founded by Uruk, among these we may notice the Temple of the Moon at Ur, and two other buildings at the same city, one called Bit-timgal, the other Bit-sareser; this latter was a tower, built in stages like a pyramid. Uruk having died before this building was completed, it was finished by his son Dungi; its ruins now form the most conspicuous object on the site of Ur. The wall of the city of Ur was also built by Uruk. At Larsa he founded the Temple of the Sun, and at Erech the Temple of Venus, called Bit-anna or the "House of Heaven." At Nipur, the ancient capital of Babylonia, he founded or restored the great Temple of Bel, and another to Beltis; and at Zirgulla he built a temple to Sar-ili the "king of the gods."

#### INSCRIPTIONS OF URUKH.

- <sup>2</sup> "URUKH King of (*c.*) Ur,  
who the house of (*g.*) UR built."  
<sup>3</sup> "To (*g.*) UR his King, URUKH King of (*c.*) Ur  
his house built, and the wall of (*c.*) Ur built."  
<sup>4</sup> "To (*g.*) UR, the lesser light of heaven,  
eldest son of (*g.*) BEL his king,

<sup>1</sup> The name of this king has been compared to the Arioch of Genesis xiv. 1, and the Orchamus of Ovid, but the reading Uruk is very doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 1 and 2, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

<sup>3</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 3, on bricks from Mugheir.

<sup>4</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 4, on cone from Mugheir.

- URUKH the powerful man, King of (*c.*) Ur,  
Bit-timgal the house of his delight built.”
- <sup>1</sup> “To (*g.*) UR, eldest son of BEL his King,  
URUKH the powerful man, the fierce warrior,  
King of (*c.*) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,  
Bit-timgal the house of his delight built.”
- <sup>2</sup> “To (*g.*) NANA his Lady,  
URUKH the powerful man, King of (*c.*) Ur,  
King of Sumir and Akkad, her house built.”
- <sup>3</sup> “To (*g.*) SAMAS his King,  
URUKH the powerful man, King of (*c.*) Ur,  
King of Sumir and Akkad, his house built.”
- <sup>4</sup> “To (*g.*) BELAT his Lady,  
URUKH King of (*c.*) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,  
her house the . . . . of her delight built.”
- <sup>5</sup> “URUKH King of (*c.*) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,  
who the house of (*g.*) BEL built.”
- <sup>6</sup> “To URUKH, the powerful man, King of (*c.*) Ur,  
HASSIMIR, Viceroy of (*c.*) ISBAGGI(?)—BEL thy servant.”
- <sup>7</sup> “To (*g.*) SAR-ILI his King, URUKH King of (*c.*) Ur, . . .  
du . . . . (in Zir)-gulla built.”

### 8 DUN(?)—GI(?).<sup>8</sup>

Dungi was the son and successor of Uruk; he is known to have completed and repaired some of his father's buildings,

<sup>1</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 5, on brick from Mugheir.

<sup>2</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 6, on brick from Warka (Erech).

<sup>3</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. 1, 7, on brick from Senkerch (Larsa).

<sup>4</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 8, on black stone at Niffer (Nipur).

<sup>5</sup> C.I., Vol. 2, p. 1, No. 1, 9, on brick from Niffer.

<sup>6</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 10, on signet cylinder.

<sup>7</sup> On unpublished brick from Zerghul(?).

<sup>8</sup> Dungi king of Ur. The name of one of the Babylonian cities, perhaps founded by him and called after him, supplies the phonetic name of this monarch; it is Dunnu-saidu, C.I., Vol. 2, p. 48, line 19.

but his monuments are not nearly so numerous. His buildings were principally at Ur and Erech.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF DUNGI.

- <sup>1</sup> "DUNGI, the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,  
King of Sumir and Akkad."  
<sup>2</sup> "DUNGI, the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,  
King of Sumir and Akkad,  
Bit-harris the house of his delight built."  
<sup>3</sup> "To (g.) NANA, Lady of Bit-anna, his Lady,  
DUNGI, King of (c.) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,  
Bit-anna its site restored, its great wall built."  
<sup>4</sup> "To (g.) NIN-MAR-KI his Lady,  
DUNGI King of (c.) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,  
Bit-gilsa the fort of her delight built."

## ON A SIGNET CYLINDER.

"To (g.) SIT-TI-TA-UD-DU-A,  
King of Bit-sidda of (c.) Zirgulla,  
for the preservation of DUNGI the powerful man,  
King of (c.) Ur, *lib nir la gu-za-lal*, son of UR-BA-BI,  
made a libation(?), 'My King . . . his will,  
may his name be preserved."

ON A STONE WEIGHT, IN THE SHAPE OF A DUCK,<sup>5</sup>

"10 manehs of DUNGI."

<sup>1</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 2, No. II, 1, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

<sup>2</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 2, No. II, 2, on bricks from Mugheir.

<sup>3</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 2, No. II, 3, on black stone.

<sup>4</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 2, No. II, 4, on black stone from Tel Eed.

<sup>5</sup> Much worn and doubtful.

NOTICE OF URUKH AND DUNGI IN A CYLINDER OF  
NABONIDUS, B.C. 555-538.

<sup>1</sup> "Bit-saresir, the tower of Bitnergal which is in (c.) Ur, which URUKH the very ancient King had built and had not finished it, DUNGI his son its top finished. In the writings of URUKH, and DUNGI his son, I saw also of that tower, URUKH had built and had not finished it, DUNGI his son its top finished. By this time that tower became old."<sup>2</sup>

9 (GA)-MIL(?) -NIN-IP.

This king, the first part of whose name is lost, has not been noticed, although a fragment of one of his inscriptions from Niffer is printed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions*,<sup>3</sup> and is there erroneously referred to Ismidagan.

This king, and several of those that follow, ruled at a city called Nisinna or Karrak.<sup>4</sup> These kings were contemporary with the rulers of Ur and Larsa; their kingdom was destroyed a short time before the reign of Hammurabi.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GAMIL(?) -NINIP ON BRICKS FROM NIFFER  
(NIPUR).

"GAMIL(?) -NINIP exalted ruler of (c.) Nipur *na* . . . .  
of (c.) Ur, . . . . Lord of (c.) Eridu,  
beneficent Lord of (c.) Uruk King of (c.) Karrak,  
King of Sumir and Akkad,  
the relative(?) the delight of the eyes of (g.) *Nana*.

<sup>1</sup> C.I., p. 68, lines 5 to 20.

<sup>2</sup> The name of Dungi is mentioned in the name of the town mentioned in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 60, line 5, Bil-dungi-ur.

<sup>3</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIV.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the same as Apirak, the site of which is unknown.

## 10 IS-BI-BAR-RA.

This king is mentioned on an unpublished fragment in the British Museum: the line reads  
 "ISBI-BARRA, King of (c.) Karrak."

## 11 LI-BI-IT-ANUNIT.

The name of this king, imperfect in the Museum publication, is completed from one of the cones. Its first element *libit* is a well-known form of the Semitic root לָבַי, the second element is the name of the Babylonian Venus, the name meaning "the work of Venus," or "fashioned by Venus."

## INSCRIPTION OF LIBIT NANA.

<sup>1</sup> "LIBIT-ANUNIT, first Ruler of (c.) Nipur,  
 the supreme over (c.) Ur, . . . of (c.) Eridu,  
 beneficent Lord of (c.) Uruk, King of (c.) Karrak,  
 King of Sumir and Akkad, the restorer of (g.) NANA,  
 who Bit-mekit restored."

12 IS-MI-DA-GAN.<sup>2</sup>

This name is Semitic, and means "Dagon heard." Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested that this Ismi-dagan was the same as the Ismi-dagan patasi of Assur, who according to the Tiglath-Pileser cylinders, reigned in the 19th century B.C. This, however, is doubtful, but it is possible they may be of about the same age.

<sup>1</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Ismi-dagan or Gungunu. The relationship or supposed relationship between these two kings has puzzled me very much, and I am now more uncertain than ever about these inscriptions. It is difficult to suppose that the text on the bricks, which is generally considered to be Gungunu's, can really be his; and I have some doubts whether the character which precedes the name of Ismi-dagan really means son. These bricks are, however, fast decaying, so that they can no longer be relied upon to prove a contested point.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF ISMI-DAGAN.

- <sup>1</sup> " ISMI-DAGAN, nourisher of (c.) Nipur,  
the supreme over (c.) Ur, the light(?) of (c.) Eridu,  
Lord of (c.) Uruk (the powerful King),  
King of (c.) Karrak, King of Sumir and Akkad,  
the relative(?) the delight of NANA."

## 13 GU-UN-GU-NU-U.

Gungunu was son of Ismi-dagan, but some students hold the view that he was only contemporary with a son of Ismi-dagan, who was ruler of Ur. The matter is not proved on either side, but on examination of the originals of these inscriptions, I find the published copies incorrect in one point, the supposed second title "ruler of Ur," is really "within Ur." The second inscription is very peculiar, the characters stand in relief, contrary to the Babylonian custom, and in one copy are reversed, reading from right to left instead of left to right.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF GUNGUNU.

- <sup>2</sup> " To (g.) SAMAS, the ruler *tuda* (g.) UR,  
leader of Bit-nirkinugal (g.) NINGAL *ra tuda* his Kings  
for the preservation of GUNGUNU the powerful man,  
King of (c.) Ur, for the establishing of (g.) ANU,  
for the restoring of (g.) UR for (g.) UR within (c.) Ur,  
the son of ISMI-DAGAN King of Sumir and Akkad,  
Bit-hiliani built, Bit-ginablungani built,  
for his preservation he built."

<sup>1</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 2, No. V. 1 and 2, from Mugheir (Ur).

<sup>2</sup> C.I., Vol. I, p. 2, No. VI, 1, on a cone from Mugheir.

<sup>1</sup> "For the establishing of (*g.*) ANU,  
for the delight of (*g.*) UR for (*g.*) UR within (*a.*) Ur,  
the son of ISMI-DAGAN King of Sumir and Akkad."

14 ILU . . . . . ZAT.

The name of this monarch is found on the cast of a signet cylinder in the British Museum. The name of his capital is lost by a fracture of the cylinder, but he is placed here provisionally on account of the similarity of his legend to those of the kings of Karrak.

INSCRIPTION OF ILU . . . . . ZAT ON A SIGNET CYLINDER.

"ILU . . . . ZAT King . . . . . the relative the delight of  
. . . . ."

15 RI-IS-VUL.

No monument of this king is known, he was the last king of Apirak.<sup>2</sup>

16 GAMIL-SIN.

This king, and many of the following ones, have their names compounded with Sin, the moon god, but while in the inscriptions this deity is always worshipped under the name Ur, whenever he enters into the composition of a Semitic name, it is under the form Bil-zu or Sin. The name of the moon god is once phonetically written in a proper name on a sale tablet in the British Museum, it reads, Si-in. The name of Gamil-sin in its phonetic form occurs as the name of a private person in the time of the monarch Samsu-iluna, the phonetic form is, Ga-mil-sin. One of

<sup>1</sup> C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. VI, 2, on bricks from Mugheir.

<sup>2</sup> See Naram-sin, No. 30.

# END OF SAMPLE TEXT



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