

**A STUDY OF THE TEMPLE  
DOCUMENTS FROM THE CASSITE  
PERIOD. A DISSERTATION,  
PP. 7-47 (NOT COMPLETE)**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649239450

A Study of the Temple Documents from the Cassite Period. A dissertation, pp. 7-47 (not complete) by Daniel David Luckenbill

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A STUDY OF THE TEMPLE DOCUMENTS FROM THE CASSITE PERIOD

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF SEMITICS)

BY

DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL

Reprinted from

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, July, 1907  
Chicago, 1907

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND BOOKS QUOTED

- ABC=Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*.  
 ADB=Johns, *Assyrian Doomsday Book*.  
 ADD=Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*.  
 BA=Beiträge zur Assyriologie.  
 BBR=Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*.  
 BE=Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.  
 ———VI, 1, Ranke, *Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*.  
 ———X, Clay, *Business Documents of Murašš Sons of Nippur*.  
 ———XIV, XV, Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur*.  
 ———XX, Hilprecht, *Mathematical, etc., Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur*.  
 Breasted, *A History of Egypt*.  
 Br=Brünnow, *A Classified List*.  
 BR=Kohler und Feiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*.  
 CH=B. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*.  
 Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*.  
 CT=King and Thompson, *Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*.  
 DAL=Muse-Arnolt, *Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*.  
 DAR=Daiches, *Allbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*.  
 DG<sup>2</sup>=Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik* (zweite Auflage).  
 Godbey, *Officials of the Sargonic Period*.  
 Hommel, *Geographie*.  
 Hunger, *Becherwahrnehmung*.  
 HWB=Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*.  
 KB=Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.  
 LIH=King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*.  
 MAP=Meissner, *Beiträge zum allbabylonischen Privatrecht*.  
 Meissner, *Supplement*.  
 Meyer, *Sumerier und Semiten*.  
 MVAG=*Mitteilungen der vorder-asiatischen Gesellschaft*.  
 Myhrman, *Die Labartu-Texte* (ZA, XVI).  
 OBI=Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*.  
 Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus*.  
 ——— *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor*.  
 Tallquist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabûnâids*.  
 ——— *Makla*.  
 Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*.  
 TU=Reisner, *Tempel Urkunden aus Telloh*.  
 ZA=*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.  
 ZK=*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*.



[Reprinted from *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XXIII, July 1907.]

### A STUDY OF THE TEMPLE DOCUMENTS FROM THE CASSITE PERIOD\*

E-KUR of Nippur was one of the oldest and most famous temples of Babylonia. When the poet wished to impress upon the mind of his hearer the great antiquity of the world, he spoke of the creation and what went before as of the time when

Nippur had not been built, E-KUR had not been erected;  
Erech had not been built, E-ANNA had not been erected.

The fact that the name of this temple became the ordinary term for temple is significant. It is not possible, however, to conclude from this that E-KUR was the oldest sanctuary in Babylonia.† In fact, it is always dangerous to be speculating about "the oldest" in history. Edward Meyer‡ has drawn a more plausible conclusion, namely, that E-KUR, as its name "mountain-house" indicates, was the first ziggurat-temple, and became the type after which the other temples were modeled.

It is not necessary here to go into the history of Nippur and E-KUR. For this, cf. Hommel, *Geographie*, pp. 348 f. If Nippur ever did play an important part politically, it was before the time of Hammurabi. The period from which the documents under discussion come lies more than half a millennium after this time. If we start with 555 B. C., the date of Nabûna'id, and add to this date 800 years, we get 1355 B. C. as the date of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. Adding to this a minimum of 108 years (Burna-Buriaš 25, Kurigalzu 23, Nazimaruttāš 24, Kadašman-Turgu 16, Kadašman-Bel 9), we get 1458 B. C. as the date of Burna-Buriaš (II), the contemporary of Amenophis IV. But the date of Amenophis IV has been fixed at 1375-1350 B. C.\*\* Historians have given up the attempt to use the dates furnished by Nabûna'id. Here we have another instance where the date he has given us cannot be recon-

\*The documents discussed are found in *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur*, Vols. XIV and XV of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, by A. T. Clay.

†Cf. Hilprecht, *BE*, XX, Part 1, p. vii and elsewhere.

‡*Sumerer und Semiten in Babylonien*, pp. 82 f.

\*\*Cf. Brastod, *Ancient Records*, I, p. 43.



cited with the dates obtained from other sources.\* Taking the date of Amenophis IV as our starting-point, we may date these documents c. 1375-1250 B. C.

For the length of the reigns, and the order of succession of the Cassite kings mentioned in these documents, see Clay, *TAN*, XIV, p. 3.† Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 39, mentions Kurigalzu, the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, and Nazimaruttaš, the son of Kurigalzu. From the "Synchronous History" (cf. *KB*, I, p. 197) we get the order: Burna-Buriaš; the "young" (šīru) Kurigalzu, his son; Nazimaruttaš, father not mentioned. Weissbach (*Babylonische Miscellen*, pp. 5 f.) tries to locate Kurigalzu, the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, in the Third Dynasty, by identifying Kadašman-Ḫarbe and Kadašman-Bel (Kallima-Sin), not accepting the identification of Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, with the "young" Kurigalzu. But there is no ground for making Kadašman-Ḫarbe identical with Kadašman-Bel. Hilprecht (*BE*, XX, Part I, p. 52) makes the Kurigalzu of these texts the son of Burna-Buriaš, but fails to assign any reasons. It may be merely by chance that none of the persons mentioned in the documents dated in the reign of Burna-Buriaš are mentioned in those dated in the reign of Kurigalzu; but this fact, in connection with what follows, is significant.

In the document mentioned above, XIV, 39, one of the witnesses, Ekur-nādin-šum, testifies that Ninib-nādin-aḫḫi gave certain lands to his father; that his family held the land "from the time of Kurigalzu, the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, to the time of Nazimaruttaš, the son of Kurigalzu." Now, this Ninib-nādin-aḫḫi appears as the next witness. It is therefore extremely probable that the reigns here referred to are consecutive. This will not allow the identification of the young (šīru) Kurigalzu, son of Burna-Buriaš, of the "Synchronous History," with the Kurigalzu of these documents, unless, as is possible, the author of the "Synchronous History" was mistaken in calling Kurigalzu the son of Burna-Buriaš. The contemporary evidence of these documents is of greater value for us than that of the later "Synchronous History." The Kurigalzu of these documents is not the son of Burna-Buriaš, and their reigns are perhaps to be separated by a considerable number of years.

\* Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

† The length of the reign of Šagarakti-Šurias should be 12 instead of 22 years; see the date of XIV, 120.

Just what were the means employed by the Cassite kings to keep in touch with Nippur and its temple is not clear. Perhaps we have in Innannu, Martuku, and others the civil officials of Nippur, to be compared with Sin-Iddinam of the Hammurabi Dynasty (cf. King, *LH*). No title was ever given this official in the letters he received from Hammurabi, but from the contents of these letters Mr. King drew the conclusion, doubtless correct, that he was a powerful official with a large circuit. The fact that some of the payments made to Innannu were made at places other than Nippur tends to strengthen the comparison with Sin-Iddinam. The *kaššû* (see p. 31) were perhaps the officials who looked after the king's interests in the flocks and herds connected with the temple. The other officials will be discussed as they occur in the texts. For lists of officials, etc., cf. "Names of Professions, etc.," in the introductions to the two volumes.

The large flocks and herds belonging to the high-priestess and inferior priestesses indicate that these were important ecclesiastical personages.\* The kings of Assyria and Babylonia frequently called themselves the high-priests, *šangû rabû*, of the god. Doubtless they did in some instances perform the functions of high-priest, but in most cases the title meant perhaps as much as the title "Defender of the Faith" of English sovereigns. The *bârû*, *āšipu*, and *zammeru* priests are mentioned in these texts, but no *šangû*. Perhaps the kings themselves held this office.

These documents represent the highest development in Babylonian bookkeeping. In the *Tempel-Urkunden* published by Reiserer we have good examples of the bookkeeping of the old period. When the temple gave out grain, cattle, etc., for farming, the scribe wrote down the amount and kind of grain, or the number of cattle, and put under this the name of the recipient. A number of such entries were written one after the other in columns which usually covered the obverse of the tablet. On the reverse were such entries as would not go on the obverse, and the totals. The whole document may be compared with a few pages from a daybook combined with one from the ledger. The system was crude, and the scribe was no doubt compelled to use other tablets to put down his figures to find his totals. The scribe of the Cassite period had a much simpler way of recording business

\*For the laws concerning priestesses, cf. R. F. Harper, *CB*, Index, under "Devotee."

transactions. He would have treated the business described above in this way: A large clay tablet would have been taken, a general heading written at the top, and columns ruled off. The columns would have been headed with the names of the grain or cattle; under these headings would appear the amounts received. In the last column on the right, headed "name-list," would be put the names of the recipients, and in the column immediately before this the total amount received by each person. Finally, at the bottom of the tablet the scribe would have put the totals of the different kinds of grain or cattle. (See below, p. 27, "The Flocks and Herds of the Temple.") The pay-rolls (see below) furnish us other good examples of accuracy and simplicity in bookkeeping. The notes which the scribe added to such lists and rolls are full of difficulties for us, but they were quite clear to the bookkeeper of that age. In "receipts" the word "received" is frequently omitted. Again, in lists of payments it is frequently not possible to decide whether the payments are to or by the temple. The system of "check-marks" (cf. p. 16 of the Introduction to Vol. XIV) helps us to determine this, but where these check-marks do not occur we are compelled to look for other evidence. This appears at times as *imḥur*, "received," placed after one or more names in the list. For example, XV, 4, is called a record of payment of salaries by Clay on p. 57. But this may equally well refer to grain, wine, etc., paid to the temple as tax; cf. also XV, 74, below, p. 39. Attention will be called to similar texts when they are discussed. Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 136, is interesting. It is a record of balances due. The ideogram *IB-KID* (see p. 23) is used to designate the remainder, or balance due. In XIV, 136, the word is *riḥānu*. *LAL-NI* (?) has a similar meaning.

How exactly the account of all the property of the temple was kept is seen from XIV, 108a, "1 PI of corn of the *z ka* tax, which Istar-riāt stole."

The documents will be discussed under the following heads: I, "The Legal Documents;" II, "The Property and Income of the Temple;" III, "The Disbursements of the Temple;" IV, "Miscellaneous Documents."

#### I. THE LEGAL DOCUMENTS

For the nature of these documents and their relation to the archives of the temple see Clay, *TAN*, XIV, p. 2.

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