

**THREE EXAMPLES OF BOUNDARY-STONES
AND THEIR PROTECTIVE GODS
FROM THE KASSITE PERIOD**

BY

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Before speaking about Boundary-Stones ; I would like to make an introduction about the Kassites . They were tribal people living in Southwestern Asia , attested principally in Babylonia and Western Iran in the Second and First millenia B.C (1) . Kassites at Alalakh , in the old Babylonian period , are attested in and around Babylonian from at least 1770 B.C on .

The earliest reference presently known is to an individual named Kilamdi-Burias mentioned in an economic text from the Fifty-third year of **Rim-Sin I** (2) . Year formulae of **Samsu-Illuma** (3) , and **Rim-Sin II** (4) dating from around 1741 B.C mention an army of Kassites , and the Kassite enemy (or "evil Kassite") respectively , these references are known only from abbreviated formulae , but presumably allude to hostile action between Babylonian armed forces and the Kassites . A generation later , under **Abi-esuh** (5) a similar year formulae mentions Kassite troops .

Most references to Kassites in and around Babylonia proper are to groups or individuals living in encampments or tribal settlements in the **Sippar** area (6) .

Kassites Served as agricultural laborers . These people often appear as groups foreign to Babylonian Society (7) . The reign of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia represent not only the best documented phase of the history of the Kassites , but also

the longest rule by any dynasty in Babylonian history . At the height of this dynasty Babylonia played a key role in the wideranging contacts of the political intellectual and mercantile life of Southwestern Asia . There is a richness of Babylonian archaeology and documentary material from this time, particularly from the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries .

One of the most difficult problems in dealing with Kassite history is to assess the role of the Kassites in Babylonia during the years of Kassite Dynasty . Although there was a Kassite family reigning over the country for most of the time , there is no obvious trace of either a Kassite ruling caste of officials or even a disproportionately large Kassite population within Babylonia .

Kassite Kings seem to have followed older Mesopotamian traditions in religious matters . Sumerian language was used as the language for most royal building inscriptions , and Babylonian continued as the language for letters , accounts , and legal documents . According to the tradition of Babylonian kinglist A , the Kassite dynasty consisted of 36 kings who reigned for 576 (years) , 9 months . The earliest rulers of the dynasty beginning with Gandas , who may have been a contemporary of Samsuiluma , did not rule over Babylon , which came under Kassite control only after the fall of the Hammurabi dynasty about 1595 B.C (8) .

The Kassite conquest of Babylonia , though it met with immediate success in a great part of the country , was a gradual process in the South , being carried out by independent Kassite chieftains . The Sea-country kings continued for a time their independent existence : and even after that dynasty was brought to an end , the struggle for the south went on . It was after a further period of conflict that the Kassite domination was completed , and the administration of the whole country centred once more in Babylon . It is fortunate for Babylonian that the new invaders did not appear in such numbers as to overwhelm the existing population . The probability has long been recognized that they were Aryan by race . They tended for long to keep themselves aloof , retaining their native names along with their separate nationality .

They were essentially a practical people and produced successful administrations . The chief gain they brought to Babylon was an improved method of time-reckoning . In place of the unwidly system of date-formulae , inherited by the Semites from the Sumerians , under which each year was known by an elaborate title taken from some great event or cult-observance , the Kassites introduced the simpler plan of dating by the years of the king's reign . And we shall see that it was directly owing to the political circumstances of their occupation that old system of land tensure , already to a great extent undermined by the western

Semites , was still further modified . But on the material side , the greatest change they effected in the life of Babylonian was due to their introduction of the horse . There can be little doubt that they were a horse-keeping race , and the success of their invasion may in large part be traced to their greater mobility (9) .

Apart from the Kassite influence on with the Babylonians , and the influence of Babylon on Kassites , the researcher will be intrested in taking one of their impressions on the abyloianians that is the modification of the land tenture system .

from that time a principal source of information on economic conditions in Babylonia is to be found in the **Kudurru**-inscriptions , or boundary-Stones .

The word **Kudurru** may be rendered accurately enough as (boundary-Stones).

Before speaking about the boundary stones in details , would like to make an introduction about the ideas of the boundaries in " Ancient Mesopotamia " . For example we first have the cone of the Sumerian patesi Entemena { 2404 - 2375 } B.C copied from a stele of delimitation , which may well have ended with elaborate curses intended to preserve the frontier ditch between Umma and lagash from violation . But Entemena's stele was inscribed to

protect a national frontier , not the boundaries of private property (10).

But in this case we find that these boundaries were put under the protection of the " God **Enlil** who was the king of all the countries and father of all the gods (11) . { see p. 31 }

Another series of monuments closely related to the later boundary stones are the doorsockets of the ancient kings of Akkad and other early rulers . The doorsockets and thresholds of temples were evidently regarded as their boundary a doorsocket of the first king of the **Lagash** dynasty has actually the shape of a boundary stone , while all their inscriptions close with the identical formula of the later boundary stone inscriptions . We have also a Second example that is a doorsocket inscription of Sharkali-Shari { the last king of the Akkad dynasty } reads " Sharkali-Shari " , the powerful king of Akkad and the dominion of Enlil, is the builder of E-Kur, the temple of **Enlil** in Nippur . Whoever shall alter this inscribed stone , may **Enlil** and **Shamash** tear out his foundation and carry off his seed . It seems in fact that most public monuments were placed by these inscriptions under the protection of the gods , to guard them against destruction by illdisposed persons . A conspicuous example is furnished by the famous Stele of **Hammurabi** , containig his code of laws , which twelve of the great gods are invoked , to punish anyone who abolished his judgements , overrules his words , alters his statues , effaces his name and writes his own name in its place (12)

The **Kudurru** texts are engraved on conical blocks or boulders of stone ; and there is little doubt that many of the earlier stones must have been set up on landed estates , whose limits and ownership they were intended to define and commemorate . Even at a time when the stone itself had ceased to be employed to make the boundary and was preserved in the owner's house , in the temple of his god , as a charter or little deed which he could appeal in case of need , the text preserved its old formulae setting out the limits and orientation of the plot of land to which it referred .

The **Kudurru** or boundary-stones had its origin under the Kassite kings , and while at first recording , or confirming , a royal grant of land to an important official or servant of the king , its aim was undoubtedly to place the newly acquired rights of the owner under the protection of the gods (13) .

Again , **Hinke** assured that the introduction of boundary-stones into Babylonia to mark the limits of private property . All that is known for certain is that they first make their appearance during the third dynasty of Babylon or the Kassite dynasty . But when we consider the fact that , although there are many transfers of land in the earlier periods (14) , no traces of boundary-stones for private land have come to light , and when we consider

furthermore that there was no marble, basalt or limestone in the alluvial soil of Babylonia to provide the material for boundary-stones, but they had to be imported, we are almost forced to the conclusion that the erection of boundary-stones on private lands was a foreign custom, which originated in a mountainous country where there were plenty of stones to supply the demand - as the Kassite rulers were foreigners, who came most likely from the mountainous regions east of Babylonia, it is natural to conclude that they caused the introduction of this custom (15). The Kassites also introduced the custom of placing the gods upon the stones to secure divine protection to the land (16).

The importance of these records are considerable, not only in their legal and religious aspects, but also from a historical point of view. For quite apart from the reference to Babylonian kings and to historical events which they contain, they form in many cases the only documents of their period which have come to us. They serve to bridge the gap in our knowledge of Euphratean civilization between the Kassite period and that of the later Babylonian kings; and, while they illustrate the development which gradually took place in Babylonian law and custom, they prove the continuity of culture during times of great political change.

Viewed from a legal stand point they form our principal source of information concerning the Babylonian system of land tenure , and incidentally supply information upon legal procedure in the case of disputes with regard to the private possession of landed estate (17).

Here **king** illustrates the texts of the Kudurru inscriptions , without making any discussion about the appearance of the names of the gods on these Kudurrus .The researcher's aim is to discuss the titles of the gods and their aspects (18) .

Here I shall introduce three examples about the boundary stones . The first example of these boundary-stones is a **Kudurru** , in the form of a massive cone of baked clay , { in the British Museum no. 91036 , the cone measures 10 in in hight , and at the broadest part it is 6,75 in. in the diameter , and it tapers to blunt point } commemorating the ownership of certain land , which had originally been granted by **Kurigalzu** the son of Kadash man-Kharbe , to **Enlil-bani** , the priest of **Enlil** . The text records the confirmation by Kadashman-Enlil of a son , or descendant , of Enlil-bani in ownership of the estate (19) . In this **Kudurru** appeared the god **Nimib** , but there is not any symbol .

The translation of this Kudurru is as follows :

col. i 1..3-of Kur] ig [a] lz [u] (20)

4-which Kurigalzu ,

5-the mighty king , the king of Babylonia ,

6-the son of Kadashman . Kharbe , (21)

7-the king without an equal .

8-to Enlil-bani

col. ii 1-to.....]

2-.....]

3-Kad [ash] ma [n] - [e] n \ [i] ,

4-the king , has [represent] ed ;

5-[and] he has set up a boundary-stone .

6-whosoever this boundary-stone

7-Shall alter ,

8-or Shall reverse the ownership of this land ,

9-may Ninib , the lord of the boundary ,

10- Alter his boundary-stone ,

11-and may [....]

12-tear out his foundation ! (22)

I am not going to make any commentary about this **Kudurru** now , but I shall give the examples of the **Kudurrus** first , and then I shall put my commentary about them , in order to make comparisons between them .

The second example is a boundary-stone . It was rubbed down and reused in the time of Kurigalzu . This Kudurru is a massive block of calcareous limestone , which has been roughly faced to take sculptures and inscriptions . { It stands 1 ft.11,25 in. high , it measures 1 ft. 1,75 in in width at the base , tapering at the top 7 in. ; and it is 8 in. in breadth at the base , tapering to 6,25 in. at the top . It is now in the British Museum No.102588 } .

The Kudurru records a grant of arable land at Der to a certain Kishti-Marduk , the son of Amel-Ishtar-ilatsu , by Kurigalzu . The land is described as boundary on the north and south sides by two rivers or canals named Ennu and Daban .

And here is the text :

- 1-ten gur of corn-land, a gan, measured by the great cubit ,
being reckoned at thirty ka of seed , in the district of
the city of Der .
- 2-between the river Daban and the river Ennu .
- 3-which Kurigalzu , king of the world , king of Babylon .
- 4-to Kishti-Marduk , the son of Amel-Ishtar-ilatsu
[presented]:
- 5-on the upper length to the west is the [.....]
- 6-the lower length is to the east ;
- 7-on the upper width is the river Ennu , to the north ;
- 8-on the lower width is the river Daban , to the south ,
- 9-who soever in future days there shall be one who

- 10-shall say " the field was not given "
- 11-many **Anu** (23) , **Enlil** , and **Ea** , (24)
- 12-**Nannar** , **Shamash** , (25) and **Marduk** ,
- 13-**Nusku** (26) and **Sadarmunna** ,
- 14-**Nergal** (27) and **Laz** .
- 15-tear out his foundation , and his seed
- 16-may they snatch away !
- 17-may they command that his life endure not for a single
day
- 18-whosoever shall deface my name that is [here] inscribed
, and shall write his own name (in place there of)
- 19-may **Shamash** , the arbiter of judgement , above on his
.....
- 20-and below on his never bestow clear water ! (28)

The third example is a Kudurru of the time of **Meli-Shikhu** (1188 - 1174) {B.C . The Kudurru consists of a massive block of limestone , its height above the plinth is exactly 2 ft. ; in width it measures 11 in. at the base , tapering to 10,50 in. at the head of the columns of text ; and in breadth it varies from 7,25 in. to 6,50 in. it is now in the British Musum No. 90827 }

The subject of this Kudurru is about a deed of gift recording a grant of fifty gur of corn-land in the province of Bit-Pir-Amuri by Meli-Shikhu to Khasardu , the son of Sume .

The land was situated on the bank of the royal canal and was in the district of the city of Shalulume . Four officials carried out the transfer of the property , and the deed was drawn up in the presence of seven high officials who are enumerated by name .

The contents of this Kudurru are as follows :

Deities invoked : (1) **Anu** ; (2) **Enlil** ; (3) **Ea** ; (4) **Shamas** ; (5) **Marduk**; (29) (6) **Nabu** (30); (7) **Anunitum** ; (8) **Ninib** ; (9) **Ninkarrag (Gula)** (31) ; (10) **Adad** ; (11) **Nergal** ; (12) **Shukamuna** ; and (13) **Shumalia** ; and " all gods whose names are mentioned on this stone . "

Beside the names of the gods , we find also the existance of the symbols of gods , mentioned on the Kudurru stones . The most famous of them may be briefly summarised : the solar disk , Shamash , the crescent or lunar disk , Sin , (32) the eight pointed star , Ishtar ; horned headdresses, Anu and Enlil , the ram-headed crook and goat fish , Ea ; the spear , Marduk ; the wedge , the square column or double rod , and the stilus , Nabu ; the lightning-fork , Adad ; the lion-headed mace , Nergal ; the twin-lion-headed-mace Ninib ; the eagle-headed-mace, Zamama ; a square-topped mace , Shukmuna ; the lamp , Nusku ; the seated goddess , Gula , the walking bird , bau ; the scorpion , Ishkhara ; the serpent , Siru ; and the seven stars , Sibitte (33) .

After that we find the text of the Kudurru :

Translation :

(1,2) The name of this boundary stone is

(3) " o Adad , mighty lord , bestow abundant streams ! "

- col. i 1-fifty gur of corn-land , one gan , measured by the great cubit , being reckoned at thirty ka of seed ,
 2-in the district of the city of Shluluni , on the bank of the Royal Canal ,
 3-in the province of Bit-Pir'-Amurri ,
 4-the upper length towards the north , adjoining Bit-Pir'-Amurri
 5-the lower length towards the south ,
 6-adjoining (the land of) Amel-ishakke'-sha-Ushtim ,
 7-the upper width towards the west on the bank of the Royal Canal ,
 8-the lower width towards the east ,
 9-adjoining Bit-Pir'-Amurri
 10-which Meli-Shipak , king of the world ,
 11-to Khasardu , the -minister
 12-the son of Sume , his servant has peresented ---
 13-Ibni-Marduk , the son of Arad Ea ,
 14-who delimited the field .
 15-Shamash-muballit , prefect ,
 16-Bau-akhu-iddina , scribe to the governor of the land
 17-and Itti-Marduk-balatu , the king's officer ,
 18-measured that field ,

19-and established it as the property of Khasardu .

col. ii

1-At the sealing of the deed and tablet

2-[Id]dina-Marduk , the ruler [.....]

3-of the Sea-country , Bit-Malakh[i],

4-and the keeper of the-house ,

5-Rizi[....]ni , the ...-official ,

6-Libur-zanin-Ekur , the officer ,

7-Lusa-ana-nuri-Marduk , the high minister ,

8-Ikisha-Bau , the son of Arad-Ea ,

9-the , Shamsh - shum - lishir ,

10-the son of Atta-iluma , the ruler of Agade ,

11-and Kidin-Marduk , the .. , are present (as
witnesses).

12-Whensoever in days to come

13-among future men , an agent ,

14-or a governor , or a ruler ,

15-or anyone , or the son of anyone at all

16-who shall rise up in respect of that field

17-shall make a claim , or cause a claim to be made ,

col. iii

1-or shall say : "the field was not presented ,"

2-or shall change that stone from its place ,

3-or shall cast it into the water , or into the fire ,

4-Or shall break it with a stone ,

5-or because of these curses shall fear

- 6-and shall cause a fool or a deaf man or a blind man
 7-to take it up , and set it in a place where it cannot be
 seen ,
 8-that man who shall take away the field ,
 9-may Anu , the father of the gods , curse him as a foe !
 10-may Enlil , the king of all , inflict his punishment
 upon him
 11-May Ea , the creator of men , give him an evil fate !
 12-May Shamash , the judge of heaven and earth ,
 destroy his name !
 13-May Marduk , the leader of the gods , pursue him
 with evil
 14-May Nabu , the overser of the wor[ld...] his [.....] !
 15-May Anunnitum , who dwells in [.....], destroy his
 foundation !
 16-May Ninib break his [weapon] in the ba[ttle] !
 17-May Ninkarrag [...] snatch away his seed !

col. iv

- 1-May Adad , the lord of the crops (?) , [.....] his [.....] !
 2-May Nergal in his destruction not [spare (?)] his
 offspring !
 3-May Shukamuna and Shum[alia]
 4-pronounce evil [against him (?)] !
 5-May all the gods , whose names are mentioned on his
 stone ,
 6-curse him with a curse that cannot be loosened ,
 7-may they command that he live not a single day ,

- 8-may they not let him , nor his name,nor his seed
endure ;
9-days of drought ,
10-years of famine ,
11-may they assign for his lot ,
12-before god , king , lord and prince
13-may his whining be continuous ,
14-and may he come to an evil end (34) !

Here the researsher will introduce the different parts of a Kudurru inscription , they are as follows :

- 1-In a number of cases the stone has a name.
- 2-Then follows the description of the field or fields in question the total area is given and the different sides are carefully bounded by referring to the adjoining properties . In a few cases the exact length of each side is added .
- 3-Next we find a statement of the circumstances which led to the grant . The grantor and the grantee are mentioned . In this section we often find important historical information , as well as elaborate eulogies on the king from whom the grant proceeded.
- 4-The next section contains the most characteristic feature of these inscriptions , namely , elaborate curses against all kinds of officials and persons who might interfere with the land , its area , its privileges and its owners . This section has usually several well-marked subdivision :

- a- An enumeration of the individuals admonished not to raise claims or warned not to interfere with the land-kings , princes governors, prefects , judges, overseers, counselors , magistrates , relatives and neighbors . Thirty different officials are found in this section on the various stones
- b-Next follow the acts of violence which are forbidden . no claim or lawsuit is to be made against the land . It cannot be confiscated , turned over to the state , nor given to a temple. The extent of the field is not to be changed . Its ditches and boundaries are not to be removed . Its canals are not to be closed up , nor its water supply to be diverted to other field . The boundary stone , moreover , is not to be touched , not to be thrown into fire , water or a dark place . It is to be broken nor to be hidden in the dust . The inscription finally is not to be erased , nor anything else put in its place . No irresponsible person is to be engaged to carry out any evil intentions against the land or the boundary stone .
- c-Then the great gods are invoked , either by enumerating them first and then ascribing one curse to them all , or by giving a separate curse to each deity . The latter is the more common method . In the curses themselves all kinds of diseases or calamities are threatend to the would -be offenders . Although there is some regularity in ascribing the various curses to the different deities , yet there is considerable variation .
- 5-The last section usually contains a list of the witnesses present during the transaction , and sometimes even the date is added .

Now the researcher will analyse , that is why the Kudurru stones inscribed by the names of the gods and Symbols . And I shall mention the duty of each god which must be played in order to protect the boundary-stones from any act of violence .

I shall begin with the first example on (page 6 . 7) . Here we can find that god Ninib was the god of the boundaries and he was responsible for the protection of it . The curses of the Kudurru inscriptions which include the calamities and disasters which the gods are asked to send down upon would be offenders are even more numerous and varied than their titles . I shall quote them under the names of the gods with whom they are connected .

Here the god **Ninib** : His titles are : " the lord of the boundary stones " the lord of the boundary and of the boundary stones " (so alone and also with his wife **Gula**) , " the king of heaven and earth " , the son of Esarra , " the Subline son of Enlil " then his duties are :

- a-The son , the water pourer , may he take away from him , and may he not cause him to have seed and offspring .
- b-May he tear out his boundary stone .
- c-May he deprive him of his son , his water pourer .
- d-May he tear out his boundary stones , tread down his boundary line and change his plot .
- e-May he tear out his confines , limits and boundary stone .

f-May he tear out his boundary stone , destroy his name ,his seed his offspring , his descendants from the mouth of men , and may he not let him have a son and a pourer of water .

g-May he destroy his boundary stone .

h-Nin-IB and Gula ; when he was mentioned with her : May they destroy his boundary stone and annihilate his seed .

i-May they cause destructive sickness to be in his body and , as long as he lives , may they pass dark and bright red blood as water (36) . I must here refer to the duties of his wife the goddess Gula : Her titles are : "the glorious mistress , the mistress of all mistresses , the great mistress , the wife of **Nin.IB** , the great physicians , the physician , the great mistress , the bride of Esharra .

a-And her ability , she can make , destructive sickness may she put into his body , so that he may pass dark and bright red blood as water .

b-so that as he lives he may pass dark and bright red blood as water .

c-And may she not cause his corpse to have burial

d-A painful , destructive disease , a depression that does not go away , may she let loose into his body (37) .

Black mentioned that her name means "great" . She was a healing goddess , who understands disease , and a patron of doctors . Her principal shrine was the E-gal-mah at Isin , she also had temples at Nippur , Borsippa and Assur . her sacred animal

was the dog , and small model dogs were dedicated to her by worshippers (38) .

In the second example we can see that the size of the land is mentioned "ten gur of corn-land" mentionning here that the land was suitable to be planted with corn , this give me the impression that "corn-land" were lands of first class , and there were other areas which were not suitable to be planted with corn .

Then we find the northern and southern limits of the granted land , and the gods who are supposed to protect the donnation from any act of violence .

Here I shall introduce the work of each god and his ability to protect the donnation.

Dealing with **Anu** : his titles are ; the king , the father of the gods , Anu the prince , the great lord , the king of heaven . And **Anu** is Asked :

a-May he overthrow him in anger and destroy his soul .

b-May he cause him to take a road that is obstructed (39) .

Black mentioned that god An is the Sumerian word for "heaven" and is the name of the sky god who is also the prime

mover in creation, and the distant, supreme leader of the gods. He is father of all gods. His wife is the earth goddess Uras; in a later tradition he is married to Ki. As Babylonian Anu he has a wife Antu. It is Anu who in Sumerian tradition, took over heaven when it was separated from earth (Ki), creating the universe as we know it (40). In Kassite and Neo-Assyrian at least, Anu's symbol is a horned cap.

The second god in this Kudurru is Enlil: (Akkadian Enlil) is one of the most important gods in the Mesopotamian Pantheon. And the other gods might not even look upon his splendour.

The great center of the cult of Enlil was the temple of E-Kur (the mountain house) at Nippur, at the northern edge of Sumer, and Enlil is often called the "Great mountain" and king of the foreign lands, which may suggest a connection with the Zagros mountains. Other images used to describe his personality are: King, supreme lord, father and creator; raging storm, and wild bull; and interestingly, merchant; The Kassites worshipped Enlil at their capital Dur-Kurigalzu (modern Aqar Quf) (41).

Enlil also : the great lord , the command of his mouth cannot be altered and whose grace is steadfast , the lord of lands , the king of all , the sublime lord who determines the fate of the gods . His aspects as follows :

- a- May they (the curses) not miss him , but overtake him .
- b-May he appoint for him an evil fate , so that calamity , misfortune and the words of men may oppress him .
- c-May he lay his punishment upon him (42) .

Then after we find the god Ea .

Enki (Ea)

Enki (Akkadian Ea) was god of the subterranean freshwater ocean (abzu) (43) , and was specially associated with wisdom , magic and incantations , and with the arts and crafts of civilization .

Enki's most important cult center was the E-abzu (Abzu House) at Eridu . As a provide of fresh water and a creator god and determiner of destinies , Enki was always seen as favourable to mankind .

In art Enki is represented as a seated god with long beard , wearing a cap with many horns and a long , pleated robe . Streams of water flow from his arms to the ground , sometimes with little fish swimming along the flow .

In the symbolism of the Kassite , Babylonian and Assyrian Periods , Ea's beast was the goat-fish (44) .

The titles of Ea are :

The creator of men , the creator of all , the king of the ocean , the lord of wisdom , and perhaps "the king of springs (45) .

Ea has the ability to cause :

a-May he give him an evil fate .

b-May he take away from him gladness of heart , happiness of mind , abundance and fullness , so that lamentation may seize him (46) .

About god **Mannar** :

In ancient Mesopotamia both the sun and the moon were male deities . In Sumerian the moon god was called Suen or Nanna (Nannar) , and sometimes he was called by both names together , Nanna-Suen . In Akkadian , Suen was later pronounced Sin . Other names included Asimbabbar , Namrasit (who shines forth) and Inbu (the Fruit , perhaps referring to the natural waxing and waning of the moon) , his name is also written simply with the number 30 , the number of days in a lunar month .

The most important shrine of Nanna was the temple E-Kish-nu-Gal at Ur , but another cult center which became of great importance in the Neo-Babylonian period was the temple at Havan in northern Syria , where under the name Sin the god was worshipped together with Nusku as his son . The temple at Harran was especially popular with the Babylonian king Nabu-na'id (known in latin as Nabonidus ; reigned 556-539 B.C) , whose mother was a priestess there , Nabu-na'id made his daughter high priestess of Sin at Ur .

Although a very popular deity in old Babylonian times , Nanna always remained subordinate to the chief gods of the pantheon , and in "Nanna-Suen's journey to Nippur , he travels by barge to Nippur to obtain the blessing of the god Enlil .

A symbol of Nanna was a recumbent crescent moon . His beast was a bull or a lion-dragon (47) .

Then we have the god **Shamash** :
His titles are :

The judge of heaven and earth , the judge , the prince of heaven and earth , the strong one over men , the great one in heaven and earth , the great judge of the great gods , the creator of heaven and earth (48) .

Black mentioned that **Shamash** was the Akkadian name and **Utu** was his Sumerian name . He represents the brilliant light of the sun , which returns every day to illuminate the life of mankind , as well as giving beneficial warmth , wich causes plants to grow .

Presumably because the sun,in its path across the skies , sees everything , **Shamash** came to be regarded as a god of truth , justice and right .

Shamash together with the god **Adad** is invoked during Babylonian extispicy rituals . As a protector of right and destroyer of evil , he also had a warrior aspect to his personality . He was also has direct interest in the affairs of mankind (49)

Then we have the god **Marduk** :

The god **Marduk** was the patronal god of the city of Babylon from at least as early as the third dynasty of Ur . His worship is attested as early as the early daynastic period , although nothing further is known of his origin .

Quite early on, **Marduk** seems to have absorbed the personality of a local deity of the Eridu region, Asarluhi, who was regarded as a son of Enki, consequently **Marduk** became the son of **Enki \ Ea**.

The rise of the cult of **Marduk** is closely connected with the political rise of Babylon from city-state to the capital of an empire. From the Kassite period Marduk became more and more important until he became king of all the gods. Some of his aspects were magic and wisdom (derived from his connection with Asarluhi, water and vegetation, connected with his father Ea) and judgment, suggesting a connection with the sun god **Shamash (Utu)** can be adduced (50).

About his titles, **Marduk** :

The leader of the gods, the leader of heaven and earth, the great lord, the great lord whose command no god can annul, the king of the gods, the king of heaven and earth, the mighty one, the lord (owner) of this field, the lord of constructions. Marduk and Zarpanitum together are addressed as the lords who determine fate.

His curses are :

Marduk .

a-May he pursue him with evil

b-May he pour out his life like water .

c-May he inflict famine as his severe punishment upon him .

Seeing angry faces and holding out his hand , without being fed , may he wander through the streets of his city .

d-May he cause him to bear dropsy as a bond that is unbreakable

e-May he stops up his cannals .

f-May he fill his body with dropsy , whose hold cannot be broken

g-Marduk and Zarpanitum :

May they cause him to bear dropsy as his severe punishment and with the bloating of his flesh may his body perish (51) .

Then we have the gods

Nusk and Sadarmunna

The god **Nusku** (perhaps to be read **Nuska**) was regarded both as a son of , and as a minister of Enlil . In a variant tradition he is described in a sumerian hymn as a son of Enul and Ninul , who are also included as ancestors of Enlil in one version of his descent . Generally speaking , apart from his functions as minister , Nusku has an independent character as a god associated with fire and light . Sometimes Gibil , the fire god, is described as the son

of Nusku . In magical incantations , **Nusku** is among the gods called upon to assist in the burning of sorcerers and witches . In the Neo-Assyrian period , **Nusku** was among the gods who were worshipped together at Harran in north-west Syria , and at this time he seems to have acquired an importance out of all proportion to his relatively humble beginnings . At Harran he was regarded as the son of the principal deity there , Sin (Nanna-Suen) . This group of deities was probably worshipped by a largely Aramaic population , and **Nusku** is probably the same as the name "Nasuh ' found in Neo-Assyrian personal names and as the god written "Nsk ' in old Aramaic inscriptions" . These cults appear to have lasted into the early centuries A.D and perhaps even longer .

The symbol of a lamp sometimes occurring in Mesopotamian art from the Kassite to Neo-Babylonian period is labelled on Kudurru as an emblem of **Nusku** (52) .

About his titles :

" The powerful lord ' the mighty scorcher **Nusku** , **Ningal** , **Shaqamuna** and **Shumalia** are called [the gods of the king] [**Marduk-apal-iddina I**] and the gods of the kingdom and of his land "

About his aspects :

a-May he be his evil demon and burn up his root

b-Nusku and Ningal (she was wife of god Sin "Nanna Seun")

May they cause the kingdom and his land to make him sick .

c-Nusku , Ningal , Shaqamuna and Shumalia .

May they fill his head with Sickness (53) .

Then we have the goddess **Sadarmunna** whom I did not find her name in Black's dictionary about Mesopotamian gods. But I can assume that she had the abilities of the god Nusku that is to say burning the persons whom making any violence against the boundary-stones .

Then we have the gods Nergal and his wife Laz . Nergal was associated with the underworld and was usually regarded as the husband of Ereskigal , queen of the underworld . In addition to his underworld connections , Nergal was also associated with forest fires , fevers and plagues , and sometimes had a warlike aspect . In Babylonian art , Nergal is represented as a god dressed in a long , open-fronted robe , often with one leg bared and advanced , his foot often placed upon a raised support or trampling a man . He usually carries a scimitar and a Single-or double headed lion-sceptre (54) .

About Nergal's titles we know that he bears the title of the lord of weapons and bows , and the lord of war and battle ;
Nergal's curses :

a-May he break his weapons .

b-May he slay him in his battle (55) .

Then we have the gods whom are mentioned in the third example. Here I shall refer to whom I am already spoken about , if they are repeated in the third example . But about the gods whom are mentioned here for the first time , in the third example I shall speak about them now .

We have here the gods ; Anu , Enlil , Ea [see above pp. 16,17,18] .

About the gods Shamas and Marduk [see above pp. 19,20] . We have the gods whom are mentioned in the third example for the first time , the first one of them is :

The god **Nabu** , he is the Mesopotamian Scribe god , the devine scribe of the destinies . As such he is also a scribe's god and patron of writting , although no myths are related about him . Because so much learning was transmitted in writing , he later joined **Ea (Enki)** and **Marduk** as a god of wisdom , and in some traditions he absorbed attributes of god **Ninurta** and was therefore associated with irrigation and agriculture . His Spouse was the goddess Tasmetu . He may have been identified with the planet Mercury .

The worship of **Nabu** may have reached Babylonia from Syria with the nomadic Amorites in the early second millennium B.C his cult center came to be at Borsiba near Babylon , and he was absorbed into the circle of the god **Marduk** , first as Marduk's minister and later (from the Kassite period) as his son (56).

About Nabu's titles :

He was : the overseer of the universe , the overseer of the totality of heaven and earth , the lofty messenger , the Shepherd of the totality of heaven and earth , the first born son of Esagila , the king of Ezida , the scribe of Esagila .

Then I am going to speak about his curses :

- a-May he change his confines , limits and boundary stone .
- b-May he appoint for him days of want and drought as his fate
- c-May he bring want and famine upon him , so that he may not attain what ever his throat desires
- d-May he lead (?) his children into famine (57) .

Then we have the name of Anumitu :

Anumitu (earlier Anunumitu) was a Babylonian goddess especially associated with childbirth .

She was worshipped at Sipar (58) . About her title we have one :

The one inhabiting heaven ; In cursing she has the ability :
May she destroy his foundation (59) .

We have here again the god **Ninib** , whom I have already mentioned above on page [see pp. 7,9,14] .

About the goddess **Ninkarag** (**Gula**) the goddess **Gula** (whose name means great) was a healing goddess , who understands disease and a patroness of doctors . She was also worshipped under the names **Nintinuga** , **Nin Karak** (**Ninkarag**) and **Meme**, originally the names of other goddess , and as **Ninisina** "lady of Isim" . Her principal shrine was the E-gal-ma mah at Isin , but she also had temples at Nippur , Borsippa and Assur . She was regarded as the wife of **Ninurta** or **Pabilsag** or else of the minor Negetation god **Abu** . **Gula** was the mother of the healing god **Damu** , and of the god **Ninazmu** also associated with healing . Her sacred animal was the dog , and small model dogs were dedicated to her by worshippers (60) .

She has the following titles :

Gula , the glorious mistress , the mistress of all mistresses , the

great mistress , the wife of Nin.UB , the great physician , the physician , the bride of Eshara (61) . [She was a goddess associated with war] (62) .

Her curses : Gula .

a-Destructive sickness may she put into his body , so that he may pass dark and bright red blood as water , also not cause his corpse to have burial .

b-A painful , destructive disease , a depression that does not go away , may she let loose into his body (63) .

We have then the god **Adad** :

The appearance of the god **Adad** on the boundary-stones has an important meaning , that **Adad** embodied the power of storms was known to the Sumerians as Iskur . The Akkadian equivalent of this deity was Adad . More at home in the west semestic areas was a related deity called Wer or Mer . Most ancient Near Eastern peoples worshipped a storm god , **Adad** was sometimes equated with the Hurrian god Tesup or Kassite god Burias .

While Iskur , associated with the Sumerian south , tended to be connected with thunderstorms , hail and flood , Adad also had a beneficial aspect as a god of fruitful rain and mountain streams , possibly in areas where rain was more important for agriculture . A representation of lightning symbolised such storm gods . Adad might also (rarely) be represented , it seems , by a symbol of

following streams . The beast of Iskur is thought to have been the lion-dragon ; that of Adad was the lion dragon or the bull, storm clouds were called Adad's "bul-calves" (64) .

Then we have the god Nergal again .[see p.23 of this work] . We have now to speak about Shukamuna and Shmalia :

Black equated Shukamuma with Nergal , Nusku [see pp. above 21,22 .] . Then he mentioned that ; the symbol of a bird on a high perch , probably in fact representing a bird standard , is common on the Kassite Kudurrus , and is identified from the inscriptions on two of them as a symbol of the obscure dual gods Shukamuna (and)Shumalia (65) .

Henke mentioned that Shukamuna and Shumalia are the gods of the king (Meli-Shikhu) , and they are called the gods of war .

About Shumalia's titles :

She was the mistress of the bright mountains , dwelling on the mountain tops and walking by the springs .

We have another aspect for Shukamuma and Shumalia that is :

May they place him before the king and the nobles (66) .
There are still a series of curses , uttered in the name of a number of gods .

Sometimes we find the engraver mentioning two or more gods , in this case they are associated with other curses , and more effective against whom will make any act of violence towards the boundary-stone . It is very interest to mention them here .

First we have **Anu , Enlil and Ea** are asked :

- a-May they in the anger of their heart look upon him (67) .
- b-May they tear out and destroy his foundation , tear out his offspring , carry off his descendants .
- c-May they in anger look upon him and destroy his soul and the children of his seed .
- d-May they curse him with an evil curse that cannot be broken .
- e-(The gods) as many as there are , may they curse him
- f-A curse from which there is no escape , blindness of eyes , deafness of ears,lameness of limbs , may they present to him , so that he may drag along evil .

Anu , Enlil Ea , Nin.IB and Gula :

May they look upon him in anger , and with a curse , from which there is no escape , curse him , tear out his boundary stone

, Snatch away his seed in misery , and in poor bodily health may they end the few days which he has to live .

Sin , Shamash , Ramman and Marduk may they tear out his foundation .

Sometimes the engraver gathering all the gods which are mentioned on the stone saying :

Of the (great) gods which are mentioned on this stone :

a-May they curse him with an evil curse , destroy his name , and may his seed not have a resting place for reposing (?)

b-May they destroy his name and cause him to come to naught .

c-May they curse him with a curse that is without escape , and may they not prolong his life a single day , may they not let his name , his seed live , may they appoint days of draught , years of famine for him as his fate , before god , king , lord and prince may his whining be long and may he and in misery .

d-May they appoint for him a fate of not seeing (blindness) , stopping up of ears (deafness) and dumbness of mouth forever .

e-May they tear out his name , his seed , his posterity .

f-May they look upon him in anger , ... curse him with an evil curse that is without escape , with a deadly leprosy , a serious

condition , may they envelop his body , from the gate of his city may he be driven captive , at the wall of his city , may they make him crouch , as long as he lives , may he not come near to his people , may they afflict him with dropsy , so that his body may not be buried in the earth , (his spirit) may not press the hand of another spirit , decreeing life may they not grant his life , but destroy his name , tear out his foundation , snatch away his seed and may they not spare his children

g-With a curse may they be cruel and may he not have offspring .

h-May they curse him in anger , may god and the king look upon him in anger . In anger of their heart , may they plan evil against him , so that another may own the house he built . With a dagger in his neck and a poniard in his eyes , may he cast down his face before his captor and may the latter , unmindful of his pleading , quickly cut off his life . In the collapse of his house , may his hands get into the fire , as long as he lives , may he drag along misery , and as long as heaven and earth exist may his seed perish .

i-May they lead him into evil and misfortune , and may they destroy his name , his seed , his offspring , his posterity from the mouth of the people far and near .

j-May they curse him with an evil curse that is without escape , and may they destroy his seed forever .

k-May they curse him with a curse that is without escape . for a single day may they not grant him life .

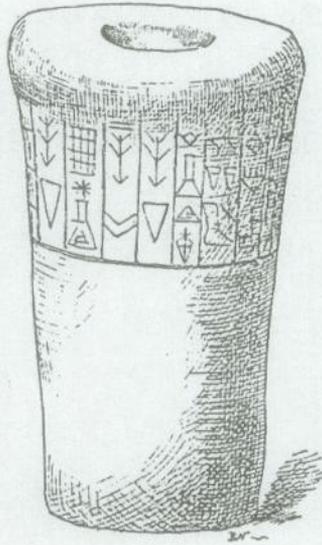
1-May they destroy his name , his seed , his offspring from the mouth of the people , may they eat off his future (68) .

CONCLUSION

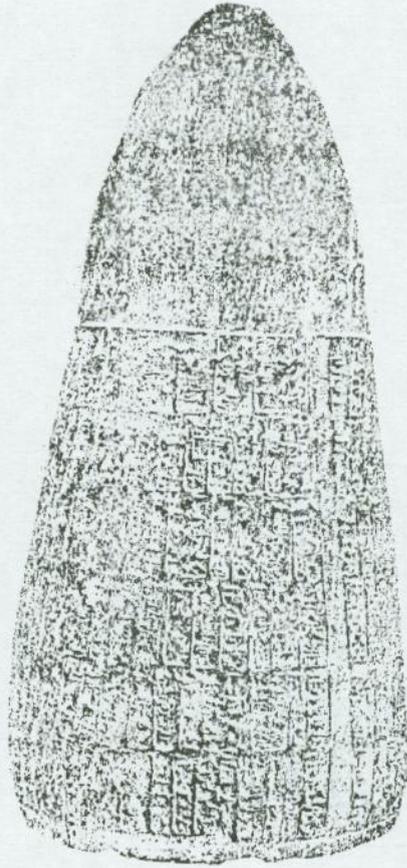
I would like to mention here some points :

- a-As we have seen that the boundary-stones appeared from the beginning of the Kassite period and not before .
- b-The purpose of these monuments was to record and ratify grants of land made by the king to trusted officers and subjects . There was nothing new in this , but the process of conveyence exhibits certain peculiarities which were unknown in the first dynasty .
- c-The external form of the monuments is novel , and their most striking peculiarity is the presence of sculptured religious symbols which represent these gods under whose protection the grant is placed , whose curse is to be incurred by any who should presume to violate or question the donations .
- d-This introduction of penalties against offenders has been regarded as a relic of the recent state of society when insecurity of life and property was the rule under the barnarian invasions .
- e-It may be observed that invocation of the devine wrath against violators of monuments was a much older feature in Babylonian inscriptions , being especially prominent under the dynasty of Agade . What is new is the introduction of civil penalties against non-observers of the contract or donation . Such penalties consist usually in a mainfold delivery of the good purported to be sold , or in monetary

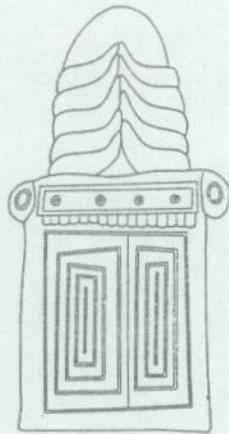
- fine (frequently to be paid in gold) .
- f-Sometimes a cruel physical sanction is menaced - a bronze
peg shall be driven into the mouth of the deceiver .
- g-Both of these innovations seem therefore to be a sign of
foreign , apparently eastern , customs invading the
Babylonian world at this period (69) .



Doorsocket of Ur - Nanshe , Shaped as a boundary stone .
From , Hinke , A new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I , p. 4 .



The cone of Entemena , governor of Lgash. from 2404 to 2375 B.C .
In the Louvre museum no : A0 3004 .

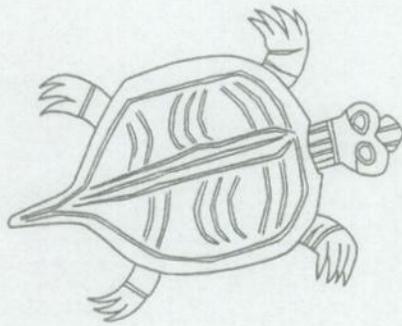


The symbol of the multi horned cap placed on an alter , as it was commonly carved on the Babylonian kudurru stones , represents a symbol of the supreme God Anu (An)

From , Black , Gods , p. 102 .



The water god Ea and his two-faced minister god Usmu . Detail from the cylinder seal of a scribe named Adda , Akkadian Period .
From , Black , Gods ... , p. 75



A turtle as symbol of the water god Ea . One of the emblems carved on a kudurru of the Kassite Period .

From , Black , Gods ... , p. 179

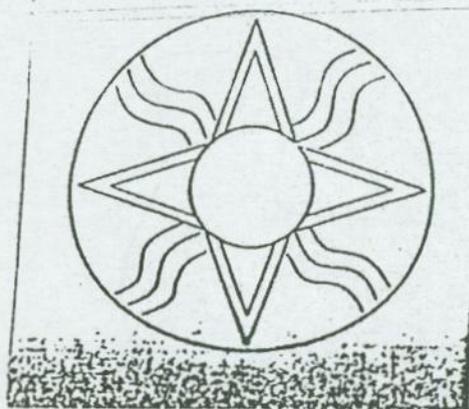


Aspects of Samas , from cylander seals of the Akkadian period . The god is shown as the rising sun , emerging through the open gates of the eastern mountains ; at his court receiving worshippers ; and as dispenser of divine justice . He is distinguished by the rays emanating from his shoulders and by his pruning-saw,

From ,Black , Gods , p. 183 .

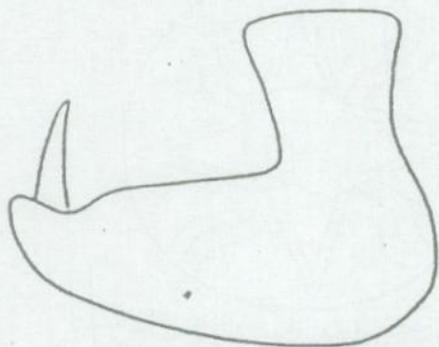


Samas, the sun god, in his anthropomorphised boat. Detail from a cylinder seal of the Akkadian Period from Ešnunna (modern Tell Asmar). From Black, *Gods ...*, p. 45.

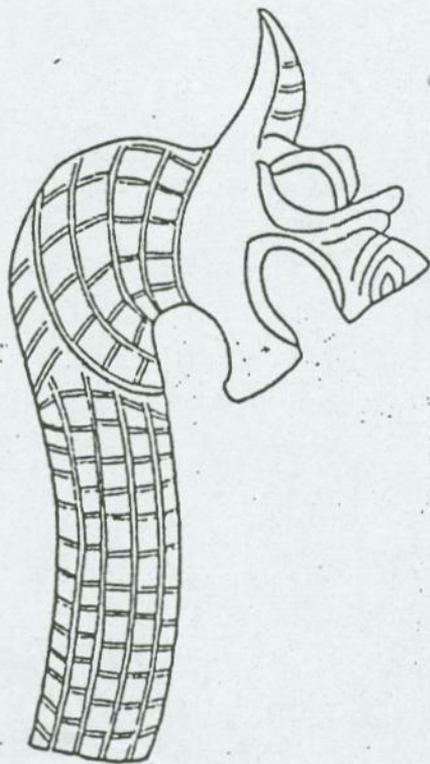


The Solar Disc of the sun god Samas with four-pointed star and three radiating wavy lines between each of the points occurs from the Akkadian down to the Neo-Babylonian period . It almost invariably stands as a symbol of the sun god Samas (Utu) . The Akkadian names of the symbol were **Samsatu** and **niphu** . It was often represented upon a pole as a standard .

From , *Ibid* , p. 168 .



A lamp , symbol of Nusku .
From , Black , Gods , p. 116 .



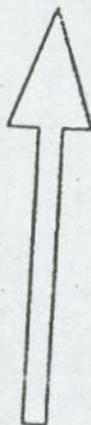
A standard with the head of a lion demon (lion with upright ears), an emblem of the underworld god Nergal. One of the symbols carved on a kudurrū of the Kassite Period.

From Black, p. 168.



The god Marduk and his snake-dragon -Detail from a large lapis lazuli cylinder dedicated to Marduk by the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-sumi I (reigned 845-819 B.C) . According to the accompanying inscription, the cylinder was to be set in gold and hung around the neck of the god, i.e. to be attached to the cult statue in Esagil, Marduk's temple in Babylon . It was found at Babylon in the house of a bead-maker of the Parthian Period .

From , Black , Gods , p. 129 .

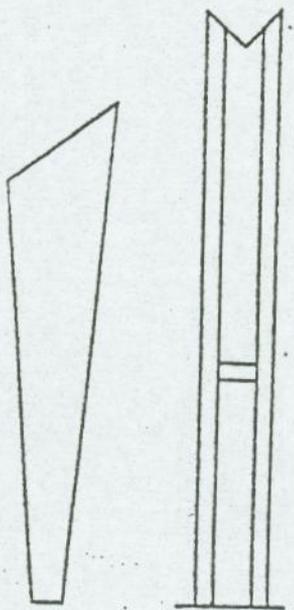


The Marru "spade", a symbol of the Babylonian god Marduk .
From , Ibid , p. 168 .



The scribal god Nabu holding his wedge-shaped writing stylus and standing on his snake-dragon . (The god's eye is obliterated on the original and is restored in this drawing) . Detail from a cast copper or bronze amuletic plaque of the Neo-Assyrian Period .

From , Black , Gods , p.134 .



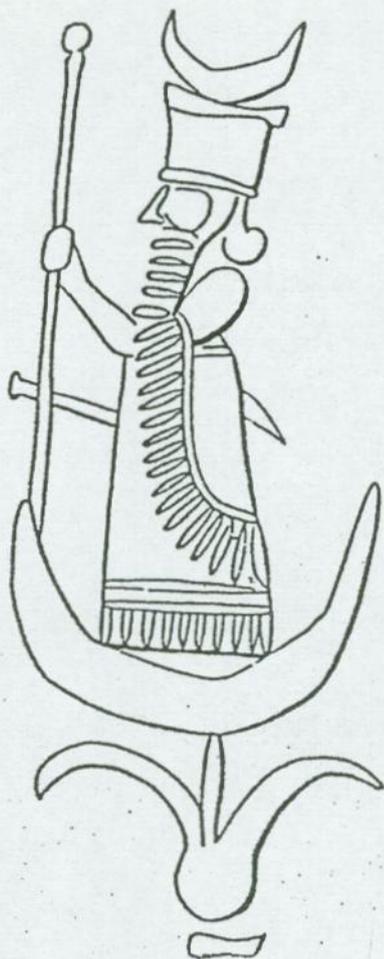
A wedge-shaped stylus and tablet or writing board , symbolising the scribal god Nabu . A common device among the symbols of the gods on Neo-Babylonian monuments .

From , Black , Gods ... , p. 185 .



The goddess Gula and her dog . Detail from the carving on a **kudurru** of the reign of the Babylonian king Nabu-mukin-apli , (reigned 978-943 B.C)

From , Black , Gods , p. 101 .



The moon god Sin . Detail from a cylinder seal of the Neo-Babylonian Period .

From , Black , Gods , p. 135 .



a- Ishtar



Anu and Enlil

c- Ram-headed staff and Ea
and goat-fish

d- Marduk



e- Nabu



f- Adad



h- Ninib



g- Nergal

Symbols of some gods as appeared on Babylonian Boundary Stones .



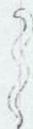
i- Zamama



j- Bau



k- Ishkhara



l- Siru



m- Sbitti

About symbols see ;

Black , Gods ... , pp . 96 & 97 .

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Cf-Brinkmann J.A , A political History of post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C , in *Analecta Orientalia* , abb. 43 , Roma , 1968 p. 246 .
- 2- Elamite king and he was the last king of Larsa Dynasty , and was contemporary to king Hamorabi , and defeated by him in 1763 B.C . See Gadd , C.J Hamurabi and the End of his Dynasty , in *CAH.* , vol. ii part i , London , 1973 , p.221 .
- 3- Son of king Hamurabi and his successor . He reigned Babylonia from (1749-1712) B.C .
- 4- He was a nephew of Rin-Sin I and contemporary to Samsu-iluna . He was defeated at Kish in the fourteenth year of Samsu-iluna , and after that he was disappeared . See Gadd , C.J. in *CAH.* ii part i , p. 221 .
- 5- Son of Samsu-iluna, his reign was between 1711-1684 B.C . See chronological table No- B in *CAH.* vol. ii part i . London 1973 .
- 6- Brinkman J.A , Geographical and chronological distribution p. 466 f.
- 7- Brinkman J.A , *Ibid* - p. 246 .
- 8- Brinkman J.A , The Kassite dynasty , In *Reallexikon der*

- 8- Brinkman J.A , The Kassite dynasty , In Reallexikon der Assyriologie funfter Band , p. 267 .
- 9- King Leonard W. , A History of Babylon from the foundation of the Monarchy to the persian conquest , London , 1915 , pp. 214 - 215 .
- 10- King L.W , Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial - Tablets in the British Museum , London , 1912 , p. x .
- 11- Boulanger Jean-Paul et Renisio G. , Editions de la Reunion des Musees Nationaux , Paris , 1982 , p. 198 fig. 132 .
- 12- Hinke W.M.J, A new Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrazzar I from Nippur, Philadelphia , 1907, pp. 4,5 .
- 13- King Leonard W , A History of Babylon .. p. 245 ; cf .. ID . Babylonian Boundary-Stones , p. xi
- 14- For example : we have the so called "Manishtusu oblisk" which was excavated at Susa in Elam , to which the Elamite had carried it as booty from a site in northern Babylonia . The inscription deals with the aquisition of eight parcels of land each from several sellers of the same kingship grouping , by the king Manishtusu . These eight parcels , totalling 9723 iku of land , are situated in four areas around the cities Dur-Sin , Girtab , Marda and Kish , all in the land of Akkad . See , Gelb , Ignance J. Earliest Land Tenture Systems In the Near East "Ancient Kudurrus texts , Chicago-Illinois , USA. 1991 , P. 116 .
- 15- Hinke w.m.j , A new boundary-stone of Nebuchadrazzar I

- 15- Hinke w.m.j , A new boundary-stone of Nebuchadrazzar I from Nippur , philadelphia , 1907 , pp. 6,7 ; CF king , L. A History of Babylon , P. 247 .
- 16- King L. , Ibid . , p. 247 .
- 17- King L.W. , Babylonian Boundary-Stones , And Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum , London , 1912 , introd. pp. viii ff.
- 18- , Ibid p. xiv .
- 19- , Ibid p. 3
- 20- He was Kadashman-Kharbe I's son , and the nineteenth Kassite king of Babylonia . He governed Babylonia about 1390 B.C . See , Chronological table (b) western Asia 1792-1390 B.C . in CAH . II part I , London , 1973 .
- 21- The seventeenth king of the Kassite dynasty he was succeeded by king Karaindash and he was not a son of Kadashman Karbe I , then Kurigalzu ascended the throne . If we add to them king Agum III son of Kashtaliash III and a missing king . We can find that they reigned from 1450 to 1390 B.C . See, CAH, II Part I , Chronological Table B.
- 22- See king , Babylonian Boundary-Stones , pp. 2-4 .
- 23- See p. 43 .
- 24- See p. 44,45 .
- 25- See p. 46,47,38 .
- 26- See p. 49 .
- 27- See p. 50 .
- 28- King , Babylonian Boundary-Stones .. , pp. 4 , 5 .
- 29- See p. 51,52 .
- 30- See pp. 53, 4 .
- 31- See p. 55 .

- 32- See p. 56 .
- 33- King , L. W. *Babylonian Boundary-Stones ..* , p. xv.
 CF. also, Black, Jereny and Green , A . *Gods , Demons
 and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia , An Illustrated
 Dictionary* , London , 1992 , p. 19 , and pp. 47,48 of this
 of this work .
- 34- King , L.W. , *op. cit.* , pp. 19-23 .
- 35- Hinke W.M.J., *A new Boundary-Stone of
 Nebuchadrezza I* , pp. 37-39 .
- 36- Hinke W.M.J. *Ibid.* , pp. 55-62 .
- 37- Hinke W.M.J. *Ibid.* , pp. 54-59 .
- 38- Black J. and Green , *A gods* , p. 101 .
 Eshara or Ishara , the mistress of victory over lands . And
 she has the ability in preventing hearing . And if one alter
 the boundary-stone ; May she not hearhim in mighty
 battle . See , Hinke , *op. cit.* , pp. 54-59 .
 Her worship may have spread into Southern Mesopotamia
 from Middle Euphrates region . As a goddess of love she is
 equated with Ishtar . Earlier her associated animal was the
 snake , replaced from Kassite time by the scorpion . In
 other guises she is associated with war and with extipicy .
 See , Black J. , *op. cit.* , p. 110 .
- 39- Hinke W.M. , *A new boundary-stone ..* , pp. 53-58 .
- 40- Black J. , *gods ...* , p. 30 .
- 41- , *Ibid.* p. 76 .
- 42- Hink W.M. , *A new boundary-stone ...* , pp. 53-59 .
- 43- Abzu : Although it can sometimes rain very hard in
 southern Mesopotamia , it was anciently believed that ,
 wells , streams , rivers and lakes drew their water from and

were replenished from a fresh water ocean which lay beneath the earth in the (abzu) or (engur) .

(The salt sea , on the other hand , surrounded the earth) .

The abzu was the particular realm and home of the wise god Enlil (Ea) , his wife Damgalnuna (Damkina) and his mother Nammu , and was also inhabited by a number of creatures subordinate to him .See, Black J., Gods .., p. 27 .

- 44- ... , Gods ... , p. 75 .
- 45- Hinke W.M. , A new boundary-stone .. , p. 53 .
- 46- , Ibid. pp.57-59 .
- 47- Black J. , Gods ... , p. 135 .
- 48- , Ibid. pp. 182-184 .
- 49- , Ibid. p. 184 .
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