

# THE KUDURRUS AS MONUMENTS

G. BUCCELLATI

## 1. THE QUESTION AND A NEW PROPOSAL

It is seldom that Assyriologists ask the question about texts as artifacts, and even more seldom about the artifacts as monuments, i.e. as objects placed in a given social space. The kudurrus would seem to be an exception in this respect. The question as to their use as monuments has in fact been addressed frequently, though it has found confident answers only in earlier works, while more recent studies are more non-committal. The understanding of their function as monuments is shown by the very use of the English term with which these artifacts are generally referred to, i.e. “boundary stones,” a translation which goes back to the early publications,<sup>1</sup> and carries with it the general implication that they were markers set up to indicate a boundary, i.e. “stones” that were physically placed in the fields. An explicit argument in support of this thesis was developed on the basis of interesting philological considerations, whereby it was maintained<sup>2</sup> that the use of the *demonstrative* pronoun referring to fields (“*these* fields”) would imply that the kudurrus with this formulation were in fact placed in the fields, while the use of the *anaphoric* pronoun (“*the above mentioned* fields”) would convey a purely intertextual cross reference and thus imply that the kudurrus with that formulation were placed in some other location.

The more recent scholarly trend has been to consider such arguments as inconclusive,<sup>3</sup> and the whole issue had basically been shelved until it was revived through the appearance of a recent volume dealing with 3rd millennium, or “ancient”, kudurrus.<sup>4</sup> In this publication the question is raised again, with the conclusion that the kudurrus were exclusively “deposited” in temples.<sup>5</sup> But the primary focus of these recent studies remains on either the textual or the iconographic dimensions. Thus it seems useful to take up again the specific question about the kudurrus as monuments, and it seems especially appropriate to do so here, in an article written in honor of a scholar who has so distinctly and effectively campaigned for an integration of Assyriology with archaeology.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> HINKE, 1907; KING, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> STEINMETZER, 1922, p. 72f. Note that the title of this work explicitly refers to the study of the kudurrus as “forms of documents”, i.e. as artifacts.

<sup>3</sup> BRINKMAN, 1981, p. 270; SEIDL, 1968, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> GELB *et al.*, 1991, esp. pp. 21-24.

<sup>5</sup> Note that the authors attribute (p. 21) to Seidl “the proposition that at least all kudurrus of the early first millennium were set up in the field”, but this is actually at variance with what SEIDL, 1968, p. 73, says: “Über die Möglichkeit oder Unmöglichkeit ihrer Aufstellung im Freien kann also nichts gesagt werden. ... Diese Angabe weisen alle auf eine Aufstellung außerhalb der Felder hin.”

<sup>6</sup> It is also symbolic that the findspot of many of the Mesopotamian kudurrus is ancient Elam, where they had been taken as booty - symbolic, that is, of Professor De Meyer’s specific interregional interests.

What I am asking is the question about the physical and functional setting or social space (the “Sitz im Leben”, if you will) of this particular class of artifacts. Can we adduce new considerations that would contribute to our understanding of (a) their physical emplacement in some “real time”<sup>7</sup> built environment, and of (b) their structural function within Mesopotamian institutional life?

The most telling argument against an emplacement in the fields is that they show no trace of weathering:<sup>8</sup> for, how could both incised inscriptions and reliefs be preserved in such pristine conditions if they had been partly embedded in the ground and partly exposed to weather erosion? In addition, it is a fact that of the some 150 exemplars known<sup>9</sup> none were found in fields; and it also seems unlikely that the Elamite soldiers collecting booty should have done so by roaming through the countryside.<sup>10</sup>

The most telling argument in favor of a temple emplacement is the fact that one at least of the kudurrus was found, stratigraphically, in such a context.<sup>11</sup> In addition, a strong inferential argument has been made in favor of the kudurrus (of both the 3rd and 2nd millennium) having been deposited in the temple of Shamash in Sippar.<sup>12</sup>

The solution I am proposing here may be articulated in three parts. (A) In all time periods, the kudurrus were set up in the fields, but as simple uninscribed stones of the same size and shape as the known inscribed kudurrus. (B) In certain particular periods, some of these field markers were inscribed and decorated, and set up in temples, or at any rate in public spaces. (C) A functional background to the monumental display of the inscribed kudurrus may be found in what I propose may have been the monumental display of clay pegs. I will take up each point in turn.

## 2. UNINSCRIBED KUDURRUS AS FIELD MARKERS

The key morphological traits (see Fig. 1) of the kudurrus as we have them, i.e. as inscribed three-dimensional objects, are: the vaguely cylindrical nature of their shape; the relative unevenness of their form, especially their sides; the presence of a pointed top<sup>13</sup> (sometimes highlighted by a pillow-like disk<sup>14</sup>), the fact that they often have an inset base, characterized by a much rougher surface than the upper part; and their relatively small size. On the whole, the connotation conveyed by the French term that was used for the first exemplar quoted in the literature, i.e. “caillou,” or

---

<sup>7</sup> This is a useful idiom derived from current technology, which helps us to distinguish between a museographic setting to which we are intuitively attuned (classes of objects within display cases), and a setting which depends on the aggregate of ancient concomitant factors as known to us from excavations.

<sup>8</sup> SEIDL, 1968, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> BRINKMAN, 1981, 269; SEIDL, 1989.

<sup>10</sup> SEIDL, 1968, 73. This argument, used by Seidl against the notion that the stones could have been picked up by Elamite soldiers in the fields, is repeated, without attribution, in GELB *et al.*, 1991, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> SEIDL, 1968, p. 72f.

<sup>12</sup> GELB *et al.*, 1991, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> These three formal characteristics have led to an early interpretation of the kudurrus as representing a phallus symbol, see especially STEINMETZER, 1922, p. 114, n. 1; note the objections by SEIDL, 1968, p. 68, n. 13.

<sup>14</sup> See SEIDL, 1989.

## THE KUDURRUS AS MONUMENTS

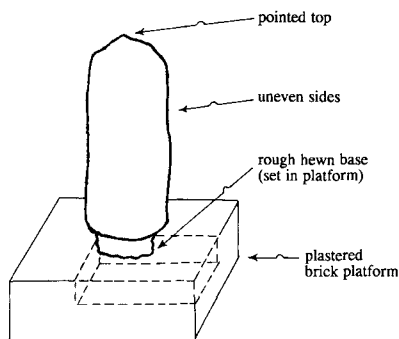


Fig. 1 Key morphological traits of kudurrus

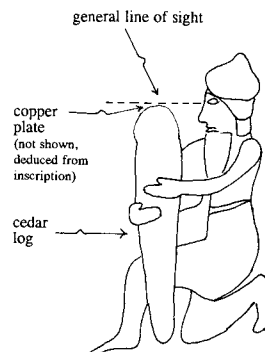


Fig. 2 Schematic rendering of boulder of Puzur-Inshushinak

“pebble,”<sup>15</sup> is quite appropriate, except in that it conveys the notion of a relatively small size, so that we should qualify it in English as a “large pebble,” or even speak of a “small boulder.” The point is that the kudurrus are not stelae, columns or obelisks, where the shape of the stone is in and of itself decorative; rather, the aesthetic aspect is limited almost exclusively to the surface decoration.

This makes sense if the (inscribed) kudurrus are viewed as preserving the shape which they would have had originally as stones set up to mark special points in the fields. Stones of any type would have been especially noticeable in the alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia, and thus they would have been valued even if misshapen, particularly if they tapered sharply in such a way as to mark not just a generic spot, but a distinctive point. It is probably also for this reason that the kudurrus are found only in Southern Mesopotamia.<sup>16</sup> Such a specific insistence on the pointed nature of the top may of course be suited for the uninscribed kudurrus as a corner stake, marking, as the early English translation suggests, the point where the boundary takes a turn.

It may also be, however, that, instead of using as many stones as there were corners, there were only two or three of these stones placed in an offset position, so that they could be used as bench marks for surveying purposes.<sup>17</sup> A monument such as the Votive Boulder of Puzur-Inshushinak found in Susa<sup>18</sup> may reflect the use of such a benchmark, even though the monument itself may have been something else than a stone. The deity holds in his hands an object which is too large to be a nail, and too wedge-like at the bottom to be the equivalent of an inscribed kudurrus. An inscription by the same king speaks of “a copper and cedar nail,”<sup>19</sup> which may refer precisely to the benchmark as shown in the relief: not a stone boulder, but a cedar log capped by a copper plate

<sup>15</sup> STEINMETZER, 1922, p. 86f; BRINKMAN, 1968, p. 333.

<sup>16</sup> BRINKMAN, 1981, p. 269.

<sup>17</sup> My student Stephen M. Hughey is in the process of writing an important doctoral dissertation, in which he has assembled an unsuspected amount of evidence documenting the practice and significance of surveying or, as he calls it, “positioning” in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia. The importance of surveying as a background to understanding the kudurrus has also been mentioned in passing by BRINKMAN, 1981, p. 272.

<sup>18</sup> See recently B. ANDRÉ-SALVINI in HARPER *et al.*, 1992, p. 87-90 (I owe this reference to Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati). See also ELLIS, 1968, pp. 80, 84 and p. 60 for a similar figurine from Lagaš.

<sup>19</sup> *Sikkat erē erēnim iškun*, THUREAU-DANGIN, 1907, p. 178: ii 12-13; cf. ELLIS, 1968, pp. 80 and 169.

or disk, on which the critical reference point could be incised. This would have made a perfect surveying monument indeed: the log could have been driven into the ground at a sufficient depth to make it steady, and one could sight other points along its top. The kneeling deity shown on the relief would then be sighting along and across the copper plaque (see Fig. 2).<sup>20</sup>

Both the Akkadian word *kudurru* and its corresponding logogram NÍG.DU may have a bearing on our discussion. Two distinct verbal roots *kdr* are listed in the dictionaries: *kadāru* A “to be overbearing” and *kadāru* B “to place a kudurru,” the latter being understood as a denominative from *kudurru*. The latter verb, however, occurs not only in the D stem *kudduru*, which is what one would expect for a denominative verb, but also in the basic stem, where the denominative interpretation would be unusual. I would suggest that the two verbs belong together, expressing the generic meaning: “to be crest-like”; psychologically, this is understood as “raising the head in an overbearing manner,” while physically it would be understood as “raising the head like a point.” Notice also the bird name *kudurrānu*, which refers to a crested bird, like a rooster.

The logogram NÍG.DU is not an early pictograph, but a later term which may be descriptive of the functional use of the kudurru. Literally understood, it means “thing of walking” or “pacing”: it fits well with the notion of the kudurru as a field marker, from which, and to which, one walks or paces in order to measure distances. This would be applicable to the uninscribed kudurru as boundary marker, but it would be especially appropriate for a benchmark, from which, and to which, one would either pace or stretch the rope.<sup>21</sup> In either case, the logogram would seem to have a built-in reference not to a display function, but to a technical utilization of the kudurru; it would seem to refer specifically, in other words, to an uninscribed field kudurru. The fact that NÍG.DU also stands for a set measure of distance (5.94 m) may be linked precisely to a standard length for the rope (a “chain,” in modern surveying parlance) used in measuring between one NÍG.DU and the other.

### 3. INSCRIBED KUDURRUS AS DISPLAY MONUMENTS

Since the definition of field boundaries was especially relevant at the moment that a sale transaction was concluded involving the field itself, it is natural that the kudurrus as field markers (whether as boundary stones or as bench marks) should come to serve as symbols for the field as a legal entity. They might then be displayed as such within some specified urban space, for instance a temple, a neighbourhood court onto which several houses opened their doors (*babtum*), or a square next to the city gate; in each of these cases they would have served as a public and permanent record of the deed. The need for such record to be public has often been noted,<sup>22</sup> but we may now focus more specifically on the emplacement of these monuments. Field markers would often have been relatively small in size, and they would easily have been lost in any such public space. To avoid such an eventuality, one might have set them onto a mud brick platform, which might in turn have been accompanied by a written description of the transaction to which the kudurru applied. That we

<sup>20</sup> In my understanding, the text implies that the benchmark was set up next to a gate in order to obtain proper elevation for the grade of a new canal.

<sup>21</sup> See the terms *abi ašlim* “person in charge of the rope” and *ašlam tarāšum* “to stretch the rope”, CAD A 448a.

<sup>22</sup> STEINMETZER, 1922, p. 96; CUQ, 1929, p. 85f; KOSCHAKER, 1928, p. 178; 1931, p. 101f; GELB *et al.*, 1991, p. 23.

### THE KUDURRUS AS MONUMENTS

do not have the remnants of any such structure in the archaeological record is not surprising, since they would easily have weathered or have otherwise been damaged;<sup>23</sup> but we do have a record for what I have interpreted as (structurally) analogous monuments, i.e. the royal inscriptions of the Old Akkadian period, which survived into the Old Babylonian period.

Be that as it may, it seems very probable that the decorated and inscribed kudurrus as we have them imitated the shape of a field kudurru. The original shape was maintained, including the relatively misshapen profile, but the sides were slightly flattened and especially made very smooth, so that one could more easily write on them. In this way, the physical object which served as the concrete marker in the fields (whether as a boundary stone or as a benchmark) would serve in and of itself as the public record of the transaction. The two major periods when this occurred were the mid third millennium and the Middle Babylonian period. In both cases, the geographical region affected was only the South, a fact which may be related to the observation that in the alluvial plain any stone would have acquired some distinctive value and significance. A particular historical reason why the evidence is limited to these two periods may have been the increase of large landholding ventures, i.e. a sort of large scale privatization of public land<sup>24</sup> for which the monumental display of the kudurrus may have appeared as especially fitting.

It seems certain that the inscribed kudurrus were displayed atop some sort of platform, since, as noted above, many of them have an inset base which is only rough hewn, and would have served no other apparent purpose but for being fitted into a structural support. So, while the tablet contracts would have been deposited in the various archives, public and private, where they belonged, the public and permanent display of the kudurrus would have served the specific purpose of providing true public access to the information. The "public" archives were such only in the sense that different interested parties could consult the records; but the "public" display of the monuments meant that everybody in the community was made aware (and, to the extent that the monuments were permanent, kept aware) of the shifts in property rights. If so, the social space of the kudurrus was such that it would not only cater to individual vanity, but also to the safeguard of communal relationships.

#### 4. PLAQUES AS FRAMES FOR CLAY PEGS

The notion that technical devices could be used as legal instruments for public display, and that they could in the course of time come to be inscribed and decorated, may find a structural correlative in another element of Mesopotamian material culture - the peg and what I consider to be its frame, a plaque with a hole in the center.

The peg in general (*gišKAG, sikkatu*) is well known as a marker of property: they were driven as stakes in the ground and in walls.<sup>25</sup> In their inscribed variety, the pegs occur in a great number of

---

<sup>23</sup> The clay stelas (*narū ša ḥašbi*, see BRINKMAN, 1981, p. 268, 270) may refer to such monuments. Note the text quoted in CAD N, p. 366a, where it is said that a clay stela was damaged through the collapse of a wall, and was replaced by a stone stela.

<sup>24</sup> See especially BRINKMAN, 1981, p. 272.

<sup>25</sup> See KRAUS, 1947, pp. 71-113; ELLIS, 1968, pp. 72-93; AHw 1041f; GELB *et al.*, 1991, p. 23. S.M. HUGHEY (see above, n. 17) argues in favor of their being primarily surveying markers, for

clay exemplars : the inscription provided a record describing the property, supplying, as it were, a metonymic extrapolation from the practical use as a stake to the abstract function as the embodiment of legal status.

The correlation between inscribed kudurrus and inscribed pegs has been discussed in some detail and so has the functional use of the pegs.<sup>26</sup> According to the reconstruction proposed there, the pegs were displayed on the side of some public building, such as a temple or a city-gate ; this would imply that there would be rows of pegs belonging to different individuals, and serving as some kind of public registry of recent and current transactions. It seems quite possible that, especially in the early periods, the pegs that were so driven into the wall of a public building might have been uninscribed. If so, the act would have been purely symbolic, since there was no way of tracing a given peg back to the seller whose new property rights it was meant to symbolize. The next logical step was to establish a permanent link between the act of driving the peg and the contractual obligations for which it stood : this was accomplished by inscribing the peg ; the fact that a clay peg acted as a clay envelope for a wooden peg<sup>27</sup> may correspond to both the desire of using a more permanent medium than wood, and the need to have a standard writing surface, i.e., precisely, clay.

But another alternative, I would suggest, was to frame not so much the core of the wooden peg with a clay envelope, as rather its head with a border set into the plaster of the wall. This would have served much more prominently the purposes of public display, and would have been particularly suited for the more important transactions. A conspicuous frame of this sort might have served as the centerpiece around which other pegs might have been placed that belonged to the same individual (see Fig. 3). It is such a function that I envisage for the plaques with a center hole. If we think of a possible concrete setting for the proposal quoted above (namely, that the property pegs described in the texts were placed together in some public space), it seems logical to assume that they were not just buried in the plaster, but that they should in some way be displayed. It is also intriguing to note that in an archaic representation of a peg driven through a wall (as seen in profile) there is a certain thickness showing, and this might represent just such a border serving to highlight the peg.<sup>28</sup> The plaques would clearly have provided an excellent means of displaying the pegs. It has been remarked that the central hole is clearly not a perforation after the fact, but an integral element of the plaque around which the composition revolves ;<sup>29</sup> in fact, it seems valid to say that the plaque is compositionally a frame for the hole.

It has also been noted, by someone as sensitive as GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, that the style of the plaques “represent the most frequent and rather dismal efforts at scenic sculpture in Early Dynastic art.”<sup>30</sup> She goes on to say that “the bland, almost businesslike assertion that an offering had been made, a feast been celebrated (or the costs of either defrayed) did certainly not prove particularly inspiring to Sumerian artists” so that “artistic inventiveness appears to wither,” “the

---

horizontal and vertical control respectively, and in this too they might be functionally related to the kudurrus.

<sup>26</sup> GELB *et al.*, 1991, especially p. 44 ; see also p. 23 ; 240f. For the suggestion that several pegs may have been set into a simple wall for the purpose of public display see also LANDSBERGER, BALKAN, 1950, p. 266f.

<sup>27</sup> GELB *et al.*, 1991, p. 241a.

<sup>28</sup> See especially GELB *et al.*, 1991, Vol. 2, Pl. 13, Side A ; see also the photograph on Pl. 14 and the discussion in Vol. 1, p. 44.

<sup>29</sup> BOESE, 1971, p. 1f.

<sup>30</sup> GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, 1951, p. 159.

scheme itself lacked imaginative scope,” and the whole effort “bogged down in a display of smugly devout little figures engaged in stereotyped acts of feasting.”<sup>31</sup> In fact, the stock motifs on the plaques are not primarily religious, but rather appear as family “portraits,” often with captions giving the names of family members,<sup>32</sup> as banquets, and as the supply of food for the banquets. The emphasis on family participation would seem to fit well with the notion that the plaques were frames for the symbols of the transfer of property rights from one family to another. And the stylistic repetitiveness stressed by GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT<sup>33</sup> may imply that the plaques were indeed “business-like” in their referential value: they identified the purchasers and new owners with visual labels that were easily understood by any member of the community; and the temple location served the social purpose of “publishing” the completion of the transaction rather than any overt religious function. It is in this sense that the plaques would have served as a functional analog of the decorated and inscribed face of the kudurrus, whereas the pegs framed by the plaques would have served as the functional analog of the uninscribed field kudurru.

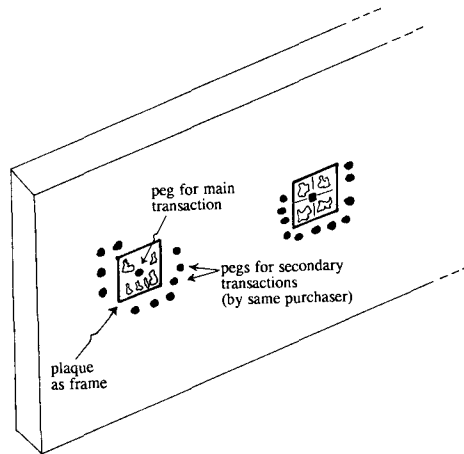


Fig. 3. Hypothetical reconstruction of wall display for pegs and plaques

This interpretation does certainly not exclude that the plaques might have served other purposes as well, and a variety of such purposes has in fact been envisaged in the literature. The first interpretation suggested that the plaques were meant as supports for other items, such as a mace<sup>34</sup> or a standard<sup>35</sup> (this would be especially applicable when the plaques were laid horizontally in the ground).

The second interpretation proposed that the plaques served to hold a door knob on which the string and sealing would have been placed that were meant to guarantee the safety of the contents of a

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 160. See also her statement in GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT and ASHMOLE, 1977, p. 95, that the plaques “do not seem to have stirred artistic imagination; the rows of little men solemnly feasting, the rows of chariots and captives, are extremely dull.”

<sup>32</sup> See COOPER, 1986, pp. 22-24.

<sup>33</sup> Something which BOESE, 1971 does not seem to address.

<sup>34</sup> FRANKFORT, 1955, p. 33. See the criticism by HANSEN, 1963, p. 146, 151.

<sup>35</sup> GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, 1951, p. 157.

room.<sup>36</sup> Such use is clearly demonstrated, *inter alia*, by the excavated evidence of sites like Mari<sup>37</sup> or Chogha Zambil.<sup>38</sup> Yet the very evidence from Chogha Zambil would seem to require that other interpretations may be applicable as well. For it is unlikely that the storage of more than 700 pegs, and more than 200 pegs and plaques<sup>39</sup> at this very site should imply that either there were that many doors in the building, or that prefabricated plaques and pegs should have been stored in such quantities and in such safety for future use on doors of the building. It seems thus possible to assume that these particular plaques and pegs served as identifiers of the donor that had made the building of the ziggurat possible, as if the transaction were between the god and the king, whereby the god obtains title to the temple from the king. The plaques and pegs would then be displayed prominently in various locations of the ziggurat, and in this case would have had a value which was both aesthetic<sup>40</sup> and symbolic.

Such a symbolic value is related to the third interpretation which is generally given of plaques and pegs, i.e. as religious objects.<sup>41</sup> This connotation is implied by the very adjective "votive" which has become a fixed element of the terminology ("votive plaque" in English, "Weihplatte" in German). Obviously all of the utilitarian functions outlined above are fully compatible with a religious dimension as well, since frames for standards, for door-knobs or for property markers could all be dedicated as votive objects to the deity in whose temple the plaque was placed.

---

<sup>36</sup> HANSEN, 1963, especially p. 152-53; FIANDRA, 1979; 1982.

<sup>37</sup> See FIANDRA, 1982, p. 15.

<sup>38</sup> As reinterpreted by FIANDRA, 1982, pp. 9-11.

<sup>39</sup> GHIRSHMAN, 1966, p. 18 and pls. XVII-XIX, XCVII-XCVIII.

<sup>40</sup> As proposed by the excavators, GHIRSHMAN, 1966, p. 18.

<sup>41</sup> See especially BOESE, 1971, p. 162f.



## THE KUDURRUS AS MONUMENTS

### REFERENCES

- BOESE, J., 1971: *Altmesopotamische Weihplatten; eine sumerische Denkmalsgattung des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (= *Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 6), Berlin, New York.
- BRINKMAN, J.A., 1968: *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.*, Rome.
- BRINKMAN, J.A., 1981: « Kudurru. A. Philologisch », *RLA* 6/3-4, 268-74.
- BUCCELLATI, G., 1993: « Through a Tablet Darkly. A Reconstruction of Old Akkadian Monuments Described in Old Babylonian Copies », in COHEN, M.E., SNELL, D.C., WEISBERG, D.B. (eds.): *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda, Md., 58-71.
- COOPER, J.S., 1986: *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions 1. Pre-Sargonic Inscriptions* (= *The American Oriental Society. Translation Series* 1), New Haven.
- CUQ, E., 1929: *Etudes sur le droit babylonien*, Paris.
- ELLIS, R.S., 1968: *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New Haven.
- FIANDRA, E., 1979: « The Administrative Functions of Clay Sealings in Protohistorical Iran », *Iranica*, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 307-2, Pl. XVXXXI.
- FIANDRA, E., 1982: « Porte e chiusure di sicurezza nell'antico Oriente », *Bollettino d'Arte* 13, 1-18.
- FRANKFORT, H., 1955: *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth.
- GELB, I.J., STEINKELLER, P., WHITING, R.M. Jr., 1991: *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurru* (= *OIP* 104), 2 vols, Chicago.
- GHIRSHMAN, R., 1966: *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) I. La Ziggurat* (= *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran* 39), Paris.
- GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, H.A., 1951: *Arrest and Movement. An Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East*, London.
- GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, H.A., ASHMOLE, B., 1977: *Art of the Ancient World. Painting, Pottery, Sculpture, Architecture from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Crete, Greece, and Rome*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., New York.
- HANSEN, D.P., 1963: « New Votive Plaques from Nippur », *JNES* 22, 145-66, Pls.I-VI.
- HARPER, P.O., ARUZ, J., Tallon, F., 1992: *The Royal City of Susa*, New York.
- HINKE, W.J., 1907: *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur*, Philadelphia.
- KING, W.L., 1912: *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, London.
- KOSCHAKER, P., 1928: *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amama-Zeit*, Leipzig.
- KOSCHAKER, P., 1931: *Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus*, Leipzig.
- KRAUS, F.R., 1947: « Altmesopotamische Tonnagel mit Keilinschriften », *Gedächtnisschrift Halil Edhem*, Ankara, 71-113.
- LANDSBERGER, B., BALKAN, K., 1950: « Die Inschrift des assyrischen Königs Irisum, gefunden in Kültepe, 1948 », *Belleten* 14, 219-68.
- PORTER, B.N., 1993: « Conquest or Kudurru's? A Note on Peaceful Strategies of Assyrian Government », in COHEN, M.E., SNELL, D.C., WEISBERG, D.B.(eds.): *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda, Md, 194-197.
- SEIDL, U., 1968: « Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs », *BagM* 4, 1-220.
- SEIDL, U., 1981: « Kudurru. B. Bildschmuck », *RLA* 6/3-4, 275-277.
- SEIDL, U., 1989: *Die babylonische Kudurru-Reliefs. Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten* (= *OBO* 87), Freiburg.
- STEINMETZER, F.X., 1922: *Die babylonischen Kudurru (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform*, Paderborn.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, F., 1907: *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (= *VAB* 1), Leipzig.

Giorgio Buccellati  
The Kudurrus as Monuments

in

*Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien  
offertes en hommage à Leon de Meyer.*

Mesopotamian History and Environment. Occasional Publications, Vol. 2.  
Louvain: Peeters, 1994  
pp. 283-291.