

HISTORY
OF
ASSURBANIPAL,

TRANSLATED FROM THE
CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

By GEORGE SMITH.



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON,
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

MDCCCLXXI.

P R E F A C E .

IN the year 1866 I commenced copying Inscriptions with a view to publish a History of Assurbanipal. In the next year, 1867, I was appointed to assist Sir H. Rawlinson in preparing a new volume of Assyrian Inscriptions, and the copies of cylinder fragments of Assurbanipal, made by Mr. E. R. Bowler, were placed in my hands. These copies I found very useful, as Mr. Bowler had great experience in copying the Cuneiform character; and from them, in conjunction with my own copies, I put together the Cylinder Inscriptions, having at the time the benefit of Sir H. Rawlinson's supervision. These cylinders, and the principal tablets of Assurbanipal, were printed in the Third Volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.

After the printing of this work I found that, by search in the Museum cupboards, I was gathering a number of new fragments of the annals of Assurbanipal. I added these to my copies, and commenced translating them. On mentioning the subject to Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, the well-known Chronologist, he generously proposed to advance a sum of money for the publication of these annals, which sum he subsequently increased; and the completion of the work was provided for by Mr. H. Fox Talbot, the Assyrian scholar. To the kindness and liberality of these two gentlemen I am entirely indebted for the means of publishing my present work.

In order to make the book as perfect as possible I have re-copied all the texts from the original tablets and cylinders, but the fragmentary state of some of the inscriptions causes considerable doubt as to the reading of several passages; these, however, do not affect any important historical matter.

All passages restored will be found enclosed in brackets, thus [𐎶𐎵]; passages or signs present in one copy but omitted in another (𐎶𐎵); and variant words or passages are given thus (v. 𐎶𐎵).

The two books which I have most used in my translation are the Assyrian Dictionary of my friend Mr. E. Norris, and Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. I differ in opinion from Mr. Norris as to the meaning of several Assyrian words; but the numerous examples and comparisons given in his Dictionary make it a most valuable aid to Assyrian scholars. The printing of the present work has occupied about twelve months. It has been in the hands of Messrs. Harrison and Sons, who have spared no expense to make it perfect; and for its progress I am much indebted to Mr. John Mabey, the compositor, who has so much skill in setting-up the Cuneiform types.

My own chronological views are not very decided, for the Assyrian Inscriptions have introduced many difficulties into this already complicated subject; on this account I have said as little as possible about the chronology. Mr. Bosanquet has inserted, at the end of the book, a paper to explain his views on the subject of Chronology in connection with the Annals of Assurbanipal.

G. S.

September, 1871.

ASSURBANIPAL.

FIRST among the sources of information respecting Assurbanipal must be placed the decagon cylinder (Cylinder A) in the British Museum. This inscription is the most perfect of his longer documents, and carries his history down to a later period than the others. Cylinder A, when complete, contained over 1,200 lines of cuneiform writing (about twenty lines are now quite lost), and is divided by lines drawn across the columns into thirteen parts. The inscriptions on other types of cylinders—the octagon (Cylinder B), the decagons (Cylinders C and D), and Cylinder E—supply us with accounts of two expeditions omitted on Cylinder A. Besides these there are many independent inscriptions, giving the history of particular campaigns; and lastly, the reports of the Assyrian generals to Assurbanipal, and his answers and proclamations. The history of Assurbanipal from these materials will divide itself into the following heads:—

- The introduction, genealogy, and accession of the monarch.
- The first Egyptian war.
- The second Egyptian war.
- The siege of Tyre and affairs of Lydia.
- The conquest of Karbit (omitted on Cylinder A).
- The war with Minni.
- The war with Urtaki, king of Elam (omitted on Cylinder A).

The war with Te-umman, king of Elam, and the conquest of Gambuli.

The revolt of Saul-mugina, brother of Assurbanipal.

The first war with Umman-aldas, king of Elam.

The second war with Umman-aldas.

The Arabian war.

The final triumph over Elam.

The buildings of Assurbanipal.

Later notices of his reign and sketch of the chronology.

Under each head the most important documents referring to it will be given, so far as possible, that the different accounts may be compared together. Cylinder A is here taken as the standard wherever it refers to the events.

PART I.

Introduction, Genealogy, and Accession of Assurbanipal.

The name of Assur-bani-pal, ordinarily written $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, sometimes $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$ and $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, and once $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, consists of three elements; the first 𒌷 , 𒂗 , or 𒂗 , is the name of the god Assur; the second element, 𒂊 , 𒂗 , or $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂊}$, *bani* or *ban*, is a form of the verb to make or beget; and the third element, 𒂊 , 𒂗 , 𒂊 , or $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, is the Assyrian word for *son*. There is a doubt about the pronunciation of this element; in *Cun. Ins. Vol. III, p. 70, l. 122*, $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, *ibila*, is given as the Akkad value, and $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, *ablu*, as the Assyrian sound; this agrees with *Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 53, l. 33*, where the word is written $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, *abil*; but against this we have to place the fact that this word is rendered in the Hebrew and Greek, in the case of three other names, without the initial *a*. These names are $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂗}$, which is rendered in Hebrew

la / asphal / abil

תִּגְלַת־פִּלְאֶסֶר, in the Septuagint *Θαλγαθφελλασάρ*, in our version Tiglath Pileser; מֶרֶדַח־בַּלְאֲדָן, in Hebrew מֶרֶדַח־בַּלְאֲדָן, in the Septuagint *Μαρωδάχ Βαλαδάν*, in our version Merodach Baladan; and נַבּוֹפָאֲלָסְסָרוֹס, in Josephus *Ναβοπαλάσσαρος*, and in Ptolemy *Ναβοπολλασάρου*. In the case of the inscribed brick, *Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 5, No. xvii*, *pal*, is used for the word son, and the same syllable is used in the word *lib-pal-pal*, meaning grandson, or any other descent further removed than a son. From these examples I have come to the conclusion that, when in combination with other elements, the word *abil*, a son, drops its initial *a* and becomes *pil*, *bal*, or *pal*; and I have chosen the name Assurbanipal, generally used by English scholars, in preference to Asur-bani-habal, the form given by Dr. Oppert.

TEXTS.

The principal texts relating to the genealogy and accession of Assurbanipal are Cylinder A, col. i, lines 1 to 50; Tablet K, 3050, which gives a very long account (an extract only from col. ii of this tablet is given); Cylinder B, col. i, lines 1 to 24 (lines 25 and 26 are lost, and lines 27 to end of introduction are identical with Cylinder A, col. i, lines 45 to 50); Tablet K, 2641, which appears to be a fragment of a letter from Assurbanipal to his father Esarhaddon; and an extract from the Sale Tablet K, 321.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 50.

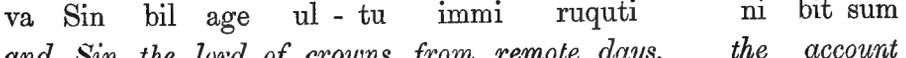
1. 

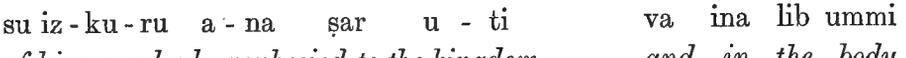
A - na - ku Assur-bani-pal bi-nu - tu Assur va Bilat
I am Assurbanipal, the progeny of Assur and Beltis,
2. 

ablu sar rab - u sa Bit-rid - u ti
son of the great king of Bit-riduti,
3. 

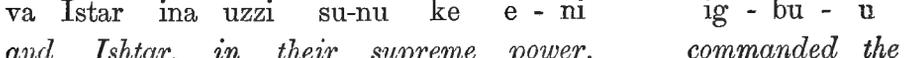
sa Assur
whom Assur

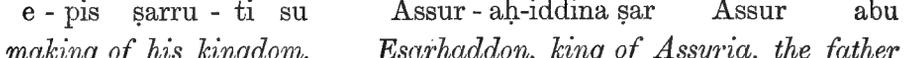
457 4779 34πσ 95- 4779 4 367

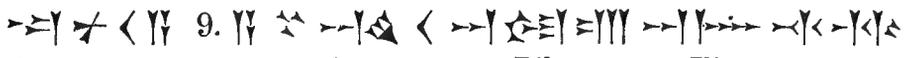
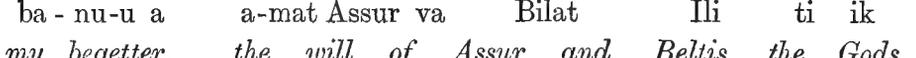
 4. 
 va Sin bil age ul - tu immi ruquti ni bit sum
and Sin the lord of crowns, from remote days, the account

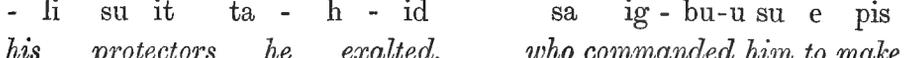
 5. 
 su iz - ku - ru a - na şar u - ti va ina lib ummi
of his name had prophesied to the kingdom, and in the body

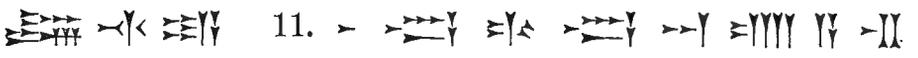
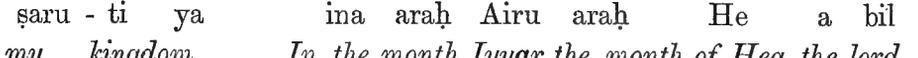
 6. 
 su ib - nu - u a - na riu ut Assur Samas Vul
of his mother, have made to rule Assyria. Shamas, Vul,

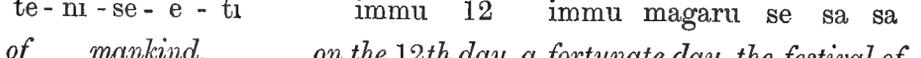
 7. 
 va Istar ina uzzi su - nu ke e - ni ig - bu - u
and Ishtar, in their supreme power, commanded the

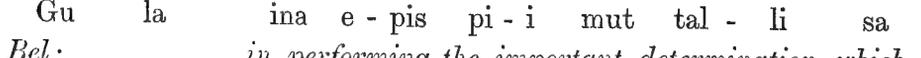
 8. 
 e - pis şarru - ti su Assur - ah - iddina şar Assur abu
making of his kingdom. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father

 9. 
 ba - nu - u a a - mat Assur va Bilat Ili ti ik
my begetter, the will of Assur and Beltis the Gods

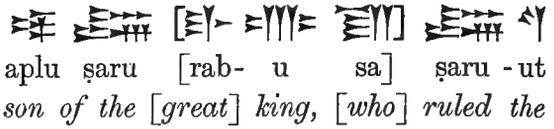
 10. 
 - li su it ta - h - id sa ig - bu - u su e pis
his protectors he exalted, who commanded him to make

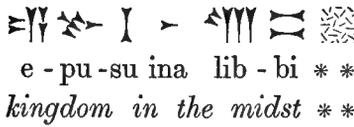
 11. 
 şaru - ti ya ina arah Airu arah He a bil
my kingdom. In the month Iyyar the month of Hea the lord

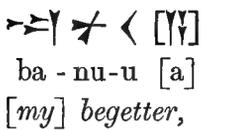
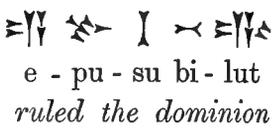
 12. 
 te - ni - se - e - ti immu 12 immu magaru se sa sa
of mankind, on the 12th day, a fortunate day, the festival of

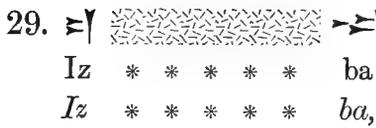
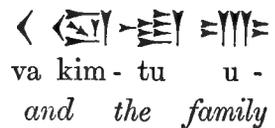
 13. 
 Gu la ina e - pis pi - i mut tal - li sa
Bel; in performing the important determination, which

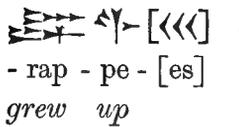
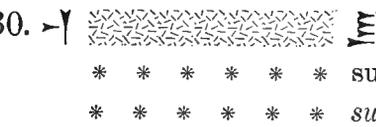
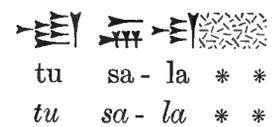
25. 
 mar-kas šaru - [ti sa Sin] - aḫi - irba abu abu
the royal property of Sennacherib, the father of the father

 26. 
 a-lid - di [ya] aplu šaru [rab- u sa] šaru - ut
 [my] begetter, son of the [great] king, [who] ruled the

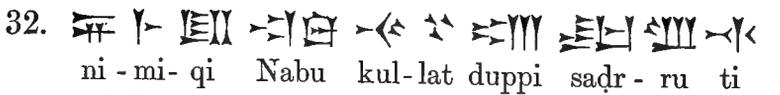
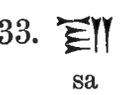
 27. 
 e - pu - su ina lib - bi * * a - sar [Assur - aḫ-iddina] abu
 kingdom in the midst * * The place [Esarhaddon] the father

 28.  
 ba - nu - u [a] ki - rib * * * * * e - pu - su bi - lut
 [my] begetter, within * * * * * ruled the dominion

 29.  
 Assur Iz * * * * * ba va kim - tu u -
 of Assyria. Iz * * * * * ba, and the family

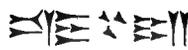
 30.  
 - rap - pe - [es] * * * * * su tu sa - la * *
 grew up * * * * * su tu sa - la * *

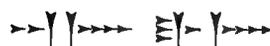
31. 
 [a - na - ku] Assur - bani - pal ki - rib - su a ḫu - uz
 [I] Assurbanipal within it, took care

32.  33. 
 ni - mi - qi Nabu kul - lat duppi saḫr - ru ti sa
 of the wisdom of Nebo, the whole of the inscribed tablets, of

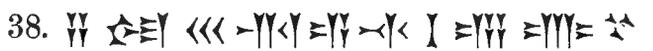

 gi - mir dup - pa - a - ni ma - la kip va ah - zi su - nu
 all the clay tablets, the whole of their mysteries and difficulties,

 34. 
 a - ḫi - id al - gis ab - sa - le - e iz - bam ru - du
 I solved. al gis ab sa le, powerful bows,

 35. 
 susi rukubi za-mid- šu a-sa-a- ti ina ki - bit
 horses, chariots and their harness firmly fitted. By the

 36. 
 ili rabati sa sip - ku ra * bit - sun
 will of the great Gods who * * * their * * *.

 37. 
 a- da - bu ba ta - us - ta su-un ig - bu-u e - pis
 I proclaimed their laws, they commanded the making

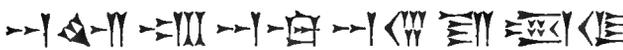
 38. 
 šaru - ti ya za- nin es- re - e - ti su-un u - sad-
 of my kingdom, the embellishing of their temples, they

 39. 
 - gi lu pa-nu-u a ke e - mu-u a e - tap- pa - lu
 entrusted to me, for me they exalted my

 40. 
 bil-u- ti ya i na - ru ga ri ya zi - ka - ru
 dominion and cast down my enemies. The man of

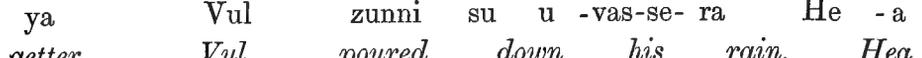
 41. 
 qar- du na - ram Assur va Istar li - id - da - tu
 war, exalted by Assur and Ishtar, the royal off-

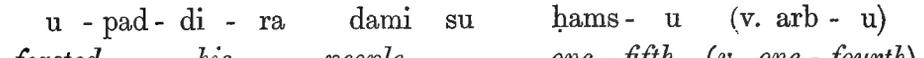
 42. 
 šar - u - ti a - na - ku ul - tu Assur Sin Samas
 spring am I. When Assur, Sin, Shamas,

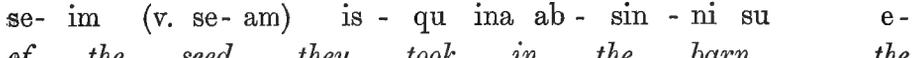
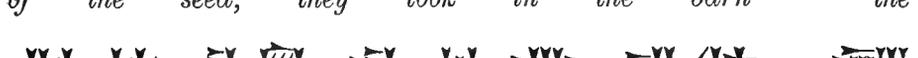
 43. 
 Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua il šar - rat
 Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen

 
 Kit-mu- ri Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
 of Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku

44. 
 da bis u -se- si bu in - ni ina kuzzu abi bani
firmly seated me on the throne of the father my be-

 45. 
 ya Vul zunni su u -vas-se- ra He - a
getter, Vul poured down his rain, Hea

 46.  (v. )
 u - pad- di - ra dami su ħams- u (v. arb - u)
feasted his people, one - fifth (v. one - fourth)

 (v. )  47. 
 se- im (v. se- am) is - qu ina ab - sin - ni su e -
of the seed, they took in the barn the


 - ri - ik su bul - tu sinap - u ešir sibirru
ears of grain storing, two-thirds of the good crops,

48. 
 na - pa - as miri (?) pi ya u - suĥ na -
abundance of corn satisfied my mouth, the

 49. 
 - pu - gi pa - ru * * * * * buli su - te - sur ina
*growing of fruit * * * * * cattle, directing in*

 50. 
 ta lit - ti * * * * * duĥ - du * * - i ya
*good fortune * * * * * plenty * * * my **


 su - um - mu - ru i - gal - lum
watch (?) they keep (?).



 ya zab-tak ab-bu şu-nu bu-şu-ris * * * *

*the father my begetter, in order(?) I placed(?) them as * * * **

8. 

 Ili rabati ip-se-te ya damiḫti ḫa-dis

The great Gods my good deeds joyfully


 9. 

 ip-pal-şu va ina ki-bi-ti su-nu zir-ti u-sib

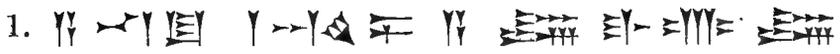
established, and by their high command I firmly sat on



 'da-a-bis ina kuzzu abi bani ya

the throne of the father my begetter.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 24.

1. 

 A-na-ku Assur-bani-pal şar rab-u şar

I am Assurbanipal the great king, the powerful king,


 2. 

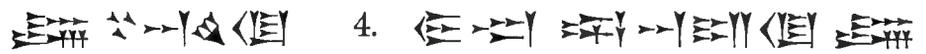
 dan-nu şar kissat şar Assur şar kip-rat

the king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four


 3. 

 arba-te zi-it lib-bi Assur-aḫ-iddina şar kissat

regions; proceeding from the body of Esarhaddon, king of nations,


 4. 

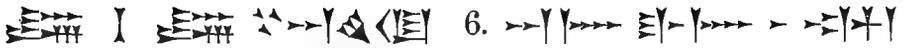
 şar Assur sakkanaku Bab-il şar

king of Assyria, high priest of Babylon, king of

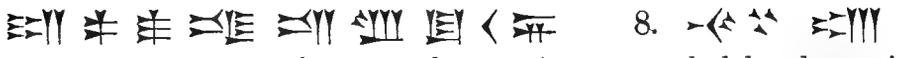

 5. 

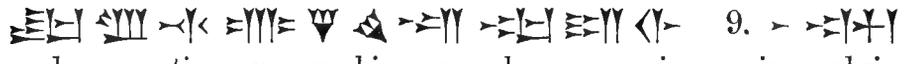
 Sumiri va Akkadi lib-pal-pal Sin-aḫi-irba

the Sumir and Akkad; grandson of Sennacherib,


 6. sar -kissat sar Assur Ili rabati ina puḥri
king of nations, king of Assyria. The great Gods in their


 7. su-nu si -mat damiq te i - sim [mu] uz nu
assembly a good account have heard, and

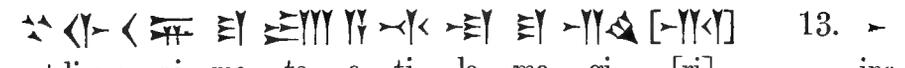

 8. ra -pa - as - tu is - ru - ku - u - ni kul-lat duppani
attentive ears have given; and to all the

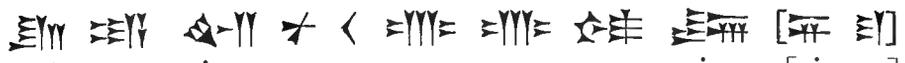

 9. saḍr ru - ti u sa - ḥi - zu ka ra si ina puḥri
inscribed tablets they caused my mind to attend. In the


 lu li - mi zi kar sum - ya u - sar - [bu u]
assembly of the mighty, the renown of my name they magnified,

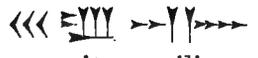

 10. u - sar - bu - u sar u - [ti ya] du - un - nu
and enlarged [my] empire. Strength,

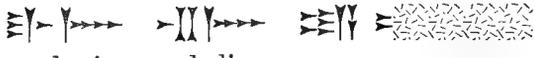
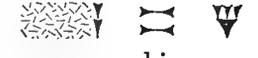

 12. zik ru - u - tu e - mu - qa - an zi - ra - [a - ti] u
renown, and powerful forces they

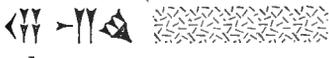

 13. -sat-lim-u-ni ma - ta - a - ti la ma - gi [ri] ina
increased to me, and countries disobedient into

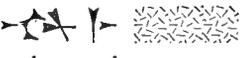
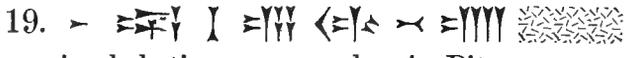

 qati ya im nu - u u - sam - zu in - [ni va]
my hand they gave. They strengthened(?) me and


 14. sa - an gu - ti ih * * * * na - dan
*the priests * * * * the*

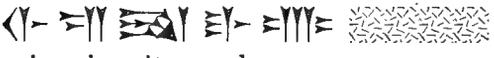
 16. 
 zi bi ya i lu eli il(?) * * * es - rit ili
*gifts of my fingers, the Gods over * * * the temples of*

 17. 
 rabati beli ya * * * * * bi sa
*the great Gods my lords * * * * * bi of*

 18. 
 ḫuraz * * * * * sukulli - - - - -
*gold. * * * * * winged figures(?),*

 19. 
 tim -mi * * * * * ina babati su - un ul -ziz Bit * * *
*columns * * * * * in their gates I set up, Bit * * **

20.  21. 
 Bit -mas masu Bit -bilat -matati Bit * * * * * ki -ma
*Bit mas masu, Bit bilat matati, Bit * * * * * like a*

 22. 
 si ši - it rab - u * * * * * allat nap - sat * * *
*great * * * * * lady of life * * **

23.  24. 
 e li * * * * * vad - duk * * * * *
*over * * * * * * * * * * * * **

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER, K, 2641.

1. 
 * * * * * rab - i ṣar kissat ṣar Bab - ili
 * * * * * *great, king of nations, king of Babylon,*

2.  3. 
 * * * * * ṣar a - bi ya ki - bi va * * * * * u
 * * * * * *the king my father in consort with me ; * * * * **



 sar kissat sar Assur ablu ka - a va * * * *
king of nations, king of Assur, thy son, and * * * *



 rabati su * * * * * dan-nis lu - u şalim - mu
his great * * * * * *much peace* * *

6.  a - ma * * * * *
 * * * * * * * * * * ya
 * * * * * * * * * * my

On reverse :

1.  bani - pal * * * *
 * * * * *banipal*

2.  Assur * * * *
 * * * * *Assyria.*

The following is the most probable restoration of this fragment :

“[To Esarhaddon] the great [king], king of nations, king of
 “ Babylon, [king of the four regions,] the king my father in consort
 “ with me ; [from Assurbanipal] the great [king], king of nations,
 “ king of Assyria, thy son * * * * his great [men(?) to the king my
 “ lord, may there be] much peace * * * * * my * * * * *.”

On reverse : “[Palace of Assur]banipal [king of nations, king
 “ of] Assyria.”

DATE ON SALE TABLET K.



 Ina arah abu immu 27 li - mu Mar - la - rim
In the month of Ab, the 27th day, the eponymy of Marlarmi, the

tur - tan Ku * * ina tar - iz Assur - bani - pal sar

*tartan Ku * * in the beginning [of the reign] of Assurbanipal,*

Assur
king of Assyria.

From these texts we learn that Assurbanipal was the son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, and that he was made king of Assyria during his father's lifetime, on the 12th day of the month Iyyar (April), in the eponymy of Marlarim ; which, according to the Assyrian eponym canon, was B.C. 668 ; and this year is further given in Ptolemy's canon as the last year of Esarhaddon. Ptolemy's list for this period being—

Ασαριδίνου υγ' [13 years] π' [end 60 year N.] B.C. 680-668.

Σαοσδουχίνου χ' [20 years] ρ' [end 80 year N.] B.C. 667-648.

Saosduchin, the successor of Esarhaddon at Babylon (according to Ptolemy), is the brother of Assurbanipal, usually called Saulmugina. He was made tributary king of Babylon, on the death of Esarhaddon (see Part ix).

PART II.

The First Egyptian War.

TEXTS.

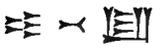
The texts of this part of the history are, Cylinder A, col. i, line 51, to col. ii, line 60; Cylinder B, col. i, line 34, to col. ii, line 22. The text of Cylinder B being in most places the same as Cylinder A only the variant passages need notice; the same may be said of Cylinder C, which has one variant passage, but otherwise agrees with Cylinder B. Cylinder E gives a different text, part only of which is preserved. Tablet K, 3083, has a passage connecting this text with that of the large Egyptian Tablets, K, 2675, and K, 228. Beside the Assyrian texts it is necessary here to give some notice of the Egyptian inscriptions bearing on the subject.

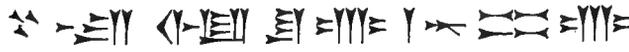
CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINE 51, TO COLUMN II, LINE 60.

51. 
 I - na - maḥ - re - e gar - ri ya a - na Ma - gan
In my first expedition to Mekan

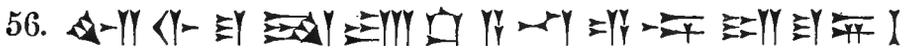
52. 
 va Mi - luḥ - ḥa lu - u - al lik Tar - qu - u ṣar Mu - zūr
and Meroe I went. Tirhakah king of Egypt

 53. 
 Ku - u - ṣi sa Assur - aḥ - iddina ṣar Assur
and Ethiopia, of whom Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the

54.  54. 
 abu ba -nu-u a abikta su is -ku-nu va i -bi - lu
father my begetter, his overthrow had accomplished; and had

55.  55. 
 mat ſu va su - u Tar - qu - u da - na - an
taken possession of his country; and he Tirhakah, the power of


 Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya
Assur Ishtar and the great Gods my lords

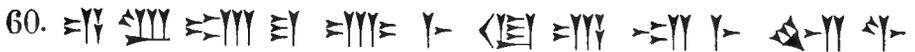
56. 
 im - si va it - ta - gil a - na e - muq ra - ma - ni su
despised, and trusted to his own might.

57. 
 e - li ſarri ke (e) - pa - a - ni sa ki rib
Of the kings and governors whom in the midst

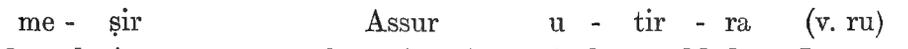
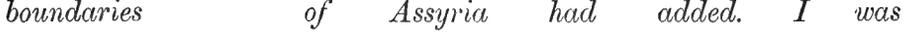
58. 
 Mu - zur u - pa - ki - du abu ba - nu - u a a - na
of Egypt, the father my begetter had appointed;

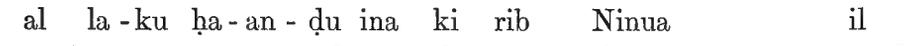
59. 
 da - a - ki ḥab (v. ḥa - ba) - a - te va e - kim
to slay, plunder, and to capture

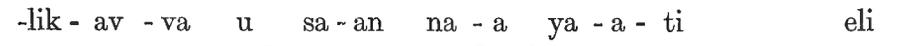
(v. ) 
 (v. ki - mu) Mu - zur il - li - kan zir - us - su - un
Egypt, he came against them;

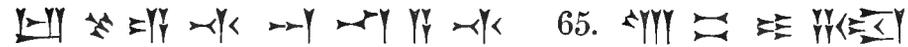
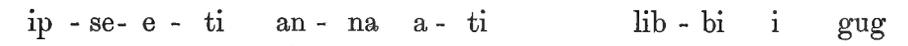
60. 
 e - ru - uv - va u - sib ki rib Mi - im - pi
he entered, and sat in Memphis, the

61. 
 alu sa abu ba nu - u a ik su - du va a - na
city which the father my begetter had taken, and to the

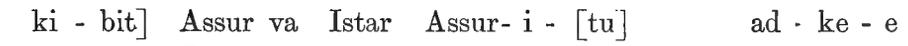
 62.  (v. 
 me - şir Assur u - tir - ra (v. ru)
boundaries of Assyria had added. I was

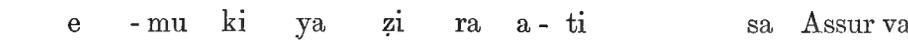
 63. 
 al la - ku ha - an - du ina ki rib Ninua il
walking round in the midst of Nineveh, and

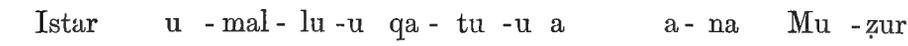
 64. 
 -lik - av - va u sa - an na - a ya - a - ti eli
one came and repeated [this] to me; over

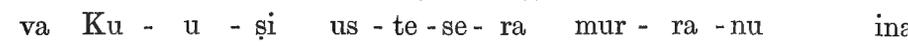
 65. 
 ip - se - e - ti an - na a - ti lib - bi i gug
these things my heart

(v. )  66. [
 (v. gu - ug) va iz - za - ru - uḫ ka - bi ti [ina
was bitter and much afflicted; [by

 67. 
 ki - bit] Assur va Istar Assur - i - [tu] ad - ke - e
the command] of Assur and the Goddess Assuritu I

 68. 
 e - mu ki ya zi ra a - ti sa Assur va
gathered my powerful forces, which Assur and

 69. 
 Istar u - mal - lu - u qa - tu - u a a - na Mu - zūr
Ishtar had placed in my hands. To Egypt

 70. 
 va Ku - u - ši us - te - se - ra mur - ra - nu ina
and Ethiopia I directed the march; in

 71. 
 mi - ti iq gar - ri ya 22 şarri sa
the course of my expedition 22 kings of

a hi [tam - ti va qabal tam - ti] ka - li

the side of the [sea and the middle of the sea,] all

72.

 ardi da - [gil pa - ni ya] ina maḥ - ri ya

tributaries dependent [on me], to my presence

[il lik - u - niv - va u - na - as si - qu niri ya]

[came and kissed my feet].

74.

 ṣarri sa - a - tu - [nu] * * * * * ina tam - ti

*Those kings * * * * * on sea*

va na ba - [li gar - ri - ti su - nu u - zaḥ - bit]

and land [their roads I took,]

76.

 ur - ḥu pa - da - nu * * * * * a - na

*the straight path * * * * * for*

na ra - ru ti ḥa - maḍ sa ṣarri ki - pa - a - ni

the entire aid (i.e. restoration) of the kings and governors

78.

 sa ki - rib Mu - zur ardi (ni) da - gil pa - ni

who in the midst of Egypt (were) tributaries dependent on

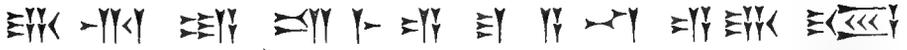
ya ur - ru hi is ar - de - e va al lik

me; quickly I descended and went

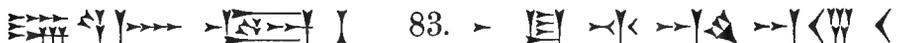
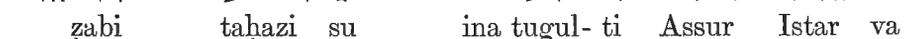
a - di Kar ba ni ti Tar - qu u ṣar

to Karbanit. Tirhakah king

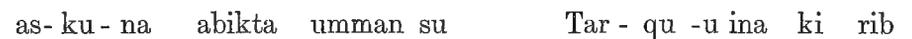
 81. 
 Mu zur va Ku - u - ši ki rib Mi - im - pi a - lak
of Egypt and Ethiopia, in the midst of Memphis, of the


 gar - ri ya is - me - e va a na e - pis qabal
progress of my expedition heard; and to make war,

82. 
 kakki tahaz a - na maḥ ri ya id ka - a
fighting and battle, to my presence he gathered the

 83. 
 zabi tahazi su ina tugul - ti Assur Istar va
men of his army. In the service of Assur, Ishtar, and

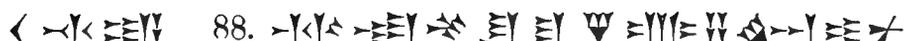
 84. 
 Ili rabati beli ya in tahaz zir rap - si
the great Gods, my lords, on the wide battle field I

 85. 
 as - ku - na abikta umman su Tar - qu - u ina ki rib
accomplished the overthrow of his army. Tirhakah in the midst of


 Mi - im pi is - ma - a taḥ te e umman su
Memphis, heard of the defeat of his army;

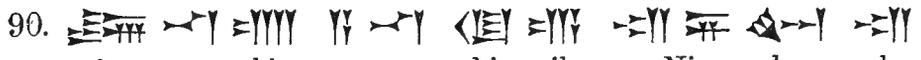
86. 
 nam ri ri Assur va Istar iṣ - ḥu pu su va
the terror of Assur and Ishtar overcame him, and

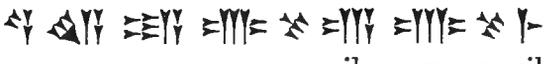
87. 
 il li - ku maḥ ḥu ur me - lam - mi ṣar -
he went back(?), my royal

 88. 
 u - ti ya ik tu - mu su va sa u - za - ḥi - i - nu
advance overwhelmed him, and they brought(?)

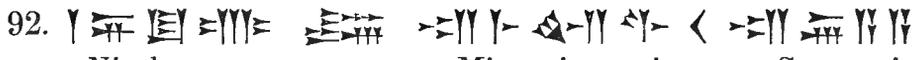
 89. 
 in ni Ili su pan mas-ki Mi - im - pi
to me(?) his Gods before my camp, Memphis


 u - vaṣ- ṣir va a- na su zu ub naps- ti su
he abandoned, and to save his life

90. 
 in na - bit a- na ki - rib Ni - ha alu
he fled into Thebes. That city

 91. 
 su-a-tu aṣ -bat umman ya u -se-rib u -se-sib
I took, my army I caused to enter and rest in


 i - na lib - bi
the midst of it.

92. 
 Ni ku- u ṣar Mi - im - pi va Ṣa - ai
Necho king of Memphis and Sais.

93. 
 Ṣar lu da ri ṣar Zi - hi - nu
Sarludari king of Pelusium(?).

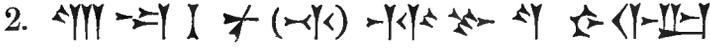
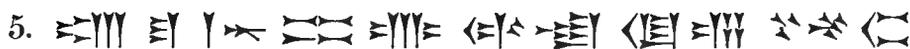
94. 
 Pi - sa - an - ḥu ru ṣar Na - at - ḥu - u
Pisan-hor king of. Natho.

95. 
 Pa aq - ru - ru ṣar (Pi) - sab - tu
Paqruru king of Pi-supt.

96. 
 Pu- uk -ku- na -an- ni - ha - pi ṣar Ḥa - at - ḥi - ri - bi
Pukkunanni-hapi king of Athribis.

97. 𐎶 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Na - aḥ - ke - e ṣar Ḫi - ni - in - si
Nech-ke king of Henins.
98. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Pu - ḍu bis - ti ṣar Za - ha - nu
Petubastes king of Tanis.
99. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 U - na - mu - nu ṣar Na - at - ḥu - u
Unamunu king of Natho.
100. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Ḫar - ši - ya e - su ṣar Zab - nu - u - ti
Horsiesis king of Sebennytus.
101. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Bu u - ai - va ṣar Bi in di - di
Buairva king of Mendes.
102. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Šu - ši in qu ṣar Bu - si - ru
Sheshonk king of Busiris.
103. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Tap - na - aḥ - ti ṣar Bu - nu - bu
Tnephachthus king of Bunubu.
104. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Pu uk - ku - na - an - ni ha - pi ṣar Aḥ - ni
Pukkunanni-ḥapi king of Akhni.
105. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Ip - ti - ḥar - ḍe - e - su ṣar Pi - za - at - ti - ḥu - ru - un - pi - ku
Iptikhardesu king of Pazatti-hurunpiku.
106. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Na - aḥ - ti - ḥu - ru - an - si - ni ṣar Pi - sab - ḍi - nu - ti
Necht-hor-ansini king of Pi-sabdinut.

COLUMN II.

1. 
 Seme e - bu - uş şu - nu - ti im - su va
The good I did to them they despised,
2. 
 lib - ba su - nu - (ti) ik - bu - ud limutti da - bab
and their hearts devised evil;
3. 
 da - bab mi - lik la
seditions evil council
- (ti) 
 (ti) şur - ra - a - ti id - bu - bu va
words they spoke, and
4. 
 mi - lik la
evil council
- 
 ku - sir mi (v. im) - li - ku ra - man su - un
they counselled among themselves;
5. 
 um - ma Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu - zur
thus: "Tirhakah from the midst of Egypt
6. 
 i - na - kit - u va at - tu - ni a - sa - ba ni
is cut off, and to us our seats
- 
 mi - i - nu e - li Tar - qu u şar ku - u - şı
remain(?)." Unto Tirhakah king of Ethiopia
7. 
 a - na sa - kan a - de - e va şa - li - mi
to make agreement and alliance
8. 
 u - ma
they
- 
 he - e ru rak - be - e su un
directed their messengers,
9. 
 um - ma
thus:



 řu lum - mu u ina bi ri in ni lis - sa kin va

 "May an alliance by this treaty be established, and

11. 

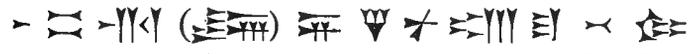
 ni in id (v. dag) ga ra a - řa mis

 we will help each other ;

12. 
 13. 

 mat a - ře - en - na - a ni zu uz va ai ib - ba si

 the country on the other side we will strengthen, and may there not


 14. 

 in bi ri (-in) - ni sa - nu - uv - va be luv a - na

 be in this treaty any other lord." Against


 15. 

 umman Assur e - muq bi - lu - ti - ya sa a - na

 the army of Assyria the force of my dominion, which to



 kit - ri su - nu us zi zu is te - ni hu - u

 their aid had been raised, they devised

16. 

 a - mat limut - ti su - ut - saki ya a - ma - a - ti

 a wicked plot. My generals of this plot

17. 
 18. 

 an - na - a - ti is - mu - u rak - be - e su un a - di

 heard ; their messengers and



 sip - ra a - ti su - nu iř - ba tu - niv va e mu - ru

 their dispatches they captured, and saw

19. 

 ip - sit řur - ra a - ti su - un řarri an - nu ti

 their seditious work. These kings

20. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎧 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 iz - bat - u - niv - va ina bi - ri ti parzil(?) is - qa - ti
they took; and in bonds of iron and fetters of

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 21. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 parzil(?) u - tam - mi - hu qati va niri ma - mit Assur
iron, bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 22. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 sar Ili ik - su - uş şu - nu - ti va sa
king of the Gods took them who

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 23. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ih - du - u ina a - de - e (Ili) rabati
sinned against the great (Gods);

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 24. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 da - ab - ti qa - tus su - un u ba - hi - i va sa
who had sought the good of their hands, and who

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 25. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 e - pu - su şu - nu - ti du - un - qu va nisi
had given them favours; and the people

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 26. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 Şa - ai Bi in - di di Za - ha - nu
of Sais, Mendes, Zaan,

26. [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 [va şi - it] - ti alani ma - la it ti
 [and] the rest of the cities, all with

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 27. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 su - nu * * * * * a - mat limut - (ti) zahiri va
 them * * * * * evil design. Small and

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 28. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 rabati ina kakki u sam [ki - tu] * * * lu
*great with the sword they caused to be destroyed * * **

la e - zi - bu ina lib - bi 29. [pagari su]-nu i lu - lu
did not leave in the midst. Their corpses they threw down

ina ga si - si 30. * * * * * - du
*in the dust, * * * * * they*

u ḥal - li bu dur ali 31. ṣarani [an - nu] - ti
destroyed the towers of the cities. These kings, who

sa limut [ti] is te - ni - hu - u 33. a - na
had devised evil against

ummani Assur bal - du - (uṣ) ṣu - nu a na
the army of Assyria, alive . to

Ninua a - di maḥ [ri] ya u - bil - u - ni
Nineveh into my presence they brought.

a - na Ni - ku - u * * * * * tu * * * ri - su - nu
*To Necho * * * * * of them,*

re e - mü ar - si su va kit - ti * * * * *
*favour I granted him, and a covenant * * * * **

a - de - e eli sa maḥ ri u - sa - tir va it - ti
observances stronger than before I caused to be restored, and with

su as - pur 37. lu - bul - tu bir - mi u lab - bi su
him I sent. Costly garments I placed upon him,

(E) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 38. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 (va) al lu ḥuraz ṣi-mat ṣaru - ti su as - kun
 ornaments of gold, his royal image I made for

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (E) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 su semiri ḥuraz u - [rak- ki ṣa] sangu- te - (e) su
 him, rings of gold I fastened on his feet,

39. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 gir (parzil) sib - bi sa ah zu su ḥuraz
 a scimitar (of steel,) its sheath of gold,

40. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 41. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ni bit sum ya * * * * * a-din su ruqubi
 the glory of my name * * * * * I gave him. Chariots,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 42. 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 susi pari a - [na
 horses, and mules for his

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 43. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ṣaru] ti su a - kiṣ su su -ut- saki
 kingdom I appointed; my generals

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 44. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ya sanuti a-na [Mu - zur it] ti su
 as governors, to [Egypt] with him I

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 45. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 as-pur a - sar abu ban-u a ina sa - ai a-na
 sent. The place where the father my begetter, in Sais to

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 46. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ṣar u - te ip - kid - du su a na mas-gar - i su
 the kingdom had appointed him, to his district I

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 47. (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 u - tir su (va) Nabu se-zib-a - ni ablu su
 restored him; (and) Neboshazban his son

> >II [W<] >II W< >II< >II 48. >II (v. >II >II >II)
 ina [Ha] at - ha - ri ba dābtu (v. da - ab - tu)
 in Athribes. Benefits and favours,

<I- >II <I- >II >II >II >II 49. >II >II >II
 damqatu eli sa abi ba - ni ya u - sa - tir
 beyond [those] of the father my begetter, I caused to restore,

>II >II >II >II >II 50. >II >II >II >II >II >II
 va e - pu - uš - šu Tar - qu - u a [na Ku u ši]
 and gave to him. Tirhakah to [Ethiopia]

>II >II >II 51. >II >II >II >II >II >II
 in - nab - tu su - ru - bat kakki Assur bil ya
 fled; the might of the soldiers of Assur my

>II >II >II 52. >II >II >II >II >II >II
 iṣ - ḥup su va il - lik simti mu si su
 lord overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night (i.e. died).

53. >II >II >II >II >II >II >II >II
 arka - nu Ur - da - ma - ne e ablu bilati su
 Afterwards Rudammon, son of his consort,

54. >II >II >II >II >II >II >II 55. >II >II >II >II
 u - sib ina kuzzu ṣaru ti su Ni - ha
 sat on his royal throne. Thebes

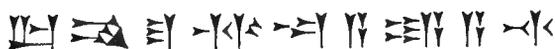
>II >II >II >II >II >II 56. >II >II >II >II
 alu dan - nu - ti su is kun u - paḥ - ḥi - ra
 his fortified city he made, and he gathered

>II >II >II 57. >II >II >II >II >II >II [>II >II]
 el - lat šu a - na mit - ḥu zi ummani ya [abli]
 his forces to fight my army, [the sons]

>II >II >II 58. >II >II >II >II >II >II >II
 Assur sa ki rib Mi - im - pi it - ka - a
 of Assyria; who within Memphis gathered in the

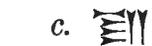
 59.  
 qa - bal [su] * * * * va e - si ir va iz - ba - ta
*midst of [it]. * * * * and besieged and took*

 60.  
 mu - uz - za su - [un] * * * * * * * [il] -
*the whole of them. * * * * * **

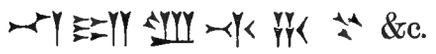

 lik - av - va ig - ba a ya - a - ti
came and told me.

VARIANT PASSAGE, CYLINDER B, VARIANT FOR COLUMN I,
LINES 65 TO 77, CYLINDER A.

a. 
 lib - bi i - gug va iz - za - ru - uh ka - bat - ti
My heart was bitter, and much afflicted.

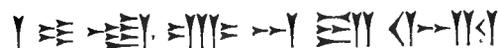
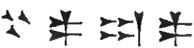
b.  c. 
 ad ke e e - mu - ki ya zirati sa
I gathered my powerful forces, which

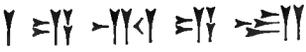
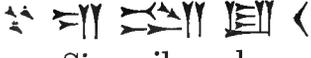
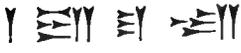
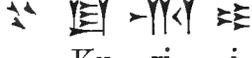
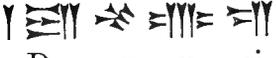
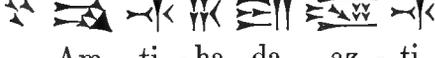
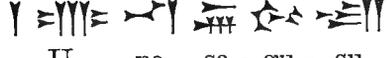
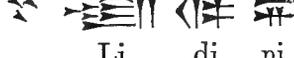
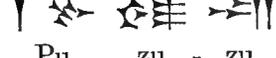
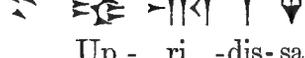
 d. 
 Assur va Istar u - mal - lu qa - tu - u a a - na
Assur and Ishtar had placed in my hands. For

 &c.
 na - ra ru - ti ha - mad, &c.
the restoration of, &c.

ADDITIONAL PASSAGE, CYLINDER C, FOR COLUMN I,
LINES 70, 71, CYLINDER A.

a. 
 Ina mi ti - iq gar ri ya
In the course of my expedition

- b.  Ba - ha - al
Bahal
-  *şar*
king of
-  Zur - ri
Tyre,
- c.  * * * * *
* * * * *
Ya - u - di
Judah,
-  *şar*
king of
- d.  * * * * *
* * * * *
U - du - mi
Edom,
-  *şar*
king of
- e.  * * * * *
* * * * *
Ma - ha - ab
Moab,
-  *şar*
king of
- f.  * * * * *
* * * * *
Ha - zi - ti
Gaza,
-  *şar*
king of
- g.  * * * * *
* * * * *
Iz - qa lu - na
Askelon,
-  *şar*
king of
- h.  * * * * *
* * * * *
Av gar ru - na
Ekron,
-  *şar*
king of
- i.  * * * * *
* * * * *
Gu - ub li
Gebal,
-  *şar*
king of
- j.  * * * * *
* * * * *
A - ru - a - di
Arvad,
-  *şar*
king of
- Six lines (*k, l, m, n, o, p*) lost.
- q.  I tu u - an - da - ar
Ithu-ander
-  *şar*
king of
-  Pa - ap - pa
Paphos,

- r.   
 E - re - e şu şar Şi - il - lu - u
Eresu king of Soli,
- s.   
 Da - ma - şu şar Ku - ri i
Damastes king of Curium,
- t.   
 Rum - mi - şu şar Ta - mi - zi
Rummisu king of Tamissus,
- u.   
 Da - mu - u şi şar Am - ti - ħa - da - az - ti
Damusi king of Ammochosta,
- v.   
 U - na - şa - gu - şu şar Li di ni
Unasagus king of Lidini,
- w.   
 Pu zu - zu şar Up - ri - dis - sa
Puzuzu king of Aphrodisia,
- x.     &c.
 puħur 22 Şarri sa &c.
making 22 kings of, &c.

Cylinders B and C omit the last fourteen Egyptian kings, Column i, lines 98 to 111, Cylinder A.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN II, LINES 1 TO 12, VARIANT PASSAGE FOR COLUMN II, LINES 25 TO 50, CYLINDER A.

1.    
 Sa - ai Bi - in di di Za ħa - nu
Sais, Mendes, and Zoan,

2. [sa] ip pal - ki -tu 3. * * * * * va is - ku - nu
which revolted * * * * * *and set*

pi - i su - un 4. [it ti su] - nu ak - su - ud 5. [zahiri
their faces [with] them, I took; [small

va rabati u] - sam - kit ina kakki [pagari su - nu
and great I caused] to be destroyed with the sword, [their corpses

ina ga] si si a - lul 7. * * * * * [dur]
in] the dust I threw down * * * * * [the towers]

ali u - hal - lib 8. [sarri an - nu - ti sa] ina
of the cities I destroyed. [Those kings whom] in

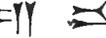
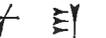
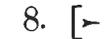
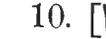
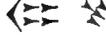
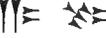
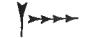
Mu zur 9. [as - ku - nu a - na] şar - u - ti 10. [sa
Egypt [I had appointed to] the kingdoms, [who

limut ti is - te - ni hu - u a - na] abli Assur
devised evil against] the sons of Assyria,

11. [az - bat va ub - la] a - na Assur 12. Tar - qu - u
[I took and brought] to Assyria. *Tirhakah*

a [na Ku - u - ši] in - nab - tu.
to [Ethiopia] fled.

FRAGMENT OF COLUMN I, CYLINDER E.

1.   2.  
 * * * * * ru - u - qn * * * * * a - lak ku
 * * * * * remote * * * * * I had gone.
3.        
 [Assur] aḥ iddina ṣar Assur abu ba - nu - u a
Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the father my begetter,
4.       5.  
 [ir] - du va il li - ku ki - rib sa abikta
had descended and gone into the midst of it; the over-
-        
 Tar qu u ṣar Ku u ṣi is - ku nu va
throw of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia he had accomplished, and
6.      7.   
 u - par - ri ru el lat ṣu Mu - zur
scattered his forces. Egypt and
-      8.   
 Ku u ṣu ik su du va [ina la] me - ni
Ethiopia he had taken, and its innumerable
-     9.    
 is lu la sal - la - aṣ ṣu [matu su] - a tu ina
spoils he had carried off; that country, the
- (v. )     10.   
 (v. a - na) ṣi - hir - ti sa i - bi - luv - va [a - na]
whole of it, he took possession of, and to
-     11.    
 me ṣir Assur u tir sumi
the borders of Assyria he added. The former



 alani maḥ ru u ti u - nak - kir va

names of the cities he abolished, and

12. 

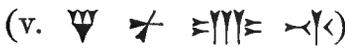
 [a - na] es - su - u - te is - ku - na ni - bi - iṣ ṣu - un

new he appointed their names ;

13. 

 ardi su a - na ṣaru ti san u ti

his servants to the kingdoms and governments

(v.  14. 

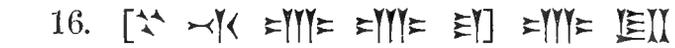
 (v. sa nu u ti) [eli su] - nu u te

[over] them

 15. 

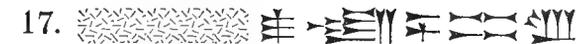
 u - pa - ki da ina lib - bi bilat man - da - at tu

he appointed in the midst; taxes and tribute

 16. 

 bi lu ti su [san - ti u sam - ma] u - kin

to his dominion, a yearly sum he fixed

 17. 

 zi ru us - su - un * * * * as - li qaḡ - qu - ru

*upon them; * * * * ground*

18. 

 * * * * * Me em pi

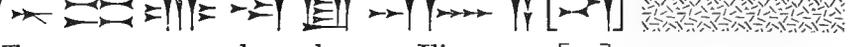
 * * * * * Memphis.

EXTRACT FROM K, 3083, WHICH CONNECTS LINE 15 OF THIS
 FRAGMENT WITH K, 2675, AND K, 228.

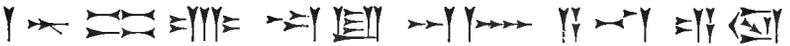
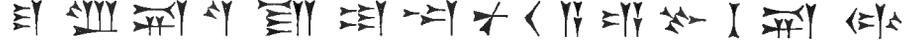
a. 

 bilat man - da at - tu bi lu ti * * * *

*Taxes and tribute to [his] dominions * * * **

- b. 
 55 zalam šaru ti su-nu * * * * *
 55 of their royal statues * * * * *
- c. 
 li i-tu ki - sit - ti qati su va * * * * *
 the glory acquired by his hands and * * * * *
- d. 
 ina ma-ħa-za-a ni e - ziri sa ki - rib * * * * *
 in the cities and temples, which are in the midst * * * * *
- e. 
 ul - tu abu ba -nu-ū a im [nu- u] * * * * *
 from the father my begetter revolted * * * * *
- f. 
 Tar - qu - u ba - lu Ili a [na] * * * * *
 Tirhakah against the Gods to * * * * *

K, 2675, AND K, 228. OBTVERSE LINES 2 TO 69.

2. 
 Tar qu - u ba lu Ili a - na e - kim
 Tirhakah against the Gods, to capture
-  3. 
 Mu - zur us - tam - za - a a - na da - [a - ki] * * *
 Egypt made a gathering to fight. The evil
- 
 ma - ru - us - tu sa abu ba - nu - u a e - pu - su - us ul
 * * * which the father my begetter had done him, he
-  4. 
 ip - pal kit ina lib - bi su da na an Assur bel
 forgot not in his heart; the power of Assur my lord he

ya e - mi - is va it - ta - gil a - na e - muq
despised, and trusted to his own

ra - ma - ni su 5. il - li - kan va ki - rib Mi - im - pi
might. He came and into Memphis

e - ru - uv - va alu su - a - tu u - tir ra - ma - nu su
he entered, and that city he restored to himself.

6. e li nisi Assur sa ki - rib Mu - zur
Against the men of Assyria, who within Egypt

ardani da - gil pa - ni ya 7. sa Assur - aḥ - iddina
were tributaries dependent on me, whom Esarhaddon

ṣar Assur abu ba - nu - u a a - na ṣar - u - ti
king of Assyria, the father my begetter, to the kingdoms had

ip ki - du ina lib bi 8. a - na da - a - ki ḥa - ba - a - te
appointed in the midst [of it], to slay, plunder, and

sa - la - a - li u - ma - he e - ra um - man su
spoil he sent forth his army.

9. al - la - ku ḥa - an - ḡu ina ki - rib Ninua il - li kan
I was walking round in the midst of Nineveh and one came

va u - sa - an na - a ya - a - pi (v. si) 10. e - li
and repeated [this] to me, over

ip-se-e-ti an na-a-ti lib bi i gu-ug va iz-za
these things my heart was bitter and much

-ri ih ka-bat-ti 11. al si-ma tur-tan
afflicted. I collected the tartan

sanuti a di zabi qati su-nu e-mu-ki ya
prefects and the troops in their hands, my powerful

zirati 12. a-na na ra ru ti ha-maḍ sa
forces, for the restoration of the

ṣarri sanuti ardana da-gil pa-ni ya
kings and prefects tributaries dependent on me;

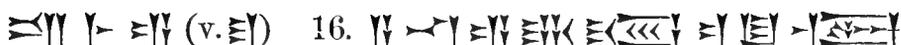
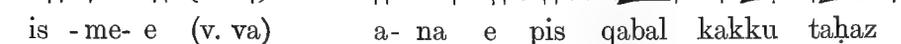
13. ur ru-ut de e mu as kun su-nu-ti
an urgent command I gave them, the

mur ra an Mu-ḡur u-sa-as-ki-na sepi su-un
road to Egypt I caused their feet to take;

14. u ris ha-an-dis ir du-u il li-ku
earnestly and joyfully they marched down and went

a-di Kar ba ni ti 15. Tar-qu u ṣar
to Karbanit. Tirhakah king of

Ku-u-ṣi sa a-lak unıman ya ki-rib Mi-im pi
Ethiopia who, of the progress of my army in the midst of Memphis

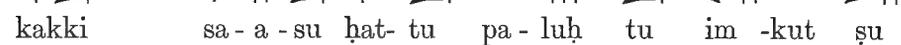
 16. 
 is - me - e (v. va) a - na e pis qabal kakku taḥaz
heard and to make war fighting, and battle he

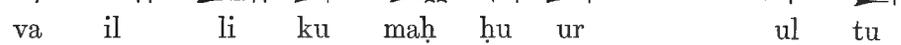
 umman su id ka - a iṣ - di ra me - eḫ - rit umman ya
gathered his army and set them in array in front of my army.

17.  ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin Ili rabati beli
In the service of Assur, Sin and the great Gods my lords,

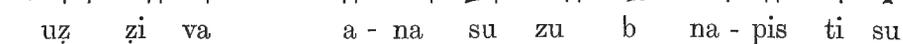
 18. 
 ya a - lik i - di ya ina taḥaz zeri abikta su
who march before me; in the battle field his overthrow they

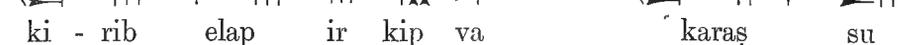
 is - ku - nu zabi tug - la - ti su u - ra - aṣ - ši - bu ina
accomplished, his fighting men they destroyed with the

 19. 
 kakki sa - a - su ḥat - tu pa - luḫ tu im - kut ṣu
sword. Himself, terrible fear struck him,

 20. 
 va il li ku maḫ ḫu ur ul tu
and he went back. From

 Mi im pi alu ṣaru ti su a - sar tu gul - ti su
Memphis his capital city and his fortified place,

 21. 
 uz zi va a - na su zu b na - pis ti su
he went out, and to save his life in a

 22. 
 ki - rib elap ir kip va ' karaṣ ṣu
ship he sailed; his camp he



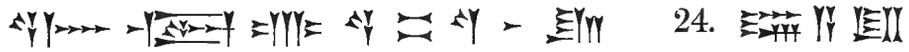
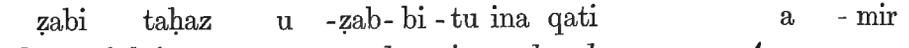
 u - vas - sar va e - dis ip - par - sid va ki rib Ni - ha

abandoned and fled alone, and into Thebes


 23. 

 e - ru ub elappi qa - ra - bi ma - la it - ti su

he entered. All the ships of war with him,


 24. 

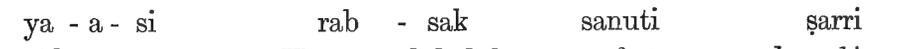
 zabi taḥaz u - zab - bi - tu ina qati a - mir

the fighting men took in hand. A messenger



 bu - uş şu - rat ḥa - de - e da - a ut - ra ig - ba - a

of good tidings hastily(?) returned, and


 25. 

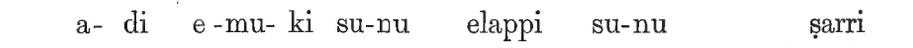
 ya - a - si rab - sak sanuti şarri

told me. The rabshakeh, prefects, and kings,



 e bir nar ardi da - gil pa - ni ya kali su - un

across the river, tributaries dependent on me all of them

26. 
 27. 

 a - di e - mu - ki su - nu elappi su - nu şarri

with their forces and their ships; the kings



 Mu - zur ardi da - gil pa - ni ya a - di e - mu - qi

of Egypt, tributaries dependent on me, with their forces


 28. 

 su - nu elappi su - nu a - na hul lu uq

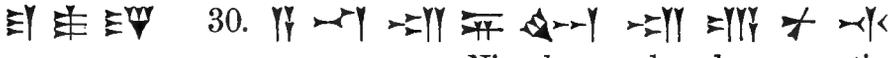
and their ships; to drive



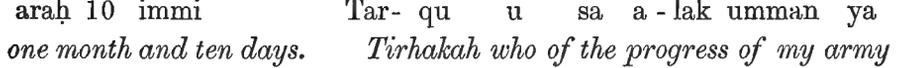
 Tar - qu - u ul tu ki - rib Mu - zur va Ku - u - ši

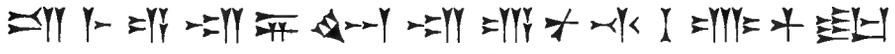
Tirhakah out of Egypt and Ethiopia,

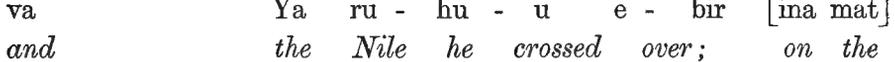
29.  eli e - mu - ki ya zir - ra a - ti u - rad di
to my powerful forces I added

 30.  va as - pur a - na Ni ha alu dan - nu ti
and sent. To Thebes the fortified city

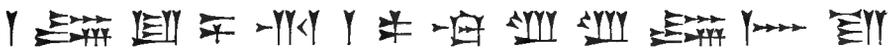
 Tar - qu u şar Ku - u - ſi il - li - ku ma - lak
of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia they went, a journey of

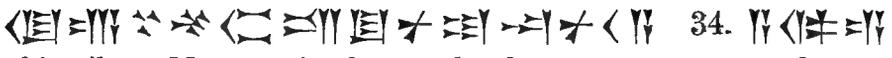
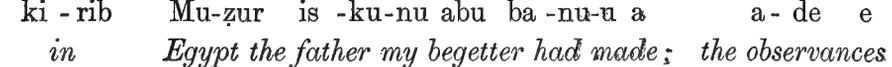
 31.  arah 10 immi Tar - qu u sa a - lak umman ya
one month and ten days. Tirhakah who of the progress of my army

 is - me - e Ni - ha alu dan - nu - ti su u - vas - sar
heard; Thebes his fortified city abandoned

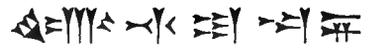
 32.  va Ya ru - hu - u e - bir [ina mat]
and the Nile he crossed over; on the

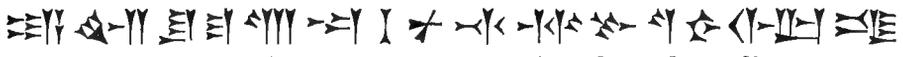
 a - he - en - na - a is - ku - na ma - dak - tu Ni - ik - ku - u
opposite side he made a fortress. Necho,

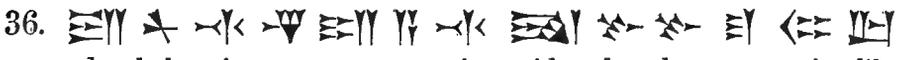
 Şar - lu - da - ri Pa - aq - ru ru şarri sa
Sarludari, and Paqruru, kings whom

 34.  ki - rib Mu - zur is - ku - nu abu ba - nu - u a a - de e
in Egypt the father my begetter had made; the observances

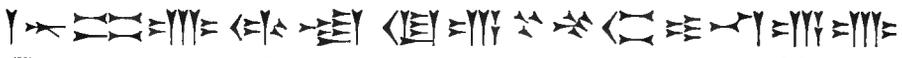
 Assur va Ili rabati beli ya e - ti - qu (u)
of Assur and the great Gods my lords, forsook,

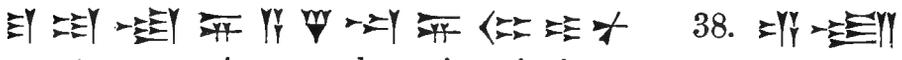
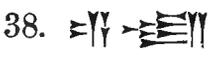
 35. 
 va ip ru zu ma-mit sun dab - ti abi ba - ni
and broke their pledges; the benefits of the father my


 ya im - su va lib ba su-nu- ti ik - bu-ud limut - tu
begetter they despised, and their hearts devised evil;

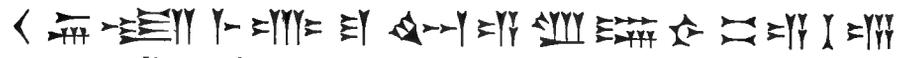
36. 
 da - bab - ti sur - ra - a - ti id - bu bu va mi - lik
seditions words they spoke, and evil

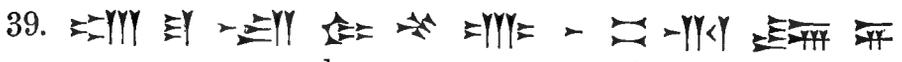
 37. 
 la ku - sir im - li - ku ra - man su - un um - ma
council they counselled among themselves; thus:


 Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu - zur i - na - kit - u
"Tirhakah from the midst of Egypt is cut off,

 38. 
 va at - tu ni a - sa - ba ni mi - i - nu e - li
and to us our seats are numbered." Unto


 Tar - qu - u šar Ku - u - ši a - na sa - kan a - de - e
Tirhakah king of Ethiopia to make agreement


 va ša - li - mi u - ma - he e - ru rak - be - e su - un
and alliance, they directed their messengers

39. 
 um - ma šu - lum - mu - u ina bi - ri - in - ni
thus: "May an alliance by this treaty be

 (v. ) 
 lis - sa kin (v. kin) va ni - in - dag - ga - ra a - ha - mis
established, and we will help each other;

40. mat a-he-en na-a ni zu-uz va ai ib-ba-si
the country on the other side we will strengthen, and let there not be

ina bi-ri-in ni sa-nu-uv-va be-luv a-na
in this treaty any other lord." Against

umman Assur gab-sa-a-ti ya is-te-ni-hu-u
the army of Assyria, my strength, they devised a

a-mat limut-ti a-na su-zu-ub (v. na-bi)
wicked plot. To save

na pis-ti su-un ik-ri-mu hul-lu-qu a-di
their lives being captured; they separated, until

la ba-se-e su-ut-saki ya a-ma-a-ti
there were none [together]. My generals of this plot

an-na-a-ti is-mu-u va ik-ki-lu nik-lat şun
heard, and concealed their plans;

44. rak-be-e su-un a-di sip-ra-a-ti su-nu
their messengers and their instructions

iş-ba tu-niv-va e-mu-ru ip-sit sur-ra-a-ti
they captured, and saw their seditious

su-un Sar lu-da-ri Ni-ik-ku-u
work. Sarludari and Necho

iz-bat-u-niv-va ina bi-ri-ti parzil(?) is-qa-ti parzil(?)
they took, and in bonds of iron and fetters of iron

u-tam-mi-ḥu qati va niri ma mit Assur sar
they bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur king

Ili ik-su-uṣ-ṣu-nu-ti va sa iḥ-ḍu-u
of the Gods took them, who sinned

ina a-de-e rabati ḍa-ab-ti qa-tus-su-un
against the great ones (i.e. Gods), who had sought the good

u-ba-hi-i va sa e-pu-su-ṣu-nu-ti du-un-qu
of their hands and who had given them favours;

48. va nisi alani ma-la iṭ-ti su-nu
and the people of all the cities with them

* * * * * ik-bu-du a-mat limut-ti zaḥiri va
 * * * * * *devised an evil design. Small and*

rabati ina kakki u-sam-[ki-tu] * * * * * la
*great with the sword they destroyed * * * * * did not*

e-zi-bu ina lib-bi va sa-a-su-un a-di
leave in the midst; and them to

[Ninua] a-di maḥ-ri ya ub-lu-ni va
 [Nineveh] *to my presence they brought; and*



 a - na - ku Assur - bani - pal * * * * * mun - şa - aḥ

*I, Assurbanipal * * * * * bestower of*


 52. 

 dam - qa - a - ti a - na Ni - ik - ku - u arad

favours: to Necho the tributary



 da - [gil pa - ni ya sa abu banu - u a a - na şar - u] - te

dependent [on me, whom the father my begetter to the kingdom]


 53. 

 ip - ki - du ina Kar - belu - matati re - e - mu

had appointed in Kar-belmatati. Favour I



 ar - si su va kit - ti [am(?)] di - iṣ - şu va

granted him, and a covenant I appointed him,

54. 

 a - de - e ni is Ili eli sa maḥ - [ri

the observances of the Gods stronger than before [I


 55. 

 u - sa - tir va it - ti su] as - pur lib bu

caused to be restored, and with him] I sent. His heart



 u - sar ḥi iṣ şu va lu - [bul - ti bir mi

I caused to rejoice, and [costly] garments


 55. 

 u - lab] - bi - şu va al - lu ḥuraṣ şī - mat şaru - ti

I placed upon him, and ornaments of gold, his royal image


 57. 

 su as - kun su semiri ḥuraṣ u - [rak - ki - şa]

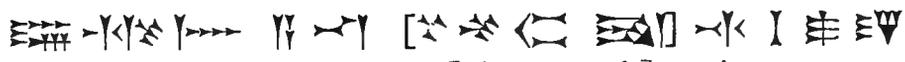
I made for him; rings of gold I fastened on

 58. 
 sangu-ti su gir sib-bi sa aḥ - zu su ḥuraz
his feet, a scimitar, the sheath of which was gold,

 59. 
 ni bit sum ya * * * * * a-din su ruqubi
*the glory of my name * * * * * I gave him. Chariots,*


 susi pari a - na [ṣaru] - ti
horses, and mules for his kingdom

 60. 
 su a - kiṣ - ṣu su - ut - saki ya
I appointed; my generals as


 sanuti a na [Mu-zur it] - ti su as-pnr
governors to [Egypt] with him I sent.

61. 
 a - sar abu ban - u a ina Sa - ai sa
The place where the father my begetter, in Sais the name

 62. 
 [Kar-belu] matati sum su a - na ṣar - u - te ip - kid - du
of which is Kar-belmatati; to the kingdom had appointed

 63. 
 su a - na mas-gan - i su u - tir su ḍa - ab - tu
him, to his district I restored him. Benefits and


 damqatu eli sa abi ba - ni ya u - sa - tir va
favours, beyond those of the father my begetter, I caused to restore, and

 64. 
 e - pu - uṣ ṣu va Nabu - se - zib - an - ni ablu su
gave to him: and Neboshazban his son

> >𐎶 [𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 65. 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 ina [Ha]- at - ha - ri - ba sa Li mir -
 in Athribes which Limir-

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶
 pa-te - ši - assur sum su a na şar - u - te as - kun
 patesi-Assur is its name; to the kingdom I appointed.

66. 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 << 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 < >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 <𐎶𐎶
 Tar - qu - u şar Ku - u - ši ھا - tu pu - luş - ti
 Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, terrible fear

𐎶𐎶 <𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 <𐎶𐎶 I
 bil - ti ya iş ھا up su va il lik simti mu - si su
 of my power overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night.

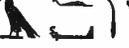
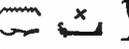
67. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 I >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 Ur - da - ma - ne - e ablu bilati su ina kuzzu su u - sib
 Rudammon son of his consort, sat on his throne

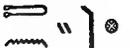
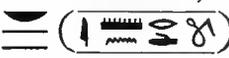
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 va u - ma - hi - ir ma - a - tu Ni - ha a - na
 and governed the country. Thebes he

𐎶𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 <𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶
 dan - nu - ti su is - kun u - pa - ھا el - lat su
 fortified for himself, and gathered his forces

69. 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 < >𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 a - na e - pis qabal va tahaz eli umman ya
 to make war and battle, against my army

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶
 kakki su u - sat - ba - a iz - ba - ta mur - ra na
 his soldiers he brought forward, and took the road.

meaning "long live the king." Sarludari was king of Zihinu, which probably represents Pelusium, the Hebrew זִיחִי, the modern Tineh. The third king was Pisan-huru, hier.  Pishen-hor, he was ruler of Nathu, the island of Natho, hier.  Natru? The fourth king, Paqruru, hier.  Paqrar, had his seat at Pisabtu, hier.  Pi-supt. The fifth name, Pukkunannihapi, is evidently Egyptian, but has not yet been identified; he was king of Hāthiribi, or Athribis, hier.  Hattahirab. The sixth king has likewise an unidentified Egyptian name, he ruled at Henins, Heb. חֵנִינִים. The seventh king is Pudu-bisti, or Petubastes, hier.  Petsibast; he ruled at Zahan, or Tanis, Hebrew זָחָן, modern San. The eighth king, Unamuna, ruled at Nathu, either another place called Natho or hier.  Ntahru (Dendera). The ninth name is Har-si-yesu, hieroglyphic  Hor-si-esi; he was king of Zabnuti or Sebennytus. The tenth name is Buaiva, hier.  Buaiuva; he ruled at Bindi, or Mendes, hier.  Bentat. The eleventh king, Şuşinq, or Shishak, hier.  Sheshanq; ruled at Busiru (Busiris), hier.  Pi-osiri-nebt. The twelfth king, Tap-naht, or Tnephachthus, hier.  Taf-necht; ruled at Bunubu, probably hier.  Bunbun. The thirteenth name, Pukkunannihapi, is the same as the fifth; his seat was at Ahni, possibly Heracleopolis. The next king Ipti-har-desu, ruled at Pizatti-hurunpiku. The fifteenth monarch has the name Nahti-huru-ansini; the first two elements in this name are equivalent to hier.  Necht-har; he was king of Pisabdinut. Bukur-ninip, the sixteenth king, was an Assyrian; he ruled at Pahnuti. The position of the four last cities is doubtful, they were probably in Middle Egypt. Zihā, the seventeenth monarch, ruled at Siyaut, or Siyout, hier.  Saut. The next king, Lamintu, had his seat at Himuni or Chemmis, heir.  Hem-men. The nineteenth king was Ispi-maḍu of Taini, Thin,

or Abydos, hier.  Teni. The name of the last king, Manti-mi-anhe, contains the Egyptian elements Muntu-mi-anche, but has not yet been found as a proper name; he was king of Niha, Heb. נִיחַ, Thebes; this name has not been found in hieroglyphics, the usual Egyptian names of Thebes being  Apt, and  Uab; but the Hebrew and Assyrian name for this city, resembles  Nahai, one of the names of Egypt. The narrative describes the intrigues carried on by these restored monarchs, led by Necho, Sarludari, and Paqruru, after the return of Assurbanipal to Nineveh, and their attempt to revolt, in conjunction with Tirhakah; the destruction of some of the cities, the captivity of Necho and Sarludari, and Tirhakah's death. The Egyptian inscriptions, and especially the Apis Stele, give us the reign of Tirhakah as immediately preceding that of Psammitichus (the son of Necho king of Sais). One Apis Stele gives us the following: "Year 20, 12th month, day 20, of the reign of Psammitichus, an apis died, and was buried in year 21, 2nd month, day 25; he was born year 26 of Tirhakah, and was enthroned in Memphis, 8th month, day 9, making 21 years." According to this tablet, there were about twenty-seven years between the accession of Tirhakah and that of Psammitichus. The successor of Tirhakah, called by the Assyrians Urdamane, has been identified with the Egyptian royal name  Rut-ammon; but another identification has been brought forward since; Dr. Haigh has suggested that Urdamane is the   Nut-mi-ammon, or Ammon-mi-nut, whose history as given on the stele discovered by M. Mariette in 1863, has a remarkable likeness to the Assyrian account of Urdamane. According to this tablet Nut-mi-ammon, when he came to the throne, had a dream, in which he saw two serpents, one on his right hand, the other on his left; and this dream was explained to him to mean that, as he possessed the south (Ethiopia), he should take the north (Egypt). He then set out at the head of his army, and marched to Elephantina; from there he went to Thebes, and from Thebes he approached Memphis. Here the chiefs of Lower Egypt disputed his advance; but, after defeating them, he entered the city in

triumph. While he stayed at Memphis, Paqrar, or Paqruru, the chief of Pi-supt, the leader of the rulers of Lower Egypt came and made submission to him.* Paqruru of Pisupt is evidently the fourth king in the Assyrian list, and the capture of Memphis by Ammon-mi-nut parallels the taking of Memphis by Urdamane. The cuneiform name of the Nile, Yaruhu, is the equivalent of the Hebrew יַאֲרֹךְ. Exodus i, 22.

* A translation of this Stele by M. Maspero is given in "Revue Archeologique," Mai, 1868.

PART III.

The Second Egyptian War.

TEXTS.

There are only two texts of this part of the history ; one is the text common to Cylinders A, B, and C, found on Cylinder A, col. ii, lines 61 to 83 ; the other is K, 2675, obverse line 70 to reverse line 5.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINES 61 TO 83.

61. > 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 < <
 Ina sanute gar - ri ya a - na Mu - zur va
In my second expedition, to Egypt and
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶 62. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 <<< 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Ku - u ši us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu
Ethiopia I directed the march.
- 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 63. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Ur - da - ma - ne - e a - lak gar - ri ya is - me - e
Rudammon of the progress of my expedition heard,
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 >𐎶𐎶 64. <<< 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 <
 va sa ak - bu - šu me - šir Mu - zur
and that I had crossed over the borders of Egypt.
- 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 65. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Mi - im - pi u - vas - sir va a - na su zu ub
Memphis he abandoned, and to save his

napisti su in - na - bit a - na ki - rib Ni - ha
life he fled into Thebes.

66. şarri sanuti ki - pa - a - ni sa
The kings, prefects, and governors, whom

ki - rib Mu - zur as - ku - nu ina şati ya
in Egypt I had set up, to my presence

il - lik - u - niv - va u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya
came, and kissed my feet.

68. arku Ur - da - ma - ne - e mur - ra - nu az - bat
After Rudammon the road I took;

69. al - lik a - di Ni ha alu dan - nu - ti
I went to Thebes, the strong city;

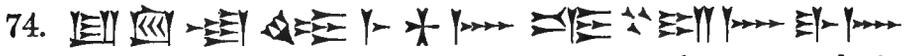
70. ti - ip taḥaz ya dan - ni e - mur va Ni - ha
the approach of my powerful army he saw, and Thebes

71. u - vas - sir in na - bit a - na Ki - ip - ki - pi
he abandoned, and fled to Kipkip.

72. alu su - a - tu a - na şı ħir - ti su ina tugulti
That city (Thebes) the whole of it, in the service of

73. Assur va Istar ik - su da qata ai kasap ħuraz
Assur and Ishtar my hands took; silver, gold,


 ni-sik- ti abni sa-su e -kal su ma- la ba -su- u
precious stones, the furniture of his palace, all there was;

74. 
 lu -bul- tu bir -mi kitui susi rabati
garments costly and beautiful(?), great horses,

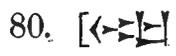
75.  76. 
 nisi zik - ra va sin-nis 2 tim -mi
people male and female, two lofty


 zirati pi - ti - ig (v. tig) za- ha - le - e ib -bi
obelisks covered with beautiful carving,

77. 
 * * 100 bilati paşah su-nu man-za - az bab ezar
** * hundred talents their weight, set up before the gate of a temple,*

78. 
 [it] - ti su-nu aş - şuh va al - qa - a a - na
with them I removed, and brought to

 79. 
 Assur [sal-lat şu] ina la mi- ni as - lu - la
Assyria. [Its spoils] unnumbered I carried off.

 80. 
 al - tu ki - rib Ni - ha [eli
From the midst of Thebes, over

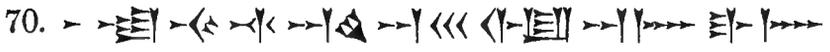
 81. 
 Mu - zur] Ku- u - şı kakki ya
Egypt and Ethiopia; my servants I

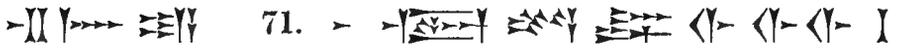
 82. 
 [u] - sam - ri - ir va [as - tak] - kan li - i - tu
caused to march, and I acquired glory.

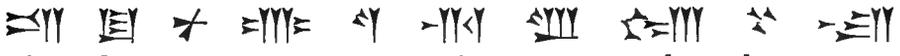
 83. 
 it - ti ma - da te sal - mis a tu - ra a - na
With the tributes peacefully I returned to


 Ninua alu bilu - ti ya
Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

K, 2675, OBERVERSE LINE 70 TO REVERSE LINE 5.

70. 
 Ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin va Ili rabati
In the service of Assur, Sin, and the great Gods

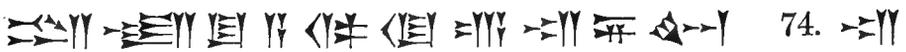
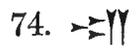
 71. 
 beli ya ina taḥaz ẓer rap - si abikta su
my lords; in the wide battle field his overthrow they


 is ku nu u - par - ri - ru el - lat ḡu
accomplished, and dispersed his forces.

72. 
 Ur - da - ma - ne e e - dis ip - par - sid va e - ru - ub
Rudammon fled alone, and entered

 73. 
 a - na Ni - ha alu ṣaru ti su ma - lak araḥ
into Thebes, his capital city. A journey of a month


 10 immi ur ḥi pa - as qu u - ti arku su
and ten days on a difficult road, after him

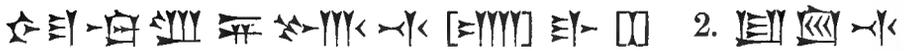
 74. 
 il li - ku a - di ki rib Ni - ha alu
they went, to the midst of Thebes. That city,


 su - a - tu a - na ši - ħir ti su ik - su - du iṣ - pu - nu
the whole of it they took, and swept


 a bu - bis
like a storm.

REVERSE.

1. 
 Ḫuraz kasap e - par mat su ni - sik - ti abni
Gold and silver, the dust of his country, precious stones,


 ma - ak - ru ni - sir ti [e -] kal [su] lu - bul - ti
valuables(?) treasures of his palace, garments


 bir - mi kitui susi rabati nisi
costly and beautiful(?), great horses, people


 zikir va sinnis * * * * za - a - ti pa - ge - e
male and female, bazati(?) page and


 u qu - pi tar - bit sad - di su un ina la mi - ni
uqupi, the products of their mountains, without number,


 a - na mu - hu - de - e ultu ki - rib - e su u - se - zu - niv
in abundance from the country they brought out


 va im - nu u sal - la - tis a - na Ninua alu
and counted as spoil. To Nineveh, the city

𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶
 bi - lu - ti ya sal - mis is - su - niv - va
of my dominion, peacefully they came up, and

𐎶𐎺𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶
 u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya
kissed my feet.

In the two versions of the second Egyptian war there is the same difference as that noticed in the former part. One narrative (Cylinder A) representing Assurbanipal as invading Egypt a second time, and driving out Urdamane; while K, 2675, represents Urdamane to have been defeated and expelled by the Assyrian forces in Egypt.

PART IV.

The Siege of Tyre and the Affairs of Lydia.

TEXTS.

The two principal texts of the Tyrian campaign (Cylinders A and B) only differ in the earlier part by Cylinder B introducing two clauses not found in Cylinder A; these are marked in parentheses (*b*, &c.). The latter part of this division in Cylinder B is sufficiently different to be given separately. The texts will then be Cylinder A, col. ii, line 84, to col. iii, line 42 (the clauses introduced in Cylinder B being in lines 86 and 87), Cylinder B, col. ii, line 54, to col. iii, line 4, K, 2675, reverse lines 13 to 31, and a fragment of Cylinder E.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINE 84, TO COLUMN III,
LINE 42.

84. [𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 [Ina salsi gar - ri] ya eli Ba ha - li
 [In] my [third expedition] against Bahal
- (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 85. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 (v. al) şar Zur - ri * * * lu - u al lik
 king of Tyre * * * I went;
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 86. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 as-su (v. sa) a - mat şaru - ti ya la iz - zu - ru
 who my royal will disregarded and
- 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 la is - mu - u zi - kar sap - ti (v. sapti) ya
 did not hear the words of my lips;

87.  (b. 
 ḫal- zu ti eli su u -rak-kiš (b. * * le - e
 towers round him I raised; (b. * * his

 88. 
 nisi su u -dan - nin ma - zir - tu) ina tam - ti
 people, I strengthened, the watch) on sea

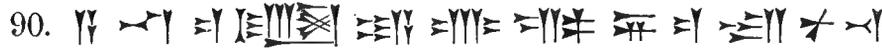
 (b. 
 va na - ba - li gar - ri - ti su u -zab-bit (b. a-lak - ta
 and land; his roads I took; (b. his going out


 I su ab ru - uz me va te - hu - u - ta ba - laḫ
 I stopped, water and sea water to preserve


 napisti su - nu a - na pi i su - nu u - sa - ki - ir
 their lives their mouths drank;


 ina mi - ši ri dan - ni sa la na - par - su di e - ši - ir
 by a strong blockade, which removed not, I besieged

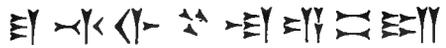
 89. 
 su - nu - ti) nap - sat šu - nu u - ši iq u - tir - ri
 them); their spirits I humbled and caused to melt away;

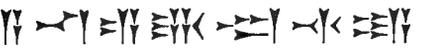
90. 
 a - na niri ya u - sak - ni - iṣ šu - nu - ti
 to my yoke I made them submissive; the

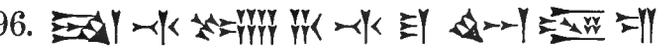
91.  I <  () 
 bintu zi - it lib - bi su va binti aḫi su
 daughter proceeding from his body and the daughters of his brothers

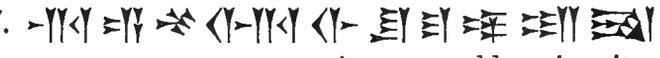
92. 
 a - na e - pis sal tuglu u ti u bi - la a - di
 for concubines he brought to my

 93. 
 maḥ - ri ya Ya - ḥi mil - ki ablu [su] tugulti(?)
presence; [to] Yahimelek [his] son, the sub-

 94. 
 ma - ti si - mat la e - bi ra is - te - nis u - sat - [gil]
mission of the country and an unequalled present(?) at once he entrusted,

 95. 
 a - na e - pis ardu - ti - ya binat ṣu va binti
to make obeisance to me. His daughter and the daughters

 96. 
 aḥi su it - ti tir - ḥa - ti ma - ha - aṣ - ṣi
of his brothers, with their great dowries, I

 97. 
 am ḥar su re - e - mu ar si su va ablu zi - it
received. Favour I granted him, and the son proceeding

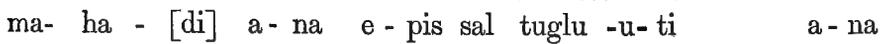
 98.  (v. )
 lib - bi su u - tir va ad - din (v. a - din) su
from his body I restored and gave him.

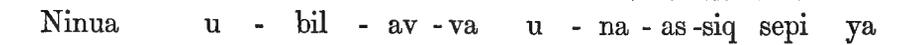
 99. 
 Ya - ki - in - lu - u sar A - ru - ad - da
Yakinlu king of Arvad,

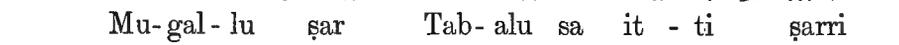
 100. 
 a - sib qabal tam - ti sa a - na ṣarri
dwelling in the midst of the sea, who to the kings

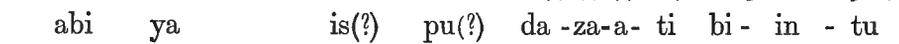
 101. 
 abi ya la kan - su ik - nu - sa a - na niri
my fathers was not submissive, submitted to my yoke,

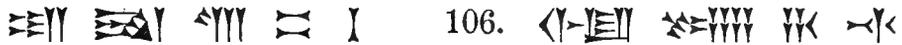
 102. 
 ya binat ṣu it - ti nu dun ne e
his daughter, with many gifts,

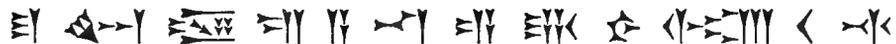
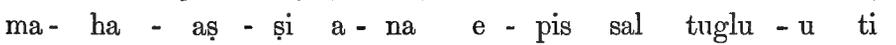
 103. 
 ma - ha - [di] a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti a - na
for a concubine to

 
 Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as - siq sepi ya
Nineveh he brought, and kissed my feet.

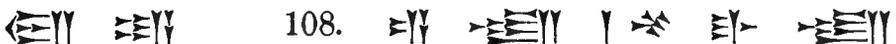
104.  
 Mu - gal - lu şar Tab - alu sa it - ti şarri
Mugallu king of Tubal, who against the kings

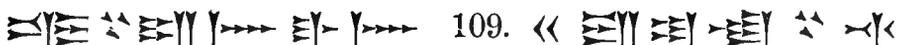
 105.  
 abi ya is(?) pu(?) da - za - a - ti bi - in - tu
my fathers made(?) depredations, the daughter

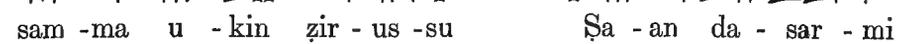
 106. 
 zi - it lib - bi su va tir - ha - ti
proceeding from his body, and her great

 
 ma - ha - aş - şı a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u ti
dowry, for a concubine

107.  
 a - na Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as - siq
to Nineveh he brought, and kissed

 108. 
 sepi ya e - li Mu - gal - li
my feet. Over Mugallu

 109. 
 susi rabati man - da - at - tu mat - ti
great horses and the tribute of the country the

 110. 
 sam - ma u - kin zir - us - su Şa - an da - sar - mi
sum I fixed upon him. Sandasarmi of

 111. 
 Hi-lak - ka - ai sa a - na şarri abi ya
Cilicia, who to the kings my fathers

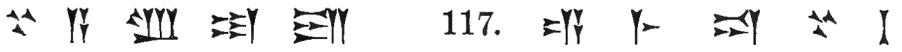
 112. 
 la ik - nu - su la i - su du ab - sa - an su - un
did not submit, and did not perform their pleasure,

113. 
 bintu zi - it lib bi su it - ti nu - dun - ne - e
the daughter proceeding from his body, with many

114. 
 ma - ha - di a - na e - pis sal - tuglu - u - ti
gifts, for a concubine

115. 
 a - na Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as - siq
to Nineveh he brought, and kissed

 116. 
 sepi ya ul - tu Ya - ki in - lu - u şar
my feet. From Yakinlu king of

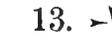
 117. 
 A - ru - ad - da e - mi - du mata su
Arvad, I took away his country.

 
 A - zi - ba - ha al A - bi - ba - ha - al
Azibahal, Abibahal,

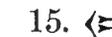
118. 
 A - du - ni - ba - al Şa - pa - di ba - al Pu di - ba - al
Adonibahal, Sapadibahal, Pudibahal,

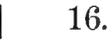
119. 
 Ba - ha al - ya - su - pu Ba ha al - ha - nu - nu
Bahalyasup, Bahalhanun,

12.     
 rak - bu su [is - pu - ra a - na sa - ha al
his messenger [he sent, to pray for

 13.   
 salim - mi ya] suttu an - ni - [tu sa e - mu - ru]
my friendship]. That dream [which he saw],

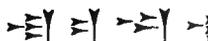
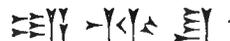
14.     
 ina qati a - mir su is - pur - av - va u - sa - an -
by the hand of his envoy he sent, and repeated

 15.     
 [na ya - a - ti] ul - tu lib - bi im - mi sa iz - ba - tu
[to me]. From the midst of the day when he took the

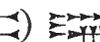
  16.   
 niru [šaru - ti ya] Gi - mir (ra) - ai
yoke of [my kingdom], the Cimmerians,

 18.  
 mu - da - al - li - pu nisi [su] sa la
wasters of [his] people, who did not

 18. 
 ip - tal la - ḥu abi ya va at - tu - u - a
fear my fathers and me, and

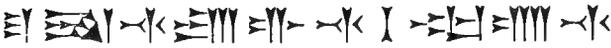
   19.  
 la iz - ba tu niru šaru - ti ya ik - su - ud ina
did not take the yoke of my kingdom, he captured, in

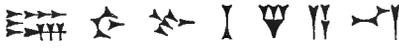
  20.  
 tugul - ti Assur va Istar Ili beli ya ul tu
the service of Assur and Ishtar the Gods my lords. From the

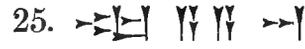
    
 lib - (bi) niri sa Gi - mir (ra) - ai
midst of the chiefs of the Cimmerians,

 21. 
 sa ik - su - du 2 niri ina zi - iz - zi
whom he had taken, two chiefs in strong fetters

 22. 
 is qa - ti parzil bi ri - ti parzil u - tam - mi - ih
of iron, and bonds of iron, he bound,

 23. 
 va it - ti ta - mar - ti su ka bit - ti u - se - bi - la
and with numerous presents, he caused

 24. 
 a - di mah ri ya rak - bu su sa a - na
to bring to my presence. His messengers whom, to

 25. 
 sa ha al salim mi ya ka ay - an
pray for my friendship he was


 is ta - nap - pa - ra u sar - sa - a ba di il - tu
constantly sending, he wilfully discontinued;

26. 
 as - su sa a - mat Assur Ilu bana a la iz zu - ru
as the will of Assur, the God my creator, he had disregarded;

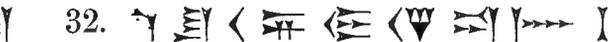
27. 
 a - na e - muq ra - man - i su it ta - gil va ik bu - us
to his own power he trusted and hardened

 28. 
 lib - bu e - mu - ki su a - na kit - ri Pi - sa - mi - il ki
his heart. His forces to the aid of Psammitichus

 29. 
 (sar) Mu - zur sa iz - lu u niru . belu - ti ya
(kin.) of Egypt, who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion,

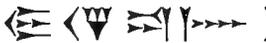
 30. 
 is - pur va a - na - ku as-me- e va u -sal li
he sent; and I heard [of it], and prayed to

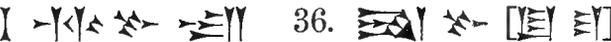
 31. 
 Assur va Istar um -ma pa-an nakiri su pa-gar su
Assur and Ishtar thus: "Before his enemies his corpse

 32. 
 li na - di va lis-su-u- ni ner -pad dui(?) su
may they cast, and may they carry captive his attendants."

 33. 
 ki - i sa a-na Assur am hu - ru is li * * pa-an
When thus to Assur I had prayed, he requited me. Before

 34. 
 nakiri su pa-gar su in -na di va is -su-u- ni
his enemies his corpse was thrown down, and they carried captive

 35. 
 ner-pad- dui(?) su Gi - [mir] ai sa ina ni bit
his attendants. The Cimmerians whom by the glory

 36. 
 sum ya sa - pal su ik bu şu id pu -[ku va]
of my name he had trodden under him conquered and

 37. 
 iş - pu - nu gi mir matisu * * * su ablu su u - sib
*swept the whole of his country * * * su (Ardys) his son sat on*

 38. 
 ina kuzzu su ip sit limut ti sa ina ni is
his throne, that evil work at the lifting up

 38. 
 qati ya Ili ti ik li ya ina pa - an
of my hands, the Gods my protectors in the time of the

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 39. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 abi bani (v. ba - ni) su u sap ri - ku ina qati
 father his begetter had destroyed. By the hand

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 40. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 a - mir su is - pur - av - va iz - ba - tu niri
 of his envoy he sent [word] and took the yoke

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 41. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 šaru ti ya um - ma šar sa Ilu i - du su at - ta
 of my kingdom thus: "The king whom God has blessed art thou;

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 42. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 abu-u a ultu [ka] il - lik va limuttu is - sa - kin
 my father from [thee] departed, and evil was done

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 42. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵)
 ina pa-ni su ya - a - ti ardu hat-tu ka mat ban-ni- (i)
 in his time; I am thy devoted servant, and my people

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ma- la su - ḍa ab sa - an ka
 all perform thy pleasure.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN II, LINE 54, TO COLUMN III, LINE 4,
 VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINE 98, TO COLUMN III,
 LINE 42.

54. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 u - tir va a - ri - im su ḥal - zui
 I restored and favoured him. The towers

55. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 sa eli Ba - ha - li šar Zur - ri
 which over against Bahel king of Tyre

56. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 u - rak - ki šu ab tur ina tam - ti va
 I had raised, I pulled down; on sea and

57. na - bal - li gar - ri ti su ma - la u - zab - bi tu
land all his roads which I had taken I

58. ab - ti ma - da - at - ta su ka - bit - tu am har su
opened; his abundant tribute I received;

59. sal - mis a - tu - ra a na Ninua alu belu - ti ya
peacefully I returned to Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

63. ma - al ki qabal tam - ti va şarri a - sib
Kings in the midst of the sea, and kings dwelling

62. sa - de e sa - qu - u - ti da - na - an ip - se - ti ya
in the lofty mountains, these my mighty

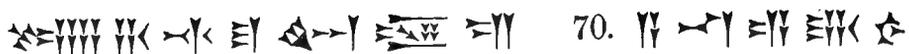
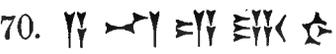
63. an na - a - ti e - mu - ru va ip - la - hu bel - u - ti
deeds saw, and feared my power.

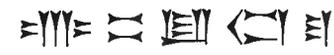
64. Ya - ki in lu - u şar A ru - u - a - da
Yakinlu king of Arvad,

65. Mu - gal - lu şar Tab - a - la 66. şa a - na şarri
Mugallu king of Tubal, who to the kings

67. abi ya la kan - su ik - nu - su a - na niri ya
my fathers were not submissive, submitted to my yoke.

68. binti zi - it lib bi su - nu 69. va
The daughters proceeding from their bodies, and


 70. 
 tir - ha - ti ma - ha - aš - ši a - na e - pis sal
their great dowries, for concu-


 71. 
 tuglu - u ti a - na Ninua u - bi lu - niv - va
bines to Nineveh they brought, and


 72. 
 u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya e li Mu - gal - li
kissed my feet. Over Mugallu


 73. 
 susi rabati ma - da at - tu mat - ti
great horses the tribute of the country


 74. 
 u - sam - ma u kin ziru us - su ul - tu
the sum I fixed upon him. From



 Ya - ki in - lu - u šar A - ru - ad - da
Yakinlu king of Arvad


 75. 
 e mi du mata su A zi ba - (ha) al
I took away his county. Azibahal,


 76. 
 A - bi - ba ha - al A du - ni ba - ha al
Abibahal, and Adonibahal,


 77. 
 abli Ya - ki in - lu - u a - sib qabal tam - ti
sons of Yakinlu, dwelling in the midst of the sea,


 78. 
 79. 
 ul tu qabal tam - ti e - su - niv - va it - ti
from the midst of the sea arose, and with


 ta - mar - ti su - nu ka - bit - tu il li - ku - niv - va
their numerous presents came and

80. 
 u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya A - zi - ba - ha al
kissed my feet. Azibahal


 ha - dis ap - pa - lis va a - na sar - u - ti A - ru - ad - da
gladly I received, and to the kingdom of Arvad


 as - kun A - bi - ba al A - du - ni - ba - al
appointed Abibahal and Adonibahal;

84. 
 lu - bul - ti bir - mi * * * * semiri * * * *
*costly clothing * * * * rings * * * **

85. 
 ina mah - ri ya * * * * Gu - ug - gu sar
*in my presence * * * * Gyges king of*


 Lu - ud - di na - gu - u sa ni bir - ti ab - ba
Lydia, a district which is across the sea,

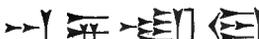

 as - ru ru - u qu sa sarri abi ya la
a remote place, of which the kings my fathers had not


 is - mu - u zik - ri sum su ni - bit saru ti ya
heard speak of its name. The account of my grand


 kap - ti ina suttu u sap - ri va Assur Ilu ba - nu a
kingdom in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator,

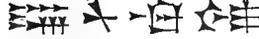
90.  um - ma niri * * * * *
 thus: "the yoke * * * * *

91.  ina zi - kar [suttu
 In remembrance [of

 an - ni - tu]  niri šaru - ti ya iz] - ba - tu im - mu suttu
 that dream] the yoke of my kingdom he had taken]. The day he

92.  an - ni - tu e - mu - ru  rak - bu su is - pu - ra
 saw that dream his messenger he sent

93.  a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi ya  Gi - mir - ai
 to pray for my friendship, The Cimmerians,

 nakiri aq - zu  [sa la ip] - la - hu  abi ya
 extreme rebels, who feared not my fathers

 va ya - a - si la iš - ba - tu niri šaru - ti ya
 and me, and took not the yoke of my kingdom.

COLUMN III, LINES 1 TO 4.

1.  [Ina tugul - ti Assur va]  Maruduk  beli ya
 In the service of Assur and Merodach my lords,

2.  [ik - su - ud ina is]  - qa - ti  si - ga - ri
 he took, and in fetters and chains

 u - tam - mi - iḥ va  [it - ti ta - mar] - ti su
 he bound and [with] his numerous



 ka - bit ti u -se-bi la a - di maḥ ri ya
presents, he sent to my presence



 (a - tam - ma - ru da na an Assur Ilu su)
(I saw the power of Assur his God).

K, 2675, REVERSE, LINES 13 TO 31.

13. 

 Gu gu ṣar Lu - ud - di na gu u
Gyges king of Lydia, a district



 ni bir ti ab ba as - ru ru u qu sa
across the sea, a remote place, of which



 ṣarri a - li - kut maḥ ri abi ya la
the kings going before me, my fathers, had not



 is - mu - u zik ri sum su ni - bit ṣaru ti ya
heard speak of its name. The account of my great kingdom



 kap - ti ina suttu u sap ri su va Assur Ilu
in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God



 ba - nu - u a um - ma sa Assur - bani - pal ṣar
my creator, thus: "Of Assurbanipal king



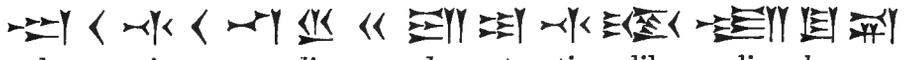
 Assur ḥi suḥ ti , Assur ṣar Ili bel
of Assyria, the beloved of Assur king of the Gods, lord



 gim ri niri ru - bu - ti su za - bat va şaru - şu
of all ; his princely yoke take, his majesty



 pit - luḥ va zu - ul - la - a bi - lut şu sa e - pis
reverence and submit to his dominion. By making



 ardu - u - ti va na - din man - da - at - ti lil - li - ku - us
obeisance and giving tribute may thy words



 şu - up pu ka im - mu suttu an - ni - tu
come to him." The day he saw that



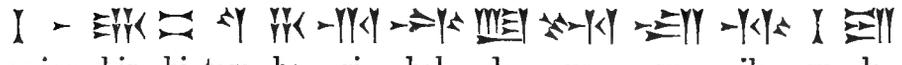
 e mu - ru a - na sa ha - al salim - mi ya
dream, to pray for my friendship,



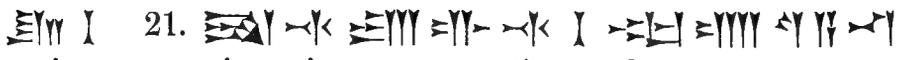
 ra - gab - u su is - pu - ra a - di maḥ - ri ya
his messenger he sent to my presence.

20. 

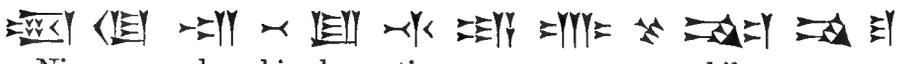
 Gi mir - ra - ai mu - dal - li - pu - u - ti mata
Cimmerians, wasters of his country,



 su ina kir - bi tam - ḥa - ri bal ḍu - uş - şu ik - su - da
in the midst of war, alive his hand



 qati su it - ti ta - mar - ti su ka - bit - tu a - na
had taken. With numerous presents, to



 Ninua alu bi - lu ti ya u - se - bil - av - va
Nineveh the city of my dominion, he sent and

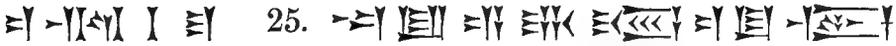

 22. 
 u na - as - siq sepi ya Mu - gal - li şar
kissed my feet, Mugallu king of

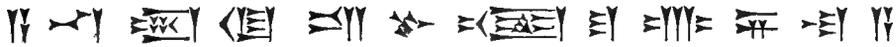
 (blank) 
 (blank) a - sib ھاr - sa - a - ni sa - di pa - as - qu - u - ti
 (blank) *dwelling in the forests and rugged mountains,*

23.  
 sa a - na şarri abi ya kakki
who against the kings my fathers had sent fighting men,

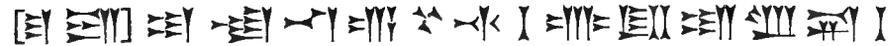
 24. 
 sit - pu - ru e - tap - pa - lu da za - a - ti ki - rib
and had increased depredations, within

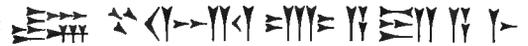
 
 mati su ھاt - ti im - qut şu va pu luھا - ti şaru - ti ya
his country fear struck him, and the terror of my kingdom

 25. 
 is - ھاp su va ba - lu e - pis qabal kakki taھاz
overwhelmed him. Without making war, fighting, and battle,

 
 a - na Ninua is - pu - rav - va u - zal - la a
to Nineveh he sent, and submitted to

 26. 
 bi lu - u - ti susi rabati
my dominion. Great horses

 
 [ma - da] - at - tu na - dan mat - ti su u - kin zi ru - us - su
the tribute given by his country I fixed upon him.

27.  
 Ik ki lu - u şar Ar u - a - da a - sib
Ikki lu king of Arvad, dwelling

 28. 
 ra - pa - as - ti qabal tam - ti sa ki - ma nunu ina
afar off, in the midst of the sea; who, like a fish in


 me la ni i - bi * * * ḥa e - de - e dan - ni
*the boundless waters * * * long(?) time(?) the*

 29.  (v. )
 sit - ku - nu ru tu sa eli (v. e li) tam - ti
place(?) was; who over the great


 gal - la ti i lu u va la kit - nu - su a - na ni i - ri
sea roamed, and was not submissive to the yoke

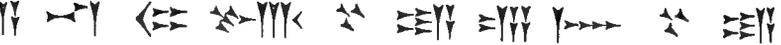
30. 
 bi - lu - u - ti lu u va a - na e pis ardu - ti ya
of my dominion. Now, to perform my service

 31. 
 ik - nu us va i - su - ḍa ab - sa - a - ni ḥurazi
he submitted, and he executed my pleasure. Gold,

   
 sarad ṣami sarad zalmi nuni izzuri mat - ti
green paint, black paint, fishes and birds, of the country


 sam - ma u kin e li su
the sum I fixed over him.

FRAGMENT OF CYLINDER E, LINES 1 TO 12.

1. 
 A na me - ṣir mati ya nisi mati ya
To the border of my country the men of my country

These texts differ in some important points; the earliest one, K, 2675, does not mention either the submission of Tyre, the tribute of Sandasarmi of Cilicia, or the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. Cylinder B, which was written during the war with Saulmugina, describes the submission of Tyre, but omits the Cilician tribute and revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. All these events are narrated on Cylinder A, which was written later than either of the other texts. From these facts, and the statement that Miluhḥa (Ethiopia) revolted with Saulmugina (Cylinder A, col. iv, l. 35), I judge that the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus took place at the time of the general rising against Assyria, in which Saul-mugina the king's brother was concerned. The fragment of Cylinder E is part of an account of the reception of the envoy of Gyges king of Lydia. (Pisamilki king of Egypt is the Psammitichus of the Greeks, hier.   Psametik). One copy of Cylinder A writes this name , Tu-sa-mi-il-ki; the first character here is so evidently a mistake that I have not inserted it as a variant. On Tablet K, 3402, the two Egyptian wars having been given as one, the war with Bahal of Tyre is called the second expedition, instead of the third.

PART V.

The Conquest of Karbit.

TEXTS.

The texts of this expedition are Cylinder B, col. iii, lines 5 to 15; K, 2675, reverse, lines 6 to 12; and a fragment of Cylinder E, lines 1 to 10.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINES 5 TO 15.

5. [𐎠 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 [Ina arbe- e gar] - ri ya a - na Kar-bat
 [In my fourth] expedition to Karbat
6. [𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 [ki - rib Ḥa- le] - e - ḥa - az - ta lu - u al - lik
 in Halehasta I went.
7. [𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 [Ta - an - da - ai] niru su-nu ana ṣarri
 [Tandar] their chief to the kings
- 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 8. [𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 abi ya [la kit - nu - su a - na] niri va nisi
 my fathers [had not been submissive to] the yoke, and the men
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 9. [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶]
 a si - bu - ti Kar - bat [ka ay - an
 dwelling in Karbat [constantly] were
- 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 ah] - ta - nab - ba - tu ḥu bu - ut mati ya mut - ba - la
 carrying off the plunder of my country.

(v. ) 10. [] ·   < 
 (v. li) [ina tugulti] Assur Bel va Nabu
 [In the service] of Assur, Bel, and Nebo,

11. []     
 [Kar-bat al - mi ak] -su-ud as - lu la sal-lat şu
 [Karbat I besieged,] I captured, I carried off its spoil.

12. []   13. [] 
 [Ta - an - da - ai] niru su-nu [bal du- şu
 [Tandai] their chief [alive

       
 ina qa - ti az - bat va] al qa a a - na Assur
 in hand I took, and] brought to Assyria;

14. []  15. [] 
 [nisi sa] la as - lu lu [i - na ki rib]
 [the people] whom I had not carried off [into the midst of]

    
 Mu- zur u - sa - az bit
 Egypt I caused to be taken.

K, 2675, REVERSE, LINES 6 to 12.

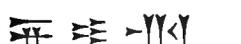
6.        
 Kar-bat sa ki - rib Ha- le - e- ha- az ta
 Karbat, which in Halehazta

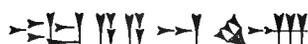
  7.  
 na - da ta su-bat şu nisi a-sib lib su eli
 is situated, the people dwelling in it, to

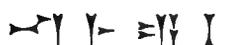
         
 sadi su-nu mar - zu u ti tak lu va la pit lu - hu
 their rugged mountains trusted, and feared not the

 8. 
 bi - lut Assur Ta - an da ai niru su-nu
power of Assyria. Tandia their chief, who

 
 sa a - na şarri abi ya la kit - nu - su a - na
to the kings my fathers was not submissive to the

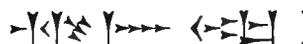
 9. 
 ni - i - ri hu bu - ut mati ya mut - ba - la
yoke, the plunder of my country

 
 ka ay - an ih ta - nab - ba - tu u saḥ - ri bu
constantly they carried off, and wasted

 10. 
 na - me - e su as - su ip - se - e ti an - na a - ti
its produce. About these things,

 
 abli Dur il im da - ḥa - ru - ni va u - sal - lu - u
the sons of Duril besought me, and supplicated

 11. 
 bi lu (u) - ti su - ut - saki ya
my power. My generals,

 
 sanuti eli su - nu u - ma - hi - ir Kar - bat
the prefects over them, I sent, and Karbat

 12. 
 ik - su - du is - lu la nisi su nisi
they captured, and carried off its people. The people

 
 alani sa tu nu ki sit ti qati ya
of those cities captured by my hand

aş
 şuḥ
 va
 ki
 rib
 Mu
 zur
 u - sa -
I removed, and into Egypt caused

aş
 bit
to be taken.

FRAGMENT OF CYLINDER E, LINES 1 TO 9.

1. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - ši - bu ina kaki
His warriors they destroyed with the sword;
2. imiri alpi ze - e ni 3. [sal-lat] şu
asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in
- ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni 4. [ana ki] - rib
abundance they carried off to the midst of
- Assur 5. [Ta - an] da - ai niru su-nu
Assyria. Tandia their chief
- bal - du - şu ina qa - ti 6. [iz - ba] - tu - ni ub lu - u - ni
alive in hand they took, and brought
- a - di maḥ - ri - ya 7. [nisi] sa alani
to my presence. [The people] of those cities
- su - nu ti aş - şuḥ 8. [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
I removed, and into the midst of Egypt

𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶

u - sa az bit

I caused to be taken.

9. [𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶] 𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶

[nisi iz]-bam ya sa mat sa

Men of my bow, of countries which

𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶

zal ti va

were conquered

10. [𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶] 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶

[i na]

Kar bi it va

in

Karbat

and

𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶

alani su u - se - sib

its cities, I placed.

The campaign against Karbit, or Karbat, is the least important of Assurbanipal's expeditions. We find again some copies claiming the expedition for the king; but there is no doubt, from the statements of K, 2675, and Cylinder E, that an Assyrian general commanded. As the captives were transported to Egypt, this campaign must have taken place before the revolt of Psammitichus. Karbat appears to have been situated in the mountains east of the Tigris, and between Assyria and Elam.

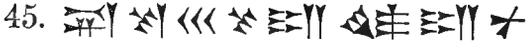
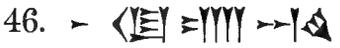
PART VI.

The War with Minni.

TEXTS.

There are two principal texts to this expedition ; Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 43 to 82, and Cylinder B, col. iii, line 16, to col. iv, line 14.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN III, LINES 43 TO 82.

43.  Ina arbe- e gar - ri ya . ad ki ummani ya
In my fourth expedition, I gathered my army ;
44.  eli Ah -se- e - ri (v. ra) şar Man- na - ai
against Akhseri king of Minni
45.  us -te- es-se- ra mur ra -nu
I directed the march.
46.  ina ki - bit Assur
By command of Assur,
-  Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,
47.  Istar sa
Ishtar of
-  Ninua Ilu şar - rat Kit - mu ri
Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,
48.  Istar sa
Ishtar of
-  Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku ;
49.  ki - rib
into

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 Man- na - ai e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak sal-dis
Minni I entered and marched victoriously;

50. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 alani su dan-nu- ti a- di zihruti sa ni - i - ba
his strong cities and smaller ones, which were

51. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 la i - su - u a - di ki rib I - zir - tu (v. 𐎠 𐎡)
without number, to the midst of Izirtu,

52. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 ak su-ud (v. aksud) ab - bul ag - gur ina isati
I took; I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire

53. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 ak - mu nisi susi imiri
I burned. People, horses, asses,

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 alpi zeni ul - tu ki - rib alani
oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those

54. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 sa - a - tu - nu u - se za - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu
cities I brought out, and as a spoil I counted.

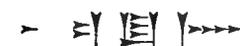
55. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 Ah - se - e - ri a - lak gar ri ya is - me - e va
Ahseri of the progress of my expedition heard; and

56. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 u - vas - ser I - zir - tu alu šar - (u) ti su
abandoned Izirtu his royal city;

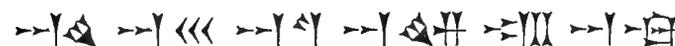
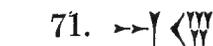
57. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿
 a - na Is - ta at - ti alu tuglu - ti su
to Istatti his castle he

 67. 
 id - du - u in da as - sa - ru pa - gar su
down and *tore in pieces* *his corpse.*

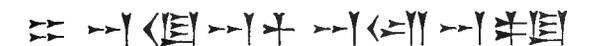
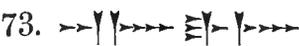
 68. 
 ahi su kin-nu su ziri bit abi su u - sam - ki - tu
His brothers, his relatives, *and the seed of the house of his father, they*

 69. 
 ina kakki arku U - (a) al - li - i
destroyed with the sword. *Afterwards* *Vaalli*

 70. 
 ablu su u -sib ina (v. i-na) kuzzu su da - na - an
his son sat on *his throne;* *the power of*

 71. 
 Assur, Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar
Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar

 72. 
 sa Ninua Ilu sar - rat Kit - mu - ri Istar sa
of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Ishtar of

 73. 
 Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku Ili rabati
Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku, the great Gods

 74. 
 beli ya e mur va ik nu - sa a na
my lords, he saw, and submitted to

 74. 
 niri (v. ni - ri) ya as - su ba - lad naps - ti su
my yoke. To preserve his life

 75. 
 ub - na - a su ip ta - a u - sal - la - a bel u - ti
his hand (friendship) he offered, and besought my power.

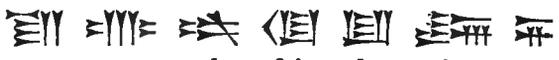
CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINE 16, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 14.

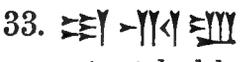
16. [𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶
 [Ina ḥamsi gar-ri ya eli] Aḥ -se-e-ri
 [In my fifth expedition against] Ahseri
17. [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶
 [ṣar Man-na-ai lu-u] al-lik
 [king of Minni] I went.
18. * * * *
 * * * *
19. * * * * 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 nu-su * * * * ti
 submit(?) * * * * ti
20. * * * * [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶
 * * * * [Man]-na-ai
 * * * * Minni
21. * * * * 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 22. * * * * 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 * * * * Assur * * * * di-va as-ku-nu * * *
 * * * * Assur * * * * * and I had made * * *
23. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵]
 Aḥ -se-e-ri a-lak gar-ri [ya is-mi va]
 Ahseri, of the progress of [my] expedition [heard, and]
24. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶] 25. 𐎶
 u -ma - he - e ra [umman su] ina
 sent forth [his army]. In the
26. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶
 sat mu si tan-ni kil ti a-na e-pis taḥaz
 middle of the night, secretly to make war,
27. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶
 it -bu - [ni] a-na mit-ḥu uz zi ummani ya
 they came to fight my army.
28. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵]
 zabi taḥazi ya it -ti su-un im -da -ḥa - [zu]
 My men of war, with them fought, and

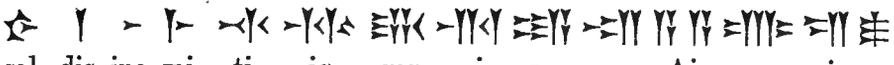
29.  30. 
 is - ku - nu abikta su - un ma - lak 3 kas - pu
accomplished their overthrow. For a space of three kaspu


 ekal rag - [mat su] - nu u - mal - lu - u zer rap - su
of ground their slain filled the wide desert.

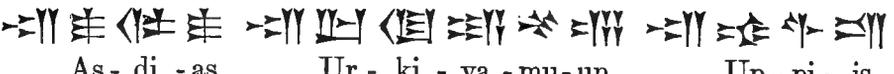
31. 
 ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Ili rabati
By command of Assur, Sin, and Shamas, the great Gods

 32. 
 beli ya sa u - tak - ki - lu in - ni
my lords, who protected me;

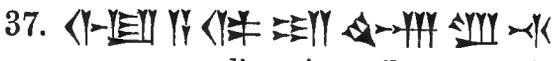
 33. 
 ki - rib Man - na - ai e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak
into Minni I entered and marched


 sal - dis ina mi ti - iq gar - ri ya Ai - u - ši - as
victoriously. In the progress of my expedition, Aiusias

34. 
 hal - zu Pa - sa - * * - su Bu - su - ut
*the fortress, Pasa * * su Pusut,*


 As - di - as Ur - ki - ya - mu - un Up - pi - is
Asdias, Urkiyamun, Uppis,

 36. 
 Si - hu - u - a Na - zi - ni - ri 8
Sihua, and Naziniri, eight

 37. 
 alani dan - nu - ti va a - di zi - ih - ru - ti
strong cities, and smaller ones

sa ni - i - ba la i - su - u 38. a - di ki - rib
which were without number, to the midst of

I - zir - ti ak - su - ud 39. ab - bul ag - gurina isati
Izirtu I captured, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire

ak - mu nisi susi imiri
I burned. People, horses, asses,

alpi zeni 41. ul - tu ki - rib alani
oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those

sa - a - tu - nu 42. u - se - za - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu
cities I brought out, and as a spoil I counted.

43. Ah - se - e - ri a - lak gar - ri ya is - mi va
Ahseri of the progress of my expedition heard, and

u - vas - ser 44. I - zir - tu alu şaru - ti su
abandoned Izirtu, his royal city.

a - na 45. Ad ra - a - na alu tugul - ti su in - na - bit
To Adrana, his castle, he fled,

e - hu - uz 46. mar - ki - tu I - zir - tu
and took refuge. Izirtu,

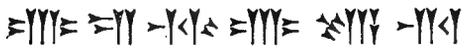
Ur - mi - ya - te 47. Uz - bi a alani
Urmiyate; and Uzbia, his

48.  *dan-nu ti su al-mi*,
fortified cities, I surrounded,

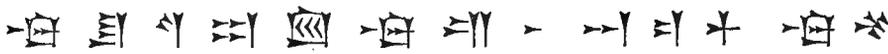
48.  *nisi a-si-bu-ti*
the people dwelling in

49.  *alani sa-a-tu-nu*
those cities

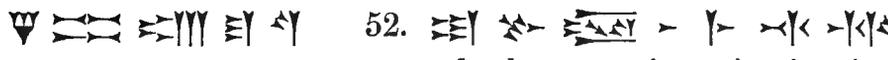
49.  *e-si-ir va nap-sat su-nu*
I besieged, and their spirits

50.  *u-si-iq u-tir-ri*
I humbled, and caused to melt away.

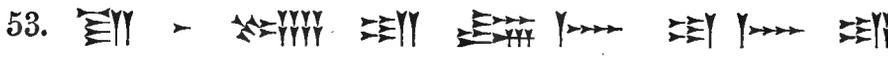
50.  *na-gu-u su-a-tu*
That district I

 *ak-su-ud ab-bul ag-gur ina isati ak-mu*
took, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned.

51.  *ma-lak 10 im-mi 5 im-mi u-sah-ri-ib va*
For fifteen days journey I laid waste, and

52.  *sa-qu-um-ma-tu ad-bu-uq ina mi-ti-iq*
the highlands I conquered. In the progress of

 *gar-ri ya alani sa li-mi-it Pad-di-ri*
my expedition, the cities which were near Paddiri,

53.  *sa ina tir-zi sarri abi ya*
which in the time of the kings my fathers

54.  *Man-na-ai e-ki-mu a-na (i-di)*
the Mannians had taken, and to their own

55.  *ra-ma-ni su-nu u-tir-ru ak su-ud ina*
(hands) had restored; I captured, in the

56. isati ak - mu as - lu - la sal - la - şun alani
fire I burned and carried off their spoil. Those

sa - a - tu - nu a - na me - şir Assur u - tir - (ra)
cities to the boundaries of Assyria I restored.

57. na - gu - u sa Ar - şı - ya - ni - is sa
The district of Arsiyanis, which

59. bi - rit A - ya - qa - na - ni sa Ĥa - ar - şı
bounded Azağanani of Harsi,

60. sa - di - i sa ris Ku - mu - ur - da - ai sa
the mountain which is at the top of Kumurda, in the

61. ki - rib Man - na - ai aş - pu un in isati
midst of Minni I destroyed, and in the fire

ak - mu Ra - ai - di - sa - di - i rab - ĥal - zu su - nu
I burned, Raidisadi commander of their fortresses

62. a - duk as - lu - la sal - lat (v. la) şu
I killed, I carried off his spoil.

63. na - gu - u
The district

64. sa E - ri - is (v. iş) te - ya - na ak - su - ud
of Eristeyana I captured,

65. alani su aş - pu - un ina isati ak - mu
its cities I destroyed, and in the fire I burned;

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 66. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 as - lu - la sal - lat ʒu ina ti - ib taḫazi ya
I carried off its spoil. By the shock of my army,

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 67. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 na - gu su u - saḫ - rib u - za - aḫ - ḫi - ir
that district I laid waste, I reduced the

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 68. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 nap - ḫar mati su it - ti ḫu - ub - ti ma - ha - di
whole of his country. With much plunder,

69. 𐎶𐎵
 ta - mir - ti ka - bit - ti sal - mis a - tu - ra
and numerous gifts, peacefully I returned,

70. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 71. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ak - bu - ʒa me - ʒir Assur [Bi(?)] - ru - a
and marched across the borders of Assyria. Birua(?),

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 72. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ʒaru - ig - bi Gu - ʒu - ne - e
Saruigbi, Gusune,

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 73. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 [Bi] - ru - u - te alani li - [mi - it]
and Birute(?), cities near

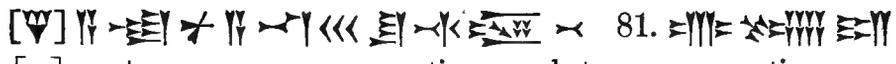
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 74. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Assur sa ina tir - ʒi ʒarri abi ya
Assyria, which in the time of the kings my fathers

75. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 76. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 e - ki - mu Man - na - ai da - rum - mi sa - a - tu - nu
were captured by the Mannians, those districts

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 77. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ak - su - ud Man - na - ai ul - tu lib - bi aḫ - ʒuḫ
I took. The Mannians, from the midst I removed,

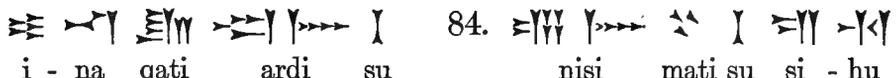
78. 
 susi bat- li u -nu-tu tahazi
the horses and their instruments of war

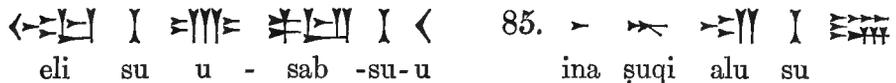

 su-nu as- lu - la a- na Assur alani
I carried off to Assyria. Those

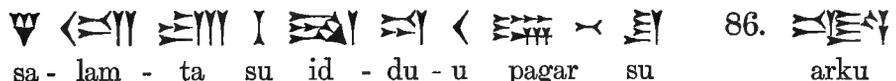

 [sa]-a- tu -nu a- na es-su-ti az -bat u - tir - ra
cities a second time I took, and restored

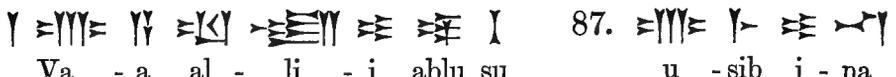

 a - na me - şir Assur Ah - se - e - ri
to the boundaries of Assyria. Ahseri,

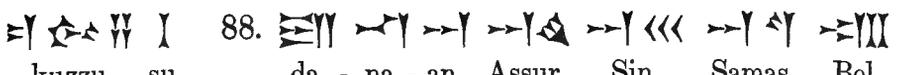

 la pa laḥ bilu- ti ya [a- mat] Istar im -nu su
not fearing my power, [the will] of Ishtar delivered


 i - na qati ardi su nisi mati su ši - ḥu
him into the hands of his servants. The people of his country a revolt


 eli su u - sab -su-u ina şuqi alu su
against him made, and in front of his city


 sa - lam - ta su id - du - u pagar su arku
his attendants threw his corpse. Afterwards


 Va - a al - li - i ablu su u - sib i - na
Vaalli his son sat on


 kuzzu su da - na - an Assur Sin Samas Bel
his throne. The power of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bel,

89. Nabu Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba- il
Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela,

90. Ninip Nusku Nergal Ili rabati beli ya
Ninip, Nasku, and Nergal, the great Gods my lords,

91. e - mur va ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya
he saw ; and submitted to my yoke.

92. as - su ba - laḡ nāpī - ti su ub - na - a su ip - ta - a
To preserve his life, he offered his hand,

93. u - zal - la - a bel - u - ti 94. E - ri - ši - in - ni
and submitted to my dominion. Erisinni

95. ablu ridu - ti su a - na Ninua is pur - av - va
his eldest son, to Nineveh he sent, and

96. u - na - as - siq sepi ya re - e - mu ar - si su
kissed my feet. Favour I granted him,

97. va a - mir ya sa salim - mi u - ma - hi - ir
and my messenger for an alliance I sent

98. zi - ru - us - su bintu zi - it lib bi su
to him. The daughter proceeding from his body,

u se - bi - la a - na e - pis sal tuglu u ti
he sent for a concubine.

99. ma - da - at ta su mah ri - tu sa ina tir - zi
The former tribute, which in the time of

sarri abi ya 100. u - sab - di - lu
the kings my fathers, they had broken off:

is - su - u - ni a - di mah - ri ya 101. 30 susi
he had brought to my presence. Thirty horses,

eli ma - da - (at) - ti su mah ri - ti u - rad - di va
beside the former tribute, I added and

I02. e - mid su ina im - mi su va Bi - ri - iz - ha - ad - ri
fixed on him. In those days also, Biriz-hadri

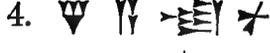
niru sa Mad - ai
a chief of Media,

COLUMN IV.

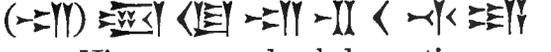
1. Sar a - ti Pa ri za a abli
Sariti and Pariza, sons of

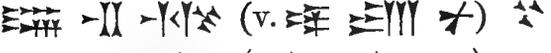
Ga (a) gi 2. niru Sa - hi sa iz - lu - u
Gog, a chief of the Saka (Scythians) who had thrown off

niri belu - ti ya 3. 75 alani su - nu dan - nu - ti
the yoke of my dominion, seventy-five of their strong cities

 4. 
 ak su - ud as - lu - la sal - lat şun sa - a - tu - nu
I took, I carried off their spoil: themselves

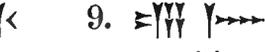
 5. 
 bal - du - şu - nu ina qati az - bat u - bi - la ana
alive, in hand I took, and brought to

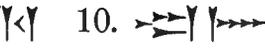
 6. 
 Ninua alu bel - u - ti ya I lu - da - ri - a
Nineveh, the city of my dominion. Iludaria

 (v.  )  7. 
 sanut (v. tur - ta - nu) Lu - ub - di sa
prefect (v. tartan) of Lubdu, who

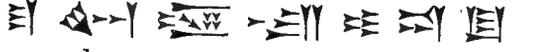
  8. 
 a - na ka - sa - ad Ub - bu - um - mi va
to capture Ubbummi and

 (v. )  9. 
 Kul - li - im - mi - ri ir - da - a
Kullimmir, descended

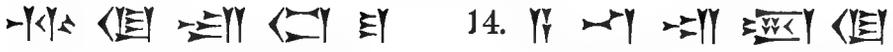
 10. 
 il li ka ki - rib mu - si - ti nisi
and went in the night. The people

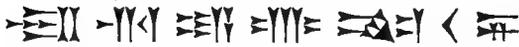
 11. 
 a - si - bu ti Kul - li - im - mi - ri ardi
dwelling in Kullimmir, tributaries,

 12. 
 da - gil pa - ni ya ina sat mu - si di - ik - ta su
dependent on me; in the middle of the night his

 13. 
 ma - ha - aş şu i du - ku la ez - zi bu
numerous army slew, and there was not


 13.  
 ai - um - ma qaq - du Ilu - da - ri - a
left anyone. The head of Iludaria


 14. 
 ik - ki - şu - niv - va a - na Ninua
they cut off, and to. Nineveh,



 maḥ - ri ya u - bil - u - ni
before me, they brought.

The differences between the texts of Cylinders A and B regarding this expedition principally rise from Cylinder B giving a more minute account of the events, and supplying some points omitted on Cylinder A. It appears from Cylinder B that the principal battle with the Mannians was fought before Assurbanipal went in person to Minni. After the victory of his generals, Assurbanipal himself entered Minni, and ravaged the country. The details of the restoration of territory to Assyria, the conquest of the Median chief Birizhadri, and the sons of Gagi the Sakhian or Scythian, and the defeat and death of Iludari; are additions in Cylinder B. Gagi resembles the גג of Ezekiel. The city of Lubdu, of which Iludaria was governor, revolted once before in the reign of Shalmaneser II, in B.C. 820.

PART VII.

The War with Urtaki, King of Elam.

TEXTS.

The texts of the war with Urtaki are Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 15 to 83, and a fragment of a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 1139.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN IV, LINES 15 TO 83.

15. > 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 Ina gar - ri ya eli Ur - ta - ki
In my sixth expedition, against Urtaki

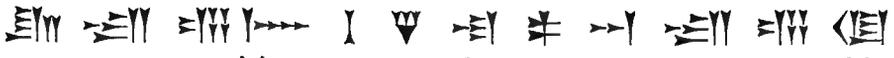
« 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 16. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 < 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 Elam lu - u al - lik sa dabtu abi
king of Elam, I went; who the benefits of the father

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 17. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 bani ya la 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 - aš - 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 la iz zu - ru
my begetter disregarded, and had not heeded

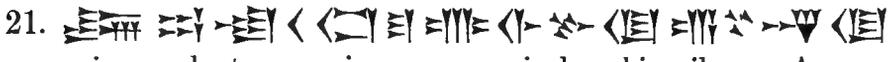
𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 18. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 ip - ru ti ul - tu ina Elam 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 - un - qu
the famine. When in Elam a drought

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 19. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 is - ku - nu ib ba - su - u - ni ip - ri - tu miri
took place, there was a famine. Corn

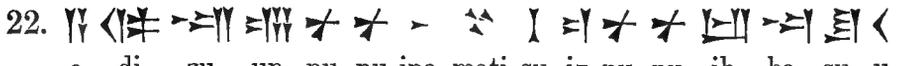
𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 20. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 <
 ba - laq napis - ti nisi u - se - bil su va az - bat
to preserve the lives of the people, I sent him, and took



 qat su nisi su sa la pa an su - un - ki
his hand. His people, who from the face of the drought

21. 

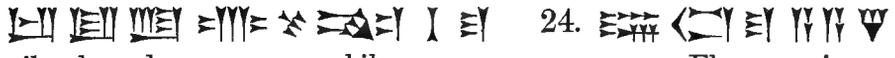
 in - nab tu - u - niv - va u - si - bu ki - rib Assur
fled, and dwelt in Assyria,

22. 

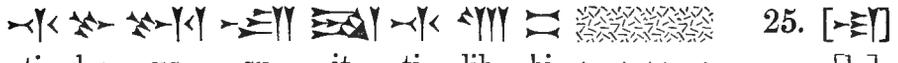
 a - di zu - un - nu - nu ina mati su iz - nu - nu ib - ba - su - u
until the rain in his country rained, and there were



 sibirru nisi sa - a tu - nu sa ina mati ya
crops : those people, who in my country



 ib - lu - du u - se - bil su va Elam - ai sa
were preserved, I sent to him, and the Elamite ; who



 ti - bu - us - su it - ti lib - bi * * * * [la]
*his invasion, with heart * * * * [did not]*



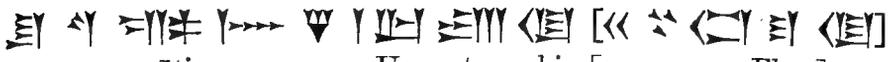
 ha - as - sa ku - zi - lat . su Bel - ba - sa [Gam - bu - la - ai]
regard his good. Belbasa the [Gambulian,]

26. 

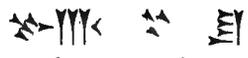
 [Nabu] - zikir - esses tig - en - na ardi
 [Nebo] zikiresses the tigenna tributaries

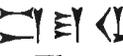
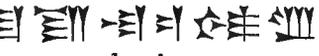


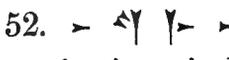
 [da - gil pa - ni ya] [Maruduk - zikir] - ibni
 [dependent on me,] [Merodach zikir] ibni

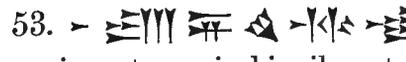
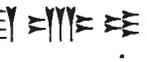


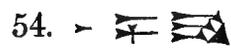
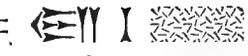
 ummāti sa Ur - ta - ki [sar Elam]
 general of Urtaki [king of Elam,]

50.    
 ad - ru - uṣ ṣu a di me - ṣir mati su
and drove him to the frontier of his country.

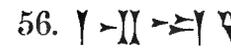
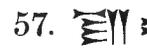
51.    
 Ur - ta - ki ṣar Elam sa la iṣ - ṣu - ru
Urtaki king of Elam, who had not heeded

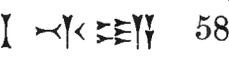
 52.   
 ip - ru - ti ina im - mi la sim - ti su mu - u - [ti]
the famine; in the day of his misfortune, death

 53.   
 * * * * * ina ta - ni - ḫi ik - tu - u i * * * *
 [desired(?)] In lamentation, he beat * * *

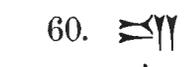
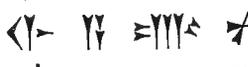
54.  (v. )  
 ina qaq - qar (v. qa - ri) ba - la - di sepi su * * *
*on the level ground, his feet * * **

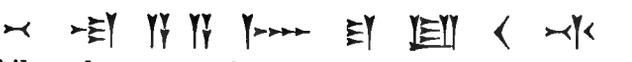
55.   
 ina sanat an - na su na - pis - ta su iq - ti - il * * *
*In that year, his life he destroyed * * **

56.    
 Bel - ba - sa Gam - bu - la ai sa iz - lu - u
Belbasa the Gambulian, who had thrown off

   58.  
 niru belu - ti ya ina ni - sik kisti is ta - kan
the yoke of my dominion, hiding in concealment, he passed.

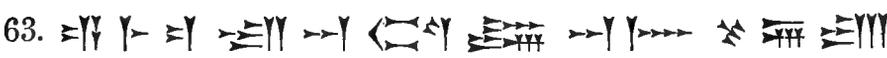
 59.  
 na - pis - tu Nabu - zikir - esses tig - en - na la
his life. Nebozikireses the tigenna, not

  60.  
 na - zir a - de - e is si a ga - nu
keeping the covenant, was overthrown by the

 (v. )
 bil - la - ai ma lu - u ti (v. maluti)
lords strong and mighty.

61. 
 Maruduk -zikir-ibni ummati su mu-sad-bi ib su
Merodachzikiribni his general, his adviser,

62. 
 sa limut - tu u - sak - si - du a - na Ur - ta - ki
who, evil caused to happen to Urtaki:

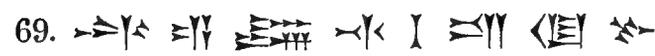
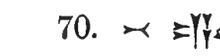
63. 
 e - mi - is su Maruduk sar Ili se - er - ta
Merodach king of the Gods, fixed on him his great

 64. 
 su rab - tu ina he - ed sanat an - na me - eh - rit
fear. For one year in presence of each

 65.  66. 
 a - ha - mis is - ku - nu na - pis - tu lib - bi Assur
other, they passed their lives. The heart of Assur

 67. 
 ag - gu ul i - nu - uh su - nu - ti ul ip suh
vengeful, let them not rest, and did not spare

 68. 
 su - nu - ti ka - bat - ti Istar sa u - tag - gil an - ni
them. The mighty Goddess who protected me,

69.  70. 
 pal e saru - ti su is - ki - pu bil - lut
the time of his kingdom ended, and the dominion

 71. 
 Elam u - raq - qu - u sa - num - ma arku
of Elam passed to another. Afterwards

72. Te - um - man tam - sil gal - lu u - sib ina kuzzu
Teumman like an evil spirit, sat on the throne of

73. Ur - ta - ki a - na da - a - ki abli
Urtaki; to slay the sons of

74. Ur - ta - ki va abli Um - man - al - da - a - se
Urtaki, and the sons of Ummanaldas

75. aḫu Ur - ta - ki is - te - ni - ha - a limut
the brother of Urtaki, he devised evil.

76. Um - man - i - gas Um - man - ap - pa Tam - ma - ri - tu
Ummanigas, Ummanappa and Tammari,

77. abli Ur - ta - ki ṣar Elam
sons of Urtaki king of Elam,

78. Ku - dur - ru Pa - ru - u abli Um - man - al - da - se
Kudurru and Paru, sons of Ummanaldas,

79. ṣar a - lik pa - ni Ur - ta - ki 80. va 60
the king preceding Urtaki, and sixty of

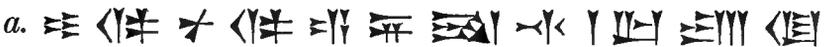
81. ziri ṣarri ina la mi ni zabi mitpanu abli
the seed royal, innumerable bow-men and children

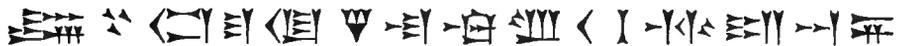
82. ba - ne - e sa Elam sa la pa - an da - a - ki
begotten in Elam; who from the face of the massacre

 83. 
 Te - um -man aḫu abusu-nu in -nab- tu - u- niv -va
of Teumman their uncle; fled, and took


 iḫ - ba tu niru ṣaru ti ya
the yoke of my kingdom.

EXTRACT FROM K, 2867, VARIANT PASSAGE FOR CYLINDER B,
 COLUMN IV, LINES 30 TO 70.

a. 
 I - di - nu de - e - ni it - ti Ur - ta - ki
They delivered judgment against Urtaki


 ṣar Elam sa la ag - ru - u su ig - ra an - ni
king of Elam; who [when] I did not make war with him, made war

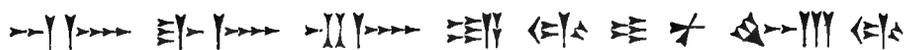
 b. 
 * * * * ke - e - mu - u a abikta su is ku - nu
*with me * * For me, his overthrow they accomplished,*


 im - ḫa - zu pa - na - aṣ - zu id - ru - du su a - di
struck him in the face, and drove him to the

 c. 
 me - [ṣir mati su] ina sanat an - na su - a - tu ina mit - pan - ni
frontier of [his country]. In that year, with a bow(?) they


 u - ḫal - li - qu nap - sat ṣu ip - ki - du su a - na
destroyed his life, and they sent him to

 d. 
 mat - nu - de - a a sar la * * * * lib - bi
Hades, the ²place none [return from]. The hearts of the

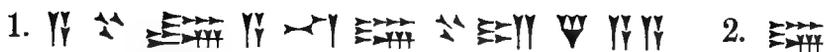

 Ili rabati beli ya ul i - nu - uḥ ul
great Gods my lords, did not rest, did not

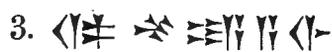

 ip - suḥ sa e - zu - zu ka - bat - ti belu - ti su * * *
*spare. The strong and mighty one, his dominion * * **

e. 
 ṣar - uṣ ṣu is - ki - pu pal su e - ki - mu bil - lut
his kingdom ended, and his days took away. The dominion


 Elam u - raq - qu sa - num - [ma]
of Elam passed to another.

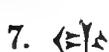
K, 1139.

1.  2. 
 A - mat ṣaru a - na nisi Ra - sa - ai nisi
The will of the king, to the men of Rasa, the sea

 3. 
 tamti va Ne - ru u - ti salim - mi ya - a - si
coast and the Neruti. My salutation

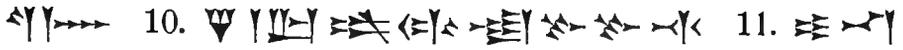
 4. 
 lib - ba ku - nu lu - u dabtu ku - nu - si me - nam - ma
to your hearts, may benefits to you be counted.

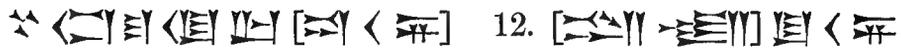
5.  
 a - na - ku i - na ra - a - me sa Elam
I in the prosperity [of Elam

6.   7. 
 a - ra - am en dabti ya va bilu ti ya ul
rejoiced, my good, and my dominion, they

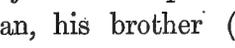
 8. 
 u - ba - hu a - na gab-bi dabtu e - bu us - u su - nu
did not seek. For all the good done to them,

 9. 
 li - mut - ti e - ep - su - u . ni re - es - şu ina
evil they committed. First, in the

 10.   11. 
 immi sa Ur - tak ul - tu bu - bu - ti i - na
days of Urtak; from the famine in

 12. 
 Elam ur [du - u - ni] [il - li] - ku - u - ni
Elam they descended(?) and went


 a - na [Assur] * * * *
 to [Assyria] * * * *

This war with Urtaki, commenced a series of contests with Elam, which extended through a large part of the reign of Assurbanipal. During the reign of Esarhaddon Ummanaldas I, king of Elam, died, and was succeeded by his brother Urtaki or Urtak, called on K, 1541,  Ur-ta-gu; who was on friendly terms with Esarhaddon. Some time after the accession of Assurbanipal and his brother Saulmugina, Assurbanipal befriended the Elamite monarch during a famine, and afterwards Urtaki disregarding this allowed his general Merodachzikiribni to persuade him into an invasion of Babylonia; where, after ravaging the country, he was repulsed by Assurbanipal. On his death within a year of this event Teumman, his brother (called on K, 1009,  Tu-ummau), ascended the Elamite throne. Fearing Teumman would murder them, to secure the succession to the throne for his own sons; the two sons of Ummanaldas, and three sons of Urtaki, with a numerous body of adherents, fled to Assyria.

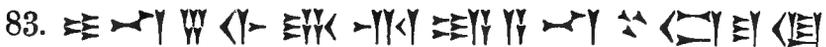
PART VIII.

The War with Teumman King of Elam, and the Conquest of Gambuli.

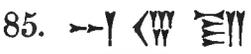
TEXTS.

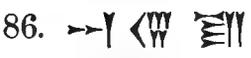
The texts relating to this expedition are Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 83, to col. iv, line 5; Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 84, to col. vi, line 92; an extract from K, 2652; and a series of epigraphs placed over the sculptured scenes representing this war.

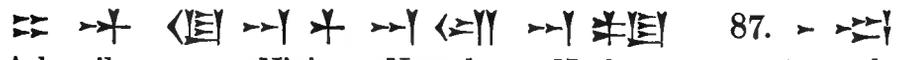
CYLINDER A, COLUMN III, LINE 83, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 5.

83.  I - na hamsi gar - ri ya a - na Elam
In my fifth expedition, to Elam

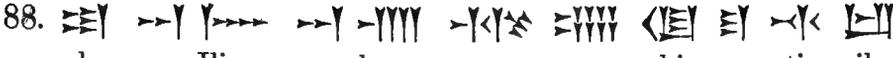
 84.  us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu ina ki - bit Assur
I directed the march. By the command of Assur,

 85.  Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa
Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of

 86.  Ninua Il şar - rat kit - mu - ri Istar sa
Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Istar of

 87.  Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku ina araḥ
Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku; in the month

 Ululu araḥ şar Ili Assur
Etul, the month of the king of the Gods, Assur,

88. 

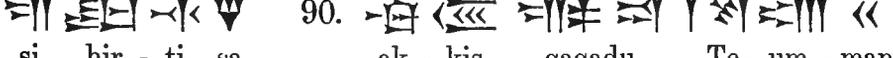
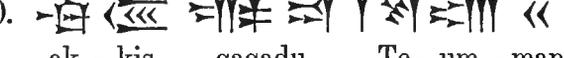
abu Ili rubu nan - nur ki - ma ti ib

the father of the Gods, the glorious prince: like the shock of a

 89. 

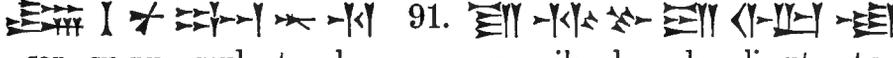
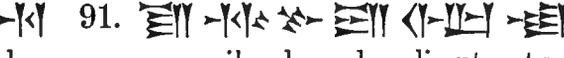
mi-*he* - e iz - zi ak - tum Elam a - na

terrible storm, I overwhelmed Elam, through

 90. 

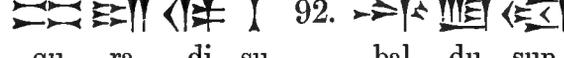
ši hir - ti sa ak - kiş qaqa^{du} Te - um - man

its extent. I cut off the head of Teumman,

 91. 

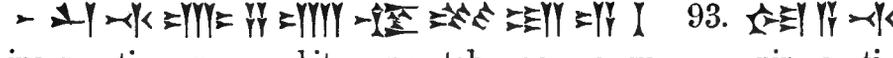
şar su - nu mul - tar - hu sa ik - bu - da limut - tu

their wicked king; who devised evil.

 92. 

ina la mi - ni a - duk qu - ra - di su bal - du - şun

Beyond number I slew his soldiers; alive

 93. 

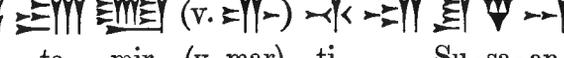
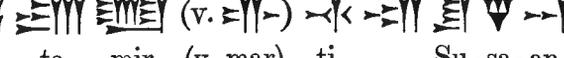
ina qa - ti u - za - bit mun - taḥ - ze - e su nin - a - ti

in hand, I captured his fighting men. Their



su - nu ki ma mitpani va iz - u - kir

wives, like bows and arrows(?),

94.  (v. ) 

u - ma - al - la - a ta - mir (v. mar) ti Su - sa - an

filled the vicinity of Shushan.

95. 

pagari su - nu U - la - ai u - sar di

Their corpses the Ulai, I caused to take,

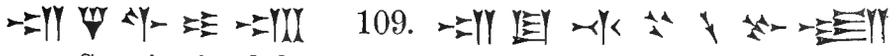
96. 

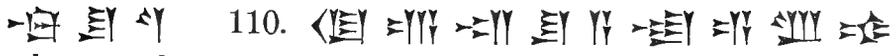
me sa az - ru - [ub - ki] - ma na - ba - aş - ši

its waters I made to consume like chaff(?).

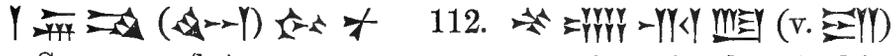
107. 
 eli Du - na - nu Gam - bu - li ai sa a - na
against Dunanu the Gambulian, who to

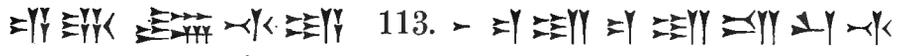
 108. 
 Elam it - tag - lu as - ku na pa - ni ya
Elam trusted; I set my face.

 109. 
 Sa - pi - i - bel alu tugul - ti Gam - bu li
Sapibel, the fortified city of Gambuli,

 110. 
 ak su - ud ki rib alu su - a tu e - ru - ub
I took; into that city I entered,

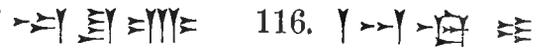
 111. 
 nisi su az - lis u - qu - uh Du - na - nu
its people entirely I carried off. Dunanu and

 112.  (v. )
 Sa - am - (ha) gu - nu mu - nir ri - du (v. da)
Samgunu, opposers of the

 113. 
 e - pis şaru - ti ya ina zi iz - zi is - qa - ti
work of my kingdom, in strong fetters of

 114. 
 parzil bi - ri ti parzil u - tam - mi - ha qati va
iron, and bonds of iron, I bound their hands and

 115. 
 sepi ši it - ti abli Bel - ba - sa kin - nu su
feet. The rest of the sons of Belbasa, his kin, the

 116. 
 ziri bit abu su ma - la ba - su - u Nabu - nahid
seed of his father's house, all there were, Nabonidus and



 Bel - edir abli Nabu - zikir - esses

Beledir, *sons of* *Nebozikireses*

117. 

 tig - en - na va nir - pad - du (v. da) - i

 the tigenna, *and* *the attendants of the*



 abi ba ni su - nu

father their begetter ;

COLUMN IV.

1. 

 it - ti * * * * * - bi Te - be - e

 with *the* * * * * * *and* *Tebe,*

2. 

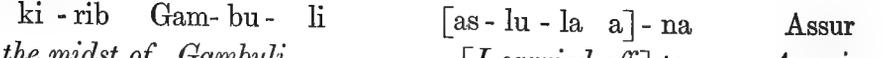
 nisi Gam - bu - li alpi zeni

 people of Gambuli, *oxen,* *sheep,*


 3. 

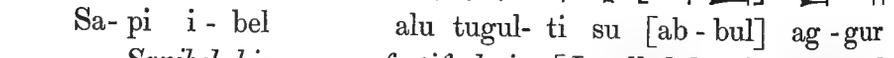
 imiri susi pare ul - tu

 asses, *horses,* *and* *mules ;* *from*


 4. 

 ki - rib Gam - bu - li [as - lu - la a] - na Assur

 the midst of Gambuli, *[I carried off] to* *Assyria.*


 5. 

 Sa - pi i - bel alu tugul - ti su [ab - bul] ag - gur

 Sapibel, his *fortified city, [I pulled down], destroyed,*



 ina me us - ham - mid

and into the waters I turned.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN X, LINES 22 TO 30.

22. 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 Ša - duri šar Ur - ar - di sa šarri
Saduri, king of Ararat; who the kings

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 23. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 abi su a - na abi ya is - ta - nap - pa - ru - u
his fathers to my fathers had sent concerning the

(v. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠) 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 24. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 (v. par - u) - ni aḥu - u - ut e - nin - na Ša - duri
brotherhood. Again, Saduri,

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 25. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 da - na - a - nu ip - se - e - tu sa Ili rabati
the mighty things for which the great Gods

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 26. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 i - si - mu in ni is - me - e va ki - ma sa ablu
had caused renown to me, heard, and like a son to

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 (v. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠) 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 a - na abi su is ta - nap - pa - ra (v. ru) bel - u - ut
his father, he sent concerning the dominion;

27. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 va su u ki - i pi - i an - nim - ma
and he by word of mouth to me

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 28. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 is - ta - nap - pa - ra um - ma lu - u salim - mu a - na
sent thus: "Salutation to the

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 29. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 šar beli ya pal - ḥi is kau - sis ta - mar - ta
king my lord." Reverently and submissively his numerous


 30. 
 su ka bit - tu u - se - ba - la a - di
presents he sent to


 mah - ri ya
my presence.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN IV, LINES 84, TO COLUMN VI, LINE 92.

82. 
 Ina şibe gar - ri ya eli Te - um - man
In my seventh expedition against Teumman

85.  86. 
 şar Elam lu - u al - lik sa eli
king of Elam I went; who against


 Um - man - i - gas Um - man - ap - pa Tam - ma - ri - tu
Ummanigas, Ummanappa, and Tammariitu,

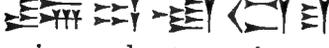
87. 
 abli Ur - ta - ki şar Elam
sons of Urtaki, king of Elam,

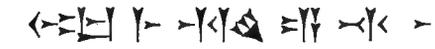
88. 
 Ku dur ru Pa - ru - u abli
Kudurru and Paru, sons of

89.  90. 
 Um - man - al - da - se ahu Ur - ta - ki şar
Ummanaldasi, brother of Urtaki, king of

 91. 
 Elam nisi zirati su is ta - nap - pa - ra
Elam; his great men sent,

 92. 
 a - na se - bu - li nisi sa - a - tu - nu sa
for the surrender of these men, who

 93. 
 in - nab - tu - niv - va iz - ba tu niri ya se - bul
had fled and taken my yoke. Their surrender

 94. 
 su - nu ul ag - bi su ana eli mi - mut - e - ti ina
I did not grant him. Concerning the demands, by the

 95. 
 qati Um - ba - da - ra - a va Nabu - damiq
hand of Umbadara and Nebodamiq

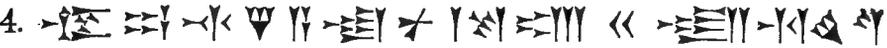

 is - ta - nap - pa - ra arah u
he sent a month.

COLUMN V.

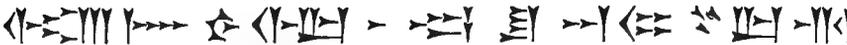
1. 
 Ki rib Elam us - tar - ra - ah ina puhur
In the midst of Elam he set himself to work in gathering

 2. 
 umman su ad - gil a - na Istar sa . u - tag - gil an - ni
his army. I trusted to Ishtar, who protects me.

3. 
 ki bit pi i su sa hu - u ul am - gar ul a - din su
The demand of his vile mouth I did not accede to, I did not give him

4. 
 mun - nab - ti sa - a - tu - nu Te - um - man li - mut - tu
those fugitives. Teumman devised

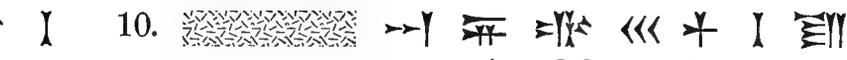
5.  is - te - ni - ha - a
 Sin
 is - te - ni - ha - su
evil; Sin devised against him

6.  * * * * limutti ina arah Dūza atalu lat-tur-ri
omens of evil; in the month Tammuz, the darkness of the morning

7.  * * * * us - ta ni - ih va sam - si zit va ki - ma
watch he caused to retard the rising sun; and like

8.  su - a - tu va 3 immi us - ta - ni - ih a - na
this also three days he caused to retard; to the

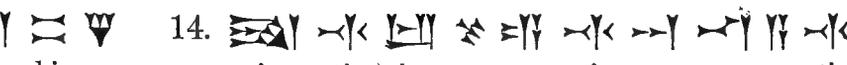
9.  ki - it pali [sar] Elam uhalliq
end (?) that (?) "the [king] of Elam shall be destroyed,

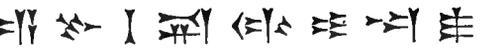
10.  mata su * * * * an - ni puluk uzzi su sa
*his country * * * * "this she selected(?) in her power, which*

11.  la in - ni - nu - u ina im - mi su va me eḫ - ru
changed not. In those days, before

12.  im - ḥar su va saput šu uq - ta - qum va
she received him, her lips cursed, and

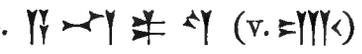
13.  eni su iṣ - ḥar va ga - ba - zu is - sa - kin ina
her eyes flamed, and vengeance was fixed in her

14.  lib - bi sa it - ti ip - se - e - ti an - na - a - ti
heart. About these things, which

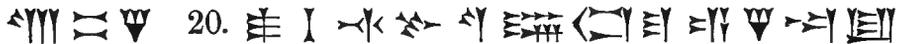
 15. 
 sa Assur va Istar e - pu - su - us ul i ba - as
Assur and Ishtar did to him, he knew not;

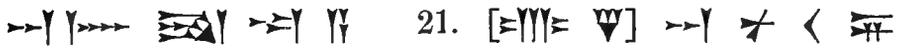
 16. 
 id - ka - a umman su ina arah Abu arah
he gathered his army. In the month Ab, the month

 17. 
 na - an - har - ti kakab Bam i - sin - ni sar - ra ti
of the luminous Sagittarius, in the festival of the

 18. 
 ka - bit - ti bintu Bel a - na pa - lah (v. luh)
mighty queen, the daughter of Bel; to worship

 19. 
 sa rab - ti as - ba - ak ina Arba - il alu na - ram
her greatly I sacrificed(?) in Arbela, the city the delight of

 20. 
 lib - bi sa as - su ti - bu - ut Elam - e sa ba - lu
her heart. Of the invasion of the Elamite, who against

 21. 
 Ili it - ba - a [u - sa] - an - nu - u ni
the Gods came; they repeated

 22. 
 de - e - mu um - ma Te - um - man ki a - am
word thus: "Teumman even

 23. 
 ig - bi sa Istar u sa - an - nu - u me - lik
saith of Ishtar," they repeated the tenor

 24. 
 de - mi su um - ma ul u - vas - sar a - di
of his words, thus: "I will not cease until

25. al - la - ku it ti su [a - na] e pu - su
I go with him [to] make

26. mit - hu zu - ti su - par me - ri - ih ti an ni - ti
war." Over this threat,

27. sa Te - um - man ig bu - u am - har [sa] - qu ti
which Teumman had spoken; I prayed to the lofty

28. Is - tar a (v. az) - zi - ma a - na tar - zi sa
Ishtar. I approached to her presence,

29. ak - mi - iṣ sa - pal sa I lu uṣ - ṣa u - sa - ap - pa - a
I bowed under her, her divinity I supplicated,

30. il - la - ka salim - ma ai um - ma bi lat
and she came to save me. Thus: "Goddess of

Arba - il a - na - ku Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur
Arbela, I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria,

31. bi - nu - ut qati ki * * * * * abu ba nu - ki
the work of thy hands * * * * * the father thy begetter,

32. a - na ud - du - si es - re - e ti Assur va
to restore the temples of Assyria, and

suk - lul ma - ha zi Akkad * * * * *
adorn the cities of Akkad * * * * *

33. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵
 a na ku as - re e ki as - te - ni ha - a
I thy courts desire,

𐎶𐎵 34. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 al - li - ka a - na pa - luḥ * * * * * va
*I go to worship * * * * * and*

𐎶𐎵
 su - u Te - um - man ṣar Elam la mu - sa - kir
he, Teumman king of Elam, hater of the

𐎶𐎵 35. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Ili ku * * li a - na * * um - ma at - ti bi - lat
*Gods * * * to * * O thou Goddess*

𐎶𐎵
 bi - le e - ti i - mat qab - li bi lat ta ḥa - zi
of Goddesses, terrible in battle, Goddess of war,

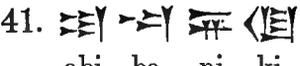
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 36. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ma - li kat Ili * * * sa ina ma - ḥar Assur
*queen of the Gods * * * who in the presence of Assur*

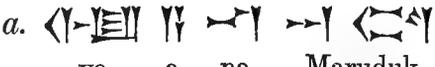
𐎶𐎵
 abi ba ni ki damqati tag bi i ina na * * *
*the father thy begetter, speakest good in * * **

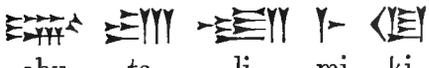
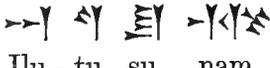
37. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 38. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 iḥ - su - ḥa an - ni * * * a - na su - ḡu - ub lib - bi
*loved me * * * * * to make glad the heart of*

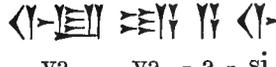
𐎶𐎵
 Assur va nu - uḥ - ḥi ka - bat - ti Maruduk * * ru - ur - ru
*Assur, and rejoice greatly Merodach * * * * **

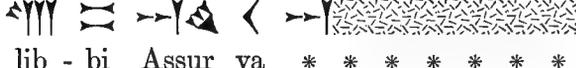
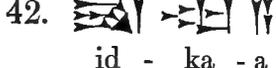
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 39. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ki * * * * as - su Te - um - man ṣar Elam
*they * * * * Of Teumman king of Elam*

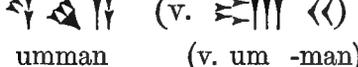
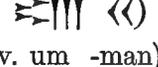
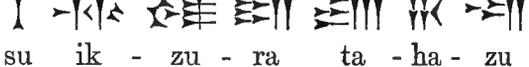
40.  41. 
 sa a - na Assur [*šar Ili*] abi ba - ni ki
who to Assur [king of the Gods,] the father thy begetter

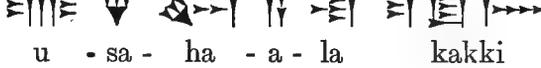
 a. 
 ih - tu - u * * * * va a - na Maruduk
 * * * * * * * * and to Merodach

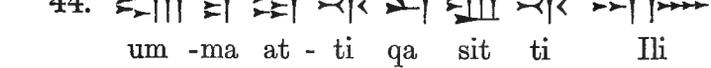
  * * * *
 aḥu ta - li - mi ki Ilu - tu su nam * * * *
*thy good brother, his divinity * * * * **

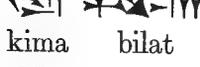
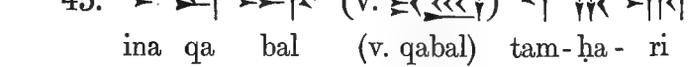
b.  
 va ya - a - si Assur - bani - pal sa a - na nu - uḥ
and of me Assurbanipal, who to rejoice the

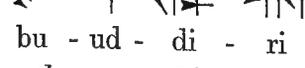
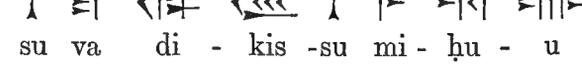
 42. 
 lib - bi Assur va * * * * * * * * id - ka - a
*heart of Assur and * * * * * he gathered*

 (v. ) 
 umman (v. um - man) su ik - zu - ra ta - ḥa - zu
his army, and prepared for war,

43.  
 u - sa - ha - a - la kakki su a - na a lak
he urges his fighting men to go to

 44. 
 Assur um - ma at - ti qa sit ti Ili
Assyria. Oh thou archer of the Gods,

 45. 
 kima bilat ina qa bal (v. qabal) tam - ḥa - ri
like a weight in the midst of battle,

 
 bu - ud - di - ri su va di - kis - su mi - ḥu - u
throw him down, and crush him; tear(?)

53. (v. ba) - av - va imnu va
 Arba - il e - ru - ub (v. ba) - av - va imnu va
Arbela, entered, and right and

(v. tul) - la - a - ta is - pa - a - ti
 sumili tu - ul (v. tul) - la - a - ta is - pa - a - ti
left she was surrounded with glory(?),

54. (v. ina) i - di sa zal-pat
 tam-*ha*- at mitpanu i - na (v. ina) i - di sa zal-pat
holding a bow in her hand, projecting

(v. tahaz)
 muz - za - ru kap tu sa e - pis ta - *ha*- zi (v. tahaz)
a powerful arrow(?) on making war,

56. (az) - zi - iz si - i ki - ma umma
 ma- *har* sa ta - (az) - zi - iz si - i ki - ma umma
her 'countenance was set. She like a mother

57. it - ti ka il - si
 a - lit - ti i - tam - ma - a it - ti ka il - si
bearing, was in pain with thee, she brought

(v. qut) Ili i - sak - kan
 ka Istar sa - qu - ut (v. qut) Ili i - sak - kan
thee forth. Ishtar exalted of the Gods, appointeth

59. um - ma ta - na - da - la a - na
 ka de - e - mu um - ma ta - na - da - la a - na
thee a decree. Thus: 'Carry off to

60. a - sar pa - nu ki sak - nu
 e - pis sa - as - si a - sar pa - nu ki sak - nu
make spoil, the place before thee set,

61. at - ta ta - gab - bi si
 te - ba ku a - na - ku at - ta ta - gab - bi si
I will come to.' Thou shalt say to her,

um -ma a - sar tal - la - ki 62. it - ti ki lul - lik
thus: 'The place thou goest to with thee I will go.' The

bi lat biletī si - i tu - sa - an - nak - ka um - ma
Goddess of Goddesses she repeateth to thee thus:

at - ta a - gan na 64. lu - (u) as - ba - ta a - sar
'Thee I will guard, then I will rest in the place of the

mas - gan - i Nabu 65. a - kul a - ka - lu si ti
temple of Nebo, eat food, drink

ku - ru - un - nu 66. nin gu - ut su - kun nu - hi - id
wine, music appoint, glorify my

|Ilu - (u) - ti 67. a di al - la - ku sip - ru
divinity, until I go, and this

su - a tu ip - pu su 68. u - sak sa - du
message shall be accomplished. I will cause thee to

zu - (um) - mi - rat lib - bi ka 69. pa - nu - u ka ul
take the desire of thy heart, before thee he shall not

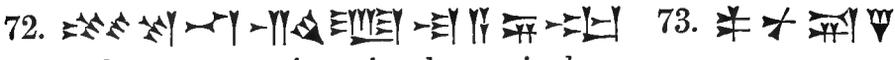
ur - rak ul i - nir - ru - da sepi ka 70. ul
stand, he shall not oppose thy feet Do not

ta u - sat zu - par ka ina qabal tam - ha - ri 71. ina
regard(?) thy skin. In the midst of battle, in



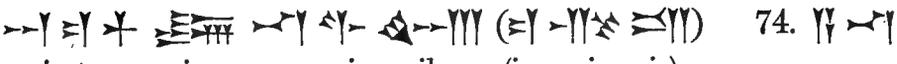
 ki - rim - me sa dabti tah - zi - in ka va

her beneficent generosity, she guards thee, and

72. 

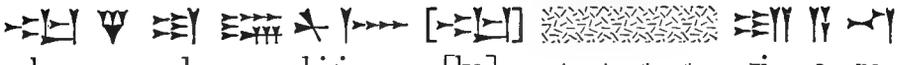
 tah - te - na gi mir la a - ni - ka pa - nu - us - sa

overthrows all the unsubmissive. Before her,



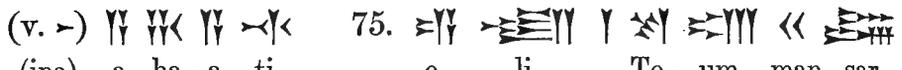
 isatu in - na - pi - ih (iz - zi - is) a - na

a fire is blown (strongly); to



 ka - sa - ad nakiri [ka] * * * * * zi a - na

*capture [thy] enemies * * * * * to*

(v. >) 

 (ina) a - ha - a - ti e - li Te - um - man sar

(v. in) each other(?). Against Teumman king of



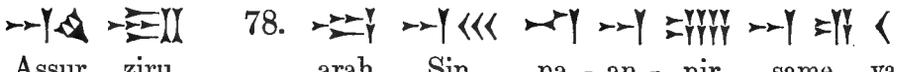
 Elam sa ug - gu - ga - at pa - nu - us - sa

Elam who was hateful before her, she



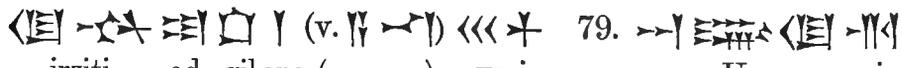
 tas - kun ina arah Elulu i - sin - ni

appointed. In the month Elul, the festival of



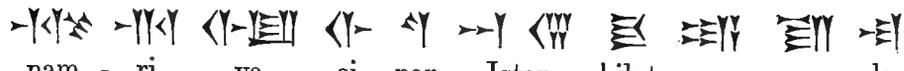
 Assur ziru arah Sin na - an - nir same va

Assur the Great, the month of Sin the luminary of heaven and



 irziti ad - gil ana (v. a - na) uzzi Ur - ri

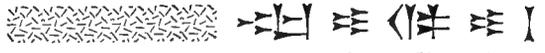
earth, I trusted to the power of Hur



 nam - ri va si - par Istar bilat ya sa la

the bright, and the message of Ishtar my Goddess who is

 88. 
 [a - na su - zu - ub nāpī - ti su * * * * * a - na
*To save his life * * * * * to the*

 89. 
 nisi mati su * * * * * ka i - di - i su
*people of his country * * * * * his hand(?)*

 90. 
 pa - nu - us - su u tir (v. te) - rav - va * * * * *
*before him returned, and * * * * **

 91. 
 [is] - pur a - na maḥ - ri ya [U - la] - ai
[he] sent to my presence. The Ulai

 92. 
 a - na dan - nu - ti su is - kuṇi * * * * * pa - an
*for himself he fortified * * * * * before*

 93. 
 mas - ke - e * * * * * Maruduk Ili rabati
*my camp * * * * * Merodach, the great Gods*

 94.  95. 
 beli ya sa u - tag - gil - u in ni ina
my lords; who protected me: in

 * * *  
 * * * *suttu ka - sa si - par maḥ - ḥe - e*
omens of a dream, had given(?) a grand message.

 96.    
 ki - rib Tul - li - iz abikta su as - kun
In Tulliz his overthrow I accomplished;

 97.    
 ina pagari su - nu U - la ai aṣ - ki - ir
with their corpses, the Ulai I choked up

98. 

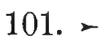
 nen - a - te su - nu ki - ma mitpanu va iz - u - gir

Their wives, like bows and arrows,

99. 

 u - ma - al la a ta - mar ti Su - sa - an

filled the vicinity of Shushan.

100.  101. 

 qaqadu Te - um - man sar Elam ina

The head of Teumman king of Elam, by



 ki bit Assur Maruduk Ili rabati beli ya

command of Assur and Merodach, the great Gods my lords;

-  102. 

 ina puhri umman [su ak kiş] me lam - mi Assur va

before the assembly of [his] army [I cut off]. Terror of Assur and

 103. 

 Istar Elam iş - hu - up va ik - nu - su

Ishtar, Elam overwhelmed, and they submitted

 104. 

 a - na ni - ri ya Um - man - i - gas sa

to my yoke. Ummanigas who

 105. 

 in - nab - ta iz - ba ta niri ya ina kuzzu

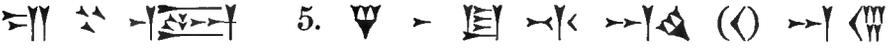
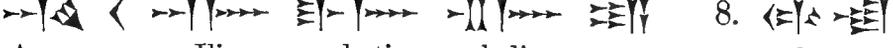
fled, and took my yoke, on his throne



 su u se - sib

I seated.

COLUMN VI.

1.  2. 
 Tam-ma-ri-tu aḥu su sal-sa-ai ina
Tammaritu, his third brother, in
- 
 Hi-da-lu a-na ṣar-u-ti as-kun
Hidalu to the kingdom, I appointed.
3. 
 ruqubi zu-um bi susi
Chariots of war, horses
- 
 pare zi-bat-ti ni-i-ri bat-le
and mules, trained to the yoke, instruments
-  5. 
 ṣi-mat taḥaz sa ina tugul-ti Assur (va) Istar
fashioned for war; which in the service of Assur and Ishtar,
-  6. 
 Ili rabati beli ya bi rit Su-sa-an
the great Gods my lords, near Shushan
-  7. 
 U la-ai ik-su-da qati ai ina ki bit
and the Ulai, my hands captured; by command of
-  8. 
 Assur va Ili rabati beli ya ul tu
Assur and the great Gods my lords, from
-  9. 
 ki rib Elam ḥa-dis u-za-av-va a-na
the midst of Elam, joyfully I brought out, and to

gi - mir umman ya sa sal - tu sak - na - at
all my army, for spoil they were given.

10. Ina samne gar - ri ya eli Du na nu ablu
In my seventh expedition, against Dunaan son of

Bel ba - sa a - na Gam - bu - li lu - u al - lik
Belbasa, to Gambuli I went ;

12. sa a - na šar Elam it - tag - lu la - a
who to the king of Elam had trusted, and did not

ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya ta - ha - zi
submit to my yoke. By my powerful

dan - nu Gam - bu - li a - na ši - ħir - ti su ki - ma
attack Gambuli through its extent, like a

sar - bare ak - tum Sa pi - i - bel
hailstorm I covered. Sapibel

alu dan - nu - ti - su sa ki - rib me na da at
its strong city ; which in the midst of the waters was

su - bat šu ak - su - ud Du - na - nu aħi su
situated, I captured. Dunaan and his brothers,

ul - tu ki - rib alu su - a - tu bal - du - šu - un
from the midst of that city, alive I

54. 𐎶𐎵
 e - mu - ru va sa - ne - e de - e - mi iz - bat šu - nu - ti
they saw, and another opinion took hold of them.

55. 𐎶𐎵
 Um - ba - da - ra - a ip - qu - ma ziq - na - a su
Umbadara tore his beard,

56. 𐎶𐎵
 Nabu - damiq ina gir parzil sib - bi su iz - hu - la
Nebodamiq with the steel sword of his girdle, pierced

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 57. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ka - ra (v. kar) - aš šu ni - kiš qaqađu
through his [own] body. The decapitated head of

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 58. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Te - um - man ina šati babi rabi qabal sa Ninua
Teumman, in front of the great gate situated in Nineveh;

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 59. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 u - maḥ - ḥi - ra maḥ - hu ris as - su da na - an
I raised on high. By the power of

𐎶𐎵
 Assur va Istar beli ya nisi kul - lu - mi
Assur and Ishtar my lords, the people reviled(?)

60. 𐎶𐎵
 ni - kiš qaqađu Te - um - man šar Elam
the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam.

61. 𐎶𐎵
 Pal - ai ablu Nabu - ša pan ablu - ablu
Palia son of Nebosapan, grandson of

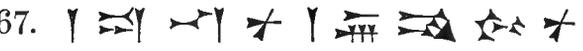
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 62. 𐎶𐎵
 Maruduk - bal - iddina sa la pa - an abu abi ba ni ya
Merodachbaladan, of whom from the face of the grandfather my begetter;

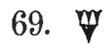
63.  64. 
 abu su in -nab- tu a - na Elam ul - tu
his father had fled to Elam; from


 Um -man- i -gas ki rib Elam as ku -nu ana
Ummanigas [whom] in Elam, I had appointed to the

(v. ) 65. 
 (v. a - na) şar - u - ti Pal - ai (v. ya) ablu
kingdom; Palia son of

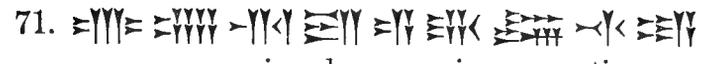
 66. 
 Nabu şa - pan iz - bat u - se - bi - la a - di
Nebosapan he took, and sent to

 67. 
 maḥ - ri ya Du - na - nu Sa - am - gu - nu
my presence. Dunanu and Samgunu,

68.  69. 
 abli Bel - ba sa Gam - bu - la - ai sa
sons of Belbasa the Gambulian, of whom,


 abi su - un a - na şarri abi ya
their father against the kings my fathers,

70. 
 u - dal - li pu va va su - nu
had made inroads; and they

71.  72. 
 u - ner - ri - da e pis şaru - ti ya ki - rib
opposed the work of my kingdom: within

 73. 
 Assur va Arba - il a - na kullu
Assur and Arbela to execute

ah - ra - a - ti u - bil su-nu - ti 74. sa
my judgment I brought them. Of

Man-nu - ki - ahi * * * * Du na-nu va
*Mannukiahi * * * * , Dunanu and*

Nabu - u - zal li nisi sa eli Gam-bu li
Nebouzalli, men who were over Gambuli;

76. sa eli Ili ya ig bu-u suq-la tu rab-tu
who against my Gods uttered great curses,

77. ki - rib Arba- il lisan su - un as lu up
in Arbela, their tongues I pulled out,

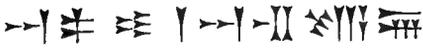
78. as - hu - ud masak su - un Du - na - nu ki - rib Ninua
I flayed off their skin. Dunanu in Nineveh,

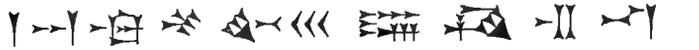
79. eli ma - ka - zi id - du suv va
over a furnace they placed him, and

80. id bu hu us az - lis 81. si it - ti ahi su sa
consumed him entirely. The rest of the brothers of

Du - na - nu va Pal ai a - ni ir siri
Dunanu and Paliya, I threw down; his limbs

I su u nak kiş 83. u - se - bil a - na ta - mar - ti
I cut off, and sent for the inspection of my

 84.   85. 
 ma-ti dan Nabu-nahid Bel edir abli
powerful country. Nabonidus and Beledir sons of

 86. 
 Nabu-zikir-esses tig-en na sa abu
Nabuzikiresses tigenna: whose father

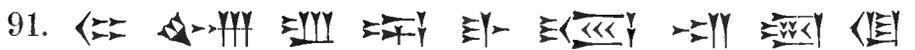
 87. 
 ba-nu su-un Ur ta ki id-ka-a a-na
their begetter, Urtaki brought to

 88. 
 mit-ḥu zi Akkad ner pad-du-i
fight with Akkad the attendants

 89. 
 Nabu-zikir-esses sa ul tu ki-rib
of Nebozikiresses, whom from the midst of

 89. 
 Gam-bu-li il qu u-ni a-na
Gambuli, I carried to

 90. 
 Assur ner-pad-du-i sa-a-ti-na
Assyria: those attendants, in

91. 
 me-eh rit bab rab qabal Ninua
front of the great gate in the midst of Nineveh;

92. 
 u saḥ-si la abli su
I caused to crush his sons.

EXTRACT FROM K, 2652.

a. > >>> <>> <> | >>> >>>> >>> >>> >>> <>>>
 Ina araḥ Tasritu immi istin in nin du va eli
In the month Tisri, the first day, it was placed; and against

su * * * * * b. >>> >>> < >>>> > | >> >>>> << <<
 id du - u pagar Te - um - man ṣar
they threw the corpse of Teumman king of
 him * * * * *

Elam * * * * * c. >>>> >>> >> > >>>
 Elam * * * * * ultu su sa an
from Shushan
 Elam * * * * *

alu ṣar - u - ti su a - na Ninua alu na ram
his royal city, to Nineveh the city the delight

* * * * * d. >> >> >>> >>>> >> >>> >>> >> >>
 a - na alani ma - ḥa - zi su - bat
to the fortified cities, seats of
 * * * * *

Is - tar - a - tu sa is * * * * * e. > <> | > |
 Ishtaroth; who * * * * * ina im - mi su
In those days,
 * * * * *

mitpanu su - a - tu ina qata ai at - mu - uḥ * * * * *
that bow in my hand, I took * * * * *

f. >>> >>>> > >>>> >> >> >>>> << << >>> >>>>
 e - li nikiṣ qaquadu Te - um - man ṣar E - lam * * *
*over the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam, * * **

g. >>> >> >> >>> >> >> >>> >>> >>> >>> >>>
 da - na - an Is - tar bilat ya a - mur va at ta - id
The power of Ishtar my Goddess I saw and praised

h.

* * * mit-pa-nu su-a-tu ši-mat idi ya * * * *
 * * * that bow, the weapon of my hand * * * *

FRAGMENT OF TABLET K, 2674, CONTAINING EIGHT EPIGRAPHS FOR
 PLACING OVER THE SCULPTURED SCENES ON A PALACE WALL.

- 1.
- Um -ma - a ti Assur -bani-pal şar Assur
The general of Assurbanipal king of Assyria;
- 2.
- sa it - ti Um-man- i -gas ablu Ur - ta - ki
whom with Ummanigas son of Urtaki
-
- şar Elam mun-nab- tu sa iz- ba tu niru
king of Elam, the fugitive, who took the yoke of
-
- şaru ti ya as- pu ru a- na ka -sad Elam
my kingdom: I sent to conquer Elam.
-
- 4.
- Şi im bu ru niru sa Elam
Simburu a chief of Elam,
-
- ma lak ummani ya is mi va zi - kar
of the progress of my army heard; and at the fame of
-
- sum ya ip - luḥ va ina mahri a - mir ya
my name he feared, and in the presence of my envoy
-
- il - lik av va u - na - siq niri ya
he came, and kissed my feet.
-

6. 

Um - ba - ki - din - ni niru sa Ħi - da - li

Umbakidinni a chief of Hidalu;

7. 

sa qaqadu sa Is - tar - na - an - di şar sa

who the head of Istartandi king of



Ħi da - li na - su - ni 8. 

Hidalu, was bringing. Zine - e - ni



sa - si Su - am - mu - ri(?) ina miş - ri ki - ta - i(?) e - şir

*sasi of Suammuri(?), in a blockade(?) * * * * I besieged.*

9. 

da - na - an Assur bel ya pu - luş - ti şaru - ti ya

The power of Assur my lord, and fear of my kingdom,



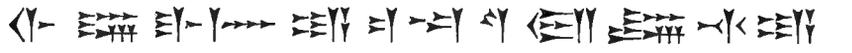
iş - Ħup su - nu - ti qaqadi rubi sa Elam

overwhelmed them. The heads of the princes of Elam,



la kan - su - ti ya ik - ki şu - niv - va id - du - u

not submissive to me, they cut off and laid



ina maħri nisi rabati ya ız - ba - tu niru şaru ti ya

in presence of my great men. They took the yoke of my kingdom.

12. 

Şi - id - ru sa Assur - bani - pal şar Elam

Line [of battle]; which Assurbanipal king of Elam,

13. 

it - ti Te - um - man şar Elam

against Teumman king of Elam



 in na - bit va ih - lu ub ki - rib kis - ti

fled, and passed through the woods.

21. 

 [ruqubi] zu - um bi ru - du şaru - ti su

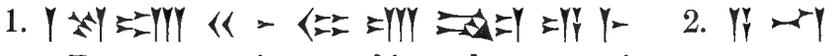
The war chariot, his royal carriage,



 is - se - bir va ip - pal * * * *

*was broken and fell * * * **

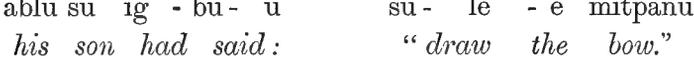
EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; ONE, TEUMMAN WOUNDED BY AN ARROW, THE OTHER, HIS SON TAMRITU DRAWING A BOW.

1. 

 Te - um - man ina me kit de - e - mi a - na

Teumman with a sharp command, to



 3. 

 ablu su ig - bu - u su - le - e mitpanu

his son had said: "draw the bow."

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES (TEUMMAN AND HIS SON) BEING EXECUTED.

1. 

 Te - um - man şar Elam sa ina tahazi dan - ni

Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce attack

2. 

 muḥ - ḥu - zu Tam - ri - i - tu ablu su rabu - u

was wounded; Tamritu his eldest son,

3. 

 qati şu iz - ba - tu va a - na su - zu ub napisti su - un

his hands had taken, and to save their lives,

4.  in nab - tu iḥ - lu - bu ki - rib kis - ti
they fled, and passed through the woods.
5.  Ina tugul - ti Assur va Istar a - lul su - nu - ti
In the service of Assur and Ishtar, I felled them.
6.  qaḡadu su - nu akkiṣ me eḥ rit a - ḡa - mis
Their heads I cut off, in presence of each other.

EPIGRAPH OVER FIGURES SEATED IN A CHARIOT HOLDING A
 MAN'S HEAD IN HAND.

1.  Qaḡadu Te - um - [man ṣar Elam]
The head of Teumman [king of Elam];
2.  sa ina qabal tam - ḡa - [ri ik - ki - ṣu]
which in the midst of battle [they cut off,]
3.  a - ḡu - ru - u umman ya a - na bu - uṣ [ṣu - rat]
in sight of my army. For good tidings,
4.  ḡa - de - e u saḡ - ma - ḡu a - na Assur
joyfully they sent [it] to Assyria.

EPIGRAPH OVER WOUNDED FIGURE ON THE GROUND
 SURRENDERING HIMSELF.

1.  Ur - [ta] - ku ḡa - ta - nu Te - um - man sa
Urtaku the relative of Teumman; who
2. 

ina uḫ - zi muḫ ḫu - zu la ik - tu - u napisti
by an arrow was wounded; regarded not his life.

3. a - na na - kaṣ qaqaḍu ra - ma - ni su ablu Assur
To cut off his own head, the son of Assur

4. i - sa - ṣi va um - ma al - ka qaqaḍu nakiṣ
he told also thus: "I surrender; my head cut off,

5. maḥri ṣar bel ka i - si va le - e - ki - mu
before the king thy lord set it, may he take it for a

damqati
good omen."

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; THE FIRST HOLDING THE SECOND BY THE HAIR OF HIS HEAD, AND LIFTING A SWORD WITH HIS RIGHT HAND. THE SECOND WITH A SWORD IN HIS RIGHT HAND, CUTTING IN TWO A BOW, HELD IN HIS OWN LEFT HAND.

1. I - tu - ni i ummati Te - um - man
Ituni general of Teumman

ṣar Elam sa ir ḫa - nis is - tap - pa - ras - su
king of Elam; of whom, treacherously he sent him

a - di maḥ ri ya ta - ḫa zi dan - nu e - mur
to my presence. My fierce attack he saw;



 va ina gir parzil sib - bi su mitpanu ši - mat idi su
and with the steel sword of his girdle, the bow the weapon of his arm,



 ik - ši - ma qati ra - ma - ni su
he severed in his own hand.

EPIGRAPH OVER A FIGURE LED FORWARD BY THE HAND
 TO RECEIVE HOMAGE.

1. 

 Um - man¹ - i - gas mun - nab - tu ardu a iż - ba - tu niri ya
Ummanigas the fugitive, my servant, had taken my yoke.

2. 

 ina e - pis pi - ya ina hidati ki rib Ma - dak - te
In performing my command, with rejoicing into Madaktu

3. 

 va Su sa - an ummati ya sa as - pu - ru
and Shushan; my general whom I had sent,

4. 
 5. 

 u - se - rib va [u] se - sib su ina kuzzu
caused him to enter, and seated him on the throne of



 Te - um - [man ik] - su - da qat ai
Teumman, captured by my hands.

EPIGRAPH OVER KING (ASSURBANIPAL) IN CHARIOT RECEIVING
 AMBASSADORS.

1. 

 A - na - ku Assur bani - pal sar Assur
I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria;

2. 𐎶
 sa ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar beli ya nakiri ya
of whom, in the service of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, my enemies

3. 𐎶
 ak-su-du am - zu - u ma - la lib - bi ya Ru - şa - a
I have captured; I have gratified all my heart. Rusa

4. 𐎶
 şar Ur - ar - da da - na - an Assur bel ya
king of Armenia; the power of Assur my lord,

5. 𐎶
 is - mi va pu - luḥ - tu şaru - ti ya iṣ - ḥu - up su
heard of, and fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him,

6. 𐎶
 va nisi zirati su a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi ya
and his great men to pray for my friendship,

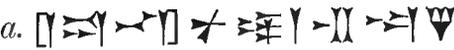
7. 𐎶
 is - pu ra ana ki - rib Arba - il Nabu - damiq
he sent to the midst of Arbela. Nebodamig

𐎶
 Um - ba - da ra - a nisi zirati sa Elam
and Umbadara, great men of Elam,

8. 𐎶
 it - ti birati(?) si - par mi - ri - iḥ - tu ul - ziz
in bonds for the defiance; I placed

𐎶
 ina maḥ - ri su un
in their presence.

EPIGRAPH ON TABLET K, 2637.

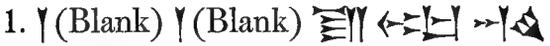
a.  b. 
 [Du - na] - nu ablu Bel - ba - sa [bal - du] - us - su
Dunanu son of Belbasa, alive

 c. 
 ina qati az - bat qu - ra - di ya bi - ri - tu
in hand, I captured. My warriors in bonds

 d. 
 id - du su va [a - na] Ninua a - di mah - ri ya
placed him, and [to] Nineveh, to my presence


 u - sah - mi - du - ni
they sent.

EPIGRAPH (names blank) OVER FIGURES BEING FLAYED ALIVE.

1.  2. 
 (blank) (blank) sa eli Assur Ili ba - ni ya
 (blank) (blank) *who against Assur the God my begetter*

 3. 
 ig - bu - u suq - la - tu rab - tu lisani su - nu
uttered great curses: their tongues


 as lu - up as - hu - da masaki su - un
I pulled out, I tore off their skins.

The circumstances recorded in this division of Assurbanipal's reign, probably extended over a considerable time, and the war with Teumman, which forms its main feature, was evidently considered one of the most important struggles, in which Assyria had engaged. This war, the subsequent triumph, and the tortures

𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ta-am-ri-ti*), was made king in 𐎶idalu. Afterwards, Assurbanipal punished the Gambulians, for revolting in alliance with Elam. The expedition to Gambuli, is given as part of the fifth expedition (which was against Teumman), in Cylinder A; but in Cylinder B, while the war with Teumman is called the seventh expedition, the war with Gambuli is separated from it by the usual divisional line, and called the eighth expedition. Dunanu the Gambulian, captured in this war, was son of Bilbasa, who assisted Urtaki, and grandson of a chief also named Dunanu. This name was written indifferently, 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Du-na-nu*, and 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Bu-na-nu*. On his triumphal return, Assurbanipal was met at Arbela, by the envoys of Ruṣā king of Ararat or Armenia; who came to make peace with him. Ruṣā is probably the same as the Ṣaduri of Cylinder A. The name means "Istar," is a fortress, and was originally sounded Istar-duri, but by dropping the initial *I* and running the 𐎶𐎶 into 𐎶 the name became 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ṣa-ar-da-ur-ri* (the name of the king of Ararat who fought with Tiglath Pileser II). The first element in this name, suffered a further change; Ṣar being contracted to Ṣā or Ṣē, as in 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ṣe-e-du-ri* (the king of Ararat who fought with Shalmaneser II). The name is sometimes written with the position of the elements reversed, and then reads Dur-ṣā, which is probably the origin of 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ur-sa-a*, and 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ru-sa-a*, forms of the name of two late kings of Ararat.

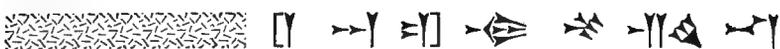
PART IX.

The Revolt of Saulmugina, Brother of Assurbanipal.

TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history, are more numerous than those of any other period. Only the most important are here translated, the numbers of some of the others being given at the end for reference. The principal texts are Cylinder A, col. iv, line 6, to col. v, line 43, and Cylinder B, col. vi, line 93, to col. vii, line 87. The text of Cylinder C, which differs from both these, is too mutilated to be worth translating; but the closing passage which continues the narrative of Cylinder B is given. The date from a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 84, passages at close of a number of omen tablets, with a series of Epigraphs and Dispatches are also translated.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN IV, LINE 6, TO COLUMN V,
LINE 43.

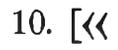
6. 
 * * * * * Saul - mu - gi - na
 * * * * * *Saulmugina*


 [aḥu la ke] e - nu [sa dābtu e - pu] - su - us
my younger [brother; benefits I had given] to him, and


 [as ku - nu us a na ṣaru - ut] Bab - ili
[had appointed him to the kingdom of] Babylon

 8. 
 * * * * * va ad - din su * * * * * ruqubi
 * * * * * and gave him * * * * * chariots

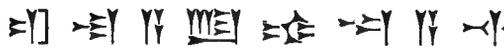
 9.   
 ak - zur va * * * * * alani ekili
I fixed, and * * * * * cities, fields

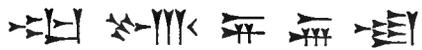
 10. [     
 kiri [man - da - at - tu] bilat u sa - tir
and plantations. [Tribute] and taxes, I caused to return,

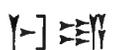
 11. [   
 va eli abi bani ya [e - pu uş şu] va
and more than the father my begetter, [I did for him]. And

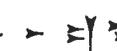
 12. [  
 su - u damqatu an - ni - tu [la ha - aş - şa] va
he these favours [disregarded,] and

 13. [  
 is - te - ni - ha - a limut - tu [niru belu - ti ya]
devised evil. [The yoke of my dominion,]

 14. 
 iz] - la - a du - ub ba - a - ti * * * * * su
*he threw off, the benefits * * * * **

 15. 
 ka - zir ni - şa - tu * * * * * eli
*strengtheners of men(?) * * * * * over*

 16. [   
 Assur am - ru [a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi] ya
Assyria I ruled. [To pray for] my [friendship]

 17. [   
 ip - ru - uş va nakiri ina elappi * * *
*ceased, and enemies in ships * * **

18.

 it ti su-un ina tan-ni kil-ti a-na

with them, pretending to

[sa-ha] - al salim-mi ya a-na Ninua a-di

pray for my friendship; to Nineveh, to

[mah-ri ya] is-pu-ras-su-nu-ti a-na ku

[my presence] he sent them. I am

Assur-bani-pal sar Assur [sa] Ili rabati

Assurbanipal king of Assyria, [to whom] the great Gods'

si-mat damqati i-si-mu su-ku-bat su-ina * * *

*excellent fame have renowned him. His might in * * **

ti va mi-sa-ri abli Bab-ili su-nu-ti

and dominion. The sons of Babylon of them,

[i-na] passari tak-ne-e ul-ziz su-nu-ti

[in] state chairs I set them up;

lu-bul-ti kitu bir-mi u-lab bi-šu-nu-ti

costly garments I placed upon them,

semir-ri huraz u-rak-ki-ša sit te (e) su-un

rings of gold I fastened on their feet,

a-di abli Bab-ili su-nu-ti ki-rib

and the sons of Babylon of them, in

Assur u - su (uz) zu i - dag - ga - lu
Assyria they were set up, they were honoured

27. pa - an sa - kan de - mi ya va su - u
before the giving of my command. And he

Saul -mu- gi - na ahu la ke - e - nu sa
Saulmugina, my younger brother; who

la iz - zu - ru a - di - ya nisi Akkad
did not keep my agreement, the people of Akkad,

Kal-du A- ru (v. ra) -mu tam- ti ul - tu
Chaldea, Aram, and the sea coast, from

A - qa - ba a - di Bab - ga - li - mi - ti
Aqaba to Babsalimitu,

31. ardi da - gil pa - ni ya us - pal - kit ina qati ya
tributaries dependent on me; he caused to revolt against my hand.

32. va Um - man - i - gas mun - nab - tu sa iz - ba - tu
And Ummanigas the fugitive, who took

33. niru saru - ti ya sa ki - rib Elam
the yoke of my kingdom, of whom in Elam,

34. as ku - nu - us a - na sar - u - ti va sarri
I had appointed him to the kingdom; and the kings of

35. Gu - ti Mar - tu Mi - luh - he - e
Arabia(?), *Syria* and *Ethiopia*,

36. sa ina ki - bit Assur va Belat is tak - ka - na
which, by command of Assur and Beltis, my hands

37. gata - ai nap - har su - nu it - ti ya u - san - kir va
held; all of them against me he caused to rebel, and

38. it - ti su is - ku - nu pi - i su - un nisi
with him they set their faces. The people of

39. Sipar Bab - ili Bar - sip
Sippara, Babylon, Borsippa, and

40. [Kutu] ip - ru - sa ah - u - ut [bit] duri
[Kutha,] broke off the brotherhood, and the walls

alani sa - a - tu - nu mun - tah - ze - e su
of those cities his fighting men he

41. [u] - sat - li - ma it - ti ya [e] - ta - nap
caused to raise; with me they made

(v. te - ni - ip) - pu - su ta - ha - zu 42. e - pis * * * *
*war, making * * * **

43. ya la pa - an Bel ablu Bel nu - ur Ili
my, from the face of Bel son of Bel, the light of the Gods

𐎶𐎵
 Samas qu ra - du Ninip iq - su va
Shamas, the warrior Ninip, he revolted; and

44. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 u - sab - di - la * * * * na - dan zi - bi ya
*he caused to cease * * * * gift of my fingers,*

45. 𐎶𐎵
 a - na e - kim ma - ha - zi su - bat Ili sa
to capture the cities, seats of the Gods, of whom

46. 𐎶𐎵
 es - ri ti su - nu ud - di - su u - za - hi - i - nu
their temples I had restored, adorned with

47. 𐎶𐎵
 ḫuraz va kasap ki - rib su - nu as - tak - ka - nu
gold and silver, and within them had fixed

(v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 48. 𐎶𐎵
 (v. na) ši - ma - a - ti ik - bu - ud limut ina
images; he devised evil. In

𐎶𐎵
 immi su (va) istin sapru ina sat mu - si u - tul va
those days, then a seer in the middle of the night, slept and

49. 𐎶𐎵
 i - na - tal suttu um - ma in a eli ki - gal - li
dreamed a dream, thus: "Concerning the matter

50. 𐎶𐎵
 sa Sin sa - dir (v. di - ir) va ma - a sa it ti
which Sin was arranging, and of them who against

51. 𐎶𐎵
 Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur ik bu - du
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, devised

limut - tu ip - pu - su ze - (e) lu - (u) - tu mu - u - tu
evil. Battle is prepared; a violent

lim - nu a - sar - raksu - nu - ti ina gir parzil ha - an - di
death I appoint for them. With the edge of the sword,

53. mi - kit isati şunqu libit (v. li - bit)
the burning of fire, famine, and the judgment of

Ninip u - qat - ta - a nap - sat su - un
Ninip, I will destroy their lives."

an - na - a - ti as - me - e va ad - gil a - na a - mat Sin
This I heard, and trusted to the will of Sin

55. bel ya ina sassi gar - ri ya ad ki umman ya
my lord. In my sixth expedition I gathered my army;

56. zir Saul - mu - gi - na us - te - es - se - ra
against Saulmugina I directed the

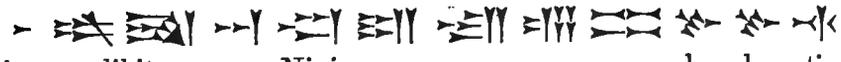
57. mur - ra - nu ki - rib Şipar Bab - ili
march. Within Sippara, Babylon,

58. Bar - sip Kutu sa - a - su ga - du
Borsippa, and Kutha, him and part

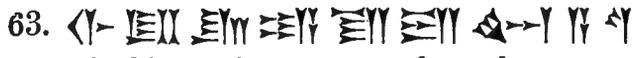
mun - taḥ - ze - e su e - şı - ir va u - zab - bit (v. bi - ta)
of his fighting men I besieged, and captured

59. 
 mu - uz - za su - un ki - rib alu va ziru ina la mi - ni
the whole of them in town and country, without number.

60. 
 as - tak - ka - na abikta su ši - it - tu - ti
I accomplished his overthrow. The rest,

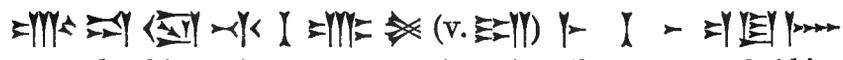
61. 
 ina libit Ninip su - un - qu bu bu - ti
in the judgment of Ninip, drought and famine

62. 
 is - ku - nu na - pis - tu Um - man - i - gas sar
passed, their lives. Ummanigas king of

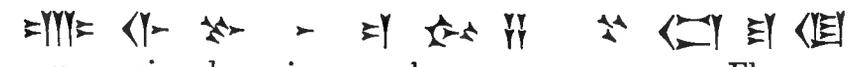
 63. 
 Elam si - kin qati ya sa da - ha - a - tu
Elam, appointed by my hand; who the bribe

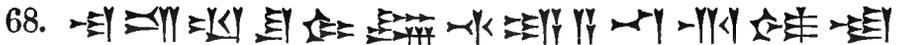

 im - hu - ru su it - ba - a ana (v. a - na) kit - ri su
received, and came to his aid.

64. 
 Tam - ma - ri - tu zir - us - su ip - pal - kit va sa - a - su
Tammaritu against him revolted, and him

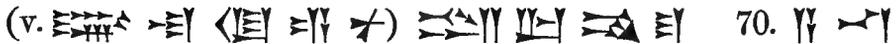
65. 
 ga - du kim - ti su u - raş (v. ra) - şib su ina kakki
and part of his family he destroyed with the sword.

66. 
 arku Tam - ma - ri - tu sa arku Um - man - i - gas
Afterwards Tammaritu, who after Ummanigas,

67. 
 u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam
sat on the throne of Elam,

68.  la is - al su-lum şaru - ti ya a - na ri - zu - tu
did not seek alliance with my kingdom. To the help of

69.  Saul - mu - gi - na ahi nak - ri
Saulmugina my rebellious brother

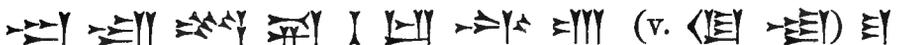
(v. ) (v. ahu la ke - e - nu) il - lik - av - va a - na
(v. younger brother), he went and to

 mit - hu - zi umman ya ur - ri - ha kakki su
fight my army, he prepared his soldiers.

71.  ina şu - up - pe - e sa Assur va Istar u - şap - pu - u
In prayer to Assur and Ishtar, I prayed;

72.  ta - ni - hi ya im - hu - ru (v. )
my supplications they received (v. took),

 is - mu - u zi - kar sapti ya In - da - bi - gas
and heard the words of my lips. Indabigas

 arad şu zir - us - su ip - pal - kit (v. ) va
his servant, against him revolted, and

74.  ina taḥaz zin is - ku - na abikta su Tam - ma - ri - tu
in the battlefield accomplished his overthrow. Tammari

 şar Elam sa eli ni - kiş qaquadu
king of Elam, who over the decapitated head of

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Te - um - man me - ri - ih - tu ig - bu - u
Teumman untruth had spoken;

76. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 sa ik - ki - šu a - hu ru - u umman ya
which he had cut off in sight of my army,

77. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 um [ma la] ak - ki - šu qaqaadu šar Elam
thus: "I have [not] cut off the head of the king of Elam

78. * * * * 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 * * * * ina puḥri umman su sa - ni - ha - a - nu ig - bi
 * * * * *in the assembly of his army."* Again he said:

79. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 va . Um - man - i - gas ke - e u - na - as - siq
"and Ummanigas only, kissed the

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 80. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 qaq - qa - ru ina maḥri a - mir - i sa
ground; in the presence of the envoys of

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 81. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Assur - bani - pal šar Assur eli
Assurbanipal king of Assyria." For

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 a - ma - a - ti an - na - a - ti sa il - zi - nu
these matters, which he had mocked,

82. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Assur va Istar i - ri hu su va Tam - ma - ri - tu
Assur and Ishtar turned from him; and Tammartu

83. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 aḥi su qi - nu su ziri bit abi su it - ti
his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house with

92. > >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ina mah ri ya i zi zu va i - tal - la - lu
In my presence he stood up, and glorified the

93. >𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 gur- di Ili ya dan-nu- ti sa il - li - ku
might of my powerful Gods, who went to

>𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 94. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ri zu - ti a - na - ku Assur-bani- pal lib - bu
my help. I Assurbanipal, of generous

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 95. >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 rap -su la ka - zir ik - ki - mu pa - ši su
heart, of defection the remover, forgiver of

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 96. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 hi- da - a - ti a - na Tam-ma- ri tu re - e - mu
sin; to Tammarithu favour

<𐎶𐎵>𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 97. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ar - si su va sa - a - su ga - du ziri bit abi su
I granted him, and himself, and part of the seed of his father's

<𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 98. <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ki - rib e kal ya ul - ziz su nu - ti ina
house, within my palace, I placed them. In

>𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 99. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 im - mi su nisi Akkad sa it - ti
those days the people of Akkad, who with

𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 100. >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 Saul -mu- gi - na is sak -nu ik bu-du
Saulmugina were placed, and devised.

>𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 101. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 limut ni ip - ri - tu iz - bat su - nu ti a - na
evil; famine took them, for their

bu - ri su-nu şeri abli su-nu binti şu-nu
food the flesh of their sons and their daughters

102. e ki lu ik - şu - şu ku ru - uş şu
*they did eat, and divided the * * * * **

103. Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

104. Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat kit - mu - ri
Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

105. Istar sa Arba il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku,

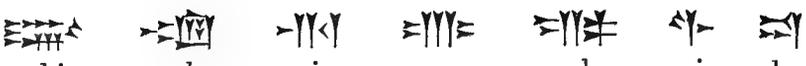
106. sa ina maḥ - ri ya il - li - ku i - na - ru
who in my presence marched and destroyed

ga - ri ya 107. Saul -mu- gi - na aḫi nak - ri
my enemies: Salmugina my rebellious brother,

108. sa i gi ra an-ni ina me-kit isati a - [ri] ri
who made war with me; in the fierce burning fire

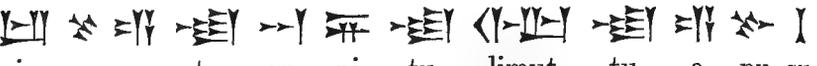
109. id - du su va u - ḫal - li - qu nap-sat şu
they threw him, and destroyed his life.

110. va nisi sa a - na Saul -mu- gi - na
And the people who to Salmugina

111. 

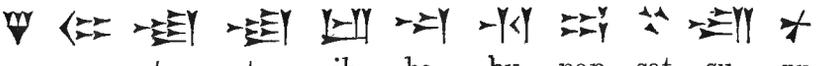
aḥi nak - ri u - sak - pi - du

my rebellious brother, he had caused to join,

112. 

ip - se - e tu an - ni - tu limut - tu e pu - su

and these evil things did;

113. 

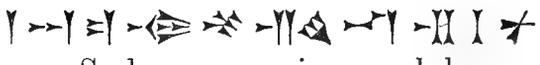
sa me - tu - tu ib - ba - ḥu nap - sat ṣu nu

who death deserved, their lives

114.  pa - nu - us - su - un te - bis - u va

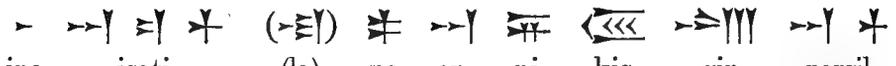
before them being precious:
115.  it - ti

with

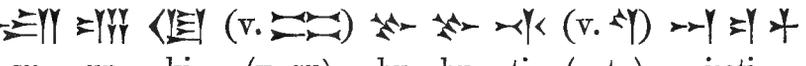
 Saul - mu - gi - na belsu - nu

Saulmugina their lord,
116.  la im qu - tu

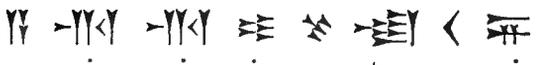
they did not burn

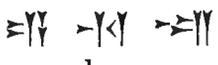
 ina isati (la) pa - an ni - kiṣ gir parzil

in the fire, (from) before the edge of the sword,

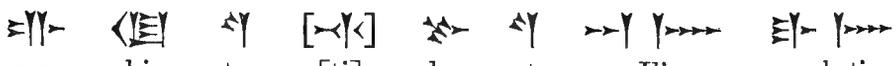
117.  ṣu - un - ki (v. qu) bu - bu - ti (v. tu) isati

dearth, famine, and the burning

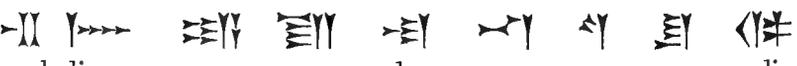
 a - ri - ri i - se - tu - u - ni

fire, they had fled, and
118.  e - ḥu - zu

taken

 mar - ki - tu [ti] - bu - ut Ili rabati

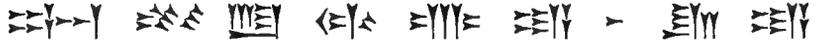
refuge. The stroke of the great Gods

119.  beli ya sa la na - par - su - di

my lords, which was not removed

120. 

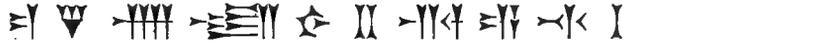
is - hu - up su - nu - ti e - du ul ip par - sid

overwhelmed them. One did not flee,
121. 

mul - tah - du ul u - zi ina qati ya

a sinner did not escape from my hands,
122. 

im - nu - u qatu (v. qa - tu) - u a ruqubi sa - da - di

my hands held [them]. Powerful war chariots,
123. 

ruqubi zil - li zik - re - e - ti su

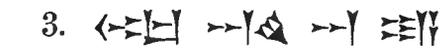
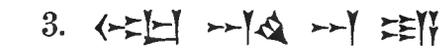
covered chariots, his concubines [and]

COLUMN V.

1. 

sa - ga (v. sa - su) e - kal su u - bil - u - ni

the goods (v. furniture) of his palace, they brought
-  [a - di] mah - ri ya  2.  nisi sa - a - tu - nu

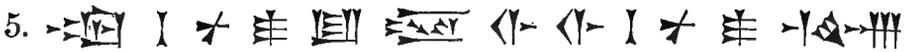
[to] my presence. *Those men [who] the*
-   3.  eli Assur Ili ya

 curses of their mouth, against Assur my God
-   4.  [va] ya - a - ti

 curses uttered; [and against] me, the
-  

rubu pa - lah su ik - bu du - ni limut - tu

 prince his worshipper, had devised evil:

5. 
 lisan su-nu as-lu-uk abikta su-nu as-kun
their tongues I pulled out, their overthrow I accomplished.

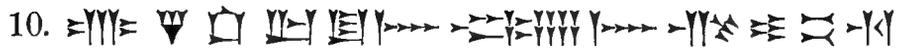
6. 
 ši-it-ti nisi bal du-şun ina sedi alapi
The rest of the people alive among the stone lions and bulls,

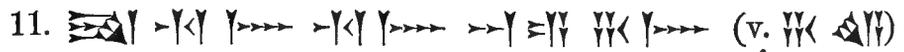
7. 
 sa Sin-aḫi irba abu abi bani ya ina
which Sennacherib the grandfather my begetter, in the


 lib-bi iṣ-pu-nu e-nin-na a-na-ku ina
midst had thrown; again I in

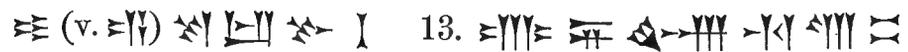

 ki-iz-pi su nisi sa-a-tu-nu ina lib-bi
that pit, those men in the midst


 aṣ-pu-un şeri nu-uk-ku-şu-(u)-ti
threw. The limbs cut off

10. 
 u-sa-kil kalbi dabi zi-i bi-ḫu
I caused to be eaten by dogs, bears(?), eagles(?),

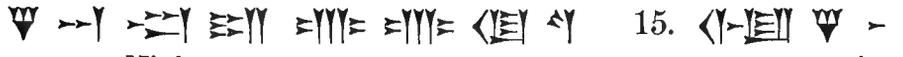
11. 
 id-ḫu-i izzuri same nuni (v. nuni)
vultures(?), birds of heaven, and fishes of the


 ab-şi-i ul-tu ip-se-e-ti an-na-a-ti
deep. By these things

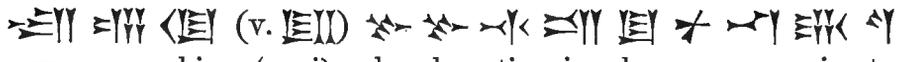

 i (v. e)-te ep-pu-su u-ni-iḫ-ḫu lib-bi
[which] were done, I satisfied the hearts of the



 Ili rabati beli ya pagari nisi
great Gods my lords. The bodies of the men



 sa Ninip u - sam ki - tu va sa ina
whom Ninip had destroyed, and who in



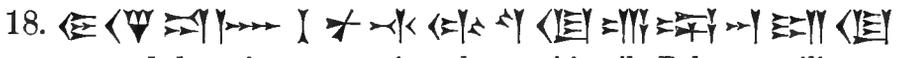
 su - un - ki (v. qi) bu - bu - ti is - ku - nu na - pis - tu
drought and famine had passed their lives;



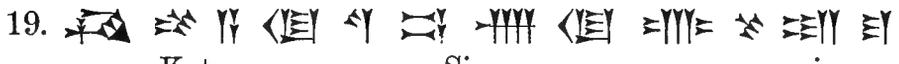
 ri - hi - it u - gab * * ti kalbi dabi
 * * * * * dogs, bears,



 sa-tur- i bur- ru * * * * iz- lu- u ri - ba - a - ti
*saturi, burru * * * * grew (?) fat.*



 ner-pad-du i su-nu- ti ul -tu ki -rib Bab - ili
Their attendants from the midst of Babylon,



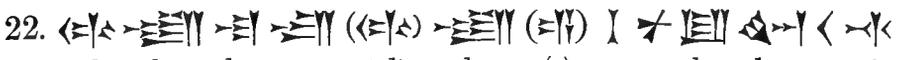
 Kutu Şipar u - se zi va
Kutha and Sippara, I brought out



 at ta - di a - na na ka - ma - a - ti
and placed in slavery.



 ina si - par i sib - bu ti parakki su-nu ub bi * *
In splendour, the seats of their sanctuaries I built(?).



 ul - le - la şu (ul) le (e) su-nu lu - hu - u - ti
I raised their glorious (?) towers.

23. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 Ili su-nu zi-nu-u-ti Istari su-nu
Their Gods dishonoured(?), their Goddesses

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 24. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 şap-şa-a-ti u-ni-iḫ ina tak-kal-ti
desecrated(?), I rested in purple

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 25. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 va unninnu(?) vad-duk-ki su-un sa
and hangings(?). Their institutions, which

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 i-mi-zu ki-ma (v. kima) sa im mi ul lu-u ti
they had removed, like in days of old,

26. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ina sal-mi (v. me) u-tir va u-kin
in peace I restored and settled.

27. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ši it-ti abli Bab-ili Kutu
The rest of the sons of Babylon, Kuthu,

28. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 Šipar sa ina sib-di sak bi-ti
and Sippara, who under chastisement, suffering,

29. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 30. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 va ni-ip ri-ti i-se-tu-u-ni re-e-mu
and privation had fled; favour

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ar-si su-nu-ti ba-laḫ naps-ti su-nu ag-bi
I granted them, the saving of their lives I commanded:

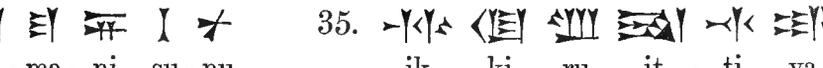
31. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ki rib Bab-ili u-se-sib su-nu-ti
in Babylon I seated them.

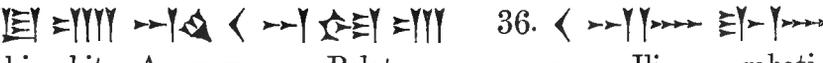
32. 
 nisi Akkad ga du Kal du
The people of Akkad, and some of Chaldea,


 A - ra (v. ru) - mu tam - ti
Aram and the sea;


 sa Saul - mu - gi - na ik - tir - u va
whom Saulmugina had gathered,

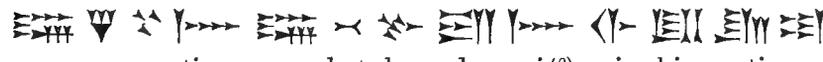
34. 
 * * - pi - i u tir - ru a - na pa - ra - az
 * * returned to their own

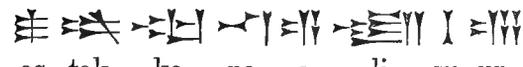

 ra - ma - ni su - nu ik - ki - ru it - ti ya
districts. They revolted against me.

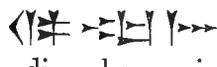

 ina ki - bit Assur va Belat va Ili rabati
By command of Assur and Beltis and the great Gods


 tig - li ya a - na pat gim ri su - nu ak - bu us
my protectors, on the whole of them I trampled,

37. 
 niru Assur sa iz - lu u e - mid su nu - ti
the yoke of Assur which they had thrown off, I fixed on them;

38. 
 sanuti bat - bu da i(?) si - kin qati ya
prefects and rulers appointed by my hand,

39. 
 as - tak - ka - na e li su - un
I established over them.

40. 
 di ka i
The institutions

gi - ne - e (v. nu - u) ris i Assur va Belat
and high ordinances(?) of Assur and Beltis,

41. va Ili Assur u kin zir - us - su - un
and the Gods of Assyria, I fixed upon them;

42. bil - tu man - da at - ti belu - ti ya mat - ti
taxes and tribute to my dominion, of the country

sum - ma la na - par - ka - a e - mid şu - nu - ti
the sum undiminished I fixed on them.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN VI, LINE 93, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 87.

93. Um - man - i - gas sa da - ab - tu ma - ha - aş şu
Ummanigas, whom, great benefits I

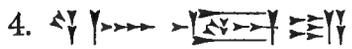
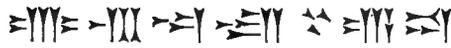
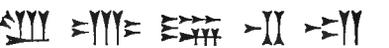
e - bu - su - us 94. as ku - nu - us a - na şaru - ut
had given him, and appointed him to the kingdom of

Elam 95. sa damqa - ti la ha - aş - şu
Elam; who the favour disregarded, and

96. la iz - zu - ru a - de - e ma - mit Ili rabati
did not keep the agreement and oath of the great Gods.

97. ul - tu qati a - mir - i Saul - mu - gi - na
From the hands of the messengers of Saulmugina

COLUMN VII.

1. 
 aḥu la ke nu nakiri ya im ḥu - ru
my younger brother, my enemy, he received a
-  2. 
 da - ha - tu e - mu - qi su it - ti su - un is - pu - ra
bribe. His forces with them he sent
3.  4. 
 a - na mit - ḥu - zi umman ya zaḫi taḫaz ya
to fight my army, my men of war,
-  5. 
 sa ina Gan - dun - ya - as it ta - na - al - la - ku
who in Ganduniyas marched, and
-  6. 
 u - kib - ba - šu Kal - du ina la i - di zi - ir
trampled on Chaldea. Against my hand(?) unto
-  7. 
 Un - da - ši ablu Te - um - man šar Elam
Undasi son of Teumman king of Elam,
8.  
 va Zazaz niru Bil - la - te
and Zazaz chief of Billate,
9.  (v. )  
 Pa (v. par) - ru u niru Ḫi - il - mu
Paru chief of Hilmu,
10.  11. 
 At - ta - mi - tu nis rab mitpanu Ne - e - su
Attametū commander of the archers, and Nesu

 12. 
 a - lik pa - ni umman sa Elam a - na mit - ħu - zi
leader of the army of Elam, to fight

 13. 
 it - ti umman Assur Um - man - i - gas
with the army of Assyria, Ummanigas

 14. 
 u - ma - hi - ir su - nu - ti is - kun su - nu - ti
sent them, and appointed them

 15. 
 de - e - mu Um - man - i - gas a - na Un - da - ši
a decree. Ummanigas to Undasi,

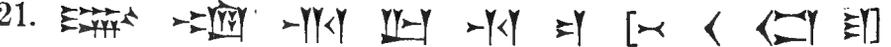
 16. 
 ki - a - am ig - bi um - ma a - lik ul - tu
even said, thus: Go; against

 17. 
 Assur tir - ra tuk - te - e abi ba - ni ki
Assyria revenge the slaying of the father thy begetter.

 18.  
 Un - da - šu Za - za - az Pa - ru - u
Undasu, Zazaz, Paru,

 19.  20. 
 At - ta - mi - tu Ne - e su it - ti
Attamitu and Nesu, with

 
 a - mir - i sa Saul - mu - gi - na
the messengers of Saulmugina

 21. 
 aĥu nak - ri ur - ĥu iz - [bat - u - niv - va]
my rebellious brother; took the road, and

[>Y<] >YII >YI< >YI< 35. >YI >YI< [YI> >YI<
 [Assur] Bel Nabu Nergal Ili [rabati
 [Assur], Bel, Nebo and Nergal, the [great] Gods

>YI >YI< >YI< <YI> >YI< >YI< 36. >YI< >YI<
 beli ya] di - in kit - ti it - ti
 [my lords;] a certain judgment against

Y >YI< < >YI< >YI< <YI> >YI< >YI< 37. Y >YI< >YI< >YI<
 Um-man-i-gas i - di - nu in - ni Tam-ma- ri - tu
 Ummanigas, appointed me. Tammarithu,

>YI< >YI< I >YI< >YI< >YI< 38. >YI< >YI< I >YI< >YI<
 zir - us - su ip - pal - kit va sa - a - su ga - du
 against him revolted, and him and part

<YI> >YI< I >YI< >YI< Y - >YI< >YI< >YI<
 kim - ti su u - ra - şib ina kakki
 of his family, he destroyed with the sword.

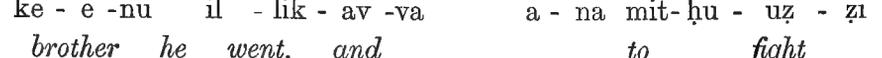
39. Y >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI<
 Tam-ma- ri - tu sa e - la sa - a - su iq - zu
 Tammarithu who over him triumphed,

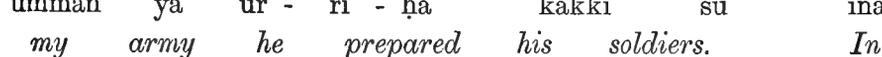
40. >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< 41. <YI> >YI<
 u - sib ina kuzzu Elam ki - ma
 sat on the throne of Elam. Like

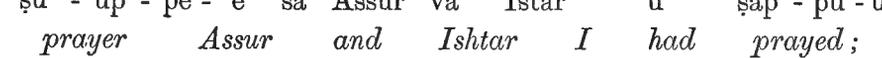
>YI< >YI< I >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< 42. <YI> >YI< >YI<
 sa - a - su va da - ha - a - tu im - har ul is - al
 him also, a bribe he received; he did not seek

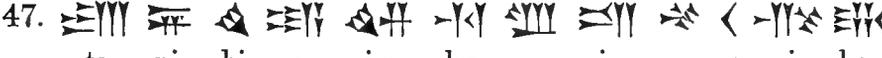
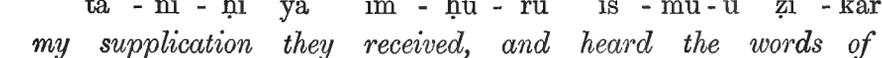
>YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< 43. >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI<
 su - lum şaru - ti ya a - na ri - zu - tu
 alliance with my kingdom. To the help

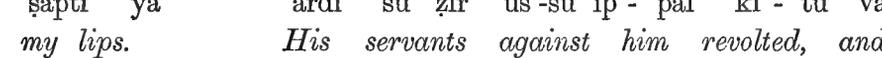
(v. >YI< >YI<) Y >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< >YI< 44. >YI< >YI<
 (v. kit - ri) Saul - mu - gi - na ahu la
 (v. aid) of Saulmugina my younger

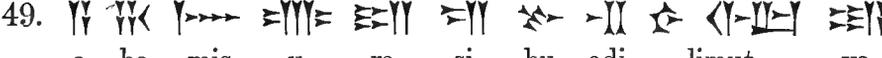
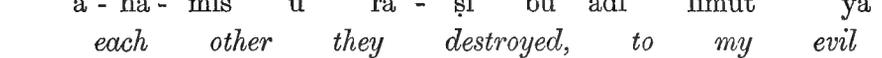
 45. 
 ke - e - nu il - lik - av - va a - na mit - hu - uz - zi
brother he went, and to fight

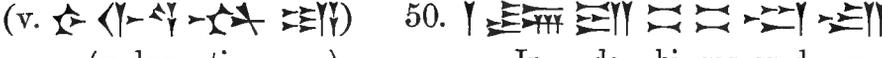
 46. 
 umman ya ur - ri - ha kakki su ina
my army he prepared his soldiers. In

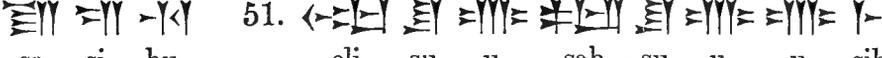
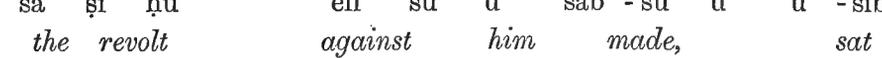
 
 su - up - pe - e sa Assur va Istar u şap - pu - u
prayer Assur and Ishtar I had prayed;

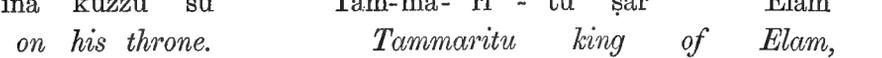
 47. 
 ta - ni - hi ya im - hu - ru is - mu - u zi - kar
my supplication they received, and heard the words of

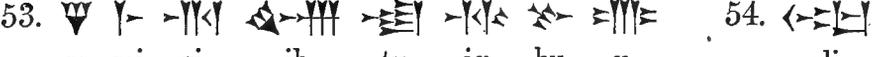
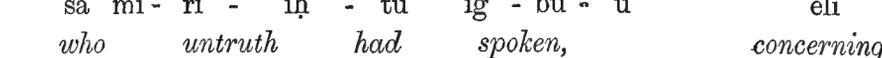
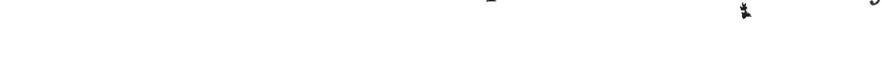
 48. 
 şapti ya ardi su zir us - su ip - pal ki - tu va
my lips. His servants against him revolted, and

 49. 
 a - ha - mis u ra - şı bu adi limut ya
each other they destroyed, to my evil

 50. 
 (v. damqati ya) In, da - bi - gas arad şu
 (v. benefit.) *Indabigas his servant, who*

 51. 
 sa şı hu eli su u sab - su u u - sib
the revolt against him made, sat

 52. 
 ina kuzzu su Tam - ma - ri - tu şar Elam
on his throne. Tammariu king of Elam,

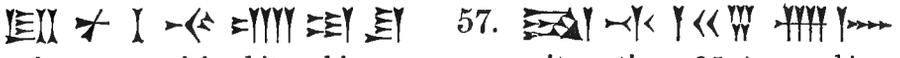
 53.  54. 
 sa mi - ri - ih - tu ig - bu - u eli
who untruth had spoken, concerning



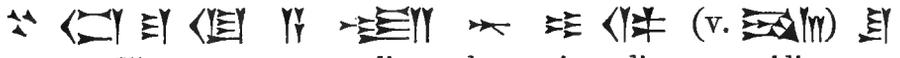
 ni - kis qaqadu Te - um - man sa ik - ki su
the decapitated head of Teumman; which he had cut off



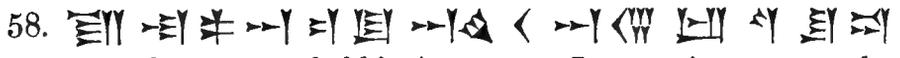
 a - hu - ru - u umman ya va ahi su
in sight of my army: and his brothers,



 qi - nu su ziri bit abi su it - ti 85 ' rubi
his kin, the seed of his father's house, with eighty-five princes of



 Elam a - li - kut i - di idi su
Elam, marching before him;



 58. sa la pa - an kakki Assur va Istar ip - par - su - du
who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled,



 69. * * * e a * * * * *
 va * * * * *
and



 70. Tam - ma - ri - tu ga - [du ziri bit abi su]
Tammaritu and part [of the seed of his fathers house]



 71. ki - rib e - kal ya ul - [ziz su - nu - ti]
in my palace I placed [them].



 72. In - da - bi - gas sa arku Tam - ma - ri - tu
Indabigas who after Tammaritu,



 73. u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam
sat on the throne of Elam;

74. da - na an kakki ya e mur va sa
the power of my servants saw, whom

(ul - tu re e - si) u - sam ri ru eli Elam
(from the first) I had caused to march over Elam.

76. abli Assur sa as pu ra a na
The sons of Assur, whom I sent to

kit - ri Nabu - bel - zikri ablu Maruduk - bal - iddina
aid Nebobelzikri the son of Merodachbaladan,

sa ki - ma ip - ri tap - pe e a na zir mata su
who like an earth-wall guarding his country,

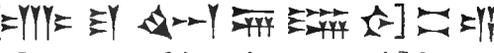
it ta na - al la ku it - ti su sa
marched with him; whom

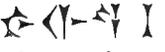
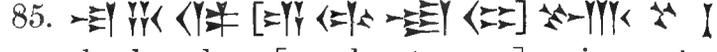
Nabu bel - zikri ina pi ir za - a - ti
Nebobelzikri by treachery

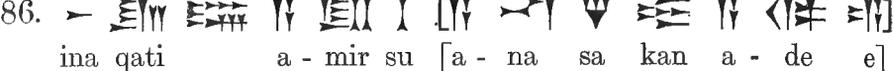
81. uz (v. u) - zab - bi - tu u - bi lu it ti su ina
had captured, and taken with him in a

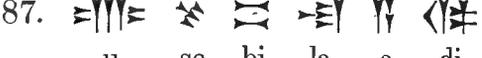
ki - li 82. In - da bi - gas sar Elam
boat. Indabigas king of Elam,

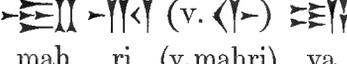
83. ul - tu bit abi [su] u - se - za - as - su - nu - ti
from the house of [his] fathers sent them.

84.  
 ki i za-bat ab-bu [u -ma- hi ir rak]-be- e
 When [their] capture I commanded, [he sent his] good

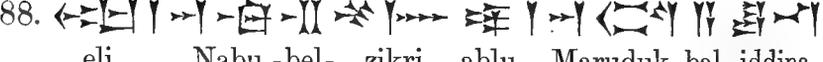
 85. 
 damqati su la ha- de [e ul tu me]- şir mati su
 messengers, sorrowfully [from the] border of his country.

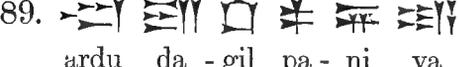
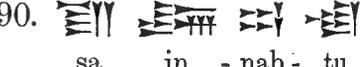
86. 
 ina qati a - mir su [a - na sa kan a - de e]
 By the hand of his envoy, [to make agreement]

 87. 
 va şu lum - me - e u se bi - la a - di
 and alliance; he sent to

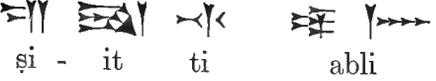

 maḥ ri (v. mahri) ya
 my presence.

CONTINUED ON CYLINDER C.

88. 
 eli Nabu-bel-zikri ablu Maruduk-bal-iddina
 About Nebobelzikri son of Merodachbaladan,

89.  90. 
 ardu da - gil pa - ni ya sa in - nab - tu
 tributary dependent on me; who fled,

 91. 
 il li ku a - na Elam va
 and went to Elam : and

 92. 
 şı - it ti abli Assur sa
 the rest of the sons of Assur, whom

Nabu - bel zikri ina pi - ir - za a ti

Nebobelzikri by treachery

93.
 94.

 u -zab-bi tu u bi lu it ti su ina

had captured, and taken with him. By the

95.

 qati a - mir su a - na In da bi - gas ki - a - am

hand of his envoy to Indabigas, even I

96.

 as - pur su va [as] - su nisi sa - a - tu - nu - (te) la

sent to him also, If those men thou dost not

97.

 tu - se - bi - la um - ma al la - kav - va alani ka

send, thus; I will march; thy cities

98.

 a - na - qar nisi Su - sa - an Ma - dak - tu

I will destroy; the people of Shushan, Madaktu and

99.

 Hi - da - lu a - sal - lal [ul] tu kuzzu šaru ti

Hidabu, I will carry off; from thy royal throne,

100.

 ka a - dak - ki ka va [sa] nam - ma ina kuzzu

I will hurl thee; and another on thy throne,

101.

 ka u - [se - sib] * * mis ina pan Te um - man

I will seat. As, formerly Teumman

102.

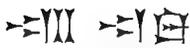
 u sap ri - ku u sam ḥar ka

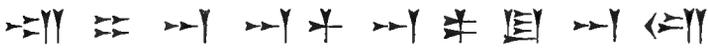
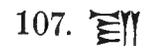
I crushed; I will cause to destroy thee,

 103. 
 ka - a - ta [su] - u a - mir su ma - ħar su
[this is] to thee. He, his envoy before him

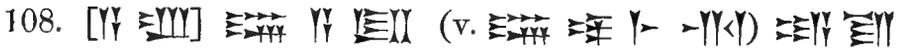
 104. 
 la i - bi - sa - du [la] u sa - an - nu su si kin
did not come, did [not] repeat to him the fixing

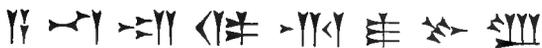
 105. 
 de e - mi ya [ina tugul] - ti Assur Sin Samas
of my will. [In] the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,

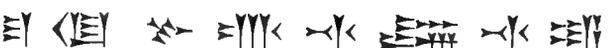
 106. 
 Bel Nabu [Istar sa] Ninua Istar sa
Bel, Nebo, [Ishtar of] Nineveh, Ishtar of

 107. 
 Arba - il Ninip Nusku Nergal sa
Arbela, Ninip, Nusku and Nergal, who

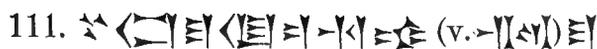

 it tal la - ku ida ai i - na ar ru ga - ri ya
march before me, and destroy my enemies ;

108.  (v. 
 [a - lak] a - mir (a(?) - mi ri) ya sa
[of the journey] of my envoy, whom

 109. 
 a - na Di - ri as pu ru [is] - mu - u
to Dirri I had sent ; [they] heard

 
 ki rib Elam. pu luĥ ti šaru ti ya
in Elam. The fear of my kingdom,

110. 
 [sa u - za - hi] - nu in - ni Ili rabati
[which was] preserved to me by the great Gods ;

111.  (v. ḥup) va
 Elam is-ḥu-up (v. ḥup) va
Elam overwhelmed, and

112.  [mat šu zir]
 [mat šu zir]
[his country against]

 In da-bi-gas ip paḥ ki tu
Indabigas revolted,

113.  i na ru us
and they destroyed him

 ina kakki
with the sword.

114.  Um-man-al-da ši ablu.
Ummanaldasi son of

 At-ta-mi-tu
Attamitu,

115.  u si-bu ina kuzzu su
sat on his throne.

DATE AT CLOSE OF A PROCLAMATION TO THE BABYLONIANS,
 K, 84.

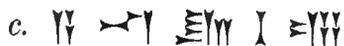
 Araḥ Airu immi 23 lim mu Assur-dur-uzur
Month Iyyar, twenty-third day, eponym Assurduruzur.

 Sa-mas-balaḍ-šu-ig-bi it ta-bel
Shamasbaladsuigbi brought [it].

OMEN TABLET FRAGMENT.

a.  A-na Babili i-tir-ru
To Babylon they turned,

b.  Saul -mu-gi-na
Saulmugina

c.  a-na qati su-un
to their hands they


 i - ba aq qu su
drew him away(?).

d. 
 summi
Omens.

e. 
 arah Duvazu immi
Month Tammuz,


 27 lim - mu Assur - dur - uzur
twenty-seventh day, eponym Assurduruzur.

f. 
 Bel u sal - lim
Belusallim


 hal Hi - sa - am - ma - il ai
the hal and Hisammailai,

g. 
 ina adi de e mi
at command


 ina lib - e kal esse e - tap - pu - su
in the midst of the new palace made.

PASSAGE AT THE CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 159.

a. 
 Nabu - bel - zikri tam - ti - ai la nazir
Nebobelzikri the seaman disregards the


 dabtu Assur - bani - pal sar Assur bin - ut qati ka bel su
benefits of Assurbanipal king of Assyria the work of thy hands his lord,


 sa ni is sumi ka rab - a qa lis iz - kur - u va
who the worship of thy great name always celebrated and


 i - mi - su sal - dis i nin - na Assur - bani - pal sar
is valiant martially. Again, Assurbanipal king of


 Assur pa - luḥ ka is - mu - u va um - ma
Assyria thy worshipper has heard also this:

mitpanu ina Elam up taḥ - ḥar illiku(?)
"The archers in Elam have gathered and marched

i. itti zabi id - dan sa Assur - bani - pal sar Assur
with the men belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria,

lu u Assur ai lu u Akkad
the Assyrians, the Akkadians,

lu u kal - da ai lu u
the Chaldeans, and the

Gun dun i sa niri Assur - bani - pal bin - ut
Gandunians, who the yoke of Assurbanipal the work

qati ka * * tu ana epes kakki qabal va taḥaz
of thy hands have rejected(?) to make fighting, war and battle

itti su nu im maḥ ḥa a - za ul ḍabu
with them he was prepared. Not good,

p. e - zib sa - du va lu u ina mi - šir sa Elam
excepting the mountain which is in the border of Elam,

q. lu u ina mi - šir sa mati su uzzizu va lu u
which along the border of his country joined, and which

a - na pul - luḥ lu u a - na za - bat qati va mi - šir
through fearing to be captured in hand, the border

la ip - pal ak ki - ta arah Nisannu immi 4
did not revolt. Month Nisan, fourth day,

lim-mu Sa-gab u. Assur-da in-sar Dan-ai
eponym Sagab, Assurdainsar and Danai

bel ku saptu lib e kal esse e-tap-su
the belku in the new palace made.

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4696.

a.

 Sin - tab - ni uzur ablu Nin - gal - iddina
Sintabniuzur son of Ningaliddina,

c.

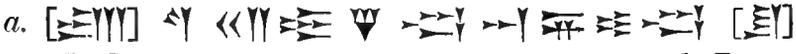
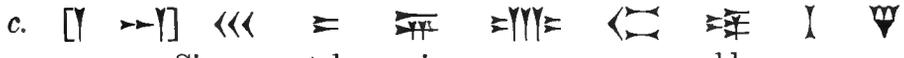
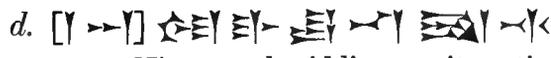
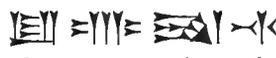
 [sa] ana eli Ur [ip] pi - kit pi su
[who] over Ur was appointed, his face

va lib su [it ti] Saul - mu - gi na * * *
*and his heart [with] Saulmugina * * **

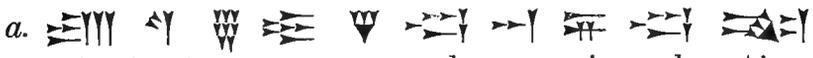
REVERSE.

arah Abu immi 11 lim - mu [Sa - gab]
Month Ab, eleventh day, eponym [Sagab]

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 28.

- a. 
 [Ta] immi 22 sa arah an - ni i arah Duvazu
From the twenty-second day of this month, the month Tammuz,
- b. 
 [a - di] immi 22 sa arah abu sa sanat an - [na]
[to] the twenty-second day of the month Ab of this year.
- c. 
 Sin tab ni u zur ablu su sa
Sintabniuzur, his son of
- d. 
 Nin - gal - iddina it - ti
Ningaliddina, with
- e. 
 [Assur] - bani - pal
Assurbanipal
- f.  * * * * 
 sar Assur binut qati ka * * * * i - ru it - ti
*king of Assyria, the work of thy hands * * * * [made war(?)] with*
- g.  * * * * 
 Saul - mu - gi - na * * * * lu u it - ti
*Saulmugina * * * * * * with*
- h.  * * * * 
 * * * * lib - ba - su
 * * * * his heart.

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 1360.

- a. 
 Ultu immi 8 sa arah an - ni arah Abu
From the eighth day of this month, the month Ab,

b.
 a7 di immi 7 sa araḥ Ululu zabi Elami
to the seventh day of the month Elul. The men of Elam

c.
 up taḥ ḥa ru u uk taz za ru - u
gathered, set in order, and

d.
 illikuni(?) kakki qabal va taḥaz
marched(?) fighting battle and war

e.
 itti zabi
with the men

f.
 id -dan sa Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur ib - bu - su - u
belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria, was made.

g.
 ul ḏabu sar Dan - ai - ablu * * * * *
*Not good. From Danai son of * * * * **

h.
 bil ku(?) araḥ Ululu immi 7 lim - mu Ṣa - gab
the bilku(?) month Elul seventh day, eponym Sagab.

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4.

a.
 [Saul] - mu - gi - na aḥu lakenu(?)
[Saul]mugina the younger brother

b.
 * * * * i dal la - ḥu va * * * * rab - u
 * * * * he embroided and * * * * great

d.
 * * * * un - ni i la ḏa a - bu
 * * * * * * * * not good

e.          
 * * * * ki na Assur bani - pal şar Assur
 * * * * * * *Assurbanipal king of Assur,*

f.          
 şar binu-ut qati ka sa ana sar ka dabu
the work of thy hands, who unto thee is good,

g.           
 u - hu qu u ki di in sa zi(?) ka
*who has established ordinances and on thy * * **

h.           
 sit ku - na eni su is mu u um - ma
has fixed his eyes, heard thus:

i.            j.   
 Saul - mu - gi na ana Elam i - hal - lik
"Saulmugina to Elam broke away ;

           
 a - mat u sa - si tu pan - i ana Elam
an agreement he caused to make, before to Elam

           
 i - hal li ki 5 libiti(?) ina lib ul
he broke away. Five omens in heart were not

           
 dabu Araḥ Tasritu immi 15 lim - mu Şa - gab
good. Month Tisri, fifteenth day, eponym Sagab,

n.           
 Da - ri şar Dan - ai bel - ku Ili rabati
Darisar Danai belku. The great Gods the

           
 beli uzzi tam mu uş şu uzzi
lords strength continue to him, their

I 
 su - nu
 strength

q.         
 sa damiq a na şar be - eli ya
 for good to the king my lord

r.      
 lis - tap - pa ru - u - ni
 may they send.

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 3161.

a.        
 [immi] 17 sa araḥ an - ni araḥ Samna sa sanat
 The seventeenth day of this month, the month Marchesvan of

        
 an - na uzzus(?) sa zaḥbi id - dan sa
 this year, it was that the men belonging to

          
 Assur-bani-pal şar Assur ana eli Saul - mu - gi - na
 Assurbanipal king of Assyria went over to Saulmugina;

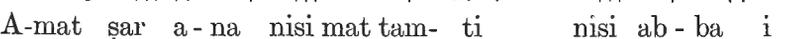
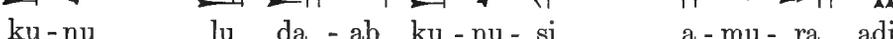
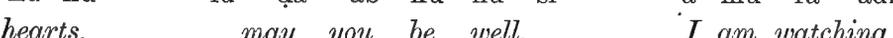
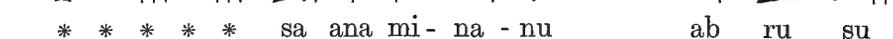
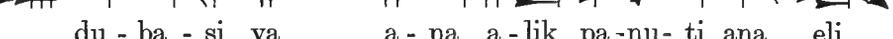
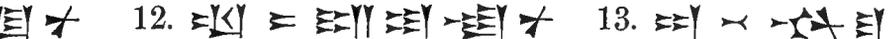
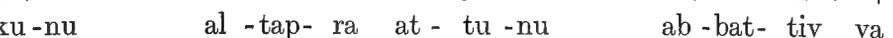
f.           
 it tal - ku ana qati su - nu ki(?) - bit(?) - tu dabtu
 to their hands the will(?) was good.

h.         
 [Araḥ] Samna immi 17 lim - mu Şa - gab * * * a
 Month Marchesvan seventeenth day, eponym Sagab * * * a

       
 Assur - dan * * * i * * *
 Assurdan * * * * *

k.     
 [ina lib Bit] - ridu - te e - tap - su
 [In the midst] of Bitridute made.

K, 312. PROCLAMATION OF THE KING TO THE PEOPLE
OF THE SEA COAST.

1.  2. 
A-mat şar a-na nisi mat tam-ti nisi ab-ba i
The will of the king to the men of the coast, the sea,
-  3. 
va abli ardi a salim-mu ai si lib-ba
and the sons of my servants; my peace to your
-  4.  5. 
ku-nu lu da-ab ku-nu-si a-mu-ra adi
hearts, may you be well. I am watching
-  6. 
na-ak-ka-a-ha ina lib sa eni ai ina eli
sharply, from out of my eyes, over
-  7. 
ku-nu va la pa-an ħi iḏ sa Nabu-bel-zikri
you; and from the face of the sin of Nebobelzikri,
8.  9. 
* * * * * sa ana mi-na-nu ab ru şu
* * * * * *entirely I have separated*
-  10. 
ku-nu-si a-du u Bel-ibni arda a va
you. Now, Belibni my servant,
-  11. 
du-ba-si ya a-na a-lik pa-nu-ti ana eli
my deputy, to go before, to be over
-  12. 
ku-nu al-tap-ra at-tu-nu ab-bat-tiv va
you. I send to you. I command, and

14. 14. sa ina eli ya da-[bu] * * *
 which is in me good * * *
 in lib a - mat
 in the will
15. 15. sa ina lib bi sa * * * * *
 which in the heart * * * * *
16. 16. nisi *
17. 17. ki * * * * *
18. 18. tam-ma - ra - ni * * * * *
 ut * * * * *
19. 19. sa ardi sa zi * * * * *
 of the servants who * * * * *
 mi * * * * *
20. 20. sa beli su-nu is - su-nu
 of their lords bring(?)
21. 21. ya ha - nu - u
 to me.
22. 22. e mu ki ya al - tap - ra
 Of myself, my forces I send.
23. 23. i - lu su at tu ku-nu
 I have joined with you,
24. 24. me-nu-u dum ki
 keeping your
25. 25. va dābtu ku-nu i na emur ya
 good and your benefit in my sight.

DATE.

Araḥ Airu immi 5 lim - mu Bel-ḥarran-sad-u - a
 Month Iyyar, fifth day, eponym Belharransadua

K, 4457.

1. [Y 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠] 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 [Um-man]- al da - şu ahu su sa Tam-ma- ri - tu
Ummanaldasu brother of Tammariitu

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 [𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶] 2. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎠𐎶𐎶]
 şar [Elam] Ut-te - di nisi rab [mitpanu]
king of [Elam]. Uttedi commander of archers,

3. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎠𐎶𐎶]
 Te - um - man nis rab mitpanu sa bit - hal la a [su]
and Teumman commander of the archers of [his] chariot(?),

4. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Tam - ma - ri - tu şar Elam sa a - na kit ri
Tammariitu king of Elam, who to the aid of

𐎶𐎶𐎶 5. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Saul - mu - gi na * * * il li ka av - va
*Saulmugina * * * went, and*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 6. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 a na mit - hu uz umman ya a na ku
to fight my army. I

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Assur-bani-pal şar Assur Assur va Istar am hu - ur
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Assur and Ishtar invoked;

𐎶𐎶 7. 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 va is mu - u şu up pi ya In da bi - gas
and they heard my prayer. Indabigas

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 8. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 arad şu zir us - su ip pal kit va ina ta haz
his servant, against him revolted, and in the battle

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 9. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 zin is - ku - nu abikta su nisi Tam - ma - ri - tu
field accomplished his overthrow. The men of Tammari

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 10. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ultu qabal tam - ha - ri in - nab - tu - niv - va abikta umman su
from the midst of the battle fled and of the defeat of his army

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ig - bu su va in - nab - ta u ru - uh - hi tam - ti
told him; and he fled by the way of the sea.

11. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 arku su In - da - bi - gas arad su u - sib ina kuzzu su
After him Indabigas his servant, sat on his throne.

12. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Elap Tam ma ri tu şar Elam
The ship of Tammari king of Elam,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 13. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ahi su qi ni su ziri bit abi su rubi
his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house, and the princes

[𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 [a - lik] idi su sa si ik - nu di - ru - u ru taq - tu
*[going] before him, which was sinking (?) * * * * **

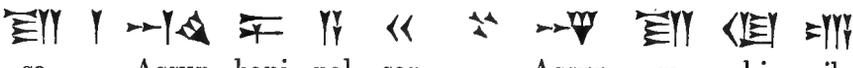
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 14. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 iğ - ba - tu * * * * * ba ti su - u ul - tu
*had taken. * * * * * he from*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 15. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 ki - rib elap su - a - tu ana ki li Tam - ma - ri - tu
out of that ship, to a boat, Tammari

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 a na arku su is : si ma - ru us - tu qaq - qar
on his back he carried sick. The

5. 
 u - na - as - si - qa qaq qa - ru
kissed the ground.

6. 
 Si - id ru sa Um - man - i - gas la na - zir dabtu
Line [of battle] of Ummanigas, disregarder of the benefits

7. 
 sa Assur - bani - pal sar Assur sa ki - rib
of Assurbanipal king of Assyria; who in

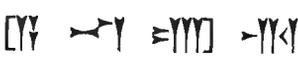
 8. 
 Elam is ku - nu su a na saru ti
Elam had appointed him to the kingdom.

9. 
 Tam - ma - ri - tu sa it - ti su * * ma * * is - ku - nu
Tammaritu who with him had fought (?) had accomplished

 10. 
 abikta su u par ri - ru el - lat su
his overthrow and dispersed his forces.

11. 
 [Ni] - kis qaqadu [sa] Um - man - i - gas sar
Decapitated head [of] Ummanigas king of

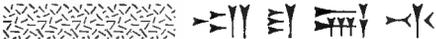
 12. 
 Elam [sa] ya - a - ti * * * * *
*Elam, who to me * * * * **

 13. 
 e - su u - vas - sir an - ni [a - na kit] - ri
 * * abandoned me, and [to the] aid of


 [Saul] mu - gi na bel nakiri ya
[Saul] mugina lord of my enemies,

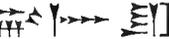
14.  | 
 * * * * Tam-ma-ri - tu ik - ki şu qabal
 * * * * *Tammaritu had cut off in the midst of*

 | 15. 
 tam - ha - ri * * * * ummati ya
*battle. * * * * my general*

 | 16. 
 sa Um - man - i gas * * * * Ma - dak - tu
*who Ummanigas * * * * Madaktu.*

K, 2825. PARTLY RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF DUPLICATE TABLETS.

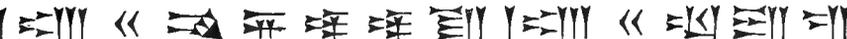
a.  (I 
 Tam-ma-ri - tu şar Elam (su - a - tu)
Tammaritu king of Elam (that),

  []
 a - di Um - man - al das Pa - ra * * [aħi su]
*and Ummanaldas, Para * * [his brothers]*

b.  
 Um - man - al da şı ablu Te - um - man şar
Ummanaldasi son of Teumman king of

    
 Elam Um - man - am - ni ablu Um - man - pi - ha
Elam, Ummanamni son of Ummanpiha

(v. )   
 (v. Um - man - ap - pi) ablu Ur ta - ki şar Elam
(v. Ummanappi) son of Urtaki king of Elam,

c.      
 Um - man - am ni ablu abli sa Um - man - al da şı
Ummanamni grandson of Ummanaldasi

[Elam] d.
 sar [Elam] it ti 17 qi - ni su ziri
 king of [Elam], with seventeen of his kin, the seed of

bit abi su va 86 rubi a - li - kut idi su
 his father's house, and eighty-six princes going before him; ,

e.
 sa la pa - an kakki Assur va Istar ip - par - su va
 who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled, and

a - na da - lal * * * it - ti Maruduk sar - uzur
 to exalt * * * with Merodachsaruzur

ummati ya sa ip * * * * *
 my general, who * * * * *

g.
 mi - ra - nu - us - su - un ina eli lib - bi su - nu
 their bitterness within their hearts

ip - si - lu - niv - va iz - ba - tu * * * *
 raged, and they took * * * *

K, 599. DISPATCH FROM AN OFFICER TO THE KING.

1. 2.
 A - na - bel sarri bel ya arad ka
 To the lord of kings my lord, thy servant

3.
 Bel - ib - ni Assur Samas va Maruduk araku
 Belibni; Assur, Shamas and Merodach, length of

4. 5.
 immi du - ub lib - bi va du - ub şiri sa
days, *sound heart, and sound body,* *to the*

6.
 be - eli şarri bel ya liq - bu - u a - na eli
lord of kings my lord *grant.* *Concerning*

7. 8.
 Tam - ti i - ti ahi nis qi - ni sa va
Tamti-iti, *the brothers,* *kinsmen,* *and*

9. 10.
 rabati sa a - na şar bel ya as - pur a - du - u
great men, *whom to the king my lord I send,* *thus:*

11.
 Tam - mar - i - ti ahi sa nisi qi - na su
"Tammartu, *the brothers, his kinsmen and*

12.
 va nisi rabati su i - zu - zi
his *great* *men,* *together*

13. 14.
 a - na pa - an şar beli ya al - tap - ra - as - su - nu
to the presence of the king *my lord I send them*

15.
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

EXTRACT FROM A DISPATCH MENTIONING THE DEATH OF
 INDABIGAS KING OF ELAM. K, 13.

1.
 [A - na bel şarri beli] ya arad ka
 [To the lord of kings] my [lord,] thy servant

 2.  
 Bel ib - ni [Assur Samas va Maruduk] du - bi
Belibni. [From Assur, Shamas and Merodach,] sound

 3.  
 lib - bi du - bi širi [a - ra - ku immi va] la - bar
heart and sound body; [length of days, and] long

 4. 
 pal - e ana bel šarri [šar matati bel ya]
life; to the lord of kings [king of the earth my lord.]

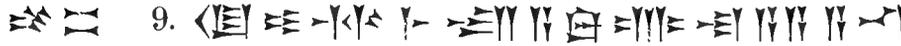
 5. 
 de e - mu sa Elam [Um - ma - ḥal - da - a - su]
The news from Elam, Ummanaldas;


 šar maḥ - ru u sa iḥ li - qa
the former king has destroyed,


 [il - li - ka] - av - va ina. kuzzu u si - i - bu
he has gone and on the throne has sat.


 [ip - tal] la ḥu Ma - dak - ti un - dis - sar
They feared (?) Madaktu he has left,


 ummu su alat šu mari su va nis qi - na - as - su
his mother, his wife, his children and his kinsmen


 gab - bi ki i ik - mi - šu U - la - ai a - na
all; then he subdued. The Ulai in its


 su - pal sa a ru i - te - bir a - na
depth a flood, he crossed, to


 Ta - la - aḥ it - tal ka niru
Talah he went. The chief

11. 
 Um-man-si-bar Un-da-du zi il li - ru
Ummansibar, Undadu the zilliru,

12. 
 va bel ummani (?) su ma-la ba-as-su- u
and the lords of his forces all there were;

13. 
 it tal - ku pa ni su nu a - na alu su
went before them, to his city


 Ḥa-ri ṣu un - ṣi
Harisundasi.

EPIGRAPH OVER KING IN CHARIOT RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.
 Line 7 from Duplicate on Tablet Fragment.

- 
 A- na - ku Assur-bani-pal ṣar kīssat ṣar Assur
I am Assurbanipal king of nations king of Assyria,
- 
 sa ina kībit Ili rabati ik - su - du
who by the will of the great Gods has taken the
- 
 zu - um - mi - rat lib bi su lu bul-tu su-qut- tu
desire of his heart; garments beautiful,
- 
 ṣi - mat ṣar - u - ti sa Saul - mu gi na
the royal robes of Saulmugina

5. 

 aḥu la- kenu sal-zik- ri - te su ummati

my younger brother, his concubines, his generals,

6. 

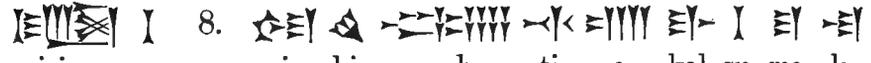
 su zabi tahaz su ruqubi sa sad- da di

his men of war, the powerful war chariots,

7. 

 ru - du belu - ti su susi zi - bi - ti

his lordly carriages, horses trained to the

8. 

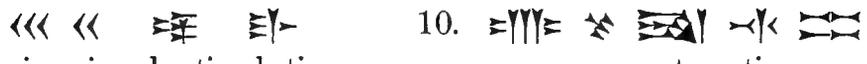
 niri su nin ḥi - suḥ - ti e kal su ma - la

yoke, the desirable women of his palace all there

9. 

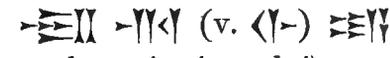
 ba - su - u nisi zik - ru (v. zi - kar)

were; people male

10. 

 va sin - nis zahruti rabati u - se - et - ti - qu

and female, small and great, I caused to come



 ina maḥ - ri (v. mahri) ya

into my presence.

It is necessary in this division of the reign to give a more detailed account of the events, many of the inscriptions relating to it being too long to translate here; but for every fact of importance a reference is given to the inscription from which the statement is drawn (in cases where the inscription is not translated), that students may be able to compare the original documents.

After he had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu in Elam, Assurbanipal sent an envoy to Elam (K, 2644) to demand the return of the image of Nana, which the Elamites had carried off to Shushan; and a little later, Saulmugina, brother of Assurbanipal,

by whom the Arabians are probably intended, Martu or Hatti which is Syria, and Miluhha, which must here mean Egypt, the country with which the name is constantly connected.* Among the minor princes and governors involved, the following are mentioned, Nebobelzikri or Nebobelsumi, ruler of the Chaldees on the Persian gulf, Sintabniuzur of Ur,          and          *Nadan* of Puqud or Pekod (K, 524).

After the departure of the Elamite forces to Babylonia, Tamaritu the son† of Ummanigas, assisted by his uncle Tammaritu, who was sub-king of Hidalu, revolted against his father, and to gain over the war party which was hostile to Assyria, he declared that he had not killed Teumman, and accused Ummanigas of being the only one who had submitted to Assurbanipal. In the battle which followed, Tammaritu gained the victory, and cut off his father's head. Saulmugina subsidised Tammaritu, and he, like his father, marched his troops into Babylonia against Assurbanipal. While there, Indabigas raised a revolt and drove him from the throne, and Tammaritu and his adherents embarked on the Persian gulf, and after considerable suffering landed and took refuge in the marshy district of the lower Euphrates, here having been assured of a good reception, they surrendered to Merodachsaruzur, a general serving under Belibni the governor of Assurbanipal (K, 1610, and K, 2825), and were sent by Belibni to Assyria.

Assurbanipal appears at first to have been overwhelmed by the magnitude of his misfortune, but the vigour of some of the Assyrian generals prevented the revolt becoming universal; Paliya, governor of Arbaha or Arrapha, on the northern border of Elam, held that side, and we are told, K, 159, that from fear of capture, that part

* The contempt of chronology in the Assyrian records is well shown by the fact that in Cylinder A, the account of the revolt of Psammitichus is given under the third expedition, while the general account of the rebellion of Saulmugina is given under the sixth expedition, the affair of Nebobelzikri under the eighth expedition, and the Arabian and Syrian events in connexion are given under the ninth expedition.

† It is only while writing this Division that I have found that the Tammaritu who revolted against Ummanigas, was his son, and not his brother; he is sometimes called "Tammaritu the younger," and "Tammaritu the later," to distinguish him from his uncle, who bore the same name.

of Elam did not join the revolt, and Kudur, governor of Uruk, held that important city for Assurbanipal. In the eponymy of Sagab, reinforcements were sent into Babylonia, and next year, in the eponymy of Bilharransadua, Belibni was appointed governor in south Babylonia.*

The Assyrian forces having defeated the confederate army of Babylonians, Elamites, and Arabians, shut them up in the four cities of Babylon,† Borsippa, Kutha, and Sipara; here they were besieged, until in the extremity of famine, the people eat their own children. After a vain attempt at a sortie, Babylon fell, and Saulmugina was burned.‡ After the capture of Babylon, the country was annexed to Assyria, and an Assyrian general named Samasdainani was made governor of Babylon and the surrounding district. Nebobelzikri,|| the Chaldean who had joined the revolt, had taken captive the Assyrian garrison which guarded his country, and when the revolt failed, he made his escape into Elam, carrying with him the Assyrians as prisoners. Indabigas, king of Elam, sent to Assurbanipal, desiring to make peace, but the Assyrian monarch sent back word demanding the surrender of Nebobelzikri and the Assyrians who were in Elam, and threatened to invade Elam if they were refused. Assurbanipal afterwards dispatched an envoy to Elam on this errand, and on reaching the frontier the Assyrian messenger heard that Indabigas had been killed, and succeeded by Ummanaldas; a long diplomatic correspondence ensued between Assurbanipal and Ummanaldas respecting Nebobelzikri, who ultimately committed suicide in company with his armour bearer (see

* The name of Belibni consists of two parts, the first the deity Bel is written 𒍪 , 𒍪 𒍪 and 𒍪 𒍪 (this is the only proper name in which I have found these forms interchange); the second ipni "he made," is written 𒌷 , 𒌷 𒌷 and 𒌷 𒌷 .

† This is the first time in history that we know Babylon to have been besieged. At least six times previously the Assyrians had taken it without siege, and it is probable that the great extent of the city had prevented its being enclosed by a wall until the time of Esarhaddon, who fortified it about thirty years before Saulmugina's revolt.

‡ We have no details of the death of Saulmugina, so that it is uncertain under what circumstances he was burned, it is possible that he set fire to his palace on the taking of Babylon; self-destruction, under such circumstances, was common in ancient times.

|| Nebobelzikri is called in some copies the son, and in others the grandson of Merodach Baladan, the latter is the more correct relationship. He was probably the son of Nahidmaruduk, a younger son of Merodach Baladan, who was king of Chaldee in the time of Esarhaddon.

Part XI). Several of the facts connected with this period are indicated on omen tablets, many of these tablets embodying the judgment of the astrologers were written at the order of Assurbanipal, that he might know if the omens were favourable for the prosecution of the war against Saulmugina and his allies. At the close of these omen tablets, the circumstances in the revolt which called for the inquiries are specified, together with the dates and the statements whether the omens were favourable or not. There are many other fragments beside those translated here, and the dates extend from the eponymy of Assurduruzur to that of Bilharransadua, a period of about two years.

The following are some of the tablets referring to this part of the history, which are not translated here, K, 4796; K, 1210; K, 974; K, 824; K, 1580; K, 1095; K, 1541; K, 4275; K, 1196; K, 1030; K, 5456; K, 1249; K, 5457; K, 1610; K, 524; No. 67, 4—2, 1; K, 95; K, 84.

PART X.

The First War with Ummanaldas, King of Elam.

TEXTS.

There are two good texts of this war, Cylinder A, col. v, lines 44 to 117, and an Extract from K, 2656. Beside these there is the imperfect text on K, 2833, and K, 3085, not translated here.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN V, LINES 44 TO 117.

44.  I - na şibe- e gar ri ya ina arah Sivanu arah
In my seventh expedition, in the month Sivan the month of
-  45.  Sin bel uzzi ablu ris tu va a - sa - ri - du sa
Sin lord of might, eldest son and first of
-  46.  Bel ad ki umman ya zir Um - man - al - das
Bel: I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas
-  47.  şar Elam us te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu
king of Elam I directed the march.
-  u bil it - ti ya Tam - ma - ri - tu şar Elam
I brought with me Tammaritu king of Elam,

63.          
 iz-ku - ru ni bit su ina mi-ti - iq gar ri ya
he had proclaimed its name: in the course of my expedition

 64.        
 ak - su - ud nisi a sib lib bi su sa la
I took. The people dwelling in it, who did not

        65.       
 u - zu - niv - va la is (ha) a - luv su - lum
come out, and did not pray for alliance with

       
 saru ti ya a - nir qaqadi su - nu ak - kiš
my kingdom, I felled. Their heads I cut off,

  66.     
 šapti su-nu ap ru ha a - na ta - mar - ti
their lips I tore out, and for the inspection of the

     
 nisi mati ya al - qa - a a na Assur
people of my country, I brought to Assyria.

67.        
 Im - ba ap pi qe - e - pu v. nis rab mitpanu
Imbaappi governor (v. commander of the archers)

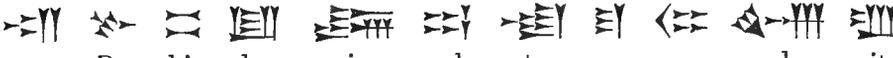
   68.   
 sa Bit - im - bi i ha - tan Um - man - al - das
of Bitimbi, the relative of Ummanaldas

(v. )   69.   
 (v. da - ši) šar Elam bal - đu - uš šu
king of Elam; alive

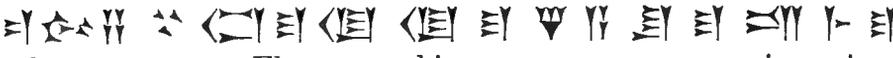
      70.    
 ul tu ki - rib alu su - a - tu u - se - za - av - va
from the midst of that city I brought out and

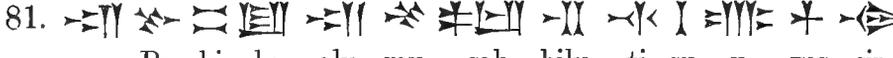
78.  sada su e - li
his mountains ascended.
 Um (v. Am) ba - gu - u - a sa
Um(v. Am)-bagua who

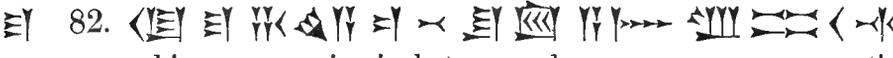
 ul - tu Elam
from Elam,
 ultu ši ħu - u a - na
from a revolt, to

 Bu - bi lu in - nab tu va me eḫ - rit
Bubitu had fled, and against

 Um - man - al - das
Ummanaldas
 u - si - bu (v. as - bu) ina
had sat on the

 kuzzu Elam ki - ma sa - a su va is mi va
throne of Elam: like him also heard, and

81.  Bu - bi - lu alu mu - sab bilu - ti su u - vas - sir
Bubilu the city the seat of his dominion he abandoned,

82.  ki - ma nuni iḫ - bat su - pul me ru - qu - u - ti
and like the fishes took to the depths of the remote waters.

83.  Tam - ma - ri - tu sa in - nab - ta iḫ ba - ta
Tammaritu who fled and took

 niri ya ki - rib
my yoke,
 Su - sa an u - se - rib
into Shushan I caused to enter,

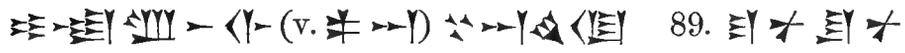
 as - kun su a - na
I appointed him to the kingdom.
 ṣaru ti damqati
The good


 e - pu - su - us as pu ru it tah su im - si va
I had done to him and sent to his aid, he rejected and

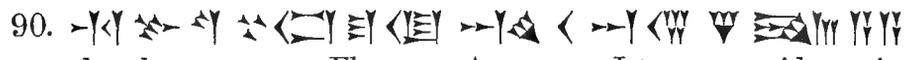
86. 
 is te - ni - ha a limut tu a na ka - sad
devised evil to capture


 umman ya ki - a - am ig - bi it - ti lib - bi su
my army. Even he said in his heart

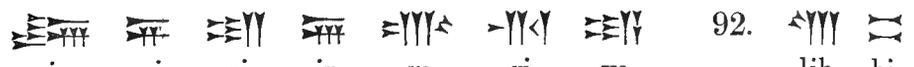

 um - ma nisi Elam a na salat - e
thus: "The people of Elam for a spoil


 i - tu - ru ina pan (v. pa - an) Assur ma - nu su - nu
*have turned, in the face of Assyria. Their * * **


 va ir ru bu - u * * * ih ta - nab - ba - tu
has been entered(?) and they have carried away

90. 
 hu - bu - tu Elam Assur va Istar sa ida ai
the plunder of Elam." Assur and Ishtar who before me


 (v. ina mah - ri ya) il li - ku u - sa - zi zu
(v. in my presence) march, and exult


 in ni zi - ir ga ri ya lib - bi
me over my enemies; the heart of

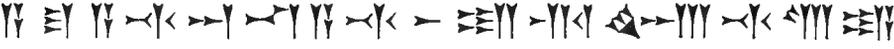

 Tam - ma - ri tu iq zu ba ra - nu - u ip ru - u va
Tammaritu hard and perverse they broke, and

93.  u ba - hu - u qa - tus - su ul - tu kuzzu şaru - ti su
took hold of his hand, from the throne of his kingdom

94.  id - ku - nis - suv - va u - tir - ru - nis - su sa - ni - ya - a - nu
they hurled him, and overwhelmed him, a second time

95.  u - sak ni - su - us a - na niri ya
they subdued him to my yoke.

96.  su - par
Concerning

 a - ma - a - ti an - na - a - ti ina ze ri - iḥ - ti lib ya
these matters, in vexation [was] my heart;

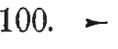
97.  sa Tam - ma - ri - tu la ke e - nu iḥ - da - a
which Tammari - tu the younger offended.

98.  ina li - i - ti va da - na - ni sa Ili rabati
In the glory and power of the great Gods

 beli ya
my lords,

99.  ki - rib Elam a - na
within Elam, through its

 şı - ħir - ti sa at - tal - lak sal - dis
extent I marched victoriously.

100.  ina
On

 ta - ai - ar - ti ya sa sul - lu - me - e
my return, peace and

 su - pa - li - ti
submission

101.  pa - an niri (v. ni ri) ya
to my yoke,

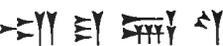
 102. 
 u tir - ra a - na Assur Ga - tu - du
I restored to Assyria. Gatudu,

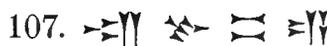
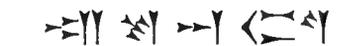
 103. 
 Ga - tu - du - ma Da - e - ba Na - di - ha
Gatuduma, Daeba, Nadiha,

 
 Dur - am - na - ni Dur - am - na - ni - ma
Duramnani, Duramnanim,

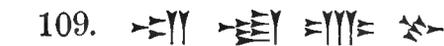
104.   
 Ḫa - ma - nu Ta - ra - qu Ḫa - ai u ši
Hamanu, Taraqu, Haiusi,

105.  
 Bit tag - gil - bit - şu Bit - ar - ra - bi
Bittagbitsu, Bitarrabi,

106.   
 Bit - im - bi - i Ma - dak - tu Su - sa - an
Bitimbi, Madaktu, Shushan,

107.   
 Bu - be - e Te - maruduk şar - an - ni
Bube, Temaruduksaranni,

(v.  108. 
 (v. Te - maruduk - şar - a - ni) Ur - da li ka
Urdalika,

 109. 
 Al - ga - ri - ga Tu u - bu
Algariga, Tubu,

 110. 
 Tul - tu - u bu Du un - şar
Tultubu, Dunsar,

K, 2656. RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF DUPLICATES.

a.
 Um -man- al da ši ablu At ta -mi- tu
Ummanaldas son of Attamitu,

b.
 u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam Tam-ma- ri - tu
sat on the throne of Elam. Tammaritu

as-su de e - ni su va a - lak it - taḥ su ina ki - bit
for his sentence, and for going to his aid; by command of

c.
 Assur va Nergal u - zal la - a bel - u ti a - na ku
Assur and Nergal, submitted to my dominion. I am

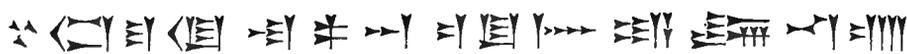
Assur-bani-pal lib - bu rap - su la - ka zir ik ki - mu
Assurbanipal of generous heart, of defection the remover.

ina tugul - ti Assur va Nergal Ili ti ik - li ya
In the service of Assur and Nergal the Gods my protectors

d.
 sa ni a - nu ad ki umman ya zi ir
a second time I gathered my army; against

Um -man - al da ši šar E - lam . ti ag ba a
Ummanaldas king of Elam, I commanded

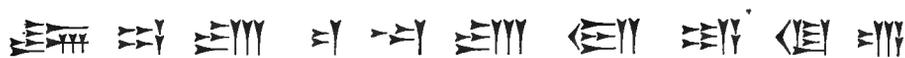
e.
 a la - ku aḏ ru - ud Um -man - al da šu šar
to go. I drove back Ummanaldas king of



 Elam la pa - an kakki ya in - na - bit
Elam; from the face of my soldiers he fled



 va sa - da - a su - e li Tam - ma - ri - tu sa
and his mountain ascended. Tammari who



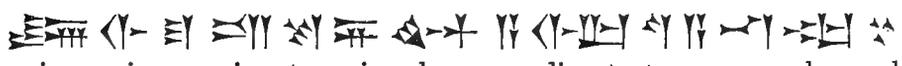
 in - nab - ta iz ba - ta niri ya ki - rib
fled and took my yoke, in



 Su - sa an as kuṣ su a - na ṣar u - ti
Shushan I appointed him to the kingdom.

g. 

 damqatu e pu - su - us sa as - pu - ru it - taḥ ṣu
The benefits I had done to him and had sent to his aid, he



 in - si va is - te ni ha - a limut - tu a - na ka - sad
despised and devised evil, to capture



 ummani ya Assur ṣar Ili Nergal be - lu
my army. Assur king of the Gods and Nergal the lord



 zi i ru sa ina maḥ - ri ya il - la - ku
mighty, who in my presence march



 u sa - zi - zu in ni zi ir ga - ri ya
and exalt me over my enemies,

i. 

 lib bi Tam - ma - ri - tu iq ṣu ba ra - nu ip - ru
the heart of Tammari hard and perverse they broke,



 va im - nu - u su qa - tu u a ul - tu

and delivered him into my hand. From



 kuzzu şaru - ti su id - ku nis - suv va

his royal throne they hurled him and



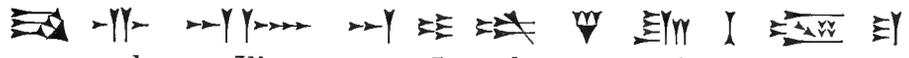
 u tir - ni suv - va u sak - ni - su - us a - na

overturned him, and subdued him to



 niri ya sal si - a - nu Assur bel - zi - i - ru Nergal

my yoke. A third time Assur the mighty lord, Nergal



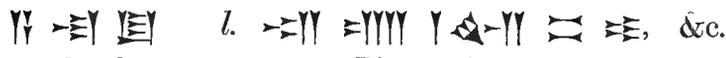
 qar - rad Ili I tak sa qati su az ma

warrior of the Gods, and Itak whose hands are powerful,



 u - tak - ki lu ni va a - na Elam ig bu - ni

protected me, and to Elam they commanded



 a - la - ku Bit - im bi i, &c.

to go. Bitimbi, &c.

Here follows the second war with Ummanaldas, the same as Cylinder A, col. v, line 121 and following.

The first war with Ummanaldas appears to have had for its object the restoration of Tammaritu, the fugitive king of Elam. The principal event of the campaign was the capture of Bit-imbi; after which, Ummanaldas abandoned his capital, and fled to the mountains. Tammaritu, who was then restored to the throne, soon revolted, and was deposed by Assurbanipal; the country coming once more under the sway of Ummanaldas.

PART XI.

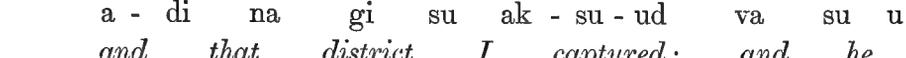
The Second War with Ummanaldas.

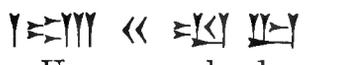
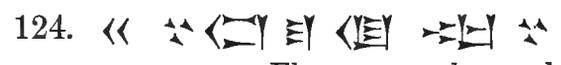
TEXTS.

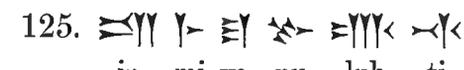
The texts of the second war with Ummanaldas are Cylinder A, col. v, line 118 to col. vii, line 96; two Epigraphs; several Extracts from Historical Tablets; and K, 3062.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN V, LINES 118 TO 125.

118.  I - na samne gar - ri ya ina ki - bit Assur va
In my eighth expedition, by command of Assur and
-  Istar ad - ki umman ya zir Um -man- al - das
Ishtar, I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas
120.  šar Elam us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu
king of Elam I directed the march.
121.  Bit - im - bi - i sa ina gar - ri ya maḥ - re - e
Bitimbi, which in my former expedition
122.  ak - su - du e - nin - na Ra - a - si Ḥa - ma - nu
I had captured, again Rasi, Hamanu,

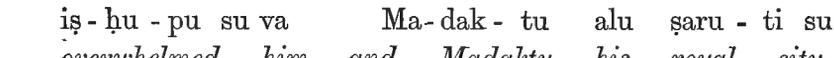
123.  I - 
 a - di na gi su ak - su - ud va su u
and that district I captured; and he

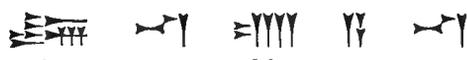
 124. 
 Um - man - al - das şar Elam ka - sad
Ummanaldas king of Elam, of the capture of

 125. 
 Ra - a - si Ha - ma - nu is - mi va pu - luḥ - ti
Rasi and Hamanu heard, and fear of


 Assur va Istar a - li - kut ida - ai
Assur and Ishtar going before me

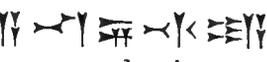
COLUMN VI.

1.  I 
 iṣ - ḥu - pu su va Ma - dak - tu alu şaru - ti su
overwhelmed him, and Madaktu his royal city

2.  
 u - vas - sir va in - na - bit a - na
he abandoned, and fled to

 3. 
 Dur - un - da - si It - it e e - bir
Durundasi. The Itite, he crossed,

 4. 
 va nahr su - a - tu a - na dan - nu - ti su is - kun
and that river for his stronghold he fixed,

5.  (v. ) 
 uk - ta - ta - zir uk - taz - zir a - na zal - ti ya
and arranged in ranks to fight me.

6. (v.) na - gi
 Na - di - tu alu şaru ti va (v. a - di) na - gi
Naditu the royal city and its district

I su ak - su - ud 7. Bit - bu - na ki alu şaru - ti * *
I captured, Bitbunaki the royal city ditto,

8. Har - dap - a - nu alu şaru ti * * 9. Tu - u - bu
Hardapanu the royal city ditto, Tubu

alu şaru - ti * * 10. bi - rit nahr ka - la - mu
the royal city ditto, beside all the river,

Ma - dak - tu alu şaru - ti * * 11. Hal - te - ma - as
Madaktu the royal city ditto, Haltemas

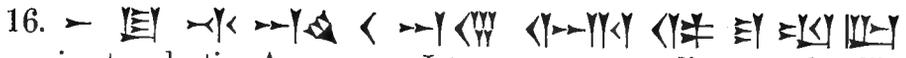
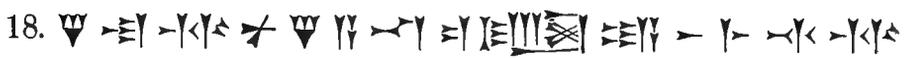
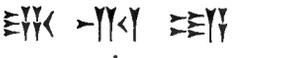
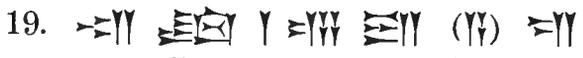
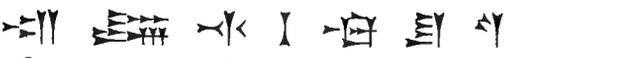
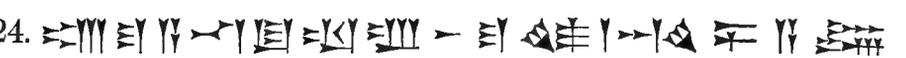
alu şaru ti su ak su - ud 12. Su - sa - an
his royal city I captured, Shushan

alu şaru ti su ak su - ud 13. Di - in şar
his royal city I captured, Diñsar,

Şu - mu - un tu - na - as * * 14. Pi - di il - ma
Sumuntunas ditto, Pidilmá

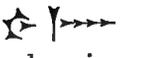
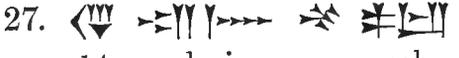
alu şaru - ti su Bu - bi - lu ' * *
his royal city, Bubilu ditto,

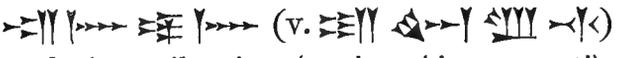
15. Ka bi in - ak (alu şaru - ti su) * *
Kabinak (his royal city) ditto.

16. 
 ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar ar di va al lik
In the service of Assur and Ishtar I marched and went
17. 
 zir Um -man- al da ši şar Elam
after Ummanaldas king of Elam,
18. 
 sa la ik -nu-sa a - na niri ya ina mi- ti - iq
who did not submit to my yoke. In the course
-  19. 
 gar - ri ya Dur - un - da (-a) ši
of my expedition, Durundasi
-  20. 
 alu şaru ti su ak su ud umman ya
his royal city I captured. My army
-  21. 
 It - it - e a gu - u u - ru e - mu - ru
the Itite in high flood saw, and
-  22. 
 ip - la - hu a - na ni - ba - ar ti Istar
feared the crossing. Ishtar
- 
 a - si - bat Arba- il ina sat mu - si a - na umman ya
dwelling in Arbela, in the middle of the night to my army
23. 
 suttu u sap - ri va ki - a - am ig bi su - nu
a dream sent, and even told them,
24. 
 um - ma a - na - ku al - lak ina ma - har Assur - bani - pal şar
thus: "I march in front of Assurbanipal, the king

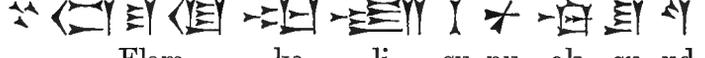
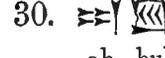
25.  sa ib - na - a qata ai e li suttu an - ni - ti
whom my hands made." Over that vision

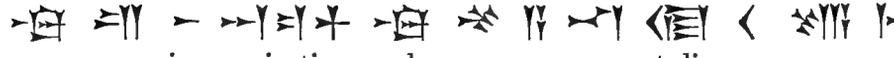
26.  umman ya ir hu zu It - it - e e - bi - ru
my army rejoiced, and the Itite crossed

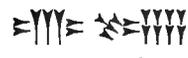
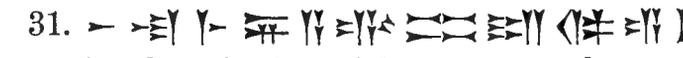
 sal - mis 27.  14 alani mu - sab şaru - ti a - di
peacefully. Fourteen cities royal seats, and

 alani zihruti (v. zi hi - ru - ti) 28.  sa ni - i - ba
smaller cities the numbers

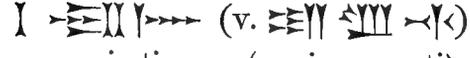
 la i - su - u va 12 na - ge - e 29.  sa ki - rib
unknown, and twelve districts which are in

 Elam ka - li su - nu ak - su - ud 30.  ab - bul
Elam, all of them I took, I pulled down,

 aq qur ina isati ak - mu a - na tuli va gar - mi
destroyed, in the fire I burned, and to mounds and heaps

 u - tir 31.  ina la mi - ni a - duk qu - ra - de - e su
I reduced. Without number I slew his warriors,

32.  ina kakki u - ra - aş - şib mun - tağ - ze - (e)
with the sword I destroyed his powerful

 su zirati (v. zi - ru - ti) 33.  Um - man - al - das şar
fighting men. Ummanaldas king of

𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 34. 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 Elam me ra - nu - us - su in - na - bit va
Elam in his bitterness fled, and

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 35. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 iṣ - ba - ta sadu - u Ba - nu - nu a - di
took to the mountain. Banunu and

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 36. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 na - ge - e sa Ta - ṣa - ra ka - la - mu
the districts of Tasara all,

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 37. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 20 alani ina na - ge - e sa Ḫu - un - nir
twenty cities in the districts of Hunnir,

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 (v. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠) 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 (v. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠)
 ina eli mi (v. me) - iṣ - ri sa Ḫi - da - li (v. lu)
by the boundary of Hidalu,

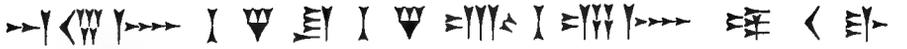
𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 38. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 ak - su - ud Ba - lim - mu va alani sa
I captured. Balimmu and the cities

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 39. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 li - mi - ti - su ab bul aq - qur sa nisi
round it, I pulled down and destroyed. Of the people

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 40. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 a - sib lib - bi su - nu ka mar su - nu as - kun
dwelling within them, their misfortune I caused,

𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 41. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 u - sab - bir Ili su - un u - sap - si ih
I broke up their Gods, I set at liberty the

(𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠) 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 42. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠
 (Ilu) ka - bat - ti bel beli Ili su
great Goddess of the lord of lords, his Gods,



 Istari su sa - su su sa - ga su nisi zihruti va rabati
his Goddesses, his furniture, his goods, people small and great,

43. 

 as - lu - la a - na Assur 60 kas - pu qa-q-a - ru
I carried off to Assyria. Sixty kaspu of ground,

44. 

 ina a-mat Assur va Istar sa u -ma- hi - ru in ni
by the will of Assur and Ishtar who sent me,

45. 

 ki - rib Elam e ru ub va at - tal - lak sal-dis
within Elam I entered and marched victoriously.

46. 

 ina ta - ay ar ti ya sa Assur va Istar
On my return, when Assur and Ishtar


 47. 

 u - sa - zi - zu in - ni zir ga ri ya
exalted me over my enemies,


 48. 

 Su - sa - an ma - ha - zu rab u mu - sab
Shushan the great city, the seat of



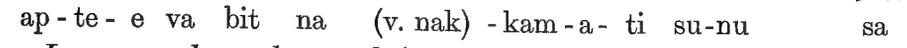
 Ili su - un a - sar pi sak ti su - un ak - su - ud
their Gods, the place of their oracle, I captured.

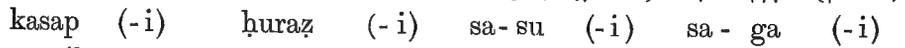
(v. ) 49. 

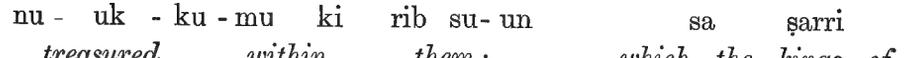
 (v. aksud) ina a - mat Assur va Istar ki - rib
By the will of Assur and Ishtar, into

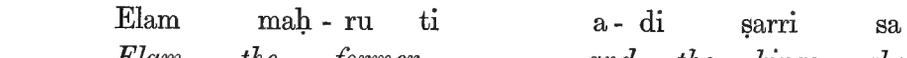

 50. 

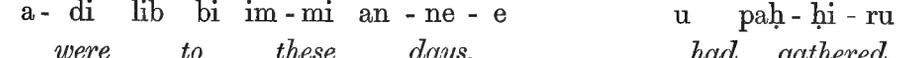
 e - kal - i su e ru ub u - sib ina hidati
its palaces I entered and sat with rejoicing.

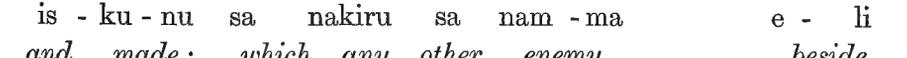
 (v. )  51. 
 ap-te-e va bit na (v. nak) -kam-a-ti su-nu sa
I opened also their treasure houses, of

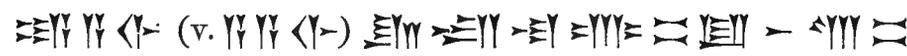
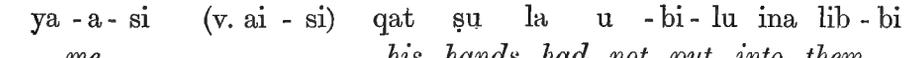
   
 kasap (-i) huraz (-i) sa-su (-i) sa-ga (-i)
silver, gold, furniture and goods,

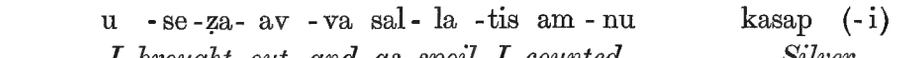
 52. 
 nu-uk-ku-mu ki rib su-un sa šarri
treasured within them; which the kings of

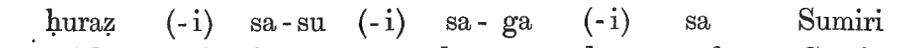
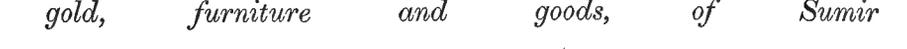
 53. 
 Elam maḥ-ru ti a-di šarri sa
Elam the former, and the kings who

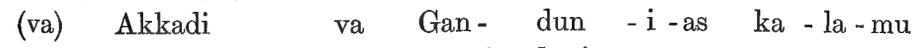
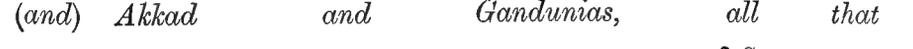
 54. 
 a-di lib bi im-mi an-ne-e u paḥ-ḫi-ru
were to these days, had gathered

 55. 
 is-ku-nu sa nakiru sa nam-ma e-li
and made; which any other enemy beside

 (v. ) 
 ya-a-si (v. ai-si) qat šu la u-bi-lu ina lib-bi
me, his hands had not put into them,

56.  57. 
 u-se-za-av-va sal-la-tis am-nu kasap (-i)
I brought out and as spoil I counted. Silver,

  
 huraz (-i) sa-su (-i) sa-ga (-i) sa Sumiri
gold, furniture and goods, of Sumir

 58.  
 (va) Akkadi va Gan-dun-i-as ka-la-mu
(and) Akkad and Gandunias, all that

sa şarri Elam maḥ ru ti a-di
the kings of Elam, the former and

[arku] -su is - lu - lu u - bi lu ki - rib
[latter,] had carried off and brought within

Elam za - ri - ru russu u es - ma - ru - u
Elam ; bronze hammered, hard(?), and

ib - bu ni - sik - ti abni su - qut - tu a - gar - tu
pure, precious stones beautiful and valuable,

62. ši - mat şaru - ti sa şarri Akkad
belonging to royalty ; which kings of Akkad

maḥ - ru - u - ti va Saul - mu - gi - na
former ones and Saulmugina,

a - na kit - ri su - nu ip - su - ru a - na Elam
for their aid had paid to Elam :

lu - bul - tu su - qut - tu ši - mat şaru - ti bat - li
garments beautiful, belonging to royalty, weapons

qa - ra - bi ši - ma - nu - u nin e - pis taḥaz ši - mat
of war, prepared for one to make battle, suited

qati su u - nu - ti mut - tab - bil - tu e - kal - i su
to his hand, instruments furnishing his palaces,

67.  ka la - mu su ina eli u - si - bu it - ti bibbu(?)
all that within it was placed, with the food

68.  ina lib - bi e - ku - lu is tu - u ir - mu - ku ip - pa - as - su
in the midst [which] he ate and drank, and the couch he reclined on,

69.  ruqubi iz sa sa - da - di zu - um - bi
powerful war chariots,

70.  sa ah - zu si na za - ri - ri za - ha - lu u
of which their ornaments were bronze and paint,

71.  susi pare rabati sa
horses and great mules, of which

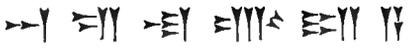
 tal lap - ta su - nu huraz kasap as - lu la a - na
their trappings were gold and silver, I carried off to

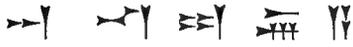
 Assur  zik - kur - rat  Su - sa - an sa ina
Assyria. The tower of Shushan, which in the

 a - hi - ri uk - ni su - pu - lat  74.  ub - bit
lower part in marble(?) was laid, I destroyed.

 u kip - pi - ra gar - rim (v. garrim) sa sa pi tiq
I broke through its top, which was covered with

 eru nam - ri  75.  Susinaq(?) I lu pi - sak ti
shining bronze. Susinaq(?) the God of their oracle,



 Pa - ni - in - tim - ri Si - la - ga - ra - a
Panintimri, *Silagara,*

83. 

 Na - ap - sa - a Na - bir - tu
Napsa, *Nabirtu and*


 84. 
 Ki in da - kar - bu Ili Istari
Kindakarbu, *these Gods and*





 85. 
 sa - a - tu - nu it - ti su - qut - ti su - nu sa ga su - nu
Goddesses, with their valuables, *their goods,*





 u - na - ti su - nu a - di sa - an - ge - e
their furniture, and priests, and

86. 



 bu - uh la - le e as - lu la a - na
worshippers, I carried off to


 87. 



 Assur 32 zalam (-i) sarri
Assyria. Thirty-two statues of kings,





 88. 
 pi - tiq (v. ti - iq) kasap huraz eru
fashioned of silver, gold, bronze and





 samul - rab ul - tu ki rib Su - sa - an
alabaster, from out of Shushan,

89. 

 90. 
 Ma - dak - tu Hu ra - di a - di
Madaktu and Huradi, and




 zalam Um -man- i -gas ablu Um -ba -da -ra -a
a statue of Ummanigas son of Umbadara,

91. 


 zalam Is -tar- na -an -ḥu -un di zalam
a statue of Istarnanḥundi, a statue of


 92. 

 Ḥal- lu - ši zalam Tam- ma- ri - tu arku - u
Halludus and a statue of Tammari the later,

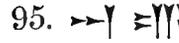
93. 


 sa ina ki bit Assur va Istar e - pu -su ardu -u -ti
who by command of Assur and Ishtar made submission to me,

94. 



 al - qa - a a - na Assur ad - ka - a sedi
I brought to Assyria. I broke the winged lions

95. 


 alapi maḥartu su - par e - sir ma - la
and bulls watching over the temple, all


 96. 

 ba su - u u na aṣ ṣi - ḥa remi
there were. I removed the winged




 97. 
 na - at - ru - ti ṣi - mat babani es - re - e - ti
bulls attached to the gates of the temples of

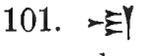


 Elam a di la ba se - e u - sal - pit
Elam, until they were not, I overturned.

98. 

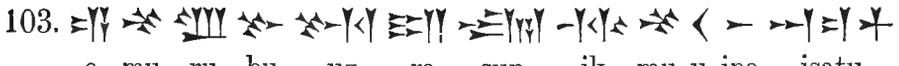

 Ili su Istari su am - na - a a - na za - ki - ki
His Gods and his Goddesses I sent into captivity,

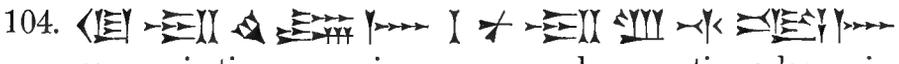
99.  100. 
 kisti su-nu pa-az-ra-a-ti sa nin
their forest groves, which any

 101. 
 a-hu-u la u-sar-ru ina lib-bi la
other had not penetrated into the midst, had not

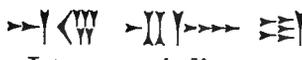
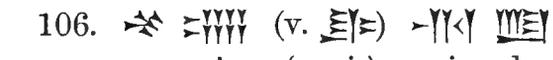
 (v. 
 i-kib-ba-su i-ta sun (v. si-in)
trodden their outskirts;

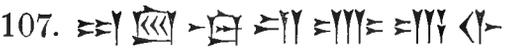
102. 
 zabi tahaz ya ki rib sun e-ru bu
my men of war into them entered,

103. 
 e-mu-ru bu uz ra sun ik-mu-u ina isatu
saw their groves, and burned [them] in the fire.

104. 
 asar zirati sarri su-nu mah-ru-ti arku i
The high places of their kings, former and latter,

(v. ) 105. 
 (v. ar-ku-i) la pa-li-hu ti Assur va
not fearing Assur and

 106. 
 Istar beli ya mu-nir (v. nir) ri du
Ishtar my lords, opposers of the

 107. 
 sarri abi ya ab-bul aq-qur u-kal li
kings my fathers, I pulled down, destroyed and burnt

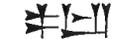
 108. 
 sam-si ner-pad-du i su-nu al-qa-a-a-na
in the sun. Their attendants I brought to

 109. 
 Assur e - kim - mi su - nu la za - la - lu
Assyria, their leaders without shelter

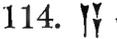
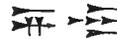
 110. 
 e - mi - id ki - iz - pi sati me u - za - am - mi
I placed. The wells of drinking water I dried them

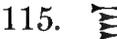
 111. 
 su - nu - ti ma - lak arah 25 immi na - ge - e
up, for a journey of a month and twenty-five days the districts

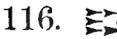
 112. 
 Elam u - sah rib dabu (- u) ebiltu
of Elam I laid waste, destruction, servitude

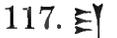
    
 hasasu u sap pi - ha zir - us - su - un
and drought I poured over them.

113.      
 binti şarri ninati şarri
The daughters of kings, consorts of kings,

114.     
 a - di qi - in - ni maḥ - ri ti va arku - ti
and families former and latter

115.     
 sa şarri Elam ki - pa - a - ni
of the kings of Elam, the governors and

116.     
 ḥa - za - na a - ti sa alani. sa - a - tu - nu
citizens of those cities,

117.     
 ma - la ak - su - du nis rab mitpani sanuti
all I had captured; the commanders of archers, prefects,

118.        
 mugil supa i nis 3 hu - ši - i
*directors of * * , three horse charioteers*

119.       
 nis sa bat-ḥal- li zab-mitpanu sak - i
chariot drivers, archers, officers,

120.           
 kit-kit- tu va gi - mir um -ma- a - ni ma - la
camp followers(?) and the whole of the army, all

121.          
 ba - su - u nisi zikri va sinnis zihṛuti va rabati
there was, people male and female, small and great,

122.      
 susi horses, pare mules, imiri asses,

123.          
 alpi va ze - e - ni e li (v. eli) salati
oxen and sheep, beside much

        
 ma - ḥa - du as - lu - la a - na Assur
spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

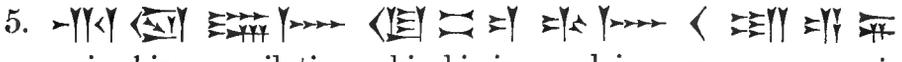
COLUMN VII.

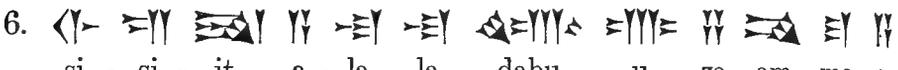
1.         
 epi Su - sa - an Ma - dak - tu
The dust of Shushan, Madaktu,

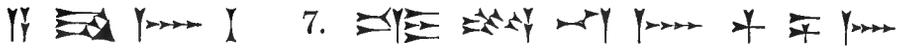
2.            
 Ḥal-te-ma-as va ši - it ti ma ḥa - zi sun
Haltemas, and the rest of their cities,

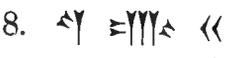
3.  4. 
 e - riš al - qa - a a - na Assur ina araḥ
entirely I brought to Assyria. For a month

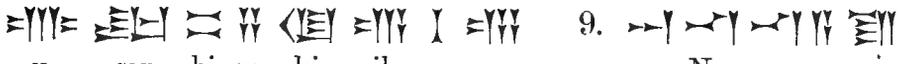
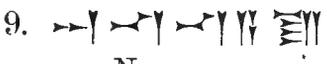

 immi Elam a - na pat giṃ - ri sa aṣ pu - un
and a day, Elam to its utmost extent I swept;

5. 
 ri - kim amiluti ki - bi - iṣ alpi va ze e ni
the passage of men, the treading of oxen and sheep,

6. 
 si - ši - it a - la - la ḏabu u - za - am - ma - a
and the springing up of good trees (?) I burnt off

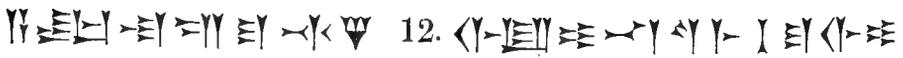
 7. 
 a gar - i su imiri zin na - i dassi
his fields. Wild asses, serpents(?)

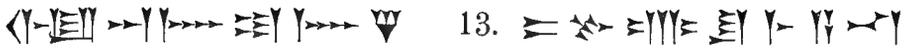
 8. 
 u - ma - am zin u gal ḥu - u par - ga nis
beasts of the desert and ugalhus, safely

 9. 
 u sar - bi - za ki rib su - un Na na - a sa
I caused to lay down in them. Nana, who

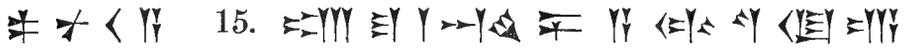
 10. 
 1,635 sanat an - na - i ta aṣ - bu - su
 1,635 years had been desecrated,

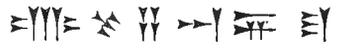
 11. 
 tal - li ku tu - si - bu ki - rib Elam
had gone, and dwelt in Elam,

 12. 
 a - sar la ši - ma - ti sa va i - na im - mi su va si - i
a place not appointed to her; and in those days, she

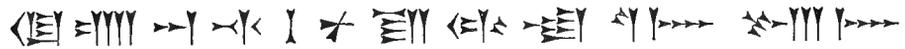
 13. 
 va Ili abi sa tab-bu u su-mi a - na
and the Gods her fathers, proclaimed my name to the

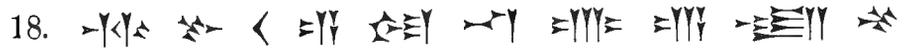
 14. 
 be-lut matati ta - ai rat Ilu - ti sa tu -sat- gi - la
dominion of the earth. The return of her divinity she entrusted

 15. 
 pa-nu-u a um -ma Assur-bani-pal ul -tu ki rib
to me, thus: "Assurbanipal, from the midst of

 16. 
 Elam (lim ni ti) u -se-za an - ni va
Elam (wicked), bring me out, and

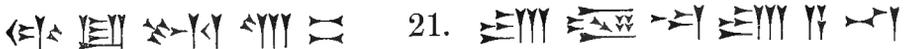
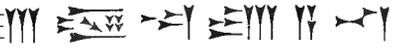
 17. 
 u -se-rab an ni ki rib Bit an na a-mat
cause me to enter into Bitanna." The will

 18. 
 ki - bit Ilu - ti su-nu sa ul tu immi ruquti
commanded by their divinity, which from days remote

 19. 
 ig - bu u e nin - na u kal li mu
they had uttered; again they spoke to

 20. 
 nisi arkati qati Ilu ti sa rab ti
later people. The hands of her great divinity

 21. 
 at - mu uh (va) mur - ra an i sir - tu
I took hold of, (and) the straight road

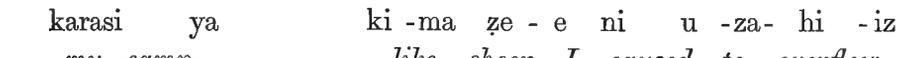
 22. 
 ul - lu - us lib - bi ta - az ba ta a - na
rejoicing in heart, she took to

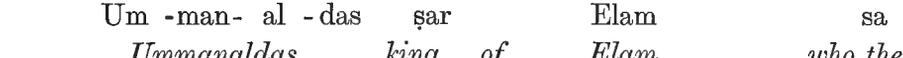

 as - lu - la ul - tu ki rib Elam
I carried off from the midst of Elam;

33. 
 e - li ki zir şaru ti ya u rad - di
over the body of my kingdom I spread.

34. 
 şı - it - tu ti a - na ma - ha - zi su - bat Ili ya
The rest to the cities seats of my Gods,

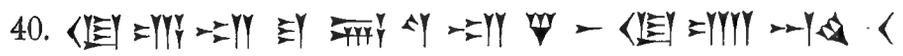
35. 
 sanuti ya nis rabati ya gi mir
my prefects, my great men, and all

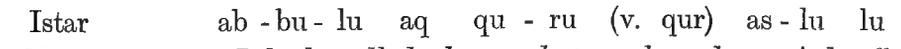
 36. 
 karasi ya ki - ma ze - e ni u - za - hi - iz
my camp, like sheep I caused to overflow.

37.  38. 
 Um - man - al - das şar Elam sa
Ummanaldas king of Elam, who the


 su - us - mur kakki Assur va Istar dan - nu - ti e - mu - ru
vigour of the powerful soldiers of Assur and Ishtar had seen;

39. 
 ul - tu sad - e a - sar mar - ki ti su i - tu rav - va
from the mountain, the place of his refuge, he returned and

40. 
 ki - rib Ma - dak - tu alu sa ina ki - bit Assur va
into Madaktu, the city which by command of Assur and

 41.  (v. 
 Istar ab - bu - lu aq qu - ru (v. qur) as - lu lu
Ishtar I had pulled down, destroyed and carried off

(v. 𐎶) 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 42. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 (v. la) sal-lat şu e ru ub u -sib ina şı bit -ti
its spoil ; he entered and sat in sorrow,

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 43. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 a sar ki hul (le) e su-par Nabu-bel- zikri
in a place dishonoured. Concerning Nebobelzikri,

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 44. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 ablu abli Maraduk-bal- iddina sa ina a di ya
the grandson of Merodachbaladan ; who against my agreement

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 45. 𐎶 𐎶
 ih du -u iz - lu -u niri belu-ti ya sa
had sinned, and thrown off the yoke of my dominion: who

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 şarri Elam a na dan-nu- ti su is -ku-nu
on the kings of Elam to strengthen him had relied,

46. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 it - tak lu a -na Um -man- i -gas Tam-ma- ri - tu
had trusted to Ummanigas, Tammariitu,

47. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 48. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 In da -bi-gas Um -man- al - das şarri
. Indabigas and Ummanaldas, kings

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 49. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 sa e -pu -su bi - lut Elam a-mir ya
who had ruled the dominion of Elam. My envoy

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 50. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 su-par se-bul Nabu - bel- zikri ina ma - le - e
about the surrender of Nebobelzikri, with determination

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 51. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 lab ba - a ti (v. te) u -ma- hi - ir zir
of purpose I sent to

𐎶 𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎠 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶
 Um - man - al das Nabu - bel - zikri ablu abli
Ummanaldas, Nebobelzikri, grandson of

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 52. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 Maruduk-bal-iddina a-lak a-mir ya sa ki rib
Merodachbaladan, of the journey of my envoy who into

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 53. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶
 Elam e ru bu is - me e va
Elam had entered heard, and

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 ik - ku (v. ki) - tu lib - ba su ir - sa a - na suq - tu
his heart was afflicted. He inclined to despair,

54. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 na pis ta su pa - nu - us - su ul i bis va
his life before him he did not regard, and

55. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 56. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 ih - su - ha me (v. mi) - tu u tu a na
longed for death; to his

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 57. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 ki - ze e ra - ma - ni su ig - bi va um ma
own armour-bearer he said also thus:

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 58. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 ra - si - ban - ni ina kakki su - u ki zu
"Slay me with the sword." He and his armour-bearer

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 su ina gir parzil sib - bi su - nu ub ta te (v. ti) hu
with the steel swords of their girdles pierced through

59. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 60. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
 a - ha - mis Um - man - al - das ip luḥ va pagar
each other. Ummanaldas feared, and the corpse of

Nabu - bel zikri su - a - tu ðabtu us - ni - il va
that Nebobelzikri [who] benefits trampled on,

61. a di qaquadu ki - zu su sa
with the head of his armour-bearer who

u ra (aş -) ši bu su ina kakki a - na
destroyed him with the sword, to

a - mir ya id - din va u - se - bi - la - as - su a - di
my envoy he gave, and he sent it to

maḥ ri ya pagar su ai ad - din [a] - na
my presence. His corpse may I not(?) give to

ki - bi - ri eli sa maḥ - ri mi tu - uş şu
burial(?) more than before his death

ut tir va qaquad şu ak - kiş ina kikur
I returned, and his head I cut off; round the neck of

Nabu - qati - za - bat mun - ma - kir Saul - mu - gi - na
Neboqatizabat the munmakir of Saulmugina

aḥi nak ri sa it - ti su a - na dak - ku ri
my rebellious brother, who with him to pass into

68. Elam il li ku a - lul Pa - he - e
Elam had gone; I hung. Pahe

sa mi - ih - rit Um - man - al - das e - pu - su
who against Ummanaldas, had ruled the

be - lut Elam na - mur - rat kakki
dominion of Elam, the terror of the powerful

Assur va Istar iz - zu - ti sa edu su sanu su salsu su
soldiers of Assur and Ishtar, who the first, second, and third time

id - bu - ku eli Elam ih - şu - uş
had trampled over Elam covered him,

va ir - sa - a di - ib lib bi ul - tu ki - rib
and he trusted to the goodness of my heart, from the midst of

Elam in - nab - tu va iz - ba - ta niru
Elam he fled and took the yoke of

şaru - ti ya nisi mul - taş - di sa
my kingdom. The people, sinners of

Bit - im - bi i Ku - zur - te (- ya) - in
Bitimbi, Kuzurtein,

Dur şar Ma - şu - tu Bu - be - e
Dursar, Masutu, Bube,

Bit - un - za - ai Bit - ar - ra - bi
Bitunzai, Bitarrabi.

80. 

Ip - rat Za - gar sa Ta - pa - pa'

Iprat, *Zagar* *of* *Tapapa,*

81. 

Ak - bar - i - na Gur - u - ki - ir - ra

Akbarina, *Gurukirra,*

82. 

Du - un - nu - sa - mas Ħa - ma - nu

Dunnushamas, *Hamanu,*

83. 

Ka - ni - zu Ar - an - ze - e - se

Kanizu, *Aranzese,*

84. 

Na - ki da - a - ti Timin - ut sa Œi - ma - mi

Nakidati, *Timinut of* *Simami,*

85. 

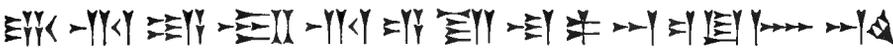
Bit - qa - ta - at - ti Sa - ki - Œa - ai

Bitqatatti, *Sakisai,*

86.  Zu - ba - Ħe - e Tul - Ħu - un - ba 87. 

Zubahe, and Tulhunba, sa ina

Zubahe, *and* *Tulhunba,* *who in*



gar - ri ya maĦ - re - e sa la pa - an kakki Assur

my former expedition, from the face of the powerful soldiers

88. 

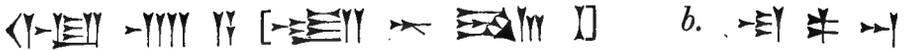
va Istar dan - nu (u) - ti in - nab - tu

of Assur and Ishtar *fled and*

89. 

iz - ba - tu (v. ) 

took *to* *Saladri,* *a rugged mountain;*



 va rubi a [li kut idi su] b. la pa - an
and the princes going [before him]; from the face of



 In da - bi - gas ardu su in - nab - tu va iz - ba - ta niru
Indabigas his servant fled, and took the yoke



 şaru [-ti ya] a - mir ya c. su - par a - lak
of [my] kingdom. My envoy concerning the journey of



 Na - na - a ul tu ki rib Su - sa - an a - na
Nana from the midst of Shushan to



 Aruk a [di Elam] d. a - na
Erech; to [Elam] to



 Um - man - al - da - şî şar Elam as - pur su va
Ummanaldas king of Elam I sent him, and



 ul * * * * * e. sal - si - a - nu ina şaplita Nabu
he did not [grant it?]. A third time in obedience to Nebo,



 ablu şar Ili kap - ti sa lab - bu - u nam - ri - ri
son of the king of the Gods, mighty, clothed with terror,

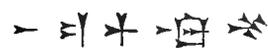


 a - na [Elam al - lik] f. 14 alani dan - nu - ti
to [Elam I went]; fourteen cities, strong,

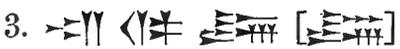
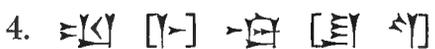


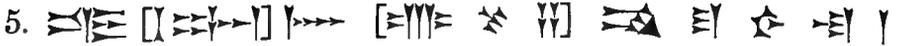
 mu - sab şaru - ti su - un, &c. See Cyl. A, col. VI, line 27.
seats of their royalty, &c.

EPIGRAPH OVER WARRIORS DESTROYING A CITY, AND
CARRYING OFF SPOIL.

1. 
 Ha-ma-nu alu şar - u - ti sa Elam
Hamanu the royal city of Elam,
-  2. 
 al - mi aksud as - lu - la sal-lat şu ab bul aq - qur
I besieged, I captured, I carried off its spoil, I pulled down, destroyed,
- 
 ina isati ak - mu
and in the fire I burned.

EPIGRAPH OVER KING RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.

1. 
 A - na - ku Assur - bani - pal sar kissat sar Assur
I am Assurbanipal, king of nations, king of Assyria ;
2. 
 sa ina [ki bit Assur va] Belat ik - su - du
who by the [will of Assur and] Beltis, has taken
-  3. 
 zu - um mi - rat lib bi su Di - in - [sar]
the desire of his heart. Dinsar,
-  4. 
 alu sa Elam al [mi] ak - [su - ud]
a city of Elam, I besieged, I captured,
- 
 ruqubi zu - um - bi susi
war chariots, horses and

5. 
 pare [u - se - za] - av - va sal - la - tis
mules, I brought out and as spoil I


 am - [nu]
counted.

K, 3404, VARIANT PASSAGE FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VII,
 LINES 19 TO 27.

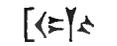
- a. 
 Dur - un - da ši alu şaru - [ti su ak - su - ud]
Durundasi, his royal city, I captured.
- b. 
 edin immi sanu immi ul u - qi pa - an - si * * * *
*One day, two days, I did not move, the face * * * **
- c.  &c.
 ina immi su va e - bir nahr 14 alani, &c.
In those days, across the river, fourteen cities, &c.

K, 3062.

- a. 
 [Zalam Tam - ma - ri - tu] arku - [u]
[A statue of Tammari] the later,
- b.  c. 
 [sa ina ki - bit] Assur [va] Istar [ul - tu]
[who by command] of Assur [and] Ishtar, [from the
-  d. 
 ki rib] Elam in - nab - tu va [niri ya]
midst] of Elam fled, and my yoke






e. 
 iz - ba] - tu e - pu - su ardu - u - ti [ul - tu
took, doing homage to me; [from the

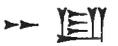






 ki - rib] Elam al qa - a - na Assur
midst] of Elam I brought to Assyria.

f. 

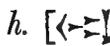



 zalam Hal - lu su sar Elam an - nu - u
[A statue] of Halludus king of Elam, the one

g. 

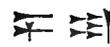
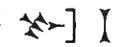


 [sa a - na] Assur ig - bu - du li mut - tu
[who against] Assyria had devised evil,

h. 




 [eli] Sin ahi irba sar Assur abu abi
[against] Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather


i. 

j. 
 bani ya [e - bu] - su zi lu u pu su sa
my begetter, he had made war. His mouth, which



k. 

 is - ni - iz - zu ak kis sap - ti su sa
 * * * * , I cut off; his lips, which



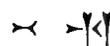


l. 
 ig - ba - a mi - ri - ih - tu ap - ru uh qati su
spoke defiance, I tore out; his hands





 u - kar - ri - it sa mitpanu iz - ba - tu a - na
I cut off, which the bow had held to



n. 

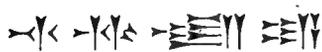
 mit - hu - zi Assur a na da la li
fight Assyria. For the exalting of







 ta - us - ti Assur va Istar Ili
the will of Assur and Ishtar, the Gods





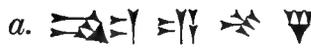

 ti ik - li ya ina babi * * * * va di - nu
*my protectors, in the gate * * * * * * * **





 * * * * sa ki [rib] * * * *
 * * * * which is in [Nineveh?].

EXTRACT FROM DISPATCH OF OFFICER TO KING. K, 10.

a. 



 De - e - mu sa Elam ig - ta - bu
News of Elam they told

b. 




 um - ma Um - man - ni gas ablu A - mi dir - ra
thus : "Ummannigas son of Amidirra

c. 



 ši - ḥu a na eli Um - ma - ḥal - da a - su
a revolt against Ummanaldas

d. 




 i - te - pu - us ul - tu Hu - ut - ḥu - ut a - di
has made. From the Huthut to



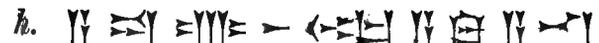
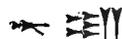


 Ha - ai da - nu it - ti su it - ta - si iz - zu
Haidanu with him he raised, strongly.

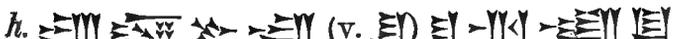





 Um - ma - ḥal - da - a - su e - mu - ki su ki - i
Ummanaldas his forces then

-  u - pah - hir
gathered.
-  h. a - du - u ina eli nahr a - na
Now across the river in
-  tar - zi
front
-  i. a - ha - mis na - du - u Ba - sa - za
of each other they are placed." Basaza
-  j. sa a - na e - kal as - pu - ra de - en su - nu
whom to the palace I send, their news
-  k. ha - ri - is ina e - kal lis - ha - al su
testifies; in the palace may he inquire of him.

K, 2664 AND K, 3101. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VI,
 LINE 43, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 19.

-  a. 60 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru
Sixty kaspu of ground
-  b. ki - rib Elam
within Elam
-  c. u - sah - rib
I laid waste,
-  d. dab - u ebiltu hasasu
destruction, servitude and drought
-  e. u - sap - pi - ha zir - us - su - un
I poured over them,
-  f. Na - na - a
Nana
-  g. sa 1,535 sanat an - na - i
who 1,535 years
-  h. ta - as - bu su (v. su) va tal - li - ku
had been desecrated, had gone,
-  i. tu - si - bu
and dwelt



 ki - rib Elam ta - ai - rat Ilu - ti sa

in

Elam.

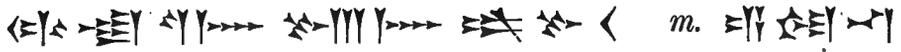
The return of her divinity



 k. tu - sat - gi - la pa - nu - u a l. a - mat Ilu - ti sa sa

she entrusted to me.

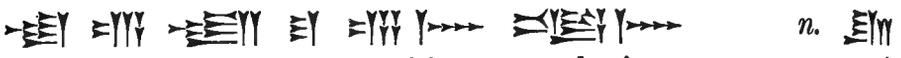
The will of her divinity, which



 ul - tu immi ruquti tag - bu - u e - nin - na

from days remote she had uttered;

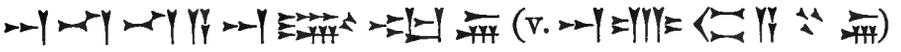
again



 tu - kal - li - ma nisi arkuti qati

she spoke to later people.

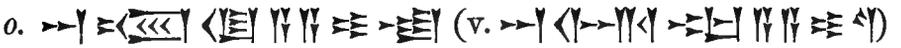
The hands of



 Na - na - a Uzur - amat sa (v. U - zur - a - mat - sa)

Nana,

Uzuramatsa



 o. Ilu Arka - ai - i - tu Ilu ar - ka - ai - i - tu

the Erechite God,



 at - mu - uh va, &c.

I took hold of, and, &c.

EXTRACT FROM K, 2631.

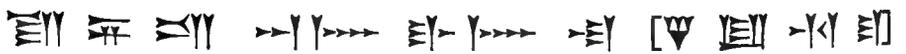


 12. Ku - dur - na - an - hu - un - di E - la - mu - u

Kudurnanhundi

the

Elamite



 sa ni - is Ili rabati la [ip - lu - hu va]

who the worship of the great Gods did not [fear],

13. sa ina sa-ne - e de - e-mi a - na e - muq ra - ma - ni
who in an evil resolve to his own force

I su [it - ta - ki - lu] *[trusted]* 14. a - na es - re - e - ti
on the temples of

Akkad qat šu id - du - u va u - sal - pi - tu
Akkad his hands he had laid, and he oppressed

Akkad * * * * * 15. immi im - lu - u
Akkad [Nana he carried off(?)], the days were full,

uk - ki - pa - a dan - nu Ili rabati ip - se - te - e
extinguished(?) was power, and the great Gods [these] things

* * * * * 16. a - na 2 nir 7 sus 15 sanat an - na - i
[saw]. For two ner seven sos and fifteen years

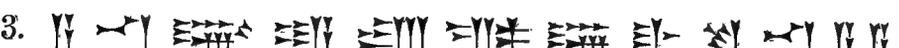
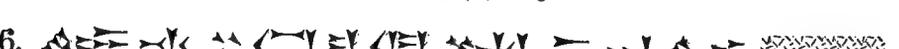
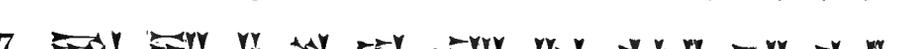
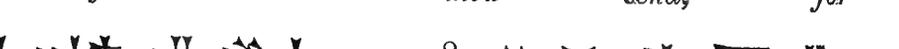
sapliti(?) E - la - mi * * * * * 17. ya - a - ti
under the Elamites [she remained. The great Gods] of me

Assur - bani - pal rubu pa - laḥ su - un a - na ša - pa - aḥ
Assurbanipal the prince their worshipper, to overwhelm

* * * * * 18. u - ma - hi - ir - u in - ni va kakki
[Elam] they sent me, and soldiers

la pa * * * * *
*not * * * * **

K, 359. LETTER FROM UMMANALDAS TO ASSURBANIPAL.

1. 
 Sar Um-man-al da-şi şar Elam
From Ummanaldas king of Elam
2. 
 a-na Assur-bani-pal şar Assur lu-u salim-mu
to Assurbanipal king of Assyria. Peace
3. 
 a-na ahi ya ultu ris nis Mar-te-na-ai
to my brother, from the first the Marteni
4. 
 ih-ti-id-đu u-nik-ka Nabu-bel-zikri
had sinned and fought(?) Nebobelzikri,
5. 
 a-na a-đu-la na-az zu-u-ni bir-ti * * *
*to get away, they were flying(?) by the border * * **
6. 
 bir-ti Elam uş-şa-an-hi-i * * *
*the border of Elam * * * * **
7. 
 id-da a-ti at-ta tas-sap-ra va-a
forces do thou send, for
8. 
 Nabu-bel-zikri se-bi-la az-za bat
Nebobelzikri to surrender I took.
9. 
 Nabu-bel-zikri uş-şi-bil ka nis
Nebobelzikri I will surrender to thee. The

Mar - te - na - ai sa ultu ris Nabu - bel - zikri
Marteni who from the first Nebobelzikri

10. a - na Elam na - az - zu
to Elam in flight

u - zu - ni * * * ni nisi ya i - ba - as - si
*fled * * * * my people being*

sa ina eli me * * * * ni ina lib uzni
*over against the water * * * * * into the interior of*

su-nu e - tar - bu * sal(?) id(?) - ri(?) su(?) ina La - hi - ri
*their ears entered the same * * * * in Lahiri*

it - tah - zu - u va - a nisi i ba - as - si
they urged. Now the people being

adi ta - hu - mi su-nu a - sap - par ina eli su-nu
in their neighbourhood I sent against them

ardi ya sa ih - du - u - nin - ni ina
my servants, who sinned against me in

qati su-nu u - ma - hi - [ir] sum - ma ina mati ya su-nu
their hands I placed; when in my country they

ana - ku ina qati su-nu u * * * * va sum - ma
*were I in their hands * * * * * and when the*

| | | |
|--|-----|--------------|
| 𒌷𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 | 19. | 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 |
| nahr e - tab - ru at - ta - ri * * * * | | ina lib - bi |
| river they crossed, I * * * * | | in the midst |
| 𒌷𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 | 20. | 𒀭𒂊𒌷 𒀭𒂊𒌷 |
| su - nu ri - i - ba va ki - ma * * * * * | | ip - sat |
| of them strife and * * * * * | | the work |
| 𒀭𒂊𒌷 | | |
| ardi sa ina eli * * * * * | | |
| of the servants who against * * * * * | | |

DATE ON REVERSE.

| | |
|---|-----|
| 𒀭𒂊𒌷 | [1] |
| arah immi 26 lim - mu Nabu - sar - ahi - [su] | |
| Month 26th day eponym Nebosarahisu | |

The cause of the second war with Ummanaldas was probably the refusal of the Elamite king to deliver up the image of the Goddess Nana, which we are told (K, 1364) Assurbanipal sent to demand. This image, according to the various accounts, had been carried off by Kudur-nanḫundi, an early Elamite monarch, and had remained either 1635 or 1535 years in the hands of the Elamites; and therefore the date of Kudurnanḫundi must have been about B.C. 2280 or 2180. In this campaign, Assurbanipal completely conquered Elam, and destroyed the city of Shushan. It is very doubtful if the affair of Nebobelzikri, Cylinder A, col. vii, line 43, belongs in any sense to this division of the annals; for the other inscriptions mention the embassy to Elam to demand his surrender as being at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas. The letter of Ummanaldas on the subject is included in this division in illustration of Cylinder A.

The Ummanigas son of Amidirra is, I believe, the same as the Ummanigas son of Umbadara; but his revolt probably took place at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas.

The king Halludus, whose statue was carried away and mutilated, must have reigned during the last years of Sennacherib; the form Halluši is another example of ש or תש becoming ס ; the name is sometimes written in the Susian Inscriptions $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ Hal-lu-du-us.

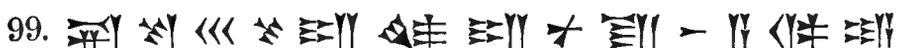
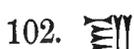
PART XII.

The Arabian War.

TEXTS.

The texts of the Arabian War are Cylinder A, col. vii, line 97, to col. ix, line 112; Cylinder B, col. vii, line 87, to col. viii, line 57; K, 2802; K, 3096; and K, 562.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN VII, LINE 97, TO COLUMN IX, LINE 112.

97.  I - na 9 gar - ri ya ad - ki umman ya
In my ninth expedition I gathered my army,
98.  zir U - ai - te - eh şar A - ri - bi
against Vaiteh king of Arabia
99.  us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu sa ina a - di - ya
I directed the march, who against my agreement
100.  ih - du - u dābtu e - pu - su - us la iḫ - zur - u va
had sinned; the benefits done to him he did not regard, and
101.  iz - la - a niru bel - (u) - ti ya
threw off the yoke of my dominion.
102.  sa
When

𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎤𐎥𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠 (v. I) 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 (𐎶) 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 Assur e - mi - du - us (v. su) i su - du ab - sa - (a) - ni
Assur had set him up to perform my pleasure,

103. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 (v. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠) 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 I
 a - na sa - ha - al sul - mi (v. me) ya sepū su
 to seek my alliance his feet

𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 104. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 ip - ru - uš va ik - la - a ta - mar - ti
 broke off, and he ended his

𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 (v. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠) 105. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 man - da - at tā su ka - bit - tu (v. tu) ki - i
 presents and great tribute. When

𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 Elam da - bab šur - ra - a - ti Akkad
 Elam was speaking sedition with Akkad,

𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 106. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 is - mi va la iz - zu - ra a - di - ya
 he heard and disregarded my agreement.

𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 107. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 I
 ya - a - ti Assur - bani - pal šar sangu ellu re - e - su
 Of me Assurbanipal, the king, the noble priest, the

𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 108. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 mud nin - nu - u bi - nu - tu qati Assur u - vas - sir
 powerful leader, the work of the hands of Assur, he left

𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 109. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 an - ni va a - na A - bi - ya - te - eh Ai - mu abli
 me, and to Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of

𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 110. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
 Te - ha ri e - mu - ki it - ti su - nu - ti a - na
 Tehari, his forces with them to

ina na - ge - e sa Ḫa - u - ri - na ina
in the district of the Hauran, in

Mu - ha - a - ba ina Ṣa - ha - ar - ri
Moab, in Saharri,

122. ina Ḫa - ar - ge - e ina na - ge - e sa
in Harge, in the district of

Zu - bi - te
Zobah.

COLUMN VIII.

1. di - ik - ta su ma - ha - at - tu a - duk ina la mi - ni
His numerous fighting men I slew without number,

as - kun abikta su nisi A - ri - bi ma - la it - ti
I accomplished his overthrow. The people of Arabia, all who with

su it bu - u - ni u - ra - (aş -) şib ina kakki
him came, I destroyed with the sword;

va su - u la pa - an kakki Assur dan - nu - ti
and he from the face of the powerful soldiers of Assur,

ip - par - sid va in - na - bit a - na ru - ke - e - ti
fled and got away to a distance.

bit - zin zir - ta - ra - ti 6. mu - sa - bi su - nu
The tents, the pavilions, their dwellings,

kamu u - sa - hi - iz - zu ik - mu ina isati
a fire they raised, and burned in the flames.

7. U - ai - te - eh ma - ru - us - tu im - har su va
Vaiteh, misfortune happened to him, and

8. e - dis - si su in - na - bit a - na Na - ba - ai - ti
alone he fled to Nabatea.

9. U - ai - te - eh ablu Ha - za il ahu abi
Vaiteh son of Hazail, brother of the father

10. sa U - ai - te - eh ablu Bir - vul [sa
of Vaiteh son of Birvul, who

ra] - man su is - ku - nu a - na şaru - ti A - ri - bi
himself appointed to the kingdom of Arabia;

12. Assur şar [Ili] sad - u rabu - u de [e - mu]
Assur king of the Gods the strong and mighty, a decree

13. u - sa - an - ni va [il - li] - ka a - di
repeated, and he came to

14. maş - ri ya a - na kul - lu ta - us - ti Assur
my presence. To satisfy the law of Assur

[<|>] >>|>>> >>|>>> 15. >>|>>> >>>|> > >>|> >>>|>
 [va] Ili rabati beli - ya de - nu kap - tu
and the great Gods my lords, a heavy judgment

>>|> >>>|> >>|> 16. >>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 iz - bat şu va si - ga - ru as - kun su va
took him, and in chains I placed him, and

>>>|> >>|> >>|> >>>|> >>>|> 17. >>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 it - ti a - şı kalbi ar - ku - bu - su su va
with asi and dogs I bound him, and

>>>|> >>|> >>>|> >>>|> 18. >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 u - sa - an - zir su babi rabi qabal Ninua
caused him to be kept in the great gate in the midst of Nineveh

>>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> 19. >>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 Ni - rib bar - nak - ti ad na - a - ti va su u
Nirib-barnakti-adnati And he

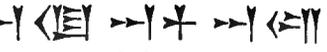
>>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> 20. >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 Am - mu - la di şar Ki - id - ri it - tu - bil
Ammuladi king of Kedar, brought

>>|> >>|> >>|> (>>|>) >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 a - na mit - hu - (uz) - zi şarri Hatti
to fight the kings of Syria,

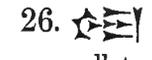
21. >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 sa Assur va Istar Ili rabati u - sat - gi lu
whom Assur and Ishtar the great Gods had entrusted

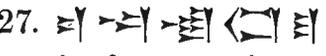
>>>|> >>>|> 22. >>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 pa - nu - u a ina tugul - ti Assur Sin Samas Vul
to me. In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul,

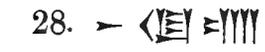
>>>|> >>>|> 23. >>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|> >>>|>
 Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat
Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of

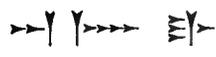
24.  Kit-mu-ri
Kitmuri,
 Istar sa Arba-il
Ishtar of Arbela,
 Ninip Nergal
Ninip, Nergal

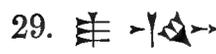
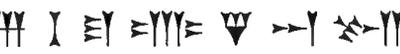
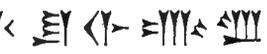
25.  Nusku
and Nusku,
 abikta su as-kun
his overthrow I accomplished.
 sa-a-su
Himself

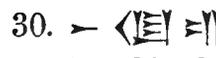
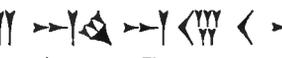
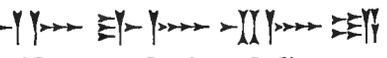
26.  bal-du-us-su
alive
 it-ti
with
 [A di-ya-a]
 allat
[Adiya] the wife of

27.  U-ai-te-eh
Vaiteh
 sar A-ri-bi
king of Arabia,
 iz-ba-tu-niv-va
they captured and

28.  u-bil-u-ni
brought
 a-di mah-ri
to my presence.
 ya ina ki-bit
By command

 Ili rabati
of the great
 beli ya ul-li
Gods my lords,
 kalbi
with the dogs

29.  as-kun su va
I placed him,
 u-sa-an-zir
and I caused him to be kept chained.
 su si-ga-ru

30.  ina ki-bit
By command of
 Assur Istar va
Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods
 Ili rabati
my lords,
 beli ya

31.  sa A-bi-ya-te-eh
of Abiyateh
 Ai-mu abli
and Aimu sons of
 Te-he-ri
Tehari,

32.  sa a-na ri-zu-(u)-tu
who to the help of
 Saul-mu-gi-na
Saulmugina

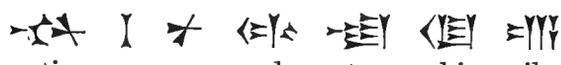
 33. 
 ahi nak - ri a - na e - rib Bab - ili
my rebellious brother to enter Babylon

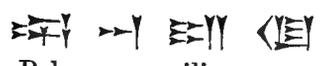
 34. 
 il - li -ku ri - ze - e su a - duk abikta su
went ; his helpers I slew, his overthrow

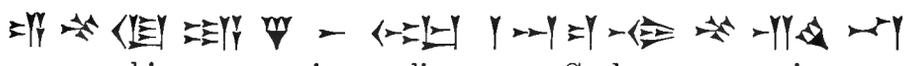
 35. 
 as - kun ši - it tu - ti sa - ki - rib
I accomplished. The remainder who into

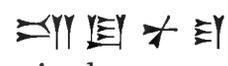
 
 Bab - ili e ru bu ina şu - un - ki
Babylon entered, in want and

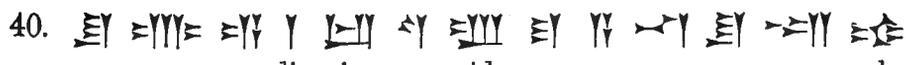
36.  37. 
 hu suh - hi e - ku lu seri a - ha - mis a - na
hunger eat the flesh of each other. To

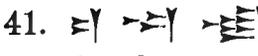
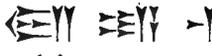
 
 su - zu - ub naxis - ti su - nu ul - tu ki - rib
save their lives, from the midst of

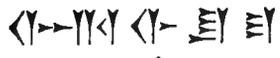
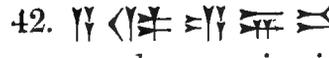
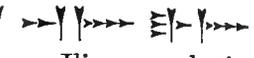
 38. 
 Bab - ili u zu niv va
Babylon they came out, and

 
 e - mu - ki ya sa ina eli Saul - mu - gi - na
my forces which around Saulmugina

39.  
 sak - nu sa - ni - (ya) - a - nu abikta su is - ku - nu va
were placed, a second time his overthrow accomplished ; and

40.  
 su - u e - dis ip - par - sid va a - na su - zu - ub
he alone fled, and to save

41.  nabis - ti su
his life
 iz - ba - tu
took my
 niri ya
yoke.
 re - e - mu
Favour

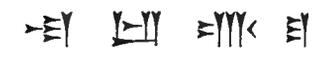
42.  ar - si su va
I granted him and
 a - de - e ni - is
an agreement to worship
 Ili rabati
the great Gods

43.  u - sa - az - kir su va
I caused him to swear, and
 ku - um
instead of
 U - ai - te - eh
Vaiteh

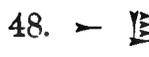
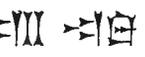
44.  ina * *
or anyone,
 a - na šaru - (u) - ti
to the kingdom of
 A - ri - bi
Arabia

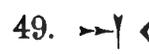
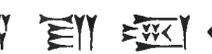
45.  as - kun va
I appointed.
 va su - u it - ti
And he with the

46.  Na - ba - ai - ta - ai
Nabateans
 pi - i su is - kun
his face set,

 va ni - is Ili rabati
and the worship of the great Gods
 la ip - luh va
did not fear, and

47.  ih - ta - nab - ba - ta
 hu - bu - ut mi
 šir mati ya
carried away the plunder of the border of my country.

48.  ina tugul - ti
In the service of
 Assur
 Sin
 Samas
 Vul
 Bel
 Nabu
Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

49.  Istar sa
Ishtar of
 Ninua
Nineveh
 Il sar - rat
the divine queen of
 Kit - mu - ri
Kitmuri,

50. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

51. Na - ad - nu şar Na - ba - ai - ti sa a - sar su
Nathan king of Nabatea, whose place was

52. ru - u - qu sa U - ai - te - eh a - na
remote, of whom, Vaitech to

53. maḥ - ri su in - nab - tu (v. ta) is - me - e va
his presence (had) fled; heard also

da - na - an Assur sa u - tag - gil an (v. a) ni
of the power of Assur who protected me:

54. sa ma - te (v. ti) - e ma a - na şarri abi ya
who in time past to the kings my fathers,

55. a - mir su la is - pu - ra la is - (ha) - a - lu
his envoy did not send, and did not seek

(v. lū) 56. su - lum şaru - ti su - un ina pu - luḥ - ti
alliance with their kingdom; in fear of the

57. kakki Assur ka - si - du - ti * * * *
*soldiers of Assur capturing * * * **

58. ba - qa - av - va is - ha - a - la su - lum şaru - ti ya
he tore and sought alliance with my kingdom.

59.  59. 
 A - bi - ya - te - eh ablu Te - he - (e) - ri la
Abiyateh son of Tsheri did not

 60. 
 * * * * dabtu la na zir ma-mit Ili rabati
 * * * *benefits, disregarding the* *oath of the great Gods,*

 61. 
 da - bab şur - ra - a - ti it - ti ya id - bu - ub va
sedition words against me *he spoke, and*

 62. 
 pi - i su it - ti Na - ad - ni şar Na - ba - ai ti
his face with Nathan king of Nabatea

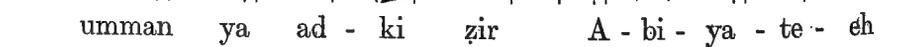
 63. 
 is - kun va e - mu - ki su - nu id - ku - u - ni
he set; and their forces *they gathered*

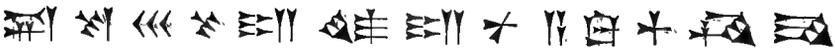
 64. 
 a - na ti - ib limut a - na me - şir ya
to commit evil against my border.

 64. 
 ina ki bit Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
By command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

 65. 
 Istar sa Ninua Il sar - rat Kit - mu - ri
Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

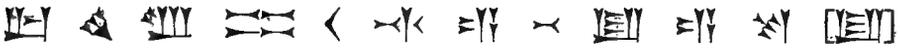
 66. 
 Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

 67. 
 umman ya ad - ki zir A - bi - ya - te - eh
my army I gathered; against Abiyateh

68.  us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu Idikkal
I directed the march. The Tigris

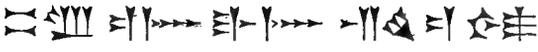
69.  (va) Purat ina meli si - na (gab - si)
and the Euphrates in their flood (strong)

 sal - mis (v. sal - mi - is) lu - u e - bi - ru 70.  ir - du u
peacefully they crossed, they marched,

 ur - hi ru - qu - u - ti e - be - lu e - te - [lu]
a distant path they took, they ascended

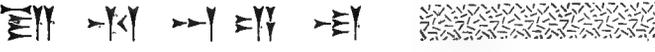
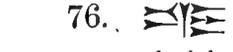
71.  har - sa - a - ni sa - qu - ti ih - tal - lu bu
the lofty country, they passed through

 kisti 72.  sa zu - lul si - na rap - su
the forests, of which their shadow was vast,

 bi - rit izi rabati gi - iz - zu 73.  * * * * *
bounded by trees great and strong, and vines(?) a

 mur - ra - an iz - id - de - e - tu 74.  e - te - it - ti qu
road of mighty wood. They went

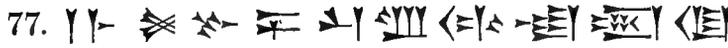
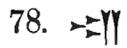
 ana nakiri Vas a - sar zu - um - mi 75.  dan - dan - ti
to the rebels of Vas, a place arid and very difficult,

 sa izzur same la * * * * * 76.  imiri
*where the bird of heaven had not * * * * * wild*



 zini la [u - ba] - hu - u ina lib - bi

asses they found not in it.

77.  78. 

 100 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru ul - tu Ninua alu

 100 *kaspu of ground, from Nineveh the city*

 79. 

 na - ram Is tar hi - rat Bel zir

the delight of Ishtar, wife of Bel; against

(v. ) 

 (v. arku) U - ai - te - eh šar A - ri bi

 (v. after) *Vaiteh king of Arabia*

80. 

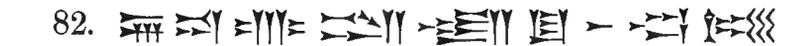
 va A - bi - ya - te - eh it - ti e - mu - ki

and Abiyateh with the forces

81. 

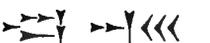
 Na - ba - ai ta - ai il - li - ka

of the Nabateans, they went.

(v. ) 82. 

 (v. ku) ir - du u il - li - ku ina arah Šivanu

They marched and went in the month Sivan,

 83. 

 arah Sin ablu ris - te - e a - sa - ri - du sa

the month of Sin the eldest son and first of

 84. 

 Bel immi 25 sa da - hu sa be lat

Bel, the twenty-seventh day, on the festival of the lady of

 85. 

 Bab - ili ka - bit - ti Ili rabati

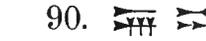
Babylon, the mighty one of the great Gods.

86.  (v. )  at - tu zir
 ul - tu (v. ultu) Ha - da - at - ta - a at - tu zir
From Hadatta I departed;

87.   da  sa 
 ina La - ri - ib da bit - dur sa abni
in Laribda a tower of stones,

88.     ni sa  at ta di
 ina eli gu ub - ba - a ni sa me at ta di
over against lakes of water; I pitched

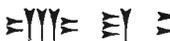
 89.  ya  a - na  ti su - nu
 us - man - ni umman ya me a - na mas - ti ti su - nu
my camp. My army the waters for their drink

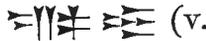
 va 90.  il  qaq qar
 ih - bu va ir - du - u il li - ku qaq qar
desired, and they marched and went over

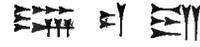
  (v. )  dan - dan - ti 91. 
 zu um - mi (v. me) a - sar dan - dan - ti a - di
arid ground, a place very difficult, to

 ri - na  rit 92.  ki
 Hu - ra ri - na bi rit Ya - ar ki
Hurarina near Yarki,

92.   ina  as ru ru - u - qu
 va Ai - al - la ina Vas as ru ru - u - qu
and Aialla in Vas, a place remote,

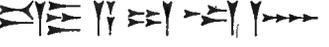
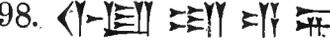
93.   zin   ba - (as) su - u
 a - sar u - ma - am zin la ib ba - (as) su - u
a place the beast of the desert was not in,

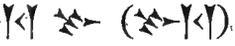
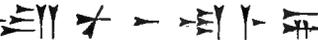
94.   same   (v. ) 
 va izzur same la i sak - kan (v. ka - nu) qi - nu
and a bird of heaven had not fixed a nest.

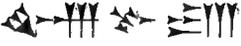
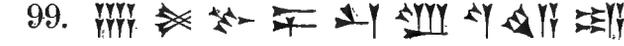
95.   
 abikta I - ša. - am - mi - ih halu(?)
The overthrow of the Isammih, the servants

96.    
 sa A - tar - ša - ma - ai - in va (v. va)
of Adarsamain, and the

 97. 
 Na ba - ai - ta - ai as - kun nisi
Nabateans. I accomplished. People,

  98. 
 imiri gammali va ze - e - ni
asses, camels, and sheep,

(v. )  
 (v. zeni) hu - bu - (uṣ -) ṣu - nu ina la mi - ni
their plunder innumerable;

 99. 
 aḥ - bu - ta 8 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru umman ya
I carried away. Eight kaspu of ground. my army

100.  
 lu u it - tal - la - ku sal - dis. sal - mis
marched victoriously, peacefully

 101. 
 i - tu - ru - niv - va ina Ai - al - li
they returned, and in Aialli

 102. 
 is - tu - u me. sar be - e ultu lib - (bi)
they drank abundant waters; from the midst of

  
 Ai - al - li a - di Qu - (ra) - zi - ti
Aialli to Quraziti

103. 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 6 kas-pu qa-q-a - ru a - sar zu - um - mi dan-dan - ti
six kaspu of ground, a place arid and very difficult,

104. 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 ir - du - u il - li ku ha - lu sa
they marched and went The worshippers(?) of

𐎧𐎺𐎠 105. 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 A-tar-ša - ma - ai - in va Kid - ra - ai
Adarsamain, and the Kidri

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 106. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 U - ai - te - eh ablu Bir - vul
of Vaiteh, son of Birvul

(v. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠) 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 (v. Bir - da - ad - da) 𐎧𐎺𐎠 A ri - bi al - mi
(v. Birdadda) king of Arabia, I besieged;

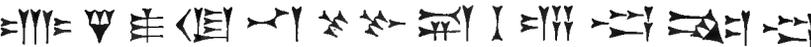
107. 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 Ili su ummu su hirati su allat 𐎧𐎺𐎠 qi - nu su
his Gods, his mother, his ladies, his wife, his kin,

108. 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 nisi mati ki - rib ka - la - mu imiri
the people in the midst all, the asses,

109. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 110. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 gammali va 𐎧𐎺𐎠 - e - ni ma - la
camels, and sheep; all

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 111. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 ina tugul - ti Assur va Istar beli ya ik - su - da
in the service of Assur and Ishtar my lords my

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 gata ai mur - ra - an Di - mas - qa
hands took. The road to Damascus

112. 
 u - sa - as - ki na se - pu - us - su - un arah Abu arah
I caused their feet to take. In the month Ab, the month


 kakab bam bintu sin qa - sit - tu immi 3
of Sagittarius daughter of Sin, the archer; the third day,


 nu - be - tu sa šar Ili Maruduk ul - tu
the festival of the king of the Gods, Merodach, from


 Di - mas - qa at - tu zir 6 kas - pu qa - q - a - ru
Damascus I departed. Six kaspu of ground


 ina mati si - na ka la sa ar - de - e va
in their country all of it I marched, and


 al - lik a - di Hul - ḥu li ti ina
went to Hulhuliti. In

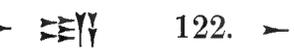

 Hu - uk - ku - ru na sad - u mar - zu
Hukkuruna, the rugged mountain,

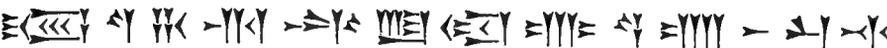
118. 
 ha - lu sa A bi ya - te - eh ablu
the servants of Abiyateh son of


 Te - ha - ri Kid - ra - ai ak - su - ud (v. sud)
Tehari of Kedar I captured;


 abikta su as - kun as - lu - la sal - lat šu
his overthrow I accomplished, I carried off his spoil.

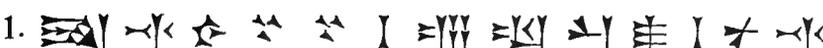

 121. 
 A-bi - ya - te - eh Ai - mu abli Te - ha - ri
Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of Tehari,


 122. 
 ina ki - bit Assur va Istar beli ya ina
by command of Assur and Ishtar my lords, in the

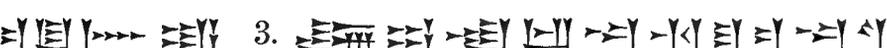
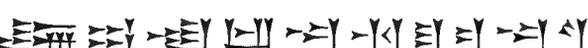

 qabal tam-ħa - ri bal - ğu - ğun u - za - bit ina qa - ti
midst of battle alive I captured in hand.

123. 
 qati va sepi bi - ri - tu parzil ad - di su - nu - ti
Hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed them,

COLUMN IX.

1. 
 it - ti sal lat mati su - un al - qa - as - su - nu - ti
With the spoil of their country I brought them

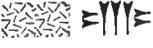
2. 
 a - na Assur mun - nab - ti sa la pa an
to Assyria. The fugitives, who from the face of


 3. 
 kakki ya in - nab - tu ib ba - ğu va iz - ba - tu
my soldiers fled, ascended(?) and took to

4. 
 5. 
 Ħu - uk - ku - ru - na sad - u mar zu ina
Ħukkuruna the rugged mountain. In


 6. 
 La - an - ğa - ab - bi * * * * ru * * * * an
*Laanhabbi * * * * * * * * * **

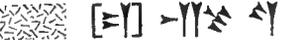
Lines 7 to 25 are lost, only the following ends of eight lines remain :—

a.  u
* * *
* * *

b.  u va
* * * and
* * *

c.  la
* * *
* * *

d.  su - nu
* * them
* * *

e.  iz - zi - tu
* * strong
* * *

f.  gammali
* * camels
* * *

g.  qu
* * * * *
* * * * * *

h.  su
* * * * *
* * * * * *

26.  alpi ze - e ni imiri gammali
oxen, sheep, asses, camels

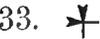
27.  a - mi - lu - tu is - lu - lu - u - ni ina la mi - ni
and men, they carried off without number.

28.  ši - hi ip matu ka - la - mu a - na ši - hir - ti su
The sweeping of all the country through its extent,

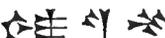
29.  um - da - al lu u a na pat gim - ri sa
they collected through the whole of it.

30.  gam - mal - i kima ze e ni u - par - ri - iz
Camels like sheep, I distributed and

31.  u - za - hi iz a na nisi
caused to overflow to the people of Assyria

32.    33. 
 qa - bal ti mati ya gammal $\frac{1}{2}$ * *
dwelling in my country. A camel for half a shekel,

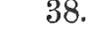
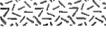
   
 ina $\frac{1}{2}$ * * kas - pi i - sam - mu ina bab ma - ḥi - ri
in half shekels of silver, they valued in front of the gate;

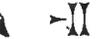
34.   
 zu - ud - mu ina ni - id - ni nakmi(?) ina ḥa - be - e
the spoil(?) in the sale of captives among the strong

35.   
 * * * * * sa pa - ḥir ina ki - (i) - si
 * * * * * which were gathered in droves,

36.   
 im - da - na - ḥa - ru gammali va
they bartered camels and

  
 a - mi - lu - tu U - ai - te - eh a - di
men. Vaiteh and the

 38.  
 A - ri - bi sa a - di - ya * * * * *
*Arabians, who my agreement * * * * **

39.     
 sa la pa - an kakki Assur bel [ya]
who from the face of the soldiers of Assur [my] lord,

40.    
 ip - par - si - [du] va in - nab - tu - ni
fled and got away;

41.    42. 
 u - sam - kit Ninip qar - du ṣu un - [ki]
Ninip the warrior destroyed, in want

bu - bu - ti nap - sat şu] - un is - sa - kin va
 [and famine their lives] were spent, and

43. a - na bu - ri [su - nu e - ku] - lu şeri mari su - nu
 for their food they eat the flesh of their children.

44. ina ar - ra - a * * * * * * * * * *
 With a curse(?) * * * * *

e di - id - di su - nu gagara (v. ru?)
 * * * * * * * * * * them * * * * *

45. ina bit Assur abu [Ili] lim(?) mu su - nu - ti
 in the house of Assur father of [the Gods] * * * them

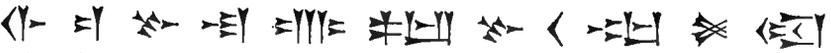
46. Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
 Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

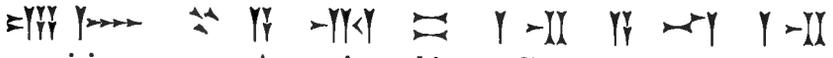
47. Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat Kit - mu - ri
 Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

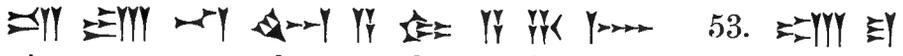
48. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
 Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, Nusku,

49. ba - ak - ru şu - ħi - ru alpu zēnu ina eli
 camels(?) strong, oxen and sheep, more than

7 ta - a an mu - se - ni - qa - a - ti e - ni - qu - u va
 seven the sacrificers sacrificed, and

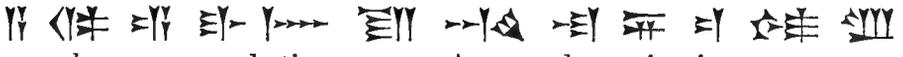
51. 
 si - iş - pu la u - şap - pu - u ka - raş şun
for eating they did not eat their carcasses.

52. 
 nisi A - ri - bi edin a - na edin
The people of Arabia one to another,


 is - ta - na - ha - a - lū a - ḥa - mis um - ma
addressed each other thus :


 ina eli me - ne - e ki i ip - se - tu an - ni - tu
"Concerning the number of these evil things,

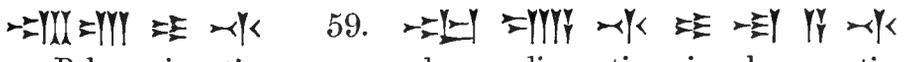

 limut - tu im ḥu - ru A - ri - bi um - ma as - su
which happened to Arabia, because


 a - de - e rabati sa Assur la ni - iḫ - zu - ru
the great agreements with Assur we have not regarded ;

56. 
 ni iḫ - ḏu - u ina ḏabtu Assur - bani - pal
and we have sinned against the benefits of Assurbanipal,

57. 
 şar
the king,


 na - ram lib - bi Bel Belat ri - im - tu
the delight of the heart of Bel." Beltis the consort of

59. 
 Bel - i - ti ka - dir - ti i - la - a - ti
Bel, the guardian of divinity ;

60. 
 sa it - ti A - nu va. Bel sit - lu du - at
who with Anu and Bel in dominion

61. << 𐎎 𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 (v. 𐎗𐎗) 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 man-za - zu u - na - qab (v. qab?) nakiri ya ina
is established: pierced my enemies with

𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 62. 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 garni sa bi - ra - a - te Istar a - si - bat Arba - il
horns of iron. Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,

𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 63. 𐎗𐎗(?) 𐎗𐎗(?) 𐎗𐎗𐎗(?) 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 isati lab - bu - sat * * * * * na - sa - at
*with fire clothed; * * * * * drought(?)*

𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 eli A - ri bi i - za - an nun nab li
upon Arabia poured down.

64. 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 Uruki qar - du a - nun - tu ku - uz - zur va
Uruki the warrior, mourning caused and

65. 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 (𐎗𐎗𐎗) 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 u - ra - (aš) - ši - ba ga - ri ya
destroyed my enemies.

66. 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 Nin - ip tar - ta - hu qar - ra - du rab - u
Ninip fierce, in war great,

67. 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 ablu Bel ina uz - zi su kap - ti
the son of Bel; with his mighty arrows

68. 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 [𐎗𐎗𐎗] 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 u - par - ri - [ir] na - pis - ti nakiri ya
destroyed the life of my enemies.

69. 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗
 Nusku suqul na - ha - du mu - sa - bu - u bel - u - ti
Nusku the glorious messenger, sitting in dominion;

70.
 sa ina ki - bit Assur Belat * * * bit
who by command of Assur and Beltis * * * *

71.
 ga - sit - tu Be - lat * * * * ki
The archer, the Goddess of * * * * * 72.
 ida ai
my forces

il - lik va iz * * * * * as - ru sar - u - ti
preceded, and * * * * * *place of my kingdom,*

73.
 me - eh - rit umman [ya] iz - bat va
the front of my army took and

74.
 u - sam - [kit] ga - ri ya
destroyed my enemies. 75.
 ti - bu - ut * * *
The stroke * * *

Assur Istar 76.
 va Ili rabati beli ya
and the great Gods my lords,

77.
 sa ina e - [pis ta - ħa - zu il - li] - ku
who in making [war], went to the

ri zu ti 78.
 umman [ya U - ai - te - eh]
help of my army: Vaiteh

is - mu - u va 79.
 eli [ip - se - e ti an na a - ti]
heard of, and over [these things]

ip - luh va 80.
 ul - [tu Na ba - ai - ti]
feared, and from [Nabatea]

81. u -se]-za- av -va ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul
 I] brought out, and in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul,

82. Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat Kit-mu- ri
 Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

83. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
 Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

84. * * * * uş şu va u - ra - a su a - na Assur
 * * * * him, and sent him to Assyria.

85. * * * * ya sa a - na ka - sad nakiri ya
 * * * * who to capture my enemies

86. * * * aḥ - ḥa - ru ina ki - bit Assur va Belat
 * * * fought. By command of Assur and Beltis,

87. ina iz - ḥu - ut - za(?) dan(?) * * * sa zi - bit qati ya
 with a mace(?) which was grasped by my hand.

88. şeri mi - zi su ab - lu - us 89. ina du - uḥ
 the flesh coming out of him, his son, in sight of

(v. la - aḥ) eni su at - ta di zir - ri - tu.
 his eyes I struck down.

90. ul - li kalbi la ad - di su va 91. ina bab
 With the dogs I did not place him, in the gate

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 92. 𐎶𐎵
 ẓi - it Sam - si qabal Ninua sa
of the rising sun, in the midst of Nineveh, which,

𐎶𐎵
 Ni - rib - par - nak - ti - ad - na - a - ti na bu - u zi - kar sa
Nirib-parnakti-adnati is called its name;

93. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵)
 u - sa - an - ẓir su si - ga - ru (v. 𐎶𐎵 - gar - ru)
I caused to keep him chained,

94. 𐎶𐎵
 a - na da - lal ta - us ti Assur Istar va
to exalt the will of Assur, Ishtar and

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 95. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Ili rabati beli ya re - e - mu ar si
the great Gods my lords. Favour I granted

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 96. 𐎶𐎵
 su va u - bal - liḫ nap - sat 𐎶𐎵 ina
him, and saved his life. On

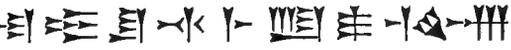
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 97. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ta - ay - ar - ti ya U - su - u sa ina
my return Usu, which by

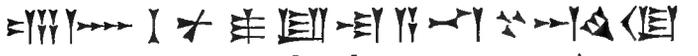
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵)
 a - ḫi tam - ti id - da - at su - bat 𐎶𐎵 ak - su - ud (v. aksud)
the side of the sea has its place, I captured.

98. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 nisi U - su - u sa a - na sanuti su - nu
The people of Usu, who to their prefects

99. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 la 𐎶𐎵 - an - qu la i - nā - di - nu man - da - at tu
were not reverent, and did not give the tribute,

100.  na - dan mat- ti su- un a - duk ina lib - bi nisi
the gift of their country, I slew. Amongst the people

101.  la kan- su- ti sib- du as - kun 102.  Ili su- nu
unsubmissive, chastisement I inflicted. Their Gods

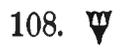
 nisi su- nu as - lu - la a - na Assur nisi
and their people I carried off to Assyria. The people of

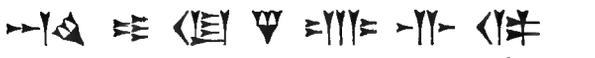
 Ak- ku - u la kan- su - ti a - nar 104.  pagri
Akko unsubmissive, I destroyed. Their bodies

 su - nu ina ga - si - si a - lul ši - ħir - ti ali
in the dust I threw down; the whole of the city

105.  u - sal - mi ši - it - tu - ti su- nu al - qa - a
I quieted. The rest of them I brought

106.  a - na Assur a - na ki - zır ak - zır va
to Assyria, in rank I arranged, and

107.  eli umman ya ma - ha - da - a - ti 108.  sa
over my numerous army, which

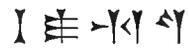
 Assur i ki - sa u - rad - di 109.  Ai - mu ablu
Assur strengthened, I spread. Aimu son of

 Te - ha - ri it - ti A - bi - ya - te - eh 110.  aĥu su
Tehari, with Abiyateh his brother


 i - zi - zu va it - ti umman ya e - pu - su tahaz
had risen, and with my army had made war.

(v.  111. 
 (v. ta - ha - zu) ina qabal tam - ha - ri
In the midst of battle,

 112. 
 bal - du - us - su ina qati az - bat ina Ninua
alive in hand I captured; in Nineveh

 (v. ) I 
 alu bel - u - ti ya ma - sak (v. masak) su as - hu - ud
the city of my dominion his skin I tore off.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN VII.

87.  88. 
 Ya - u - ta - ah ablu Ha - za - il sar
Yautah son of Hazael king of

 89. 
 Qi - id - ri e - pis ardu - ti ya as - su Ili su
Kedar, made submission to me; for his Gods,


 sa abu ba - nu - u a is - lu - lu im - har an ni va
which the father my begetter had carried off, he prayed me, and

90.  91. 
 u - zal - la - a sar - u - ti sumi Ili rabati
submitted to my kingdom. The names of the great Gods

 92. 
 u - sa - az kir su - (u) va A - tar - sa - ma - in
I made him swear by, and Adarsamain

93. *u - tir va a-din su ar - ka -nu ina a- di - ya*
I restored and gave him. Afterwards against my agreement

94. *ih - di va da - ab ti la iz - zur va iz - la - a*
he sinned, and benefits did not regard, and threw off

95. *niru bel - u ti ya a - na sa - ha - al*
the yoke of my dominion. To seek

96. *sul - mi ya sepu su ip - ru - uş va ik - la - a*
my alliance his feet broke off, and he discontinued

97. *ta - mar - ti nisi A - ri - bi it - ti su*
the presents. The people of Arabia with him

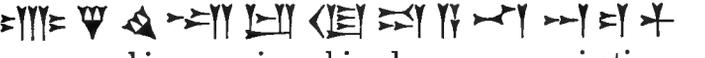
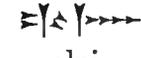
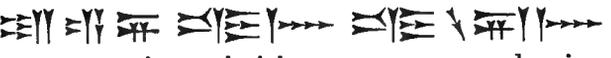
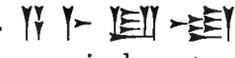
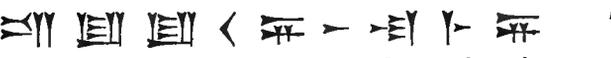
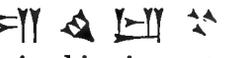
98. *u - sa - pal - kit va ih - ta - nab - ba - tu*
he caused to revolt, and carried away the

99. *hu - bu - ut Hatti umman ya sa ina*
plunder of Syria. My army which on the

100. *me şir mati su as - bu u - ma - he - e - ra*
border of his country was stationed, I sent

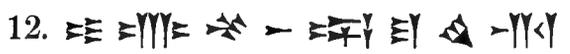
zi - ru us - su
against him ;

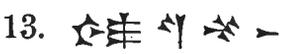
COLUMN VIII.

1. 
 abikta su-nu is - ku - nu nisi A ri - bi
his overthrow they accomplished. The people of Arabia,
2. 
 ma- la it - bu - u - ni u - ra - ši - bu ina kakki
all who came they destroyed with the sword,
3.  4. 
 bit - zin zir - ta - ri mu - sa - bi su - nu kamu
the tents, the pavilions, their dwellings, a fire
-  5. 
 u - sa - ši - zu ip - ki - du a - na isati alpi
they raised and gave to the flames. Oxen,
-  6. 
 ze e - ni imiri gam - mal - i a - mi - lu tu
sheep, asses, camels and men,
-  7. 
 is - lu - lu - u - ni ina la mi - ni ši - ši ip matu
they carried off without number. The sweeping of all the
- 
 ka la - mu a - na ši - hir - ti - su
country, through its extent
8. 
 um - da - (na) - al - lu - u a - na pat gim - ri sa
they collected through the whole of it.
9. 
 gam - mal i kima ze - e - ni u - par - ri - iš
Camels like sheep I distributed,

10. 
 u - za - hi - iz a - na nisi A - ri - bi
and caused to overflow to the people of Arabia

11. 
 qa - bal - ti mati ya gam - mal $\frac{1}{2}$ * * ina $\frac{1}{2}$ * * kas - pi
dwelling in my country. A camel for half a shekel in half shekels of

12. 
 i - sam - mu ina bab ma - hi ri
silver they valued in front of the gate

13. 
 zu - ud - mu ina
the spoil(?) in


 ni - id - ni nakmi(?) ina * * ha - be - e
*the sale of captives among * * the strong*

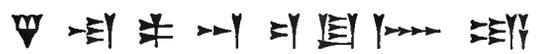
14. 
 * * * hir
** gathered(?)*


 ina ki - i - si im - da - na - ha - ru
in droves, they bartered

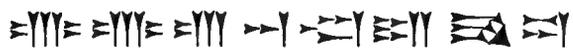
15. 
 gammali
camels


 va a - mi - lu - tu
and men

16. 
 * * * * * A - ri - bi
 * * * * * the Arabians


 sa la pa - an kakki ya
who from the face of my soldiers

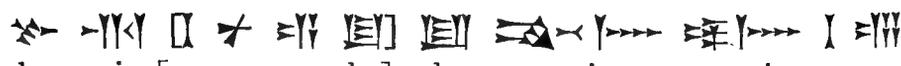
17. 
 in - nab - [tu]
fled;


 u - sam kit Ninip qar - du
Ninip the warrior destroyed.

18. 
 su - un - [ki
In want [and


 bu - bu - ti nap - sat su] - un is - sa - kin va
famine] their [life] was passed, and

19. 
 a - na
for


 bu - ri [su - nu e - ku] - lu seri mari su - un
their food they eat the flesh of their children

<< 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 30. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 man - da - at - tu mat - ti sam - ma u - kin
tribute for every year I fixed

𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 31. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 (𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶) 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 zir - us - su Am - mu - la - di - (in) 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
upon him. Ammuladin king of

𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 32. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 Qa - ad - ri sa ki - ma sa - a - su (va) ik - ki - ru
Kedar, who like him also revolted

𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 ih ta - nab - ba - tu hu - bu - ut 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
and carried away the plunder of the kings of

𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 33. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 Hatti ina tugul - ti Assur Sin Samas
Syria; In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,

𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 34. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il
Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine

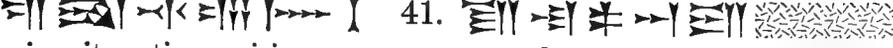
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 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 Kit - mu - ri Istar sa Arba - il Ninip
queen of Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,

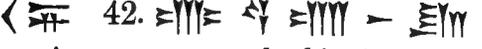
𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 36. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 [𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶] 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 Nergal Nusku ina zi - kar sumi [ya sa] Assur
Nergal and Nusku; by the power of [my] name [which] Assur

𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 37. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 [𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶?] 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 u sar - bu - u Ka - [ma] - az - hal - ta - a 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
had magnified, Kamazhalta(?) king of

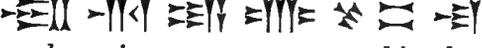
𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 38. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 [𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶] 39. 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶
 Ma - ha - a - ab ardu da - gil [pa - ni ya] ina
Moab, a tributary dependent on me, in the

 40. 
 tahaz zin is - ku - na abikta su Am - mu - la - di (in)
battle field accomplished his overthrow. Ammuladin

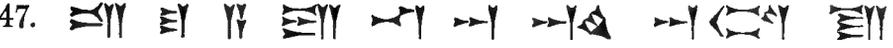
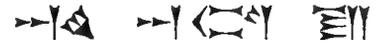
 41. 
 ši - it - ti nisi su sa la pa - an da * * * *
*and the rest of his people, who from the face of * * * **

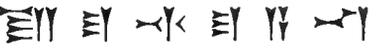
 42.   43. 
 u - ni u - za - bit ina qati qati va sepi bi ri - tu
 * * *he captured in hand. His hands and feet in bonds of*

 44. 
 parzil id - di va a - na Ninua a - di
iron he placed, and to Nineveh to

 45. 
 mah ri ya u - se - bi - la Na - ad - nu šar
my presence he sent. Nathan king of

 46. 
 Na - ba - ai ti sa a - sar su ru , u - qu
Nabatea, whose place is remote,

 47. 
 is - ma - a da - na - an Assur Maruduk sa
heard of the power of Assur and Merodach, who

 48. 
 u - tag - gil - u in ni sa ma - ti - ma a na
protect me: who in times past to the

 49. 
 šarri abi ya a - mir su la is - pu - ra
kings my fathers his envoy did not send,

 50.  51. 
 la is - a - lū su - lum šaru ti su - un e nin - na
and did not seek alliance with their kingdom. Again

c. 
 ih ta - nab - ba tu hu bu - ut Hatti
carried away the spoil of Syria,

d.  e. 
 ardi da - gil pa - ni ya sa tu sak - ni - sa
the tributaries dependent on me, whom thou hast subdued

 f. 
 a - na niri ya ina zi kar sumi ya sa Assur
to my yoke. By the power of my name which Assur

 g. 
 u sar bu - u Am - mu - la - di in ši it ti
had magnified, Ammuladin and the rest of

 h. 
 nisi su sa la pa - an da * * * * nab - tu - u - ni
*his people, who from the face of the * * * * fled,*

i.  j. 
 u - za - bit ina qati qati va niri bi ri tu parzil
I captured in hand. Hand and foot in bonds of iron.

 k.  
 ad - di su va u ra a a na Assur
I placed him, and sent to Assyria.

l.    
 A - di ya şar rat A - ri - bi di ik ta
Adiya queen of Arabia, [her] numerous

 n. 
 [sa] ma - ha - aş - şu ad - duk zir - ta re - e sa
fighting men I slew, her pavilions

 o. 
 ina isati ak - mu su - a - sa bal du uş şa ina
in the fire I burned, her alive in

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 p. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 qati az -bat it ti hu - bu - ut [A - ri - bi as] - si
hand I captured, and with the spoil of [Arabia] I carried

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 q. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 a - na Assur Na - ad - nu şar Na - ba - ai - ti
to Assyria. Nathan king of Nabatea,

r. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 I 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 s. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 sa a - sar su ru - u - qu is - me - e va
whose place was. remote; heard also of

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 t. 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 da - na an Assur sa u - tag - gil an - ni sa
the power of Assur who protected me: who

𐎧𐎺𐎠
 ma - te - e - ma a - na şarri abi ya
in time past to the kings my fathers,

u. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 I 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 v. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 a - mir su la is - pu - ru la is - a - lu su - lum
his envoy did not send, and did not seek alliance

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 I 𐎧𐎺𐎠 w. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 şaru ti su - un ul - tu U ai - te - eh şar
with their kingdom. On Vaiteh king of

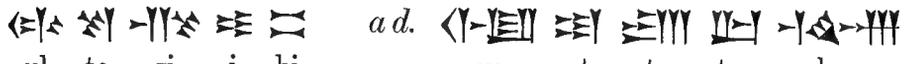
𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 x. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 I 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 A - ri - bi de - en su tu - sa - an - nu tag bu - u
Arabia, his sentence thou didst pronounce, thou didst

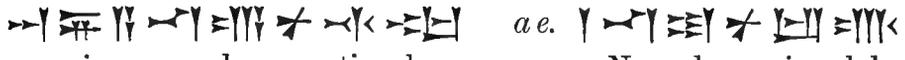
𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 I y. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 şa - pa - aḥ mati su a - na Na - ba - ai - ti
command to waste his country. To Nabatea

𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 z. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
 in - nab - tu il - li - ku ma - ḥar Na - ad - nu
he fled, and came before Nathan.

a a. 
 Na - ad - nu a - na U - ai - te - eh ki - a - am
Nathan to Vaiteh even

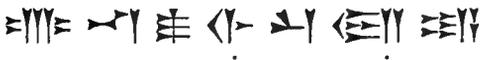

 ig - bi su va um - ma a - na - ku ina qati Assur
said, to him thus: "I in the hands of Assyria


 ul - te zi - i - bi va at ta tas kun
am fast bound, and thou reliest on


 an - ni a - na dan - nu - ti ka Na - ad - nu ip - luh
me to strengthen thee." Nathan feared


 va ir - sa - a a - na suq - tu a - mir - i su a - na
and inclined to despair; his envoys to


 sa - ha - al sul mi ya is - pur - av - va
seek my alliance he sent, and


 u - na - as - si - qa sepi ya
kissed my feet.

K, 2802, COLUMN III. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A,
 COLUMN VIII, LINES 70 TO 82.

a. 
 ar - di ur - hi [ru - qu - u - ti e bil]
I marched, a [distant] path [I took],

b. 
 e - te li har - sa - a - ni sa - [qu - ti]
I ascended the lofty country,

c.  ah - ta - lu - ub kisti
I passed through the forests,

d.  sa zu lul
of which their shadow

 si - na rap - su
was vast;

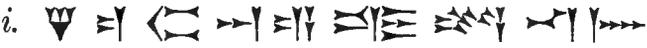
e.  bi - rit izi rabati gi - iz - zu
bounded by trees great and strong,

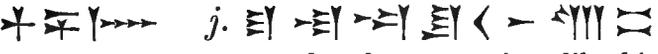
f.  * * * * * mur - ra - nu iz id - di - tu
*and vines(?) * * * a road of mighty wood.*

g.  e - te - ti - iq ki - rib Vas
I went to the midst of Vas,

h.  a - sar zu - um - mi
a place arid and

 dan - dan - ti
very difficult,

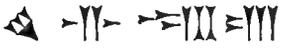
i.  sa iz zur same imiri zini
where the birds of heaven and wild asses

 * * * * * ma - la ba - su - u ina lib - bi
are all there is in it.

k.  100 kas - pu
100 kaspu

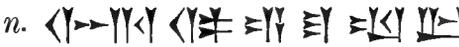
 qaq - qa ru ultu Ninua
of ground from Nineveh,

l.  alu na ram Is - tar
the city the delight of Ishtar

 hi - rat Bel
wife of Bel;

m.  zir U ai - te - eh sar
against Vaiteh king of

 A - ri - bi
Arabia

n.  ar de e va al - lik
I marched and went.

EXTRACT FROM K, 2802, COLUMN III. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A,
 C. COLUMN VIII, LINES 95 TO 97.

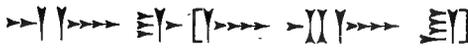
a. 
 di - ik - tu ina lib I şa - am - mi ih
The fighting men among the Isammih,

b.  c. 
 halu(?) A - tar - sa - ma - ai - in va
the servants of Adarsamain, and the

 d.  &c.
 Na - ba ai ta - ai i - du - ku nisi, &c.
Nabateans they slew. People, &c.

EPIGRAPHS ON K, 3096.

a. 
 a - na - ku Assur-bani-pal şar Assur sa ina ki bit
I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria, who by command

 b. 
 Ili rabati [beli su] im zu - u ma - la
of the great Gods [his lords], has gratified all


 lib - bi su it - ti Am - mu la * * * * *
*his heart. With Ammuladin * * * * **

c. 
 a - na Ninua alu belu - ti ya ha - dis * * * * *
*to Nineveh the city of my dominion, joyfully * * * * **

d. 
 A - na - ku Assur-bani-pal şar Assur A di - ya - a
I Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Adiya

1. 𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 3. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Bel - zikir - esir Bel va Maruduk immi
Belzikiresir. Bel and Merodach, length

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 4. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 araku sanat an - na - i da - ra - a - ti
of days, years everlasting,

5. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 6. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 iz-sa-pa i - sar - tu kuzzu da - ru - u a - na
a sceptre of justice, and an everlasting throne, to the

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 7. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 8. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 šar matati be-eli ya lit ki - nu a - na eli sa
king of the earth, my lord, may they establish. Concerning that of

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 9. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 šar be - eli a de - e - mi is - kun an - ni
which the king my lord gave directions to me

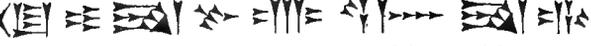
10. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 11. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 um - ma de em sa Ar - a - bi ma - la
thus: "The news of the Arabians, all

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 12. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 ta - sim - mu - u sapra a - lak - ti si - i
thou hearest, send the account of it."

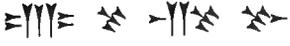
13. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 14. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 ul tu Ni - ba - ha - a - ti ki i
From the Nabateans there is

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 15. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 hir - za - a Ai - ka - ma - ru ablu su sa
news; Aikamaru son of

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 16. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 Am - mi - ha - ta ah Vas - ha ai a - na
Ammihatah the Vasite,

 17. 
 eli su-nu ki i it bu u zabi id -duk
against them had come; the men he slew

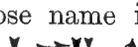
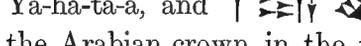
18.  19. 
 va ih - ta -bat edu ina lib -bi su-nu ki -i
and plundered. One in the midst of them then

 20. 
 u - se - zi - bu a - na lib - bi alu sa sar
they saved; to the midst of the city of the king

 21. 
 i - tur ba a - du - u a - na sar be - eli ya
he entered. Now to the king my lord

22.  23. 
 al -tap-ras-su sar sa pi i su lis - me
I send him; the king, of his mouth may he hear.

The events recorded in this division of the reign of Assurbanipal stretch over a considerable time. In Cylinder B we are told that the father of Assurbanipal had carried off the Gods of the Arabian monarch, and that Yauteh, or Vaiteh, king of Arabia, came to Assurbanipal and asked for the restoration of these idols. A precisely similar story is related in the annals of Esarhaddon, the father of Assurbanipal; and I am of opinion that the compiler of Cylinder B transferred this account to Assurbanipal's reign.

Vaiteh, whose name is also written , Ya-ha-ta-a, and , Ya-ha-lu-u, succeeded to the Arabian crown in the time of Esarhaddon, and remained subject to Assyria until the revolt of Saulmugina, when he joined in the conspiracy, and raised two armies; one he sent into Palestine, and the other to help the Babylonians. The Arabians who invaded Palestine marched as far as Zobah; when they were defeated by the Assyrian troops and gradually driven out of the country. About

the same time an Arabian chief, Ammuladin, called king of Kedar, invaded Moab in company with Adiya queen of Arabia. Their forces were met by Kamas(?)-halta king of Moab, a tributary of Assyria, who defeated them, and sent Ammuladin and Adiya in chains to Nineveh. Vaiteh, after these reverses, fled to Nabathea, and was delivered up to Assyria, probably by Nathan king of that country, who sent an envoy to make submission to Assurbanipal. The Arabian army which was sent to Babylon, was besieged in that city by the Assyrians; and, attempting to make a sortie, was a second time defeated and driven within the walls. Abiyateh and Aimu the Arabian generals, then submitted to Assurbanipal, and that monarch sent Abiyateh to Arabia, to take the crown as tributary of Assyria. Meanwhile, after the flight of Vaiteh, the Arabians raised to the throne his nephew, who bore the same name (Vaiteh) as himself. Vaiteh II and Abiyateh afterwards joined in alliance with Nathan king of Nabathea, and they all commenced hostilities against Assyria. To chastise them, Assurbanipal organised an expedition into Arabia. It is difficult to determine the position of the towns captured by the Assyrians in this expedition, but it is not probable that they penetrated far into the desert. Their own statement is, that they went a distance of 100 kaspu (700 English miles) from Nineveh. On the return of the army from Arabia, Assurbanipal punished the cities of Akko and Usu (on the coast of Palestine) for revolt. The dispatch, K, 562, probably belongs to a later period in the history, but it is inserted here on account of its reference to Arabia.

PART XIII.

The Final Triumph over Elam.

TEXTS.

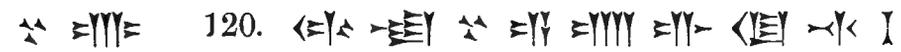
The texts of this division of the Annals are Cylinder A, col. ix, line 113, to col. x, line 21; and the Memorial Slab published in Cuneif. Inscript., Vol. II, p. 66.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN IX.

113. 
 Um -man- al - das şar Elam
Ummanaldas king of Elam,
114. 
 sa ul - tu ul - la Assur va Istar beli ya
whom from of old Assur and Ishtar my lords
115.  116. 
 ig bu - u e - pis ardu - u - ti ya ina ki - bit
had commanded to make submission to me; by command
- 
 I lu - ti su - nu zir - ti sa la in - nin - nu - u
of their great divinity who were unchanged,
117. 
 arka - nu mat şu eli su ip - pal - kit va
afterwards his country against him revolted, and

118.  la pa-an şah-mas-ti ardi su sa u - sab -su-u
from the face of the tumult of his servants which they made

 119.  eli su e-dis-si su ip-par-sid va iz - ba - ta
against him, alone he fled and took to the

 120.  sadu- u ul tu sade- e bit mar- ki - ti su
mountain. From the mountain, the house of his refuge,

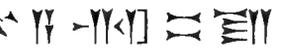
121.  a - sar it - ta - nap- ras - si - du 122.  ki - ma
the place he fled to, like

 ra - pa- qaq izzur a- mas - su va
a rapaqaq bird I removed, and

COLUMN X.

1.  bal - du - uş - [şu al - qa - a] su a - na Assur
alive I brought him to Assyria.
2.  Tam- ma - ri - tu Pa - he - e Um - man - al - das
Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas,
3.  sa arku a - ha - [mis] e - pu - su be - lut Elam
who after each other ruled the dominion of Elam;
4.  sa ina e - mu - ki Assur va Istar beli ya
whom, by the power of Assur and Ishtar my lords,

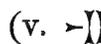
5.    
 u - sak - ni - sa [a - na niri] ya U - ai - te - eh
I subjugated [to] my [yoke]. Vaiteh

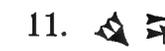
6.   
 [sar A- ri] - bi sa ina ki bit Assur va Istar
king of Arabia, of whom, by command of Assur and Ishtar,

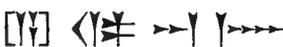
 7.   
 abikta su as - ku - nu [ul tu] mati su al qa su
his overthrow I had accomplished; [from] his country I brought him

  8.  
 [a - na] Assur ul tu a - na na * * *
 [to] Assyria. When to * * *

 9.   
 * * niqi e - lu - u ina Bit - mas - masu su - bat be - lu - ti
sacrifices and libations I had offered up in Bitmasmasu, the seat of

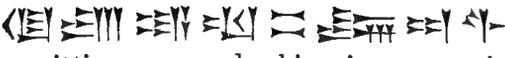
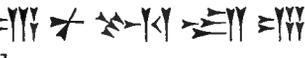
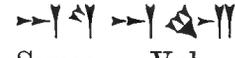
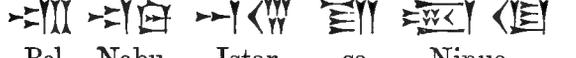
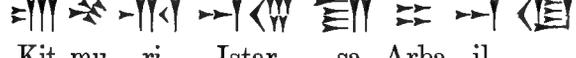
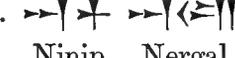
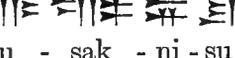
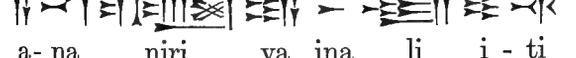
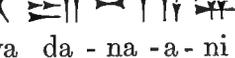
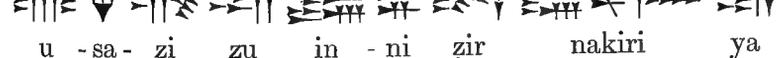
(v.  )   10.  
 (v. belu - ti) su - un ma har Belat umma
their power, before Belat, mother

 11.   
 Ili rabati hi - ra tu na ram ti Assur
of the great Gods, beloved wife of Assur,

  12. 
 e pu su [a] di Ili Bit - id - ki id
I had made to the Gods of Bitidkid.

  13. 
 niri sa sad da - di u sa - az - bit
To the yoke of my war chariot I caused to fasten

  14.  
 su - nu ti a - di bab e - sir is - du - du ina
them, and to the gate of the temple they dragged. On

-  15. 
 sittu ya al bi in ap-pi at-ta-hi-id
my feet I made invocation, I glorified
-  16. 
 Ilu-uš-šu-un u-sa-pa-a dan-nu-uš-šu-un
their divinity, I praised their power,
-  17. 
 ina puhri umman ya sa Assur Sin Samas Vul
in the assembly of my army; of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,
-  18. 
 Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il šar-rat
Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of
-  19. 
 Kit-mu-ri Istar sa Arba-il Ninip Nergal
Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal
-  20. 
 Nusku sa la kan-su-ti ya u-sak-ni-su
and Nusku, who the unsubmissive to me, subjugated
-  21. 
 a-na niri ya ina li i-ti va-da-na-a-ni
to my yoke, and in glory and power
- 
 u-sa-zi zu in-ni zir nakiri ya
established me over my enemies.

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, VOL. II, PAGE 66.

1. 
 A-na Belat be-lit matati a-si-bat
To Beltis Goddess of the earth, dwelling in

(v. 𐎶 𐎶) 6. 𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎶) < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 < > 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 I
 (v.matati) italliku - u va gab- ri la isu-u ina im - mi su
I have marched, and a rival I have not. In those days

𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. > 𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 kiṣal (v. ki - ṣal) bit Istar (v. Istar) belat ya
the altar of the house of Ishtar my lady,

> 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 <<< < 𐎶𐎶 7. < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 I
 ina pe - e (v. i) li es - ki si - kit - ta su
of marble I carved its sculpture;

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) > 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 u - rab bi a - na sat (v. sa - at) - ti Belat
I set it up to please Beltis.

𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶) I 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶 8. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶
 kiṣal (v. ki - ṣal) su-a-tu pan ma- ṣar si uk - ki
That altar before its sanctuary(?) I placed.

(v. > 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 (v. ka) ya - a - ti (v. ya - a - te) Assur - bani - pal
To me, Assurbanipal,

(v. 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶
 (v. Assur - bani - pal) pa - laḥ I lu - u - ti ki rab - ti
worshipping thy great divinity,

> 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (v. < 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶𐎶 9. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
 ba - laḥ (v. balah) im - mi (v. immi) araki ḍabu
 [give] health, long days, and sound

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶
 lib - bi ki bi - is va ittalliku Bit - mas - masu
heart, worshipping and going to Bitmasmasu,

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 lu - lab - bi - ra sepa - ai
may my feet grow old.

The principal political event mentioned in this division is the capture of Ummanaldas king of Elam. After the destruction of Shushan, Ummanaldas remained a fugitive in the mountains, while Assurbanipal held possession of the country. He ultimately fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and was sent to Nineveh, at which place Tammarithu and Pahe his rivals, and Vaiteh king of Arabia, were then in captivity. According to Cylinder A* these four captive kings were fastened to the yoke of the royal chariot, and drew Assurbanipal to the gate of the temple of Nineveh. Similar barbarous triumphs are related of other conquerors of antiquity.

I have supposed, from a fragment of an unpublished tablet, that Assurbanipal afterwards restored Ummanaldas, and that the Elamite monarch revolted, and was again conquered by Assurbanipal; but this is very doubtful.

As this division closes the campaigns of Assurbanipal, I here give a table of the later royal families of Elam, so far as we know them from the inscriptions.

* The Memorial Slab gives the four Elamite kings, Ummanigas, Tammarithu, Pahe and Ummanaldas, as the captives who were yoked to the chariot; but Ummanigas had been dead some years, so that Cylinder A must be more correct, in giving Tammarithu, Pahe and Ummanaldas the Elamites, and Vaiteh the Arabian.

PART XIV.

The Buildings of Assurbanipal.

TEXTS.

The most perfect texts relating to Assurbanipal's buildings are Cylinder A, col. x, lines 31 to 110, and an Extract from col. x, Cylinder D. There are several other texts, but they are in a very mutilated condition.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN 10.

31. [𒀠] I 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 < <𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠 [𒀠𒀠𒀠]
 [As]-su Bit - rid - u - ti tim - ne - e e - kal [sa
 Now Bitriduti, the private(?) palace of
- 𒀠𒀠𒀠 < [𒀠𒀠] 32. [𒀠𒀠] 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠
 Ninua] [alu] zi - i - ru na - ram Is - tar
 Nineveh, the grand city, the delight of Ishtar;
33. 𒀠𒀠𒀠 I 𒀠𒀠𒀠 <<< 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 < [𒀠𒀠] 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠
 sa Sin - ahi - irba şar Assur abu abi
 which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather
- 𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠] 34. [𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠] I 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 <𒀠𒀠 I
 bani ya [e - pu - su] a - na mu - sab şaru - ti su
 my begetter built for his royal seat;
35. [𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 < <𒀠𒀠] 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 𒀠𒀠𒀠𒀠 <𒀠𒀠
 [Bit rid - u - ti] su - a - tu ina immi ya - a - ti
 that Bitriduti in my days

36. [la - ba - ri - is] il - lik e - na - ha igari su
became old, and its chamber-walls decayed.

37. a - na ku Assur-bani-pal [şar] rab - u şar dan - nu
I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king,

38. şar kis - [sa - ti şar Assur] şar kip - rat
king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four

39. arba - te as - su ki - rib Bit [rid - u - ti] su - a - tu
regions, within that Bitriduti

40. ar - ba - a Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel
grew up. Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel,

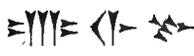
Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il - sar - rat Kit - mu - ri
Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

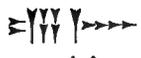
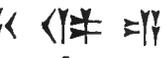
41. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

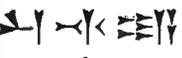
42. * * * * * abil şar - u * * * * *
 *

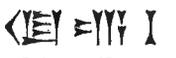
44. * * * * * sa kal - la me * * * * *
 *

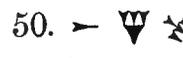
45. [is - ku - nu] ultu ina kuzzu abi bani ya
eli ya [fixed], when on the throne of the father my begetter

 46.  I  
 u - si - bu i - te - ni - ib - bu - su * * * * va
*I sat. They were made(?) * * * * and*

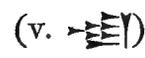
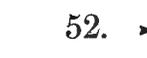
  47.   
 nisi rapsati * * * * pu - ha - de - e
*many people * * * * * * * * * **

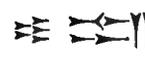
48.    49.   
 sa * * * * * qa - ti ya u - pa - sa * * * *
 * * * * * *my hands* * * * * *

  49.     
 in ni ki - rib su ina ma - ha - al mu - si * * * *
*me within it. In all the night * * * **

  50.     
 * * * * * ya ina sa se e - ri - ba nu - u * * *
 * * * * * *my* in * * * * *

 51.         
 ru - u - a mas - ta - ku su - a - tu mu - sal * * * * su su
 * * * *that mastaku * * * * * **

(v. )  52.      
 (v. tu) u va Ili rabati si - mat su
 * * * * * *the great Gods its account(?) have*

   53.     
 i - sim * * * damqati an - hu - us - su
*heard(?) * * * good, its decay*

 I     (v. ) 54.    
 * * * as - su ru - up - pu - us (v. su) ri * * * * a - na
 * * * *to increase * * * * the*

   I   55.     
 ši - hir - ti su aq - qur * * * 50 ti - ip - ki
*whole of it I destroyed. * * * Fifty tipki*

66. 

as - lu - la a - na e - pis Bit - ridu - u - ti su - a - tu

I carried off; to make that Bitriduti,

67. 

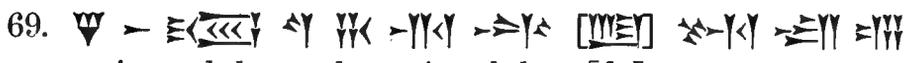
nisi mati ya ina lib - bi i - zab - bi - tu libni su

the people of my country in the midst, took its bricks.

68. 

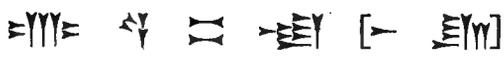
şarri A - ri - bi sa ina a - di - ya ih du - u

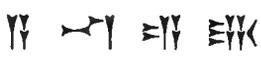
The kings of Arabia who against my agreement sinned

69. 

sa ina qabal tam - ha - ri bal - [du] - uş şu - un

whom in the midst of battle alive I had

 u - zab - bi - tu [ina qati]

captured [in hand],
 70. 

a - na - e - pis

to make

 71. 

Bit - ridu - u - ti su - a - tu iz - al - lu mus - sik - ku

that Bitriduti heavy burdens

 72. 

[u - sa - as - si su - nu - ti va] u - sa - aţ - bi - [tu]

[I caused them to carry, and] I caused them to take

 73.  

* * * * la - bi - in libni su * * * *

* * * * building its brickwork * * * *

74.   75. 

ina e - li - li nin - gu - ti ub * * * ina

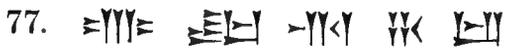
*with dancing(?) and music * * * * with*

hidati ri - sa - a ti ul - tu [ussi su a - di

joy and shouting, from [its foundation to

 76. 
 gab - lu - bi su] ar - zip eli sa mah - ri
its roof] I built. More than before

  77. 
 su * * * * * u - sar ri ha ip
 * * * * * I extended

 78. 
 * * * * * gusuri erini zirati
 * * * * * beams and great planks

 79. 
 ultu Si - ra - ra Lab - na - na u - sat - ri - [za
from Sirara and Lebanon, I fixed

 80. 
 e] li su dalti li - ya - a - ri sa
over it. Doors of forest trees,

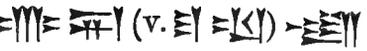
 81. 
 [e - ri - si -] na dabu mi - sir kipar
their wood excellent, a covering of copper

 82. 
 u - rak - kis [va] u rat - ta - [a bab] - i su
I spread over, and hung in its gates.

82.   83. 
 tim - mi zirati eru * * * * * hi - it - ti
*Great columns of bronze * * * * * at the sides*

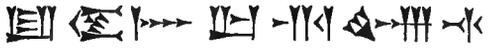
 84. 
 babi * * * * * Bit - rid - u - ti su - a - tu
*of the gates * * * * * That Bitriduti,*

 85. 
 mu - sab [sar - ti - ya] a - na si - hir - ti su
my royal seat, the whole of it I

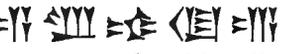
 86. 
 u - sak - lil lu - le - e u - mal (v. ma- ad) - li
finished, entirely I completed.

 87. 
 kiri puluq sa şa - şa - hi * * a - na mul - ta - u - ti
*Plantations choice, * * * * * for the glory of*

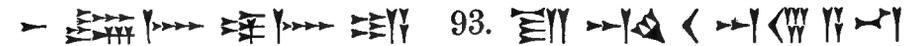
88. 
 şaru - ti [ya] az - qu - pa i - ta - a - te - e - su
my kingdom I planted like walls.

(v. i - ta - a - te - es) 89. 
 * * niqi ur - ri - iğ - ti
Sacrifices and libations precious

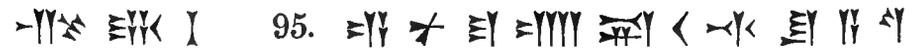
 90. 
 aq - qa - a a - na Ili beli ya ina hidati
I poured out to the Gods my lords. With joy and

 91. 
 ri - sa - a - ti u - sar - ri su e - ru - ub ki - rib
shouting I completed it, I entered into

 92.  (v. immi)
 su ina za - rat tak - ne - e a - na arku im - mi (v. immi)
it in a state palaquin(?). To after days,

 93. 
 ina şarri abli ya sa Assur va Istar a - na
among the kings my sons, whomever Assur and Ishtar to the

 94. 
 be - lut mati va nisi i - nam - bu - u
dominion of the country and people shall proclaim

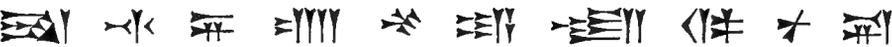
 95. 
 zi - kir su e - nu va Bit - ridu - u - ti su - a - tu
his name; when this Bitriduti becomes

 107. 
 i - sak - ka - nu Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel
place, Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,

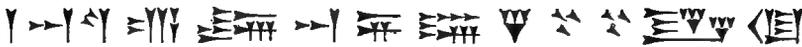
 108.     
 Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat
Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of

 109.     
 Kit-mu-ri Istar sa Arba - il Ninip
Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,

 110.    (v. )
 Nergal Nusku de - e - nu (v. ni)
Nergal and Nusku, a judgment

        
 it - ti ni bit sumi ya li - di - nu - us
equal to the renown of my name, may they pass on him.

111.       112.  
 Araḥ Nisannu immi 1 lim - mu
Month Nisan, 1st day, eponym

        
 Samas - da in - an - ni sa - nat Akkadi
Shamasdainani prefect of Akkad.

DATE ON ANOTHER COPY.

a.       b.  
 Araḥ Ululu immi 28 lim - mi
Month Elul, 28th day, eponym

        
 Samas - da - in - a - ni sanat Bab - ili
Shamasdainani prefect of Babylon.

FRAGMENT OF COLUMN X, CYLINDER D. ON THE REPAIR
OF THE WALL OF NINEVEH.

- a. Ina im - mi su va dur qabal alu sa Ninua
In those days, the wall round the city of Nineveh,
- b. sa Sin - ahi - irba sar Assur abu abi bani ya
which Sennacherib king of Assyria the grandfather begetting me,
- e - pu - su
had made;
- c. sa ina zunni dah - du - u ti ra - a - di
which by copious rains and swelling
- gab - su - u - ti
floods,
- d. sa san - ti sam - ma ina pal - ya
which every year in my time,
- Vul u -mad- di - ra ina mati ya
Vul poured down on my country;
- e. [tim - mi] - in
its foundation
- su ir * * ub va i - qu - pa ri - sa - a su * * * *
*had decayed and its top fallen in * * * **
- la - ba ris illiku * * * su [tim - me - en] ad - ki
*old it had become * * * [the foundation] I put*
- ak * * * * i tim - me - en [su
*together * * * its foundation I*
- i. u] - dan - nin [tim - me] - en dur su - a - tu * * *
*strengthened, the foundation of that wall * * **

j.  k. 
 * * * sad-du * * * [ul - tu ussi su a - di]
 * * * * * * * * * from its foundation

 l. 
 gab-lu - be - e su ar - zip u - sak - lil eli
 to its summit I built, I completed. Beyond

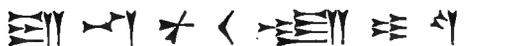
 m. 
 im - mi pa - ni u - dan - nin tim - me - en su mu - sar - u
 the former days I strengthened its foundation, an inscription


 si - dir sumi ya va ta - us - ti qar - ra - du - ti ya
 written of my name and an account of my victories,

n. 
 sa ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin Samas Bel Nabu
 by which in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel, Nabu,

o. 
 Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba - il Ninip
 Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,

 p. 
 Nusku Nergal ina matati at - tal - la - ku as - ku - nu
 Nusku and Nergal, in the countries I had marched through I had

 q. 
 da - na - nu va li - i - tu as - dur va a - na
 established power and glory; I wrote, and to


 ah - rat im - mi e - zib, &c.
 after days I left, &c.

Bitriduti, which was probably a name for the harem of the king, is the northern palace at Kouyunjik, from which the fragments of

Cylinder A and its duplicates were brought. Unfortunately all the texts relating to the buildings of Assurbanipal are very mutilated, and most of them are not worth publishing. Besides those given here, the two principal texts are—the first column of Cylinder C, published in a mutilated form in *Cuneif. Inscript.*, Vol. III, page 27 (since the publication of these fragments, I have completed a considerable part of the text from duplicates); and the last part of K, 2675, which gives the rebuilding of the temple of the moon at Harrau.

b. Part of Canon I (restored). The position and dates of these eponymes are uncertain; there were probably two names between *a* and *b*:—

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵, | Bel-nahid, | B.C. 663(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵, | Ḍabu-sar-šin, | „ 662(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, | Arbailai, | „ 661(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵, | Girzabuna, | „ 660(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵, | Šilim-assur, | „ 659(?) |

c. Part of Canon III, which I should judge to extend from B.C. 657 to 648:—

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵, | Sa-nabu-su, | B.C. 657(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵, | Labāši, | „ 656(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵, | Milki-ramu, | „ 655(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵, | Amyanu, | „ 654(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵, | Assur-nazir, | „ 653(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, | Assur-ilai, | „ 652(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵, | Assur-dur-uzur, | „ 651(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵, | Šagabbu, | „ 650(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵, | Bel-ḥarran-sadua, | „ 649(?) |
| 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, | Aḥi-ilai, | „ 648(?) |

With Aḥi-ilai ends Canon III, and although we have more than twenty names of later eponymes, we have no means at present of arranging them in chronological order. The eponym in whose year of office Cylinder B was written probably comes next, the name is 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎵 𐎠𐎵, Bel-sunu, B.C. 647(?); and the governor of Samaria, 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵, Nabu-šar-aḥi-su, probably succeeded in B.C. 646. The eponymy of Samas-dain-ani, in which Cylinder A is dated, was probably about B.C. 640, but we cannot even conjecture the dates of the others.

Samaria in the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon was still ruled by kings, and the fact of an Assyrian governor and eponym

ruling at Samaria cir. B.C. 646, shows that in the interval, Samaria had been incorporated into the Assyrian empire, instead of being only under tribute.

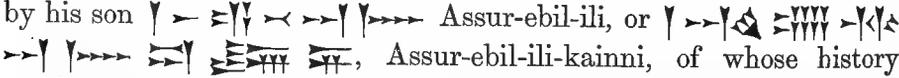
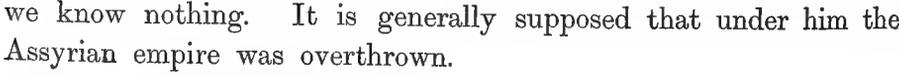
It seems on consideration of the foregoing campaigns, that the arrangement of the narratives is rather geographical than historical; but, as we have no other guide, we must assume that the principal events happened in something like the order in which we find them recorded. The first campaign, which was directed against Tirhakah, must have taken place at or near the commencement of Assurbanipal's reign, about B.C. 668 or 667; but we have no means of fixing the date of the second expedition, which was directed against Urdamane. The third campaign, directed against Tyre, is still more doubtful, and we have no knowledge of the length of time the city was besieged. I am even inclined to think that the investment of the city was commenced by Esarhaddon when he started on his Egyptian expedition, and that the city was besieged for some years. My reasons for this opinion are founded on a fragment at the British Museum, which I think belongs to Esarhaddon, and which states that the city of Tyre was besieged on the tenth expedition of the king; it afterwards mentions that he went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or Upper Egypt). On the other hand, some of the events mentioned under the third expedition in Cylinder A (the revolt of Psammitichus, death of Gyges, and submission of Ardys), which are not in the earlier copies (Cylinders B and C), evidently belong to a much later period in the history. These events are out of place attached to the third campaign, because in the next campaign (the fourth expedition of Cylinder B) the conquered people were transported to Egypt, which shows that Psammitichus had not yet revolted. We have no clue to the dates of the other expeditions, until we come to the revolt of Saulmugina. According to the dated tablets this rebellion commenced in the eponymy of Assurduruzur, and continued during the eponymies of his two successors, Sagab and Bilharransadua. We have no positive evidence of the date of the close of the revolt, but it was probably crushed in the eponymy of Ahiilai. Now these four eponymes are the last names in Canon III, and probably extended from B.C. 651 to 648.

It is evident that Assurbanipal reigned for some years after the last events mentioned in his annals, but the history of this period is unknown. One of the most important points connected with the latter part of his reign is the question of the government of Babylonia. Ptolemy's Canon gives after Saosduchin or Saulmugina, Ἰσινιλαδάνου or Κινηλαδάνου, with a reign of twenty-two years. These forms are corruptions of some Assyrian name, and several conjectures have been hazarded as to their origin, but it has not hitherto been discovered, and I was in ignorance of it myself until this sheet was in the press. I now find from the tablet K, 195, that this was a name of Assurbanipal. I have long known that the later Assyrian monarchs sometimes bore two names, one instance of this custom is printed in Cuneif. Inscript. Vol. III, p. 16, where we have 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, Assur-ebil-mukin-pal, the second name of Esarhaddon; the tablet was inscribed in the reign of Sennacherib (the father of Esarhaddon), who writes as follows: "To Assur-ah-iddina (Esarhaddon) my son, whom afterwards Assur-ebil-mukin-pal by name I called." Another instance is the name 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Bel-sum-iskun, or Bel-zikir-iskun; this is the second name of another late Assyrian king, either Shalmaneser or Sargon, probably the latter. In an enumeration of Assyrian monarchs Bel-zikir-iskun comes between Tiglath Pileser and Sennacherib. This custom of having two names may account for two facts, the absence of the name of Pul in our present Assyrian inscriptions, and the name of Sennacherib in Canon III, which is Assur-ah-iriba instead of Sin-ahi-iriba.

K, 195, gives another illustration of this practice, as it records the other name of Assurbanipal, which is 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶), Sin-inadina-pal (v. pal). I have already given inscriptions (pp. 4 to 13) which state that Esarhaddon associated his son Assurbanipal with himself on the throne; in accordance with that fact there are several tablets of the reign of Esarhaddon in which Assurbanipal's name is joined with his own in adoration to the deity Shamas. On most of these tablets the name of Assurbanipal is written as usual, but on one of them (K, 195) the name is twice given Sininadinapal; and it is easy to see that the first part of this name, Sininadina, is the origin of Isiniladanus, the only material change

being the alteration of the Assyrian *n* into the Greek *l*, a change which has been made likewise in several Babylonian names; thus the Greeks often turned the name of the god Nabu into Labo or Laby, (as in Nabonidus or Labynetus).

The following is a translation of an extract from Esarhaddon's tablet (K, 195): "Sin-inadina-pal son of Assur-ah-iddina, king of Assyria, whose name on this tablet is inscribed, to the Government in the earth, in the presence of thy great divinity Shamas great lord, he is proclaimed and established." The statement here that Sininadina-pal was proclaimed to the government shows him to be the same as Assurbanipal whom Esarhaddon joined with himself in the government. If Sininadinapal be the same as Assurbanipal king of Assyria, and the Isiniladanus king of Babylon of Ptolemy, then we ought to find inscriptions of Assurbanipal claiming the crown of Babylon; and accordingly we have on K, 3079, the mutilated titles of Assurbanipal as king of Babylonia; the translation is as follows: "Assurbanipal, the great king, king of nations, king of Assyria [king of] the four [regions], [high priest of Bab]-ili (Babylon), [king of Sumir and] Akkad (Upper and Lower Babylonia), [son of Assur]-ahi-iddina, [king of nations, king] of Assyria, [son of Sin]-ahi-iriba, [king of nations, king] of Assyria." The same text probably formed the heading of Cylinder C. We have beside a regnal date of Assurbanipal on a contract tablet from the city of Warka in Babylonia, as follows: , "city of Erech (Warka), month Nisan, 20th day, 20th year of Assurbanipal."

The fact that Samas-dain-ani, prefect of Babylon, took his turn as eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, also goes to prove the same point. The identification of Assurbanipal with the Kineladanus or Isiniladanus of Ptolemy shows us that Assurbanipal reigned forty-two years, and died in the year B.C. 626, when he was succeeded by his son , Assur-ebil-ili, or , Assur-ebil-ili-kainni, of whose history we know nothing. It is generally supposed that under him the Assyrian empire was overthrown.

NOTES, ADDITIONS, AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE

2. The name of Assurbanipal.

I have overlooked one form of the name of Assurbanipal, namely, . This is found in the Akkad or Turanian version of a bilingual tablet (K, 4933). This text is instructive, as it was evidently composed in the time of Assurbanipal, and shows that the Akkad form of writing was used for the composition of texts as late as the middle of the 7th century B.C.

„ , Bit-riduti.

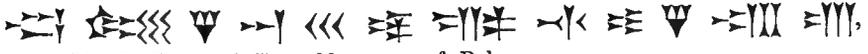
The first character in this name signifies “house,” the second “phallus;” it probably meant “the harem.” The first character  was very likely sounded E, as in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 2, No. cccxiv, and the whole name E-riduti. It was probably the palace of Evorita, in which the last king of Nineveh burnt himself.

4. Cylinder A, col. i, line 12, &c.

In this passage and several other places we have allusion to the Assyrian calendar and feasts. I have put together at the Museum a series of tablets (at present unpublished), giving a complete calendar, and in illustration of these passages, I will give a sketch of it. First, each month had a presiding deity or deities; these were:—

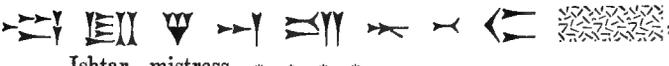
, Month Nisan of Anu and Bel.

, Month Iyyar of Hea, lord of mankind.

, Month Sivan of Sin, eldest son of Bel.

, Month Tammuz of the warrior Ninip.

, Month Ab of the mistress * * * *

, Month Elul of Ishtar, mistress * * * *

𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Month
Tisri of Shamas, warrior of the universe.

𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺,

Month Marchesvan of the ruler of all the Gods, Merodach.

𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺, Month Kislev of the great
warrior Nergal.

𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺,

Month Tebet of Papsukul, attendant of Anu and Ishtar.

𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺,

Month Sebat of Vul, leader of heaven and earth.

𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺, Month Adar of the
seven great Gods.

𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺, Month Veadar of Assur,
father of the Gods.

Each day of the month was a festival to a particular deity or deities, and this succession of festivals was the same in each month, so that a list of the daily festivals of one month answers for all the months of the year; these festivals are as follows (I have only transcribed the names of the festivals) :—

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺, 1st day of Anu and Bel.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺, 2nd day of the Goddesses.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺,

3rd day *nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺, 4th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺,

5th day of Bel-esir and Belat-esir.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺, 6th day of Vul and Sala.

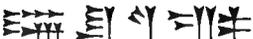
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺,

7th day *nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺, 8th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶𐎵𐎺, 9th day of Ninip and Gula.

PAGE

- 9, line 6.  means a "general" or "superior officer."
I have been in doubt as to the phonetic reading, and have given it in different places "sutsaki" and "ummati," perhaps both wrong. , "sak," means an "officer," and , "su-par," means "top or over," so that the reading may be "supar-saki," "one over the officers."
- 17, line 69. , "murranu" or "ḥarranu," a "march" or "road."
I have uniformly given the sound "murranu" to this word, but the town bearing this name was certainly "Ḥarran," and the examples given by Mr. Norris, Dict. p. 445, are in favour of "ḥar" for the first character.
- 19, line 87. , doubtful word. , which I have here translated "advance," probably means "fear."
- „ line 88. Doubtful passage. See p. 180, line 110.
- 23, line 117. Read "mas-gan-i" for "mas-gar-i." Heb. .
- „ line 124. "Ina a-di-ya iḥ-ḏu-u," "against my agreement sinned."
- 24, line 1. .
- I have given the form "seme" as the rendering; it is more probably "semat," as  prefixed to a root appears to indicate a form ending in a servile "t."
- „ line 6. "Mi-i-nu," "are numbered."
- 27, line 36. The following would be a better translation of this passage: "an agreement stronger than before I caused to restore, and with him I made."
- 28, line 38.  means "feet," but the phonetic value is uncertain; my reading, "sanguti," was founded on a passage in Cuneif. Inscr., Vol III, p. 15, col. i, but I now think "sitti" the correct reading.
- „ line 39. "Gir parzil sibbi" indicates a "straight sword," and not a "scimitar."
- „ line 47. I doubt if "Nebosezibani" was son of "Necho," but cannot suggest any other reading.
- 29, line 52.  must here mean a "region" or "place." See a parallel passage in Layard's Inscr., p. 95, line 152.
- 34, line 9. -ḥir-ti.
This word is from the same root as paḥir, the *p* and *ḥ* frequently interchanging in Assyrian.
- 35, line 16. .
- This passage occurs several times, and I have been very uncertain as to its meaning, principally from not knowing which of the phonetic values of  ought to be adopted here.  sometimes reads "mat-ti," "of a country," and at times "san-ti," "of a year" or "yearly." My latest opinion on this subject I have given in p. 317, line *d*.

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- 37, line 9. Substitute 𐤃𐤓 for 𐤃𐤓 in "yapi;" this word is found in three forms, "yati," "yapi," and "yasi."
- 38, line 11. Read "ši" for "si" in al-si-ma; it is doubtful if the "ma" belongs to this word.
- 40, line 24. Buṣṣurat; see Heb. בשׂר .
- „ line 28. "Ḥul-lu-uq," "to cut off."
- 42, line 34. Substitute "ṣun" for "sun."
- „ line 37. Substitute 𐤍𐤓𐤓 for 𐤍𐤓𐤓 in "i-na-kit-u."
- 45, line 55. 𐤍𐤓𐤓 𐤌 , "ṣimat," appears to mean anything fabricated; the root is 𐤍𐤓𐤓 .
- 54, line 75. 𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃 .
 Certainly denotes a female, and is equated with 𐤃𐤃 , but I have no faith in the value "sin-nis," which I have here adopted.
59. The passage in the addition to line 88, "their mouth drank," is literally "to their mouth it drank."
- „ line 89. Substitute 𐤍𐤓𐤓 for 𐤍𐤓𐤓 , in "nap-sat," and read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."
- 61, line 105. "Dazati." In a bilingual list I find 𐤃𐤓𐤓 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 as an equivalent of 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 , "zalti," "battle" or "fight." I had not noticed this when I translated it "depredations."
- „ line 110. Substitute 𐤓 for 𐤓 at beginning of line.
- 63, line 125. Read "ḥa" for "ha" in ḥa-dis.
- 67, line 38. Pa-an.
 This word, meaning "front" and "before," is often used for "time past."
- 73, line 4. The passage in brackets has been partially erased by the writer of the inscription.
- 76, line 28. "Sitkunu subtū," "was situated the seat."
 „ line 31. 𐤓𐤓𐤓 on a bilingual tablet is equated to 𐤓 𐤓𐤓 , "sa-rad;" it is used for "paint," but in this place perhaps means "dyed garments," Heb. שׂרד .
- 86, line 66. Read "ṣuqi" for "tarzi."
- 87, line 68. Substitute 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 for 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 .
- „ line 74. "Ubna," meaning very doubtful.
- 92, line 49. Read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."
- 103, line 49. The word "ḥarran," "road," in most similar cases follows "aḏbat;" perhaps it is accidentally omitted here.

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104, line 55. . I have given "sanat an-na" as the reading of this group, but the "anna" may possibly be the phonetic reading of the word; if so, it would read "sanna."

The passage from p. 104, line 58, to p. 105, line 63, present many difficulties, and the present reading can only be considered an approximation.

105, line 70. Read "nam" for "num" in sa-nam-ma.

106, line 71.  on some bilingual tablets is equated with , "gal-lu-u," the name of a class of spirits or genii, generally evil ones.

117, line 94. Substitute    , "mi-ri-ḥe-e-ti," for   , "mi-mut-e-ti."

„ line 3.   , "ša-ḥu-u," appears rather to be   , "ir-ḥu-u."

The passage from p. 118, line 5, to p. 126, line 79, is full of difficulties, and the translation in several places not to be relied on. By accident I have wrongly translated the monogram  as "zit," "rising," it is "erib," "setting;" but I doubt now if  is used here as a monogram. It is evident that my translation is wrong in lines 6 to 8, but I do not know what to propose instead.

The passage in lines 10 to 13 appears from the sense to refer to the Goddess Ishtar, but the verbs are in the third person masculine, only the pronoun , "sa," at the end, showing the feminine.

123, line 49. One copy has the variant  , "sa-at," for .

125, line 65. "Kurunnu" I believe to be "wine," from "karanu," a "vine" (see note to p. 267, line 73); Assurbanipal is here told to drink it.

127, line 84, to p. 128, line 93. The junction of the fragmentary texts is not quite certain, and consequently there is some doubt about the reading.

132, line 22. "Na-ganti" I have translated "musical instruments," thinking at the time of the Heb. ; this was a mistake, "naganti" means "treasures."

133, line 42. .

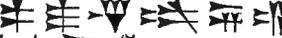
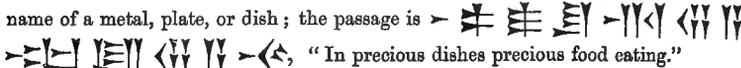
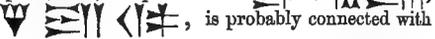
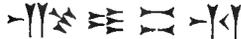
I have not recognized the true phonetic reading of this word until my work was completed. A bilingual gives the reading  , "ki-sad," and in the parallel passage Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 45, line 51, we have   , "ki-sa-di," the meaning is "neck."

135, line 57. . One bilingual gives  , "ša-ti," for the value of the character; another gives  , "ir-ti," which I now find to be the correct form.

„ line 59. "Kullumi," perhaps here means "to revile."

140, line *h*. "Mitpauu," the Assyrian name of the bow, is here written phonetically instead of the usual  ; another instance occurs in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 7, No. ix A.

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- 145, line 2. "Uz-zi," "an arrow;" see Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 42, line 57, where we have "mitpanate va uzzi," "bows and arrows."
- 153, line 22. The word "passar" is one of the most difficult in the Assyrian language.
 In Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 23, l. 28, we have  equated with , but this does not explain the present passage; my reading "state chairs" is a mere makeshift. In K, 2562, a passage occurs which leads me to the opinion that "passur" was the name of a metal, plate, or dish; the passage is , "In precious dishes precious food eating."
- 160, line 77. Restoration and reading not quite certain.
- „ line 79. "Ke-e;" the translation "only" for this word is doubtful; it may mean "then."
- 164, line 114. Te-bis-u.
 I have some doubt about this word, the Cylinder is fractured here.
- 165, line 122. .
 This word, whatever its sound, evidently means "a chariot;" the first part, , in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 16, l. 36, is equated with , "ruk-kip-ta;" the second part, , is probably connected with "is-du-du."
- 166, line 10. , zibi *bird*, means a "rapacious bird," Heb.  rapuit.
- „ line 11. , id *bird*, is probably connected with the Heb. , "ravenous bird," "bird of prey."
- 167, line 21, to p. 168, line 24, is a doubtful passage; no dependence can be placed in the present translation.
- „ line 25.  is shown by the bilingual tablets to be the equivalent of , p. 169, line 40.
- 169, line 34. Restore .
173. Something is lost between lines 25 and 26.
- 175, line 49. Read "a-ḥa-mis" for "a-ha-mis."
- 177, line 78. Last part doubtful.
- „ line 81. "Kili." This is a word meaning anything fabricated; in some cases it cannot mean "a boat."
- „ line 83, to p. 178, line 87. The reading is doubtful on account of the fractured state of the cylinder.

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181. Omen tablet inscriptions.

The style of these inscriptions is different to the ordinary annals, and they are more difficult to translate, so that although the general sense is correct, the separate words cannot always be relied on.

183, line *p*, to page 184, line *s*.

The construction of this passage is very singular, but I think the translation is quite correct.

189. Proclamation. This is a difficult inscription; the translation is doubtful in several places.

193, line 15. The word "rugged" was accidentally omitted.

„ line 16. .

The phonetic reading of this monogram is given on bilingual tablets as   , "qa-ne-a," Heb. ; the character  probably denotes some epithet, the whole meaning a particular kind of reed.

„ line 2. "Ikil pa," doubtful words.

206, line 49. Substitute  for .

208, line 65. "Şapti." I should have felt inclined to translate "tongues" here, but the word is clearly "lips."

213. A comparison of the list of towns in pp. 213, 214, 220, 241, 242, with the list in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 40, will show many interesting variations.

219, line 5. The form "uk-ta-ta-zir" from "kizir" is remarkable; this conjugation is very rarely used.

220, line 7. . This character means "ditto," but its sound is unknown to me.

227, line 75. "Susinaq."

I take the reading "Susinaq" from Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 57, line 18, and the Susian Inscriptions, lithographed by Loftus; but this reading for the characters in the present passage of Assurbanipal, although probable, is not certain.

228, line 77. "Lagamaru."

This is certainly the deity whose name enters into the proper name of Cheorlaomer.

229, line 87. .

This complicated character denoted a "statue," and the reading is given in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. III, p. 70, line 52, as   , "za-al-mu."

233, line 118. "Ḥuşi" is given in a bilingual as the equivalent of "raqip," "to ride."

„ line 123.   . A bilingual fragment gives   , sal-la-tu, as the reading of this character.

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234, line 7. .

This difficult word is the name of some wild animal; two phonetic readings are given on the tablets,   and  . I have no clue to the animal intended.

240, line 63. "Kibiri."

When I translated "kiribi," "burial," I had not noticed the excellent remarks of Mr. Norris, at the bottom of p. 532 of his Dictionary, where he proposes a similar meaning, "tomb," for this word.

249, line *d*. Substitute  for .

251, line 15. The meaning of the first part of this line is doubtful.

252. Letter from Ummanaldas to Assurbanipal.

The Assyrian copy of this letter is probably a translation from the Elamite original; it is obscure in several places, and many of the forms are unusual.

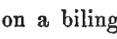
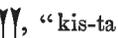
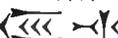
260, line 5. For "bit-zin," read "bit-zer;" the meaning is "desert house" or "tent."

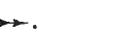
261, line 15. Substitute  for  in "kap-tu."

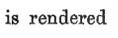
262, line 28. The meaning of the word "ulli" is unknown to me.

264. .

The meaning of this character is "anyone," or "so and so." See Mr. Fox Talbot's Glossary, Part II, p. 75. I would suggest the reading "aiumma" for this word.

267, line 71.  , on a bilingual tablet , is rendered  , "kis-ta;" the most common form is  , "kis-ti."

„ line 73.   .

In Cuneif. Inscip., Vol. II, p. 45, line 59,   is rendered    , "amur-karanu (?)." , "karanu," I believe means "the vine." Heb.  "a vine-yard," Lev. xix, 10.

274, line 31. Here Cyl. A gives "people of Assyria, but Cyl. B, p. 286, line 10, gives "people of Arabia."

275, line 33. "Bab-maḥiri."

Mr. Fox Talbot has suggested to me the meaning "market-place" for this word, from the Heb. .

„ lines 33 to 36. This is a difficult passage.

The translation of line 34 is very doubtful. The same must be said of the parallel passage in Cylinder B.

280, lines 87 to 90. A difficult passage, translation doubtful.

281, line 96. "Usu" is probably the Hosah of Joshua, ch. xix, v. 29.

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287. There are some lines wanting between lines 20 and 21.

288, line 37. First part of name very doubtful.

289, line 39. Read "zer" for "zin."

290, line 56. Substitute - for -.

297, line 5.   , mostly written  .

A bilingual tablet gives the reading   "sab (?) -di." Heb. שַׁבִּי; the bilingual passage is among a number of titles of Nebo, and reads "Holding the great sceptre, director of the world."

301, line 118. "Şahmasti" is probably connected with "şihu," "a revolt;" it is    , şî-hu-mas-tu, in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 32, l. 40, and    , şî-îi-mas-ti, in an unpublished tablet of Assurbanipal.

302, line 8. , the monogram for "a sheep," I believe, means "a sacrifice," and , "niqa," "a libation," Heb. נִקָּה; the verbal form "niqa" came to mean "to sacrifice" as well as "to pour out."

„ line 11. The words "adi Ili" are doubtful, on account of a fracture.

305, line 7. The  at the end of this line cannot mean "her," as Mr. Norris suggests, Dict. p. 623, because it also occurs in the other version of this inscription which is dedicated to the God Nebo.

308, line 31, to p. 311, line 59.

This passage is so defective that little reliance can be placed in the reading.

313, line 78.    . A bilingual tablet gives    , e-ri-ni, as the equivalent of this monogram.

315, line 27. Read "si" for "şi" in si-đi.

CHRONOLOGICAL REMARKS

ON THE HISTORY OF

ASSURBANIPAL,

CALLED ALSO

ASSURBANI,* AND ASNAPPAR,† WRITTEN CORRUPTLY ACRAGANES,‡

Who reigned at Nineveh from B.C. 668 to 627; the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus.

BY J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.

THE Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, are of great interest to the historical inquirer, as affording accurate points of contact between Egyptian, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Lydian history, and as throwing light upon several doubtful points in the comparative chronology of these four nations.

I. AS REGARDS EGYPT.

I come at once to the valuable discovery made by Mr. George Smith, the translator of the foregoing history, that the date of the revolt of Psammetichus I, king of Egypt, from the dominion of the Assyrians, which I assume to be equivalent to the date of his putting down the Assyrian governors set over Egypt by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, called “the dodecarchy” by Herodotus and Diodorus, and establishing himself as sole monarch of that country, was the year B.C. 652-1. The establishment of this single date seems to me to lead to so many important results in history as to justify some detail, while examining the grounds upon which it rests.

We are all aware that Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian, in the days of Philadelphus, assuming that his reckoning is truly

* G. Smith.

† Ezra iv. 10.

‡ Castor and Abydenus.

represented to us by Africanus, in the third century, placed the death of Necho I, the father of Psammetichus, in the year B.C. 655, and the accession of Psammetichus in 654, allowing for no interval between the two reigns: thus—

XXVIth DYNASTY—OF NINE SAITE KINGS.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----|
| Stephinales | 7 years, | from B.C. | 675 |
| Nechepsos | 6 " | " | 668 |
| Necho I | 8 " | " | 662 |
| Psammetichus | 54 " | " | 654 |
| Necho II | 6 " | " | 600 |
| Psammuthis | 6 " | " | 594 |
| Vaphres (or Hophra) .. | 19 " | " | 588 |
| Amasis | 44 " | " | 569 |
| Psammecherites | 6 months, | " | 525 |

Altogether 150 years and 6 months.

XXVIIth DYNASTY—OF EIGHT PERSIAN KINGS.

| | |
|---|--|
| Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign over the | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 525 \\ \text{to} \\ 519 \end{array} \right.$ |
| Persians, reigned over Egypt six years * .. | |

This reckoning is peculiar to Manetho, as copied by Africanus, both as regards the date of the death of Necho I, and the date of the death of Cambyses. Both dates, however, I believe to be correct. But the copyist is, I think, incorrect in placing the accession of Psammetichus immediately after the death of his father, who was merely one of twelve kings in lower Egypt, not sovereign both of upper and lower Egypt. So that Psammetichus could not by inheritance lay claim to the title to the throne of the whole kingdom so early as B.C. 654. If we modify this statement, as seems to be required, by allowing an interval of two years between the death of Necho and the actual accession of Psammetichus, during which time Psammetichus was once compelled to fly from Egypt, that is when the king of Ethiopia had slain his father,† and once again confined by the other eleven kings to the lower parts of Egypt, as related by Herodotus, it will bring us to the same year B.C. 652–1 for the time of his becoming sole and absolute king of upper and lower Egypt. This testimony of Manetho is valuable for its independence of other reckonings of the reigns of the XXVIth Dynasty. Yet it has never been accepted by chronologists, owing to uncertainty as to the

* Cambyses reigned from 529 to 518, and died in May, 518. His first year in Egypt was 525, though Psammecherites then reigned; 518, his last, was counted to the Magi.

† Herodotus ii, 152.

proper mode of adjusting the reckoning of the intermediate reigns from Psammetichus to Cambyses, after curtailing ten years from the sum total of the separate reigns, as known from monumental sources, which together amount to 160 years and 6 months, not 150 and 6 months, as stated by Africanus. Even Africanus himself, who makes the deduction of ten years, does it incorrectly, by shortening the reign of Necho II, and making it six instead of sixteen years, rather than lapping over the reigns of Apries and Amasis.

In the year 1864 I pointed out,* in reply to a paper written by Dr. Hincks in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, how Mariette's discovery of the tombs of the sacred bulls buried at Memphis in the successive reigns of Tirhakah, Psammetichus, Necho II, Psammuthis, Apries, Amasis, Cambyses, and Darius, had supplied the means of correctly adjusting these several reigns: how from these Apis-monuments it was proved to be incorrect to assign to both Apries and Amasis the full length of their reigns, inasmuch as the Apis whose burial took place in August of the 12th year of Apries was followed by an Apis installed in February of the 5th year of Amasis, showing that the 5th of Amasis must have followed within six or eighteen months of the 12th year of Apries; and how these two kings, therefore, must have been living, if not reigning, together for ten or eleven years. From the Apis-tablets, therefore, we learn that the last year of Apries was concurrent with the 11th year of Amasis, B.C. 559, and by a comparison of these tablets with other Egyptian monuments we obtain, what I conceive to be the correct arrangement of the reigns: thus—

| | | | | |
|---|-----------|--------|-------------|-------|
| Psammetichus | 54 years, | from | 2 Feb. B.C. | 652 |
| Necho II | 15½ " | " | 19 Jan. " | 598 |
| Psammuthis | 5½ " | " | 16 " " | 583 |
| Apries, or Hophra | 19 " | " | 15 " " | 577 |
| Amasis, counting from his
conquest of Apries | } 44 " | " | 12 " " | 569 |
| From the death of Apries | | 35 † " | " | 9 " " | 558 |
| Psammecherites | 6 months, | " | " " | 525 |
| Cambyses | 6 years, | " | 1 " " | 524 |
| Magi | 7 months, | " | " " | 518 |
| Darius | 36 years, | " | 30 Dec. " | 518 |

* *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, Oct., 1864.

† Diodorus has 55 in our present copies. Amasis was still alive in 524, according to Ctesias. Some called this his 35th year: others called it 2nd of Cambyses.

The same result is obtained from Herodotus,* who tells us that when Amasis, who was of low rank by birth, and little honoured at first by the Egyptians, had conquered Apries of the blood royal of Egypt, he dared not to put the king to death, but allowed him to remain in his own palace at Sais, till he was put to death, as we are told by Josephus,† in the 23rd or 24th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and by that king's command; or, as Herodotus relates, by the partizans of Amasis, who were jealous of his being allowed to live. Apries was then buried with kingly honours, and a sumptuous monument erected by Amasis to his memory. After the death of Apries, Amasis no doubt reckoned his own reign as 44 years, counting from the conquest of his master; but the priests of Memphis who inscribed the tablets, and also the neighbouring nations, would still have looked upon Apries as legitimate king as long as he remained alive, that is, till B.C. 559. Thus while the 4th year of Amasis, 566, was reckoned by the priests as the 12th of Apries, Ezekiel,‡ in the 7th year of Amasis, still speaks of Hophra as Pharaoh, while apparently alluding to his deprivation of power, in these words:—“I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and it shall not be bound up to be healed.”

A similar and striking instance of this double mode of reckoning regnal years, on a change of dynasty from kingly to plebeian line, and one bearing, as we shall see, on the chronology of this period, is found in the time of Herod the great. For when he had conquered and deposed Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean kings of Judæa, at the close of the sabbatical year B.C. 37, three years after he had been appointed king by the Senate of Rome, Josephus tells us that not even torture could induce the Jews to recognize him as king so long as Antigonus, of native kingly race, which Herod was not, remained alive. Antigonus, therefore, was at length put to death by Mark Antony, as Apries had been put to death by the partizans of Amasis, that Herod might reign; and Josephus|| records a double reckoning of the years of his reign, counting thirty-seven years from his appointment by the Senate, or rather perhaps from

* Herod. ii, 172.

† Jos. Ant. x, ix, 7.

‡ Ezek. xxx, 21.

|| Ibid. xvii, viii. 1.

his arrival in Judæa as king, and thirty-four years from the time of the murder of Antigonus, in the spring of B.C. 36.*

In the same article, I referred to an argument, the force of which was fully recognized by Dr. Hincks, drawn from the date of the total solar eclipse of B.C. 585, which put an end to the six years' war between Cyaxares and Alyattes king of Lydia, which war was over before the capture of Nineveh. Dr. Hincks laboured hard to show that the total eclipse of B.C. 603 must have been the eclipse referred to by Herodotus, though Alyattes, according to the Parian Chronicle, had then been only two years on the throne, and it is now determined by astronomers that the shadow of that eclipse passed over the Red Sea, and not near Asia Minor; for he well knew, as most other chronologists also admit, that the eclipse and battle referred to must have happened close upon the time of the fall of Nineveh, and therefore close upon the time of the death of Necho II, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. So that Pharaoh Necho who fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who sought his life (Jerem. xlvi, 26), after 585, could not have died much earlier than the year B.C. 583, where I place his death. And as Psammetichus began to reign in the 70th year preceding Necho's death, the accession of Psammetichus by this argument also would be placed not earlier than B.C. 652.

Mr. George Smith, from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, has led us, by a perfectly different process, to the same conclusion. He has given the list of Archons eponymes at Nineveh, together with their dates (p. 321), from the accession of Assurbanipal, in B.C. 668, to the year 648: and although he does not bind himself to any particular date for the first year of Psammetichus, he has shown that the revolt of Psammetichus from the dominion of Assyria, which began in the year of the death of Gyges king of Lydia, was connected with the revolt of Saulmugina king of Babylon, which broke out in the year that Assurdurusur was archon at Nineveh, that is, in the year B.C. 652-1 (66, 67, 151, 181).†

It will have been observed in the foregoing history, that Assurbanipal speaks of Gyges king of Lydia, having "sent his forces to the

* Herod's 35th year was not completed. He died before the month Nisan B.C. 1, and, according to Jewish custom, Archelaus' first year was reckoned from B.C. 2.

† See also *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische sprache*, Sept. 1868, p. 98; also an article in the *North British Review*, July, 1870, p. 354.

aid of Psammetichus king of Egypt (Muzur), who had thrown off the yoke" (p. 66). Now those forces are unquestionably the same as the body of Carians and Ionians in brazen armour spoken of by Herodotus* and Diodorus,† with whose assistance he conquered the other eleven kings of the dodecarchy, and made himself master of the throne. The chronology, therefore, of the period, after making some allowance for differences between Egyptian and Assyrian modes of relating the same facts, seems to run thus :—Necho's last year, as stated by Manetho, was B.C. 655. He was slain by the king of Ethiopia in that year. In the same year, according to Herodotus, Psammetichus was expelled from Egypt either by the Assyrians or Ethiopians, and fled into Asia Minor, where he was welcomed, as appears, at the court of Gyges. Gyges, then in his last year, took up his cause, and prepared to send a force of Carians and Ionians to support his claim to the throne of Egypt; both thus casting off their allegiance to the king of Assyria. Assurbanipal, who was then engaged in war with Elam, and unable to detach any of his forces, imprecates curses on the head of Gyges, who, in answer to his prayer, is slain by the Cimmerians, either in 655, or in the beginning of 654 (p. 67), and Psammetichus, in the same or the following year, is recalled to Egypt by the people of Sais. Being, however, suspected of ambitious designs upon the throne by the eleven other confederate kings, and not yet, therefore, reckoned sole king of Egypt, he is confined by them to the lower parts about the Delta; when suddenly, in B.C. 653, a body of Carians and Ionians having landed in the Delta, he puts himself at their head, and in the course of that year conquers the eleven confederates and makes himself supreme. His first year, therefore, was probably 653, though his reign would not be counted till the month Thoth in the following year, that is, from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

The correctness of this view of the history is confirmed with exactness by a comparison of Diodorus with the records of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Diodorus relates that when the king of Ethiopia, whom he wrongly supposes to be Sabbaco, but who was really Tirhakah, had, in obedience to a vision, departed from Egypt, and returned to Ethiopia, there was anarchy in Egypt during two

* Herod. ii, 152.

† Diodorus, lib. i, Rhodom. p. 59.

years. The Assyrian account, as collected from the annals of Esarhaddon, is somewhat different. Esarhaddon records that he conquered Tirhakah about the year B.C. 671-670, and compelled him to fly into Ethiopia, and that the Assyrians then divided Egypt into twenty districts, and set over them so many petty kings, and governors. The annals of Assurbanipal then commence by recording how, in the year 668, when Esarhaddon was approaching his death, Tirhakah suddenly returned from Ethiopia, turned out the kings and governors, and again seized the throne; how he in turn was driven out a second time by Assurbanipal, and how the kings, *twelve* of whom bear Egyptian names, and governors were replaced, strengthened, and "*joined in covenant*" (p. 23). This union in covenant to support each other may be dated from B.C. 667, and continued for some few years. But "*afterwards,*" let us say in 664, they entered into a conspiracy with Tirhakah, and invited him to become their supreme lord, instead of the Assyrians; still continuing their mutual covenant "*to help each other*" (p. 25). Here, then, are the two years of anarchy spoken of by Diodorus, during 669 and 668, very distinctly described, followed by a confederacy of twelve kings, and other governors, in B.C. 667. Diodorus then goes on to speak of this association of kings. For, after the two years of anarchy, he tells us that *twelve* principal governors conspired together at Memphis, and having *sworn to support each other*, made themselves kings, and administered the affairs of Egypt for 15 years; and that at the end of these 15 years, (*πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη*, twice repeated in words), the government came into the hands of Psammetichus by the aid of a force of Arabians, Carians, and Ionians, by whom he put down the other eleven kings.*

Thus while the Assyrian and Greek accounts sufficiently support each other as to facts, the chronology of the period has fortunately been preserved by Diodorus with complete exactness. For, if we deduct two years of anarchy and fifteen years of dodecarchy, together seventeen years, from the end of the year B.C. 670, when Tirhakah first fled from Esarhaddon into Ethiopia, we arrive again at the same date, B.C. 652, for the accession of Psammetichus.

I submit, therefore, that unless reason can be shown for doubting

* Diodorus i, p. 59.

the accuracy of Diodorus, there is no room for disputing that the first year of the reign of Psammetichus, as king of upper and lower Egypt, was counted from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

But perhaps the question may be raised, whether, admitting that Psammetichus revolted from Assyria in B.C. 652, it is not possible that his regnal years may have been counted from the time when his father Necho I was replaced on the throne of Sais by Assurbanipal, after he had been carried prisoner to Nineveh, that is, in B.C. 662, and when his son Neboshasban (which may probably be the Assyrian name given to Psammetichus) was made one of the dodecarchy, or a petty king, at Atribes (p. 28). The one, true, and sufficient answer, however, to this question, never to be set aside,* must still be, that unless the total solar eclipse which put an end to the six years Lydo-Median war can be placed above the year B.C. 585, where astronomers have now finally fixed it, either by adopting the total eclipse of B.C. 610, where Ideler proposed to place the last battle, or the total eclipse of B.C. 603, for which Dr. Hincks so earnestly, but unsuccessfully contended, which are the only two alternatives, the fall of Nineveh and the death of Necho II, who went up against Nineveh, saying, "I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof,"† cannot be placed earlier than about B.C. 583, nor the first year of Psammetichus, therefore earlier than about B.C. 652. The Apis-tablets testify that Psammetichus reigned over Egypt fifty-four years, and from the same authority we know that Necho II completed about fifteen years and a half. This joint period, therefore, of sixty-nine years and a half, beginning after the fall of the dodecarchy, in Feb. B.C. 652, and ending after the eclipse, in the summer of B.C. 583, when Nebuchadnezzar had been placed in command of his father's army, more than a year before his father's death, becomes thus, through the medium of the annals of Assurbanipal, one of the most accurately fixed periods in ancient history.

Again, the priests of Memphis registered the birth of an Apis in the 26th year of Tirhakah, and his death in the 20th year of Psammetichus, 20th day of the 12th month, Messori.‡ So that, allowing Tirhakah to have reigned twenty-eight years, as "king of Egypt and Ethiopia" (Muzur and Kush), and his son Urdumane

* See Herod. i, 103. † Jerem. xlvi, 8. ‡ Mariette's S erap eum de Memphis, p. 28.

(Rudammon) only two years, till he was ejected in the second expedition of Assurbanipal (p. 52), together thirty years; and supposing Psammetichus to have begun to reign in B.C. 662, Tirhakah would have become king of Egypt (Muzur) as early as 692. But this is not true. For when in the year B.C. 689=14th Hezekiah, Tirhakah came to fight with Sennacherib, he is spoken of by Isaiah, not as king of Egypt, but simply as king of Kush (כּוּשׁ).* So that Tirhakah was not yet king of Muzur as well as Kush so early as B.C. 692, nor did he become king of Egypt till after 689; and Psammetichus, who reigned not less than thirty years after the accession of Tirhakah to the throne of Egypt, could not, therefore, have begun to reign so early as 662.

The year B.C. 689 marks the time of a great chronological epoch in Jewish history. For in this year the affairs of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, became closely interwoven with the political interests of the king of Jerusalem.

1. It is the year, in the spring of which the 14th of Hezekiah began, and in which Merodach-Baladan, son of Baladan† king of Babylon, sent messengers to inquire concerning his health, and “of the wonder done in the land.”
2. It is the year in which Sethos, or Zeet, the last of the priests of Vulcan, according to Herodotus,‡ and the last of the Tanite dynasty of Egyptian kings, according to Manetho, in the eighty-fifth year of the XXIIIrd Dynasty, counted from the period of the first Olympiad (July, 776-772), was opposed to Sennacherib in his campaign into Arabia and towards Egypt, when Tirhakah came out of Ethiopia, and when the army of Sennacherib was miraculously destroyed.
3. It is the year, in the autumn of which a Jewish Sabbatical year began, which was followed by the observance of a year of Jubilee, which could only take place once in forty-nine years; and which is shown by the words of Isaiah, “ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself, and the second year that which springeth of the same.”§ .

* Isaiah xxxvii, 9.

† “Baladan” is here written short for Merodach-Baladan, as we find Shalman written for Shalmaneser, Jareb or Irib for Sennacherib, Saracus or Sharezar for Nergal-Sharezar.

‡ Herod ii, 141.

§ Isaiah xxxvii, 30; Lev. xxv, 5, 9, 11.

4. It is the year, on the 11th of January of which, Hezekiah being sick, the shadow "on the steps of Ahaz" in the king's sick chamber, returned "ten steps" which it had gone down.

The following are the elements of the solar eclipse at Jerusalem which caused this phenomenon, as computed by Mr. Hind, introducing Hansen's last value of the moon's secular equation:—

Annular Solar Eclipse, B.C. 689, January 11.

Greenwich Mean Time of Conjunction in R.A., Jan. 10^d 20^h 45^m 25^s*

| | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------------|
| R. A. of ☉ and ☾ | .. .. . | 285° 15' 26".1 |
| Hor. Mot. in R.A. ☉ | .. .. . | 2 43 .6 |
| „ ☾ | .. .. . | 32 8 .1 |
| Declination ☉ | .. .. . | − 23 2 41 .1 |
| „ ☾ | .. .. . | − 22 14 57 .3 |
| Hor. Mot. in Decl. ☉ | .. .. . | + 0 16 .2 |
| „ ☾ | .. .. . | + 6 15 .1 |
| Hor. Parallax ☉ | .. .. . | 9 .0 |
| „ ☾ | .. .. . | 54 40 .2 |
| Semi-diameter ☉ | .. .. . | 16 11 .5 |
| „ ☾ | .. .. . | 14 53 .9 |

AT JERUSALEM THE ECLIPSE WOULD BE ANNULAR:—

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|---------|----|----|----|--|
| First Contact | | Jan. 10 | 20 | 28 | − | } Astronomical
Mean Times
at
Jerusalem. |
| Commencement of annular phase | | | 22 | 13 | 48 | |
| Ending | „ | | 22 | 21 | 15 | |
| Last Contact | .. .. . | 11 | 0 | 6 | − | |

∴ The duration of annular phase = 7^m 27^s

1871, July 3.

J. R. HIND.

* Mr. Hind's computation of the time of this eclipse at Jerusalem is made in conformity with the most recent theory of the moon's secular acceleration, and, according to this theory, it appears to be soon after 10 o'clock A.M., the sun's altitude being then 30°. And he suggests that the appearance of a ring-formed sun, for between seven and eight minutes, may have been spoken of as "the wonder done in the land." The Astronomer Royal, computing by Greenwich elements in 1854, reckoned the time as about 10 minutes after 11 o'clock A.M., which appears to me to be nearer the truth. The words of Isaiah are, as it were, the record of an astronomical observation at Jerusalem of the moon's latitude and longitude on the 11th Jan. B.C. 689, taken in a dark chamber in the king's palace, on an instrument in the form of steps, set at the angle of the latitude of Jerusalem, 31° 47' N.: and the theory of course must be corrected by the observation. I have explained my idea of the nature of the Dial, or "Steps of Ahaz," in a recent work, "Messiah the Prince," 2nd Edit. 1869: according to which I conceive that the sun must have risen to about 35° in altitude on that day at the time of its greatest obscuration, and that the path of the shadow must have fallen four or five degrees north of Jerusalem: while the time was about twenty minutes before noon. The effect described could only have happened a few days before or after the winter solstice, when the shadow cast by the sun on the steps would be nearly parallel with them.

more especially as this reckoning is supported by the great authority of Clement of Alexandria. For Clement,* one of the most learned men of his day, of the same city as Ptolemy the astronomer, and of about the same date, speaking of the captivity of Jechoniah king of Judah, tells us that he was carried "captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar the king in the seventh year of his reign over the Assyrians, in the second year of the reign of Vaphres over the Egyptians, in the archonship of Philippus (Phœnippus) at Athens, in the first year of the forty-eighth Olympiad," that is, in B.C. 588. Clement, therefore, thus places the first year of Apries in B.C. 589, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in 595. This reckoning at first sight seems to be admissible; for it just allows room for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus, spoken of so distinctly by Herodotus as one of the principal events of his reign,† which, if commenced at the time of his accession in 652, might have placed him in possession of that city in 623, and also allows room for the twenty-eight years of Scythian occupation of Asia before the fall of Nineveh,‡ which, if counted from 623, might bring the fall of Nineveh and first of Nebuchadnezzar to B.C. 595. For the Scythians we know found Psammetichus in possession of Ashdod on their arrival in Palestine, and we read that "Azotus, or Ashdod, and Ascalon feared" the army of the king of Assyria "greatly."§ This reckoning of Clement, however, will not bear the test of examination. For neither Cylinder B, of the foregoing annals, dated probably in the archonship of Belsunu, B.C. 647, nor Cylinder A, dated probably in 640, in the archonship of Samas-dain-ani (p. 321), make any allusion to this siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus; while we read in the history of the ninth expedition of Assurbanipal, B.C. 647, of the submission of the Arabians of Nabatea, of the punishment of Akko and Usu on the return of the Assyrians through Palestine (p. 299), without a word of allusion to Psammetichus or Ashdod; and in a tenth expedition, B.C. 645, spoken of in a fragment in the British Museum (which, however, Mr. Smith thinks may possibly belong to the reign of Esarhaddon, but which may refer to the reign of Assurbanipal), after mention of the siege

* Clement Alex. Strom. 1. See Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. iv, p. 434.

† Herod. ii, 157.

‡ Herod. i, 105.

§ Judith ii, 28.

of Tyre, in the reign of Baal, it is said that the king's army went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or upper Egypt), showing that the authority of Assurbanipal was neither yet so low in Egypt, nor that of Psammetichus yet so high, as to allow of the continuous siege of Ashdod so early as B.C. 645. If we may surmise that Psammetichus drove the king of Assyria out of Egypt in that year, and began to lay siege to Ashdod in 644, this fortress would have come into possession of Psammetichus in B.C. 615, and, allowing five years' occupation to the Egyptian king before the arrival of the Scythians, that is, till 610, the fall of Nineveh and the first of Nebuchadnezzar would have happened in B.C. 583, as I have already determined. Clement's date, therefore, is probably placed twelve years too high. Of this, however, we may be quite certain, that he knew of no sufficient authority for Ptolemy's date, B.C. 604, for the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which must be looked upon as Ptolemy's own invention, and which is absolutely inadmissible. For if the Scythians entered Palestine twenty-eight years before 604, that is, in B.C. 632, room cannot be found for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod after B.C. 652. I have frequently drawn attention to the worthlessness of the dates in Ptolemy's Canon attached to the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon; and it must be borne in mind that Ptolemy's reckoning, though justly relied upon when supported by astronomical data, is not necessarily to be held in the same estimation when astronomical data are wanting, or, in fact, as in this instance, bearing against it. Both Ptolemy and Clement must be set down as incorrect as regards the date of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; but we are indebted to Clement for confirming the synchronism of the first of Nebuchadnezzar with the last year of Necho II, which is in agreement with the interpretation of Josephus, and which is so clearly implied by Jeremiah where he writes,*—"Pharaoh (Necho) and them that trust in him I will deliver into the hands of those who seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon."

Clement goes on to state,—“The captivity (that is of Jechoniah, in the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588) lasted for seventy years, and

* Compare Jerem. xxv, 1, with xlvi, 2, 26. Mr. Smith, I think, is incorrect in supposing that this passage applies to Pharaoh Hophra. Nebuchadnezzar was in Egypt when he heard of his father's death, in B.C. 581, after the battle of Carchemish.

ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians," that is, in B.C. 518, when Darius was about thirty-seven years of age. Now here it is that the whole system of Clement's chronology, as well as of the common scheme of reckoning, breaks down. For, *à fortiori*, if seventy years, counted from the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, end in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the "seventy years' desolations of Jerusalem," which began in the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, and ended, as Daniel tells us, in the reign of "Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes,"* must have come to end in the reign of the same king, Darius Hystaspes. But this king, as Daniel tells us, took the throne of Babylon on the death of Belshazzar, when "about three score and two years old,"† that is, in the year B.C. 492, not when he was about thirty-seven years old in 518.

The true reckoning now comes out in perfect plainness, thus:—

| | | |
|--|---|-------------|
| Psammetichus and his son Necho II reign in succession | } | B.C.
652 |
| for sixty-nine years and a half, till the 1st year of | } | to |
| Nebuchadnezzar, in association with his father, from | } | 583 |
| Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem in his 19th year after | } | 563‡ |
| the death of his father | } | |
| Jerusalem remains desolate seventy full years, till Darius | } | 493 |
| puts an end to the kingdom or satrapy of Babylon at | } | |
| the age of 62 § | } | |
| Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, are counted from | } | 3 |
| the first of Darius over Babylon to the birth of Christ, | } | |
| at the time when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor | } | |
| of Syria \|\| . . . . . | } |  |

This is manifestly the true outline of chronology from the time of the accession of Psammetichus to the birth of Christ, and greatly supported by the Annals of Assurbanipal; while it is entirely subversive of the common reckoning, which is built upon many false foundations:—

1. On the assumption, that Psammetichus king of Egypt began to reign more than ten years before the expiration of the dodecarchy in Egypt, which cannot be true.

* Dan. ix, 2.

† Dan. v, 31.

‡ This date is confirmed by Demetrius.

§ Darius died at the age of 72, according to Ctesias. He began to reign in B.C. 517, and completed 36 years.

|| As discovered by Dr. Zumpt.

2. On the adoption of the dates of Ptolemy the astronomer, in connexion with the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon, dates unknown to Africanus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius, and resting on no astronomical foundation.
3. On the assumption, that the battle fought by Alyattes king of Lydia in his sixth campaign against the Medes, and ended by a total solar eclipse, was fought in B.C. 610, or 603; that is, either five years before Alyattes came to the throne, or before he had reigned four years.
4. On the absurd assumption, that Astyages king of Media, who married a Lydian princess in the year of the eclipse, B.C. 585, was conquered by his grandson Cyrus king of Persia in B.C. 559, when Cyrus was 40 years of age.*
5. On the assumption, that the record of the taking of Babylon by "Darius," † in the Book of Daniel, is a record of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.
6. On the assumption that king "Darius" who lived in the time of Daniel, was king Cyaxares.
7. On the assumption, that king Cambyses, who lived not long before the time of Ezra, was called by Ezra "Ahasuerus;" and that Bardes, or Gomates, the usurper in the days of Darius, was known to Ezra by the title "Artacshastha." ‡

I propose, on the other hand, to adhere strictly to the foregoing outline of chronology in what follows, and in doing so, I think it will be found that many apparently conflicting records in ancient history readily fall into place.

II. AS REGARDS ASSYRIA.

Assurbanipal, as we have seen, was associated on the throne with his father Esarhaddon in May, B.C. 668, in which year his father died. He began, therefore, to reign alone in the year B.C. 667.

* Hales' Chronology, Vol. i, p. 269.

† Herodotus speaks of Darius, son of Hystaspes, as king of the Medes.

‡ To the above contradictions may be added,—That the capture of Samaria by "Shalmanezzer," was the capture of Samaria by Sargon.

The exact duration of his reign cannot be gathered from the Assyrian records. But, by comparing these records with the Babylonian Canon and other sources of information, it may be inferred, with much probability, that he reigned forty-two years. From the foregoing history it appears that, on the death of Esarhaddon, whose principal residence was at Babylon, his younger son Saulmugina (the Sammughes of Polyhistor) had been left as viceroy on the throne of Babylon; and, according to the Babylonian Canon, he reigned there twenty years, till the year B.C. 648, when, being found in rebellion against his elder brother Assurbanipal, he was conquered at Babylon, and immediately burnt to death (163). Saulmugina is corruptly written in the Canon, Saosduchinus. Again, from the Babylonian Canon we learn that Kineladanus, who, according to Polyhistor, was brother of Sammuges, and therefore brother of Assurbanipal, or Assurbanipal himself,* succeeded him at Babylon, and reigned twenty-two years, till the year B.C. 626; after which Nabopalassar came to the throne. The years of Nabopalassar we know are astronomically fixed, by an eclipse in his third year, as beginning in B.C. 625. So that the two sons of Esarhaddon, who reigned in succession at Babylon, covered a period of exactly forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar.

Now, I have always maintained that Nabopalassar king of Babylon was also that king of Nineveh known to the Greeks by the title Sardanapalus, as indeed Polyhistor distinctly attests, when he relates that Sardanapalus having reigned twenty-one years married his son Nabuchodrosser to the daughter of Astyages;† and if we look to the list of Assyrian kings as given by Eusebius from Castor and Abydenus, we shall find it difficult to come to any other conclusion. For we there find the names of the three last kings of the Assyrian dynasty thus written:—

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Acraganes, who reigned | .. .. . | 42 years. |
| Thonos Concoleros, or Sardanapalus | .. .. . | 20 ,, |
| Ninus II (or Saracus) | .. .. . | 19 ,, |

* Mr. Smith identifies Kineladanus with Assurbanipal, p. 324. If so, he reigned 42 years.

† Probably a mistake for Astibares. Eupolemus writes—"Itaque Nabuchodonosorem, Babyloniorum regem, ubi rem quomodo ab Hieremia prænuntiata fuerat rescivisset, Astibarem (= Cyaxarem in Ctesia) Medorum regem, uti hujus expeditionis socius esse vellet, obsecrasse: conjunctoque Babyloniorum et Medorum exercitu—Joachimum regem vivum cepisse."—Muller's Fragments, Vol. iii, p. 229.

Thus the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus, called Acraganes, reigned forty-two years at Nineveh. Now, to assume that Acraganes reigned after Assurbanipal, who certainly was still on the throne about B.C. 640, would be to bring down the fall of Nineveh, in the time of Saracus, some eighty years below that date, that is to say, to about B.C. 560, which is quite out of the question; and as he cannot be identified with Esarhaddon, we can only conclude that Assurbanipal and Acraganes are one and the same king. Indeed Acraganes appears to be merely a corruption from Assurbani, to which form the name of Assurbanipal was sometimes contracted. While this king, therefore, as eldest son of Esarhaddon, occupied the throne of Nineveh for forty-two years, till the time of Sardanapalus, his brother and himself occupied the throne of Babylon in succession for forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar, who was called Sardanapalus. He reigned, therefore, from B.C. 668 to 626: the reign of his son Assur-ebil-ili being included probably in this last year, he having been associated with his father before his death.

To the great disturbance however, as I think, of the true history, it has been usual to identify Assurbanipal himself with Sardanapalus. Thus Professor Rawlinson writes,—“He was no doubt one of the two kings called Sardanapalus, celebrated by Hellanicus; he must have been the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes.”* This opinion is worthy of much respect, as having been adopted by the authorities of the British Museum, as indicated on the slabs brought from the palace of Assurbanipal. It may be observed, however, on the other hand, that as Callisthenes speaks of two kings called Sardanapalus, the one effeminate the other warlike,† so Herodotus also speaks of two kings, about the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C., both bearing the same title Labynetus, the first of whom, for reasons hitherto unexplained, yielded up the reins of government, and allowed his kingdom to be administered by his wife Nitocris; the second, known as the great king of Babylon, son of Labynetus and Nitocris, against whom Cyrus the Persian, grandson of Astyages, called *the mule*, had commenced warlike preparations,‡ when, as Megasthenes relates, being seized with frenzy, he ascended the upper

* Ancient Monarchies, Vol. ii, p. 502.

† Suidas, voce Sardanapalos.

‡ Herod. i, 188.

terrace of his palace, forewarned the Babylonians of the coming of a *Persian mule* who should capture Babylon, and suddenly died. So also Jewish records speak of two great kings, both called Nabuchodonosor, the one who was forsaken by his allies, wanting in military capacity, and given to feasting and luxury, viz., "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh,* whose dependent provinces made light of his commands, and sent away his ambassadors from them without effect and with disgrace;" the other, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar, who together with Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus,† conquered Nineveh, likened by Megasthenes to Hercules, who conquered Tyre, Egypt, and Jerusalem, and established the Babylonian empire. These two pairs of unwarlike and warlike kings, called Labynetus and Nabuchodonosor, can only be identified with the Nabopalassar and his son Nabuchodrossor of the Chaldean historians; and as it would be unreasonable to imagine three pairs of kings, bearing the same titles, living within the same range of time, and distinguished by the same characteristics of effeminacy and valour, there can be no question that Polyhistor is correct, and that Sardanapalus the effeminate represents Nabopalassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and Sardanapalus the warlike, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar himself; and that Labynetus, or Nabo-netzar, the husband of Nitocris, and Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh, are one and the same king. But again, this is exactly what Abydenus and Castor have told us, when they name the other title by which Sardanapalus was known. The most corrupt and incomprehensible form of the title is Thonos Concoleros, the least corrupt form perhaps being Makoscoleros, as written by Sycellus.‡ Now, "Mako," I conceive to be merely a corruption of Nabo; and Naboconcoleros no one can doubt would be a corruption of Nabuchodoneros, or Nabuchodonosor.

Thus Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, who reigned forty-two years, was predecessor of Sardanapalus, not Sardanapalus himself; and Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar, reigned twenty years over Nineveh. Thus also, the chronology of the empire of Assyria is brought down with distinctness to the year B.C. 606, the last year of the reign of Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus. And as during the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and Saracus, Nineveh and

* Judith i, 1, 11.

† Tobit xiv, 15.

‡ Syncellus Dind. Vol. i, p. 390.

Babylon formed parts of the same empire, so Nabopalassar, though fixing his palace at Babylon, like Esarhaddon, is properly described, as in the Book of Judith, as reigning at Nineveh.

The history now becomes somewhat obscure. Nevertheless, it lies before us, if we are willing to put together the scattered threads which have been preserved. For we learn from Cleitarchus that "Sardanapalus died of old age, after having been deprived of the empire of Syria," that is, Assyria. It was not he, therefore, that burned himself in his own palace. Aristobulus* informs us that Sardanapalus was buried at Ankiāle, near Tarsus, and that the inscription on his tomb declared that he was descended from Anacynderaxes, or Anabaxares, both probably corruptions of Sennacherib. He may have been descended, therefore, through a female line from Esarhaddon and Sennacherib: and so claimed the empire of right on the death of Assur-ebil-ili. And this is the meaning of a peculiar expression used by Abydenus, who, after speaking of Axerdis or Esarhaddon, writes,—"*hinc Sardanapalus exortus est.*" That he was still alive as late as B.C. 585, we know from Herodotus, who says that it was "Labynetus of Babylon,"—he does not say king—who with Syennesis of Cilicia brought about peace between the Medes and Lydians in that year, which well accords with the fact of his residence at Tarsus; and from Berosus we learn, that at the time of the fall of Nineveh (583) he was incapable of heading his own army, which he placed under his son Nebuchadnezzar. All this, again, is perfectly consistent with the fact that his wife Nitocris was reigning at Babylon when Nineveh was finally overthrown in that year.

Now what we wish to know is, what was doing at Nineveh during the twenty-four years from 606 to 583, while Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar was taking his ease at Tarsus, and while Nitocris was holding the reins of government at Babylon.

If we turn to Agathias, who follows the history of Ctesias, he tells us, that it was Arbaces† the Mede, and Belesus the Babylonian, son of Delcetades, who deprived Sardanapalus of the empire (in B.C. 606): and from Abydenus we learn that Saracus, who must have

* The several passages may be conveniently referred to in Clinton's *Fast. Hell.*, Vol. i, 275.

† We know of no king of Media at this time called Arbaces. Possibly Belesus the Babylonian may have been prefect of Arbaka.

succeeded Belesus, was in possession—he does not say how—of the throne of Nineveh, when Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares conquered that city, and when Saracus, not Sardanapalus, burned himself in his palace (in B.C. 583). Now, with regard to the fall of Assyria, it has been customary to suppose that the son of Assurbanipal, whose name is written Bel-ebil-eli, was the last king of Nineveh. But it has been conjectured that he had two successors, Bel-ziker-iskun (or Bel-sum-iskun), and a son and successor of Bel-ziker-iskun, whose name is supposed to be lost, and who was probably the monarch under whom Nineveh was destroyed.

This conjecture may not unlikely prove to be the truth. For who is Bel-sum-(iskun) “king of Assyria,”* but Belesus, son of Delcetades of Ctesias? and who is his son, whose name is said to be lost, but (Nergal)-Sharezar, or Saracus, who, on a tablet in the British Museum, announces himself to be son of Bel-sum-iskun, “king of Babylon,”* and who has hitherto been supposed to be quite another king.†

The succession, therefore, of kings at Nineveh, was thus:—

| | | |
|---|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, and
Assur-ebil-ili | } reign 42 years, from B.C. 668 | |
| Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus,
Nabuchodonosor, or Labynetus,
husband of Nitocris | | } ,, 20 ,, ,, 625 |
| The Scythians obtain supremacy in Asia for 28 years .. |  |  | 610 |
| They make peace with Psammetichus in | | 608 |
| Bel-sum-iskun, or Belesus, and
his son Saracus, or Nergal-
Sharezar, as tributaries to
Scythia | } reign 22 years, from B.C. 605? | |
| Nabopalassar and Nitocris, after
the fall of Nineveh | | } ,, 2 ,, ,, 583 |
| Nebuchadnezzar | ,, 43 ,, ,, 581 | |

This is obviously the true outline of the history: and we find accordingly that it was well understood by Herodotus, Abydenus, and the writer of the Book of Judith, and that together they have given us all the necessary leading dates connected with it. No reasonable person can doubt that Herodotus and the writer of Judith

* Mr. Smith (p. 323) has placed Bilzikeriskun between Tiglath-Pileser and Sennacherib. But who then is Nergal-Sharezar?

† See Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. i, p. 8, No. VI.

had the same history before them, when they wrote concerning the last days of Nineveh. Herodotus relates that a certain king of Nineveh *slew Phraortes the Mede* in battle:* that a few years after Cyaxares the Mede came up against Nineveh to avenge his father's death:† that *the allies of Assyria held themselves aloof*: that Cyaxares was the king who afterwards made peace with the Lydians at the time of the eclipse of B.C. 585: that Nineveh was saved on this occasion by an army of Scythians: that the Scythians soon after they had conquered the Medes *led their forces towards Egypt*, and were met by Psammetichus king of Egypt in Palestine, *who purchased peace*: that on their return, the Scythians plundered *Ascalon*: and that they remained masters of Asia for twenty-eight years, till the fall of Nineveh. In the Book of Judith we read, that Nabuchodonosor (Nabopalassar, whose reign is fixed by an eclipse) “who reigned at Nineveh,” in his 12th year (B.C. 614) *slew Arphaxad king of the Medes* in battle: that not long after *he was forsaken of his allies*: that in his 18th year (B.C. 608) he sent an army of 120,000 footmen, and 12,000 cavalry, by the way of Damascus, and Tyre, and Sidon *into Palestine*, “and they that dwelt in Azotus, or Ashdod, *and Ascalon* feared him greatly: and they sent ambassadors unto him (the general Holofernes) *to treat of peace*.” that Joakim, or Eliakim, the aged high priest,‡ was then still ruling in Jerusalem (B.C. 608, being the ninth year of the reign of the young king Josiah): and that Judith, after slaying Holofernes, lived to the 105th year, (*i.e.* of the captivity of the ten tribes) till B.C. 591. Neither of these histories, however, gives the exact time of the entry of the Scythians into power, from which to calculate twenty-eight years to the fall of Nineveh. But here Abydenus comes in with a remarkably exact date, showing that he had the same history before him as Herodotus and the writer of Judith. For, after enumerating the several kings of Assyria down to Sardanapalus, he writes concerning this last king—“*qui omnium extremus fuit: a quo ad primum Olympiadem 67 (read 167) anni putantur*”§—that is, from the year B.C. 610, inclusive, to B.C. 776.

* Herod. i, 102.

† Herod. i, 103.

‡ Son of Hilkiah, Isaiah xxii, 22.

§ Euseb. Chron. i, xiii, p. 36. Mr. Clinton, Vol. i, p. 273, assumes that Abydenus has here contradicted himself to the extent of more than 230 years, which is highly improbable.

Thus the supremacy of the Scythians in Asia, which began before the expulsion of Sardanapalus from Nineveh by Belsumiskun, is dated with precision in B.C. 610, and lasted for twenty-eight years, till the time when Saracus, or Sharezar, son of Belsumiskun, was conquered by the Medes and Babylonians in B.C. 583. Abydenus then counts 1,280 years upwards from 610, inclusive, to the time of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, leading up to the year B.C. 1889: and Ctesias counts 1,306 years from 583, leading up from the overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians to Ninus and Semiramis, which brings us again to the same date, B.C. 1889.

This series of dates is consistent, accurate, and complete. When Berossus, therefore, as quoted by Josephus, places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar after a twenty-nine years' reign of Nabopalassar in Babylon, he is reckoning from the time when the establishment of Scythian supremacy left him only his tributary position at Babylon: and when Ctesias affirms that Nineveh was destroyed in the time of Sardanapalus, he is in fact stating the truth, though mistaken in supposing that it was Sardanapalus, instead of Saracus, who destroyed himself in his palace.

The recovery, thus made, of the date of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, B.C. 1889, leads again to the recovery of the true date of the invasion of Assyria by Pul the Chaldean. For Berossus tells us that after three successive dynasties at Nineveh, that is to say, of—

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| 49 Chaldean kings, who reigned | .. .. . | 458 years |
| 9 Arabian kings | .. .. . | 145* ,, |
| 45 Assyrian kings | .. .. . | 526 ,, |
| | | — |
| | | 1,129 years |

there arose a Chaldean king called Phul, who invaded the Assyrian empire and subjugated it to the Chaldees. Now Phul, without question, is "Pul king of Assyria," who "came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul 1,000 talents of silver to confirm the kingdom to his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). If Pul, therefore, began

* The figure in the original is 245, making 1,229 years, instead of 1,129. If that figure is retained, the 1,280 years of Castor and Abydenus must be altered to 1,380, and the 1,306 of Ctesias to 1,406. I prefer to alter 245 into 145.

to reign 1,129 years after Ninus and Semiramis, in B.C. 1889, his first year must have been B.C. 760: and as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser is fixed, by means of the eclipse at Nineveh in 763, to the year B.C. 745, the reign of Pul must have fallen between the years 760 and 745. Now, according to my reckoning, that is the reckoning of Demetrius,* the year 760 is the 26th year of Uzziah, and the last year of Jeroboam king of Israel, and it is the third year after the eclipse of June, B.C. 763: and with reference to this eclipse the prophet Amos writes—"And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day" (Amos viii, 9); and again, "Thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land" (vii, 11). Accordingly, it was in the year 760 that "the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pileser, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites and the Gadites," &c. (1 Chron. v, 26), and when Jeroboam must have died by the sword.

The chronology of the Assyrian empire, therefore, may thus be collected:—

| | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--|------|
| Elamite, or Median, domination, | lasted 224 years, from B.C. 2287 | | |
| Eleven kings | „ (175) „ „ | | 2062 |
| From Ninus and Semiramis .. | „ 458 „ „ | | 1889 |
| Arabian invasion | „ 145 „ „ | | 1431 |
| Assyrian empire from Ninippalzara | „ 526 „ „ | | 1286 |
| Invasion of Pul the Chaldean | „ 15 „ „ | | 760 |
| Restoration of the Assyrian
empire under Tiglath-Pileser
and his successors } | „ 135 „ „ | | 745† |
| Invasion of the Scythians .. | „ 28 „ „ | | 610 |
| Final destruction of Nineveh
and empire of the Medes .. } | „ „ „ | | 583 |

From the foregoing reasoning, I submit that two things may be inferred with absolutely certainty—

- 1st. That the Median empire, after the fall of Nineveh, did not begin till after the year B.C. 585.

* See p. 365.

† Fixed by the eclipse recorded at Nineveh in B.C. 763, eighteen years before his accession. The path of this eclipse, as calculated by Mr. Hind, is given as frontispiece to "Messiah the Prince."

2nd. That since Cyaxares king of Media was still reigning in 585, and Astyages his son married the daughter of Alyattes in that year, and was on the throne at least forty years after that date, the conquest of the Medes by the Persians, and the establishment of the supremacy of the latter, did not take place under Cyrus so early as B.C. 559 : nor probably till the year B.C. 538, that is to say, till after the traditional date of the fall of Astyages, B.C. 539, as preserved by Syncellus both in the astronomical and the ecclesiastical canons.

I would earnestly suggest, therefore, to historians to take into consideration the impossibility of maintaining the reckoning of Herodotus when treating of the times of the Median and Persian empires, which is at variance with the one leading date which he has been the means of preserving to us : and that they should give heed to the histories of Ctesias and Xenophon, which are found in harmony with that date, but which are too frequently set aside as mere romance.

Astronomers also will permit me to point out that they are apparently wasting their strength, while endeavouring to rectify the theory of the moon's secular acceleration on the assumption that the siege of Larissa, which happened when the Medes were conquered by the Persians, took place so early as the year B.C. 557, and assuming as the fundamental point in their calculations that the shadow of the solar eclipse of that year must have passed centrally over that city.* While theologians will excuse me, if I entreat them no longer to make void and unintelligible the most gracious of all gracious revelations ever vouchsafed to man from heaven, by continuing to uphold the untenable contradiction, that the prophet Daniel when speaking of the great king "Darius," who took the government of Babylon in hand when about sixty-two years of age, and from whose reign are counted the "weeks" of years "unto Messiah the Prince," was speaking of some Median king bearing quite another title, or of any other king than the well known king Darius, son of Hystaspes. †

* See Philosophical Transactions, 1853. Sir John Herschel's Astronomy, p. 685 ; and Hansen's Lunar and Solar Tables.

† See the last two, and most learned, commentaries on the Book of Daniel, by Dr. Pusey, and the present Bishop of Lincoln.

III.—AS REGARDS LYDIA.

Concerning the chronology of the kings of Lydia, two dates may be considered as fixed with almost absolute certainty. First, that Gyges, the successor of Candaules, began to reign in the year B.C. 704-3, in the first year of the 19th Olympiad. Second, that Alyattes began to reign in the year B.C. 605-4. The interval between these two reigns is exactly ninety-nine years, which in our present copies of Herodotus is thus filled up :—

| | | |
|--------------|---------|-----------|
| Gyges reigns | .. .. . | 38 years. |
| Ardys | .. .. . | 49 „ |
| Sadyattes | .. .. . | 12 „ |
| | | — |
| | | 99 years. |

As regards the first of these dates, Pliny records that Candaules died in the course of the 18th Olympiad = B.C. 708-4 : and Clement of Alexandria, that Gyges began to reign after the 18th Olympiad, that is in B.C. 704-3. As regards the second, the accession of Alyattes is fixed by the Parian Chronicle to the year B.C. 605-4.

The interval between the time of the accession of Gyges and the reign of Alyattes has been filled up by Eusebius almost according to fancy : thus—

| | CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS.* | | CANON OF EUSEBIUS. | | SYNCELLUS. | |
|--------------|-------------------------|----------|--------------------|----|------------|----|
| | PART I. | PART II. | | | | |
| Gyges .. | 35 years. | 36 | .. | 36 | .. | 36 |
| Ardys .. | 37 „ | 48 | .. | 38 | .. | 38 |
| Sadyattes .. | 5 „ | 15 | .. | 15 | .. | 15 |
| | — | — | | — | | — |
| | 77 years. | 99 | | 89 | | 89 |

In the uncertainty produced by these several variations, showing the very wavering character of this portion of the chronology of Eusebius, the Annals of Assurbanipal come to our assistance with much precision to rectify his dates. For, as I have already shown (p. 342), Psammetichus fled to the court of Gyges in the year B.C. 655-4, and Gyges, who favoured his revolt against Assyria, also died in that same year. Gyges, therefore, must have reigned forty-nine years, from B.C. 703 to 655, not thirty-six years as given by Eusebius, nor thirty-eight years as in our present copies of Herodotus. It is clear, therefore, that either Herodotus, or more

* Armenian copy. Aucher.

probably his copyist, had reversed the figures attached to the regnal years of Gyges and his son Ardys, which should be written forty-nine for the first, and thirty-eight for the second, producing after correction the following chronology of the kingdom of Lydia :—

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|----|--------|------|----------|
| Gyges | reigns | 49 | years, | from | B.C. 703 |
| Ardys | „ | 38 | „ | „ | 654 |
| Sadyattes | „ | 12 | „ | „ | 616 |
| Alyattes | „ | 57 | „ | „ | 604 |
| Crœsus | „ | 14 | „ | „ | 548 |
| | | | | | to |
| | | | | | 534 |

And thus the conquest of Crœsus falls, as it should do, not many years after the establishment of the supremacy of the Persians over the Medes, which, as I have said, took place in the year B.C. 538, on the death of Astyages, who was buried with kingly honours by his son-in-law Cyrus father of Cambyses, who took the throne of Ecbatana in B.C. 538, and established the empire of the Persians.

IV. AS REGARDS JUDÆA.

From the foregoing history of Assurbanipal, following chiefly the outline laid down in Cylinder A, we learn that in his first expedition he drove Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, out of Egypt, and established the dodecarchy in B.C. 668-7 (p. 15).

That in his second expedition against Egypt, after the death of Tirhakah, he drove Rudammon, or Urdumane, stepson of Tirhakah, out of Egypt, in B.C. 656 (p. 52).

That in his third expedition he besieged Tyre: and that the date of that year is fixed as being that of the death of Gyges, king of Lydia, and the accession of Ardys, = B.C. 655-4 (p. 58).

That his fourth expedition (Cylinder B) was directed against the city of Karbit, beyond the Tigris to the east, when the population of Karbit was transported into Egypt: before Psammetichus, therefore, had become established sole king of Egypt: in B.C. 654 (p. 79).

That in the following year (p. 100, Cylinder B) he invaded Elam: when Urtaki king of Elam was slain, and Teumman set upon the throne of Elam, B.C. 653-2.

That in his fifth expedition Teumman was slain, and Ummanigas and Tammaritu were placed on the thrones of Elam and Hidalu; after which Saulmugina his brother, viceroy of Babylon, revolted, in the year when Assur-dur-uzur was archon eponymous at Nineveh, B.C. 652-1 (pp. 110, 151).

And—which is a point to be carefully observed—that after the elevation of Ummanigas and Tammaritu, in B.C. 652, Assurbanipal despatched an envoy to Elam to demand the restoration of the image of Nana, which had been carried off to Shushan by Kudurnanhundi, 1635 years before that time, that is in $(1635 + 652 =)$ B.C. 2287 (p. 200).

The result of these wars in Elam was the entire wasting and depopulation of that country, and the destruction of Shushan: * and now it was, we may assume, that Assurbanipal began to transport the population of Elam into the vacant cities of Samaria, which had been laid waste by Sargon, Shalmanezar, and Sennacherib, though tributary kings of Assyrian appointment had still continued to reign in that kingdom. The transportation of the Elamites was probably soon followed by that of the Babylonians and Susanchites, who, we have seen, were associated in revolt with Elam, and were conquered, and severely punished.

We find from the cylinders of Esarhaddon that Abibahal was king of Samaria as late as B.C. 673, and, together with Manasseh king of Judah, gave tribute to Esarhaddon; but before the year B.C. 646, according to Mr. Smith, an Assyrian governor is named as having been placed over Samaria, showing that the kingdom had then entirely ceased, and the country had become incorporated with Assyria. Now Isaiah, speaking in the first or second year of the reign of Ahaz, had said: "Within three score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people" (Isaiah vii. 8): and if we count sixty-five years upwards from the conquest of Teumman and the Elamites, in B.C. 652, we come to the year B.C. 717, which, according to the reckoning of Demetrius, is the second year of Ahaz. Again, the Seder Olam Rabbah, or great chronicle of the Jews (ch. xiv), places the carrying away of Manasseh to Babylon by the

* It is interesting to find here distinct notice of the river Ulai near Shushan, referred to by Daniel viii, 2, the existence of which has been doubted (p. 111).

king of Assyria in the 22nd year of Manasseh : and this 22nd of Manasseh, according to Demetrius, is B.C. 652. So that it appears that in that year an exchange of population between Palestine and the kingdoms of Elam and Babylonia had taken place, in conformity with the policy adopted by the kings of Assyria from the time of Tiglath-Pileser. Ezra refers to this migration of captives, when, in transcribing a letter from the people of Samaria to Darius, in later days, he alludes to the "Archevites, or people of Warka in Babylonia, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnappar brought over and set in the cities of Samaria" (Ezra iv, 9, 10).

With regard to the title Asnappar, for Assurbanipal, it must be observed that the letter from the Samaritans which Ezra transcribes is written, not in Hebrew, but in the Aramaic language, and that the last syllable "pal," which signifies son in Assyrian, would properly be written "bar," or "par," which signifies son, in Aramaic. So that the name of the Assyrian king, which if written in full would have been Assur-bani-par,* had become contracted in course of time by the Samaritan mixed population brought from Babylonia and Elam, into the form transcribed by Ezra.

I have observed that the time of this transportation of captives in B.C. 652, from Elam to Samaria falls in correctly with the reckoning of Demetrius, who wrote a history of the kings of Judæa about the year B.C. 222 ; and, as I believe that he who adopts the reckoning of Demetrius has the key to the interpretation both of Assyrian and Hebrew chronology in his hands, it may not be unuseful if I here set out the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, with their dates, as derived from an abstract of dates from Demetrius, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, concerning the captivities of Judah and Israel, and compare them with the Assyrian Canon.

"Demetrius, in his book on the kings of Judæa," writes Clement, "says that the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib ; but that from this captivity, (that is from the *first* carrying away of captives from the land of Judah in B.C. 688) to the *last* which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem (Jerem. lii, 30),

* Dr. Haigh considers that the second element of the name,  bani, may also represent, na.

there were a hundred and twenty-eight years and six months; and from the time that the ten tribes were carried captive from Samaria till the fourth Ptolemy were five (*read* four) hundred and seventy-three years, nine months; and that from the time that the (last) captivity from Jerusalem took place, three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months.”*

DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

| RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS. | | | | B.C. | PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON. | B.C. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|--|------|
| B.C. | KINGS OF JUDAH. | B.C. | KINGS OF ISRAEL. | | | |
| | | | | | <i>End of 1st Soss</i> | 1028 |
| 993 | Solomon .. ^{YEARS.} 40 | | | | Divided into Sosses, or periods of 60 years. | |
| | | | | | <i>End of 2nd Soss</i> | 968 |
| 953 | Rehoboam 17 | 953 | Jeroboam ^{YEARS.} 22 | .. | .. | |
| 936 | Abijah .. 3 | | .. | .. | .. | |
| 933 | Asa 41 | 933 | Nadab .. 2 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | Baasha .. 24 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | | .. | 928 | Vul-nirari 20 | |
| .. | .. | | .. | 908 | Tukulti-Ninip .. 3 | |
| .. | .. | 907 | Elah .. } 2 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | | Zimri .. } | | <i>End of 3rd Soss</i> | 908 |
| .. | .. | 906 | Omri .. 12 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 894 | Ahab .. 22 | 902 | Assur-nazir-pal .. 28 | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 892 | Jehoshaphat 25 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 877 | Shalmaneser II. .. 35 | |
| .. | .. | 872 | Ahaziah 2 | .. | .. | 872† |
| .. | .. | 871 | Joram .. 11-12 | .. | .. | |
| 868 | Jehoram .. 7-8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 861 | Ahaziah .. 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 860 | Athaliah .. 6 | 860 | Jehu .. 27-28 | .. | .. | 860‡ |
| 854 | Joash .. 40 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| | | | | | <i>End of 4th Soss</i> | 848 |

* Clem. Alex. Strom. 1

† Shalmaneser in his 6th year conquers Benhadad, supported by troops of Ahab.

‡ Shalmaneser in his 18th year takes tribute of Jehu, and fights with Hazael.

DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON—*continued.*

| RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS. | | | | B.C. | PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON. | B.C. |
|-------------------------|-----------------|------|--|------|--|------|
| B.C. | KINGS OF JUDAH. | B.C. | KINGS OF ISRAEL. | | | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | Beginning of a <i>Cycle</i> * | 847 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 842 | [Assurdaninpal † ^{YEARS.} 19]? | |
| .. | .. | 832 | Jehoahaz 17 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 823 | Samsi-vul III. .. 13 | |
| .. | .. | 815 | Jehoash 16-15 | .. | .. | |
| 814 | Amaziah .. 29 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 810 | Vul-nirari 29 | |
| .. | .. | 800 | Jeroboam 41 | .. | .. | |
| | | | | | <i>Cycle</i> (karru) 5th <i>Soss</i> ‡ | 788 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | Nebo enters his new temple | 787 |
| 785 | Uzziah .. 52 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 781 | Shalmanuzur .. 10 | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 771 | Assurdayan .. 18 | |
| .. | .. | 759 | Interregnum 12 | .. | <i>Solar Eclipse</i> § | 763 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 753 | Assur-nirari .. 8 | |
| .. | .. | 747 | Menahem 10 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 745 | Tiglath-Pileser .. 22 | |
| .. | .. | 736 | Pekahiah 2 | .. | In association with | |
| .. | .. | 734 | Pekah .. 20 | .. | Shalmanezzer and | |
| 734 | Jotham .. 16 | .. | .. | .. | Sargon .. 11 | |
| | | | | | <i>End of 6th Soss</i> | 728 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 723 | Shalmanezzer .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 722 | Sargon 17 | |
| 718 | Ahaz .. 16 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 714 | Interregnum 9 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 705 | Hoshea 9 | 705 | Sennacherib .. 24 | |
| 702 | Hiezckiah .. 29 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 696 | \|\| ——— Captivity of the Ten Tribes 473 years 9 months before the IV th Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 680 | Sennacherib carries away captives from Judæa | 688¶ |
| 673 | Manasseh 55 | .. | .. | 680 | Esarhaddon 13 | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 668 | Assurbanipal .. 42 | |
| | | | | | <i>End of 7th Soss</i> | 668 |

* Shalmanezzer inaugurates a Cycle in his 31st year. Annals of Shalmanezzer II.

† Assurdaninpal, who usurped the throne, is omitted from the Assyrian Canon. By allowing nineteen years to this reign, the interval of sixty years between two cycles is made up. See the acts of this king in Oppert's *Histoire des empire de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, p. 123.

‡ 23rd year of Vulnirari marked as a Cycle in the Canon.

§ 9th year of Assurdayan marked by a Solar Eclipse in Sivan (15th June, 763).

|| This date is found upon ancient gravestones in the Crimea.—See Professor Chwolson's treatise on these stones, "*Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*," St. Petersburg, 1865.

¶ Demetrius.

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS—*continued.*

| B.C. | KINGS OF JUDAH. | B.C. | KINGS OF ISRAEL. | B.C. | KINGS OF ASSYRIA. | B.C. |
|------|--|------|--|------|---|------|
| .. | .. | 652 | People of Elam, Shushan, and Babylonia transported to Samaria, within 65 years from the 1st of Ahaz. Ezra iv, 10. Isaiah vii, 8. | | Image of Nana reclaimed by Assurbanipal
After 2 Ners = 1200 years
7 Sosses = 420 "
15 years 15 "
<u>1635 years*</u> | 652 |
| 618 | Amon .. 2 | .. | .. | 625 | Sardanapalus or Nabopalassar 20 | |
| 616 | Josiah .. 31 | | | | <i>End of 8th Soss</i> | 608 |
| | | | | 605 | [Bel-sum-iskun] (?)
Saracus | |
| 585 | Jehoahaz ^{m.} 3 | | | 581 | 1st Nebuchadnezzar 43 | |
| 574 | Jehoiakim 11 | | | | | |
| 573 | Jechoniah 3 | | | | | |
| 563 | Zedekiah 11 | | | | | |
| 563 | Temple of Jerusalem destroyed. | .. | .. | 563 | 19th Nebuchadnezzar | |
| 560 | Last transportation of captives by Nebuchadnezzar 338 years 3 months before the IV th Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222. | | | | | |
| | | 559 | KINGS OF PERSIA.
Cyrus father of Cambyses 29 | | <i>End of 9th Soss</i> | 548 |
| | | 538 | succeeds Astyages
Babylon taken by Cyrus son of Cambyses, his father and grandfather being still alive, about B.C. 536. | 538 | Evilmerodach 3 | |
| | Jerusalem remains seventy years in a state of desolation, till the 1st year of Darius. (Dan. ix, 1). | 536 | Cambyses † 18 | 536 | Nergal-Sharezar, Rabmag? § | |
| | | 520 | Cyrus son of Cambyses | 495 | Nabonadius, local king 17 | |
| | | 517 | Darius 36 | 492 | Belshazzar son of Nabonadius | |
| 492 | Darius † son of Hystaspes | .. | .. | 492 | Darius son of Hystaspes ¶ | |
| | | 493 | Artaxerxes (Xerxes) \|\| |  | <i>End of 10th Soss</i> | 488 |

* See p. 251.

† Darius "took the kingdom being about three score and two years old."—Dan. v, 31.

‡ Cyrus associates his son Cambyses with him in B.C. 536, when Darius is about nineteen years old. (Herod. i, 108.) Ctesias, therefore, says that he reigned eighteen years, Clement says nineteen. He continued to reign till B.C. 518, spending his last five years in Egypt.—Ctesias.

|| Artaxerxes (Xerxes) took the kingdom (of Persia) Darius being full of years, LXX.—Dan. v, 31.

§ Jerem. xxxix, 3.

¶ Darius now styled "king of Assyria."—Ezra vi, 22.

Thus the Books of Daniel and Ezra, which as we have seen* are incomprehensible as regards their chronology according to the common reckoning, become intelligible when interpreted in connexion with the reckoning of Demetrius. For the year in which "Darius the Median took the kingdom," (that is, put down the turbulent satrapy of Babylon, and took the government of Babylon and Assyria into his own hands) when about sixty-two years' old, is found to be the year B.C. 492, when Darius the son of Hystaspes was actually about that age. And from the LXX version of Daniel we find that Artaxerxes (or Xerxes) first came to the throne of Persia in association with his father Darius in that same year. *Καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Μήδων παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Δαρείος πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἐνδοξος ἐν γήρῃ.* While Ezra, speaking of the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes, records how "Ahasuerus," that is Xerxes, "*in the beginning of his reign,*"—the common phrase applied to the time preceding his actual reign—was appealed to to stop the building, and how it was "builded and finished" in the sixth year of Darius, that is B.C. March 486, "by the commandment of Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia": four years after the battle of Marathon, when Darius had, as Herodotus tells us, placed Xerxes on the throne as king, and when according to Ezra he must have assumed the title Artaxerxes (Ezra vi, 14, 15). But it has been objected that Daniel, according to this view, "gives the monarch a wrong parentage (Ahasuerus instead of Hystaspes) and a wrong nationality (Median instead of Persian).† Here is a difficulty which must not be slurred over too hastily. Ahasuerus, as I have said, represents Xerxes in the Book of Ezra: and Xerxes we know was son of Darius Hystaspes, not his father. How then could Daniel, who knew the parentage of Darius, call him son of Xerxes, which is not true? The LXX translation affords, perhaps, some clue towards the solution of the difficulty, where we read (ch. ix, 1), *"Ἐτους πρώτου ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξερξῶν, ἀπο τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς Μηδικῆς, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν πῶν Χαλδαίων.* The words *οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν* are significant. For, the two kings, Darius and Xerxes, we have seen, had already become associated on the throne together, according to the LXX, as early as the year B.C. 492: and we here read that they

* See p. 351.

† Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 16.

were conjointly reigning over the Chaldeans, after Belshazzar's death. We might, therefore, be disposed to cut the matter short, and laying blame on the copyist, assume that the original reading of the passage was not "in the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus," but in the first year of Darius *and* Ahasuerus, that is, of Darius and Xerxes. This is in fact the truth as regards time. And with regard to the nationality of the king, as Larcher observes, "Herodotus and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes." Even as late as the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks who favoured the Persian cause were said to Medize.

Nevertheless, I do not think that this is what Daniel intended to express. Both Daniel and Demetrius lead us to look towards the latter part of the reign of Darius for the time when he took the government of Babylon into his own hands, when we know from Herodotus that a great revolution had taken place in his dominions, in which the satrapies of Ionia and Babylon were involved, and when probably it was sought to set up again the Assyrian empire under a Median prince.* For the Medes were restless under the Persians, and more than one pretender to the throne in the early part of the reign of Darius we know, from the inscription at Behistûn, had set up his claim as "of the race of Uwakshatara," or Cyaxares the Mede. I am inclined, therefore, to think that Daniel here intends to put forward the title of Darius to be called "king of Assyria,"† as in some way connected with, or descended from Cyaxares who overthrew the empire of Assyria; that is to say, as the true representative of Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares II, who was son of Astyages. Herodotus we know had never heard of this prince. Xenophon, however, has given a full account of him. He was no doubt the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, who married Hadassah, or 'Atossa the Jewish captive. Now Darius Hystaspes also undoubtedly married a princess named 'Atossa, and we have no reason to doubt that 'Atossa was widow of Cambyses. But when Herodotus, unable to account for her royal extraction, calls her the sister as well as wife of Cambyses, we are not bound to believe him. 'Atossa was probably the daughter of Ahasuerus and Hadassah, and so, as in the parallel instance, David son of Saul,‡ "Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," truly signifies

* Herod. i, 130; iii, 150.

† Ezra vi, 22.

‡ 1 Samuel xxiv, 16.

Darius Hystaspes, son-in-law, and representative of, Cyaxares the Mede.* Any supposition seems to be preferable to the idea that "Darius son of Ahasuerus" was Cyaxares son of Astyages.† What-
ever the true solution of the difficulty may be, as regards title, there can be no question as to the chronology.

With regard to the time of the death of Belshazzar, who we now know was the son of Nabonadius, I am not aware of any ancient authority for placing the revolt of this king earlier than in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. The Chronicle of Tabari records that, after the death of Kai-Khosru (Cyrus), Lohrasp (Cambyses) took the throne; that Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes) succeeded him; and that in the reign of Gushtasp, a general named Coresh, governor of 'Irâq, was sent against Nebuchodonosor (Nabonadius) who ruled at Babylon, and that, having captured this prince, he sent him to Balk. After this Coresh took the throne of Babylon, and immediately released the children of Israel from captivity.‡ According to this account, therefore, no revolt of Belshazzar, son of Nabonadius, could have taken place earlier than the reign of Gushtasp.

Xenophon tells us that Cyrus took Babylon for the first time in the reign of the Persians, when Cambyses his father was reigning in Persia, and Cyrus himself not yet a king. I believe that he took the city a second time during his father's life, though of this we have no record in Herodotus or Xenophon. Orosius, however, writes—"Babylon for the last time was overthrown by King Cyrus, when Rome for the first time was freed from the tyranny of the Tarquin kings,"§ that is about B.C. 510. This date we know falls within the reign of Darius Hystaspes, but it is at least ten years too low. Abydenus, copying probably from Berosus, tells us that when Cyrus took Babylon and captured Nabonadius, he gave him the principality of Carmania, and that "Darius the king drove him from that province."|| So that, according to Abydenus also, no revolt of Belshazzar could have taken place earlier than the reign of Darius Hystaspes. I am inclined to think that Tabari's record is correct, and that Cyrus, son of Cambyses

* Some of the Persian writers relate that the mother of Kishtasp (Darius Hystaspes) was a Jewess. Others, that his queen (Atossa) was a Jewess.—"Times of Daniel," by the Duke of Manchester, p. 152.

† If any one thinks it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Astyages, he need find no difficulty in supposing it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Hystaspes.

‡ Zotenberg's Translation of Tabari, p. 495.

§ Orosius con. paganos. Lib. ii, c. 2, p. 74.

|| Eusebius Auch. p. 30.

king of Persia, deposed Nabonadius when Darius was actually on the throne, though not on the throne of the Persian empire. For in the Behistûn inscription Darius seems to claim to himself the title of king by birth, rather than by usurpation. And when describing the events connected with the death of Gomates the Magian, after the death of Cambyses, he says: "This is what I did *after* I had become king." There is also a Persian inscription extant (H. Lassen, p. 15), in which Darius does not style himself as usual "king of kings," but simply "king," apparently "of this province of Persia."* It is to be observed that in the great inscription at Behistûn, Darius carefully avoids fixing dates to the events of his reign; and it is clear from the Parian Chronicle, Ctesias, Manetho, and the Apis monuments that his reign of thirty-six years did not begin till after the death of Cambyses in B.C. 518.† Nevertheless, in after days he must have placed the date of his first accession as early as B.C. 521, as appears from the dates of eclipses in his reign recorded by Ptolemy. It was, I think, in the interval between 521 and 518, while Cambyses was occupied in Egypt, and when the whole empire of Persia, as described by Darius on the rock, was in revolt against him, that Nabonadius was deposed by Cyrus son of Cambyses.‡ Be this, however, as it may, when Daniel, who was in Babylon, states the fact—"In that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom,"—I am at a loss to understand how any one can venture to argue that Belshazzar died during the siege in the reign of Cyrus.§ All Babylonian contracts dated in the reign of Darius reckoned of course the years of his reign from the time when he first became master of Babylon, not from the time of his putting down the revolt of Belshazzar. The tablet, therefore, in the British Museum, bearing date in the 18th of Darius, in no way interferes with this interpretation.

In support of the assertion that Demetrius affords the key to the interpretation of Assyrian as well as Hebrew chronology, I will examine the interval of sixty years between the dates B.C. 734 and 674 in the above table, within which there is much confusion of history, and concerning which Mr. Smith writes: "If the taking of

* Journ. R. As. Soc., Vol. x, Part iii, p. 273.

† See Appendix to 2nd Edit. "Messiah the Prince," p. 371.

‡ In the "Fragmenta Vetustissimorum," quoted by the Duke of Manchester, p. 236, Cyrus and Darius are said to have reigned together some few years.

§ See Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 15.

Samaria happened about B.C. 721, the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah B.C. 701, with the possibility of a second attack on Hezekiah about B.C. 688, these dates cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the Book of Kings.* I should much regret to be compelled to throw doubt upon the reckoning of the Book of Kings. Let us see, therefore, whether Demetrius can relieve us from the supposed difficulty, without straining either the Book of Kings or the Assyrian Canon.

1. Both the Babylonian and Assyrian Canons attest that Esarhaddon came to the throne of Assyria in the year B.C. 680. His father Sennacherib was slain in B.C. 681, and "in the month Sabadu (January) following, 680, he entered Nineveh and was proclaimed king of Assyria."†
2. The prophet Isaiah, towards the close of the historical portion of his book, speaks of the death of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon. We may, therefore, reasonably assume that Isaiah lived as late as the year B.C. 678, two years after Esarhaddon came to the throne (Isaiah xxxvii, 38).
3. Isaiah's first vision is dated "in the year that king Uzziah died" (vi, 1): and, according to the common reckoning, this year is set down in the margin of our Bibles as B.C. 760.

So that, according to the common reckoning, there is an interval of above eighty-two years between Isaiah's first vision and the end of his life. And if we may assume that he began to prophecy at the age of twenty, he would have died when upwards of one hundred years' old. We dismiss, then, the common reckoning of our Bibles as highly improbable with regard to "the year that king Uzziah died."

Demetrius, on the other hand, places the death of Uzziah king of Judah in B.C. 734, and the death of the contemporary king of Israel, Menahem, in B.C. 737, thus making the age of Isaiah about seventy-six at his death.

That the date of Demetrius is true, and exact, is certified by the the most accurate test applicable to chronology, viz., by an eclipse registered at Nineveh in the month of June, B.C. 763, and recorded in the Assyrian Canon. For this eclipse is there set down as having happened eighteen years before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, who

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, 1871, p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 10.

came to the throne, therefore, as all Assyrian interpreters agree, in the year B.C. 745-4.

4. Now Tiglath-Pileser, according to his own annals,* in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 738), received tribute of Menahem king of Samaria: and this Menahem we know had given "Pul," the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser, "a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). Therefore, as Menahem reigned not more than ten years in Samaria, this eighth year of Tiglath-Pileser (738) must have been either the ninth or tenth year of Menahem, that is either 738 or 737.
5. Again, Menahem died three years before Uzziah (2 Kings xv, 17): "the year when king Uzziah died," therefore, according to Tiglath-Pileser's annals, was either B.C. 735, or 734, which agrees with Demetrius.

Thus far nothing can be required to add to the clearness of the agreement between the reckoning of Demetrius and the reckoning of the Assyrian Inscriptions, as regards the beginning and end of the sixty years under consideration. Let us next inquire how far the filling up of the interval between B.C. 734 and 674 in the Book of Kings, according to Demetrius, agrees with the Assyrian Canon. And here, it must be admitted, there is some difficulty.

In the foregoing table we find that Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, from B.C. 702 to 674. This I assume to be correct.

According to the Assyrian Canon, Sennacherib reigned twenty-four years, from B.C. 705 to 681. This is undoubtedly correct.

Hezekiah and Sennacherib therefore, according to Demetrius, were contemporaries, and the common reckoning of the reign of Hezekiah, from B.C. 726 to 698, must be dismissed.

Now, there are several cylinders in the British Museum relating to the reign of Sennacherib, some perfect, and some in a fragmentary state. Taylor's Cylinder is perfect, and has been translated by Mr. Fox Talbot.† It is dated "on the 20th day of the month Addaru, in the archonship of Belemurani, prefect of Carchemish," and contains the history of eight of Sennacherib's expeditions.

* Berlin Zeitschrift, Jan. 1869, p. 13.

† Journ. R. Asiatic Soc., 1861, Vol. xix, Part 2.

Belemurani was archon eponymous in B.C. 691-90. He also gave his name to the year a second time, as Tartan, in B.C. 686-5. I had always considered that the date of Taylor's Cylinder was March B.C. 685, that year marking the date of the eighth expedition, at the close of the year in which he was Tartan, and that the third expedition of Sennacherib was therefore in B.C. 690.

Mr. Smith, however, who has the care of the Assyrian department in the British Museum, states distinctly that there are two cylinders dated in the archonship of Mitunu, B.C. 700, which contain an account of Sennacherib's attack upon Hezekiah in his third expedition, which must therefore be placed not later than B.C. 701;* and Taylor's Cylinder must therefore be dated in the time of Belemurani the Prefect. The question is how far do these cylinders corroborate the reckoning of Demetrius. Let us examine.

Hezekiah began to reign in the year B.C. 702. And if we date Taylor's Cylinder in B.C. 690, the third expedition of Sennacherib falls in the year 701. So that Sennacherib would have attacked Hezekiah in the second year of his reign.

Now, if we turn to the Second Book of Chronicles, ch. xxix, xxx, xxxi, we read of all that Hezekiah did in his *first year*, in the first month, the second month, the third month, and on to the seventh month of B.C. 702. Ch. xxxii then begins—"After these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them to himself." Hezekiah then "stopped the fountains." He "*built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David,*" and in every way resisted the power of Sennacherib. Now, although no regnal year is named for this invasion, there seems to be good reason, so far as the Book of Chronicles is concerned, for placing it in the second year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701, when Sennacherib relates of himself,—"*Then Hezekiah, who had not bowed down to my yoke, forty-six of his large cities*"—"I utterly destroyed." "*He himself shut himself up in his royal city Jerusalem. He built towers of defence over it, and he strengthened and rebuilt the bulwarks of his great gate.*" "Thirty talents of gold, eight

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 6.

hundred talents of silver, scarlet robes," &c.—“this mighty spoil unto Nineveh my royal city after me I brought away.” These two accounts are clearly descriptive of the same events. And they must, therefore, have taken place in the year B.C. 701. The Book of Chronicles then goes on to say,—“*After* this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, but he himself went against Lachish,” that is to say, in the 14th year of Hezekiah, 689, when the army of Sennacherib was suddenly destroyed.

Let us now turn to the Second Book of Kings (xviii, 7), where the first act related of Hezekiah is, that “he rebelled against the king of Assyria and served him not.” This rebellion must be referred to the time of the first resistance offered to Sennacherib in 701; after which a combination was probably formed between Hezekiah, Hoshea, and So, or Sethos king of Egypt, to resist the power of Assyria,* lasting till the fall of Samaria, in B.C. 696. For we next read (xviii, 9)—“It came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah (699–8), which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmanezzer king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it. And at the end of three years *they* † took it, even in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that is the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel (997–6). And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel,” &c., that is to say, in the following year, B.C. 696–5. Now we see by the foregoing table that this is the very year of the captivity of Israel fixed by Demetrius, four hundred and seventy-three years and nine months before the reign of the IVth Ptolemy; and, as I have elsewhere shown, it is the year also of their captivity recorded upon gravestones in the Crimea by Jews descended from the ten tribes.

But how, it will be asked, could Shalmanezzer have besieged and captured Samaria in B.C. 696, as “king of Assyria,” if Sennacherib had already come to the throne of Assyria some ten years before, that is in B.C. 705. This apparent difficulty is in fact a valuable testimony to the correctness of Demetrius. For, if we turn to the Book of Hoshea, the whole subject of which is the final destruction of the kingdom of Ephraim, and the removal of the remnant of the ten tribes from Samaria, we read—“When Ephraim saw her sickness”—

* It was now that Menahem, Sennacherib’s nominee to the throne of Samaria, was displaced.

† That is the army of Sennacherib and Shalmanezzer.

“then went Ephraim to the Assyrian,* and sent to king Jareb (or Irib),” that is to king Sennacherib, “yet he could not heal you” (v, 13). And again—“The people of Samaria shall fear, because of the calves of Beth-aven”—“It (the golden calf) shall be carried unto Assyria, for a present to king Jareb (x, 6)”—“As Shalman (that is Shalmanezar) spoiled Beth-arbel”—“so shall he do to you Bethel.”—“In a morning the king of Israel shall be cut off (x, 14, 15).” Thus it appears from this contemporary history that Sennacherib was king of Assyria at the time when “Shalmanezar king of Assyria” carried off the golden calf of Bethel and transported the ten tribes beyond the Euphrates. And from another contemporary witness it appears that though Shalmanezar’s hand did the act, Sennacherib claimed to himself the triumph over Samaria. “Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad?” says Sennacherib. “Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand” (Isaiah xxxvi, 19)? This testimony of the prophets Hosea and Isaiah seems to be decisive as to the correctness of the reckoning of Demetrius with regard to the fall of Samaria. Josephus is also an independent witness to the same effect. For he wrote with the Tyrian annals of Menander before him: and relates first the resistance offered by Hezekiah to the king of Assyria in the same manner as it is told in the Book of Chronicles, showing that he refers to Sennacherib. He then goes on to speak of the revolt of Hoshea, and of his falling away to So, or Sethos king of Egypt, and how Shalmanezar came and destroyed the government of Israel, and transported the people into Media and Persia after besieging Samaria for three years; and how also Shalmanezar besieged Ilulæus king of Tyre for five years without success; and lastly, how in the 14th of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came against Jerusalem, and his army was suddenly destroyed. It is difficult to believe that Josephus so misunderstood the records of Tyre as thus to have placed the siege of Tyre by Shalmanezar, after, instead of before the death of Sargon, if the earlier date was that recorded. If any further confirmation could be required, we find it in the fact that Shalmanezar and king Hoshea had been for some years contemporary with So, or Sethos king of

* When Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, passed through Samaria he laid tribute upon Menahem king of Samaria, his own nominee to the throne. If Hoshea who slew Pekah, also slew Menahem, this might be the “sickness” of Samaria which remained unhealed.

Egypt. But we have already seen (p. 347) that Sethos had not come to the throne of Egypt till the year B.C. 715. The idea then that the fall of Samaria, after a three years' siege by Shalmanezzer, took place so early as B.C. 721 is absolutely untenable.* The true reckoning is that of Demetrius, and the reign of Hezekiah is rightly placed as beginning in B.C. 702.

The fact of the existence of a plurality of kings in Assyria, thus shown, is remarkably consistent with what we know of the great extension of the empire which had taken place under Tiglath-Pileser. And accordingly we find him boasting (Isaiah x, 8)—“Are not my princes altogether *kings*.” “At that time,” we read, “did king Ahaz send unto the *kings* of Assyria to help him” (2 Chron. xxviii, 16). And again, when Sennacherib came against Hezekiah, this king stopped the fountains, saying—“why should the *kings* of Assyria come and find much water” (xxxii, 4). I would also suggest, with submission to Mr. Smith's great knowledge of the Assyrian tablets, the possibility that Sin-inadina-pal, or Kiniladanus, who was associated with his father Esarhaddon on the throne before his father's death (p. 324), may have been the brother of Assurbanipal, and not Assurbanipal himself: thus making not less than three kings on the throne of the empire at the same time, in the year B.C. 668.

Twenty-nine years, of the sixty under consideration, have thus been satisfactorily accounted for by the help of Demetrius, and there remain thirty-one years, from the last year of Uzziah B.C. 734, to the first of Hezekiah, to be examined. This interval of thirty-one full years, or thirty-two current, is divided in the Book of Kings equally between the two kings of Judah, Jotham and Ahaz, to each of whom sixteen years are assigned. Jotham begins to reign in Judah in the course of B.C. 734, Pekah reigns over Israel twenty years from the same date till 715, and Ahaz reigns in Judah from B.C. 718 to 703. These dates I conceive to be correct within a single year.

From the Assyrian Canon, and from a series of dated tablets in the British Museum, admirably set forth by Mr. Smith in the *Zeitschrift* of July, 1869, we learn that Sargon reigned from B.C. 722 to 705. So that Ahaz and Sargon were contemporary kings, as Hezekiah and Sennacherib we have seen were contemporary.

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

Now the history of Ahaz is preserved in the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah, with much distinctness. It appears that he began to reign when Pekah had been seventeen years on the throne of Samaria, and that in his first year, B.C. 718, Pekah together with Rezin king of Damascus endeavoured to get possession of Jerusalem, without success; that Rezin succeeded in settling a colony of Syrians at Elath; while Pekah carried away not less than 200,000 women, sons, and daughters from Judah: that Ahaz then asked help of the *kings* of Assyria: that Tiglath-Pileser *king* of Assyria came to him, "but strengthened him not" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16, 20): that Isaiah counselled Ahaz to be quiet, took witnesses to prove the time of the birth of one of his children, and then foretold to the king that "Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, shall be taken away before the king of Assyria," that is to say before the expiration of three years, ending in the years 715 or 714. We then read how Tiglath-Pileser took Damascus, carried the people to Kir, and slew Rezin their king: and how Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-Pileser, and sent a pattern of an altar from Damascus to Jerusalem, and remained some little time at the court of Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus, till after the altar had been erected (2 Kings xvi, 9, 12). Here, then, we obtain contemporary witness that Tiglath-Pileser was still on the throne at least as late as B.C. 716, though Shalmanezzer and Sargon had both obtained the rank of kings before that time. For Rezin we are told was still alive eighteen years after the death of Uzziah in B.C. 734. It is remarkable also, that though the fall of Damascus is here spoken of, in conformity with the words of the prophet, no mention is made of the fall of Samaria. Tiglath-Pileser slew Rezin and took Damascus, but who spoiled Samaria? That both cities had now fallen before the king of Assyria we know from Isaiah. For about this time, say in B.C. 715, or 714, it was that Tiglath-Pileser made use of the expression just referred to—"Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus?" The inference then seems to be that Tiglath-Pileser, who had now come to within three years of the end of his life, had as usual associated certain princes with him on the throne, and that it had fallen to the lot of one of them to take Samaria. Be this as

it may, it is certain, according to the Hebrew account, that the kingdom of Samaria was deprived of its king in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, and, according to the interpretation of Demetrius, not earlier than about the year B.C. 715, or 716. Isaiah then makes mention of Ahaz for the last time (xiv, 28)—“In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden. Rejoice not thou whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken : for out of the serpent’s root shall come forth a cockatrice.” These words either apply to the death of Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 712, followed by the invasion of Shalmanezar in 698—events apparently too wide apart—or to the death of Sargon, the conqueror and oppressor of Palestine, who died in August, B.C. 705, shortly before “the year that king Ahaz died,” B.C. 703, followed by the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib in 701. The latter no doubt is the time referred to. And thus again the known date of Sargon’s death, 705, according to his annals, marks the time of the death of Ahaz, which must have been soon after 705, as correctly laid down by Demetrius. It now only remains to be shown, how Hamath and Arpad, Samaria and Damascus, were, according to Assyrian records, subdued about the year B.C. 715, as reckoned by Demetrius, and by an Assyrian prince then associated on the throne with Tiglath-Pileser.

Let us turn to the work entitled “*Les Fastes de Sargon*,” translated by MM. J. Oppert and J. Ménant, from inscriptions in Sargon’s palace at Khorsabad. “This is what I accomplished,” writes Sargon,* “from the commencement of my reign up to my fifteenth campaign. I defeated, in the plains of Kalou, Khoumbanigas king of Elam. I besieged and occupied the city of Samaria ; I carried into captivity 27,280 of its inhabitants ; I levied upon them 50 chariots, leaving them the rest of their property ; I placed over them my own rulers, and imposed upon them the tribute of the king supreme, or ‘*Sar Mahri* ;’”—the word *Mahri* being taken here as equivalent to the word מַלְכֵּי in Daniel, “Lord,” where it represents “Lord of kings” (Dan. ii, 47). He then goes on to recount his several military exploits in different countries, putting together when possible all that was done during the fifteen campaigns at each particular spot. The account of his attack on Samaria is modestly given. He does not even name the conquered king (Pekah) ; he speaks as if he was then only acting on behalf of the supreme king of Assyria. He makes the most

* *Les Fastes de Sargon*, p. 9.

indeed of his comparatively trifling capture of 27,000 inhabitants from Samaria, though Pekah had lately captured not less than 200,000 of the people of Judah; and then goes on to other exploits till, apparently about his seventh year, B.C. 715, he comes to the revolt of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, and the conquest of those confederate provinces in that year. Now the date of this conquest cannot be placed earlier than about the year 715; because Sargon previously speaks of a victory gained over Sebech, or Sabbaco, as general of the Egyptians, and of his imposing tribute on Pi-ir-chu, or Bi-ir-chu (Boccoris),* king of Egypt, whose reign we have seen (p. 347) did not begin till 715 at the earliest; and also of tributes laid upon Samsi queen of the Arabs and It-Himyar the Sabean. Again, in the fragmentary annals of Tiglath-Pileser, the chronological range of which is as yet very imperfectly defined, we read of the fall of Rezin, the putting down of Pekah, and first setting up of Hoshea,† and of the tributes placed upon Samsi queen of the Arabs, and on the Sabeans, which exploits, apparently, are the same as those accomplished by Sargon.‡ It is sufficiently clear that the putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria by Sargon was the result of war in the time of Pekah, Rezin, and Ahaz, not of war in the time of Hezekiah and Hoshea, eighteen years after. Also that the date of Pekah's death was about B.C. 715, the date of Demetrius, certainly not 730 as certain modern writers contend.§

I now quit the subject of the agreement of Demetrius with the Assyrian Annals, which has been established at the following points:—

| DEMETRIUS. | ASSYRIAN ANNALS. |
|---|--|
| Death of Uzziah 734 | Death of Uzziah.. . . . 734-5 |
| Putting down of Samaria and Damascus in the reign of Ahaz, 20 years later . . } | Putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, about the 7th year of Sargon . . . } |
| } 715 | } 715 |
| Death of Ahaz after the breaking of "the rod that smote" him . . } | Death of Sargon 705 |
| } 703 | |
| Sennacherib's invasion in the 2nd year of Hezekiah . . } | Sennacherib's third campaign, and invasion of Palestine } |
| } 701 | } 701 |
| Death of Hezekiah after the accession of Esarhaddon } | Accession of Esarhaddon . . 680 |
| } 674 | |

* This identification was first observed by Sir H. Rawlinson. † 2 Kings xv, 30.

‡ Zeitschrift, January, 1869.

§ Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

and I once more repeat that the correctness of his dates is placed beyond all question by their agreement with the dates of the three solar eclipses B.C. 763, 689, and 585, all which combine to lower the common reckoning exactly twenty-five years: and I now come to the consideration of another very interesting result to be derived from the history of Assurbanipal.

RECTIFICATION OF THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

We read in the foregoing history (p. 200), that soon after Assurbanipal had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu on the throne in Elam, that is towards the early part of the year B.C. 652, and before the revolt of Saulmugina in 652-1, the king had despatched a herald to the court of the king of Elam to demand restitution of the image of the goddess Nana, which the Elamites had carried away to Shushan just 1635 years before that date (p. 234). In another passage Kudurnanhundi king of Elam is recorded as the king who had carried off the image, and it is there said to have remained in Elam during—

| | | | |
|----------|---|------|--------|
| 2 Ners | = | 1200 | years. |
| 7 Sosses | = | 420 | „ |
| 15 years | = | 15 | „ |
| | | 1635 | years. |

that is from the year B.C. 2287 to 652 (p. 251). Now we should place no great faith in the exactness of any such precise report of time after so great a lapse of years, did we not know from this and other sources that the Chaldeans and Assyrians had an exact method of reckoning time in cycles of Sari, Neri, and Sossi.

Abydenus writes—“A Sarus is three thousand six hundred years, a Nerus is six hundred, and a Sossus sixty.” And Sir H. Rawlinson has deciphered a tablet in the Assyrian character, from which he gives “a specimen of the ordinary Babylonian sexagesimal notation,” to which he has appended a “portion of a table of squares which extend in due order from 1 to 60.”* Now if we might assume that the 15 years above spoken of beyond the even cycles, were to be reckoned after the end, and not before the beginning of the two Ners and seven Sosses, we should of course be enabled to fix the dates of

* Early History of Babylonia, p. 4.

a series of not less than twenty-seven Babylonian cycles of 60 years each, in the same way that the whole series of Sabbatical years and Jubilees of Hebrew Scripture have been accurately determined from two or three known dates, to the great assistance of chronologists in laying down the outline of Scripture history. That the correct position of these 15 years is at the end of the period, and not the beginning, is certain from the fact, that by so reckoning we arrive at a year in the Assyrian Canon which is registered as the termination of a cycle. For if we add fifteen years to B.C. 652, we find that B.C. 667 should be the first year of a cycle, and adding again two Sosses or 120 years to that figure, we find that B.C. 787 was actually the first year of a cycle. For the previous year 788 is registered in the Canon as the last year of a cycle. Dr. Haigh* I believe was the first to mark the bearing of these cycles upon the Assyrian Canon. Though apparently unacquainted with the passage in Assurbanipal's Annals concerning the image of Nana, he wrote in July 1870—"Karru, in the year B.C. 788 (translated Jubilé by Dr. Oppert), marks the last year of a cycle, a line below B.C. 728, marks another; and one below B.C. 668 probably another."

In the Assyrian Canon, as interpreted by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Shalmanezar II, whose annals are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum, in his thirty-first year appears to have "*inaugurated a second cycle*":† and Sir Henry observes that the verb used in this passage is *akrur*, from כָּרַר, "to move in a circle" (Gesenius). Between this thirty-first year however, B.C. 828, as commonly arranged, and B.C. 788, there are but forty years, instead of sixty. Dr. Haigh therefore, after laying down a calendar of cycles with intercalated months, from B.C. 787 to 688, in conformity with known "astronomical observations from Assyrian documents," goes on to suggest, that the reign of Assur-dan-pal, son of Shalmanezar, who revolted from his father, and secured to himself the allegiance of twenty-seven of the principal cities of Assyria for a period, as he assumes, of nineteen or twenty years, during which the appointment of eponymous archons over the great cities was probably suspended, should be interpolated in the Canon, by which the thirty-first year of Shalmanezar, B.C. 828, will become B.C. 847, and be the first year of a "second cycle" of sixty

* Zeitschrift July and August, 1870.

† Athenæum, 7th Sept., 1867.

years in that king's reign : and he closes his observations by saying—“This circumstance, combined with others noted above, seems to me to establish a certainty that Assur-dan-pal reigned for twenty or nineteen years, from B.C. 844, or 843, to 824.” I have no doubt that Dr. Haigh is correct in this suggestion, and I have, accordingly, in the foregoing comparison of the reckoning of Demetrius with the Assyrian Canon, inserted in the Canon, a reign of nineteen years beginning in B.C. 842, between the reigns of Shalmanezer and Samsi-vul.

Here again the value of the Canon of Demetrius—for his record of dates is worthy of the title—is seen, as a true interpreter of Assyrian chronology. For according to Demetrius the year B.C. 860 was the year of the accession of Jehu king of Israel, of Hazael king of Syria, and of the death of Jezebel the widow of king Ahab. And in the eighteenth year of the reign of Shalmanezer, B.C. 860, thus corrected, we read—“I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus relying on the multitude of his soldiers collected his soldiers in great numbers—I fought with him and defeated him.”* And Mr. Smith has written—“While examining part of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum, I lately discovered a short inscription of Shalmanezer II, king of Assyria, in which it is stated that Jehu king of Israel sent him tribute in the eighteenth year of his reign.” Again in the sixth year of Shalmanezer, corrected to B.C. 872, “the Assyrians defeat the confederate forces of southern Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, at Aroer. Ahab of Jezreel was associated with Benhadad in this fight.”† Now 872 is according to Demetrius the 23rd year of Ahab, in which he died, and in which Ahaziah came to the throne. So that the last year of Ahab, and first year of Jehu mark the sixth and eighteenth years of Shalmanezer. Neither of these years will bear to be moved without dislocation between Demetrius and the Canon. The striking fact is, not that nineteen years arbitrarily inserted into the Assyrian Canon bring it into harmony with Demetrius, but that nineteen years, neither more nor less, are required to complete the cycles referred to in that Canon : and that when so inserted, the reckoning of the two Canons is in harmony to a single year.

* “The Nimród Obelisk,” by Dr. Hincks. Dublin Magazine, Oct. 1853.

† Sir H. Rawlinson ; Athenæum, 18th May, 1867.

Assyrian interpreters are still much at variance with regard to the date of the eighteenth year of Shalmanezar. Sir Henry Rawlinson places the date in the year B.C. 841. Dr. Oppert places it in B.C. 888, not less than forty-seven years earlier. Dr. Hincks favoured the views of Dr. Oppert. Mr. Smith coincides with Sir H. Rawlinson. The true date, as I have endeavoured to show, B.C. 860, lies between the two. Let us test the probability of each of these three dates by the probable time of the death of Jezebel, who was slain by Jehu in the year of his accession. Jezebel we know was the daughter of Ithobal king of Tyre, and priest of Astarte, who lived to the age of sixty-eight, according to Menander's Annals of Tyre, and died just forty-two years before the sister of Pygmalion fled from Tyre and built the city of Carthage. Now Polybius, who was living at the time of the fall of Carthage, in B.C. 146, as quoted by Appian, informs us that Carthage had flourished seven hundred years from the time of its foundation to the time when the city was destroyed. The epitomizer of Levy records the same number of years. Suidas writes—Scipio took the city after it had ruled over the surrounding nations seven hundred years. Orosius writes—"Diruta est Carthago septingentesimo post anno quam condita erat." The colony of Carthage was founded therefore in the year B.C. 846: and Ithobal was born one hundred and ten years before the foundation, that is in B.C. 956. Now assuming that Jezebel his daughter was born about the twentieth, or twenty-fifth year of her father's age, that is in the year B.C. 936 or 931, her age at death would have been—

AGE OF JEZEBEL.

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| According to Oppert, | from 38 to 43 | in the year B.C. 888 |
| „ Demetrius | „ 66 to 71 | „ „ 860 |
| „ Rawlinson | „ 85 to 90 | „ „ 841 |

Clearly the intermediate date is the nearest to the truth. And thus by means of an entirely independent course of inquiry, our already well-founded faith in the accuracy of Demetrius is again confirmed: and the necessity of the proposed modification of the Assyrian Canon strongly supported.