The original of this book is in the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in the United States on the use of the text.

http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924026807226
ASSURBANIPAL HUNTING.

From a Slab found at Nineveh, now in the British Museum.
HISTORY

OF

ASSURBANIPAL,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

BY GEORGE SMITH.

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

MDCCCLXXI.
LONDON
HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.
PREFACE.

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 [ ]; passages or signs present in one copy but omitted in
another ( ); and variant words or passages are given thus (v. ).

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 יבשוי, sometimes יבשוי and יבשוי, and once יבשוי, consists of three elements; the first יבשוי, is the name of the god Assur; the second element, יבשוי, or יבשוי, abani or ban, is a form of the verb to make or beget; and the third element, יבשוי, 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, יבשוי, ibila, is given as the Akkad value, and יבשוי, ablal, as the Assyrian sound; this agrees with Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 53, l. 33, where the word is written יבשוי, 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 א. These names are יבשוי, יבשוי, יבשוי, which is rendered in Hebrew.
ASSURBANIPAL.

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

2. 𒀭𒊏𒈗𒈗𒊏𒈗𒈗tokens ablu sar rab-u sa Bit-rid-u ti sa Assur
   son of the great king of Bit-riduti, whom Assur
va Sin bil age ul - tu immi ruqti ni bit sum and Sin the lord of crowns, from remote days, the account

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

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

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

e - pis šarru - ti su Assur - aḥ - iddina šar Assur abu making of his kingdom. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father

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

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

šarru - ti ya ina aраh Airu aраh He a bil my kingdom. In the month Iyyar the month of Hea the lord

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

Gu la ina e - pis pi - i mut tal - li sa Bel; in performing the important determination, which
Assur, Beltis, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

Istar sa Ninua il-šar-rat Kit-muri
Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

Istar sa Arba-il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku

commanded: he gathered the men of Assyria, small and great, and of the upper and lower seas; to the setting apart (i.e. inauguration) of my kingdom, and afterwards

the kingdom of Assyria I ruled. The observances of the great Gods, I caused to be performed to them, I confirmed the covenants. With joy and shouting I entered [into] the royal gardens
25. mar-kas ūru - [ti sa Sin] - ahi - irba abu abu
the royal property of Sennacherib, the father of the father

[my] begetter, son of the [great] king, [who] ruled the

27. e-pu-su ina lib-bi ** a-sar [Assur-ah-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
[1] Assurbanipal within it, took care

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

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

34. a-hi-id al-gis ab-sa-le-e iz-bam ru-du
I solved. al gis ab sa le, powerful bows,
susi rukubi za-mid-šu a-sa-a-ti ina ki-bit horses, chariots and their harness firmly fitted. By the

ili rabati sa sip-ku ra * bit-sun will of the great Gods who * * * their * * *
a-da-bu ba ta-us-ta su-un ig-bu-u e-pis I proclaimed their laws, they commanded the making

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

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

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

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

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

Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua il şar-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
8 ASSURBANIPAL.

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.  

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

47.  

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

48.  

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

49.  

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

50.  

growing of fruit * * * * * cattle, directing in  

ta lit - ti * * * * duh - du * * - i ya  
good fortune * * * * plenty * * * my *

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

Extract from Tablet K, 3050, Column II.

1. In the month Iyyar, the month of Hea, lord of mankind,

2. And I entered into Bit-riduti,

3. The place of judgment and council by command of

4. Assur, father of the Gods, and Merodach lord of lords, king of heaven[

5. my name they proclaimed to the kingdom. The palace of my

6. joyfully the princes and generals listened to the

7. commands of [my] lips; in the presence of the king
10. ASSURBANIPAL.

8. Ili rabati ip-se-te ya damiqti ha-dis
The great Gods my good deeds joyfully

9. ip-pal-su va ina ki-bi-ti su-nu zir-ti u-sib
established, and by their high command I firmly sat on

'ta-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 sar rab-u sar
I am Assurbanipal the great king, the powerful king,

dun-nu sar kissat sar Assur sar kip-rat
the king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four

3. arba-te zi-it lib-bi Assur-ah-iddina sar kissat
regions; proceeding from the body of Esarhaddon, king of nations,

4. sar Assur sakkanaku Bab-il sar
king of Assyria, high priest of Babylon, king of

5. Sumiri va Akkadi lib-pal-pal Sin-ahi-irba
the Sumerian and Akkadian; grandson of Sennacherib,
šar-kissat šar Assur  Ili rabatí ina puhrí
king of nations, king of Assyria. The great Gods in their

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

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

sa’dr ru-ti u sa-hi-zu ka ra si ina puhrí
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,

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

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

-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

sa-an gu-ti ih * * * * na-dan
the priests * * * * the
16. gifts of my fingers, the Gods over the temples of
17. the great Gods my lords 
18. gold. winged figures(?),
19. columns in their gates I set up, Bit
20. Bit -mas masu Bit -bilat matati Bit like a
21. Bit mas masu, Bit bilat matati, Bit
22. si si - it rab - u allat nap - sat great lady of life
23. e li vad - duk over

Fragment of a Letter, K, 2641.

1. rab - i sar kissat sar Bab - ili great, king of nations, king of Babylon,
2. sar a - bi ya ki - bi va the king my father in consort with me;
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*
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—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Assurbanipal} & : \nu' [13 \text{ years}] \quad \pi' [\text{end } 60 \text{ year N.}] \quad \text{B.C.} \ 680-668. \\
\text{Saosduchin} & : \chi' [20 \text{ years}] \quad \rho' [\text{end } 80 \text{ year N.}] \quad \text{B.C.} \ 667-648.
\end{align*}
\]

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-mah-re-e gar-ri ya a-na Ma-gan
   In my first expedition to Makan

52. va Mi-luh-ha lu-u-al lik Tar-qu-u sar Mu-zur
   and Meroe I went. Tirhakah king of Egypt

53. Ku-u-si sa Assur-ah-iddina sar Assur
   and Ethiopia, of whom Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the
Abu ba-nu-u a abikta su is-ku-nu va i-bi-lu father my begetter, his overthrow had accomplished; and had

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

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

Of the kings and governors whom in the midst

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

da-a-ki ḫab (v. ḫa-ba) a-te va e-kim to slay, plunder, and to capture

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

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

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

62. me-šir 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

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


68. e-mu ki ya zir 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-zur Ishtar had placed in my hands. To Egypt

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

71. mi-ti iq gar-ri ya 22 šarri 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 mah- ri ya
tributaries dependent [on me], to my presence

[il lik-u-niv-va u-na-as si-qu nirir ya]
[came and kissed my feet].

74. sarri sa-a-tu-[nu]*** ina tam-ti
Those kings * * * * * * * * * * on sea

va na ba-[li gar-ri-ti su-nu u-zab-bit]
and land [their roads I took,]

76. ur- hu pa-da-nu *** a-na
the straight path * * * * * * * for

na ra-ru ti ha-mad sa sarri 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

79. ya ur-ru hi is ar-de-e va al lik
me; quickly I descended and went

80. a-di Kar ba ni ti Tar-qu u sar
to Karbenit. Tirhakah king
ASSURBANIPAL.

81. 

Mu zur va Ku-u-si 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 taḥaz a-na maḥ ri ya id ka-a fighting and battle, to my presence he gathered the

83.

qabi taḥazi su ina tugul-ti Assur Istar va men of his army. In the service of Assur, Ishtar, and

84.

Ili rabati beli ya in taḥaz žir rap-si the great Gods, my lords, on the wide battle field I

85.

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

86.

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

87.

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

88.

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

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

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

   u - vaš-šir va a-na su zu ub napis- 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

   su-a-tu az -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 šar Mi - im - pi va Sa - ai**
    Necho king of Memphis and Sais.

93.  **Šar lu da ri šar Zi - hi - nu**
    Sarludari king of Pelusium(?).

94.  **Pi - sa-an - ḫu ru šar Na - at - ḫu - u**
    Pisan-hor king of Natho.

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

96.  **Pu-uk - ku-an-ni-ha - pi šar Ha - at-hi - ri - bi**
    Pukkunanni-hapi king of Athribis.
97. Na-äh-ke-e šar Hi-ni-insi
Nech-ke king of Henins.

98. Pu-du-bi-ti šar Za-ha-nu
Petubastes king of Tanis.

99. Unamunu šar Na-at-hu-u
Unamunu king of Natho.

100. Har-ši-ya e-su šar Zab-nu-u-ti
Horsiesis king of Sebennytus.

101. Bu-ai-va šar Bi in di-di
Buaiuva king of Mendes.

102. Şu-ši in qu šar Bu-si-ru
Sheshonk king of Busiris.

103. Tap-na-äh-ti šar Bu-nu-bu
Tnephachthus king of Bunubu.

104. Pu-uk-ku-na-an-ni ha-pi šar Aḥ-ni
Pukkunnanni-hapi king of Akhni.

105. Ip-ti-har-đe-esu šar Pi-za-at-ti-hu-ru-un-pi-ku
Iptiharkesu king of Pazatti-hurunpiku.

106. Na-äh-ti-hu-ru-an-si-ni šar Pi-sab-di-nu-ti
Necht-hor-ansini king of Pi-sabdininut.
22, ASSURBANIPAL.

107. Bù-kur-ni-ni-ip šar Pā-ḥ-nu-ti
   *Bukur-ninip* king of *Pachnut.*

108. Zi-ḥa-a šar Si-ya-a-u-ut
   *Zikha* king of *Siyout.*

109. Lā-mi-in-tu šar Hī mu-ni
   *Lamintu* king of *Chemmis.*

110. Is-pi-ma-a-du šar Ta-ai-ni
   *Ispimathu* king of *Abydos.*

111. Mā-an ti-mi-an-ḥe e šar Ni-ha
   *Munti-mi-anche* king of *Thebes.*

112. šarri an-nu-ti sanuti ki-pa-a-ni
   *These kings, prefects, and governors,*

113. sa ki rib Mu-ẓur u-pa-ki du abu
   *whom in the midst of Egypt, the father my begetter had*

114. ba-nu-u a sa la pa-an ti bu-ut Tar-qu u
   *appointed; who before the advance of Tirhakah*

115. pi kit-ta su-un u-vas-se-ru im lu-u žer
   *their appointments had left, and fled to the desert,*

116. u-tir va a-sar pi-kit-ti su-un
   *I restored; and the places of their appointments in*
118. mas-gar-i su-un ap-kid šu-nu-ti Mu-zur
their divisions, I appointed them. Egypt and

119. Ku-u-ṣi sa abu ba-nu-u a ik su-du a-na
Ethiopia, which the father my begetter had captured, again

es-su-ti aẓ-bat mazirti e li sa im-mi pa-ni
I took, the bonds more than in former days

120. u-dan-nin va u-rak-ki-ṣa rak-ṣa-a-ti
I strengthened, and joined [the kings] in covenant.

121. it-ti ḫu-ub ti ma-h di sal la-ti
With abundant plunder and much

122. ka-bit-ti sal-mi-is a-tu-ra a-na
spoil in peace I returned to

123. Ninua arka-nu (v. ar ka-a-nu) šarri
Nineveh. Afterwards all those kings

124. an nu-ti ma-la ap ki du ina a-di ya
whom I had appointed sinned against me;

iḥ-du u la ịz-ṣu ru ma-mit Ili rabati
they did not keep the oath of the great Gods.
COLUMN II.

1. Seme e-bu-usu-sunu-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; seditious

3. (ti) sur-ra-ti id-bu-bu va mi-like la
   words they spoke, and evil council

4. 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

7. mi-i-nu e-li Tar-qu u sar ku-u-si
   remain(?)." Unto Tirhakah king of Ethiopia

8. a-na sa-kan a-de-e va sa-li-mi u-ma-
   to make agreement and alliance they

9. he-e ru rak-be-e su un um-ma
   directed their messengers, thus:
May an alliance by this treaty be established, and we will help each other;

the country on the other side we will strengthen, and may there not be in this treaty any other lord.” Against

kit-ri su-nu us zi zu is te-ni hu-u their aid had been raised, they devised

a-wicked plot. My generals of this plot

heard; their messengers and their dispatches they captured, and saw

their seditious work. These kings
20. iz-bat-u - niv - va ina bi - ri ti parzil (?) iṣ - qa - ti
they took; and in bonds of iron and fetters of
parzial (?)
21. u - tam-mi - ḫu qati va niri ma-mit Assur
iron, bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur
22. šar Ili ik - su - uṣ ṣu - nu - ti va sa
king of the Gods took them who
23. ih - ḫu u ina a - de - e (Ili) rabati
sinned against the great (Gods);
24. da - ab - ti qa - tus su - un u ba - hi - i va sa
who had sought the good of their hands, and who
25. e - pu-su ṣu - nu - ti du - un - qu va nisi
had given them favours; and the people
26. Sa - ai Bi in - di di Za - ha - nu
of Sais, Mendes, Zoan,
27. su - nu * * * * * * a - mat limut - (ti) zaḥiri va
them * * * * * * evil design. Small and
great with the sword they caused to be destroyed
29. [\text{pagari su}-nu i lu-lu]

Their corpses they threw down
did not leave in the midst.

30.  

in the dust,

31.  

destroyed the towers of the cities. These kings, who

32.  

had devised evil against

33.  

the army of Assyria,

34.  

Nineveh into my presence they brought.

35.  

To Necho of them,

36.  

favour I granted him, and a covenant

37.  

Costly garments I placed upon him,
(va) al lu ḫurāz ši-mat šaru-ti su as-kun
ornaments of gold, his royal image I made for
I šu semiri ḫurāz u-[rak-ki ša] sangu-te-(e) su
him, rings of gold I fastened on his feet,

gir (parzil) sib-bi sa ah zu su ḫurāz
a scimitar (of steel,) its sheath of gold,

ni bit sum ya * * * * * a-din su ruqubi
the glory of my name * * * * * I gave him. Chariots,
susi pari a-[na horses, and mules for his

šaru] ti su a-kīṣ su su -ut-saki
kingdom I appointed; my generals

ya sanuti a-na [Mu-žur it] ti su
as governors, to [Egypt] with him I

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

šar u-te ip-kid-du su a na mas-gar-i su
the kingdom had appointed him, to his district I

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

ina [Ha] at-ha-ri ba ḏabtu (v. da-ab-tu) in Athis. Benefits and favours,

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

va e-pu-uṣ-su Tar-qu-ua [na Ku u ši] and gave to him. Tirhakah to [Ethiopia]

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

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

Afterwards Rudammon, son of his consort,

u-sib ina kuzzu šaru ti su Ni-ha sat on his royal throne. Thebes

alu dan-nu-ti su is kun u-pah-ḥi-ra his fortified city he made, and he gathered

el-lat su a-na mit-ḥu zi ummani ya [abli] his forces to fight my army, [the sons]

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

59. * * * * va e - ši ir va iz - ba - ta midst of [it]. * * * * and besieged and took

60. * * * * [il] - the whole of them. * * * * * *

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 - uḫ ka - bat - ti My heart was bitter, and much afflicted.

b. * * * * ad ke e e - mu - ki ya žirati sa I gathered my powerful forces, which
c. * * * * Assur va Istar u - mal - lu qa - tu - u a a - na Assur and Ishtar had placed in my hands. For
d. * * * * &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. 

\[ \text{Assurbanipal.} \]

Ba - ha - al

Balah

č. šar

king of

Zur - ri

Tyre,

d. šar

king of

Ya - u - di

Judah,

e. šar

king of

Ma - ha - ab

Moab,

f. šar

king of

Ha - zi - ti

Gaza,

g. šar

king of

Iz - qa lu - na

Askelon,

h. šar

king of

Av gar ru - na

Ekron,

i. šar

king of

Gu - ub li

Gebal,

j. šar

king of

A - ru - a - di

Arvad,

Six lines (k, l, m, n, o, p) lost.

g. I tu u - an - da - ar šar

Ithu-ander

Pa - ap - pa

king of

Paphos,
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 ha - nu
   Saïs, Mendes, and Zoan,
2. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu
which revolted * * * * and set

4. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

5. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

6. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

7. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

8. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

9. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

10. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

11. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

12. [sa] ip pal - ki - tu * * * * va is - ku - nu

ASSURANIPAL.
Assurbanipal.

Fragment of Column I, Cylinder E.

1. * * * * * ru - u - qu  
   * * * * * a - lak ku  
   * * * * * remote  
   * * * * * I had gone.

3. [Assur] ah iddina šar Assur abu ba - nu - u a  
   Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the father my begetter,  
   [ir] - du va il li - ku ki - rib sa abikta  
   had descended and gone into the midst of it;  
   the over-

4. Tar qu u šar Ku u ši is - ku nu va  
   throw of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia he had accomplished, and

5. [ir] - du va il li - ku ki - rib sa abikta  
   had descended and gone into the midst of it;  
   the over-

6. u - par - ri ru el lat šu  
   scattered his forces.

7. Mu - žur  
   Egypt and

8. Ku u šu ik su du va [ina la] me - ni  
   Ethiopia he had taken, and its innumerable

9. is lu la sal - la - aş šu [matu su] - a tu ina  
   spoils he had carried off; that country, the

10. (v. a - na) şi - hir - ti sa i - bi - luv - va [a - na]  
   whole of it, he took possession of, and to

11. me şir Assur u tir sumi  
   the borders of Assyria he added. The former
Assurbanipal. 35

12. [a-na] es-su-u-te is-ku-na ni-bi-is su-un

13. ardi su a-na šaru ti san u ti

his servants to the kingdoms and governments

14. [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. [san-ti u sam-ma] u-kin to his dominion, a yearly sum he fixed

17. zi ru us-su-un * * * * as-li qaqq-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-ḫa-za-a ni e-ziри sa ki-rib * * * *  
in the cities and temples, which are in the midst * * * *

e. ul-tu abu ba-nu-u a im [nu-u] * * * *  
from the father my begetter revolted * * * *

f. Tar-ku-u ba-lu Ili a [na] * * * *  
Tirhakah against the Gods to * * * *


2. Tar ku-u ba lu Ili a-na e-kim  
Tirhakah against the Gods, to capture

3. Egypt made a gathering to fight. The evil

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
ASSURBANIPAL.

5. ya e-mi-is va it-ta-gil a-na e-muq despised, and trusted to his own
ra-ma-nis u 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 sa Assur-ah-iddina
were tributaries dependent on me, whom Esarhaddon

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

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

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

9. al-la-ku ha-an-du 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) 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 al si - ma tur - tan
afflicted. I collected the tartan

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

ziřati a - na na ra ru ti ḥa - maq sa
forces, for the restoration of the

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

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

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

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

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

Ku - u-ši sa a- lak unman ya ki - rib Mi - im pi
Ethiopia who, of the progress of my army in the midst of Memphis
is - me - e (v. va) a - na e pis qabal kakku taḥaz
heard and to make war fighting, and battle he
unman su id ka - a is - di ra me - eh - rit umman ya
gathered his army and set them in array in front of my army.

In the service of Assur, Sin and the great Gods my lords,

ya a - lik i - di ya ina taḥaz ẓer i abikta su
who march before me; in the battle field his overthrow they
accomplished, his fighting men they destroyed with the
sword. Himself, terrible fear struck him,

va il li ku mah ħu ur ul tu
and he went back. From

Memphis his capital city and his fortified place,

he went out, and to save his life in a

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 ta-haz u -zab-bi-tu ina qati a-mir
the fighting men took in hand. A messenger

bu-us su-rat ha-de-e da-a ut-ra ig-ba-a
of good tidings hastily(?) returned, and

25. ya-a-si rab-sak sanuti sharri
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. a-di e-mu-ki su-nu elappi su-nu sharri
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

27. su-nu elappi su-nu a-na hul lu uq
and their ships; to drive

28. Tar-qu-u ul tu ki-rib Mu-zur va Ku-u-si
Tirhakah out of Egypt and Ethiopia,
29. eli e-mu-ki ya žir-ra a-ти 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

31. Tar-qu u šar Ku-u-ši il-li-ku ma-lak
of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia they went, a journey of
araḥ 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

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

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 ṣu ma-mit sun ḏab-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-ati id-bu bu va mi-lik seditious 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 śar Ku-u-ši a-na sa-kan a-de-e Tirhakah king of Ethiopia to make agreement
va  śl-li-mi u-ma-he e-ru rak-be-e su-un and alliance, they directed their messengers
39. um-ma şu-lum-mu-u ina bi-ri-in-ni thus: "May an alliance by this treaty be
lis-sa kin (v. kin) va ni-in-dag-ga-ra a-ḥa-mis established, and we will help each other;
40. mat a-he-en na-ani zu-uz va ai ib-ba-si the country on the other side we will strengthen, and let there not be

41. ina bi-ri-in ni sa-nu-uv-va be-luv a-na in this treaty any other lord.” Against umman Assur gab-sa-ati ya is-te-ni-hu-u the army of Assyria, my strength, they devised a

42. a-mat limut-ti a-na su-zu-ub (v. na-bi) wicked plot. To save na pis-ti su-un ik-ri-mu hu-lu-qu a-di their lives being captured; they separated, until

43. la ba-se-e su-ut-saki ya a-ma-a-ti there were none [together]. My generals of this plot an-na-ati is-mu-u va ik-ki-lu nik-lat sun heard, and concealed their plans;

44. rak-be-e su-un a-di sip-ra-ati su-nu their messengers and their instructions iz-ba tu-niv-va e-mu-ru ip-sit sur-ra-ati they captured, and saw their seditious su-un Sar luda-ri Ni-ik-ku-u work. Sarbudari 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-hu qati va niri ma mit Assur sar
they bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur king

Ili ik-su-ush-su-nu-ti va sa ih-du-u
of the Gods took them, who sinned

ina a-de-e rabati da-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-su-nu-ti du un-qu
of their hands and who had given them favours;

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

* * * * * ik-bu-du a-mat limut-ti zahiri 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-asu-un a-di
leave in the midst; and them to

[Ninua] a-di mah-ri ya ub-lu-ni va
[Nineveh] to my presence they brought; and
a-na-ku Assur-bani-pal * * * * * mun-ša-ah
I, Assurbanipal * * * * * bestower of

dam-qa-a-ti a-na Ni-ık-ku-u arad
favours: to Necho the tributary
da-[gil pa-ni ya sa abu banu-u a a-na šar-u]-te
dependent [on me, whom the father my begetter to the kingdom]

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-üş-su va
granted him, and a covenant I appointed him,

a-de-e ni is Ili eli sa mah-[ri
the observances of the Gods stronger than before [I

u-sa-tir va it-ti su] as-pur lib bu
caused to be restored, and with him] I sent. His heart

u-sar hi ış-su va lu-[bul-ti bir mi
I caused to rejoice, and [costly] garments

u-[lab]-bi-su va al-lu ḫuraẓ ši-mat šaru-ti
I placed upon him, and ornaments of gold, his royal image

su as-kun su semiri ḫuraẓ u-[rak-ki-ša]
I made for him; rings of gold I fastened on
sangu- ti su gir sib- bi sa ah- zu su huraz
his feet, a scimitar, the sheath of which was gold,

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

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

I appointed; my generals as

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

The place where the father my begetter, in Sais the name

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

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

e- pu- us su va Nabu- se- zib- an- ni ablu su
gave to him: and Neboshazban his son
Assurbanipal. 47

65. [Ha]- at - ha - ri - ba sa Li mir - in

Athribes which Limir-

pa - te - si - assur sum su a na šar - u - te as - kun

patesi-Assur is its name; to the kingdom I appointed.

66. Tar - qu - u šar Ku-u - ši ĕat - tu pu - luḥ - ti

Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, terrible fear

bil - ti ya ḫu up su va il lik simti mu - si su

of my power overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night.

67. Ur - da - ma - ne - e ablu bilati su ina kuzzu su u - sib

Rudammon son of his consort, sat on his throne

va u - ma - hi - ir ma - a - tu Ni - ha a - na

and governed the country, Thebes he

dan - nu - ti su is - kun u - pa - hir el - lat su

fortified for himself, and gathered his forces

68. a - na e - pis qabal va tahaz eli umman ya

to make war and battle, against my army

kakki su u - sat - ba - a iz - ba - ta mur - ra na

his soldiers he brought forward, and took the road.
ASSURBANIPAL.

The first expedition of Assurbanipal was directed against Muzur, Heb. מער (Egypt), and Kūsu, Heb.ッシュ (Ethiopia). No name resembling Muzur can be found in the hieroglyphics; but Kūsu is the same as the Egyptian Кауэ Kiš. Kūsu, or Kush, appears in the Assyrian inscriptions to include part of Upper Egypt as well as Ethiopia; for although Esarhaddon's conquests did not extend higher than Thebes, he is said to have conquered both Muzur and Kush. Cylinder A gives at the commencement Magan or Makan instead of Muzur, and Miluḥa instead of Kush. The name Magan for some land in this region is very ancient, but only known in the cuneiform inscriptions. Miluḥa has been thought to be the same as Meroe, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. During the first part of the reign of Esarhaddon Egypt and Ethiopia were under the rule of Tirhakah the ruler of any' (N) K̬Th) Taharqā of the hieroglyphics, who was driven out of Egypt by Esarhaddon. The re-conquest of Egypt by Tirhakah, at the close of the reign of Esarhaddon, was the cause of the first expedition of Assurbanipal. Here the Assyrian inscriptions differ, some (as Cylinder A) giving the command of this expedition to Assurbanipal himself; others (K, 2675) recording that he sent a general in command of the army. The list of kings of Syria and Cyprus who submitted on the road is, so far as it is preserved, the same as that of Esarhaddon ("North British Review," No. 104, p. 328). The first city in Egypt mentioned in relation to this expedition is Karbanit. This is evidently an Assyrian name; and, as the city lay near the frontier, is possibly the name given by Esarhaddon to Pelusium. Here the battle took place, which once more gave the country to the Assyrians. On conquering Egypt, Assurbanipal restored the twenty kings who had been set up by Esarhaddon and dethroned by Tirhakah; the leader of these was Necho, hier. Nekau, who was king of Mimpi, or Memphis, hier. Mennefer, then the capital city, and Sai or Sais, hier. Sai. The second king, Sarluudari, was evidently an Assyrian, the name is a common one at this period, and is written in various ways; the full form is found on K, 31, Saru-lu-u-da-a-ru,
meaning “long live the king.” Sarludari was king of Zibinu, which probably represents Pelusium, the Hebrew "V, 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, Pukkunnihapi, is evidently Egyptian, but has not yet been identified; he was king of Ḥathiribi, or Athribis, hier. Ḥattaḥirab. The sixth king has likewise an unidentified Egyptian name, he ruled at Henins, Heb. The seventh king is Pudu-bisti, or Petubastes, hier. Petsibast; he ruled at Zahan, or Tanis, Hebrew 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 Bindidi, or Mendes, hier. Bentat. The eleventh king, Šušiq, 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, Pukkunnihapi, is the same as the fifth; his seat was at Aḫni, possibly Heracleopolis. The next king Ipti-har-desu, ruled at Pizatti-hurunpiku. The fifteenth monarch has the name Naḥti-ḥuru-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. Ziḥa, the seventeenth monarch, ruled at Siyaut, or Siyout, hier. Saut. The next king, Lamintu, had his seat at Himuni or Chemmis, heir. Ḥem-men. The nineteenth king was Ispi-maḍu of Taini, Thin,
or Abydos, hier. 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. 8", 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 Nut-mi-ammon; but another identification has been brought forward since; Dr. Haigh has suggested that Urdamane is the Nut-mi-amon, 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-amon, 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
triump. 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 יָרָה. 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. Ina sanute gar-ri ya a-na Mu-ţur va
   In my second expedition, to Egypt and

62. Ku-û si us-te-es-se-ra mur-ra-nu
   Ethiopia I directed the march.

63. Ur-da-ma-ne-e a-lak gar-ri ya is-me-e
   Rudammon of the progress of my expedition heard,

64. va sa ak-bu-şu me-şir Mu-ţur
   and that I had crossed over the borders of Egypt.

65. Mi-im-pi u-vas-sir va a-na su zu ub
   Memphis he abandoned, and
napisti su in - na - bit a - na ki - rib Ni - ha
life he fled into Thebes.

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

ki - rib Mu - zur as - ku - nu ina šati ya
in Egypt I had set up, to my presence
il - lik - u - niv - ya 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 tahaz 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 ši ḫīr - 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 ḫuraz
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;  

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

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

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

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

[it] -ti su-nu aš-suḥ va al-qa-a a-na with them I removed, and brought to  

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

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

Mu-žur Ku-u-şi kakki ya Egypt and Ethiopia; my servants I  

[u] -sam-ri-ir va [as-tak]-kan li-i-tu caused to march, and I acquired glory.
ASSURBANIPAL. 55

83. With the tributes peacefully I returned to

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

K, 2675, Obverse Line 70 to Reverse Line 5.

70. In the service of Assur, Sin, and the great Gods

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

accomplished, and dispersed his forces.

72. Rudammon fled alone, and entered

a-na ni-ha alu šaru ti su ma-lak arah
into Thebes, his capital city. A journey of a month

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

73. il li-ku a-di ki rib ni-ha alu
they went, to the midst of Thebes. That city,
The whole of it they took, and swept like a storm.

Gold and silver, the dust of his country, precious stones,
valuables (?) treasures of his palace, garments costly and beautiful (?), great horses, people
male and female,

The products of their mountains, without number,

And counted as spoil. To Nineveh, the city
bi - lu - ti ya sal - mis is - su - niv - va
of my dominion, peacefully they came up, and

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. [Ina salsi gar-ri] ya eli Ba ha- li

(In] my [third expedition] against Bahal

85. (v. sa) a-mat saru-ti ya

as-su (v. sa) a-mat saru-ti ya

who my royal will disregarded and

86. EY mS < HW ENC GERM I (v. Da) EH

Ey EN < HW ENC GERM I (v. Da) EH

la iz-uzu-ru

did not hear the words of my lips;

la is-mu-zi-kar sap-ti (v. sapti) ya
87. 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-

89. 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

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

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

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

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

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

95. bintu zi-it lib-bi su va binti aḥi su
daughter proceeding from his body and the daughters of his brothers

96. a-na e-pis sal tuglu u ti u bi-la a-di
for concubines he brought to my
mah-ri ya Ya-ki-mil-ki ablu [su] tugulti(?) presence; [to] Yahimelek [his] son, the sub-
mission of the country and an unequalled present(?) at once he entrusted,
a-na e-pis ardu-ti-ya binat şu va binti to make obeisance to me. His daughter and the daughters
a-hi su it-ti tir-ha-ti ma-ha-aş-şi of his brothers, with their great dowries, I
am-har su re-e-mu ar si su va ablu zi-it received. Favour I granted him, and the son proceeding
lib-bi su u-tir va ad-din (v. a-din) su from his body I restored and gave him.
Ya-ki-in-lu-u şar Aru-ad-da Yakinlu king of Arvad,
ab-sib qabal tam-ti sa a-na şarri dwelling in the midst of the sea, who to the kings
abi ya la kan-su ik-nu-sa a-na niri my fathers was not submissive, submitted to my yoke,
yu binat şu it-ti nu dun ne e his daughter, with many gifts,
ASSURBANIPAL.

103. \ma- \ha- [\di] \a- \na \ e- \pis \ sal \ tuglu \ - \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 \ ȧr \ 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

107. \ma- \ha- \aš- \si \ a- \na \ e- \pis \ sal \ tuglu \ - \ti
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 \ ra-\batI \ man- \da- \at- \tu \ ma\-\ti
\great horses and the tribute of the country the

110. \sam-\ma \ u- \kin \ zir- \us- \su \ Sa-\an \ da- \sar- \mi
\sum \ I \ fixed \ upon \ him. Sandasarmi of
Hi-lak-ka-ai

Cilicia, who to the kings my fathers

la ik-nu-su

did not submit, and did not perform their pleasure,

bintu zi-it

the daughter proceeding from his body, with many

ma-ha-di a-na e-pis sal-tuglu-ut-ti

gifts, for a concubine

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

sepi ya ul-tu Ya-ki in-lu-ư sar

my feet. From Yakinlu king of

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,

A-du-ni-ba-al Sa-pa-di ba-al Pu-di-ba-al

Adonibahal, Sapadibahal, Pudibahal,

Ba-ha al-ya-su-pu Ba ha al-ḥa-nu-nu

Bahalyasup, Bahathanun,
120. "Ba - ha - al - ma - ln - ku A - bi - mil - ki A - hi - mil - ki
   Bahalmaluk, Abimelek, and Ahimelek,

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

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

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

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

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

127. as - kun A - bi - ba - ha - al A - du - ni - ba - al
   appointed. Abibahal, Adonibahal,

128. Sa - pa - di ba - al
   Sapadibahal,

COLUMN III.

1. Pu di ba - al Ba - ha - al - ya - su pu
   Pudibahal, Bahalyasup,
ASSURBANIPAL.

2. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
Ba - ha - al - ha - nu - nu  Ba - ha - al - ma - lu - ku
Bahalhanon,

3. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
A - bi - mil - ki  A - hi - mil - ki
Abimelek, and Ahimelek;

4. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
A - bi - mil - ki  A - hi - mil - ki
Costly clothing

5. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
Gu - (ug) - gu šar  Lu - ud - di
Gyges king of Lydia,

6. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
na - gu - u sa ni - bir - ti ab - ba as - ru ru - u - qu
a district which is across the sea, a remote place,

7. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
sa šarri abi ya la is - mu - u zik - ri
of which the kings my fathers had not heard speak of

8. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
sum su ni - bit šaru - ti ya kap - ti ina suttu
its name. The account of my grand kingdom

9. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
u - šap - ri va Assur Ilu ba - nu a um - ma
in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator, thus:

10. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
(nir) (sum ma) ina zi - kar
"The yoke * * * * * * * * (when) in remembrance

11. I -- Q -- E -- K -- K -- E -- I
im - mu suttu [an - ni - tu e - mu - ru]
the day [he saw that] dream,
12. rak-bu su [is-pu-ra a-na sa-ha al
his messenger [he sent, to pray for

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

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

[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

niru [sarut-ti ya] Gi-mir (ra)*-ai
yoke of [my kingdom], the Cimmerians,

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

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

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

tugul-ti Assur va Istar Illi 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,
sa ik-su-du 2 niri ina zi-iz-zi whom he had taken, two chiefs in strong fetters

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

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

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

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;

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;

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

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

(sar) Mu-zur sa iz-lu u niru, belu-ti ya (king) of Egypt, who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion,
is - pur va a - na - ku as - me - e va u - sal li
he sent; and I heard [of it], and prayed to

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

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

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

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

ner - pad - dui(?) su Gi - [mir] ai sa ina ni bit
his attendants.

The Cimmerians whom by the glory

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

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

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

qati ya Ili ti ik li ya ina pa - an
of my hands, the Gods my protectors in the time of the
abi bani (v. ba-ni) su u sap ri-ku ina qati father his begetter had destroyed. By the hand

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

şaru ti ya um-ma şar sa Ilu i-du su at-ta of my kingdom thus: “The king whom God has blessed art thou;

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

in his time; I am thy devoted servant, and my people

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


u-tir va a-ri-im su ḫal-žui I restored and favoured him. The towers

sa eli Ba-ha-li şar Zur-ri which over against Bahel king of Tyre

u-rak-ki şu 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
58. ab-ti ma-da-at-ta su ka-bit-tu am īār 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.
60-61. Kings in the midst of the sea, and kings dwelling sa-de e sa-qu-u-ti da-na-an ip-se-ti ya in the lofty mountains, these my mighty an na-a-ti e-mu-ru va ip-la-hu bel-u-ti deeds saw, and feared my power.
62. Yaki in lu-u šar A ru-u-a-da Yakinlu king of Arvad,
63. Mu-gal-lu šar Tab-a-la ša a-na šarri Mugallu king of Tubal, who to the kings abi ya la kan-su ik-nu-su a-na nirī ya my fathers were not submissive, submitted to my yoke.
64. binti zi-it lib bi su-nu va The daughters proceeding from their bodies, and
tir - ha - ti ma - ha - aš - ši a - na e - pis sal
their great dowries,

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

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

susl - rabati ma - da at - tu mat - ti
great horses the tribute of the country

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

I took away his county, Azibahal,

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

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

ul tu qabal tam - ti e - su - niv - va it - ti
from the midst of the sea arose, and with
their numerous presents came and

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

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

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

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

84. ina maḥ-ri ya * * * * Gu-ug gu šar
in my presence * * * * Gyges king of

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

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

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

88. kap-ti ina suttu u šap-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 * * * * * ina zi-kar [suttu thus: "the yoke * * * * * In remembrance [of

91. 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, extreme rebels, who feared not my fathers

94. nakiri aq-zu [sa la ip]-la-hu abi 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

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

3. [it-ti ta-mar]-ti su he bound and [with] his numerous
4. II CE II -MY ENH

ka-bit ti u-se-bi la a-di maḫ 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. I CE II -MY ENH

Gu gu šar Lu-ud-di na gu u

Gyges king of Lydia, a district

14. En

ni bir ti ab ba as-ru ru u qu sa

across the sea, a remote place, of which

şarri a-li-kut maḫ ri abi ya la

the kings going before me, my fathers, had not

is-mu-u zik ri sum su ni-bit şaru 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

15. En

ba-nu u a um-ma sa Assur-bani-pal šar

my creator, thus: “Of Assurbanipal king

Assur hi suḫ ti. Assur šar Ili bel

of Assyria, the beloved of Assur king of the Gods, lord

I.
17. Gim ri niri ru-bu-ti su za-bat va šaru-šu of all; his princely yoke take, his majesty

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

19. 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 mah-ri ya his messenger he sent to my presence.

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

su ina kir-bi tam-ha-ri bal du-uš-šu ik-su-da in the midst of war, alive his hand

21. 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 šar 
kissed my feet, Mugallu king of

(blank) a-sib ša-ar-sa-ša-ni sa-di pa-as-qu-Šu-ti 
dwelling in the forests and rugged mountains,

23. 

sa a-na šarri 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-ri-b 
and had increased depredations, within

mati su ša-hat-ti im-Šu-Šu va pu lu-Šu-Šu šar-Šu-ti ya 
is-country fear struck him, and the terror of my kingdom

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

a-na Ninua is-pu-rav-va u-zal-Šu-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-da-nmat-ti su u-ši ru-us-su 
the tribute given by his country I fixed upon him.

27. Ik ki lu-u šar Ar u-a-da a-sib 
Ikkilu 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 * * * ĥa e-de-e dan-ni the boundless waters * * * long(?) time(?) the

29. 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-da ab-sa-a-ni ĥurazi he submitted, and he executed my pleasure. Gold, sarad şami 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-şir mati ya nisi mati ya To the border of my country the men of my country
2. **iz** **must-me-** e **at-ta** a-hu-u **ig-bu** [u] **"who art thou brother?"** they said;

3. **sa ma-ti-ma ra-gab-u da-rag-gu la** **"of what place?" The messenger** the road took not

4. **is-ku-na a-na ki-[rib mati ya] a-na Ninua** to the midst of [my country] to Nineveh

5. **alu bi-lu ti ya** **u-bi-lu-ni su** the city of my dominion **they brought him**

6. **ina ma-h-[ri ya] lisani zi it sam-si** into [my] presence. The languages of the rising of the sun (east)

7. **e-rib [sam-si] sa Assur u-ma-al-lu-u** and the setting of the sun (west), which Assur had committed to

8. **la i sim-mu-u** they could not understand

9. **ul-tu me-[sic] mati** from the border of

10. **su u-bi** [la] **him he brought**
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 Miluḫa (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. [Ina arbe- e gar]- ri ya a- na Kar-bat
   [In my fourth] expedition to Karbat

6. [ki - rib Ha- le] - e- ha- az - ta lu - u al - lik
   in Halehasta I went.

7. [Ta - an - da - ai] niru su-nu ana şarri
   [Tandai] their chief to the kings

8. [abi ya [la kit-nu-su a-na] nirì va nisi
   my fathers [had not been submissive to] the yoke, and the men

9. a si - bu- ti Kar- bat [ka ay - an
   dwelling in Karbat [constantly] were

ab] - ta - nab- ba - tu ḥu bu - ut mati ya mut - ba- la
   carrying off the plunder of my country.
In the service of Assur, Bel, and Nebo,

[Karbat I besieged,] I captured, I carried off its spoil.

[In hand I took, and] brought to Assyria;

[the people] whom I had not carried off [into the midst of]

Egypt I caused to be taken.

K, 2675, Reverse, Lines 6 to 12.
8. bi-lut Assur Ta-an da ai niru su-nu
power of Assyria. Tandia their chief, who

sa-a-na šarri abi ya la kit-nu-su a-na
the kings my fathers was not submissive to the
	ni-i-ri šu bu-ut mati ya mut-ba-la
yoke, the plunder of my country

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

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

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

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

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
82 ASSURBANIPAL.

as zuh va ki rib Mu zur u - sa-
I removed, and into Egypt caused

az bit to be taken.

FRAGMENT OF CYLINDER E, LINES 1 TO 9.

1. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

2. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
   asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

3. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
   abundance they carried off to the midst of

4. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

5. bal - du - su ina qa - ti [iz - ba] - tu - ni ub lu - u - ni
   alive in hand they took, and brought

6. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
   to my presence. [The people] of those cities

7. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
   I removed, and into the midst of Egypt

8. I removed, and into Egypt

9. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

10. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

11. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of


    alive in hand they took, and brought

    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

15. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

16. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

17. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

18. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of

19. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

    alive in hand they took, and brought

    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

22. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

23. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

24. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

25. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of


27. bal - du - su ina qa - ti [iz - ba] - tu - ni ub lu - u - ni
    alive in hand they took, and brought

28. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

29. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

30. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

31. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

32. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of

33. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

34. bal - du - su ina qa - ti [iz - ba] - tu - ni ub lu - u - ni
    alive in hand they took, and brought

35. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

36. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

37. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

38. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

39. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of

40. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

41. bal - du - su ina qa - ti [iz - ba] - tu - ni ub lu - u - ni
    alive in hand they took, and brought

42. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

43. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

44. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

45. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

46. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of

47. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

    alive in hand they took, and brought

49. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

50. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

51. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

52. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

53. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of

54. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

55. bal - du - su ina qa - ti [iz - ba] - tu - ni ub lu - u - ni
    alive in hand they took, and brought

56. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

57. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

58. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

59. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

60. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of

61. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

    alive in hand they took, and brought

63. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

64. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt

65. [qu - ra] - di su u - ra - si - bu ina kaki
   -His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

66. imiri alpi ze - e ni [sal-lat] su
    asses, oxen, and sheep, its spoil in

67. ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu u ni [ana ki] - rib
    abundance they carried off to the midst of

68. Assur [Ta - an] da - ai niru su - nu Assyria. Tandia their chief

69. bal - du - su ina qa - ti [iz - ba] - tu - ni ub lu - u - ni
    alive in hand they took, and brought

70. a - di mah - ri - ya [nisi] sa alani
    to my presence. [The people] of those cities

71. su - nu ti as - suh [i na] ki rib Mu - zur
    I removed, and into Egypt
I caused to be taken.  

Men of my bow, of countries which

I caused to be taken.  

were conquered in Karbat and

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.

Ina arbe-e gar-ri ya . ad ki ummani ya

eli Ah-se-e-ri (v. ra) sar Man-na-ai
against Akhseri king of Minni

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

Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa
Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of

Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

Ninua Ilu sar-rat Kit-mu-ri Istar sa

Arba-il Ninip Nergal Nusku ki-rib
Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku; into
Man-na-ai e-ru-ub va at-tal-lak sal-dis

Minni I entered and marched victoriously;

alani su dan-nu-ti a-di zihruti sa ni-i-ba
his strong cities and smaller ones, which were

la i-su-u a-di ki rib I-zir-tu (v. ti)
without number, to the midst of Izirtu,

ak su-ud (v. aksud) ab-bul ag-gur ina isati
I took; I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire

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

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

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

Ah-se-e-ri a-lak gar ri ya is-me-e va
Ahseri of the progress of my expedition heard; and

u-vas-ser I-zir-tu alu sar-(u) ti su
abandoned Izirtu his royal city;

a-na Is-ta at-ti alu tuglu-ti su
to Istatti his castle he
in - na - bit va e hu - uz mar - ki - tu fled, and took refuge.

na gu - u su - a - tu ak - su - ud ma - lak 10 im - mi 5 im - mi
That district I took; for fifteen days' journey

u sah - rib (v. ri - ib) va sa - qu - um - ma - tu
I laid waste, and the highlands

ad - bu - uk Ah - se - e - ri la pa - lah (v. luh)
I conquered. Ahseri not fearing

belu - ti ya ina a - mat Istar a si - bat Arba - il:
my power, by the will of Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,

who from the first had spoken thus: “I am

mi tu tu Ah - se - e - ri šar Man - na ai the destroyer of Ahseri, king of Minni.”

ki i sa ag - bu u ip pu - us ina qati ardi su When I had commanded it, it was accomplished. Into the hands of his

tam nu su va nisi mati su ši hu eli su servants she delivered him, and the people of his country a revolt

u sab - su - u ina tarzi alu su sa - lam - ta su against him made, and in front of his city his attendants threw
ASSURBANIPAL.

67. id-du-um in da as-saru 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 Vaalii

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, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar

72. sa Ninua Ilu šar-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

75. niri (v. ni-ri) ya as-su ba-laḍ napis-ti su
my yoke. To preserve his life

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

Erisinni, his eldest son,

76. a-na Ninua is-pur-av-va u-na-as-siq to Nineveh he sent, and kissed

77. sepi ya re-e-mu ar-si su va a-mir ya my feet. Favour I granted him, and my messenger

78. sa salim-mi u-ma-hi-ir ziru (v. zi-ru) us-su for friendship I sent to him.

79. bintu zi it lib bi su u-se-bi-la a-na The daughter proceeding from his body he sent for a

80. e-pis sal tuglu u ti ma-da at-ta su concubine. The former

81. mah-ri tu sa ina tir-zi šarri abi ya tribute, which in the time of the kings my fathers

82. u-sab di-lu is-su-u-ni a-di mah-ri they had broken off, he had brought to my presence.

(v. mahri) ya 30 susi eli ma-da-(at)-ti Thirty horses, beside the former

su mah-ri ti u rad di va e-mid (v. mi-š) şu tribute, I added and fixed upon him.
ASSURBANIPAL.


16. [— We EWS >MeY EEN EET] Y IT 8 EN TN

[Ina ḫamsi garr-ri ya eli] Ah-se-e-ri

[In my fifth expedition against] Ahseri

17. [sar Man-na−ai lu−u] al−lik

[king of Minni] I went.

19. nu-su * * * * ti * * * * submit(?)

20. [Man-na−ai] Minni

21. * * * * Assur * * * * di-va as-ku-nu * * *

22. * * * * Assur * * * * and I had made * * *

23. Ah-se-e-ri a-lak garr-ri [ya is-mi va]

Ahseri, of the progress of [my] expedition [heard, and]

24. u-ma-he-ra [umman su] ina

sent forth [his army]. In the

26. sat mu si tan-ni kil ti a-na e-pis taḥaz

middle of the night, secretly to make war,

it-bu-[ni] a-na mit-ḥu uz zi ummani ya

they came to fight my army.

28. zabi taḥazi ya it-ti su-un im-da-ḥa-[zu]

My men of war, with them fought, and
is - ku - nu abikta su - un ma - lak 3 kas - pu accomplished their overthrow. For a space of three kaspu ekal rag-[mat šu] - nu u - mal - lu - u žer rap - su of ground their slain filled the wide desert.

By command of Assur, Sin, and Shamas, the great Gods beli ya sa u - tak - ki - lu in - ni my lords, who protected me;

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

the fortress, Pasa * * su Pusut,

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

Ši - hu - u - a Sihua,

36. Na - zi - ni - ri š and Naziniri, eight

alani dan - nu - ti va a - di zi - ih - ru - ti strong cities, and smaller ones
which were without number, to the midst of

I - zir - ti ak - su - ud ab - bul ag - gur - ina isati

Izirtu I captured, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire

ak - mu nisi susi imiri

I burned. People, horses, asses,

alpi zeni ul - tu ki - rib alani

oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those

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

Ah - se - e - ri a - lak gar - ri ya is - mi va

Ahseri of the progress of my expedition heard, and

u - vas - ser I - zir - tu alu šaru - ti su

abandoned Izirtu, his royal city.

a - na Ad ra - a - na alu tugul - ti su in - na - bit

To Adrana, his castle, he fled,

e - ūhu - uz mar - ki - tu I - zir - tu

and took refuge. Izirtu,

Ur - mi - ya - te Uz - bi a alani

Urmiyate; and Uzbek, his
48. 

dan-nu ti su al-mi nisi a-si-bu-ti fortified cities, I surrounded, the people dwelling in

49. 
alani sa-a-tu-nu e-şī-ir va nap-sat șu-nu those cities I besieged, and their spirits

50. 
u-şī-iq u-tir-ri na gu-u su-a-tu I humbled, and caused to melt away. That district I

51. 

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

52. 

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

53. 

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

54. 

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

55. 

sa ina tir-zi şarri abi ya which in the time of the kings my fathers

56. 

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

57. 

ra-ma-ni su-nu u-tir-ru ak su-ud ina (hands) had restored; I captured, in the
isati ak-mu as-lu-la sal-la-šun alani
fire I burned and carried off their spoil. Those

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

na-gu-u sa Ar-ši-ya-ni-is sa
The district of Arsiyanis, which

bi-rit A-ya-qa-na-ni sa Ha-ar-ši
bounded Azaqananani of Harsi,

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

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

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

a-duk as-lu-la sal-lat (v. la) şu na-gu-u
I killed, I carried off his spoil. The district

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

alani şu aš-pu-un ina isati ak-mu
its cities I destroyed, and in the fire I burned;
94 ASSURBANIPAL.

66. *as-lu-la sal-lat su ina ti-ib tahazi ya
   I carried off its spoil. By the shock of my army,

67. *na-gu su u-sah-rib u-za-ah-hi-ir
   that district I laid waste,

68. *nap-har mati su it-ti hu-ub-ti ma-ha-di
   whole of his country. With much plunder,

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

70. *ak-bu-sa me-sir Assur [Bi(?)]-ru-a
   and marched across the borders of Assyria.

71. *[Bi(?)]-ru-u-te alani li-[mi-it]
   cities near

72. Saru-ig-bi Gu-su-ne-e
   Saruwigi, Gusune,

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

74. Assur sa ina tir-zi sarri abi ya
   Assyria, which in the time of the kings my fathers

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

76. *ak-su-ud Man-na-ai ul-tu lib-bi as-şuh
   I took. The Mannians, from the midst I removed,
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

I

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

[su]-a-tu-nu a-na es-su-ti az-bat u-tir-ra cities a second time I took, and restored a-na me-sir Assur Ah-se-er-e to the boundaries of Assyria. Ahseri,

la pa laḫ 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-ḫu him into the hands of his servants. The people of his country a revolt eli su u-sab-su-u ina suqi 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-siḫ-ši-na Vaalli his son sat on kuzzu su da-na-an Assur Sin Samas Bel his throne. The power of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel,
Nabu, Istar sa Ninua, Istar sa Arba- il
Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela,

Ninip, Nasku, and Nergal, the great Gods my lords,

he saw; and submitted to my yoke.

To preserve his life, he offered his hand,

and submitted to my dominion.

his eldest son, to Nineveh he sent, and

kissed my feet. Favour I granted him,

and my messenger for an alliance I sent

The daughter proceeding from his body,

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

99. sarri abi ya u-sab-di-lu

the kings my fathers, they had broken off:

100. is-su-u-ni a-di mah-ri ya 30 susi

he had brought to my presence. Thirty horses,

101. eli ma-da-(at)-ti su mah ri-ti u-rad-di va

beside the former tribute, I added and

102. 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

2. Ga (a) gi niru Sa-hi sa iz-lu-u

Gog, a chief of the Saka (Scythians) who had thrown off

3. niri belu-ti ya 75 alani su-nu dan-nu-ti

the yoke of my dominion, seventy-five of their strong cities
ak su-ud as-lu-la sal-lat šun sa-a-tu-nu
I took, I carried off their spoil:

bal-đu-su-nu ina qati az-bat u-bi-la ana alive,
in hand I took, and brought to

Ninua alu bel-ut-ti ya Ilu-da-ri-a
Nineveh, the city of my dominion. Iludaria

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

to capture Ubummi and

Kullīm-mir, descended

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

dwelling in Kullīm-mir, tributaries,

dependent on me; in the middle of the night his

numerous army slew, and there was not
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 נג 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. Ina ga rl sya eli Ur - ta - ki
In my sixth expedition, against Urtaki

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

17. bani ya la ḫa - aṣ - ṣu la iz ṣu - ru
my begetter disregarded, and had not heeded

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

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

20. ba - laḥ napis - ti nisi u - se - bil su va āṣ - 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

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

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

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,]

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

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

 Uma - tti sa Ur - ta - ki [sar Elam]
general of Urtaki [king of Elam,]
28. [it - ti su-nu is - ku]-nu pi - i su ana mit - ū - zi
[with them] had set his face; to make war on

Akkad

Akkad.

Akkad. va

and

29. id - ku - u - ni Elam

had gathered Elam

30. ak - ru - su id - ka - a qa - bal su

gathered within it

31. ur - ri - ha ta - ha - zu a

he set about fighting.

32. a - tu - me (v. tum) - e sa il - lik av - va

I was alarmed (?).

33. ur - ri - ha ta - ha - zu ur - li - ku

he came and

34. ul as su - par nisi ziral

concerning the men of the desert

35. va is - ta - nap - pa - ra

and he sent

36. a - na a - mar šar a - mir ya

to see the king of my envoy

37. u - ma hi - [ir as] - pur va il - lik i - tu - [ur] va

I commanded, I sent, and he went. He returned, and
ASSURBANIPAL.

41. ha-an-a-ti ka-ai-ma-[nu va] u-sa-an-na-a
   this was confirmed, and he repeated to

42. ha-an-a-ti ka-ai-ma-[nu va] u-sa-an-na-a
   this was confirmed, and he repeated to

43. ya-[a-ti] um-ma E-la-mu u kima me,
   thus: "The Elamites like

44. ti-bu-ut aribi ka-tim Akkad
   a flight of locusts, overspreading Akkad

45. us-man-nu sa-kin va na-di ma-dak-tu a-na
   the camp is fixed and fortifications are raised.” To

46. na-ra-ru-ti Bel va Nabu II (v. bel)-i ya
   the aid of Bel and Nebo, my Gods (v. lords)

47. su ap-tal-la-ḫu Ilu-USH-ŠU-UN zabi taḫaz ya
   whom, I worshipped their divinity: my men of war

48. ad-ke-e va az ba-ta mur ra-nu a-lak
   I gathered, and I took the march. The progress of

49. gar-ri ya is-mi va ḫat-tu ış lūp su va i-tur
   my expedition he heard, and fear overwhelmed him, and he returned

ana mati su arku su az-bat a-bi-ik-ta su as-kun to his country. After him I took [the road], his overthrow I accomplished,
and drove him to the frontier of his country.

Urtaki, king of Elam, who had not heeded

the famine; in the day of his misfortune, death

In lamentation, he beat

on the level ground, his feet

In that year, his life he destroyed

Belbasa the Gambulian, who had thrown off

the yoke of my dominion, hiding in concealment, he passed.

Nebozikiresses the tigenna, not

keeping the covenant, was overthrown by the
ASSURBANIPAL. 105

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

63. e - mi-is su Maruduk šar 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. a-ḥa-mis is -ku-nu na-pis-tu lib-bi Assur other, they passed their lives. The heart of Assur

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

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

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

69. Elam u -raq- qu -u sa -num -ma arku of Elam passed to another. Afterwards
Teumman like an evil spirit, sat on the throne of Urtaki;
to slay the sons of Urtaki, and the sons of Ummanaldas
the brother of Urtaki, he devised evil.

Ummanigas, Ummanappa and Tammarit,
sons of Urtaki, king of Elam,
Kudurru and Paru, sons of Ummanaldas,
the king preceding Urtaki, and sixty of
the seed royal, innumerable bow-men and children
begotten in Elam; who from the face of the massacre
Of Teumman their uncle; fled, and took

iz - ba tu niru šaru 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

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

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

me - [sir 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 - hal - li - qu nap-sat šu ip - ki - du su a - na
destroyed his life, and they sent him to

mat - nu - de - a a sar la * * * * lib - bi
Hades, the *place 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 ***

šar-usṣu 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. 3.
A-mat šaru a-na nisi Ra-sa-ai nisi
The will of the king, to the men of Rasa, the sea

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

4. 5. 6. 7.
lib-ba ku-nu lu-u dabtu ku-nu-si me-nam-ma
to your hearts, may benefits to you be counted.

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

a-ra-am en dabti ya va bilu ti ya ul
rejoiced, my good, and my dominion, they
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. \[\text{Cylinder A, Column III, Line 83, to Column IV, Line 5.}\]

83. \[\text{I-na hamsi gar-ri ya a-na Elam}\]

84. \[\text{us-te-es-se-ra mur-ra-nu ina ki-bit Assur}\]

85. \[\text{Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa}\]

86. \[\text{Ninua Il sar-rat kit-mu-ri Istar sa}\]

87. \[\text{Arba-il Ninip Nergal Nusku ina ara\-h}\]

88. \[\text{Ululu ara\-h sar Ili Assur}\]

In my fifth expedition, to Elam

I directed the march. By the command of Assur,

Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of

Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Istar of

Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku; in the month

Ululu, 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 qaqadu Te - um - man
its extent. I cut off the head of Teumman,

91. şar su-nu mul - tar - lu sa ik - bu - da limut - tu
their wicked king; who devised evil.

92. ina la mi - ni a - duk qu - ra - di su bal - ḫu - ᵈu - ᵐu - ᵝn
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. 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 - aš - ši
its waters I made to consume like chaff(?).
Um-man-i-gas blu Ur-ta-ki šar Elam
Ummanigas son of Urtaki, king of Elam.

sa la pa-an Te-um-man a-na Assur
who from the face of Teumman to Assyria

in-nab-ta iz-ba-tu niri ya it-ti
fled, and had taken my yoke;

ya u-bil su a-na Elam u-se-sib
me I brought him to Elam. I seated

su ina kuuzu Te-um-man Tam-mar-it tu
him on the throne of Teumman.

ahu su sal-sa-ai sa it-ti su in-nab-ta ina
his third brother, who with him fled; in

Hi-da lu as-kun su a-na šar u ti
Hidalu I appointed to the kingdom.

ul-tu kakki Assur va Istar eli
Then the servants of Assur and Ishtar, over

Elam u-sam ri-ru as-tak-ka-nu
Elam I caused to march; I acquired

da-na-nu va li-itu ina ta-ay-ar-ti ya
power and glory. On my return
eli Du-na-nu Gam-bu-li ai sa a-na
against Dunanu the Gambulian, who to

Elam it -tag-lu as-ku na pa-ni ya
Elam trusted; I set my face.

Sa-pi-i-bel alu tugul-ti Gam-bu li
Sapibel, the fortified city of Gambuli,

ak su-ud ki rib alu su-a tu e-ru-ub
I took; into that city I entered,

nisí su az-lis u-qu-uḫ Du-nanu
its people entirely I carried off. Dunanu and

Sa-am-(ha) gu-nu mu-nir ri-du (v. da)
Samgunu, opposers of the

e-pis šaru-ti ya ina zi iz-zi is qa-ti
work of my kingdom, in strong fetters of

parzil bi-ri ti parzil u-tam-mi-ḫa qati va
iron, and bonds of iron, I bound their hands and

sepí ší it-ti abli Bel-ba-sa kin-nu su
feet. The rest of the sons of Belbasa, his kin, the

zíri 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
Bel- edir, sons of Nebozi-kiresses

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. Șa- duri șar Ur- ar- di sa șarri
Saduri, king of Ararat; who the kings

23. abi su a-na abi ya is- ta- nap-pa- ru- u
his fathers to my fathers had sent concerning the

24. (v. "par-u") ni ahu- u-ut e- nin- na Șa- duri
brotherhood. Again, Saduri,

25. da- na- a-nu ip- se- e- tu sa Ili rabati
the mighty things for which the great Gods

26. i- si-mu in ni is- me- e va ki- ma sa ablu
had caused renown to me, heard, and like a son to

27. a-na abi su is ta- nap- pa- ra (v. ru) bel- u- ut
his father, he sent concerning the dominion;

28. va su u ki- i pi- i an- nim- ma
and he by word of mouth to me

29. is- ta- nap-pa- ra um- ma, lu- u salim- mu a-na
sent thus: “Salutation to the

30. șar beli ya pal- ți is kan- sis ta- mar- ta
king my lord.” Reverently and submissively his numerous
Ina šibe gar-ri ya eli Te-um-man
In my seventh expedition against Teumman

Ina ee gar-ri ya eli Te-um-man
In my seventh expedition against Teumman

Kudurru and Paru, sons of Urta-ki gar
Kudurru and Paru, sons of Urta-ki gar

Elam nisi zirati su is ta-nap-pa-ra
Elam; his great men sent,
for the surrender of these men, who had fled and taken my yoke. Their surrender I did not grant him. Concerning the demands, by the hand of Umbadara and Nebodamiq he sent a month.

Column V.

1. In the midst of Elam he set himself to work in gathering his army. I trusted to Ishtar, who protects me.

2. umman su ad-gil a-na Istar sa, u - tag-gil an-ni

3. The demand of his vile mouth I did not accede to, I did not give him those fugitives.

4. 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 - ĩh 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 - ĩh a - na this also three days he caused to retard; to the

9. ki - it pali [šar] 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 eh - ru changed not. In those days, before

12. im - ĕr har su va saput su uq - ta - qum va she received him, her lips cursed, and

13. eni su is - ĕr har 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
Assurbanipal.

15. Assur and Ishtar did to him, he knew not;

16. In the month Ab, the month he gathered his army.

17. Of the luminous Sagittarius, in the festival of the

18. mighty queen, the daughter of Bel; to worship

19. in Arbela, the city the delight of

20. Of the invasion of the Elamite, who against

21. they repeated

22. word thus: “Teumman even

23. they repeated the tenor

24. thus: “I will not cease until
El-lam -ku ti su-fa-nu I go

mit-ıu zu -ti su-par me -ri -ıh ti an ni -ti war."

Over this threat,

sa Te-um -man ig bu-u am -har [sa] -qu ti which Teumman had spoken; I prayed to the lofty

Is -tar a (v. az) -zi -ma a -na tar -zi sa Ishtar. I approached to her presence,

ak -mi-ıg sa-pal sa Ilu us -sa u -sa-ap-pa-a I bowed under her, her divinity I supplicated,

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 šar Assur Arbel, I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria,

bi -nu -ut qati ki * * * * abu ba nu -ki the work of thy hands * * * * the father thy begetter.

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. a na ku as-re e ki as-te-ni ha-a
I thy courts desire,

al-li-ka a-na pa-luh va
I go to worship and

su-u Te-um-man sar Elam la mu-sa-kir he, Teumman king of Elam, hater of the

Ili ku li a-na um-ma at-ti bi-lat Gods to O thou Goddess

bi-le e-ti i-mat qab-li bi lat ta ha-zi of Goddesses, terrible in battle, Goddess of war,

ma-li kat Ili sa ina ma-har Assur queen of the Gods who in the presence of Assur

abi ba ni ki damqati tag bi i ina na the father thy begetter, speakest good in

iḥ-su-ha an-ni a-na su-du-ub lib-bi loved me to make glad the heart of

Assur va nu-uh-ḥi ka-bat-ti Maruduk ru-ur-ru Assur, and rejoice greatly Merodach

ki as-su Te-um-man sar Elam they Of Teumman king of Elam
sa a-na Assur [šar Ili] abi ba-ni ki
who to Assur [king of the Gods,] the father thy begetter

ih - tu-u * * * * va a-na Maruduk
* * * * * * * and to Merodach

ahu ta-li-mi ki Ilu-tu su nam * * * *
thy good brother, his divinity * * * * *

va ya-a-si Assur-bani-pal sa a-na nu-uh
and of me Assurbanipal, who to rejoice the

lib-bi Assur va * * * * * id-ka-a
heart of Assur and * * * * * he gathered

umman (v. um-man) su ik- zu-ra ta-ха-zu
his army, and prepared for war,

u-sa-ha-a-la kakki su a-na a lak
he urges his fighting men to go to

Assur um-ma at-ti qa sit ti Ili
Assyria. Oh thou archer of the Gods,

kima bilat ina qa, bal (v. qabal) tam-хa-ri
like a weight in the midst of battle,

bu-ud-di-ri su va di-kis-su mi-хu-u
throw him down, and crush him; tear(?)
46. **im - si - nu in - hi ya su - nu - hu - (u) - ti Ishtar**

(v. **im - si - nu in - hi ya su - nu - hu - (u) - ti Ishtar**) Ishtar

My acceptable prayer Ishtar

47. **Is - tar** is - me - (e) va la ta - pal - lu - hu heard, and

(v. Is - tar) is - me - (e) va la ta - pal - lu - hu

"fear not,"

48. **lah** ig - ba - a u - sar - hi - za an ni lib - bu she said, she caused my heart to rejoice;

(v. lah) ig - ba - a u - sar - hi - za an ni lib - bu

a - na ni - is qati ka sa tas - sa - a enu ka

"At the lifting up of thy hand which thou liftest, thine eyes

49. **im la - a di - im - tu ar - ta - si remu shall be satisfied with the judgment. I will grant favours.**

(v. re e - mu) ina sat mu - si su - a - tu sa am hu - ru

In the midst of that night when I invoked

50. **har** si edin sap - ru - u u - tu - ul her, then a seer slept,

(v. har) si edin sap - ru - u u - tu - ul

51. **va i - na (at) - tal suttu i - gi - il - ti and dreamed a remarkable dream,**

(va i - na (at) - tal suttu i - gi - il - ti)

and dreamed a remarkable dream,

52. **va tap - sit mu - si Ishtar u - sap - ru u su and during the night Ishtar spoke to him, and he repeated it to me. Thus: "Ishtar dwelling in**
Arba- il e- ru- ub (v. ba) - av - va imnu va
Arbela, entered, and right and

sumili tu - ul (v. tul) - la - a - ta is - pa - a - ti
left she was surrounded with glory(?),

54. 4l ly ly ly (v. -) ly ly ly ly
55. 4l ly ly ly

tam- ha- at mitpanu i - na (v. ina) i - di sa zal-pat
holding a bow in her hand, projecting

muz - za- ru kap tu sa e- pis ta - ha- zi (v. taḥaz)
a powerful arrow(?) on making war,

56. 4l ly ly ly (v. -) ly ly ly ly
57. 4l ly ly ly

ma- ḫar sa ta - (az) - zi - iz si - i ki - ma umma
her ' countenance was set. She like a mother

58. ly ly ly

a- lit- ti i- tam- ma- a it- ti ka il - si
bearing, was in pain with thee, she brought

ka Istar sa - qu - ut (v. qut) Ili i - sak - kan
thee forth. Ishtar exalted of the Gods, appointeth

59. ly ly ly

ka ḫe - e - mu um - ma ta - na - da - la a- na
thee a decree. Thus: ' Carry off to

60. ly ly ly

epis sa- as - si a- sar panu ki sak - nu
make spoil, the place before thee set,

61. ly ly ly

I will come to.' Thou shalt say to her,
um-ma a-sar tal-la-ki it-ti ki lul-lik thus: 'The place thou goest to with thee I will go.' The bi lat bileti si-i tu-sa-an-nak-ka um-ma Goddess of Goddesses she repeateeth to thee thus:

at-ta a-gan na lu-(u) as-ba-ta a-sar 'Thee I will guard, then I will rest in the place of the mas-gan-i Nabu a-kul a-ka-lu si ti temple of Nebo, eat food, drink ku-ru-un-nu nin gu-ut su-kun nu-hi-id wine, music appoint, glorify my Ilu-(u)-ti a di al-la-ku sip-ru divinity, until I go, and this su-a tu ip-pu su u-sak sa-du message shall be accomplished. I will cause thee to zu-(um)-mi-rat lib-bi ka pa-nu-u ka ul take the desire of thy heart, before thee he shall not ur-rak ul i-nir-ru-du sepi ka ul stand, he shall not oppose thy feet Do not ta u-sat zu-par ka ina qabal tam-ha-ri ina regard(?) thy skin. In the midst of battle, in
ki - rim - me sa ābatī taḥ - zi - in ka va
her beneficent generosity, she guards thee, and

72. tāḥ - te - na gi mir la a - ni - ka pa - nu - us - sa
overthrows all the unsubmissive. Before her,

73. isatu in - na - pi - iḥ (iz - zi - is) a - na
a fire is blown (strongly); to

74. ka - sa - ad nakiri [ka] * * * * zi a - na
capture [thy] enemies * * * * * to

(v. in) a - ha - a - ti e - li Te - um - man šar
(ina) each other(?)” Against Teumman king of

75. Elam sa ug - gu - ga - at pa - nu - us - sa
Elam who was hateful before her, she

76. tas - kun ina arah Elulu i - sin - ni
appointed. In the month Elul, the festival of

77. Assur žiru arah Sin na - an - nir same va
Assur the Great, the month of Sin the luminary of heaven and

78. irziti ad - gilana (v. a - na) uzzi Ur - ri
earth, I trusted to the power of Hur

79. nam - ri va si - par Istar bilat ya sa la
the bright, and the message of Ishtar my Goddess who is
ASSURBANIPAL.

in - nin (v. ni) - nu - u ad - ke ẓabi taḥaz ya unchanged.

I gathered my men of war,

mun - taḥ - zi sa ina ki - bit Assur Sin va Istar the fighting men who by command of Assur, Sin and Ishtar;

81. it - ta - na as - ra - du qabal tam ha - ri were arranged in order of battle.

82. e - li Te - um - man šar Elam ur - ḫu Against Teumman king of Elam, the road

83. I took, and directed the march.

el - la - mu - u a Te - um - man šar Elam In front of me, Teumman king of Elam

84. * * * * [na] - di man - dak - tu e - rib saru ti ya * * * * camp was placed. Of my royal entry,

85. sa ki - rib Dur - il is - me - e va ẓiz - bat şu in the midst of Duril he heard; and fear took

86. ḫat - tu Te - um - man ip - luh va arku su i - tur hold of him. Teumman feared, and after him turned

87. e - ru - ub [ki - rib] Su - sa - an * * * * gi and entered [into] Shushan. * * * *
To save his life, to the people of his country his hand (?), before him returned, and

before my presence. The Ulai

for himself he fortified before

my camp  Merodach, the great Gods

my lords; who protected me: in omens of a dream, had given (?) a grand message.

In Tulliz his overthrow I accomplished;

with their corpses, the Ulai I choked up
Their wives, like bows and arrows,

filled the vicinity of Shushan.

The head of Teumman king of Elam, by

command of Assur and Merodach, the great Gods my lords;

before the assembly of [his] army [I cut off]. Terror of Assur and

Ishtar, Elam overwhelmed, and they submitted

to my yoke.

Ummanigas who fled, and took my yoke, on his throne

I seated.
1. Tam-ma-ri-tu ahu su sal-sa-ai ina.  
Tammaritu, his third brother, in

2. Hi-da-lu a-na šar-u-ti as-kun.  
Hidalu to the kingdom, I appointed.

3. ruqubi zu-um bi susi.  
Chariots of war, horses

4. pare zi-bat-ti ni-ri bat-le.  
and mules, trained to the yoke, instruments

5. ši-mat tahaz 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 ha-dis u-za-av-va a-na the midst of Elam, joyfully I brought out, and to
Ina samne gar-ri ya eli Du na nu ablu
In my seventh expedition, against Dunanu son of
Bel ba-sa a-na Gam-bu-li lu-u al-lik
Belbasa, to Gambuli I went;

sa a-na sar 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-ḥa-zi
submit to my yoke. By my powerful

dan-nu Gam-bu-li a-na sī-hir-ti su ki-ma
attack Gambuli through its extent, like a
sar-bare ak-tum Sa pi-i-bel
hailstorm I covered.

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 ṣu ak-su-ud Du-na-nu aḥi su
situated, I captured. Dunanu and his brothers,

ul-tu ki-rib alu su-a-tu bal-ḍu-ṣu-un
from the midst of that city, alive I
brought out. His wife, his sons, his daughters,

his concubines, male musicians and female musicians,

I brought out, and as spoil I counted. Silver, gold,

furniture, and musical instruments of his palace, I brought out, and

as spoil I counted. Standing before him

I brought out, and

as spoil I counted. Mass: the officer(?)

sa of Teumman [king of Elam]; who

dwelt within
ASSURANIPAL.


33. az] -bat it -ti pa -ni Du-na-nu * * * * * took, with the officers of Dunanu * * * * *

34. alu su-a-tu ab-bul ag-[gur ina me us-ḥam-mid] That city I pulled down, destroyed [and into the waters I turned].

35. a-di la ba-se-e ina [lib-bi] na gu u Until none were in the midst, that

36. su-a-[tu] u-sah-rib ri- kim a-mi-lu -ti district I laid waste. The passage of people,

37. ap ru-ṣa zir us-su ina tu-gul-ti Assur Bel I cut off from over it. In the service of Assur, Bel

38. Nabu Ili rabati nakiri ya a-ni-ḥa and Nebo the great Gods; my enemies I rested from:

39. sal-mis a-tu-ra a-na Ninua qaquadu peacefully, I returned to Nineveh. The head of

40. Te-um-man šar Elam ina kibi Du-na-nu Teumman king of Elam, round the neck of Dunanu

41. a lul it ti ki -sit-ti Elam I hung. With the conquests of Elam,
44. sal-la-at (v. ti) Gam-bu-li sa ina
and the spoil of Gambuli;

45. ki-bit Assur ik-su-du (v. da) qati ai it-ti
command of Assur, my hands had taken;

46. nis labi e-pis nin-gu-ti a-na Ninua
musicians making music, into Nineveh,

47. I entered with rejoicings. Um-badara and

48. Nabu-damiq nisi zirati sa Te-um-man
Nebodamiq, great men of Teumman

49. şar Elam sa Te-um-man ina qati su-nu
king of Elam;

50. is-pura si-par mi-ri-iḥ-ti sa ina
sent the threatening message, whom in

51. mah-ri ya ak-lu-u u-qa-hu-u
my presence I confined, and bound,

52. pa-an si-kin de-(e) mi ya ni-kiš qaqa-du
until the fixing of my sentence: the decapitated head of

53. Teumman their lord, in Nineveh
they saw, and another opinion took hold of them.

Umbadara tore his beard,

Nebodamiq with the steel sword of his girdle, pierced through his [own] body.

The decapitated head of Teumman, in front of the great gate situated in Nineveh;

I raised on high. By the power of Assur and Ishtar my lords, the people reviled (?)

the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam.

Palai son of Nebosapan, grandson of Maruduk-bal-iddina, sa la pa-an abu abi ba ni ya Merodachbaladan, of whom from the face of the grandfather my begetter;
63. abu su in-nab-tu a-na Elam ul-tu
his father had fled to Elam; from

64. Um-man-i-gas ki rib Elam as ku-nu ana
Ummanigas [whom] in Elam, I had appointed to the

65. (v. a-na) sar-ut-ti Pal-ai (v. ya) ablu
kingdom; Palia son of

66. Nabu sa-pan iz-bat u-se-bi-la a-di
Nebosapan he took, and sent to

67. mah-ri ya Du-na-nu Sa-am-gu-nu
my presence. Dunanu and Samgunu,

68. abli Bel-ba sa Gam-bu-la-ai sa
sons of Belbasa the Gambulian, of whom,

69. abi su-un a-na sarri abi ya
their father against the kings my fathers,

70. u-dal-li pu va va su-nu
had made inroads; and they

71. u-ner-ri-da e pis saru-ti ya ki-rib
opposed the work of my kingdom: within

72. Assur va Arba-il a-na kullu
Assur and Arbela to execute
Ah-ra-ati u-bil su-nu-ti 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;

sa eli Ili ya ig bu-u suq-la tu rab-tu
who against my Gods uttered great curses,

ki-rib Arba-il lisan su-un as lu up
in Arbela, their tongues I pulled out,

as-hu-ud masak su-un Du-na-nu ki-rib Ninua
I flayed off their skin. Dunanu in Nineveh,

eli ma-ka-zi id-du suv va
over a furnace they placed him, and

i'd bu-hu us az-lis 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

su u nak kiš u-se-bil a-na ta-mar-ti
I cut off, and sent for the inspection of my
Nabuzikiresses whose father brought to Akkad the attendants of Nebuzikiresses, whom from the midst of Gambuli, I carried to Assyria: those attendants, in front of the great gate in the midst of Nineveh; I caused to crush his sons.
Extract from K, 2652.

*a.* In the month Tisri, the first day, it was placed; and against

Ina arāh Ṭasritu immi istin in nin du va eli

*b.* they threw the corpse of Teumman king of

Id du-u pagar Te-um-man šar

him * * * * *

*c.* from Shushan

Elam * * * * *

ultu su sa an

Elam * * * * *

from

Shushan

alu šar-u-ti su a-na Ninua alu na ram

his royal city, to Nineveh the city the delight

*d.* to the fortified cities, seats of

* * * * * * a-na alani ma-ha-zi su-bat

* * * * *

*e.* In those days, Is-tar-a-tu sa is * * * * * ina im-mi su

Ishtaroth; who * * * * *

In those days,

mitpanu su-a-tu ina qata ai at-mu-uḫ * * * * *

that bow in my hand, I took * * * * *

*f.* e-li nikiš qaqadu Te-um-man šar E-lam * *

over the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam, * * *

g. The power of Ishtar my Goddess I saw and praised da-na-an Is-tar-bilat ya a-mur va at ta-id
ASSURBANIPAL.

**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 šar 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

3. **šar Elam mun-nab-tu sa iz-ba tu niru**
   king of Elam, the fugitive, who took the yoke of

4. **Si im bu ru niru sa Elam**
   Simburu a chief of Elam,

5. **ma lak ummani ya is mi va zi-kar**
   of the progress of my army heard; and at the fame of

6. **sum ya ip-luh va ina mahri a-mir ya**
   my name he feared, and in the presence of my envoy

7. **il-lik av va u-na-siq niru ya**
   he came, and kissed my feet.
6. Um-ba-ki-din-ni níru sa Hi-da-li
   Umbakiddini a chief of Hidalu;

7. sa qaqadu sa Is-tar-na-an-di šar sa
   who the head of Istarnandi king of

8. Hi-da-li na-su-ni Zi-ne-e-ni
   Hidalu, was bringing.

9. da-na-an Assur bel ya pu-lūḫ-ti šaru-ti ya
   The power of Assur my lord, and fear of my kingdom,

10. is-hup sú-nu-ti qaqadı rubi sa Elam
   overwhelmed them. The heads of the princes of Elam,

11. la kan-su-ti ya ik-ki şu-niv-va id-du-u
    not submissive to me, they cut off and laid

in presence of my great men. They took the yoke of my kingdom.

12. Ši-id-ru sa Assur-bani-pal šar Elam
   Line [of battle]; which Assurbanipal king of Elam,

13. it-ti Te-um-man šar Elam
    against Teumman king of Elam.
14. Te-um-manṣar Elam tāh-te-e umman su

Teumman king of Elam, the defeat of his army

15. e-mur va a-na su-zu-ub napis-ti su

saw; and to save his life,

in na-bit va i-ba-qa-am ziq-na-asu

he fled, and tore his beard.

16. (Blank) ablu Te-um-manṣar Elam sa ina

(Blank) son of Teumman king of Elam; who in

17. tap-de-e ip-par-si-du ku tig-ud-du su

fear had fled, his line of battle (?)

is-ru du a-na abi ba ni su

had arranged. To the father his begetter

18. i-sa-aṣ su-u ku us-sid la ta kal la

he had said: "the battle (?) do not continue."

19. Te-um-manṣar Elam sa ina tāhaz ya

Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce

dan-ni muh-ḥa-zu a-na su-zu-ub napis-ti

attack was wounded; to save his life
in na-bit va iḫ-lu ub ki-rib kis-ti
fled, and passed through the woods.

21. [ruqubi] zu-un bi ru-du šaru-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 ḍe-emi a-na
Teumman with a sharp command, to
2. 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 šar Elam sa ina taḥazi dan-ni
Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce attack
2. muḥ-ḫu-zu Tam-rī-i-tu ablu su rabu-u
was wounded; Tamritu his eldest son,
3. qati šu iz-ba ṭu 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 ki-ti
   they fled, and passed through the woods.

5. Inatugul-ti Assur va Istar a-lul su-nu-ti
   In the service of Assur and Ishtar, I felled them.

6. qaqadu su-nu akkiš me eh rit a-ḥa-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. Qaqadu Te-um-[man šar Elam]
   The head of Teumman [king of Elam];

2. sa ina qabal tam-ḥa-[ri ik-ki-šu]
   which in the midst of battle [they cut off,]

3. a-ḥu-ru-u umman ya a-na bu-uṣ [šu-rat]
   in sight of my army. For good tidings,

4. ha-de-e u saḥ-ma-du a-na Assur
   joyfully they sent [it] to Assyria.

Epigraph over Wounded Figure on the Ground Surrendering Himself.

1. Ur-[ta]-ku ḫa-ta-nu Te-um-man sa
   Urtaku the relative of Teumman; who
ina uz - zi muh hu - zu la ik - tu - u napisti
by an arrow was wounded; regarded not his life.

3. a - na na - kaš qaqadu ra - ma - ni su ablu Assur
To cut off his own head, the son of Assur

4. i - sa - ši va um - ma al - ka qaqadu nakiš
he told also thus: "I surrender; my head cut off,

5. mahri šar 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

2. šar Elam sa ir ḫa - nis is - tap-pa - ras - su
king of Elam; of whom, treacherously he sent him

3. a - di mah 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-ši-gas mun-nab-tu ardu a iz-ba-tu niri ya
Ummanigas the fugitive, my servant, had taken my yoke.

2. ina e-pis pi-ya ina ḫidati 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. u-se-rib va [u] se-sib su ina kuzzu
caused him to enter, and seated him on the throne of

5. 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 šar Assur
I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria;
2. 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. ak-su-du am-uzu-uma-la lib-bi ya Ru-ša-a I have captured; I have gratified all my heart. Rusa

4. šar Ur-ar-da-da-na-an Assur bel ya king of Armenia; the power of Assur my lord,

5. is-mi va pu-luḫ-tu šaru-ti ya iš-ḫu-up su heard of, and fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him,

6. va nisi zirati su a-na sa-ha-al salim-mi ya and his great men to pray for my friendship,

7. is-ru ana ki-rib Arba-il Nebudamig he sent to the midst of Arbela.

8. it-ti birati(?) si-par mi-ri-iḫ-tu ul-ziz in bonds for the defiance; I placed

ina maḫ-ri su un in their presence.
Epigraph on Tablet K, 2637.

1. (Blank) (Blank)  
   (blank) (blank) who against Assur the God my begetter

2. (Blank) (Blank)  
   (blank) (blank) sa eli Assur Ili ba-ni ya

3. (Blank) (Blank)  
   (blank) (blank) as lu-up as-duceda masaki su-un

Epigraph (names blank) over figures being flayed alive.

1. (Blank) (Blank) EY CELT BEE 2. 9] EY BEE  
   (blank) (blank) sa eli Assur Th ba-ni ya
   (blank) (blank) who against Assur the God my begetter

2. (Blank) (Blank)  
   (blank) (blank) suq-lat-tu rab-tu lisani su-nu

3. (Blank) (Blank)  
   (blank) (blank) as lu-up as-duceda 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
of the prisoners, formed the theme of many of the sculptures, which ornamented the palace of Assurbanipal. After the flight of the Elamite princes to Assyria, Teummman sent an embassy under Umbadara and Nebodamiq, two of his chiefs, to demand that they should be given up. This Assurbanipal refused, and Teummman then declared war. Some appearance in the heavens was interpreted to indicate the overthrow of Elam; and Assurbanipal was told by the priests, that his favourite Goddess Ishtar of Arbela, had appeared in the night, and prophesied his victory. The description of her appearance in this vision, recalls the winged figure surrounded with a halo and drawing a bow, so often represented over the figures of Assyrian monarchs. The supposed bow of Ishtar appears to have been given to Assurbanipal, who afterwards often mentions it. The Elamite king retired from Duril, on the Assyrian border, at the approach of the forces of Assurbanipal; and took up a position near a town named Tulliz; having the river Ulai in front, and a wood behind his army. On the arrival of the Assyrians before his lines, Teummman sent a general named Ituni, to treat with Assurbanipal: but while he was in the Assyrian camp, the opposing forces joined in battle, and the Elamites were routed. Ituni broke his bow in despair, and several of the Elamite chiefs, showed a strong sense of the disaster, which placed their country at the mercy of Assurbanipal. Teummman and his eldest son fled, and passing through the wood tried to escape; but their chariot broke down, and they were surrounded and captured. The heads of Teummman and his son were cut off, and from the fact subsequently mentioned, that Tammaritu, Teummman's nephew, denied having done the act, it is evident that there was a belief that he was the murderer. Both Ummanigas and Tammaritu, with their adherents, fought in this battle, against their own country. After the conquest of the Elamites, Assurbanipal sent a general into Madaktu and Shushan, to proclaim Ummanigas (on K, 4796, written Tum-man-i-ga-as) king of Elam; and in place of Istar-nandi the sub-king of Hidalu, (whose head was brought to Assurbanipal) Tammaritu (written sometimes Tum-man-i-ti. Tum-ma-ri-ti) and
150 ASSURBANIPAL.

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, Du-na-nu, and Bu-na-nu. On his triumphal return, Assurbanipal was met at Arbela, by the envoys of Rušā king of Ararat or Armenia; who came to make peace with him. Rušā is probably the same as the Šaduri of Cylinder A. The name means “Istar,” is a fortress, and was originally sounded Istar-āru, but by dropping the initial I and running the šē into š the name became Ša-ar-da-ur-ri (the name of the king of Ararat who fought with Tiglath Pilesar II). The first element in this name, suffered a further change; Šar being contracted to Šā or Šē, as in Še-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-šā, which is probably the origin of Ur-sa-a, and 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. $\text{[\ldots]}$ $\text{[\ldots]}$ $\text{[\ldots]}$ $\text{[\ldots]}$ $\text{[\ldots]}$ $\text{[\ldots]}$

Saul - mu - gi na

Saulmugina

[aḫu la ke] e - nu [sa ḏabtu e - pu] - su - us

my younger [brother; benefits I had given] to him, and

[as ku - nu us a na šaru - ut] Bab - ili

[had appointed him to the kingdom of] Babylon
and gave him chariots

I fixed, and cities, fields

[Tribute] and taxes, I caused to return,

and more than the father my begetter; [I did for him]. And

he these favours [disregarded,] and

designed evil. [The yoke of my dominion,

he threw off, the benefits

strengthener of men(?)

Assyria I ruled. [To pray for] my [friendship]

ceased, and enemies in ships
Assur-bani-pal šar Assur [sa] Ili rabati Assurbanipal king of Assyria, [to whom] the great Gods' excellent fame have renowned him. His might in * * *

The sons of Babylon of them,

I set them up;

I placed upon them,

semir- ri ḫuraḫ u - rak- ki - ša sit te (e) su-un rings of gold I fastened on their feet,

and the sons of Babylon of them,
Assyria they were set up, they were honoured before the giving of my command. And he

Saulmugina, my younger brother; who did not keep my agreement, the people of Akkad, Chaldea, Aram, and the sea coast, from Aqaba to Babsalimitu.

ardti da-gil pa-ni ya us-pal-kit ina qati ya tributaries dependent on me; he caused to revolt against my hand.

And Ummanigas the fugitive, who took the yoke of my kingdom, of whom in Elam,

as ku-nu-us a-na šar-u-ti va šarri
I had appointed him to the kingdom; and the kings of
Assurbanipal.

Gu- ti
Arabia (?),

Syria and Ethiopia,

which, by command of Assur and Beltis, my hands

held; all of them against me he caused to rebel, and

with him they set their faces. The people of

Sippara, Babylon, Borsippa, and

[Kutu] broke off the brotherhood, and the walls

of those cities his fighting men he

caused to raise; with me they made

war, making

my, from the face of Bel son of Bel, the light of the Gods
Samas qu ra - du Ninip iq - su va
Shamas, the warrior Ninip, he revolted; and

he caused to cease gift of my fingers,

he to capture the cities, seats of the Gods, of whom

their temples I had restored, adorned with

gold and silver, and within them had fixed

In those days, then a seer in the middle of the night, slept and

dreamed a dream, thus: “Concerning the matter

which Sin was arranging, and of them who against

Assurbanipal king of Assyria, devised
limut-tu ip-pu-su že- (e) lu- (u)-tu mu-u-tu evil.
Battle is prepared; a violent

lim-nu a-sar -rak su-nu-ti ina gir parzil ha-an-di
dead I appoint for them. With the edge of the sword,

53. mi-kit isati šunqu libit (v. li-bit)
the burning of fire, famine, and the judgment of

54. Ninip u-qat-ta-a nap-sat su-un
Ninip, I will destroy their lives.”

55. This I heard, and trusted to the will of Sin

56. In my sixth expedition I gathered my army;

57. zir Saul -mu-gi-na us-te-es-se-ra
against Saulmugina I directed the

58. mur-ra-nu ki-rib Sipar Babylon,
march. Within Sippara, Babylon,

59. Bar-sip Kutu sa-a-su ga-du
Borsippa, and Kutha, him and part

60. mun-tah-že-e su e-ši-ir va u-žab-bit (v. bi-ta)
of his fighting men I besieged, and captured
mu-uz-za su-un ki-rib alu va ziru ina la mi-ni
the whole of them in town and country, without number.

as-tak-ka-na abikta su si-it-tu-ti
I accomplished his overthrow. The rest,

ina libit Ninip su-un-qu bu bu-ti
in the judgment of Ninip, drought and famine

is-ku-nu na-pis-tu Um-man-i-gas šar
passed, their lives. Ummanigas king of

Elam si-kin qati ya sa da-ha-a-tu
Elam, appointed by my hand; who the bribe

im-ihu-ru su it-ba-aana (v. a-na) kit-ri su
received, and came to his aid.

Tam-ma-ri-tu zir-us-su ip-pal-kit va sa-a-su
Tammaritu against him revolted, and him

ga-du kim-ti su u-raš (v. ra)-šib su ina kakki
and part of his family he destroyed with the sword.

arku Tam-ma-ri-tu sa arku Um-man-i-gas
Afterwards Tammaritu, who after Ummanigas,

u-si-bu ina kuzzu Elam
sat on the throne of Elam,
ASSURBANIPAL.

68. la is-al su-lum šaru-ti ya a-na ri-ṣu-tu
did not seek alliance with my kingdom. To the help of

69. Saul -mu-gi-na ahi nak-ri
Saulmugina my rebellious brother

70. (v. aḫu la ke-e-nu) il-lik-av-va a-na
(v. younger brother), he went and to

71. mit-ḫu-zi umman ya ur-ri-ḥa kakki su
fight my army, he prepared his soldiers.

72. (v. aḫu la ke-e-nu) il-lik-av-va a-na
(v. younger brother), he went and to

73. In prayer to Assur and Ishtar, I prayed;

74. my supplications they received (v. took),

75. is-mu-u zi-kar sapti ya
and heard the words of my lips. Indabigas

76. arad su žir-us-su ip-pal-kit (v. ki-tu) va
his servant, against him revolted,

77. ina tahaz žin is-ku-na abikta su Tam-mar-itu
in the battlefield accomplished his overthrow. Tammaritu

78. šar Elam sa eli ni-kiṣ qaṣadu
king of Elam, who over the decapitated head of
Teumman untruth had spoken;

which he had cut off in sight of my army,

thus: "I have [not] cut off the head of the king of Elam

* * * in the assembly of his army." Again he said:

"and Ummanigas only, kissed the

ground; in the presence of the envoys of

Assurbanipal king of Assyria." For

these matters, which he had mocked,

Assur and Ishtar turned from him; and Tammaritu

his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house with
85. rubi a-li-kut idi su la pa-an
     eighty-five princes going before him from the face of

In-da-bi-gas in-nab tu-niv-va
     Indabigas fled, and

me-ra-nu us-su-un ina eli lib bi su-nu
     their bitterness within their hearts

86. ib si-lu niv-va il-lik-u-ni a-di Ninua
     raged, and they came to Nineveh.

87. Tam-ma-ri-tu niru šaru ti ya u-na-as-siq va
     Tammaritu my royal feet kissed, and

88. qaq qa-ru u-se-sir (v. sar) ina ziq-ni su
     earth he threw on his hair,

man (v. ma)-za-az ma (v. man)-sa-ri ya [su u]
     standing at my footstool(?).

a na e-pis ardu-ti ya ra man su im nu va
     to do my service, himself set,

as-su e-pis di-ni su a-lak ri-zu-ti su
     for the giving of his sentence, and going to his help.

91. ina ki-bit Assur va Istar u-zal-la-a bel-uu-ti
     By the command of Assur and Ishtar, he submitted to my dominion.

V
92. In my presence he stood up, and glorified the might of my powerful Gods, who went to my help. I Assurbanipal, of generous

93. rap-su la ka-zir ik-ki-mu pa-si su heart, of defection the remover, forgiver of

94. hi-da-a-ti a-na Tam-ma-ri tu re-emu sin; to Tammaritu favour

95. I granted him, and himself, and part of the seed of his father's house, within my palace; I placed them. In

96. those days the people of Akkad, who with

97. Saulmugina were placed, and devised

98. evil; famine took them, for their
bu-ri su-nu šeri abli su-nu binti su-nu

102. e ki lu ik-šu-šu ku ru-uş šu

you did eat, and divided the food of their sons and their daughters

103. Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

104. Istar sa Ninua Il šar-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 mah-ri ya il-li-ku i-na-ru
who in my presence marched and destroyed

107. ga-ri ya Saul-mu-gi-na ahi 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-ḥal-li-qu nap-sat šu
they threw him, and destroyed his life.

110. va nisi sa a-na Saul-mu-gi-na
And the people who to Salmugina
111. ahi 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 - ḫu nap - sat ṣu nu
who death deserved, their lives

114. pa - nu - us - su - un te - bis - u va it - ti
before them being precious: with

115. Saul - mu - gi - na bel su - nu la im qu - tu Saulmugina their lord, they did not burn

116. ina isati (la) pa - an ni - kiš gir parzil in the fire, (from) before the edge of the sword,

117. şu - un - ki (v. qu) bu - bu - ti (v. tu) isati
dearth, famine, and the burning

118. a - ri - ri i - se - tu - u - ni e - ḫu - zu fire, they had fled, and taken

119. beli ya sa la na - par - su - di my lords, which was not removed
ASSURBANIPAL. 165

120. IŞ - ḫu - up su - nu - ti e - du ul ip par - sid
overwhelmed them. One did not flee,

121. mul - taḥ - ḫu ul u - ḫi ina qatī 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

2. [a - di] mah - ri ya nisi sa - a - tu - nu
[to] my presence. Those men [who] the

3. suq - la - tu pi - i su - nu eli Assur Ili ya
curses of their mouth, against Assur my God

4. suq - la - tu ig - bu - u [va] ya - a - ti
curses uttered; [and against] me, the

rubu pa - laḥ 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. şi - it - ti nisi bal ḍu - ṣun ina sedi alapi
The rest of the people alive among the stone lions and bulls,

7. sa Sin - ahi irba abu abi bani ya ina
which Sennacherib the grandfather my begetter, in the

8. lib - bi is - pu - nu e - nin - na a - na - ku ina
midst had thrown; again I in

9. ki - iz - pi su nisi sa - a - tu - nu ina lib - bi
that pit, those men in the midst

10. u - sa - kil kalbi dabi zi - i bi - ḍu
I caused to be eaten by dogs, bears(?)

11. id - ḍu - i izzuri same nuni (v. nuni)
vultures(?), birds of heaven, and fishes of the

12. ab - şi - i ul - tu ip - se - e - ti an - na a - ti
deep. By these things

13. i (v. e) - te ep - pu - su u - ni - ih - ḍu lib - bi
[which] were done, I satisfied the hearts of the
ASSURANIPAL. 167

Ili rabati beli ya pagari nisi
great Gods my lords. The bodies of the men

56

15. (s) - 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;

16. ri - hi - it u - gab * * ti kalbi dabi
* * * * * * * * dogs, bears,

17. sa-tur - i bur - ru * * * iz - lu - u ri - ba - a - ti
saturi, burru * * * grew (?) fat.

18. ner - pad - du i su - nu - ti ul - tu ki - rib Bab - ili
Their attendants from the midst of Babylon,

19. Kutu Sipar u - se zi va
Kutha and Sippara, I brought out

20. at ta - di a - na na ka - ma - a - ti
and placed in slavery.

21. ina si - par i sib - bu ti parakki su - nu ub bi *
In splendour, the seats of their sanctuaries I built(?).

22. ul - le - la su (ul) le (e) su - nu lu - hu - u - ti
I raised their glorious (?) towers.
Their Gods dishonoured (?), their Goddesses desecrated (?), I rested in purple hangings (?). Their institutions, which they had removed, like in days of old, in peace I restored and settled.

The rest of the sons of Babylon, Kuthu, and Sippar, who under chastisement, suffering, and privation had fled; favour I granted them, the saving of their lives I commanded:

in Babylon I seated them.
The people of Akkad, and some of Chaldea, so gathered, Saulmugina had returned to their own districts. They revolted against me.

By command of Assur and Beltis and the great Gods

my protectors, on the whole of them I trampled,

the yoke of Assur which they had thrown off, I fixed on them;

prefects and rulers appointed by my hand.

I established over them. 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 su - 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 - aš šu
Ummanigas, whom, great benefits I

94. e - bu - su - us as ku - nu - us a - na šaru - ut
had given him, and appointed him to the kingdom of

95. Elam sa damqa - ti la ha - aš šu
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. ahu la ke nu nakiri ya im hu-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. a-na mit-hu-zi umman ya zabi tahaz ya
   to fight my army, my men of war,

4. sa ina Gandun-ya-as it ta-na-al-la-ku
   who in Ganduniyas marched, and

5. u-kib-bu-šu Kal-du ina la i-di zi-ir
   trampled on Chaldea. Against my hand(?) unto

6. Unda-ši ablu Te-um-man šar Elam
   Undasi son of Teumman king of Elam,

7. va Zazaz niru Bil-la-te
   and Zazaz chief of Billate,

8. Pa (v. par)-ru u niru Hi-il-mu
   Paru chief of Hilmu,

9. At-ta-mi-tu nis rab mitpanu Ne-e-su
   Attametu commander of the archers, and Nesu
a-lik pa-ni umman sa Elam a-na mit-hu-zi
leader of the army of Elam, to fight

it-ti umman Assur Um-man-i-gas
with the army of Assyria, Ummanigas

u-ma-hi-ir su-nu-ti is-kun su-nu-ti
sent them, and appointed them

de-e-mu Um-man-i-gas a-na Un-da-şi
a decree. Ummanigas to Undasi,

ki-a-am ig-bi um-ma a-lik ul-tu
even said, thus: Go; against

Assyria tir-ra tuk-te-e abi ba-ni ki
revenge the slaying of the father thy begetter.

Un-da-su Zazaz Paru-\u
Undasu, Zazaz, Paru,

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

ahu nak-ri ur-\u iz-[bat-u-niv-\u]
my rebellious brother; took the road, and
ASSURANIPAL. 1173

22. 

us-te-es-sir-uni mur-ranu zabi
directed the march. My men

tahaz ya sa ina. Ganduniyas

of war, who in

24. 

it-ta-na-al-laku u-[kib-ba-su
marched, and trampled on

25. [Kal-du] Chaldea

26.

27. Elam

Attamitu

28. [ik-ki] -su-niv-va
the cut off and

29. [u-bil-uni-ad] mah-ri ya
[brought to], my presence.

30. an-na-a-ti these

31. 

32. Ummanigas

33. ti a-mat ya

34. my will
35. [Assur] Bel Nabu Nergal Ili [rabati
[Assur]. Bel, Nebo and Nergal, the [great] Gods

36. beli ya] di-in kititi ititi
[my lords;] a certain judgment against

37. Um-man-i-gas i-di-nu in-ni Tam-ma-ri-tu
Ummanigas, appointed me. Tammaritu,

38. zir-us-su ip-pal-kit va sa-a-su ga-du
against him revolted, and .him and part

39. Kim-ti su urašib ina kakki
of his family, he destroyed with the sword.

40. Tam-ma-ri-tu sa e-la sa-a-su iq-zu
Tammaritu who over him triumphed,

41. u-sib ina kuzzu Elam ki-ma
sat on the throne of Elam. Like

42. sa-a-su va da-a-tu im-har ul is-al
him also, a bribe he received; he did not seek

43. su-lum saru-ti ya a-na ri-uzu tu
alliance with my kingdom. To the help

44. (v. kit-ri) Saul-mugina ahu la
(v. aid) of Saulmugina my younger
ASSURBANIPAL. 175

ke-e-nu il-lik-av-va a-na mit-šu-už-zi

brother he went, and to fight

umman ya ur-ri-ha kakki su ina

my army he prepared his soldiers. In

su-up-pe-e sa Assur va Istar u šap-pu-u

prayer Assur and Ishtar I had prayed;

ta-ni-hi ya im-šu-ru is-mu-u zi-kar

my supplication they received, and heard the words of

šapti ya ardi su zir us-su ip-pal ki-tu va

my lips. His servants against him revolted, and

a-ha-mis u ra-ši bu adi limut ya

each other they destroyed, to my evil

(v. damqati ya)  In. da-bi-gas arad şu
(v. benefit.) Indabigas his servant, who

sa ši šu eli su u sab-su u u-sib
the revolt against him made, sat

ina kuzzu su Tam-ma-ri-tu šar Elam
on his throne. Tammaritu king of Elam,

sa mi-ri-iḫ-tu ig-bu-u eli
who untruth had spoken, concerning
176 ASSURBANIPAL.

55. ni-kis qaqqadu Te-um-man sa ik-ki gu
the decapitated head of Teumman; which he had cut off

56. a-hu-ru-u umman ya va ahi su
in sight of my army:

57. 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

58. Elam a-li-kut id-i idi su
Elam, marching before him;

59. sa la pa-an kakki Assur va Istar ip-par-su-du
who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled,

60. va

61. and

62. Tam-ma-ri-tu ga-[du ziri bit abi su]
Tammaritu and part [of the seed of his father’s house]

63. ki-rib e-kal ya ul-[ziz su-nu-ti]
in my palace I placed [them].

64. In-da-bi-gas sa arku Tam-ma-ri-tu
Indabigas who after Tammaritu,

65. u-si-bu ina kuzzu Elam
sat on the throne of Elam;
71. 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,

77. sa ki - ma ip - ri tap - pe e a na zir mata su
who like an earth-wall guarding his country,

78. it ta na - al la ku it - ti su sa
marched with him; whom

79. Nabu bel - zikri ina pi ir za - a - ti
Nebobelzikri by treachery

80. uz (v. u) - zab - bi - tu u - bi lu it ti su ina
had captured, and taken with him in a

81. (v. E) (v. u) - zab - bi - tu u - bi lu it ti su ina

82. ki - li Inda bi - gas sar Elam
boat.

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]-šir matisu 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. ardu da-gil pa-ni ya sa in-nab-tu
tributary dependent on me; who fled,

90. li ku a-na Elam va
and went to Elam:

91. il ši-it ti abli Assur sa
the rest of the sons of Assur, whom
Nebobelzikri by treachery

had captured, and taken with him. By the

hand of his envoy to Indabigas, even I

sent to him also, If those men thou dost not

send, thus; I will march; thy cities

I will destroy; the people of Shushan, Madaktu and

Midalu, I will carry off; from thy royal throne,

I will hurl thee; and another on thy throne,

I will seat. As, formerly Teumman

I will crush; I will cause to destroy thee,
 ASSURBANIPAL.

ka - a - ta [su] - u a - mir su ma - har su
[this is] to thee. He, his envoy before him

la i - bi-sa-du [la] u sa - an - nu su si kin
did not come, did [not] repeat to him the fixing

de e - mi ya [ina tugul] - ti Assur Sin Samas
of my will. [In] the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,

Bel Nabu [Istar sa] Ninua Istar sa
Bel, Nebo, [Ishtar of] Nineveh, Ishtar of

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;

[a - lak] a - mir (a(?)-mi_ ri) ya sa
[of the journey] of my envoy, whom

a - na Di - ri as pu ru [is] - mu - u
to Diri I had sent;

ki rib Elam. pu lu - h ti šaru ti ya
in Elam. The fear of my kingdom,

[sa u - za - hi] - nu in - ni Ili rabati
[which was] preserved to me by the great Gods;
Elam is-ḫu-up (v. ḫup) va [mat šu ẓir] Elam overwhelmed, and [his country against]

In da-bi-gas ip pal ki tu i na ru us Indabigas revolted, and they destroyed him

in a kakki Um-man-al-da ši abl. with the sword. Ummanaldasi son of

At-ta-mitu u si-bu ina kuzzu su Attamitu, sat on his throne.

Date at close of a Proclamation to the Babylonians, K, 84.

Araḫ Airu immi 23 lim mu Assur- dur-uzur Month Iyyar, twenty-thrid day, eponym Assurduruzur.

Shamasbaladsuught brought [it].

Omen Tablet Fragment.

a. A-na Babili i-tir-ru To Babylon they turned,

b. Saul-mu-gi-na a-na qati su-un Saulmugina to their hands they
i - ba aq qu su summi , araḥ Duvaζu immi
drew him away(?) . Omens . Month Tammuz ,

27 ḫal ḫi - ša - am - ma - il ai ina adi ḏe e mi
the hal and Hisammailai , 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 . N ebobelziki r i the seaman disregards the
benefits of Assurbanipal king of Assyria the work of thy hands his lord ,

i - mi - su sal - dis i nin - na Assur - bani - pal šar
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 tah-har illiku (?)

"The archers in Elam have gathered and marched

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
Ganduniens, who the yoke of Assurbanipal the work

qati ka * tu ana epes kakki qabal va tahaz
of thy hands have rejected (?) to make fighting, war and battle

itti su nu im mah-ha a-za ul dabu
with them he was prepared. Not good,

p. e-zib sa-du va lu u ina mi-sir sa Elam
excepting the mountain which is in the border of Elam,

lu u ina mi-sir sa mati su uzzizu va lu u
which along the border of his country joined, and which

a-na pul-luh lu u a-na za-bat qati va mi-sir
through fearing to be captured in hand, the border
Month Nisan, fourth day, did not revolt.

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 Assurbanipal

*e.*  
Assur - bani-pal

f. gar 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,
186 ASSURBANIPAL.

b. 7 sa arah Ululu zabī Elami to the seventh day of the month Elul. The men of Elam

c. gathered, set in order, and

d. iilkuni(?) kakki qabal va tāhāz itti zabī marched(?) fighting battle and war with the men

e. id-dan sa Assur-bani-pal šar Assur ib-bu-su-u belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria, was made.

f. From Danai son of * * * * * *

Not good.

h. bil ku(?) arah Ululu immi 7 lim-mu Ša-gab the bīlkū(?) month Elul seventh day, eponym Sagab.

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF Omen Tablet K, 4.

a. [Saul] - mu- gi - na ahu lakenu(?) [Saul]mugina the younger brother

b. * * * * i dal la-hu va * * * rab-u

c. * * * * he embroiled and * * * great

d. ibu * * * un-ni i la da a-bu * * * * not good
Assurbanipal

The work of thy hands, who unto thee is good,

who has established ordinances and on thy

has fixed his eyes, heard thus:

Saulmugina to Elam broke away;

an agreement he caused to make, before to Elam

he broke away. Five omens in heart were not

ďabu Araḫ Tasritu immi 15 lim-mu Şa-gab
good. Month Tisri, fifteenth day, eponym Sagab,

The great Gods the

lords strength continue to him, their
PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OME METABLE K, 3161.

a. [immi] 17 sa arah an-ri arah Samna sa sanat
   The seventeenth day of this month, the month Marchesvan of

b. an-na uzzus (?) sa zabu id-dan sa
   this year, it was that the men belonging to

c. Assur-bani-pal sar Assur ana eli Saul-mu- gi-na
   Assurbanipal king of Assyria went over to Saulmugina;

d. it tal-ku ana qati su-nu ki(?)-bit(?)-tu dabtu
   to their hands the will(?) was good.

e. Month Marchesvan seventeenth day, eponym Sagab * * * a

f. [Arah] Samna immi 17 lim-mu Sa-gab * * * a

i. Assur-dan * * * Assur-dan * * * i * * *

j. [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. "A-mat šar a-na nisi mat tam-ti nisi ab-ba i
The will of the king to the men of the coast, the sea,
va abli ardi a salim-mu ai si lib-ba
and the sons of my servants; my peace to your

4. ku-nu lu ḍa-ab ku-nu-si a-mu-ra adi
hearts, may you be well. I am watching

5. ku-nu va la pa-an ḫi id sa Nabu-bel-zikri
you; and from the face of the sin of Nebobelzikri,
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 ḫi id sa Nabu-bel-zikri
you; and from the face of the sin of Nebobelzikri,

8. * * * * sa ana mi-na-nu ab ru şu
entirely I have separated

9. 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
in the will which is in me good

which in the heart

of the servants who

of their lords bring (?) to me.

Of myself, my forces I send.

I have joined with you, keeping your

good and your benefit in my sight.

\begin{flushright}
Arah Airu immi 5 lim-mu Bel-harran-sad-u-a
Month Iyyar, fifth day, eponym Belharransadua
\end{flushright}
1. [Um-man]- al da - şu aḥu su sa Tam-ma- ri - tu
Ummanaldasu brother of Tammaritu

2. šar [Elam] Ut-te-di nisi rab [mitpanu]
king of [Elam] Utte-di commander of archers,

3. Te-um-man nis rab mitpanu sa bit-ḥal la a [su]
and Teumman commander of the archers of [his] chariot (?),

4. Tam-ma-ri-tu šar Elam sa a-na kit ri
Tammaritu king of Elam, who to the aid of

5. Saul-mugina *** went, and

6. a na mit-ḥu uz umman ya a na ku
to fight my army.

7. Assur-bani-pal šar Assur Assur va Istar am ḫu - ur
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Assur and Ishtar invoked;

8. va is mu-u şu up pi ya In da bi-gas
and they heard my prayer. Indabigas

arad şu zir us-su ip pal kit va ina tāḥaz
his servant, against him revolted, and in the battle
The ship of Tammaritu, king of Elam, had taken, he from that ship, to a boat, Tammaritu out of that ship, to a boat, Tammaritu.

On his back he carried sick, The
16. nam-ra-zi u-par-ri * * * us(?)
ground he placed him on,

u-se-rib su ki-rib qani * * * a-na bu-ri su-nu
he caused him to enter into the reeds. For their food

17. * * * * * sa ut * * * zib * * *
* * * * which * * * * *

Reverse.

1. Tam-ma-ri-tu šar Elam sa pa-an
Tammaritu king of Elam, who before

2. In-da-bi-gas ip-pal ina ki-rib mar-ra ti
Indabigas fell; in the midst of the sea

3. I ki-il pa-a e-mu-ru ma-ru-us-tu a-na-ku
sailed(?) and had seen sickness. I

4. Assur-bani-pal šar Assur ri-he-e-ti šaru-ti ya
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, my royal friendship

u-se-bil su ri-he-e-ti sa-a-ti-na
sent to him. That friendship he

im-ḥar va ina maḥri ummati ya
received, and in presence of my general
5. u - na - as - si - qa qa - ru
kissed the ground.

6. Si - id ru sa Um-man-i-gas la na - zir dabantu
Line [of battle] of Ummanigas, disregarder of the benefits

7. Assur - bani - pal šar Assur sa ki - rib
of Assurbanipal king of Assyria; who in

8. Elam is ku - nu su a na šaru 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 šu
his overthrow and dispersed his forces.

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,
Tam-maritu had cut off in the midst of battle. 

my general who Ummanigas Madaktu.

a. Tam-maritu king of Elam (that),

a- di Ummanaldas, [his brothers]

b. Ummanaldasi son of Teumman king of Elam

Elam Ummanamni son of Ummanpiha

(c. Ummanamni grandson of Ummanaldasi
K, 599. Dispatch from an Officer to the King.

1. A-na-bel-sarri-bel-ya-arad-ka
   To the lord of kings my lord, thy servant

2. Bel-ib-ni-Assur-Samas-va-Maruduk-araku
   Belibni; Assur, Shamas and Merodach, length of
ASSURBANIPAL. 197

4. \( \text{id means} \) \( \text{du-ub lib-bi va du-ub gir} \) \( \text{sa} \) days, sound heart, and sound body, to the

5. \( \text{be-eli sarri bel ya liq-bu-u a-na eli} \) lord of kings my lord grant. Concerning

6. \( \text{Tam-ti i-ti ahi nis qi-ni sa va} \) Tamti-iti, the brothers, kinsmen, and

7. \( \text{rabati sa a-na sar bel ya as-pur a-du-u} \) great men, whom to the king my lord I send, thus:

8. \( \text{Tammaritu, the brothers, his kinsmen and} \)

9. \( \text{va nisi rabati su i-zu-zi} \) his great men, together

10. \( \text{a-na pa-an sar beli ya al-tap-ra-as-su-nu} \) to the presence of the king my lord I send them

11. "Tammaritu, the brothers, his kinsmen and

12. va nisi rabati su i-zu-ziz

13. a-na pa-an sar beli ya al-tap-ra-as-su-nu

14. \( \text{to the presence of the king} \)

* * * * *

* * * * *

EXTRACT FROM A DISPATCH MENTIONING THE DEATH OF
INDABIGAS KING OF ELAM. K, 13.

1. [A-na bel sarri beli] ya arad ka [To the lord of kings] my [lord,] thy servant
Bel ib-ni [Assur Samas va Maruduk] du-bi Belibni. [From Assur, Shamas and Merodach.] sound

lib-bi du-bi širi [a-ra-ku immi va] la-bar heart and sound body;

[14] length of days, and] long

pal-e ana bel šarri [šar matati bel ya] life; to the lord of kings [king of the earth my lord.]

še e-mu sa Elam [Um-ma-ḫal]-da-a-su The news from Elam, Ummanaldas;

šar mah-ru u sa iḫ 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 ḫu Ma-dak-ti un-dis-sar They feared (?) Madaktu he has left,

ummu su alat šu mari su va nis qī-na-as-su his mother, his wife, his children and his kinsmen

gab-bi ki i ik-mi-su 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
ASSURBANIPAL.

Ta-lah 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

Ha-ri su un-şi
Harisundasi.

EPIGRAPH OVER KING IN CHARIOT RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.
Line 7 from Duplicate on Tablet Fragment.

1. A-na-ku Assur-bani-pal şar kissat şar Assur
I am Assurbanipal king of nations king of Assyria,

2. sa ina kibit Ili rabati ik-su-du
who by the will of the great Gods has taken the

3. zu-um-mi-rat lib bi su lu bul-tu su-qut-tu
desire of his heart; garments beautiful,

4. şi-mat şar-u-ti sa Saul-mu gi na
the royal robes of Saulmugina
5. ahu 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 hi-suhi- te 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 mah-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,
instigated all the tributary states to revolt against Assurbanipal. Saulmugina is the Saosduchinus of Ptolemy, his name is written  and  The first element is rendered in Cun. Ins. Vol. II, p. 43, line 49, by  Sa-mul-lu, the second element  is sum or zikar, and the third  or  gina in Akkad, is ukin in Assyrian, the whole name was probably Samul-zikar-ukin, or Samul-sum-ukin in Assyrian. Probably, by the will of Esarhaddon, Saulmugina was made king of Babylon at his death. K, 3050, and the Cylinder of Assurbanipal in the Louvre exhibit Saulmugina as on intimate terms with Assurbanipal, and this state of affairs lasted for about seventeen years. During the eponymy of Assurduruzur, Saulmugina planned a revolt against his brother, which Assurbanipal represents as very ungrateful. The inscriptions seem to show that Assurbanipal only allowed his brother a nominal sovereignty round Babylon, and Saulmugina desiring to be independent, sent messengers to the various subject rulers to persuade them to join him in throwing off the Assyrian yoke. The most important tributary was Ummanigas of Elam, and to insure his aid, Saulmugina opened the treasuries of the temple of Bel at Babylon, the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, and the temple of Nergal at Kutha, and sent their treasures as a present to the Elamite monarch (K, 2631). Ummanigas received the bribe, and sent his troops to Babylonia. Other messengers were sent by Saulmugina to the various rulers round Babylonia, and  Kudur governor of Uruk (Warka) sent a dispatch to Assurbanipal (K, 5457), telling him that he had heard from Sintabniuzur, governor of Ur, of the arrival of the messenger of Saulmugina at that city, and that part of the people had revolted. Kudur then took 500 men from Uruk, and joining Palia, prefect of Arrapha, and Zabea, prefect of Amida, went down to Ur; but he could not stop the revolt, and Sintabniuzur himself went over to Saulmugina. Meanwhile the Babylonian king sent an embassy to Assyria to assure Assurbanipal of his devotion; on the return of this embassy, the general revolt broke out, and is said to have included Ummanigas of Elam, and his feudatory chiefs, Saulmugina of Babylon, the Guti
by whom the Arabsians 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, Mannuki-babili of Bit-dakkuri, and Hea-mubasa of Bit-amukkan (K, 4515), Nadan of Puquad or Pekod (K, 524).

After the departure of the Elamite forces to Babylonia, Tammaritu 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 𒈗, 𒆜 and 𒈗 Š Š Š (this is the only proper name in which I have found these forms interchange); the second ipni “he made,” is written 𒈗, 𒈗 and 𒈗 Š Š Š.

† 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 Nahida-maruduk, 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 șibe- 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,
48. sa la pa-an In da bi-gas ardu su in-nab-tu va who from the face of Indabigas his servant had fled, and

49. iz-ba ta (v. tu) niri ya nisi Hi-il-mi taken my yoke. The people of Hilmi,

50. Bil la ti Du (um) mu qu Billati,

51. ti ib tahaz ya dan-ni is-mu-u sa al-la-ku the force of my fierce attack, heard of, as I went

52. a-na Elam nam-ri-ri Assur va Istar to Elam. The terror of Assur and Ishtar

53. beli ya pu-luh-ti (v. tu) saru ti ya my lords, and the fear of my kingdom

54. is-ihu-up (v. hup) su-nu-ti su-nu nisi su-nu overwhelmed them. They, their people,

55. alpi su-nu ze eni (v. zeni) su-nu their oxen and their sheep,

56. a-na e-pis ardu ti ya a na Assur to do my service to Assyria
Assurbanipal. 207

55. im-qut- (v. qu-tu) niv-va iz-ba-tu niru they struck, and took the yoke of

šaru ti ya Bit im-bi-i maḥ-ru-u my kingdom. Bitimbi the former

56. alu šar-u-ti bit duk-la-a-ti sa Elam royal city, the fortress of Elam;

57. sa ki-ma dur-e pa-ti Elam par-ku which like a wall the boundary of Elam divided,

58. sa Sin ahi ir ba šar Assur abu abi which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather

59. bani ya il la-mu-u-a ik-su-du va su-u my begetter, my predecessor, had captured: and he the

60. E-lamite, a city in front of the

61. Bit im-bi-i maḥ-re e sa nam-ma former Bitimbi, another

62. e bu (us) su va dur su u dan nin-u va had built, and its wall he had strengthened, and

u-zak-ki ru šal-ḥu-u su Bit im-bi-i had raised its outer wall Bitimbi
iz-ku-ru ni bit su ina mi-ti-iq gar ri
he had proclaimed its name: in the course of my expedition

I took. The people dwelling in it, who did not

 staunchly hold by the door, I took. The people dwelling in it, who did not

come out, and did not pray for alliance with

my kingdom, I felled. Their heads I cut off,

their lips I tore out, and for the inspection of the

people of my country, I brought to Assyria.

Imba ap pi qe-e-pu v. nis rab mitpanu
Imba ap pi qe-e-pu v. nis rab mitpanu

Imbaappt governor (v. commander of the archers)

of Bitimbi, the relative of Ummanaldas

king of Elam; alive

from the midst of that city I brought out and
qati va sepi bi-ri-tu parzil ad-di su va ura-a
hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed him, and
sent

a-na Assur sal e-kal va abli su
to Assyria. The women of the palace, and sons

72. sa Te-um-man šar Elam sa ina
of Teumman king of Elam; whom by

73. (v. e)
na-as-par-ti Assur ina gar ri ya (v. e)
the command of Assur, in my former

74. mah-re-e ak-ki šu qaqqad šu it ti
expedition I had cut off his head; with the

75. u-se-za- av-va sal-la-tis am-nu Um-man-al-das
I brought out and as spoil I counted. Ummanaldas

76. šar Elam [a-lak umman] ya sa ki rib
king of Elam, [of the progress of] my [army,] which into

77. Elam e-ru bu is-mi va Ma-dak-tu
Elam entered; heard, and Madaktu

alu šaru-ti su u-vas-sir va in-na-bit va
his royal city he abandoned, and fled and
210 ASSURBANIPAL.

78. [v. Am] ba-gu-u-a sa
his mountains ascended.

79. [v. Am]-bagua who
from Elam,
from a revolt,
to

80. [v. as-bu] ina
Ummanaldas had sat on the

81. [v. Am]-bagua who
from Elam:

82. [v. Am]-bagua who
from Elam:

83. [v. Am]-bagua who
from Elam:

84. [v. Am]-bagua who
from Elam:

85. [v. Am]-bagua who
from Elam:

sada su e-li
his mountains ascended.

ul-tu Elam ultu si hu-umana
from Elam,
from a revolt,
to

Bu-bi lu in-nab tu va me ehirit
Bubilu had fled, and against

Um-man-al-das u-si-bu (v. as-bu) ina
Ummanaldas had sat on the

kuzzu Elam ki-ma sa-a su va is mi va
throne of Elam: like him also heard, and

Bu-bi-lu alu mu-sab bilu-ti su u-vas-sir
Bubilu the city the seat of his dominion he abandoned,

va ki-ma nuni iz-bat su-pul me ru-qu-u-ti
like the fishes took to the depths of the remote waters.

Tam-maritu who fled and took

niri ya ki-rib Su-sa an u-se-rib
my yoke, into Shushan I caused to enter,

as-kun su a-na sharu ti damqati
I appointed him to the kingdom.

The good
I had done to him and sent to his aid, he rejected and devised evil to capture.

Even he said in his heart:

Thus: "The people of Elam for a spoil have turned, in the face of Assyria. Their * * *

has been entered(?) and they have carried away

the plunder of Elam." Assur and Ishtar who before me

march, and exalt

me over my enemies; the heart of

Tammaritu hard and perverse they broke, and
93. u ba - hu - u qa - tus-su ul - tu kuzzu šaru - 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 su - par
    they subdued him to my yoke. Concerning

96. 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 Tammaritu the younger offended.

98. ina li - i - ti va da - na - ni sa Ili rabati
    In the glory and power of the great Gods

99. beli ya ki - rib Elam a - na
    my lords, within Elam, through its

100..raise - ti sa at - tal - lak sal - dis ina
    extent I marched victoriously. On

101. ta - ai - ar - ti ya sa sul - lu - me - e
    my return, peace and

su - pa - li - ti pa - an niri (v. ni ri) ya
    submission to my yoke,
102. *u tir-ra a-na Assur*

I restored to Assyria.

103. *Ga-tu-du-ma Da-e-ba Gatuduma, Daeba, Na-di-ha Nadiha, Dur-am-na-ni Dur-am-na-ni-ma Duramnani, Duramnanima,*

104. *Hama-nu Tara-qu Ha-ai u si Hamanu, Taraqu, Haiusi,*

105. *Bit tag-gil-bit-ṣu Bit-ar-ra-bi Bittaggilbitsu, Bitarrabi,*

106. *Bit-im-bi-i Ma-dak-tu Su-sa-an Bitimbi, Madaktu, Shushan,*

107. *Bu-be-e Te-maruduk šar-an-ni Bube, Temaruduksaranni,*

(v. Te-maruduk-šar-a-ni)


109. *(v. Te-maruduk-šar-a-ni) Urdalika,*

110. *(v. Te-maruduk-šar-a-ni) Urdalika,*

111. *(v. Te-maruduk-šar-a-ni) Urdalika,*

112. *(v. Te-maruduk-šar-a-ni) Urdalika,***
214 ASSURANIPAL.

Dur - un - da - și  Dur - un - da - și - ma
Durundasi,  Durundasima,

111. Bu bi - lu  Sa am - u - nu  Bu - na - ki
Bubilu,  Samunu,  Bunaki,

112. Qa - ab - ri - na  Qa - ab - ri - na - ma
Qabrina,  Qabrinama

113. Ha - ra - ha  alani su - nu - ti ak - su - ud
and Haraba,  their cities, I captured,

114. ab - bul aq - qur  ina isati ak - mu Ili su - nu
pulled down, destroyed,  in the fire I burned; their Gods,

115. nisi su - nu  alpi su - nu ze - e ni
their people,  their oxen, their

(v. zeni) su - nu sa su su - nu sa ga su - nu
sheep,  their furniture, their goods,

116. zu - um - bi  susi  pare
carriages,  horses, mules,

117. bat - li u - nu tu ta - ḥa - zi as - lu - la
and weapons, instruments of war, I carried off

a na Assur
to Assyria.
ASSURANIPAL. K, 2656. RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF DUPLICATES.

a. I \[\text{Ummalda's son of Attamitu,}\]

b. I \[\text{sat on the throne of Elam. Tammaritu}\]

c. I \[\text{Assur and Nergal submitted to my dominion. I am}\]

d. I \[\text{Assurbanipal of generous heart, of defection the remover.}\]

e. I \[\text{Ummanaldas king of Elam, I commanded}\]
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-mar-i-tu sa
and his mountain ascended. Tammaritu who
in-nab-ta iz ba-ta niri ya ki-rib
fled and took my yoke, in
Su-sa an as kun su a-na šar u-ti
Shushan I appointed him to the kingdom.

damqatu e pu-su-us sa as-pu-ru it-tah šu
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 šar Ili Nergal be-lu
my army. Assur king of the Gods and Nergal the lord
ži i ru sa ina maḥ-ri ya il-la-ku
mighty, who in my presence march
u sa-zi-zu in ni ži ir ga-ri ya
and exalt me over my enemies,
lib bi Tam-mar-i-tu iq šu ba ra-nu ip-ru
the heart of Tammaritu hard and perverse they broke,
and delivered him into my hand. From

his royal throne they hurled him and

overturned him, and subdued him to

my yoke. A third time Assur the mighty lord, Nergal

warrior of the Gods, and Itak whose hands are powerful,

protected me, and to Elam they commanded

Bit-imbi, &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

119. Istar, I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas

120. Ishtar, I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas
    Istar ad-ki umman ya zir Um-man-al-das
    Ishtar, I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas
    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 Ha-ma-nu
    I had captured, again Rasi, Hamanu,
123. a-di na gi su ak-su-ud va su u
and that district I captured; and he

Um-man-al-das šar Elam ka-sad
Ummanaldas king of Elam, of the capture of

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. is-ḫu-pu su va Ma-dak-tu alu šaru-ti su
overwhelmed him, and Madaktu his royal city

2. u-vas-sir va in-nabīt a-na
he abandoned, and fled to

Dur-un-dasi It-it e e-bir
Durundasi. The Itite, he crossed,

va nahr su-a-tu a-na dan-nu-ti su is-kun
and that river for his stronghold he fixed,

5. uk-ta-ta-žir uk-ta-žir a-na žal-ti ya
and arranged in ranks to fight me.
6. 

Na-di-tu alu šaru ti va (v. a-di) na-gi
Naditu the royal city and its district

I captured,

su ak-su-ud Bit-bu-na ki alu šaru-ti **

I captured, Bitbunaki the royal city ditto,

7. 

Naditu the royal city and its — district

8. 

I captured, Bitbunaki the royal city ditto,

9. 

Ḫar-dap-a-nu alu šaru ti ** Tu-u-bu

Hardapanu the royal city ditto, Tubu

10. 

al šaru-ti ** bi-rit nahr ka-la-mu

the royal city ditto, beside all the river,

11. 

Ma-dak-tu alu šaru-ti ** Hal-te-ma-as

Madaktu the royal city ditto, Haltemas

12. 

al šaru ti su ak su-ud Su-sa-an

his royal city I captured, Shushan

13. 

al šaru ti su ak su-ud Di-in šar

his royal city I captured, Dinsar

14. 

Su-mu-un tu-na-as ** Pi-di il-ma

Sumuntunas ditto, Pidilmá

15. 

Ka bi in-ak (alu šaru-ti su) **

Kabinak (his royal city) ditto.
In the service of Assur and Ishtar I marched and went after Ummanaldaš, king of Elam, who did not submit to my yoke. In the course of my expedition, Durundasi captured his royal city. My army saw, and Ishtar feared the crossing. In a dream sent, and even told them, 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 ū hu ū zu It-it-e e-bi-ru my army rejoiced, and the Itite crossed

27. sal-mis 14 alani mu-sab šaru-ti a-di peacefully. Fourteen cities royal seats, and

28. alani zihruti (v. zi hi-ru-ti) sa ni-i-ba smaller cities

29. la i-su-u va 12 na-ge-e sa ki-lib unknown, and twelve districts which are in

30. Elam ka-li su-nu ak-su-ud ab-bul Elam, all of them I took, I pulled down,

31. aq qur ina isati ak-mu a-na tuli va gar-mi destroyed, in the fire I burned, and to mounds and heaps

32. ina kakki u-ra-aš-šib mun-taḥ-ze (e) with the sword I destroyed his powerful

33. su žirati (v. ži-ru-ti) Um-man-al-das šar fighting men. Ummanaldas king of
Elam me ra-nu-su-us-su in-na-bit va Elam in his bitterness fled, and

iz-ba-ta sadu-u Ba-nu-nu a-di took to the mountain.

na-ge-e sa Ta-sa-ra ka-la-mu the districts of Tasara all,

20 alani ina na-ge-e sa Hu-un-nir twenty cities in the districts of Hunnir,

ina eli mi (v. me)-iš-ri sa Hi-da-li (v. lu) by the boundary of Hidalu,

ak-su-ud Ba-limmu va alani sa I captured. Balimmu and the cities

li-mi-ti-su ab bul aq-qur sa nisi round it, I pulled down and destroyed. Of the people

a-sib lib-bi su-nu ka mar su-nu as-kun dwelling within them, their misfortune I caused,

u-sab-bir Ili su-un u-sap-si ih I broke up their Gods, I set at liberty the

(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,

I carried off to Assyria. Sixty kaspu of ground,
in a-mat Assur va Istar sa u-ma-hi-ru in ni
by the will of Assur and Ishtar who sent me,

ki-rib Elam e ru ub va at-tal-lak sal-dis
within Elam I entered and marched victoriously.

On my return, when Assur and Ishtar

u-sa-zizi zu in-ni zir ga ri ya
exalted me over my enemies,

Su-sa-an ma-ḥa-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. aksud) ina a-mat Assur va Istar ki-rib
By the will of Assur and Ishtar, into

e-kal-i su e ru ub u-sib ina hidati
its palaces I entered and sat with rejoicing.
ASSURBANIPAL.

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,

nu-uk-ku-mu ki rib su-un sa sarri
treasured within them; which the kings of

Elam mah-ru ti a-di sarri sa
Elam the former, and the kings who

were to these days, had gathered

is-ku-nu sa nakiru sa nam-ma e-li
and made; which any other enemy beside

ya-a-si (v. ai-si) qat su la u-bi-lu ina lib-bi
me, his hands had not put into them,

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

(va) Akkadi va Gandunias, all that
the kings of Elam, the former and latter, had carried off and brought within Elam; bronze hammered, hard(?), and pure, precious stones beautiful and valuable,

belonging to royalty; which kings of Akkad former ones and Saulmugina,

for their aid had paid to Elam: garments beautiful, belonging to royalty, weapons suited of war, prepared for one to make battle, suited to his hand, instruments furnishing his palaces,
ASSURANIPAL. 227

67. ḫa la-mu su ina elli u-si-bu it-ti bibbu(?)
   all that within it was placed, with the food

68. i'n 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

72. tal lap-ta su-nu ḫuraz kasap as-lu la a-na
   their trappings were gold and silver, I carried off to

73. Assur zik-kur-rat Su-sa-an sa ina
   Assyria. The tower of Shushan, which in the

74. a-ḫi-ri uk-ni su-pu-lat ub-bit
   lower part in marble(?) was laid, I destroyed.

75. u kip-pi-ra gar-rim (v. garrim) sa sa pi tiq
   I broke through its top, which was covered with

76. eru nam-ri Susinaq(?) Ilu pi-sak ti
   shining bronze. Susinaq(?) the God of their oracle,
WOMAN WY Bw — TST ON AN EV
su-un sa as-bu ina bu uz-ra-a-ti sa
who dwelt in the groves; whom
man-ma-an la im-ma-ru ip-sit ilu-ti su-(ni)
any one had not seen the image of his divinity,

77. Su-mu-du
Sumudu,
La-ga-ma-ru
Lagomer,

78. Pa-ar-ti-ki-ra
Partikira,
Am-man-ka-si-bar
Ammankasibar,

79. U-du-ra-an Sa-pa-ak
Uduran and Sapak; of whom the kings
Sa-sarri
of Elam

80. Ilu-us-su-un
their divinity.
Ru-gi-ba
Ragiba,

Su-un-gur-sa-ra-a
Sumugursara,
Ka-ar-sa
Karsa,

81. Ki-ir-sa-ma-as
Kirsamas,
Su-du-nu
Sudunu,

Aipaksina,

82. Ai-pa-ak-si-na
Bi-la-la
Bilala,
ASSURBANIPAL. 229

Pa-ni-in-tim-ri  Si-la-ga-ra-a
Panintimri,  Silagara,

Na-ap-ça-a  Na-bir-tu
Napsa,  Nabirtu and

Ki in da-kar-bu  Ili  Istari
Kindakarbu,  these Gods and

sa-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

bu-uh  la-le  e  as-lu  la  a-na
worshippers, I carried off to

Assur  32  zal-am  (-i)  šarrī
Assyria. Thirty-two statues of kings,

pi-tiq  (v. ti-iq)  kasap  ḫu-raz  eru
fashioned of silver, gold, bronze and

samul-rab  ul-tu  ki  rib  Su-sa-an
alabaster, from out of Shushan,

Ma-dak-tu  Ḫu  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,

zalam Is-tar-na-an-hu-un di zalam
a statue of Istarannahundi, a statue of

Hal-lu-şi zalam Tam-ma-ri-tu arku-u
Halludus and a statue of Tammaritu the later,

sa ina ki bit Assur va Istar e-pu-su ardu-ut-ti
who by command of Assur and Ishtar made submission to me,

al-qá-a a-na Assur ad-ka-a sedi
I brought to Assyria. I broke the winged lions

alapi mazartu su-par e-sir ma-la
and bulls watching over the temple, all

ba su-u u na aş şi-ḫa remi
there were. I removed the winged

na-at-ru-ti şi-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.

Ili su Istari su am-na-a a-na za-ki-ki
His Gods and his Goddesses I sent into captivity,
99. kisti su-nu pa-az-ra-ati sa nin
their forest groves, which any

100. a-hu-u la u-šar-ru ina lib-bi la
other had not penetrated into the midst,

101. i-kib-ba-šu i-ta sun (v. si-in)
trodden their outskirts;

102. žabi taḥaz 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 žirati šarri su-nu maḥ-ru-ti arku i
The high places of their kings, former and latter,

105. Istar beli ya mu-nir (v. nir) ri ḫu
Ishtar my lords, opposers of the

106. šarri abi ya ab-bul aq-qur u-kal li kings my fathers, I pulled down, destroyed and burnt

107. sam-si ner-pad-du i su-nu al-qa-a a-na
in the sun. Their attendants I brought to
Assur - kim - mi su-nu la za-la-lu Assyria, their leaders without shelter

e - mi - id ki - iz - pi sati me u - za - am - mi I placed.
The wells of drinking water I dried them

su-nu-ti ma - lak a rah 25 immi na - ge - e up, for a journey of a month and twenty-five days the districts

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.

binti sarri ninati sarri
The daughters of kings, consorts of kings,

a - di qi - in - ni mah - ri ti va arku - ti
and families former and latter

sa sarri Elam ki - pa - a - ni
of the kings of Elam, the governors and

ha - za - na a - ti sa alani, sa - a - tu - nu citizens of those cities,

ma - la ak - su - du nis rab mitpani sanuti all I had captured; the commanders of archers, prefects,
118. mugil supa i nis 3 ḫu - ši - i directors of * *, three horse charioteers

119. nis sa bat-ḥal- li ḏab-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 zihrüti va rabati there was, people male and female, small and great,

122. susi pare imiri horses, mules, asses,

123. alpi va ze - e - ni e li (v. eli) salati oxen and sheep, beside much

ma- ḫa - du as - lu - la a - na Assur spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

COLUMN VII.

1. epiri Su - sa - an Ma - dak - tu The dust of Shushan, Madaktu,

2. Hal-te-ma - as va ši - it ti ma ḫa - zı sun Haltemas, and the rest of their cities,
234 ASSURBANIPAL.

3. e - ris al - qa - a a - na Assur ina arah
entirely I brought to Assyria. For a month

immi Elam a - na pat gi - ri sa aș pu - un
and a day, Elam to its utmost extent I swept;

5. ri - kim amiluti ki - bi - is alpi va ze e ni
the passage of men, the treading of oxen and sheep,

6. si - ši - it a - la - la ḏabu u - qa - am - ma - a
and the springing up of good trees (?) I burnt off

a gar - i su imiri žin na - i dassi
his fields. Wild asses, serpents(?)

8. u - ma - am žin 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

1,635 sanat an - na - i ta aș - 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 și - ma - ti sa va i - na im - mi - su va si - i
a place not appointed to her; and in those days, she
and the Gods her fathers, proclaimed my name to the
dominion of the earth. The return of her divinity she entrusted

thus: "Assurbanipal, from the midst of
Elam (wicked), bring me out, and
cause me to enter into Bitanna." The will

ki-bit Ilu-ti su-nu sa ul tu immi ruquti
commanded by their divinity, which from days remote

they had uttered; again they spoke to

nisi arkati qati Ilu ti sa rab ti
later people.

I took hold of, (and)

ul-lu-us lib-bi
rejoicing in heart,

she took to
Bit an na ina arah Kiššilīvu immi l ki - rib Bitanna. In the month Kislev, the first day, into

Aruk u - se - rib si va ina Bit - ḫi - li - an - na Erech I caused her to enter, and in Bithilianni

sa ta ra - mu u - sar - mi si parak which she had delighted in, I set her up an enduring

da - ra - a - ti nisi va sa1 lat Elam sanctuary. People and spoil of Elam,

sa ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel which by command of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,

Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il sar - rat Kit - mu - ri Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmarri,

Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

ah - bu - tu ri - se - e - ti a - na lli ya I had carried away; the first part to my Gods

as ba - [ak?] zabi mitpanu iz - a - lak I devoted. The archers, footmen(?)

nis um - ma - a ni kit - kit tu sa soldiers and camp followers(?) whom
I carried off from the midst of Elam;

e - li ki zir šaru ti ya u ṣad - di
over the body of my kingdom I spread.

The rest to the cities seats of my Gods,
sanuti ya nis rabati ya gi mir
my prefects, my great men, and all

karasi ya ki - ma ṣe - ni u - za - hi - iz
my camp, like sheep I caused to overflow.

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;

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

ki-rib Ma-dak-tu alu sa ina ki-bit Assur va
into Madaktu, the city which by command of Assur and

Istar ab-bu-lu aq qu -ru (v. qur) as-lu lu
Ishtar I had pulled down, destroyed and carried off
Assurbanipal. (v. 42) Assurbanipal.

(v. la) sal-lat su e ru ub u - sib ina ši bit - ti its spoil; he entered and sat in sorrow,

43. a sar ki ḫul (le) e su-par Nabu-bel - zikri in a place dishonoured. Concerning Nebobelzikri,

44. ablul ablul Maraduk-bal - iddina sa ina a di ya the grandson of Merodachbaladan; who against my agreement

45. ih ḫu - u iz - lu - u niri belu - ti ya sa had sinned, and thrown off the yoke of my dominion: who

46. it - tak lu a - na Um - man - i - gas Tam - ma - ri - tu had trusted to Ummanigas, Tammaritu,

47. it - tak lu a - na Um - man - i - gas Tam - ma - ri - tu had trusted to Ummanigas, Tammaritu,

48. In da - bi - gas Um - man - al - das šarrī on the kings of Elam to strengthen him had relied,

49. šarrī Elam a na dan - nu - ti su is - ku - nu who had ruled the dominion of Elam. My envoy

50. su - par se - bul Nabu - bel - zikri ina ma - le - e about the surrender of Nebobelzikri, with determination

51. lab ba - a ti (v. te) u - ma - hi - ir zir of purpose I sent to
Um-man-al das  Nabu-bel-zikri ablu abli
Ummanaldas.  Nebobelzikri, grandson of

Maruduk-bal-iddina  a-lak  a-mir ya sa ki rib
Merodachbaladan, of the journey of my envoy who into

Elam e ru bu is - me e va
Elam had entered heard, and

ik - ku (v. ki) - tu lib - ba su ir - sa a - na suq - tu
his heart was afflicted. He inclined to despair,

na pis ta su pa - nu - us - su ul i bis va
his life before him he did not regard, and

ih - su - ḫa me (v. mi) - tu u tu a na
longed for death; to his

ki - ze e ra - ma - ni su igh - bi va um ma
own armour-bearer he said also thus:

ra - si - ban - ni ina kakki su - u ki zu
“Slay me with the sword.” He and his armour-bearer

su ina gir parzil sib - bi su - nu ub - ta te (v. ti) ḫu
with the steel swords of their girdles pierced through

a-ḥa-mis Um-man-al das ip luh va pagar
each other. Ummanaldas feared, and the corpse of
240 ASSURBANIPAL.

Nabu-bel zikri su-a-tu dağtu us-ni-il va that Nebobelzikri [who] benefits trampled on,

61. a di qaqadu ki-zu su sa with the head of his armour-bearer who

62. u ra (aş-) şi bu su ina kakki a-na destroyed him with the sword, to

63. mah ri ya pagar su ai ad-din [a]-na my envoy he gave, and he sent it to

64. ki-bi-ri eli sa mah-ri mi tu-uş şu burial(?) more than before his death

65. ut tir va qaqad şu ak-kış ina kikur I returned, and his head I cut off; round the neck of

66. Nabu-qati-za-bat mun-ma-kir Saul-mu-gi-na Nebogatizabat the munmakir of Saulmugina

67. ahi 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-be-e Elam had gone; I hung. Pahe

69. Pahe
Assurbanipal.

70. sa mi-ih-rit Um-man-al-das e-pu-su
who against Ummanaldas, had ruled the

71. be-lut Elam na-mur-rat kakki
dominion of Elam, the terror of the powerful

72. 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

73. id-bu-ku eli Elam iḥ-su-uṣ had trampled over Elam covered him,

74. va ir-sa-a ḫi ib lib bi ul-tu ki-rib and he trusted to the goodness of my heart, from the midst of

75. Elam in-nab-tu va iz-ba-ta niru Elam he fled and took the yoke of

76. saru-ti ya nisi mul-taḥ-ẖi sa my kingdom. The people, sinners of

77. Bit-im-bi i Ku-zur-te (-ya) - in Bitimbi, Kuzurtein,

78. Dur sar Ma-šu-tu Bu-be-e Dursar, Masutu, Bube,

242 ASSURBANIPAL.

80. коп - рат   Зага   са   Тату
Ip - rat    Zagar    of    Tapapa,

81.  

Iprat, Zagar of Tapapa,

82. 4у - вис - ну - са - мас
Dunnushamas,

83.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

84.  

Akbarina, Gurukirra,

85.  

Akbarina, Gurukirra,

86.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

87.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

88.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

89.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

90.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

91.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

92.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

93.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

94.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

95.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

96.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

97.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

98.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

99.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

100.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

101.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

102.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

103.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

104.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

105.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

106.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

107.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

108.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

109.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

110.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

111.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

112.  

Dunnushamas, Hamanu,
90. nisi sa- a- tu- nu sa ina ṣa- al- ad- ri
those people who on Saladri

91. sad (v. sa-du) - u is- ku- nu a- na dan- nu- ti su- un
the mountain fixed their stronghold,

92. nam (v. ri?) - ri - ri Assur va Istar beli ya
the terror of Assur and Ishtar my lords

93. is- ṭu- ub su- nu- ti ul- tu sad- e a- sar
overwhelmed them; from the mountain the place

94. mar- ki- ti su- un in - nab- tu- niv- va iz- ba- tu
of their refuge they fled and took

95. niri ya a- na mitpanu ak- zur su- nu- ti e- li
my yoke; to the bow I appointed them, over

96. ki- zir šaru (u) - ti ya sa u - mal- lu u
the body of my kingdom which filled

qatu (v. qa- tu) - u a u - rad- di
my hand I spread.

Extract from K, 1364.

a. Tam-ma- ri- tu ahi su qi- nu su ziri bit abí su
Tammaritu, his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house,
244 ASSURBANIPAL.

va rubi a [li kut idi su] 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 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] a-na
Erech; to [Elam] to

Um-man-al-da-si şar Elam as-pur su va
Ummanaldas king of Elam I sent him, and

ul * * * * * * * sal-si a-nu ina saplita 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] 14 alani dan-nu-ti
to [Elam I went]; fourteen cities, strong,

seats of their royalty, &c.
ASSURBANIPAL.

Epigraph over Warriors Destroying a City, and Carrying off Spoil.

1. Ha-ma-nu alu šar-u-ti sa Elam
   Hamanu the royal city of Elam,

al-mi aksud as-lu-la sal-lat šu 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

zu-um mi-rat lib bi su Di-in-[šar]
the desire of his heart. Dinsar,

3. alu sa Elam al [mi] ak-[su-ud]
   a city of Elam, I besieged, I captured,

alu sa Elam al [mi] ak-[su-ud]

ruqubi zu-um-bi susi war chariots, horses and
ASSURANIPAL.

5. pare [u-se-za] av va sal-las * TI mules, I brought out and as spoil I counted.

K, 3404, Variant Passage for Cylinder A, Column VII, Lines 19 to 27.


b. edin immi sanu immi ul u qi pa-an-si * * * * One day, two days, I did not move, the face * * * *

c. In those days, across the river, fourteen cities, &c.

K, 3062.

a. [Zalam Tam-ma-ri-tu] arku [u] [A statue of Tammaritu] the later,

b. [sa ina ki-bit] Assur [va] Istar [ul-tu] [who by command] of Assur [and] Ishtar, [from the

c. [ki rib] Elam in -nab-tu va [niri ya midst] of Elam fled, and my yoke
iz-ba-tu e-pu-su ardu-u-ti ul-tu took, doing homage to me; [from the


zalam Hal-lu šu šar Elam an-nu-u [A statue] of Halludus king of Elam, the one

[sa a-na] Assur ig-bu-du li mut-tu [who against] Assyria had devised evil,

[eli] Sin ahi irba šar Assur abu abi [against] Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather

bani ya [e-bu]-su zi lu u pu su sa my begetter, he had made war. His mouth, which

is-ni-iz-zu ak kiš şapti su sa

*, I cut off; his lips, which

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

mit-ḫu-zi Assur a-na da lá li fight Assyria. For the exalting of
ASSURBANIPAL.

Extract from Dispatch of Officer to King. K, 10.

a. De-emu sa Elam ig-ta-bu

News of Elam they told

b. um-ma Um-man-ni gas ablu A-mi dir-ra

thus: "Ummannidas son of Amidirra

c. si-ihu a na eli Um-ma-hal-da a-su

a revolt against Ummanaldas

d. i-te-pu-us ul-tu Hu-ut-ihu 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.

g. Um-ma-hal-da a-su e-mu-ki su ki-i

Ummanaldas his forces then
ASSURANIPAL.

u-pah-hir a-du-u ina eli nahr a-na
gathered. Now across the river in

tar-zi a-ha-mis na-du-u Ba-sa-za
front of each other they are placed.” Basaza

sa a-na e-kal as-pu-ra de-en su-nu
whom to the palace I send, their news

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.

60 kas-pu qaq-qa-ru ki-rib Elam
Sixty kaspu of ground within Elam

u-sah-rib I laid waste, destruction, servitude and drought

dab-u eblitu hasasu

u-sap-pi-ха zir-us-su-un Na-na-a
I poured over them, Nana

sa 1,535 sanat an-na-i
who 1,535 years

2K
ki-rib Elam ta-ai-rat Ilu-ti sa
in Elam. The return of her divinity

in Elam. The return of her divinity

she entrusted to me. The will of her divinity, which

from days remote she had uttered; again

she spoke to later people. The hands of

Na-na-a Uzur amat sa (v. U -zur-a-mat-ša)
Nana, Uzuramatsa

Ilu Arka -ai-i-tu Ilu ar-ka-ai-i-tu
the Erechite God,

at-mu-uš va, &c.
I took hold of; and, &c.

sa ni-is Illi rabati la [ip-lu-hu va]
who the worship of the great Gods did not [fear],

EXTRACT FROM K, 2631.
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

14. su [it-ta-ki-lu] a-na es-re-e-ti
[trusted] on the temples of

Akkad qat su id-du-u va u-sal-pi-tu
Akkad his hands he had laid, and he oppressed

Akkad * * * * * 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 * * * * * ya-a-ti
under the Elamites [she remained. The great Gods] of me

Assur-bani-pal rubu pa-la-h su-un a-na sa-pa-a-h
Assurbanipal the prince their worshipper, to overwhelm

18. u-ma-hi-ir-u in-ni va kakki
[Elam] they sent me, and soldiers

not * * * * *
K, 359. **LETTER FROM UMMANALDAS TO ASSURBANIPAL.**

1. Sar Um-man-al da-si sar Elam  
   From Ummanaldas king of Elam

2. a-na Assur-bani-pal sar 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 Martenii

4. ih-ti id-du u-nik-ka Nabu-bel-zikri  
   had sinned and fought (?) Nebobelzikri,

5. a-na a-ḫu-la na-az zu-u-ni bir-ti  
   to get away, they were flying (?) by the border

6. bir-ti Elam us-ša-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 us-ši-bi-la ka nis  
   Nebobelzikri I will surrender to thee.

The
Mar-te-na-ai sa ultu ris Nabu-bel-zikri
Martendi who from the first Nebobelzikri

10. a-na Elam na-az-izu
to Elam in flight

u-uzu-ni nisi ya i-ba-as-si
fled my people being

sa ina eli me nisi ya i-ba-as-si
over against the water into the interior of

su-nu e-tar-bu sal(id?) ri(su?) ina La-hiri
their ears entered the same in Lahiri

it-tah-uzu-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;

ana-ku ina qati su-nu va sum-ma
were I in their hands and when the
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-nanhundi, an early Elamite monarch, and had remained either 1635 or 1535 years in the hands of the Elamites; and therefore the date of Kudurnanhundi 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 šn or šn becoming š; the name is sometimes written in the Susian Inscriptions \[\text{Hal-lu-du-us}\].
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. EN EK EN KE KI EN KE KI EN KE KI EN KE KI
I-na 9 gar-ri ya ad-ki umman ya
In my ninth expedition I gathered my army,

98. ZIR U-ai-te eh gar 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-UDABTU E-PU-SU-us la iz-zur-u va
had sinned; the benefits done to him he did not regard, and

101. IZ-LE-a NIRU BEL-(u) -TI ya sa
threw off the yoke of my dominion.

102. When
Assur had set him up to perform my pleasure,
a-na sa-ha-al sul-mi (v. me) ya sepu su to seek my alliance his feet

ip-ru-us va ik-la-a ta-mar-ti broke off, and he ended his

man-da-at ta su ka-bit-tu (v. tu) ki-i presents and great tribute.

Elam da-bab sur-ra-a-ti Akkad
Elam was speaking sedition with Akkad,
is-mi va la iz-zu-ra a-di-ya he heard and disregarded my agreement.
y-a-ti Assur-bani-pal sur sangu ellu re-e-su Of me Assurbanipal, the king, the noble priest, the

mud nin-nu-u bi-nu-tu qati Assur u-vas-sir powerful leader, the work of the hands of Assur, he left

an-ni va a-na A-bi-ya-te-eh Ai-mu abli me, and to Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of

Te-ha ri e-mu-ki it-ti su-nu-ti a-na Tehari, his forces with them to
Assurbanipal.

111. Saul - mu - gi - na
the help of

112. ahi nak - ri is - pur va
my rebellious brother he sent, and

set his face.

113. nisi A - ri - bi
The people of Arabia

with him he caused to revolt,

114. va ih - ta - nab - ba - ta
and carried away the
plunder of the people

115. sa Assur Istar va Ili rabati
whom Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods

had given me,

116. riu - si - na e - pi - su
their government I had ruled,

and they were in

117. qa - tu - u a
my hand.

By command of Assur and Ishtar

118. umman ya ina gi - ra - a
my army in the region of

Azaran,

119. Hi - ra - ta - a - qa - za - ai
Hirataqaza,

in Edom, in the

120. ni - rib Ya - ab - ru - du
neighbourhood of Yabrud,
in Beth Ammon,
ASSURBANIPAL.

121. ina na-ge-e sa Ha-ur-ri-na ina
in the district of the Hauran,
in
Mu-ha-a-ba ina Sa-ha-ar-ri
Moab, in Saharri,

122. ina Ha-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

2. su it bu-u-ni u-ra-(aš-) šib ina kakki
him came, I destroyed with the sword;

3. 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.
6. **The tents, the pavilions, their dwellings,**

7. **a fire they raised, and burned in the flames.**

8. **Uaiteh, misfortune happened to him, and alone he fled to Nabatea.**

9. **Uaiteh son of Hazail, brother of the father**

10. **Vaiteh son of Birvul, who**

11. **himself appointed to the kingdom of Arabia;**

12. **Assur king of the Gods the strong and mighty, a decree**

13. **repeated, and he came to**

14. **my presence. To satisfy the law of Assur**
and the great Gods my lords, a heavy judgment

took him, and in chains I placed him, and

I bound him, and

caused him to be kept in the great gate in the midst of Nineveh

And he

brought

to fight the kings of Syria,

whom Assur and Ishtar the great Gods had entrusted

to me. In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,

Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of
Kit-muri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal

Nusku, his overthrow I accomplished. Himself and Nusku,

bal-du-us-su it-ti [Adiya] allat alive with [Adiya] the wife of

U-ai-te-eh sar Ar-ri-bi iz-ba-tu-niv-va Vaithe king of Arabia, they captured and

u-bil-uni a-di mah-ri ya ina ki-bit brought to my presence. By command

Ili rabati beli ya ul-li kalbi of the great Gods my lords, with the dogs

as-kun su va u-sa-an-zir su si-ga-ru I placed him, and I caused him to be kept chained.

ina ki-bit Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya By command of Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,

sa A-bi-ya-te-eh Ai-mu abli Te-he-ri of Abiyateh and Aimu sons of Tehari,

sa a-na ri-zu-(u)-tu Saul-mu-gi-na who to the help of Saulmugina
33. 𒀭مري𒈬𒆠 asī nak-ri a-na e-rib Bab-il-il
my rebellious brother to enter Babylon

34. 𒀭مري𒈬𒆠 il-liku ri-ze-e su a-duk abikta su
my rebellious brother went;
his helpers I slew, his overthrow

35. 𒈬𒆠 as-kun ši-it tu-ti sa-ki-rib
I accomplished. The remainder who into

36. 𒈬𒆠 Bab-il-il e ru bu ina su-un-ki
Babylon entered, in want and

37. 𒈬𒆠 hu suh-ḫi e-ku lu šeri a-ḥa-mis a-na
hunger eat the flesh of each other. To

38. 𒈬𒆠 su-zu-ub napis-ti su-nu ul-tu ki-rib
save their lives, from the midst of

39. 𒈬𒆠 Bab-il-il u zu niv va
Babylon they came out, and

40. 𒈬𒆠 e-mu-ki ya sa ina eli Saul-mu-gi-na
my forces which around Saulmugina

41. 𒈬𒆠 sak-nu sa-ni-(ya)-a-nu abikta su is-ku-nu va
were placed, a second time his overthrow accomplished; and

42. 𒈬𒆠 su- u e-dis ip-par-sid va a-na su-zu-ub
he alone fled, and to save
41. napis-ti su iz-ba-tu niri ya re-e-mu
   his life took my yoke. Favour

42. ar-si su va a-de-e ni-is Ili rabati
   I granted him and an agreement to worship the great Gods

43. u-sa-az-kir su va ku-um U-ai-te-eh
   I caused him to swear, and instead of Vaitêh

44. ina * * a-na şaru- (u) -ti A-ri-bi
   or anyone, to the kingdom of Arabia

45. as-kun va va su-u it-ti
   I appointed. And he with the

46. Na-ba-ai-ta-ai pi-i su is-kun
   Nabateans his face set,

47. va ni-is Ili rabati la ip-luh va
   and the worship of the great Gods did not fear, and

48. ina tugul-ti Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
   In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

49. Istar sa Ninua Il sar-rat Kit-mu-ri
   Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,
Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

Na-ad-nu šar Na-ba-ai-ti sa a-sar su
Nathan king of Nabatea, whose place was

ru-u-qu sa U-ai-te eh a-na
remote, of whom, Vaiteh to

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:

sa ma-te (v.ti) e ma a-na šarri abi ya
who in time past to the kings my fathers,

a-mir su la is-pu-ra la is-(ha)-a-lu
his envoy did not send, and did not seek

(v.lü) su-lum šaru-ti su-un ina pu-luḥ-ti
alliance with their kingdom; in fear of the

kakki Assur ka-si-du-ti
soldiers of Assur capturing

ba-qa-av-va is- ha-a-la su-lum šaru-ti ya
he tore and sought alliance with my kingdom.
Abiyateh son of Teheri did not see the benefits, disregarding the oath of the great Gods, and the rabati * * * * * dabtu la na zir ma-mit.Ili

"dabtu la na zir ma-mit Ili rabati,

* * * benefits, disregarding the oath of the great Gods,

he spoke, and

seditious words against me

his face with Nathan king of Nabatea

he set; and their forces they gathered

to commit evil against my border.

By command of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

my army I gathered; against Abiyateh
ASSURBANIPAL. 267

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)

70. sal-mis (v. sal-mi-is) lu-u e-bi-ru ir-du u
peacefully they crossed, they marched,

71. har-sa-a-ni sa-qu-ti ih-tal-lu bu
the lofty country, they passed through

72. kisti sa zu-lul si-na rap-su
the forests, of which their shadow was vast,

73. bi-rit izi rabati gi-iz-zu
bounded by trees great and strong, and vines (?) a

74. mur-ra-an iz-id-de-e-tu e-te-it-ti qu
road of mighty wood. They went

75. ana nakiri Vas a-sar zu-um-mi dan-dan-ti
the rebels of Vas, a place arid and very difficult,

76. sa iżzur same la
where the bird of heaven had not

imiri
wild
77.asses they found not in it.
78.100 kaspu of ground, from Nineveh the city
79.na-ram Is tar hi-rat Bel the delight of Ishtar, wife of Bel; against
80.(v. arku) U-ai-te-eh šar A-ri bi
81.(v. after) Vaiteh king of Arabia
82.(v. ku) ir-du u il-li-ku ina arah Šivanu
83.(v. 2) arah Sin ablu ris-te-e a-sa-ri-du sa the month of Sin the eldest son and first of
84.(v. 3) Bel immi 25 sa da-hu sa be lat Bel, the twenty-seventh day, on the festival of the lady of
85.Bab-ilu ka-bit-ti Ili rabati Babylon, the mighty one of the great Gods.
86. \( \begin{align*} \text{ul-tu (v. ultu)} & \quad \text{Ha-da-at-ta-a-at-tu zir} \\
\text{From} & \quad \text{Hadatta I departed;} \\
\end{align*} \)

87. \( \begin{align*} \text{ina La-ri-ib da bit-dur sa abni} \\
\text{in Laribda a tower of stones,} \\
\end{align*} \)

88. \( \begin{align*} \text{ina eli gu ub-ba-a ni sa me at ta di} \\
\text{over against lakes of water; I pitched} \\
\end{align*} \)

89. \( \begin{align*} \text{us-man-ni umman ya me a-na mas-ti ti su-nu} \\
\text{my camp. My army the waters for their drink} \\
\end{align*} \)

90. \( \begin{align*} \text{ih-bu va ir-du-u il li-ku qaq qar} \\
\text{desired, and they marched and went over} \\
\end{align*} \)

91. \( \begin{align*} \text{zu um-mi (v. me) a-sar dan-dan-ti a-di} \\
\text{arid ground, a place very difficult, to} \\
\end{align*} \)

92. \( \begin{align*} \text{Hu-ra ri-na bi rit Ya-ar ki} \\
\text{Hurarina near Yarki,} \\
\end{align*} \)

93. \( \begin{align*} \text{va Ai-al-la ina Vas as ru ru-u-qu} \\
\text{and Aialla in Vas, a place remote,} \\
\end{align*} \)

94. \( \begin{align*} \text{a-sar u-ma-am zin la ib ba-(as) su-u} \\
\text{a place the beast of the desert was not in,} \\
\end{align*} \)

95. \( \begin{align*} \text{va izzur same la i sak-kan (v. ka-nu) qi-nu} \\
\text{and a bird of heaven had not fixed a nest.} \\
\end{align*} \)
abikta    I - şa - am - mi - ih    halu(?)
The overthrow of the Isammih, the servants

sa    A - tar - şa - ma - ai - in    va    (v. va)
of Adarsamain, and the

Na ba - ai - ta - ai    as - kun    nisi
Nabateans I accomplished. People,

imiri    gammali    va    ze - e - ni
asses, camels, and sheep,

(v. جزاء)    hu - bu - (uş-)    şu - nu    ina    la    mi - ni
their plunder innumerable;

aḥ - bu - ta    8    kas - pu    qaq - qa - ru    umman    ya
I carried away. Eight kaspu of ground, my army

lu - u    it - tal - la - ku    sal - dis    sal - mis
marched victoriously, peacefully

i - tu - ru - niv - va    ina    Ai - al - li
they returned, and in Aialli

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) - qu - ti
Aialli to Quraziti.
ASSURANIPAL.

103. six kaspuru of ground, a place arid and very difficult,

104. they marched and went The worshippers(?) of

105. Adarsamain, and the Kidri

106. of Vaitel, son of Birvul

(v. Bir - da - ad - da) king of Arabia, I besieged;

107. his Gods, his mother, his ladies, his wife, his kin,

108. the people in the midst all, the asses,

109. camels, and sheep; all

110. in the service of Assur and Ishtar my lords

111. The road to Damascus
112. 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,
u-be-tu sa šar Ili Maruduk ul-tu the festival of the king of the Gods, Merodach, from
nu-be-tu sa šar Ili Maruduk ul-tu the festival of the king of the Gods, Merodach, from

113. Di-mas-qa at-tu zir 6 kas-pu qaq-qa-ru Damascus I departed. Six kaspu of ground

114. ina mati si-na ka la sa ar-de-e va in their country all of it I marched, and

115. al-lik a-di Hul-łu li ti ina went to Hulhuliti. In

116. Hu-uk-ku-ru na sad-u mar-zu Hukkuruna, the rugged mountain,

117. ha-lu sa A bi ya-te-eh ablu the servants of Abiyateh son of

118. Te-ha-ri Kid-ra-ai ak-su-ud (v.sud) Tehari of Kedar I captured;

119. abikta su as-kun as-lu-la sal-lat šu his overthrow I accomplished, I carried off his spoil.
ASSURBANIPAL.

A-bi-ya-te-eh Ai-mu abli Te-ha-ri
Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of Tehari,

by command of Assur and Ishtar my lords, in the

121. A-bi-ya-te-eh Ai-mu abli Te-ha-ri

Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of Tehari,

in a ki-bit Assur va Istar beli ya ina

by command of Assur and Ishtar my lords, in the

qabal tam-ha-ri bal-du-sun u-zaab-bit ina qa-ti
midst of battle alive I captured in hand.

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 matisu-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

kakki ya in-nab-tu ib ba-hu va iz-ba-tu
my soldiers fled, ascended(?) and took to

3. my soldiers fled, ascended(?) and took to

4. Hu-uk-ku-na sad-u mar zu ina
Hukkuruna the rugged mountain. In

5. Hu-uk-ku-na sad-u mar zu ina
Hukkuruna the rugged mountain. In

6. La-an-ha-ab-bi * * * * ru * * * * * an
Laanhabbi * * * * * * *

2 N
Lines 7 to 25 are lost, only the following ends of eight lines remain:

- ** u ** u va ** la ** su-nu
- ** * * * and ** * * * them
- * * iz - zi - tu * * gammali
- * * strong * * camels
- * * * * * * qu
- * * * * * * su
- * * * * * * *

- alpi ze - e ni imiri gammali
  oxen, sheep, asses, camels

- a-mi - lu - tu is - lu - lu - u - ni ina la mi - ni
  and men, they carried off without number.

- * * hi ip matu ka - la - mu a - na * * hir - ti su
  The sweeping of all the country through its extent,

- um - da - al lu u a na pat gim - ri sa
  they collected through the whole of it.

- gam-mal - i kima ze e ni u - par - ri - iz
  Camels like sheep, I distributed and

- u - za - hi iz a na nisi Assur
  caused to overflow to the people of Assyria
32. qa-bal ti mati ya gammal dwelling in my country. A camel for half a shekel,

33. ina ½ * * kas-pi i-sam-mu ina bab ma-hi-ri in half shekels of silver, they valued in front of the gate;

34. zu-ud-mu ina ni-id-ni nakmi(?) ina ha-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

37. a-mi-lu-tu men.

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. u-sam-kit Ninip qar-du şu un-[ki Ninip the warrior destroyed, in want
43. 

and famine their lives were spent, and

for their food they eat the flesh of their children.

44. With a curse?

With a curse(?) * * * * * * * * *

45. in the house of Assur father of [the Gods] * * * them

46. Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

47. Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

48. Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, Nusku,

49. camels(?) strong, oxen and sheep, more than

seven the sacrificers sacrificed, and
Assurbanipal.

51.  sı - 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,

53.  is - ta - na - ha - a - lü a - ha - mis  um - ma
addressed each other thus:

54.  ina eli me - ne - e ki i ip - se - tu  an - ni - tu
"Concerning the number of these evil things,

55.  limut - tu im ḫu - ru A - ri - bi  um - ma as - su
which happened to Arabia, because

56.  a - de - e rabati sa Assur la ni - iz - şu - ru
the great agreements with Assur we have not regarded;

57.  ni ḫu - du - u ina dašt bu Assur - bani - pal şar
and we have sinned against the benefits of Assurbanipal, the king,

58.  na - ram lib - bi Bel  Belat ri - im - tu
the delight of the heart of Bel."

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. "man-za-zu u - na-qab (v. qab?) nakiri ya ina is established: pierced my enemies with

62. garni sa bi-ra-a-te Istar a-si-bat Arba-il horns of iron. Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,

63. isati _— lab-bu-sat * * * * * * na-sa-at with fire clothed;

64. eli A-ri bii - za-an nun nab li upon Arabia poured down.

65. Uruki qar-du a-nun-tu ku-uz-zur va Uruki the warrior, mourning caused and

66. Nin-ip tar-ta-hu qar-ra-du rab-u Ninip fierce, in war great,

67. ablu Bel ina uz-zi su kap-ti the son of Bel; with his mighty arrows

68. u-par-ri-[ir] na-pis-ti nakiri ya destroyed the life of my enemies.

69. Nusku suqul na-ha-du mu-sa-bu-u bel-u-ti Nusku the glorious messenger, sitting in dominion;
ASSURBANIPAL

70. sa ina ki-bit Assur Belat * * * bit
who by command of Assur and Beltis * * * *

71. qa-sit-tu Be-lat * * * ki ida ai
The archer, the Goddess of * * * * my forces

72. 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 ti-bu-ut * * *
destroyed my enemies. The stroke * * *

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

77. sa ina e-[pis ta-ha-zu il-li] -ku
who in making [war], went to the

78. ri zu ti umman [ya U-ai-te-eh]
help of my army: Vaiteh

79. is-mu-u va eli [ip-se-e ti an na a-ti]
heard of, and over [these things]

80. ip-luh va ul-[tu Na ba-ai-ti]
feared, and from [Nabatea
280 ASSURBANIPAL.

81.  

u - se] - za - av - va ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul 
I] brought out, and in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,

82.  

Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua II šar - rat Kit-mu- ri 
Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

83.  

Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku 
Ishtar of Arbaela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

84.  

* * * * us šu 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 - ha - ru ina ki - bit Assur va Belat 
* * * fought. By command of Assur and Beltis,

87.  

ina iz - hu - ut - za(?) dan(?) * * * sa zi - bit qati ya 
with a mace(?) which was grasped by my hand.

88.  

šeri mi - zi su ab - lu - us ina du - uḫ 
the flesh coming out of him, his son, in sight of

(v. EY QT) <e DET SEM CIES YNT« TN 8 
(v. la - aḫ) eni su at - ta di zir - ri - tu. 
his eyes I struck down.

89.  

90.  

ul - li kalbi la ad - di su va ina bab 
With the dogs I did not place him, in the gate
zi - it Sam - si qabal Ninua sa of the rising sun, in the midst of Nineveh, which, 

Ni - rib-par - nak - ti - na - a - ti na bu - u zi - kar sa Nirib - parnakti- adnati is called its name; 

93. u - sa - an - žir su si - ga - ru (v. şi - gar- ru) I caused to keep him chained, 

94. a - na da - lal ta - us ti Assur Istar va to exalt the will of Assur, Ishtar and 

95. Ili rabati beli ya re - e - mu ar si the great Gods my lords. Favour I granted 

96. su va u - bal - liđ nap - sat şu ina him, and saved his life. On 

97. ta - ay - ar - ti ya U - su - u sa ina my return Usu, which by 

a - hi tam - ti id - da - at su - bat şu ak - su - ud (v. aksud) the side of the sea has its place, I captured. 

98. nisi U - su - u sa a - na sanuti su-nu The people of Usu, who to their prefects 

99. la ša - an - qu la i - nā - di - nu man - da - at tu were not reverent, and did not give the tribute,
ASSURBANIPAL.

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 Ili su-nu 
un submissive, chastisement I inflicted. Their Gods

102. 

nisi su-nu as-lu-la a-na Assur nisi 
and their people I carried off to Assyria. The people of

103. 

nisu su-nu as-lu-la a-na Assur nisi 

104. 

Ak-ku-u la kan-su-ti a-nar pagri 
Akko unsubmissive, I destroyed. Their bodies

105. 

su-nu ina ga-si-si a-lul si-hir-ti ali 
in the dust I threw down; the whole of the city

106. 

u-sal-mi si-it-tu-ti su-nu al-qa-a 
I quieted. The rest of them I brought

107. 

a-na Assur a-na ki-zir ak-zur va 
to Assyria, in rank I arranged, and

108. 

eli umman ya ma-ha-da-a-ti sa 
over my numerous army, which

109. 

Assur i ki-sa u-rad-di Ai-mu ablu 
Assur strengthened, I spread. Aimu son of

110. 

Te-ha-ri it-ti A-bi-ya-te-eh ahu su 
Tehari, with Abiyateh his brother
ASSURBANIPAL.

283

i-zi-zu va it-ti umman ya e-pu-su taḫaz
had risen, and with my army had made war.

(v. 𒈠𒈠) 111. In the midst of battle,

(v. ta-ḫa-zu) 112. ina qabal tam-ḫa-ri

In the midst of battle,

bal-du-us-su ina qati az-bat ina Ninua
alive in hand I captured; in Nineveh

alu bel-.utc yi ma-sak (v. masak) su as-ḫu-ud
the city of my dominion his skin I tore off:

CYLINDER B, COLUMN VII.

87. Ya-u-ta-ah ablu Ha-za-il šar
Yautah son of Hazael king of

88. Qi-id-ri e-pis ardu-ti ya as-su Ili su
Kedar, made submission to me; for his Gods,

89. sa abu ba-nu-u a is-lu-lu im-ḫar an ni va
which the father my begetter had carried off, he prayed me, and

90. u-zal-la-a šar-u-ti sumi Ili rabati
submitted to my kingdom. The names of the great Gods

91. u-sa-az kir su-(u) va
I made him swear by, and

92. A-tar-ša-ma-in
Adarsamain
I restored and gave him. Afterwards against my agreement

he sinned, and benefits did not regard, and threw off

the yoke of my dominion. To seek

my alliance his feet broke off, and he discontinued

he caused to revolt, and carried away the

plunder of Syria. My army which on the

me šir mati su as-bu u - ma - he - e - ra

border of his country was stationed, I sent

against him;
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. bit - žin zir - ta - ri mu - sa - bi su - nu kamu
   the tents, the pavilions, their dwellings, a fire

4. u - sa - hi - zu ip - ki - du a - na isati alpi
   they raised and gave to the flames. Oxen,

5. ze e - ni imiri gam - mal - i a - mi - lu tu
   sheep, asses, camels and men,

6. is - lu - lu - u - ni ina la mi - ni ši - hi ip matu
   they carried off without number. The sweeping of all the

7. 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,
and caused to overflow to the people of Arabia

A camel for half a shekel in half shekels of silver they valued in front of the gate

the sale of captives among the strong gathered?

in droves, they bartered camels

and men the Arabians

who from the face of my soldiers fled;

Ninip the warrior destroyed.

famine] their [life] was passed, and for their food they eat the flesh of their children
ASSURBANIPAL.

20. * * * * * ru * * * * Istar sa Ninua
    * * * * * * * * * Ishtar of Nineveh

21. * * * * Istar sa Ninua
    * * * * * * * * * Ishtar of Nineveh

22. Ya - u - ta - ah ma - ru - us - tu
    Yautah misfortune

23. im - hari su va e - dis - si su in - na - bit a - na
    happened to him, and alone he fled to

24. Na - ba - ai - ti A - bi - ya te - eh ablu
    Nabatean. Abiyateh son of

25. Te - he - ri a - na Ninua il - lik - av - va
    Tetheri, to Nineveh came and

26. u - na - as - siq sepri ya a - de - e e - pis
    kissed my feet. An agreement to make

27. ardu ti ya it - ti su as - kun ku um submission to me with him I made; instead of

28. Ya - u - ta - ah ina aiymma as - kun su ana sar - u - ti
    Yautah or any one, I appointed him to the kingdom.

29. huraz eni aban pi gu - uh - lu
    Gold, eyes of pi stone, guhlu,

30. gam - mal - i
    camels and

31. imiri bit - ridu - ti
    stallion asses,
288 ASSURBANIPAL.

30. tribute for every year I fixed

31. Ammuladin king of

32. Kedar, who like him also revolted

33. Hatti ina tugul-ti Assur Sin Samas Syria;

34. Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il

35. Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine

36. Nergal and Nusku; by the power of [my] name [which] Assur

37. had magnified, Kamazhalta(?) king of

38. Moab, a tributary dependent on me, in the
ASSURANIPAL.

289

tahaz žin is-ku-na abikta su Am-mu-la-di (in) battle field accomplished his overthrow. Ammuladin

şi-it-ti nisi su sa la pa-an da * * * * and the rest of his people, who from the face of * * * *

u-ni u-zab-bit ina qati qati va sepi bi ri-tu * * he captured in hand. His hands and feet in bonds of

parzil id-di va a-na Ninua a-di iron he placed, and to Nineveh to

mah ri ya u-se-bi-la Na-ad-nu šar my presence he sent. Nathan king of

Na-ba-ai ti sa a-sar su ru-u-qu Nabatea, whose place is remote,

is-ma-a da-na-an Assur Maruduk sa heard of the power of Assur and Merodach, who

u-tag-gil-u in ni sa ma-ti-ma a na protect me: who in times past to the

şarri abi ya a-mir su la is-pu-ra kings my fathers his envoy did not send,

la is-a-lû su-lum šaru ti su-un e nin-na and did not seek alliance with their kingdom. Again
290 ASSURBANIPAL.

52. 

ya-a-ti a-mir su sa sul-mi is-pu-rav-va to me his envoy for alliance he sent; and

53. u-na-as-siq sepi ya a na sa-kan a-de-e kissed my feet. To establish agreement and

54. su-lum-me-e e-pis ardu-ti ya u-za-na-al-la-a alliance, and make submission to me, he submitted to

55. be-lu-u-ti a na-ku ha-dis ap-pa-lis su va my dominion. I gladly received him, and

56. pa ni ya damqati eli su as-kun before me favours on him conferred,

57. belat man-da at-tu san-ti sam-ma taxes and tribute for every year

u kin zir-us-su I fixed upon him.

K, 2802, Column II. Variant Passage for Cylinder B, Column VIII, Lines 31 to 52.

a. Am-mu-la di-in šar Qa-ad-ri Ammuludin king of Kedar,

b. sa ki ma sa-a-su va ik-ki-ru who like him also revolted;
ASSURANIPAL.

291

c. iḥ ta - nab - ba tu hu bu - ut Hatti carried away the spoil of Syria,
d. ardi da - giₜ pa - ni ya sa tu sak - ni - sa the tributaries dependent on me, whom thou hast subdued

f. a - na niri ya ina zì 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 și it ti had magnified, Ammuladın and the rest of

h. nisi su sa la pā - an da * * * * nab - tu - u - ni his people, who from the face of the * * * * fled,
i. u - zab - 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. Adiya queen of Arabia, [her] numerous

m. [sa] ma - ha - aₜ - šu ad - duk zir - ta re - e sa fighting men I slew, her pavilions

n. ina isati ak - mu sa - a - sa bal du us ša ina in the fire I burned, her alive in
qati az -bat it ti hu -bu-ut [A-ri -bi as]-si
hand I captured, and with the spoil of [Arabia] I carried

a-na Assur Na-ad-nu sar Na-ba-ai-ti
to Assyria. Nathan king of Nabatea,

sa a-sar su ru -u-qu is-me-e va
whose place was remote; heard also of
da-na an Assur sa u-tag-gil an-ni sa
the power of Assur who protected me: who
ma-te-e-ma a-na sharri abi ya
in time past to the kings my fathers,

a-mir su la is-pu-ru la is-a-lu su-lum
his envoy did not send, and did not seek alliance

sar u ti su-un ul-tu U ai-te-eh sar
with their kingdom. On Vaiteh king of

A-ri -bi de-en su tu-sa-an-nu tag bu-u
Arabia, his sentence thou didst pronounce, thou didst

sa-pa-ah mati su a-na Na-ba-ai-ti
command to waste his country. To Nabatea

in-nab-tu il-li-ku ma-har Na-ad-nu
he fled, and came before Nathan.
ASSURBANIPAL.

Na-ad-nu a-na U-ai-te-eh ki-a-am
Nathan to Vaithe 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-bi [ru-qu-ut-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,
I passed through the forests, of which their shadow was vast; bounded by trees great and strong, and vines (?) a road of mighty wood.

I went to the midst of Vas, a place arid and very difficult, where the birds of heaven and wild asses are all there is in it. 100 kaspu

of ground from Nineveh, the city the delight of Ishtar

wife of Bel; against Vaiteh king of

Arabia I marched and went.
ASSURBANIPAL

Extract from K, 2802, Column III. Variant for Cylinder A, Column VIII, Lines 95 to 97.

a. di-ik-tu ina lib I ša-am-mi ih
   The fighting men among the Isammih,

b. halu (?) A-tar-sa-ma-ai-in va
   the servants of Adarsamain, and the

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 šar 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 ḫa-dis * * * * *
   to Nineveh the city of my dominion, joyfully * * * * *

d. A-na-ku Assur-bani-pal šar Assur A di-ya-a
   I Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Adiya
šar - [rat Ar i - bi] it - ti ḫu - ub - ti sa
queen [of Arabia] with her spoil,

ina ki - bit Assur va Istar ik - su - du • • • • •
by command of Assur and Ishtar I captured • • • • •

Adiya queen of Arabia, her numerous

[sa ma - ha - aş - şu ad - duk] zir - ta - re - e sa
fighting men I slew, her pavilions in the

ina isati ak - mu sa - a - sa bal - [du - uş - sa
fire I burned, her alive

ina qati az - bat
in hand I captured.

(A at the bottom of the tablet occurs the following notice of
the place of these Epigraphs.)

sa ina eli iguri sa Bit - sa • • •
which were upon the chamber-walls of Bitsa • • •

K, 562.

1. A - na šar matati be - eli ya
To the king of the earth, my lord,

2. arad ka
thy servant
Bel - zikir - esir Bel va Maruduk immi
Belzikiresir.

araku sanat an - na - i da - ra - a - ti
of days, years everlasting,

iz-sa - pa i - sar - tu kuzzu da - ru - u a - na
a sceptre of justice, and an everlasting throne, to the

šar matati be - eli ya lit ki - nu a - na eli sa
king of the earth, my lord, may they establish. Concerning that of

šar be - eli a ðe - e - mi is - kun an - ni
which the king my lord gave directions to me

um - ma ðe em sa Ar - a - bi ma - la
thus: "The news of the Arabians, all

ta - sim - mu - u sapra a - lak - ti si - i
thou hearest, send the account of it."

From the Nabateans there is

hir - za - a Ai - ka - ma - ru abl su sa
news; Aikamaru son of

Am - mi - ha - ta ah Vas - ha ai a - na
Ammihatah the Vasite,
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 Vaithe, 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.

Vaithe, 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 kaspū (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. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 66.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN IX.

113. Um-man-al-das šar Elam

114. sa ul-tu ul-la Assur va Istar beli ya

115. ig bu-u e-pis ardu-u-ti ya

116. ilu-ti su-nu žir-ti sa la in-nin-nu-u

117. arka-nu mat şu eli su ip-pal-kit va

afterwards his country against him revolted, and
118. 'la pa-an šah-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 ki-ma
the place he fled to, like

122. ra-pa-qaq izzur a-mas-su va
a rapaqaq bird I removed, and

Column X.

1. bal-du-us-[su 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-ḥa-[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. I subjugated my yoke. Vaitinch

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 * * *

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

10. (v. belu-ti) su-ûn ma ḫar Belat umma their power, before Belat, mother

11. Ili rabati ḫi-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

14. su-nu ti a-di bab e-sir is-du-du ina them, and to the gate of the temple they dragged. On
sitti ya al bi in ap-pi at-ta-hi-id
my feet I made invocation, I glorified

Ilu-us-su-un u-sa-pa-a dan-nu-us-su-un
their divinity, I praised their power,

ina puhr umman ya sa Assur Sin Samas Vul
in the assembly of my army; of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,

Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua II shar-rat
Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of

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

Nusku sa la kan-su ti ya u-sak-ni-su
and Nusku, who the unsubmitting to me, subjugated

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.

Bit-mas-masu Assur-bani-pal šar Assur rubu pa-luh sa
Bitmasmasu, Assurbanipal king of Assyria, the prince her worshipper,

2. (v. bi-nu-ut) qati sa sa ina ki-be (v. bi-ki) -ti
the high priest, the work of her hands, who by her great

sa rab-tu ina qit-ru-ub ta ha-zik ki-šu
command, in the midst of war had cut off

(v. ikkišu) qaqqadu Te-um-man šar Elam
the head of Teumman king of Elam.

va Um-man-i-gas Tam-ma-ri-tu Pa-he-e
And Ummanigas, Tammariti, Pahe,

Um-man-al das sa arku Te-um-man epusu
and Ummanaldas, who after Teumman ruled

(v. e-pu-su) šaru-ut Elam ina tugul-ti sa rab-tu
the kingdom of Elam; in her great service

qa-ti (v. qati) iksud şu-nu-ti va ina iz-sa
my hands captured them, and to my war

sa-da di (v. sadadi) ru-du šaru-ti ya azbat (v. az-bat)
chariot, my royal carriage, I fastened

Şu-nu-ti va ina zik-ri sa kab-ti ina kul-lat matati
them. And in her grand might, in all countries
I have marched, and a rival I have not. In those days

the altar of the house of Ishtar my lady,

of marble I carved its sculpture;

That altar before its sanctuary(?) I placed.

To me, Assurbanipal,

worshipping thy great divinity,

[give] health, long days, and sound

heart, worshipping and going to Bitmasmasu,

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 Tammaritu 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, Tammaritu, 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 Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas the Elamites, and Vaiteh the Arabian.
TABLE OF THE LATER ELAMITE ROYAL FAMILIES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HUMRANIGAS II, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 680-675.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istarnandi, king of Hidalu, killed cir. B.C. 655.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kudurru - Paru

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tammaritu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ummaladas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parah.</th>
<th>Ummalami.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Indabigas, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 648-647.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attamitu, a general.</th>
<th>Umbadu, a chief.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

* This Monarch is doubtful.
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. [As]-su Bit - rid -u- ti tim-ne-e e-kal [sa
Now Bitriduti, the private (?) palace of Ninua.]
32. [alu] zi - i - ru na - ram Is - tar
Nineveh, the grand city, the delight of Ishtar;
33. sa Sin - ahi - irba šar Assur abu abi
which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather
34. [e - pu-su] a - na mu- sab šaru - ti su
my begetter built for his royal seat;
35. [Bit rid -u- ti] su - a - tu ina immi ya - a - ti
that Bitriduti in my days
ASSURBANIPAL.


37. a-na ku Assur-bani-pal [šar] rab-u šar dan-nu I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king,

38. šar kis-[sa-ti šar Assur] šar 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, Shamas, Vul, Bel,

41. Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il-sar-rat Kit-mu-ri Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

42. Istar sa Arba-ša Ninip Nergal Nusku Ishtar of Arbeia, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

43. * * * * abil šar-u * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

44. zu-lul su-nu dabu * * * sa kal-la me * * * their good protection, * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

45. eli ya [is-ku-nu] ultu ina kuzzu abi bani ya over me: [fixed], when on the throne of the father my begetter
u - si - bu  i - te - ni - ib - bu-su va
I sat. They were made(?) and

nisi rapsati pu - ha - de - e
many people

sa qa - ti ya u - pa - sa
my hands

in ni ki - rib su ina ma - ha - al mu - si me within it. In all the night

ru - u - a mas - ta - ku su - a - tu mu - sal that mastaku

(v. tu) u va Ili rabati si - mat su

i - sim damqati an - hu - us - su heard(?) good, its decay

* * * as-su ru - up - pu - us (v. su) ri a-na to increase the

si - hir - ti su aq - qur 50 ti - ip - ki whole of it I destroyed. Fifty
mas-gan  si - kit - ti su  * * * * pi - ti - ig (v. tig)  
the building its sculpture  * * * * the work

ud- la [-a su u] -mal- li  la pa - an es - re - e
of the mound I completed. Before the temples of

Ili rabati beli ya  ap - lu - u  * * * * ud - la - a
the great Gods my lords I worshipped. * * * Of that

su - a - tu  si - kit - [ti su] ul - u sak - ki
mound its sculpture(?) I did not cut down

[re - e - su]  ina araḥ dabu im - mi se - me - e
its top. In a good month and a prosperous day,

(v. sime)  zir ud - la [-a su - a - tu]  ussi su ad - di
upon that mound its foundation I placed,

u - kin lab - na [-aṣ śu]  ina bi ris va
I fixed its brickwork. In biris and

ka - mis pi su ab  * * * *  am - ḫa - za
kamis its face I  * * *  I divided

sal-su  * * * *  ina zu - um - bi - i  Elam
in three(?)  * * *  in chariots of  Elam,

sa ina ki - bit  Ili rabati beli ya
which by command of the great Gods my lords
66. as-lu-la a-na e-pis Bit-ridu-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. šarri 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]-uš şu-un
    whom in the midst of battle alive I had

70. u-zab-bi-tu [ina qati] a-na-e-pis
    captured [in hand], to make

71. Bit-ridu-ti su-a-tu iz-al-lu mus-sik-ku
    heavy burdens

72. [u-sa-as-si su-nu-ti va] u-sa-az-bi-[tu]
    [I caused them to carry, and]

73. * * * * la-bi-in libni su * * * *
    * * * * building its brickwork * * * *

74. ina e-li-li nin-gu-ti ub * * * ina
    with dancing(?) and music * * * with

75. hidati ri-sa-a ti ul-tu [ussi su a-di
    joy and shouting, from [its foundation to
ASSURBANIPAL. 313

76. 

The roofing of the building was expanded. More than before.

77. 

I extended the building over it.

78. 

Gusuri erini zirati beams and great planks

79. 

The beams and great planks were extended from Sirara and Lebanon.

80. 

Doors of forest trees, over it.

81. 

Their wood excellent, a covering of copper

82. 

I spread over, and hung in its gates.

83. 

Great columns of bronze at the sides

84. 

Bit-rid-utu su-a-tu of the gates

85. 

That Bitriduti,

mu-sab [saru 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-al) - li finished, entirely I completed.

87. kiri puluq sa sa-sa-hi * * a-na mul-ta-u-ti Plantations choice, * * * * * * * for the glory of

88. saru-ti [ya] az-qu-pa i-ta-a-te-e-su my kingdom I planted like walls.

(v. EE FF FF FF) 89. aq-qa-a a-na Ili beli ya ina hidati I poured out to the Gods my lords. With joy and

90. ri-sa-a-ti u-sar-ri su e-ru-ub ki-rib shouting I completed it, I entered into

91. su ina za-rat tak-ne-e a-na arku im-mi (v. immi) it in a state palaquin(?) To after days,

92. ina sarri abli ya sa Assur va Istar a-na among the kings my sons, whomever Assur and Ishtar to the

93. be-lut mati va nisi i-nam-bu-u dominion of the country and people shall proclaim

94. zi-kir su e-nu va Bit-ridu-u-ti su-a-tu his name; when this Bitridutti becomes
ASSURBANIPAL.

315

old and decays, its decay he

shall repair, the inscription written of my name my father's and

my grandfather's, the remote descendant who

shall see, and an altar shall raise, sacrifice and libations shall pour out,

and with the inscription written of his name shall place;

the great Gods all in this inscription named,

like me also, shall establish to him

power and glory. Whoever

mu-ṣar-u si-dirs sumi ya abi ya abu abi ya
the inscription written of my name, my father's and my grandfather's,

destroys, and with his inscription does not
316 ASSURBANIPAL.

107. i-sak-ka-nu Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel
    place, Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,

108. Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il šar-rat Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of

109. Kit-mu-ri Istar sa Arba-š Arba-š Ninip
    Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,

110. 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. Araḫ Nisannu immi 1 Araḫ Nisannu immi 1 lim-mu
    Month Nisan, 1st day, eponym

112. Month Ellul, 28th day, eponym
    Samas-da-š in-an-ni sa-nat Akkadi
    Shamasdainani prefect of Akkad.

DATE ON ANOTHER COPY.

a. Araḫ Ululu immi 28 Araḫ Ululu immi 28 lim-mi
    Month Elul, 28th day, eponym

b. Month Bab-ili
    Samas-da-š in-an-ni sanat Bab-ili
    Shamasdainani prefect of Babylon.
ASSURANIPAL.

FRAGMENT OF COLUMN X, CYLINDER D. ON THE REPAIR
OF THE WALL OF NINIEH.

a. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
Ina im-mi su va dur qabal alu sa Ninua
In those days, the wall round the city of Nineveh,

b. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
sa Sin-ahī-irba šar Assur abu abi bani ya
which Sennacherib king of Assyria the grandfather begetting me,

c. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
e-pu-su sa ina zuñni dah-du-utī ra-ā-di
had made; which by copious rains and swelling

d. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
gab-su-ūti sa san- ti sam-ma ina pal-ya
floods, which every year in my time,

e. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
Vul u-mad-ā-ī-ra ina mati ya [tim-mi]-in
Vul poured down on my country; its foundation

f. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
su ir * * ub va i-qu-pa ri-sa-a su * * * *
had decayed and its top fallen in * * * *

g. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
la-ba ris illiku * * * su [tim-me-en] ad-ki
old it had become * * * * [the foundation] I put

h. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
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 * * *
318

**ASSURBANIPAL.**

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 - šar - u
the former days I strengthened its foundation, an inscription

n. [\[\[
si - dir sumi ya va ta - us - ti qar - ra - du - ti ya
written of my name and an account of my victories,

o. [\[\[
sa ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin Samas Bel Nabu
by which in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel, Nabu,

Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba - il Ninip
Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,

Nusku Nergal ina matati at - tal - la - ku as - ku - nu
Nusku and Nergal, in the countries I had marched through I had

da - na - nu va li - i - tu as - đur va a - na
established power and glory; I wrote, and to

p. [\[\[
q. [\[\[

aḥ - 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. Inscrip., 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.

Only one historical point of any importance results from these fragmentary notices. It appears from 48.11–4.282, that the Assyrians still retained possession of Babylonia after the death of Assurbanipal. The chronology of the reign of Assurbanipal is imperfect, from two causes—first, the fragmentary state of that part of the eponym canon which refers to this reign; and second, because the arrangement of the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal appears to be geographical rather than chronological. The eponym canon, which is perfect from the reign of Tugulti Ninip II to the third eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, there breaks off, and there is more or less uncertainty about all the names and fragments below this date.

The fragments of the eponym canon belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal, are as follows:

a. Part of Canon 1 (restored), the dates attached to these names are satisfactorily established—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Marlarmi,} & \quad \text{B.C. 668}.
\text{Gabbaru,} & \quad ,, \quad 667.
\text{Debitai} & \quad ,, \quad 666.
\end{align*}
\]
b. Part of Canon I (restored). The position and dates of these eponymes are uncertain; there were probably two names between a and b:—

\[
\begin{align*}
| \text{Year} | \text{Name} | \text{B.C.} | \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>663(?)</td>
<td>Bel-nahid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>662(?)</td>
<td>Dabu-sar-šin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>661(?)</td>
<td>Arbailai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>660(?)</td>
<td>Girzabu,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>659(?)</td>
<td>Silim-assur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{align*}
\]

c. Part of Canon III, which I should judge to extend from B.C. 657 to 648:—

\[
\begin{align*}
| \text{Year} | \text{Name} | \text{B.C.} | \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>657(?)</td>
<td>Sa-nabu-su</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>656(?)</td>
<td>Labasi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655(?)</td>
<td>Milki-ramu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654(?)</td>
<td>Amyanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>653(?)</td>
<td>Assur-nazir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>652(?)</td>
<td>Assur-ilai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651(?)</td>
<td>Assur-dur-uzur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650(?)</td>
<td>Sagabbu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649(?)</td>
<td>Bel-ḫarran-sadua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648(?)</td>
<td>Ahi-ilai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{align*}
\]

With Ahi-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 Bel-sumu, B.C. 647(?) ; and the governor of Samaria, Nabu-šar-ahi-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 eponymies 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, 'Ισινιλαδάνου or Κινιλαδάνου, 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 \( \begin{array}{l}
\text{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:} \\
\text{"To Assur-ah-iddina (Esarhaddon) my son, whom afterwards Assur-ebil-mukin-pal by name I called."} \\
\text{Another instance is the name \( \begin{array}{l}
\text{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-ahi-iriba instead of Sin-ahi-iriba.} \\
\text{K, 195, gives another illustration of this practice, as it records the other name of Assurbanipal, which is \( \begin{array}{l}
\text{(v. pal).} \\
\text{I have already given inscriptions (pp. 4 to 13) which state that Esarhaddon associated his son Assurbanipal with himself on the throne; in accordance with that fact there are several tablets of the reign of Esarhaddon in which Assurbanipal's name is joined with his own in adoration to the deity Shamas. On most of these tablets the name of Assurbanipal is written as usual, but on one of them (K, 195) the name is twice given Sininadinapal; and it is easy to see that the first part of this name, Sininadina, is the origin of Isiniladanus, the only material change} 
\end{array} \end{array} \end{array} \end{array} \)
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.

2. The name of Assurbanipal.

I have overlooked one form of the name of Assurbanipal, namely, \( Y \text{ YP owe CER} \) \( \text{Y \text{ --} Bete} \). This is found in the Akkad or Turanian version of a bilingual tablet (K, 4033). 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.

\( EVYY \text{ Dae} \) \( Yk, Bit-riduti. \)

The first character in this name signifies "house;" the second "phallus;" it probably meant "the harem." The first character \( EVYY \) 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.


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:

\( \text{MONTH NISAN OF} \) \( \text{ANU AND BEL.} \)

\( \text{MONTH IYYAR OF} \) \( \text{HEA, LORD OF MANKIND.} \)

\( \text{MONTH SIVAN OF SIN, ELDEST SON OF BEL.} \)

\( \text{MONTH TAMMUZ OF} \) \( \text{THE WARRIOR NINIP.} \)

\( \text{MONTH AB OF THE MISTRESS} \) \( \ast \ast \ast \ast \)

\( \text{MONTH ELUL OF} \) \( \text{ISHTAR, MISTRESS} \) \( \ast \ast \ast \ast \)
Tisri of Shamas, warrior of the universe.

Month Marchesvan of the ruler of all the Gods, Merodach.

Month Kislev of the great warrior Nergal.

Month Tebet of Papsukul, attendant of Anu and Ishtar.

Month Sebat of Vul, leader of heaven and earth.

Month Adar of the seven great Gods.

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):—

1st day of Anu and Bel.

2nd day of the Goddesses.

3rd day nu-be-tu of Merodach and Zirbanit.

4th day ud-ab-ab of Nebo.

5th day of Bel-esir and Belat-esir.

6th day of Vul and Sala.

7th day nu-be-tu of Merodach and Zirbanit.

8th day ud-ab-ab of Nebo.

9th day of Ninip and Gula.
of Belat-esir va Dayan.

11th day sa-lam-man-ni-ti of Urmit and Zirpanit.

12th day se-sa of Bel and Beltis.

13th day of Sin the great God.

14th day of Beltis and Nergal.

15th day of the lady of Bit-anna, kak-sa-rit of Sin the great God.

16th day nu-be-tu of (Merodach and) Zirpanit.

17th day ud-ab-ab of Nebo.

18th day sar of the Moon and Sun.

19th day ib-bu-u of Gula.

20th day zul-se-sa of the Moon and Sun.

21st day kak-sa-rit of the Moon and Sun.

22nd day kak-sa-rit of the Moon and Sun, sar of Belat-ekal.

23rd day sar of Shamas and Vul.

24th day of Bel-ekal and Belat-ekal.

25th day sa-da-bu of Bel and the lady of Babylon.

26th day ru-un-sun of Hea the great God.
328  NOTES, ADDITIONS,

27th day ni-tab-ta of Nergal, sar of Uk (?)

28th day of Hea bunnu of Nergal.

29th day bunnu of Sin, day angels and spirits are invoked.

30th day of Anu and Bel.

Each day was also a lucky day, or an unlucky day; and the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days were called su-li or su-lum, Hebrew ṣā·lām and Biwi, meaning “rest.” The calendar contains lists of works forbidden to be done on these days, which evidently correspond to the sabbaths of the Jews. The 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month, correspond with the four quarters of the moon in the lunar calendar, and, like the Jewish sabbaths, occurred after intervals of six days; but I cannot find any reason why the 19th day of the month was also a day of rest.

“Kitmuri” was the name of the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh; on K, 11, there is the variant reading arka-nu instead of arku-nu.

Mr. Norris, in Dict. p. 527, makes this word “honour,” or “glory,” and allies it with “kabtu” and “kabitti;” but “kibit” in the bilingual texts is the equivalent of the Akkad ṣā·lām “to speak.” It is always to be distinguished from kabtu and its allied words by the first vowel, which is “i” in kibit, and “a” in kabtu. Kibit comes from gabu, “to speak.”

The singular form of this word I now believe to be ṣā·lām, “esir,” which I have always translated “temple.”

It evidently indicates a year of plenty, when Assurbanipal came to the throne; I would suggest as a better reading, “fivefold (v. fourfold) the seed was fruitful in its growing, ears three times the size, the crops were excellent, the corn abundant, my mouth relates it, the growing of fruit.”

“Ka-ra-si” is given on some unpublished bilingual fragments; it might have been inferred from a comparison of Cuneif. Inscrï., Vol. I, p. 42, line 28, and p. 46, line 52.
9, line 6. \( \text{general} \) 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. \( \text{“sak,” means an “officer,” and} \) “su-par,” means “top or over,” so that the reading may be “supar-saki,” “one over the officers.”

17, line 69. “murraru” or “haranru,” a “march” or “road.”

I have uniformly given the sound “murraru” to this word, but the town bearing this name was certainly “Harran,” and the examples given by Mr. Norris, Dict. p. 445, are in favour of “har” for the first character.

19, line 87. \( \text{advance}, \) probably means “fear.”


23, line 117. Read “mas-gan-i” for “mas-gar-i.” Heb. \( \text{“in-i-nu,” “are numbered.”} \)

24, line 1. I have given the form “sene” as the rendering; it is more probably “semat,” as \( \text{prefixed to a root appears to indicate a form ending in a servile “t.”} \)

27, line 38. \( \text{“fear,” but the phonetic value is uncertain; my} \)

reading, “sanguti,” was founded on a passage in Cuneif. Inser., Vol III, p. 15, col. i, but I now think “sitti” the correct reading.

29, line 52. \( \text{“region” or “place.” See a parallel passage} \)

in Layard’s Insc., p. 95, line 152.

34, line 9. \( \text{This word is from the same root as pahir, the} \)

p and t frequently interchanging in Assyrian.

35, line 16. \( \text{This passage occurs several times, and I have been very uncertain as to} \)

its meaning, principally from not knowing which of the phonetic values of \( \text{ought to be adopted here.} \) \( \text{sometimes reads “mat-ti,” “of a country,” and at times “san-ti,” “of a year” or “yearly.” My latest opinion on this subject I have given in p. 317, line } \).
NOTES, CORRECTIONS.

37, line 9. Substitute \( \text{y} \) for \( \text{y} \) in "yapi;" this word is found in three forms, "yati," "yapi," and "yasi."

38, line 11. Read "si" for "si" in al-si-ma; it is doubtful if the "ma" belongs to this word.

40, line 24. Buşurat; see Heb. \( \text{י} \).


42, line 34. Substitute "sun" for "sun."

43, line 37. Substitute \( \text{y} \) for \( \text{y} \) in "i-na-kit-u."

45, line 55. "\( \text{y} \), "simat," appears to mean anything fabricated; the root is \( \text{y} \).

54, line 75. Certainly denotes a female, and is equated with \( \text{א} \), 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."

60, line 89. Substitute \( \text{y} \) for \( \text{y} \) in "nap-sat," and read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."

61, line 105. "Dazati." In a bilingual list I find \( \text{y} \) as an equivalent of \( \text{y} \), "zalti," "battle" or "fight." I had not noticed this when I translated it "depredations."

62, line 110. Substitute \( \text{y} \) for \( \text{y} \) at beginning of line.

63, line 125. Read "ha" for "ha" in ha-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 subtu," "was situated the seat."

79, line 31. \( \text{י} \) on a bilingual tablet is equated to \( \text{י} \), "sa-rad;" it is used for "paint," but in this place perhaps means "dyed garments," Heb. \( \text{י} \).

86, line 66. Read "Suqi" for "tarzi."

87, line 68. Substitute \( \text{y} \) for \( \text{y} \).

88, line 74. "Ubna," meaning very doubtful.

92, line 49. Read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."

103, line 49. The word "Harran," "road," in most similar cases follows "azbat;" perhaps it is accidentally omitted here.
AND ADDITIONS.

PAGE

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. "gal-lu-u," the name of a class of spirits or genii, generally evil ones.


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 I as "zit," "rising;" but I doubt now if I 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.

123, line 49. One copy has the variant "sa-at," for "sa." 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. Inscr., Vol. I, p. 45, line 51, we find "ki-sa-di," the meaning is "neck."

132, line 22. "Na-ganti" I have translated "musical instruments," thinking at the time of the Heb. ינ; this was a mistake, "naganti" means "treasures."

135, line 57. One bilingual gives "sa-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. "Mitpanu," the Assyrian name of the bow, is here written phonetically instead of the usual "Mit"; another instance occurs in Cuneif. Inscr., Vol. I, p. 7, No. ix A.
145, line 2. "Uz-zi," "an arrow;" see Cuneif. Ins., 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. Ins., Vol. II, p. 23, l. 28, we have $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$$\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$, but this does not explain the present passage; my reading "state chairs" is a mere makeshift.

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. $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$.

This word, whatever its sound, evidently means "a chariot;" the first part, $\text{\textcopyright}$ in Cuneif. Ins., Vol. II, p. 16, l. 36, is equated with $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$, "ruk-kip-ta;" the second part, $\text{\textcopyright}$$\text{\textcopyright}$, is probably connected with "is-du-du."

166, line 10. $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$, zibi bird, means a "rapacious bird," Heb. $\text{\textcopyright}$ rapuit.

,, line 11. $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$, id bird, is probably connected with the Heb. $\text{\textcopyright}$, "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. $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ is shown by the bilingual tablets to be the equivalent of $\text{\textcopyright}$, p. 169, line 40.

169, line 34. Restore $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$.

173. Something is lost between lines 25 and 26.

175, line 49. Read "a-ha-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.
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 \[ \text{Ay > ey}, \text{"qa-ne-a," Heb. \(\overline{\text{IP}}\)} \], the character \( \square \) probably denotes some epithet, the whole meaning a particular kind of reed.

" line 2. "Ikil pa," doubtful words.

206, line 49. Substitute \( \square \) for \( \square \).

208, line 65. "Ṣapti." I should have felt inclined to translate "tongues" here, but the word is clearly "lips."


219, line 5. The form "uk-ta-ta-zi" from "kižir" is remarkable; this conjugation is very rarely used.

220, line 7. \( \square \). 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. \( \square \). This complicated character denoted a "statue," and the reading is given in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. III, p. 70, line 52, as \( \square \), "za-al-mu."

233, line 118. "Huši" is given in a bilingual as the equivalent of "raqiši," "to ride."

", line 123. A bilingual fragment gives \( \square \), sal-la-tu, as the reading of this character.
This difficult word is the name of some wild animal; two phonetic readings are given on the tablets, $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$ and $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$. I have no clue to the animal intended.

"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.

Substitute $\text{\texttt{}}$ for $\text{\texttt{}}$.

The meaning of the first part of this line is doubtful.

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.

For "bit-žin," read "bit-zer," the meaning is "desert house" or "tent."

Substitute $\text{\texttt{}}$ for $\text{\texttt{}}$ in "kap-ta."

The meaning of the word "ulli" is unknown to me.

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.

On a bilingual tablet, $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$, is rendered $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$, "kis-ta;" the most common form is $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$, "kis-ti."

In Cuneif. Inscrp., Vol. II, p. 45, line 59, $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$ is rendered $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$, "amur-karanu (?)". $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$, "karanu," I believe means "the vine." Heb. $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$, "a vine-yard," Lev. xix, 10.

Here Cyl. A gives "people of Assyria, but Cyl. B, p. 286, line 10, gives "people of Arabia."

"Bab-mahiri."

Mr. Fox Talbot has suggested to me the meaning "market-place" for this word, from the Heb. $\text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}} \equiv \text{\texttt{}}$.

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.

A difficult passage, translation doubtful.

"Usu" is probably the Hosah of Joshua, ch. xix, v. 29.
AND ADDITIONS.

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. מֶבָּא; the bilingual passage is among a number of titles of Nebo, and reads “Holding the great sceptre, director of the world.”

301, line 118. “Sahmasti” is probably connected with “siḥu,” “a revolt;” it is 𒆠𒈗 李, in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 32, l. 40, and 𒆠𒈗𒈗, in an unpublished tablet of Assurbanipal.

302, line 8. The monogram for “a sheep,” I believe, means “a sacrifice,” and “niqa,” “a libation,” Heb. נִיק; the verbal form “niqa” came to mean “to sacrifice” as well as “to pour out.”

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 , as the equivalent of this monogram.

315, line 27. Read “si” for “si” in si-di.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reigns</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stephinates</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>B.C. 675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necho I</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammetichus</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necho II</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammuthis</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaphres (or Hophra)</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amasis</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammeccherites</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Altogether 150 years and 6 months.

### XXVIIth Dynasty—Of Eight Persian Kings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reigns</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambyses</td>
<td>in the 5th year of his reign over the Persians</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>to 519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Psammeccherites 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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Reign Duration</th>
<th>Start Date</th>
<th>End Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psammetichus</td>
<td>54 years</td>
<td>2 Feb. B.C. 652</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necho II</td>
<td>15½ years</td>
<td>19 Jan. 598</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammuthis</td>
<td>5½ years</td>
<td>16 588</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apries, or Hophra</td>
<td>19 years</td>
<td>15 577</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amasis, counting from his conquest of Apries</td>
<td>44 years</td>
<td>12 569</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the death of Apries</td>
<td>35 years</td>
<td>9 558</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammecherites</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td></td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambyses</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>1 524</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magi</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td></td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius</td>
<td>36 years</td>
<td>30 Dec. 518</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† 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

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 deter-
mined 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 Assur-
banipal 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
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, Mesori.‡ 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 Sérapéum 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 (כּוֹשֶׁךָ). 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, sentmessengers 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. 10⁴ 20° 45' 25"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R.A. of Ω and ξ</th>
<th>285° 15' 26&quot; 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hor. Mot. in R.A. Ω</td>
<td>2 43 0 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>32 8 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declination Ω</td>
<td>- 23 2 41 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>- 22 14 57 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hor. Mot. in Decl. Ω</td>
<td>+ 0 16 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>+ 6 15 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hor. Parallax Ω</td>
<td>9 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>54 40 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-diameter Ω</td>
<td>16 11 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>14 53 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AT JERUSALEM THE ECLIPSE WOULD BE ANNULAR:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Contact</th>
<th>Jan. 10 20 28</th>
<th>Astronomical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commencement of annular phase</td>
<td>22 13 48</td>
<td>Mean Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ending</td>
<td>22 21 15</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Contact</td>
<td>11 0 6</td>
<td>Jerusalem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

:: The duration of annular phase = 7° 27'  

* 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 was, 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.
This eclipse, which fixes the 14th year of Hezekiah to the year B.C. 689, is of extreme value in settling the chronology of this period. Like the eclipse of Thaies, B.C. 585, and the eclipse at Nineveh, in B.C. 763, it brings down the reigns of the kings of Judah exactly twenty-five years; and with regard to the matter in hand, it proves that Sethos, or Zeet, of the XXIIIrd Dynasty, in lower Egypt, and Sevechus the Ethiopian of the XXVth Dynasty, in upper Egypt, and Tirhakah, while yet king of Ethiopia, were all on the throne at the same time, when Sennacherib invaded Judæa in the year B.C. 689; and this in fact is what Manetho wished to convey concerning these dynasties, when, speaking of Petubastes, he wrote, "ἐφ δὲ Ὅλυμπιάς ἕχον πρώτην." Manetho must have known the exact relation of the reign of Petubastes to the Olympiad, and of course intended to express what he knew with chronological precision. He meant, therefore, that Petubastes began to reign within the four years beginning in July, B.C. 776, and ending in July, 772, which in common parlance was called the first Olympiad. We shall not err much in fixing the first year of Petubastes, therefore, in the beginning of B.C. 773, and the last year of Sethos in B.C. 685.

We now count up from the first year of Psammetichus, as fixed by the Annals of Assurbanipal, B.C. 652; and assuming that the Apis which died in his 20th year, and which was born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, had lived twenty-six years, we arrive at the date of the first year of Tirhakah, B.C. 684, as king of upper and lower Egypt, and conqueror of Sethos, and successor of Sevechus. The following is the result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XXIIIrd DYNASTY, OF FOUR TANITE KINGS.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petubastes 40 years</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorcho 8</td>
<td>765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammus 10</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeet, or Sethos 31</td>
<td>745</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XXIVth DYNASTY.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boccoris the Saite, 6 years.</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XXVth DYNASTY, OF THREE ETHIOPIAN KINGS.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sabbaco, or So... 12</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sevechus 12</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirhakah 28</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nevertheless, there are some perhaps who will be disposed to adhere, with Dr. Lepsius, to the common reckoning, and to place the first of Psammetichus in B.C. 664, and the last of Necho I in 595;
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 Jeconiah 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

† 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 Jeconiah, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psammetichus and his son Necho II reign in succession</th>
<th>B.C. 652 to 583</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for sixty-nine years and a half, till the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar, in association with his father, till the 19th year after the death of his father</td>
<td>563‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem in his 19th year after the death of his father</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem remains desolate seventy full years, till Darius puts an end to the kingdom or satrapy of Babylon at the age of 62</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, are counted from the first of Darius over Babylon to the birth of Christ, at the time when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor of Syria</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 “Shalmanezer,” 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acraganes</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thonos Concoleros, or Sardanapalus</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninus II (or Saracus)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Mr. Smith identifies Kineladanus with Assurbanipal, p. 324. If so, he reigned 42 years.
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 Makoscoletos, 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

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 Ankiale, 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 Syennessis 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-zikeriskun (or Bel-sumiskun), and a son and successor of Bel-zikeriskun, 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign (Years)</th>
<th>From B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assurbanipal, or Acraganes,</td>
<td>reign 42 years</td>
<td>668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assur-ebil-ili</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabopolassar, or Sardanapalus,</td>
<td>&quot; 20 &quot;</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabuchodonosor, or Labynetus,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband of Nitocris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Scythians obtain supremacy in</td>
<td></td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia for 28 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They make peace with Psammetichus</td>
<td></td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bel-sum-iskun, or Belesus, and his</td>
<td>reign 22 years</td>
<td>605?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son Saracus, or Nergal-Sharezar, as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tributaries to Scythia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabopolassar and Nitocris, after</td>
<td>&quot; 2 &quot;</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the fall of Nineveh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebuchadnezzar</td>
<td>&quot; 43 &quot;</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 embassadors 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
Berosus, therefore, as quoted by Josephus, places the first year of
Nebuchadnezzar after a twenty-nine years' reign of Nabopolassar 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
Berosus tells us that after three successive dynasties at Nineveh, that
is to say, of—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Reigns</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49 Chaldean kings</td>
<td></td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Arabian kings</td>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 Assyrian kings</td>
<td></td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elamite, or Median, domination</td>
<td>224 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven kings</td>
<td>1560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Ninus and Semiramis</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian invasion</td>
<td>1431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyrian empire from Ninippalzara</td>
<td>1286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invasion of Pul the Chaldean</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoration of the Assyrian empire under Tiglath-Pileser and his successors</td>
<td>745†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invasion of the Scythians</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final destruction of Nineveh</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings</th>
<th>Reigns</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gyges</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardys</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadyattes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS.</th>
<th>PART I.</th>
<th>PART II.</th>
<th>SYNGELLUS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gyges</td>
<td>35 years</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardys</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadyattes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77 years</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reigns</th>
<th>From (B.C.)</th>
<th>To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gyges</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardys</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadyattes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alyattes</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croesus</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>548-534</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And thus the conquest of Croesus 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, Shalmanezer, 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Judah</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Israel</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Assyr. Canon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>993</td>
<td>Solomon .. 40</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>Jeroboam 22</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>Divided into Sosses, or periods of 60 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>936</td>
<td>Abijah .. 3</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>Nadab .. 2</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>End of 2nd Soss 968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>933</td>
<td>Asa .. 41</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>Baasha .. 24</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>Vul-nirari .. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>907</td>
<td>Elah .. 2</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>Tukulti-Ninip .. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zimri .. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>906</td>
<td>Omri .. 12</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>Assur-nazir-pal 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894</td>
<td>Ahab .. 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>892</td>
<td>Jehoshaphat 25</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>Shalmaneser II. .. 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>872</td>
<td>Ahaziah .. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>872†</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>871</td>
<td>Joram .. 11-12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>868</td>
<td>Jehoram .. 7-8</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>Jehu .. 27-28</td>
<td></td>
<td>860‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>861</td>
<td>Ahaziah .. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>860</td>
<td>Athaliah .. 6</td>
<td>860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>854</td>
<td>Joash .. 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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.
### RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>KINGS OF JUDAH</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>KINGS OF ISRAEL</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YEARS</td>
<td></td>
<td>YEARS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning of a Cycle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Assurdanipal† 19]?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>814</td>
<td>Amaziah 29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Samsi-vul III 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>810</td>
<td>Jeroboam 41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vul-nirari 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>785</td>
<td>Uzziah 52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shalmanuzur 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assurdayan 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Solar Eclipse §</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>759</td>
<td>Interregnum 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assur-nirari 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiglath-Pileser 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In association with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>753</td>
<td>Menahem 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shalmanezer and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sargon 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>734</td>
<td>Jotham 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>End of 6th Soss 728</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>728</td>
<td>Ahaz 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shalmanezer 722</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>723</td>
<td>Interregnum 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sargon 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>706</td>
<td>Hezekiah 29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Captivity of the Ten Tribes 473 years 9 months before the IVth Ptolemy, 688|</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sennacherib carries away captives from Judea 688|</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
<td>Manasseh 55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Esarhaddon 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assurbanipal 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>End of 7th Soss 668</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Shalmanezer inaugurates a Cycle in his 31st year. Annals of Shalmanezer II.
† Assurdanipal, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Judah</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Israel</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Assyria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>People of Elam, Shushan, and Babylonia transported to Samaria, within 65 years from the 1st of Ahaz. Ezra iv, 10. Isaiah vii, 5.</td>
<td>Image of Nana reclaimed by Assurbanipal ... 652</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sardanapalus or Nabopolassar ... 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>618</td>
<td>Amon ... 2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>... 608</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616</td>
<td>Josiah ... 31</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>... 608</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Judah</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Israel</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings of Assyria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>555</td>
<td>Jehoahaz 3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>... 605</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574</td>
<td>Jehoiakim 11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>[] Bel-sum-iskun (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>573</td>
<td>Jechoniah 3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>[Bel-sumer] Sia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>563</td>
<td>Zedekiah 11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>... 616</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>560</td>
<td>Temple of Jerusalem destroyed.</td>
<td>Last transportation of captives by Nebuchadnezzar 38 years 3 months before the IVth Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222.</td>
<td>... 563</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>KINGS OF PERSIA.</td>
<td>... 19th Nebuchadnezzar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>559</td>
<td>Cyrus father of Cambyses 29</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>Evimerodach 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>538</td>
<td>succeeds Astyages Babylon taken by Cyrus son of Cambyses, his father and grandfather being still alive, about B.C. 536.</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>Nergal-Sharezar, Rabmag? §</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>536</td>
<td>Cambyses + 18</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>Nabonadius, local king 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>520</td>
<td>Cyrus son of Cambyses</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>Bolshazzar son of Nabonadius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>492</td>
<td>Darius son of Hystaspes</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>Darius son of Hystaspes ¶</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>493</td>
<td>Artaxerxes (Xerxes)</td>
<td></td>
<td>End of 10th Soss 488</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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. Kal Αρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Μῆδων παρῆλθε τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Δαρείος πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἐνδοξος ἐν γῆρει. 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 “built 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), Ἐτοις πρῶτοι ἐπὶ Δαρείου τῶν Ἐρέτων, ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς Μηδικῆς, οἱ ἐβασιλεύσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν πῶν Χαλδαιῶν. The words οἱ ἐβασιλεύσαν 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 Senhacherib, 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 Behistun, 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.† Whatever 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 'Irāq, 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.
king of Persia, deposed Nabonadius when Darius was actually on the throne, though not on the throne of the Persian empire. For in the Behistūn 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 Behistūn, 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

† 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 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.

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 Shalmanezer 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 Shalmanezer 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 Shalmanezer.
“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 Shalmanezer) 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 “Shalmanezer 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 Shalmanezer’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 Shalmanezer came and destroyed the government of Israel, and transported the people into Media and Persia after besieging Samaria for three years; and how also Shalmanezer besieged Iluleus 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 Shalmanezer, 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 Shalmanezer 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.
CHRONOLOGICAL REMARKS.

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 Shalmanezer, 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 Shalmanezer 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 Shalmanezer 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 מֶלֶךְ 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

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.

Death of Uzziah . . . . 734
Putting down of Samaria and Damascus in the reign of Ahaz, 20 years later .. 715
Death of Ahaz after the breaking of "the rod that smote" him .. 703
Sennacherib's invasion in the 2nd year of Hezekiah .. 701
Death of Hezekiah after the accession of Esarhaddon .. 674

Assyrian Annals.

Death of Uzziah . . . . 734–5
Putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, about the 7th year of Sargon .. 715
Death of Sargon . . . . 705
Sennacherib's third campaign, and invasion of Palestine .. 701
Accession of Esarhaddon .. 689

* 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—

\[
\begin{align*}
2 \text{ Ners} & = 1200 \text{ years} \\
7 \text{ Sosses} & = 420 \text{ } \\
15 \text{ years} & = 15 \\
\hline
1635 \text{ years.}
\end{align*}
\]

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. Haigh¹ 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, Shalmanezer 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 מַעַרְר, "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 Shalmanezer, 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 Shalmanezer, 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 inscrip-
tion 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.

† Sir H. Rawlinson; Athenæum, 18th May, 1867.
Assyrian interpreters are still much at variance with regard to the date of the eighteenth year of Shalmanezer. 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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Jezebel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>According to Oppert, from 38 to 43 in the year B.C. 888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demetrius 66 to 71 880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawlinson 85 to 90 841</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.