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The Eothen Series.—II.

THE
FIRST CAMPAIGN OF SENNACHERIB,
KING OF ASSYRIA, B.C. 705-681.

The Assyrian Text
Edited with Transliteration, Translation, and Notes.

BY

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WITH A SKETCH MAP.

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P R E F A C E .

FEW periods in the history of the Ancient East are so well known as that in which the Sargonid dynasty of Assyria ruled Western Asia from the Mediterranean to Mount Demavend, and from Cilicia to the Brook of Egypt. Nevertheless, several important historical documents, which have served materially to increase our knowledge of the period, have been discovered and published (*e.g.*, the Prism No. 103000, by the late Prof. L. W. King, and the account of Sargon's eighth campaign by M. Thureau-Dangin), since the general history of the period was settled by the discoveries of Layard and Rassam, and the researches of Rawlinson and Smith. To these must now be added the earliest known cylinder of Sennacherib, acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1915, which now bears the number 113203.

The text of this cylinder is published completely and for the first time in the present volume. It is an addition of considerable importance to the number of extant texts relating to the reign of Sennacherib. Apart from the information it affords as to the course of events after Sennacherib's accession, the very full and detailed account of the campaign fought by that king in Babylonia in 703-702 B.C. is of great interest for the student of military history. The list of the cities of the Chaldee tribes affords

the much-needed and necessary material for the reconstruction of the map of Babylonia in the seventh century B.C. with greater certainty than has hitherto been possible. The narrative portion of the inscription is written with great liveliness and is a further proof of the literary abilities of the scribes of Sennacherib.

I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this new historical text, and to my colleague, Mr. C. J. Gadd, for his friendly assistance in deciphering passages in the text where the reading was difficult or doubtful. To my brother I owe the sketch map on p. 13. And I am much indebted to Sir E. A. Wallis Budge for the benefit of his experience and advice.

SIDNEY SMITH.

July 6th, 1921.

THE
FIRST CAMPAIGN OF SENNACHERIB,
KING OF ASSYRIA.

(B.C. 703-2.)

INTRODUCTION.

Cylinder 113203.

THE text has been copied from a hollow barrel cylinder of the usual type, now in the British Museum. The cylinder is about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the bases being $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, the diameter of the thickest portion of the barrel about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the perforations of the bases about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. The clay is reddish in colour, and very soft in parts, and owing to this softness the text appears to have suffered damage when the cylinder was discovered. The scribe has not drawn lines across the cylinder, and in consequence many of the lines bend considerably. The writing is very neat and clear, and of the same style as other historical inscriptions of the reign. The first 14 lines are written in half lines, that is with a distinct break, as though forming part of a hymn, but from that point to the end the lines are continuous. The first half of the first 16 lines is badly broken, the fine clay of the surface having been completely removed, perhaps by a blow from a pick. The first 9 lines can be partly restored from Ki. 1902-5-10, 1, a fragment of a barrel cylinder of different shape from No. 113203, which gives beginnings of the first 9 and last 16 lines of a duplicate text.

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Provenance.

No information is available as to the site where the cylinder was discovered. It seems to be clear that it was found during the same excavations that led to the discovery of cylinder No. 103000, published in "Cuneiform Texts," Part 26, by the late Professor King. Sir Ernest Budge says in "By Nile and Tigris" (London, 1920, Vol. 2, page 23):—

"There is no doubt that the cylinder (No. 103000), was found in a chamber built in the wall (or perhaps it was sunk in the actual wall), close to one of the human-headed bulls of one of the gates of Nineveh, and the bull near which it was placed must have been removed before it could be extracted from the wall. There was only one bull left *in situ* when I was last at Kuyunjik (1891), and it was in a perfect state. When Mr. Parry¹ saw it in 1892 its head had been hacked off and taken to mend a local mill. Subsequently, according to report, 'the whole monument was sold for the sum of three shillings and sixpence by the Vali of Mōsul, and burnt into lime by its purchaser.'² It is probable that cylinder No. 103000 was discovered by the natives when they were breaking this bull to pieces, and we must be thankful that they had sense enough to realise that it would fetch more money complete than when broken in fragments."

It may fairly be assumed that cylinder No. 113203 represents Sennacherib's first foundation deposit at about the same spot that the cylinder No. 103000 was placed in 694 B.C.

¹ *Six Months*, p. 248.

² W. A. Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, London, 1914, p. 84.

Subject of the Text.

Assyriologists have generally assumed the existence of longer narratives from which the short accounts given in the annals of different kings were compiled. An example of such an original source was, however, lacking until M. Thureau-Dangin published the long account of Sargon's eighth campaign, which was composed in the form of a letter to the god Ashur. The cylinder 113203 is the second exemplar of a full account of a single campaign, but is composed in the more usual form of an inscription destined to be a foundation deposit. We now have three different forms of the account of Sennacherib's first campaign, and it is possible to follow the methods of the scribes in compiling the shorter accounts of campaigns given in the *résumé* of a king's campaigns. There is now no reason to doubt that the confusion sometimes noticeable in the Assyrian historical inscriptions is due to an attempt unduly to compress long accounts while retaining the phraseology of the original. The new text consists of a very detailed account of Sennacherib's campaign against Merodach-baladan, giving a list of the conquered cities of Chaldaea, and closing with the earliest version known of the building inscription which records Sennacherib's reconstruction of the royal palace at Nineveh.

Chronology.

The accession year, *riš šarruti*, of Sennacherib was 705 B.C. Now the scribe of the "Bellino" cylinder definitely places the campaign against Merodach-baladan in the *riš šarruti* :—

I-na riš šarru-ti-ia ša (m) (ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin-na šar (matu) Kar-dun-ia-aš a-di umman (matu) Elamti KI i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš KI aš-ta-kan abikta-šu.
(Cylinder No. K 1680, "Bellino.")

“In the year of my accession I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apal-iddinna, king of Babylonia, together with the host of Elam, in the territory of Kish.”

This date does not, however, accord with the evidence of other historical sources. The Assyrian eponym lists which record the events of the years against the name of the eponym showed that the campaign “against Akkad” did not take place until 703 B.C. The Babylonian king-list records the name of Sennacherib as king for the years 705-704 and 704-703, while in the year 703-702 Marduk-zakir-shum reigned for one month and Marduk-apal-iddin for nine months. Modern historians seem to have attempted to reconcile the two accounts. Professor Maspero actually dated the campaign in 704 (*The Passing of the Empires*, English translation, London, 1900, p. 274). Professor King says (*History of Babylon*, London, 1919, p. 270): “On Sargon’s death in 705 B.C. the subject provinces of the empire rebelled. The revolt was led by Babylon, where Merodach-baladan reappears with Elamite support,” but remarks in a foot-note that the interregnum in the Ptolemaic canon corresponds to the reign of two years assigned to Sennacherib by the king’s list, and that Marduk-zakir-shum proclaimed himself king in 703, when he was murdered by Merodach-baladan. Dr. Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East*, fifth edition, London, 1920, p. 482), says “And in a year’s time (after Sargon’s death) Marduk-apal-iddina was once more in the field to recover Babylon, this time aided by an Elamite army sent by Ishtar-Khundu, the successor of Shutrunkhunte.” Professor Rogers (*History of Babylonia and Assyria*, sixth edition, New York, 1915, p. 357) has not attempted to reconcile the account and has accepted the date 702 for the reigns of Marduk-zakir-shum and Merodach-baladan.

It will be seen from the new text that the mistake of the scribe of the "Bellino" cylinder was due to an attempt to summarise twenty lines of his original in a single sentence. The accession year, 705-704, and the following year, 704-703, were peaceful, but during the whole period Marduk-apal-iddinna was engaged in intrigues which would enable him to face Sennacherib at the head of even greater forces than those with which he had opposed Sargon in 721-720. The throne of Babylon was vacant, for Sennacherib would not leave his building at Nineveh to take the hands of Bel-Marduk, and the Babylonian Marduk-zakir-shum attempted to forestall Marduk-apal-iddinna, in 703-702, only to fall before the Chaldaean. Some months passed before Sennacherib set out against the rebel on the 20th of Shebat, *i.e.*, February of 702. Akkad was probably cleared of the enemy before the beginning of the Assyrian New Year: the campaign in Chaldaea and the elevation of Bel-ibni to the kingship of Shumer and Akkad belong to the first half of the year 702-701.

The cylinder 113203 was in all probability written in the early part of the year 702-701 also, and it must have been composed before the "Bellino" cylinder, which is dated in the year 702-701. The mention of prisoners from Mannai, Kue and Hilakku must refer to events in the reign of Sargon.

Analysis of the Text.

The first four lines set forth the king's titles and the legitimacy of his succession. **Lines 5-15** contain an account of the intrigues of Marduk-apal-iddinna in Elam, amongst the Aramaean tribes of the eastern bank of the Tigris, in the great cities of southern Babylonia, in Chaldaea, amongst the nomads of the desert, and then in northern Babylonia. **Lines 16-18** record the disposition of Marduk-apal-iddinna's

forces ; **lines 19-20**, Sennacherib's forced march on Kuthah and the dispatch of an advance guard to hold Marduk-apal-iddinna at Kish. **Lines 21-25**, the Assyrian advance guard were met by overwhelming forces of the enemy at Kish, and couriers were dispatched to Kuthah : Sennacherib ordered an assault on Kuthah, and was successful. He then hastened to Kish, where (**lines 26-29**) he defeated Tannanu, the Elamite officer who had been left in charge by Marduk-apal-iddinna. **Lines 30-35** recount Sennacherib's entry into Babylon, the pillaging of Marduk-apal-iddinna's palace and the fruitless pursuit of the fugitive ; the broken remnants of the allied army were rounded up. **Lines 36-49** give a detailed list of the cities of Chaldaea which were captured in the course of the campaign. In **lines 52-54** the capture of the independent cities is described, and the installation of Bel-ibni on the Babylonian throne recorded. **Lines 55-62** recount the Aramaean tribes plundered on the return journey, the tribute of Nabu-bel-shumati, the governor of Hararati, the capture and re-settlement of Hirimme, the amount of booty brought back to Nineveh, the division of the spoil amongst the troops, and the slaughter of prisoners.

The remainder of the text is concerned with building operations at Nineveh. **Lines 63-72** tell of the neglect of the glorious city of Nineveh by former kings, and of the need to enlarge the palace. To this work Sennacherib decided to devote his attention, and set his prisoners to work upon it. **Lines 73-79** describe the alteration of the course of the Tebiltu, the raising of the former bed of the river, and the building of a new palace on the enlarged terrace. **Lines 80-86** give particulars of the architectural and sculptural adornments of the palace ; **lines 87-90**, the plantation of a royal park, and the creation of allotments for the citizens in the north of the city, which were irrigated from the Husur.

Lines 90-91 are a short account of the dedication ceremony, and the inscription closes with (**lines 93-94**) an invocation of blessings on the king who shall respect the palace and the inscription. The colophon states that the length of the inscription is 94 lines.

History of Marduk-apal-iddinna, before B.C. 703.

Among the many remarkable individuals who are known to us as protagonists in the national struggles of the peoples of Western Asia against the Assyrians, Marduk-apal-iddinna has always attracted special interest. The attempt of Lenormant¹ to ascribe to him the character of a Babylonian patriot has indeed rightly been discredited, since it in no way accords with the historical facts; and yet the importance of this Chaldaean in the development of history was very great, for it was he who first taught his people, the Chaldee tribesmen of the marshes at the mouth of the Euphrates, the necessity of forming great alliances to face the Assyrian army.

The first mention of Marduk-apal-iddinna is to be found in the account of Tiglath-pileser III's campaign against Ukin-zer of Bit-Amukkani in 729. That he already occupied a leading position among the Chaldaeans is a fair inference from the fact that he is called "king of the sea-land," and the speedy offer of tribute by him, as well as by Balasu of Bit-Dakkuri and Nadinu of Larak, shows how little support Ukin-zer found amongst his own people. Marduk-apal-iddinna, who claimed descent from Eriba-Marduk, a king of the Eighth Dynasty, appears to have drawn the logical deduction with great perspicacity, and to have directed his

¹ See his essay, *Un patriote Babylonien du VIII^{ème} siècle* in *Les premières Civilisations*, Vol. II.

energies thereafter by certain fixed principles, which may be summarised thus. (1) To secure unanimous support from all the tribes of the Chaldaeans. In this he was completely successful. (2) To obtain the adherence of the Aramaean tribesmen of the eastern bank of the Tigris, and of northern Babylonia, to his cause. In this also he was successful. (3) To obtain the troops most likely to meet an Assyrian army on equal terms, namely, an Elamite force. In this, the capital point of his policy, he was so far successful that Elam, which had remained for centuries indifferent to the land with which she had once been closely connected, once again indulged in a struggle for sovereign power there which was to lead to her overthrow. (4) To promote revolt at different points of the Assyrian empire, which should make it impossible for an Assyrian army to concentrate against Babylonia. His efforts in this direction are known to us by deduction from the annals of the Assyrian kings, and from a Biblical reference.

In his first endeavour to secure the Babylonian throne Marduk-apal-iddinna was extremely successful. On the death of Shalmaneser V he had himself proclaimed as king, and took the hands of Bel on New Year's Day¹ of the year 721-720, already sure of his first three objects. It seems probable that Sargon was unable to throw the full weight of the Assyrian army against Babylonia; possibly he underestimated the military strength at Marduk-apal-iddinna's disposal. The *Babylonian Chronicle* B², the most reliable authority, states that Humbanigash of Elam defeated Sargon

¹ For references to discussions of this ceremony, incumbent on a Babylonian king yearly, see Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 24, note 1. The details of the ceremony are given in texts summarised by Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, Leipzig, 1918, pp. 41, 42.

² 84-2-11, 356, last published by King, *Cuneiform Texts*, pt. 34.

before the arrival of Marduk-apal-iddinna on the field of Dur-ilu; and this incident is typical of the Chaldaean's career. Skilful in diplomacy as he showed himself to be, he was no soldier, and it may be that the Elamites became disgusted with him for this reason. Hence the refusal of Elamite support by Shutur-nanḫundi in 710.

Babylonia as a whole probably suffered under the twelve-year reign of Marduk-apal-iddinna, otherwise Sargon would not have been received with open arms by the great cities when he attacked his opponent in 710. The campaign was short and decisive, for the lack of Elamite support left the Chaldaean with a thoroughly unreliable army. A broken passage in Sargon's annals (l. 315)¹ seems to show that Marduk-apal-iddinna became a suppliant to the Assyrian king, and that he was allowed to retain his principedom of Bit-Yakin. Such treatment of a rebel—for Marduk-apal-iddinna must obviously have sworn oaths to Tiglath-pileser III—may serve to demonstrate the persuasive ability of the man, as the events of 705-703 illustrate his power of recovery. While still the head of Bit-Yakin, Marduk-apal-iddinna was likely to remain the most powerful individual in Babylonia. The new text shows that he was at least as favourably placed when Sargon died as on his accession.

The orderly account given by the new text of the intrigues of Marduk-apal-iddinna presents a very clear picture of the circumstances of the rebellion. Shutur-nanḫundu of Elam, richly bribed, no longer refused support; it would seem that he was more prepared to face the young Sennacherib than Sargon, whose military ability had been proved at the expense of Elamite troops in Media. The aid he lent Marduk-apal-iddinna was by no means half-hearted; the army he sent to Babylon was commanded by the

See Winckler's edition, p. 54.

commander-in-chief of Elam and highly placed officers, and the bow-men alone numbered 80,000. It is remarkable that the Elamite king did not come in person to command so large a force; this may point to physical debility. Along with the Elamite officers was sent a certain Nergal-našir, who belonged to the tribe of the Sute, who were a nomad tribe of the Elamite border, in the district afterwards known to the Greeks as Sittakene.¹ To him, very possibly, fell the task of raising the Aramaean tribes while Marduk-apal-iddinna secured the support of the Chaldee tribes and of the great cities of southern Babylonia.

Negotiations were entered into with powers yet further afield. Enemies of Assyria from the time of Adad-idri of Damascus had always secured the assistance of the Aribi when possible. There can be little doubt that under this term is to be understood the nomad folk who occupied the Syrian desert, and extended into the Arabian peninsula. They appear to have been united, throughout the Assyrian period until the time of Ashur-bani-apli, under the rule of a single monarch, generally a queen.² From Yati'e, the reigning queen, Marduk-apal-iddinna obtained a contingent commanded by her brother, and though these troops were not likely to count for much in a set battle between the

¹ Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. II, p. 254.

² Before Esarhaddon, the only king mentioned is Gindibu' (Shalmaneser II, Monolith, l. 94). The queens' names known are Zabibie (Tiglath-pileser III, Annals, l. 154), Samsi (ibid., 210, and Sargon, Annals, 97), Tabua (Esarhaddon, Prism, No. 48-10-31, 2, Col. III, l. 3), Te'elhunu (Sennacherib, Alabaster tablet, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Vol. I, pl. 74-75, reverse 22, and K 3405, obverse line 12). Streck (*Assur-bani-pal*, Vol. II, p. 411) also compares the queens Yapa' of Dilhani and Bazlu of Ihilu (Esarhaddon K 3082, Col. IV, ll. 21-22). There were also Aribi in the eastern hills (cf. Sargon, Annals, l. 162).

trained armies of Assyria and Elam, the nomads could cause much trouble to the Assyrians by raids on the caravan routes.

The Assyrian record does not mention another attempt of Marduk-apal-iddinna to obtain allies in the far west, which is recorded by the Jewish historians. It is now generally¹ recognised that the embassy of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah of Judah, the story of which is told in the Second Book of Kings, chap. 20, vv. 12-19, and in the 39th Chapter of Isaiah, must belong to this period, and not, as some supposed, to the earlier rebellion against Sargon. Hezekiah "hearkened" to the ambassadors, and seems to have promised to put all the forces and wealth of his kingdom at the disposal of the Chaldaean king, an action which incensed Isaiah. It is most probable that, having been so successful in Jerusalem, the ambassadors went to several other cities in the west, and that the rebellion which subsequently broke out there against the Assyrians was originally intended to synchronize with Marduk-apal-iddinna's attempt in Babylonia.

By the year 703, then, Marduk-apal-iddinna was at the head of the most considerable confederacy which an Assyrian king had ever had to face in Babylonia. There was, however, one difficulty to be met; the great cities of Akkad would not willingly welcome the Chaldaean as their king. Unfortunately, there is no information from cuneiform sources as to the exact course of events in Babylon, other than the fact given by the king-list that Marduk-zakir-shum was elevated to the kingship, which he only retained for one month. If recourse may be had to speculation, it is possible to suppose that Marduk-zakir-shum was set on the throne

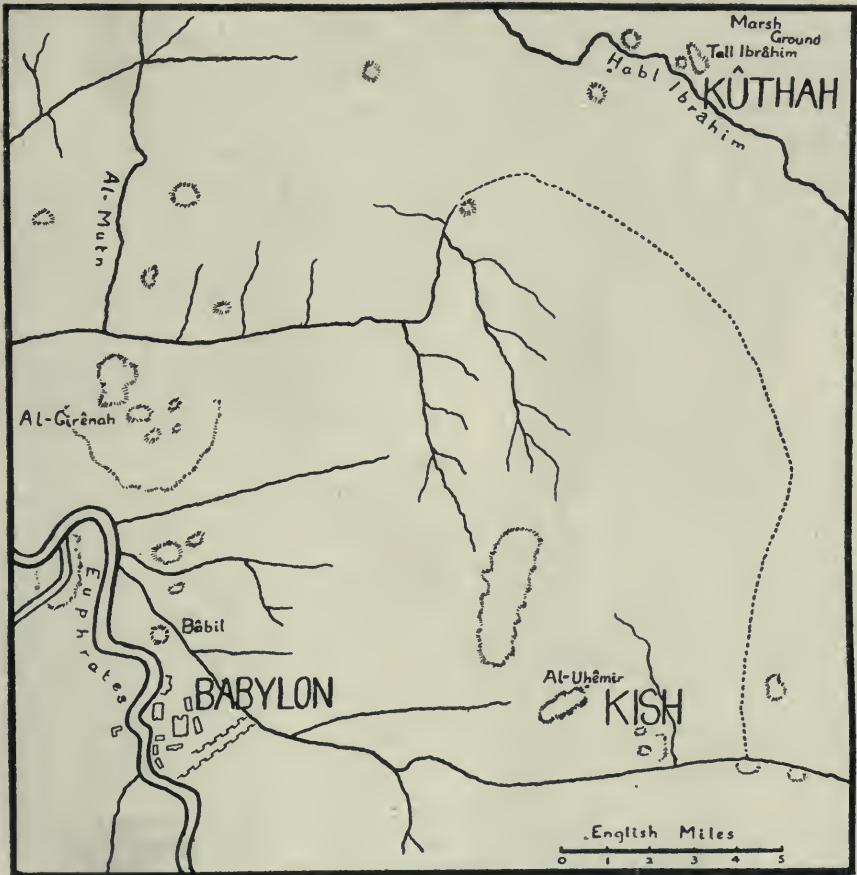
¹ See Professor Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Vol. II, p. 357 note.

at Babylon with the definite intention of forestalling Marduk-apal-iddinna, and of rallying an opposition to the Chaldaean. It should be noted that the supposition that Marduk-zakir-shum was of servile origin (Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 274, note 2) is incorrect, the king-list merely stating that he was the son of Ardi——, the name not being completed owing to lack of space. Perhaps it was owing to this effort on the part of the Babylonians to rouse an opposition that Marduk-apal-iddinna was compelled to anticipate the action of his allies in the west; at all events he must have commenced his revolt in the first month of 703-702, and overran Akkad with the greatest ease. He threw garrisons into the great cities, and called out the levies of all Babylonia. But he chiefly relied on his Elamite allies, as is clearly shown by the fact that the Elamite officers were left in command of the military forces; and it was the Elamites on whom the brunt of the fighting was to fall, for Sennacherib took the Arabian contingent and that commanded by Marduk-apal-iddinna's step-son prisoners, a fact that implies they surrendered. There would indeed seem to have been little enthusiasm for Marduk-apal-iddinna's cause in Babylonia.

The Strategy of the Campaign.

There is considerable interest in the account of the campaign given in the new text, since it details the disposition of the military forces with great clearness. The army of Marduk-apal-iddinna, the size of which we have no means of determining, but which probably numbered well over 100,000, was divided into two forces, without reckoning the detachments left in the great cities as garrisons. The cavalry and light armed troops were put under the command of Nergal-našir and ten *rab kišir*, that is commanders of

specific military cadres, from Elam, and sent to quarter in Kuthah (Tall Ibrahim). The main body, consisting of the heavy armed troops, were kept at Kish (Al-Uhêmir) under the command of Tannanu. Marduk-apal-iddinna himself was present with the main body, but he probably had little to do



with the military arrangements, and had no taste for a fight. It may be observed that Imbappa, the Elamite commander-in-chief, did not himself take command of either army, and it is tempting to suppose that he was occupied in the staff duties

which the dispositions must have entailed. The plan of campaign must have been thought out along sound lines, for it presented many difficult problems. There were two routes open to an Assyrian attack on Babylonia, that down the eastern bank of the Tigris, and that which led down the river Tartar, past Dur-Kurigalzu and Sippar of Shamash to Babylon. In the present instance, the route by the eastern bank of the Tigris was impossible, for Sennacherib would thus expose both flanks to attack. Marching by the other route he must halt before Kuthah and besiege that city, or leave a strong and mobile army in his rear. Should the Assyrians engage in a siege of Kuthah, they would necessarily be at a disadvantage if attacked by the main body of heavy armed troops.

It seems probable that Sennacherib had information of the enemy dispositions; in any case, he took proper military precautions. He executed a forced march on Kuthah, and sent a strong advance guard on to Kish. The allied army immediately sallied out of Kish, but the Assyrian officers, though hard pressed, were able apparently to hold out until the evening of the battle, when couriers were dispatched to Sennacherib at Kuthah. The safety of the Assyrian army now depended on its ability to take Kuthah by storm, an operation successfully carried out the next morning by means of the torch. Perhaps it was on the same day that Sennacherib reached the battle-field at Kish, where his advance guard must have been in need of relief. The allies seem to have been taken by surprise by the sudden appearance of Sennacherib, and the speedy fall of Kuthah so disheartened Marduk-apal-iddinna that he immediately deserted the army and fled alone to the nearest Chaldean district. The Elamites had no alternative but to stand and fight, but they must have been at a great disadvantage. Without their cavalry and light infantry, which had been

sent to Kuthah, their army was no match for the Assyrian forces, and the Arabian and Babylonian contingents were useless. The battle left Sennacherib master of the situation. Leaving Kish to be invested, he hastened to Babylon, where his reception was friendly. He then proceeded to reduce the whole country and establish a Babylonian who belonged to his court as king.

Sennacherib's Babylonian Policy.

Modern historians¹ have united in hearty condemnation of Sennacherib in his dealings with the city of Babylon, interpreting his actions by his destruction of that city in 689. The attitude of the Assyrian king in this matter of a Babylonian policy is of considerable interest for the study of ancient politics, and may be discussed here as receiving fuller light from the new text.

Tiglath-pileser III had maintained the policy of the long dynasty to which he had succeeded at the beginning of his reign. In 745, the year of his accession, he had conducted an expedition into northern Babylonia to restore order in a land which the monarch at Babylon, Nabu-naṣir, could no longer control; but he made no attempt to arrogate to himself the kingship. Satisfied by the security of his southern border during the remainder of the reign of Nabu-naṣir, he did not interfere again in the affairs of Babylonia until 731, when Nabu-ukin-zer, of Bit-Amukkani, had seized the throne. The Assyrians never tolerated the rule of a Chaldaean in Babylon without a struggle. The most probable explanation of this is that Chaldaean rule was synonymous with disorder; the Aramaean tribesmen were

¹ See Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 273, 274, 309. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 481, 482. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. ii, pp. 352-356.

allowed to harry the southern border of Assyria, and the Chaldaean tribesmen waxed rich at the expense of the citizens of the great cities of the north, to the loss of the Assyrian trader. After finally reducing Ukin-zer, Tiglath-pileser had still to solve the problem of governing Babylonia, and this he did in 729, by taking the hands of Bel, thus recalling the action of Tukulti-Enurta I. In the absence of a trustworthy Babylonian king, there were great advantages in the Assyrian king having direct control in the southern kingdom.

Shalmaneser V followed his predecessor's example, so far as can be guessed from the fact that he was duly recognised as king in Babylon under the name of Ululai. Sargon attempted to do the same, but his defeat in 721 by Humbanigash of Elam left Marduk-apal-iddinna on the throne for twelve years. When Sargon, at the end of that period, defeated Marduk-apal-iddinna and took the hands of Bel in his turn, he did not use the title of "king" but adopted that of "governor," *šakkanaku*. It has generally, and with justice, been assumed that this was done in order to avoid the necessity of a journey to Babylon each year to perform the ceremony incumbent on Babylonian kings of taking the hands of Bel yearly. A difference of title did not, however, affect the essential policy; Sargon ruled in Babylonia for nearly five years, 709-705, as the supreme head of the state.

Sennacherib would appear to have determined on his policy before he ascended the throne in Assyria, for in the years 705-704 he made no effort to claim even the title of *šakkanaku* in Babylon, though it must have been perfectly open to him to do so. The historical scribes of Babylon obviously took two views of this attitude; the one school, represented by the king-list, name Sennacherib as king since

he was the natural successor of his father, while the other, represented by the Ptolemaic canon, treated the years as an interregnum, since none took the hands of Bel.¹ What was Sennacherib's object? Subsequent events show a clear determination on his part to avoid the kingship of Babylon by every means in his power. Perhaps the facts of his earlier life may explain his complete departure from the practice of his immediate predecessors. While he was the crown prince of Assyria, it had been his duty to watch events in the north. Extant letters from him to the king contain reports on these events; and he can have had few illusions as to the vital points of Assyrian interest. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Sennacherib intended to return to the ancient policy of Assyrian kings, strikingly exemplified by Ashur-naşir-apli and Shalmaneser I of directing the main effort towards the north and west. Had Marduk-zakir-shum been able to maintain himself on the throne of Babylon, the campaign of 703-702 would not have been fought. The success of Marduk-apal-iddinna, on the other hand, meant ruin to those who had served Assyria in Babylon, and would lead to widespread trouble in the empire. Sennacherib could do no other than crush the rebel at once. His feelings to the city of Babylon itself appear in the new text to have been friendly, and his desire to make that city again the seat of monarchy took a practical form; he

¹ Berossus (Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii, p. 504) asserts that Sennacherib's brother was king of Babylon at this period, and has been followed by the German historians Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens u Assyriens*, pp. 686, 731, Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 285-312, Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. i, p. 464, and also by Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 274. This lacks confirmation from cuneiform sources and cannot be reconciled with the detailed account in the cylinder 113203. It would seem to be Berossus' own view of his sources.

set a Babylonian, Bel-ibni, on the throne. That Bel-ibni was a creature of the Assyrian court and therefore likely to further Assyrian interests made him a natural choice; but in all judgments of Sennacherib, this very generous treatment of Babylon should receive due consideration. Furthermore, the Assyrians left no governors with garrisons in Babylonia, as Tiglath-pileser would have done. His subsequent intrigues show that Bel-ibni, once established on the throne, was left a practically unfettered independence. If any charge is to be brought against Sennacherib, it is not that "he would . . . treat Babylonia as a subject state and pay no attention to its royal ideas, its kingly titles, and its priestly authorities"¹; but rather that he based his policy on the hope that an effete city, powerless to prevent the disorder amongst its natural enemies, the Aramaeans and Chaldaeans, unable to refrain from intrigue against any power greater than itself, might yet recover and rule an independent kingdom.

The subsequent events are not the subject of this book, but it should be noted that Sennacherib maintained his policy to 689, when he assumed the kingship of Shumer and Akkad, apparently without taking the hands of Bel. Too much emphasis should not be laid upon his destruction of Babylon, for he himself would seem to have been engaged on the reconstruction of the city when he was murdered, according to a passage in the annals of Ashur-bani-apli.²

¹ Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, 355.

² Compare II Kings 19, v. 37. Since Sennacherib was murdered at Babylon, it is tempting to read מרדך Marduk for נסרך Nisroch. For discussions of the Ashur-bani-apli passage, see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. II, p. 38, note 7. Ungnad's view that the passage is a parenthesis, and his arguments against Babylon as the scene of Sennacherib's death, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1917, Spalte 348, are unduly strained.

*si-it-ti niše(pl.) bal-tu-sun ina (ilu)šedi (ilu)lamassi ša
(m. ilu)Sin-ahhe(pl.)-eriba ab abi bani-ia ina libbi(bi)
is-pu-nu e-nin-na a-na-ku ina ki-is-pi-šu niše(pl.)
ša-a-tu-nu ina libbi(bi) as-pu-un.*

“As for the remainder of the prisoners, by the colossi in the midst whereof they slew Sennacherib, my grandfather, in the midst thereof I slew those prisoners as a sacrifice to the dead for him.” (Cylinder No. Rm. 1, IV, 70-73.)

The Political Geography of Babylonia.

As cylinder No. 113203 contains the most detailed account known of a campaign in Babylonia, it is natural that much of the geographical information supplied in it should be new, and that the picture of the country should gain in completeness. Great importance attaches to the list of Chaldaean fortified cities captured, since it is possible to deduce with some certainty the districts occupied by the four principal Chaldaean tribes, Bit-Dakkuri, Bit-Sa'alli, Bit-Amukkani and Bit-Yakini.

BIT-DAKKURI, the most northerly tribe, must have commenced immediately below Borsippa. The reasons for this deduction are two. First, Marduk-apal-iddinna is said to have fled to the district of Guzumman, whither an Assyrian party was sent to capture him immediately after Sennacherib's arrival in Babylon. Now the district of Guzumman is mentioned as the eleventh place in Bit-Dakkuri that was conquered. It follows that the borders of Bit-Dakkuri were not far distant from Kish. Secondly, the site of Marad, the twenty-second place mentioned, has been determined. M. Thureau-Dangin, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. IX, p. 84, identified the ancient Marad with the tell

known as Wanah wa-Sadûm.¹ Professor Clay independently identified the site in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1914, col. 110, and stated in his *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, p. 9, that the tell lies due west of Nippur, on the Euphrates. Unfortunately, the other places named cannot be located, so that the extent of the territory of Bit-Dakkuri cannot be defined. It seems clear that the whole district lay on the eastern bank of the Euphrates,² for no mention is made of crossing that river. A certain difficulty attaches to the total number of fortified cities given by the scribe, namely 33. The names actually enumerated total 26, so that there is a discrepancy of 7 in the calculation. The easiest explanation would be that the scribe had accidentally omitted a line in copying his original, but this is rendered unlikely by the colophon, which appears on cylinder No. 113203 and on the duplicate, Ki. 1902-5-10, 1, and gives the total number of lines of the inscription correctly as 94. It is possible, therefore, that the scribe took the names of places given from a geographical list,³ and omitted the names of seven places owing to a similarity of the names of two cities, separated in the archetype by six others.

There is at present no means of deciding whether the names are given according to a geographical arrangement, *e.g.*, from north to south, but this is not probable. One city certainly, and possibly two, are mentioned elsewhere in the

¹ M. Thureau-Dangin gives as variant spellings, Wânah wa-Sadum and Wannah wa-Şadûm. Yâqût gives Wanah (ed. Wüstenfeldt, Vol. IV, 942) and Sadûm (Vol. III, 383; connected with Ammân, *ibid.*, 719).

² Note that the lower reaches of the Euphrates, below Borsippa, are included in the term Nar Marratum.

³ Perhaps a list of the type of K4384, Rawlinson, W.A.I., Vol. II, plate 53, No. 1.

Assyrian historical inscriptions in a manner which does not support such a conclusion.

The eighth city in the list, Dur-Ladini, is mentioned in the annals of Sargon II, in a manner which shows that it was the first important Chaldaean fortress he approached marching from the north-east.

. . . u šu-u Šu-tur-(ilu)Na-ḫu-un-di ma-lik-šu-nu
ul-tu pa-an (išu)kakke(pl.)-ia a-na šu-zu-ub
napšati(pl.)-šu-un a-na ki-riḫ šade(e) ru-ḫu-ti ša-ḫa-tu¹
e-mid i-na tukulti (ilu)Aššur (ilu)Nabu u (ilu)Marduk
i-na gi-piš um-ma-na-te-ia (naru)Pu-rat-tu e-bir-ma a-na
(alu)Dur-(m)La-din-na ša ki-riḫ (matu)Bit-(m)Dak-ku-ri
aš-ta-kan pa-ni-ia (alu)Dur-(m)La-din-ni na-da-a a-na
eš-šu-ti u-še-piš (amelu)mun-taḫ-ši-ia li'-ut ta-ḫa-zi
u-še-ri-ba ki-riḫ-ša. (Sargon, Annals, ll. 286-288.)

“And that Shutur-Naḫundi, their king, to save their lives from my weapons, took flight¹ amidst the distant hills. With the help of Ashur, Nabu and Marduk I crossed the Euphrates with the host of my troops and set my face towards Dur-Ladinna, which is in Bit-Dakkuri. Dur-Ladinna, which was in ruins, I had rebuilt. I quartered my light troops who were wearied by battle therein.”

The mention of crossing the Euphrates in this passage would lead to the conclusion that Dur-Ladini was on the

¹ *šaḫatu*, “flight,” from *šaḫatu*, “to flee”; for the verb, cf. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghaz-Köi*, Heft I, No. 1. Obverse l. 54. M. Thureau-Dangin, *La Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, p. 26, note 1, considers *šaḫatu* = *šaḫat šade* and that *šaḫat šade emedu* = *šadašu emedu* = “to die.” This view is adopted by Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest, Zweiter Beitrag*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 4; but cannot be accepted, since it gives an impossible sense in the present passage and, I think, in *La Huitième Campagne*, l. 150.

west bank of that river; it is, however, far more probable that the river crossed was the Tigris, commonly confused with the sister river. Dur-Ladini may therefore be placed in the extreme north-east of Bit-Dakkuri.

A more doubtful identification may be proposed. It is possible that the ninth city in the list, Bitati, is the same as the Bittutu by which a battle was fought in Sennacherib's fourth campaign.

*I - na me - ti - iḫ gir - ri - ia ša (m)Šu - zu - bi
(amelu)Kal-da-ai a-šib ki-rib (naru)a-gam-me i-na
(alu)Bi-it-tu-u-tu aš-ta-kan abikta-šu šu-u ḥar-ba-šu
ta-ḥa-zi-ia eli-šu im-ḫut-ma it-ra-ku lub-bu-šu ki-ma
aš-ša-ri e-diš ip-par-šid-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu pa-an
ni-ri-ia u-tir-ma a-na (matu)Bit-(m)Ia-kin aš-ša-bat
ḥar-ra-nu.*

(Prism No. 55-10-3, 1, "Taylor," col. 3, ll. 44-50.)

"In the course of my campaign I defeated Shuzubi, the Chaldaean who dwelt in the marshes, at Bittutu. Fear of my onslaught fell upon him, and he was terrified; he fled like a sparrow, no trace of him was found. I turned the head of my team about, and took the road to Bit-Yakin."

It is clear from this passage that Bittutu was in the marsh district by the Euphrates, and probably therefore lay in the south of Bit-Dakkuri. If Bitati is to be identified with Bittutu, there would seem to be no intelligible geographical order in the list.

Bit-Dakkuri was bordered on the south by BIT-SA'ALLI. None of the cities named can be located, but they were probably situated near or on the river bank. A curious point arises as to the last-named city. Since the scribe gives the total number of cities named as eight, it is necessary to

read this name as (*alu*)*Šibtu ša (alu)Ma-ak-ka-me-e*. Now the verb *šabatu* in Assyrian was a technical term applied to the resettlement and colonisation of towns, frequently used in the expression *ana eššuti ašbat*. It may be that the term is used in this sense here also, and that we are to understand that the city was a foundation of the mother-city Makka-me. Whether this Makka-me was a Chaldaean city there is nothing to show; the name appears to mean "Edge of the waters," cf. *makutu*,¹ edge (of a well, etc.). It is interesting to note that Bit-Sa'alli lay about the point from which the later pilgrim route to Maccah started, just south of the Baħr-i-Shinafiyah. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Makka-me is in any way connected with the distant Arabian city.

The list now omits all mention of BIT-SHILANI, which is known to have been an independent tribe. In the year 731 Tiglath-pileser III laid Bit-Sa'alli and Bit-Shilani waste, and carried away from the former 50,400 captives, from the latter 55,000. That Bit-Shilani lay between Bit-Sa'alli and Bit-Amukkani may be inferred from a passage in the annals of Sennacherib. In the list of allies summoned to his assistance by Shuzubi in the year 689 the Chaldaean tribes are enumerated in the following order:—

mar (m. ilu)Marduk-apal-iddin-na (matu)Bit-(m)A-di-ni²
 (matu)Bit-(m)A-muk-ka-na (matu)Bit-(m)Šil-la-na
 (matu)Bit-(m)Sa-a-la Larak KI (alu)La-hi-ru.

(Prism No. 55-10-3, 1, "Taylor," col. V, ll. 34-35.)

¹ See Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 407a for instances.

² Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 202, suggests, with great probability, that Bit-Adini in this passage is "ein Zweig ebendieses Bit-Dakuri," and refers to Shalmaneser, Colossus, line 83. *Adini mar Dakuri*. The Aramaic letter summarised by Professor Lidzbarski, M.D.O.G. No. 58, mentions Bit-Adini as having been sacked by Ululai (Shalmaneser V).

The capital city of Bit-Shilani at the time of Tiglath-pileser III was Sarrabanu, which is the second city in the list of cities of Bit-Amukkani, so that it would appear that the small and desolated tribe had been absorbed for a time by its powerful southern neighbour. The two territories may have separated again as a consequence of Sennacherib's campaign.

That BIT-AMUKKANI was unusually powerful at the time of Sennacherib's first campaign is evident from another fact. In Tiglath-pileser III's account of his Chaldaean campaign, mention is made of a certain Nadinu, the independent Chaldaean prince of Larak. In the present list, Larak is given as the third city of Bit-Amukkani. That it did not remain in the hands of this tribe is again evident from the list of Shuzubi's allies given above, where it is named separately. The scribe himself appears to have been aware of these circumstances, since the first three names he gives are Sapia, the capital city of Bit-Amukkani, Sarrabanu, the capital city of Bit-Shilani, and Larak, an ancient Sumerian city which ordinarily preserved its separate political life.

The thirty-nine cities of Bit-Amukkani must have occupied a considerable area, perhaps from the district round Ur along the bank of the Nar Marratum, later called the "lacus Chaldaicus," very nearly up to the Tigris. The western bank of the Tigris itself and the marshes thereabout belonged to BIT-YAKIN, and here were situated the capital city, Dur-Yakin and the fortress of Kar-Nabu. Marduk-apal-iddinna had not failed however to enrich his own tribesmen during his period of kingship, for in the list of eight cities of Bit-Yakin occur the names of three of the most important cities in Southern Babylonia, Larsa, Kullab and Eridu. These cities must have been in the midst of the territory of Bit-Amukkani, but it is obvious that the

possession of them would have made Bit-Amukkani far too strong to suit Marduk-apal-iddinna, the chief of a small neighbouring tribe. Another city in the list, Kissik, seems also to have become independent of Bit-Yakin at a later date, for a letter (numbered K 1030 = Harper, Assyrian Letters, No. 736) was addressed by the people of Kissik to Ashur-bani-apli.

The whole territory of southern Babylonia then was occupied by the Chaldaean tribes; but within their borders there were still at the time of Sennacherib's first campaign certain ancient Sumerian cities which preserved their separate existence, as is shown by the manner in which Nippur and Erech are spoken of in line 52. The conditions must have closely resembled those in northern Babylonia, where the great cities, Kish, Kuthah, Borsippa and the rest seem similarly to have maintained a city life distinct from the tribal organisation of the Aramaeans about them. There is, moreover, one significant omission in the list of cities conquered, namely Ur. That this city was implicated in the revolt is established by line 10, and the failure of Sennacherib to attack it is a signal tribute to its strength.

The Aramaeans East of the Tigris.

The available information which has been gathered from cuneiform sources¹ concerning the Aramaean tribes on the banks of the Tigris and Karkhah, and farther north on the borders of Elam, is not materially increased by the new text. The wording of lines 12-14 shows that the well-known list of these tribes given in the annals of Sennacherib (Prism No. 55-10-3, 1, "Taylor," col. I, ll. 41-46) are arranged in



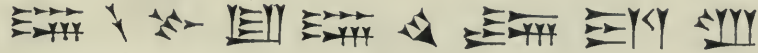
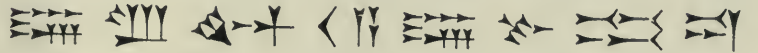
¹ Notably by Streck, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1906, No. 3; and Schiffer, *Die Aramiter*, pp. 115-135.






geographical groups, and if the restorations of those lines proposed in the text be accepted, the deductions of scholars receive additional confirmation.






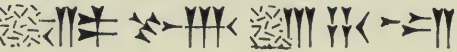
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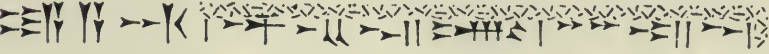
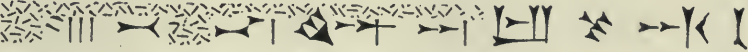
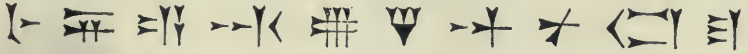
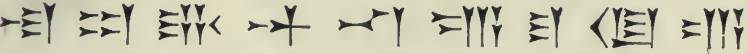



The Aramaean letter, the contents of which have been summarised by Professor Lidzbarski, *Mitteilung der Deutschen-Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 58, shows that at any rate certain of the signs hitherto treated as "determinatives" were pronounced. This appears from the spelling **מתכרי** = *mat Akkadi*. For convenience, the accepted method of bracketing "determinatives" has been adhered to in transliterating the present text.

ASSYRIAN [TEXT.

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14.  (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches missing) 




15.  (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches missing) 


 (7 $\frac{1}{16}$ inch missing) 

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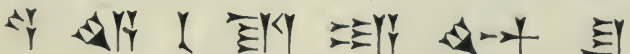
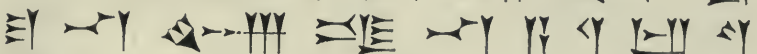
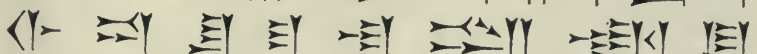
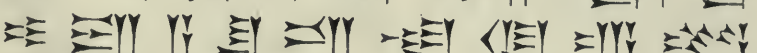
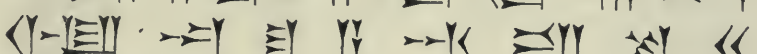
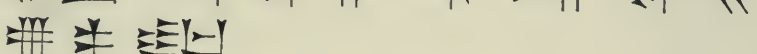
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31. 
 This line of cuneiform text consists of five rows of characters. The characters are arranged in a regular grid, typical of Assyrian script. The first row begins with a small number '31.' followed by a space. The characters are a mix of vertical and horizontal strokes, some with hooks or tails, representing various syllables or words.

32. 
 This line of cuneiform text consists of five rows of characters. It follows the same format as line 31, with a small number '32.' at the beginning. The characters are similar in style to those in line 31, showing a variety of syllabic forms.

33. 
 This line of cuneiform text consists of five rows of characters. It begins with a small number '33.' followed by a space. The characters are consistent with the other lines on the page, representing a continuous sequence of text in Assyrian script.

34. 
 This line of cuneiform text consists of five rows of characters. It begins with a small number '34.' followed by a space. The characters are consistent with the other lines on the page, representing a continuous sequence of text in Assyrian script.

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36. 




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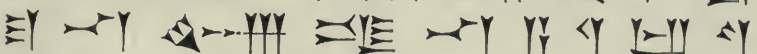
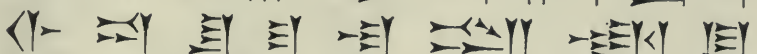
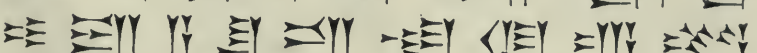
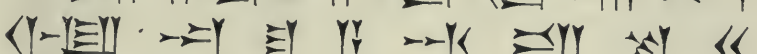
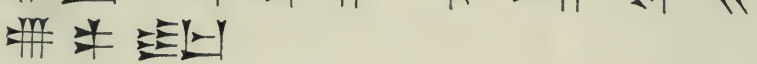


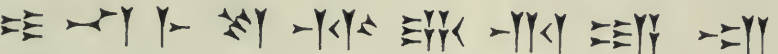


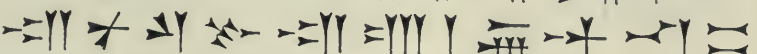
38. 





35.  (erasure by scribe) 






36. 




37. 



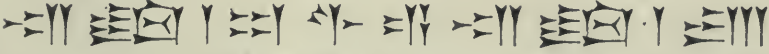


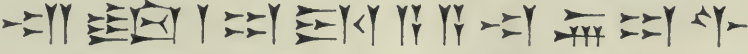

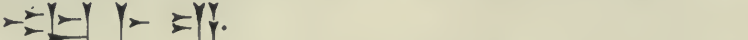


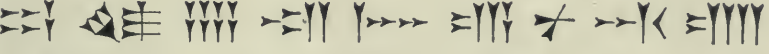

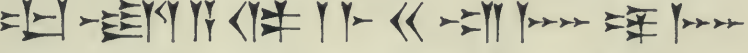

38. 





39.     

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41.   
 (erasure by scribe) 

42.     

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55.

62.

66. (partially erased by scribe)

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69.

¹ Partially erased, almost illegible.








































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

































71.









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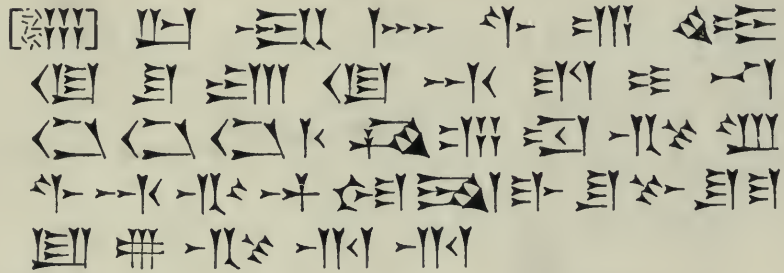
74.     (½ inch missing)      
         
         
         
    

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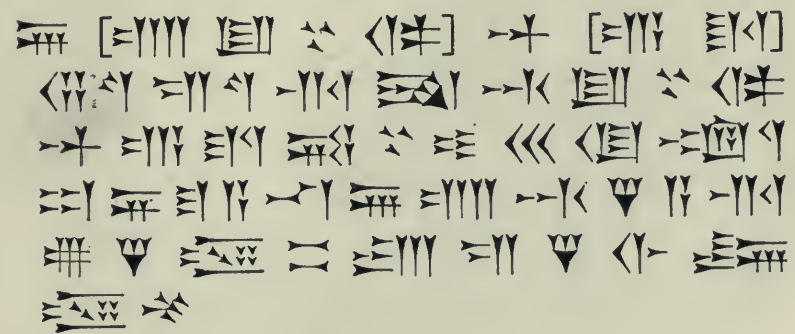
76.    (¾ inch missing)    (¾ inch missing)    
         
         
         
         
         

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86. 𐎶𐎵𐎠 [𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠] 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠
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TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF ASSYRIA, B.C. 703-2.

Transliteration.

[Brackets [] denote restorations, conjectural or supplied
from parallel texts.]

- (1) (*m. ilu*) *Sin-ahḫe-eri-ba šarru rabu šarru dan-nu šar*
(*matu*) *Aššur KI šarru la ša-na-an ri-e-um*
mut-nin-nu-u pa-liḫ ilani (pl.) rabuti (pl.)
- (2) *na-šir kit-ti ra'-im mi-ša-ri e-piš u-sa-a-ti a-lik*
tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-ka-a-ti
- (3) *id-lum git-ma-lum zi (!)-ka-ru kar-du a-ša-rid kal*
ma-al-ki rab-bu la'-it la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-ḫum
za-ma-a-ni
- (4) (*ilu*) *Aššur šadu(u) rabu(u) šarru-ut la ša-na-an*
u-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma eli gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki
u-šar-ba-a kakke (pl.)-ia
- (5) *i-na riš šarru-ti-ia ša i-na (išu) kussi [rabiš u-ši]-bu-ma*
ba-ḫu-la-a-te (matu) Aššur KI u-ma-aḫ-ru i-na
taš-me-e u sa-li-me
- (6) (*m. ilu*) *Marduk - apal - iddin - na šar (matu)*
Kar-[dun-ia-aš] ba-ra-nu-u ka-raš
sur-ra-a-ti e-piš li-mut-ti ša an-nun la šu-rit (?) -tu
- (7) (*m. ilu*) *Šu-tur-(ilu) Na-ḫu-du (amelu) E-[la-mu-u]*
. is-ḫur-ma ḫuraši kaspi ni-šik-ti
abne (pl.) u-šat-lim-šu-ma e-tir-ri-su ?-ru

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF ASSYRIA, B.C. 703-2.

Translation.

[Words in () are added to help the sense.]

- (1) Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, the king without compeer, the shepherd who offers up prayers, who worships the great gods,
- (2) who maintains honesty, loves righteousness, lends aid (to those in need), affords help to those in want, and renders favours,
- (3) the perfect hero, the valiant male, pre-eminent among all kings, the mighty one who consumes the disobedient with fire and smites the enemy with lightning (am I).
- (4) Ashur, the mighty rock, bestowed a kingship without compare, and magnified my arms over all those who dwell in princely palaces.
- (5) At the beginning of my reign, when I took my seat upon the throne with majesty, and sent the young men of Assyria before me, with prayers and supplication,
- (6) Marduk-apal-iddin, king of Babylonia, the froward, the plotter of rebellion, the worker of wickedness, whom fear caused not to tremble (?),
- (7) appealed to Shutur-Nahudu, the Elamite, and bestowed gold, silver and precious stones upon him, and his abounding wealth,

F

- (8) (m.) *Im-ba-ap-pa* (amelu) *tur-ta*-[nu ša (matu) *Elamti* KI (m.) *Ta*]-an-na-a-nu (amelu) šanu rakbu 10 (amelu) rab *ki-šir* (pl.) a-di (m. ilu) *Nergal-na-šir* (amelu) *Su-tu-u la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-zu*
- (9) 80,000 (amelu) *šabe* (pl.) (*išu*) *kašti* (imeru) *sise* (pl.) *it-ti-šu-nu-ti-ma a-na* (matu) *Šumeri u Agadi* KI *iš-pu-ra ri-šu*-[us]-su
- (10) *u šu-u* KI *Uru* KI *Eridu* KI *Kullab* KI *Ki-is-sik* KI (alu) *Ni-mid*-(ilu) [*La-gu*]-da
- (11) (matu) *Bit*-(m) [*Ya-ki-ni* (matu) *Bit*-(m) *A-muk-ka-a-ni* (matu) *Bit*-(m) *Sa-al*]-li (matu) *Bit*-(m) *Dak-ku-ri si-ḫir-ti* (amelu) *Kal-di ma-la ḫa-šu*-[u]
- (12) *ša kišad* (naru) [*Mar-ra-ti* (amelu) *Tu*'-mu-na (amelu) *Ri-ḫi-ḫu* (amelu) *U-bu-du* (amelu)] *Ya-daḫ-ḫum* (amelu) *Kip-ri-e* (amelu) *Ma-li-ḫu*
- (13) *ša kišad* (naru) [*Idiglat* (amelu) *Gu-ru-mu* (amelu) *U-bu-lu* (amelu) *Da-mu*]-nu (amelu) *Gam-bu-lu* (amelu) *Hi-in-da-ru* (amelu) *Ru*'-u-a (amelu) *Pu-ku-du*
- (14) *ša kišad* (naru) [*Ukni* (amelu) *Ḫa-am-ra-nu* (amelu) *Ḫa-ga-ra-nu*] (amelu) *Na-ba-tu* (amelu) *Li*'-ta-a-u (amelu) *A-ra-mu la kan-šu ša la i*-[du]-u *mi*-[tu]-tum
- (15) *Nippur* KI KI *Bar-šip* KI *Kutu* KI *gi-mir* (matu) *Kar-dun-ia-aš iš-te-niš u-pa-ḫir*-[ma u]-*šaḫ-šir ta-ḫa-zu*
- (16) *ia-a-ti* (m. ilu) *Sin-aḫḫe-eri-ba* [ša] *lib-bi*-[šu] *na*'-du *ip-še-ti-šu lim-ni-e-ti u-ša-an-nu-nim-ma la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma ki-rib Bab-ili* KI a-[na maḫ]-ri-šu *aḫ-ti-bi a-la-ku*
- (17) *šu-u im-di gal-li-e lim-ni a-lak gir-ri-ia iš-me-ma* (imeru) *sise* (pl.) *šabe* (pl.) (*išu*) *kašti* (amelu) *A-la-mu-u* (amelu) *A-ra-mu* (amelu) *Kal-du it-ti* (m. ilu) *Nergal-na-šir u 10* (amelu) rab *ki-šir* [(pl.) ša] (matu) *Elamti* KI *ša la i-du mi*-[tu]-tu

- (8) Imbappa, the tartan of Elam, Tannanu, the second charioteer, ten commanders, together with Nergal-našir the Sutaean, the fearless in battle,
- (9) 80,000 bowmen, horses with them, he (Shutur-Nahudu) sent to Shumer and Akkad to his help.
- (10) And (he) Ur, Eridu, Kullab, Kissik, Nimid-Laguda,
- (11) (Bit-Yakin, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Sa'alli), Bit-Dakkuri, all the Chaldaeans of every tribe
- (12) who (dwell) on the bank of (the salt lake), the Tu'muna, the Riḫiḫu, the Ubudu, the Yadaḫḫu, the Kiprie, the Maliḫu
- (13) who (dwell) on the bank of (the Tigris), the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Ḫindaru, the Ru'ua, the Puḫudu
- (14) who (dwell) on the bank of (the Karkhah), the Ḫamranu, the Ḫagaranu, the Nabatu, the Li'tau, Aramaeans who are not submissive, who take no heed of death,
- (15) Nippur, Borsippa, Kuthah, all the land of Babylonia he assembled together, he equipped for battle.
- (16) To me, Sennacherib, whose courage is exalted, they reported his ill deeds, and I was grievously wroth, I ordered a march to Babylon to meet him.
- (17) That fellow, the prop of evil devils, heard of the setting out of my expedition, and the horse and bowmen of Elam, Aram, and Chaldaeia under Nergal-našir and the ten commanders of Elam, who take no heed of death,

- (18) *e-mu-ki la ni-bi it-ti-šu-nu-ti-ma u-dan-ni-in ki-iš-ri-šu-un ki-rib Kutu KI iš-te-niš u-še-rib-ma a-na me-te-iḫ gir-ri-ia u-ša-an-[na-šir] taḫazi dan-nim*
- (19) *ši-in-di-ia uš-te-še-ra (umu) 20 KAM ša (arḫu) Šabaṭu ul-tu Aššur KI kima (alpu) rimu gaḫ-ši maḫ-rit ummani-ia aš-bat-ma pa-an gi-ip-ši-ia ul u-šaḏ-gil-[ma] ar-ka-a ul [e-te]-ki*
- (20) *(amelu) rab-šaḫ (amelu) bel piḫati (pl.)-ia a-na Kiš KI u-ma - ' - ir maḫ - ru - u - a u - ru - uḫ (m. ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin-na šab-ta-a⁴ma e-te-ga-a dun-ni-na ma-suk-ku*
- (21) *šu-u (amelu) bel piḫati (pl.)-ia e-mur-ma a-di gi-mir el-la-ti-šu abul Ilbaba uš-ša-am-ma i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš KI it-ti (amelu) rabe (pl.)-ia e-pu-uš ta-ḫa-zu*
- (22) *(amelu) rabe (pl.)-ia kiṭ-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi (amelu) nakiri eli-šu-un id-nin-ma ul i-li'-u ma-ḫa-ar-šu (amelu) apil šip-ri-šu-un ša ḫa-maṭ i-na ki-rib ta-mir-ti Kutu KI ši-ru-u-a iš-pu-ru-u-ni*
- (23) *i-na ug-gat lib-bi-ia eli Kutu KI ti-bu-u-ru aš-kun-ma (amelu) mun-taḫ-ši sa-ḫi-ir duri-šu nab-li-iš u-ṭib-bi-iḫ-ma aš-ša-bat ala*
- (24) *(imeru) sise (pl.) šabe (pl.) (iṣu) ḫašti (amelu) E-la-me-e (amelu) A-ra-nu (amelu) Kal-du (amelu) rab ki-šir (pl.) (amelu) (matu) Elamti KI u (m. ilu) Nergal-na-šir a-di mare (pl.) ali bel hi-iṭ-ti u-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*
- (25) *la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma al-la-bi-ib a-bu-bi-iš it-ti (amelu) ḫu-ra-di-ia la ga-me-lu-ti ši-riš (m. ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin-na a-na Kiš KI aš-ta-kan pa-ni-ia*

- (18) forces innumerable under them he despatched as reinforcements, their battalions he (ordered) to enter Kuthah all together, and to keep a mighty onslaught in waiting for the approach of my expedition.
- (19) I had my teams harnessed, on the 20th of Shebat I set out from the city of Ashur, like a wild bull of great strength. I took post at the head of my soldiers, I did not suffer the leading file of my host to linger, and I did not take a pace backwards.
- (20) My chief officers and my district governors I despatched on the road to Kish in advance of me, to take the road to Marduk-apal-iddin and to advance to form a strong guard.
- (21) That fellow saw my district governors, and sallied out of the gate of Ilbaba with all his forces, and did battle with my captains in the neighbourhood of Kish.
- (22) As for my captains, the onslaught of the enemy in battle bore heavily upon them, and they could not prevail against him; they sent their couriers to me in the neighbourhood of Kuthah.
- (23) In the anger of my heart I made an assault on Kuthah, and slaughtered the light troops about its wall with fire, and took the city.
- (24) The horse and bow-men of Elam, Aram and Chaldaeae, the commanders of the king of Elam and Nergal-našir together with the citizens who were chiefs of the rebels I had surrendered to me and counted as booty.
- (25) I was exceeding wroth and raged like a wind-storm; along with my warriors, who gave no quarter, I set my face towards Kish, against Marduk-apal-iddin.

- (26) *u šu-u e-piš lim-ni-e-ti a-ka-mu gir-ri-ia a-na ru-ki-e-ti e-mur-ma im-ku-su hat-tu gi-mir el-la-ti-šu e-zib-ma a-na (matu) Gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bit*
- (27) *(m) Ta-an-na-a-nu a-di um-ma-na-at (amelu) Elamti KI (amelu) Kal-du u (amelu) A-ra-mu ša i-da-a-šu iz-zi-zu-ma il-li-ku ri-šu-us-su abikta-šu-un aš-kun-ma u-par-ri-ir el-[lat]-su*
- (28) *(m) A-di-nu mar aššat (m. ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin-na a-di (m) Ba-as-ka-a-nu aḫ (f) Ya-ti-'-e šar-rat (amelu) A-ri-bi it-ti um-ma-ṛa-te-šu-nu bal-tu-su-un ina ka-ti aš-bat*
- (29) *(išu) narkabati (pl.) (išu) šu-um-bi (imeru) sise (pl.) (imeru) pare (pl.) imere (pl.) (imeru) gammali (pl.) (imeru) ud-ri ša ki-riḫ tam-ḫa-ri muš-šu-ru ik-šu-da kata-ai*
- (30) *i-na hu-ud lib-bi u nu-um-mur pa-ni a-na Bab-ili KI a-ḫi-iš-ma a-na e-kal (m. ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin-na aš-šu pa-ḫad bušu u makkuru ki-riḫ-ša e-ru-ub*
- (31) *ap-te-e-ma bit ni-šir-te-šu hurašu kaspu u-nu-ut huraši kaspi abne (pl.) a-ḫar-tu (išu) irše (pl.) (išu) kussi (pl.) ni-me-di išu ša ša-da-di (išu) ga-ši-ru-ut šarru-ti-šu ša iḫ-zu-šu-nu hurašu kaspu*
- (32) *mimma šum-šu bušu makkuru la ni-bi ni-šir-tum ka-bit-tum aššat-su zinnišati (pl.) e-kal-šu (f) ŠI + UM (pl.) (amelu) šu-ut-riš (pl.) (amelu) rab TE (pl.) (amelu) man-za-az pa-ni (amelu) zammere (pl.) (f) zammereti (pl.)*
- (33) *(amelu) arde (pl.) e-kal mu-nam-mi-ru te-mu ru-bu-ti-šu si-ḫi-ir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-u mut-tab-bi-lu-ut e-kal-šu u-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*

- (26) But he, the worker of wickedness, saw the approach of my expedition, from afar, and terror fell upon him. He left all his troops, and fled to the district of Guzumman.
- (27) Tannanu with the troops of Elam, Chaldaeae and Aram, those who had espoused his cause and those who had been sent to his support, I defeated them and smashed his forces.
- (28) Adinu, the son of Marduk-apal-iddin's wife, and Baskanu, the brother of Yati'e, the queen of the Aribi, together with their troops I took prisoners alive.
- (29) I took possession of the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels and two-humped dromedaries which had been abandoned in the fight.
- (30) With a joyful heart and a bright face I hastened to Babylon, and entered the palace of Marduk-apal-iddin, to take charge of his goods and property.
- (31) I opened his treasure-house, gold, silver, gear of gold and silver, precious stones, beds, thrones, litters, his royal pavilion (?), the plating whereof is of gold and silver,
- (32) goods and property of every kind, beyond reckoning, a colossal treasure, his Consort, his wives, his concubines, the chamberlains, the chief throne-bearers(?), the courtiers, the musicians male and female,
- (33) the slaves of the palace, who rejoiced his princely understanding (*i.e.*, his ministers), all the craftsmen of every kind, who served in his palace, I had surrendered to me, and counted as booty.

- (34) *ur-ri-iḫ-ma arki-šu a-na (matu) Gu-zu-um-ma-ni (amelu) mun-taḫ-ši-ia a-na ki-rib (naru) a-gam-me u ap-pa-ra-a-ti u-ma'-ir-ma 5 ume (me) u-ba'-šu-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu*
- (35) *si-te-it (imeru) sise (pl.) ummani-šu ša ia-'-šu ma-na-aḫ-tum na-a-liš ip-par-ši-du-šu-ma la il-li-ku i-da-a-šu iš-tu ki-rib šeri u ba-ma-a-ti iš-te-niš u-pa-ḫir*
- (36) *i-na me-te-iḫ gir-ri-ia (alu) A-ma-tu (alu) Ha-u-a-e (alu) Su-pa-bu (alu) Nu-ka-bu (alu) Bit (!)-(m) Sa-an-na-bi (alu) Ku-ṭa-ai-in*
- (37) *(alu) Kid-ri-na (alu) Dur-(m) La-di-ni (alu) Bi-ta-a-ti (alu) Ba-ni-tu (matu) Gu-zu-um-ma-nu (alu) Dur-(m) Ya-an-šu-ri (alu) Dur-(m) A-bi-ia-ta' (alu) Dur-(m) Ru-du-um-me*
- (38) *(alu) Bit-(m) Ra-ḫi-e (alu) Ḥa-pi-ša (alu) Sa-di-ilu (alu) Ḥu-ru-du (alu) Ša-aḫ-ri-na (alu) Il-tu-uk (alu) Al-la-al-lu Marad KI (alu) Ya-ḫi-mu-na*
- (39) *(alu) Ku-ub-ru-na (alu) Bit-(m) Ku-dur-ri (alu) Suḫa (ka)-(m) Ma-ru-si nap-ḫar 33 alani (pl.) dan-nu-ti bit durani (pl. nī) ša (matu) Bit-(m) Dak-ku-ri a-di 250 alani (pl.) šihṛuti (pl.) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu*
- (40) *(alu) Dur-(m) Ap-pi-e (alu) Dur-(m) Ta-ni-e (alu) Dur-(m) Sa-ma-' (alu) Sa-ar-ra-ba-tu (alu) Ša-la-ḫa-tu (alu) Dur-(m) Ab-da-ai (alu) Sa-ap-pi-ḫi-ma-ri (alu) Šib-tu ša (alu) Ma-ak-ka-me-e*
- (41) *nap-ḫar 8 alani (pl.) dan-nu-ti bit durani (pl. nī) ša (matu) Bit-(m) Sa'-al-li a-di 120 alani (pl.) šihṛuti (pl.) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu*

- (34) I hastened to despatch my light troops after him to the district of Guzumman into the district of swamps and marshes; and five days they searched for him, but no trace of him was found.
- (35) The remnant of the horse and of his infantry, who had forsaken the camp, fled like hinds from him and did not accompany him. I gathered them together from out of valley and hill.
- (36- 50) In the course of my expedition the cities of Bit-Dakkuri, in all 33 fortified walled cities with 250 hamlets within their borders; the cities of Bit-Sa'alli, in all 8 fortified walled cities, with 120 hamlets within their borders; the cities of Bit-Amukkani, in all 39 fortified walled cities with 350 hamlets within their borders; the cities of Bit-Yakin, in all 8 fortified walled cities with 100 hamlets within their borders; a total of 88 fortified walled cities of Chaldaeia with 820 hamlets within their borders; I besieged and took, I carried away their spoil.

- (42) (alu) *Sa-pi-a* (alu) *Sa-ar-ra-ba-nu* Larak KI
 BAR. MAR. RI. KI (alu) *Bit-(m)* *Ilu-ba-ni*
 (alu) *A-ḫu-du* (alu) *Ša iṣ-ṣur* (ilu) *Adad* (alu) *Ša*
ḫar-ra-tu (alu) *Ma-na-aḫ-ḫu*
- (43) (alu) *Ša a-me-li-e* (alu) *Dur-(m)* *Ak-ki-ia* (alu) *Na-gi-tu*
 (alu) *Nu-ur-a-bi-nu* (alu) *Ha-ar-ṣu-ar-ra*
 (alu) *Dur-(m)* *Ru-uk-bi* (alu) *Da-an-da-ḫul-la*
 (alu) *Dur-(m)* *Bir-da-da*
- (44) (alu) *Bit-ri-'-e* (alu) *Dur-(m)* *U-gur-ri*
 (alu) *Ḫi-in-da-i-na* (alu) *Dur-(m)* *U-ai-it*
 (alu) *Bit-(m)* *Ta-u-ra-a* (alu) *Sa-aḫ-ḫu-na*
 (alu) *Bu-ḫa-ar-ru*
- (45) (alu) *Ḫar-be-(m)* *Iddin-na* (alu) *Ḫar-be-(m)* *Kal-bi*
 (alu) *Ša bar-ri-e* (alu) *Bit-(m)* *Ba-ni-ilu-u-a*
 (alu) *Su-la-a-du* (alu) *Bit-(m)* *Il-ta-ma-sa-ma-'*
 (alu) *Bit-(m)* *Di-ni-ilu*
- (46) (alu) *Da-ḫa-la* (alu) *Ḫa-me-sa* (alu) *Be-la-a*
 (alu) *Ta-i-ru* (alu) *Kip-ra-a-nu* (alu) *Il-ta-ra-tu*
 (alu) *Ak-am-ša-ki-na* (alu) *Sa-ga-ba-tu* *ša*
 (m) *Mar-duk-ia*
- (47) *naḫ-ḫar* 39 *alani* (pl.) *dan-nu-ti* *ša* (matu) *Bit-(m)*
A-muk-ka-a-ni a-di 350 *alani* (pl.) *ṣiḫruti* (pl.) *ša*
li-me-ti-šu-nu
- (48) (alu) *Bit-(m)* *Za-bi-di-ia* Larsa KI Kullab KI
 Eridu KI *Ki-is-sik* KI (alu) *Ni-mid-(ilu)* *La-gu-da*
 (alu) *Dur-(m)* *Ya-ki-ni a-di* (alu) *Ḳar-(ilu)* *Nabu* *ša*
ki-šad (naru) *Mar-ra-ti*
- (49) *naḫ-ḫar* 8 *alani* (pl.) *dan-nu-ti* *bit durani* (pl. ni) *ša*
 (matu) *Bit-(m)* *Ya-ki-ni a-di* 100 *alani* (pl.) *ṣiḫruti*
 (pl.) *ša li-me-ti-šu-nu*
- (50) *naḫ-ḫar* 88 *alani* (pl. ni) *dan-nu-ti* *bit durani* (pl. ni)
ša (matu) *Kal-di a-di* 820 *alani* [(pl.)] *ṣiḫruti* (pl.) *ša*
li-me-ti-šu-nu al-me ak-šu-ud aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un

BIT-DAKKURI

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Amatu | Dur- Rudumme |
| Ḥauae | Bit-Raḥie |
| Supabu | Ḥapisha |
| Nuḳabu | Sadi-ilu |
| Bit-Sannabi | Ḥurudu |
| Ḳuṭain | Ṣaḥrina |
| Kidrina | Iltuk |
| Dur-Ladini | Allallu |
| Bitati | Marad |
| Banitu | Yaḳimuna |
| Guzummanu | Kubruna |
| Dur-Yanṣuri | Bit-Kudurri |
| Dur-Abi- yata' | Suḳa-Marusi |

BIT-AMUKKANI

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Sapia | Dur-Uait |
| Sarrabanu | Bit-Taura |
| Larak | Saphuna |
| BAR.MAR. RI | Buḥarru |
| Bit-Ilu-bani | Ḥarbe-Iddina |
| Aḥudu | Ḥarbe-Kalbi |
| Sha iṣṣur Adad | Sha barrie |
| Sha ḥarratu | Bit-Bani-ilûa |
| Manaḥḥu | Suladu |
| Sha amelie | Bit- Iltamasama' |
| Dur-Akkia | Bit-Dini-ilu |
| Nagitu | Daḳala |
| Nur-abinu | Ḥameza |
| Harṣuarra | Belâ |
| Dur-Rukbi | Tairu |
| Dandaḥulla | Kibranu |
| Dur-Birdada | Iltaratu |
| Bit-ri'e | Akam-shakina |
| Dur-Ugurri | Sagabatu sha Mardukiâ |
| Ḥindaina | |

BIT-SA'ALLI

| | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| Dur-Appie | Ṣalaḥatu |
| Dur-Tanie | Dur-Abdai |
| Dur-Sama' | Sappiḥimari |
| Sarrabatu | Ṣibtu sha Makkame |

BIT-YAKIN

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Bit-Zabidia | Kissik |
| Larsa | Nimid-Laguda |
| Kullab | Dur-Yakini |
| Eridu | and Ḳar-Nabu which is beside the salt lake |

- (51) *še-im suluppi ša ki-rib ki-ra-a-te-šu-nu eburu-šu-nu ša šeri ummani (ni) u-ša-kil ab-bul ak-ḫur i-na išati ak-mu a-na tile (pl.) ma-šu-u-ti u-tir*
- (52) *(amelu) Ur-bi (amelu) A-ra-mu (amelu) Kal-du ša ki-rib Uruk KI Nippur KI Kiš KI Ḫar-sag-kalam-ma KI a-di mare (pl.) ali bel [hi-iṭ]-ti u-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš an-nu*
- (53) *še-im suluppi ša ki-rib ki-ra-a-te-šu-nu me-riš ma-na-ḫi-šu-nu ebur šeri ba-lat ummani(ni) u-ša-kil*
- (54) *(m) Bel-ibni mar rab banie pi-ri' Šu-an-na KI ša ki-ma mi-ra-ni ša-ah-ri ki-rib e-kal-ia ir-bu-u [a-na šarru-ut (matu) Agadi] u Šumeri KI aš-ta-kan eli-šu-un*
- (55) *i-na ta-ai-ar-ti-ia (amelu) Tu'-mu-na (amelu) Ri-ḫi-ḫu (amelu) Ya-daḫ-ḫum (amelu) U-bu-du (amelu) Kip-ri-[e (amelu) Ma-li-ḫu (amelu) Gu-ru-mu (amelu) U]-bu-lu (amelu) Da-mu-nu (amelu) Gam-bu-lum (amelu) Ḫi-in-da-ru*
- (56) *(amelu) Ru - ' - u - a (amelu) Pu-ḫu-du (amelu) Ḫa-am-ra-a-nu (amelu) Ḫa-[ga]-ra-a-nu (amelu) Na-ba-tu (amelu) Li-[']-ta-a-[u (amelu) A-ra-mu la kan-šu-ti mit-ha-]riš ak-su-ud-ma aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un*
- (57) *i-na me-ti-iḫ gir-ri-ia ša (m. ilu) Nabu-bel-šumati (pl.) [(amelu)] ḫi-pi (alu) Ḫa-ra-ra-ti ḫurašu kaspu (išu) nu-[suk-kan-ni] rabati (pl.) imere [(pl.) (imeru)] gam-mal (pl.) alpe (pl.) u šene man-da-ta-šu ka-bit-tam am-ḫur'*
- (58) *ba-ḫu-la-te (alu) Ḫi-rim-me (amelu) nakiru ak-šu ša ul-tu ul-la a-na šarrani (pl. ni) abe (pl.)-ia la ik-nu-šu i-na kakki u-šam-kit-ma na-piš-tum ul e-zib*

- (51) The corn and dates which were in their plantations, their harvest in the fields I ordered my troops to eat; (the towns) I plundered, I sacked, I turned into forgotten tells.
- (52) The Arabians, Aramaeans and Chaldaeans who were in Erech, Nippur, Kish and Harsagkalamma, together with the citizens who led the insurrection, I had surrendered, and counted as booty.
- (53) The corn and dates which were in their plantations, the gardens of their houses, the harvest of the field I ordered my troops to eat.
- (54) Bel-ibni, a son of the chief builder, a scion of Babylon, who had grown up in my palace like a young hound, I set up over them as king of Shumer and Akkad.
- (55) On my march back, the Tu'muna, the Rihihu, the Yadaḳḳu, the Ubudu, the Kiprie, the Maliḥu, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Hindaru,
- (56) the Ru'ua, the Puḳudu, the Ḥamranu, the Ḥagaranu, the Nabatu, the Li'tau, Aramaeans who were not subject, I conquered all together, and I carried off their spoil.
- (57) In the course of my expedition, I received the heavy tribute of Nabu-bel-shumate, the governor of Ḥararati, (consisting of) gold, silver, great musikkanni trees, asses, camels, oxen and sheep.
- (58) The fighting men of Ḥirimme, obstinate foes who from days of old paid no allegiance to the kings my fathers I slew by the sword, and not a soul remained.

- (59) *na-gu-u šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat išten(en) alpu*
 10 *šene (pl.)* 10 *imer karani (pl.)* 20 *imer saluppi*
ri-še-te-šu a-na gi-ni-e ilani (pl.) (mat) Aššur KI
bele (pl.)-ia u-kin da-ri-šam
- (60) *it-ti 208,000 šal-lat niše (pl.) ka-bit-tum 7,200 (imer)*
sise (pl.) (imeru) pare (pl.) 11,780 imere (pl.) 5,230
(imeru) gam-mal (pl.) 80,050 alpe (pl.) 800,100 šene
(f pl.) a-tu-ra a-na ki-rib (mat) Aššur KI
- (61) *e-šib niše (pl.) imere (pl.) (imeru) gam-mal (pl.) alpe*
(pl.) u šene iš umman-ia e-bu-ku-nim a-na
ra-ma-ni-šu-nu is-ki-lu si-ki-l-tu
- (62) *u ba-ḫu-la-te na-ki-ri me-šu-be-ru ša a-[na ni-]ri-ia la*
ik-nu-šu i-na kakki u-šam-kit-ma a-lul ga-ši-šeš
- (63) *i-na umi (mī)-šu-ma Ninua KI ma-ḫa-zu ši-i-ru alu*
na-[ram] (ilu) Iš-tar ša naḫ-ḫar ki-du-di-e ilani (pl.)
u (ilu) iš-tar (pl.) ba-šu-u ki-rib-šu
- (64) *tim-me-en-nu da-ru-u du-ru-uš ša-[a]-ti ša ul-tu ul-la*
it-ti ši-tir bu-ru-um-me iš-rat-su iš-rit-ma šu-pu-u
ši-in-du-šu
- (65) *aš-ru nak-lu šu-bat pi-riš-ti ša mimma šum-šu ši-pir*
ni-kil-tim gi-mir bil-lu-di-e ni-šir-ti LAL.GAR
šu-ta-bu-lu ki-rib-šu
- (66) *ša ul-tu ul-la šarrani (pl. nī) a-[li-]kut maḫ-ri abe*
(pl.)-ia ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-ut (matu) Aššur KI
e-pu-šu-ma u-ma'-ru ba'-lat (ilu) En-lil
- (67) *u šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a [e]-rib la nar-ba-a-ti bilat*
mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba' im-da-na-ḫa-ru ki-rib-šu

- (59) That district I settled afresh; one ox, ten sheep, ten omers of sesame wine, twenty omers of dates, the finest kind thereof, as the sacrificial dues of the gods of Assyria, my lords, I laid on them for ever.
- (60) With the huge number of 208,000 prisoners, 7,200 horses and mules, 11,780 asses, 5,230 camels, 80,050 oxen, 800,100 sheep I returned, in Assyria
- (61) I appeared. My men took away the prisoners, asses, camels, oxen and sheep from they acquired as their own property,
- (62) and the fighting men of the foe who had been captured, those who had not submitted to my yoke, I slew by the sword and bound on stakes.
- (63) At that time the exalted city of Nineveh, beloved of Ishtar, wherein are all the shrines of the gods and goddesses,
- (64) a lasting foundation, an eternal site, whereof the design was fashioned of old in a many-coloured writing, and the construction thereof was resplendent,
- (65) a beauteous place, the abode of the oracle, wherein are brought works of art of every kind, all the shrines, the treasures of
- (66) where of old the kings who preceded me, my ancestors, in days gone by exercised the lordship of Assyria, and ordered the realm of Bel,
- (67) and yearly, without intermission, received therein an unceasing revenue, the tribute of the kings of the four quarters (of the world):

- (68) *ai-um-ma i-na lub-bi-šu-nu a-na e-gal kir-bi-šu kum-mu ri-mit be-lu-tu ša šu-ḥur šu-bat-su li-e-su ul id-da-a lub-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us*
- (69) *a-na šu-te-šur suḫi ali u šum-dul ri-ba-a-ti ḫa-ri-e nari za-ka-ap šip-pa-a-te u-zu-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su*
- (70) *ia-a-ti (m. ilu) Sin-aḫḫe-eri-ba šar (matu) Aššur KI e-piš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭe-im ilani (pl.) i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma*
- (71) *te-ne-šit [(matu) Kal]-di (amēlu) A-ra-mu (matu) Man-na-ai (matu) Ku-e u (matu) Hi-lak-ku ša a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu as-su-ḫa-am-ma UM-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu libuttu*
- (72) *a-pi ku-pi [ša] kirib (matu) Kal-di aḫ-šit-ma ap-pa-ri-šu-un šam-ḫu-ti i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti ḫata (dual)-ia u-šal-di-da a-na e-piš šip-ri-ša*
- (73) *e-kal maḫ-[ri-tu] ša 30 GAR šid-du u 10 GAR put-sa ša šarrani (pl. nī) a-li-kut pa-ni abe (pl.)-ia u-še-pi-šu-ma la u-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-ša*
- (74) *ša ul-tu [ume (me) ru-]ḫu-ti (naru) Te-bil-ti i-ta-a-ša i-ba-'-ma i-na uš-ši-ša ab-bu u-šab-šu-u u-ri-ib-bu tim-me-en-ša*
- (75) *[e-kal šihra ša-a-tu] a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša aḫ-ḫur-ma ša (naru) Te-bil-ti ma-lak-ša uš-ṭib-ma u-še-šir mu-šu-ša*
- (76) *i-na [arḫi] še-[me-e i-na] umi (mi) mit-ga-ri ki-rib ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-ša 60-uš šid-du 30 GAR. putu aban šad-i dan-nu ak-si-ma eḫlu ul-tu ma-a-me u-še-lam-ma na-bā-liš u-še-me*

- (68) none among them had paid heed to the palace therein, the place that was a royal abode, whereof the site was strait, none had pondered thereon in his heart.
- (69) none had given his mind to straightening the city's streets, broadening the open places, digging canals and planting fruit-gardens, none had directed his attention thereto :
- (70) I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, cherished the intent to perform that work according to the will of the gods, and roused my spirit thereto.
- (71) Folk from Chaldaeae, Aram, Mannai, Kue and Cilicia who had not been submissive to my yoke I tore away (from their lands) and made them carry hods, and they baked bricks.
- (72) I gathered the sedge which (grows) in Chaldaeae, and the luxuriant reeds thereof I made the fighting men of the foe who were my prisoners bear for the completion of its construction.
- (73) The former palace, which was 30 GAR in length and 10 GAR in breadth, which the kings my predecessors had built without adorning the construction thereof,
- (74) —the side thereof the river Tebiltu had washed from days of old so as to cause damage to its foundation and make its terrace sink—
- (75) that small palace I dug up in its entirety and altered the course of the Tebiltu and made its outflow straight (from the city).
- (76) In a propitious month, on a favourable day, in the hidden bed of the river for a space 60 long 30 GAR wide I secured great boulders, and I made ground to rise out of the waters and turned it into dry land.

- (77) *la-ba-riš ume (me) i-na mili kiš-ša-ti te-me-en-šu la e-ni-ši as-kuṣ-pat (aban) pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-šu u-ša-as-ḫi-ra u-dan-na šu-pu-uk-šu*
- (78) *120-uš 50 ti-ip-ki ši-ru-uš-šin a-na e-la-ni tam-la-a u-mal-li-ma e-li mi-ši-iḫ-ti e-kal maḫ-ri-te u-rad-di-ma u-ša-an-di-la ti-šar-ša*
- (79) *e-kal šinni piri (iṣu) ušu (iṣu) urkarinnu (iṣu) mu-suk-kan-ni (iṣu) erinu (iṣu) šur-man (iṣu) burašu u (iṣu) bu-uṭ-ni e-kal ZAG.DU.NU.TUK.A a-na mu-šab šarru-ti-ia u-še-pi-ša ki-rib-ša*
- (80) *gušure (pl.) (iṣu) erini tar-bit (šadu) Ḫa-ma-nim ša ul-tu ḫur-ša-a-ni ru-ku-u-ti nam-ra-ši-iš ip-šal-lu-ni u-šat-ri-ša ta-ra-an-ši-in*
- (81) *(iṣu) dalati (pl.) (iṣu) šur-man ši-ra-a-ti ša i-na pi-te-e u ta-a-ri e-ri-eš ṭa-a-bu me-sir siparri nam-ri u-šir-kis-ma u-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin*
- (82) *bit ap-pa-a-te tam-sil e-kal (mat) Ḫat-ti ša i-na li-ša-a-ni (matu) Amurri KI bit ḫi-la-a-ni i-ša-as-su-šu a-na mul-ta'-u-ti be-lu-ti-ia u-še-pi-ša ki-rib-šin*
- (83) *8 niše (pl.) pi-tan bir-ki šu-ta-ḫi-ti ša i-na 3 × 3,600 + 600 bilat eri nam-ru pi-ti-iḫ (ilu) NIN.A.GAL šu-pu-šu-ma lu-u nam-ri-ri*
- (84) *u 2 dim-me šu-ta-ḫu-ti ša 3,600 + 4 × 600 bilat pi-ti-iḫ si-par-ri šu-ub-bu' a-di 2 dim-me (iṣu) erini rabuti (pl.) e-li ug-gal-li-e u-ḫin-ma dap-pi ku-lul babi-ši-in e-mid*
- (85) *ir-bit šenu šadi (di) lamassu ša kaspi si-par-ri it-ti šeni šadi (di) lamassi ša (abnu) šad-i eš-ki nak-liš ab-ni-ma a-na ir-bit-ti ša-a-ri u-ša-aš-bi-ta si-gar-ši-in as-mu*

- (77) That its foundation might not be weakened in the course of time by the mighty flood, I set huge blocks of alabaster round it as a wall and made its rubble strong.
- (78) I filled the terrace upon them to a height of 170 "tipki" and added it to the dimensions of the former palace, broadening its site.
- (79) Thereon I had a palace built for my royal dwelling, of ivory, "ushu" wood, "musukkanni" wood, cedar, cypress, pine and pistacchio wood, the palace "incomparable."
- (80) Beams of cedar, the product of Mt. Amanus, which they hewed from distant hills with difficulty, I made to stretch across their supports.
- (81) On lofty doors of cypress, which were well cut for opening and revolving, I had bands of bright bronze fastened, and I fixed them in their gateways.
- (82) A colonnade like a Hittite palace, which they call in the Amorite tongue a "bit-hilani," I had made within the gates for my lordly pleasure.
- (83) Eight lions, open at the knee, in the posture of advance, which were cast of 11,400 talents of bright copper, the Lord of the Strong Hand caused to be made, and they were very splendid.
- (84) And two tall pillars which were cast of 6,000 talents of burnished bronze, together with two great pillars of cedar I stood on drums, and I laid timbers to crown their gateways.
- (85) Four mountain sheep, colossi, of silver and bronze together with mountain sheep, colossi, of mighty boulders I skilfully constructed, and posted them to face the four winds, their passages I adorned.

- (86) *as-ku-pat* (abnu) *pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti da-ad-me na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti kata* (dual)-ia *ki-rib-ši-in is-si-ḥa a-sur-ru-ši-in u-ša-as-ḥi-ra a-na tab-ra-a-ti u-ša-lik*
- (87) (*išu*) *šar-mah-hu tam-sil* (šadu) *Ḥa-ma-nim ša gi-mir rikke* (ZUN, pl.) (*inbu*) *šip-pa-a-te iše* (pl.) *bib-lat ša-di-i u* (matu) *Kal-di ki-rib-šu ḥar-ru-šu i-ta-a-ša as-ku-up*
- (88) *aš-šu za-ka-ap šip-pa-a-ti eklu ta-mir-ti e-li-en ali* 2 PI (TA.A.AN) *a-na mare* (pl.) *Ninua KI pil-ku u-pal-lik-ma u-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šu-un*
- (89) *a-na be-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḥi ul-tu pa-a-ti* (alu) *Ki-si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti Ninua KI šad-a u bi-ru-tu i-na ag-gul-la-te parzilli u-šat-tir-ma u-še-šir* (naru) *ḥar-ru*
- (90) 3 *biru kaḥ-ka-ru ul-tu ki-rib* (naru) *Hu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-u-ti a-šar-ša u-šar-da-a ki-rib šip-pa-a-te ša-ti-na u-šaḥ-bi-ba pat-ti-iš*
- (91) *ul-tu šip-ru e-kal be-lu-ti-ia u-ḫat-tu-u u-ša-an-di-la ri-ba-a-ti bi-ri-e-ti su-ka-a-ni uš-tam-du-ma u-nam-mir kima ume* (me)
- (92) (*ilu*) *Aššur belu rabu* (u) *ilani* (pl.) *u* (*ilu*) *ištarati* (pl.) *a-ši-bu-ti* (matu) *Aššur KI i-na kir-bi-ša aḥ-ri-ma niḫe* (pl.) *taš-ri-iḫ-ti aḥ-ki-ma u-šat-lim ḫad-ra-ai*
- (93) *a-na ar-kat ume* (me) *i-na šarrani* (pl. ni) *mare* (pl.)-ia *ša* (*ilu*) *Assur a-na ri-e-um-ut mati u niše* (pl.) *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma e-kal ša-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma* [en]-na-ḫu
- (94) *an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šu-me-ia li-mur-ma šamnu lup*-[šu-uš-ma] *niḫe liḫ-ḫi a-na aš-ri-šu li-tir* (*ilu*) *Aššur ik-ri-bi-šu i-šim-me*

60-uš 34 (TA.A.AN) MU minutu mu-šar-e

- (86) Huge blocks of stone the enemy folk, my prisoners, dragged amidst them, I set the blocks round about as a wall for them, I made them pass for marvels.
- (87) A park resembling Mt. Amanus, wherein was every kind of vegetable, fruit-tree, and tree, the products of the hills and of Chaldaeae, I planted beside the palace.
- (88) I divided off a plot of ground forming the upper environs of the city, two PI in area, for the Ninevites, that they might plant fruit-gardens, and put it into their charge.
- (89) That the fields might be luxuriant I broke up hill and plain from the boundary of the city Kisiri to the environs of Nineveh with iron axes, and I made a canal to flow there.
- (90) I made flowing water to run from the midst of the H_usur for a distance of 3 "biru," I distributed the water in those fruit-gardens by means of canals.
- (91) After I had completed the work on my lordly palace, broadened the open places and the midmost parts, had built streets and made the city as bright as day,
- (92) I summoned Ashur, the great lord, and the gods and goddesses who dwell in Assyria thereto, and I sacrificed multitudinous offerings of flesh, and presented my gifts.
- (93) In days that are to come may someone among the kings my descendants whom Ashur shall call unto the shepherdhood over land and people, when that palace has grown old and is falling down,
- (94) repair its ruins, find the inscription with the writing of my name, anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices of flesh and return it to its place. Ashur shall hear the prayers of such an one.

94 lines is the number of the inscription.

NOTES.

(1) *Sin-ahḫe-eri-ba*. For a discussion of the name see Ungnad, *Z.D.M.G.*, Band 62, p. 721, who adopts the transliteration *Sin-ahḫe-ri-ba*. The evidence quoted by Ungnad, especially *C.T.* IV, 15a, argues for the value *eri* adopted by George Smith. The sign should probably also be read *eri* in the name *I-eri-ka-ap-ka-pu* on the brick of Shamshi-Adad (Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, vol. I, p. 2). The sign, which is clearly written, has previously been read *gur* owing to the suggestion of Winckler, *Z.A.* II, p. 314.

(3) *Zikaru*. The scribe has written *ri* for *zi*. The procession of fighting men celebrating the King's Accession would not appear to be connected with the *puru* discussed at length by Dr. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. III, pp. 154-156, since that word seems to be connected exclusively with the office of *limmu*, which Sennacherib did not hold until 687.

ina iuṣmee u salime. It is best to connect these words with the following lines, since they are specially used of a suppliant for an alliance; cf. the passages quoted by Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary* sub voce *salimu*.

(6) *Karaš surrati*, "a belly of obstinacy." For the figurative use of *karaš* cf. *šurru šumdu lu karaš niklati*, "the broad of heart, the belly of craftsmanship," said of the god Enurta, Shamshi-Adad V Monolith, I, 22.

sa annun la šurittu. The traces of the sign between *šu* and *tu* suit *rit*, but may belong to many other signs. Perhaps *šurittu* is Shaphel permansive from the root 𐎶𐎶𐎶, to tremble.

(7) *Šutur-Naḫudu*. This is a new variant of the name given elsewhere as *Shutur-Naḫundi* (Sargon, *Annals*, 271, etc.), *Ishtar-Nanḫundi* (Ashur-bani-apli, *Annals*, Prism No. Rm. I, col. VI, 53), *Ishtar-Nandi* (K 2674 obv., line 7), and *Ishtar-ḫundi* (*Babylonian Chronicle*, 84-2-11, 356, col. II, l. 33), all variants of the Elamite name *Shutruk-Naḫunte*.

(*amelu*) not *šarru* as given by Dr. King, *Supplement*, p. 1.

?-*ru*. The traces do not allow the reading *ḫadru*. I am unable to conjecture the correct reading.

(8) *Šanu rakbu*. This appears to be the best available explanation of the ideogram LU.II.U. It is not unnatural that the King of Elam's "second chariot-man" should be put in charge of the assault troops, see line 27.

- (12, 13 and 14) Restored conjecturally from ll. 55-56. The restoration (*nar*) *Marrati* in line 12 is certain, the conjectures (*naru*) *Idiglat* and (*naru*) *Uknu* accord very well with the geographical evidence available from other sources; see Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, pp. 115-132.
- (14) *sa la i-[du]-u mi-[tu]-tum*, cf. line 17, *sa la i-du mi-[tu]-tu*. The *tu* is very uncertain in both cases. The sign cannot be *šar* in line 17 as there is not sufficient room, and in line 14 the sign can only be *tu* or *šar*.
- (17) *indi gallie limni*, an architectural figure. The language recalls Sargon, *Annals* (ed. Winckler), l. 271:—*sittatišunu sa eli Marduk-apal-iddin-na u Šutur-Naḥundi TE-sunu iddu*, where *nadu* "to found" is also an architectural figure. This suggests that *TE* may be used for *TE.LA* and represent a feminine noun from *gallie*, so that the passage may be translated "the rest of them, who based their villainies on Marduk-apal-iddinna and Šutur-Naḥundi."
- (18) *ušannašir*. For this conjectural restoration compare the passage V R, plate 9, l. 32, *mašarati ina muḥḥi ušanšir*, "I posted guards over them."
- (19) *ul eteki*. The conjectural restoration does not suit the traces of the first sign well, which looks more like the beginning of *u*, but some phrase like this is required; cf. *arkaa ul amur* III R, plate 15, col. I, l. 11.
- (20) *šabtaama etegaa* I understand as permansive forms used with a final significance after *uma'ir*. *dunnina* is then an infinitive governed by *etegaa*, governing *masukku*. For the expression *uruḥ Marduk-apal-iddinna šabtaa*, "to take the road to Merodach-baladan," cf. Prism No. 55-10-3, l. "Taylor," *uruḥ (matu) Akkadi iṣbatunimma*, "they took the road to Akkad."
masukku, from the root 𒍪𒍪, obviously used as a military term here for an advance guard.
- (21) *abul Ilbaba*. For the reading *Ilbaba* for DINGIR.ZA.MAL.MAL see Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 46, l. 9; that the *Il* represents the pronunciation of DINGIR is extremely probable now that it is known the determinatives were pronounced, and is the more probable from the name AN.BA.BU.ŠEŠ.SE.NA = *Ilbaba-aḥ-iddinna*, cf. the old Assyrian letters, *ibid.* nos. 96, 98, etc. The *Il* was not always pronounced, however, hence the names *Babu-aḥ-iddinna*, *ibid.* no. 124, l. 9, *Babu-aplam-ušur*, *ibid.* no. 104, *Aḥia-baba*, *Ašur-našir-apal*, col. I, l. 76, etc. It is not correct, therefore, to assume the value *IL* for *ZA* with Prof. Langdon, *J.R.A.S.*, Oct., 1920. The "gate of *Ilbaba*" is obviously a gate of Kish, of which city *Ilbaba* was the patron.

- (22) (*amelu*) *apil siprišun ša ḥamaṭ*, "couriers," cf. V R, plate 2, l. 27, (*amelu*) *apil sipri ḥanṭu*. It is however possible that *ḥamaṭ* means "help," "support," see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 281a, and that the phrase means "messengers (to ask for) help," in which case it may be compared with V R, plate 3, l. 21, (*amelu*) *apil sipria ša šulme*, "my messenger (to enquire about his) well-being."
- (23) (*amelu*) *muntahši*. This term is used of a special kind of troops. Since the allied forces in Kuthah consisted of bow-men and light cavalry, it is reasonable to suppose that it is a description of light-armed troops. The same word is employed in line 34 to describe the "flying column" sent in pursuit of Marduk-apal-iddinna to Guzumman. The derivation of the word from *maḥašu* is not very probable, since the certain instances of the Iftēal of that verb keep the *m* and assimilate *t* to *d*. I prefer to derive the word from a root *naḥašu*, "to press on, hasten," cf. Hebrew נָחַץ; but the retention of *n* before *t* in the Iftē'al requires parallels.
- tiburu* is probably to be derived from the root בָּאָרַךְ, "to dig," and refers to the means of approach by tunnelling shown on bas-reliefs. It may, however, also be derived from the root בָּעַר, "to kindle, set on fire," and refer to an attack with the torch; the latter derivation is favoured by *nabliš*.
- (27) *ummanat* is here used of the heavy-armed troops in opposition to the light-armed horse and bow-men of l. 24.
- el[lat]su*. The sign *lat* was obliterated by the scribe in writing *su*; there are still traces of the upper wedge.
- (28) *Yati'e*. For the root of the name cf. *Abi-yata'*, l. 37, and see Streck's notes, *Assurbanipal*, vol. III, p. 687 (*Abiyate'*), 700 (*Yauta'*) and 728 (*Uaite'*).
- (29) (*imeru*) *gammali (pl)*. The scribe has inserted I before this by error.
- (31) *gaširut sarrutišu*, perhaps the canopy which the bas-reliefs represent sometimes as stretched over kings.
- (32) *šutris*. For this reading see Dr. Jensen, *Z.A.*, Band XXIV, p. 109, following *C.T.* XXIII, plate 10, l. 14.
- (36) *Bit-Sannabi*. The scribe wrote LIL for E by error.
- (37) *Banitu*, possibly the city of the (*amelu*) *Banitai*, Tiglath-pileser III, *Annals* 147; connected by Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie*, p. 434, with (*matu*) *Bani* Bu. 91-5-9, 183.
- (39) *Suka-Marusi* may be read *Tarḳa-* or *Silḳa-Marusi*. The (*amelu*) *Marusu* of Tiglath-pileser III, Slab no. 2 (ed. Rost), l. 6, were Aramaeans, and are probably not to be connected with this city.

- (40) *Dur-Tanie*. The (*amelu*) *Tanie* of Tiglath-pileser III, Annals 13, were Aramaeans, cf. *Marusu* above.
- (41) *Bit-Sa'alli* is spelt *Bit-Sha'alli* in Tiglath-pileser III, Tablet inser., ll. 20 fol. (ed. Rost). Sa'lu was also an Aramaean name, see Streck, *M.V.A.G.* 1906, No. 3, p. 33. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 118, compares the Palmyrene name 𐤁𐤏𐤍𐤏. There can be little doubt from the present list that the *Kaldu* pronounced 𐤏 as 𐤁.
- (42) BAR.MAR.RI.KI. I do not know the reading of this ideogram.
alu sa iššur 'Adad. The association of a bird with Adad is, so far as I can discover, new. The gods generally represented by a bird are Enurta (see King, *P.S.B.A.*, 1913, pp. 66 foll.), Papsukkal, and Shuḫamuna and Shumaḫia (see M. Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. XVI, pp. 137, 138).
- (43) *Nagitu*. There were several cities of this name. Prism No. 55-10-3, 1, "Taylor," mentions *Nagite-raqki* (col. III, l. 56), probably identical with *Nagite* and *Nagitu* (col. IV, ll. 25, 26), and *Nagitu-di'bina* (ibid, l. 26) in Elam.
Dur-Akkia, cf. the name *Akka-barina* (ibid., col. IV., 58), an Elamite city.
- (44) *Hindaina*. This city may be connected with the tribe which lived about the city *Hindani* on the Euphrates, see Tukulti-Enurta II, Annals, l. 76 (ed. Scheil) and Ashur-naṣir-apli, Annals, col. III, l. 12.
Dur-Uait. The peculiar personal name *Uait* may be an abbreviated form of some such name as *Uaite'*: cf. Y R, plate 7, l. 83, etc.
Buḫarru. The reading *Puḫarru* is also possible, but compare the town in the tribe of Benjamin, 𐤁𐤏𐤍𐤏, 2 Samuel XVI, 5.
Harbe-Iddinna. With the element *Harbe* cf. *Harbie*, Tukulti-Enurta II, Annals, l. 61 (ed. Scheil).
- (46) *Belaa*, cf. (*amelu*) *Belai*, Tiglath-Pileser III, Annals, 147.
Kipranu can have nothing to do with (*amelu*) *Kiprie*, line 55, who were Aramaeans.
- (50) *naphar* 88 *alani*. The "Bellino" cylinder and its duplicates give 89 fortified cities and 820 small cities; the "Taylor" Prism, 75 fortified cities and 420 small cities.
- (52) (*amelu*) *Urbi* seems indistinguishable in this passage from the *Aribi* of l. 28. Delitzsch, "Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 205, considers *Urbi* identical with *Aribi*, but speaks of the *Urbi* being settled in several northern Babylonian cities. Streck, *M.V.A.G.*, 1906, 3, p. 41, supposes the *Urbi* to be Aramaeans.
- (54) Restored from Cylinder No. K. 1680, "Bellino," l. 13.
- (55) Restored from ibid., line 15.

(60) 11,780 *imere*. This number has generally been read 11,073. It is quite certain from the present cylinder that it reads XI ŠI I NER III = 11,000 + 600 + 180.

(61) *ešib*. I derive this from the root עָצַב "to stand firmly, appear (before a person)." The roots *ezebu* and *ešepu* do not appear to fit the passage.

iškilu šikiltu. For the sense of *sakalu* see Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne*, p. 38, note 1. The medial consonant is probably *ḫ* cf. Heb. סָנַלָה.

(63) *kidudie*. It is necessary to give this word some such meaning as "shrines" in this passage, and not limit it to "ritual." This also accords with one of the meanings of the synonym *paršu*, see the collection of instances by Witzel, *M.V.A.G.*, 1916, pp. 199-212.

(64) *šitir burumme*. Delitzsch, *H.W.B.* 187a, says:—"eig. Sternbildschrift, daher Firmament (Himmelszelt), wöhl besser als Thierkreis." Meissner and Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanherib's*, p. 7, translate the passage:—"dessen Zeichnungen seit uralter Zeit mit der Schrift des Himmels gezeichnet waren." Dr. King similarly, *Cuneiform Texts*, Part 26, p. 21:—"whose design from of old with the writing of the heavens had been fashioned." I do not understand the meaning of this, and suppose the reference in the original to be to coloured reliefs built into the wall surrounding the terrace or platform on which the old palace at Nineveh was built.

(65) *billudie*. A synonym of *kidudie*; on the meaning see note above.

(71) *UM-sikku*. Read *dupsikku*.

(73) *ekat maḥritu*. The proportions of the old palace given here differ from those given in Cylinder No. K 1680, "Bellino," l. 44, which reads as follows (see Meissner and Rost, loc. cit., pp. 8, 9):—

ekallu maḥritu sa 360 ina 1 ammatu siddu ina tarši zamee (bitu) ziggurat 80 ina 1 ammatu rupšu ina tarši bit namari (bitu) Istar 134 ina 1 ammatu rupšu ina tarši bit namari (bitu) Kidmuri 95 ina 1 ammatu rupšu [maraku sitkunatma]

"The former palace, which was 360 ells long, stretching along, on the western side, the ziggurat, 80 ells wide, stretching along, on the eastern side, the temple of Ishtar, 134 ells wide, stretching along, on the eastern side, the temple of Kidmuri, 95 ells wide the diameter"

The present figures, 30 GAR and 10 GAR, are difficult to reconcile with the figures above. Since the GAR at this period consisted of 12 *ammatu* (see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. II, p. 218), 30 GAR = 360 *ammatu*; but 10 GAR = 120 *ammatu*, which does not correspond to any of the figures above,

unless the 80 *ammatu* of the later inscription be *ammatu* A.DU-*e* as compared with *ammatu suklum* (see Thureau-Dangin, *Note Métrologique*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. XV, pp. 59-60). On the plan of this old palace, see the note in Meissner and Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanherib's*, p. 23, Anmerkung 20.

(76) 60-*us* 30 *GAR* *putu*. I am unable to reconcile these figures with those given in the inscription on Bull No. 3 (see Meissner, loc. cit., p. 8), which read 454 *ina* 1 *ammatu maraku* 289 *ina* 1 *ammatu rupšu*; perhaps the earlier plans were superseded by more exact measurements later in the reign. The present inscription seems to make it clear that the long side of the old palace became the broad side of the new.

(77) *mili*. Written A. DIRIG, not A. KAL, as in Bellino Cylinder.

(78) 120-*us* 50 *tipki*. The 170 *tipki* become 180 *tipki* in the "Bellino" Cylinder, line 54.

(80) *ipsalluni*. This passage shows the root must be connected with the Hebrew פָּסַל. The verb occurs also in a difficult passage of K 1356 (see Meissner, loc. cit., pp. 100, 101), reverse ll. 6-9.

šalam (ilu) Aššur u šalam ilani rabuti mala ittisu ana libbi tiamat šalti illaku iṣrušu patkašuu la aduku ušapšilu ana it ḫuranuti aššu libḫakim, anna ina libbi ušsamid, ina libbi annimma ḫikim kii patkašuu anaku ušapšilu.

"A figure of Ashur and a figure of the great gods, as many as accompanied him to the fight against Tiamat,—I had the outline and the form thereof cut, very glorious, by the side of the openings, that it (the gate) might be engraved. These (figures) I had set in the midst thereof. In the midst of these (figures) I had an engraving cut concerning its making."

It is interesting to note that Sennacherib had a scene depicting Ashur's fight with Tiamat cut on the gates of Tarbiši in view of the fact that the language describing the battle of Ḫaluli recalls in many places the language of the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series. Perhaps the Assyrian version of the series, which puts *Aššur* in the place of Marduk, was edited in his reign.

uṣatriša taranšin. The word *taran* seems to be connected with Hebrew תָּרַן, and I understand it to mean "pillars" supporting a wooden roof: it is a second object in a Shaphel construction, literally, "I made (the beams of timber) stretch across their pillars." Meissner and Rost, loc. cit., p. 27, note 37, translate it "Schatten, Dach," but the instances they give might also be interpreted of the supporting pillars. If the meaning "roof" be adopted, this passage must be translated "I had their roof (*i.e.*, the roof made of beams) stretched out above."

- (81) *sa ina pitee u taari eries taabu*. This passage fixes the meaning of the root ܥܪܐ in architectural descriptions as meaning cutting and fitting of a wooden object to its place, cf. Syriac ܥܪܐ. The usual rendering, adopted since it is usually employed in describing objects made of costly woods, has been "scent," "Wohlgeruch," etc.
- (82) *bit appati* is the term also given in Bull no. 1, line 3, the "Bellino" cylinder reading *bit mutirriti*.
- (83) 11,400 *bilat eri*. The great weight of copper employed shows that the colossi were cast solid.
- (86) *dadme nakiri issiḫa*. In the present passage it seems necessary to interpret *dadme nakiri* as being the captives themselves, not their abodes. Restore K 1675, col. III, from this passage, and not as conjectured by Meissner and Rost, loc. cit., p. 14.
- (88) 2 PI became later 3 PI, see "Bellino" Cylinder, l. 58.
- (93) *ri-e-um-ut* sic! perhaps owing to a confusion of the roots *ri'u* and *ra'mu*.