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RECORDS OF THE PAST.

VOL. VII.

ASSYRIAN TEXTS.

N O T E.

Every Text here given is either now translated for the *first time*, or has been specially revised by the Translator to the date of this publication.

RECORDS OF THE PAST:

BEING

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION

OF

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. VII.

ASSYRIAN TEXTS.



Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una.

LONDON :

SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS,

15, PATERNOSTER ROW.

45 204148 ✓

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P R E F A C E.

THE Seventh Volume of the "RECORDS OF THE PAST" contains a selection of translations of Cuneiform inscriptions of various kinds, chiefly mythological and historical. The attraction of this new branch of study, and the publication for general use of the records, have given a new impetus to the research; and it will be seen that new students have entered upon the paths, and others are rapidly training under the public lectures given by the Society of Biblical Archæology. On the other hand, Assyriology has to deplore the loss of the late Mr. George Smith, whose translations had contributed so greatly to the study of the Cuneiform by an unrivalled knowledge of the monumental inscriptions. Although the actual excavations have been suspended, and it might be anticipated that the study might therefore be arrested by the want of a fresh supply of original documents, it

must be borne in mind that a great mass of material already obtained still remains untranslated, the interpreters having principally directed their attention to historical and mythological texts, while numerous reports, letters, and miscellaneous documents still remain untouched. Besides which sporadic excavations, which continue to be carried on in the country, have recently discovered several thousand inscribed tablets, several of which are on their way to Europe, and will, no doubt, prove contributions to Babylonian literature, a branch of Cuneiform of which less remains than the more prolific Assyrian. Although the main outlines of Assyrian history have been made out, the annals of Babylonia from contemporary sources have still to be made out.

S. BIRCH.

September, 1876.

INSCRIPTION OF AGU-KAK-RIMI.

AN EARLY BABYLONIAN KING.

TRANSLATED BY

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

THIS inscription, which is as yet unpublished, is found on a terra cotta tablet, marked 527 in the British Museum. It was brought by Mr. Smith from Assyria, in his last expedition, and a translation of it was given by him in his work on *Assyrian Discoveries*, 1875. The inscription is contained in eight columns,

but four of them only are of any general interest, the remaining ones are very much broken. I have given a translation of the text in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. IV., Part i.



INSCRIPTION OF AGU-KAK-RIMI.

COLUMN I.

1 AGU-KAK-RIMI ¹
 2 Son of TASI-GURUMAS
 3 of the noble seed of
 4 SUGA-MUNA
 5 The glory of ANU and BEL
 6 of HEA and MARDUK
 7 of the Sun and Moon
 8 the powerful hero
 9 of ISHTAR, the archer
 10 of the goddesses, am I.

11 King of Kings
 12 King of the obedient
 13 Son of TASI-GURUMAS
 14 Grandson of ²
 15 ABI
 16 The warrior
 17 in
 18 the offspring of
 19 AGU-RAGAS
 20 of the noble and royal race
 21 of UMMAH-ZIRITI
 22 I am
 23 Shepherd
 24 of a vast people

¹ "The Moon makes our brilliance."

² Literally "Heart of Hearts."

25 warrior
 26 Prince
 27 establisher
 28 of the foundation of the throne of his fathers
 29 I am.

30 King of the Kassi¹
 31 and (of the) Accadi
 32 King of the vast land
 33 of Babylonia
 34 Colonizer
 35 of the land of As-nun-nak with a people
 36 vast, King of Padan
 37 and Alman. King of the Goim,²
 38 male and female³
 39 the King, the establisher
 40 of the four regions
 41 worshipper of the great gods
 42 Lo ! MARDUK
 43 prince of Bit-Saggal⁴
 44 (to) Babylon
 45 the great gods
 46 (with) their noble mouths
 47 his return ordered
 48 MARDUK to Babylon
 49 his face set
 50³ MARDUK³
 51³ never³

¹ The *Kassidim* of the Bible.

² The tribes of Northern Elam, the old home of the Accadi or Highlanders.

³ *Lacunæ*.

⁴ This temple was the acropolis of Babylon, its name means "House of the lofty head."

COLUMN II.

1¹ I glorified
 2 and to take MARDUK
 3 to Babylon
 4 his face I set and
 5 (in) the paths of MARDUK
 6 Lover of my life
 7 I walked and

8 SARU SAMAS, (an Officer)
 9 to the land¹ to the land of Khani²
 10 I sent. Him MARDUK
 11 and ZIRAT-BANIT³
 12 they had taken hold of, and
 13 MARDUK and ZIRAT-BANIT
 14 lovers of my life
 15 to Bit-Saggal
 16 and Babylon
 17 I restored them
 18 In the temple of the Sun⁴
 19 for the (division) of the future
 20 I placed.

[One or two lines are gone.]

23 four talents
 24 for the robes
 25 of MARDUK and ZIRAT-BANIT
 26 I had given and
 27 a splendid dress

¹ Lacunæ.

² A country to the North-west of Assyria. It is mentioned on an obelisk of Tiglath Pileser I.

³ Succoth-benoth of the Bible.

⁴ A famous Babylonian temple.

- 28 a dress of gold and (blue)
 29 for MARDUK and ZIRAT-BANIT
 30 I had clothed them¹

[Here follows a long list of names of precious stones, the translation of which being very uncertain is omitted.]

- 35 (precious stones) to the shrine of MARDUK
 36 and ZIRAT-BANIT
 37 I had given
 38 and (with) quantities of robes
 39 the great
 40 divinity
 41 I had adorned
 42 horned crowns²
 43 lofty crowns
 44 of Lordship
 45 and image of divinity

COLUMN VII.

- 1 MARDUK
 2 to his throne
 3 I caused to enter
 4 a band of
 5 sons of the people³
 6 them
 7 a grove a house field
 8 to MARDUK
 9 and ZIRAT-BANIT⁴
 10 I dedicated them.
-

- 11 Of the King AGU
 12 may his days be long

¹ Lacuna.

² Compare the crowns which adorn the winged bulls, lions, etc.

³ A temple guard of chosen soldiers.

⁴ The Succoth-benoth of 2 Kings xvii. 29, 31.

- 13 may his years be extended
 14 his life in prosperity
 15 may he live
 16 The highest heaven
 17 wide
 18 may he behold it

[Lacuna of six lines.]

- 25 The god¹
 26 (existing)¹
 27 for ever¹
 28 may he exist
 29 may he exalt (him)
 30 to the lordly King
 31 AGU
 32 who the shrine of MARDUK
 33 has made (and)
 34 sons of the people
 35 has dedicated

-
- 36 ANU and ANUNITU²
 37 in heaven may they be favourable to him
 38 BEL and BILAT
 39 In the house¹ and land of life
 40 may they seat him
 41 HEA³
 42 and DAV-KINA⁴
 43 dwelling in the great deep
 44 a life of days

¹ Lacunæ.

² The highest heaven was the realm of Anu.

³ Hea was the lord of chaos or the great deep.

⁴ The goddess of the underworld, also called *Bau*, the Heb. *בדה*.

- 45 long
 46 may they grant him
 47 The goddess ZIRA, lady of the great land¹
 [The remainder is lost.]

COLUMN VIII.

- 1 Greatness
 2 may he complete
 3 SIN² illuminator of heaven
 4 the revolver the paternal King
 5 many days may
 6 he appoint him
 7 The Prince the Sun
 8 ruler of heaven³
 9 and earth,
 10 his reign
 11 for days extended
 12 may he establish
 13 HEA
 14 the old Lord
 15 wisdom⁴
 16 may he complete for him
 18 MARDUK lover of his life
 19 Lord of fountains
 20 his (fertility)
 21 may he complete for him.

¹ An unknown goddess.

² The Moon.

³ The Sun was also called *dayan nisi*, "Judge of Men."

⁴ Hea was called "the lord of wisdom." Compare "Descent of Ishtar," col. ii., *Records of the Past*, Vol. I.

THE STANDARD INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-AKH-BAL.

TRANSLATED BY
H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

A FINE copy of this inscription exists in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at Edinburgh, to whom it was presented several years ago by Professor Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart. At the request of the Council I gave a translation of it in Vol. VI., part i., of their *Proceedings* (Edinburgh 1866), which I have now revised and corrected.

This sculptured slab represents Ashur-akh-bal, a monarch of the ninth or tenth century B.C. holding a cup of wine, with which he is about to offer a libation to the gods. The sculpture is accompanied by an inscription of twenty-one lines in very good preservation.

This inscription is a well-known one, more than 100 copies of it having been found by Mr. Layard while he was engaged in the excavation of Ashur-akh-bal's palace ; for which reason it has been called the "Standard Inscription."

Scholars are not agreed as to the pronunciation of this king's name ; which signifies " Ashur protect the child ! " Until this point is settled, I follow the reading proposed by Dr. Hincks ; but I think it probable that the name was Ashur-ussur-bal, but was pronounced in the reverse order Ashur-bal-ussur, like Nabo-bal-ussur (commonly called Nabopolassar, meaning " Nabo protect the child ! ")

Ashur-akh-bal was a great warrior and conqueror, but he appears to have been destitute of any taste for literature. This may be inferred from the fact that he gave orders to inscribe the same inscription upon so many of the slabs which lined the apartments and galleries of his palace ; whereas, if he had given upon each slab the description of some different battle, or other remarkable event of his reign, our knowledge of his career would now have been much more complete.

There have been found, however, two pavement slabs, engraved on both sides, at the entrance of the temple of Hercules on the mound of Nimrud, which give a much more full and perfect account of his reign and his conquests. These have been lithographed by the British Museum and occupy ten plates (17 to 26) of one of their volumes of inscriptions. A translation of them has been published by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell in the *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., pp. 37-80.

INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-AKH-BAL.

- 1 THIS is the palace of ASHUR-AKH-BAL, servant of ASHUR, Priest of BEL and NINIB, beloved by ANU and DAGON, worshipper of the great gods : the great King, the King of the nations, the King of Assyria. Son of TUKLAT-NINIB¹ the great King, the powerful King, the King of the nations, the King of Assyria : who was the son of HU-NIRARI,² also King of nations and King of Assyria.
- 2 The noble hero who went forth in the armed service of ASHUR his Lord against the Kings of the four regions of the world, as none had ever done before ; and smote the heretics who worship not the exalted things, in battles too numerous to be counted.
- 3 The King who humbled to the dust all those who did not obey him ; and who subdued all the races of men. The great worshipper of the gods ; the trampler upon the necks of his enemies ; the conqueror of hostile lands ; the destroyer of powerful fortresses. The King who advanced in the arms of the great gods his lords, and seized with his hand all hostile countries, fixed the tribute of all their territories, and took hostages from them as a pledge.
- 4 The favour of ASHUR, who called me to the sovereign

¹ Means probably "Servant of Ninib."

² Means probably "The god of the sky is my helper."

power, and is the supporter of my throne, gave his irresistible arms into the hands of my Majesty. The armies or the wide world I overthrew in battle.

5 By the help of the SUN, and IM,¹ the gods to whom I trust, I conquered the armies of the Highland Nahiri, the land of Kirkhi, the land of Subari,² and the land of Nireb; and like the god IM himself I rode thundering over them.

6 The King who subdued all the regions from the great stream of the Tigris unto the land of Lebanon and the Great Sea: with the land of Laki throughout all its provinces, and the land of Tsukhi as far as the city Rapikhi, and compelled them to fall down at his feet. And who seized with his hand the region from the source of the river Supnat unto the land of Urardi.³

7 All the region from the entrance of the land of Kirruri unto the land of Kirzan; and from the great stream of the lower Zab as far as the fortress of Til-bahari which protects the city of Zakim; and from the fortress of Aptan unto the fortress of Zabdan, along with the cities of Khirimu and Birrutu which is a fortified city of the land of Kardunias⁴ I restored once more to my country's rule. All the region from the entrance of the land of Babiti, as far as the city of Khasmar, I distributed among the men of my own land.

8 Over the regions which I had conquered I placed my Lieutenants, and they did homage to me.

9 ASHUR-AKH-BAL the glorious Ruler, the favourite of the great gods. The Sun of great splendour, the conqueror of cities and lands with all their people; the King of Kings, the chastiser of heretics; the scourge of those who worship not the sacrifices; the great smiter of the

¹ The god of the sky.

² Or Mesopotamia.

³ Armenia.

⁴ Babylonia.

disobedient ; the destroyer of rulers who reject my royalty, and of heretics and rebellious men. The King whose name caused lands and seas to tremble ; and who enrolled in the federation of his empire glorious foreign Kings, from the rising of the sun unto the setting of the sun, every one of them.

10 The former city of Calah, which SALMANURISH King of Assyria, one of the Kings who reigned before me, had built, that city had fallen into ruins.

11 That city I built again. I peopled it with the captives I had taken in the various lands which I had conquered : the land of Tsukhi ; the land of Lakhi through all its provinces ; the city of Tsirku which is placed at the great passage of the river Euphrates : the land of Zamia throughout its whole extent : the land of Bit-Adini, and the land of Syria ; together with the people of LUBARNA King of the Patinæans whom I had carried off.

12 I pulled down its old citadel, and I built it new, as far as the surface of the waters (in its moat?). One hundred and twenty spans of the lower part I built in fine masonry. Within the circuit of this fortress I constructed a palace¹ of cedar ; a house of cypress wood ; a house of *taḫrani* wood ; a house of *ku* wood ; a house of *meshkani* wood ; a house of *terebinth* wood ; and of *tarpikhi* wood, for the residence of my Majesty, and for a remembrance of my reign for evermore.

13 I made sculptures of the animals of the lands and seas, carved in *pari* stone and in *paruti* stone,² and I set them up at the doors of my palace.

14 I made it grand, I made it splendid ; and with images of bright copper I adorned it.

15 Columns of cedar wood, cypress wood, *taḫrani* wood,

¹ Or fine house.

² White alabaster.(?)

and *meshkanni* wood I erected at its gates : and the stores of silver and gold ; of lead, copper, and iron, captured by my hand in the lands which I had conquered, which I had seized in vast quantities, I treasured up within it.

[It will be understood that this translation represents the Edinburgh copy of the inscription. Other copies which were found by Layard in great numbers, may differ somewhat in the phrases employed, and in the arrangement of the subjects.]



MONOLITH OF ASHUR-AKH-BAL,

KING OF ASSYRIA.

 TRANSLATED BY

H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

THIS inscription is now preserved in the British Museum. A lithographic copy of it was published in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. I. pl. 27. I published a translation of it in 1862 in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Vol. VII. p. 184.

It is distinguished by a long and earnest adjuration to his successors on the throne, not to injure or deface his monuments, as they value the happiness of their own lives, and the favour of heaven.

Ashur-akh-bal was the most powerful of the *ancient* kings of Assyria. He seems to have been almost always at war. His conquests were very extensive, reaching as far as the Mediterranean Sea, upon which his love of adventure prompted him to embark and join in the exciting chase of the dolphin. As a warrior he was doubtless very active and skilful, but he was cruel and merciless as we know from his own account of his campaigns.



INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-AKH-BAL.

THE former city of Calah, which SALMANURISH King of Assyria, my ancestor, had built; that city had fallen to decay, and its buildings had sunk into ruins and rubbish. That city I built again. And I dug a canal from the Upper Zab river, and I gave it the name of the Stream of Fertility. And I planted beautiful trees along its banks, and *fruit trees* the best of every kind, and vines. The finest I devoted to ASHUR my Lord, and the temples of my country.

I erected palaces, and from the foundation to the roof I built and I finished them. A palace for my royal residence and for an eternal remembrance of my reign I founded within the city. I adorned it, I embellished it; with a crowd of precious bronzes¹ I filled it. Great gates of . . .² wood I

¹ Bronze or perhaps polished brass.

² Lacuna.

made : with nails of bronze I fastened them together and I placed them at the entrance. Thrones of cedar and various other precious woods : ornamental ivories skilfully carved : heaps of silver, gold, lead, copper and iron, the spoils gained by my valour which I had brought away from the nations I had conquered : all these treasures I deposited within it.

The King of future days who shall repair its injuries, and shall replace the written tablets in their places, ASHUR will hear his prayers !

That good King shall never fly before his enemies, nor abandon this palace, my royal dwelling, in the city of Calah. Its gates, its rafters, the crowd of bronze ornaments which now stand within it, shall not be carried off. They shall not be removed to the city of his enemies, nor to the palace of his foes. Its roofs shall not be broken : its statues shall not be torn up : the sources which supply it with water shall not be cut off : its spring shall not be closed up.¹ Its chambers of treasure shall not be plundered : its *harem* shall not be burst open with violence. Its inhabitants shall not be made captives, nor with unseemly shameful and immodest treatment be dragged away to the enemy's palace, during the destruction and downfall of their own city.

The King who shall not injure the sculptures of my palaces, nor write on them wicked words : who shall not

¹ *Bab-sha la ipakhi.*

suffer the front of my throne and my royal dwellingplace to be broken; who shall protect the face of these my written tablets and shall not hurt the records of my reign; May ASHUR Chief of the great gods, who is the supporter of my kingdom, uphold his rule over all the nations and place him on my throne of glory and in my seat of power! May he subject the country of the four nations to his arms, and make him live in prosperity joy and abundance!

But the man who shall not spare the face of these my tablets, who shall injure the written records of my name, who shall destroy these sculptures, or tear them off or hide them in the earth, or bury them in the ashes, or burn them with fire, or drown them in the waters: or who shall remove them from their place and shall throw them down where they will be trampled on by animals, and shall place them in the pathway of the cattle: or who shall falsify my tablets, which are now sculptured with good and pious words, and shall write on the face of my records anything that is bad and impious: or who shall change the words so as to confound their meaning; whether he be a nobleman, or an officer or any one else among my people, or who shall scrawl on the tablets that I have written, and shall say that they are not true; or out of contempt¹ shall turn the face of my tablets backward:

May ASHUR the great Lord, the god of Assyria, the Lord of all royal crowns, curse his reign and destroy his works!

¹ *As nisti.*

May he shake the foundations of his kingdom ! May want and famine ; sickness and distress, prevail throughout his land !¹

¹ This inscription contains a few more lines, but they are much defaced.



THE ANNALS OF SARGON.

TRANSLATED BY

DR. JULIUS OPPERT.

THE annals of Sargon are the largest of all Assyrian texts. They have been engraved in the two halls of Khorsabad, which are noted in the plan of Botta as Nos. II. and V. The annals formed an immense ribbon of inscriptions, disposed in columns like the papyrus rolls. Evidently the manner of the writing of this great text is an imitation of the usual style of papyrus rolls. In entering the hall, the reader commenced at his left hand, and followed all the sides and angles of the room, until he returned to the entrance door, where the last lines of the inscription were opposite to its beginning.

I have restored the texts by the four copies of Hall II., V., XIII., and XIV. The Roman cyphers at

the margin designate the rooms, and the Arabic number indicates the tablet in the Botta collection.

My translation of this important text appeared first in the work entitled *Dour-Sarkayan*, Paris, 1870, and has been re-edited by M. Menant in his *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, with some alterations. I have corrected in this English edition a great many of the errors which existed in my former version.

The Annals are arranged in a chronological order by the years of Sargon, commencing with the civil year (*palu*), and distinct from the computation after the real accession (from one date of the accession to another, *sanat*). Every year commences therefore about March or April.

The text contains, moreover, one of the most important documents concerning chronology. In this inscription, as in the great inscription of the Hall, there is the mention of a period of Sin, or lunar period, which ended in B.C. 712. I have proved that this period was an eclipse epoch, and contained 22,325 synodical months, or 1805 years. By the aid of this text we can with a mathematical certainty fix the

Median Dynasty in Babylon at B.C. 2517 (712+1805). Indeed, 234 after this event, took place the Elamite invasion, 2283; and we equally obtain this date from the Assurbanipal texts, which put the capture of Babylon by the Elamites 1635 years before 648, that is, B.C. 2283.

In the Larnaca text of Sargon, now at Berlin, the parallel confirming passage is as following :—

(ultu yu)me rukuti sibit Assur
(adi muan)na.

“From the most remote days, the constitution of Assyria, until now.”

Here follows the true chronology of Babylon, after Berossus :—

10 antediluvian kings	432,000 years.
Deluge according to the Babylonians	B.C. 41,697
86 Chaldean kings, 39,180 years, cyclical time of 12 periods of 1805, and	
12 sothiac periods of 1460 years	41,697–2517
8 Median kings (Aryan) 234 years	2517–2283
11 Median kings (Elamite) 224 years	2283–2059
49 Chaldean kings 458 years	2059–1601
9 Arabian kings 245 years	1601–1356

Semiramis 42 years 1356-1314

45 Assyrian kings 526 years 1314-788

(Until the Babylonian and Median revolt.)

Downfall of Nineveh, B.C. 606.

Median empire, 228 years 788-560

Sargon states that from the ancient times until his reign three hundred and fifty kings had ruled over Mesopotamia, but this Berosian canon, restored by aid of the inscriptions, contains only the names of the Babylonian monarchs.



INSCRIPTION OF THE ANNALS OF SARGON.

XIV.-3.—PALACE of SARGON, the great King, the mighty King, King of the legions, King of Assyria, Vicar of the gods in Babylon, King of the Sumers and the Accads, King of the four regions, Favourite of the great gods.

The gods ASSUR, NEBO and MERODACH, the gods of my worship have entrusted me with the royalty without equal, and have propagated the glory of my name until the end of the world. I caused the contentment of Sippara, Nipur, Babylon and Borsippa, I have made men respect the laws and I have punished the transgression. I have restored to the towns of Kalu, Ur, Orchoé, Rata, Kullab, Kisik, the dwelling of the god LAGUDA, the gods who are living there, I have dispersed their inhabitants. The laws of the "old empire"¹ and of the town of Harran had fallen into oblivion since many years, I have re-established their altered dispositions.

I walked in the obedience of the great gods; I forced under my dominion the lands, which would not bow to me, I opened forests which have never been crossed, I explored their retreats.

I broke the pride of HUMBANIGAS, King of Elam, I subdued the lands of Karalla, of Surda, the towns of Kisasi, of Kharkhar, of Media, until the ends of Bikni. I put under the domination of Assyria the land of Ellip; I brought war into Armenia, I destroyed MUSASIR, I subdued the land of Andia, I transported the populations to the land of Van, I placed them into a delicious spot in

¹ This term is explained by *Assur*, but it means Sumir.

transporting them to the dwellings of Syria, of Carcamis, and of Commagene. I took away GUNZINAN of Khammanua of the town of Miliddie,¹ the town of his royalty; I instituted my Governors as Lieutenants. I changed the royalty of TARKHULAR in the town of Markas. I carried into Assyria the whole of the tribes of GAMGUM the Great² YAMAN of Asdod despised my power, he left his wife, his sons, his daughters, and fled through the lands of the midday sun to the limits of Libya.³ I established him on the throne powerfully; I put over the whole of his extent country and on the men *uhati*, the Satraps my Lieutenants for governing them; I extended the limits of Assyria.

XIV.-2.—Then the King of Libya was overwhelmed by the immense fear of ASSUR, my Lord, he bound his (Yaman's) hands and feet with iron chains, he sent his envoys in my presence to Assyria. I plundered the district of Samaria and the entire house of OMRI, I entered to Tamna, which is situated in the middle of the Western sea, swimming like a fish. I took away the treasure of the lands of Kaska,⁴ Tabal, Hilakhu.⁵ I expelled MITATTI, King of the Moschians. I overpowered Egypt at Raphia; I treated like a slave HANON, King of Gaza. I made tributary seven Kings of the land of Yahnagi, the land of Yatnan,⁶ who have established their dwellings in the midst of the sea of the setting sun, within seven days of navigation.

MERODACHBALADAN, King of the Chaldeans, who inhabited the shores of the sea had exercised the supreme power against the will of the gods of Babylon; my hands reached him. I took for hostage his entire country, and I entrusted it to the hands of my Lieutenant of Babylon,

¹ The Melitene.² Lacuna.³ Meluhhi.⁴ Colchis.⁵ Cilicia.⁶ The island of Cyprus.

and of my Lieutenant of Gambul. I subdued to ASSUR UPER, King of Dilmun, who has established his hidden dwellings in the middle of the sea like the fishes ; he sent presents to me to submit himself under my royalty.

By the assistance of the great gods ASSUR, NEBO and MERO-DACH, I became victor by my arms, and obtained the destruction of my enemies. I reigned from Yatnan, which is in the midst of the sea of the setting sun, until the limits of Egypt and of the land of the Moschiens, from the great Phœnicia, Syria in its totality, to all the cities of remote Media, near the country of Bikni from Ellip, Ras,¹ which is neighbour to Elam on the border of the Tigris until the tribes of Ituh, Rubu, Haril, Labdud, Hauran, Ubul, Ruhua, Litai, who live on the rivers of Surappi and Ukné, the *suti* of the desert which are in the land of Iatbur, the² until the towns of Samhun, Babdur, Dur-Telit, Bilat, Dunni-Samas, Bubi, Tell-Khumba, which belong to Elam ; and Kar-Duniyas, the Higher and the Lower, from the lands of Bet-Amukkan, Bet-Dakkur, Bet-Silan, Bet-Pahalla, which form Chaldea in its totality, the land of Bet-Iakin, which is on the sea shore until the prescinity of Dilmun.³ I took their tributes, I put over them my Lieutenants as Governors and I forced them under my sovereignty.

II.-2.—That is what I did until the fifteenth year of my government²

Selected by the Kings who to my favour explained the eclipse⁴ visible over Haran and signed their pacts according to the will of OANNES and of DAGON. Long and

¹ The Ros of the Bible; some scholars believed them to be the Russians; Ras, Mesek Tubal were explained by Russia, Moscaï, Tobolok.

² Lacunæ.

³ The modern Daylem, near Bunder-Bushir.

⁴ This is the lunar eclipse of 721 (9, 280), March 19, mentioned in the *Almagest*.

mighty, I employed my weapons for submitting the rebels. Being King, I have had no equal among the Kings from the first day of my accession; being a warrior I did not withdraw battles and fights. All the countries I crushed like the *hasbet*.

I asked from them the symbols of submission in the four elements. I crossed forests without numbers, deep and of a great extent; I levelled their inequality. I crossed winding and dry valleys, which were the seat of heat, and in passing I ordered cisterns to be dug.

From the land of Ras, in the province of Elam, the tribes of Rupud, Tamun, the towns of Dur-Kurigalzi, Rapik, the lands of Maskak-Abi, until the river Musri (Egypt) of Phœnicia, of Syria, all those gave me tribes.

My mighty hand reached from the town of Hasmar until the town of Simaspatti in Media the far one, which is situated at the rising sun, the lands of Namri and Ellip, Bet-Hamban, Parsua,¹ Van, Armenia, Kaska (Colchis), Tabal, until the Moschians, I instituted my Lieutenants as Governors over them and I imposed to them the prestation of the tributes like to the Assyrians.

II.-3.—In the beginning of my reign²³ the Samaritan⁴

[Three lines are wanting.]

with the help of the Sun, who aided me to vanquish my enemies, I besieged, I occupied the town of Samaria and I brought into captivity 27,280 persons; I took before all parts over them 50 chariots, the part of my kingdom. I took them to Assyria and instead of them I placed men to live there whom my hand had conquered. I instituted over them my Lieutenants as Governors, and I imposed on them tributes like over the Assyrians.

¹ Parthia.

² B.C. 721.

³ Unfortunately the name of the Samaritan king is lost. ⁴ Lacuna.

In the first year of my reign, HUMBANIGAS, sinned against the precepts of the great gods and revolted himself. He came into my presence for delivering a battle. I vanquished him. I submitted the land of Tuhmun under the domination of ASSUR.

MERODACH-BALADAN having usurped against the will of the gods, the kingdom of Babylon¹ I led away² men whatever they possessed¹ I transported them to Syria.

In the second year (720-719) of my reign, ILUBID of Hamath;¹ he established himself in the town of Qarqar and excited against me the towns Arpad, Simyra, Damas and Samaria

[The Inscriptions of Hall II. pls. 4, 5 are destroyed. Forty lines are wanting here and unfortunately the whole passage concerning the battle of Raphia against Sebech and other most important matters.]

II.-6.—SEBECH had confidence in his armies and came towards me for delivering a battle. I defeated them, in remembrance of the great god ASSUR, my god. SEBECH went away with a shepherd who watched his sheep and escaped. HANON was taken by me, and I took with me to my city of Assyria all he possessed. I destroyed, I demolished his cities, I burnt them by fire; I took with me 9033 men with their numerous properties.

In the third year (719-718) of my reign, the towns of Suandakhu and Durdukka, the capitals, thought of withdrawing themselves from the domination of IRANZU of Van, their Sovereign, who was faithful to me. They trusted to MITARTI the Zikirtian. And the latter added his men of war to their horsemen, and they made themselves his allies.

XIV.-1.—I counted all the armies of the god ASSUR and I

¹ Lacunæ.

² The numbers are wanting.

marched against these towns. By the catapults (*asibi danni*) I besieged, I broke the walls of their forces; I took with me the inhabitants like slaves with all they possessed. I destroyed, I demolished these towns, I burnt them by fire.

II.-7.—The inhabitants of Sukkia, Bala, Pappa, Abitekna had followed the counsel of revenge, in transporting their *sursi*, and in order to make submission to URSAHA, the Armenian, they had given him the kiss of peace and had committed great sins. I pulled them from their dwellings and I made them live in the land of Syria and in Phœnicia.

In the fourth year of my reign (718-717), KIAKKU of Sinukhta forgot the precepts of the great gods, his heart became hard he did not send any more his tributes. I lifted my hand to the gods, my Lords, and I burst over Sinukhta like a cloud. I treated him and his soldiers like prisoners, 7350 inhabitants, his wife, his sons, his daughters, the servants of his palace, and I took a great deal of booty. I gave Sinukhta, his capital, to MATTI of Atuna, and I added to the preceding tributes, horses, donkeys, gold and silver.

In the fifth year of my reign (717-716), PISIRI, of Karkamis¹ sinned against the great gods and sent against MITA the Moschian messages hostile to Assyria. He took hostages. I lifted my hands to ASSUR, my Lord. I made him leave the town, I sent away the holy vases out of his dwelling.

I made them throw into chains of iron, I took away the gold, the silver and the treasures of his palace, the Circesian rebels who were with him and their properties, I transplanted them to Assyria. I took among them 50 cars, 200 riders, 3000 men on foot, and I augmented the part of my kingdom. I made the Assyrians to dwell in

¹ Carchemish or Circesium.

Circesium, and I placed them under the domination of ASSUR, my Lord.

The inhabitants of Pappa and of Sallukna had seduced the Overseer (the dogs), the scholars of my palace in the land of Kakim, *napadis*. I pulled them out of their habitations and I made them live at Damascus in Phenicia. In the sixth year of my reign, URSAHA, King of Armenia, enticed to rebellion BAGADATTI, of the mountain of Mildis, and the great of Karalla, of Zikirtu, of Van; they prepared the defection, and conspiracy.

II.—8.—He made them doubt the power of SARGON and superseded AZA, their legitimate Lord¹ he conducted them¹ In the high mountains, they prepared the revolt of the country of Van¹ On the summits of high mountains, they threw the body of AZA, their master. I lifted the hand to the god ASSUR, my Lord, to interfere in the troubles of the country of Van and to spare similar discords in Assyria. In the high mountains, in an inaccessible place, there, where they had thrown the corpse of AZA, I had BAGADATTI flayed, and I terrified the country of Van; and I placed ULLUSUN on the throne, the brother of AZA; I entrusted to him the whole country. But ULLUSUN¹ had confidence in URSAHA, the Armenian. He associated in his revolt against me ASSURLIH of Karalla, ITTI of Allabur and accepted the supremacy of URSAHA, the Armenian. In the anger of my heart, I invaded these countries like a raven. I counted the armies of the god of ASSUR, and I fell into the country. I plunged like a storm on Izirti, the capital of the country of Nairi, I killed a great many people; I burnt by fire Izirti and I occupied the towns of Izibia and Armit.

ULLUSUN and the race of his country came all to me and

¹ Lacunæ.

kissed my feet. I forgave him his sins and I replaced him on the throne of his royalty and I imposed him a tribute in addition to the preceding tributes. When I went to ITTI of Allapur, I dragged him out of his dwelling¹ I deported all the men of Karalla; and him and his suite, I placed them in Hamath¹ the town

XIII.-9.—of Ganon, the land of See¹ I took with my own hand NIRISAR, Governor of the town of Surgadia. I joined these towns to the government of Parsuas.² BELSARUSSUR was the King of the town of Kisasi,¹ I had them transported to Assyria with the treasure of his palace. I put over him my Lieutenants as Governors.

V.-17.—I placed in the middle of the town the gods who show me the way and I called this town Kar-Ninip. I erected there an image of My Majesty. I occupied the lands of Bet-Sakbat, Bet-Hirmami, Bet-Umargi, the towns of Harhubarnua, Kilamoti, Armangu, I joined these to his government. The people of Kharkhar had enforced KIBABA, the Chief of the town and had sent to DALTA of Ellip for submitting themselves. I occupied this town, I delivered the prisoners, I installed those men whom my hand had conquered. I put over them my Lieutenants as Governors. I occupied the superior banks which form the land of Aranzi, the inferior banks where are situated the lands of Bet-Ramatua, Uriqatu, Sikris, Saparda, Uriakku, five districts and I joined them to those; I imposed them besides their divinities,³ in ASSUR. I called the town of Kar-Sarkin.⁴ I raised the considerable tributes of 28 prefects of the capital places of Media, I put the image of my royalty in the midst of the town.

In the seventh year (715-714) of my reign, URSAHA, the Armenian, conspired about the defection with ULLUSUN

¹ Lacunæ.

² Parthia.

³ Unintelligible.

⁴ Kharkhar.

of Van, and took from him 22 strong places. *Mat taspisti dabilte* ULLUSUN conspired with DAYAUKKU, the Prefect of Van,¹ and took with him his son as hostage. I lifted my hand unto ASSUR, my Lord, I occupied these 22 strong places and I incorporated them to the dominion of Assyria. I took with me DAYAUKKU and his tribute, I re-established the tranquillity in the land of Van.

II.-9.—I imposed as tribute to YANZU, King of Nairi, in Hupuskia, the town of his power² the town of² the town of² the towns of his power, horses, oxen, lambs² their oxen, their lambs²

I attacked the strong places of TILUSINA of Andia, I took with the inhabitants of the two towns and all they possessed² I had an image of my royalty made, I inscribed the glory of the god ASSUR, I erected it in the middle of Izirti² The land of the superior banks and of the inferior banks which I had submitted with the inhabitants of Kharkha in my preceding campaign, the Bet-Aranzi² Bet-Ramatua, Uriqatu, Sikris, Saparda, UPPARIA had abandoned me and conspired against me. I² I subdued them under my domination. I carried off the inhabitants as prisoners. I occupied the towns of Ka² of Kisirzariba, of Halbuknu² of² ua, of Anzaria, which were situated on the superior and inferior banks. I carried off² their soldiers 4820² I imposed to them tributes² arms of war. I occupied the towns of Tell-Akhitub, of Hindau, of Anzaria, of Bit-Bagaia; I transported the inhabitants to Assyria. I restored them again and I gave them the names of Kar-Nabu, Kar-Sin, Kar-Bin, Kar-Istar.

¹ This is the Median name of Dejoces.

² Lacunæ.

To keep my position in Media, I built fortifications in the neighbourhood of Kar-Sarkin, I fortified¹ I received the tributes of 22 Prefects of the capitals of Media. I occupied the towns of¹ Kimurru, the lands of Bet-Hamma, I carried

II.—II.—away 2830 inhabitants with all they possessed¹

[Two lines are wanting.]

who since¹ and had killed the men of Quë¹ I expelled them unto the sea¹ I subjected them again under my domination. I occupied the towns of Harrua and of Usnani of the land of Quë, which MITA, King of the Moschians had ravished, I ravaged and plundered them.

I marched against the tribes of Tasidi, of Ibadidi, of Marsimani, of Hayapaï, of the land (of Arabia) the remote inhabitants of the land of Bari whom the learned and the wise men had not known; no one among the Kings my ancestors had ever heard this name. I submitted them to the obedience of ASSUR, and those who remained, I pulled them out of their dwellings and I placed them in the town of Samaria.

PHARAOH, King of Egypt, SAMSIE, the Queen of Arabia, IT-AMAR, the Sabea, are the Kings of the far seaside and of the land of¹ I got from them, as tributes, frankincense, metals¹ of the town of Am . . .¹ gu, all sorts of dogs of different races, horses and camels. I helped MITA, the King of the Moschians, in the districts of his kingdom . . .¹ the fortified places of Harrua and Usnani, of the land of Quë, which had belonged to the men of this land since an infinite time, I gave them back to him.

In the eighth year of my reign,² I received the tributes of

¹ Lacunæ.

² B.C. 714-713.

Van, of Media, which the men of the land of Van and Ellip had kept from me.

II.-12.—I imposed a considerable tribute on ZIRZIRAZALA, the Governor of the towns who belong to the district of¹ from whom the Kings my ancestors had never obtained a contribution¹

[A line wanting.]

I killed a great many people in Mitatti of Zikirta, I took three large towns with 24 boroughs in the environs, I took all that appertained to them, I destroyed by fire Parda, the town of his power. He and his men of his country fled and one never saw again their traces. I killed in quantities without number, people of URSAHA,² the Armenian, and 250 persons of his royal race, and I made prisoners his horsemen. He, he fled on his stud to save his life; he escaped in the mountains; for five months he wandered about alone in the mountains, in going from the heights of the land of Zihar unto the valleys of the mountains. I took from him the districts of the land of Van, and I gave them to ULLUSUN of Van.

I occupied the towns of Uskaya, of Birtu, which are in the dependency of the land of Zaran¹ hi, in the land of Mallan, the valleys of the cypress *raksat* and the 115 towns³

Astania, which is in the dependency of Bet-Sangibut, the town(?) of¹ ni(?) the town of Salmaki of the land of Sala¹ which are in the neighbourhood of the town of Ulhu, near the land of Kispal, of Ezu, the capitals and 140 towns of the neighbourhood which are situated on the mountains of Arzabia, I destroyed them to ashes. I attacked the principal

II.-13.—towns and 30 small towns in the neighbourhood of the land of Armari¹ of Ubiarda, the town of

¹ Lacunæ. ² The Armenian *Harléa*. ³ This passage also is mutilated.

Abu, the residence of RUSAN¹ the towns which are in the neighbourhood of the land of Arah, the districts which are on the other side of the sea, the town of Ar¹ the town of Qa which¹ the lands *erukku sabi*¹ the five towns of the neighbourhood of the land of Uaya; 30 towns of the land of Uaya, I occupied them, I destroyed them to ashes. I imposed upon YANZU, King of Nairi, as tribute in his capital Hubuskia, horses, oxen, and lambs.

URZANA of Musasir had refused the protection of ASSUR and of MARDUK and had thrown the eyes on URSAHA, the Armenian. I recommended myself to the gods, my Lords, I counted my cars and 1000 riders of my guard, the men of my reserve *zukuruya*¹ and the¹ of the battles I went through the lands of Sihak, of Ardi . . .¹ of Ulayān, of Alluria, inaccessible mountains¹ impossible for the horses and inaccessible for myself; URZANA heard of the march of my expedition; he escaped like a bird and he went to the high mountains. I took the town of Musasir, the residence of the god HALDIA; I seized the booty of URZANA, his wives, his sons, 8160 men, 682 donkeys, sheep, 920¹ 125¹ lambs, and I allowed them to leave, 30 talents, 18 mines of gold, 160 talents,¹ minehs² of silver, cloths of *berom* and cotton in great quantities . . .¹ with¹ talent, 3 mines of gold¹ 27¹

[Two lines are wanting.]

I took with me, the gods HALDIA and BAGABARTU¹
V.—18.—All these I took with me to Assyria and I confided it to the hands of my Lieutenant, Chief of the dominion. URSAHA heard the downfall of Musasir, the capture of his god HALDIA; he despaired on account of the victories of ASSUR, and he with his own hand with the

¹ Lacunæ.

² *I.e.*, a weight.

dagger of his belt he pierced his entrails, as to a wild beast¹

In the ninth year (713-712) of my reign I went to Ellip, Bet-Dayaukhu and Karalli; the people of Karalli had turned out my Lieutenant and had elevated to the highest dignity AMITASSI, the brother of ASSURLIB. I ordered them to come to Assyria into the palace, and I imposed upon them two thousands of horse harness. I pursued AMITASSI, him and his¹

[The Inscriptions in Hall II. pl. 15 are wanting, and those in Hall V. pl. 14 are very mutilated.]

and I named¹ of his royalty and I rejoiced the heart of DALTA, and I re-established the tranquillity in his country.

II.-16.—The lands of Bait-Ili, the district of Media, which belongs to Ellip¹ The lands of Parnusiti, of Utirna, the town of Eristani and the lands of Uriakku, of Rimanuta, the lands of the district of Uppuriya, of Uyadané, of Pustis, of Agazi, of Ambanda, of Dananu, the far districts of the territory of the Arabs from the rising sun and the principal districts of Media had shaken off the yoke of ASSUR and had terrified the mountain and the valley¹ I distributed *sarrakis* the *sakukat* as the belonging portion of every town and I pacified their districts. I received the tributes of ULLUSUN of Van, of DALTA of Ellip, of NINIP-BALADAN of Allapur, and of 45 Governors of the Median towns, consisting of 4609 horses, donkeys and lambs of an innumerable quantity.

II.-17.—AMBARIDI, of Tabal¹ HULLI his father, was on the throne of the royalty; one had given him Bet-Burrutes, and he had entrusted it to his hand. In the days of Hulli¹ I had left him there and I had given him my daughter with the town of Hilakku,² and I had extended his dominion. But he, an unfaithful man,

¹ Lacunæ.

² Cilicia.

did not observe his alliance, he had confidence in URSAHA the Armenian, and in MITA the Moschian, who had taken my provinces and my towns in the land of Tabal, and he had sent him ambassadors. I counted all the armies of the god of ASSUR, and I cut like corn (*ukatti seetis*) the whole land of Tabal. AMBARIS, King of Bet-Buritis, and the descendants of his paternal house, the great of the land, with 100 cars, were taken to Assyria. I established in the land of Bet-Buritis, the land of Hillakku, *aburris*, strong places in this country, and I placed the men whom ASSUR had submitted by his arms, I placed my Lieutenant as Governor over them, and I subjected them under my crown like the Assyrians.

In the tenth year¹ of my reign, TARHUNAZI of Mulid² did not remember the religion of the great gods. The great land of Khamman had not accepted obedience nor the due respect to ASSUR. I had put him out; GUNZINAN took possession of the throne of his royalty² he had filled his hands with their tributes, he had listened to his enemies and he had sent hostile messages to Assyria. In the anger of my heart, I went into the land of Khamman and I filled with terror Miliddu, the town of his royalty like the² All their men, the herds I treated²

II.—18.—And he for saving his life, retired himself to the town of Tell-Garimmi. I took this town by stratagem.(?) I diminished those who had withdrawn their obedience to me. I threw TARHUNAZI and his warriors into chains of iron and I transported his wife, his sons, his daughters, with 5000 prisoners and warriors into my capital. I remade Tell-Garimmi, I got it quite occupied by the² of the land of Khamman, which my hand had conquered, and I consigned it to the hands of my Lieutenant; I put

¹ B.C. 712-711.² Lacunæ.

over him my Vice-king, as it was in the time of GUNZINAN, the preceding King. I rebuilt ten strong places of his environs and I made there a place of rest.

I fortified the towns of Suhsu, of Ursia, of Ammuaru, of Ku¹ of Anduarsilia, of the side of Armenia. I rebuilt the towns of Usi, Usi¹ of¹ who are near the Moschians, and I occupied the places which one could not leave. The towns of Illibir, of Sindarara, against¹ Duir, the town of his royalty, with the districts¹ of the town of Commagene¹ In these times, I had¹ the retreats of the mountains of Syria.

II.-19.—In these times of my campaign, they brought me¹ the (boxes?) containing the treasures of the palace of SARIS, of Suruman¹ consisting in¹ the products of or during¹ brilliant ore, of the land of Susanira, of the land of Ilipu or Dariu, of *sti*, crowns, of *nibban* in iron of the land of Sanmun which¹ making it bright like tin, their¹ white lead of the land of Ammun, the mountain before¹ the arms, the treasure of the royalty which, like white marble¹ the¹ the land of Ba'ilzabuna, the great mountain of copper, one after one, he worked them¹

These treasures without number which our fathers had not heaped up, I amassed them in the cells of the palace of Dur-Sargon, my town, and the collectors of silver made themselves obeyed like¹ in the whole of Assyria.

II.-20, XIII.-4.—In the eleventh year (711-710) of my reign, TARHULARA of Gamgum had been obliged to recognize the power of MUTALLU, his son, who had taken his seat on his throne against my will, and administered the country. TARHULARA asked me to decide on his

¹ Lacunæ.

quarrel¹ In the wrath of my soul, I marched in haste with my cars and my horsemen, who did not leave the trace of my sandals, to Varkasi. I took MUTULLU, his son, and the family of the land of Bet-Pahalla, in its whole extent; I took as booty, the gold, the silver, the¹ of his palace of which the number is¹

II.-21.—I reinstated the people of Gamgam and the territory of their tributes; I instituted my Governor over them like my Lieutenant, and I treated them like Assyrians.

AZURI, King of Asdod, made up his mind not to be obedient to ASSUR and not to supply any more his tributes. He sent to the Kings his neighbours hostile messages to Assyria. Then, I meditated a vengeance, and I replaced him in the domination of his lands. I elevated to his place his brother AKHIMIT to the royalty. But the people of Syria inclined to revolt, and were tired of the government of AKHIMIT and elevated IAMAN, who like him was not the legitimate master of the throne. In the wrath of my heart, I did not divide my army and I did not diminish the ranks, but I marched against Asdod with my warriors, who did not separate themselves from the traces of my sandals. I besieged, I took Asdod and Gimt-Ashdodim. I took with the gods who inhabit these towns, the gold, the silver, the whole contents of his palace.

II.-21a.—I then made again these towns. I placed the people whom my arm had conquered. I put over them my Lieutenant as Governor; I considered them like Assyrians and they practiced obedience.

In the twelfth year² of my reign, MERODACH-BALADAN, son of JAKIN, King of Chaldea, who had established his dwelling amidst the sea of the rising sun, he had confidence in the sea and *gubus idi*.

¹ Lacunæ.

² B.C. 710-709.

V.-11, XIII.-4.—He¹ the precepts of the great gods and refused his tribute. He had first engaged an alliance with HUMBANIGAS, King of Elam, and excited against me all the tribes of Mesopotamia. He prepared himself to war and he descended to the land of the Sumers and the Accads. Against the will of the gods of Babylon, the town of BEL, who judges the gods, he had sent during twelve years ambassadors. But MERODACH, the great god, did not accord his protection to the hostile actions of Chaldæa, which he had seen, and the loss of the sceptre and the throne of his royalty was made with his help.

I who am SARGON, the pious King, I have been chosen by him among all the Kings, and he elevated my head in the land of Sumer and Accad, and in order to make to submit the Chaldeans, a people rebellious and perverse he augmented my forces.

With the help of MERODACH, my Lord, I kept up my heroism; I arranged my plan of the battle, and I proclaimed an expedition against his hostile enemies. But he, MERODACH-BALADAN, heard of the approach of

V.-10.—my expedition; he fortified his strong places, he assembled the parties of his army and he united all the troops of Gambul to the town of Dur-Atkhar, and when my expedition passed, he augmented his garrison.² He left to them 600 horsemen and 4000¹ who formed the front guard of his army, and he incited their courage. They joined new works to those which the fortress had already, and they bored a channel from the river Surappi, and¹ a swarm they¹ his environs.

II.-26.—I marched until the hour of the setting of the sun, and I captured 18,430 men with all they possessed,

¹ Lacunæ.

² *Masartu.*

their horses, donkeys, mules, camels, oxen and lambs. The rest fled before my arms ; they directed themselves to the river Uknu, the inaccessible one, and the reeds (of) the (marshes) . . . ,¹ after the¹ They heard that I attacked the town ; their courage left them, they fled like birds, taking with them from the river Ukni great tributes in oxen and lambs. I re-built this town, and I gave to it the name Dur-Nabu. I put over these men my Lieutenant as Governor and I imposed to every one of them like a yearly tribute 1 talent, 30 minas of silver, 2000 acres of corn, besides twenty oxen, one ox besides 10¹ and one lamb. I left there these men and¹ which I had taken.²

II.-22.—The town of Karet-Nami, the town of Nabu-Yusalla,³ the³ of Dur³ the town of Mahiru, six towns of the land of Hubagu³ the town Oran-Rahmiël, the town of Yahdi, two great towns of³ -nanagi, the town of Parasa, the town of Yah³ three towns of Nahar-hirit, the district of the town of Higaya, the town of³ the town of Asiël, the strong place of Vannuyasana, the town of Rahi³ the town of . . .³ unaisidan, six towns belonging to the city of Hilti, the town of Haza . . .³ the town of Sap'harri, the town of Hamadani, the town of³ the town of Yahyanu, six towns of Sahalani, the town of³ the town of Namri, the town of Zaruti, the town of Saadani, the town of³ the town of . . .³ sali, seven towns which belong to the district of Nagia, the town of³ of Astamu, whose¹ are numberless, the Zikri of Aïsamu, . . .³ paha, the town of Dinega, the town of Samibnaya, the town of

¹ Lacunæ.

² The Hall II. pl. 1 has a different copy ; there are the names of Bar, Hazael, Hamdan, Zebit, Amava, and others.

³ Unfortunately the names of all these towns are obliterated.

V.-9c.—Babilié, the town of . . .¹ mi, the town of Andan, Sihrai, Patiyäil, Khula . . .¹ su, the town of Usiyadah, Hailai . . .¹ the town of Hukanu, the lands of Silburatti, Tibarsun, Pasur, Hahirut, Hilmut, the six districts of Gambul and the treasures of the fortified towns themselves, were joined by me to the crown of Assyria.

[The Inscriptions in Hall II., pls. 23, 24 are wanting.]

The tribes of Rubua, of Hindear, of Jatbur, of Pukud, learned the seizure of Gambul; they left at the approach of the night, and directed themselves to the inaccessible Uknu. I made a bridge over the river Undias, the river of their¹ through woods and plants. I got constructed two forts on the other side of the river. I allowed them to quit with their goods, and they left the environs of Ukni, and they kissed my feet. YANUK, the Lieutenant of the town of Zamé, belonging to NABUYUSALLA, of the town of Aburé, PASSAN-HAUKAN of Nuhan, SATAL of Ibuliya, the men of the *nasikat* of Pukud, ABHATA of RU-XIII.-7.—hua, HUNIN, SAMEA, SABHARRU, RAPIG of

II.-21.—Hindar, the horses and the oxen, the lambs of the Chief of Hindar and the warriors came to Dur-Atkhar and kissed my feet. I took their hostages, and I constituted a tribute like to the Assyrians. I handed them to the hands of my Governor of the land of Gambul. I consecrated the spoil of the oxen, numerous muttons at NEBO. The rest of the *araméen* people, wicked people and those who inhabit their districts, had placed their hopes on MERODACH-BALADAN, and on SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, and had directed themselves to the river Uknu. I ravaged their country, the great buildings like the lightning. I hewed down the palms of their plantations, their gardens, the product of their districts and I distributed their villages among the army. I sent them out to the

¹ Lacunæ.

river Ukni, at the place where they should meet their dispersed bands; I defeated them and put them to flight. They took as prisoners their men and their goods, and

[The Inscriptions in Hall II. pl. 26, 27 are wanting.]

they made an invasion in the towns of Rame, Aburë, Saptir, Mahis, Hilipan, Kaldan, Pattian, Hayaman, Gadiya, Amat, Nuhan, Ama, Hiur, Sa'al, the fourteen strong towns and the neighbouring towns in the valley of the river Ukni, which had withdrawn themselves under the strength of my weapons. They came back humiliated from the river Ukni and they kissed my feet. I threw down like¹ this district more than it had been done formerly, and I intrusted it to the hands of the Prefect. The towns of Sam'un and of Bab-Dur, fortress of SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, King of Elam, were incorporated to the land of Jatbur. I took into captivity Ninu and Singansibu, the chief of the fortresses and 7520 Elamites who were with them and 12,062 men of¹ the *issumbi*, horses, donkeys, sheep, camels and a great many treasures.

V.-9a.—I rebuilt the town of Samuna, I made to change its name and I called the town Bel-Bagar. I named MUSEZIB, NATNU, AILUN, DAIZZAN, of the land of Sahir, AIRIMMU, the only chief of the town of Sula . . .¹ and¹ a, the seven *nisikat* of the Jatbur brought to my camp horses, donkeys, oxen and lambs; and to complete their submission, they kissed my feet. I incorporated to the territory of Assyria the town of Sahir, of the land of Tadibir, the towns of Salan, of¹ of Samuna, of Bab-Dur, the fortresses of Jatbur, the towns of Akhilimmu, of Pillut, the dominion of Elam and the towns which they environ in the valley of the river Nadit. The towns of

¹ Lacunæ.

Tul-Humba¹ Dubé, Haman, the fortified refuges of the land of Ras, had retired themselves before my mighty battles and were entered into the town of Bet-Tinbi; and this SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, their King, retired himself with them into the far mountains to save his life. With the help of ASSUR, of NEBO, of MERODACH, I traversed with the force of my armies the Euphrates, and I directed my face to the town of Dur-Ladinna, of the land of Bet-Dakurri. I rebuilt the town of Dur-Ladinna *nada*, and I united my soldiers, the selected troops of my battles.

Concerning the glory of ASSUR, of NEBO and of MERODACH which I had spread in these countries, MERODACH-BALADAN, King of Kar-Dunyas, heard of it at Babylon, in the midst of his palace, his distrust

II.—28.—overcame him; he made go out in the night time with his auxiliaries, his troops of battle, and he directed his steps against the land of Yatbur in Elam. He gave as a propitiatory present his *pasur* in silver, his throne in silver, his parasol in silver, his² in silver, his *nirmaktu* in silver, the insignia of his royalty, of a considerable weight, to SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE the Elamite, that he might support his party. He took by violence *da'tus*, the cattle of the Elamite and avoided my arms in pursuing¹ his march and did not announce his itinerary. He heard of the abstention of the chief of his party, and he turned³ in a circle. He made wear his cotton (proverbially), he took with him what remained to him, and prepared himself for every eventuality. He and his auxiliaries withdrew their soldiers from Jatbur, he went to the town of Ikbibel and stopped there in safety.

The people of Babylon and of Borsippa, the men who

¹ Lacunæ.

² Unknown.

³ *Ippalsih*.

enter the palace, the men of the army, the learned people of books, and those who march before the *muherat* of the land which he had entrusted to him, carried in my presence the *sihat* of BEL, ZARPANIT, NEBO and TASMIT in the town of Dur-Ladinni. The inhabitants of Babylon called on me, and I made shake the entrails of the town of BEL and of MERODACH, who judges the gods. I entered immediately to Babylon, and I immolated the expiating victims to the great gods.

I established my power in the midst of the palace of MERODACH-BALADAN; and I received the tribes of the V.-9.—lands of Aram, of Amukkan, of Dakkuri. The Kings my predecessors had dug an ancient channel at Borsippa; I have made a new one, to the glory of NEBO II.-29.—and of MERODACH, unto the town of Suanna (Babylon).

The people of Hamaran who had withdrawn from my mighty arms were entered in Sippara, and had resisted to the approach of the expedition of the Babylonians. In my constancy, I sent them my judges as my Lieutenants; they approached themselves in confidence and, great and small, they fled no more.

During the rest, during the calm, the month of Sebat approached, the month of the rise of the Master of the gods; I took the hands of BEL, of MERODACH, of NEBO, the King of the legions of the sky and of the earth, and I searched the road of the house of treasures. Two sculptured bulls, equal, winged, birds¹ with their *katri* without¹ were erected before them. I accomplished sacrifices¹ to the gods¹ of the Sumirs and the Accads.

In the thirteenth year² of my reign, in the month of Iyar,

¹ Unexplained words.

² B.C. 709-708.

I left the town of Suanna (Babylon); I raised my courage and I disposed of my strength¹ I

[The Inscription in Hall II. pl. 30 is wanting.]

went to the towns of . . .¹ bidaya, Ikbibel, Hi . . .,¹ MERODACH-BALADAN forced a contribution of the towns of Ur, of Larsa, of Kisik, the dwelling of the god LAGUDA; he assembled his forces

V.-8.—at Dur-Jakin, and he fortified his citadels. He made measure almost a plethrum around his fort, and dug

II.-31.—a ditch of 200 spans of longitude and of one fathom and a half of depth, until he arrived at the waters of the channels. Then he pierced a trench beginning from the Euphrates, and he divided in several branches the height of the course of the river. He provided the town the centre of his rebellion, with a dam, he filled all with water, and cut the conductings. He and his auxiliaries commanded to the soldiers of his battles to raise into the air like birds, the insignias of his royalty, and he arranged his camp. By the grace of ASSUR, of the SUN and of MERODACH, my warriors extended themselves along the courses of the water like¹

I approached myself with courage to him and his royal courtiers, whom I pulled before his feet like the *asli*. I put disorder among his soldiers and the horses, among the harness of his feet, when they advanced. I pierced myself the¹ in the *zibit mulmulli*, and the King pierced, like a *sihku*, with trouble the great gate of his town. I harvested like the *asli* the people of Pukud,,¹ and the Marsanians who accompanied them. I filled with terror of death the other soldiers. I captured the insignias of his royalty, the throne of his royalty in gold, the sceptre in gold, the *pasur* in gold, the parasol

¹ Lacunæ.

V.-7.—in gold, *udini* in gold and in silver, arms *thisnat*,
¹ *ganin sutilli*, instruments of the battle. I made
 prisoners all the men who inhabit the interior of this
 land and who had withdrawn from my arms in Dur-Jakin.
 The *pasir*, the herds

[The Inscriptions in Hall II. pl. 32, 33 are wanting.]

of oxen, of camels, of sheep and lambs were taken away
¹ The mighty armies of the god of ASSUR pillaged
 this town during three days and three nights and took
 with an immense booty¹ I carried off 80,570 men,
 2070 horses, 700 donkeys, 6054 camels¹ I received
¹ what my army had taken. Then I ordered that
 nothing should come out of the town or come in of what
 they had appropriated with respect to oxen and sheep, and
 I enclosed all in the town *rusukis*. I destroyed the parks,
 I cut the trees¹ Then I limited the surface of
 the town, like a¹ I heaped up¹ a¹
 great in a pile which I put into the fortress. And this
 MERODACH-BALADAN, recognising his own weakness, was
 terrified; the immense fear of my royalty overwhelmed
 him, he left his sceptre and his throne; in the presence
 of my ambassador, he kissed the earth. He abandoned
 his castles, fled and one saw no more his trace.² His
¹ I called him, he blessed my honour and I
 accorded him the grace. The gold, the silver, the stones,
 the metals, the *bdellium*¹,¹ the *ninnati*, the stones
ka . . .¹ the¹ the copper, the minerals which had
 been accumulated by the princes his predecessors and
 ancestors since many years, 1000 horses, 800 donkeys
¹ 30,000 *giziati* in gold, the instruments

V.-6.—¹ the thrones in gold, the¹ in gold
¹ productions of the river,¹

I burnt by fire the town of Dur-Yakin, I destroyed, I

¹ Lacunæ.

² Literally "and no one saw him again."

ruined by fire his ancient pinnacles; I pulled out the fundamental stone, I have made a place of desolation. Concerning the people of Sippara, of Nipur, of Babylon and of Borsippa, I allowed them to continue in the midst of the town their ancient professions, in surveying them. They took the culture of the fields, which belonged since an immemorial time to the people of *Suti*, and they appropriated them to themselves. I replaced under my domination the *Suti* of the desert. I put again in their former places their limits.

I re-established at Ur, Orchoe, Rat, Sarsa, Kullab, Kisik, the dwelling of the god of Laguda, the god of their sanctuary and I restored the gods who had been taken away from them; I restored their habits which were fallen into oblivion.

I subjected to a regular contribution the land of Bet-Yakin both superior and inferior, unto the towns of Sam-una, Bab-Dur, Dur-Telit, Bube, Tul-Humba, which belong to the dominion of Elam, and I placed, in changing the respective places the men of the Commagene in Syria, whom my arm had reached, in the adoration of the great gods, my Lords. I established the administration containing the dominion of Elam in the town of Sakbat. I ordered NABUPAKIDILAN to make enter the impositions of the Elamite people.¹ I took for mortgage

V.-5.—the fortress (Birtu) of this land and I trusted her to my Lieutenant the Governor of Babylon and to my Lieutenant the Governor of Gambul.

UPERI, King of Dilmun, whose hidden dwelling is established in the midst of the sea, thirty *parasangæ* off

II.-34.—the coast, like those of the fishes, he heard of the glory of my domination and he brought his tribute.

While I made them repent their punishment to the

¹ Literally, "to impose tribute upon the Elamites."

Chaldeans and to the Arimi of the sea of the rising sun and while I made feel my domination to the men of Elam, my Lieutenant of the land of Quë whom I had instituted in the land of¹ in the countries of the setting sun, and to whom I had trusted my subjects, he attacked MITA the Moschian in his countries, he went on the good roads with his cars and he marched on the bad roads by foot, being under water until three *silbu*. He took 2000 men, amongst he soldiers of their battalions and there were no more. He occupied two fortresses, the protection of these districts whose position is inaccessible in the mountains and in the far region.

(He killed) the men of war (who had opposed themselves) in his forts; he let the life to the others. He carried into captivity 2400 men, free and slaves, of this land; he pillaged these two towns and the neighbouring towns; he demolished and ruined them and burnt them by fire. His ambassador, who was of the family of his wife, carrying thousand¹ took with in my presence the man¹ in the town of Irmaï in Elam, and he rejoiced my heart. And this MITA, the Moschian, who had not presented homages to the Kings my predecessors and who had not sent ambassadors for asking peace and friendship, hearing the record of my glory and of the prey of my hand which ASSUR the great Lord had granted to me for what I had done in the sea of the rising sun; (and hearing) of the defeat of the land and of the captivity of the inhabitants and of the humiliation of UPERI, King of Dilmun, who is living in the midst of the sea¹ this MITA sent in my presence his ambassador for making his submission and for bringing his tributes unto the shore of the Eastern sea, and presented me his expiatory presents, and recognized the power of the god of ASSUR.

¹ Lacunæ.

II.-35.—And the seven Kings of Iahnagi of the land of Iatnan,¹ whose dwelling is situated at a distance of seven journeys in the middle of the Western sea and who have elevated there their dwellings, and whose names since the most remote times until the renewal of the lunar period, were not known by the Kings my fathers² they had refused their contributions, but after the news of the humiliation of the Kings of Chaldea² which they heard far away² they brought in my presence to Babylon, gold, silver, utensils, ebony, sandal wood, and the products of their countries and they kissed my feet.

[Hall II. pls. 36 and 38 are wanting. Some lacunæ are restored by the so named Great Inscription.]

V.-4.—In the fourteenth year (708-707) of my reign, MUTALLU, of Commagene, a wicked man and an enemy, who had not honoured the cult of the gods, had confidence in ARGISTI, King of Armenia, and he had trusted to him the town of Ulid. In the virgin forests he² had refused his tribute and he sent his ambassador in my presence into the land of Bet-Iakin, to ask from me peace. He had learned what I had done in the preceding campaign, which I had undertaken in Assyria, and the high deeds which I had executed over the land of the Chaldeans and in Elam. He fled alone to save his life ; he wandered, evening and morning, on the inaccessible mountains with his Princes. I ordered my Judges to administer these large territories as a part of my royalty. I marched during six *schoenes*, he abandoned his palace and he fled alone, and his trace was no more seen. They (my Judges) besieged this town, and they carried from it as spoil, his wife, his sons, with the inhabitants of the land, the horses, the donkeys, the mules, the camels, the oxen and the sheep. They took also the gold, the silver, clothes in

¹ Cyprus.

² Lacunæ.

berom and in cotton, blue and purple dresses, bdellium, skins of sea calves, ebony, sandal, the treasure of the palace, and they brought all this in my presence into the town of Calach. I rebuilt this town, I placed there the men of the land of Bet-Iakin. I instituted over it my Lieutenant as Governor, I called him BIT-KAT¹ and I joined a tribute to that one which I had paid formerly, and I replaced the Governor on his throne. I fixed his contribution to 150 cars, 1400 horse-men, 20,000 archers, 10,000 shield bearers; spear casters were taken among his men. I entrusted to him the country, and I considered him as one of my Lieutenants, and¹

In the fifteenth year² of my reign, the following passed :— I had subjected to the power of the god ASSUR the country of Ellip in one of my former campaigns; as long as DALTA of Albany lived, it was subject to me. But the illness of age came and his last day arrived, and went with him in the path of death. NIBIE and ISPABARA, the sons of his wives, asked each of them for himself the occupation of the royal throne, the country and the tributes, and they prepared themselves to combat.

V.-3.—NIBIE asked SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE King of Elam, that he should support his party, and he gave him, as mortgage, the promise of his submission, and he left assisted by him. ISPABARA asked me, in his prostration and humiliation, to support his party and to fortify his courage, and he offered allegiance to me. I sent then seven of my Lieutenants, my Governors, to make triumph his party. NIBIE and the army of the four rivers (of the Susians) his auxiliaries retired themselves. He and 1500 Elamite archers fled, to save their lives, unto the town of Mareobisti. He locked himself up at Mareobisti, his fortress, which is

¹ Lacunæ.

² B.C. 707-706.

situated on the summit of a mountain. My warriors drew away once more in their attack the inaccessible fort. They carried before me NIBIE, covered with ties and chains. I raised once more the town of Mareobisti, and I crucified on the cross the adherents of NIBIE. On the whole land, I established the regency of ISPABARA¹ I trusted him the government over all the men of Ellip; I made of the whole country a place of peace, I re-established it under his domination, and they behaved like pious men.

In these times, these people and these countries which my arm had conquered and which the gods ASSUR, NEBO and MERODACH had united under my domination, followed the road of righteousness. With their help I made a town with the divine will and the wish of my heart, which I called Dur-Sarkin at the feet of Musri, to replace Nineve.² SALMAN, SIN, SAMAS, NEBO, BIN, NINIP and

¹ Lacuna.

² In some inscriptions are given the dimensions of Khorsabad, as $3\frac{1}{2}$ ners, 1 stadium, 3 canes, and 2 spans (*U'*).

This is:

3½ ners, at 7200 spans	.	.	.	24,000 spans.
1 stadium at 720 "	.	.	.	720 "
3 canes . . . . .	.	.	.	18 "
2 <i>U'</i> . . . . .	.	.	.	2 "

24,740 "

The great side, according to the measurements of Botta, are just in the proportion of 6000 to 6370. The great sides or the square were therefore:

2 sides at 6000	12,000
2 sides at 6370	12,740

24,740

By this means, the length of the *span* or the *half cubit* has been fixed at 0^m 27425, or English inches, as the whole of the walls of Khorsabad are 6790 metres, 7427 yards; the sides are:

2 sides of 1645 metres, 6000 spans
2 sides of 1750 metres, 6370 spans

6790 metres, 24,740 spans.

See the explanation in my *Etalon des mesures assyriennes*.

their great wives, who reign eternally in the high regions and in the infernal tracts of ARALLI, have blessed the splendid wonders, the beautiful streets of Dur-Sarkin. I rectified the institutions which were not corresponding with their wills. The priests, the *nisi ramki*, the *sarmakki supar* debated, in their learned discussions, the predomination of their domination and the efficiency of their sacrifices.

I built in the town, palaces covered with skins, sandal, ebony, tamariscus, cedar, cypress, wild pistachio-tree, of an incomparable splendour, for the seat of my royalty. I have disposed their *duma* on golden boards, in silver, in copper, in stone *tihpi*, in polished stones, in tin, in lead, in iron, in steel and in *hibisti* arranged. I have written about this the glory of the gods; on the top I have built doors in cedar.

V.-2.—I have surrounded with rings of copper the doors of fir and of tamariscus, and I disposed their distance symmetrically. I made a spiral staircase equal to that one of the great temple in Syria, and which is called in the Phenician language, Bit-hilanni. Between the doors, I put eight double lions of which the weight is of a ton, of six quintals, of fifty talents¹ of massive copper employed in honour of MYLITTA. Their² was of wood in *timmi* and of fir, and I placed their 4 *kubur* in materials of the mountain Amanus, on the *nirgalli*. I fortified the vaults of the doors by *timmi* and I painted at the exterior the animals of the field of all size and winged, in stone of mountains.

¹ This is 1 ton	.	.	.	.	600 talents.
6 quintals	.	.	.	.	360 "
50 talents	.	.	.	.	50
					<hr/>
					1010 talents,

or nearly 67,000 English pounds.

² Lacuna.

Towards the four regions of the sun, I disposed the cornices and the door posts; I placed over them architraves in gypsum stone of great dimensions originally from the countries which my arm had conquered. I covered their walls and for the admiration of men, I had the images of the lands sculptured since the beginning until the end, which I had occupied with the aid of ASSUR, my Lord. After the rules of art of skilful men, I have made these palaces, I have built the rooms of treasures.

In the month of hearing, on the day of blessing, I have invoked amidst my followers ASSUR, the Father and the Sovereign of the gods, and the goddesses who inhabit Assyria. I presented them frankincense vases in glass, chiselled objects in pure silver heavy jewels, in great quantities, and I rejoiced their mind. I exposed sculptured bulls, coupled, winged,¹ winged,¹ winged quadrupeds, reptiles, fishes and birds, symbols of abundance of an incomparable fecundity, then of *midit* expiatory *silaru*, to present the elevated mountains, the summits of the heights which my hands had conquered. For the glory of my royalty, the arm of the gods, ASSUR has received them and his heart became favourable to me. I immolated, in the presence of the gods, pure victims, supreme sacrifices, expiatory holocausts to excite them to pardon, which was difficult to be gotten, I asked at the same time a happy existence, a long life, an illustrious descendance, the constancy in victory, and I relied upon him.

The great Lord BEL-EL, Master of the earth, inhabits the Sennaar; the gods and the goddesses inhabit Assyria; they live there in *pargiti* and *martakni*.

With the Chief of the provinces, the Satraps, the Wise men, the Doctors, the Magnates, the Lieutenants and

¹ Unexplained objects.

the Governors of Assyria, I sat in my palace, and I practised justice.

This palace contains gold, silver, vases in gold and silver, precious stones, copper, iron, the products of rich mines, blue and purple stuffs, cloths in *berom* and cotton,

V.-1.—amber, skins of sea calves, pearls, sandal, ebony, horses of Egypt, oxen strains, donkeys, mules, camels, oxen, these are the tributes which I asked for the gods whose heart I rejoiced.

May ASSUR bless this town and these palaces in giving to his images an eternal brightness. Might it be accorded to them to be inhabited until the most remote days.

May dwell before its supreme face the sculptured bull, the protector the accomplishing god, may he watch there the day and night time, and never his feet may move from this threshold !

With the aid of ASSUR, the King who has founded this palace may attain the old age, and may he have seven-fold offspring ! Until the last days may last its battlements.

And may it be that I, SARGON, who inhabits this palace, may be preserved by destiny during long years for a long life, for the happiness of my body, for the satisfaction of my heart, and may I arrive to my end !

May I accumulate in this palace immense treasures, the booties of all countries, the products of mountains and valleys !

Whoever, in the following days, among the Kings my sons, will succeed to me, may he restore this palace if it is threatened with ruin, may he read my inscriptions, may he count the tablets, and perform a sacrifice, may he put all back in its place. Then ASSUR will listen to his prayer ! But whoever shall alter my writings and my name, may ASSUR, the great god, throw down his sword ; may he exterminate in this land his name and his offspring, and may he never pardon him this sin !

BULL INSCRIPTION OF SENNACHERIB.

B.C. 705-681.

TRANSLATED BY

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THE following translation is part of the history of Sennacherib, found on slab 1, belonging to the Koyunjik bulls in the British Museum, and published in the *Western Asiatic Inscriptions*, p. 12. It has not been thought desirable to encumber these pages with the text of the three remaining slabs, as they are in a very fragmentary state, and have reference mainly to the buildings erected at Nineveh, consisting chiefly of uninteresting lists of material (wood and stone) and of architectural terms for which it is always difficult, and often impossible, to find modern equivalents.

The perusal of this inscription will present many important points of contact with the Books of Kings and the prophecies of Isaiah, and should be compared with a different text recently translated by the late Mr. G. Smith, at p. 295 of his *Assyrian Discoveries*, and of which the text here given is obviously an abbreviated copy. It need not be remarked that the Sennacherib inscriptions are a remarkable confirmation of the scriptural accounts of the same events.



INSCRIPTION OF SENNACHERIB.

- 1 The palace of SENNACHERIB, great Prince, powerful Prince, Prince of legions, King of the land of Assyria, King of the four regions, worshipped of the great gods *irsu* valiant, the manly, the brave, Chief of the Kings
 2 of disobedient people, subverter of evil designs. The god ASSUR, the mighty god whose rule hath no equal, hath established me, and over all the inhabitants of realms hath amplified my sway
 3 from the upper sea towards the sunset to the lower sea of the sunrise, all the Kings of the four regions have I subjugated¹ . . .¹ In my first
 4 expedition, of MERODACH-BALADAN King of Kardunias together with many warriors of Syria his allies, in the vicinity of the town Kiski I effected the overthrow. For the preservation of his life, by himself
 5 he fled away : his chariots, his horses, his goats and oxen, and beautiful woollens my hands captured ; I went up to his palace in the heart of Babylon ; I opened it, and
 6 his treasure house, with gold and silver, vessels of gold and silver, the precious stones, the choice spoils (kept in) that palace, I plundered ; his strong cities, the castles of the land of the Chaldees together with the wide-spread cities of their territory
 7 I captured and spoiled (together with) their women. On my return I captured and despoiled the Aramæans on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates with their women. In the course of my expedition

¹ Lacunæ.

8 from the Governor of Hararati I received abundant tribute ; I cut off the hostile population of the city of Hirimmi and destroyed them with the sword ; but few were there whom I left : that city I took

9 together with its oxen, sheep and goats and all its principal possessions I took possession of for the land of Assyria.

- In my second expedition to the lands of Bisiya and Yasibi with my forces I went. Through forests
- 10 and difficult places I rode on horseback to a remote spot : to my yoke I subjected it : the cities of Kilamzah, Hardispi, Bit-Kubili, their cities, their fortresses
- 11 I captured and despoiled : their women and their cities their sons without number, I destroyed and cut off : the palace I burned with fire : I then returned and Bit-Kalamzah
- 12 to Birtutu I annexed : the inhabitants of these lands, the acquisition of my hands, I settled in it ; and reckoned them to the city of Arbuha in the hands of a Viceroy : I turned and to the land of Illipi
- 13 the road I took : before me ISPABARA its King his strong city evacuated and to a distance fled : the city Marugarti, the city Akupardu, cities of his sovereignty,
- 14 together with the cities of their territory I captured and plundered : their spoil I laid waste, cut off, and burned with fire ; the city Umumirta, the city Hapumah, fortified cities as well as smaller cities
- 15 within their territory I captured : the land of Bit-Parua I formed into a complete province and annexed it to the borders of Assyria : the city Ilinzas for the protection of that province I took

- 16 its name I changed, and gave it the title of Kar-Sennacherib : the men of the land the acquisition of my hands I caused to dwell in its midst, and in the hands of the Governor of the city Harhar
- 17 I placed them. On my return I received through my prowess the tribute of the remote land of Media of which the Kings my fathers had not even heard, and subjected them to my yoke.
- 18 In my third expedition I proceeded to the land of (Hatti)¹ : fear at my approach overwhelmed ELULAIUS (LULI) the King of Zidon, and from the midst of the land of (Aharri)² to (Yatnana)³
- 19 which is in the midst of the sea he fled and quitted his country : I placed TUBALU on the throne of his kingdom : I established over them a tribute for My Majesty : the Kings of the West country, all of them, their abundant tribute
- 20 as a gift, each for his own city, to my presence brought, and ZIDQA King of Ascalon who had not submitted to my yoke. The gods of his fathers' house together with his family
- 21 I removed and deported to Assyria. SARLUDARI the son of RUKIPTI the former King I appointed of the people of Ascalon, and ordained for him the tribute due to my dominion.
- 22 In the course of my expedition I captured and took the spoil of his cities which had not submitted to my yoke. The Governors and the population of the city (Amgaruna)⁴ who PADI their King
- 23 an ally of Assyria with a chain of iron had bound and to

¹ Syria.

² Phœnicia. The Assyrian word *Ahirra* implies that Phœnicia was a land which stood far back, *i.e.* westward.

³ Cyprus. *Yatnana* has reference to the mercantile transactions.

⁴ Ekron.

HEZEKIAH King of Judah had delivered him, the shadows of death overwhelmed them. The Kings of Egypt gathered archers

- 24 chariots and horses of the King of Meröe,¹ a force without number. Under the walls of Albaku I fought with them, and effected their overthrow. The Commander of the chariots
- 25 the sons of the Egyptian Kings together with the Commanders of the chariots of the King of Meröe alive my hand captured. To Ekron I approached; and the Princes who rebellion
- 26 had brought about, I slew with the sword; the sons of the city who had thus behaved to me I treated as prey; the rest of them who had done nothing (amiss) I proclaimed as innocent. PADI their King
- 27 I brought forth from the midst of Jerusalem and on the throne I set over them, and fixed upon him the tribute due to my dominion. HEZEKIAH King of Judah did not submit to my yoke;
- 28 46 of his cities, strong fortresses and cities of their territory which were without number, I besieged, I captured, I plundered, and counted as spoil. Himself I made like a caged bird in the midst
- 29 of Jerusalem the city of his royalty: garrison-towers over against him I raised: his cities which I had plundered, from the midst of his country I separated, and to the Kings of Ashdod, Askelon
- 30 Ekron and Gaza I made them over, and diminished his land. In addition to previous taxes, I imposed upon them a donation from their own resources as tribute. HEZEKIAH himself the fear of the approach
- 31 of My Majesty overwhelmed, and the *urbi* and his own soldiers and the (other) soldiers whom he had caused to

¹ Æthiopia.

- enter Jerusalem his royal city. He consented to the payment of tribute : 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver :
- 32 the bullion the treasure of his palace, his daughters the women of his palace, male musicians and female musicians to within Nineveh the city of my power he caused to carry and for the payment of the tribute he sent his messenger.
- 33 In my fourth expedition to the land of Bit-Yakin I proceeded. In the course of the expedition against SUZUB a Chaldean dwelling in the midst of marshes, at the city Bit-but I effected
- 34 his overthrow. My arms he avoided and fled alone, and his place was not discovered. I then faced about and to the land of Bit-Yakin took the road. He,
- 35 MERODACH-BALADAN¹ whose overthrow I had accomplished in the course of my former campaign, avoided the blows of my powerful arms, and to the city of Nagiti which is in the midst of the sea he fled.
- 36 His brothers the seed of his father's house whom he had left on the sea coast and the rest of the people of his land, from Bit-Yakin in the midst of the marshes and swamps, I took as spoil. I returned, and his cities
- 37 I laid waste and burned with fire. On my return, I seated ASSUR-NADIN-SUM my son on the throne of his dominion, and entrusted him with authority. In my fifth expedition,
- 38 against the people of Tukharri, whose abode like nests of birds upon the rugged mountain tops over Nipur was established, but who had not submitted to my yoke.
- 39 I got ready my chariots at the foot of Nipur, and with my soldiers I, like in their front with an attack that turned not back ; hollows, streams, mountain crags, in a palanquin I passed over

¹ Merodach Baladan. This name may also be written Marduk Bel-Adon, and is obviously Semitic.

- 40 a place that was impracticable for the palanquin I passed
over on foot¹ to a place where my knees had
rest : the sheep, the cattle, I collected ; waters
- 41 nauseous (to quench) my thirst I drank : by crags and
forests I reached them, and beneath them I took up my
position : their cities I captured and plundered,
- 42 laid waste, razed and burned with fire : I again faced
round and took the road towards MANIYA, King of Ukki,
who had not submitted to me : rugged paths, such as
never before (I had seen), mountains
- 43 difficult (of access) in their midst, where no Prince
before me had ever been I traversed on foot : at the foot
of Anara and Asku, powerful countries, I caused my
chariots to halt :
- 44 I seated in my splendid palanquin, with my men of war
painfully climbed up crags and broken mountains¹
- 45 He, MANIYA heard of the approach of my army, and
evacuated Asku his royal city, and fled to a distance. I
went up¹
- 46 to the interior of his palace ; his bullion, his stores of
untold number, I plundered. His vast treasure : his city I
laid waste, razed and burned with fire ; and took possession
of like a heap of corn.

¹ Lacunæ.



A PRAYER AND A VISION.

FROM THE ANNALS OF ASSURBANIPAL, KING OF ASSYRIA.

 TRANSLATED BY

H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

THE passage of which the following is a translation forms an episode in the great war of Assurbanipal against the Elamites. The original text is given in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. III. pl. 32, and in the late Mr. George Smith's *Annals of Assurbanipal*, p. 119-126. This translation was first published in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. I., p. 346.

In this poetic narrative Ishtar is not the goddess of love and beauty, but the goddess of war, Bellona of the Latins, Enyo of the Greeks. Under the name of Anaitis or Anahid the goddess was greatly worshipped at Comana in Cappadocia ; and also in Pontus and Armenia. At Comana she had a splendid

temple, served by a college of priests and more than six thousand *hierodouli* or temple-servants. Her statue was of solid gold :¹ her high priest was second only to the king in rank.

Strabo calls this goddess Enyo, and Berosus makes her the same with Aphrodite or Venus. The inscriptions of Artaxerxes discovered at Susa call her Anahid, which was the Persian name of the planet Venus.²

The promises which the goddess Ishtar made to the King in this vision of the month Ab were fulfilled. In the following month (Elul) Assurbanipal took the field against Tiumman, and his army speedily achieved a brilliant victory. Tiumman was slain, and his head was sent to Nineveh. There is a bas-relief in the British Museum representing a man driving a rapid car, and holding in his hand the head of a warrior, with this inscription, *Kakkadu Tiumman*, "The head of Tiumman."

¹ Pliny *Hist. Nat.*, Vol. II., p. 619, Harduin.

² Silvestre de Sacy.

A PRAYER AND A VISION.

I.

In the month Ab, the month of the heliacal rising of Sagittarius, in the festival of the great Queen (ISHTAR) daughter of BEL, I was staying at Arbela, the city most beloved by her, to be present at her high worship. There they brought me news of the invasion of the Elamite, who was coming against the will of the gods.

Thus: TIUMMAN has said solemnly, and ISHTAR has repeated to us the tenor of his words: thus: "I will not pour out another libation until I shall have gone and fought with him."

Concerning this threat which TIUMMAN had spoken, I prayed to the great ISHTAR. I approached to her presence, I bowed down at her feet, I besought her divinity to come and save me. Thus: O goddess of Arbela, I am ASSURBANIPAL King of Assyria, the creature of thy hands, (chosen by thee and) thy father (ASSUR) to restore the temples of Assyria and to complete the holy cities of Akkad. I have sought to honour thee, and I have gone to worship thee.

But he TIUMMAN King of Elam who never worships the gods¹

[Here some words are lost.]

O thou Queen of queens, Goddess of war, Lady of battles, Queen of the gods, who in the presence of ASSUR thy father speakest always in my favour, causing the hearts of ASSUR and MARDUK to love me¹ Lo! now, TIUMMAN King of Elam who has sinned against ASSUR thy father, and has scorned the divinity of MARDUK thy brother, while I ASSURBANIPAL have been rejoicing their hearts. He has

¹ Lacunæ.

collected his soldiers, amassed his army, and has drawn his sword to invade Assyria. O thou archer of the gods, come like a¹ in the midst of the battle, destroy him, and crush him with a fiery bolt from heaven !

ISHTAR heard my prayer. Fear not ! she replied, and caused my heart to rejoice. According to thy prayer thy eyes shall see the judgment. For I will have mercy on thee !

II.

In the night-time of that night in which I had prayed to her, a certain seer lay down and had a dream. In the midst of the night ISHTAR appeared to him, and he related the vision to me, thus: ISHTAR who dwells in Arbela came unto me begirt right and left with flames, holding her bow in her hand, and riding in her open chariot as if going to the battle. And thou didst stand before her. She addressed thee as a mother would her child. She smiled upon thee, she ISHTAR, the highest of the gods, and gave thee a command. Thus: Take (this bow) she said, to go to battle with ! Wherever thy camp shall stand, I will come to it.

Then thou didst say to her: thus: O Queen of the goddesses, wherever thou goest let me go with thee ! Then she made answer to thee: thus: I will protect thee ! and I will march with thee at the time of the feast of Nebo. Meanwhile eat food, drink wine, make music, and glorify my divinity, until I shall come and this vision shall be fulfilled.

[Henceforward the seer appears to speak in his own person.]

Thy heart's desire shall be accomplished. Thy face shall not grow pale with fear: thy feet shall not be arrested: thou shalt not even scratch thy skin in the battle. In her benevolence she defends thee, and she is wrath with all thy foes. Before her a fire is blown fiercely, to destroy thy enemies.

¹ Lacuna.

SENKEREH

INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

 TRANSLATED BY

H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

THIS text is inscribed on the cylinders which were found at Senkerch in the ruins of the temple of the Sun, which are now in the British Museum.

The original text of this inscription was published in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. I., pl. 51.

The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar relate chiefly to the repairs of temples, which are often given at great length.

If we possessed a single historical inscription of that monarch, it could not fail to cast a strong light on Babylonian history, and perhaps on that of the Jews also. But hitherto the researches of our explorers have been unsuccessful in finding any annals or civil records of his reign, unconnected with the public worship of the temples.



SENKEREH
INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

COLUMN I.

- 1 NEBUCHADNEZZAR King of Babylon
- 2 the monarch devout and pious
- 3 worshipper of the Lord of Lords ¹
- 4 restorer of the temples of SAGGATHU and ZIDA
- 5 the noble son of NABOPOLASSAR
- 6 King of Babylon, I am he.
- 7 When the great Lord MARDUK
- 8 the renowned Chief of the gods
- 9 this land and people
- 10 gave unto my rule,
- 11 at that time the temple of Tara
- 12 which is the temple of the SUN at Senkereh ²
- 13 from extreme old age
- 14 had mouldered into ruin :
- 15 its interior had fallen, and lay scattered about :
- 16 its figures ³ were no longer visible.
- 17 And during my reign the great Lord MARDUK
- 18 that temple
- 19 shook with an earthquake.
- 20 Towards all the four quarters of the heavens it was
thrown down
- 21 the earth of the interior had been dug up
- 22 in looking for the figures.
- 23 Then me NEBUCHADNEZZAR King of Babylon
- 24 his chief worshipper
- 25 to restore that temple

¹ The god Marduk.

² Senkereh is the modern name of the city.

³ Idols, or symbolic figures.

COLUMN II.

- 1 greatly he commanded me.
 2 Of its ancient platform ¹
 3 I made a repair.²
 4 On its ancient platform
 5 fine earth I broke small,
 6 and flat bricks I placed thereon.
 7 Then the temple of Tara, a noble temple,
 8 the dwelling of the SUN my Lord
 9 for the SUN dwelling in Tara
 10 which is within the city of Senkereh,
 11 the great Lord, my Lord, I built.
 12 O SUN ! great Lord !
 13 into the temple of Tara, thy divine dwellingplace
 14 in joy and gladness
 15 when thou shalt enter
 16 the pious works of my hands
 17 regard with pleasure !
 18 and a life of prolonged days
 19 a firm throne
 20 a long reign
 21 may thy lips proclaim for me !
 22 and may the gates and doors, and halls, and apartments
 23 of the temple of Tara
 24 which I have built
 25 with no sparing of expense
 26 remain recorded in thy book !³

¹ Or foundation of the old temple.² *Akhit.*³ The good deeds of the Babylonians were recorded in heaven.

THE BIRS-NIMRUD
INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

TRANSLATED BY
H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

THIS text was first published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. I., pl. 51, from the cylinders found at the corners of the third stage of the temple of the Seven Spheres at Birs-Nimrud (anciently Borsippa), and now deposited in the British Museum.

It was first translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII., and soon afterwards in Vol. XVIII., p. 35, published in 1860, I added various remarks upon it. I have

now revised my translation and made a few emendations.

The ruins of the Birs-Nimrud still rise 153 feet above the level of the plain. It appears from the researches carried on by Sir H. Rawlinson in the year 1854 that it was originally a building in seven receding stages, which were coloured so as to represent the seven planetary spheres, according to the tints regarded by the Sabæans as appropriate to each. See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. II., p. 583.



THE BIRS-NIMRUD
INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

COLUMN I.

- 1 NEBUCHADNEZZAR King of Babylon
 2 the noble King, proclaimed to you by the will of MARDUK :
 3 the great high priest, beloved by NEBO :
 4 the wise Mage who unto the doctrines of the gods
 5 raised his intelligence :
 6 the high priest ever active in adorning the temple of SAGGATHU
 7 and the temple of ZIDA :
 8 the eldest son of NABOPOLASSAR
 9 King of Babylon, I am he.
 10 When MARDUK the great Lord
 11 had created me a King
 12 he commanded me to complete his holy buildings.
 13 NEBO who bestows the thrones of heaven and earth
 14 placed the sceptre of justice in my hand,
 15 the temple of SAGGATHU, the great temple of heaven and earth
 16 the dwelling of MARDUK Lord of the gods ;
 17 the temple of KUA, the (shrine) of his Lordship
 18 with shining gold I splendidly adorned.
 19 The temple of ZIDA I built anew.
 20 With silver, gold, and precious stones
 21 *mesukan* wood and cedar
 22 I completed its roof.
 23 The temple of the Planet, which is the tower of Babylon
 24 I built, and I finished it.

- 25 With slabs of precious *zamat*¹ stone
26 I finished its summit.
27 The temple of the Seven Planets, which is the tower of
Borsippa
28 which former Kings had built
29 and raised it to the height of forty-two cubits,
30 but had not finished its upper part
31 from extreme old age had rotted away.
32 The water springs beneath it had not been kept in order :

¹ The *zamat* stone appears generally to have been the onyx (Hebrew שדמה): but when large slabs of it are said to be used, it was probably alabaster. The onyx pavements of the Romans were almost certainly alabaster; vide the line in Martial:

“*Calcatusque tuo sub pede lucet onyx.*”

COLUMN II.

- 1 the rain and the tempest
 2 had ruined its buildings :
 3 the slabs that covered it had fallen off.
 4 The bricks of its wall lay scattered in heaps.
 5 To repair it, the great Lord MARDUK
 6 incited my heart.
 7 Its site had not been disturbed :¹ its *timin*² had not
 been destroyed.
 8 In a fortunate month, and on a lucky day
 9 the bricks of its wall, and the slabs that covered it
 10 I collected the finest of them
 11 and I rebuilt the ruins firmly.
 12 Inscriptions written in my name
 13 I placed in the finest apartments
 14 and so of rebuilding (the ruin)
 15 and of completing the upper part, I made an end.
 16 O NEBO ! noble son, exalted (messenger)
 17 and beloved offspring, of MARDUK !
 18 my works of piety
 19 behold joyfully !
 20 A long life, abundant offspring,
 21 a firm throne, a prolonged reign, the subjection of all
 rebels
 22 the conquest of my enemies' land, grant to me as a re-
 compense !
 23 By thy noble favour, O founder of the (fabric)
 24 of heaven and earth,
 25 may my days be blessed with vigorous children.

¹ *I.e.*, by an earthquake.

² Platform containing the dedication cylinders.

26 In the presence of MARDUK King of heaven and earth
27 thy father, present these my works !
28 and may my fortunate name
29 NEBUCHADNEZZAR
30 or, the "Heaven-adoring King"¹
31 dwell continually in thy mouth !

¹ This seems to be a fancy name, assumed by Nebuchadnezzar, to express his great zeal in building temples and worshipping the gods.



SUSIAN TEXTS.

TRANSLATED BY
DR. JULIUS OPPERT.

I HEREWITH lay before the learned public the translation of the texts written in the language of Susa, which have been only explained after a long study of the Median documents, written in an idiom of the same family as the tongue of Susa.

These documents together with others were kindly handed over to me twenty years ago by my late friend William Kenneth Loftus. From his copies, they have been partly published by M. F. Lenormant, in his *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes inédits ou incomplètement publiés*, and I presented the first translation to the Paris Congress of Orientalists, in 1873, with a commentary justifying the version. Since that time,

the Rev. A. H. Sayce has commented on some expressions contained in these texts in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III., but they have never been, until now completely, translated.

This first attempt to render intelligible a language hitherto entirely unknown, and where no bilingual text supports the student in his difficult task, may of course be subject to emendation by future scholars, disposing of more materials than I did ; nevertheless, I think, that the general sense has been exactly made out.



SUSIAN TEXTS.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE.

CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH SARGON, B.C. 710.

I AM SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, son of HALLUDUS, the Susian King, who reigns over the plains of Susiana.

I have constructed this house in bricks, and I never sullied the name of the Susian King in the service of the gods.

This monument may exist, free from the dishonour of the Susian King, servant of the gods.

GREAT INSCRIPTION OF SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE.

(PARTLY DESTROYED, PARTLY UNINTELLIGIBLE.)

I am SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, the son of HALLUDUS, the Susian King, the mighty King, the King who reigns over the plains of Susiana.

Susian King, I have meditated, the 365 days of the year, on the future life.

I occupied this palace and the family's house, the palace of the land of rivers, to govern the people of Susa,¹ and I

¹ The name of this town is Susun, and signifies "lily." The country is named Susunqu.

hold it for myself alone, the Susian King, the servant of the gods.

I am SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, son of HALLUDUS, the Susian King, the mighty King, who reigns on the plains of Susiana.

The subdued people which the foregoing Kings had governed, and whatever any one of them (has acquired), SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, the Susian King, will fortify it, and govern it without dishonour.

[Here follow 12 lines which have not yet been made out.]

The former Kings occupied the mountains of Habardi¹ and they occupied also the Rivers' land, the realm of ATTARKITTAH,² and they put in the palace of Susa the siege of the Susian King.

I SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, have received the royalty of the Susian land, which is the first of the earth, and as long as I have inhabited Susa, the land of the earth, and the centre of all mankind, I have received a great deal of tributes during numerous years.

INSCRIPTION OF KUDUR-NAKHUNTE,

SON OF SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE.

CONTEMPORANEOUS TO SENNACHERIB, B.C. 690.

I am KUDUR-NAKHUNTE, the mighty Lord, the Emperor, the Susian King, who reigns in the plains of Susiana.

I have demolished the ancient temple of the god LAGAMAR,³ I have consecrated a new temple, and I have founded a palace for the Susian King, the servant of the gods.

¹ This is the name under which the whole land of Susiana occurs in the Median texts.

² A quite unknown proper name.

³ This god's name occurs in the name of the Biblical Kedorlaomer, in Susian *Kugurlagamar*.

It has been constructed, and may the people always live in it.

TEXT OF TARHAK OR SILHAK,

BROTHER OF THE PRECEDING.

I am SILHAK, the Susian King, son of SUTRUK-NAKHUNTE, the mighty Lord, the Emperor, the Susian King, who¹

I founded on the hill a wall, and have destroyed the old, and I have founded a house in the enclosure, in bricks, and I have consecrated it to the glory of the Susian King, slave of the gods.

May this house of the Susian King exist always, without dishonour, and may I never deny the name of the divinities!

TEXT OF KING UNDAS-ARMAN.²

I am UNDAS-ARMAN, son of HUMBABBAK-MASNAGI, who reigns over the plains of Susiana.

The god NAKHUNTE, the Chief of the gods,¹ will protect the palace and will grant to him all blessings.

I have destroyed entirely the temple *Sata*, the ancient temple, the high spot of the Uxians, the work of LASIH-NAKHUNTE; in the place of the temple *Sata*, there have been made new temples.

¹ Lacunæ.

² This king Undas-Arman must be one of the latest kings of Susiana, shortly before the submission of the Elamite power by the Persians. The name signifies "God Arman sees." In Median *umde* has the meaning of "eye." Arman is according to the Assyrian syllabaries, the name of the god of Susa. In the texts of Assurbanabal, there is to be found a god Ammankasimas whose name is composed of this deity's. A quite different term is *umman*, occurring in many Susian proper names, the meaning of which is "house." It is possible, that *Umman Amman* "house of the god Amman," was corrupted by the Greeks to Memnonian, the great edifice of Susa. *Amman* may be an altered form for *Arman*.

By the favour of NAKHUNTE, may these temples exist for ever, during long times, for all future times.

And I myself, I well exercised the royalty: may I rejoice in a long life.¹

¹ There are existing several other fragments of Susian texts, but they are too mutilated to be satisfactorily explained.



THE MEDIAN VERSION OF
THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION
OF DARIUS HYSTASPES.

TRANSLATED BY
DR. JULIUS OPPERT.

THE scientific world is greatly indebted to the manly exertions and indefatigable labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who copied, at the danger of his life, the three texts of Behistun, and who explained, in so masterly a manner, the Persian original and the Assyrian version.¹ The Median text has been given after Sir Henry Rawlinson's casts by Norris in his highly valuable work entitled, *The Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription*.

MM. Westergaard, de Saulcy, and Holtzmann did not explain the Behistun, but worked especially on the

¹ See *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., p. 107.

Persepolitan documents. M. Mordtmann endeavoured to decipher these texts, but with scarcely more success than his predecessor Norris.

I occupied myself some twenty years with the Median version, and I believe that I have made out the sense of many difficult passages in a definite way. The Median version being the most complete of the three documents, several of the most original parts of the text have now been satisfactorily explained.

I have also added some notes, to justify the exactness of the translation, and to point out some facts which had not been made known before.



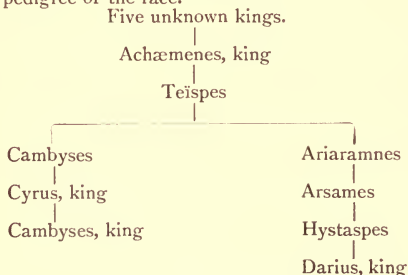
MEDIAN TEXT OF
THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION.

COLUMN I.

- 1 I AM DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the Persians, the King of the Lords, the son of HYSTASPES, the grandson of ARSAMES, the Achaemenian.
- 2 And DARIUS the King says : My father is HYSTASPES, and the father of HYSTASPES' father was ARSAMES, and ARSAMES' father was ARIARAMNES, and ARIARAMNES' father was TEISPES, and TEISPES' father was ACHÆMENES.¹
- 3 And DARIUS the King says: On that account we called ourselves Achaemenian of race : from ancient times we have been mighty, from ancient times we have been Kings.

¹ Achæmenes was the last king independent of Persia, and therefore the kings after Cyrus declared that they were his descendants. He was the sixth of his race. It is highly probable that Achæmenes was superseded by Phraortes, the Median king (657-635), as it was he who first subdued the Persians; he was the great grandfather of Cyrus. As Cyrus was born 599 B.C., the chronology agrees perfectly well.

There is the pedigree of the race.



4 And DARIUS the King says : Eight Kings of my race have before me held the kingdom. I am the ninth, who hold the kingdom. Twice ¹ we have been Kings.

5 And DARIUS the King says : By the grace of ORMAZD I hold the kingdom : ORMAZD granted me the kingdom.

6 And DARIUS the King says : These are the countries which called themselves mine : by the grace of ORMAZD I held their kingdoms : Persia and the Amardes (Susians),² and the Babylonians, and the Assyrians, and the Arabs, and the Egyptians, and the maritime people, and the Sapardes,³ and the Ionians, and the Medes, and the Armenians, and the Cappadocians, and the Parthians, and the Sarangians, and the Arians, and the Choras-mians, and Bactria, and the Sogdians, and the Paropamisus,⁴ and the Saces, and Sattagydia, and Arachosia, in all 23 provinces.

7 And DARIUS the King says : These are the provinces which called themselves mine. By the grace of ORMAZD, to me they made subjection, brought tribute to me, what was ordered by me unto them in the night time as well as in the day time, that they executed.

8 And DARIUS the King says : In these provinces, the man who was a friend,⁵ I cherished him, the man who was an enemy, I punished him thoroughly. By the grace of ORMAZD, in these lands, my law was observed : what was ordered unto them by me, that they executed.

9 And DARIUS the King says : ORMAZD gave to me this

¹ Twice, at two different epochs, once before Achæmenes, the second time beginning with Cyrus. The Persian *duvitâranam* cannot be explained otherwise. Teispes, Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, have never been kings.

² *Habirdîp* is the name of the Susians, the Persian *Uvâza*, *Khous*, the Semitic Elam. Norris has already compared the name of *Αμαρδοι*, in Strabo.

³ Lycians. The word *Sapard*, Sepharad of Obadiah, has been conserved also in the Greek *Sarpedon*.

⁴ Paropamisus replaces the Gandara of the Persian.

⁵ The Persian text has *daustâ*, badly read until now *agatâ*.

kingdom, and ORMAZD was my helper until I gained this kingdom, and by the grace of ORMAZD I possessed this kingdom.

10 And DARIUS the King says: This is, what I did, by the grace of ORMAZD, when I gained the kingdom: The named CAMBYSES, son of CYRUS, was king here before me. This CAMBYSES had a brother, named SMERDIS (BARDIYA), they had the same mother and the same father. Afterwards, this CAMBYSES killed SMERDIS. When CAMBYSES killed SMERDIS, the people did not know, that SMERDIS was killed. Then CAMBYSES went to Egypt. The people became bad, and many falsehoods grew up in the provinces, as well in Persia, as in Media, as in the other lands. And then a man, a Magian, named GOMATES, from Pasargada,¹ near the mount named Arakadris, there he arose. On the 14th day of the month Viyakhna,² thus he arose: To the people he told lies, and

¹ Pasargada, in Persian *Paisiyāuvādā*, literally, Valley of Sources, a spot near Darabdjerd, in the South-east of Farsistan, where exist till now the ruins of the fortress which enclosed the tomb of Cyrus. I explained myself on this question in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, T. xix., p. 548. *Pesiachada* is not accompanied by the word *hise*, "named," it was therefore a very well known place.

Murghab with its tomb cannot be possibly the Pasargada of the ancients, and the monument of Murghab is not the tomb of Cyrus. It is on the same river as Persepolis, on the Araxes, while Pasargada was situated on the river Cyrus, which goes into the Persian Gulf.

Moreover, the monument now seen at Murghab, and named "Throne of the Mother of Suleiman," is surely the tomb of a woman. No archæologist can be uncertain on this point, as the same difference, now observed in the East, between the flat or round covers of men's sepulchres, and the covers of female tombs in form of a gable-roof, is to be found in the royal tombs of Persepolis. The modern inhabitants of Persia have not been mistaken on that subject. But the construction of the Murghab monuments is due to Cyrus, whose inscriptions exist there; it was the ancient Marrhasion. I therefore consider it as almost certain that the monument, often erroneously styled the tomb of Cyrus, although already Lassen suggested judicious remarks against that opinion, is in fact the sepulchre of Kassandana, the beloved wife of Cyrus, mother of Cambyeses. Compare Her. II.

² The month of Viyakhna is the Assyrian Adar, March. On the supposition, that the Persians had a solar year, commencing with the vernal equinox, falling at the epoch of Darius, March 22 Gregorian, March 23

said : " I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS, the brother of CAMBYSES." Then all the people revolted from CAMBYSES, went over to him, and the Persians, and the Medes, and the other nations. He seized the kingdom. On the 9th day of the month Garmapada¹ he took the royalty from CAMBYSES. Then CAMBYSES² died, killing himself.

11 And DARIUS the King says : Of this my kingdom the Magian GOMATES had deprived CAMBYSES, this kingdom had belonged to our race since the most ancient times. Now, GOMATES the Magian, deprived CAMBYSES as well of the Persians, as of the Medians, as of the other nations, he did according to his own will, and seized the royalty over them.

12 And DARIUS the King says: There was neither a man in Persia, nor a Median, nor any one of our race who would have dispossessed GOMATES the Magian of the kingdom. The people feared him utterly. He killed many people who had known the former SMERDIS. He killed many persons for the following reason, thinking : " May they not acknowledge me, that I am not SMERDIS, son of CYRUS ? " And nobody dared to say about GOMATES the Magian, any thing whatever, until I came. And I prayed to ORMAZD. ORMAZD was my helper. By the grace of ORMAZD, on the 10th day of the month of Bagayadis,³ then accompanied by a few men, I killed

Julian, 14th of the Viyakhna would be the 6th or the 12th of March, 522, or 9,479, in adding 10,000 years to the Christian era. I have adopted this way of computation in order to prevent the inconvenience of the negative numbers.

¹ If Garmapada is August as it is probable, the 10th Garmapada would coincide with the end of July.

² Cambyses killed himself. A suicide is evidently in the thought of Darius, and by no means an accident. His mother was Kassandana, Persian *Kažandana*, with the swan's neck, *de kažanda*, swan.

³ Bagayadis must be the Nisan; the Assyrian coincidence is lost. As *Garnapada*, "the time of the heat," must be July—August, or Ab, the Magian reigned just seven months, as says Herodotus, who adds many

GOMATES the Magian, and with him the men who were his principal adherents. There is a fortress, named Sikhyuvatis,¹ in the country called Nisaea, in Media; there I killed him, I dispossessed him of the royalty, by the grace of ORMAZD, I had the kingly power, ORMAZD gave to me the royalty.

- 13 And DARIUS the King says : The kingdom which had been robbed from our race, I restored it. I put again in its place. As it had been before me, thus I did. I re-established the temples of the gods which GOMATES the Magian had destroyed, and I reinstituted, in favour of the people, the calendar and the holy language, and I gave back to the families what GOMATES the Magian had taken away. And I replaced (the) people in their ancient state, as well the Persians, as the Medians, as the other nations, just as they had been before. I restored

details, more or less credible. But the first arising of the Magian amounts still until midst of March, 14 Viyakhna, 522 B.C. 9,479.

In taking as a base the now existing commencement of the Persian year, at the spring's equinox, we would have for the dates :

First revolt of the Magian . . .	4 March	522 ; 9,479
Real accession to the royal power . . .	1 August	522 ; 9,479
Death of the Magian . . .	2 April	521 : 9,480

¹ The name of the spot where the Magian was killed, is Çikhyuvatis not Çikhthwatis. The character *y* has been taken for *th*. Here the statement of Darius proves a minor error of Herodotus, who says that the Pseudo-Smerdis was killed at Susa. But the Father of History is right, in speaking of the love that all people, except the Persian, had towards the Magian, who had retired to Media.

The revolt of the first Pseudo-Smerdis was not only the rebellion of an indignant impostor, who took only the name of Smerdis for his proper purposes. It was an attempt to restore the ancient Median dynasty and to abate the faith of Zoroaster, reigning since the accession of Cyrus, 560. The Magian changed the calendar, I think (*gaithā* the world) and the language *māniya*, or the faith, which Darius restored "for the sake of the people" (Persian *kārahya abiēaris*, Median *Dassumunna nutas*). Darius restored the temples of the gods which Gomates had destroyed. It was therefore a political and religious revolution.

There is a difficulty which nobody, I think, suggested. How is it possible that the son Smerdis should have abolished all that his father, Cyrus, had established? At least, the Magian borrowed the name of the son of Cyrus. It was therefore only a measure to take possession of the kingly power under a pretext, and to throw off the mask, when he believed that he could do so without any danger.

what had been robbed. By the grace of ORMAZD, thus I did ; I made great efforts, until I established again our house in its state, as it had been before ; and thus I made my efforts, by the grace of ORMAZD, as if GOMATES the Magian had never dispossessed our family.

- 14 And DARIUS the King says : This had been done by me, after I seized the kingdom.
- 15 And DARIUS the King says : When I killed GOMATES the Magian, then a Susian, named ASSINA,¹ son of UMBADARANMA, rose in Susiana and said : "I have the kingdom over the Susians." Then the Susians revolted from me and went over to this ASSINA, and he had the kingdom over the Susians. And also a man, named NIDINTABEL,² a Babylonian, son of AINAIRI, he arose in Babylon, and spoke thus to the people, lying : "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS." Then all the people of the Babylonians went over to this NIDINTABEL. Then the Babylonians made defection, and he seized the kingly power over the Babylonians.
- 16 And DARIUS the King says : Then I sent an ambassador to the Susians. This ASSINA was taken, bound and brought to me : then I killed him.
- 17 And DARIUS the King says : Then I marched against Babylon, against this NIDINTABEL, who said : "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR." The army of this NIDINTABEL was

¹ The name of the man is in Babylonian Asina, and is Aryanized to Athrina; his father called himself Upadar(an)ma in Persian, in Median Hum-badaranma; this is also the genuine form, and in the inscriptions of Assurbanhabal occurs the Susian name Umbadara.

² Nidintabel was, according to Darius, the real name of the false Nebuchadnezzar, second son of Nabonidus. The first son, Belshazzar (*Belsarusar*) was probably viceroy in some other part of Chaldæa, during the reign of Cyrus, and in the same time as his father Nabonidus. He was superseded by the famous Darius the Mede, who was probably a satrap of the Persian king. Daniel says that "he was put to govern," which does not seem to indicate an independent royalty.

ranged on the river, named Tigris.¹ It occupied the banks of the Tigris, and was massed on ships. Then my army was divided into small groups. The one I put on camels, the other I made ride on horseback.² ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD we crossed the Tigris. There I killed the army of this NIDINTABEL. On the 26th day of the month Athriyadiya, then it was that we fought the battle, then I killed a great quantity of people.

18 And DARIUS the King says: Then I went to Babylon. I had not yet arrived under (the walls) of Babylon, when, at the town named Zazana, on the bank of the Euphrates,³ NIDINTABEL who said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR" went against me, with his army, in order to fight a battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD I destroyed the army of this NIDINTABEL. It was on the second day of the month of Anamaka that we delivered thus the battle. I killed a great deal of the army of this NIDINTABEL, and I made them fly into the river; in this river they were drowned.

19 And DARIUS the King says: Then NIDINTABEL fled with a few horsemen and reached Babylon. Then I

¹ Remark the expression, the river *named* Tigris, which is neither in the Persian, nor in the Assyrian text, and which denotes that the spot where the language was spoken was far away from the stream.

² The Median text, as in many other instances, gives the real sense of the Persian original, which was misunderstood equally by the magnificent, but unprogressive, work of Kossowiz. The Persian has, *aniyam usabūrim akunavam, aniyahyā açam patiyānayan*, alium camelo-portatum feci, alii, equum adduxi.

³ The name of the Tigris is *Tigra*, and that of the Euphrates *Uprato*, the Persian *Ufratu*. The spot where Darius crossed the Tigris must be between Mossul and Bagdad, as he arrived from the North-east. He found on the Tigris the Babylonian troops, and it is very probable that he turned them, and crossed the river far from the positions of Nidintabel, whom he defeated on the Mesopotamian side. From thence he marched through Mesopotamia, and beat the enemies, six days afterwards, on the Euphrates.

The battle of the Tigris took place, in anticipating the Gregorian calendar, 18th of December, 521; 9,480. The battle of Zazanna took place 24th of December, 521; 9,480.

marched against Babylon. By the grace of ORMAZD, I took also Babylon,¹ as I made captive NIDINTABEL. I killed this NIDINTABEL in Babylon.

¹ The capture of Babylon took place only twenty months afterwards, which Darius does not state. But the authority of Herodotus is splendidly corroborated by the very dates of the Behistun inscription, which we shall presently prove.

COLUMN II.

20 And DARIUS the King says : Whilst I was at Babylon, these provinces rebelled against me : Persia, and the Susians, and the Medes, and Assyria, and the Egyptians,¹ and the Parthians, and the Margians, and Sattagydia, and the Saces.

21 And DARIUS the King says : A man, named MARTIYA, son of ISSAINSAKRIS,² dwelled in the town named Kuganaka, in Persia. He arose among the Susians, and lied thus to the nations, saying : "I am IMMANNES, King of the Susians." And I was just friendly to the Susians, and the Susians feared me, seized this MARTIYA, who called himself their Chief, and killed him.

22 And DARIUS the King says : A man named PHRAORTES, he arose among the Medes, lied to the people and said thus : "I am SATTARRITTA,³ from the offspring of VAK-ISTARRA."⁴ Then the Median people who dwelt in houses, rebelled against me, went over to him : he exercised the kingly power over the Medians. The Persian

¹ The Median text states that the Egyptians revolted, the Persian and Babylonian texts are lost. The Behistun inscription in its first redaction does not mention this, neither the rebellion of the Sattagydes and the Saces. The Saces' revolt only is treated in the supplementary Persian column. There are some Median tablets at Behistun which have never been copied.

² Issainsakris is a real Susian name, which the Persians Aryanized to Cincikhri, which was perhaps a nick-name, and changed in order to ridicule it. It may mean, "seller of small things." The Susian true name may signify "son of value." *Issan* is to be found in the Susian text of Sutrunkhunte.

³ The name of Sattarritta is the true Median one, and by no means an alteration of the Aryanization, Khsathrita, which would have been transcribed in Median, Iksatrita, as Khsayarsa becomes Iksersa, Xerxes. This form of Sattarritta is very important, because it proves also the independence of the Median names, and the true character of the dynasty of this land.

⁴ Cyaxares, Assyrian *Uvakistar*, Persian *Uvakhsatara*. The Median words signify "lance-caster," "lance-bearer," Persian *Arstibara*, the Astibaras of Ctesias.

and Median people, which was mine, was small. Then I sent an army to Media. The named HYDARNES, a Persian, my subject, I made him the Chief of these troops. I said so to them : "Go, slay the troops of the Medes, who do not call themselves my slaves." Then HYDARNES went to Media with the army. When he reached Media, there was a town, named Maru, in Media, there they fought the battle. The Chief of the Medians did not even resist a little, ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the army of the rebels. It was the 27th day of the month of Anamaka¹ when they delivered thus the battle. Then my army did nothing else; in the province named Kampanda, in Media, there it remained until I came to Media.

- 23 DARIUS the King says: The named DADARSIS, an Armenian my subject, I sent him to Armenia. Thus I said to him : "Go, the troops of the rebels do not call themselves my subjects, slay them. Then DADARSIS marched. When he reached Armenia, the rebels assembled and marched against DADARSIS. They would deliver a battle. DADARSIS fought the battle with them. There

¹ Phraortes, or Sattarritta, was really king of Media, and the Susian revolt took place, like all the others, while Darius "was at Babylon." Hydarnes defeats the army the 27th of Anamaka, but that is evidently not 25 days after the battle of Zazanna on the Euphrates, but only a year afterwards. For it would have been impossible to have the news of the revolt of Media in the capital Rhages, at Babylon, in 25 days; moreover, Phraortes ought to have established his royal power throughout all Media in this very short time. On the contrary, there was a certain interval during which Phraortes was uncontested king of Media. And this man was mighty enough, as to hold in breath three generals of Darius, because Hydarnes was really defeated in the battle of Kampanda.

It would have been a very awkward victory, where the victors were obliged to retrograde, because Hydarnes, obliged to stay in Media, had his successor in Dadarsis, who had not to fight in Media, from whence the Persian had been expelled, but in Armenia where the Median had propelled their attack. Dadarsis after three battles fought in May and June, 519, 9,482, was obliged to remain in Armenia. A third general of Darius, Omises, defeated in Assyria in December 519 B.C.; 9,482, and May 518 B.C.; 9,483, and after these victories he was equally obliged to support the arrival of Darius in Media.

is a fortress, named Zuza, in Armenia, there ORMAZD brought help to me. By the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great many of the troops of the rebels. It was the 8th day of the month of Thuravahara, when they fought thus the battle. And for the second time, the rebels assembled and marched against DADARSIS, they would deliver a battle. There is a fort named Tigra, in Armenia, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels; it was the 18th day of the month of Thuravahara, that they fought thus the battle. And for the third time, the rebels assembled and marched against DADARSESES; they would deliver a battle. There is a fort, named Uhyama, in Armenia, there they delivered the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was the 9th day of the month of Thaigarchis, when they fought the battle. And afterwards DADARSIS did nothing else, but waited on me, until I came to Media.

- 24 And DARIUS the King says: The named OMISES, a Persian, my subject, I sent him to Armenia, and I said so to him: "Go, the troops of the rebels do not obey me, slay them." Then OMISES marched. When he reached Armenia, the rebels assembled and marched against OMISES. They would deliver a battle. There is a town, named Issidus in Assyria,¹ there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was the 9th day of the month of Anamaka, when they fought the battle. And for the second time, the rebels

¹ I am not aware of the quotation in Assyrian monuments of Issidus. But why was the battle fought in Assyria? Because, very likely, the royal troops, after a not-mentioned disaster in Armenia, had been pushed backwards to Assyria.

assembled and marched against OMISES, they would deliver a battle. Then in a locality, named Autiyarus, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the end of the month of Thuravahara, when they fought the battle. Afterwards OMISES remained in Armenia, until I went to Media.

- 25 And DARIUS the King says : Then I left Babylon,¹ and went to Media. When I reached Media, there is a town, named Kundurrus, there arrived this PHRAORTES who said : " I exercise the kingly power over the Medians," in order to fight a battle. Then we fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD I slew a great number of the troops of this PHRAORTES. It was on the 25th day of the month of Adukanis,² that we fought the battle. Then this PHRAORTES fled with a few horsemen, and went to Rhagae : then I sent there my troops. Here he was seized and brought before me. I cut off his nose, his tongue and his ears, and I stung out his eyes.³ He was held chained in my court. All the people saw him. And afterwards I put him on the cross at Ecbatana. And the men who had been his principal

¹ Darius left Babylon after the defeats of three of his generals. He put into pieces the army of Phraortes, in the month of Adukannas, probably the Tammuz or June-July, 518 B.C.; 9,483. He could therefore dispose about his person only two years and more after the battle of Zazanna : therefore Herodotus is quite exact in mentioning the long siege of Babylon, and Darius, although he does not state this fact expressly, is unable to deny the consequences of his own record.

² Probably the Tammuz, or June-July.

³ This atrocious treatment is only applied to two captives, both guilty to have revived the remembrance of the Median Dynasty, to which Cithrantakhma may have belonged. The translation, " I stung out his eyes," is proved by the Persian *éakhsma avaxam*, and the execution of the Median chiefs is related with more circumstances in the Median text.

It is known that the name of Rhagae is accompanied in the other versions by the words " a country in Media," which is wanting in the Median text. This is one of the evidences for attributing the second system's language to the inhabitants of Media.

adherents, I cut off their heads in the citadel of Ecbatana, and I hung them up within.

26 And DARIUS the King says: A man named CITHRA-TAKHMA,¹ a Sagartian, revolted against me, and spoke thus to the people, lying: "I exercise the kingly power, I descend from the race of VAK-ISTARRA." Then I dispatched my Persian and Median troops. A Mede, named TAKMASPADA, my subject, I appointed him Chief, and I spoke thus: "The troops of the rebels do not obey me, slay them utterly." Then TAKHMASPADA marched with the army, to fight a battle with this CITHRATAKHMA. ORMAZD brought help to me: by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels, and this CITHRATAKHMA was taken, and brought before me. I cut off his nose, and his ears, and stung out his eyes. He was held chained in my palace, all the people saw him. Afterwards I put him on the cross in the city named Arbela.

27 And DARIUS the King said: This is what I did in Media.

28 And DARIUS the King says: The Parthians and Hyrcanians revolted against me, and called themselves subjects of PHRAORTES. HYSTASPES my father was in Parthia, and the troops abandoned him and revolted. And then HYSTASPES went out with the army. There is a town, Hyspaozatis, in Parthia, there he fought a battle with the rebels. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD the army of HYSTASPES slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 22nd day of the month of Viyakhna, when they fought the battle.

29 And DARIUS the King says: Then I sent my Persian army from Rhagae to HYSTASPES. When these troops

¹ Tritantaechmes.

reached HYSTASPES, HYSTASPES went out accompanied by these troops. There is a town, named Patigrabbana in Parthia, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD the army of HYSTASPES slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 1st day of the month of Garnapada,¹ that they fought the battle.

30 And DARIUS the King says: Afterward the province remained mine. This is what I did in Parthia.

31 And DARIUS the King says: The province named Margiana, revolted against me. A man, named PHRAATES,² they took him for their King. Then I sent as messenger to a man, named DADARSES, a Persian, my subject, who had the satrapy of Bactria, and I said: "Go, the people of the rebels do not obey to me, slay them utterly." Then DADARSES went with the army. The Margians fought a battle against him. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 23rd day of Athriyadiya, when we fought the battle.

32 And DARIUS the King says: Afterwards the land remained mine. This is what I did in Bactria.

¹ The Parthian revolt must have lasted more than one year. At the battle of Vispauatis Phraortes existed still, it was therefore not later than March, B.C. 518; 9,483. The battle of Patigrabbana took place only when Darius had taken Rhages, as he sent from this town auxiliaries to his father. Now this could not be before the 25th of Avakanas (July), when he gained the battle of Kundarus. The date of the battle of Patigrabbana is the 1st Garnapada, six days after the former date; the Garnapada of the battle is consequently the end of July, B.C. 517; 9,484. Darius remained therefore a long time at Rhagae, in order to complete the submission of Media.

² *Frada*, modern *Ferhad*.

COLUMN III.

- 33 And DARIUS the King says : There was a man, named OEOSDATES,¹ who dwelt in the town named Tarava, in (the district) of Iutia, in Persia. He arose for the second time in Persia, speaking to the people, and says : "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS." Then the Persian people, who lived in houses, and who returned from the plains, made defection from me, went over to him ; he exercised the kingly power in Persia.
- 34 And DARIUS the King says : And the people who were not dwelling in houses, had not revolted against me. These, and the Persians and Medians, many who were mine, I dispatched them. A Persian, named ARTABARDIYA, my subject, I appointed him to be their Chief. And another Persian army went to Media after me. Then ARTABARDIYA with his army, marched against Persia. When he arrived in Persia at a place, named Rakha in Persia, there this OEOSDATES who said : "I am SMERDIS," went against ARTABARDIYA, in order to fight a battle. And then they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great

¹ The second Pseudo-Smerdis called himself Vahyazdāta, "Created by Vahyaz," i.e. Ormazd : he has the same name as the tenth son of Haman, in the book of Esther, Vizata. He dwelt in Tarava, gen. Taravana, which is the Tārūn of our days, in Kerman or Laristan. All the battles were fought in this country. Paraga is certainly the modern Forg. In this spot was also Pasargada, *Paisiyauvada*, whereto fled the vanquished rebel, some days from Forg, near Darabdjard. The impostor was killed in Uvadaicāya, as the Persian text has, the Audedj of our days.

The Median word for house is *Ummāni*, and that gives the signification of the Susian word, which occurs so very often in the Susian texts. The Persian inhabitants seem to have been with Darius.

The 6th of Garnapada, date of the battle of Forg, can only be the 28th of July, 517 B.C. ; 9,484.

number of the troops of OEOSDATES. It was on the 12th day of the month of Thuravahara, when they fought the battle. And then OEOSDATES with a few horsemen fled to Pasargada. From thence he started, and marched another time against ARTABARDIYA, in order to fight a battle. There is a town (a mountain),¹ named Paraga, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of this OEOSDATES. It was on the 6th day of the month of Garmapada when they delivered thus the battle, and they took this OEOSDATES, and the men who had been his principal followers, they took them also.

35 And DARIUS the King says: Then I hanged this OEOSDATES and the men, who had been his principal followers, in the town named Uvadechaya.²

36 And DARIUS the King says: This is what I did in Persia.

37 And DARIUS the King says: This OEOSDATES who had said: "I am SMERDIS," had dispatched troops to Arachosia, and he had appointed a man to be their Chief. A Persian, named VIVANA, my subject had the satrapy of Arachosia; against him he sent troops speaking thus: "Go, defeat VIVANA, and the troops who obey the King DARIUS." Then this army of Arachosia, which OEOSDATES had dispatched, marched against VIVANA. There is a fortress named Kapissakanis, in Arachosia, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 13th of the month of Anamaka, when they fought thus the battle.

¹ The Persian has mountain, the translations simply country. The name exists today, it is the city of Forg.

² Badly written until now *Uvadaidaya*.

And for a second time, the rebels assembled to fight against VIVANA. There is a district called Gandumava,¹ there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my troops slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 7th day of Viyakhna, that they fought thus the battle. And then the man, whom OEOSDATES had appointed to be the Chief of the rebels, fled away with a few horsemen. There is a fortress named Arsada, in Arachosia, the satrapy *irmali*² of VIVANA, there he retired. There VIVANA marched on his pursuing towards him, and he took there the man who had been made the Chief of the troops, and the men who were his principal followers, and killed them.

38 And DARIUS the King says: Afterwards the land remained mine own. This is what I did in Arachosia.

39 And DARIUS the King says: While I was in Persia and Media, a second time the Babylonians revolted. A man, named ARAKHA, an Armenian, son of HALDITA, arose in the town, named Dubala,³ in Babylonia. From thence coming, he lied in speaking thus to the people: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS." And now the

¹ The name is Gandumava, and not Gandutara: Sir Henry Rawlinson's assimilation to Gandum is corroborated by the Median text.

The battle of Kapisakanis, probably "hunt of apes," is in December, 517 B.C.; 9,484. The battle of Gandum therefore cannot be earlier than the month of March of 516 B.C.; 9,484: six years after the Margian's revolt.

² The word *irmali* is not translated in the Persian text.

³ The name of Haldita is ascertained in the Median, it shows the error of all former interpreters, amongst whom I am myself, that the old Persian had no *l*, what was difficult to be believed, as the same words who have an *l* in Sanscrit, have also conserved that letter in modern Persian. The Babylonian Dubala is still existing, it is called Dibleh. The Median texts complete the record of the second Babylonian revolt, mutilated in the Persian and Babylonian texts. With respect to the name of the month, the Persian is lost; as the *m* and the *v* have only one expression in the Sumerian scripture, there would be some doubt if the word is *Varkazana*, "killing of wolves," or *Margazana*, "breeding of birds." We accept the latter. As the Assyrian equivalent is lost, the place of this month is uncertain.

people of Babylonia revolted against me, and went over to this ARAKHA. And he took possession of Babylon, and exercised the kingly power in Babylon. And then I sent my army against the Babylonians. A Mede, named INTAPHERNES,¹ I made him Chief of the troops and I said so to them: "Go and defeat the Babylonian people which does not obey me." And INTAPHERNES marched with the army against Babylon. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD the army of INTAPHERNES captured Babylon, and slew a great number of men. It was on the 22nd day of the month of Margazana, when this ARAKHA, who said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR," was taken, and the men who were his principal followers, were taken also and chained. I ordered: "ARAKHA and the men who are his principal followers, shall be put on the cross."

40 And DARIUS the King says: 'This is what I did in Babylon.

41 And DARIUS the King says: 'This what I have done, I did it always by grace of ORMAZD. This I did: I fought nineteen battles by the grace of ORMAZD, I defeated the armies. I took nine kings:

One, named GAUMATA the Magian, who lied and said: "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS," he caused the revolt of Persia.

And a Susian, named ASSINA, who caused the revolt of Susians, and said: "I exercise the kingly power over the Susians."

And a Babylonian, named NIDINTABEL, lied and said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS," he caused the revolt of the Babylonians.

And a Persian, named MARTIVA, he lied and said: "I am IMMANNES, King of the Susians," he caused the revolt of the Susians.

¹ This Intaphernes is not the same person as the first of the conjurors.

And a Mede, named PHRAORTES, who lied and said :
 "I am SATTARRITTA, of the race of VAK-ISTARRA," he
 caused the revolt of the Medians.

And a Sagartian, named CITHRANTAKHMA, who lied
 and said : "I exercise the kingly power, I am of the race
 of VAK-ISTARRA," he caused the revolt of the Sagartians.

And a Margian, named FRADA, who lied and said : "I
 exercise the kingly power over the Margians," and he
 caused the revolt of the Margians.

And a Persian, named OEOSDATES, who lied and said :
 "I am SMERDIS, son of CYRUS," and he caused the revolt
 of Persia.

And a Babylonian, who lied and said : "I am NEBU-
 CHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS," who caused the revolt
 of the Babylonians.

42 And DARIUS the King says : These are the nine¹
 kings whom I took in the battles.

43 And DARIUS the King says :² These are the provinces
 which revolted. The demon of the lie excited them to
 rebellion, that these provinces revolted. And afterwards
 ORMAZD gave them unto my hand, and what was my will,
 was executed by them.

44 And DARIUS the King says : Thou, O King, who wilt
 be in future, who is friend, protect him always : the man
 who lies, always punish him severely. If thou sayest : "So
 it may be," then my land will stand for ever.

45 And DARIUS the King says : That which I have done,
 I have done it at every time by the grace of ORMAZD. And
 thou, who in future days shalt peruse this tablet, which I

¹ Nine kings. There are ten on the rock ; the image of the Sacian
 Iskunka has been made in the rock after the finish of the first translation.

² We can say, that the great part of the Persian texts, in all its details,
 has been made out only after the final interpretations of the Median trans-
 lation, and all gaps have been filled up. There were a great number of
 passages which were badly read and entirely misunderstood.

made, believe that which is written in this tablet, and do not say : "They are lies."

46 And DARIUS the King says : May I die as a Mazdaean,¹ as this is true. I never uttered a lie in all my life.

47 And DARIUS the King says :² By the grace of ORMAZD, I have elsewhere made many things, which therefore are not written in this tablet. Therefore they are not written. He who will peruse in future days this tablet, let him not think that these things (which are related here) are exaggerated, let him not be incredulous, let him not say : "That is falsehood."

48 And DARIUS the King says : The Kings whoever preceded me, while they lived, have never done any thing like that, which I did by the grace of ORMAZD in all my life.

49 And DARIUS the King says : And now, believe thou, what I have done. Say : "It is so,"³ and do not contest it. And if thou dost not contest this record, and if thou sayest it to the people, ORMAZD may be thy friend, and mayest thou have offspring, and mayest thou live for long time. And if thou contest this record, and shalt not tell it to the people, ORMAZD will kill thee, and also thou shalt not have any offspring.

50 And DARIUS the King says : That which I have done I

¹ Highly important, the Median *ankirine Oramazdara*, proves that the only possible way to read the two Persian letters wanting, is *Auramazda (ya a) tiyaiy*, "may I die a Mazdean," and not "Ormazd be my witness," as others presumed.

² The clause 47 has been wrongly interpreted : Darius has not written all, because he made other monuments. As it is not written here, people may not think it be false. That is the very simple sense of the phrase. Here is the Persian clause

Mūtya hya āparam imām diḫim patiparčātiy, avahyā paruva thačayātiy, tya manā kartam naisam varnavātiy durukhtam maniyātiy.

"Ne ille qui postea istam tabulam leget, ei nimis videatur quod ego feci (ne) id ei incredibile appareat, ne dicat ; mendacium."

³ The Persian had : *avathū māniya*. "Ita sit" dic.

have done it in all my life by the grace of ORMAZD. ORMAZD, the god of the Arians, brought help to me, and the other gods who exist.

51 And DARIUS the King says: Therefore ORMAZD, the god of the Arians,¹ brought help to me, as well as the other gods, because I was not a wicked man, nor a liar, nor a violent tyrant, neither I, nor my family. I reigned according to the Divine Law, and have committed no violence against the lawful man nor against the Judge. The man who worked for our house, I have cherished him, and the man who sinned, I utterly destroyed him. I have committed no violence against any gallant man.

52 And DARIUS the King says: Thou who shalt reign in future times, never be friend to the man who lies, but also do not injustice to any body.

53 And DARIUS the King says: Thou who in future wilt see this tablet, which I have written, as well as these images, do not destroy them. As long as thou canst² preserve them as they are. And if thou wilt see these tablets, and these figures, and do not injure them, and preserve them as they are, as long as thou canst, ORMAZD may be friend to thee, and mayest thou have an offspring, and mayest thou live a long life, and all that thou shalt

¹ The clause 51 is equally of a very great importance. The Persian affords us the true origin of the word *Avesta*. It is *Abastā*, the Divine Law; it is explained by the Assyrian *kinat*, the laws. The Persian has: *aṇariy ābastām upariyāyam*, "subter legem regebam." *Naiy ukārim naiy druvaçtam zaurā akunavam*, "non in bonum non justum violentiam feci;" in Median: *inne Ibbakra, inne Istukra appantoikkimmas hutta*. Moreover, the clause, "god of the Arians," is only to be read in the Median version, and in the Persian form *Ariyanam*, instead of the Median *Hariyapinna*. Darius addressed this epithet specially to the true Median of Turanian offspring, and therefore he insisted upon the Arian mythology. The antagonism of Arians and Medes is already mentioned by Herodotus vii., 62, who states that the Medes were formerly called Arians.

² The following clauses differ also greatly from the adopted Persian translations: *yāvā taumataiy ahatiy*, has been translated, "as long as thou hast offspring," instead of "as long as thou canst," *tautā*, from the Persian *tu, tuwanisten*.

do, ORMAZD will increase it. And if thou destroy these tablets and those images, and dost not preserve them, ORMAZD may kill thee, and thou mayest not have any offspring, and whatever thou doest, ORMAZD will pronounce his curses on it.

54 And DARIUS the King says :¹

INTAPHERNES by name, son of OEOSPARES, a Persian, and OTANES by name, son of SOCHRES, a Persian, and GOBRYAS, by name, son of MARDONIUS, a Persian, and HYDARNES, by name, son of MEGABIGNES, a Persian, and MEGABYZUS by name, son of DADYES, a Persian, and ARDUMANES, by name, son of OCHUS, a Persian,² these men accompanied me, when I killed GOMATES the Magian, who said : "I am SMERDIS, son of CYRUS." And henceforth these men were my companions. Thou, who wilt be King in future times, protect always that sort of men.

55 And DARIUS the King says :³ I have made also else-

¹ The last paragraph, containing the names of the six conspirators, is of a great historical value, and the Median text gives valuable hints to the restoration. It is known that the said Ardumanes is replaced in Herodotus, by Aspathines; but even this error confirms the veracity of the Father of History. He was led into the mistake by a Persian, who gave the name of another favourite of Darius, and whose portrait is figured on the sepulchral monument of Naksh-i-Rustam. But although he was in a great position at the court of the Persian monarch, he had not been present at the murder of the Magian.

² The names of the conspirators are, except one, the same as Herodotus has mentioned them. Intaphernes' father is not given by the Father of History; Otanes' father is named Pharnaspes, instead of Sochres, *Thukhra*, "the splendid" in Persian. Gobryas is also in the Greek writer, the son of Mardonius, who was the grandfather of the homonym, vanquished of Plataea. The father of Megabyzus, *Bagabukhsa*, is in Herodotus Zopyrus, hardly a true Persian name; Darius calls him *Daduhya*, Dadyes, name of a Persian general in the Persians of Aeschylus.

³ The last paragraph is entirely defaced in the Persian original, except the word "I have made." I believe it, therefore, to be certain that the detached text, styled L by Norris, is the translation of this wanting final clause, which once filled up three lines in the Persian original. The passage itself is of a first-rate importance, and has been put on the frontispiece of the bas-relief, just in opposition to the Median nationality and faith. The explanation which I gave is sure. There are four things made

where a book in Aryan language, that formerly did not exist. And I have made the text of the Divine Law (*Avesta*), and a commentary of the Divine Law, and the prayer, and the translation. And it was written, and I sealed it. And then the ancient book was restored by me in all nations, and the nations followed it.

DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS OF BEHISTUN OVER
THE FIGURES OF THE CAPTIVES.

A.

This is GOMATES the Magian, who lied and said: "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS, I exercise the kingly power."

B.

This is ASSINA, who lied and said: "I exercise the kingly power over the SUSIANS."

C.

This is NIDINTABEL, who lied and said: "I am NEBU-CHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS, I exercise the kingly power over the Babylonians."

by Darius: *Haduk ukku*, Persian *hadugām ābastāyā*, the text of the law, ZU (monogram) *ukku* *ābastāyā*, the commentary of the law; the HI (monogram) Persian *zandi*, the prayer; the *ēppi*, Median word, perhaps translation.

This ancient book, the *Avesta*, was restored by him in all regions.

As the Arian language can only be the Persian, it is evident that the book made by the king, and which did not exist before, is a translation from the Bactrian text into old Persian. It can be regarded as quite consistent that neither *Avesta* nor *Zend* are Zend words, but both occur in the Persian inscriptions, signifying "law" and "prayer" (comp. *zandiyani* "I pray").

The word "restore" is the same which, in the history of the Magian, explains the Persian *patipadam akunavam*, "I restored."

We have therefore in the Median text of the Behistun the most ancient indication alluding to the history of the Zendavesta; and this is not the least important of the historical informations which we owe to this precious document.

D.

This is PHRAORTES, who lied and said : “ I am SAT-TARITTA, of the offspring of VAK-ISTARRA, I exercise the kingly power over the Medes.”

E.

This is MARTIYA, who lied and said : “ I am INMANES, I exercise the kingly power over the Susians.”

F.

This is CHITHRANTAKHMA, who lied and said : “ I am of the race of VAK-ISTARRA, I exercise the kingly power over the Sagartians.”

G.

This is OEOSDATES, who lied and said : “ I am SMER-DIS, the son of CYRUS, I exercise the kingly power.”

I.

This is ARAKHA, who lied and said : “ I am NEBU-CHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS, I exercise the kingly power over the Babylonians.”

K.

This is FRADA, who lied and said : “ I exercise the kingly power over the Margians.”

M.

This is ISKUNKA,¹ the Sacian.

¹ Persian *Čkuñkha*.

THREE ASSYRIAN DEEDS.

 TRANSLATED BY

 DR. JULIUS OPPERT.

THE commercial and legal deeds belong to the most difficult class of inscriptions, and have necessarily required a great deal of study. Sir Henry Rawlinson first pointed out the importance of these tablets, and I translated some Babylonian commercial texts in my pamphlet *Sur les Inscriptions Commerciales*, 1861. I also gave a translation of the first juridical text in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1864.

I am not aware that the Assyrian deeds have ever been explained in a way that would satisfy a legist; some scholars, among whom may be named Mr. Sayce, have turned their attention to them, several others examined them merely on account of the most

curious dates and eponymic names that are to be found in them. But the real importance of these very numerous deeds consists in the light which they will hereafter throw upon the civilization of Assyria and Chaldea in general, and the history of legislation in particular. A great quantity of these documents, partly unedited, will be soon given with the transliterated texts in a work now going through the press, and published conjointly with my friend, M. Menant.



THREE ASSYRIAN DEEDS.

I.

DEED OF SALE OF A HOUSE,

BELONGING TO PHENICIAN OWNERS, WITH EGYPTIAN
WITNESSES.

W. A. I., III., pl. 48, 3.

NAIL-MARK¹ of SAR-LUDARI, nail-mark of AKHASSURU, nail-mark of the woman AMAT-SU'LA, wife of BEL-DUR, Captain in the army, owners of the sold house ;

[Four nail-marks.]

A house, well constructed, with its beams and its doors, situated in the city of Nineve, near the house of MANNU-KI-AKHE, near the house of EL-ITTIYA, near the markets.

And has acquired it SIL-ASSUR, the Chief, an Egyptian; for one mina of the King, of silver,² he has bought it from SAR-LUDARI, from AKHASSURU, from the woman AMAT-SU'LA, wife of the (named) husband.

The price has been definitively fixed, this house has been paid and bought, the retractation of the contract and the annulment is not admitted.³

Whosoever, in future, at any time amongst these men (sellers) will claim before me an annulment of the contract, from SIL-ASSUR, shall give 10 mines of silver.⁴

¹ The nailmarks are used instead of a seal.

² £9 sterling.

³ Or in ordinary legal phraseology "this contract shall not hereafter be retracted or annulled."

⁴ £90.

In the presence of SUSANQA, son-in-law of the King, of HARMAZA, Captain, of RASU, sailor, of NABU-DUR-USUR, spy of strangers, of HARMAZA, Chief of the sailors, of SIN-SAR-USUR, of ZIDQAIU.¹

In the month of Sivan, the 26th day, in the eponymy of ZAZAI, Governor of Arpad.²

Judged before SAMAS-YUKIN-AKH, before LITTURU, before NABU-SUM-USUR.³

II.

DEED OF THE SALE OF ISRAELITES

BY A PHENICIAN.

W. A. I., III., pl. 49, 1.

On the obverse. Seal of DAGAN-MILKI, the owner of the sold slaves.

[Seal.]

IMANNU,⁴ the woman U⁵ MELCHIOR, in all three persons.

And has acquired them BEL-MALIK-ILI, the *mugil* of the propriety of the King; for 3 mines of silver,⁶ each mina according to the use of the city of Karkamis, he has bought them from DAGAN-MILKI.

The price has been definitively fixed, these persons have been paid and bought, the retractation of the contract and its annulment is not admitted.

Whosoever, in future, at any time, will stand before me, and invoke me, either DAGAN-MILKI, or his brothers, or his brothers' sons, or any body of his, or a mighty man, who would claim from before me the annulment of this contract, from BEL-MALIK-ILI, his sons, or his grandsons, shall give 10 mines of silver, one mine of gold,⁷ to the goddess ISTAR

¹ Sedkia.

² B.C. 891.

³ See for this tablet, Vol. I., p. 139.

⁴ Heiman.

⁵ Lacuna.

⁶ £27.

⁷ £140, with £90 silver, £230.

of Arbela. He shall return, with the tenth, the price to the owners. Then he will get rid of his contract, he has not sold.

In the presence of ADDAI, the Chief (*mil*) of AKHIRAME, ditto, of PAQAHA,¹ the head of², of NADBIYAHU³ (the great *kusu*), of BEL-SIMEANI, before BIN-DIKIRI, of TAB-SAR-ISTAR, of TABNI, the Chief, who is possessor of the sum.

In the month of Ab, the 20th day, of the eponymy of MANNU-KI-ASSUR-LIH.⁴

III.

SALE OF A WOMAN,

BY HER FATHER AND HER BROTHERS, TO AN EGYPTIAN LADY,
NAMED NITOCRIS,

IN ORDER TO MARRY HER TO HER SON SIHA.

W. A. I., III., pl. 49, 3.

It will be noticed that there is a special clause concerning her possible heirs, as the woman had a first husband. This is a very curious tablet.

Seal of NABU-RIKHTI-USUR, son of AKHARDISE, the Hasean, who assists in his art ZIKAR-ISTAR, in the town of², seal of TEBETAI, his son, seal of SILIM-ASSUR, his son, the owners of the sold woman.

[Seals.]

The girl TAVAT-HASINA, daughter of NABU-RIKHTI-USUR.

And acquired her NIHTI-EQARRAU⁵ for 16 drachmes of silver,⁶ for the sake of SIHA,⁷ for to marry her, she bought her. She will be the wife of SIHA.

The price was definitively fixed.

¹ The Jewish name Pekah.

² Lacunæ.

³ Evidently a Jew; the name is found in the Bible.

⁴ B.C. 709.

⁵ Nitocris.

⁶ £2 8s.

⁷ Or, Tachos.

ANCIENT BABYLONIAN
MORAL AND POLITICAL PRECEPTS.

TRANSLATED BY

REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE tablet translated below is one of those found by the late Mr. George Smith in the débris of the North Palace at Kouyunjik. It is an Assyrian copy of an older Babylonian text which belonged to the period when Sippara, Nipur or Calneh, and Babylon were under one government, though Babylon, it would seem, so far from being the capital was only the third city of the kingdom. Certain indications in the language of the document make it probable that it was based on an Accadian original, but in its present form it belongs to the Semitic period of Babylonian history. Its contents remind us of the advice tendered to rulers by Egyptian and Chinese sages, and while

they bear witness to a strong sense of justice and obedience to law they plainly assert the responsibility of the king or magistrate, and his amenability to divine punishment.

Mr. Smith has given a rendering of the first twenty lines of the obverse in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 410, 411; the cuneiform text will be found in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV., pl. 55.



ANCIENT BABYLONIAN
MORAL AND POLITICAL PRECEPTS.

OBVERSE.

- 1 (If) the King avenges ¹ not according to law, the people perish, his country is enfeebled.
- 2 (If) he avenges not according to the law of his country, the god HEA, the King of destinies,
- 3 his destiny changes ² and by another replaces him.
- 4 (If) he avenges not according to (the wishes of) his princes, his days are long.
- 5 (If) he avenges not according to the statutes, his country knows invasion.
- 6 (If) he avenges according to the (law) book, the obedience of the land the King sees.
- 7 (If) he avenges according to the writing of the god HEA, the great gods
- 8 in stability and the praise of justice seat ³ him.
- 9 (If) he smites the son of the city of Sippara and gives (him to) another, the Sun-god, who judges heaven and earth,
- 10 another Judge in his country shall appoint, and a just Prince and a just Judge instead of unjust ones.

¹ The verb used here has the same root as the *goel* or "blood-avenger" of Job xix. 25.

² Or, "is hostile to."

³ The Assyrian text has the singular instead of the plural here.

- 11 (If) the sons of the city of Nipur for judgment have
thrown themselves (before) him, and he takes gifts and
smites them,
12 the god BEL, the Lord of the world, a foreign enemy
13 brings against him and destroys his army ;
14 the Prince and his General in fetters in evil fashion are
bound.
15 (If) the sons of Babylon bring silver and give bribes,¹
16 (if) the Judges of the Babylonians preside and to (their)
entreaty turn,
17 MERODACH, the Lord of heaven and earth, his enemies
over him shall place, and
18 (his) goods (and) his treasure to his enemy gives.
19 (If) the son of Nipur, of Sippara, (or) of Babylon doeth
this,
20 into prison ² he shall be caused to enter.
21 (If) the sanctuary of a god a place of uncleanness he
makes (or) the city into a citadel heaps up,
22 into the prison he shall be made to enter, a foreign
enemy (the country) enters.
23 (If) Sippara, Nipur and Babylon (as) garrisons³ thou
proclaimest,
24 their soldiers render obedience unto thee.
25 (If) an extortionate tribute the officers appoint unto
them,
26 MERODACH, the Prince of the gods, overthrows⁴ the
mighty Prince,
27 his country to his enemy he transfers, and

¹ Literally, "cause treasure to enter."

² Literally, "house of watching."

³ The Assyrian is *urbi*, identical with the *'erev* or "mercenaries" of Jeremiah xxv. 20, which is rendered "mingled people" by the A. V. According to Sennacherib, Hezekiah garrisoned Jerusalem with *urbi*.

⁴ Or, "abhors."

- 28 the soldiers of his country obedience to his enemy yield.
 29 Their soldiers ANU, BEL, (and) HEA, the great gods,
 30 who inhabit heaven and earth, in their assembly deserters
 from them make.
 31 (If) the son(s) of Sippara, of Nipur, and of Babylon,
 32 their children to war-horses offering,
 33 (let) war-horses upon their children feed,
 34 upon the watch the enemy descend,
 35 their soldiers are slain, (their) armies and men are
 slaughtered,
 36 the god of famine (devours) his ¹ soldiers for food,
 37 the face of his soldiers he dismays, and with him he
 goes.
 38 (Though) the yokes of the oxen they unloose, and
 39 the place (of their pasturage) they change,
 40 at the waters where they rest he desolates
 (them) ;
 41 the watch (unawares the enemy) seize.
 42 RIMMON, the minister of heaven and earth,
 43 the creeping things of his field for want of food causes to
 die, and
 44 those that are slain the Sun-god burns up.
 45 (If) army and General, the Chief Minister ² of the King,
 46 (their) full fealty *untruly* present,
 47 by the command of HEA, King of the abyss,
 48 army and General with (a curse) are cursed,
 49 their fortress into the stream is tumbled ;
 50 afterwards when the wind overthrows (their) deeds, when
 to the deep it allots (them),
 51 their bonds they break, and this table (of precepts)
 52 again will cause them to go forth ; to (their) allegiance it
 will (restore) them.

¹ That is, the king's.

² Literally, "the appointment of the face of the king."

53 NEBO, the scribe of BIT-SAGGAL, the enclosure of the
hosts of heaven and earth in the *centre* of all things,
54 the founder of the sovereignty, the bonds of that country
breaks, and fealty establishes.

55 Whether (he be) Ruler or Priest or General,
56 whoever in Sippara, Nipur and Babylon as Temple
Guardian is appointed,

57 reverence for the temples of the great gods he shall lay
upon them.

58 (If) the great gods are angry and the deities desert their
sanctuaries,

59 he shall not enter into their shrines.

60 (*Colophon.* Tablet beginning):—(If the King according
to) law avenges not, he dies.

61 Palace of ASSUR-BANI-PAL, the King of multitudes, the
King of Assyria,

62 to whom NEBO and TASMIT gave broad ears,

63 (and his) seeing eyes regarded the engraved characters
of the tablets ;

64 this writing which none of the Kings that went before
me regarded,

65 the secrets of NEBO, the literature of the library as much
as is suitable,

66 on tablets I wrote, I engraved, I explained, and

67 for the inspection of my subjects in the midst of my
palace I placed.



THE REVOLT IN HEAVEN.

TRANSLATED BY

H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

THIS curious narrative is found on a cuneiform tablet in the British Museum. The original text is published in Plate 42 of Delitzsch's work, *Assyrische Lesestücke*. I gave a translation of it in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. IV., pp. 349-362.

This tablet describes the revolt of the gods or angels against their Creator. It seems to have been preceded by an account of the perfect harmony which existed in heaven previously. And here I would call

to mind a noble passage in Job, chap. xxxviii., which deserves particular attention, since it is not derived from the Mosaic narrative but from some independent source, namely, that when God laid the foundations of the world, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." By "the sons of God" in this passage are to be understood the angels. In the beginning, therefore, according to this sacred author, all was joy and harmony and loyalty to God. But this state of union and happiness was not to last. At some unknown time, but before the creation of man, some of the angels ceased to worship their Creator: thoughts of pride and ingratitude arose in their hearts, they revolted from God, and were by his just decree expelled from heaven. These were the angels of whom it is said in the Book of Jude that "they kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation."¹ The opinions of the Fathers and of other religious writers on this mysterious subject it were useless to examine, since they admit that nothing can be certainly known about it. The opinion that one third of the heavenly host revolted from their

¹ Jude 6.

Creator is founded on Rev. xii. 3, where it is said :
“And there appeared a dragon in heaven, having seven heads and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth. And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels. And prevailed not : neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out—he was cast out into the earth and his angels were cast out with him.”

The Revelation of St. John was written in the first century, but some of the imagery employed may have been far more ancient, and for that reason more impressive to the religious mind of the age.

The war between Michael and the dragon bears much resemblance to the combat of Bel and the dragon recounted on a Chaldean tablet.¹ And it is not unworthy of remark that the Chaldean dragon had seven heads, like that spoken of in the Revelation.²

At the creation harmony had prevailed in heaven. All the sons of God, says Job, shouted for joy. What

¹ See G. Smith, p. 100 of his *Chaldean Genesis*.

² See 2 R 19, col. ii. 14, and my *Assyrian Glossary*, No. 108.

caused the termination of this blissful state? We are not informed, and it would be in vain to conjecture. But the Babylonians have preserved to us a remarkable tradition, which is found in the tablet of p. 42, and has not, I believe, been hitherto understood. It is unlike anything in the Bible or in the sacred histories of other countries. While the host of heaven were assembled and were all engaged in singing hymns of praise to the Creator, suddenly some evil spirit gave the signal of revolt. The hymns ceased in one part of the assembly, which burst forth into loud curses and imprecations on their Creator. In his wrath he sounded a loud blast of the trumpet and drove them from his presence never to return.



THE REVOLT IN HEAVEN.

[The first four lines are broken. They related, no doubt, that a festival of praise and thanksgiving was being held in heaven, when this rebellion took place.]

- 5 THE Divine Being spoke three times, the commence-
ment of a psalm.
6 The god of holy songs, Lord of religion and worship
7 seated a thousand singers and musicians: and established
a choral band
8 who to his hymn were to respond in multitudes
-
- 9 With a loud cry of contempt they broke up his holy
song
10 spoiling, confusing, confounding, his hymn of praise.
11 The god of the bright crown¹ with a wish to summon his
adherents
12 sounded a trumpet blast which would wake the dead,
13 which to those rebel angels prohibited return,
14 he stopped their service, and sent them to the gods who
were his enemies.²
15 In their room he created mankind.³

¹ The Assyrian scribe annotates in the margin that the same god is meant throughout, under all these different epithets.

² They were in future to serve the powers of evil.

³ It will be observed that line 15 says that mankind were created to fill up the void in creation which the ungrateful rebellion of the angels had caused. A friend has supplied me with some striking evidence that the mediæval church also held that opinion, though it was never elevated to the rank of an authorised doctrine.

- 16 The first who received life, dwelt along with him.
17 May he give them strength, never to neglect his word,
18 following the serpent's voice, whom his hands had
made.
19 And may the god of divine speech ¹ expel from his five
thousand ² that wicked thousand
20 who in the midst of his heavenly song, had shouted evil
blasphemies !
21 The god ASHUR, who had seen the malice of those gods
who deserted their allegiance
22 to raise a rebellion, refused to go forth with them.

[The remainder of the tablet (9 or 10 lines more) is too much broken for translation.]

⁴ See note 1. This is another epithet.

⁵ The total number of the gods is, I believe, elsewhere given as five thousand.



THE
LEGEND OF THE TOWER OF BABEL.

TRANSLATED BY

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

THIS legend is found on a tablet marked K 3657, in the British Museum. The story which the tablet contains appears to be the building of some great temple tower, apparently by command of a king. The gods are angry at the work, and so to put an end to it they confuse the speech of the builders. The tablet is in a very broken condition, only a few lines being in any way complete.

The late Mr. George Smith has given a translation of the legend in his work on *Chaldean Genesis*, and I have published the text and translation in the fifth volume of *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*.



LEGEND OF THE TOWER OF BABEL.

COLUMN I.

- 1¹ them the father.
 2 (The thoughts) of his heart were evil
 3¹ the father of all the gods ² he turned from.
 4 (The thoughts) of his heart were evil ³
 5¹ Babylon corruptly to sin went and
 6 small and great mingled on the mound.⁴
 7¹ Babylon corruptly to sin went and
 8 small and great mingled on the mound.

COLUMN II.

- 1 The King of the holy mound ⁵¹
 2 In front and ANU lifted up¹
 3 to the good god his father¹
 4 Then his heart also¹
 5 which carried a command¹
 6 At that time also¹
 7 he lifted it up⁶
 8 Davkina.
 9 Their (work) all day they founded

¹ Lacunæ.² A title of Anu.³ Refers to the king who caused the people to sin.⁴ The verb used here is the same as in Gen. xi. 7, בָּלַל.⁵ A title of Anu.⁶ All these broken lines relate to council of gods?

- 10 to their stronghold ¹ in the night
 11 entirely an end he made.
 12 In his anger also the secret counsel he poured out
 13 to scatter (abroad) his face he set
 14 he gave a command to make strange their speech ²
 15 ³ their progress he impeded
 16 ³ the altar

[Column III is so broken, only a few words remain, so I have omitted it.]

COLUMN IV. ⁴

- 1 In (that day)
 2 he blew and ³
 3 For future time the mountain ³
 4 NU-NAM-NIR ⁵ went ³
 5 Like heaven and earth he spake ³
 6 His ways they went ³
 7 Violently they fronted against him ⁶
 8 He saw them and to the earth (descended)
 9 When a stop he did not make
 10 of the gods ³
 11 Against the gods they revolted
 12 ³ violence ³
 13 Violently they wept for Babylon ⁷
 14 very much they wept.
 15 And in the midst

[The rest is wanting.]

¹ The tower.

² *Uttaccira-melic-su-nu*, "make hostile their council."

³ Lacunæ. ⁴ Relates to the destruction of the tower by a storm.

⁵ The god of "no rule" or lawlessness.

⁶ The builders continued to build.

⁷ Lamentations of the gods for the Babylonians.

THE ELEVENTH TABLET
OF
THE IZDUBAR LEGENDS.

The Chaldean Account of the Deluge.

BY GEORGE SMITH.

THE tablet describing the deluge is the eleventh in a series of twelve tablets describing the adventures of a hero whose name I provisionally call Izdubar, and whom I identify with the Nimrod of Genesis.

These tablets describe the early life and hunting exploits of the hero; his friendship with a faun or satyr named Heabani; his conquest of Humbaba, a tyrant who ruled over the country; the love of Ishtar or Venus for him; his illness; the death of Heabani; and the wanderings to Izdubar, to find his translated ancestor, Hasisadra or Xisuthrus, who for his piety was said to have been taken into the company of the gods.

Izdubar is supposed to reach Hasisadra, and asks him how he became immortal, in answer to which, in this tablet, Xisuthrus tells him the story of the flood.

The principal fragments of this story I found in the autumn of 1872, in the Museum collection of Cuneiform tablets.

Since my paper on the Deluge Tablets, read before the Society 3rd December, 1872, I have found several new fragments in the Museum Collection ; and in my two journeys to the site of Nineveh I have procured about a dozen other fragments of these legends. This accession of new material enables me to supply many of the wanting portions of the legend, and to correct other portions where from the mutilation or obscurity of the text the translation was doubtful. This translation is extracted from the interlinear translation published in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III., p. 530.

NOTE.—The death of the learned author of this paper, at Aleppo, on the 19th of August, while these sheets were passing through the press, adds a melancholy interest to a text, the first of a series which he fondly hoped to have completed on his return.

TRANSLATION OF THE ELEVENTH TABLE
OF THE IZDUBAR SERIES.

COLUMN I.

- 1 IZDUBAR to him also said to HASISADRA the remote :
2 I am burdened with the matter HASISADRA
3 why thou repeatest not to me from thee
4 and thou repeatest not to me from thee
5 thy ceasing, my heart to make war.
6 presses, of thee, I come up after thee
7¹ how thou hast done and in the assembly of
the gods alive thou art placed.
-
- 8 HASISADRA to him also said to IZDUBAR :
9 be revealed to thee IZDUBAR the concealed story
10 and the judgment of the gods relate to thee
11 the city Surippak the city where thou standest
.¹ placed
12 that city is ancient . . .¹ the gods within it
13¹ their servant the great gods
14¹ the god ANU
15¹ the god ELU
16¹ the god NINIP
17 and the god¹ Lord of Hades
18 their will he revealed in the midst¹ and
19 (I) his will was hearing and he spake (to me)
20 SURIPPAKITE son of UBARATUTU
21¹ make a ship after this¹
22¹ I destroy the sinner and life¹
23 cause to ascend in the seed of life all of it, to the
midst of the ship
24 the ship which thou shalt make

¹ Lacunæ.

- 25¹ cubits shall be the measure of its length, and
 26¹ cubits the amount of its breadth and its height.
 27¹ Into the deep launch it.
 28 I perceived and said to HEA my Lord :
 29 HEA my Lord this that thou commandest me
 30¹ I will perform, it shall be done.
 31 (I shall be derided by) young men and old men.
 32 HEA opened his mouth and spake, and said to me his
 servant,
 33¹ thou shalt say unto them,
 34¹ he has turned from me and
 35¹ fixed¹
 36¹ like caves¹
 37¹ above and below¹
 38¹ close the ship¹
 39¹ the flood which I will send to you
 40 enter and the door of the ship turn
 41 into the midst of it thy grain thy furniture and thy goods
 42 thy wealth, thy women-servants, thy female slaves and
 the young men,
 43 the beasts of the field, the animals of the field, all I
 will gather and
 44 I will send to thee and they shall be enclosed in thy
 door.
-
- 45 ADRAHASIS² his mouth opened and spake and¹
 46 said to HEA his Lord
 47 Any one the ship will not make¹
 48 . . .¹ on the earth fixed¹
 49¹ I may see also the ship¹
 50¹ on the ground the ship¹
 51 the ship making which thou commandest me¹
 52 which in¹

¹ Lacunæ.² The transposition is of the text in this line.

COLUMN II.

- 1 strong¹
 2 on the fifth day¹ it
 3 in its circuit fourteen measures¹ its frame
 4 fourteen measures it measured¹ over it
 5 I placed its roof, it¹ I enclosed it.
 6 I rode in it on the sixth time examined its exterior on
 the seventh time
 7 its interior I examined on the eighth time
 8 planks against the waters within it I placed
 9 I saw rents and the wanting parts I added
 10 three measures of bitumen I poured over the outside
 11 three measures of bitumen I poured over the inside
 12 three . . .¹ men carrying its baskets they constructed
 boxes
 13 I gave the boxes which they had sacrificed an offer-
 ing
 14 two measures of boxes I had distributed to the boatmen
 15 to¹ were sacrificed oxen
 16¹ for every day
 17 in¹ wine in receptacles and wine
 18 (I collected) like the waters of a river, also
 19 (food) like the dust of the earth, also
 20 (I collected in) boxes with my hand I placed
 21¹ SHAMAS¹ material of the ship completed
 22¹ strong and
 23 the reed oars of the ship I caused to bring above and
 below.
 24¹ they went in two thirds of it
 25 all I possessed the strength of it, all I possessed the
 strength of it silver,

¹ Lacunæ.

- 26 all I possessed the strength of it gold,
27 all I possessed the strength of it, the seed of life, the
whole
28 I caused to go up into the ship all my male servants
and my female servants,
29 the beast of the field, the animal of the field, the sons
of the people all of them I caused to go up ;
30 a flood SHAMAS made and
31 he spake saying : In the night I will cause it to rain
from heaven.
32 Enter to the midst of the ship and shut thy door (*v.*
the ship).
33 A flood he raised and
34 he spake saying in the night : I will cause it to rain¹
from heaven heavily.
35 In the day I celebrated his festival
36 the day of watching fear I had.
37 I entered to the midst of the ship and shut my door.
38 To close the ship to BUZUR-SADIRABI the boatman
39 the palace I gave with its goods.
40 The raging of a storm in the morning
41 arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide.
42 VUL in the midst of it thundered, and
43 NEBO and SARU went in front,
44 the throne bearers went over mountains and plains,
45 the destroyer NERGAL overturned,
46 NINIP went in front and cast down,
47 the spirits carried destruction,
48 in their glory they swept the earth ;
49 of VUL the flood reached to heaven.
50 The bright earth to a waste was turned,

¹ Or "it will rain."

COLUMN III.

- 1 the surface of the earth like¹ it swept,
 2 it destroyed all life from the face of the earth¹
 3 the strong deluge over the people, reached to heaven.
 4 Brother saw not his brother, it did not spare the people.
 In heaven
 5 the gods feared the tempest and
 6 sought refuge ; they ascended to the heaven of ANU.
 7 The gods like dogs fixed in droves prostrate.
 8 Spake ISHTAR like a child,
 9 uttered the great goddess her speech :
 10 All to corruption are turned and
 11 then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil.
 12 As I prophesied in the presence of the gods evil,
 13 to evil were devoted all my people and I prophesied
 14 I the mother have begotten my people and
 15 like the young of the fishes they fill the sea.
 16 The gods concerning the spirits were weeping with
 me (*v.* her,
 17 the gods in seats seated in lamentation,
 18 covered with their lips for the coming evil.
 19 Six days and nights
 20 passed, the wind, deluge, and storm, overwhelmed.
 21 On the seventh day in its course, was calmed the
 storm, and all the deluge
 22 which had destroyed like an earthquake,
 23 quieted. The sea he caused to dry, and the wind and
 deluge ended
 24 I perceived the sea making a tossing ;

¹ Lacunæ.

- 25 and the whole of mankind turned to corruption.
26 like reeds the corpses floated.
27 I opened the window, and the light broke over my face,
28 it passed. I sat down and wept,
29 over my face flowed my tears.
30 I perceived the shore at the boundary of the sea,
31 for twelve measures the land rose.
32 To the country of Nizir went the ship ;
33 the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass
over it it was not able.
34 The first day, and the second day, the mountain of
Nizir the same.
35 The third day, and the fourth day, the mountain of
Nizir the same.
36 The fifth, and sixth, the mountain of Nizir the same.
37 On the seventh day in the course of it
38 I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and
turned, and
39 a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
40 I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went
and turned, and
41 a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
42 I sent forth a raven and it left.
43 The raven went, and the corpses on the water it saw,
and
44 it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not
return.
45 I sent the animals forth to the four winds, I poured out
a libation,
46 I built an altar on the peak of the mountain,
47 by seven jugs of wine I took
48 at the bottom of them I placed reeds, pines, and spices.
49 The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at
its good burning ;

- 50 the gods like *sumbe* over the sacrifice gathered.
51 From of old also the great god in his course
52 the great brightness of ANU had created. When the
glory¹
53 of those gods the charm round my neck would not
repel.

¹ Lacuna.

REVERSE—COLUMN IV.

- 1 in those days I desired that for ever I might not
leave them.
- 2 May the gods come to my altar,
3 may BEL not come to my altar,
4 for he did not consider and had made a deluge,
5 and my people he had consigned to the deep.
6 From of old also BEL in his course
7 saw the ship, and went BEL with anger filled to the
gods and spirits :
- 8 Let not anyone come out alive, let not a man be
saved from the deep.
- 9 NINIP his mouth opened, and spake and said to the
warrior BEL :
- 10 Who then will be saved? HEA the words under-
stood¹
- 11 and HEA knew all things.¹
- 12 HEA opened his mouth and spake and said to the
warrior BEL :
- 13 Thou Prince of the gods warrior,¹
- 14 when thou art angry a deluge thou makest ;
15 the doer of sin did his sin, the doer of evil did his
evil.
- 16 May the exalted not be broken, may the captive not
be delivered.
- 17 Instead of thee making a deluge, may lions increase
and men be reduced ;
18 instead of thee making a deluge, may leopards increase
and men be reduced ;

¹ Lacunæ.

- 19 instead of thee making a deluge, may famine happen
and the country be destroyed ;
20 instead of thee making a deluge, may pestilence
increase and men be destroyed.
21 I did not peer into the judgment of the gods.
22 ADRAHASIS a dream they sent, and the judgment of
the gods he heard.
23 When his judgment was accomplished, BEL went up
to the midst of the ship.
24 He took my hand and raised me up,
25 he caused to raise and to bring my wife to my side ;
26 he purified the country, he established a covenant and
took the people,
27 in the presence of HASISADRA and the people.
28 When HASISADRA and his wife, and the people, to be
like the gods were carried away,
29 then dwelt HASISADRA in a remote place at the mouth
of the rivers.
30 They took me and in a remote place at the mouth of
the rivers they seated me.
31 When to thee whom the gods have chosen also,
32 for the health which thou seekest and askest,
33 this do six days and seven nights,
34 like in a seat also in bonds bind him,
35 the way like a storm shall be laid upon him.
36 HASISADRA after this manner also said to his wife,
37 I announce that the chief who grasps at health
38 the way like a storm shall be laid upon him.
39 His wife after this manner also said to HASISADRA
afar off,
40 Purify him, and let the man be sent away ;
41 the road that he came may he return in peace,
42 the great gate open and may he return to his country,
43 HASISADRA after this manner also said to his wife :

- 44 The cry of a man alarms thee,
45 this do his *kurummat* place on his head.
46 And the day when he ascended the side of the ship,
47 she did, his *kurummat* she placed on his head.
48 And the day when he ascended the side of the ship,
49 first the *sabusat* of his *kurummat*,
50 second the *mussukat*, third the *radbat*, fourth she
opened his *zikaman*,
51 fifth the cloak she placed, sixth the *bassat*,

COLUMN V.

1 seventh in the opening she purified him and let the man go free.

2 IZDUBAR after this manner also said to HASISADRA afar off :

3 In this way thou was compassionate over me,

4 joyfully thou hast made me, and thou hast restored me.

5 HASISADRA after this manner also said to IZDUBAR,

6¹ thy *kurummat*,

7¹ separated thee,

8¹ thy *kurummat*,

9 second the *mussakat*, third the *radbat*,

10 fourth she opened the *zikaman*,

11 fifth the cloak she placed, sixth the *bassat*,

12 seventh in the opening I purified thee and let thee go free.

13 IZDUBAR after this manner also said to HASISADRA afar off :

14¹ HASISADRA to thee may we not come

15¹ collected

16¹ dwelling in death,

17¹ his back(?) dies also.

18 HASISADRA after this manner also said to URHAMSI the boatman :

19 URHAMSI¹ to thee we cross to preserve thee.

20 Who is beside the¹ of support ;

¹ Lacunæ.

- 21 The man whom thou comest before, disease has filled
his body ;
22 illness has destroyed the strength of his limbs.
23 Carry him URHAMSI, to cleanse take him,
24 his disease in the water to beauty may it turn,
25 may he cast off his illness, and the sea carry it away,
may health cover his skin,
26 may it restore the hair of his head,
27 hanging to cover the cloak of his body.
28 That he may go to his country, that he may take his
road,
29 the hanging cloak may he not cast off, but alone may
he leave.
30 URHAMSI carried him, to cleanse he took him,
31 his disease in the water to beauty turned,
32 he cast off his illness, and the sea carried it away, and
health covered his skin.
33 He restored the hair of his head, hanging down to
cover the cloak of his body.
34 That he might go to his country, that he might take
his road,
35 the hanging cloak he did not cast off, but alone he left.
36 IZDUBAR and URHAMSI rode in the ship,
37 where they placed them they rode.
38 His wife after this manner also said to HASISADRA
afar off :
39 IZDUBAR goes away, he is satisfied, he performs
40 that which thou hast given him, and returns to his
country.
41 And he carried away the breaches of IZDUBAR,
42 and the ship touched the shore.
43 HASISADRA after this manner also said to IZDUBAR :
44 IZDUBAR thou goest away, thou art satisfied, thou
performest

- 45 that which I have given thee, and thou returnest to thy
country.
46 Be revealed to thee IZDUBAR the concealed story ;
47 and the judgment of the gods be related to thee.
48 This account like bitumen¹
49 its renown like the sight of¹
50 when the account a hand shall take¹
51 IZDUBAR, this in his hearing heard, and¹
52 he collected great stones¹

¹ Lacunæ.

COLUMN VI.

- 1 They dragged it and to¹
 2 he carried the account¹
 3 piled up the great stones¹
 4 to his mule¹
 5 IZDUBAR after this manner also said
 6 to URHAMSI : This account¹
 7 If a man in his heart take¹
 8 may they bring them to Erech Suburi
 9¹ speech¹
 10 I will give an account and turn to¹
 11 For ten kaspu² they journeyed the stage, for twenty
 kaspu³ they journeyed the stage.
 12 and IZDUBAR saw the well¹
 13 For thirteen kaspu⁴ to the midst of Erech Suburi.
 14 noble of men¹
 15 in his return¹
 16¹ IZDUBAR approached¹
 17 and over his face coursed his tears, and he said to
 URHAMSI :
 18 At my misfortune in my turning¹
 19 at my misfortune is my heart troubled.
 20 I have not done good to my own self ;
 21 and the lion of the earth does good.
 22 Then for twenty kaspu⁵
 23¹ then I opened¹ the instrument
 24 raised not its wall for¹ I appointed.

¹ Lacunæ.² Seventy miles.³ 140 miles.⁴ Ninety-one miles.⁵ 140 miles.

25 And they left the ship by the shore, twenty kaspu¹
they journeyed the stage.

26 For thirty kaspu² they made the ascent, they came
to the midst of Erech Suburi.

27 IZDUBAR after this manner also said to URHAMSI the
boatman :

28 Ascend URHAMSI over where the wall of Erech will
go ;

29 the cylinders are scattered, the bricks of its casing are
not made,

30 and its foundation is not laid to thy height ;

31 one measure the circuit of the city, one measure of
plantations, one measure the boundary of the temple of
NANTUR the house of ISHTAR,

32 three measures together the divisions of Erech . . .³

¹ 140 miles.

² 210 miles.

³ Lacunæ.





AN
ACCADIAN PENITENTIAL PSALM.

TRANSLATED BY
REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE following Psalm for remission of sins is remarkable alike for its deeply spiritual tone and for its antiquity. As it is written in Accadian, its composition must be referred to a date anterior to the 17th century B.C., when that language became extinct. An Assyrian interlinear translation is attached to most of the lines ; some, however, are left untranslated. The tablet is unfortunately broken in the middle, causing a lacuna in the text. Similarities will be noticed between the language of the Psalm and that of the Psalms of the Old Testament, and one passage reminds us strongly of the words of Christ in St. Matthew xviii. 22. Seven, it must be remembered, was a sacred number among the Accadians. Accadian

poetry was characterised by a parallelism of ideas and clauses; and as this was imitated, both by the Assyrians and by the Jews, the striking resemblance between the form of Accadian and Hebrew poetry can be accounted for.

Some of the lines in the middle of the Psalm have been previously translated by Mr. Fox Talbot, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. II., p. 60, and Prof. Schrader in his *Höllenfahrt der Istar*, pp. 90-95.

A copy of the text is given in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 10.



AN ACCADIAN PENITENTIAL PSALM.

OBVERSE.

- 1 The heart of my Lord¹ was wroth : to his place may he return.
- 2 From the man that (sinned) unknowingly to his place may (my) god return.
- 3 From him that (sinned) unknowingly to her place may (the) goddess return.
- 4 May god who knoweth (that) he knew not to his place return.
- 5 May the goddess² who knoweth (that) he knew not to her place return.
- 6 May the heart of my god to his place return.
- 7 May the heart of my goddess to his place return.
- 8 May my god and my goddess (unto their place) return.
- 9 May god (unto his place) return.
- 10 May the goddess (unto her place return).
- 11 The transgression (that I committed my god) knew it.
- 12 The transgression (that I committed my goddess knew it).
- 13 The holy name (of my god I profaned?).
- 14 The holy name (of my goddess I profaned?).
[The next three lines are obliterated.]
- 18 The waters of the sea (the waters of my tears) do I drink.
- 19 That which was forbidden by my god with my mouth I ate.

¹ Literally "of my lord his heart."

² The Accadian throughout has the word "mother" before "goddess."

- 20 That which was forbidden by my goddess in my ignorance I trampled upon.
- 21 O my Lord, my transgression (is) great, many (are) my sins.
- 22 O my god, my transgression (is) great, my sins (are many).
- 23 O my goddess, my transgression (is) great, my sins (are many).
- 24 O my god that knowest (that) I knew not, my transgression (is) great, my sins (are many).
- 25 O my goddess, that knowest (that) I knew not, my transgression (is) great, my sins (are many).
- 26 The transgression (that) I committed I knew not.
- 27 The sin (that) I sinned I knew not.
- 28 The forbidden thing did I eat.
- 29 The forbidden thing did I trample upon.
- 30 My Lord in the wrath of his heart has punished me.
- 31 God in the strength of his heart has overpowered me.
- 32 The goddess upon me has laid affliction and in pain has set me.
- 33 God who knew, (though) I knew not, hath pierced me.
- 34 The goddess who knew (though) I knew not hath caused darkness.
- 35 I lay on the ground and no man seized me by the hand.¹
- 36 I wept,² and my palms none took.

REVERSE.

- 1 I cried aloud ; there was none that would hear me.
- 2 I am in darkness (and) trouble :³ I lifted not myself up.
- 3 To my god my (distress) I referred ; my prayer I addressed.

¹ Accadian "extended the hand."

² Accadian "in tears (water of the eye) I dissolved myself."

³ Or more literally "hiding." The verb that follows means "to lift oneself up so as to face another."

- 4 The feet of my goddess I embraced.
 5 To (my) god, who knew (though) I knew not, (my prayer) I addressed.
 6 To (my) goddess, who knew (though I knew not, my prayer) I addressed.

[The next four lines are lost.]

- 11 How long O my god (shall I suffer?).
 12 How long O my goddess (shall I suffer?).
 13 How long O my god, who knewest (though) I knew not, shall (thy) strength (oppress me?)
 14 How long O my goddess, who knewest (though) I knew not, shall thy heart (be wroth?)
 15 Of mankind thou writest the number and there is none that knoweth.
 16 Of mankind the name (that) is fully proclaimed how can I know?
 17 Whether it be afflicted or whether it be blessed there is none that knoweth.
 18 O Lord, thy servant thou dost not restore.¹
 19 In the waters of the raging flood seize his hand.
 20 The sin (that) he has sinned to blessedness bring back.
 21 The transgression he has committed let the wind carry away.
 22 My manifold affliction like a garment destroy.
 23 O my god, seven times seven (are my) transgressions, my transgressions are before (me).
 24 (To be repeated) 10 times.² O my goddess, seven times seven (are my) transgressions.
 25 O god who knowest (that) I knew not, seven times seven (are my) transgressions.
 26 O goddess who knowest (that) I knew not, seven times seven (are my) transgressions.

¹ In the Assyrian "quiet."

² A rubrical direction.

- 27 My transgressions are before (me): may thy judgment give (me) life.
- 28 May thy heart like the heart of the mother of the setting day to its place return.
- 29 (To be repeated) 5 times.¹ Like the mother of the setting day (and) the father of the setting day to its place (may it return).
-

- 30 For the tearful supplication of my heart 65 times let the name be invoked of every god.¹
-

- 31 Peace afterwards.
-

- 32 (*Colophon*) Like its old (copy) engraved and written.
-

- 33 Country of ASSUR-BANI-PAL King of multitudes, King of Assyria.

¹ A rubrical direction.



A BABYLONIAN SAINTS' CALENDAR.

 TRANSLATED BY

 REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE curious hemerology of the intercalary Elul which is translated below is interesting on many accounts. It not only proves the existence of a Chaldean ritual and rubric, but also shows that each day of the year had been assigned to its particular deity or patron-saint, in whose honour special ceremonies and services had to be performed. But the chief interest attaching to it is due to the fact that it bears evidence to the existence of a seventh-day sabbath, on which certain works were forbidden to be done, among the Babylonians and Assyrians. It will be observed that several of the regulations laid down are closely analogous to the sabbatical injunctions of the Levitical law and the practice of the Rabbinical Jews. What I have rendered "sabbath" is expressed by two Accadian words, which literally signify "dies nefastus," and a bilingual syllabary makes them equivalent to the Assyrian *yum sulumi*, or "day of completion (of labours)." The word sabbath itself was not unknown to the Assyrians, and occurs under the form of *sabattu* in *W. A. I.*, II., 32, 16, where it is explained as "a day of rest for the

heart." *Sabatu* is also explained to mean "complete" in *W. A. I.*, II., 25, 14.

The calendar is written in Assyrian. The occurrence, however, of numerous Accadian expressions and technical terms shows that it was of Accadian, and therefore non-Semitic, origin, though borrowed by the Semites along with the rest of the old Turanian theology and science. The original text must accordingly have been inscribed at some period anterior to the seventeenth century B.C., when the Accadian language seems to have become extinct. The intercalary Elul itself belonged to the Accadian period. The only intercalary month known to the later Assyrian calendar was the second Adar or Ve-Adar; but besides this month the Accadians at an early date made use also of a second Elul and a second Nisan. It is a proof of the frequency with which the calendar must have got out of order. Curiously enough, a second Elul is mentioned in the Talmud. Elul corresponded roughly with our August.

I have given a translation of the memorandum attached to the 7th day in the *Academy*, Nov., 1875, p. 554. The rest of the inscription has not been translated before. The original text is lithographed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV., pl. 32, 33. For the reason why the 19th day was a sabbath see my Paper on the "Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians" in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III. 1, p. 207, as well as my account of the Assyrian calendar in *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., p. 166.

A BABYLONIAN SAINTS' CALENDAR.

OBVERSE.—COLUMN I.

- 1 The month of the second Elul. The first day. (The feast) of ANU and BEL. A festival.¹
 2 When during the month the moon is seen, the Prince of many nations
 3 (as) his offering² a gazelle without blemish to the MOON
 4 (shall offer) His offering
 5 to the SUN the Lady of the world (and) to the MOON the mighty god he makes.
 6 Sacrifices he offers. Raising his hand the high place of the god he worships.
-
- 7 The 2nd day. (The feast) of the goddesses.³ A festival. The King his altar
 8 to the SUN, the Lady of the world (and) the MOON the mighty god makes.
 9 Sacrifices he offers.
 10 Raising his hand at the high place of the god he makes a present.
-
- 11 The 3rd day. A feast⁴ of MERODACH (and) ZIR-PANITU. A festival.
 12 In the night in the presence of MERODACH and ISTAR

¹ This is in Accadian. The words signify, literally, "blessed" or "fortunate day."

² This again is Accadian, and may be read simply "what is due to his goddess," i.e., "an offering."

³ That is the two Istars (one presiding over the first fifteen days of the month and the other over the last fifteen days).

⁴ The word probably means "the day proclaimed," like the Roman calends. In *W. A. I.*, II. 32, 13, it is explained as "a day of eating."

13 the King his offering makes.

14 Sacrifices he offers.

15 Raising his hand the high place of the god he worships.

16 The 4th day. A day of invocation to NEBO (and TASMITE). A festival.

17 In the night in the presence of NEBO and TASMITE¹

18 the King his offering makes.

19 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (in) the high place of the god he presents.

20 The 5th day. (Dedicated) to BEL of the temple and BELTIS of the temple. A festival.

21 In the night in the presence of ASSUR (and) BELTIS

22 the King his offering makes.

23 Sacrifices he offers. (With) the lifting up of his hand the high place of the god he worships.

24 The 6th day. (Dedicated) to RIMMON (and) BELTIS. A festival.

25 The King (his) *business does not perform*.

26 In the night before the East wind to RIMMON the King his offering makes.

27 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

28 The 7th day. A feast of MERODACH (and) ZIR-PANITU. A festival.

29 A sabbath.² The Prince³ of many nations

30 the flesh of *birds* (and) cooked fruit⁴ eats not.

¹ Tasmit, "the hearer," was the wife of Nebo, "the prophet."

² The two Accadian words here used literally signify dies nefastus, "a day unlawful (to work upon)."

³ The word used throughout for "prince" is literally "shepherd."

⁴ Literally "the cooking of fruit."

- 31 The garments of his body he changes not. White robes he puts not on.
- 32 Sacrifice he offers not. The King (in) his chariot rides not.
- 33 In royal fashion he legislates not. A place of garrison the General (by word of) mouth appoints not.
- 34 Medicine for his sickness of body he applies not.
- 35 To make a *sacred spot* it is suitable.
- 36 In the night in the presence of MERODACH and ISTAR
- 37 the King his offering makes. Sacrifices he offers.
- 38 Raising his hand the high place of the god he worships.

- 39 The 9th day. Day of invocation to NEBO. A festival.
- 40 In the night the Prince of many nations
- 41 his hand for the sacrifice of a sheep makes propitious.
- 42 To NEBO and TASMIT the King his offering makes.
- 43 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

- 44 The 9th day. (Dedicated) to ADAR (and) GULA. A festival.
- 45 In the night in the presence of ADAR (and) GULA the King his offering makes.
- 46 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

- 47 The 10th day. (Dedicated) to BELTIS of the temple and DAYAN. A festival.
- 48 In the night in the presence of the Milky-way¹ and the star (called) the Son of the Moon
- 49 the King his offering makes.
- 50 Sacrifices he offers.
- 51 (With) the lifting up of his hand the high place of the god he worships.

¹ This is called by its Accadian name of *Mar-gidda* or "Long Road."

COLUMN II.

1 The 11th day. The truce-day of TASMIT and ZIR-PANITU. A festival.

2 When the moon shall lift up a halo of pale light

3 (and) the moon shall fail, the King in the night his offering to the MOON makes.

4 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

5 The 12th day. Day of gifts to BEL (and) BELTIS. A festival.

6 The King his offering to BEL and BELTIS makes.

7 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

8 The 13th day. (Dedicated) to the MOON, the mighty god. A festival.

9 (When) the moon a crown of pale light towards the country lifts up,

10 (on) that day firmly the King his offering

11 to the SUN the Lady of the world (and) to the MOON the mighty god, makes.

12 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

13 The 14th day. (Dedicated) to BELTIS (and) NERGAL. A festival.

14 A sabbath. The Prince of great nations

15 The flesh of *birds* (and) cooked fruit eats not.

16 The garments of his body he changes not. White robes he wears not.

17 A sacrifice he offers not. The King his chariot drives not.

- 18 In royal fashion he does not legislate. A place of garrison the General (by word of) mouth appoints not.
 19 Medicine to the sickness of his body he applies not.
 20 To make a *sacred spot* it is suitable. In the night the King his offering to BELTIS
 21 (and) NERGAL makes. Sacrifices he offers.
 22 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.
-

- 23 The 15th day. (Dedicated) to the Lady of the temple of ANU. The anniversary of the MOON the mighty god.
 24 A festival. The King his offering to the SUN the Mistress of the world
 25 (and) to the MOON the mighty god makes. Sacrifices he offers.
 26 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.
-

- 27 The 16th day. The feast of MERODACH (and) ZIR-PANITU. A festival.
 28 The King *his business does not perform*. In the night in the presence of MERODACH
 29 (and) ISTAR the King his offering makes.
 30 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.
-

- 31 The 17th day. A day of invocation to NEBO (and) TASMIT. A festival.
 32 In the night in the presence of NEBO (and) TASMIT
 33 the King his offering makes. Sacrifices he offers.
 34 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.
-

- 35 The 18th day. The jubilee¹ of the MOON and the SUN. A festival. The King his offering

¹ Literally "the prescribed" or "proclaimed (day)."

- 36 to the SUN the divine Mistress of the world (and) to the
MOON the mighty god
37 makes. Sacrifices he offers.
38 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god
he presents.

-
- 39 The 19th day. The white (day)¹ of GULA.² A festival.
40 A sabbath. The Prince of many nations
41 a mess of flesh-meat eats not.
42 The garments of his body he changes not. White robes
he wears not.
43 A sacrifice he does not offer. The King a chariot drives
not.
44 In royal fashion he does not legislate. A place of garri-
son the General
45 (by word of) mouth does not appoint. Medicine for
the sickness of his body he does not apply.
46 To make a *sacred spot* it is suitable. The King his
offering to ADAR and GULA
47 makes. Sacrifices he offers.
48 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god
he presents.

-
- 49 The 20th day. A day of light (and) gift-making to the
MOON and SUN. A festival.
50 The King to the SUN, the divine Mistress of the world
(and) to the MOON
51 the mighty god his offering makes. Sacrifices he offers.
52 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god
he presents.

¹ That is "a holyday," like the Latin *dies candidus*.

² Gula, "the great goddess," is also called Bahu or "chaos" (the Bohu of Genesis). She was the wife of Hea, and in her capacity as "Lady of the House of Death," was addressed as Nin-ci-gal, "Lady of the great Country," i.e., Hades.

REVERSE.—COLUMN III.

- 1 The 21st day. The anniversary¹ of the MOON and SUN.
A festival.
- 2 A sabbath. The Prince of many nations
3 the flesh of *birds* (and) cooked fruit eats not.
- 4 The garments of his body he changes not. White robes
he wears not.
- 5 A sacrifice he offers not. The King a chariot drives
not.
- 6 In royal fashion he legislates not. A place of garrison
the General (by word of) mouth appoints not.
- 7 Medicine for the sickness of his body he applies not.
- 8 To make a *sacred spot* it is suitable. At dawn the
King his offering
9 to the SUN the divine Mistress of the world (and) to the
MOON the mighty god
10 makes. A sacrifice he offers.
- 11 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god
he presents.
-
- 12 The 22nd day. The anniversary of (the MOON and)
SUN. The jubilee of the Lady of the temple. A festival.
- 13 The King his offering to the SUN the divine Mistress of
the world (and to the MOON the mighty god) makes.
- 14 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the
high place of the god he presents.
-
- 15 The 23rd day. The jubilee of the SUN and of the Air-
god. A festival.
- 16 The King his offering to the SUN and RIMMON² makes.

¹ The Assyrian word is *caccarrit*, "a circling period."

² Rimmon was the Assyrian Air-god, whose name has been otherwise read Bin, Vul, Iva and Ao.

17 A sacrifice he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

18 The 24th day. The jubilee of the Lord of the temple and of the Lady of the temple. A festival.

19 The King his offering to the Lord of the temple and the Lady of the temple

20 makes. A sacrifice he offers.

21 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

22 The 25th day. The holiday of BEL (and) BELTIS of Babylon. A festival.

23 In the night to BEL in the presence of the Star of the Foundation (and) to BELTIS of Babylon

24 in the presence of the Milky-way the King his offering makes.

25 A sacrifice he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

26 The 26th day. The thanksgiving-day of HEA, the mighty god.

27 A festival. The King in the night his offering

28 to HEA the mighty god makes. A sacrifice he offers.

29 The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.

30 The 27th day. The day-of-action of NERGAL. The jubilee of ZICUM.¹ A festival.

31 The King his offering to NERGAL (and) ZICUM makes.

32 A sacrifice he offers. (With) the lifting up of his hand the high place of the god he worships.

¹ Zicum or Zigu, the Sigê of Greek writers, was the sky regarded as the primæval "deep" out of which the universe proceeded. She is called "the mother of Anu and all the gods."

- 33 The 28th day. (Dedicated) to HEA. The rest-day of NERGAL. A festival.
- 34 A sabbath. The Prince of many nations
- 35 the flesh of *birds* (and) cooked fruit eats not.
- 36 The garments of his body he does not change.
- 37 White robes he does not wear.
- 38 A sacrifice he does not offer. The King a chariot does not drive.
- 39 In royal fashion he does not legislate.
- 40 A place of garrison the General (by word of) mouth does not appoint.
- 41 Medicine to the sickness of his body he does not apply.
- 42 To make a *sacred spot* it is suitable.
- 43 To HEA the mighty god (his offering the King) makes.
- 44 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.
-
- 45 The 29th day. The rest-day of the MOON.
- 46 The day (when) the spirits of heaven (and) the spirits of earth are invoked.
- 47 A festival. The King his offering to the MOON the mighty god makes.
- 48 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.
-

COLUMN IV.

- 1 The 30th day. (Dedicated) to ANU (and) BEL. A festival.
 - 2 The King his offering to ANU and BEL makes.
 - 3 Sacrifices he offers. The lifting up of his hand (at) the high place of the god he presents.
-
- 4 The month of the second Elul from the 1st day to the 30th day.
 - 5 The King, if (for) his god or his goddess
 - 6 or his gods the ruined rites he restores, that King has a divine colossus¹ (as) a god
 - 7 In the month of the second Elul the King of the country builds the edifice of a god's temple,
 - 8 if he makes an altar
 - 9 his heart is not good.
 - 10 In the month of the second Elul the King a fortress restores.
-
- 11 The month Tisri (is dedicated) to the Sun-god, the warrior of the world
 - 12 *Sacrifices are burnt* to BEL on the first day (which is dedicated) to ANU and BEL.
 - 13 (*Colophon.*) The 8th tablet (beginning) "The Moon, the Lord of the month."
 - 14 Country of ASSUR-BANI-PAL, the King of multitudes, King of Assyria.

¹ These divine colossi were the composite figures placed at the entrance of houses to protect them from the attack of evil spirits.

I add here a list of the months and their patron-deities, which has already been given by the late Mr. G. Smith in the Appendix of his *History of Assur-bani-pal*, pp. 325, 326. The cuneiform text will be found *W. A. I.*, IV. 33.

- 1 The month Nisan (dedicated) to ANU and BEL.
- 2 The month Iyyar (dedicated) to HEA the Lord of mankind.
- 3 The month Sivan (dedicated) to the Moon-god, the eldest son of BEL.
- 4 The month Tammuz (dedicated) to the warrior ADAR.
- 5 The month Ab (dedicated) to (ALLAT) the Mistress of the wood of the right hand.¹
- 6 The month Elul (dedicated) to ISTAR, the Lady (of battle).²
- 7 The month Tisri (dedicated) to the Sun-god, the Warrior of the world.
- 8 The month Marchesvan (dedicated) to the Lord, the Prince of the gods, MERODACH.
- 9 The month Chisleu (dedicated) to the Mighty hero NERGAL.

¹ That is, the bow. In Smith's *Assur-bani-pal*, p. 272, we read, "the month Ab, the month of the star of the bow (Sagittarius), the daughter of the Moon-god, the archer; (on) the 3rd day, the feast of the king of the gods Merodach." Allat was the queen of Hades, like the Greek Persephonê, though originally merely another form of Istar or Aphroditê.

² Elul is elsewhere called "the month of the king of the gods, Assur." The second Elul, however, may be referred to here.

- 10 The month Tebet (dedicated) to PAP-SUCCAL, the Messenger of ANU and ISTAR.
- 11 The month Sebat (dedicated) to RIMMON the Minister of heaven and earth.
- 12 The month Adar (dedicated) to the Seven Great Gods.
- 13 The month Ve-Adar (dedicated) to ASSUR the Father of the gods.¹

¹ We may conclude from this that the intercalary Ve-Adar had no divine regent in Accadian times.



LISTS OF FURTHER TEXTS FOR TRANSLATION.

ASSYRIAN.

ARRANGED BY THE LATE

GEORGE SMITH.

Works on History and Chronology.

Eponym Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 1).

Historical Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. II, p. 52).

Historical.

Legends of Izdubar (texts unpublished). (Deluge Tablets.)

Creation Tablets (Cutha Series).

Early Babylonian Dated Tablets (texts unpublished).

Brick of Samsi-vul I, ruler of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 6).

Brick of Kara-indas, king of Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., p. 68).

Inscriptions of Pudil, king of Assyria (Revue Ar., Nov., 1869).

Monolith of Maruduk-bal-idina I, king of Babylonia.

Tablet of Vul-nirari I, king of Assyria (text unpublished).

Small Inscriptions of Vul-nirari (various).

- Inscriptions of Shalmaneser I, king of Assyria (various).
Inscriptions of Tugulti-ninip, king of Assyria (various unpublished ; one *Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 4).
Inscriptions of Assur-risilim, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 3).
Brick and Cone Inscriptions of Vul-bal-idina, king of Babylon (various).
Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I, king of Babylonia (unpublished).
Other fragments of Tiglath-Pileser (various).
Contracts dated in the reign of Maruduk-nadin-ahi, king of Babylon (various).
Inscriptions of Assur-bel-kala, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 6).
Inscriptions of Samsivul IV, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 3).
Contract dated in the reign of Simma-sihu, king of Babylon (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 53).
Other Inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal (various).
Bull Inscription of Shalmaneser II (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 12, etc.).
Inscriptions of Vul-nirari III, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 35).
Fragments of Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II, king of Assyria (various).
Fragments of Inscriptions Shalmaneser IV, king of Assyria (various).
Inscription of the Second Year of Sargon (unpublished).
Nimrud Inscription of Sargon (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 33).
Cylinder (Barrel) of Sargon (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 36).
Prism of Sargon (unpublished).
Other Inscriptions of Sargon (various).
Tablet of Kalah Shergat.
Nebbi Yunas Tablet (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 43, 44).
Other Inscriptions of Sennacherib (various).

Portions of Cylinders B, C, D, and E, of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).

Various Historical Tablets of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).

Hunting Texts of Assurbanipal (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 7).

Inscriptions of Assur-ebel-ili, king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vols. I and III).

Cylinder of Bel-zakir-iskun, king of Assyria (Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 8).

Inscription of Nabopalassar, king of Babylonia (unpublished).

Borsippa Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 51).

Tower of Bel (text unpublished).

Text of Elamite Kings.

Various other texts of Nebuchadnezzar.

Tablet dated in the reign of Evil Merodach, king of Babylon.

Cylinder of Nergal-shar-ezer, king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 67).

Cylinders of Nabonidus, king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 68, 69).

Other texts of Nabonidus (various).

Brick of Cyrus, king of Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., Vol. II, pt. I).

Inscription on Tomb of Cyrus.

Dated Tablets in reign of Cambyses (various).

Inscriptions of Darius.

Inscriptions of Xerxes, king of Persia.

Inscriptions of Artaxerxes, king of Persia.

Later Inscriptions of Persian, Greek, and Parthian periods.

Mythology and Religion (mostly unpublished).

Hymn to the Moon God.

Hymns to Ninip.

The War of the Gods.
Incantations for removing Curses.
Prayers of Amil-urgal.
Prayer against Eclipses.
Various other Prayers.
Various Mythological Stories and Invocations.
Tablets against Witchcraft.
The Lubara Legends (Chaldean Genesis).

Fables (unpublished).

The Horse and the Ox.
The Eagle (Chaldean Genesis).

Government (mostly unpublished).

Tablet with Advice and Cautions to Kings.
Various Reports and Despatches.
Various Tablets with Laws and Reports of Law Cases.

Private Life.

Further Deeds of Sale and Barter.
Further Loan Tablets.
Private Letters.
Lists of Property.

Science, etc. (partly unpublished).

Geographical Lists.
Lists of Animals and Birds (Delitzsch).
Lists of Minerals and their uses.
Lists of Wooden Objects.
Grammatical Tablets (a selection from).
Mathematical Tablets.

Astrology and Astronomy.

Further Selections from the great Chaldean Work on Astrology.

Further Selections from Astronomical and Astrological Reports.¹

A Selection of Omens from Terrestrial Objects and Events.

PHŒNICIAN.

Sarcophagus of Ashmunazer (Duc de Luynes, *Mémoire*, 1856).

Marseilles Inscription (Judas, 1857).

The Moabite Stone (Ginsburg, 1871).

Selected Mortuary Inscriptions.

¹ Selections of these only printed in Vol. I.



EGYPTIAN.

(Tentative List only.)

ARRANGED BY

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, F.R.S.L.

Historical Documents.

Ancient Empire :

Inscription of Tomb of Ameni (Benihassan I).

,, Tomb of Nahre-si Chnum-hotep (Benihassan II).

,, of Sakaya.

XVIIIth Dynasty :

Inscription of Aahmes, formerly called Pensouvan (Louvre C, 49).

,, Thothmes I, at Karnak (Denk. III, 18).

,, Hat-a-su (Duemichen, Hist. Ins., 19, 20).

Other Monuments of Thothmes III (Birch and De Rouge).

Obelisk of Lateran.

Inscriptions of Haremhebi.

Inscriptions of Amenophis III (Denk. III, 65 and following).

Monuments of the Disk Worshippers.

XIXth Dynasty :

Triumphal Inscription of Seti I at Karnak (Denk. III, 126).

Sarcophagus of Seti I (Bonomi).

Dedicatory Inscription of Rameses II, at Abydos (Maspero).

Triumphal Inscriptions (Denk. III, 165, etc.).

Historical Inscription at Abusimbel (187).

Great Tablet at Abusimbel (194).

Inscription of Bek-en-Chonsu (Déveria).

List of Kings :

Turin Papyrus.

Tablet of Abydos.

Tablet of Sakkarah.

Tablet of Karnak.

XXth Dynasty :

Inscription of Seti II (Duemichen, Hist. Ins., 1-5).

„ Rameses III (Rosellini, Burton, Greene,
and Duemichen, *ubi supra* 13-15).

XXIst Dynasty :

Tablet 4th year of Rameses IV.

Ethiopic period :

Dream Tablet (Mariette's Monuments).

Persian and Ptolemaic :

Statuette Naophore du Vatican.

Tablet of Tafnecht at Naples.

Inscription of Ptolemy son of Lagos.

Inscription of Alexander Aegôs (Zeitschrift).

“Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Edfu” (Duemichen).

Two Ptolemaic Tablets (Birch).

Selection of Obelisk Inscriptions.

„ Apis Tablets.

Religious or Magical Texts.

Ancient Forms of Sepulchral Offerings, etc. (Tablets of
Ancient Empire.)

The Ritual of the Dead.

Spells in Lepsius (“Aelteste Texte”).

Harris Magical Papyrus.

“Horus on Crocodiles” (various texts, Leyden and elsewhere).
 Spells in Tomb of Bek-en-ren-ef.

“Metternich Tablet.”

“*Shâ en sensenu*,” the “Book of the Breaths of Life.”

Legend of Horus (Naville).

The Rhind Papyri.

Sarcophagus of Aroeri (Bonomi).

„ Necht-en-heb.

„ T’at-hra (Louvre).

„ British Museum, 32.

Litanies of the Sun (Denk. III, 203).

Apis Stelæ (a very large number, nearly 360).

Selection of Hymns, such as the following :

To the Nile (Denk. III, 175).

To Ammon (Denk. III, 237).

Ap-heru-mes (Berlin, in Brugsch Monumens, pl. III).

Meri („ „ „ pl. IV).

To Osiris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Chabas).

Fragments of the Hymns of the Disk Worshippers.

Several in British Museum.

„ Duemichen’s publications.

Great Psalm to Ammon (Leyden I, 350).

Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky days (Sallier, Chabas).

Calendars of Festivals from as Early Date as possible to
 Roman Period.

Literature, Philosophy, Science, Economy.

Proverbs, Prisse Papyrus (Chabas).

“Rules of Life” (Papyrus at Boulaq, lately published by
 Mariette).

Song of the Oxen (Denk. III, 10).

The Praise of Literature.

Three Amatory Songs (Goodwin).

Medical Papyrus (Berlin).

„ „ (British Museum).

„ „ (Ebers Papyrus).

Geometrical Papyrus (British Museum).

Calendar of Astronomical Observations in Tombs of XXth
Dynasty (Renouf).

Letters on all varieties of subjects in the Sallier, Anastasi,
Leyden, and Bologna Papyri.

Letters of Amenemha (Maspero Genre Epistolaire).

Registers, etc., (Rollin and other Papyri).

Accounts (Louvre).

Receipts for making Kyphi, etc.

Catalogues of the Temple Library at Edfu.

Law and Police.

Abbott Papyrus (Spoliation of Tombs).

“Pap. Judiciaire Amhurst” (Chabas).

Report on Capture of Fugitive Slaves (Leyden I, 368,
Chabas).

Complaint against Paneba (British Museum Papyrus, Salt,
Chabas).

Petition to king Amenophis (Chabas).

Complaint against Thefts committed by certain Workmen
(Chabas).

Selected Inscriptions from the Ostraca.

Greco-Egyptian Official Complaints.



(Original Circular.)

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