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Art. XII.—Two Edicts of Aššurbanipal

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society / Volume 23 / Issue 03 / July 1891,
pp 457 - 475

DOI: 10.1017/S0035869X00021134, Published online: 15 March 2011

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abstract_S0035869X00021134](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0035869X00021134)

How to cite this article:

S. Arthur Strong (1891). Art. XII.—Two Edicts of Aššurbanipal.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 23, pp 457-475 doi:10.1017/
S0035869X00021134

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ART. XII.—*Two Edicts of Aššurbanipal.* By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A.

(a.)

THE following inscription is engraved (lines 1 to 49) on the back and (lines 50 to 81) on the left side of a stele of reddish stone brought from Babylon by Mr. Rassam, and now in the British Museum. The stele is rounded at the top, and on the face Aššurbanipal is represented in high relief in his tiara and royal robes, supporting on his head with his two hands an object which looks like a basket of woven reeds. The meaning of this attitude has been discussed in a learned paper by Mr. Evetts, and his conclusion is that the king is represented "in his capacity as priest carrying the instruments of sacrifice" (P.S.B.A. 1891). In the inscription the king, after setting forth his glory and titles, goes on to record how that he completed the work of restoration and adornment, which Esarhaddon his father had begun in Êsagila and the other temples of Babylon, that he brought back the image of Marduk, which in the reign of a former king (Sennacherib) had been carried away to Assyria, that he reorganized the public worship and other internal affairs of Babylon, and established his brother Šamašsumukin on the throne. Then he describes his restoration of Êzida, the temple of Nebo, and, after a prayer to the god for mercy and favour both for himself and for his brother, he winds up by invoking in the usual form the blessing or the curse of Nebo upon the future prince, according as he shall preserve or destroy this work in Êzida with the image and inscription.

The events here recorded must have taken place at the beginning of the reign of Aššurbanipal, probably in the year 668 B.C. For, according to the Babylonian chronicle

(B.VI. 33), Esarhaddon dying in the twelfth year of his reign, that is in 669, Aššurbanipal and Šamaššumukin ascended the throne, the former of Assyria, the latter of Babylon. And we learn from the same source (l.c. 34-36) that the return of Bel (that is, Marduk) and the gods to their ancient seats, which Aššurbanipal commemorates in our inscription, took place in the first year of the reign of Šamaššumukin.

The inscription is clearly and beautifully written, and the characters with few exceptions present the pure Babylonian form. The ends of a few of the lines on the back are almost obliterated, while nearly all those on the side are more or less defaced; but in every case certain restoration has been possible with the help of the closely parallel inscription on a companion stele, the cylinder of Abu Habba (V.R. 62, 1) and the cylinder published below.

The transliterated text of the inscription has been published with a Latin translation by C. F. Lehmann in his dissertation *De inscriptionibus cuneatis quae pertinent ad Šamaš-šum-ukin regis Babyloniae regni initia*, pp. 24-29.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, who kindly collated my copy with the original.

Text.

1. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
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8. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵

- [illegible]

30. 非人非人非人非人非人非人非人非人
31. 一一人一人一人一人一人一人一人
32. 非人非人非人非人非人非人非人非人
33. 一一人一人一人一人一人一人一人
34. 非人非人非人非人非人非人非人非人
35. 非人非人非人非人非人非人非人非人
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38. 非人非人非人非人非人非人非人非人
39. 非人非人非人非人非人非人非人非人
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 59. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 60. 𐎶 𐎶 [𐎶] 𐎶
 61. 𐎶 𐎶 [𐎶] 𐎶
 62. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 63. 𐎶 𐎶 [𐎶] 𐎶
 64. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
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 68. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
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 74. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
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 76. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
 77. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶

78. 79. 80. 81. *Transcription.*

1. a-na-ku Aššur-bân-aplu
2. šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur
3. [šar] kib-rat irbit-ti šar šarrâni
4. rubû la ša-na-an ša ina a-mat Aššur Šamaš
5. û Marduk ul-tu tam-tim ê-lit
6. [a]-di tam-tim šap-lit i-bê-lu-ma
7. [gi]-mir ma-lik u-šak-niš šê-pu-uš-šu
8. [za-nin] Ê-sag-ila ê-kal ilâni
9. [ša ki]-ma ši-ṭir bu-ru-mu u-nam-mir
10. šigar-šu û ša eš-ri-ê-ti ka-li-ši-na
11. ḫi-bil-ta-ši-na u-šal-lim ê-li kul-lat
12. ma-ḫa-zi u-kîn (ilu) Dul-lum ša ip-šê-ê-tu
13. êli kâl ilâni ṭabu êli šal-mat qaḫḫadu
14. du-šu-pat rê'-us-su apil Aššur-âḫâ-iddin
15. šar kiššati šar Aššur šakkânâku Bâbili
16. šar Šumêr û Akkadi mu-šê-šib Bâbili
17. ê-piš Ê-sag-ila mu-ud-diš eš-ri-ê-ti
18. kul-lat ma-ḫa-zi ša ina kir-bi-ši-na
19. iš-tak-kan si-ma-tê u sat-tuk-ki-[ši-n]a
20. ba]ṭ-lu-tu u-ki-nu par-ši ki-du-d[i-ê]
21. k]i-ma la-bi-rim-ma u-tir-ru a-[na]
22. aš-ri-šu-un bin-bin Sin-âḫî-irbâ šarru rabû šarru dan-nu
23. šar kiššati šar Aššur a-na-ku-ma bêlu rabû Marduk
24. ša ina pali-ê šarri maḫ-ri ina ma-ḫar
25. âbi bâ ni-i-šu u-ši-bu ina ki-rib
26. Aššur ina û-mê pali-ê-a ina ri-ša-a[-ti]
27. a-na Bâbili i-ru-um-ma sat-tuk-k[i]
28. Ê-sag-ila u ilâni Bâbili u-kîn
29. ki-din-nu-ti Bâbili aḫ-ṣur
30. aš-šu dan-nu a-na enšu la ḫa-ba-li
31. Šamaš-šum-ukîn âha ta-lim

32. a-na šarru-u-ti Bâbili ap-kiid
33. ina û-mê-šu-ma igâra Ê-zi-da
34. ša la-ba-riš il-lik-u-ma i-ni-š[u]
35. tim-me-en-šu ina pali-ê-a an-ĥu-us-s[u]
36. lu-diš-ma u-za-ak-ki-ir ĥur-sa-n[iš]
37. a-na šat-ti Na-bi-um bêlu ši-ru
38. ip-sê-tê-ia damĥâti ĥa-diš lippalis-ma
39. ia-a-ti Aššur-bân-aplu rubû pa-liĥ-šu
40. a-mat da-mi-iĥ-ti-ia liš-ša-kin šap-tuš-šu
41. balaĥ û-me ruĥûti sê-bi-ê lit-tu-tu
42. ĥu-ub šêri ĥu-ud lib-bi li-šim
43. ši-ma-ti išid kussî sarru-u-ti-ia
44. ki-ma šad-i li-šar-šid it-ti
45. šam-ê u irši-tim lu-kin pal-u-a
46. û ša Šamaš-šum-ukin
47. [šar] Bâbili âĥi ta-lim-ia û-mê-šu
48. l]i-ri-ku liš-bi bu-'a-ri
49. ma-]ti-ma ina aĥ-rat û-mê rubû arku-u
50. ša ina û-mê pali-šu
51. ši-pir šu-a-ti
52. in-na-ĥu
53. an-ĥu-us-su
54. lu-ud-diš ša-lam
55. šarru-ti-ia
56. li-mur-ma kisalla
57. lip-šu-uš niĥâ
58. liĥĥi it-ti
59. ša-lam-i-šu
60. li-[iš]-kun
61. ik-ri-bi-i-šu
62. Nabû i-šim-mê
63. ša šu-mê šat-ru
64. i-pa-aš-ši-ĥu
65. ša-lam šarru-ti-ia
66. i-ab-ba-tu
67. lu-u a-šar-šu
68. u-nak-ka-ru-ma
69. it-ti ša-lam-šu
70. la i-šak-kan
71. Na-bi-um
72. bêlu šur-bu-u

- 73. ag-gi-iš
- 74. lik-kil-mê-š^u-ma
- 75. kussû šarru-ti-š^u
- 76. li-ša-bal-kit-ma
- 77. li-dir be-lut-su
- 78. šum-š^u zêri-š^u ina mâtâti
- 79. li-ḫal-lik-ma
- 80. ai ir-ši-š^u
- 81. ri-ê-mu.

Translation.

- 1. I Aššurbanipal,
- 2. the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world),
king of Assyria,
- 3. king of the four regions, king of kings,
- 4. the prince without an equal, who at the command of Aššur,
Šamaš
- 5. and Marduk from the upper sea
- 6. to the lower sea rules, and
- 7. all princes has subdued under his feet,
- 8. who adorned Êsagila the palace of the gods,
- 9. (and) like the (starry) writing of the night sky caused its bolts
- 10. to shine, and of the temples all of them
- 11. their breaches restored, (who) over the whole
- 12. city established Dullum, whose works
- 13. towards all the gods are good, whose lordship over the black-
headed
- 14. is sweet; son of Esarhaddon,
- 15. king of the whole (world), king of Assyria, governor of Babylon,
- 16. king of Sumer and Akkad, who peopled Babylon,
- 17. builder of Esagila, restorer of the temples
- 18. of all cities, who within them
- 19. placed adornments, and their daily sacrifices
- 20. (which had) ceased revived, (and) the broken edicts
- 21. as of old brought back to
- 22. their places; grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the
mighty king,
- 23. king of the whole (world) king of Assyria am I. The great
lord Marduk,
- 24. who in the reign of a former king in the presence of
- 25. the father his begetter dwelt in the midst of

26. Assyria, in the days of my reign with rejoicing
27. into Babylon entered. Sacrifices of
28. Êsagila and of the gods of Babylon I established ;
29. the ordinances of Babylon I confirmed,
30. in order that the strong to the weak should do no harm ;
31. Šamaš-šum-ukin, (my) own brother,
32. to the kingship of Babylon I appointed.
33. In those days the wall of Êzida,
34. which had grown old, and whose foundations
35. had decayed, in my reign its ruins
36. verily I restored, and piled high like mountain-peaks.
37. For ever may Nebo the exalted lord
38. my good works joyfully look upon, and
39. for me, Aššurbanipal, the prince who fears him,
40. may a word of favour towards me be found in his lips ;
41. a life of long days, abundance of offspring,
42. health of body, joy of heart may he appoint
43. as (my) lot ; the foundation of the throne of my kingship
44. like a mountain may he establish ; with
45. heaven and earth may he firmly fix my reign !
46. And as for Šamaš-šum-ukin,
47. king of Babylon, my own brother, may his days
48. be long, may he be sated with gladness !
49. In the future, in afterdays, may the later prince,
50. in the days of whose reign
51. this work
52. may decay,
53. its ruins
54. restore ; the image
55. of my kingship
56. may he see, and the pavement
57. anoint, (and) a sacrifice
58. offer ; with
59. his own image
60. may he set it up :—
61. his prayers
62. shall Nebo hear.
63. (But) whosoever my name written
64. effaces,
65. the image of my kingship
66. throws down,

67. or its place
68. alters, and
69. with his (own) image
70. sets it not up,
71. may Nebo,
72. the great lord,
73. in anger
74. look upon him, and
75. the throne of his kingship
76. overthrow ;
77. may he blot out his lordship,
78. his name, his seed in (all) lands
79. may he destroy :—and
80. may he not grant him
81. grace !

NOTES.

9. *burumu*, 'blue,' or 'grey-blue,' is here used substantively as a name of the sky, and the literal meaning of *šitir burumu* is therefore not 'the blue writing,' but 'the writing on the blue,' that is, the characters formed by the constellations on the blue ground of the night-sky. See Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 6-8.
10. For *šigar* 'bolt,' Lehmann (l.c. p. 24) reads *rīša*, cacumen. Nebuchadnezzar (E.I.H. III. 49) speaks of adorning the *šigari* of the temple of Nebo at Borsippa with silver ; but the word is also used metaphorically of 'the gates of light.' Thus, in a hymn to the Sun (IV. R. 20, 2, 1 and 2) we read : *Šamaš ina išid šamē tappuḥamma šigar šamē ellūti tapti*, "O Sun, in the foundations of heaven thou hast dawned, the bolt of the glorious heavens thou hast opened."
11. and 12. *ēli kullat maḥazi ukīn Dullum* I propose to translate as it stands—'over the whole city I established the god Dullum, or the god of *work*,' and I take the meaning to be that the building and

restoring operations of the king were on such a scale that the presence and influence of the god seemed to pervade the whole town. Cf. VR. 62, 1, 15, *êli kullat maḥazi uṣatriṣi AN. DUL. LUM*, 'over the whole town I caused Dullum to extend.' The likeness between this phrase and the following words of line 6 of the cylinder-inscription of Sargon—*ša êli Harrana ṣulûlašu itruṣu*, 'who over Harran extended his shadow'—has apparently suggested the identification of $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ $\text{E}\text{E}\text{I}\text{I}$ and $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ EEI II ; but I know of nothing that supports such an equation. Cf. Harper and Craig in *Hebraica*, vol. ii. p. 88; Lehmann, *De Inscript.* p. 24, and Lyon, *Manual*, p. 74. If Dullum were really a god, he must have been one of the less important members of the pantheon, coming into prominence only on special occasions, like Kidudu, 'guardian of the wall,' who appears but once (Shalmaneser, Throne-inscription, III. 1), or the hypothetical Brick-god, with whom Harper and Craig (*Hebraica*, l.c.) propose to fill up the lacuna in VR. 62, 1, 17.

The phrase *ša ipṣētušu ṭābu* may refer either to the king or to Dullum. In the latter case it is possible that the meaning is 'whose works more than (those of) all the gods are good.' But, on the other hand, cf. IV. R. 12, 16, *šarru ša ipṣētušu êli Bêli u Bêlit ṭāba*. For the meaning 'work' here assigned to *dullum*, see Pinches in P.S.B.A. 1885, p. 150.

14. *dušupat* for *duššupat*, 3 sing. fem. permansive II. 1 from *dašāpu*, 'to be sweet.'
19. The rendering 'daily sacrifices' is conjectural; but that *sattukku* means a regularly recurring celebration or ceremony of some sort seems clear from the following gloss (83-1-18, 483+1372, Rev. 5), to which Mr. Pinches has directed my attention: $\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}$ $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ $\text{E}\text{E}\text{I}\text{I}$ $\text{E}\text{E}\text{I}\text{I}$ YY YY $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ *sa-an-tak-ku* = *ka-a-a-ni* ('regularly').

20. *parši kidudié* Lehmann (l.c. p. 26) translates by *iussa edicta*. Smith (*Sennacherib*, p. 140) interprets *kidudié* to mean 'sanctuaries,' and, in this case, if *parši* means 'commands,' 'the commands of the sanctuaries' must have been tablets inscribed with commands or edicts, which had fallen from their places in the sanctuaries and become broken and defaced. But if Ball's suggestion (P.S.B.A. 1888, p. 230) be adopted, that *paršu* itself means a 'sanctum, a separate abode,' then *parši* and *kidudié* must be parallel, and the whole phrase will mean 'the shrines, the sanctuaries (that is their ruins) I brought back to their places.'
25. 'The father his begetter' is Aššur, who on his own ground ranked as the king and father of all the gods.
29. *kidinnuti* Lehmann renders by '*servitutem*,' Lyon (doubtfully) by 'right, custom,' while Harper and Craig give 'priesthood.' I propose the rendering 'ordinances.'
48. It is probable that *bu'aru*, usually translated vaguely by 'glory, well-being,' literally meant the more material satisfaction of 'food' or 'fatness.' Cf. Heb. **בָּעַר** *deparit*, **בְּעִיר** *pecus a depascendo dictum*, also the use of *bu'uru* for the quarry in hawking. See P.S.B.A. 1884, pp. 57, 58, and Lotz's *Tiglathpileser*, p. 207.
56. *kisallu* evidently meant some part of a temple-building; but what part exactly is uncertain. It has been variously rendered by 'floor, platform, altar.' But the same character **𒌦𒍪** is also explained by *šamnu*, 'oil,' and, if that reading be adopted here, the meaning is that the king's image was to be anointed with oil, either as a religious ceremony or to cleanse it.
77. *kidir*. I refer to a root *adāru*, 'to afflict, to darken,' whence *na'duru*, *nanduru*, 'darkened,' *idirtu*, 'affliction.'

(b.)

Besides the stele just described, the British Museum contains another of the same shape and material, but somewhat larger. An effigy of the king in the same attitude is sculptured on the face; but in style and execution it is inferior to the other. The inscription, running in ninety-nine lines over the face, back and right side of the stele, is much mutilated; but, as before, most of the gaps can be filled up with certainty. The characters are large and finely cut, and the Assyrian influence is more marked than in the forms of the companion stele. With the exception of the following variants *Dul-lu* for *Dul-lum* in line 12 above, *du-uš-šu-pat* for *du-šu-pat* in line 14, *ma-ḥa-zu* for *ma-ḥa-zi* in line 18, and *ḥa-ba-lu* for *ḥa-ba-li* in line 30; it reproduces the former text word for word down to the end of line 32, that is, as far as the words *ana šarrāti Bābili apḫid*. It then continues as follows:

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8.

9. iron, (implements of) wood and (implements of) stone I made, and set
10. within it. And in those days Êkarzaginna,
11. the house of Êa, which is within Êsagila, anew
12. I caused to be built. May Êa, king of the abyss, this
13. work joyfully look upon, and as for me, etc.

From this point it simply reproduces the former inscription, from line 39 to the end, with the exception that Êa of course takes the place of Nebo in the invocations. Thus for *Nabium bêlu šurbu* in ll. 22, 23, we have Ê-a bêlu ši-i-ru.

The fragment above is remarkable in that it establishes the important fact that Êa also had a sanctuary of his own in Êsagila.

NOTES.

6. For a discussion of the etymology and meaning of *urkarînu*, see Ball in P.S.B.A. 1889, pp. 143-4. The exact nature of *meš-makanna*, that is, apparently, the *meš*-tree from *Makan*, is unknown. It is mentioned in the E.I.H. inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (II. 31, III. 41 and IX. 9), where it is variously read by Winckler (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III. 2) thus: *musu-kanna*, *musukkana*, and lastly *musikkana*. It is true we hear of the word *musikkanni*, sometimes also spelt *musukkanni*, *miskanni*, as being highly prized and used for building purposes (see e.g. *Aššurnāširpal*, *Standard Inscr.*, Sennacherib, *Taylor Cylinder*, I. 54); but it is an unproved assumption that this and *meš-makanna* are identical.

(c.)

The restoration of Êsagila and the elevation of Šamaššumukin to the throne of Babylon form the theme of yet another text of the same king in the British Museum (No.

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22.
23.
24.

Transliteration.

1. Aššur-bân aplu šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur
2. šar kib-rat irbit-ti šar šarrâni rubû la ša-na-an
3. ša ul-tu tam-tim ê-lit a-di tam-tim šap-lit i-bê-lu-ma
4. gi-mir ma-li-ki u šak-niš šê-pu-uš-šu
5. apil Aššur-âhâ-iddin-na šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati
šar Aššur
6. šakkânâku Bâbili šar Šumêr u Akkadi
7. bin-bin Sin-âhî-irba šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur a-na-
ku-ma
8. ši-pir Ê-sag-ila ša âbû ba-nu-u-a la u-ka-at-tu-u
9. a-na-ku u-šak-lil sat-tuk-ki Ê-sag-ila u ilâni Bâbili
10. u-ki-in ki-din-nu-tu Bâbili ak-šur
11. aš-šu dan-nu a-na enšu la ha-ba-li Šamaš-ukîn
12. âhû ta-li-mê a-na šarru-u-ti Bâbili ap-kið
13. ina û-mê-šu-ma Ê-tur-kalam-ma bît Ištar Bâbili
14. eš-šiš u-šê-piš Ištar Bâbili bêltu šir-tu
15. ip-šê-tê-ia damkâti ha-diš lip-pal-lis-ma
16. û-mê-šam-ma ma-ḥar Bêli bêlit-ia lit-taš-ḥar da-mê-ik-ti
17. balât û-mê rûkûti li-šim ši-ma-ti
18. [it]-ti šam-ê u irši-tim lu-ki-in palu-u-a
19. [u ša Šamaš]-ukîn šar Bâbili
20. [. û-mê-šu] li-ri-ku liš-bi lit-tu-tu
21. i-pa-aš-ši-tu
22. mu-šar-u-[a] i-ab-ba-tu lu-u a-šar-šu u-nak-ka-ru
23. Ištar Bâbili ina ma-ḥar bêli bêlti-ia limnuti-šu
24. lit-taš-ḥar šum-šu zêri-šu ina mâtâti li-ḥal-lik.

Translation.

1. Aššurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria,
2. king of the four regions, king of kings, the prince without an equal,
3. who from the upper sea to the lower sea rules, and
4. all princes has subdued under his feet,
5. son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria,
6. governor of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad,

7. grandson of Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria am I.
8. The work of Êsagila, which (my) father, my begetter, did not finish,
9. I completed; the (daily) sacrifices of Êsagila and the gods of Babylon
10. I established; the ordinances of Babylon I confirmed,
11. in order that the strong to the weak should not do harm.
Šamaš-ukîn
12. (my) own brother to the kingship of Babylon I appointed,
13. and in those days Êturkamma, the house of Ištar of Babylon,
14. anew I caused to be built. May Ištar of Babylon, the exalted lady,
15. my good works joyfully look upon, and
16. daily in the presence of Bel (and) my lady may she speak graciously,
17. a life of long days may she appoint as (my) lot,
18. with heaven and earth may she firmly fix my reign.
19. And as for Šamaš-ukîn, king of Babylon,
20. [my own brother, may his days] be long, may he have abundance of offspring!
21. [Whosoever my name written] effaces,
22. my tablet throws down, or its place alters,
23. may Ištar of Babylon in the presence of Bel (and) my lady evil against him
24. speak; his name, his seed in (all) lands may she destroy!

NOTES.

11. For a discussion of the form $\rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\langle\text{E}\rangle \rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\text{Y}$ *Šamaš-ukîn* (which also occurs in line 19 below) instead of the more usual *Šamaš-šum-ukîn*, see Lehmann, in Z.K. ii. p. 360 *sq.*
16. *Ištar* is evidently the subject of *littaškar* both here and in line 24, so that, if the rendering proposed above be correct, we have an exception to the rule laid down by Delitzsch (*Grammar*, § 84) that the *Ittāfal* has always a passive signification.