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Art. VII.—Assyrian Texts Translated

H. F. Talbot

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ART. VII.—*Assyrian Texts Translated.* By H. F. TALBOT, Esq.No. II.¹

INSCRIPTION OF SENNACHERIB,

Containing the Annals of the first eight Years of his Reign (B.C. 702 to 694), from an hexagonal Clay Prism found at Koyunjik (Nineveh), in 1830, and now in the British Museum.

THIS very important inscription is written on a cylinder in the British Museum, generally known as Taylor's Cylinder, from the name of its former possessor. For many years it was supposed to be lost, which would have been a great misfortune to archaeological science, since the only copy which had been made of it was a rubbing, or impression on paper, in the possession of Sir H. Rawlinson, which had become partly illegible from time. It was, however, at last discovered to be in private hands in London, and was purchased by the British Museum. The following is my translation of it :²—

SENNACHERIB the great king, the powerful king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four countries, the pious ruler (1), the worshipper of the great gods. [*The next two lines are obscure.*] The embellisher of public buildings (2), the noble hero (3), the strong warrior (4), the first of kings (5), the great punisher (6) of unbelievers (7) who are breakers of the holy decrees (8).

(1) ribitu (king or ruler), itpisu (pious).	(2) tsakhiru damgati.
(3) itli buli.	(4) zikaru gardu.
(6) rabbu lahit.	(7) la magiri.
	(8) mushipriku zamani.
-

¹ Received October 18th, 1859.

² The original text will be found in the new volume of inscriptions published by the British Museum, plates 37 to 42.

ASHUR the great lord (1), has given unto me (2) the throne of the world (3). Over all dwellers in every place (4) I have exalted (5) my warlike arms.

(1) bilu rabu.

(2) weshatlima annima.

(3) sarut lashanan. The meaning of the latter word is not yet made out.

(4) pa shalki.

(5) wesarba.

From the Upper Sea of the setting sun (*the Mediterranean*) unto the Lower Sea of the rising sun [*the Persian Gulf*] all (1) the chief men (2) I forced to bow down (3) as my slaves (4).

(1) gimri.

(2) nishat reshdu. nishat (men), reshdu (heads). *Head-men*, that is, kings. For the parallel passage on the bull has *malki sha kiprati*, kings of the countries.

(3) weshaknis.

(4) shabua. *Shab* is a slave, Hebrew שָׁבִי and the verb שָׁבָה fut. יָשָׁב. Thence, shabua, *my slave*, like abua, *my father*. Another inscription replaces *weshaknis shabua* by *ebit abshani*, a phrase of identical import. *Ebit*, I compelled to serve (servire feci, subjugavi) *abshani*, as my slaves.

And the kings, who were heretics (1), fled from my attack (2). They flew from their towns (3) like frightened birds. They were scattered singly (4) (*or alone*) to places of safety (5).

(1) shipsut. (2) eduru takhazi. (3) sharumi sun etzibu. (4) edish.

(5) This is the end of the *proœmium* or introduction, containing *general* praises of the king. His annals now commence. (*See Additional Notes at the end of the paper. Note A.*)

THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN.

At the beginning of my reign I destroyed the forces of Merodach Baladan, king of Karduniash, and the army of (1) Nuva-ki, his allies, in the neighbourhood (2) of the city of Kush. In the midst of that battle he quitted (3) his army. He fled alone (4) from the field and saved (5) his life.

(1) Susiana is generally called Nuva-ki, or the land of Nuva, but sometimes it is called Elamti (Elamitis of the Greeks—Elam of Scripture).

(2) or, in the *plains* of Kush (tamirti).

(3) etzib.

(4) edish.

(5) ekhir *salvavit*. Perhaps, however, the line should be translated "he fled from the field, but thereby saved life alone."

His chariots and his horses, his waggon and his mares, which in the conflict (1) of battle he had abandoned (2), I captured (3). His palace in the city of Babylon I plundered (4) completely (5). I broke open (6) his treasury (7). The gold and silver, and the vessels of gold and silver, with precious stones called *agarta*, and other goods and treasures beyond number plentiful (8). And the . . . of his palaces, his noblemen and his . . . his slaves, male and female, all his friends and guards, and all of rank and distinction in his palace, all those I carried away and distributed them as a spoil.

(1) *yekrup.*

(2) *wemisharu.*

(3) *iksuda suti-ya, I seized with my hands.*

(4) *erumma.*

(5) *khatish.*

(6) *apti, from patah, to open, Hebrew פתח*

(7) *Bit Nitsirti.* The *nitsirti* are the chief treasures of the king, sometimes his *regalia*. The etymology is probably from נִיזְנִי *nezer* or *nitzir*, a royal crown : consecrated, as well as the wearer of it. See Gesenius, p. 658. *Agarta* may be a diminutive from *Hagar*, a stone, and may be a general expression for *precious stones*.

(8) *la niba kabittu.*

In the name (1) of Ashur my lord, 76 large cities (2) and royal residences of the land of Chaldæa, and 420 smaller towns belonging to them, I took and destroyed and carried away their spoil. The artificers, both Aramæans and Chaldæans, who were in the cities of Kabal, Bel, Kush, Karrishun, Tigga, and the district of the Euphrates, and the common (3) people of the land who were able-bodied (4), I carried away and distributed as a spoil.

(1) *emuk.*

(2) The first sign י I take to mean *sixty*.

(3) י > > > may mean small people, common people. (See note B.)

(4) *Bel khiddi*, capable of labour, able-bodied, from Hebrew כָּד *khad*, to work at hard labour; graviter, operose laboravit fabrurum instar. (Ges. 465.) The sense of the passage, however, is extremely doubtful.

During my return (1) I captured or destroyed the following rebellious (2) tribes : the Tumuna, Rikiku, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malaku, Gurumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambuli, Khindaru, Ruhua, Bukudu, Khamranu, Khagaranu (3), Nabatu (4), Lihutahu, and the Aramu (5).

(1) *tayarti*. The etymology of this word is rather obscure, but probably from Hebrew *יָרַד* *yarad*, descendere, revenire.

(2) *la kansut*. N.B.—There is, perhaps, an error in the text, the sign *kan* appears to be misprinted.

(3) The Hagarenes, a name connected with the biblical Hagar?

(4) The Nabathæans, mentioned by classical authors.

(5) The Aramæans. The name of the whole nation stands last, and of course comprises all the preceding. I would translate, therefore: "the Tumuna tribe, &c. and all the other tribes of the Aramæans."

208,000 people, small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep without number (1), a vast spoil (2), I carried off to Assyria.

(1) *la nibi*.

(2) *shallatu kabittu*.

EVENTS OF THE FIRST YEAR.

In my first year (1), a certain man called "Nebo lord (2) of names," chief of Ararat (3), brought a gift of gold and silver, meshukanni wood of great size, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep. His great present I received.

(1) The preceding events took place in "the beginning of his reign," which was part of the last year of the preceding reign, according to the Assyrian mode of reckoning.

(2) A great many kings and princes were named after Nebo. His oracle seems to have been consulted before naming a child. We shall see in the course of this inscription that a son of Merodach Baladan was called Nebo m'ishkun, or "Nebo gave the name," and we read on the cylinder of Neriglissar that the father of that monarch had a similar name.

(3) Hararti. A district of Armenia, spelt Urarda in most of Sargon's inscriptions.

The people of the city of Khismi (or Khirimi) who were enemies and heretics, I put to death. Not one of them escaped (1). I stuck up their heads (2) on stakes (3). The whole of the city I destroyed (4).

(1) The corresponding passage on the Bellino cylinder (line 19) is still more emphatic. *Napishtu val etzib*—not one soul escaped. (See note C.)

(2) *khuri sun*—their heads. I think we have here the true etymology of the Hebrew word *khuri* or *khurim* (noblemen), see Gesenius, p. 365. Similarly *chef*

in old French meant "the head," but now a chief or leader. I cannot admit Parkhurst's etymology of the *khurim*, from their wearing *white* dresses, nor is Gesenius much more satisfactory.

(3) *in gapni*. The passage is rather obscure.

(4) *weshalmi*. This I believe is the *causative* or *sha* conjugation of *almi*, I destroyed.

That city I built again. One bull, ten sheep, ten *ku* (1), twenty *kali marishati-su* (2), to the gods of Assyria my lords, as a sacrifice of expiation, I slew (3).

(1) Illegible here; but the inscription on one of the bulls has *Ku*. Bellino seems to have *Du*.

(2) The Bellino cylinder agrees in the name of these animals, which means "strong-heads." (See note D.)

(3) It was usual when a new city was founded to offer sacrifices to the gods. But in this instance it was especially needful because the new city had to be purged from the taint of heresy.

EVENTS OF THE SECOND YEAR.

In my second year, Ashur my lord giving me his support, I made an expedition against the Bisi and the Yassubi-galla (1), who from old time had never submitted to the kings my fathers. In passing through the thick forests (2) and over the hilly districts (3), I rode on horseback (4), for I had left (5) my two-horse chariot (6) in the plains below (7).

(1) Or, greater Yassubi.

(2) *kharsani*, from *kharsa*, a forest; nearly the same as the Hebrew חֲרָשׁ *kharsa*, *sylva densa*, and חֲרָשָׁא *khursha*, which has the same meaning (Ges. 376) I see that this etymology has already been given by Dr. Hincks, in Layard's "Assyria," p. 117.

(3) *asib namratsi*, hilly districts, sites, or places.

(4) *aredu*. The radical syllable is *red*. It belongs, no doubt, to the Indo-Germanic family of languages. Compare the German *reiten*, to ride.

(5) *weshassi*.

(6) *Rakab niri-ya*. Probably a chariot similar to the Roman *biga* and Greek *διφρος*. It was used also by the Egyptians, vide the restoration of one in one of the plates of Wilkinson's "Egypt."

(7) *in tikkati*, from the Hebrew *takati* תַּקַּתִּי *loca inferiora*, which comes from *takat*, below, beneath.

But in dangerous places (1) I alighted (2), and went on foot with great activity.

(1) ashru (places), rusuku (dangerous).

(2) attakhits. At first I supposed this verb to be the same as the common word *amtakhiz* (I fought), and that *rimanish* meant "like a common foot-soldier," from *ramani*, soldiers. But there is no question of fighting in the passage now under consideration. The king speaks of the natural obstacles he encountered, not of opposition from the enemy. *Attakhits* means "I descended," or "got down," from a verb *takhit*, to descend, root *takhat*, Hebrew תַּחַת below, beneath. This interpretation acquires certainty from the following parallel passage in this inscription, col. III, 77: Ashar ana guza rusuku in nir-ya ashtakkitt. — "In places dangerous for my palanquin I alighted on foot."

It remains to inquire the meaning of the adverb *rimanish*? It is very uncertain. Yet, considering that in the parallel passage, III, 77, the king having alighted to his feet climbs upward most actively, *kima armi* (like a mountain goat), I think that *rima-nish* may stand for *armi-nish*, euphoniæ causâ, and may therefore mean "like an *armi*."

The cities of Beth Kilamzakh, Kar-Thisbe, and Beth Kubitti, with other strong forts, I took and destroyed.

The inhabitants, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep from that country I carried away and distributed as a spoil. The smaller towns, without number (1), I destroyed, overthrew, and reduced to ruins (2).

(1) sha niba la yeshu, quarum numerum non fecerunt, or non noverunt?

(2) weshami karmi.

Beth Gabir (1) their *mutari* and *mushabi* (2), with fire I burnt and utterly destroyed it (3).

(1) The Great Temple?

(2) Two words not yet explained. The inscription on the bull omits the latter word, and only has, Beth gabir, their *tari*.

(3) *dirilish weshami*, in this inscription. But the Bellino Cylinder has *dirilish weshali*. This may mean "I plundered;" Gesenius says that שָׁל occurs sometimes for שָׁלַח spoliavit.

Once more (1) I rebuilt that city of Beth Kilamzakh into a strong fortress. Beyond what it was in former days, I strengthened (2) its citadel. Men from lands conquered by me (3) in that place I caused to dwell.

(1) wetaru. rursûs, iterum.

(2) wedammîn.

(3) kisitti suti ya.

The people of Bisi and Yassubi-galla, who had fled before my army, I brought back (1) from the hills, and in the cities of Kar Thisbe and Beth Kubitti I caused them to dwell (2). And I placed them under the authority of my secretaries, who were magistrates (or noblemen) of the city Arrapkha.

(1) Or, I brought away, *wesharidamina*; composed of *wesharida* deduxi, I brought down, and *amma*, away.

(2) *wesharsib*. I believe this is only a broader pronunciation of *weshasib*, I caused to dwell.

I made a marble tablet and I wrote upon it (1) the glorious actions which I had performed there, and in the centre of the city I set it up.

(1) *tsirussu weshashdhiru*.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot (1), and I marched (2) straight (3) before me to the land of Illipi.

(1) *pan niri-ya wetaru*. This phrase occurs very often, and is always followed by a complete change in the campaign, the king moving off his army in a different direction.

Pan is the front. *Nir* is the two-horse chariot in which the king rode. *Wetaru*, I turned. This verb must not be confounded with the adverb *wetaru* (again), although they are etymologically closely connected.

(2) *ashzabit*.

(3) *kharranu illamua*. When the king marches direct on an object, without stopping by the way, he generally employs this phrase. *kharranu* (straight) *illamua* (before me).

Ispabara (1), their king, abandoned (2) his fortresses and his treasury (3), and fled to a distance. I swept (4) away all (5) his land like a mighty whirlwind (6).

(1) This name probably means "the horseman."

(2) *wemasshiru*.

(3) *beth nitsirti su*.

(4) *ashkup*.

(5) *kimri*.

(6) *im*, or *yem*, denotes wind, storm, hurricane. It is here joined to *kabta*, mighty.

The cities of Marupishti and Akkupardu (1), his royal residences, and thirty-four smaller cities of their jurisdiction, I took and destroyed, and burnt them with fire. The inhabitants, small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep, abundantly (2) I carried away (3), and I distributed (4) them as a spoil unto my noblemen and other chief people (5).

(1) Or Akkuddu?

(2) ana laminam.

(3) ashlulamma, composed of *ashlula*, I seized or took, and *amma*, away.

(4) weshalik, from *ללק* to divide the spoil, which was usually done by lot (Gesenius, p. 344).

(5) la basie, non ignobiles; the meaning of the phrase is, however, very uncertain.

I diminished (1) his territory. I cut off from his land (2) the great cities of Yatsirtu (3) and Kummakli, together with the smaller towns belonging to them. And also the province (4) of Beth Barru (5) throughout the whole of it (6). And I added (7) them to the empire (8) of Assyria.

(1) wetzakhir matsu. (See note E.)

(2) valtu kireb matsu abratu. From *פרך* *parad*, to cut off or break off. Gesenius says "rumpendo separavit."

(3) In the name of this city I think we should read *ya*, instead of the first *tsi*.

(4) nagu.

(5) The house of Barru, evidently a great chief in some former time. So Samaria was called the capital of the province of Beth Kumri, or the house of Omri.

(6) ana gimirti su.

(7) weraddi.

(8) eli mitsir, to the empire, dominion, or supreme authority. From *tsir* supra, *mitsir* superior.

The city of Ilbelzash (1) I took (2) for the chief city and capital (3) of those districts (4). I abolished (5) its former name (6), and I gave it the name (7) of the City of Sennacherib. People of the countries subdued by me (8) therein I placed to dwell. And I put them under the authority of my secretaries, magistrates (or noble-

men) of the city Karkar. I also granted to it an extension of its territory (9).

(1) Or Ilatzash.	(2) ashbit.
(3) ir sarti u dannat.	(4) nagie suatu.
(5) wenakkir.	(6) sumu su makhra.
(7) attabi nibitzu.	(8) kisitti sut-ya.
(9) werappish mati.	
-

During my (1) return, the inhabitants of the more distant Media, who in the days of the kings my fathers no one had ever heard even the name of their country (2), brought me their rich presents, which I received. And I caused them to bow down to the yoke of my majesty (3).

(1) in tayarti ya.

(2) mamman la ishmu zigir matsun.

(3) The account here given of the events of the first two years, closely resembles that contained in Bellino's Cylinder: for the translation of which see vol. xviii, page 76. Some things are omitted, especially the elevation of Belibus to the throne of Babylon.

EVENTS OF THE THIRD YEAR.

[The third year of Sennacherib was the most important period of his reign, since it was then he undertook his celebrated war against Hezekiah, king of Judah. The account we find of it on this cylinder is not exempt from difficulties and obscurities.

There exists another account on one of the bulls found at Nineveh. The inscription on this was copied by Mr. Layard, and has been translated and explained with great sagacity by Dr. Hincks (see Layard's "Nineveh," p. 143). But it is much more defaced and obliterated than the inscription on the present cylinder, with which it agrees in all essential particulars.]

In my third year I advanced in hostile array against the land of the Khatti (1). Luliah, king of Sidon (for the great terror (2) of my

majesty had quite overwhelmed (3) him), had fled to a distant (4) island in the sea. I subjugated his land (5).

(1) Syria. There is a misprint in the text. We should read *lu allik*, "I advanced," as in col. 1, line 66. The inscription on the bull is correct, it has

lu, and not *ki*.

(2) bulkhi milammi.

(3) eskhubu su. From שִׁכַּב *shub*, prostravit, in Hiphil; prostratus est, in Hoph. (Ges. 1002.)

(4) ana rukki. The island was probably Cyprus.

(5) matsu ebit. (See note F.)

The cities of Sidon the greater, Sidon the lesser, Beth Zitti (*the city of olives*), Sarepta, Makhalliba (1), Husu (2), Ecdippa (3), and Akko (4), all his great cities, and his fortresses, and chief towns (5) (for terror of the arms (6) of Ashur had overwhelmed (7) them), submitted to me (8) most humbly (9).

(1) This city I suspect to be the same with the Makhallata of Ashurakhbal's inscriptions.

(2) Or Husuva.

(3) Of the classical authors, but called in the Book of Joshua and in our present inscription Akzib.

(4) אֶכְכּוֹ of the LXX. *Akka* of the Arabs, now St. Jean d'Acre, or simply Acre.

(5) Should we not read, beth *rattati* su? it is a word of frequent occurrence.

(6) rarubi esku.

(7) eskhubu sunuti.

(8) yeknusu.

(9) shabua, literally "as my slaves," שָׁבִי a slave.

I placed Tubal on the throne as king over them. A fixed tribute to my majesty, an honorary (1) one and not oppressive, I imposed upon him.

(1) shatti u la matlu. The sense is doubtful. *matlu* may be coined money, from מַטָּל *cadere*.

Then (1) Menahem, king of Samaria, Tubal, king of Sidon, Abdilut (2), king of Arvad, Uruski, king of Gubal, Mitinti, king of

Ashdod, Buduel, king of Beth Ammon (3), Kammutsu-natbi, king of and Yorammi (4), king of Edom.

(1) Sha.

(2) His name may mean, "Servant of the goddesses." We find in Plautus, *alonim* (gods), *alonuth* (goddesses). Similarly, if I mistake not, *ilu*, were gods, and *ilut*, goddesses.

A name similar to this is found in Josephus, Ἀβδηλεμος, from *ilimu*, the gods, a word which occurs sometimes in the cuneiform inscriptions; *ex. gr.*, *ki bitem ilimu*, by the will or decree of the gods. Compare also the name of Abdalonymus, from *alonim*, gods.

(3) This may be rendered, the children of Ammon, or the house of Ammon.

(4) "The Moon is my support." Yo, or Io, was the goddess of the moon among the Assyrians. She became the Io of Grecian mythology. A very similarly constructed, although a different name, is that of Jehoram, or Joram, king of Judah, which means, Jah (or Jehovah) is my support.

The kings of the land of Martu (1), all of them brought (2) their splendid gifts and wealth (3) unto my majesty (4). And they kissed (5) my yoke.

(1) Phoenicia. Literally the West Country.

(2) issunu. See note EE.

(3) shasu.

(4) ana tsiri-ya.

(5) issiku, nir-ya, from *nassik* שָׁסַק future *isik* יִשָּׁק (Ges. 693.) The verb is used especially *de osculo quo victi victori fidem et obsequium promittunt*. The kiss of submission and promise of future fidelity. (Ges. *ibid.*)

And after this Zedekiah, king of Ascalon, who had not bowed down to my yoke; the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of his father's house, I carried them all (1) away, and brought (2) them to Assyria. Sarlupri, son of Rukipti, their former king, I placed in authority over the men of Ascalon. A fixed gift (3) of (4) I imposed on him, to make him my vassal.

(1) assukha amma, I carried away.

(2) werash-su.

(3) nadan tikun.

(4) katie belluti-ya, images of my majesty? coin of the empire? perhaps from the root *kat* כָּטַע cudit, percussit.

During the advance of my army (1), the cities of Beth Dagon, Joppa, Banaya-barka, and Atzuru (2), cities of Zedekiah which had

not bowed down to my imperial yoke, I destroyed entirely, and carried away their spoil.

(1) in mitik girri-ya.

(2) Asher?

The priests, princes, and people of Amgarrun (1) had seized Padiab, their king, the friend and ally (2) of Assyria, and had loaded him with chains of iron (3), and had delivered him up (4) to Hezekiah, king of Judah, and had behaved in a hostile manner (5) against the Deity (6) himself in the folly of their hearts (7).

(1) Ekron? *Ακκαρων* of the LXX.

(2) This translation is conjectural. The inscription on the bull omits the second clause, which I have rendered "and ally."

(3) biritu almas iddu.

(4) iddinu su.

(5) nakrish.

(6) Against Ashur apparently; perhaps by destroying his images or defiling his altars.

(7) eblukh libba sun, בלק *balak*, inanis (Ges. 153). The translation is merely conjectural.

The kings of Egypt, and the archers and chariots and horses of the king of Ethiopia, beyond all number (1), collected (2) together, and came (3) to their assistance (4).

(1) emuki la nibi. (*See note G.*)

(2) iktirunu.

(3) illiku.

(4) ritzut-tzun.

In the plains (1) of the city of Altaku, in front (2) of me they pitched their camp (3). I despised their (4) weapons. In the arms (5) of Ashur my lord I fought with them, and I destroyed their army.

(1) tamirti.

(2) illamua.

(3) sitru meshkunu. *See note FF.*

(4) weshailu eskuti sun.

(5) kuti.

The chief men in chariots, and the sons of the king of Egypt, and the chief men in chariots of the king of Ethiopia, I took alive in the battle. The cities of Altaku and Tamna (1) I utterly destroyed, and carried away their spoil.

(1) The name of this city signifies "the South," which agrees very well with its situation on the southernmost border of Palestine.

I then advanced to the city of Amgarrun. The priests and the princes who had rebelled and were (1) heretical, I slew. On stakes (2) around all the city (3) I stuck up their heads (4). The common people of the city (5) I reduced to slavery.

(1) weshipsu.

(2) *dimti*. This word is half effaced, but can be restored from the Annals of Ashurakhbal, Col. II. 19.

(3) sikhirti ir.

(4) khuri sun.

(5) See note H.

Then I brought back (1) Padiah, their king, from the midst of Jerusalem, and I placed him once more upon the throne. I imposed upon him a tribute payable to my majesty. Then Hezekiah, king of Judah, who had not bowed down to my yoke, forty-six of his large cities, and smaller towns belonging to them without number, in the fury of my vengeance (2) I utterly destroyed.

(1) weshaza amma.

(2) Lines 15 and 16 contain a description of his vengeance, but it is so obscure that I am obliged to omit it.

Two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty persons, small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep, without number, from the midst of them I carried away (1) and distributed them as a spoil. He himself, like a fugitive bird (2), shut (3) himself up in his royal city Jerusalem.

(1) weshaza amma.

(2) kima khu kuppi. The Hebrew עוף which for a reason presently to be explained, we may venture to transcribe *ghup* or *ghuph*, denoted a wing, and thence birds, or the feathered tribes in general. The Assyrian language employs a great number of words which in Hebrew commence with the letter *Ain* ע and invariably, as far as I have observed, represents the *Ain* by a simple vowel, such as a short *e*, or at most by an aspirated vowel *hē*. This word *kuppi* seems, however, to be an exception to this rule. The great authority of Gesenius, p. 746, informs us that עוף a wing, and כנף *canph*, a wing, are probably derived from the same source. If so, we must suppose that *canph* became *caph*, or *cuph*, by rapid pronunciation (something in the same way as *ben*, a son, gives *bath*, a daughter, and not *banth*, the N being absorbed).

Kuppi, or *Kupapi*, winged. The reduplication of the P is also found in the Hebrew *ghupap* עופף volavit (Ges. 746). But see note DD.

(3) I think there is an error in the text, and that we should read *ezirsu*, he shut himself up, because that phrase occurs very often of kings who are besieged in their cities by the Assyrian monarchs. The sign *zir* has I think become *bu* by mistake.

He built towers of defence (or battlements) over it, and he strengthened and rebuilt the bulwarks of his great gate (1).

(1) From the whole of this passage I think it may be concluded that the siege of Jerusalem was not attempted by Sennacherib. (*See note I.*)

In the meanwhile, the cities which I had sacked, I finally cut off from his dominions (1), and I gave them (2) to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padiah, king of Amgarrun, and Ismi Bel (3), king of Gaza.

(1) valtu kireb matsu abratu.

(2) attanu.

(3) Similar names are Ismi Dagon (an ancestor of Tiglath Pileser I.), and perhaps the biblical Ishmael.

Thus I diminished his country (1). And in addition to the former tribute, and the land-gift (or land-tax), I augmented (2) the tribute of (3), and imposed this burden upon them. As to Hezekiah himself, the dreadful terror (4) of my power had overwhelmed (5) him.

(1) wetzakhir matzu. Here the bull reads wetzakhin matsu. (*See note J.*)

(2) weraddi.

(3) katrie belluti-ya, images of my majesty? perhaps some description of *coined money*.

(4) bulkhi milammi belluti ya.

(5) eskhubusu.

Then I seized and carried off all his artificers, and all the other whom he had collected in order to fortify Jerusalem, with thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, scarlet robes, *precious stones?* royal *thrones?* made of ivory (1), palanquins of ivory (2) for travelling, skins and teeth of elephants, beautiful (3) precious woods of two kinds, altogether a vast treasure (4). And also his daughters, and the *female inhabitants?* of his palace, and their men slaves and women slaves.

(1) *Ka*, ivory: literally *dens* (*i.e. elephantis*).

(2) guza nimidi. See Col. IV. 8, where the king travels in one, up a steep mountain.

(3) sutaksu.

(4) nitsirta kabitta. (*See note K.*)

This mighty spoil, unto Nineveh my royal city, after me I brought away (1). And he swore a solemn oath (2) to pay tribute to me (3), and to do homage to me in future (4).

- (1) arka-ya weshabilamma, composed of *weshabil*, I brought, *amma*, away.
 (2) ishbura shalbu su. (See note L.)
 (3) ana nadan mandatti.
 (4) u epish arduti.

EVENTS OF THE FOURTH YEAR.

In my fourth year, Ashur my lord giving (1) me confidence, I assembled my brave soldiers (2), and I gave the command to advance (3) against Beth Yakina (4).

- (1) wetakkil annima.
 (2) ummanati-ya gashati atki.
 (3) alaku akbi. *Akbi*, I gave the word, *alaku*, to march, advance, or attack. Or perhaps *alaku* is in the imperative mood, *ite in hostes!* advance against the enemy! The syntax will then be, "I gave the word of command—*attack!*"
 (4) A great country of Lower Chaldæa near the sea.

During the advance of my army, Susubi the Chalybæan, who dwelt within the river Agammi, assailed me at Bittutu; but I overthrew (1) his army. He himself (2), quite terrified (3) at the fierceness (4) of my attack (5) on him (6), lost heart (7), and like a mountain goat (8) (or antelope), he fled alone (9), and his hiding-place could not be found (10).

(1) ashtakan.	(2) suhu.
(3) emkutu.	(4) kharbasu.
(5) takhazi ya.	(6) eli su.
(7) itruku libbu su. (See note M.)	
(8) atzari or atshari, often written <i>etzuri</i> . From <i>atz</i> אֶץ a goat, and <i>tzuri</i> צֹר a rock: goat of the rocks, <i>rupicapra</i> in Latin.	
(9) edish ipparsidu.	
(10) val innamir ashar su.	

I then turned round the front of my chariot (1), and I marched (2) straight against the land of Beth Yakina. Then Merodach Baladan himself, whose army I had conquered in my first campaign (3), now fled (4) before (5) the warlike shouts (6) of my powerful army, and the shock of my fierce attack (7).

(1) pan niri-ya wetaru.

(2) ashzabit kharranu.

(3) in alak girri-ya makhrie.

(4) ethuru.

(5) illat.

(6) tzurikim. צִרִיךְ *tzurakh*, clamor bellicus (Ges. 875).

(7) tib takhazi-ya itzi.

His gods and his women he collected (1), and transported (2) them in ships, and crossed (3) over with the greatest speed (4) to the country of Nagiti-rakkin, which is in the sea.

(1) itki.

(2) wesharkipu, he caused them to be conveyed. *Rakab* is to carry in a ship, chariot, or any other vehicle. Thence the *causative* conjugation is *wesharkab*, I caused to be conveyed.

(3) eppashak. From *pasach* פָּסַח to cross over.

(4) itzurish—literally, like an *itzuri*, or mountain goat, which is the standard of comparison whenever speed and flight are wished to be denoted.

His brothers, the race of his father's house, whom he had abandoned (1) on the seashore (2), and the best men of his land I carried off (3) from the land of Beth Yakina, beyond the river Agammi (4), and distributed them as a spoil.

(1) wemasharu.

(2) akhi yobba.

(3) weshaza amma.

(4) *u apparati* is added in the text.

Once more (1) I destroyed his cities and reduced them to ruins, and to the king of (2) Susa, who harboured (3) him, I caused terror.

(1) wetaru, adv. iterum.

(2) Text "the Susian," i.e. the king of Susa.

(3) bel salmi, (*qui fuit ei*) dominus salutis. The translation here is conjectural.

On my return (1) I placed upon his (2) throne Ashur-nadan-mu (3), my eldest (4) son, who was brought up (5) in my camp (6). The whole of the land of Leshan and Akkadi (7) I bestowed (8) upon him.

(1) in tayarti ya.

(2) i.e., that of the fallen king Merodach Baladan.

(3) i.e., "Ashur gave the name," or "Ashur gave a gift."

(4) tar reshtu.

(5) tarbit.

(6) birki ya.

(7) Mesopotamia.

(8) weshagil panussu.

EVENTS OF THE FIFTH YEAR.

In my fifth year I made war on the people (1) of the Tochari—Sharum, Etzama, Kipsu, Kalbuda, Kua, and Kana—who had built their dwellings (2), like the nests (3) of birds, upon the highest summits (4) and lofty (5) crags (6) of Nypûr mountain, and would not bow down to the yoke (7).

(1) bakhulati. The name of this warlike people, the Tochari, still remains in the modern Tocharistan, whose chief city is Balkh.

(2) subat tzun meshkunat.

(3) kima kinnit khu—like the nests of birds. From the Hebrew *kin*, a nest **יֵן** which also came to mean (exactly as in our text) a human habitation perched like a bird's nest on a lofty and almost inaccessible cliff. Gesenius says: *domicilium in altâ rupe exstructum instar nidi aquilini*; quoting the following passages of Scripture, Numb. xxiv. 21, Jer. xlix. 16, Obad. iv., Hab. ii. 9.

(4) asharat khudi. They are called *thudi* in Col. IV. 4.

(5) tsir.

(6) shukti.

(7) u la yeknusu ana niri.

At the foot of Nypûr I pitched (1) my camp? and with the help of some *chiefs*? (2) who had submitted (3) to me, followed by my fierce soldiers who knew no mercy (4), like (5) I marched at their head (6).

(1) karassi weshashkin.

(2) Or perhaps *guides* (gurbut).

(3) nir-ya nashkut—literally, who had kissed my yoke—from *nassik* to kiss,

especially any emblem of the king's authority, in token of complete submission to him.

(4) *la gamilut*. Latin "immites."

(5) *kima amikdi*.

(6) *panussun ashbit*.

Over the *peaks*? (1) and high (2) cliffs of the mountain (3), and across wild torrents (4), I advanced (5) in my palanquin (6). But in places which were dangerous (7) for my palanquin, I descended (8) to my feet.

(1) *kharrinu*, may be from קרן *karn*, cornu, vertex montis (Isaiah v. 1).

(2) *kalli natkhu*. The latter word may mean *prærupta*, broken places; from Hebrew נתק or else from נתק

(3) *mati*.

(4) *milie marsuti*.

(5) *ashtadik*. I think it is the T conjugation from *etik* or *etitik*. (See note N.)

(6) *in guza*.

(7) *ashar ana guza rusuku*.

(8) *ashtakkit*, from *takkit*, down; Hebrew תחת *takhat*, below, beneath.

And then I climbed (1) like a mountain goat (2) among those lofty (3) cliffs.

(1) *eli tsirussun*. *eli* (I climbed) *tsirussun* (upon them).

(2) *kima armi*. *Arna* is a mountain goat in Syriac (Ges. 99, *capra silvestris*). Here M is used for N. Among the animals caught and collected by Ashurakhbal there is frequent mention of these *armi*.

(3) *ana shukti shakuti*.

[Lines 79 and 80 are very obscure. The account then continues—]

I hunted (1) them over the mountain summits (2) which were covered with forests. I destroyed all their soldiers (3), and I overthrew (4) their cities. I carried off their spoil, and I destroyed them and burnt them with fire.

(1) *ardi sunuti*, I pursued them.

(2) *sutzi*. This word is used in the Annals of Ashurakhbal as a synonym of *hubanat* (mountain summits).

(3) *ashtakan takta sun*.

(4) *ekshatu*.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot (1), and I marched straight (2) against (3) Maniah, king of Ukku (4), the monarch of the rebellious (5) Dahæ (6).

(1) pan niri-ya wetaru.

(2) ashzabit kharranu.

(3) tsir.

(4) Ukku meant only "the great city," or the capital of the kingdom. It is the Scythian or Median word *ukku* (great). See Norris, Scythian Version of the Behistun Inscription.

(5) la kansha.

(6) The Dahæ are often spoken of by the classical authors. This is the earliest mention of them anywhere.

Through mountains (1) that were pathless (2), and over lofty summits (3), where, on account (4) of the craggy rocks (5), none ever went (6) before (7) me, of all the kings who reigned in former days (8).

(1) *Urkki*, usually written *arkhi*.

(2) la pittuti.

(3) thudi pashkuti.

(4) la pan.

(5) *mati*? or *pili*? *marsuti*.

(6) mamman la illiku.

(7) vallanu-ya, before me. It means nearly the same as illamu-ya.

(8) pani makhruṭi.

At the foot of Anorra (1) and Arpa (2), two strong hill-fortresses, I pitched my camp (3).

(1) I cannot refrain from offering a conjecture, that this strong hill-fortress was no other than the celebrated Aornos, besieged many ages afterwards by Alexander the Great. The Greeks may easily have slightly altered the name to give it the meaning of a rock so high that even birds could not reach its summit!

(2) Or Uppa?

(3) karassi weshashkin.

Then I in my travelling palanquin (1), along with my gallant warriors, bent on plunder (2), climbed laboriously to those difficult heights (3).

(1) guza nimidi.

(2) shalalut, from שָׁלַל

(3) in niribi-sun pikuti, in steep ascents: sukhar erumma [the sense of this is doubtful]; martsish (laboriously) etilla (I ascended) sutzi (the summits) mati pashkati (of lofty hills). *Etilla* is probably the T conjugation of *eli* to ascend.

Then Maniah himself was alarmed (1) at the *fierceness?* (2) of my army. He fled (3) from Ukkū, his royal city, and went to a great distance from it. I took and destroyed the city of Ukkū, and carried off its spoil, which was very precious (4). And the goods, and wealth, and regalia of his palace I carried away and distributed as a spoil. And thirty-three cities which belonged to that province, I carried away from them all their inhabitants, mules, oxen, and sheep, and I destroyed and burnt their cities.

(1) ekharu.

(2) tarbukh.

(3) etzibu.

(4) sutaksu.

EVENTS OF THE SIXTH YEAR.

In my sixth year, the principal inhabitants of Beth Yakina, who had flown (1) like *burimi* (2) before my army, collected (3) their gods and their treasures, and crossed over (4) the Great Sea of the Rising Sun (5), and in the district of Nagiti, of Nuvaki (Susiana), founded new dwellings (6).

(1) yekruru, from Hebrew *rur*, to fly, and to flow. The Assyrian language inserts K in some conjugations of verbs, as in this instance.

(2) some birds; probably pigeons.

(3) itku.

(4) ebiru, from עבר *transire*.

(5) The Persian Gulf.

(6) itdu, *jecerunt* (scil., *fundamenta urbis*) or *posuerunt*, subatzun, their dwellings.

Then I crossed (1) the sea in Syrian ships, and the cities of Nagitu, Nagitu-di-Khubina, Khilmi, Billatu, and Reshpan, belonging to Nuva-ki, I destroyed. The men of Beth Yakina and their gods, and also the men (2) of Nuva-ki, I carried off, and none of them escaped me.

(1) lu-ebir.

(2) Viz, those who dwelt in the five cities before-named.

I caused them to be transported (1) in ships, and to be carried across (2) to the opposite shore (3), and then I marched them off (4) straight (5) to Assyria.

(1) wesharkipu, the *sha*, or causative conjugation of *rakab*.

(2) weshabirama, from weshabira, I caused them to cross over, the *sha* conjugation of עָבַר, and *ama*, away.

(3) ana akha anna, to the opposite shore. *Amma* and *anna* are opposed to each other, as *hic* and *ille* in Latin. They are the right and left banks of a river or gulf. *Akha* is the bank of a river, and the shore of the sea.

(4) weshashbit, causative conjugation of *ashbit*, I marched.

(5) kharran.

The cities within those provinces I destroyed and burnt, and I turned them to heaps of ruins (1). During my return (2), Susubi, prince of Babylon, whom his soldiers had restored (3) to the sovereignty (4) of the provinces of Belus (5), Leshan, and Akkadi, in a very great battle I destroyed his army.

(1) ana til u karmi wetar. *Til*, a heap, *Karmi*, ruins or desolation, *Wetar*, I turned, or I turned again.

(2) in tayarti ya.

(3) Sense doubtful.

(4) eliti, supreme power, from *eli*.

(5) Bil-lu. This orthography of the name is unusual.

I captured him alive. I loaded him with very heavy chains (1) of iron, and unto Assyria I carried him (2) off (3).

(1) takmannu biritu almas atdi su. *Takman*, *fortis*, is a quadriliteral word which seems alien from the Semitic dialects. I believe it is a Persian word. The proper name *Sitra takma* is derived from it, if I understand Sir H. Rawlinson's remarks aright in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; and besides, I find the word *takman* in the inscriptions of Xerxes. *Atdi* (jeci) is the 1st person singular. *Iddu* (jecerunt) is the 3rd plural. *Biritu*, chains.

(2) werash-su.

(3) And yet it is *expressly* said in the Constantinople inscription that all this was done by his *generals*, the king himself remaining at Nineveh.

The king of Nuva-ki, who had assembled (1) his standards (*i.e.* his forces) and had come (2) to his assistance, I attacked, and destroyed his army (3).

(1) sha itti-su eskhuru.

(2) illiku ritsutsu.

(3) I have omitted line 42, of uncertain meaning.

EVENTS OF THE SEVENTH YEAR.

In my seventh year, Ashur the lord giving me courage, I marched to attack Nuva-ki (Susiana). The cities of Beth Kahiri and Raza,—two cities which belonged to the Assyrian empire, but which, nevertheless, in the days (1) of my father, the Elamite (2) seized by violence (3),—on the first advance (4) of my army I took (5) and carried off their spoil.

(1) in kutsi.

(2) Elamu, *i.e.* the king of Elam or Susiana.

(3) ekimu dananish.

(4) in mitik girri-ya.

(5) ekshatu.

The soldiers who were my subjects (1), but who were residing (2) in those cities, I forcibly brought back (3) to their allegiance (4) to the Assyrian empire, and I delivered them over to the hands of the commander of my strong fortress, called Kar-el-Ki (5).

(1) suluti-ya.

(2) wesharib kireb sun.

(3) wetarramma; composed of *wetarra*, I restored, or I brought once more, and *amma*, away.

(4) ana mitsir.

(5) Fortress of the Planet.

Then I destroyed the cities of Bubi, Dunni-Shemesh (1), Beth-Ritsiah (2), Beth-Aklami, Duru, Kaltitsulaya, Silibta, Beth-Assutsi, Kar-Mibasha, Beth-Gitsi, Beth-Katpalani, Beth-Imbiah, Kamanu, Beth-Arrabi, Buruta, Dinta-sha-Zuliah, Dinta-sha-Antarbit-Karsa, Karrishlaki, Rabaya, Rassu, Akkabarina, Til-Ukhuri, Kamran,

Naditu (with the other cities of the gate (or entrance) of Beth-Bunaki (3)).

(1) *i.e.* the setting Sun, elsewhere called Dimi-Shemesh. Perhaps the city was so called as being the westernmost city of Susiana

(2) *i.e.*, town of the man Ritsiah. So for *most* of the other names in this list beginning with *Beth, Kar, and Til*; *e.g.* city of the man Mibasha, fortress of the man Ukhuri, &c.

(3) The Constantinople inscription, which omits all the other names, singles out Beth-Bunaki for mention. It was, therefore, evidently a place of superior importance; or rather the name of a district or province, comprising the others.

Til-Khumbi (1), Dinta-sha-Dumian (2), Beth-Ubiah, Balti-lishir, Taga-lishir, which is the city of the Nakindati (3), Massut the Lower (4), Sarkudiri, Zalisha-tarbit (5), Beth-Akhidan (6), and Iltimarba. All these large cities, thirty-four in number (7), together with very many smaller towns belonging to them, I took and carried off their spoil. And I overthrew them and burnt (8) them with fire.

(1) *i.e.*, Fortress of the god Khumbi, one of the principal deities of the Susians.

(2) *Dinta* was probably the Susian word for *city*. It is followed by the proper name of a man. The *Dinta* of Zuliah, of Dumian, &c. I think it is an old Arabic word. *Din*, a city; root of Medina, Medinat, Medinta, &c.

(3) A plural feminine substantive.

(4) shiplitu.

(5) Zalisha *the elevated*?

(6) The name of this person, Akhi-adanna, means "he gave brothers," which, as it stands, has no meaning. But it is probable that his full name was Bel-akhi-adan, or else Nebo-akhi-adan, *i.e.* "Bel has given brothers," &c. &c. The name of the deity was probably omitted in common parlance for shortness. A similar instance is that of Zabdan, the brother of a Chaldean king mentioned in the Annals, whose full name was probably Nebo-zab-adan, or "Nebo has given a warrior." *Akhi* "brothers," forms also a part of the name of Sennacherib, and is found in very numerous inscriptions of that monarch. We may also compare the name of Merodach Baladan (Merodach has given a son), &c. &c.

(7) I think this agrees with the number of names enumerated.

(8) *akmu*, I burnt.

The smoke of their burning, like a mighty cloud, obscured the face of high heaven (1).

(1) Kutar nakmuti sun kima im kabitti pan shami rapsuti weshakti.

Kutar is the Hebrew *kitur* קִיטור fumus.

Nakmut, the burning, and *akmu*, I burned, are from the root *kum*, fire, which very frequently occurs in the inscriptions.

Weshakti, it destroyed. This verb occurs also in a passage where the king relates his hunting exploits. He says, I attacked the lions and destroyed (*weshakti*) their lives.

Upon hearing (1) of the capture (2) of his cities, Shadunakunda (3) the Elamite (4) was utterly confounded (5). He assembled (6) hastily the best men (7) of his cities for his guard (8).

(1) *ishmiu*.

(2) *kishitti*. The Constantinople inscription has *Kashat*, which is the same.

(3) In the inscriptions of Sargon, this king is called Saturna-Kunda.

(4) Elamu, viz., king of Susiana.

(5) *imkutsu*, he was struck down; passive of מַחַץ *makhatz*, to strike; *khattu*, with terror: from Hebrew מַחַץ *khat*, terror.

(6) *wesharib*. The Constantinople has *weshali*.

(7) *sitti*.

(8) *ana dannati*.

And he himself (1) abandoned (2) Madakta (3) his royal city, and fled (4) unto Khaidala, which is among the mountains (5), by long marches (6) and without stopping (7).

(1) *suhu*.

(2) *etzibu*.

(3) This city has been well identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with Badaca of Diodorus, a city 25 miles N.W. of Susa.

(4) *itzabit*.

(5) *sha kireb matdie*.

(6) By forced marches. The sign for "long" (*tsir*) is repeated, to denote "very long."

(7) *kharranu*, straight; i.e. without stopping by the way, or turning aside.

Then I gave the word (1) to storm Madakta, his royal city. In the month of . . . (2) I assaulted (3) the city, and . . . (4).

(1) *alaku akbi*. *Alaku*! attack! There appears to be a spirited account of this attack, but I am unable to explain many of the words employed.

(2) The Constantinople has "the month of *kutsi dannu*," which I think means the month of *long days*. The Hebrew שָׁנָה *spatium temporis*, has a certain amount of resemblance, but is not quite the same. The expression in *kutsi abi-ya*, "in the days of my fathers," is very frequent in the Assyrian inscriptions.

(3) *eruba amma*. The Constantinople has *iksuda amma*. *Kasud* is to take a city. *Eruba* may be the Heb. הָרַב *hereb*, a sword; also, utter destruction caused by war. The Syriac *harba* has the same meanings.

(4) See note HH.

The (1) *fled?* to the summits (2) of the hills. Then I turned round (3) the front of my chariot and I marched straight (4) home to Niniveh.

(1) *shal guna*; perhaps "the effeminate garrison." In Hebrew, *ganan ir* is to guard the city; future *יגן* *igan*; root *גן* *gan*, to protect.

(2) *akli natku matdi*. The Constantinople agrees, except that it reads *kalli* for *akli*. *Kalli natku matdi*, is a very common phrase.

(3) *pan niri-ya wetaru*.

(4) *ashzabit kharranu*.

After that (1), by the will of Ashur my lord, Shadu-Nakundi, king of Nuva-ki, did not live three months (2). During the days of his disgrace (3), in a pitiable manner (4) he was put to death (5).

(1) in *tamisu*, "after that," or "at that time." This phrase always implies that the narration now changes to a new subject.

(2) *val wemalli*, he did not *complete* three months.

(3) in *tamu la simti su*, in the days of his discrowning. From *simat*, the crown. The defeat of the king of Nuva-ki was so severe that it was tantamount to the loss of his crown.

(4) See note O at the end of this paper.

(5) *imut* (see Gesenius, p. 558) is from the Hebrew מוֹתַת *mutut*, to put to death.

Umman-Minan, his younger brother, who was no (1) friend to religion and law (2), ascended the throne after him (3).

(1) *la rash*, Chaldee *rash*, a friend רֵעַ Hebrew רֵעַ

(2) *bilemi u ishki*. *Bilemi* are the decrees of the king; and sometimes those of the gods.

(3) *arka su*.

EVENTS OF THE EIGHTH YEAR.

In my eighth year, after Susubi had escaped, the princes of Babylon, who were heretics (1), *repaired?* (2) the great gates of the city, and resolved (3) to resort to force (4).

(1) *sinuti*.

(2) *wedilu*, repaired and strengthened? *Mudil* is a restorer, repairer.

(3) *yekbut libba sun*, spoke out their mind or intention.

(4) *ana epish itami*, עָצַם strength, force. The word occurs frequently, and spelt in the same manner.

Then Susubi the Chalybæan; and Lidunnamu, a man who knew nothing of; and Kilpan, prefect of the city of Lakhiri, who was a refugee (1) from Arrapkha, of which city he was a native

(1) *munnaḫtu*, a refugee: participle of the verb *innabit*, he fled.

[At this point the text offers considerable obscurity. A contest is alluded to, but with whom does not plainly appear. It then continues.]

He, Susubi, fled (1) over the frontier (2) unto Nuva-ki. Thence he returned (3) with a vile rabble (4), and stopped at the city of Banna.

(1) *innabit*.

(2) *lapan pati u nibriti*.

(3) *ikhivu*.

(4) See note P.

The people of Babylon in their great folly placed him on the throne, and invested him with royal power over the lands of Leshan and Akkadi. He immediately broke open the treasury of the great temple (1), and he cut (2) off the gold and silver of Bel and Sarpanita from the temples of those deities, and unto Umman-Minan, king of Nuva-ki, who knew nothing of religion and law (3), he sent it (4) as a bribe (5).

(1) Beth-Shaga sha Beth-Shagathu. (*Shaga* is treasure).

(2) *weshatzun*.

(3) *sha la isu bilemi u ishki*.

(4) *weshabilu*: for *weshabilu su*, he sent it.

(5) *dahut*; plural, bribes, gifts. See Botta, plate 146: "He gave him 22 cities, *ki dahututi*, with great gifts or bribes."

Saying, "Oh eldest son of Umman! send thy army unto Babylon!" (1)

(1) This is followed by several obscure words; and I am unable to explain the end of line 24 and the beginning of line 25. I will therefore confine myself to some remarks upon the above passage.

Umman was the great deity of the Susians. Many of their kings and princes were named after him, as Tivumman, Umman-Nibi, and the monarch whom we are here reading of, Umman-Minan. Cities also were named after him, as Guz-Umman (the fortress of U). He was known to the Greeks by the name of *Ωμανης*, and it is remarkable that in the Behistun inscription one of the impostors who pretended to be king of Susiana adopted the name of Umanes.¹

¹ Rawlinson reads Imanes; but the first sign , although frequently *im*, is also very often used for *u*, and is replaced by , in the name of the deity who ruled over the Sky.

Whether he was identical with the Ammon of the Egyptians is uncertain ; but, in my opinion, he was. If we are to admit that the Proto-Chaldæan language, so different from the Chaldæan, was a Hamitic dialect, the worship of Ammon there, becomes probable. A relic of the name and worship of this deity still survives on the spot. The Persian Gulf is called the Sea of Oman.

At Karnak in Egypt there are vast hieroglyphical sculptures. On some of these are represented the ambassadors of an Asiatic nation approaching the presence of the Pharaoh to sue for peace. They begin their discourse, "Oh ! eldest son of Ammon," &c., &c.

In the Assyrian text the words employed are, "Bukhar Umman ! kadi kaya," &c. &c. *Bukhar* is *filius primogenitus*. See Gesenius in voce בִּכְרִי. See note P (*bis*).

But to return from this digression. The text continues thus :

Then the Elamite (1), although in my first campaign (2) against Nuva-ki I had destroyed his cities and turned them into heaps of ruins, did not change his hostile mind (3). He accepted (4) those bribes (5).

(1) Elamu, *i.e.* the king of Susiana.

(2) in alak girri ya makriti sha Nuva-ki. *Alak* is an attack.

(3) See note Q.

(4) imkhar.

(5) dahut sunuti.

He assembled his armies, and collected his chariots and waggons, with horses and mares well accustomed to draw them. An immense host, composed of the following nations, Utzush, Anzan, Pasiru, Illipi, and the men of the cities Yashan, Latri, Kartsun, Dummiku, Tzulaya, Beth-Samuna, the son of Merodach Baladan (1), Beth-Adini, Beth-Amukkan, Beth-Kutlan, Beth-Salatakki, Lakhiru, Bukudu, Gambuli, Kalatu, Ruhua, Ubuli, Malaku, Rapiku, Khindaru, and Damunu, a vast multitude (2), he led along with him (3).

(1) Simon or Simeon. Merodach Baladan was in friendly relations with Hezekiah, to whom he had even sent an embassy. For this reason, perhaps, he gave to one of his sons the Jewish name of Simeon.

(2) ikru rabu. (See note R.)

(3) iktira itti-su.

They seized (1) on the land of Akkadi (2), and made a rush upon Babylon (3). And with Susubi, the Chalybæan, king of Babylon, they made a close alliance, and ratified that treaty with solemn libations. (See note S.)

(1) esbatunu.

(2) One of the finest provinces of Babylonia.

(3) ana Babel tibuni.

Then, as a mighty swarm of locusts covers the face of the earth, destroying everything in their passage, they rushed against me.

This fine simile recalls to mind the description in the prophet Joel of the utter desolation of Judæa by the Assyrian armies, who spread over it as a cloud of destroying locusts, obscuring the face of heaven. "That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the cankerworm eaten. For a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion. A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness—a great people and a strong—a fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth; the land is as the garden of Eden before them; and behind them a desolate wilderness."—Joël ii. 3.

Then the simile of the locusts is still further continued. "They shall run like mighty men, they shall climb the wall like men of war. They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall; they shall climb up into the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief."—Joël ii. 9. A most animated piece of Hebrew poetry.

Let us now analyse the Assyrian text. *Kima tibuta aribi mahadi sha pan matti, belkharish ana epish dukuti tibuni tsiru-ya.* *Tibuni*, they rushed, *tsiru-ya*, against me, *belkharish*, violently, *ana epish dukuti*, on their work of destruction, *kima tibuta*, like a rushing (that is a swarm), *aribi mahadi*, of innumerable locusts, *sha pan matti*, over the face of the Earth. Hebrew *aribah*, a locust, אַרְבָּה

The arrows (1) from their chariots, like a mighty cloud, which they (2) shot against me, obscured (3) the face of heaven in front (4) of me.

(1) *ishki* or *ishdi*.

(2) *sha dunni eri yaati.* *Dunni* is, I think, for *iduni*, jecerunt. See note T.

(3) *katiu*, they obscured. From *kat*, Hebrew כָּחַל to conceal.

(4) *illamu-ya*.

THE BATTLE OF KHALULI (1).

In the city of Khaluli, which is on the banks (2) of the Tigris, they made another fierce attack on me. They assaulted the front of my entrenched (3) camp. But I despised their weapons.

(1) This is the most elaborate account of a battle which has yet been found in the Assyrian annals. See note T on the name of *Khaluli*.

(2) *kishat*.

(3) *pan barki-ya zabtu*; or, perhaps, we should read *maski-ya*. *Masuka* is a fence in Hebrew.

I prayed unto Ashur, San, the Sun, Bel, Nebo and Acherib, the Moon-goddess of Nineveh, and the Moon-goddess of Arbela, my guardian deities, that I might gain the victory (1) over my powerful enemies. They heard with pity (2) my sighs and prayers (3), and came to my assistance (4).

(1) ana kashadi.

(2) ishmu likrut

(3) tzupie-ya.

(4) illiku ritzuti. *See note U.*

[The next two lines, I think, describe the king putting on his armour; but many of the words are unknown to me. He then mounts his chariot to enter the battle. And it is very remarkable that his war-chariot had *a name*. This is a new feature. None of Homer's heroes, I think, gave names to their chariots.]

In my great Chariot of War, called Sapinat Zahiri (1) (sweeper away of enemies), in the exultation of my heart I rode (2) proudly (3). And I took (4) in my hand (5) the powerful (6) arrows which Ashur had given me (7).

(1) The next time the chariot is mentioned it is called simply *Sapinat* (the sweeper away). This was doubtless for the sake of brevity.

(2) artat. T conjugation of *arat*, I rode.

(3) kantish.

(4) ashbit.

(5) There is an error in the text. should be

(6) dannanut.

(7) weshatlima.

[I have omitted line 60, which I do not understand.] *See note V.*

Then I *rushed*? against (1) all (2) that army (3) of enemies (4) and heretics (5), and I hurled (6) thunder on them like Yem (7).

(1) tsir.

(2) gimri.

(3) ummanati.

(4) nakiri.

(5) sinuti.

(6) eshgum.

(7) Yem was the Jupiter Tonans of the Assyrians, and the king in battle is very often compared to him.

[Lines 63 to 69 evidently contain a spirited description of the battle; but they are full of obscure terms. It is said, among other things, that the king of Nuva-ki did not command in person, though he was present in the battle. He entrusted the chief command to his general Khumban-undash. *See note W.* This name is derived from Khumba, one of the chief deities of the Susians. A former

king of Susa, Khumba-nikash, was the great opponent of Sargon. One of the chief strongholds on the frontier was called Til Khumba (the fort of Khumba). The text then describes the officers of the enemy as wearing swords inlaid with gold, and anklets of silver and gold around their feet. He says, I attacked and destroyed them (*ashkun takta sun*) [see note X], and I cut off their heads (*kishadati sun wenakkush*). Among other things the king speaks (line 80) of the noble steeds (*karniski*) who were yoked to his biga or chariot (*tsibitti rukupi-ya*, derived from *rakab*, a chariot), whose name was Sapinat. But all this description must await elucidation from further researches into the language of these inscriptions. (See note Y.)

He then says that he massacred his prisoners:—*khuri kuradi sun*, the heads of their soldiers, *gabir sapsapati*, with great axes? *wenakkush*, I cut off. *Bulta sun*, their lives? *abut*, I dissipated? *kima bini kishtar*, like a breath of vapour? קִשְׁתָּר vapor.

He then plunders the dead bodies of their ornaments:—*Simani wenakkush kati sun*, I cut off the bracelets from their arms. *Karri*, the anklets, *ashpi*, of silver, *kireshe*, of gold, *ebbi*, of ivory, *sha ratti sun*, of their feet, *amkhar*, I took off.

In namzari pattuti khuzanni-sun weparrikhu. I do not attempt to translate this line. In the next line (col. VI. 5) there is, I believe, an error in the text. I would read the fourth sign *tsur*, instead of .

Ekim (I took or made prize of) *ru sha kabal*, with plural sign (their swords of battle), *mitsur* (inlaid) with gold and silver. These may have been Damascus blades. The account then continues thus:—]

The greatest of their chiefs, together with *Nebo-sum-ishkun* (1), son of Merodach Baladan, who had fled from my attack (2), surrendered (3), and I took them alive in the battle (4). Their chariots and horses, which into the conflict of fierce battle (5) they had driven (6), were completely plundered, and the spoil given to my soldiers. (See note Z.)

(1) i.e. "Nebo gave the name."

(2) *sha lapan takhazi eblaku*.

(3) *iddu ida sun, dederunt manus*, or laid down their arms.

(4) *bulthutsun in kabal takhari itmikha suti-ya*. Here we should have had *atmikha*, I grasped or seized, *suti-ya*, in my hands (from Hebrew *timikh*, תִּמַּךְ prehendit. Ges. 1059). But *takharitmikha* was probably pronounced continuously, or as a single word, and thus the vowel *a* got changed to *i*.

(5) as *yekrup takhazi danni*.

(6) *rakibu*, from רָכַב

For the space of nearly two *kasbu* (1) from the battle-field I buried their slain (2) who lay scattered on the ground.

(1) About twelve miles. The *kasbu* was, I believe, a walking distance of two hours, or six miles. The syllable *mi* is added to *kasbu*. This might mean "and a half;" but such a mode of expression would be too exact, and I rather think that *mi* is short for *minuta* (small). Two small *kasbu*. But I have preferred to render the phrase "nearly two *kasbu*." In the annals of Ashurakhbal, I. 88, certain objects are divided into *mi* (small) and *dan* (great). And similarly in col III. 68, of the same annals.

(2) *dak sun abrutz*. For *abrut tzu*, I buried them. This is from *barut*, a pit, **בִּאֲרוֹת** (Ges. 123.) Surely the Greek *Bapaθpov* is hence derived.

Then he himself, Umman-Minan, king of Nuva-ki, and the kings of Babylon, and the princes (1) of the Chaldeans who had followed his standards (2), were alarmed like . . . (3) at the fury (4) of my attack (5).

(1) *nasikkan*.

(2) *alikut itti su*. The *itti* were military standards, ensigns, *signa militaria*. And also, *signa quæcunque*, signs or striking objects of any kind; ostenta, portenta—even miracles. It is the Hebrew **אוֹת** Chaldean **אֹת** Syriac *ata*, signum (in all its senses). (See note AA.)

(3) *lidan* (some timid animals, probably doves or pigeons.) See note BB.

(4) *karbasu*.

(5) *takhazi-ya*

They abandoned their pavilions (1), and fled to save (2) their lives (3).

(1) *zarati su wemasharu*.

(2) *ana susup*.

(3) *zi sun*.

[Their flight is then described; but it contains many difficult words. The king says, "I sent my chariots and horses after them (*wemahir arki sun*). To those chiefs who vowed submission for the future, I granted their lives as an act of grace" (*napshati weninu*, from *ninu*, favour, grace). But the other prisoners, a vulgar rabble, I put to death.] See note CC.

SENNACHERIB EMBELLISHES THE CITY OF NINIVEH.

After that, I completed the palace in Niniveh called "Centre of the City" (1), to be the royal residence (2) of my majesty. I finished its towers (3), for a wonder to the generations of men.

(1) *Kabal ir*.

(2) *ribit* (throne).

(3) Or its façade, *lulie wemallu-si*. This is equivalent to the more usual phrase, *lulie-sha wemallu*. *Si* means "of her," "of it."

The palace of Kurili, which the kings my fathers who went before me began to build for the lodgement or protection (1) of troops (2), and for the care and safe custody (3) of their horses, as well as for the custody (4) of their valuables (5). Its mound (6) had never been finished (7). Its beautiful (8) façade was not . . .

(1) ana sutishur.

(2) karasi. Perhaps a military post, a garrison. In Hebrew קרעי are *light troops*. In this passage, the Esarhaddon inscription, IV. 52, substitutes *kilil* (army) for *karasi*.

(3) pakadi. Hebr. pakadah פקדה cura, custodia. Gesenius particularly observes (p. 836) that *pakadah* is the same as *mashmar* משמר We shall find the latter word employed a little later, or at least one from the same root.

(4) *tsanaki*, a place of safe custody. Sometimes a prison for criminals (Hebrew צינק *tsinak*. Ges. 863, *carcer*). From root *tsanak* צנכ clausit.

(5) sutaksu, valuables. The Constantinople inscription says these were chiefly the spoils of foreign enemies.

(6) talu sha, its mound.

(7) val ebsi

(8) subat-sa sukurat

From extreme old age (1) its *timin* (2) was lost (3), its foundations (4) were laid bare (5), its upper part (6) had fallen down (7).

(1) labarish tami.

(2) Dedicatory tablet? to the preservation of which great importance appears to have been attached.

(3) emanu. From a verb *eman*, עמן to lose, in Hebrew *emam*, עמם to be lost or hidden.

(4) ishda sha.

(5) irma. Root *aram* or *iram* (nudus) עירם, עירם.

(6) risha sha.

(7) ikupa. Perhaps from נקף *nikup* (deletus est; Gesenius, who quotes Job xix. 26.) But for this word the Constantinople inscription substitutes *itrura* (defluxit), which is the Hithpael or T conjugation of the Heb. *rur* fluxit.

That palace I pulled down (1). I demolished every part of it.

(1) ana sikhirti sha aggur.

[The king now proceeds to give a very curious account of the rebuilding of the palace, much more grandly than it was before. The sculptures of Sennacherib in the British Museum show us slaves toiling up a hill with baskets of earth to make a mound.]

I brought (1) a vast quantity (2) of earth (3) in baskets (4) from the *low fields?* (5) and plains (6) about the city. On the top (7) of that I cast (8) the ruins (or rubbish) of the old (9) abandoned (10) palace. And with earth (11) of the *low fields?* (12) which I

brought (13) from the banks of the river, I completed (14) the mound (15).

(1) ashbata.

(2) mahidu.

(3) kirubu. From the Hebrew *kirub*, כִּרֻב dry earth; but chiefly used to denote rubbish and ruins. See Gesenius, pp. 366, 367.

(4) kireb kastim. This word may be compared with the Hebrew *kast*, a vessel, קַסֵּת (Ges. 896). And also with קֶשֶׁה (Ges. 908).

(5) ushalli. Loca demissa? depressa? Related to חָשַׁל which varies to חָלַשׁ and signifies *stratus, prostratus, humilis, debilis* (Gesenius).

(6) tamirti.

(7) As eli (thereupon). The Constantinople inscription has *tsirussha* (upon it).

(8) vasraddi. It is the *sha* or causative conjugation of *weraddi* (I added).

(9) makriti.

(10) etzibu.

(11) ebgar.

(12) ushalli.

(13) ashbata.

(14) vasmalli. It is the *sha* or causative conjugation of *wemalli*, which occurred a few lines previously.

(15) tala.

Two hundred (1) *tibki* (2) in height (3) I raised (4) its wall (5).

(1) The Constantinople inscription has "3 vas and 20." From which I conclude that a *vas* was 60. I believe it was the same as a *sus*.

(2) This is the Hebrew *tipik*, טִפֵּחַ palma. Gesenius says, "ubique pro mensura 4 digitorum." If we take the palm at 3 inches, the height of the wall mentioned will be 50 feet.

(3) ana elani.

(4) weshak, I extended.

(5) kiritsu.

In the month Shami (1), on the day called Bitgari (2), upon that mound (3) . . . I began a palace of stone and pinewood (4), built wide (5) and low after the manner of the Syrians, and another palace built (6) loftily after the fashion of Assyria.

(1) Shami, i.e. the month of heat.

(2) or Belgari.

(3) tsir tali.

(4) irni.

(5) *napishii* or *napshid*, broad, expanded, or extended. Niphal from *peshit*, or *peshid*, פָּשַׁח expando, extendo. Here the Constantinople (l. 64) has *takut*, תָּחַת low and humble, "after the fashion of Syria," is added.

(6) *tsirtu ebshid*. The Constantinople has *tsirtu epishiti* [elevati operis]. But *epishiti* and *ebshid* are only different ways of writing the same word. So the word meaning "life" is written either *napshat* or *napishiti*; and the word meaning "foundations" is written either *ishid* or *ishdi*.

Which beyond the former (1) one was vastly more (2) strong, more grand (3), and more architectural (4).

- (1) eli makriti. (2) suturat. (3) rabat. (4) naklat.
-

I finished this palace for my royal dwelling on the birthday of Kim-galli (1), the Master (2) of my arrows.

(1) His name means "the great bow," which was probably rather the name of his office than of himself. And yet as English history has its Earl Strongbow, Assyrian history may have had a Strongbow likewise. *Kim-galli* is from *kim*, a bow, Persian *kaman*, and *galli*, great. It is observable that in this passage both *kim* and *kuti* (arrows), want the usual Σ Y, or sign of *wood* prefixed.

2) Bel kuti ya. Hebrew Σ Y sagitta. The Arcifer regis, who carried the king's bow, was doubtless a nobleman or great favourite. Gobryas, the *arcifer* of Darius, is honoured with a special tablet at Nakshi Rustam; and another tablet commemorates Aspathines, the keeper of his arrows.

I used fir trees and lofty pine trees, the growth (1) of the land of Khamana (2). With precious (3) stones I adorned (4) them. *Columns?* of wood inlaid (5) with shining (6) brass (7) I placed (8), and I added (9) them to their gates.

- (1) tarbit.
 (2) Mount Hermon. Khamána or Hamána; sounded as Harmána.
 (3) pili illi. (4) weshatriza eli shin. (5) mitsir. (6) namri.
 (7) eri. The same word as in Latin. æs, æris, æra.
 (8) weshalkush. (9) weratta.
-

Carved out of *pitsi* stones, which were found (1) in the province (2) of Balada, gigantic divine bulls I caused to be made, and I placed them

- (1) innamru. (2) irtsit. Hebrew Σ Y
-

These *buildings?* (1) I destined (2) both for the reception and protection (3) of my great Council (4) of state (or national assembly), and also for the care (5) of horses (6) and mares called *agali*, able (7) to draw cars, baggage-waggons, and all the other vehicles which are commonly used in war (8).

- (1) Sisha.
 (2) This double object of the great building, or rather series of buildings, is also stated in many other inscriptions.

(3) sutishur.

(4) nishat reshdu, literally my principal men -- my noblemen. This assembly of the notables of the empire is alluded to in many other inscriptions. For example, Esarhaddon says (speaking, I believe, of this very building) "I assembled the great men of the empire, the chiefs and the people of my land, all of them. I lodged them in the halls and galleries and apartments within the palace."—From my translation in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," No. 17, p. 78. (The last sentence is somewhat doubtful.)

(5) pakadi.

(6) karniski.

(7) belli, masters; i.e. having the power of, so doing.

(8) hunuta takhazi.

And also for the care or custody (1) of horses and mares well accustomed (2) to the double (3) collar (4), and trained to draw the chariot (5).

(1) nashmadi. In Hebrew this would be *nashmar*, Niphal, from the verb *shamar*. But instead of this, the Hebrews use the verbal substantive *mashmar*, מִשְׁמָר a place of safe custody, which Gesenius says has the same meaning as *pakadah*. We have thus three words in this inscription all of which Gesenius translates by *custodia* and *carcer*, namely *pakadah*, *mashmar*, and *teinak*. And the sense of "custodia" suits in every instance.

(2) well accustomed. The text has *sha isu* (who knew, or knew well).

(3) tsibati, double, or joined together. This adjective (often written *tsibitti*) is the Hebrew צִמָּד *tsimid*, a pair, a yoke, a pair of oxen yoked together. When two warriors rode in the same car they were called *rakabim tsimdim*. We read in 2 Kings, ix. 25: "And Jehu drew a bow and smote Jehoram. Then said Jehu to Bidkar his captain, Remember how that when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the Lord laid this burden upon him."

(4) emuki a collar. From the Hebrew *enuk*, a collar, עֵנָךְ. In this word, and some others, the Assyrians use M for N. This word has already been treated of in note G.

(5) patnush ana niri. *Niri* was the biga, or two-horse chariot. See note GG.

And I greatly extended (1) the defences? (2) of the great gate of Nuva.

(1) vasrabbit.

(2) kishalla.

This palace from its foundation to its summit (1) I built and I completed it. My tablets—the written records of my name (2)—I fixed up within it.

(1) naburri, summit.

(2) mushari sidhir sumi ya.

In future (1) days, under the kings my sons, whom Ashur and Ishtar shall call (2) to the sovereignty (3) of this land and people; when this palace shall grow (4) old and decay (5), the future king (6) who shall restore (7) its ornaments—who shall read aloud (8) the written tablets of my name (9)—who shall raise (10) an altar and sacrifice (11) a male victim—and shall then replace them in their place (12)—Ashur and Ishtar will hear (13) his prayers (14).

(1) *arkat tami.*

(2) *inambu zigir su.* Literally "they shall name their names;" i.e., shall call them, as it were by a divine decree, to the throne.

(3) *ana ribitut.*

(4) *ilabbiru.*

(5) *innakhu.*

(6) *rubu arku.*

(7) *ankhut-sa luttish.*

(8) *likharu.*

(9) *mushari sidhir sumi ya.*

(10) *libsu.*

(11) *likki.*

(12) *ana ashri su lutar.*

(13) *ishimmu.*

(14) *ikribi su.*

The destroyer (1) of my tablets (2) and my (3) name—May Ashur, the great lord, the father of the gods, utterly confound him! (4) May he take (5) from him, and sweep away from (6) him, his sceptre (7) and his throne! (8)

(1) *Munakkir.*

(2) *shidri.*

(3) *sumi ya.*

(4) *nakriah lizitsu.*

(5) *likim su.*

(6) *lishkibbul su.* I believe this verb is the same as *lishkibbussu* (may he sweep away from him). It may however be derived from *kabal* battle.

(7) *ispa.*

(8) *guza.*

COLOPHON.

In the month of Shakkut, day the twentieth, is the birthday of Bel-Simiani (1), prefect of Karkamish.

(1) His name may mean "Adorned with the bracelet," viz. the bracelet of gold conferred by the King as a mark of nobility. From *Simani* a bracelet.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

[October 1861.]

DURING the two years which have elapsed since this translation was presented to the Society, I have been able to elucidate the meaning of some passages better than before, and I have therefore added these Explanatory Notes.

NOTE A. Places of safety, *ashar la khari*. I think that *takhari*, battle, is derived from the Hebrew *khari*, קרי to fight. Gesenius (p. 905) gives the following example : הלך קרי עם *halek khari am*, he went to fight with. But in the present passage we meet with the contrary expression, *la khari*, peaceable, or tranquil.

NOTE B. I have translated *shimbi*, "artificers;" properly, I think, carpenters or joiners, the same as *shimdi*, from *shimid*, to join, Hebrew צמד. The persons named after the artificers were probably of lower rank. I have therefore translated "common people." We shall see further on, that the king carried off all the *shimbi*, or artificers, of Jerusalem.

NOTE C. The text has *edu val etzib*. *Edu* is the numeral one, in Chaldee חר *had*. Hence the adverb *edish*, singly : one by one.

NOTE D. *Marishati*, heads, is found also in Hebrew. (See Ges. p. 615.) Examples : *marishati-u*, ad caput ejus, 1 Samuel xix. 13 ; *irad marishati-kum*, &c., your crown of honour falls from your heads, Jeremiah xiii. 18.

Hukin ebru, I made an expiatory sacrifice, or a sacrifice of purification.

Huk is the Hebrew חג *hag*, victima.

Ebru is from the verb *bara*, a word much used in Hebrew in the sense of "purification." בר *bar*, puritas. בר or ברית is res purgatoria ; res purgandi vim habens, according to Gesenius, pp. 171 and 176. The Hebrew verb is בּרר *pur*gare ; of which the original root must be בר. The Latin *purus* seems related.

NOTE E. *wetzakhir mat-su*, I diminished his territory, from *tzakhir*, parvus ; which is written in Hebrew צער (see Gesenius,

p. 869), so that the letter ע must have had the force of *gh*, or the Arabic *ghain*, in this word. This is confirmed by the modern Arabic *soghir*, small, which Gesenius also quotes.

Zacchæus, of whom we read that he was "of small stature," probably took his name from this adjective, צעיר "the little man." For certainly the Assyrian pronunciation of that word did not much differ from *Zacchir*.

NOTE F. *Mat su ebit*, I subjugated his land. עבר *serviit*, makes in Hiphil עביר *ebid* (servire fecit: subjugavit, see Gesenius, p. 727), as in Ezekiel xxix. 18, and elsewhere.

NOTE G. After "chariots and horses," is added, *emuki la nibi*, the sense of which words is uncertain. Perhaps they may be rendered "*jugales sine numero*," or "*numerosissimi*," taking *jugales* as an epithet of the horses drawing the chariots.

Emuk is used elsewhere in this inscription for a collar on the neck; it is the word עמק, an altered form of the Hebrew ענק *enuk*, "collare" (Gesenius, p. 784).

NOTE H. The text has: "the common people of the city, who were *ebishanni* and *killati*, I reduced to slavery." The first word, *ebishanni*, means shameful people, or rascals. It is the Hebrew בשה *bishana*, "shame" (see Gesenius, p. 182). The root is בוש and in Hiphil הביש *ebish*, which Gesenius renders "*ignominiâ affectit*," and "*turpiter egit*." The verb יבש *ibish*, "*turpiter se gessit*" (Ges. 397) is closely related, and I think might well be considered the same. The second word, *killati*, also means persons of bad character, probably women. It occurs again in this inscription. It is evidently derived from the Hebrew כלי "cheats" or "rascals." Gesenius says "*fraudulentus: dolosus*." The sense of the whole passage is the following: "As to the common people of Amgarrun, I reduced to slavery all the dregs of the population, and the malefactors, both male and female; but the better sort of people (*sittati*) I did not" The rest of the passage is obscure; but it seems to imply that he *pardoned* the inhabitants who were not very deeply compromised in the guilt of rebellion.

NOTE I. *Defence of Jerusalem*. The word which occurs (col. III. 22), *weshalkushu*, "I built a strong defence," is probably to be derived from *shalku*, a fortress or citadel, a word of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions. The next word *atsie*, bulwarks, is the Hebrew אץ *atz*, which is *robur*, *presidium*, as a substantive, and

firmus, munitus, as an adjective. Then follows *wetarra*, he renewed it, and *ikhibu-su*, he built it up. The sense, therefore, is "he built up again newly the bulwarks of his great gate."

NOTE J. *wetzakhir*, I diminished. This word has already been considered in Note E. But *wetzakhin mat-su* appears to be a different phrase. It probably means "depauperavi regnum ejus," from סכן *pauper fuit* (Ges. 713).

NOTE K. The text of lines 34, 35, appears to be *vassuti gukhli karmutsi*, "scarlet robes." Commerce brought these to Jerusalem from the western coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and Carmel, &c. They seem to have retained their western names. *Vassuti* is like *vestis* and εσθης, or possibly it may be compared with the Hebrew שטה *texuit* (Gesenius, p. 1042), perhaps pronounced *essatha*, as in Spanish *estar*, from the Latin *stare*.

gukli I have long ago explained (in the Journal of Sacred Literature) to be the κοχλη, or scarlet dye of the Greeks; and *karmutsi* also means "scarlet," or "crimson;" Arabic *kermes*, Italian *cherмесino*, or *cremesino*, French *cramoisi*, &c. The colour is obtained from the insect called "coccus ilicis," found on the "kermes oak." If this translation of the word *karmutsi* is correct, this is the first mention of this scarlet dye. The cuneiform sign which begins the word is *kar*, figured nearly as in the name of the city Karduniash, in col. I of this inscription.

Another part of the tribute was *guza nimidi*, a travelling palanquin made of ivory. I derive this from the Hebrew עמס otherwise עמש *emesh*, to carry (Ges. 778, and following page). For this, I believe, the Assyrians substituted עמד *emed*, whence the passive form, *nimidi*, signifies "carried." It was a splendid "chaise à porteur" for the king when travelling. In the inscription of Pul, which I give further on, line 20, it is simply called *nimatti* (omitting the word *guza* for brevity). It is there said to be adorned with ivory carvings, which is likewise implied here.

NOTE L. *Ishbur*, he swore, is merely a different pronunciation of the Hebrew *ishbuđ*: the liquid R taking the place of a breathing at the end of the word. *Ishbuđ* is from the Hebrew שבע *juravit* (Gesenius, p. 978). And so in another inscription, where the rebellious princes confederate together, and swear hostility to Assyria; the same word, *ishbur*, is used for "he swore."

Shalbu is a broad pronunciation of *shabbua*, or *shabua*, an oath; in Hebrew שבועה especially applied to making a treaty, see Gesenius,

p. 976, who says that princes united by treaty are said to be *baali*, or *beli shabua*.

If it be doubted whether *shabu* could receive the broad pronunciation of *shalbu*, there is an exactly parallel case in the prayer for the prosperity of the palace: “in *girbi-su sibbuta luksut*, inside it may Peace for ever dwell!” For the two last words are altered in other inscriptions to *shalbuta luksu*. This pronunciation *shalbu* is also found in Botta, pl. 151, where it is said “His fathers swore to my fathers” (*shalbusun*).

NOTE M. *Itruku* is the Hithpael or T conjugation of *ruk*, to be terrified (Ges. 936, 937). The verb is רָכַךְ *rukuk*, whence in Niphal יָרַךְ לֵב *iruk leb*, fractus est animus, i.e., timidus factus est. The adjective is רָךְ *ruk*, whence רָךְ לֵבב faint of heart (Gesenius).

NOTE N. This verb *etik*, and its different conjugations, are much used to express *movements*, especially of a *military* kind. It is the Hebrew עָתָק *etik*, movit, transtulit, and especially castra movit (Gesenius, p. 807).

NOTE O. I have translated *likrut*, “in a pitiable manner,” because it occurs in that sense in other passages of this inscription. But the form of the word renders it doubtful. Adverbs in Syriac often end in T, but in Assyrian usually in *ish*.

NOTE P. The text says he returned, *kiri kilti u killati tsirussu basi*, “with a vile rabble of infamous men and women along with him.” Here the writer employs a string of the most vituperative epithets he can think of.

Kiri is *stercus*, in Hebrew חָרִי. It is here used for a filthy rabble. *Kilti* is the plural of Hebrew כִּילִי a rascal, and *killati* is a plural feminine from the same. *Basi* is the plural either of בָּאֵשׁ *malus*, which is the chief word used in Syriac to denote all kinds of wickedness; or else, which is more probable, it is the Syriac בָּסִי *basi*, contemptible (see Schaaf, p. 70).

Before quitting this subject I would remark that it appears to throw some light upon a singular statement in 2 Kings vi. 25, that a famished garrison were reduced to subsist upon חֲרִי יוֹנִים *kiri ionim*, stercora columbarum.

Commentators have been sorely perplexed by this, and some have suggested that there may have been a *plant* so named; although they have failed to point it out. But from the passage in this inscription, I think it possible that חֲרִי יוֹנִים should be translated

vilissimas columbas, and that it was merely a mode of speaking with contempt of anything.

NOTE P (*bis*). In the book of Daniel, when the astrologers, &c., approach Nebuchadnezzar, they salute him thus: "O king! live for ever!" In the present passage I think the messengers from Babylon to the king of Susa began to speak thus: "O son of Umman, live for ever!" and then stated their errand. I propose to translate *kadi khaya*, "live for ever," for the following reasons: *Khaya* answers very well in sound to the Hebrew *חיה* Chaldee *חיא* to live, which is the term used in the passage of Daniel referred to. It occurs in several places in the Assyrian inscriptions, but written *shaya*, an unimportant difference. "For ever," is denoted by *ka*, in many inscriptions of Sargon, with a plural sign added. It is possible that *kadi* may be that word written at length. I may add, that the Syriac for "always" is *כל עדי* *kal adi*, i.e., *omne tempus*; but I doubt whether this could be contracted to *kadi*, though it may easily have been pronounced as a dissyllable, *kládi*. The Hebrew uses *לעד* *li adi*, in æternum.

As I should wish to be able to make out the rest of this remarkable discourse of the Babylonian envoys to the king of Susa imploring his succour, I will at least make an attempt to do so.

After saying, "O king, live for ever!" (Col. V. 23) they continue thus: *Kulil-ka ana Babilu-ki khivu! ida-ni izitsu, Tamita sar atta!* "Turn (or direct) thy Army unto Babylon! Aid us with its strength! for a powerful king art thou!"

The first sign in line 24 should I think be *Y* the preposition *ana*, and not *YY*.

Khivu, to turn, occurs a few lines previously, viz. line 16; *ikhivu*, he returned, where it is spelt in the same way.

Ida-ni, help us! *יד* is properly the hand, whence it is used metaphorically for *help*, as in the following passage, quoted by Gesenius, from Deuteronomy xxxii. 36: *יִד אֶזְרָא* *evanuit auxilium*. *Izit-su*, the strength of it, from Hebrew *עֹז* and *עֹזֶת* strength.

Tamita may be for *ta amita*, or rather *da amita*. I read the sentence thus: *da amita sar atta*, for a powerful King art thou! *Da* is the Chaldee for the Hebrew *שׁ* *Sha*. Both these particles are used to express *nam*, *enim*, *quia*, *quoniam*, &c. Gesenius gives examples (p. 972), for instance, Canticles I. 6. *Amita* is either the Hebrew *אֲמֵץ* *fortis*, or else *אֲמֵת*. The latter word contains the notion both of *great power* and *good faith*, and is applied to a king in Psalm xlv. 5, and to the Deity himself in Psalm xxx. 10, and elsewhere. (see Ges. p. 77.)

NOTE Q. The text has *libbu-s val ikutzutz*, *spem non terminavit*, he would not relinquish his hopes. The verb קָצַץ *katzatz*, is *præcidit absceidit*, to cut off a thing, and make an end of it. *Libbu-s*, means his heart, or his heart's desire; which no doubt was to make a conquest of Babylonia.

NOTE R. *ikru rabu*, "a mighty gathering" of warlike tribes. From the verb אָנַח *agr*, to collect together; whence יָגַר *igr*, acervus, a heap of things collected. The Greek ἀγείρειν seems closely related to this Hebrew word.

NOTE S. "And with Susubi the Chalybæan, king of Babylon, they made a close alliance, and ratified that treaty with solemn libations." *Adi Susubi Kalebaia sar Babilu-ki ana akhati ikrubu, bukharsun insukunu.*

Ikrubu, they drew nigh to him; from Chaldee קָרַב *kereb*, *propè accessit*, *appropinquavit*.

Akhati often occurs for *alliance* or *brotherhood*; derived from *akh*, a brother, because nations united by treaty become as brethren. *Bukhar* is a word difficult to explain. The Hebrew language admits of strange permutations of letters: thus *tibki*, measures of length, are sometimes written *tikbi* in the inscriptions, and in Gesenius's Lexicon a great many similar examples of *metathesis* will be found. I think it possible, therefore, that *bukhar* may be merely another pronunciation of *khubar*, a treaty of peace. חָבַר *havar* *fœdus junxit*, *conjunxit*, *consociavit* (Ges. 317). *Insukunu*. The last sign in this word is sometimes *du* and sometimes *kun*, as in the name of Sargon, and the country of Beth Yakuna. I have here supposed it to be *kunu*. *Insukunu*, they poured a libation, from נָסַךְ *nasuk*, *libavit* (see Gesenius, p. 671, who says it is σπενδεσθαι σπονδην, *fœdus inire*, quoniam in *fœderibus pangendis libare solebant veteres*). And this passage leads me to offer another interpretation of *bukhar*, viz., that it may stand for *bukhu*, libations, which word I find on the cylinder of Sargon. It is derived from בִּיק *buk*, to pour out water.

Why should this rebellious chief, Susubi, be called the Chalybæan? There was certainly a nation called Chalybes, but they lived far away to the North. Considering the abuse which is lavished on Susubi's followers, I think that perhaps *Kalebaia* may be a term of contempt, meaning that he was of the lowest extraction, from כָּלֵב *kaleb*, a dog. So, in another passage, a rebellious chief is contemptuously called "the son of nobody." This curious phrase was first explained by Dr. Hincks.

NOTE T. But, perhaps, instead of *dunni*, we should read *shakuni*. This may stand for *shalkuni*, "they shot arrows." In Hebrew we find שָׁלַח *shalak*, jecit sagittas, 1 Samuel xx. 20 (see Ges. p. 1009).

I think that the name of Khaluli was given to the city after the battle, because כְּחָלָל *khalul* signifies "slaughter." In all probability, like Battle in Sussex, the place lost its previous name and acquired a new one, which the chronicler adopted, without reflecting on the anachronism involved in his statement.

NOTE U. *Ishmu*, they heard; *likrut*, with pity (see Note O for some remarks upon this word); *tzupie-ya*, my sighs and prayers. The etymology of this last word is curious. It is derived from the Hebrew זָעַק otherwise צָעַק *zakh*, or *tsukh*, by a remarkable interchange of P and Q. See Schaaf, p. 152, and Gesenius, pp. 308 and 870, for this word, which they interpret clamavit, invocavit. Clamor à dolore et luctu, vel quo opem implorant. Clamor ad auxilium impetrandum, &c.

NOTE V. This line 60 seems to describe the armour which the king wore on his legs. *Atsur*, I enclosed (from Hebrew עָצַר *clausit*), *rattu-ya*, my legs, *napshati*, with (something) broad or wide; this is followed by a word indistinctly written, which may mean "greaves."

NOTE W. It is very remarkable that this statement about Khumban-undash in col. V, line 70, has been purposely erased on the cylinder by the original writer. It is nevertheless legible. I read it as follows: *Khumban undash aish nakiru, sha sar Nuva-ki itsalu bel matdu mumahir ummanati-su.* "Khumban-undash, a stranger whom the king of Nuvaki had advanced to high honour, and had made him Chief of the Land (perhaps vizier or prime minister) and Commander of the Army." I think the sign is an error for the very similar sign which, when it ends a word, is often a simple U, or a slight breathing, as *uh* or *ukh*. The only word in this sentence which requires explanation is *itsalu* or *itsalukh*, which is the Hebrew צָלַח *tsalah*, or *tsalakh*, to advance a person to high honours in the state. In this sense it occurs in Daniel iii. 30. See Gesenius, p. 864. He renders it "ad munera publica et honores citò promovit;" and in German, "schnell avanciren."

NOTE X. Before these words *ashkun takta-sun*, we read (line 75) *likrut webul sunuti*, in a pitiable manner I destroyed them; where *likrut* appears to have the same meaning as in col. V, line 2, *likrut*

imut. *Webul* is probably another form of *abbul*, I destroyed; the latter word being applied to the destruction of *cities*.

NOTE Y. In col. V, line 79, it is said, concerning these horses, *Weshirda*, I brought them down, *tsir irtsiti*, from the district, *shadi ilti*, of the upper country (perhaps from the province of Farsistan, celebrated for horses). Hebrew שדה *shada*, campus, ager (Ges. 956). These horses (*karniski*) are described as being *faultless* (la *ashmuti*), from אשם *ashem*, culpa: see Gesenius, p. 107. So the Greeks continually employ the epithets *αῤωμος* and *αῤωμων*, blameless or irreproachable. He then adds, that when they were yoked to his car (*tsibitti rukupi-ya*), from their gallant blood they tossed their heads proudly: *in dami-sun gashuti ishallu anakish*; using the word *dami* (blood) as we do. Hebrew דם *sanguis*, Syriac *dama*. The word *gashuti*, gallant or high spirited, is very common in the inscriptions, and is usually applied to the soldiers of the king's army, whom he calls *bakhulati gashati* and *ummanati gashati*.

Ishallu, they shook their necks, is the Hebrew זל and זלל *zalla*, to shake (Ges. 302). It is especially to shake the neck, for it occurs elsewhere in the inscriptions with *nir*, a yoke, added.

Anakish, from *anak*, the neck, Hebrew אנק. I am not sure whether this is an adverb signifying *loftily*, or whether it is put for *anaki-su*, their necks.

NOTE Z. Col. VI, line 12. *Ramanussun*, to the soldiers; *ittana*, they were given; *alaka*, to plunder (Hebrew חלק *halak*, to plunder); *belkharish*, with violence, or utterly and completely. This adverb occurred before (see page 162). I think it may be derived from קרי *khari*, occursus hostilis. (Gesenius, p. 905.)

NOTE AA. It is difficult to distinguish in all cases the substantive *itti*, standards, from the preposition *itti* (with).

NOTE BB. After *lidan*, is added *tzukhar-sun itsikhu* (the last word doubtful), meaning probably "to save their lives." The word *tzukhar* occurs also in a bas-relief of king Ashur-bani-pal slaying a lion. *Assilik tzukhar-su*, I put an end to his life. *Assilik* is probably from *silik*, an end.

NOTE CC. Some of the words appear to stand thus: line 19, *itarraku libbu-sun*, they utterly lost heart, or were panic-struck. This is a common phrase; but *itarraku* is more usually written *itruku*.

Line 20 may be given thus: *Sîati-sun*, the chief men among them;¹ *wezarabu*, took flight (?); *kireb rakabi-sun*, in their chariots.

Line 21. *Wemasharuni*, and they fled rapidly; *tzu-sun*, their lives; *ana radadi-sun*, upon their quick driving.

I do not trust much to the exactness of this translation of l. 21, "their lives upon their driving," but it suits the sense of the passage extremely well: for the king says he sent his chariots and horsemen in quick pursuit of the fugitives. The word *radad* is from the Syriac **רדד** *rad*, to ride fast (especially as the couriers of the king did), see Gesenius, p. 930. The old word *ratha*, a chariot, comes from hence; also, perhaps, some old Gothic and Germanic words, as *rheda*, a chariot, and *reiten*, to ride.

The king sent his chariots and cavalry in pursuit of them (*wemahir arki sun*); from the verb **מחר** *mahir*, festinare (Ges. 551.) He then says: *Munnadîr-sun ashkaya*, *naphshati weninu*, "to those of them who vowed submission for the future, I granted life."

Munnadîr, participle from *nadîr*, to vow to perform something. Hebrew **נדר** translated by Gesenius, p. 650, "vovit aliquid agendum."

Ashkaya or *Shaya* (for it may be read either way), appears to be the Hebrew **יָקָה** *ikhaya*, obedience. It does not exactly agree; nevertheless I think there can be but little doubt that it is another form of the same word. (See **יָקָה** in Gesenius, p. 439.)

Akhar ibishanu weratsabu in esku (col. VI, line 24). *Akhar*, the other; *ibishanu*, vile contemptible rabble; *weratsabu*, I slew; *in esku*, with my arrows. The first word, *akhar*, is the Hebrew **אַחֵר** *alius*.

We have had the word *ibishanu* before, in the same sense (see Note H). It comes from *ibishana*, shame, which is from the verb *ibish*, turpiter se gessit. In this passage, the final sign *nu*, **𐤢** seems to have been changed for *du*, **𐤣** by mistake.

Weratsabu, I struck to the ground, or stretched them lifeless; from *ratsab*, pavementum, related to the Hebrew **רָצַף** *pavimentum stravit*. This verb *weratsabu*, occurs in several other passages in the same sense of putting malefactors to death, and followed by *in esku*, "with my arrows." Therefore I have little doubt that the same expression was used here. And therefore **𐤣** is a misprint for **𐤢**.

NOTE DD (see page 147). *Kima khu kuppi*, like a winged bird. I have said in a note to this passage, that it offered an apparent exception to the rule by which the Hebrew letter **ק** when initial, is

¹ The second sign in this word should probably be **𐤕** *ta*, and not **𐤕** *na*.

represented in Assyrian by a simple vowel. But I find that we need not admit this exception, because it is more simple to consider *kuppi* to be from the Chaldee and Syriac word נָפַח *gupa*, a wing (Ges. 220).

NOTE EE. *Issunu*, they brought; from נָשָׂא *nassa*, portavit, just as *issiku*, they kissed, from נָשַׁק *nassik* to kiss. The initial N of verbs is generally rejected in the tenses. *Issunu* occurs again in the last line of the Pul inscription.

The verb *werash*, I carried off, in the next paragraph (note 2), is probably the Heb. יָרַשׁ *cepit vi*, of which the imperative tense is simply רַשׁ *rash* (Ges. 447).

NOTE FF. *Sitru meshkunu*, they ranged themselves in order of battle; from שָׂרְרָה *ordo militum*; and this again from שָׂרַר to place in order (Ges. 957).

NOTE GG. Horses, *patnush ana niri*, I have translated, well accustomed to draw together in the *biga* or two-horse chariot; the sense evidently requiring that meaning. I have since found the word in Schaaf's Lexicon, p. 445. *Padna* פָּדְנָא signifies, both in Syriac and Chaldee, *biga arantium boum*; *par boum*. It occurs in the New Testament, Luke ix. 62, and xvii. 7. In Arabic the word is changed to *fadna*. From hence, in my opinion, the Greeks took their word λεπαδνον. For ל פָּדְנָא would evidently mean "something belonging to the yoke; the appendage to the yoke;" and in Scott and Liddell's Lexicon the word λεπαδνον is thus rendered: "a broad leather strap fastening the yoke under the neck," &c. &c. Æschylus says ἀναγκῆς εἶναι λεπαδνον, to wear on the neck the yoke of Necessity.

NOTE HH. This very difficult passage requires the aid of the Constantinople inscription, which describes the event as follows (British Museum, pl. 43, line 42): *Iksuda-amma*, I took the city by assault; *la zitzut*, the cowards; *illiku*, ran away; *shagabita*, to a lofty place of refuge; *adura*, but I hurled down; *shal guna*, the effeminate garrison; *kalli natku mati*, from the high precipices of the mountain.

In this passage we have first, *la zitzut*, infirmi, from *zitzu* firmus. Examples of the latter word are frequent. *Altakan zitzu*, means, I fixed it firmly. *Weshazitz* occurs very often, and has the same meaning. It is the *sha* conjugation of the verb, which is the Hebrew אָזַז *aziz* or *azitz*, from אָזַז *robur, fortitudo*.

Shagabita, a lofty place of refuge, from Heb. שָׁגַב *shagab* (Ges. 956), which he renders *altus fuit*; *sublimis fuit*; and therefore, *tutum fecit* (*aliquem*) *ab hoste*. And the derived word *mashgab* מִשְׁגַּב he renders *locus editus*; *rupes*; *refugium et securitatem præbens*. Inde dicitur de ipso *refugio*. Psalm ix. 10, &c.

Adura, I hurled them. The root is *dur* דּוּר or דָּרַר in orbem egit: *cursu citato egit*. The remaining phrase *kalli natku mati* occurs frequently. But our cylinder gives quite a different sentence from the Constantinople inscription. We there read: I took the city by assault. *Shagabita*, on the lofty refuge; *mattu*, of a mountain; *weshashnin*, I attacked them. *Ya ilu! sha ya ilu!* (This I take to be the battle-cry of Sennacherib's soldiers: Hurrah! in the name of the gods!)

The end agrees with the Constantinople inscription. "And with cries of (*ya! ilu!*) I hurled the garrison down the precipice." In this phrase, *shagabita* agrees with the Constantinople, but the second syllable 𐎶𐎵 *gab*, is erroneously given as 𐎶𐎵

Weshashnin is the *sha* conjugation of *shanan*, to fight, of which verb a great many tenses and conjugations occur; as *ishtanan*, I fought; *ishananu*, they fought against him (pl. 17, 1 of the new volume of inscriptions), &c. &c.

No. III.¹

INSCRIPTION OF PUL.

Found at Nimroud, on the edge of the Mound between the N.W. and S.W. palaces.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THIS historical inscription is for the most part extremely clear; but, unfortunately, only a portion of it has been preserved. The monarch whose actions it commemorates was the grandson of Divanubar, the Obelisk King. The true pronounciation of his name has not yet been ascertained. Rawlinson considers him to be the biblical PUL.

The name consists of three elements: the first is the name of the god H_U, or Y_U, the god of the Sky; the second is *Zab*, a warrior; the third is uncertain; but, perhaps, means *dan* or *idan*, 'he gave.' Thus the name would be *Yu-zab-dan*, 'Y_U has given a warrior.'

¹ Received 18th January, 1861.

But in this uncertainty it is, perhaps, best to adopt *provisionally* the name of PUL.

A much more ancient monarch had the same name of Pul, or Yuzabdan, whom Ashurakhbal names frequently as his ancestor. Consequently the present monarch will be Pul the Second. His wife, Semiramis the Second, is commemorated along with him on a statue of Nebo in the British Museum.

The original text of this inscription will be found in plate 35 of the new volume.

THE INSCRIPTION.

1. Bit-rab PUL, sar rabu, sar dannu, sar (*kushati*), sar 𐎶𐎶 Ashur :
sar sha as tarsu Ashur u 𐎶𐎶 (.) uttu-su, malkut
2. la shanan wemallu katu-su: shebet-tzu kimuti eli (*nisi*)
𐎶𐎶 Ashur wekhibu :
3. wesharsidu guza-su rat illu: zanin beth-khira la muttu:
musipan beth shat.
4. sha as kuti Ashur bel-su duduku: malki sha kiprat arbati
5. weshaknisu ana niri-su. Kashid ta mutzi luna
6. sha napakh Shemsi, 𐎶𐎶 Shemsi, 𐎶𐎶 Illipi, 𐎶𐎶 Karkar,
𐎶𐎶 Araziash
7. 𐎶𐎶 Mitzu, 𐎶𐎶 Madaya, 𐎶𐎶 Gurbunda ana sikarti-su,
8. 𐎶𐎶 Munna, 𐎶𐎶 Utzua, 𐎶𐎶 Allabria, 𐎶𐎶 Abadan,
9. 𐎶𐎶 Nahiri ana kol gimri-sha, 𐎶𐎶 Andiu sha ashar-su ruku,
10. Belkhu matu ana kol gimri-su, adi eli parti rabti
11. sha napakh shemsi. Ta eli (*Armen*) Arat 𐎶𐎶 Khati,
𐎶𐎶 Akharri ana sikharti-sha,
12. 𐎶𐎶 Tsurru, 𐎶𐎶 Tsidunu, 𐎶𐎶 Khumri, 𐎶𐎶 Udumi, 𐎶𐎶 Palashta,
13. adi eli parti rabti sha dimi shemsi, ana nir-ya
14. weshaknis: tikun madata eli-sun wekhar. Ana
15. 𐎶𐎶 sha Tusu lu-alik: 𐎶𐎶 Mariah sar sha 𐎶𐎶 Tusu
16. as ir Dimashki ir-sarti-su lu-etsir-su:
17. bulkhi milammi sha Ashur bel-su iskhut-su: nir-ya itsbit:
18. arduti ebus: 2300 tikun kaspā, 20 tikun khurassi,
19. 3000 tikun takabar, 5000 tikun almas, thibbulti birmi (. . . .)
20. (*thronus eburneus*): nimatti ka akhzi talie: shaga-su,
shasu-su,

21. ana lamani as ir Dimashki ir-sarti-su as kireb bit-rab-su amkhar.

22. Sarin sha 𐎶𐎵 Kaldi kol-sun arduti ebusu, tikun madata ana ka

23. umati eli-sun wekhar. Babel-ki, Bartsip-ki, Tigga

24. ki, rika Bel, Nebo, Acherib lu-issuni, (*v. ctimas*) illiti

[*Cætera desunt.*]

TRANSLATION.

Palace of PUL, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the nations, the king of Assyria: the king who, by the help of Ashur and (.), his protecting deities, acquired a vast and boundless empire, and planted his royal power firmly over the people of Assyria, and raised his throne upon golden feet. Restorer of noble buildings which had gone to decay. Who went forth in the strength of Ashur his Lord, and caused the kings of the four regions to bow down to his yoke. Conqueror of all lands, as far as the day-spring of the Rising Sun; I subdued to my yoke the Land of the Sun, and the countries of Illipi, Karkar, Araziash, Mitzu, Media, Gîrbunda (in all its provinces), Munna, Utzua, Allabria, Abdadan, Nahiri (in all its parts), Andiu, whose situation is remote, the Belkhu mountain (in all its parts), as far as the Great Sea of the Rising Sun.

From the river Euphrates, in the land of Syria, I subdued to my yoke all the provinces of the land of Akharri: the lands of Tyre and Sidon, Omri, Edom, and Palestine, as far as the Great Sea of the Setting Sun, and I imposed upon them a fixed tribute.

Against the land of Tusu I advanced in hostile array. Mariah, king of Tusu, I besieged in Damascus, his royal city. Immense fear of Ashur his Lord overwhelmed him; he took upon him my yoke, and performed homage and prostration. Two thousand three hundred talents of silver, twenty talents of gold, three thousand talents of copper, five thousand talents of iron, fine cloths of various colours, scarlet and yellow, his ivory throne, his ivory palanquin carved with ornaments, and his other goods and treasures in abundance, in the city of Damascus, his royal city, in the middle of his palace I received.

The kings of Chaldæa, all of them performed homage and prostration, and I imposed a fixed tribute upon them with an equal hand. The cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Tigga brought out to

me the images of Bel, Nebo, and Acherib; then precious victims [*I sacrificed to the gods of those cities*].

* * * *

Observations.

Line 1. *tarsu* may be a noun of the T form, from the common word *risu* or *ritsu*, a helper. Compare Assyrian *rash*, or *resh*, a friend, which seems to be the Hebrew רֵעַ *amicus*. This and רַחֲמֵי *benevolentia*, are two related roots according to Gesenius, pp. 941, 949. Hence I translate *tarsu*, help.

Line 2. *wemallu katu-su*, literally "he filled his hand." Hebrew מָלָא *mala*, to fill. In *katu* the sign **E** is *tu*, which value frequently occurs, though the normal value is *ku*. Thus in the name of king Nebo-kudur-ussur, the syllables *ku*, *du*, are both represented by this sign; at least in some inscriptions.

shebet, a sceptre. Hebrew שֶׁבֶט.

kimuti or *gimuti* (for it may be read either way), is a doubtful word. Perhaps *shebet-tzu kimuti*, is "his sceptre of command;" from Chaldee קִים edictum regis: statutum (Ges. 890).

Line 3. "upon golden feet." The monarch of the Burmese empire who resides at Ava, or Ummerapoora, is even now called "the Golden Foot."

Beth-khira seems a general name for all very splendid buildings. I would derive it from Chaldee *ikar* יָקָר *honor, dignitas* (Daniel, ii. 37), also adjective *splendidus*. And *ikir* יָקִיר is *carus, honoratus* (Ges. 439).

la muttu may be "out of repair." Perhaps we should read *la amuttu*, from עָמַד *amed*, stetit, stabilivit, conservavit (Ges. 776).

Line 5. *Kashid*, conqueror. Compare *kashat*, conquest; *ekshut*, I conquered, &c.

mutzi, the source of a stream. *Luna* is an unknown word.

Line 6. The Land of the Sun is probably Khorassan, the most eastern province of Persia. It is named in other inscriptions, and its chief city, Shemes-pata (city of the sun).

Line 7. Girbunda was, perhaps, a large country, since "all its provinces" are spoken of. Perhaps it was Caramania.

Line 8. *Munna* is unknown, unless it is put for *Manna* (believed to be the modern Van), which is very frequently mentioned.

Utzua may also be read *Tatzua*, or *Partzua*. Its position is doubtful.

Line 9. The country of *Nahiri* contained an immense number of tribes, which are enumerated in some of the inscriptions. Each tribe had a king.

Andiu may be *India*, since it is added "whose situation is remote." But this is very uncertain, since there was an *Andia* much nearer home, named in some inscriptions as attacked by the Assyrian arms.

Line 10. The *Belkhu* mountain was some mountainous region of great extent (*all its parts or provinces*, being spoken of). It may have been the *Himalaya*, or *Hindoo Koosh*. *Belkhu* seems to mean *great*; compare the river *Balikhi*, or *Great river*, and the adjective *bulkhi*, "immense," in the phrase "immense terror," which the Assyrian arms constantly inspired, see line 17.

Line 11. *Arat*, the *Euphrates*. *Xenophon* calls the *Euphrates* by the name of *Araxes*. Probably he was deceived by the provincial name of the river which it bore in part of its course.

The land of *Akharri* comprised *Phœnicia* and the neighbouring provinces on the sea-coast. It is also frequently called *Martu* (the *West Country*). It is the Hebrew *akhor*, the *West*, אַחֹר (Ges. 36). A very important illustration of this is found in the Hebrew name for the *Mediterranean Sea*, viz. *Ha-yom ha-akharon*, the *Western Sea* (Ges. 40).

Line 13. The *West* is called *dimi shemsi*, the true meaning of which is "the sleep of the sun," or his *repose* or *rest*, Heb. דִּמָּה *dimah*, "quievit" (Ges. 250). Another name for the *West* was *Shalam shemsi*, the sleep of the sun, from the Chaldean חֶלֶם *sleep* (Ges. 343), which in Assyrian was pronounced *shalam*. So in many other words CH changes to SH, for example: חָלַק *chalak*, meaning *præda*, a spoil; and also a part or portion of anything (Ges. 345). But the Assyrian uses *shalak* in both senses, and not *chalak*.

The sleep of the Sun. In all languages we find this primitive poetical idea of the Sun reposing from his labours:

"Behind his Delphian cliff he sinks to SLEEP."—BYRON.

Line 14. The preface, or general praise of the King, ends with the word *wekhar*. The last word in the line *Ana*, very

abruptly begins the narrative of a *particular* campaign which he undertook to conquer Syria.

- Line 15. He attacks the land of Tusu, or Tûsh, an ancient name for Syria, of which, however, no vestige remains, except in the Assyrian inscriptions, and (possibly) in the Egyptian hieratic MSS. This land of Tusu was previously conquered by Divanubar, and is frequently named on the Obelisk; but after the reign of Pul the name disappears from history.

Mariah, or Moriah, appears to be the Syriac *Moria*, *Dominus summus* (see Schaaf, p. 326). It was, therefore, the Syrian king's *title* (meaning supreme lord of the country) rather than his individual name.

- Line 17. *iskhut-su*, it overwhelmed him or prostrated him; *iskhub-su* has the same meaning. Both are in very common use. The latter is the Hebrew שִׁכַּב, in Hiphil *prostravit* (Ges. 1001).

itsbit, he took. Other forms of this verb frequently occur; e.g. *utzabbît*, "I took," especially "I took captives in war." Various Hebrew roots answer more or less nearly; e.g. שָׁבִית *shabit*, captives. צָבַת *tsabith* (in Arabic *arripuit*), and צַבַת *tsabit*, manipulus, a handful, whatever can be grasped at once. See each word in Gesenius.

- Line 19. *thibbulti*, dyed cloth; *birmi*, scarlet. The last sign means *yellow*.

- Line 20. *ka*, tooth, i.e. elephant's tooth; so the Hebrew *shin*, tooth, means ivory. *Nimatti*, palanquin: for *nimidi*. *Khatzi*, carved: from קָצַע to cut or carve. *Talie*, with sculptures. Another inscription has *taliti akkuzati*.

- Line 21. *amkhar*, I received. It is properly "I put into my treasury," from *makhar*, the king's treasury. When this word *amkhar* occurs, it almost always concludes the paragraph, and the subject then changes, as here.

- Line 22. The king now turns his arms against the Chaldeans.

ka, the hand, plural *kati*. *Ana ka umati*, with a similar hand, with an equal hand, impartially.

- Line 24. *rîka*, idols or images; from רִיק *rik* (Ges. 936) *vacuus*, *inanis*, *vanus*; so *idol*, from εἰδωλον, an empty shade.

The second sign 𐎶 which is ambiguous, is determined to be *ka* in this word by other passages which relate this bringing forth of the idols of Babylon.

No. IV.¹

THE INSCRIPTION OF SENKEREH,

*From the Cylinders found at Senkereh, in the Ruins of the Temple of the Sun,
and now in the British Museum.*²

COLUMN I.

1. Nabiu-kudur-ussur sar Babel
2. ashri kansu mutninnu
3. palikh Bel Bieli
4. zanin beth shaggathu u beth zida
5. pal kini sha Nabiu-pal-ussur
6. sar Babel anaku.
7. Ninu ➤✶ Marduk bel rabu
8. shik ili mustarkhu
9. mati u nisi
10. ana rihuti iddina.
11. In tamisu beth Tara,
12. beth ➤✶ Shemesh, sha kireb (Shems) ki
13. sha ishtu tami rukuti
14. imu tilanish,
15. kirbus subat-sa isshapku,
16. la utdaya ussurati.
17. In palie-ya bel rabu ➤✶ Marduk
18. ana beth suati
19. irtasu tsalimi—
20. Im arbu weshatvamma
21. ishdi kirbi-su itsukhu
22. innamra ussurati—
23. Yaati Nabiu-kudur-ussur sar Babel
24. riesu palikh-su
25. ana ebisu beth suati

¹ Received 24th January, 1861.

² The cuneiform text will be found in Plate LI of the volume published by the British Museum.

COLUMN II.

1. rabish wemahiranni :
2. timin-su labiri
3. akhit abriu,
4. eli timinni-su labiri
5. ishdi illuti amsuku,
6. wekin libnat-sa.
7. Beth Tara beth kini,
8. subat ➤✱ Shemesh belni-ya,
9. ana ➤✱ Shemesh asib beth Tara
10. sha kireb (Shemesh) ki
11. bel rabu, bel-ya, lu-ebus.
12. ➤✱ Shemesh bel rabu !
13. ana beth Tara subat belluti-ka
14. in khidati u rishati
15. in eribi-ka
16. libit gati-ya damgati
17. khadish nablitzu !
18. malat tami rukuti,
19. kunnu guza,
20. labar palie-ya
21. lishakin shiptuk-ka !
22. sippi, sigari, midili, (*columnas*),
23. sha Beth Tara,
24. damgatu-ya
25. la naparkaya,
26. litsuru makhar-ka !

TRANSLATION.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the pious and powerful king, the worshipper of the Lord of Lords,¹ the restorer of the houses of prayer and of the sacred treasures, the eldest son of Nebopolassar, king of Babylon, I am he. The favour of Marduk the great Lord, the chief of the gods, the *celestial ruler*? hath given me this land and people to rule them.

¹ The god Marduk (supposed to be the planet Mars).

Moreover, the temple of Tara, which is the temple of the Sun, in the city of Senkereh, which from extreme old age had crumbled into ruin, and the interior of the edifice had fallen in heaps, and the *ussurati*² were not

In my first year the great Lord Marduk commanded me to restore this temple. It had been scattered to the four winds of heaven, and the very foundations of its interior had been dug up and thrown about, in the search for its *ussurati*.

Then I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, his chief worshipper, nobly determined to complete this temple. Upon its old foundation platform I made a *burnt-offering* (?) Beyond the size of the old platform I measured out much wider foundations, and I firmly built up the brickwork. There I built the temple of Tara, that noble temple the dwelling-place of the Sun my Lord, dedicated "to the Sun dwelling in Beth Tara in the city of Senkereh, the great lord, my Lord."

Oh Sun! great Lord! in Beth Tara the dwelling-place of thy greatness, look with pleasure and benevolence, and in thy merciful kindness, upon these works of my hands! Abundance of long days, a firm throne, prolonged years to my reign, may thy sceptre confirm to me! And these thrones and towers, and *midili* and columns of the temple of Tara, which I have built at no mean cost, may thy divine power protect them!

Observations.

Line 2. *Itsri* frequently means a *king*. Hebrew עָצַר *imperavit* (Ges. 789). I think *ashri* may be another form of the word.

kansu, pious, obedient. Rebels are called *la kansut*, disobedient.

Mutninnu is probably from טָנַן *tanin*, to be powerful, an ancient verb, concerning which see Gesenius, p. 1062.

Line 3. *palikh* is Hebrew פָּלַח *colere*: agreeing with the Latin *colo* and *cultus* in all its senses, as the worship of god, cultivation of the earth, religious service, as well as common labour.

Line 7. In the word *ninu* one cylinder has the final syllable *um*, or *uv*; the other omits it, showing it to be unessential. If we insert it, we may read *ninuv*.

² Supposed to be the sacred clay tablets hid in the foundation.

Line 8. *Shik*, a Chief, is a very common word. I am uncertain whether it is related or not to the well-known Arabic word *Sheikh*, a Chief.

mustar khu may be two words; but this is uncertain. *Mustar* I would render *ruler* or *ordainer*, from סדר to set in order (Ges. 704). *Khu* usually signifies a *bird*; but since *Marduk* was the planet Mars, and the planets are called the divine *khi*, or *ki*, and their temple sometimes *Beth-el-ki*, sometimes *kar-el-ki*, it is possible that this *khi* was the plural of *khu*, and that they were viewed as celestial birds in their flight through the heavens. I have therefore translated *mustar khu*, the celestial ruler. The true meaning, however, is quite uncertain.

Line 10. *rihuti*, dominion or royal power. Another word (apparently to be read *ribituti*) often occurs in the same sense. I believe Sir H. Rawlinson considers them the same. If so, it will be necessary to admit that the syllable *bit* can also be read *hu*. But before admitting this I wish for further confirmation.

Line 11. *intamisu* is an expletive, serving chiefly to change the subject of discourse. I render it *moreover*.

Line 14. *imu*, from מַקַּח *mukh*, to decay (Ges. 610). The *Birs Nimrud* inscription has the Niphal *innamu*, in a parallel passage to this.

Line 15. *isshapku*. The *Birs Nimrud* has *isshapik*.

Line 16. The *ussurati* were probably the clay cylinders placed in the foundations as a sort of talismans. Their conservation was deemed all-important to the prosperity of the structure. From Hebrew *ussur* or *yussur*, anything moulded in clay, יֹצֵר יֹצֵר

At the same time it must be observed that another origin may be assigned to the word, viz. אוֹצֵרוֹת *ussurut*, the treasures of a temple (Ges. 28), which suits the context so well that I have some difficulty in rejecting it. My chief reason is the existence of a long and important inscription of *Nabonidus*, which may be called "The Search for the Cylinder," since it is mainly occupied with an account of the excavations undertaken at various times and by many different kings to recover the cylinder or dedicatory inscription of a certain great temple in *Babylonia*. It will be found in Plate LXIX of the *British Museum* volume of inscriptions.

- Line 19. This line is obscure. *Tsalimi*, or *Zalimi*, may be "me commovit," from Heb. **זל**.
- Line 20. *weshatva-amma*. I doubtfully deduce *weshatva* from **שטף** *shatef*, effluxit. (Ges. 996).
- Line 21. *ishdi*. Hebrew *ishd* **יסד** fundavit ædificium. (Ges. 427).
itsukhu, effusa sunt. Hebrew *tsuk* **צוק** and also *itsuk* **יצק** both signify *fudit*. (Ges. 859).
- Line 22. *innamra*, "in looking for." This verb usually signifies "finding."
- Column II. Line 3. *akhit abriu* may mean "I sacrificed a victim" (on the old platform) before I commenced the new building. Then follow lines 4, 5, "I marked out on the old platform the foundations of the new temple." *Akhit* from **הג** *Hag*, victima: sacrificium. Nearly the same phrase occurs in the Annals of Sennacherib, viz. *hukin ebriu*, on the occasion of laying the foundations of a new city. Moreover, in the Phillips cylinder (III, 8) certain oxen which are sacrificed to the gods are called *akhit-sun rabi*, their great or noble victims. *Abriu* is probably "I burnt"; from **בער** *bar*, or *ber*, to burn (Ges. 164), and therefore it is possible that *akhit* may be the Heb. *ashit* **אשה** or **אשת** a burnt offering (Ges. 103), although I prefer to derive it from **הג** as I mentioned before.
- Line 5. *illuti* generally means *splendid*; but here it may mean *larger, superior, more extended*: from the preposition *il*, which is the same as the more usual *eli*, above, beyond. For instance, in the Bellino inscription we read, *il sha as tami pani*, *beyond* what it was in former days.
amsuku, "I measured;" from *mesek*, to measure **משח** (Ges. 625.)
- Line 6. *wekin*, I made firm or solid: stabilivi. From *kun*, firmus.
- Line 15. *in eribi-ka*, in thy benevolence or mercy. Hebrew **ערב** *ereb* dulcis, suavis fuit. (Ges. 791).
- Line 16. *damgati* and *damikti* are the same word, meaning building, edifice.
- Line 17. *khadish nablitzu*. Vide Birs Nimrud, col. II. line 19. This is a phrase of uncertain meaning. Let us consider the whole passage. The King having completed this splendid temple, then prays for a blessing on his work. "Oh Sun! great Lord! look with pleasure and benevolence, in thy merciful goodness, on these works of my hands, which I

have built for thee, in Beth-Tara the temple of thy Majesty! and shed upon them thy heavenly blessing!"

Khidati I have translated *pleasure*. In the Esarhaddon inscription we find, *Kidat kala mu*, the pleasures of all the year. It may be derived from חדא joy.

Rishati I have translated *benevolence*, from רצה *risha*, which Gesenius (p. 948) renders *benevolè excepit dona ferentem*, and *delectatus est*. It is the verb specially used, *ubi Deus accipit sacrificia et preces hominum*.

In erebi-ka, in thy goodness or kindness. This is the Hebrew ערב.

Libit, the works or constructions; *gati-ya*, of my hands; *damgati*, built or constructed by me; *khadish*, with joy (another word derived from חדא); *nablitzu*, descend upon them! or, shed upon them a heavenly influence! This word, in my opinion, may be derived from the verb *napal* or *nabal*, נפל *cecidit*, which is specially employed to denote a divine or heavenly influence. Thus, divine oracles are said, in Is. ix. 7, to fall (*napal*) i.e. from heaven. The spirit of God is said, in Ezekiel, to fall on a man (*napal*). Compare also, in Daniel, נפל מן שמיא נפל *vox cœlitus delapsa est*. These examples are from Gesenius.

Nablitzu is preceded by the adverb *khadish*, which may mean "joyfully."

In the great inscription of Nabonidus, the hearts of the gods are said to have rejoiced (חדא *khada*) when they looked at the temples which the king had made.

Line 18. *malat* (alibi *malatha*) fullness, abundance; from Hebrew *mala*, to fill, מלא -

Line 21 *lishakin*, may it make firm! *Sha* conjugation of *Kun* כון firmare, and answering to the Hebrew Hiphil form הכין *stabilivit*, firmavit. (Ges. 468).

Line 25. *la naparka* seems to mean not small or trifling. From *parak* פרך *comminuit*, *naparka* minutus, would be a regular form. In many other passages the king uses a similar negative mode of expression, viz. that his works were not small, or not contemptible.

Line 26. *litzuru*, may it protect! Optative of נצר *natsir*, to protect. (Ges. 684).

makhar seems often to mean a divinity or divine power.

No. V.

THE INSCRIPTION OF NABONIDUS,¹

From the four Cylinders found at the Corners of the Temple of the Moon at Mugheir, and now in the British Museum. Mugheir is supposed by Rawlinson to be the "Ur of the Chaldees," mentioned in Genesis.²

COLUMN I.

1. Nabo-imduk sar Babel
2. zanin beth shaggathu
3. u beth zida
4. pata ili rabi anaku.
5. Beth sar sidi
6. ziggurra^t beth Asuku rabu
7. sha kireb (ussur) ki
8. sha ʾ Uruk^h sar sut makhri
9. ibusu, la weshaklilu's,
10. ʾ Ilgi tar-su
11. banut-su weshaklil.
12. in mitsarie sha ʾ Uruk^h
13. u ʾ Ilgi tar su akharu
14. sha ziggurra^t suati
15. ʾ Uruk^h ibusu
16. la weshaklilu's,
17. ʾ Ilgi tar-su banat-su
18. weshaklil.
19. In anni ziggurra^t suata
20. lamarish illiku :
21. eli timinna labiri
22. sha ʾ Uruk^h u ʾ Ilgi
23. tar-su ibusu
24. ziggurra^t suati
25. kima labirimma
26. in kupri u agurri

Received 24th January, 1861.

² The cuneiform text will be found in Plate LXVIII of the British Museum volume of inscriptions.

27. bata^k-su ashbitu :
28. ana ➤^Y San bel ili sha (shamie) u kiti,
29. Sar ili ili sha ili
30. asib shamie rabi, bel beth Asuku rabu
31. sha kireb (ussur) ki, bel-ya,

COLUMN II.

1. vassishu
2. ebus.
3. ➤^Y San! belni ili,
4. sar ili sha shamie u kiti
5. ili sha ili
6. asib shamie rabi :
7. ana beth suati
8. khadish in erebi-ka
9. (damgati) beth shaggathu,
10. beth zida, beth Asukhu rabu,
11. bethim iluti-ka rabti
12. lishakin shipduk-ka :
13. u bulukhti iluti-ka
14. rabti, tsibbi nisi-su
15. suskinu, la ipathu
16. ana iluti-ka rabti.
17. kima shamie ishda-sun
18. likunu !
19. Yaati ^Y Nabo-Nid sar Babel
20. in khilu iluti-ka
21. rabti suzib annima !
22. malathu tami rukuti
23. ana sirikhti surkam !
24. u sha ^Y Bel-sar-ussur
25. tar reshtu,
26. tsit tsibbi-ya,
27. bulukhti iluti-ka rabti
28. tsibbu's suskinu !
29. yatsa shaya
30. khiditi
31. lalie-sha lishbi !

TRANSLATION.

Nabo-imduk,¹ king of Babylon, restorer of the temples and sacred treasures, servant of the great gods, I am he. There is a building called Sarsidi, which is the lofty tower of the temple of the great Asoca tree in the city of (Mugheir), which Uruk, a king of former days, began to build but did not finish it, and Ilgi his son finished the edifice. And I have read in the clay tablets of Uruk, and Ilgi his son, how Uruk began to build this tower but did not complete it, and Ilgi his son completed the building. But in my time this tower had quite disappeared. So upon the old foundation which Uruk, and Ilgi his son, had constructed, I erected this tower again in bitumen and brick as it had been before. From its foundations I built it, dedicating it "to the Moon—chief of the gods of heaven and earth—king of the gods *and goddesses?* who are the great inhabitants of heaven: and Lord of the temple of the great Asoca tree in the city of Mugheir, my lord."

Oh Moon! chief of the gods—king of the gods of heaven and earth—of the gods *and goddesses?* who are the great inhabitants of heaven—bless and purify this temple in thy goodness! Protect with thy sceptre the buildings of the house of prayer, and of the sacred treasury, and of the temple of the great Asoca tree, which are the habitations of thy great divinity. Fix in the hearts of its inhabitants the awe of thy great divinity, that they may not transgress against thee. May the foundations of the temples stand firm as heaven! And as for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, preserve me in the pure faith of thy great divinity! Give me abundance of length of days, even to overflowing! And to Bel-sar-ussur, my eldest son—my rising hope—fix firmly in his heart the awe of thy great divinity! And like the duration of the Moon itself may the splendours of this temple endure!

Observations.

This inscription is of great interest and importance on various accounts. When Nabonidus repaired the temple of the Moon, he dug up the clay tablets which were doubtless in the corners of the old building, and read thereon the names of Uruk and

¹ Otherwise called Nabonidus.

Ilgi, its founders—two very ancient Chaldean kings. It is most interesting to find that the British Museum possesses tablets found also at Mugheir, inscribed with the names of these two kings, but written in the Hamitic language, of which not much is yet understood. But of course in the days of Nabonidus this ancient language was perfectly intelligible, and, perhaps, in some places still vernacular. He says of the tablets, *akharu* (I read them). The names of these ancient kings are very doubtful, being expressed by unusual symbols. It has been proposed to read them as Urukh and Ilgi, and I have thought it advisable to adopt this reading till more is known about them.

Line 1. The king's name was Nabo-nahid (Nabo is glorious), often written Nabo-nid. But he had also another name, Nabo-imduk, which probably meant the same thing in the Hamitic tongue. I think that the tribes who spoke Hamitic called the king by one name, and the Semitic tribes by the other; just as Cœur-de-lion had another name among his Saxon subjects, and was called by translation Lion-heart. *Imduk* seems to be a Hamitic word, and to that language I also refer *inga* (great or glorious), as *rubu inga* (the good prince).

Line 6. *Asukhu* has the sign for *tree* or *wood* prefixed to it. It occurs again, line 30, and *there* the other cylinders have the variant reading *nuyak* or *nuik*, with the sign for *tree* prefixed. This reminds one of the holy *nu* tree (or sycamore) of Egypt. The Orientals have retained the practice to this day of planting beautiful flowering trees round the temples, the flowers serving to adorn the altars. *Asukha* may be the *Asoca* tree of India.

Line 8. *sar sut*, rex qui fuit olim.

Line 11. It is doubtful whether the first word should be read *sita*, or *limut*, or *panut*. I prefer the latter, which may be the same as *banut*, a building.

Line 12. *mitsarie*, probably clay tablets; from *itsar* יצר to mould clay. I believe *misharie* (lines of writing) to be a different word: which may conveniently be derived from *ishar*, straight.

Line 13. *akharu*, I read; from *khar*, to read aloud, Hebrew קרא *kara*: thus *kara bi sepher*, to read from a book (Gesenius). In the Bellino inscription, near the end, *likharu*, let him read aloud!

- Line 14. *sha*, that : (conjunction).
- Line 19. *in anni*, under me, in my time.
- Line 20. *mari*, visible ; *la mari*, invisible ; whence (adverb) *lamarish*.
illiku, it was gone ; from Hebrew *alik* אִלֵּךְ to go.
- Line 27. *batak*, related to *pītik*, an ornamental building ; *eptik*, he built, &c.
- Line 28. San or Sen, the moon. In Syriac Sin. It forms the first syllable in the name of Sennacherib.
- Line 29. Is very obscure, unless *sha ili* means "goddesses."
- Column II. Line 5. *sha ili*. See column I. line 29.
- Line 15. *suskin*, keep firm! fix or establish firmly! an imperative.
Weshaskin, I kept firm, is the indicative of the same verb.
It is the *sha* conjugation of *sakan*, fixit שָׁכַן (Ges. 1005).
la ipathu, that they may not sin or rebel against thee, as well explained by Dr. Hincks in "Journal of Sacred Literature," vol. iii. p. 402. *Patha*, to rebel, is in Hebrew *pasha* פָּשָׁע defecti à Deo ; peccatum adversus Deum.
- Line 18. *likunu*, may they be firm! the *sha* conjugation of this verb occurs frequently, viz. *lishakin*, may it make firm, or establish.
- Line 20. *khilu*, probity, purity ; from *khil* חִיל virtus, probitas. (Ges. 335).
- Line 21. *suzib*, imperative, save thou! Hebrew שָׁזַב to save or deliver. (See Hincks, in "Journal of Sacred Literature," vol. iii. p. 402).
- Line 23. *sirikhti*, abundance ; Hebrew *serek*, or *sherekh*, סֶרֶחַ redundare. Also effundere, to give copiously (Ges. 723).
Surkam, give to me! imperative. Compare *ishruku*, he gave ; from the same root *sherek*, to give plentifully. The final M is the pronoun personal in many instances, as *iddina*, he gave ; *iddinam*, he gave to me.
- Line 26. *tsit tsibbi-ya*, my rising hope, from *tsit*, a rising ; as *tsit shemesh*, the rising of the sun, which is from Hebrew יָצָא to rise.
tsibba, hope, is the Chaldee צָבָא from צָבָא *tsiba*, voluit, cupivit : also the mind (cor : animus), in which sense it occurs in line 28. In meaning it agrees so nearly with *libba*, Hebrew לֵב, cor, voluntas, consilium, that in Assyrian they are used for each other nearly indifferently.
- Line 29. This passage is obscure. It may mean "May these temples of the Moon last as long as the Moon itself endures!"

Yatza shaya khiditi, even as the life of the Moon. Compare the great inscription of Nabonidus, column 2, line 27, where the king prays the gods to bless his son: *Suriku tami-su yatza shaya khiditi*, grant him length of days even as the duration of the Moon!

Yatsa or *yasha*, even as, equal to. The only word, according to Gesenius's Lexicon, which the Hebrew has for *even* or *equal* is יָשָׁר *yashar*, and therefore I refer the Assyrian word to that root, notwithstanding the final R. I find a similar example in צִבָּר *tsibar*, a heap of stones, which becomes *tsiba* in Assyrian, rejecting the final R.

Shaya may be life, or existence. Compare the Chaldee חַיָּא *Chaya*, life (Esra vi. 10; Daniel vii. 12); Hebrew חַיָּה *Chayah* vixit, et 'subst. *vita*.

Khiditi is a Chaldee word for the Moon חֲדַת (Ges. 32).

The Hebrews changing ת into ש, say חֲדָשׁ, which has two senses: (1) novilunii dies, (2) luna ipsa, sive mensis.

Line 31. The fourth sign is an error for 𐎶 *sha*.

lishbi, may it remain. From יִשֶׁב *isheb*, to dwell or remain.